

'A New Discovery of an Old Intrigue': a re-evaluation of Daniel Defoe's library catalogue, with a case study of its Iberian content.

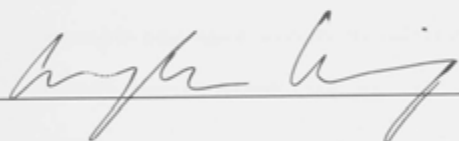
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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University in April 2015



I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and that I have faithfully indicated all usage of other scholars' work.

Angela Gehling



Date: 27-10-19

Abstract:

This thesis presents a thorough re-examination of Daniel Defoe's library catalogue, a problematic resource which has been consistently neglected and maligned throughout the history of Defoe studies. Surveying both the catalogue's broad critical history and its treatment in specialist scholarship, it locates two major problems in the current body of knowledge. Firstly, Defoe scholarship's exclusive concentration on dividing the inventory between Defoe and Philips Farewell (whose libraries were combined in the sale) inadequately accounts for the full extent of its attribution problems, since many of the listed items were added to the sale by bookseller Olive Payne. Secondly, the field lacks a biographical and business profile of Payne, which is necessary for both the location of salted items and for tracing his connections to the Defoes.

Direct remedies for both of these deficiencies are offered here, as Payne's changes to the inventory are located through his previous sales and his habitual business practices, which are detailed in an extensive biographical study of this obscure bookseller. New guidelines and recommendations for catalogue usage are formulated on the basis of these findings. The thesis highlights the catalogue's potential in the location and exploration of sources for Defoe's work. Credible usage of the catalogue is demonstrated through a two-part study of Defoe's diverse Spanish contexts and their relation to the fictional modes represented in the catalogue. Close reading of his use of picaresque fiction, Italianate amatory novellas and moral allegory reveals both the direct influence of specific sources and a complex manifestation of genre conventions that supports further investigation of the nexus of Spanish literary texts behind Defoe's writing.

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Finally, I will always appreciate the emotional support of my family and friends over the last five years. I couldn't have got through this without you, so it's time to start calling in the backlog of favours! This thesis is dedicated to my paternal and maternal grandmothers, Margaret Gehling and Margaret Scullion, who passed away in 2014 and 2015 respectively. If my work reflects anything of their intellectual rigour and creativity, I am proud to point out the continuity.

Angela Gehling,

Canberra, April 2015.

Introduction

It is safe to say that this is not the thesis I originally intended to write. This project began as study of Defoe's connections to and engagements with the Iberian Peninsula and its associated colonies. As Defoe's writings contained a vast amount of relevant material, I envisioned a comprehensive and wide-ranging study, encompassing biographical research, literary analysis and the political and economic dimensions of Defoe's engagement with the colonization of South America. From the outset, the Defoe/Farewell library catalogue was identified as a promising resource for all of these topics, as it contained a significant number of Iberian-related titles whose potential influence on Defoe's work –either as specific sources or as part of a broader context of information– deserved further investigation. (In fact, it was a combination of the catalogue content and Defoe's underanalysed fictional treatment of the Spanish that was the initial impetus for this project).

However, when I came to investigate the catalogue's background and inherent problems, I discovered several gaps in the extant scholarship that would need to be addressed before this resource could be credibly used on such an extensive scale. Firstly, Defoe studies had never developed a consensus on credible methodology for catalogue use. The inherent difficulties of attribution –reliably dividing titles between Defoe and Philips Farewell– have logically deterred scholars from making inventory items central parts of source studies. But its consistent critical neglect is also indebted to less reasonable causes: early source scholars' limited access to the full catalogue, and its association with the targets of the hostile critiques of source study of the 1960s. Together, these factors have kept the catalogue at the periphery of the field, and have

contributed to the second point: the incomplete nature of specialist studies of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. The small body of dedicated studies have heavily underestimated the full extent of the attribution problems, and have provided inadequate biographical and bibliographical investigation of *all* the parties involved in the inventory's composition. Moreover, the lack of critical interest has protected these omissions from detection, and ensured that anyone seeking to incorporate the catalogue's contents bases their conclusions on incomplete information.

I realized that if I was going to use catalogue material at all, I would have to address these problems, formulating the necessary questions and providing the fullest possible answers to justify my inclusion of such stigmatized and questionable material. So I began investigating the catalogue's biographical and bibliographical background, building primarily on the work of Helmut Heidenreich and James Kelly, and incorporating an extended discussion of catalogue issues into my thesis. This sub-project developed a life of its own, as bookseller Olive Payne's major influence on the inventory's contents was recognized; and its inability to be satisfactorily contained in its allocated chapter made it clear that this study was a project in its own right. Therefore, I restructured my thesis around the catalogue research, in order to present an updated and amended investigation of the resource's background and problems that will lay credible groundwork for more extensive and speculative incorporation of its contents into studies of Defoe's diverse contexts.

The thesis is divided into two parts Part I (and its two associated appendices) is devoted entirely to the catalogue. Chapter 1 provides a detailed outline of the catalogue's background, characteristics and inherent problems, and analyses critical use to date. It argues that its current underuse owes as much to the development of modern Defoe studies, particularly

John Paul Hunter's hostile critique of Secordian source studies. Chapter 2 analyses specialist studies of the catalogue itself, with a particular focus on Helmut Heidenreich's 1970 edition, whose Introduction has become the definitive point of reference on this topic. It locates two major gaps and omissions in the scholarship, and proposes a remedial plan, which the next two chapters will implement.

Chapter 3 focuses on the first gap in the scholarship: the incomplete consideration of the question of the catalogue inventory's origins. It attempts to determine the extent to which 'salted' items (works belonging to neither library but added to the sale from the bookseller's own stock) permeate the inventory. This is carried out by two methods: cross-referencing the Defoe/Farewell sale with the bookseller's previous sales; and investigating the bookseller's possible acquisition of items from other sources. This second process is carried over into Chapter 4, which addresses the second gap: the inadequate profiling of Olive Payne. Here, I construct a detailed biography and business profile using all available sources: primary biographical sources, secondary accounts and references, and Payne's own publications and sales catalogues. This information reveals the areas in which Payne was most likely to have acquired additional 'salted' items, as well as highlighting his potential connections to the Defoes. These chapters are supplemented by two appendices: Appendix A is a table of all the duplicate items found in the comparison of the Defoe/Farewell sale and Olive Payne's earlier sales, discussed in detail in Chapter 3. It indicates the various degrees of certainty with which the items can be identified as 'salted'. Appendix B is a timeline of Olive Payne's activity as a bookseller, printer and publisher.

Chapter 5 concludes the catalogue study, summarizing the first four chapters' findings and developing recommendations and rules for credible use. It also suggests some methodologies

and focuses for future incorporation of this resource into literary and cultural analyses, identifying the investigation of Defoe's pan-European contexts as a particularly promising area.

The two chapters of Part II attempt to prove the validity of Chapter 5's recommendations, through a 'case study' of Defoe and Spain. This is a reconfiguration and abridgement of my original study of Defoe and Iberia, whose investigation of sources now focuses only on a group of catalogue-listed items. It is by no means intended as a comprehensive evaluation of the subject (as many of the areas discussed require more space and discussion of extra-catalogue sources and contexts), but rather as a demonstration of the catalogue's potential benefits, and the recommended balance between credible and creative/speculative use. The two-part structure has, I believe made a summarizing conclusion superfluous, as Chapter 5 explains the general significance of this research for Defoe studies, and Chapters 6 and 7 are explicitly positioned as demonstrative of that chapter's guidelines, and highlight directions for future research throughout their exploration of Defoe's Spanish contexts.

Chapter 6 fulfils the requirement for 'textual support' to justify catalogue usage, by presenting an overview of Defoe's biographical connections to Spain, and of his prolific writings on the country and its colonies. My analysis of the latter argues that Defoe makes a distinctive and rather anachronistic use of Black Legend stereotypes, especially in his fiction. Here, he draws a consistent distinction between negatively-portrayed Spanish cultural institutions, and virtuous and admirable Spanish individuals; and this 'good Spaniard' may be a significant device in his critiques of both nationalities' roles in the colonial project, as well as the distinct moral failings of the English.

Chapter 7 examines the catalogue's Iberian content in detail, seeking insight into the previous chapter's Spanish contexts. It evaluates the attribution issues surrounding the items, using Part I's findings to produce a list of potential sources most likely to have been owned by Defoe. From this 'filtered' list, one subject area is selected for detailed analysis; and Defoe's use of Spanish literary models and conventions –which has comprised the vast majority of extant commentary on his connection to Iberia--is explored through four specific titles: *La Picara, or the triumphs of female subtility*, *Libro de entretenimiento de la picara Justina*, *A Week's Entertainment at a Wedding*, and *The Critick*. These comparative analyses add detail to the general consensus about Defoe's relationship to the picaresque, arguing that not only does his fiction incorporate specific sources and genre-wide tropes and conventions (as it also does with the amatory novella), but that the physical and psychological innovations he is credited with can be attributed to his specific combinations, manipulations and transformations of genre-typical perspectives and conventions found in the catalogue items. The knowledge of picaresque fiction and the amatory novella displayed in Defoe's fiction (particularly in *Colonel Jack*) suggests a consciously intertextual dimension to his artistic method that deserves further investigation. The final work, Baltasar Gracián's *The Critick*, is argued to have been a more extensive and diverse influence on Defoe than previous critical accounts have indicated. As well as the desert island episode, there are significant parallels with this text in Defoe's treatment of picaresque tropes, his philosophy of moderation and balance, and on civilization and exile.

After studying the critical history of the catalogue I realize that my focus on a stigmatized resource, and on the location of sources and contexts may be seen as retrograde and unnecessary, particularly as my literature review necessarily focuses on early criticism. In response, I would argue that both my project and this perception are products of the

idiosyncratic history of Defoe studies itself. The story of Defoe's sporadic and belated ascent to the academic literary canon is marked by a critical history of persistent slanders, misunderstandings, simplifications and omissions that left scholars at the beginning of the field's modern history lacking the infrastructural base of comprehensive biography, bibliography and reliable editions long established for most of his peers. Since the 1950s, scholars have made rapid progress in providing these resources and rectifying myths and errors –and finally progressing to informed discussion of Defoe's artistic and intellectual qualities– but this rush to catch up has unsurprisingly produced a few critical blind spots, and an excessive hostility to early criticism that has shaped the field's trajectory. While I appreciate our improvement on the methodological errors, over-literalism, and arbitrary judgments of so many early source studies, I also believe the increasingly narrow and specialized focus of modern Defoe studies should emulate something of their scope and ambition, by extending itself further into Defoe's wider contexts. And a re-evaluation of the 'source hunters' should be accompanied by a reconsideration of the resource most associated with them: the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. For my part, this thesis has convinced me that it is not a dead-end, but unmapped and unexplored territory.

Chapter 1:

The Defoe/Farewell catalogue: its background, problems, and critical history

The Defoe/Farewell library catalogue is one of the most widely available and potentially useful sources available to Defoe studies, where biographical and bibliographical sources seem relatively scarce and uninformative when compared to the plethora of information available to Swift, Dryden or Fielding scholars. Yet it has also been curiously underutilized, occupying a peripheral place in the field, and never becoming a credible focal point for source and context studies. Scholars have been consistently intrigued by the potential insight into Defoe's reading, interests and contexts the catalogue offers, but their interest has always been limited and tentative. It is rare to find any more extensive usage than a cursory acknowledgement of its possibilities; and the few extant examples are marked by questionable methodology and deliberate minimization of its role.

This lack of overt and extensive engagement with the catalogue is arguably the result of two factors, which will be detailed in this chapter. Firstly, there are intrinsic difficulties of attribution with this material, which prevent scholars from reliably determining which books actually belonged to Defoe and act as a logical deterrent to extensive usage. However, its dubious reputation is also an unwitting consequence of the history of Defoe studies, and it deserves to be re-examined. The resource was surprisingly underutilized by early source scholars like Trent, Secord and Moore, but, ironically, John Paul Hunter's influential criticism of the source hunters' literalism and simplicity in the 1960s presented it as virtually synonymous with the flaws of this critical mode. Consequently, the most rigorous and comprehensive

extant study of the catalogue, Helmut Heidenreich's *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell*,¹ was released into a climate of disdain and indifference, which was a consequence of both its inherent problems and of the declining interest in source studies. This prevented detection of its flaws and discouraged the necessary supplemental scholarship.

The following critical review places a strong focus on the years 1895-1970, because this is the period in which the catalogue received the most extensive and varied scholarly attention, and in which the dominant patterns of modern usage were established. The fundamental importance of a re-evaluation of Heidenreich to a re-evaluation of the catalogue has necessitated one alteration to the structure of this otherwise chronological critical review of the catalogue's critical history. His general approach to the attribution difficulties and his critical reception is summarised here, but the full re-evaluation of his work is contained in Chapter 2, in conjunction with the other post-Heidenreich specialist studies. In this chapter, all pre-1970 catalogue studies and critical uses will be considered together, but discussion after this date will focus solely on the catalogue's use in other branches of Defoe studies.

The Defoe/Farewell catalogue: background, contents, and problems

The document that scholars have come to know as 'Defoe's library catalogue' is an auction catalogue produced for the 15th of November 1731 sale of Defoe's books.² The British Library

¹ Helmut Heidenreich, *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell: Olive Payne's Sales Catalogue (1731)* (Berlin: W. Hildebrand for the author, 1970). Note that Heidenreich spells Farewell's first name as 'Phillips' throughout this book, whereas the original catalogue uses 'Philips'. I therefore employ both versions throughout this thesis, using 'Philips' for my own discussion of the catalogue, and 'Phillips' for citations of Heidenreich and other authors using this spelling.

² *Librorum ex Bibliotheca Philippi Farewell, D.D. et Danielis De Foe, Gen. Catalogus: or a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend and Learned Philips Farewell, D.D. Late Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge; and of the Ingenious Daniel Defoe, Gent. lately Deceas'd ...* (London: Olive Payne, 1731).

holds the one copy known to have survived. The sale was held by the London bookseller Olive Payne, almost seven months after his burial on the 26th of April 1731.³ By my count, this auction catalogue contains some 2107 items,⁴ but this number is provisional since, as Helmut Heidenreich notes, the inventory includes several item numbers containing 'an indeterminable number of tracts,' (he lists approximately 30 such groupings),⁵ as well as collections of maps and engravings. The breadth of Defoe's interests is reflected in the catalogue's contents. The majority of its items date from the seventeenth century, and his principal areas of interests are well-represented: geography, travels, economics, history, politics, philosophy, medicine, and modern languages. However, there is still a general consensus that this catalogue represents only a part of Defoe's library, let alone his wider reading. Aitken, Heidenreich and subsequent catalogue scholars have drawn this conclusion from the absence of several works which Defoe frequently quoted, as well as its under-representation of Defoe's own works.⁶ The exact number of these 'missing' books is unconfirmed, as is their fate. Both G.A. Aitken and Heidenreich theorized that they were divided among Defoe's family members sometime before the sale; and Maximillian Novak has provided confirmation by tracing some items to Defoe's daughters, Henrietta, Hannah and Sophia, and to Sophia's husband Henry Baker, whose library was sold in March 1775.⁷

³ Maximillian E. Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions: His Life and Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 702.

⁴ Heidenreich estimates 'about 2200' in total (p. XII).

⁵ Heidenreich, p. XII.

⁶ See Heidenreich, pp. XV-VI, where 'Don Quixote ... Hudibras ... and The Pilgrim's Progress' are flagged as particularly significant omissions.

⁷ Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*, pp. 703-04.

14 0 9
3
Librorum ex Bibliothecis
PHILIPPI FAREWELL, D.D.

ET
DANIELIS DE FOE, Gen.

CATALOGUS:

OR A

CATALOGUE of the **LIBRARIES** of the
 Reverend and Learned **PHILIPS FAREWELL,**
 D.D. Late Fellow of *Trinity-College, Cam-*
bridge; and of the Ingenious **DANIEL DE**
FOE, Gen. lately Deceas'd.

CONTAINING

A Curious Collection of **BOOKS** relating to
 the **History** and **Antiquities** of divers Nations,
 particularly *England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

Likewise a great Variety of Books in **Divinity, History,**
Mathematicks, Civil, Canon, and Common-Law; **Med-**
als, Architecture, Coins, Inscriptions, Perspective,
Voyages, Natural History, Physick and Lexicographers,
viz. STEPHANI THESAURUS, &c.

Several of the **Classicks** in **Usum Delphini,** printed at **Paris,** &c.
 cum **Notis Variorum;** many printed by the most famous **Printers,**
 in *Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German*
 and *English.* **N. B.** Manuscripts.

Also several Hundred Curious Scarce **Traacts** on **Parliamentary**
Affairs, Politicks, Husbandry, Trade, Voyages, Natural History,
Mines, Minerals, &c. Several Curious **Prints, Medals, &c.**

Which will begin to be Sold very cheap (the lowest Price mark'd,
 in each Book) on *Monday the 15th of November, 1731.*

By **OLIVE PAYNE,**

At the **Bible** in **Round-Court** in the **Strand,** opposite **York Buildings,**
 and to continue daily till all are Sold.

N. B. The Books are in very good Condition, mostly well Bound,
 Gilt and Lettered.

CATALOGUES may be had Gratis of the following Book-sellers, *viz. Mr.*
Straban, in Cornhill; Mr. Croxsonfield, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr.
Noortboeck, against St. Clement's Church; Mr. Stone, at Gray's-Inn Back-
Gate; Mr. Lewis, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; Mr. Jolliffe, St.
James's-street; Forry's Coffee-house, Coaring-Cross; and at the Place of
SALE, where may be had Ready Money for any **Library** or **Parcel** of
BOOKS in any Language or Faculty.

While this is problematic, it is not the greatest difficulty to confront scholars with an interest in the catalogue's contents. There are major problems relating to the attribution of items in the inventory, which may never be fully resolved. As the above title page demonstrates, the sale actually combined two libraries: one belonging to Defoe and one to Philips Farewell, D.D., a clergyman and scholar. Moreover, the bookseller Olive Payne did not indicate the original owner of any of the items, nor does his organization of material give any clues: the books are organized according to format, and then broadly divided by subject. We have no clear way of confirming which of the listed items belonged to Defoe, and which items came from Farewell's collection. This has been the primary difficulty confronting Defoe scholars since Aitken's 1895 discovery of a surviving copy of the catalogue; and the question of how to divide its contents between Defoe and Farewell has dominated subsequent scholarship.

There have been three methods of addressing the problem of attribution: analysing the catalogue's structure, in the hope of discovering revealing groupings of items; exploring Farewell's biography, in the hope of discovering his areas of interest; and searching for references and allusions in Defoe's own writings, as well as biographical links. Analysis of the catalogue's structure has been fruitless: there are no indications that the order of the material inadvertently reveals the original owners, as was the case with Swift's 1745 library catalogue.⁸ Heidenreich briefly considers the possibility, speculating that 'as it appears unlikely that almost 300 books can be overlooked, one is at first led to believe that the 'Libri Omissi' section is actually an addition representing Defoe or Farewell's share'. But he ultimately dismisses the

⁸ See Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library: with a facsimile of the original sale catalogue and some account of two manuscript lists of his books* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1932), pp. 19, 21.

possibility, since Defoe's own works and titles he has alluded to are distributed throughout the inventory.⁹

Payne's organization of the material provides further support for Heidenreich's disbelief for its lack of correlation to the items' origins. Under the general heading of folio, we find five subcategories: 'Libri Theologici', primarily Latin and modern language theological works in both the original language and in English translation; 'English Divinity', works originally written in English; 'Libri Miscellanei'; 'French, Italian, Spanish' works, a category which also includes classical works translated into these languages; and 'Physick, Mathemat. &c'. The quarto section contains the same number of subcategories, with changes to every category but the scientific works: English and foreign-language theological works are combined in 'Libri Theologici'. 'Latin Miscellanies' comprise a sizable category of their own (approximately 120 items), as do 'English Quartos' (55 items), and the modern language section is expanded to 'French, Italian and Spanish, &c'. Works in octavo and duodecimo are listed together, with the same organization of foreign language and theological books as in the quarto category, but with English-language texts grouped into 'English Miscellanies' (a large and diverse group, comprising approximately 353 items) and non-theological or scientific Latin works comprising the bulk of 'Libri Miscellanei'. Reflecting the contents of this section, the scientific category is changed to 'Libri Medici & Mathematicae'. Most pamphlets, tracts and maps and engravings fall into the category of 'Scarce Tracts', where multiple items are listed under each lot number, usually linked by subject. The final section, 'Libri Omissi', is organized solely by format, with subheadings indicating the change of format (folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo) only. In all of these sections, there is some attempt to further organize items by subject or language, but this is variably and inconsistently implemented. For example, the quarto 'French, Italian,

⁹ Heidenreich, p. XIII.

Spanish' section roughly adheres to the titular order from 500 to 529, but items 530 to 583 are a jumble of all three languages with no organizing pattern. Furthermore, the various sections not only have an even distribution of specific texts and authors used by Defoe, but also contain comparable representations of his general areas of interest.

Biographical analysis of Philips Farewell has been of more practical use, but it remains an inconclusive and uncertain method of attribution, due to his obscurity and the known breadth of Defoe's reading. Scholars working on the Defoe catalogue¹⁰ have assembled the basic framework of Farewell's life from the few relevant sources, such as John and J.A. Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and other college records,¹¹ subscription lists,¹² Farewell's few surviving letters,¹³ and the diary, letters and other papers of Archbishop William Wake.¹⁴ Using this material, they have aimed to construct the fullest possible profile of Farewell, as a credible basis for conjecture on his contribution to the catalogue. Philips Farewell was born around 1688 and attended Westminster School as a Queens' Scholar. He then attended Trinity College, where he spent the majority of his life. He became a Scholar in 1707, a Fellow in 1712, and a Tutor in 1717, and gained his B.A. in 1709/10, his M.A. in 1717, and his D.D. in 1730. His closest known connection at Trinity College was with Archbishop William Wake, with whom he resided for an undetermined period at Lambeth, and at whose dinner parties he was a fixture.

¹⁰ The three scholars who have worked most extensively on Farewell's biography are G.A. Aitken, Heidenreich and C.R. Kropf, whose contributions are discussed at length in Chapters 1 and 2.

¹¹ John and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-27), vol. VI, part I, p. 124b.

¹² Heidenreich cites Thomas Brodrick's *Compleat History of the Wars in the Netherlands* (p. XXIX).

¹³ Phillips Farewell, 'Two letters to Dr. John Colbatch', (Oct 13, 1716; Jan 1 1723/1724). Cited in Heidenreich, p. XLVII.

¹⁴ Heidenreich, pp. XXX-I; C.R. Kropf, 'The Sale of Defoe's Library', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65 (1971), 123-31 (pp. 128-29).

He was ordained Deacon in 1730, and appointed Rector of Clipsham, Rutland that same year, filling this role for only a few months before his death in December 1730.¹⁵ As Farewell appears to have had 'no literary ambitions, for no printed work of his is known and information about his short life is scanty',¹⁶ scholars have had to base their conjecture about his intellectual interests on what is known about his social circles and his academic environment. Heidenreich and Kropf have both tentatively concurred with Aitken's conclusion that Farewell's background makes him the more probable owner of the 'theological and classical literature', and also with his concession that Farewell's biography is an uncertain resolution of the attribution question.

The third approach to the attribution problem turns to Defoe's biography and writings for confirmation of his knowledge of a given title, or represented subject. And while it is the most labour-intensive method, it is also the most credible. As this chapter's critical review will show, this has been the method most commonly used by most scholars incorporating the catalogue into a broader study, and the abundance of examples in the following critical history prevents the need for a more detailed summary here. It should also be noted, however, that this method is central to the specialist catalogue studies of Heidenreich, Kropf and Kelly, and their specific approaches will be analysed in detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁵ Heidenreich, p. XXIX; Kropf, p. 126.

¹⁶ Heidenreich, p. XXVIII.

Critical history of catalogue usage: Aitken to Dottin (1895-1924)

Although scholars first became aware of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue in 1869, through William Lee's reproduction of an advertisement for the sale, no copies were believed to have survived.¹⁷ In 1895, George A. Aitken refuted this widespread belief when he discovered a complete copy of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue in the British Museum and published a report of his findings in the *Athenaeum*.¹⁸ Despite its brevity, this article covers the major points of all subsequent catalogue study. Aitken begins his analysis by quoting the full text of the title page, which describes the two parties whose books are contained in this sale, and outlines the problem of ownership, expressing his disappointment that 'the bookseller has not distinguished between the books belonging to Dr. Farewell and those from Defoe's collection'.¹⁹ He devotes most of his analysis to dividing the material between the two libraries, offering conjecture on the probable reading of a Trinity College fellow and Doctor of Divinity. Farewell is determined to be the likelier owner of the scientific and mathematical material, some of the French and Spanish items, and is tentatively awarded 'the large array of theological and classical material ... [and] the books on canon law, medals and coins'.²⁰ The remainder of the items are cautiously attributed to Defoe, although Aitken acknowledges that such a broad division is likely to 'pass over not a few works of Defoe's, but that is unavoidable'.

¹⁷ See William Lee, *Daniel Defoe: His Life and Recently Discovered Writings 1716-1729*, 3 vols (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869), vol. I, 470-71; and Thomas Wright, *The Life of Defoe* (London, Paris & Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1894), pp. 388-89, both of which reproduced in full the advertisement for the Defoe/Farewell sale in *The Daily Advertiser* (13 Nov. 1731).

¹⁸ G.A. Aitken, 'Defoe's Library', *Athenaeum*, 3527 (June 1, 1895), 706-07.

¹⁹ Aitken, p. 706.

²⁰ Aitken, p. 706-07.

In some cases, therefore, we are unable to say positively that a certain book was Defoe's, but we shall not be far wrong if we set on one side certain classes of works as Dr. Farewell's, and attribute the remainder to the library of the great writer so incongruously coupled with the fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.²¹

Noting the underrepresentation of Defoe's own writings, Aitken also originates the theory that the catalogue 'does not contain the whole of those [books] which must have been in Defoe's library', and that the absent items were most likely given to Defoe's son Benjamin Norton Defoe or Henry Baker. However, the most important feature of this short article is the list of approximately 313 titles which Aitken has identified as belonging to Defoe, which had a major influence on source studies in the first half of the twentieth century. Aitken believes this list to be an incomplete reflection of Defoe's true contribution to the catalogue, but offers this list with the justification of the certainty of these attributions:

I have not, of course, been able to quote all the works in this Catalogue which were probably Defoe's; but the list here given is of interest not only because the books were Defoe's, but as a specimen of the sort of library which was formed by a man of letters in the early years of the last century.²²

As the selection of specified titles is based entirely on Aitken's personal evaluation of the catalogue's contents, it is unsurprising to discover that it does not accurately reflect the catalogue's true spectrum of subjects, and their relative proportions. In general, the areas with

²¹ Aitken, p. 706.

²² Aitken, p. 707.

the most obvious relevance to Defoe's best-known writings are prioritized and categories outside these boundaries, or where Aitken assumes Farewell's probable ownership, are deemphasized.

Something of Aitken's methods of selection may be reflected in the article's division of items between Defoe and Farewell. Describing the catalogue's contents in order, Aitken comes to 'many works on French history, Spanish works and books on physics and mathematics, which may have belonged to Dr. Farewell'.²³ Although his phrasing makes it unclear whether Farewell is the possible owner of all three categories, or only the books on physics and mathematics, his selection of material suggests the latter. Works in French or Spanish (or in English translation) or on related subjects are well-represented in this list, comprising 36 out of 313 items – a moderately accurate reflection of their prominence in the full catalogue. (The representation of Italian and Dutch works here also reflects something of their presence in the full catalogue, with 7 items.) In contrast, the selection of scientific and mathematical works gives no accurate indication of these subjects' prominence in the full catalogue. Here, Aitken lists only three works: Boyle's *Hydrostatical Paradoxes* (1666), Walcot's *On Sea-Water made Fresh and Wholesome* (1702), and Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (1711). The catalogue's medical texts are similarly underrepresented, as Aitken lists only three works with a direct connection to *A Journal of the Plague Year*,²⁴ as well as a miscellaneous book of herbal remedies. This omission is likely motivated by Aitken's cautious attribution of the catalogue's Latin and Greek works to Farewell, which also explains the absence of classical literature and certain theological works from the list. It is therefore unsurprising to find that travel and voyage literature and

²³ Aitken, p. 707.

²⁴ *A New Theory of Acute and Slow Continued Fevers* (1722); *Necessary Directions for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague* (1665); *Kemp's Treatise of the Nature and Cause and Cure of the Pestilence* (1665).

geographical works dominate the largest categories on Aitken's list. Approximately 53 items fall into this category, and they are listed below:

1. Fryer's Travels to the East Indies and Persia, 1698
2. Ambassador's Travels to Muscovy, &c. 1662
3. Hakluyt's Voyages, 1589
4. Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, 1670
5. Robert's Merchant's Map of Commerce, 1700
6. Purchas's Relations of the World, 1622
7. Stephens' World of Wonders, 1607
8. Raleigh's History of the World (very fine copy)
9. Camden's Britannia, 1695
10. Ogilby's Description of England and Wales, 1698
11. Several Embassies and Voyages to Japan, 1670
12. Knox's History of Ceylon, 1681
13. Ramusio's Navigazione et Viaggi, vol iii., 1606
14. Tournefort's Voyage into the Levant, 1718
15. Frezier's Voyage to the South Sea, 1717
16. Carew's Cornwall, 1723
17. Norden's Middlesex and Hertfordshire, 1723
18. Randolph's State of the Islands in the Archipelago, 1687
19. Voyage de Sieur de Stochove, 1630-4
20. L'India Orientale, descrit. De Abbat Tosi, 1676
21. Norden's Delineation of Northamptonshire, 1720
22. Molesworth's Denmark (large paper), 1694
23. A Journey through England, 2 vols, 1722
24. Wafer's Isthmus of America, 1699
25. Betagh's Voyage round the World, 1728
26. Froger's Voyage to Africa, 1698
27. Wallace's Account of Orkney, 1700
28. Villault's Voyage to Guinea, 1670
29. Childrey's Rarities of England, Scotland, and Wales, 1661
30. Allingham's Nature and Use of Maps, 1703
31. Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, 1699
32. Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, 1699
33. Viaggio nel Regno del Congo, 1674
34. M. de Duc's Voyage à la Chine, 1700
35. B. de las Casas's Histoire des Indes Occidentales, 1642
36. Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, 1677
37. Description of Loo, 1699
38. Dunton's Description of New York
39. Coriate's Greeting from the Court of the Great Mogul, 1616

40. Smith's View of Guinea
41. Sandys's Travels, 1670
42. White's Account of the Trade to the East Indies, 1691
43. Breval's Travels, 1726
44. Whitbourne's Discovery of Newfoundland
45. Narrative of Sir G. Rooke's Voyage to the Mediterranean, 1704
46. Blount's Voyage into the Levant, 1636
47. History of the Inquisition at Goa, 1688
48. Mather's history of the Wars with the Indians in New England, 1676
49. A True Account of what happened to the great Spanish Fleet and Galleons of Terra Firma in America, 1623
50. Journal de la Cour de la Chine, 1726
51. History of the Buccaniers of America, 1699
52. Sibbald's Scotia Illustrata, 1684
53. Kircher's China Illustrata, 1667

This is an almost complete survey of the catalogue's works on geography and travel, which highlights the works with the clearest parallels to Aitken's own areas of interest. However, although these subjects are strongly represented in Defoe/Farewell, Aitken's list gives a disproportionate impression of their prominence. The above list comprises a sixth of Aitken's selection, but less than a hundred of the 2107 items in the full catalogue.²⁵ Moreover, its specification of almost every potential source is done for no other subject. For example, contemporary politics is probably the largest category in the full catalogue, with the pamphlets pushing the numbers into the hundreds, but Aitken lists only 30 relevant titles.

This misrepresentation of the complete catalogue was a logical consequence of the period's dominant critical focus on *Crusoe*, Selkirk and the adventure story, which comprised almost all consideration of his sources. While it is unfair to castigate Aitken too severely for reflecting

²⁵ It is also worth mentioning that my count of Aitken's listed works on travel and geography excludes fields related to travel and voyage literature, such as economics, law and contemporary history and politics, which would push the total number to almost three figures.

critical currents in his selection of material, it is possible to deplore the list's negative effect on future source studies, as its focus on geography and voyage literature may have directed source studies down this particular path, and prevented the catalogue's extensive use in other lines of enquiry.

But even this negative impact was not felt for almost thirty years. The catalogue was surprisingly not taken up by the German philologists who investigated Crusoe's sources, being notably absent from the work of Oscar F.W. Fernsemer,²⁶ Hermann Ullrich²⁷ and Friedrich Wackwitz.²⁸ Neither was it of much interest to the most prominent Anglophone Defoe scholar of the early twentieth century, W.P. Trent, whose outline of the fictional contexts of most relevance to Defoe—chiefly the picaresque novel, the 'scandal fiction' of Aphra Behn and Delarivière Manley, and criminal biography—indicates his awareness of the catalogue's existence (noting that Defoe's library 'was sold in due course') but does not consider its representations of the genres of interest.²⁹ A wider survey of Anglophone scholarship of this period reveals that a similar lack of interest, or a lack of awareness of Aitken's discovery, was prevalent in considerations of the Selkirk myth and explorations of alternative sources.³⁰

²⁶ O.F.W. Fernsemer, 'Daniel Defoe and the Palatine Emigration of 1709: a New View of the Origin of *Robinson Crusoe*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 19 (1920), 94-124. Although this article is in English, I have included Fernsemer among the German scholars because he is clearly working in the German philological tradition, and the majority of his work was published in German.

²⁷ Hermann Ullrich, *Robinson und Robinsonaden. Bibliographie, geschichte, kritik* (Weimar: E. Felber, 1898); *Der Robinson-mythus*, (Leipzig: 1904) and *Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Die Geschichte eines Weltbuches*, (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1924). See also Erwin G. Gudde, 'Defoes Robinson Crusoe. Die Geschichte eines Weltbuches by Hermann Ullrich', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 25, 1 (1926), 132-34 (p. 133-34).

²⁸ Friedrich Wackwitz, *Entstehungsgeschichte von Defoes Robinson Crusoe* (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1909).

²⁹ W.P. Trent, 'Defoe: The Newspaper and the Novel' in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature: An Encyclopaedia in Eighteen Volumes*, ed. by A.W. Ward, A.R. Waller, et. al, 18 vols (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-21; New York: Bartleby.com, 2000) Vol. IX. Last accessed through <www.bartleby.com/219/0117.html> on 8 October 2013.

³⁰ See, for example, A.T.S. Goodrick, 'Robinson Crusoe, Imposter', *Blackwood's Magazine*, 183 (1908), 672-85; W.T. Lynn, 'Robinson Crusoe's Island', *Notes and Queries*, 10, 6 (1906), 225; Charles Wells, 'Defoe and Selkirk at Bristol',

However, there were two fairly extensive pre-Second uses of the catalogue. Watson Nicholson's 1920 *The Historical Sources of Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year* was the first study not only to incorporate the catalogue into its analysis of sources, but to consult the original version rather than Aitken's article – an uncommon practice pre-Heidenreich. Nicholson seeks to prove that in this novel 'not only did [Defoe] copy facts, but also the very language, from the originals'.³¹ The Defoe/Farewell catalogue was one aspect of the extensive research he carried out at the British Museum and at the Public Records Office, but, it plays a rather limited and peripheral role in his thesis.³² Nicholson does not survey all the relevant material in the full catalogue, nor does he highlight its inclusion of several of the works highlights as potential sources. Although it contains Diemerbroeck's *De Peste*,³³ Kemp's *A Brief Treatise of the Nature and Cause and Cure of the Pestilence*,³⁴ and Thucydides' *History*,³⁵ Nicholson ignores this point, possibly because the evident parallels in his chosen extracts make further substantiation of their influence on *Journal of the Plague Year* seem unnecessary.

Instead, he invokes the catalogue in connection with vague and rather general contexts, which are peripheral to his main points of interest. Discussing Defoe's interest in ghost stories and

Academy, 69 (1905), 1357-58; John B. Wainwright, 'Robinson Crusoe's Island', *Notes and Queries*, 12, 8 (1921), 415-16; and Bennet Copplestone [Frederick Harcourt Kitchin.] 'Alexander Selkirk's 'Desert Island', in *Dead Men's Tales* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1926), pp. 1-21.

³¹ Watson Nicholson, *The Historical Sources of Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year* (Boston: Stratford, 1920), p. 33.

³² Nicholson, pp. v-vi.

³³ Nicholson, p. 8.

³⁴ Nicholson, pp. 70, 97-8.

³⁵ Nicholson, pp. 97, 137-8.

superstitions, he notes only that 'his own library contained any number of examples'.³⁶ In a brief consideration of the influence of popular sermons and meditations on Defoe's language, Nicholson notes that there were 'more than one hundred' works by Simon Patrick in print by 1722, 'several of which Defoe had in his own library'.³⁷ However, only one of these titles, *Consolatory Discourse* (1665) is analysed (for its influence on Defoe's use of the 91st Psalm), and its possible presence in the catalogue is ignored.³⁸ Nicholson traces only two specific works back to the Defoe/Farewell catalogue: Goodall's 1684 *College of Physicians*, which 'was in Defoe's library at the time of his death'. He uses this work to argue that the 'Dr. Heath' of the *Journal* was a fictionalized version of Nathaniel Hodges (whose *Loimologia* was a major source), noting the characteristics Hodges shares with the Sir Robert Heath profiled by Goodall.³⁹ He also notes the presence of Nostradamus's *Prophecies* in the catalogue 'among other books of a similar character',⁴⁰ but offers no further details or analysis.

In *Daniel Defoe et ses Romans*, Paul Dottin incorporates the catalogue into both his biography of Defoe and his literary analysis. In keeping with the contemporary focus on *Crusoe* and Selkirk, Dottin devotes most of his attention to *Crusoe's* sources, arguing that '[Defoe's] bibliothèque était abondamment pourvue de livres d'aventures et de relations d'explorateurs' as well as many 'cartes détaillées de certaines régions du globe' and comprehensively lists 22 relevant items Defoe 'avait sous la main' during *Crusoe's* composition. All of the listed titles are

³⁶ Nicholson, p. 17.

³⁷ Nicholson, p. 32.

³⁸ Nicholson, p. 81. This work may be included in Defoe/Farewell 637, a 1719 collection of Patrick's sermons on contentment. The edition Heidenreich lists, entitled *Fifteen sermons upon contentment*, includes *Consolatory Discourse*.

³⁹ Nicholson, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Nicholson, p. 68.

drawn from Aitken, with the exception of 'une *Histoire des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, par Maffée* (Paris, 1665) ... les *Voyages du Sieur le Maire en Afrique* (1695) ... [and] une *Histoire naturelle des îles Antilles de l'Amerique*, imprimée à Rotterdam en 1665'.⁴¹ Of this group, only Raleigh and *Voyages du Sieur le Maire en Afrique* receive further specific analysis, with evidence of Defoe's knowledge of these works respectively located in *Serious Reflections* and *Captain Singleton*. The rest are used solely to illustrate the breadth of Defoe's reading on travel and geography, as Dottin concentrates primarily on Selkirk/Woodes Rogers and on evaluating sources proposed by Goodrick, with no connection to the catalogue. Although his linkage of Knox's *Ceylon* to both *Crusoe* and *Captain Singleton* anticipates Secord, Dottin does not provide the same level of comparative analysis.⁴² However, he does propose that his findings indicate the catalogue's greater potential for investigations of *Crusoe's* sources, suggesting further investigation of its maps, texts on commerce and trade, and the 1665 *Histoire naturelle des îles Antilles de l'Amerique*.⁴³

Secord to Novak (1924-63)

The first English study to give the catalogue a major role was Arthur Wellesley Secord's 1924 *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe*, whose extensive use of Aitken's work had a major influence on the next generation of scholars. A critique of earlier source studies plays a central role in his argument for the centrality of voyage literature to any consideration of Defoe's sources. He argues that scholars have shown a deplorable lack of interest in identifying and

⁴¹ Paul Dottin, *Daniel Defoe et ses Romans*, 3 vols (Paris/Oxford: Les Presses Universitaires de France/ Oxford University Press, 1924), vol. II, 298-99.

⁴² Dottin, *Daniel Defoe et ses Romans*, II, 298-99, 629, 634-35.

⁴³ Dottin, *Daniel Defoe et ses Romans*, II, 299.

analysing the specific materials used by Defoe, instead erroneously concentrating on the Selkirk legend. However, he identifies three major exceptions to this rule: Nicholson, Friedrich Wackwitz, and particularly Aitken, whose work comprises the most thorough consideration of the problem to date, albeit with significant deficiencies in critical analysis:

There have been some serious efforts to throw light on Defoe's sources, chiefly by Mr. Aitken, but these have been limited to dogmatic mentions of works by title with no attempt to set forth in detail his indebtedness to each.⁴⁴

Secord aims to correct this deficiency by both identifying and analysing Defoe's use of specific sources. A significant part of his framing of this project is its continuity with, and development of, Aitken's work on Defoe's sources. Secord offers precise criticism of Aitken's limitations, stating that he 'has done little in the matter of sources beyond a dogmatic citation of certain works which he thinks Defoe may have used'. However, he tempers this view with the conclusion that Aitken's 'judgment on Defoe is always sane'. It is therefore unsurprising to find that Secord's thesis is, to a large extent, an amendment and expansion of Aitken's work on source study. He aims to provide the very supplements whose necessity he has identified: extensive and detailed comparative analyses of potential sources, definitions of Defoe's major contexts, and illumination of the materials and methods used in Defoe's creative process. It is in the latter that Secord locates the main value of this project, asserting that 'the ultimate goal is not the mere discovery of sources, but the ascertaining of Defoe's method of working'.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Arthur Wellesley Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe* (1924, repr. New York, Russell, 1963), p. 18.

⁴⁵ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 19-20.

It is worth remembering this point when considering Hunter's critique of Secord's flaws, where the charges of dogmatism and literalism ironically echo Secord's comments on Aitken. The substantial emphasis on Defoe's creative synthesis and transformation of materials –while it may have been stronger in intent than in reality– was actually one of Secord's most important innovations, as discussions of Defoe's conscious artistry were almost entirely absent from the critical landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where Defoe was most often characterized as an untaught, 'accidental' genius,⁴⁶ and the question of his 'plagiarism' of Selkirk continued to receive serious consideration.⁴⁷ Secord not only extended source study beyond the tedious Selkirk question, he presented a model for the consideration of Defoe's creative transformation of both specific sources and broader textual contexts.

Like most of his contemporaries, Secord focused most of his attention on the sources of *Robinson Crusoe* (and Defoe's other travel narratives). His argument that travel, voyage and geographic literature was 'of the greatest importance to the student of Defoe's literary procedure'⁴⁸ in these works was based on his detection of Defoe's use of sources drawn from three broad categories within the relevant genres, which he identifies as being used in three distinct ways. Firstly, there are the travel and geographical narratives dealing with widely-known routes and destinations, which supplied Defoe with a general knowledge that precludes the need for a specific source model. Secondly, there are the travel narratives and geographic works on less widely-known routes and locations, such as Ceylon, China, Russia, Central and South America and the African interior. Defoe's use of sources in this category, Secord argues,

⁴⁶ See for example Leslie Stephen, 'Defoe's Novels', in *Hours in a Library*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1917) vol. 1, 32, 36-37.

⁴⁷ For a good example of the remarkable persistence of this idea, see Goodrick's 'Robinson Crusoe, Impostor' which frames its even-handed exploration of Defoe's non-Selkirk sources as a defence of Defoe against charges of 'plagiarism'.

⁴⁸ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 19.

tends to be rather explicit and unmodified. He inserts passages, episodes, and details into his narratives without taking much care to obscure his borrowings. A more indirect and complex model of usage tends only to be seen in the final category of island stories, and other possible inspirations for Part I of *Crusoe*.

It must be understood that for two reasons the problem of sources for part one [of *Robinson Crusoe*] is not that for parts two and three. In the first place, dealing with a single locality and working out a definite line of action, Defoe is compelled in the island story to go to greater lengths to disguise his materials borrowed from published sources so that those borrowings may not appear.⁴⁹

This category not only involves the highest degree of disguise, but the greatest amount of creative transformation, since pre-*Crusoe* 'studies of life on desert islands ... were, with few exceptions, neither long nor detailed,' Defoe had to use his imagination, or borrow from other sources, to supply the rich physical and psychological details that distinguish the novel.⁵⁰ This, he argues, produces a more diverse range of potential influences than is found in either of the other categories, as his results extend beyond travel literature to include 'a number of other accounts of solitary and isolated life, though not in every case is the subject alone in his solitude'.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 26-27.

⁵¹ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 28.

Unsurprisingly, Aitken's list plays an important role in Secord's exploration of all three source categories. It is regularly invoked to prove that travel literature was the central context of Defoe's creative process, as its prominence in Aitken's list is repeatedly linked with Defoe's own statements:

It is well known that Defoe's acquaintance with writings of this character was wide. A glance at the partial list of books in his library reveals the presence of a remarkable number of works of travel both by land and by sea. One is amazed at his knowledge of distant places. Nothing that they had to offer was foreign to his interests ... A man may, he says, ⁵² 'go round the world with Dampier and Rogers, and know a thousand times more in doing it than all those illiterate sailors' ... This we may be sure (as Mr. Aitken has remarked), ⁵³ Defoe had done.⁵⁴

Moreover, Secord (unlike Nicholson) regularly cites an item's presence in the catalogue as part of his argument for its relevance as a source. His analysis of the *Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelso* notes that it was not only an 'unmistakable' influence on *Captain Singleton*, but it was also 'in Defoe's library' (in Olearius's *Voyages and Travels of The Ambassadors*).⁵⁵ He similarly highlights the catalogue's inclusion of Exquemelin's and Ringrose's *The Bucaniers of America*, Wafer's *Isthmus of America*, Dellon's *History of the Inquisition as it is Exercised at Goa*, and Raleigh's *History of the World*.⁵⁶ He turns to the

⁵² Here, Secord is citing Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman*.

⁵³ Secord cites Aitken, *Introduction to Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe*, 16 vols (London, J.M Dent, 1895) vol. 1, p. xlv.

⁵⁴ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁵ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 28.

⁵⁶ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 93-94, 115, 117, 224.

catalogue when investigating the extent of Defoe's Dutch proficiency –and the consequent viability of *The Narrative of the El-Ho, Sjouke Gabbes: An Episode from the Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* as a source—stating that he had 'just discovered that a Dutch grammar is listed by Mr. Aitken as one of the books in Defoe's library'.⁵⁷ (Interestingly, Secord shared this information with Julius Goebel, whose April 1923 review of Lucius L. Hubbard's translation of *Krinke Kesmes* credits Secord with having 'the kindness to call to the writer's attention...the highly interesting list of books in Defoe's library').⁵⁸

However, although the catalogue is a cornerstone of Secord's argument, his use of this resource is more limited and problematic than it initially appears. Instead of consulting the complete edition, he has drawn all of his information on the catalogue solely from Aitken's list. While geographical distance is certainly a valid excuse for the American-based Secord, the omission becomes less understandable in the light of his access to a research assistant at the British Museum, who does not seem to have carried out any research involving the original document.⁵⁹ Secord's reliance on a partial list of the catalogue's contents is a significant limitation and methodological flaw, although Aitken's aforementioned focus on travel and geographic literature means that his exploration of this category's representation in the inventory is almost complete. However, *Studies in the Narrative Methods of Defoe* may be the first example of the cumulative effect of Aitken's item selection, with an over-representation of travel and geographic literature leading to the question of Defoe's sources being framed with almost exclusive reference to these genres. Despite its limitations and problems, Secord's

⁵⁷ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 104.

⁵⁸ Julius Goebel, 'The Dutch Source of *Robinson Crusoe*', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 22 (1923) 302-13, (p. 303)

⁵⁹ Secord thanks 'Dr. Ruth Kelso, who read for me several otherwise inaccessible works in the British Museum' (p. 8)

study was the most extensive use of the catalogue of its period, and was also a work whose influence cannot be overstated, regarding subsequent scholars' treatment of Defoe's sources and how they used the catalogue. With regard to the latter point, not only did Secord's methodology become the model for similar studies, but it was often also used as a *source* on the catalogue's contents –alone, or in conjunction with Aitken's article, replacing consultation of the original resource.

This manner of usage is exemplified in Ernest A Baker's lengthy discussion of Defoe in *The History of the English Novel*. It includes comprehensive analyses of Defoe's sources that incorporate the extant research into Defoe's 'actual or supposed originals', arguing that 'to trace Defoe's sources, to see how much he took from them and how he used it, is the right way to study his workmanship'.⁶⁰ Baker's survey of sources takes cues from Trent as well as Secord, balancing the focus on travel literature and *Crusoe* and *Captain Singleton* with an analysis of Defoe's relationship to extant fictional traditions, particularly the Spanish picaresque novel and 'popular examples of the novel of gallantry [such as] the various histories and semi-fictional memoirs of Mrs. Aphra Behn, Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Haywood'.⁶¹ However, although both Aitken's list and the complete catalogue contain several items related to these categories,⁶² Baker does not investigate this resource, but instead summarizes Dottin, Nicholson and Secord's findings.⁶³ Secord's 'landmark in the study of Defoe'⁶⁴ is the major

⁶⁰ Ernest A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel*, 10 vols. (1929, repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969) vol. III, 147.

⁶¹ Baker, vol. III, 209-10.

⁶² Among the relevant novels Aitken lists are a 1688 edition of *The Duchess of Cleves*, a 1691 edition of Davies' *The Triumphs of Female Subtlety* and two undated works: *The Female Deserters* and *The Female Virtuosos*. The 1667 edition of Katherine Phillips' (the 'Matchless Orinda') poems and the 1665 Countess of Pembroke's *Arcadia* also deserve further examination in this context, as does the catalogue's collection of female criminal memoirs and trial narratives.

⁶³ Baker, vol. III, 133, 148, 185-86, 200.

⁶⁴ Baker, vol. III, 185.

influence here, as the source of both the majority of the specified sources and the assertion of Defoe's creative agency in their use. As with Secord, Baker's astute suggestion of the layers of appropriation, artifice, and transformation involved Defoe's realism is an interesting corrective to later charges of source studies' incompatibility with explorations of Defoe's artistry.⁶⁵

The Defoe/Farewell colleague plays a prominent new role in the work of J.R. Moore, although James Kelly has singled out his usage of it as an exemplar of insufficiently rigorous practice.⁶⁶ While Moore's approach is perhaps not as fundamentally unsound as Kelly states, it does demonstrate some of the consistent flaws of pre-Heidenreich scholarship: overreliance on secondary sources, vagueness and inconsistent practice, and (more than any other source previously examined) overly speculative conclusions based too heavily on an item's mere presence in the catalogue.

In *Defoe in the Pillory*, Moore argues for Defoe's authorship of *The History of The Pirates* with the theory that 'of the abler English writers in 1724-1726, Defoe was unique in possessing all the qualifications necessary for writing an elaborate history of piracy'.⁶⁷ He substantiates this assertion through a comparative analysis of Defoe's known writings on relevant topics, and a summary of the 'really astonishing' extent of his knowledge of geography, which allowed him to ridicule the errors of contemporaries like John Macky and Hermann Moll.⁶⁸ The catalogue is explicitly connected to all these arguments, as Moore notes how 'Defoe's library was stocked

⁶⁵ Baker, vol. III, 147.

⁶⁶ James Kelly, 'Defoe's Library', *Library*, 3, 3 (2002), 284-301 (pp. 297-98).

⁶⁷ John Robert Moore, *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies* (1939, repr. Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Press, 1969), p. 134.

⁶⁸ Moore, *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies*, pp. 135-36.

with books of travel, exploration, and piracy' and suggests that potential sources might be found here. However, he neither engages with the attribution problem nor provides any detailed analysis of this material, his 'evidence' for this point consisting of citation of Aitken's article, without any analysis of its contents.⁶⁹

The catalogue is similarly invoked as evidence in 'Defoe's Sources for 'Robert Drury's Journal', but this time Moore supports his claims with specific titles and detailed analysis. However, he does emphasize that these findings are somewhat transferrable to his earlier work, arguing that as the two volumes of *The History of The Pirates* were 'not only based on much the same materials [as Drury] but were probably written at very nearly the same time',⁷⁰ his source analysis here is also applicable to *The History of the Pirates*. In this monograph, Secord's *Studies in the Narrative Methods of Defoe* is a frequent reference point and source, one which Moore even thanks for its 'stimulus'.⁷¹ Unsurprisingly, his source analysis replicates Secord's focus on travel narratives and geographical works, offering analyses of the following works: Robert Knox's *Ceylon*, the *Atlas Geographus*, and Robert Everard's *Relation*, John Benbow's journal, Flacourt's map, his *Histoire* and his *Relation*, and the 1665 Blaeu *Grooten Atlas*. Of this list, only *Ceylon* is in Aitken's list, and Moore uses both Secord's analysis and the work's presence in Defoe's library to prove that *Ceylon* is 'recognized as one of the important sources of *Captain Singleton* and of *Robinson Crusoe*'.⁷² These established parallels between *Ceylon* and *Robert Drury's Journal* are all that Moore believes necessary to prove Defoe's authorship.

⁶⁹ Moore, *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies*, p. 135.

⁷⁰ J.R. Moore and William Minet, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', in *Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series No. 9* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1943), p.5

⁷¹ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p. 6.

⁷² Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', pp. 29, 36.

While this conclusion (and the attribution) is questionable,⁷³ consideration of the attribution problem would arguably make this a credible and valid use of the catalogue. Moore has selected an item with a clear connection to Defoe's reliably-attributed writings,⁷⁴ and is analysing a hitherto unattributed text for connections to both the source and Defoe's other fictions. *Ceylon* is a strong potential link between *Drury* and *Crusoe/Singleton* that merits further investigation.

However, Moore's use of the catalogue is sometimes stretched past credibility. Although Everard's work is absent from both Aitken's list and the full inventory, Moore is especially interested in this resource, and is keen to find proof of its presence in Defoe's library. To do this, Moore draws a long bow. First, he notes a 'pervasive Cockney pronunciation which underlies many words and names in the book, and which points towards considerable reliance on oral communication',⁷⁵ and concludes that 'many of its details must have come from unpublished manuscripts or from oral communications'.⁷⁶ He then seeks to position Defoe as a collector of manuscripts of this type:

Defoe had not only been a great collector of books of travels; there is in the *Tour* ... an extensive reference to two manuscripts which he had consulted in preparing his own

⁷³ See P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions: a critique of J.R. Moore's Checklist* (London/Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 148 (item 511) and *The Canonization of Daniel Defoe* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 109-10 for a detailed argument against Defoe's authorship of *Madagascar: or Robert Drury's Journal*.

⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion of Defoe's use of *Ceylon* in *Captain Singleton*, see Katherine Frank, *Crusoe: Daniel Defoe, Robert Knox and the Creation of Myth* (London: Bodley Head, 2011).

⁷⁵ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p. 5.

⁷⁶ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p. 8.

book, and there are (in the *Review* and elsewhere) a good many references to unidentifiable manuscripts in his possession.⁷⁷

All that remains is to identify the Everard narrative as one of these unidentifiable manuscripts—in spite of the obstacle of its 1732 publication date.⁷⁸ Moore does this by suggesting that the 1732 edition of Churchill's *Voyages* may have 'delayed four years, as the first [1704] edition had been',⁷⁹ allowing Defoe to have read this manuscript in 1729. His conclusion combines these tenuous suppositions with Defoe's wide reading in travel literature and geography, to produce the unfounded idea that it was the dispersal of Defoe's library that *led to* the publication of the Everard manuscript:

[This manuscript] might well have been accessible before 1729 to a specialist in voyages who was intimate with printers and booksellers ... [Defoe's] library was offered for sale by auction beginning Nov 15, 1731, and we have some reason to suspect that one of his own writings found its way into the hands of booksellers after his death...It would be a tempting supposition (if one cared to hazard it) that Defoe owned the original manuscript of the Everard narrative, and that it came on the market in 1732 as the result of his death and the consequent dispersal of his literary treasures.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p. 38.

⁷⁸ Included in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Translated out of Foreign Languages, and now First Published in English. To which are added, Some Few that have formerly appeared in English, but do now, for their Excellency and Scarceness, deserve to be Reprinted*, 6 vols (London: for Messrs. Churchill 1732), vol. VI, 257-82.

⁷⁹ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p.38.

⁸⁰ Moore, 'Defoe's Sources for "Robert Drury's Journal"', p. 38.

This 'tempting supposition' receives a large amount of substantiation and analysis in-text, and exemplifies the type of overconfident and under critical use of the catalogue that Kelly condemns in Moore's work.⁸¹ It is pure conjecture, which lacks even a substantial body of circumstantial evidence: the sole reference Moore supplies is for the post-mortem dispersal of Defoe's own writings, and this comes from his own *Defoe in the Pillory*.⁸²

The remarkable growth of Defoe studies between the 1940s and late 1960s produced a surge of critical interest in Defoe's religious, political and cultural contexts, his non-fiction writings, and the deliberate artistry of his fiction. However, the catalogue remained remarkably unaffected by these critical currents, retaining its peripheral and neglected position until the early 1960s. Secord and Moore remained the most prominent and explicit users of this resource during the 1940s and 1950s, and their work tended to follow the patterns outlined above.⁸³ Such was the catalogue's obscurity that a reiteration of Lee's belief that 'no copy of this intriguing catalogue appears to have survived' could be heard as late as 1960, in an anonymous discussion of a recent Defoe exhibition, which also suggested that 'Moore is certainly not the only bibliographer who would wish to be told the contrary'.⁸⁴ However, this period did produce two brief articles on the catalogue, which are notable for their primary research. 'Defoe at Yale', an anonymous 1948 article,⁸⁵ comprehensively reviews the

⁸¹ Kelly, 296-98.

⁸² Moore, *Defoe in the Pillory*, p. 101.

⁸³ See, for example, J.R. Moore, 'The *Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe*', *The Review of English Studies*, 21, 81 (1945), 52-56 (p.53); Arthur W. Secord, *Robert Drury's Journal and other Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961).

⁸⁴ Anon. 'Commentary', *Book Collector*, 9, 3(1960) 269.

⁸⁵ 'Friday', 'Defoe at Yale: I: The Yale Defoe Collection, II: Defoeana and Defoe's Library', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 22 (1948), 99-115 (pp. 109-11).

catalogue's history and its problems, and evaluates the potential use of the Beineke collections in this context. The author finds Aitken's resolution of the attribution question unsatisfactory, emphasizing the enduring difficulties in identifying both owners and titles, and proposing a new method of addressing the attribution problem.⁸⁶

By utilizing the sales catalogue as a manual for detecting the sources of Defoe's ideas, opinions and quotations, we are at least able in this vast alluvium to fix on the books he actually read and used. If, for instance, we discern a strict parallel between Defoe's references to the Noss of Brassah in his *Life of Duncan Campbell* and those of Johannes Scheffer in his *History of Lapland*, we are at least presumptively safe in designating the *History* as Defoe's book, not Farewell's.⁸⁷

Basic as it may seem, this is the most substantial and nuanced explicit commentary on the attribution question to date, emphasizing recourse to Defoe's own writings over estimations of his spheres of interest. (While Secord and Moore certainly consulted Defoe's writings extensively, they did not establish any such hierarchy of evidence. Moreover, Friday demonstrates the tenability of this method with an analysis of the library's Scottish material, which is assessed against Defoe's background and writing.⁸⁸ The author's research into the original catalogue is demonstrated by a lengthy analysis of the difficulties of item identification, which remains the most comprehensive treatment of the subject. (Even Heidenreich, whose edition is valued for its correction and provision of titular information, does not explore the difficulties as thoroughly.) The following passage is quoted at length, to

⁸⁶ 'Friday', p. 110.

⁸⁷ 'Friday', p. 112.

⁸⁸ 'Friday', p. 113.

indicate the rigour of Friday's methodology and research, and the extent to which his work represents an advance on previous scholarship:

It remains only to mention what was undoubtedly obvious at the outset, that all books in the catalogue must be precisely identified. While virtually all the listings report title, author, date and place of publication, we are sometimes confronted with such meagre entries as 'Biblia Español,;' or 'A Fine Description of Paintings, &c.:'; or 'Il Petrarca.'

Now and then a teasing error in spelling occurs, such as 'Barham of Sick-Worms, 1719'.

We may spend a dark half-hour at the card catalogue before light comes, revealing *A Compendious Account of the Whole Art of Breeding, Nursing, and the Right Ordering of the Silk-worm*, by Thomas Boreman. Occasionally, we must pursue the author through several entries, for example, the numbers 649, 650 and 678. The first states 'Lively Oracles, by the Author of the W. Duty of Man. Oxon. 1678'; the second 'Government of the Tongue, ditto 1674'; and the third 'The Art of Contentment, 1689.' It turns out that Richard Allestree (1619-1681) was the probable author of not only *The Whole Duty of Man*, but of the other two books.

If these treatises belonged to Defoe, Allestree must have been one of his favourite moralists, for in Dialogue IV of his *The Family Instructor* (1715), *The Whole Duty of Man* was the book substituted for the poisonous novels read by the wayward daughter...⁸⁹

⁸⁹ 'Friday', p. 114.

The author concludes by noting with satisfaction that ‘the work of identifying these volumes at Yale has been gratifyingly successful’ as ‘at least three-quarters of the titles may be found in the Library, and that by far the majority of these are the precise editions listed in the sales catalogue’.⁹⁰ But surprisingly, these discoveries had no direct effect on Defoe studies.

Heidenreich concludes by stating that ‘I have no knowledge that these results were made available in print’; whether they played a role in his own edition is unstated, but his reference to the ‘pseudonymous authoress’, which is unsubstantiated by any in-text references to gender, may suggest some contact with the participants in this project.⁹¹

Anne O’Donovan’s 1960 article is a direct refutation of the above-quoted error in the *Book Collector*. Her summary, like Aitken’s, reproduces the catalogue’s title page (albeit in a shortened form), and details the catalogue’s classification number at the British Museum, and the amount of lots it contains in total – information absent from Aitken. She is also the first to note the MS inscription of ‘Sir Hans Sloane’, and to suggest that the catalogue likely arrived at the British Museum through its acquisition of Sloane’s collections. She also offers a brief answer to the attribution question, suggesting that ‘the section ‘Scarce Tracts’ can probably be identified with safety as part of Defoe’s library’,⁹² although she provides no further explanation for this theory.

⁹⁰ ‘Friday’, p. 114.

⁹¹ Heidenreich, p. XLII. I should note here that James Kelly confidently identifies ‘Friday’ as Henry C. Hutchings (‘Defoe’s Library’, p. 289). I have been unable to confirm anything further about the author’s identity or gender, but in any case, Heidenreich’s feminization of ‘Friday’ is particularly interesting, given the still-prevalent masculine default at the time of writing.

⁹² Anne O’Donovan, ‘Sale Catalogue of Defoe’s Library’, *Book Collector*, 9 (1960) 454-55.

Some increase in use of the catalogue was evident in source studies of the early 1960s. Gary Scrimgeour's 'The Problem of Realism in Defoe's *Captain Singleton*', supports the argument for the extent of Defoe's extensive usage of geographical works in this novel by noting the 'many books of geography and travel' in his library, of which he names only John Ogilby's *Africa*.⁹³ Scrimgeour attempts to reconcile straightforward source identification with analysis of Defoe's artistic and ideological selectiveness, arguing that his presentation of Africa consciously rejects a faithful replication of the details in these works for a quasi-polemical presentation of the region's valuable resources and trading potential. Similarly, Jane Jack's *A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's "Roman à Thèse"* presents a comparative analysis of the *New Voyage* and two items in the catalogue, Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin's *The Bucaniers of America* (1678; 1684-85) and Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699). Like Scrimgeour, Jack takes her cue from Secord's emphasis on using sources to explore Defoe's creative transformation of materials –she approvingly notes how he has 'admirably demonstrated the importance of studying the ways in which Defoe has made use of this source material'.⁹⁴ The parallels of topography and incident she describes make a credible case for Exquemelin and Wafer's influence. However, Jack's use of the catalogue is minimal, amounting to a single footnote comment that 'Defoe owned all four parts' of Exquemelin. Neither Aitken nor the original edition is cited as a source, making the extent of her usage uncertain.

The scholar of this period who made the most extensive and comprehensive use of the resource was Maximillian Novak. In both *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* and *Defoe*

⁹³ Gary J. Scrimgeour, 'The Problem of Realism in Defoe's *Captain Singleton*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 27, 1 (Nov., 1963), 21-37 (p. 22).

⁹⁴ Jane H. Jack, 'A New Voyage Round the World: Defoe's "Roman à Thèse"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 24, 4 (1961), 323-36 (p. 332).

and the Nature of Man, Novak explores Defoe's debt to contemporary economists and philosophers of natural law. He is engaged in a similar project to contemporaries such as John Paul Hunter and G.A. Starr: the positioning of Defoe's writings within their broader intellectual contexts, with a focus on his unique syntheses and developments of ideas derived from these source groups. However, Novak's work is distinguished from Starr and Hunter's approach by its refusal to reject and distinguish itself from conventional source study. Instead, he explicitly defines one of his main goals as 'through a careful examination of Defoe's reading, to trace every relevant source',⁹⁵ demonstrates continuity with Secord and Moore's work, and incorporates the catalogue into his arguments.

Whenever possible, Novak locates catalogue support for the bodies of relevant knowledge he outlines. Arguing that 'Defoe was unquestionably familiar with the ideas of almost all the economists who preceded or were contemporary with him', he provides a list of those whom Defoe specifically referenced, and notes the library's representation of the subject through 'Mun and North, and a variety of anonymous works on trade.'⁹⁶ The footnote appended to this section (which includes Payne's item numbers) indicates that Novak has consulted the original copy, rather than relying on Aitken's article, and offers further substantiation by noting the presence of two works by Child, one by Mun, a work on Dutch trade, and a collection of works on establishing and improving British industry, particularly the fisheries.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Maximilian E. Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. v.

⁹⁶ Novak, *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 11.

⁹⁷ See Novak, *Economics*, p. 160, where he cites items 1019, 1177, 1422, 1436, 1454 in Defoe/Farewell.

He also utilizes the catalogue to strengthen his argument that Defoe's explorations of natural law indicate specific knowledge of Grotius and Pufendorf. The rigorous textual analysis of *Defoe and the Nature of Man* is lent further credence through authors' presence in the inventory, as Novak explicitly links the catalogue to his analysis, finding 'references to both Grotius and Pufendorf in Defoe's writings and more than ten volumes of their works listed in the catalogue of his library.'⁹⁸ The extent of their representation is detailed in a footnote again listing the relevant item numbers, in which Novak thanks Moore for having 'kindly called my attention to these items' and briefly considers the attribution question by concluding that 'although Farewell may well have owned some of these books, Defoe's knowledge of law was extensive.'⁹⁹ The extent to which the catalogue contents influenced Novak's decision to focus on Grotius and Pufendorf is questionable: the reference to Moore suggests that the project predated consultation of the catalogue, but it is also notable that the three works by Pufendorf which Novak analyses at length -- *An Introduction to the History of Europe*, *De Officio Hominis et Civis* and *Of the Law of Nature and Nations*— are the only works by Pufendorf in the catalogue.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Novak focuses heavily on Grotius's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, which is item 694 in Defoe/Farewell, and is the sole Grotius work specifically cited in Novak's bibliography. The prominence of these works among contemporary philosophies of natural law makes invocation of the catalogue largely unnecessary, but its presence here is an interesting and indicative feature of Novak's work.

⁹⁸ Novak, *Nature*, p. 68.

⁹⁹ Novak, *Nature*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁰ Defoe/Farewell contains one copy of *De Officio Hominis et Civis* (item 831b) and three copies of *Of the Law of Nature and Nations* (items 127/190/362). It also contains two copies of *Introduction to the History of Europe* (items 912/980a), although these items are not listed by Novak here.

In subsequent decades, Novak's catalogue use has remained remarkably consistent: to cite only one example, the same suggestive and illustrative citation of specific items is found in his 2001 biography, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas*, although Novak here states that 'with the exception of books in Latin on ecclesiastical subjects, the catalogue consists mainly of Defoe's books'.¹⁰¹ The greater confidence on display here is arguably the culmination of two major developments in catalogue study, which will be explored in the next two sections.

1965-70: Hunter, Starr, and criticism of the 'source hunters'

The mid-1960s saw a major shift in Defoe studies, as several emerging scholars began developing a new critical approach better equipped for exploring Defoe's deliberate artistry, and the true diversity and complexity of his intellectual contexts. Novak was a significant figure in this movement, but his use of the catalogue and respect for Moore and Secord distinguished him sharply from contemporaries like Starr and Hunter, who defined their own approach largely through criticism of earlier source studies, and a conscious rejection of the ideas and resources most closely associated with them –including the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. As Hunter's *The Reluctant Pilgrim* provides the most succinct and forceful account of the catalogue's position at this time, it will be the focal point of my analysis here, although other relevant criticisms will be worked in when relevant. Hunter's introduction is something of a manifesto for the new critical movement. He highlights the absolute necessity of a new critical mode, based on the flaws and deficiencies of 'source study', which is historicized as an

¹⁰¹ Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2001), p. 17. See also p. 228.

obsolete approach and ostensibly distinguished from the new investigations of context and creative transformation of source material.

For both Hunter and Starr, the traditional mode of source study has three major flaws. Firstly, it is over-literal and insufficiently analytical, focusing almost entirely on the simple identification of texts known and used by Defoe. Hunter characterizes scholars engaged in this project as 'source hunters' rather than true literary critics, content to locate parallels and borrowings rather than offer insightful analyses.¹⁰² He argues that the previous generation's work was marked by 'a disproportionate concern with outward narrative, and a corresponding neglect of its design or significance'.¹⁰³ Consequently, this process begets the second flaw: the perpetuation of Defoe's characterization as a mere plagiarist or a 'compiler whose art consists in the crafty fusion of unrelated anecdotes',¹⁰⁴ and a subsequent neglect of his complex and idiosyncratic intellectual and creative processes, since his novels are seen as 'conglomerates rather than meaningful structures'.¹⁰⁵ By encouraging the idea that Defoe's narratives 'are reducible to their component parts,' Starr argues, source studies has directly contributed to the delayed recognition of Defoe's artistry.¹⁰⁶ The final flaw relates to the selection of material: both critics argue that the disproportionate emphasis on travel and geographical literature as a Defoe context in source study has led to a limited and inaccurate perception of Defoe's base materials and creative and intellectual scope.

¹⁰² John Paul Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), pp. 6, 13.

¹⁰³ G.A. Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. ix.

¹⁰⁴ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁵ Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, p. ix.

¹⁰⁶ Starr, *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography*, p. ix.

Hunter defines these flaws through a polemical review of source study. He argues that Defoe studies had once included a broad and diverse contextual scope, incorporating 'biography, picaresque romance and moral treatise' into the evaluation of Defoe's fictional achievement. However, he argues that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, scholars began narrowing their focus to travel and geographic literature, producing a body of criticism excessively concerned with the 'adventure-story aspects of [Defoe's] work,' and marked by a 'shift of emphasis from ideas to events'.¹⁰⁷ Source studies, he argues, has become an increasingly inadequate tool for analysing the full extent of Defoe's contexts and qualities, as the search for empirical 'evidence' of source use became increasingly narrow, literal and dogmatic. Although Hunter's hostile critique of 'source hunters' extends to Baker, Moore, Nicholson and Scrimgeour,¹⁰⁸ it is Secord who is the main target, as *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* is treated as the culmination of this flawed and obsolete critical mode. This selection was made 'not because [Secord] is most vulnerable, but because he is the most articulate and detailed of Defoe source students', and because his methods and statements are 'too typical of the evidence and logic of Defoe source study':¹⁰⁹

Source studies of half a century ago are largely responsible for this definition of context. The search for sources turned rather naturally to travel books, for source hunters were first looking for sources of *information*, and travel books were the atlases and geographical encyclopedias of Defoe's day. But the search never really got beyond travel books, for the searchers never really looked beyond factual information,

¹⁰⁷ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, pp. 6-8.

¹⁰⁹ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 13

even though they implied that Defoe's dependence on travel books was almost total and influenced even the structure of books like *Robinson Crusoe*.¹¹⁰

Unsurprisingly, given both the period under consideration and the focus on Secord, the Defoe/Farewell catalogue is a prominent target of Hunter's criticism, as he not only links it to the flaws of source study, but positions it as a resource which directly contributed to them, and which should also be consigned to history. He introduces the catalogue by noting how the 'source hunters' were 'greatly encouraged in their efforts by a strange and surprising bibliographical discovery of 1895', emphasizing its propulsion of the very critical tendencies he denounces:

The authority of Aitken's list has never been seriously challenged, however, and its publication lent considerable support to the growing tendency to pass over Defoe's ideas and his intellectual background in favour of a quest for the sources of his facts on travel literature.¹¹¹

Hunter aims to debunk Aitken's methods by providing such a challenge. And ironically, his exploration of the catalogue's intrinsic problems and the flaws in its usage is a more rigorous evaluation than anything produced by the source scholars. He makes a clear distinction between the complete catalogue and Aitken's list, deftly summarizes the known attribution problems, which are highlighted (along with the likelihood of the inventory being an

¹¹⁰ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 7.

¹¹¹ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 8.

incomplete reflection of Defoe's library) to emphasize the need for caution.¹¹² This overview is then used to measure the failings of the source hunters' use of the catalogue. Here, Hunter rightly notes that most of the extant scholarship has been based on 'Aitken's list, not the catalogue itself', and that there has been an uncritical acceptance of his consideration to the attribution question, which is particularly notable in Secord:

Not all scholars who have used Aitken's list have been careful to note all the conjecture involved and Aitken's own reservations about the limitations of his list... Secord and Baker assume the authority of Aitken's judgment.¹¹³

However, despite these accurate points, Hunter's evaluation of the catalogue itself and its critical history is also significantly flawed. Firstly, he overstates the catalogue's actual role in source studies. As the earlier surveys in this chapter have shown, the catalogue was entirely absent from Goodrick and Trent, and a peripheral presence in Nicholson and Dottin. Secord's work does indeed incorporate this work the most extensively, but its role is still more limited than Hunter suggests. (Strangely, Moore's use, which provides the best material for anyone wishing to discredit use of this resource, goes largely uncriticised). Secondly, the catalogue is not analysed in isolation from the broader critique of source study. Hunter fails to distinguish the resource's actual potential from the narrow and uncritical tendencies of previous use –for example, by detailing the disparity between Aitken's list and the complete catalogue, giving further consideration to the attribution problems, or devising a less literalist model of usage. Instead, he assumes an equivalence between the two, arriving too hastily at the conclusion that the source hunters have exhausted the catalogue's limited potential, and that it has no

¹¹² Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 8.

¹¹³ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 8.

possible benefits for the new mode of context studies. Thirdly, Hunter's characterization of the literalist and dogmatic source scholars implies that a focus on Defoe's artistry is only now developing with this new generation of critics. This gives unfairly short shrift to Secord and Baker's consistent emphasis on exploring Defoe's synthesis and transformation of the specific sources they identified. Both made it clear that insights into Defoe's creative process (and he was credited as an artist) were the goal of source study. Criticism can certainly be made of their *achievements* in this area, but Hunter's interpretation of their intent misrepresents their goals and spheres of interest.

Finally, on a related point, Hunter's desire to distinguish the new critical mode from the old source studies leads him to quote Secord rather selectively. For example, in order to demonstrate the Selkirk-centric nature of *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe*, Hunter cites Secord's own words: 'Selkirk undoubtedly furnished Defoe with the central theme of the story – a fact upon which too much emphasis cannot be laid and which I shall assume as fundamental'.¹¹⁴ In isolation, this does sound like clear proof. However, Hunter omits the other half of this section, where Secord asserts that 'this does not mean, however, that no experiences other than Selkirk's contributed to the account of Crusoe on his island'.¹¹⁵ In his eagerness to establish Secord as the oppositional old guard, Hunter misses the fact that, while Secord's method and focus has obvious limitations, he was actually advocating a broader and less literal approach to source study, trying to move the field *beyond* the Selkirk question, highlighting the relevance of other works and genres. The dichotomy between source and context study established here seems rather false – fundamentally, the difference between the old and the new methods seems to be a broadening of Defoe's contexts and a more complex

¹¹⁴ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 31.

¹¹⁵ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 32.

level of analysis that acknowledges Defoe's artistry. These are *exactly* the improvements that Secord proposed in relation to Aitken's work, and there is an interesting symmetry between Hunter's castigations of the source hunters and Secord's frustrations with Aitken's generation's 'dogmatic mentions of works by title'.¹¹⁶

The extent to which Hunter's position articulated something of a consensus is indicated by the catalogue's absence from other context studies in the same mould. Aside from Novak, none of the emerging generation of scholars makes more than a passing (and often dismissive) reference to this resource. Hunter's hostile critique of source studies was extremely influential, both in its definition of the new generation's interests and goals, and the stigmatization it helped attach to both Secordian source studies and the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. The reverberations of both aspects were enduring, and arguably confirmed the catalogue's marginality.

1970-71: Heidenreich and Kropf's contributions to catalogue study

These critical currents produced a rather unreceptive climate in for the 1970-71 release of the two most comprehensive studies of the catalogue to date. The unfashionable nature of their subject meant that the work of C.R. Kropf and Helmut Heidenreich had little immediate impact, producing no direct critical responses or supplementary scholarship –although Heidenreich's work would come to have a lasting impact, and be installed as the definitive resource. As this chapter is concerned with use of the catalogue in literary and biographical analyses, detailed analysis of his work is confined to Chapter 2's overview of specialist

¹¹⁶ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 23.

catalogue studies; and discussion of Heidenreich will be limited to the positioning of his work within the critical history already outlined.

Heidenreich's work represents the most significant development in catalogue study since Aitken's 1895 *Athenaeum* article, as he published a complete edition of the catalogue, which sought to identify every item in the inventory, rectifying Payne's error-strewn and unclear provision of titles. He also added two important features: a comprehensive index of authors and subjects, and a lengthy introduction that researched the catalogue's background and the attribution problem to the greatest extent to date. His edition not only made the entire catalogue more widely available to scholars, but also made it easier to use, as the index allowed for areas of interest to be located quickly.

Heidenreich's argument that the catalogue deserves the serious attention of Defoe scholars is based on a critical history of its consistent neglect and misuse, which culminates in a direct refutation of Hunter. Lamenting that 'until recently Payne's catalogue has remained virtually unknown to most Defoe scholars,' he reinstalls Aitken at the centre of catalogue study, and (like Hunter) condemns source studies' failure to have 'questioned the arbitrariness of Aitken's selection, or even paid heed to his own warnings about the incompleteness of his extract'. Although there have been laudable efforts to follow up on Aitken's research, such as 'Friday's' project which 'continues to be ignored', Defoe studies' treatment of the catalogue's contents and background has been negligent and inadequate. The greatest flaw is the fact that 'no one seems to have taken a good look at the Catalogue itself, let alone examined the other books not mentioned in Aitken's list'.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ All uncited quotes from Heidenreich, p. X.

Heidenreich attributes this omission primarily to the source scholars, although he locates contributing factors in Trent's omission of 'our most extensive record of Defoe's possible reading'¹¹⁸ in his *Cambridge Bibliography* entry on Defoe, the real practical obstacles posed by the catalogue's classification at the British Museum, and Payne's often unclear and inaccurate item descriptions.¹¹⁹ However, he believes nothing justifies the consistent neglect of this major resource, and hopes this publication will encourage change. He praises Novak, Moore and Rodney M. Baine as rare exceptions who have 'recognized the potentialities of this research tool and to have saved it from further years of neglect', further illustrating the point with an extensive contrast of Starr's catalogue-free work with Baine's handling of similar subjects which 'fully, but cautiously [exploits] its treasures'.¹²⁰ The extent of the catalogue's neglect is well illustrated when Baine's limited use of the resource – comprising three brief references to the catalogue's contents – is examined, causing Heidenreich's praise to seem somewhat disproportionate.¹²¹

Responding to *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, Heidenreich challenges Hunter's attack on Secordian source study and dismissal of the catalogue. He asserts that Hunter has dismissed the catalogue (and Aitken's list) as 'unreliable because they do not provide precise information about Defoe's actual reading'. Here, Heidenreich seems to misread Hunter, neglecting his overriding concern with Defoe's relationship to the more nebulous history of ideas and motifs,

¹¹⁸ Heidenreich, p. X.

¹¹⁹ Heidenreich, p. X-XI.

¹²⁰ Heidenreich, p. XI.

¹²¹ Rodney M. Baine, 'Defoe and the Angels', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 9, 3 (1967), 345-69 (pp. 350, 354, 358).

and attributing to Hunter his own interest in specific sources. Although at first this 'statement of the obvious looks like common sense', Heidenreich slyly suggests it masks the limits of Hunter's research, as 'on second thought his words sound like a limp excuse for not examining the catalogue'. This conclusion is drawn from the belief that the catalogue's contents might have strengthened Hunter's thesis about Puritan literature's importance. Heidenreich concludes by contrasting Hunter's suggested contexts with the catalogue's contents, noting its inclusion of 'material which, for all we know, Defoe was more likely to have seen than Hunter's'.¹²² Hunter's argument against source hunting is also repositioned as indicating the necessity of making the full edition available, since modern critics can now be trusted to use it with sophistication and astuteness:

Criticism like that of Hunter is a further encouragement in making this catalogue available to a wider public. Being convinced that this will not prove an incitement for naïve and indiscriminate source hunting, the reader is invited to see for himself what knowledge about Defoe's literary background and personal relations may be derived from this book, in spite of its lamentable shortcomings.¹²³

Heidenreich concluded his Introduction with a tentative proposal for the division of items between Defoe and Farewell. He argued that biographical details, when taken in conjunction with the lack of solid evidence on Farewell's intellectual interests and the known breadth of Defoe's reading supported a slight bias towards Defoe on texts of uncertain attribution. This

¹²² All uncited quotes from Heidenreich, p. XI.

¹²³ Heidenreich, pp. XI-XII.

conclusion would become the most influential and frequently-quoted section of the Introduction, shaping subsequent catalogue use for the next 40 years.

Defoe being Farewell's senior by about thirty years and an independent man of some means it is reasonable to suppose he had started collecting at an earlier stage than Farewell could have and that his share in the commodities for sale was the larger of the two. ...When having to attribute one item to either of these book-lovers we may, therefore, apply the rule of thumb: *In dubio pro Daniele*.¹²⁴

Although *in dubio pro Daniele* is analysed at length in Chapter 2, this passage is necessary context for the next stage of this critical history, as scholars who drew on the catalogue began to rely on (and arguably misinterpret) Heidenreich's intent.

1970-89: peripheral and uncritical use of catalogue post-Heidenreich

Heidenreich achieved his goal of displacing Aitken's partial list with the full catalogue. However, his edition did not prompt further studies on the catalogue's background and difficulties, nor did it significantly reinvigorate critical interest. Instead, there was a general concurrence with Heidenreich's argument for the benefits of making the catalogue widely available, accompanied by a belief that his investigation of the catalogue's background was complete, and there was no further work needed on this peripheral and problematic resource.

¹²⁴ Heidenreich, p. XXXIV. Translates roughly as 'when in doubt, give it to Daniel'.

A contemporary review by Lee Sonsteng Horsley neatly summarizes what would soon become the critical consensus:

In the analysis of Defoe's sources, the catalogue can neither confirm nor, because of its incompleteness, cast doubt on a critic's conjectures. But in spite of its acknowledged shortcomings, Olive Payne's book-list is a tool which most scholars in search of Defoe's 'literary ancestors' will welcome ... Dr. Heidenreich has made it convenient for the student of Defoe to examine in full this valuable document and to make an independent judgment of its contents.¹²⁵

Although critics in the 1970s and 1980s began to re-evaluate aspects of source studies that had been condemned by Hunter, and return to Nicholson, Secord and Moore's areas of interest,¹²⁶ the catalogue did not benefit from the dissipation of the stigma attached to 'source hunting' and remained on the periphery of the field. Although Heidenreich's edition began to supplant Aitken's list, references still remained rare, and were still largely confined to footnotes. The post-Heidenreich period is marked by two patterns of usage which limit the catalogue's role, and which are still evident in contemporary scholarship. The first is the tendency to confine all specific discussion to the footnotes –effectively 'quarantining' it from the main text. The second is a hesitancy to engage with the 'Defoe or Farewell' question, where scholars take one of three approaches: ignoring it entirely, using attribution difficulties to forestall further discussion, or uncritically assuming Defoe's ownership, based on a belief

¹²⁵ Lee Sonsteng Horsley, 'The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell: Olive Payne's Sales Catalogue (1731), ed. by Helmut Heidenreich', *Modern Language Review*, 66, 3 (July 1971), 666-67 (p. 666).

¹²⁶ See, for example, Manuel Schonhorn, 'Defoe's Four Years Voyages of Capt. George Roberts and Ashton's Memorial', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 17, 1 (1975), 93-102; Rodney M. Baine, 'Daniel Defoe and Robert Drury's Journal', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 16, 3 (1974), 479-91.

that Heidenreich (and sometimes Kropf) has conclusively answered the question with his *in dubio pro Daniele*.

Along with Novak,¹²⁷ Pat Rogers was one of the few scholars to display a consistent interest in the catalogue in the 1970s, although his discussion of it is primarily limited to footnotes. In 1973's 'Defoe as Plagiarist: Camden's *Britannia* and *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*', Rogers asserts that although Defoe attempts to 'play down (or misdescribe) his debt to existing sources ... *Britannia* forms a base around which Defoe introduces embellishments, personal glosses and general updating'.¹²⁸ As proof, Rogers offers nine specific points, the majority of which are based on close reading, but he cites the catalogue to argue that its inclusion of a specific edition '[shows] that Defoe used the 1695 version ... the copy listed in *Librorum ex Bibliothecis Philipi Farewell, D.D., et Danielis De Foe, Gen* (London, 1731), p. 5'.¹²⁹

Similarly, Rogers's 1979 *Robinson Crusoe* confines its use of the catalogue to the chapter on 'Travel, Trade and Empire', and its only role in the main text is to prove that '[Defoe's] library was stocked with atlases and works on discovery and imagination; he was forever surrounded by maps and charts'.¹³⁰ This chapter's discussion of sources is largely confined to summaries and evaluations of Secord and Moore's work, but Rogers's footnote summary hints at new directions for catalogue research: his concurrence with what he describes as the prevalent

¹²⁷ For more examples of Novak's usage, see Maximilian E. Novak, 'Defoe and the Disordered City', *PMLA*, 92, 2 (1977), 241-52 (pp. 243, 251); and 'A Vindication of the Press and the Defoe Canon', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 27, 3 (1987), 399-411 (pp. 406, 411).

¹²⁸ Pat Rogers, 'Defoe as Plagiarist: Camden's *Britannia* and *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*', *Philological Quarterly*, 52 (1973), 771-74 (p. 774).

¹²⁹ Rogers, 'Defoe as Plagiarist', p. 772.

¹³⁰ Pat Rogers, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), p. 25.

assumption that 'the bulk of the works dealing with navigation and discovery must have belonged to Defoe' is expanded to include 'British topographical works' and his placement of 'a *Description d'Ukraine* (1660)' beside Hakluyt and the works on Guinea among the catalogue items 'particularly relevant to *Crusoe*',¹³¹ which indicates that his research into *Crusoe*'s sources had extended beyond Secord and Moore's work, as it is not on Aitken's list.

Burton J. Fishman's article 'Defoe, Herman Moll, and the Geography of South America' is the earliest known work to incorporate Heidenreich's edition in any substantial way. Burton's examination of *A New Voyage Round The World*'s sources and contexts acknowledges its close debt to Jane Jack's 1961 article,¹³² building on her use of the library by highlighting potential sources in the complete catalogue such as Cristoval de Acuña's *New Discovery of the Great Rivers of the Amazons*, Frézier's *A Voyage to the South Sea*, Allingham's *A Short Account of the Nature and Use of Maps* and Bernardus Varenius's *Geographica Generalis*.¹³³ Aside from an assertion that this body of material helps substantiate that 'Defoe learned from his extensive library to be sceptical of maps',¹³⁴ Fishman's analysis of these texts is limited to brief summaries of their contents and relevance, and citation of their item numbers and bibliographical details. But what is most interesting is his summary of the attribution question, and justification for their inclusion:

For Defoe's presumed ownership of this work, see *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell*, ed. Helmut Heidenreich (Berlin, 1970), p. 66. Acuña's work is

¹³¹ Rogers, *Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 47-48.

¹³² Burton J. Fishman, 'Defoe, Herman Moll, and the Geography of South America', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 36, 3 (1973), 227-38 (p. 227).

¹³³ Fishman, 230-31, 237.

¹³⁴ Fishman, 237.

numbered 1048. Because this sale catalog of the Defoe and Farewell libraries does not distinguish between the books each owned, it is impossible to be certain in matters of ownership. Considering Defoe's known interest in geography, cartography, and the literature of travel, however, it seems a justifiable presumption that this book and others named below as 'owned' by Defoe were, in fact, his.¹³⁵

This passage is the first known instance of a misreading of Heidenreich which has become prevalent in subsequent discussions of the catalogue: interpreting *in dubio pro Daniele* as firmly accrediting Defoe with the majority of the inventory. Fishman's qualifications about our lack of knowledge of Farewell (and also of Farewell's interest in international affairs and travel) are downplayed in favour of emphasis on the known extent of Defoe's interests. And this, in the light of Heidenreich's rule of thumb, becomes the deciding factor, leading Fishman to this fairly certain assertion of 'Defoe's presumed ownership'. Similar uses abound throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in studies with varying degrees of close attention to the cited catalogue items. Timothy C. Blackburn combines 'the comments of Heidenreich on which books seem to have been Defoe's' with Max Novak's work on Locke to assert that "the Locke books in all probability belonged to Defoe".¹³⁶ Miriam Leranbaum reads even greater certainty into Heidenreich, unusually combining Heidenreich with C.R. Kropf's assertion that 'with the exception of possibly a hundred titles [out of about 2200], these books were Defoe's';¹³⁷ and Paula Backscheider's 1989 biography indicates consultation of the original document, but

¹³⁵ Fishman, 230.

¹³⁶ Timothy C. Blackburn, 'The Coherence of Defoe's *Captain Singleton*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 41, 2 (1978), 119-36 (p. 121).

¹³⁷ Miriam Leranbaum, "An Irony Not Unusual": Defoe's "Shortest Way with the Dissenters", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 37, 3 (1974), 227-50 (p. 248).

reiterates the consensus that 'Defoe scholars agree that most of the books on the list were his'.¹³⁸

While Defoe studies remained unaware of any need for supplementary work on the catalogue, the field's consistent neglect of the resource drew the attention of book historian Gwyn Walters. In a 1982 paper (written twelve years after the release of Heidenreich's edition) he compares the present state of Defoe catalogue studies unfavourably with the state of affairs in Swift and Johnson studies. With some astonishment, he notes the 'omission of all references to the sale in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*,' and describes a 1960 reference in the *Book Collector* to the catalogue's non-survival as 'yet another chapter in the dismal tale of lack of knowledge of the Defoe sale catalogue'.¹³⁹ He concludes that 'Defoe research has been impeded by this extraordinary misconception, the more so in view of Defoe's apparently intentional veiling of his authorities, aping Shakespeare's claim to 'little learning'.¹⁴⁰

1986-96: The catalogue's emergence in the main text (Roosen, Fausett and Vickers)

In the 1980s and 1990s, Defoe studies showed a modestly increasing interest in the catalogue, as it began to migrate from the footnotes into the main text, and to be more extensively incorporated into literary criticism and biography. This renewed interest may have prompted the British Library's 1995 (rather belated) release of a microfilm edition, although most

¹³⁸ Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 595.

¹³⁹ Gwyn Walters, 'Early Sale Catalogues: Problems and Perspectives', in *The sale and distribution of books from 1700*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1982), pp.106-25 (p. 115).

¹⁴⁰ Walters, p. 115.

scholars continued using Heidenreich's edition. Although it constitutes an improvement on former neglect, this increased visibility is somewhat deceptive, as usage continued to repeat the patterns established in the 1970s. Scholars continued to overestimate Heidenreich's certainty on attribution, and remained reluctant to extend their observations on the inventory's general representation of subjects or authors into close analyses of individual items. There remained a lingering belief, deriving both from the attribution problem and the stigma Hunter attached to 'source hunting', that basing an argument too closely around the catalogue was a detriment to scholarly credibility. And the tension this belief produced in scholars with an interest in the inventory's possible relevance to Defoe manifested in limitations and obfuscations of the catalogue's formative role, and occasionally, defiance and distortions of evidence.

William Roosen's *Daniel Defoe and Diplomacy* exemplifies the catalogue's deceptive visibility at this time. The inventory's contents are explicitly used to define the extent of Defoe's reading on subjects related to international relations, and to legitimize diplomacy as a relevant context for reading Defoe. Roosen argues that Defoe's collection of 'geographical, travel and historical works dealing with many different periods in all parts of the world' was 'larger and more complete than those normally found in private hands at that time'.¹⁴¹ He locates a sizable and varied body of relevant material in the catalogue:

The index of the catalog of his library only classifies eleven books under the heading of diplomacy and ambassadors' reports; only thirteen are listed under international law

¹⁴¹ William Roosen, *Daniel Defoe and Diplomacy* (London/Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), p. 34. Sadly, he provides no reference for this interesting assertion.

... These figures are misleading, however. Many volumes in Defoe's library were concerned with foreign countries and foreign affairs, but they are classified under such headings as travel, the names of countries, and foreign princes.¹⁴²

In conjunction with his biographical and textual analyses, Roosen's positioning of this material seems to be establishing credible grounds for its integration into a context study. However, he does not develop it in any substantial way, omitting even to list these items in any further detail. He alludes to Novak's *Defoe and the Nature of Man* as a precedent for his exploration of this material, arguing that Defoe's probable reading on international relations forms 'a corpus that is as understandable and worth studying as the more formal works of such well-known authors on diplomatic thought as Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf'.¹⁴³ However, unlike Novak, he does not offer specific details (such as item numbers or complete titles) of the relevant inventory items, nor does his examination of the catalogue seem to have been as thorough. Roosen omits any consideration of the attribution problem, and his exclusive citation of Heidenreich's index, coupled with his vague definition of the catalogue's contents, suggests this resource played a minor role in his research.

In the 1990s, two scholars made gestures towards using the catalogue beyond the established patterns, desiring to make it a more central and overt part of their arguments. Their diverse approaches had varying degrees of success and credibility. David Fausett's 1994 *The Strange Surprising Sources of Robinson Crusoe* explores the potential influence of the Dutch novel

¹⁴² Roosen, p. 20.

¹⁴³ Roosen, pp. 9-10.

Krinke Kesmes on Robinson Crusoe.¹⁴⁴ It is a defiantly old-school source study, which takes its cues from Secord (and the earlier German philologists) and Moore, rather than Hunter and Starr.¹⁴⁵ His negative opinion of most recent scholarship is best demonstrated by the dismissal of Furbank and Owens's *The Canonization of Daniel Defoe* as a study which 'emphasizes the conservatism of most Defoe scholars'.¹⁴⁶

It is therefore surprising to find that Fausett shares Hunter's criticism of the limitations of present-day Defoe studies, and how much of his argument for the expansion of Defoe's contexts can be traced back to *The Reluctant Pilgrim*. His critical history is a mirror-image of Hunter's, instead presenting Secord and the German philologists as having defined a wide spectrum of potential sources, which has been narrowed by post-1950 Defoe scholarship. As Fausett's avowed aim is to return Defoe studies to these glory days, it is unsurprising that he leans heavily on what Hunter has defined as the source hunter's favourite tool.¹⁴⁷ But while his insistence on the catalogue's relevance and his lack of obfuscation are commendable, his methodology is compromised by inadequate background research and overgeneralization.

Fausett uses the catalogue to support his argument that Defoe was likely to have read *Krinke Kesmes*, a work which is not found in the inventory. However, he persists in using it to support his case, through some unfortunately flawed and indirect reasoning. He begins by summarizing

¹⁴⁴David Fausett, *The Strange Surprising Sources of Robinson Crusoe* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994).

¹⁴⁵Overall, Fausett takes a negative view of post-Moore Defoe studies, and his engagement with modern scholarship is correspondingly limited and dismissive. However, he does single out two recent works for praise: Novak's aforementioned source studies and Paula Backscheider's 1989 identification of *Daniel Beekman's Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo as a source for Crusoe*.

¹⁴⁶Fausett, p. 142.

¹⁴⁷Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 7.

the Defoe/Farewell dilemma, and the catalogue's background –here, erroneously stating that 'the joint collection was auctioned in 1735'.¹⁴⁸ Although he does not directly cite Aitken and Heidenreich's theories about the catalogue containing only a portion of Defoe's collection, he allusively notes how, 'at around 2,000 volumes', Defoe's library is of roughly equal size to Gibbon's, and is considerably larger than Fielding, Addison, Johnson, Swift and Locke's collections. For Fausett, this fact is significant because:

the size of Defoe's collection ... shows Defoe's voracious appetite for books, and makes it *a priori* possible that he had come across *Krinke Kesmes* by 1719, although it does not appear in the catalogue.¹⁴⁹

The idea that these numbers can tell us anything about the comparative breadth of Defoe's reading is demonstrably false, even *if* the Defoe catalogue did not include another man's books. Fausett is on more solid ground when he uses the catalogue to construct a Dutch reading context for Defoe, a process which increases the likelihood of his acquaintance with *Krinke Kesmes*. He lists a considerable body of relevant material, of which the most prominent is a 1701 Dutch edition of Denis Vairasse d'Allais's *L'Histoire des Severambes*,¹⁵⁰ a Utopian fiction set in the Antipodes. This edition added two other works to Vairasse's novel: Gabriel de Foigny's *La Terre Australe connue*, a remarkably similar work of fiction, and the journal of Mandrop Torst, a doctor on Willem de Vlamingh's 1696 voyage to Australia –undertaken in the hope of rescuing the lost *Ridderschap van Holland*. He positions Vairasse and Foigny's works

¹⁴⁸ Fausett, p. 143.

¹⁴⁹ Fausett, p. 143.

¹⁵⁰ Item 582 in Defoe/Farewell, where it is undated: the 1701 publication date is taken from Heidenreich.

as significant 'pre-Robinsonade' fictions, arising from the same Huguenot *milieu*,¹⁵¹ and argues that this collection both constitutes an important collection of sources and increases the likelihood of Defoe's acquaintance with *Krinke Kesmes*:

This, together with the rarity of the work, is perhaps the most compelling evidence that Defoe was interested in the historical and literary basis of Smeeks' novel. It suggests either that he would have sought out the latter itself, or that his acquisition of the 1701 work [by Vairasse] was prompted by his acquaintance with that of Smeeks.¹⁵²

Other Dutch works in the catalogue, like Willem Sewel's *A Compendious Guide to the Low-Dutch Language* and *A Large Dictionary of English and Dutch*, J. Le Moine de l'Espine and I. Le Long's *Den Koophandel van Amsterdam naar alle gewesten des weerelds* and a translation of Steven Blankaert's *Physical Dictionary*¹⁵³ are also cited in support of the relevance of Defoe's Dutch contexts:

Their dates correspond to those of the 1701 work mentioned and *Krinke Kesmes*, which again suggests that Defoe may have acquired them in order to read these Dutch

¹⁵¹ See Fausett, pp. 38, 57-58, 61-62.

¹⁵² Fausett, p. 143.

¹⁵³ Fausett, p. 143. Heidenreich suggests the following dates for this list of works: Sewel, *Compendious Guide to the Low-Dutch Language* (1700) and *A Large Dictionary of English and Dutch* (1708); Le Moine de l'Espine and Le Long (1715); Blankaert (1702).

texts (or at least for the purpose of his espionage in Holland, which fell sometime between these dates).¹⁵⁴

Although Fausett's comparative analysis of *Krinke Kesmes* and *Crusoe* contains several questionable assertions, his use of the catalogue material to highlight and explore Defoe's Dutch contexts is a legitimate and credible use of this resource. However, there are several flaws in his engagement with the attribution question, which is intended to support the same argument. Noting 'that the other party was a Cambridge doctor of theology', Fausett invokes Heidenreich to divide the inventory with an unprecedented (and unsupported) certainty, thereby strengthening the case for Defoe's ownership of the Dutch text in question:

Admittedly, it is possible that the 1701 work was not owned by Defoe, but by Phillips Farewell, that other bibliophile. However, information provided about him by Heidenreich, as well as the nature of the volume and of Defoe's activities in Holland, all suggest that it was Defoe who owned it.¹⁵⁵

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, Heidenreich's analysis of Farewell allows for no such certainty. In fact, his emphasis on Farewell's likely acquaintance with Wake's foreign connections led him to 'allot to Farewell some of the books on modern languages',¹⁵⁶ arguably providing clearer support for the opposite conclusion—that Farewell was a credible owner of the dictionaries, grammars and foreign-language titles in the inventory. The untenability of his assertion is

¹⁵⁴ Fausett, p. 144.

¹⁵⁵ Fausett, p. 143.

¹⁵⁶ Heidenreich, p. XXXIII.

further demonstrated in a subsequent footnote, when Fausett expresses doubt over Defoe's ownership of other Dutch items:

Other entries –a Dutch history of the Bible, a study of Dutch artists (Amsterdam, 1718) and editions of Grotius, Pufendorf or Fontanelle– are interesting but seem as likely to have been owned by Farewell as by Defoe, so are better ignored.¹⁵⁷

He provides no explanation for this rather arbitrary conclusion, nor for the decision to omit Heidenreich's research from his assessment of Fontanelle and the book on Dutch art. His ambivalence towards Grotius and Pufendorf can perhaps be explained by the fact that the majority of their works listed in the catalogue are in Latin, but for this line of reasoning to be valid, Fausett needs to engage with the substantial body of criticism on Defoe's use of their ideas.

In contrast, Ilse Vickers's inclusion of the catalogue in *Defoe and the New Sciences* is rigorous and credible, and makes no such questionable assumptions. This examination of the influence of British scientists of the seventeenth century on Defoe makes more extensive use of the inventory's contents than any other study I have examined in this chapter. However, the true extent of the catalogue's role in the study is deliberately minimized and curtailed, in order to debar it from directly supporting her thesis, and thereby endangering the credibility of her study.

¹⁵⁷ Fausett, p. 144.

Her critical positioning of this project exemplifies the modern tension between interest in the catalogue's contents, and fear of too closely resembling the stigmatized and obsolete methods of the 'source hunters.' Unlike Fausett, Vickers aligns herself with the Hunter/Starr/Novak model of contextual study, emphasizing Defoe's broad spectrum of creative and intellectual influences, and focusing on his complex manifestations of ideas and motifs, rather than the simple reproduction of sources. She presents the exploration of *Crusoe's* debt to the Royal Society's reports and methods as a sister study to Hunter and Starr's explorations of 'the influence of popular religious beliefs and the Dissenter's call for spiritual book-keeping ... [on] *Crusoe's* journal', one which is a direct extension of their methods and goals.¹⁵⁸ In support of her argument for the multiplicity of *Crusoe's* potential sources, she cites Hunter's own assertion that '[*Crusoe's*] complexity should not obscure the ancestry'.¹⁵⁹ However, she also takes steps towards reconciling Secord with their brand of contextual study, as she praises the 'careful spadework' of *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* and emphasizes both its canonical importance in the study of Defoe's use of travel, voyage and geographic literature, and its specific utility in exploring the Royal Society's engagement with these genres. Secord's work on John Narborough and Dampier's *Voyages* is singled out for its attention to Defoe's neglected influences and contexts.¹⁶⁰

Vickers's introduction both highlights the catalogue's relevance to her project, and establishes clear limits for its use. She summarizes the catalogue's contents and the Defoe/Farewell problem and notes its 'particularly tantalising' representation of the New Sciences, estimating

¹⁵⁸ Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 108.

¹⁵⁹ Vickers, p. 108; cites *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁰ Vickers, pp. 141, 143.

that it contains 'approximately 395 titles with some connection to this study'.¹⁶¹ However, she regrets that the irresolvable attribution issue prevents this body of material from playing a fundamental role:

My impression is that these works are more likely to have belonged to Defoe, but one cannot be certain, and for that reason I have not based my argument on them.¹⁶²

Although Vickers has ostensibly limited the catalogue items' function in her argument, there are several indications throughout the book that it had an extensive role in the genesis and development of her work, and that the disclaimer and curtailment are a conventional deflection of association with an incredible and obsolete methodology. A close reading of her study soon shows both the extent of her catalogue research, and its consistent presence in her main argument.

The first sign appears in the same paragraph as the disclaimer quoted above, as Vickers notes how 'Heidenreich has shown in some detail the coherence between many of the books in the collection and Defoe's own interests' and directs the reader to an Appendix in which she lists 'some of the titles especially relevant to my argument'.¹⁶³ This Appendix contains 64 titles, divided into six categories: chemistry, physics and mathematics; botany, gardening and husbandry; geography, topography, travelling and exploring; industry, crafts, trade and

¹⁶¹ Vickers, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶² Vickers, p. 6.

¹⁶³ Vickers, p. 6.

commerce; religion; and sundries.¹⁶⁴ These lists include the catalogue's complete representation of the five scientists whose direct and indirect influence on Defoe comprises a substantial portion of this study: Robert Boyle, Samuel Hartlib, Robert Hooke, William Petty and John Wilkins. Explaining the selection of these 'five prominent Baconians' as focal points, Vickers explicitly states that their presence in the catalogue was a contributing factor:

I have chosen Hartlib, Petty, Boyle, Hooke and Wilkins to show the very different ways in which the new philosophy could be taken up and developed. My choice was further determined by the fact that we have reason to believe that Defoe was acquainted with certain aspects of these Baconian scientists, since they are represented with one or more works in the Sales Catalogue of the Defoe/Farewell libraries.¹⁶⁵

Her interest in these figures is carried into her argument of Baconian science's general importance as an intellectual and creative context for Defoe; and she regularly cites their representation in the catalogue to support this argument. Her use of the resource follows a consistent pattern: citation of a relevant catalogue item or items, and the detection of one of its main ideas in Defoe's reliably attributed writings. For reasons of brevity, only Vickers's treatment of Hartlib has been quoted as an exemplar, but her discussion of Boyle, Hooker, Petty and Wilkins draws the same direct line between the catalogue's contents and Defoe's works:¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Vickers, pp. 177-81.

¹⁶⁵ Vickers, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ See Vickers, pp. 24-31.

The works listed in the Sales Catalogue of the Defoe/Farewell libraries which have a direct bearing on Defoe's views on trade and education are: Hartlib's *Discourse of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders* (London, 1650), and its enlargement, Hartlib's famous *Legacy* of 1651. The *Legacy's* basic principle that 'real' knowledge of trades (that is, arts and crafts) ensures economic progress, while ignorance leads to decay and poverty, is an idea that we will find frequently repeated in Defoe's economic works, particularly in his *General History of Trade* (1713) and in *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6).¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, she later supplies detailed analyses of some of the catalogue items cited in this chapter. The most detailed and notable example is John Wilkins's *A Discourse Concerning the Gift of Prayer*, whose catalogue representation is noted in the biographical profile in conjunction with the promise that 'the relevance of *Gift of Prayer* will become clear in the following chapter'.¹⁶⁸ Vickers is particularly interested in the influence of Wilkins's advocacy of a 'plain and natural' style and rhetoric clarity on Defoe's writing. She presents a convincing case, linking it to both Charles Morton's teachings and his *Advice to Candidates for the Ministry* (which referred students to Wilkins's *Ecclesiastes*) and the Royal Society's recommendations for prose style.¹⁶⁹ Acknowledging the extensive discussion of the Royal Society stylistic connection by Novak, Starr, Ian Watt and others, she argues that ignorance of the Morton connection has caused scholars to underestimate the extent of Baconian philosophy's connection to Defoe. Morton is a crucial figure for Vickers because he not only 'incorporated Wilkins standards of discourse into his own *Advice to Candidates for the Ministry*', but also

¹⁶⁷ Vickers, p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ Vickers, p. 31.

¹⁶⁹ Vickers, pp. 48-51, 123-26.

'represents the significant link between the Society and Defoe'.¹⁷⁰ Her establishment of his importance, and the influence of Wilkins, draw heavily on the catalogue.

In a less overt manner, Vickers's treatment of the Royal Society's relation to travel, voyage and geographic literature also utilizes the catalogue, as well some earlier studies which also cited it. She uses the inventory to argue for the lack of precedents for her own comparative analysis of *New Voyage round the World* and John Narborough's journals, and the relevance of Royal Society methodologies to both texts. She lists all the works of travel and geographic literature which have been cited as sources for Defoe's fiction, but only specifies the catalogue's connection to Exquemelin and Wafer, noting that 'Defoe, who possessed copies of these books, appears to have used them for his description of the overland crossing of South America'.¹⁷¹ Her consideration of this point is essentially a summary of Jane Jack's aforementioned 1961 article (which Vickers quotes here) and adds nothing new.

It seems especially unfortunate that Vickers could not use this resource in an overt and confident way, because her study is an exemplar of responsible and credible usage. Although it is possible to criticize her lack of engagement with the attribution question—like most post-Heidenreich critics, she sometimes conveniently assumes Defoe's ownership of interesting items—her citations of catalogue items are always supported with precise references to Defoe's writings or biographical connections. Her ostensible curtailment of its role is arguably a consequence of the catalogue's history of consistent neglect, and its post-Hunter stigmatization.

¹⁷⁰ Vickers, p. 125.

¹⁷¹ Vickers, p. 143.

1996-2015: Contemporary usage of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue

The clear tension between intrigue and wariness in Vickers's attitude towards the catalogue has continued to be evident in subsequent scholarship. It is fair to say that over the last 20 years, catalogue use has been marked by a mixture of tentative interest in the catalogue's possibilities and cautious numeration of its problems and limitations, with Heidenreich's *in dubio pro Daniele* cited whenever a positive attribution is desired. With the sole exception of James Kelly's 2002 article, 'Defoe's Library', Defoe studies has produced no significant reconsideration of the catalogue's background or of the premises of the catalogue usage. Furthermore, Kelly's conclusions have unfortunately had a minimal impact on catalogue usage in Defoe studies, despite their innovations, and the article's inclusion in recent summaries of extant catalogue scholarship.¹⁷²

Second, Hunter and Vickers's ideal of a broader and more expansive mode of source and/or context studies has been achieved, and here the catalogue regularly appears in a peripheral role. In the last 20 years, it has been used to refute 'the myth of the simple semi-illiterate tradesman and hack writer,'¹⁷³ to justify exploration of Defoe's knowledge of Bartolomeo Las Casas's works;¹⁷⁴ to support the 'strong probability that he did know Thucydides' history, and drew from its masterful description of the Athenian plague part of his inspiration' for *Journal*

¹⁷² *Collecting, Curating and Researching Writers' Libraries: a Handbook*, ed. by Richard W. Oram (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), pp. 134-35.

¹⁷³ Homer Obed Brown, 'The Institution of the English Novel: Defoe's Contribution', *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, 29, 3 (1996), 299-318 (p. 310).

¹⁷⁴ Kathryn Rummell, 'Defoe and the Black Legend: The Spanish Stereotype in *A New Voyage round the World*', *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 52, 2 (1998), 13-28 (pp. 17, 26).

of the *Plague Year*;¹⁷⁵ to highlight the parallels between Baltasar Gracián's 'advice to kings' and Defoe's rhetorical strategies in his letters to Robert Harley and strengthen the argument for *The Critick's* influence on Defoe,¹⁷⁶ and to help define the American sources that informed Defoe's colonial writings.¹⁷⁷ But in all these instances, the bulk of the research has been confined to the footnotes, with only brief discussions in-text. It also appears in explorations of longer-established areas of interest, such as the sources and contexts of *Crusoe* (where Secord's points of interest remain the major focus) and the *Tour*.¹⁷⁸ There has been surprisingly little interest in exploring the catalogue's relevance to what used to be called Defoe's 'secondary novels': *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana* and *Colonel Jack*.¹⁷⁹ Given that one of modern Defoe studies' defining characteristics was a surge of interest in his non-*Crusoe* imaginative writings, its absence from the large body of post-1960s criticism on them seems to owe something to the post-Hunter stigma attached to the catalogue. Unsurprisingly, it has also been largely absent from a more recent area of growing interest: studies of Defoe's journalism, pamphlets and tracts.

As befits a scholar with a long record of interest in the resource, Pat Rogers's recent work perhaps best exemplifies the contemporary attitude to the catalogue. His 1998 *The Text of*

¹⁷⁵ Catherine Rubincam, 'Thucydides and Defoe: Two Plague Narratives', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 11, 2 (2004), 194-212 (p. 204).

¹⁷⁶ Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*, p. 17; and 'The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 20, 3 (2008), 445-68 (pp. 454-57).

¹⁷⁷ Dennis Todd, *Defoe's America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 173, and 204, note 46; A similar use also appears in Ilse Vickers, 'A Source for Moll Flanders's Experience in Virginia', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 8 (1985), 191-94.

¹⁷⁸ A good example is Stephen Bertman's article, which notes that Secord's discussion was limited to Aitken's list, and highlights another potentially relevant title from the full catalogue. Stephen Bertman, 'Defoe and the "Footprints of Man"', *Digital Defoe*, 5, 1 (2013).

¹⁷⁹ I exclude *Captain Singleton* from this group because of Secord's interest, and his extension of *Crusoe's* contextual sources to *Singleton*.

Great Britain: Theme and Design in Defoe's Tour develops the interest in catalogue material demonstrated in his 1970s articles, with the chapter analysing Camden's *Britannia* explicitly citing its presence in the Defoe/Farewell list to strengthen the case for its influence. However, like Vickers, he feels the need to curtail the catalogue's role in his study, confining discussion of other relevant items to an Appendix titled 'Defoe's Antiquarian Library'.¹⁸⁰ Rogers's summary of the Defoe/Farewell problem and the catalogue's contents in 2008's *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe* also demonstrates the prevalent balance of interest and caution. He again presents the catalogue as 'our best guide to the range of Defoe's reading comes in the catalogue of his books,' and after noting by way of disclaimer, that 'we know little of Farewell, and many scholars have pointed to the risks we take if we assume that any given book in the catalogue belonged to either man',¹⁸¹ he considers the attribution question in a positive light, emphasizing the vast range of confirmed sources and relevant contexts in the catalogue:

However, it seems wholly prudent to make a few, carefully chosen presumptions. The areas in which we may very reasonably suppose Defoe to be the far likelier candidate for ownership are books on history, especially those on England and Scotland (where Defoe had many links, Farewell none at all), and those on travel. From sources identified by Defoe himself in the *Tour*, we can be absolutely certain that he had access to a number of titles on the list ...

¹⁸⁰ Pat Rogers, *The Text of Great Britain: Theme and Design in Defoe's Tour* (Newark/London: University of Delaware Press/Associated University Presses, 1998).

¹⁸¹ Rogers, 'Defoe's *Tour* and the identity of Britain', in *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 102-20 (p.111).

William Camden's *Britannia* ... Elias Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter* (1715), John Aubrey's *Miscellanies* (1721), Richard Carew's *The Survey of Cornwall* (1723), and the work mentioned in an earlier citation, Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetick* (1691) Other books on the list [not cited but used] were antiquarian works by Richard Rawlinson, Jodocus Crull, Sampson Erdeswicke, Bulstrode Whitelocke, and many others ...¹⁸²

Read in isolation, this summary gives the target readership (non-Defoe specialists) the impression that the catalogue is an accepted and crucial resource in Defoe studies. But as this critical history has aimed to demonstrate, this has decidedly not been the case. It has consistently occupied a peripheral and obscure position, which owes as much to its inaccessibility and unfashionability as it does to the real difficulties of dividing its contents between Defoe and Farewell. The field has never developed a satisfactory consensus on how to handle this difficult resource, and has therefore been unable to fully capitalize on its contents.

Conclusion

The Defoe/Farewell catalogue is a potentially beneficial and inherently problematic resource which has been consistently underused and neglected since its 1895 discovery. The vast majority of source studies that utilized it were based on Aitken's partial list of its contents, rather than the original document, which undoubtedly shaped their use of this resource – something which is particularly evident in the work of Secord and Baker. Those who did have

¹⁸² Rogers, *Cambridge Companion*, pp. 112-13.

recourse to the full catalogue either used it in a peripheral and inconsequential way (Nicholson) or based speculative and questionable arguments on its contents (Moore). The growth of Defoe studies in the early 1960s produced a brief surge of interest in the catalogue, but this was countered by a widespread critique of traditional source studies which directed contemporary critical currents away from anything resembling their methodologies and primary interests. Hunter's *The Reluctant Pilgrim* was the clearest articulation of this viewpoint; and as it erroneously presented the catalogue as the source hunters' primary tool and implied that it should be discarded along with their obsolete methodology, it was arguably a major factor in the catalogue's subsequent neglect.

As a result of this stigmatization and the consistent patterns of neglect, Defoe studies never developed a consensus on how to incorporate this problematic material into biography and criticism; nor did it critically examine Heidenreich's edition and locate its flaws, omissions and suggestions for supplementary research. Instead, *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* was quickly installed as the definitive and conclusive resource on a topic of minor interest; and the nuances of its Introduction were lost as *in dubio pro Daniele* was misread as confirming Defoe's ownership of the majority of dubious items. The continued post-Heidenreich neglect of the catalogue had lasting consequences for the field. Subsequent critical use was peripheral and tentative, being confined to the footnotes and appendices, or with its role in the main text explicitly limited (as in Vickers); or overt and insufficiently rigorous (as in Roosen and Fausett). Novak and Rogers are the two exceptions to this rule, and their balance of caution and speculation provides a credible model for future use.

The consistent lack of critical interest in this resource means that neither the full extent of the catalogue's potential nor its difficulties have ever been properly evaluated or tested. This

resource has considerable potential as a guide to both Defoe's specific sources, and a suggestive sketch of his broader contexts and areas of interest. But in order to determine the exact criteria for credible usage, and to begin making better use of the inventory's contents, it is necessary to fully investigate its background, its difficulties and the extent to which the extant specialist scholarship needs to be revised or supplemented.

Chapter 2:

Specialist studies of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, and identification of critical gaps

This chapter offers a re-evaluation of the small body of specialist scholarship on the Defoe/Farewell catalogue itself. This is an important stage in the broader reconsideration of the catalogue's usage, as the lack of critical interest documented in Chapter 1 has not only ensured that Defoe scholars' knowledge of the catalogue's background and problems is derived from an extremely limited pool of resources, but also has allowed the gaps and omissions in these studies to go undetected and uncorrected. Therefore, this review will identify the areas in need of supplementary work and propose solutions. Although Aitken's *Athenaeum* article was the first piece of 'specialist' catalogue scholarship, it will not be included in this survey, as its foundational role was discussed at length in Chapter 1, and subsequent work expands directly on Aitken's brief exploration of the attribution problem. Instead, it will focus on the three dedicated post-Aitken studies of the catalogue. Helmut Heidenreich's *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* (1970),¹⁸³ an edited edition of the complete catalogue whose Introduction has become the definitive scholarly resource; C.R. Kropf's 'The Sale of Defoe's Library' (1971),¹⁸⁴ a lesser-known article written prior to Heidenreich's book; and James Kelly's 'Defoe's Library' (2002),¹⁸⁵ the most recent reconsideration of the resource.

¹⁸³ Helmut Heidenreich, *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell*. (Berlin: W. Hildebrand for the author, 1970).

¹⁸⁴ C.R. Kropf, 'The Sale of Defoe's Library' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65 (1971), 123-31.

¹⁸⁵ James Kelly, 'Defoe's Library', *Library*, 3, 3 (2002), 284-301.

The chronology of these studies in itself demonstrates something of the stagnancy and obscurity that has characterised the Defoe/Farewell catalogue's status over the last forty years. Chapter 1 detailed the neglect, distrust, and misuse which marked so much post-Heidenreich usage by literary critics, biographers, and bibliographers, offering the rationalization that its current peripheral status owes as much to the history of Defoe studies as it does to the attribution problems themselves. However, scholars outside the field, like Harold Williams and Gwyn Walters, have been surprised by both its general obscurity and by the field's treatment of the resource.

Heidenreich: re-evaluating the definitive resource

Given the unique history that fostered this neglect, it is hardly surprising that Defoe studies did not build on Heidenreich and Kropf's specialist scholarship. The release of Heidenreich's seminal *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* into the climate of 1970 produced neither critical debate on the merits of Heidenreich's work, nor supplementary or adversarial scholarship.¹⁸⁶ Rather, it was seen as a solid but ultimately peripheral work, and rather uncritically accepted as the definitive resource on a subject of limited interest, a status it has maintained from its first publication into the new millennium. *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* remains unquestionably the most extensive and rigorous study of the catalogue available. Its meticulous identification of almost all the inventory items (whose original catalogue listings are often incomplete, or incorrect) and the inclusion of a subject and

¹⁸⁶ A further indication of the catalogue's marginality at this time is the fact that not only was its first complete edition published from Berlin, rather than from one of the British or American centres of Defoe study, but it was also self-published.

author index gives scholars access to the complete catalogue in an accessible and usable format. Furthermore, its long introduction details and analyses the catalogue's background, contents and inherent problems to an unprecedented extent, and draws on this material to formulate workable guidelines for responsible use. This is arguably the most influential aspect of Heidenreich's edition, as the context and terms he set forth have come to define almost all subsequent usage. However, while it more than deserves its high status, it is far from a complete or conclusive consideration of the catalogue's background and attribution problems. There are several gaps and omissions in his work which have remained undetected, and which require considerable supplementary work. This does not imply a flaw in Heidenreich's study itself, but rather in the critical context that both allowed his tentative suppositions to be misread as definitive conclusions, and was inhospitable to further investigations of his suggested lines of enquiry. It remains an excellent foundation which demands further construction.

As Chapter 1 demonstrated, a critical consensus soon developed on the completeness of Heidenreich's research. His Introduction became the definitive authority on the catalogue's background and criteria for credible use, producing a pattern that has remained remarkably consistent until today. Scholars who are considering a listed item's likelihood as a Defoe source begin by noting its presence in the catalogue and detailing its parallels with Defoe's writing and/or biography. The attribution difficulties are then noted, and, finally, Heidenreich is usually invoked to close off catalogue discussion in one of two ways. Either his conclusion about the uncertainty surrounding the attribution question will be noted (to argue both for and against the catalogue's potential) or, when the author wishes to support Defoe's use of the item, there will be a citation of *in dubio pro Daniele*.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Heidenreich, p. XXXIV.

A few examples show the prevalence of these patterns. Pat Rogers, summarizing the catalogue's difficulties and potential for a general audience (and incorporating his own interest in the *Tour's* sources), offers a 'few, carefully chosen presumptions' on Defoe's ownership of the catalogue's historical items, cautiously crediting him with ownership of the Scottish items on the grounds that this was a country 'where Defoe had many links, Farewell none at all'.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, although she ostensibly limits the catalogue's role in her project, Vickers's argument for post-Baconian science's contextual relevance still invokes Heidenreich to strengthen its case. She argues that, despite the attribution difficulties, the catalogue's works on 'physics, chemistry, botany, natural history, zoology... industries, crafts, gardening, husbandry, trade and commerce... geography, topography, maps and travels [... and] medicine' are 'more likely to have belonged to Defoe'.¹⁸⁹ This conclusion is based on the claim that 'Helmut Heidenreich has shown in some detail the coherence between many of the books in the collection and Defoe's own interests'.¹⁹⁰ However, this crucial element of his work is never clarified or critically evaluated: notice of its inclusion in the Introduction is taken as sufficient proof. Finally, Fausett's advocacy of *Krinke Kesmes's* connection to *Robinson Crusoe* leans even more heavily on Heidenreich's research, noting that several of the catalogue's Dutch items 'seem as likely to have been owned by Farewell as by Defoe, so are better ignored',¹⁹¹ but using the same biographical information to argue for Defoe's ownership of a 1701 text with a connection to Smeek's novel.¹⁹² He also uses Heidenreich to argue for the probability of Defoe's

¹⁸⁸ Pat Rogers, 'Defoe's *Tour* and the identity of Britain' in *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 102-120 (p 111-12).

¹⁸⁹ Vickers, pp. 5-6

¹⁹⁰ Vickers, p. 6.

¹⁹¹ Fausett, p. 143.

¹⁹² Fausett, pp. 143-44.

ownership of a number of Dutch works on travel, and confidently attributing the dictionaries and grammars to him on the grounds that 'Defoe may have acquired them in order to read these Dutch texts'.¹⁹³

Although this usage obviously lacks the credibility of Rogers and Vickers, all three are based on the same confidence in the conclusiveness of Heidenreich's research into the catalogue's background—a critical reception which has never been challenged, due to the lack of scholarly interest that greeted its release. I argue that both the critical climate and the lack of any other comprehensive studies of the catalogue have resulted in a general misreading of Heidenreich's tone and intent, bestowing his work with a certainty and a finality that is not present in the text itself. The Introduction is actually cautious, measured and open-ended, and its conclusions are tentative, often noting the need for further research. Modest justifications are given for the catalogue's publication:

... this catalogue is published in the hope that some students might find it useful as a guide through Defoe's literary *ambiente*. In a few points it may ultimately give us better insight into Defoe the man. In others it may tell us something about the state of the Republic of Letters in the early eighteenth century.¹⁹⁴

Even *in dubio pro Daniele* is preceded by a reluctance to divide the libraries further by comparative wealth and age, since 'we lack the necessary background details'.¹⁹⁵ Heidenreich

¹⁹³ Fausett, p. 144.

¹⁹⁴ Heidenreich, p. XLI.

¹⁹⁵ Heidenreich, p. XXXIV.

argues his case with cautious understatement, and openly acknowledges his own work's possible flaws and incompleteness. For example, the comprehensive index is described as 'a rather tentative affair [which] aims at providing an approximate guide to the bulky matter', and advises the reader that Payne's typical 'flowery title' may have caused misidentification of some unseen works.¹⁹⁶

The vast majority of the introduction is a detailed consideration of the catalogue's attribution problem; and Heidenreich's handling of this issue demonstrates his caution and recognition of the limits of his project. It is based on a reconsideration of the fundamental 'Defoe or Farewell?' question first posed by Aitken, and it aims to establish more credible grounds for attribution by compiling as much information on the catalogue's background as possible. However, he begins with a limitation of this project's conclusiveness, that it may be impossible to satisfactorily resolve this question, pointing out that our knowledge of Defoe's interests and writings is the only *positive* source of confirmation for his ownership of any of the catalogue items, as 'we are rather in the dark where information on the second owner of this collection is concerned'.¹⁹⁷ His greatest concession to certainty is the argument that once adequate background research has been conducted, it may be possible to make 'a few pertinent guesses about Defoe's ownership of some of the books ... in connection with the allusions in his writings'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Heidenreich, p. XL.

¹⁹⁷ Heidenreich, p. XXVIII.

¹⁹⁸ Heidenreich, p. XXIX.

Criticism of earlier catalogue uses and the broader critical climate play a major role in Heidenreich's definition of what constitutes essential background research, as well as supporting his case for the necessity of cautious and credible usage. He criticizes Aitken's and Friday's over-confident attribution of the classical, theological, scientific and mathematical and French and Spanish works to Farewell, in light of defects in their methodologies and analyses, concluding that 'these decisions may be reasonable in themselves, but neither of the critics justifies his procedure'.¹⁹⁹ It is precisely this justification that Heidenreich aims to supply, through providing the fullest possible body of background knowledge.

It is Farewell's biography –and analysis of its possible relevance to catalogue study– that is the main focus of Heidenreich's research.²⁰⁰ The detailed profile he provides compiles almost all the available information on Farewell's background, career, and personal and institutional associations, providing a credible base for his speculations on Farewell's probable areas of interest.²⁰¹ He lists *Alumni Cantabrigienses* and its associated sources as the major source of biographical information, but he also incorporates subscription lists, Farewell's personal letters, and the unpublished diary of Archbishop Wake.²⁰² It is Farewell's presence in Wake's circles, and his Cambridge education that receive the most analysis. Heidenreich suggests that he may have served as some sort of amanuensis/research assistant for Wake, and that if so, the 'considerable number of books in this collection [that] seems to reflect the wide-ranging

¹⁹⁹ Heidenreich, p. XXXI.

²⁰⁰ Even this profile, according to Heidenreich, is far from complete: he laments his inability to consult 'the unpublished Colbatch material at Trinity' which may have provided insight into Farewell's involvement in 'the noisy feud of the Fellows of Trinity with [Master Richard Bentley]...remembered by Defoe in his *Tour* (Heidenreich, pp. XXXI-XXX).

²⁰¹ Kropf's article, which appeared shortly before the publication of Heidenreich's edition (which Kropf laments his inability to consult) summarizes these sources in more detail, which I will discuss later.

²⁰² Heidenreich, pp. XXIX-XXX.

church policy of the Archbishop'²⁰³ and his many overseas visitors (who were often invited to the same dinner parties as Farewell) may be the clearest indication of which books Farewell was most likely to own. This rigorous research, however, produces very few unequivocal conclusions about Farewell's contribution to the catalogue's contents, since knowledge of Defoe's background and interests can so often support counter-arguments. For example, Heidenreich qualifies his tentative conclusion that 'Farewell was the owner of most of the religious books in this collection' by noting that 'it is obvious that a fair share of them belonged to Defoe, in some ways a priest *manqué*, well-read in the Scriptures and as able to quote from the Church fathers as any divine'.²⁰⁴

In this context, the tentative and qualified conclusion of '*in dubio pro Daniele*' reads as a temporary and hypothetical guideline, rather than a prescriptive 'rule of thumb.' Heidenreich is clearly not concerned by the possibility that this rule might encourage over-attribution, as his situation of this work within Defoe studies reveals his belief in both the necessity of correcting the catalogue's history of neglect and underuse, and in the certainty that the additional specialist work that will follow this edition will allow for greater confidence and credibility in attribution and evaluation. Furthermore, he optimistically anticipates the benefits that will follow, suggesting subjects of interest where investigation of the catalogue's contents may prove particularly beneficial.

According to Heidenreich, catalogue studies failed to adequately capitalize on Aitken's accomplishments, and provide the necessary follow-up work. Noting how the catalogue's discovery 'cleared the ground for those in quest of Defoe's sources', he castigates early source

²⁰³ Heidenreich, p. XXXIII.

²⁰⁴ Heidenreich, p. XXV.

studies for their over-reliance on Aitken's article (and neglect of the original resource) and for their failure to question 'the arbitrariness of Aitken's list'.²⁰⁵ He tracks the persistence of this neglect through the 1930s and 1940s, when 'no one seems to have taken a good look at the Catalogue itself, let alone examined the other books not mentioned in Aitken's list' until the early 1960s, deploring the same erroneous belief in its destruction cited by Gwyn Walters. He is disappointed but unsurprised by the catalogue's current obscurity, which he attributes to both the aforementioned critical neglect and the real practical obstacles posed by the catalogue's classification at the British Museum as valid explanations.²⁰⁶ He singles out the recent work of two scholars, Novak and Moore, as valuable exceptions who have 'recognized the potentialities of this research tool and to have saved it from further years of neglect' but regrets that 'their example has not been very influential', noting the varying degrees to which recent source and context studies by Starr and Baine fail to incorporate consideration of the catalogue.²⁰⁷ The 'somewhat unique position' of *The Reluctant Pilgrim* is refuted with particular force, as it challenges Hunter's exclusion of the catalogue and Aitken's article from consideration because [in Heidenreich's paraphrase] 'they do not provide precise information about Defoe's actual reading'. As Chapter 1 noted, Hunter's argument is ultimately repurposed to justify his own publication.²⁰⁸

To further illustrate the catalogue's potential, Heidenreich presents several promising lines of enquiry. He notes that the inventory contains 'more sources of Defoe's historical and political writings than have been indicated before',²⁰⁹ highlights the parallels between the

²⁰⁵ Heidenreich, pp. IX-X.

²⁰⁶ Heidenreich, pp. X-XI.

²⁰⁷ Heidenreich, p. XI.

²⁰⁸ See Chapter 1, pp. 51-53.

²⁰⁹ Heidenreich, p. XVIII.

characteristics of Defoe's use of foreign languages and the catalogue's dictionaries and grammars,²¹⁰ outlines a small body of potential sources for *Journal of the Plague Year*, some of which were entirely absent from earlier studies,²¹¹ as well as noting the abundance of unexamined titles in the category of voyage literature.²¹² Cheekily, he also details the catalogue's potential benefits for the particular interests of Hunter and his contemporaries, suggesting its relevance for the modern scholars who have 'underlined [Defoe's] conscious artistry and deliberate irony' and displayed particular interest in his use of 'criminal biographies, trials, dying speeches and similar sub-literary works'.²¹³

It is evident that Heidenreich hoped this publication would spur further research. The determination of the catalogue's place in Defoe studies, and the extent of the benefits it can bring to Defoe studies are presented as a recently-begun and ongoing project, to which other scholars are invited to lend their own curiosity and scepticism. But as the critical history outlined in Chapter 1 demonstrated, his invitation was ignored by the wider scholarly community, and the catalogue remained a peripheral concern. Heidenreich's current critical status ironically reflects his critique of post-Aitken catalogue usage. As Secord and the other 'source hunters' failed to 'heed [Aitken's] own warnings about the incompleteness of his extract'²¹⁴ and based their work almost entirely on his partial list, so post-Heidenreich scholars have relied uncritically on Heidenreich's admittedly incomplete research into the catalogue's background. However, a critical re-evaluation of *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips*

²¹⁰ Heidenreich, p. XXVI.

²¹¹ Heidenreich, p. XXIV.

²¹² Heidenreich, pp. XVIII-XX.

²¹³ Heidenreich, pp. XXVI-XXVII.

²¹⁴ Heidenreich, pp. IX-X.

Farewell reveals, in addition to the acknowledged limits and shortcomings, two significant gaps which both the author and later scholars seem to have overlooked.²¹⁵

The first of these is his limitation of the attribution problem to the 'Defoe or Farewell' question – an exclusive focus on tracing the listed items back to one of the two libraries, without considering the possibility that they could have come from alternative sources. Heidenreich's work is based around the assumption that the catalogue's contents can be cleanly divided between the two men, which is soon destabilized when examined in the context of the contemporary book trade, and the habitual practices of the man who organized the Defoe/Farewell sale, Olive Payne. In both areas, the effect of salting is soon revealed to have had a significant effect on the contents of library catalogues, whose exact details need to be researched. A *complete* consideration of the catalogue's attribution difficulties must assess the possibility that a considerable proportion of its contents came from neither library, and then begin tracing the origins of the inventory.

The second gap is therefore closely related to the provenance issue. Although Heidenreich has provided a comprehensive profile of Philips Farewell that serves as a credible base for speculation, he has, in contrast, neglected to devote comparable space and rigour to Olive Payne. In contrast with the six detail-packed pages on Farewell, Payne receives only two pages of discussion. Moreover, instead of carrying out the same research into primary sources seen in the Farewell profile,²¹⁶ Heidenreich works almost exclusively from secondary sources (chiefly

²¹⁵ The sole exception here is James Kelly, who is discussed later in this chapter.

²¹⁶ It should be noted that Kropf examined the same resources, and in many cases supplied more detail on Farewell than Heidenreich, but there is no connection between their studies.

studies of Olive's better-known brother, 'Honest Tom Payne'), augmenting these details with summaries of the unknown factors in Olive's life and career and brief hypotheses on these issues. Olive Payne is treated as a rather peripheral and insignificant figure in the catalogue's history, with no consideration given to his possible influence on the final inventory. Exploring Payne's previous sales will reveal the specific titles and subject groups he added to the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, and provide leads on other potential sources for its inventory. As the following review of both Heidenreich's treatment of these issues, and of the relevant contexts will show, these omissions are particularly unfortunate, as they demonstrate his awareness of precisely the sources needed for a satisfactory investigation into both areas. It is probably excessive to expect a satisfactory consideration of all the complexities in the first extensive study of a resource, but this omission certainly should have been rectified in subsequent scholarship.

Although Heidenreich's examination of the attribution question is framed almost entirely in terms of dividing items between Defoe and Farewell, he does give some consideration to the absence of Defoe's own works and the texts he referred to most frequently. He concurs with Aitken's conclusion on the probable pre-sale dispersal of items, offering hypotheses involving the financial difficulties of the Defoes and the literary tastes of son-in-law Henry Baker and concluding that some items 'are likely to have been withheld from the sale by [Defoe's] heirs'.²¹⁷ However, awareness of the converse possibility—that some portion of the items listed in the catalogue came from sources other than Defoe or Farewell—is not indicated.

²¹⁷ Heidenreich, p. XV.

Heidenreich modestly introduces the Payne section of his Introduction as 'a word or two ... about the third party in the sale',²¹⁸ suggesting his awareness of the brevity and incompleteness of this profile. However, the comparative shallowness of his research is also evident from the outset, as he laments that being overshadowed by Thomas means that 'Olive Payne gets little attention from the biographers', but still devotes most of his space to summarizing these inadequate and incorrect sources, with brief corrections drawn from primary sources.²¹⁹ There is a strange simultaneous inclusion and neglect of primary sources throughout the profile, as Heidenreich repeatedly indicates he has consulted primary sources on Payne which, if studied with the same attention bestowed on Farewell, would help answer the questions he poses. Instead, Heidenreich merely alludes to the potential of these sources, and moves back to his Farewell research and to the Defoe biographers and scholars whose inadequacies and omissions he earlier deplored. A clear example of this pattern is found in his consideration of the potential connections between Defoe and Payne:

We are not told²²⁰ whether there were any religious links, i.e. if Payne was one of Defoe's Dissenting brotherhood or if he was in close contact with the Anglican clergy. Payne's considerable stock of books of Roman Catholic interest and his business with Catholic priests and continentals suggests an altogether different answer to this

²¹⁸ Heidenreich, p. XXXV.

²¹⁹ Heidenreich cites the following sources for this section: *A List of Catalogues of English Book Sales, 1676 to 1900, now in the British Museum*, ed. by H. Mattingly (London: British Museum, 1915), p. 48; H.R. Plomer et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: The Bibliographical Society at Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 194-95; and C.H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London 1839), p. 799; and *Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote*, 2 vols (NY/London: Garland, 1977), vol. II, 799-800. He also draws indirectly on Charles Knight, *Shadows of The Old Booksellers* (London: Routledge and Sons; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. 1905), pp. 226-27; Frank Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling, Publishing and Bookselling: Part One: from earliest times to 1870*, (London: Jonathan Cape. 1974) pp. 166-67.

²²⁰ i.e., by the extant secondary sources.

question. The few Defoe scholars who mention Payne at all do not discuss him and I did not find his name in the surroundings of Archbishop Wake.²²¹

The references to Payne's stock and his business associates demonstrate that Heidenreich has studied both Payne's list of library sales and some of his prior or subsequent sales catalogues.²²² The reference to 'Catholic priests' suggest he studied the only surviving pre-Defoe/Farewell sales catalogue in some detail, as an unnamed priest was the second named library owner. Heidenreich's knowledge of this resource is further indicated by its use in amending a significant error in H.R. Plomer's profile of Olive Payne. Using Mattingly's list of sales catalogues, he updates the 1733-1739 dates of activity in *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... 1726 to 1775*, to 'January 1730 to May 1740'.²²³ The first date is taken from the aforementioned pre-Defoe catalogue, whose contents were sold on the 14th of January 1730 in what has been assumed to be the first sale of Payne's career.

²²¹ Heidenreich, p. XXXVI.

²²² Mattingly's chronological list of book sale catalogues is the probable source of this information, as it names both bookseller and original library owner, and even these brief summaries indicate the prominence of continental Europeans and Catholics in his career. See Chapter 4 for a more extensive discussion.

²²³ Heidenreich, p. XXXV.

SC 335 (1-2)
Bibliotheca Curiosa: 362

Being a Large and Curious

COLLECTION

OF

Catalogues

BOOKS in all Languages and Faculties:

Chiefly relating to the History, Antiquities and Parliamentary Affairs of *Great Britain and Ireland*. With a great Variety of State-Pieces, scarce Tracts, in Husbandry, Trade, Voyages, Mathematicks, History, Law, &c.

To which is added the

LIBRARY

Of *Dr. STEPHEN HUNT*, lately deceas'd;

Being a curious Collection in Physick, Surgery, Natural History, Chymistry, Metals, Mines, Minerals, &c.

LIKEWISE,

A Curious Parcel of Books collected abroad, in Divinity, &c. being the LIBRARY of a *Roman Catholic Priest*.

Which will begin to be sold very Cheap, the lowest Price fix'd in each Book, on *Thursday* the 14th of *January*, 1730. at the Shop of *OLIVE PAYNE*, the Sign of the *Bible*, in *Round-Court* in the *Strand*, opposite to *York-Buildings*. Beginning at Eight in the Morning.

CATALOGUES are deliver'd gratis, by *Mr. Strahan*, in *Cornhill*; *Mr. Bickerton*, without *Temple-bar*; *Mr. Meighan*, at *Gray's-Im-Gate*; *Mr. Woodman*, and *Mr. Lewis*, *Covent Garden*; *Mr. Brindly*, in *New Bond-street*; *Mr. Folliffe*, *St. James's street*; *Mr. Stagg*, *Westminster-Hall*; *Forrest's Coffee-house*, *Charing-Cross*; and at the Place of SALE.

Figure 2: Title page of Olive Payne's first surviving library catalogue (sale held on 14th of January 1730)

Heidenreich's probable consultation of this resource is especially significant because this is the sole surviving Payne catalogue that predates the Defoe/Farewell sale, making it a fundamental resource for exploring the full extent of the attribution problem. In order to broaden the question of the catalogue titles' origins beyond Defoe and Farewell, the first logical step is to check whether the bookseller made any detectable alterations to the original inventory –to ask whether he added, subtracted, or substituted any items. The last two possibilities are impossible to confirm, but progress can be made in the first by cross-referencing the Defoe/Farewell catalogue with all of Payne's prior sales, and flagging all duplicate items. I have begun this process, and discuss the results at length in Chapter 3.

The fact that the Dr. Stephen Hunt sale is the only surviving pre-Defoe catalogue makes this process seem straightforward. However, it is complicated by several indications that it was not Olive Payne's first sale, which do not appear in any of the sources cited by the catalogue scholars. The Burney Collection at the British Library contains at least one early eighteenth-century periodical that provides valuable information on Olive Payne. Between the 13th of March 1728 and the 4th of May 1730, Payne placed four advertisements for book sales in the *London Daily Post*.²²⁴ These advertisements reveal that when he sold Defoe's books, Olive Payne was not 'a relative newcomer on the scene',²²⁵ as Heidenreich and subsequent scholars have believed, but someone who seems to have established a permanent shop, forged

²²⁴ The advertisements are found in the following issues of the *Daily Post*: Wednesday, 13th of March 1728, Issue 2644; Friday, 16th of May 1729, Issue 3012 and Saturday, 17th of May 1729, Issue 3013 [3012-13 appear to be for the same sale]; and Monday, 4th of May 1730, Issue 3314. All of the above issues have been digitised by the British Library in *17th -18th century Burney Collection Newspapers*, and were last accessed on the 30th of January 2012.

²²⁵ Heidenreich, p. XXXVI.

enduring professional connections, and demonstrated clear areas of interest. No catalogues for any of these sales have survived, but their existence both multiplies the number of potential alternative sources and makes an accurate profile of Payne all the more important, requiring a new revision of the dates of activity first corrected by Heidenreich. All of these issues are discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

The need for investigation of Payne's contribution to the inventory throws many of Heidenreich's tentative biographical/interest-based attributions into doubt, as they are based entirely on the inadequate Defoe/Farewell dichotomy.

Bibliotheca Selectissima: Or,
A Catalogue of Select Books, in Divinity, Antiquity, History, Voyages, Sculpture, Physick and Mathematicks; Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and English. Among which are the Works of the following Authors; Burnet, Taylor, Comber, Mede, Barrow, Usher, Causin, Buchanan, Lock, Dryden, Collier, Dugdale, Leslie, Grocius, Plutarch, Lord Clarendon, Hobbs, and Dart, &c. Which will begin to be sold Cheap (the Price being mark'd in each Book) by OLIVE PAYNE, at the Bible in New-Round Court in the Strand, this Day the 12th Instant.

Catalogues may be had Gratis at the following Coffee-Houses; at Clare's in Conduit-street, Hanover-Square; British, Charing-Cross; Slaughter's, St. Martin's-Lane; Richard's, in Fleet-street; St. Paul's, St. Paul's Church-yard: Also at these Book-sellers, Mr. Stokoe's in the Haymarket; Mrs. Greave's, St. James's-street; Mr. King's, Westminster-Hall; Mr. Lewis, Covent-Garden; Mr. Rickerton's, Devereux-Court, near Temple-Bar; Mr. Meighan's, Gray's-Inn-Gate, Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; and at the Place of Sale; Where may be had ready Money for any Library or Parcel of Books.

Figure 3: Advertisement from *London Daily Post*, Wednesday, 13th of March 1728 (Issue 2644).

Finally, it should be noted that Heidenreich's brief profile entirely omits one half of Payne's career. For the entire duration of his career he was also a prolific publisher, specializing in reprints and high-end products, aimed at fairly distinct markets. Although Payne's titles and connections provide additional insight into subjects of interest to Heidenreich, such as his

Just Published.

A New Translation, with *Amelot de la Houssaie's* Notes, of the Learned Father PAUL's Treatise of *Beneficiary Matters*: or, the *Dues of the Altar*. Being a Compleat History of Ecclesiastical Revenues. Shewing, I. Their Rise, Progress, and the Various Means by which they have accrued to the Church. II. Why the Church in its Infancy had no Immovable Estates. III. That Ecclesiasticks become too greedy in acquiring Estates; and that their Avarice ought to be restrained. IV. That Estates left to the Church, in prejudice of the Legal-Heirs, ought to be rejected. V. That when Bishops became Judges of Civil Affairs, they neglected to Teach the Doctrines of Christ. VI. The Original of Tythes; and of the Pretensions and Claims of Curates. VII. The Original of Cardinals, who were at first inferior to Bishops. VIII. That the Abuse of Non-Residence, sprung from Ordaining without Title or Office. IX. The Distinction between Benefices compatible and incompatible. The Commendam its Original; and what are declared by the Canonists to be Necessaries for the Subsistence of the Beneficiaries, &c. X. That the Canonists have alter'd the ancient Policy of the Church, by asserting the Pope sole Proprietor of all Benefices.

Printed for OLIVE PAYNE, at the *Bible*, in *Round-Court*, in the *Strand*, 1731. Price 3s.

C.R. Kropf

Of the two dedicated catalogue studies to appear post-Heidenreich,²²⁶ C.R. Kropf's is the least useful in addressing the gaps identified in this chapter. He limits consideration of attribution to a straightforward division of items between Defoe and Farewell; and his profile of Olive Payne is a step backwards. He notes Plomer's incorrect dating of Payne's career, and concludes that the Defoe/Farewell sale is 'the earliest evidence I have found of Olive Payne's activities'.²²⁷ He

²²⁶ Of course, it should be remembered that Kropf's article was written before the appearance of Heidenreich's edition. Kropf notes that 'since this essay went to press *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* has been published by Helmut Heidenreich in Berlin. I have not yet had the opportunity to examine this study' (p. 133).

²²⁷ C.R. Kropf, 'The Sale of Defoe's Library', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65 (1971), 123-31 (p.125).

demonstrates no knowledge of the Hunt catalogue. The disparity between Plomer's dates and the 1731 sale of Defoe's books is noted, but Kropf's only conclusion from this conflict is to draw a false distinction between 'Olive' and 'Oliver' Payne:

Certainly the bookseller was not Oliver Payne, the eldest brother of 'Honest Tom' Payne. The name is spelt *Olive* on both the title page and at the end of the catalogue. According to Plomer, Oliver Payne did not go into business until 1733, and his sign was Horace's Head. This catalogue is dated 1731, and the sign of Payne's shop is the Bible.²²⁸

This theory is quickly debunked with reference to Payne's biography, sales and publications: the bookseller who began selling from Horace's Head in 1733 demonstrates a continuity of interests and business associates with the man who sold Defoe's books from the Bible – dating as far back as 1728.²²⁹ Moreover, this man is consistently called either Olive or O. Payne, both before and after the move from the Bible to Horace's Head. 'Oliver' Payne seems to have been another Plomer error, likely derived from the name of Olive and Thomas's father. Furthermore, Plomer notes that both Oliver and Thomas were from Brackley, Northamptonshire, where the family seems to have been established in the book trade.²³⁰

Further inaccuracy appears in Kropf's argument that 'very possibly Olive was a woman, as the name suggests, perhaps a widow of one of the several 'T. Paynes' who were at work in the

²²⁸ Kropf, p. 125.

²²⁹ See advertisement in *Daily Post*, Wednesday, 13th of March 1728.

²³⁰ See Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 194-95.

early eighteenth century in London and whom Plomer does not list'.²³¹ No source is specified for these obscure 'T. Paynes,' and Kropf's sole justification for this supposition is a footnote directing the reader to an article demonstrating that 'female booksellers were not uncommon'.²³² There is nothing in the extensive body of information on Payne's career which supports this bizarre suggestion, as Chapter 4 will show in detail.

The fact that misconceptions and errors like this could occur as late as 1971 both demonstrates the real lack of catalogue scholarship to supplement or correct Heidenreich (and the reason behind it, the field's lack of interest in the subject) and throws the relative merits of Heidenreich's work on Payne into relief –as well as highlighting the need for supplemental work. It should also be stated that, although the errors in his work on Payne are considerable, Kropf makes a valuable contribution to Farewell's profile, drawing on interviews and personal correspondence, and the consultation of biographical resources unavailable to Heidenreich.²³³ Admittedly, he seems to have concentrated most of his effort on Farewell, stating that 'a good deal more can be discovered about Phillip Farewell than about Payne' and sharing Heidenreich's belief in Payne's lack of importance.²³⁴

James Kelly

²³¹ Kropf, p. 125.

²³² Kropf, p. 125. Cites Francis Hamill, 'Some Unconventional Women before 1800: Printers, Booksellers, and Collectors,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLIX (1955), 300-14.

²³³ Kropf, pp. 126-29.

²³⁴ Kropf, p. 126.

James Kelly's 'Defoe's Library', which appeared in 2002, is the only post-Heidenreich use of the catalogue to re-examine the catalogue's background and intrinsic problems, provide revised guidelines for credible use, and reconsider its potential role in Defoe studies. Much of its value rests in its eloquent reiteration of Heidenreich's key points, like the arbitrariness of Aitken's selection of items and judgments on ownership, and the need for further investigation into the catalogue's circumstances due to the potential benefits to Defoe scholars. But Kelly also makes a unique contribution to catalogue study, building on the foundations of Heidenreich's Introduction and moving towards a comprehensive response to its omissions.²³⁵

The most important of these is the concise and astute reformulation of the questions surrounding the catalogue, which immediately moves discussion to a point of greater complexity than the traditional division of content between Defoe and Farewell. From the outset, he foregrounds the catalogue's inherently problematic nature, reminding scholars that it only reflects 'at best ... a possible proportion of Defoe's reading' and revising the criteria for responsible usage beyond *in dubio pro Daniele* to fully reflect its attribution difficulties.²³⁶ Like Heidenreich, he turns to the catalogue's background for answers to this problem, investigating Philips Farewell to discover grounds for positive attribution. However, there are two significant

²³⁵ Another interesting feature of the article is his attempt to trace specific catalogue items in the British Library's collection, which makes a convincing case for further work in this area. However, as it is not directly germane to the methodological issues being discussed here, I omit it from detailed consideration.

²³⁶ James Kelly, 'Defoe's Library', *Library*, 3, 3 (2002), 284-301. (p. 286). I cite his guidelines in full here for easy reference, as they are an important foundation for Chapter 5's revision of the grounds of credible usage:

1. The catalogue is not a reliable register of the contents of Defoe's library. At best the catalogue might be said to reflect, obliquely, a possible proportion of Defoe's reading. Consequently:
2. When items in the catalogue are cited as evidence for Defoe's familiarity with sources, in the absence of internal witness connecting the source with Defoe's undisputed writings all such claims must be regarded as unsubstantiated. And since all evidence derived solely from the catalogue is necessarily inconclusive:
3. All attempts to use the catalogue as an independent witness in questions concerning author-attribution are unsound. (p. 300)

advances in his approach. Not only does he devote more attention to Olive Payne, recognizing the relevance of his practices as a bookseller, but he also explicitly raises the possibility of the inventory's alternative sources for the first time:

Then there is the question of how much the inventory might have been 'salted' with items belonging to neither Defoe nor Farewell.²³⁷

Although Kelly has made an important contribution by merely asking this question, his awareness of the necessary sources suggests he could have provided a more satisfactory answer. Like Heidenreich, he demonstrates his awareness of the Hunt sale throughout the article. He incorporates it directly into his text, citing it as proof of Payne's establishment at the Round Court address well before the Defoe sale, and similarly using later catalogues to track his movements.²³⁸ However, he does not make the leap of connecting this resource to the 'salting' question—in fact, he makes no clear moves to offer an answer. His only use of the catalogues in connection with the issue is a citation of Heidenreich that implies his consultation of the sale Payne held immediately after Defoe, which Kelly cites in a supporting footnote:

Very few details are known concerning the dispersal of items after the sale. Heidenreich's suggestion that any unsold books might have been carried over to Payne's next and subsequent sales seems reasonable.²³⁹

²³⁷ Kelly, p. 286.

²³⁸ Kelly, p. 292.

²³⁹ Kelly, pp. 293-94.

Kelly's biographies of Farewell and Payne reverse the distribution of scholarly labour found in Heidenreich. His brief profile of Farewell summarizes and paraphrases Heidenreich (the sole reference cited), with no independent research on primary sources.²⁴⁰ But conversely, his profile of Payne draws on several histories of the book trade to supply information on Payne's baptism and parentage (locating primary records with the assistance of Howe and Plomer), his apprenticeship as a bookbinder, and Kelly uses Payne's catalogues and publications to specify the duration of his residence at each shop, and to outline his parallel career as a publisher.²⁴¹ He uses the latter point to reveal a hitherto undiscussed link between Defoe and Payne: Payne's publication of both Defoe's *Political History of the Devil* in 1734 and of Benjamin Norton Defoe's *A Compleat English Dictionary* in 1735.²⁴²

Despite these important emendations to Heidenreich, however, Kelly's work on the topic is far from complete. His search for Payne's other sales catalogues is also restricted to those found in the British Museum's list of sales catalogues, to which he directs the reader in a footnote.²⁴³ His acceptance of January 1730 as the starting date for Payne's career is surprising, since he recorded the September 1726 completion of his bookbinding apprenticeship, and his diligent research into Payne's early life seems not to have sparked curiosity about the almost four-year gap.²⁴⁴ Despite his more extensive research into Payne, Kelly ultimately falls back on

²⁴⁰ Kelly, p. 293.

²⁴¹ Kelly, p. 292.

²⁴² Kelly, p. 293. On a related point (unmentioned by Kelly), it should be noted that Payne later published another edition of Norton Defoe's *Dictionary* in 1737, and his sometime associate John Wilcox retitled and republished the dictionary in 1741, likely after Payne's death. See Chapter 4, p. 198)

²⁴³ Kelly, p. 292.

²⁴⁴ Kelly, p. 292. Ellic Howe's *A List of London Bookbinders, 1648-1815* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1950), p.74 is his primary source on Payne's apprenticeship.

Heidenreich's characterization of Payne as a novice bookseller, reiterating his questions about his unlikely acquisition of the Defoe sale. Noting that '[Payne] may well have stolen a march over his more established colleagues in the book trade,' he concludes that there are 'few clues to suggest how or why [his acquisition of Defoe's library after his death] might have happened, if indeed it did'.²⁴⁵

Additionally, while his acknowledgment of Payne's publications is welcome, he inexplicably dates his active years as a publisher 'between 1732 and 1741'.²⁴⁶ Not only does the English Short Title Catalogue list several earlier publications by Payne, but, as mentioned above, the Defoe/Farewell catalogue *itself* contains an advertisement for his works.

However, in spite of these errors, Kelly's article represents a major advance in specialist catalogue study, for its expansion of the attribution question,²⁴⁷ its additional research on Olive Payne, and its revision of the criteria of responsible usage to emphasize both the resource's inherent problems and the indispensability of justifying all examinations of its content with credible textual support from Defoe. His three guidelines remain the most explicit and rigorous formulations of criteria for credible use, and will likely be retained in any subsequent usage.

²⁴⁵ Kelly, p. 292.

²⁴⁶ Kelly, p. 292.

²⁴⁷ Despite the significance of Kelly's attention to Defoe/Farewell's potential salting problem, I have encountered only one subsequent article which acknowledges it at all. See Novak, 'The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 20, 3 (2008), 445-68 (p. 455, note 18).

Conclusion

This analysis of the three most recent specialist catalogue studies has demonstrated three key points: the general acceptance of Heidenreich's *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* as the definitive and conclusive treatment of the resource, the inadequacy of the prevalent mode of considering the attribution problem (the 'Defoe or Farewell' question), and the existence of two major gaps in the extant scholarship --detailed consideration of its potentially salted contents, and a profile of the bookseller Olive Payne. These two omissions are inextricably connected, as investigation of Olive Payne's possible effect on the inventory requires comprehensive knowledge of his background and business practices. Contrary to common belief, there remains a considerable amount of work to be done on the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, chiefly in addressing these two issues. The attribution problem requires a two-part response, which will allow future use to reflect the full complexity of the inventory's origins, and lay the groundwork for revised criteria for credible usage.

Firstly, the amount of salted content in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue needs to be identified and flagged. The most direct and immediate means of doing this is by studying a resource inexplicably neglected by catalogue scholars: the 1730 Stephen Hunt sales catalogue, which is the only surviving catalogue from Payne's earlier sales.²⁴⁸ The minimal extant consideration of salting has concentrated on the sale immediately following Defoe/Farewell instead, which, while it may provide insight into Payne's habitual use of this practice, reveals nothing about

²⁴⁸ It should be noted that its obscurity extends beyond Defoe studies: it remains one of the very few Payne catalogues in the British Library to be unavailable through *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, possibly due to its being classified in a restricted collection. In June 2012, it was the only catalogue for which I needed to place a special request in the Rare Books room.

Defoe's library. However, cross-referencing the Defoe/Farewell sale with the earlier catalogue allows us to locate the items that are confirmed or suspected to have been added by Payne.

Chapter 3 and Appendix A document the results of this process, as well as its limitations.

Unfortunately, cross-referencing alone cannot provide an adequate solution to the problem. The discovery of Payne's hitherto undocumented earlier sales, as well as other aspects of his business practices, indicates that the Defoe/Farewell inventory includes books from numerous sources outside the two libraries, many of which are untraceable. While these factors make it impossible to identify the full extent of the catalogue's salted content with certainty, research into one aspect of its background can enable more credible and confident usage. A comprehensive profile of Payne's interests and business associates allows the areas which are most likely to contain additional salted content to be identified, and subsequently evaluated with particular caution. Moreover, this profile provides additional insight into his connections to the Defoes, and into his acquisition of the library sale, which was somewhat surprising to Heidenreich and Kelly. This profile, and its associated bibliographical timeline, are contained in Chapter 4 and Appendix B.

In closing, it should be noted that the one area in which the extant scholarship probably requires no revision or supplementation is its work on Philips Farewell. Heidenreich and Kropf have consulted what seems to be the complete range of primary and secondary sources, and constructed a profile which gives scholars all the available information for the positive evaluation of this obscure clergyman's contribution to the inventory. Therefore, further work on Farewell forms no part of this project, although further discoveries will be welcomed.

Chapter 3:

Solving the attribution problem: identifying 'salted' content in Defoe/Farewell.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, the major gap in contemporary knowledge of the catalogue is its incomplete consideration of the attribution problem. The exclusive concentration on dividing the inventory between Defoe and Farewell has ignored the possibility that a considerable proportion of its contents came from sources outside these two libraries. Confirmation of James Kelly's suspicion that the bookseller Olive Payne 'salted' a number of items into the sale complicates all future evaluations of catalogue items' origins, as it establishes that a third party played an important role in constructing the inventory (drawing on multiple, and often untraceable, potential sources of stock), and invalidates the traditional Defoe/Farewell dichotomy and Heidenreich's *in dubio pro Daniele*. This discovery demands substantial supplementary scholarship to be undertaken so that the criteria for credible use can be revised in accordance with the fullest possible knowledge of the catalogue's background and inherent problems.

Chapter 2 outlined a two-part plan for addressing the gaps in the extant scholarship, and identifying Payne's contribution to the inventory. This chapter will carry out the first stage of the plan: the identification of specific salted items through a study of Payne's pre-Defoe sales. It will summarize and analyse the results of the cross referencing of Defoe/Farewell against Payne's early catalogues, advertisements, and publication, highlighting illustrative or revealing aspects of the complete list included as Appendix A. It will also explain how Payne's business

practices prevent this method from identifying the catalogue's salted items, and why a comprehensive biographical profile is the next step in addressing the attribution problem.

Locating salted items through cross-referencing: material and methodology.

In book history, 'salting' refers to a bookseller's augmentation of a library sale with stock left over from earlier auctions, or items that lingered unsold on shop shelves. It was an extremely common practice in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it comes as no surprise that it affected the content of the Defoe/Farewell inventory.²⁴⁹ The primary source for identifying the salted items here are the catalogues for the sales held by Olive Payne prior to the Defoe sale. As they supply empirical evidence that Payne handled certain items—with varying degrees of certainty, as will be seen—they allow for a degree of certainty that is impossible when dividing items between Defoe and Farewell through educated guesswork. Furthermore, there is only one surviving pre-Defoe sales catalogue to cross-reference. Although examination of this resource is only the first stage in identifying salted material, since there is evidence that Payne held several earlier sales whose catalogues have not survived, this process still has immediate benefits.

²⁴⁹ For further details on the contemporary prevalence of the practice, see Michael F. Suarez, 'English Book Sale Catalogues as Bibliographical Evidence: Methodological Considerations Illustrated by a Case Study in the Provenance and Distribution on Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*', *Library*, VI, 21 (1999), 321-60; *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael F. Turner, vol. 5 (1695-1830); and *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. by Michael F. Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

As noted in Chapter 2, on the 14th of January 1730, Payne held a combined sale of the libraries of a Dr. Stephen Hunt, and a 'Roman Catholic Priest,' as well as 'a large and Curious Collection of Books' with no specified owner.²⁵⁰ As with the Defoe/Farewell sale, Payne's ordering of the items gives no clear indication of ownership. The Hunt catalogue, as I will call it for brevity, is significantly larger than the 2107-item Defoe/Farewell, containing approximately 3246 individual items.²⁵¹ However, in Hunt, Payne tends to number most items separately, whereas in Defoe/Farewell we frequently find 8 or more distinct items grouped together under a single lot number. This difference in Payne's methodology may account for around 200-300 items in the aforementioned disparity: the Hunt catalogue is still significantly larger.

There are several other differences in Payne's methodology between the Hunt and Defoe/Farewell sales, which complicate item identification in a comparative study. The main difference is that in the Hunt sale, Payne offers less detailed and comprehensive publication information than he does in Defoe/Farewell. Writing in 1948, 'Friday' noted the difficulty of precisely identifying texts listed in Defoe/Farewell from 'such meagre entries as "Biblia Español," "A Fine Description of Paintings, &c." or "Il Petrarcha"'.²⁵² These difficulties are amplified in the Hunt sale, as the details on place and year of publication often supplied in Defoe/Farewell are often absent, as the following sample pages show. As a result, it is often impossible to distinguish different editions of the same title from exact matches.

²⁵⁰*Bibliotheca Curiosa, Being a Large and Curious Collection of Books in all Languages and Faculties ... To which is added also the Library of Dr. Stephen Hunt ... [and] the Library of a Roman Catholick Priest* (London: Olive Payne at the Bible, Round-Court in the Strand, 14th of January 1730)

²⁵¹ As noted in Chapter 1, the number of lots containing unspecified multiple volumes, maps, and tracts etc. means that a more precise count is impossible.

²⁵² 'Friday', p. 114.

(2)

37	Moll's Geography, with Maps, 3d Edition.	
38	Arzema's Revolut. of the Netherlands.	
39	Warcupp's Survey of Italy. Cuts.	
40	Siege of Breda, with fine Cuts.	
41	Life of the Duke of Espernon. —————	1670
	N. B. This is a Contin. of Davia's Civil Wars of France.	
42	Life of Mr. Rich. Baxter, by Sylreth. —————	1696
43	Hobbes's Leviathan. —————	1651
44	Malebranch's Search after Truth.	
45	Woolridge's System of Husbandry, &c. —————	1675
47	Selden's Dominion of the Sea.	
48	Chaucer's Works, ancient Edit. very fair.	
49	————— Ditto, with his Life. —————	1602
50	Milthew's Dictionary, 9 Languages.	
51	Torranso's Italian and English Dictionary.	
52	Howell's English, French, Italian, and Spanish Dictionary.	
53	————— Hist. of the World, 2d 3d, and 4th Parts. ————	1685
54	L'Étrange's Æsop's Fables, 2d Edit.	
55	Richardson's State of England and Europe.	
56	Weller's of Witchcraft.	
57	Blount's Life of Apollonius Tyaneus.	
58	Fiorio's Italian and English Dictionary, with Rules for the Italian Tongue.	
59	Gaillon's Heraldry, 4th Edit. with the new Coats of Arms.	
60	Sterry's Freedom of the Will.	
61	Thesaurus Brevium, interested.	
62	Brown's Vulgar Errors.	
64	Malvezzi's Discourse on Corn. Tacitus.	
65	Sir Rob. Howard's Plays, 2d Edit.	
66	Palton de Pace Regis & Regni.	
67	Guth's Ovid's Metamorphoses, with Cuts. —————	1717
68	Dryden's Virgil, with 100 Cuts. —————	1697
69	Booth of Real Affairs.	
70	Collier's Hist. Dictionary, 1st Edit. with Supplement. ————	1696
71	Gordon's Lives of Pope Alex. VI. and Cæsar Borgia, fig. 1729	
72	Thucydides Hist. de Bello Peloponnesico.	
73	Agricola de Mens. & Ponder. Rom. atque Græc. Item de Preciof. Metal. & Moneta. —————	ap. Feb. 15
74	Cadammuli Columbi, &c. Naviga. ad Terras Ignotas, &c.	
76	Goggenus Thesaur. Ling. Arabice.	
77	Scapulae Lexicon.	
78	Thorellæ Lexicon Heb. Syriac. Rabin. & Arab. Lond. 1635	
79	Maffei Hist. Indiarum.	
80	Linwood's Provinciales & Ordo Constitut.	
81	Mirficus Dict. in undecim Ling.	
82	Salsas Gr. Medicinæ, Chart. mag. —————	1499
83	Terentius Variorum. —————	Venet. 1567
84	Dionysius Halicarnassicus. —————	Proben. 1533
85	Josephi Opera, cum fig.	

(3)

86	Ptolemæi Tabul. Geograph. Orbis Terrarum.	
87	Virgillii Opera, cum Notis & Fig. —————	—
88	Fonsæus de Præfca Cæsarum Genæ, fig. —————	—
89	Plutarchi Vitæ. —————	Par. ap. More
90	————— Moral. —————	ib. ap. Vajola
91	Erasmi Adagia.	
92	Bosfinii Rerum Ungaricarum. —————	Wicbe
93	Quimilian' Institut. Orationarum. —————	p
94	Vossii Epistolæ. —————	Lon.
95	Militaris Ordinis Joh. Rhodiorum Reb. Gestis.	
96	Selden de Successionibus.	
97	Hervei Britonia, in 4 Lib. Lombard. Sententiar. ————	—
98	Athenæi Opera, Gr. Lat.	
99	De Regni Neapolitani Jure pro Tremellio Duce. ————	Pa
100	Belcario Pegalione Rerum Gallicarum.	
101	Sabellici Opera omnia, 4 tom. —————	—
102	Epist. Melancthon. T. Mori & Lud. Vitis —————	Lon.
103	Gilberti Cognof. Nozereni Opera.	
104	Car. Sigonii de Antiq. Jure Civium Romanorum & publ. Atheniens. corumque ac Lacedæmon. ————	—
105	Corn. Agrippa de Occult. Philosoph.	
106	Erasmi Adagia, Par. 1779. Cum Soboti Eclogarum mist. Plethenis de Reb. Peloponnes. Gr. Lat. ————	Plan.
107	Hygini Fabulæ, cum fig.	
108	Pici Mirandulæ Adver. Althologiam. —————	—
109	Ovidii Epistolæ, Not. Var. cæret. Tit. —————	—
110	Erequeiz Georg. Prin. Danic. ab Oxon. —————	—
111	Epicædia Oxon. in Obi. H. N. Maræ. —————	—
112	Grammatici in 4 Lib. Prim. Aristot. de Aufcult. Gr. ————	—
113	Cooperi Dictionarium.	
114	Aristotelis Opera omnia, Gr. Lat. per du Vallium, tom	
115	Paul. Æmilii de Reb. Gest. Francorum.	
116	Euripidii Trag. Gr. Lat. cum Vaz ejus.	
117	Placitorum Summ. apud Gallos canæ Lib. XII. misti Edit. & Indicib. Hist. per Lucium. —————	Par. C. Step
118	Regul. Benedicti Comment.	
119	Herold Orig. German. Antiquit.	
120	English, Latin, French, &c. Divinity. Folio	
120	Owen on the Holy Spirit. —————	—
121	Tilston's Works, published by himself.	
122	Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.	
123	Bp Taylor's Sermons.	
124	St. Cyprian's Works, by Marshall. —————	—
125	Lawson's Body of Divinity.	
126	Harris's Works.	
127	Tindal's Bible, very fair, want. Title.	
128	Horice on the Sacrament.	

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Figure 5: Sample pages from Hunt catalogue (1730)

(2)

43	Common Prayer for the use of the Ch. of Scotland. <i>Edinb.</i>	1637
44	Lead against Fisher. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1673
45	Jackſon's Works, 3 vol. complet. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1673
46	Blackmore on Job. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1700
47	Comber's Works. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1684
48	Uſher's Body of Divinity, Turkey, gilt Leaves. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1670
49	Boyle on the 39 Articles. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1716
50	Covel's Account of the Greek Church, Cuts. — — — — —	<i>Camb.</i> 1712
51	Common Prayer Book, King James II. — — — — —	<i>Oxon.</i> 1685
52	Wake's State of the Church and Clergy of Engl. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1703
53	Minton's Sermons on the 119th Psalm, with his Life, 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1703
54	Echard's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1703
55	Hiſt. of the Bible, Bloom, fine Cuts, very fair. — — — — —	1705
56	Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1708
57	Sam. Johnſon's Works. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1710
58	Daubuz on the Revelation of St. John. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1720
59	Chillingworth's Works. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1719
60	Caldewood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, from the Reformation, to the end of James VI. Reign. — — — — —	1678
61	Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation. — — — — —	1670

Libri Miſcellanei, &c. Folio.

62	Britannicarum Eccleſiarum Antiquitates, Uſerii. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1687
63	Polydori Virgilio Hiſt. Ang. Edit. Opt. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1534
64	Julius Bellus, de bello Germanico. — — — — —	<i>Franc.</i> 1627
65	Platonis Opera Ficini, gilt Leaves. — — — — —	<i>Frøb.</i> 1546
66	Manutius in Epitholas familiares Ciceronis. — — — — —	<i>Lugd.</i> 1580
67	Corpus Poetarum, 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>a Mattaire.</i> <i>Lond.</i> 1715
68	Voellii Bibliotheca Juris Canonici, 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>Laſt.</i> 1661
69	Smithei Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Genis Anglorum. — — — — —	<i>Par.</i> 1674
70	Calvini Lexicon Juridicum. — — — — —	<i>a Gothofred.</i> <i>Gen.</i> 1683
71	Nebriffenſis, a Rerum Fernando & Eliſabethæ Hiſpania. — — — — —	1545
72	Platina de Vitiis Pontificum. — — — — —	<i>Col.</i> 1568
73	Seldeni Mare, Clauſum ſeu de Dominio Maris. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1635
74	Gallia Chriſtiana a Roberto Cramoify. — — — — —	<i>Lut.</i> 1626
75	Holyoke's Dictionary, Lat. and Eng. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1677
76	Tullii Cicer. Opera, 4 vol. Lambini. — — — — —	<i>Col.</i> 1616
77	Plinii Naturalis Hiſtoria, cum Annotationibus Geleſi, & Obſerv. Piaziani, item Annot. Ræmani. — — — — —	<i>Lugd.</i> 1531
78	Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonice. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1721
79	Miſcellari Dictionarium Neno-Lingue. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1616
80	Buchanan Opera omnia, 2 vol. a Ruddiman. Edit. Opt. <i>Edin.</i> — — — — —	1715
81	Scapule Lexicon. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1628
82	Dieto. — — — — —	<i>Gen.</i> 1628
83	Wolfius in Gregoriz Byzantinæ Hiſt. Gr. & Lat. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1562
84	Spelman Alfredi Magni Vita, ſig. — — — — —	<i>Oxon.</i> 1678
85	Epit. Eraſmi, & Melancthonis, & Mori & Lud. Viris Epit. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1642

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86	T. Caſtalcuzeni Hiſt. Gr. & Lat. cum Notis Gretſeri. <i>Par.</i>	1645
87	Geographia Sacra a Patre Carolo a S. Paulo Mappis. — — — — —	<i>Lut.</i> 1641
88	Catalogus Manuſ. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ. — — — — —	<i>Oxon.</i> 1696
89	Wormiani Hiſtoria rerum Rariorum, ſig. — — — — —	<i>Eic.</i> 1654
90	Bonanni Tempſi Vaticanæ Hiſtoria. — — — — —	<i>Rom.</i>
91	Pannonii Hiſt. de Rebus Ungaricis. — — — — —	<i>Col. Agrip.</i> 1612
92	Rerum Sicularum Scriptores. — — — — —	<i>Franc.</i> 1579
93	Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Civium Roman. &c. — — — — —	<i>Par.</i> 1576
94	Stuckii Arriani Hiſtoria, & Ponti Euxini, &c. — — — — —	<i>Lugd.</i> 1577
95	Ciceronis Orationes, 2 vol. <i>Variarum apud Ternacum.</i>	1554
96	Homeri Opera, Gr. & Lat. a Caſtaio. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1567
97	Terentii Comædiæ. Var. — — — — —	<i>Ven.</i> 1567
98	Pignæ Poetica Horatiana. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1561
99	Bucellini Annales Germaniæ, &c. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1654
100	Juſtinian de Rebus Venetiſ. — — — — —	<i>Ven.</i> 1575
101	Seldenus de Jure Naturali & Gentium. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1640
102	Monumenta Patavinæ Urſari ſig. — — — — —	<i>Pat.</i> 1672
103	Nicubourii Legatio Botavica, cum ſig. — — — — —	<i>Amſt.</i> 1668
104	Spelmanii Gloſſarium. — — — — —	
105	T. Livii Hiſtoria, ſig. — — — — —	<i>Venet.</i> 1520
106	Ciceronis Epitholæ Var. — — — — —	<i>apud Vaſeſianum.</i> <i>Par.</i> 1534
107	Heiniſii Hiſtoriz ſig. — — — — —	<i>Eic.</i> 1631
108	Lloyd Series Chronologica. — — — — —	<i>Oxon.</i> 1700
109	Skinner's Etymologicon Linguz Anglicanz. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1671
110	Euripider Trag. Gr. & Lat. cum Notis. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1561
111	Holland's Hiſtoria Anglica, cum ſig. — — — — —	
112	Saluſti Opus. — — — — —	<i>Ven.</i> 1481
113	Saxonis Grammatici Hiſtoriz Dunicæ. — — — — —	1534
114	Johnſoni Hiſtoria Rerum Britannicarum. — — — — —	<i>Amſt.</i> 1674
115	Novus Orbis Regionum, &c. Voyag. &c. — — — — —	<i>Baſil.</i> 1537
116	Mechanical Cuts. — — — — —	
117	Dictionarium Trilingue, Heb. Gr. &c. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1562
118	Life and Negotiations of Sir L. Jenkins, by Wynoe. 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>Lond.</i> 1724
119	Stow's Chronicle of England, by How. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1631
120	Echard's Hiſt. of England to the End of King James I. <i>ib.</i>	1707
121	Hackett's Life of A. P. Williams large Paper. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1693
122	Fryer's Travels to Eaſt-India, and Perſia. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1698
123	Ambaſſadors Travels to Muſcovy, Tartary, Perſia, and India, Cuts. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1652
124	Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, fine Heads. — — — — —	1574
125	Rycar's State of the Ottoman Empire, Cuts. — — — — —	1670
126	Hobbes's Leviathan, beſt. — — — — —	1651
127	Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations. — — — — —	<i>Oxon.</i> 1703
128	Huſband's Collections of Parl. from 1624, to 1646. 2 vol. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1643
129	Brady of Eng. Cities and Boroughs, their Liberties. — — — — —	1722
130	Milton's Paradife Loſt, fine Cuts. — — — — —	<i>ib.</i> 1695
131	Davilla's Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of France, beſt. — — — — —	1678

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Figure 6: Sample pages from Defoe/Farewell catalogue (1731)

Moreover, in both sales Payne frequently Latinises, abbreviates and paraphrases book titles with varying degrees of intelligibility and accuracy, and often fails to specify the author.²⁵³ When he supplies enough information to identify either title or author, or to conduct a keyword search in the English Short Title Catalogue, it is usually possible to deduce an item's identity. However, there remains a group of around 300 items from the Hunt sale that I have been unable to identify, and which may contain additional salted texts. A further complication comes from Payne's often incorrect and inconsistent spelling of proper names. To give only a few examples, an author listed as 'Charleton' in the Hunt sale becomes 'Carelton' in Defoe/Farewell, 'La Charriere' becomes 'Charrier', 'Clerke' becomes 'Clark', 'Goodhall' becomes 'Goodall' and 'Diemerbroeck' becomes 'Diembrock'.²⁵⁴ However, the search is sometimes simplified by Payne's habit of repeating item descriptions across catalogues, including some of his idiosyncratic paraphrases. These difficulties are far less significant in relation to Defoe/Farewell, as Heidenreich's *The Libraries of Daniel Defoe and Phillips Farewell* has not only tried to identify every item, it also includes a comprehensive author/subject index. This has been a valuable resource in the location of salted items in Defoe/Farewell, as potential matches can often be located through knowledge of only a Hunt item's general subject or suspected author. However, the ways in which these factors often prevent certain identification required the different levels of certainty attached to each 'match' to be recorded, so that the full extent of the results could be set forth, but their significance not overstated.

²⁵³ The significant number of errors and omissions in the Defoe/Farewell was noted by Heidenreich, who described the catalogue as appearing like a 'slap-dash inventory, compiled by some shop-hand perhaps' (p. X). Even in this state, it is still a significant advance on the Hunt catalogue!

²⁵⁴ See Appendix A, items 357, Collection of Scarce and Unusual Tracts 174, Libri Omissi 83 and 87 (Hunt); and 192, 1449a, 589 and 588 (Defoe/Farewell).

For reasons of clarity, I would now like to detail the methodology used in the cross-referencing process. A complete scan of the Hunt catalogue was ordered from the British Library, and the listed titles were checked for duplicates in Defoe/Farewell, in the order of their numeration in Hunt. In cases where Payne's provision of information was sufficient for identification of the Hunt Item, the Defoe/Farewell inventory was checked directly, using both Heidenreich's Index and my own knowledge of the contents. In cases of uncertain identification, further clarification was sought through keyword/date searches of the English Short Title Catalogue, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Early English Books Online and Google. When these measures failed, the item's unidentifiable status was noted, and the search moved on to the next item listed in Hunt. Upon location of a match, the lot number and Payne's item description for both catalogues were entered into a two-column table of complete results, with the item's actual title, author and publication details included in a footnote, when clarification was required. The certainty of identification was also recorded, with all matches placed in one of three categories.²⁵⁵

- 1) **Definite** matches, where Payne supplies enough information to allow for identification of title, author *and* edition, indicating that this item most likely originated in Hunt and was salted into Defoe/Farewell. These items are indicated in **bold type** in the following tables.
- 2) **Probable** matches, where information in one (or occasionally more) of these categories is missing, but where the title is a confirmed match, and there is a match in *all* the other information supplied. Usually, this category provides a match of title and

²⁵⁵ In addition to the findings discussed in detail in this chapter, I also found 64 cases where there was a title/author match, but where the publication details clearly indicated different editions. While this indicates an interesting overlap of Defoe, Farewell and/or Payne's interests, it seems to have no direct relevance to the question of salted content. Therefore, it has been largely omitted from this chapter.

author, but no confirmation of a specific edition. These items are indicated in unmodified text in the following tables.

- 3) **Possible** matches, where there is some difficulty in confirming an item's identity (usually because of Payne's paraphrasing or omission of details), but a partial or potential match is found. These items are indicated in *italics* in the following tables.

It should also be noted that the probable and possible categories sometimes include multiple potential matches, as they can contain numerous editions of the same item which lack the necessary details for precise item identification. In these cases, I have included all possibilities in the table's record of the match, but number them as single items.

Results of the Defoe/Farewell/Hunt cross-reference

Cross-referencing the Defoe/Farewell inventory against the Hunt sales catalogue indicates 92 definite matches, 156 probable matches and 94 possible matches, which are listed in full in Appendix A. As noted earlier, the difficulty in identifying around 300 items in Hunt suggests that the true total may be even greater. Even with this reservation, the location of 342 potential salted items confirms that a substantial proportion of the Defoe/Farewell inventory came from sources outside these two libraries, thereby proving that a more detailed and thorough evaluation of the attribution problem is required for responsible use of the catalogue. Furthermore, as the previous chapter detailed, the evidence of Payne's earlier activity, and the subsequent multiplication of potential sources for the Defoe/Farewell items, prevents this cross-referencing process from definitively locating *all* the salted material. Further discoveries rest on investigation of Payne's business practices and interests, which will

be addressed in Chapter 4's profile, and lead back towards the method of educated guesswork that has governed the 'Defoe or Farewell' question. It is also important to remember that identification of a catalogue item as salted does not automatically preclude Defoe from having read it, since, as Kelly argues, catalogue material is an unsound independent witness, and should always be secondary to an analysis of Defoe's writings.

However, despite the limits to the knowledge gained through this process, it does have several immediate benefits. Aside from the identification of individual texts added to the sale by Payne, when examined with reference to both Defoe and Payne, it becomes possible to identify the categories most likely to contain additional salted items, where Defoe scholars should exercise particular caution. When examining the list of salted items in detail, it becomes apparent that its proportions of subject and language broadly correlate not only with the general contents of the catalogue, but also with the specific areas which Aitken, Secord, Heidenreich and Vickers have aligned with Defoe's interests and writings. Works on British and international history are well-represented, as are those on travel narratives, works on philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and the sciences. There is also an array of foreign language dictionaries, grammars and texts. The extent of this general correlation is perhaps best indicated by the salted list's inclusion of a work that may be Defoe's: Duncan Campbell's *Life*.²⁵⁶

The first notable feature of the table of salted items is how much of the listed material has been explored as potential Defoe sources. The body of travel and geographic literature outlined in *Studies of the Narrative Methods of Defoe* has a strong presence on this list,

²⁵⁶ See Appendix A, L. O. 320 (Hunt), 915 (Defoe/Farewell) for item details. For details of this item's attribution problems see P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions* (London/Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 126 (item 432).

comprising 11 items, one of which Secord has cited directly, noting how Defoe 'knew sufficiently about the Inquisition in various parts of the world: he also owned a copy of the 1688 translation of Dellon's *History of the Inquisition as it is exercised at Goa*'.²⁵⁷

Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730) :	Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731) :
381: Randolph's State of the Islands in the Archipelago.	493. Randolph's State of the Islands in the Archipelago. (Ox. 1687)
385: <i>Proceedings against Kidd, Jus Regnum, Jura Populi Anglici, with several other Scarce Tracts.</i>	162: <i>An Account of the Proceedings in relation to Capt. Kidd (1701)</i>
814: <i>L'India Orientale Descrit. Geog. & Hist. 2 tom. del Tosi (Roma 1676)</i>	512: <i>L'India Orientale Descrit. Geog. & Hist. del Abbat. Tosi, 2 vol. (Rom. 1676)</i>
1043: Levin. Apollonius de Reb. in Peruvia gestis (1567)	833: Apolonius de rebus Peruvini. (Ant 1567)
1117: Hist. Navigat. in Brasil quae, & America dicitur.	824: Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam, fig. (1586)
1247: <i>Hist. and Geog. Descript. of the Country of Amazons.</i>	1048: <i>Voyages into South America. (1698)</i>
2143: Cluverii Introd. In Univ. Geograph., fig.	428: Cluverii Geographica, cum Notis Hekelii & Reskii, Mappis. (Amst. 1697)
Collection of Scarce and Uncommon Tracts 96: Mather's History of the War with the Indians in New-England (1676)	Libri Omissi 43: The War between the Eng. and Indians in New-England. 1676 or L.O. 188: Mather's History of the War with the Indians in New-England (1676)
L.O. 114: Varenus Geog. Fig a Jacobo Juris. (Cant. 1712)	860: Varenii Geographia Generalis. – a Juris. (Cant. 1712)
L.O. 323: Voyage to Guinea, with an Account of the Customs, Manners, &c.	1173: Villault's Voyage to Guinea (1670)
CSUT 235: Relation of the Inquisition at Goa, during 8 years, printed by the King of France's Permission (1688)	L.O. 209: The History of the Inquisition at Goa. (1688)

²⁵⁷ Secord, *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe*, p. 117.

The works by Ambroise Paré, Giovanni Michele Savonarola and Isbrand van Diemerbroeck whose influence on *Journal of the Plague Year* has been evaluated by Watson Nicholson and 'Friday' appear on the salted list, with the Van Diemerbroeck text being confirmed as the same edition.²⁵⁸

Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730) :	Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731):
282: <i>Paraei Opera Medica, cum fig.</i>	500: <i>Discours de la Maniere des Venins de la Licorne & de la Peste par Ambroise Pare, avec fig. (Par. 1582)</i>
299: Savonarola Practibus Canon de Febribus, & Balneis	264: Savonarola de Febribus, de Balneis omnibus Ital. (Juntas 1552)
L. O. 87: Diemerbroeck Tract. de Peste (apud Bleau. 1665)	588: Diembrock de Peste (Bleau. 1665)

One of the Dutch dictionaries Fausett cited as proof for Defoe's knowledge of the language appears as a probable match;²⁵⁹ and four works by Vickers's central scientific figures are present, with the two John Wallis texts being confirmed matches:

Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730) :	Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731) :
CSUT 52: <i>Hooke's Lectures and Collections. Cuts.</i>	273: <i>Dr. Hook's Cutlerian Lectures, and other Discourses made before the Royal Society, published by Waller, Secretary to the Society, with Cuts (1705)</i>
1871: Boyle's Hydrostatical Paradoxes	1221: Boyle's Hydrostatical Paradoxes (1666)

²⁵⁸ See Nicholson, pp. 6, 34, 178; 'Friday', p. 113; and Appendix A, items 282, 299, L.O. 87 (Hunt); 500, 264, 588 (Defoe/Farewell).

²⁵⁹ John Minshew, *Minshae Emendatio...the guide into Tongues, in omnibus his nouem linguis* (London: Iohn Hauiland, 1626). See Appendix A, Item 50 Hunt; 79 Defoe/Farewell.

248: Wallisi Opera. tom 3d. (Oxon. 1699)	274: Johannis Wallis Opera Mathematica. Tom III. (Oxon. 1699)
634: Wallisi Mechanica, cum. Fig complet. (1670)	600: Wallis Mechanica, 3 Parts, complet. – (1670)

The list also has a strong representation of categories –and even individual texts—where there is a general acceptance of Defoe’s knowledge of certain sources or contexts. For example, there are eight potentially salted items by Grotius, Pufendorf and Locke, whose relevance to Defoe has produced a significant body of criticism, starting with Novak’s *Defoe and the Nature of Man*.²⁶⁰ Similarly, specific works by Henry Chareilton, Bulstrode Whitlock, Richard Carew, John Norden, Sampson Erdeswicke, Elias Ashmole and William Petty which Pat Rogers and John McVeagh have identified as specific sources for Defoe’s *Tour* are also found in the Hunt sale, as well as items directly related to the architectural source group defined by J.H. Andrews.²⁶¹

Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730) :	Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731) :
8: Whitlock’s Memorials, with his Life.	200: Whitlock’s Memorials (1682)
24: <i>Webb’s Vindication of Stone-Henge Restor’d. Cuts.</i>	192: <i>Inigo-Jones’s Stone-Heng restor’d, with Memoirs of his Life and fine Cuts, with Carelton and Webb (1725)</i>
346: Carew’s Survey of Cornwall, and an Epistle on the Excellency of the English Tongue, with his Life (1723)	466: Carew’s Survey of Cornwall, with his Life. 1723
348: Norden’s Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, Maps and Cuts. (1723)	492: Norden’s Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, Maps, &c. (1723) or L.O. 2: A

²⁶⁰ See Appendix A, items 595, 875, 998, 1075, 1154/1163, 1482, L.O. 239, 890, 1055 (Hunt); 289, 1075, 691, 780, 609, 691, 498, 127, 912 (Defoe/Farewell).

²⁶¹ J.H. Andrews, ‘Defoe and the Source of his *Tour*’, *Geographical Journal*, 126 (1960), 268-77 (p. 274); John McVeagh, ‘Introduction’, in *Writings on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe*, vol. 1: *A Tour Thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume I* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), pp. 15-43 (p. 26); Pat Rogers, ‘Defoe’s *Tour* and the Identity of Britain’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Daniel Defoe*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 102-120 (p. 111-13).

	<i>Map of Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire, six feet by four, with 728 Coat of Arms round the Map.</i> ²⁶²
357: <i>Charleton's Stonehenge restor'd to the Danes, fig.</i>	192: <i>Inigo-Jones's Stone-Heng restor'd, with Memoirs of his Life and fine Cuts, with Carelton and Webb. (1725)</i> ²⁶³
881: <i>Erdeswicke's Survey of Staffordshire.</i>	953: <i>Erdeswick's Antiquities of Staffordshire. (1717)</i> ²⁶⁴
1351: <i>Ashmole's Nobility of the Realm, according to Law.</i>	1229 <i>Ashmole's Hist. of the Order of the Garter, Cuts. 1715 or L.O.6. Ashmole's Order of the Garter, very fair, a Presentation Book from the Author (Lond. 1672)</i>
CSUT 185: <i>Wotton's Elements of Architecture. (1624)</i>	482: <i>Wotton's Elements of Architecture (1624)</i>
CSUT 580: <i>Petty of the People, Housing, &c. of London and Paris.</i>	1472c: <i>Sir W. Petty's Political Arithmetick, Fr. and Eng.</i>

Finally, it should also be noted that the salted list contains several items directly related to Defoe contexts where there has been significant critical interest, but less emphasis on the location of specific sources. One such area is the catalogue's Scottish material, where the salted tracts, genealogies, speeches and legal works have indirectly factored into biographical and historical analyses of Defoe's relationship with Scotland.²⁶⁵

Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730) :	Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731):
36: <i>Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, 3rd Edt.</i>	163: <i>Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.</i>
939: Mackenzie's Antiq. Of the Royal Line of Scotland (1685)	663 : Lloyd of Chur. Government, and Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1685)

²⁶² Heidenreich supplies Norden as possible author.

²⁶³ See also Hunt, 24.

²⁶⁴ Heidenreich suggests 'Survey of Staffordshire' as this work's title.

²⁶⁵ See Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 203-82; Spiro Peterson, 'Defoe in Edinburgh, 1707', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 38 (1974), pp. 21-33; Maximilian E. Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 289-337.

CSUT 112: Buchanan and Maitland de Jure Regni apud Scotos.	731: Buchananani Hist. Scoti. & Jure Reg. ap. Scot. 1643 <u>or</u> L.O. 171 : De Jure Regni apud Scotos (1689)
CSUT 113: Account of Scotland's Grievances by Lauder. Ministry	L.O. 169e: Scotland's Grievance concerning Lauderdale's Ministry.
CSUT 114: Audley Mervin's Speech concerning the Affairs of Scotland (1662)	1457: Sir Audley Mervin's Speech to the Duke of Ormond (1662)
CSUT 119: Scotch Mist cleared up to prevent Eng. being wet to the Skin, with the Trial of the Earl of Argyle.	L.O. 183: The Scotch Mist cleared up.
<i>CSUT 127 Charge of the Commission of Scotland against Laud and Strafford. --1641</i>	<i>L.O. 181 Pym's Declaration of the Charge of High-Treason against Earl of Strafford. -- 1641</i>
CSUT 191: Waraei de Scriptoribus Hiberniae	323 Waraeus de Scriptoribus Hiberniae
CSUT 337: Mackenzie's Foundat. of Monarchy, especially in Scotland	663b: Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1685) <u>or</u> 1036 : Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1686) <u>or</u> 1089: Mackenzie of the Monarchy of Scotland (1684)
<i>CSUT 382 : Charge of the Scotch Commisioners against ABp Laud, and the Earl of Strafford (1641)</i>	<i>L.O. 181: Pym's Declaration of the Charge of High-Treason against the Earl of Strafford (1641)</i>
<i>CSUT 722: A True Account of the Murder of Duke Hamilton by Mac-kartney</i>	<i>1427c: A Defense of Maccartney (1712)</i>
L.O. 9 : Continuat. of Murray's Laws of Scotland from 1689 to 1707, by Sir James Murray and others (1707)	184a: Murray's Laws of Scotland, &c. continued to the Union, 2 vol. (1707)

Limitations of the cross-referencing process

Despite its benefits to any evaluation of Defoe's sources, the list of salted items is incapable of fully identifying Olive Payne's contribution to the catalogue. In addition to the aforementioned difficulties resulting from Payne's item descriptions, there is also the fact that while the Hunt sale may be Payne's first surviving sales catalogue, it was not his first actual sale. Between the

13th of March 1728 and the 4th of May 1730, four advertisements appeared in the London *Daily Post*, demonstrating that Payne held at least three pre-Hunt book sales. These newspapers are part of the British Library's collection of seventeenth and eighteenth-century newspapers, which both Heidenreich and biographer William Lee consulted to locate an advertisement for the Defoe/Farewell sale in the *Daily Advertiser*.²⁶⁶ These scholars' overlooking of these earlier advertisements can be attributed to both their reliance on the British Museum's *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900* for establishing the parameters of Payne's career as 1730-1741 (giving no incentive for earlier searches); and the advertisements' placement in a different newspaper. However, their discovery was mostly the result of technological advances in the field: they were discovered through an undated keyword search of the Burney Collection archives.

²⁶⁶ *Daily Advertiser*, 13 November, 1731. See Heidenreich, IX; William Lee, *Daniel Defoe: his life and recently discovered writings 1716-1729*, 3 vols. (London: John Camden Hotten, 1869) vol. I, pp. 470-1.

Bibliotheca Selectissima: Or,
A Catalogue of Select Books, in Divini-
 ty, Antiquity, History, Voyages, Sculpture, Physick and
 Mathematicks; Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and Eng-
 lish. Among which are the Works of the following Authors;
 Burnet, Taylor, Comber, Mede, Barrow, Usher, Cassin, Buchan-
 nan, Lock, Dryden, Collier, Dugdale, Leslie, Grotius, Plutarch,
 Lord Clarendon, Hobbs, and Dart, &c. Which will begin to be
 sold Cheap (the Price being mark'd in each Book) by OLIVE
 PAYNE, at the Bible in New-Round Court in the Strand, this
 Day the 12th Instant.

Catalogues may be had Gratis at the following Coffee-Houses; at
 Clare's in Conduit-street, Hanover-Square; British, Charing-
 Cross; Slaughter's, St. Martin's-Lane; Richard's, in Fleet-street;
 St. Paul's, St. Paul's Church-yard: Also at these Booksellers, Mr.
 Stokoe's in the Haymarket; Mrs. Greave's, St. James's-street;
 Mr. King's, Westminster-Hall; Mr. Lewis, Covent-Garden; Mr.
 Rickerton's, Devereux-Court, near Temple-Bar; Mr. Meighan's,
 Gray's-Inn-Gate, Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; and at the Place
 of Sale; Where may be had ready Money for any Library or Par-
 cel of Books.

Figure 7: Advertisement from London Daily Post, 13th of March 1728 (Issue 2644)

*By OLIVE PAYNE at the Bible in Round-
 Court in the Strand,*

THIS Day will begin to be sold very
 cheap the Price mark'd in the first Leaf of each Book, a good
 and uncommon Collection of Books in several Languages, chiefly
 French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and English, among which are
 Roma subterranea, 2 Vol. description du monde, 6 Vol. a Curious
 Herbal in 2 Vol. in High German, Vocabulario, della Crusca,
 2 Vol. a Curious Book of Fencing in French, with fine Cuts,
 Chronica del Guazzo, &c. Where may be had Money for any
 Parcel of Books in any Language.

N. B. The Books are pric'd five Shillings Cheaper in the Pound
 than they are to be bought for in London.

Figure 8: Advertisement from London Daily Post, Friday, 16th of May 1729 (Issue 3012)

By OLIVE PAYNE, *Bookseller, at the Bible
in Round-Court in the Strand,*

THIS Day will begin to be sold very cheap the Price mark'd in the first Leaf of each Book, a good and uncommon Collection of Books in several Languages, chiefly French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and English, among which are the following Books, viz. *Roma subterranea*, 2 Vol. 16 s. *Description du monde, par rocolles*, Paris; 1660. 2 l. 2 s. *a Curious Herbal in High Du.ch*, 2 Vol. by Bauhinus. 1 l. 1 s. 1687. *Baluzii rerum francorum*, 2 Tom Cha. Mag. 16 s. A large Book of Fencing; &c. in French, by Tibault, with a great many fine Cuts, 1 l. 11 s. 6 d. A Curious Chronicle in Italian, by Marco Guazzo, finely printed, 15 s. all these in Folio.

N. B. The Books are pric'd five Shillings Cheaper in the Pound than they are to be bought for in London.
Catalogues to be seen at the Place of Sale.

Figure 9: Advertisement from London Daily Post, 17th of May 1729 (Issue 3013)

ACATALOGUE of BOOKS: Contain-
ing above twelve Hundred Volumes, in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English. To which are added, above six Hundred scarce Tracts, in Mathematicks, Physick, Natural History, Voyages and Travels, Husbandry, Parliamentary Affairs, &c. which will begin to be sold cheap (the lowest Price fix'd in each Book) this Day, May 4,

By OLIVE PAYNE, *Bookseller,*

At the Bible in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite to York-Buildings, beginning at Eight in the Morning.

Catalogues may be had gratis at Mr. Strahan's in Cornhill; Mr. Worrall's in Bell-yard, Temple-Bar; Mr. Lewis's, Covent-Garden; Mr. Smith's in New Bond-street; Mr. Jolliffe's and Mr. Jackson's, St. James's; Mr. Penn's in Westminster-Hall; and at the Place of Sale.

Where may be had,

Tractatus de Impuratione Divina Peccati Adami Posteris ejus universis in Reatum. Authore Dan. Whitby, S. T. P. Ecclesie Sarisburicensis Præcentore.

Figure 10: Advertisement from London Daily Post, 4th of May 1730 (Issue 3314)

Unfortunately, these advertisements are the only known records of these sales. Although Payne was clearly producing catalogues for his book sales as early as 1728, no copies are known to have survived. Even the English Short Title Catalogue, which records Payne's career as a publisher from 1727 to 1741, dates his first activity as a bookseller to 1730 and contains no information on these documents. Investigation of all the major repositories of digitized texts, and a significant portion of the British Library's collection of digitized and unclassified book catalogues has so far been unsuccessful. However, there may be surviving copies still to be discovered.

The loss of these catalogues is significant, because their existence multiplies the number of potential sources of salted stock in Defoe/Farewell, but prevents the items from being clearly identified through the cross-referencing process performed on the Hunt catalogue. The fact that Payne was an active bookseller for some years before the Defoe/Farewell sale—and the details of his activity, as will be seen below—gave him extra time and opportunity to acquire stock, and increased the probable proportion of unknown salted content in Defoe/Farewell. However, the advertisements themselves reveal facts about Payne's practices and interests that help identify the most probable locations of salted stock.

The most important aspect of the advertisements is the 4th of May 1730 date of the final sale. This sale was held between Hunt (14th of January 1730) and Defoe/Farewell (15th of November 1731), and it confirms that Payne acquired additional stock at least once after the Hunt and prior to the Defoe sale. Therefore the Hunt catalogue, important as it is, does not present a stable and finite account of Payne's inventory before the sale of Defoe's library. Of the missing catalogues, this one would be the most beneficial discovery, as there are no clues to its contents besides the subjects listed in the advertisement, and the mention of an upcoming

Payne publication (which does not seem to have ever been produced) which appears in Defoe/Farewell in an earlier edition:²⁶⁷

<u>Daily Post advertisement, 4th May 1730:</u>	<u>Defoe/Farewell catalogue</u>
<i>Tractatus de Imputatione Divina Peccati Adami Posteris ejus universis in Reatum. Authore Dan Whitby, S.T.P. Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis Praeceptorae.</i>	1445b <i>Tracta de Peccati Adami (1711)</i>

Theoretically, the lack of solid information on the May 4 catalogue's contents means that any item not found on the list of Hunt and Defoe/Farewell matches could have a counterpart in this sale. The advertisements contain another indication that Payne's stock was in a state of flux between the Hunt and Defoe/Farewell sales. Both the 13th of March 1728 and the 16th of May 1729 sales advertisements state Payne's willingness to buy both complete libraries and small parcels of books. This offer of 'ready Money for any Library or Parcel of Books' is reiterated on the title page of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, where Payne also states his interest in acquiring items 'in any Language or Faculty'.²⁶⁸ The continuity of this notice indicates that by the time of the Defoe/Farewell sale, Payne had an established interest in acquiring small quantities of items from walk-in sellers. Furthermore, the stability of his location also suggests he may have established a sort of permanent bookshop at the site of the Defoe/Farewell sale. In contrast to contemporaries such as his eventual business partner John Wilcox, Payne seems to have begun his career not as a semi-itinerant bookseller, but established in a permanent shop. The address listed in the first advertisement, 'The Bible, in

²⁶⁷ Payne clearly intended to produce an edition of this Whitby text, but there is no evidence that his advertisement was followed by a publication. There is only one known edition of this work following that found in Defoe/Farewell (London: J. Wyat, 1711): Henry Haywood's English translation (London: John Noon, 1739).

²⁶⁸ Olive Payne, *Librorum ex Bibliothecis Philippi Farewell, D.D. et Danielis De Foe Gen. Catalogus: or a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend and Learned Philips Farewell, D.D. Late Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge; and of the Ingenious Daniel Defoe, Gent. lately Deceas'd ...* (London: Olive Payne at the Bible, Round-Court in the Strand, 15th November, 1731).

New Round-Court, in the Strand' is the same address that hosted both the Hunt and the Defoe/Farewell sales, and which remained Payne's base until 1732, when he moved to another permanent shop in the same street, at the sign of 'Horace's Head'.²⁶⁹ The advertisements indicate Payne's consistent interest in buying items from walk-in sellers from these premises; and it seems highly probable that some of them were salted into Payne's larger library sales, vastly multiplying the number of potential sources for the Defoe/Farewell inventory. Barring the unlikely recovery of Payne's records—assuming they even documented all of his sales and purchases— or the discovery of relevant marginalia, there is no means of tracing items acquired in this manner. However, as with the inventories of Payne's lost catalogues, the identification of his particular interests and his target markets allow informed conjectures on the areas most likely to contain salted content. This discovery demonstrates the necessity of a full biographical profile of Olive Payne to any credible use of catalogue material, and the crucial importance of a full consideration of attribution issues.

Furthermore, the Hunt list itself may be a useful tool in identifying the subjects requiring extra caution. There is a general correlation of subject representation between the salted list and the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, making it impossible to identify suspect categories using these resources alone. However, when they are examined with reference to Olive Payne's established areas of interest, the results suggest some categories as more likely to have been influenced by Payne, and to be of less relevance as contexts for Defoe and Farewell. This theory is perhaps best demonstrated through contrasting examples of subject, which also serve to highlight the importance of consulting both Defoe's writings and Olive Payne's profile when evaluating catalogue material.

²⁶⁹ This information is derived from the title page of the 28th of January 1733 sales catalogue (listed in Appendix B) which is the first to list this change of address.

For example, Iberian items are well-represented in both the complete catalogue and the salted list.²⁷⁰ The complete catalogue contains approximately 120 items in this category, 17 of which appear on the salted list (with 9 ‘definite’ matches). In isolation, these proportions correlate closely to those indicating the catalogue’s total salted content, suggesting that this category is a likely site for non-Defoe/Farewell items. However, the known extent of Defoe’s interests in Spain and the Spanish Americas, which is strongly manifested in reliably-attributed writings, also makes a strong case for his ownership of much of the material in this category.²⁷¹ Results here, therefore, are inconclusive.

<u>Items found in Hunt catalogue (1730)</u>	<u>Match in Defoe/Farewell (1731)</u>
50: Minshieu’s Dictionary, Nine Languages.	79: Minshae Dictionarium Nono-Linguae [Lond.] (1626)
52: Howell’s English, French, Italian and Spanish Dictionary.	169: Howell’s Lexicon. English, French, Italian and Spanish (1660)
342: Defensa de los Estatutos y Noblesas Espanolas destiero de los Abusos y Rigores de los Inform. (Zarag. 1637)	L. O. 71: Defensa de los Estatutos y Noblesas Espanolas (1637) ²⁷²
410: Epistles of Antient Writings, Laws and Customs, by Ant. Gueverra, Chronicler to Ch. 5 th Emp. Black Letter,	1086: Spanish Letters, recommended by Sir R.L.S. (1697)
859: Armas i Triunfos del Reino de Galicia (Madrid. 1662)	527: Armas i Triunfos Hechos Heroicos de los Hijos de Galicia (Mad. 1662)
861: El Parnasso Espanol , por Gonzales (Lisb. 1652)	525: El Parnasso Espanol de Quevedo (Lisb. 1652)
862: Rimas de Lupercio Idol. Don Barthol. Leonardo. (Zarag. 1634)	524: Rimas de Lupercio y Argensola (Zar. 1634)

²⁷⁰ Here, and in Chapters 6 and 7, I have defined this category as texts either in Spanish or Portuguese, translations of works in these languages, or works on directly related subjects.

²⁷¹ Chapters 6 and 7 explore Defoe’s Iberian contexts and the catalogue material in further detail.

²⁷² Heidenreich’s suggestion of Zaragoza as the place of publication makes this a definite match.

966: Pineda's Spanish Grammar. 1726	1207: Pineda's Spanish Grammar (1726)
978: Sir W. Raleigh's Discourses on the War with Spain.	986: Raleigh's Discourse concerning a War with Spain, &c. (1702)
1070: Vita a Aloysii Gonzagae a Cepario (1609)	769: Vita Aloysii Gonzagae, à Vir. Capario (Antw. 1609)
1043: Levin. Apollonius de Reb. in Peruvia gestis. (1567)	833: Apolonius de rebus Peruvin. (Ant. 1567)
1117: <i>Hist. Navigat. in Brasil quae, & America dicitur.</i>	824: <i>Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam, fig.</i> (1586)
1247: <i>Hist. and Geog. Descript. of the Country of Amazons.</i>	1048 <i>Voyages into South America</i> (1698)
230 CSUT: Hist. of the Campaign in the Netherlands 1693, with Cuts by d'Auvergne.	1448c: Auvergne's Hist. of the Last Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands (1693)
CSUT 235: Relation of the Inquisition at Goa, during 8 years, printed by the King of France's Permission (1688)	L.O. 209: The History of the Inquisition at Goa (1688)
L. O. 140: Courtier's Oracle of Art of Prudence from Span. of Gracian.	1187: Art of Prudence, by Savage.
L.O. 299: Quevedo's Visions	1138: Quevedo's Visions by Sir R. l'Estrange. (1715)

There is a similar ratio between the representation of Italian items in the complete catalogue, where they total approximately 112, and the list of salted items, where there are 15 potential matches. However, consultation of both Defoe and Payne's biographies indicate that the category probably contains a high amount of salted items. Defoe not only lacks any possible biographical connections to Italy, but the body of his writing on the country is small and insignificant in comparison to his work on Spain and Portugal. Moreover, an examination of Olive Payne's sale and publication history reveals both a strong and consistent interest in Italian texts, and an interest in acquiring rare foreign texts that makes him the probable

contributor of the oldest items here, and the Giunti/Juntas publications.²⁷³ The basis for this educated guesswork –and for further analyses along the same lines– are set forth in Chapter 4’s profile of Olive Payne. It should also be noted, however, that Philips Farewell’s suggested interest in foreign texts should also be factored into an assessment of these categories, although he is a less certain reference point than either Defoe or Payne.

34: Montfaucon’s Antiq. of Italy, fine Cuts (1725)	183: Montfaucon’s Antiquities of Italy, by Henley, with Cuts (1725)
50: Minshieu’s Dictionary, Nine Languages.	79: Minshae Dictionarium Nono-Linguae ([London] 1626)
52: Howell’s English, French, Italian and Spanish Dictionary.	169: Howell’s Lexicon. English, French, Italian and Spanish (1660)
837: Guerra da Fiandra dal Bentivoglio.	124: Bentivoglio’s Wars of Flanders, fine Heads (1554) <u>or</u> 1275: Hist della Guerra di Fiandra. Parte Terza (Col. 1640)
1048: Machiavelli Princeps <u>or</u> 1558: Machiavelli de Repub. J. Brutus contra Tyrann.	868: Machiavelli Princeps, Vindiciae contra Tyrannos (Ursell. 1600)
1068b: Epist. Ovidii Guil. Morillioni	770: Ovidii Opera – ([Antwerp] 1545) ²⁷⁴
1070: Vita a Aloysii Gonzagae a Cepario (1609)	769: Vita Aloysii Gonzagae, à Vir. Capario (Antw. 1609)
1765: <i>Sonetti e Canzone di Petrarca</i>	523: <i>Il Petrarca con la Spositone di Gesualdo. (Venet. Giglio. 1553) OR 1253: Il Petrarca.</i>
1772 Discorsi di Francisco di Vieri (Giunti 1568)	1356 Discorso di M. Francesco di Viere (Firenza. 1568)
1812. Pratica della Medaglie di Carlo Pattino.	1334 Practica della Medaglie di Carlo Pattino (Ven. 1673)

²⁷³ The Giunti were a prominent Florentine printing firm of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See William A. Pettas, *The Giunti of Florence, a Renaissance printing and publishing family: a history of the Florentine firm and a catalogue of the editions* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2013)

²⁷⁴ Heidenreich’s Index links this text to Guido Morillon.

1829 <i>La Talicea di Ferrant. Pallavicino.</i>	1273a: <i>Opere Scelte di Ferrante Pallavicino. (Villa Franc. 1673)</i>
1833: Rime di P. Rolli, large Paper (Lond. 1717)	1350 Rime di Paolo Antonio Rolli (Lond. 1717)
CSUT 404: <i>Treatise of Manners Beneficiary, by F. Paul (1680)</i>	L.O. 30 A <i>Treatise of Beneficiary Matters, by Fra. Paolo Sarpi (1680)</i>
L.O. 293: <i>Il Sindicato di Alesandro VII, con il suo viaggio nall altro Mondo.</i>	1254 <i>Il Sindicato de Alexandro 7 (1668)</i>

Conclusion: Interpreting the results, and identifying the next step

It is now clear that Olive Payne had a major impact on the construction of the Defoe/Farewell inventory. He added a significant number of items listed in the Hunt catalogue to this sale: these are identified in Appendix A, which also records the degree of certainty with which each match can be confirmed. However, his known practices as a bookseller and the discoveries of his earlier activity make it highly probable that he salted even more items into the sale. Because all but one of his 1728-30 sales catalogues have been lost, and because he seems to have bought small lots from untraceable sellers, it is impossible to identify the non-Hunt salted content with the same degree of certainty. However, it is possible to cautiously identify the areas in which Payne is most likely to have acquired additional stock, as Chapter 4's profile demonstrates. Moreover, studying the salted list with reference to both Payne and Defoe can provide additional insights into their respective contributions to the inventory.

The identification of a substantial portion of the salted content in Defoe/Farewell raises an important question about how the flagged items should then be handled. Does the location of a match disqualify or demote an item as a potential Defoe source? And to what extent, if any,

does it invalidate the aforementioned analyses of listed items as important sources or contexts? The answer to the first question is, broadly, no. As these discoveries prove that the catalogue is an even more unstable and problematic resource than has hitherto been suspected, they provide further support for Kelly's insistence on the primacy of Defoe and his writings to credible catalogue usage. As he and Heidenreich have noted, the absence of sources like *Don Quixote*, *Hudibras* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* makes the catalogue an incomplete indicator of Defoe's reading.²⁷⁵ The extent of the salted content destabilizes the inventory from the other end, casting doubt on the provenance of even the most probable Defoe sources listed in the catalogue. Therefore, the catalogue's problems reaffirm the central tenet of responsible usage: that location of textual and biographical support in Defoe is mandatory for credible use of this resource. If this evidence presents a strong case for Defoe's consultation of a source, then its presence on the salted list is irrelevant. The catalogue's incompleteness indicates that Defoe could easily have consulted another edition of the text in question, although the exact copy may be absent from the final library sale. Furthermore, the Hunt and Defoe/Farewell catalogues not only contain multiple copies of the same titles (sometimes in the same edition), but there are also 64 instances where the same title appears in clearly different editions.

However, knowledge of the salted list, and of the complex issues surrounding attribution, is vital for any use of the catalogue in the construction and exploration of Defoe's broader contexts as distinct from his use of specific sources. This mode of usage, which Chapter 5 discusses in some detail, can be a credible and beneficial exploitation of the catalogue's contents, but it demands extra caution in approach and conclusion, rigorous and constant reference to Defoe's writings and engagement with the full extent of the attribution problems.

²⁷⁵ Heidenreich, p. XVI; Kelly, p. 299.

Any study whose speculative reconstruction of Defoe's reading rests on a salted title –for which there is no clear evidence for his specific use– must support this assertion with a solid demonstration of its relevance to a proven context or source. The list can also help scholars combing the catalogue for relevant material work more efficiently, as the confirmed salted items without clear textual connections to Defoe can be given a lower priority in the search.

Although these results underline the problematic and unstable nature of the catalogue, and the necessity of cautious and credible usage, they do not call for the wholesale exclusion of the catalogue from Defoe studies. As one of the few bibliographical resources available, it remains a valuable and potentially beneficial tool for scholars; and the discovery of the full extent of its inherent difficulties ensures future usage will be based on a solid foundation.

Chapter 4:

A new biography and business profile of Olive Payne.

The absence of a comprehensive profile of Olive Payne from Defoe studies is the second major gap in the specialist catalogue scholarship, and it is also vital to the satisfactory resolution of the attribution problem. As Chapter 3 concluded, both Payne's habitual practices and those of his contemporaries make it almost certain that the catalogue contains many more salted items than those which can be identified through cross-referencing. And as none of Payne's other pre-Defoe sales catalogues have survived, the only other possible method of determining the items he was most likely to have added to this sale is the study of his biography and business profile. An examination of Payne's life and career provides insight into his political, social, and religious affiliations, and the subjects in which he had particular personal and professional interests. Moreover, examining the catalogue contents in the light of this information reveals several areas in which he was most likely to have acquired items from sources outside Defoe/Farewell –such as sellers of small lots, or other publishers and booksellers– and where particular caution is needed when considering Defoe's possible catalogue sources. These factors, together with the fact that there has been no detailed profile of Olive Payne, justifies expending so much space and detail on a minor bookseller and a publisher focused on high-end reprints.

Although studying Payne's biography is the best method of further addressing the salting question, it is still a somewhat broad and imprecise method. With only a few exceptions, it

flags subjects and languages rather than individual titles, and involves a considerable amount of educated guesswork. Moreover, the occasional overlap between Payne and Defoe's areas of interest undoubtedly means, to borrow Aitken's words on Defoe/Farewell, that 'in adopting this course we shall, no doubt, pass over not a few works of Defoe's, but that is unavoidable'.²⁷⁶ But as is so often the case in Defoe studies – where there is an unusual paucity of factual information – it is a choice between making informed speculation on a subject, and not exploring it at all. And even with these reservations, this process can accurately reveal Payne's specific interests and connections and provide useful guidance for scholars interested in the catalogue.

Book history contains some valuable examples of this type of speculative study, where a subject's political, social, or religious contexts are explored through his presence or absence on a subscription list, a colophon, or another piece of publishing information. Two articles were particularly helpful in the development of my focus and methodology, providing relevant precedents and models. Both Pat Rogers's 'Book Subscriptions among the Augustans'²⁷⁷ and W.A. Speck's 'Politicians, peers and publication by subscription 1700-1750' take subscription lists as the basis for their analyses of subscribers' social status and political and religious affiliations, although they begin at opposite poles: Rogers investigates the subscriber lists for selected titles and analyses emerging commonalities, while Speck begins 'by isolating two groups of people, and then [examines] the patterns that their subscriptions established'.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ G.A. Aitken, 'Defoe's Library', *Athenaeum*, 3527 (1st of June, 1895), 706-7 (p. 706).

²⁷⁷ Pat Rogers, 'Book Subscriptions among the Augustans', *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 December 1972, pp. 1539-40. (p. 1539).

²⁷⁸ W.A. Speck, 'Politicians, peers, and publication by subscription 1700-50', in *Books and their readers in eighteenth-century England*, ed. by Isabel Rivers (Leicester/New York: Leicester University Press/St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 47-67 (p. 51).

This study's method of defining Payne's areas of interest and/or affiliations borrows from both, but it is probably closer to Speck's: taking Olive Payne as a starting point, a timeline of all his known sales and publications (as well as relevant advertisements) was then compiled and analysed for patterns among the libraries he sold, the types of book he published, and the printers and sellers who appeared with him on title pages. This timeline is reproduced here as Appendix B.

These sales and publications are, by far, the most extensive source of biographical information available on this obscure bookseller and publisher. There are very few extant biographical records for Olive Payne, although it is certainly possible that more await discovery in digitized and uncatalogued archives in London and Northamptonshire. The available parish records provide a smattering of revealing details about Payne's life, but fail to confirm most of the major milestone dates: for example, the birthdates and names of Payne's children are recorded, but the dates of his marriage, birth and death remain unknown. My search of contemporary newspapers and periodicals –which has concentrated on the British Library's Burney Collection and other relevant titles like the *Northamptonshire Mercury*– has to date only produced information on Payne's early sales and his bankruptcy. Nevertheless, the fragments of extant information on these points have been woven around the central story of his bookselling and publishing career, with all uncertainties and alternative possibilities indicated both in-text and in footnotes.

Moreover, Payne's sales catalogues and publications, as well as their associated advertisements, are the major sources of information on his career as a bookseller, since none

of his correspondence is known to have survived, and the only additional sources of information are the notices of his 1739 bankruptcy, and the occasional anecdote. This study therefore primarily bases its reconstruction of his interests, customer base and his business associates on the colophons, contents and advertisements in these sources. But even these limited biographical resources tell a consistent and coherent story about his life and career, which serves as a reliable basis for speculation on his interests, and which will hopefully be confirmed or corrected by the discovery of new material.

The other important secondary sources are the profiles of Olive Payne explored in Chapter 2, and those of his younger brother Thomas which are regularly found in surveys of the eighteenth-century book trade.²⁷⁹ Chapter 2's discussion of Olive's critical neglect makes elaboration largely unnecessary here, but a short summary of Thomas's significance is useful. 'Honest Tom Payne', as he was dubbed by John Nichols, was a well-known bookseller, the success and longevity of whose career far surpassed the brother he began by assisting.²⁸⁰ Charles Knight summarizes his achievement as being 'the medium, for forty years, of making all books, new and old, English and foreign, extensively known by the circulation of his annual catalogues',²⁸¹ and, along with Nichols and Plomer, notes his shop's social significance. However, these profiles only briefly mention Olive (mainly noting his bankruptcy), and provide little new information. Their summaries of the more extensive information available on

²⁷⁹ See, in addition to Plomer, et. al., *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society at OUP, 1932) pp. 194-95, Charles Knight, *Shadows of the Old Booksellers* (London, Routledge, 1905), pp. 226-27; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 7 vols. (London: Nichols and Bentley, 1813) VII, pp. 312-13; and C.H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London: H. Johnson, 1839) pp. 799-800.

²⁸⁰ Ellic Howe's *A List of London Bookbinders 1648-1815* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1950) has no record of Thomas Payne's formal apprenticeship, but Plomer states that Thomas was 'apprenticed to his brother, Olive Payne' (1726-1775, p. 195) and the fact that Thomas's earliest recorded sales were held from Olive's shop suggests some type of informal apprenticeship or partnership.

²⁸¹ Knight, p. 226-27

Thomas have been useful from a comparative and illustrative perspective, and have been incorporated accordingly. Additionally the profiles of Thomas Payne reveal a strong continuity between the brothers' interests and practices that suggests that his success was partly built on the foundations laid by Olive, whose contribution has hitherto gone unrecognized.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first and longest part combines a straightforward biographical narrative with an analysis of Payne's productions and sales. This analysis traces the patterns of subject matter and social circles visible in his work, and explores their potential political and religious connotations. A business profile is established in this manner, by charting his addresses, prices, and associates, and measuring them against contemporary standards to determine his position in the market, as well as his target customers. The second part of the chapter summarizes and analyses the direct effect of this biographical information on the salting problem, listing specific titles from alternative sources of salted stock and identifying the subjects and languages where Payne was most likely to have acquired additional items –and where Defoe scholars need to take particular care when using Defoe/Farewell. It also considers the extent to which Payne's biography can help Defoe scholars answer Heidenreich's longstanding question: how *did* this 'relative newcomer on the scene, rather than one of Defoe's business partners of longer standing ... get hold of his books?'²⁸² This chapter offers evidence that disproves this consensus, demonstrating the Olive Payne who sold Defoe's books was actually well-established and high-end bookseller and publisher, with a particular interest in rarities and French and Italian titles. Moreover, it identifies two potential connections to the Defoes which may explain his acquisition of the sale.

²⁸² Heidenreich, p. XXXVI.

Part I: Biography and business profile

Olive Payne was born in 1703 to Oliver and Martha Payne, in Brackley, Northamptonshire. He was the eldest of the couple's seven children.²⁸³ A 1706 indenture suit suggests Oliver Payne was a baker by profession,²⁸⁴ and the family seems to have been fairly prosperous. In 1708 Oliver served as plaintiff in a lawsuit against one Samuel Seckington over a property in Greatworth, Northamptonshire (a village approximately four miles from Brackley), suggesting that the family was wealthy enough to have owned multiple properties in the area.²⁸⁵ It is also likely that they had some connection to the local book trade, possibly with the prosperous Dicey and Cluer family (*fl.* 1719-64), who based their publishing and printing operations in both London and Northamptonshire, and with whom Payne would co-publish in 1738.²⁸⁶ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Payne name regularly appears in the *Northamptonshire Mercury* in connection with local publications; and in 1772, Thomas Payne co-published William Payne's *Elements of Trigonometry* with a J. Payne of Brackley, Northamptonshire.²⁸⁷ Edmund Curll's 1735 description of Olive Payne as a 'bookseller *ab origine* ... [a] hereditary bookbinder'²⁸⁸ may also allude to his family's trade, although Howe believes it merely describes 'a bookseller who was previously a bookbinder'. Notably, four of

²⁸³ Brackley Parish Register 1703-26, Northamptonshire Records Office 42P, no. 4.

²⁸⁴ Northamptonshire Records Office, ZA 43.

²⁸⁵ The National Archives of Great Britain, C 5/334/35.

²⁸⁶ Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 54-55, 73-74; Thomas Bowles, *A Sermon on the Gradual Advances and Distinct Periods of Divine Revelation and Grammaticae Latinae Syntaxis Commentariis Illustrata: Or The Fundamental Rules of the Latin Grammar made Plain and Easy* (Northampton. Printed by William Dicey ... and sold by Olive Payne, 1738).

²⁸⁷ Plomer, 1726-1775, p. 194.

²⁸⁸ Alexander Pope, *Mr. Pope's literary correspondence. Volume the Second.* ... (London: printed for E. Curll in Rose-Street, Covent-Garden, 1735), p. x. Note that several of Payne's later co-publishers and co-sellers – J. Brindley, C. Corbet, and T. Boreman – are also included in this group.

the other booksellers whom Curll describes in this way (Jacob Tonson, William Lewis, Henry Lintot and Charles Corbet— the last of whom was one of Payne’s most frequent associates) were the sons of booksellers, or had introduced their own sons to the trade.²⁸⁹

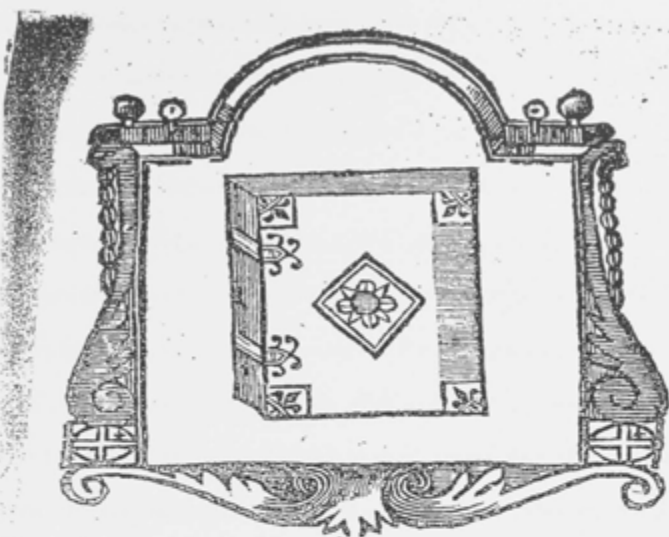
The limits of the family’s involvement in the local book trade are perhaps indicated by the fact that Payne began his career by leaving for London. He was apprenticed as a bookbinder to a William Gray on the 3rd of August 1719, and was made free on the 6th of September 1726.²⁹⁰ There are several signs that Payne had significant financial support during and after his apprenticeship, far beyond what the average apprentice could expect. He may also have had family in the London book trade: the *English Short Title Catalogue* reports that a bookseller and printer named Thomas Payne was working out of Paternoster Row as early as 1721.²⁹¹ However, although this man’s shared name *and* location indicates some probable connection to Olive, he seems to have given him little tangible assistance: his obscurity and scanty publication and sale list suggests a limited capacity to take on apprentices.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Howe, p. 15.

²⁹⁰ Howe, p. 74.

²⁹¹ *A catalogue of the library of the Reverend Mr. Offley...* (Thomas Payne: Paternoster Row, 20th February 1721).

²⁹² Plomer omits this particular Thomas Payne entirely from both the 1668-1725 and 1726-1775 dictionaries.



William Gray, at the Bible in Canon-Alley, against the North-Door of St. Paul's, London, *Book-binder,*

Binds and sells Bibles, Common Prayers, and Testaments, New Version of Psalms, Duties of Man of several sizes, Books for the Sacrament, and Books of Devotion, of several sorts, Bishop *Beveridge's* Thoughts on Religion, and of Prayer, his Catechisms, Bishop *Williams's* Catechisms, and others: *Grammers, Spelling-Books, Note Cases, Primers,* and *Horn-Books,* &c.

He binds in all sorts of Leather, very neat; and Binds, Gilds and Letters Gentlemens Studies, at reasonable Rates.

Figure 11: 1709 advertisement for bookbinder William Gray, Payne's master between 1719 and 1726.

Firstly, Gray seem to have commanded a much higher premium than his contemporaries. Howe records that £20 was paid by the single apprentice he took on in 1719 (undoubtedly Olive Payne).²⁹³ As the average rate paid by a bookbinder's apprentice in the 1710s and 1720s was around £10, this suggests Gray was a cut above the average bookbinder. In 1719, he was well-established in the prestigious location of Canon Alley (between St. Paul's Churchyard and Paternoster Row, next to the Chapterhouse),²⁹⁴ having been in business since July 1701, and seems to have focused on high-quality products –as the 1709 advertisement notes, he specialized in gilding and binding in leather binding bibles, religious works and 'gentlemen's libraries'.²⁹⁵ Secondly, it is possible that Payne paid rates on a London property as early as 1722. The *Westminster Rate Books 1634-1900* record a 4s 2d payment of Scavenger and Highway Rates by an 'Oliver Pain,' at the address of '20 Hewitts Court, St. Martin-in-the Field'.²⁹⁶ This may, of course, be an unrelated namesake, but the fact that payment of the same type of rate is recorded in 1728²⁹⁷ and 1732-36 at Payne's confirmed addresses (also in the parish of St. Martin-in-the Fields) suggests it was paid by Olive Payne, or one of his relatives.²⁹⁸ Later rate books (1735-36) list two distinct Olive Paines as the payers of the rate (now risen to 11s) at New Round Court, increasing the probability that the Payne who sold Defoe's books had some connection with the 1722 rate.²⁹⁹ If Payne himself occupied this

²⁹³ Howe, p. 41

²⁹⁴ All map data in this chapter has been based on John Rocque's 1746 map of London, by far the most detailed and comprehensive of its time. See John Rocque, *A new and accurate survey of the] cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, with the country about it for nineteen miles in length and thirteen in depth...* (London: printed for John Rocque, 1746).

²⁹⁵ *William Gray, at the Bible in Canon-Alley, against the north-door of St. Paul's, London, book-binder, binds and sells bibles, common prayers, and testaments...* (London: printed for William Gray, 1709).

²⁹⁶ 'Oliver Paine', *Scavenger and Highway Rates 1721-1723, Westminster Rate Books 1634-1900*, folio 6. Last accessed through <<http://www.findmypast.com.au>> on the 18th of March 2014.

²⁹⁷ See fig. 13.

²⁹⁸ See *Scavenger and Highway Rates, 1729-1731 and 1731-1736, Westminster Rate Books 1634-1900*, folios 30 and 8, 9, 11. Last accessed through <<http://www.findmypast.com.au>> on the 13th of August 2014

²⁹⁹ See fig. 12.

independent property halfway through his apprenticeship—an unusual practice beyond the means of most apprentices—it further suggests his family's extensive investment in his career.

Hewitts Court

<i>Montgomery</i>	7	1	5/4
<i>Jan & Jones</i>	7	1	5/4
<i>John Groom</i>	10	2	1
<i>Oliver Paine</i>	20	4	2
<i>Edw. Murray</i>	12	2	6
<i>John Duncomb</i>	12	2	6
<i>Thomas Cholmely</i>	16	3	4
<i>Const & Freeman</i>	22	4	9
<i>John Paine</i>			
		<u>2</u>	<u>11</u> <u>5</u>

Figure 12: Record of Oliver Paine's 1722 payment of Scavenger and Highway rates in Hewitts Court.

		2	2	8	2
<i>Oliver Paine</i>	}	35	0	11	0
<i>Oliver Paine</i>					

Figure 13: Record of 1728 payment of Scavenger and Highway Rates at Round-Court.

Wherever his financial support came from, it enabled Payne to rapidly establish himself as a bookseller after being made free of his apprenticeship on the 6th of September 1726.³⁰⁰ As early as 1727, he had installed himself in the shop from which he would hold the Defoe/Farewell sale, at 'The Bible, Round-Court, The Strand'. This area of the Strand (formerly known as Norwich Rents, then York Rents until 1674) had been an important centre of the printing and bookbinding trades since the early sixteenth century,³⁰¹ and presently housed a number of specialist bookbinders, booksellers and publishers, with several of whom Payne would later connect. Noting the comparative rarity of bookbinders' shops in the West End before the late eighteenth century, Howe argues that 'it is probable that the West End binders were mainly engaged in the better class of work, either for booksellers or for private customers' and notes that 'they were to be found near the Strand or St. Martin's Lane'.³⁰² When Payne's early career is contrasted with his contemporaries', his early establishment of a permanent shop seems even more unusual. For example, his co-apprentice Robert Viney stayed with Gray from 1716 until 1725, and did not set up shop until 1728;³⁰³ and, although Payne's career began at the same time as that of his eventual partner John Wilcox, the latter held his library sales in a variety of shops and taverns, only settling into a permanent shop in 1734.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Howe, p. 74.

³⁰¹ *Survey of London*, ed. by G. H. Gater, E. P. Wheeler and others, 48 vols. (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1937), XVIII, pp. 51-60.

³⁰² Howe, p. xxix.

³⁰² Howe, p. xxix.

³⁰³ Howe, p. 95.

³⁰⁴ See the title page of *A catalogue of books, being The Libraries of A Right Reverend Prelate. Thomas Wickham, M. D. and J. Shaw, Attorney, deceas'd ...* (London, John Wilcox at Virgil's Head, Strand, 1734).

Further evidence of his early success (or possibly a motive for it) comes from the rapid expansion of his family. Between 1727 and 1733, four children were born to an Olive and Anne Payne, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. No record of the marriage has been found in the parish records,³⁰⁵ or in any other databases; and if the 1722 Hewitts Court record indicates Payne's presence in the parish at this date, it diminishes the likelihood of the marriage taking place elsewhere. The children's names, genders and birthdates are recorded, however: Anne, born on the 24th of September and christened on the 4th of October 1727,³⁰⁶ Martha, born on the 23rd of June and christened on the 2nd of July 1729,³⁰⁷ Olive (female), born on the 2nd of November and christened on the 15th of November 1730,³⁰⁸ Mary, christened on the 21st April 1732,³⁰⁹ and Edmund, christened on the 11th of November 1732.³¹⁰ The recurrence of the family name Martha here provides additional confirmation that these were the children of Olive Payne the bookseller.

Payne's early success was also fostered by his initiative and work ethic, as he soon became a prolific printer and bookseller, and an astute networker. He was listed among the printers and sellers of at least two items in 1727, and produced six works in 1730-31. As the *Daily Post* advertisements show, he also began holding library sales and producing catalogues in 1728, staging at least four sales prior to the Defoe/Farewell sale in November 1731. These advertisements, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, show a considerable consistency between

³⁰⁵ Hilary Davies (Senior Archives and Local Studies Assistant, City of Westminster Archives), (email exchange with Angela Gehling, 5-8th December 2013).

³⁰⁶ *Baptismal Records for St. Martin-in-the-Field*, Middlesex Records Office, C00145-6, England ODM, 560372-560373. All records located with the help of Hilary Davies, and last viewed through <http://www.findmypast.org> on the 1st of February 2014.

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*

³⁰⁹ *Baptismal Records for St. Martin-in-the-Field*, Middlesex Records Office, C00145-7, England ODM, 561142.

³¹⁰ *ibid.*

Payne's practices as a seller pre-Defoe, and those seen in his later career: his interest in buying both individual items and entire libraries, and a particular interest in foreign-language items and rare books. They also demonstrate, in conjunction with his early publications, that Payne established relationships with many of his most frequent associates at the outset of his career, and that he managed to associate himself with successful and prestigious sellers and publishers and young booksellers/publishers who would later achieve considerable success. Payne was not only listed as their co-printer and co-seller, but also got them to regularly offer his library sales catalogues – a significant achievement for a novice bookseller.

Among Payne's most prominent pre-Defoe/Farewell connections are: the Worrall brothers of Fleet Street (appearing on 6 of Payne's title pages), whose 1729 publication of Robert Dodsley's *Servitude* included a preface and postscript ascribed to Defoe;³¹¹ John Jolliffe (13 appearances throughout Payne's career) and J. Jackson (7 appearances) of St. James's Street, Pall Mall, young partners who would have long and successful careers;³¹² George Strahan of Cornhill (7 appearances), who had now become 'one of the leading publishers in London' after thirty years in the business;³¹³ James Brindley of Little Britain and New Bond Street (16 appearances), a contemporary who also published many French and Italian works and could, by 1736, call himself 'Bookseller to his Royal Highness';³¹⁴ John Stagg of Westminster-Hall (4 appearances), a bookseller with similar longevity and eminence to Strahan;³¹⁵ Woodman of

³¹¹ Plomer, 1726-1775, p. 272; P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998), p.214.

³¹² Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 137, 142-43.

³¹³ Plomer, *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, ed. by Arundell Esdaile (Oxford: Bibliographical Society at Oxford University Press, 1922) p.282.

³¹⁴ Plomer, 1726-1775, p. 34. The above quote is my translation of Brindley's description of himself as 'Libraio di sua altezza reale', on the title page of *Il Primo Canto dell' Iliade D'Omero: tradotto in versi italiani* (London: John Brindley, 1736). Drawing on the same document, Plomer describes him as 'bookseller and bookbinder to the Royal Family'.

³¹⁵ Plomer, 1668-1725, p. 280.

Covent-Garden (8 appearances) who, alongside his partner D. Lyon (an apparent relative of A. Lyon, a later connection of Payne's), specialised in publishing French works;³¹⁶ Woodman's other associate, William Lewis of Covent-Garden (5 appearances), Pope's schoolfellow and sometime publisher;³¹⁷ and Luke Stokoe of Charing Cross (4 appearances), a bookseller of more than twenty years' experience who is notable for his prominent role in Payne's early career. Stokoe offered only one of Payne's early catalogues for sale;³¹⁸ his other three appearances come from three 1730-31 publications of White Kennett's works, which were all issued by the same small group of printers: Payne, Stokoe, J. Whitaker, and W. France. Neither Whitaker nor France is notable for their other publications, and their connection with Payne extends no further than these three items. However, Payne's early interest in Kennett may reveal something about his early interests and circles, as will be discussed later.

It is clear, therefore, that by the time he sold Defoe's library, Payne was not the obscure young bookseller described by Heidenreich, but a relatively established and well-connected man with an eye on the prestige market.³¹⁹ When the whole course of Payne's sales is surveyed, it becomes clear that the Defoe/Farewell library was far from his most prestigious acquisition. His subsequent 1732 sales were of the libraries of James Fraser, a renowned Scottish

³¹⁶ Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 160, 270.

³¹⁷ Plomer, 1668-1725, p. 188.

³¹⁸ Advertisement from *Daily Post*, Wednesday, 13th of March, 1728; Issue 2644.

³¹⁹ I have based my assessment of Payne's pricing on a range of historical sources and studies, finding Robert D. Hume's *The Economics of Culture in London* (*Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69, 4 (2006) 487-533) particularly helpful for its extensive consideration of early eighteenth-century book sales. Hume's evaluation of the contemporary price spectrum locates 2-3s as the top end of the middle market, and argues that works priced at 5s or higher were intended for a premium market – even singling out the 'very stiff' 5s price of *Robinson Crusoe* (pp. 508-13). See also K.I.D. Maslen, 'Edition Quantities for *Robinson Crusoe*, 1719', *Library*, 5, 24 (1969) 145-50; and Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain: 1660-1770*, 2nd edn. (London: Routledge, 1996).

bookseller,³²⁰ and Thomas Pitt, the Earl of Londonderry;³²¹ and in later years, he sold the libraries of the 2nd Earl of Yarmouth, a Judge at the Court of Common Pleas,³²² an envoy at the Swedish court,³²³ 'Mr. Gordon,' a noted bibliophile and collector,³²⁴ and a secretary to the Portuguese Ambassador,³²⁵ in addition to those of several obscure bibliophiles.

Before discussing any of these figures in detail, however, it is necessary to clarify what Payne's early (1727-32) sales and publications indicate about his areas of interest and his connections. Three clear patterns emerge over this period: an interest in works translated from French and Italian, a strong interest in theological works, especially those relating to Catholicism, and in texts with Jacobite or Royalist connections. These are all traits he would continue to demonstrate throughout his career. I will attempt to consider these areas of interest discretely, although they obviously frequently coincide and overlap: for example, Payne's first

³²⁰*Viri praeclarissimi, & in omni literatura peritissimi, Jacobi Fraser J.V.D., a catalogue of the library of the very learned James Fraser...* (London: Olive Payne at the Bible, 24th of January 1732).

³²¹*A Catalogue of Part of the Library of the late Lord Londonderry [Thomas Pitt], And of the Reverend and Learned Mr. Henry Bennet, Chaplain to the Lord Lovel ... [with] the Remains of the Library of the Ingenious James Fraser...* J.U.D. (London: Olive Payne at the Bible, 27th of March, 1732).

³²²*Catalogue of the library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Yarmouth [William Paston, 2nd Earl; and Robert Price, 'One of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas'] ...* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 10th of April 1734).

³²³*A Catalogue of a small Parcel of Books, in very good Condition ... [and] the Library of W. Grainger, Esq., deceased, late envoy at Stockholm, consisting of several thousand Volumes ...* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 13th of July 1736).

³²⁴*Bibliotheca Gordoniana: Or a Catalogue of Valuable and Scarce Books, Chiefly Collected by Mr. Gordon in his travels through France, Italy &c, with some Curious Manuscripts. To which is added, the Library of a Student at Cambridge ...* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 8th of September 1736).

³²⁵*A catalogue of the library of the learned Signor Antonio de Campos, Secretary to the Portuguese Ambassador...* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 6th of September 1737).

two publications were some pamphlets, 'pro and con' on 'an odd sort of Preacher among the Quakers',³²⁶ and an English translation of *Pensées ingénieuses des Pères de l'Église* by the Jesuit priest Dominique Bouhours.³²⁷

³²⁶ [Anon.] *A complete collection of pamphlets, pro and con, relating to the behaviour and repute of an odd sort of a preacher among the Quakers, about ten years ago. Some of which were never before printed.* ... (London: Olive Payne et. al., 1727).

³²⁷ Dominique Bouhours, *Ingenious thoughts of the Fathers of the Church.* (London: printed for R. Phillips, sold by Olive Payne et. al. 1727).

INGENIOUS
THOUGHTS
OF THE
FATHERS
OF THE
CHURCH.

Collected by *BOHOURS* in *French*.

Translated into *English*.

“ *BOHOURS*, whom I look upon to be the most
“ penetrating of all the *French* Criticks, has taken
“ Pains to shew that it is impossible for any
“ Thought to be beautiful which is not just, and
“ has not its Foundation in the Nature of Things:
“ That the Basis of all Wit is Truth; and that
“ no Thought can be valuable, of which good
“ Sense is not the Ground Work.

Addison, Spect. N^o 62.

LONDON, Printed by R. PHILLIPS:

And Sold by F. FAYRAM, at the South-
Entrance of the Royal-Exchange; J. CRO-
KATT, T. WORRALL, both against
St. Dunstan's-Church, Fleetstreet; T. COMBES,
in Pater-Noster-Row; J. CLARK, in Duck-
Lane; and O. PAYNE in Round-Court in the
Strand. 1727.

Figure 14: Olive Payne's first title page: Dominique Bouhours's *Ingenious Thoughts of the Fathers of the Church* (London: printed for R. Phillips, 1727)

Payne's early interest in French and Italian works is also demonstrated by his 1730 publication of Tobias Jenkins's translation of Father Paolo Sarpi's *Trattato delle materie beneficarie* (which is the first publication attributed solely to Payne),³²⁸ and also by the advertisements' emphasis on the rare and expensive folios in these languages. The 17th of May 1729 sale lists a 2 volume edition of *Roma Subterranea* priced at 16s, a 1660, 6-volume edition of Jean-Baptiste de Roccolles's *Le Monde* priced at £2 2s, Etienne Baluze's *Capitularia Rerum Francorum* priced at 16s, 'a large Book of Fencing, in French, by Tibaut' priced at £1 11s and 6d, and 'a Curious Chronicle in Italian, by Marco Guazzo' for 15s.³²⁹ Both the amount of space devoted to these works and the high prices given suggest that Payne was targeting customers with a particular interest in these languages (who would therefore also be interested in his own publications), with the means to collect rare books. The Hunt and Defoe catalogues themselves also indicate his courtship of the wealthy, multilingual bibliophile: he adds the name of renowned European publishing houses to the publishing information, often replacing the place of publication with the publisher's name. He is most interested in Italian publishers (particularly for sixteenth-century Venetian works), with the Giunti (Juntas), Duaci, Varisco and Valgrisi families all named in-text; and in the contemporary products of the Parisian Stephanus printing dynasty, of whom he lists three distinct members. In contrast, only one English printer is named: Jacob Tonson. Payne's orientation towards the foreign language market is further proved by his advertisements for the Defoe/Farewell sale, which note the presence of many items 'printed by the most famous Printers, in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and

³²⁸ Paolo Sarpi, *Father Paul, of Beneficiary Matters, or the Dues of the Altar. Being, a Compleat History of Ecclesiastical Revenues*, trans. by Anon. (London: Olive Payne, 1730).

³²⁹ I have been unable to precisely identify either of these items.

English' and 'several of the Classicks, in *Usum Delphini*, printed at Paris, &c'.³³⁰ His connection with D. and A. Lyon, noted specialists in French literature,³³¹ should also be noted here; as should his possible connections to specialist sellers like John Groenewegen and Abraham Vanderhoeck, which will be discussed later.

It is unsurprising to find that Payne's clear interest in Romance languages is accompanied by connections to Catholic and Jacobite writers and customers. One of the few surviving contemporary anecdotes about Olive Payne is found in a footnote to Timperley's profile in *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing*:

A copy of the work, which was written by King Henry VIII, and which gained him from the Pope the title of 'Defender of the Faith', was stolen from the Vatican, and sold to the brother of [Thomas] Payne, the bookseller, of the Mews-gate. The bookseller received for it, from the Marquis of Douglas, an annuity for life.³³²

Although the veracity of this story is questionable –Payne's later financial troubles disprove any financial support from grateful patrons– its connection of him to both the Catholic Church and the prestige market accords well enough with his business profile to suggest that this rumour is a sensational retelling of his actual practices as a bookseller. Reviewing Payne's

³³⁰ See advertisements in the *Daily Journal* (11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24th of November, 1731) and the *Daily Advertiser* (13 and 16th of November 1731).

³³¹ See Plomer 1726-1775, p. 160.

³³² See C.H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London: H. Johnson, 1839), p. 99. Sadly, he does not specify the source of this story, and I have been unable to trace it.

library sales, it appears that the Marquis of Douglas was fairly representative of Payne's client base.³³³ There is a surprisingly high number of library sales and publications linked to people and families with strong Jacobite and Royalist histories and connections, with the Scottish being particularly well represented. Some of the sellers and publishers in his early circles were also either confirmed (the Lyons) or suspected (Meighan) Catholics. Moreover, these connections appear almost from the outset of Payne's career, which increases the probability of the sort of long-term connections in these circles that would lead to him receiving commissions for wealthy clients, as contemporary prestige booksellers often did.³³⁴

The two sales Payne held immediately after the Defoe sale further illustrate both the relative prestige of Payne's professional circles, and some recurrent political and religious traits. The 3612-item library of renowned Scottish book dealer and collector James Fraser (1645-1731) was perhaps Payne's most impressive early acquisition; and the fact that this was his first post-Defoe/Farewell sale suggests the extent of his establishment and prosperity at this time. The prestige of acquiring this library sale comes not only from the longevity and success of Fraser's career, but from the extent of his connections with the Stuarts and their supporters. He began his career as a tutor to Charles Beauclerk, Charles II's illegitimate son by Nell Gwyn, and also taught the children of the second Earl of Yarmouth, William Paston (whose library Payne would sell in 1734), further integrating himself with the family by marrying a niece of the Countess of Yarmouth. Fraser's connections to the Stuarts — as well as other influential patrons like the Royalist Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon — were instrumental in gaining the prestigious offices he gained in the 1680s, serving as both a licenser at Stationers' Hall (1688-

³³³ The parameters of Payne's career makes Archibald Douglas the likelier subject of this rumour, although the Marquisate of Douglas was elevated into a Dukedom in 1703.

³³⁴ Brian Moffatt's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* profile notes that Fraser received commissions from 'Ashmole, Boyle, Clarendon, Evelyn, Hooke, Pepys, and Petty.' See 'James Fraser (1645-1731)', *ODNB*. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [Last accessed 14 August 2014].

1692) and as the Secretary and Register of the Royal Chelsea Hospital –the latter position being, as Brian Moffatt states, ‘created for Fraser in lieu of settling a royal debt that Charles II owed Nell Gwyn’.³³⁵ Unusually, Fraser’s prosperity endured well into the Hanoverian era, due to both the quality of his services and his shrewd appeasement of the new regime. He is reported to have served as a royal librarian as late as 1724, and was a prominent benefactor to several societies and institutions, including the Royal Society. Of these, the most relevant donation is the 1051 books (worth approximately £1600) given to the library of his *alma mater*, Kings’ College, Aberdeen, as this bequest was related to Fraser’s extensive involvement with the Scottish branch of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, an organization to which Farewell, Wake (and White Kennett) were also connected, through their involvement with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.³³⁶ Whether or not Payne himself was involved in these organizations, the frequency with which they recur among Payne’s early sales and publications suggests that missionary groups and related parties may comprise a considerable measure of his customer base and deserve further investigation.

Payne’s other 1732 sales demonstrate his continued success in acquiring the libraries of eminent people, and noted bibliophiles/collectors. The first party was Thomas Pitt, the first Earl of Londonderry, an undistinguished military officer and politician then best-known for his father’s fame as a wealthy and outspoken trader in India.³³⁷ Pitt’s role in suppressing the 1715 Lancashire uprising –after which he was promoted to Colonel and given a cavalry regiment– and his father’s activity against Jacobite rebels in Dorsetshire that same year would seem to

³³⁵ ODNB, ‘James Fraser (1645-1731)’, J. M. Henderson, ‘James Fraser, 1645–1731’, *Aberdeen University Review*, 25 (1937–8), 138–46.

³³⁶ See Heidenreich, XXXIII–IV, for discussion of Farewell and Wake’s involvement in the SPG, and ODNB, ‘White Kennett (1660-1728)’. For a general history of both societies, see Daniel O’Connor, *et. al.*, *Three centuries of mission: the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701-2000* (London: Continuum, 2000).

³³⁷ ODNB, ‘Thomas Pitt (1653-1726)’, ‘Thomas Pitt (1688-1729)’.

fall at the opposite end of the political spectrum to the majority of Payne's sales. Little is known of the second party, the Reverend Henry Bennett, 'Chaplain to the Lord Lovel'. However, Lord Lovel himself accords well with Payne's emerging customer profile. Payne's comment that Bennett, like Pitt, is 'recently deceas'd' suggests that he is referring to a recent holder of this title, of which there is only one. The title 'Baron Lovel' had only been revived in 1728, and in 1732 was held by Thomas Coke, who would later become the Earl of Leicester.³³⁸ Like Londonderry, Coke was a Whig politician, but he was also a lifelong traveller and collector, whose recurrent financial troubles were a consequence of his having 'spent liberally on rare books, manuscripts, paintings, drawings and sculpture'.³³⁹ These interests alone make him an ideal representative of Payne's target customer, but the fact that Coke had a particular interest in Italian art and architecture —by 1732, he had already resided and studied in Turin for some time— marks him as a probable frequenter of the foreign language specialist booksellers in this section of the Strand.

The advertisements appended to this catalogue further support the idea that Payne's customers had a particular interest in foreign language items, particularly Italian texts. Of his nine pre-Defoe publications, Payne promotes only Sarpi. He provides a near-complete transcript of the Table of Contents, and emphasizes both the author of the translation (Tobias Jenkins, Esq.) and this edition's inclusion of the 'Notes of M. Amelot de la Houssaie'.³⁴⁰

³³⁸ *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, Clan Chiefs, Scottish Feudal Barons, 107th edition*, ed. by Charles Mosely. 2 vols. (Wilmington, Delaware/Stokesley, UK: Burke's Peerage & Gentry LLC, 2003), vol. II, 2288.

³³⁹ ODNB, 'Thomas Coke (1697-1759)'.

³⁴⁰ *A Catalogue of Part of the Library of the late Lord Londonderry [Thomas Pitt], And of the Reverend and Learned Mr. Henry Bennet, Chaplain to the Lord Lovel...[with] the Remains of the Library of the Ingenious James Fraser* (London: Olive Payne, 1732) p. 51.

It is distinctly possible that the theological works that comprised the majority of Payne's early publications were linked to the interests of the missionary circles that connect Fraser and Farewell (it is also notable that Payne's master, William Gray, seems to have concentrated primarily on binding bibles and sermons). Although the religious works in Payne's backlist may suggest some Royalist or Jacobite affinities through the titles with Catholic connections, the fairly diverse range of perspectives does not point to a particular religion orientation, but indicates a fairly learned and neutral target customer interested in reading across the whole spectrum of the contemporary conversation.

The Whig bishop White Kennett is the most heavily represented writer in Payne's publication list, with four titles listed. Three of these - *An historical account of the discipline and jurisdiction of the Church of England*,³⁴¹ *What has been, may be again: or, an history of the last convocation of the prelates and clergy of the Province of Canterbury*,³⁴² and *A compleat history of convocations, from 1356 to 1689*³⁴³-- appeared in 1730 and 1731, and were produced with the same co-printers: Stokoe, J. Whitaker, and W. France. It is difficult to determine how this heavy representation of Kennett fits into the emerging profile of both Payne and his customer base. Kennett's religious and political views permit no simple classification of his allegiance -- he has been described as both an 'arch-Royalist' and an 'anti-Catholic' in a single article³⁴⁴-- and interest in his works seems to have fallen across the political spectrum.

³⁴¹ White Kennett, *An historical account of the discipline and jurisdiction of the Church of England*. 2nd edn. (London: O. Payne et. al., 1730).

³⁴² White Kennett, *What has been, may be again: or, an history of the last convocation of the prelates and clergy of the Province of Canterbury*. 2nd edn. (London: O. Payne et. al., 1730).

³⁴³ White Kennett, *A compleat history of convocations, from 1356 to 1689*. 2nd edn. (London: O. Payne et. al., 1730).

³⁴⁴ ODNB, 'White Kennett (1660-1728)'.

Sarpi's *Trattato delle materie beneficarie* has a similarly wide appeal that does not point to any specific religious or political orientation. He has been described as 'the Italian author most frequently published in England in the seventeenth century',³⁴⁵ and his work resonated with two contemporary aspects of English thought: the increasing 'fear of Catholic supremacy' during the Restoration era, and the need for reform in the English Protestant church (for which Sarpi's recommendations would serve as a model.) Its scrupulous and measured critique of the Catholic Church's excesses and hypocrisies has obvious appeal to a Protestant readership, although Payne's lack of emphasis on Sarpi's excommunication, and his sincere advocacy of the authority of de la Houssaie's notes implies he had no intent of packaging it as an anti-Catholic text.

However, the appeal of some of Payne's other early publications seems more distinctly confined to Jacobite circles. The *Miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflections of 'Tamworth Reresby, Gent'* is most notable for the author's family history.³⁴⁶ The Reresbys of Thryberg Hall, West Riding, Yorkshire, remained Catholic into the early seventeenth century, and unsurprisingly demonstrated consistent Cavalier/Jacobite sympathies thereafter. Charles I awarded John Reresby his baronetcy in 1642; and Tamworth's father John (the second Baronet and noted memoirist) launched his political career with a letter of recommendation from the exiled queen, and demonstrated loyalty to the Stuarts as both a Member of Parliament and the Governor of York. The family's fortunes declined sharply after the Revolution, as the

³⁴⁵ George B. Parks, 'Venetian Phoenix: Paolo Sarpi and Some of His English Friends (1606-1700) by John Leon Lievsay', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 28, 2 (1975), 241-42 (p. 242).

³⁴⁶ Tamworth Reresby, *A miscellany of ingenious thoughts and reflections, in verse and prose; with some Useful Remarks*. 2nd edn (London: O. Payne et. al., 1730).

estate was sold to pay gambling debts in 1705 and the baronetcy became extinct in 1748.³⁴⁷

The family's Royalist history seems to have helped Tamworth advance in his military career: he became a major in the regiment of Colonel Thomas Stanwix, whose own promotion was a consequence of his close connection with the second Duke of Ormond, a Tory conspirator who would join the Pretender in 1715. The first edition of Reresby's work was printed 'for the author' in 1721,³⁴⁸ and relies solely on the author's name and gentility for appeal –no mention is made of his military history. As Payne's reprint makes no attempt to repackage the work, it is tempting to conclude that he and his co-publishers relied on the same Jacobite partisanship for sales. Interestingly, Reresby's other literary efforts were translations of French works,³⁴⁹ one of Payne's most consistent areas of interest.

Another Jacobite link appears in Payne's reprint of the innocuously-titled *An Essay upon Civil Government*,³⁵⁰ whose author, the 'Chevalier' Ramsay, was a notorious Scots Catholic and Jacobite exile, tutor of the Young Pretender and a famous philosopher and critic of organized religion. Residing in France and Italy since 1710, by 1732 Ramsay had begun to receive recognition and acceptance in England that went beyond Jacobite circles, being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1729, and receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law at

³⁴⁷ See ODNB, 'Reresby, Sir John (1634-1689)' and John Doxey, 'Noble Families of Thryberg' at <http://johndoxey.100freemb.com/sir_john_reresby.htm> and <http://johndoxey.100freemb.com/eresby_final_years.htm> [last accessed on 3 April 2015].

³⁴⁸ Tamworth Reresby, *A miscellany of ingenious thoughts and reflections, in verse and prose; with some useful remarks ...* (London: printed by H. Meere, in Black-Fryers, for the author, 1721).

³⁴⁹ Anon, *New dialogues of the gods; or, reflections upon the passions: with a discourse upon the nature of dialogue. Translated from the French by Mr. Tamworth Reresby* (London: Bernard Lintot, at the Cross-Keys, between the Two Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street, 1713); *A collection of letters, extracted from the most celebrated French authors. Viz. The Chevalier de Méré, Boursault, Fontenelle, Balzac ... Made English by Tamworth Reresby, Esq;* (London: T. Howlatt, for J. Graves, 1715).

³⁵⁰ Andrew Michael Ramsay, *An essay upon civil government: wherein is set forth, the necessity, origin, rights, boundaries, and different forms of sovereignty.* (London: Olive Payne, 1732) p. 236.

Oxford in 1730, at which time he also visited London.³⁵¹ These factors, along with the popularity of his allegorical 'novel' *The Travels of Cyrus* (1727) may have motivated Payne and company's republication of Ramsay's essay –so this publication was not necessarily targeted directly at a Jacobite audience. However, the advertisements included in this volume suggest that Payne's typical target audience formed *some* segment of this work's readership.

As well as advertisements for his own works, Payne includes advertisements for three books by Randall Minshull, who published the first edition of *An Essay upon Civil Government* in 1722, through the agency of the Jacobite Principal of St. Mary Hall, Dr. William King.³⁵² All three of Minshull's listed publications have interesting Royalist, Jacobite and Italophile connections.³⁵³ A collection of 'Instructions for Youth, Gentlemen, and Noblemen' (being Original Tracts) includes works by Cardinal Enrico Caetani, a prominent figure in the Catholic League and staunch opponent of Henry VIII, and the English Royalist writer Edward Walsingham. Further pro-Royalist views appear in the description of Edmund Borlase's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, originally published in 1679. Payne's edition is distinguished by the restoration of passages excised by the then-licenser, Royalist pamphleteer and Spanish translator Sir Roger L'Estrange. But although this is presented as a selling point, the writer of the advertisement takes care to *vindicate* L'Estrange and the Stuarts, including an 'original Letter of the said L'Estrange to the Author, setting forth his pretended Opinion of the Work, and Vindication of the Royal Family from that Horrid Imputation'. The use of 'pretended' here mitigates the intention and severity of L'Estrange's cuts (and, potentially, the Stuarts' role); but

³⁵¹ See Gabriel Glickmann, 'Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686-1743), the Jacobite Court and the English Catholic Enlightenment' *Eighteenth-Century Thought*, 3 (2007), 293-329.

³⁵² Andrew Michael Ramsay, *An essay upon civil government: wherein is set forth, the necessity, origine, rights, boundaries, and different forms of sovereignty ...* (London: Randall Minshull at the Ship-Yard, near Temple-Bar, 1722).

³⁵³ See Ramsay, 1732, p. 236.

the addition of 'letters relating to the Massacres committed by the Papists on the English Protestants' prevents this work from being a straightforward Jacobite production.

Further signs of Payne's possible Jacobite affinities and general interest in French and Italian works appear in his reprint of an English translation of the Chevalier de Plossens's adulatory *Memoirs of the Regency of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Orleans*. Here, Payne reproduces the ornaments and text of J. Crockatt's 1729 edition,³⁵⁴ but creates a higher-end product by adding a lengthy anonymous preface, an index and several illustrations, and by binding the original six instalments into a single volume.³⁵⁵ Connections with the continent, particularly France and Italy, also appear in his library sales: his final sale of 1732 is the library of 'a gentleman gone abroad' which contains books 'in most languages and faculties',³⁵⁶ and the 'Roman Catholick Priest' of the Hunt sale is joined by 'the learned Monsieur Rollan' and Benedict Leonard Calvert in 1733.³⁵⁷

It is difficult to extrapolate from this information any firm conclusions about Payne's own political or religious leanings. The surviving records do not indicate any obvious deviations from standard practice, as both Olive Payne and his own children were baptised into the Anglican Church; nor are there clear indications of covert Catholic or Dissenting practice, or

³⁵⁴ Chevalier de Plossens, *Memoirs of the Regency of his Royal Highness, the Late Duke of Orleans, During the Minority of his present Most Christian Majesty Lewis XVth ...* (London: J. Crockatt, 1729).

³⁵⁵ Chevalier de Plossens, *Memoirs of the Regency of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Orleans, during the minority of his present Most Christian Majesty Lewis the XVth*. (London: Olive Payne et. al., 1732).

³⁵⁶ *Bibliotheca curiosa: or, a catalogue of a small but curious collection of books, in most languages and faculties being part of the library of a gentleman gone abroad...* (London: Olive Payne at the Bible, 24th of August 1732).

³⁵⁷ *Librorum prænobilis Benedicti Leonardi Calvert ... or, a catalogue of the libraries of the Honourable Benedict Leonard Calvert Esq; and the learned Monsieur Rollan* (London, Olive Payne at Horace's Head, The Strand, 28th of January 1733).

Jacobite allegiances. But the sheer number of Catholic and Jacobite connections that appear throughout Payne's career suggests that these groups made up a large share of Payne's customer base from the earliest stages of his career. That he was able to establish and maintain good relationships within these groups implies personal sympathy and/or skilful diplomacy on his part.

Whatever Payne's personal beliefs were, the business that was built on the above ideas appears to have been successful. In 1733, there was a notable expansion as he became an increasingly prolific publisher (releasing 11 new works) and moved to a new shop at 'Horace's Head, Round-Court, the Strand',³⁵⁸ where he would remain until 1739. This move reveals a surprising amount about the state of Payne's business, both before and after the Defoe sale. Its indication of a considerable increase in the scale of Payne's business is suggested by both his increased prolificacy and the reputation of the shop's former occupants, who, as noted specialists in the foreign book trade, likely occupied premises considerably larger and better equipped than Payne's first shop. But, given that Payne oriented himself towards the prestige market from the outset, it is significant that he chose to stay in the same street, as it implies that he had established a foothold in a sufficiently prestigious area, and that continuity with his peers and customer base was desirable.

A survey of Payne's contemporary booksellers and printers suggests that in the 1720s and 30s there was a cluster of booksellers in this part of the Strand that specialized in foreign language texts – the most notable being the aforementioned Lyons of New Round-Court, Nicolas Prevost of 'the *Ship* ... over against Southampton Street in the Strand', P. du Noyer, at

³⁵⁸ The first known reference to this move is found on the title page of the Calvert/Rollan sale cited above.

'Erasmus's Head in the Strand', H. Noorthouck at 'Cicero's Head in the Strand', and the former owners of Payne's new shop, John Groenewegen and Abraham Vandenhoeck.³⁵⁹ From November 1721 until 1728, Horace's Head at Round Court was the base of operations for these two specialists in the sale of Latin and French texts (both through library sales and their own publications),³⁶⁰ whom Colin Steele has also distinguished as being among the most important stockists of Spanish and Portuguese material in the 1720s London book trade.³⁶¹ Like Payne's, their library sales highlight the numerous languages and foreign origins (and rarity) of the stock on offer, and the list of the libraries' original owners is marked by the prominence of French (and German and Dutch) names and prestigious positions.³⁶² Their own publications also demonstrate an interest in Italian literature and language instruction and French texts aimed at the prestige market.³⁶³ Their partnership was dissolved in 1728, when Groenewegen died. A large quantity of his stock was sold off, but Vandenhoeck continued trading in Round-Court (at the sign of Virgil's Head) until 1734, although the partial sale of his stock in 1730 suggests his business was already being scaled back.

Although the exact dates and the extent of Payne's acquaintance with these two booksellers is unknown, circumstantial evidence suggests that they moved in the same circles prior to the

³⁵⁹ It is also interesting to note that, although his shop was 'outside Temple Bar' rather than in this area, a number of William Mears's sales of the 1720s focused on books in classical and modern European languages. See *List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum*, pp. 39, 42.

³⁶⁰ See Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 120, 250.

³⁶¹ Colin Steele, *English interpreters of the Iberian new world from Purchas to Stevens: a bibliographical study, 1603-1726*. (Oxford: Dolphin Book Co., 1975), pp. 160-61.

³⁶² For example, in 1725, they sold the library of Mr. D'Alone, 'Secretary to King William III,' in 1729, Vandenhoeck sold the libraries of Jacob Vallensius, 'Chancellor of the Supreme Court of Holland' and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, a 'Minister of Louis XIV' (*List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900 ...* p. 41, 47).

³⁶³ A representative work of the latter type is Groenewegen's lavishly illustrated *Supplement du nouveau theatre de la Grande Bretagne: ou description exacte des maisons les plus considerables des seigneurs & des gentilshommes de la Grande Bretagne. Avec les plans de plusieurs villes, abbayes, & églises cathedrales d'Ecosse, etc* (London: J. Groenewegen & N. Prevost, 1728).

Defoe/Farewell sale. Firstly, they were in close geographical proximity, with Payne being settled in Round Court since 1727, and possibly in the parish of St. Martin-in-the Field since 1722. Secondly, their sales and publications demonstrate shared interests in foreign language texts and translations, making it probable that they shared a customer base—a hypothesis strengthened by the considerable number of other foreign text specialists present in this part of the Strand. Thirdly, they seem to have moved in the same professional circles: although Payne himself is not found among the stockists of Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck's sales catalogues, several of his frequent associates *do* appear, like Brindley, Stokoe, King, Meighan, and Strahan, who also stocked Thomas Ballard's 10 March 1728/1729 sale of Groenewegen's stock,³⁶⁴ and the 1730 sale of Vandenhoeck's inventory.³⁶⁵ It is also worth noting Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck's connection to Payne's later co-publisher, William Mears, who published several of Defoe's major works in the 1720s. Finally, there are two connections between Payne's eventual business partner, John Wilcox, and Vandenhoeck: they published a collection of French fables together in 1731,³⁶⁶ and in 1734, Wilcox would establish his first permanent shop by taking over the shop at 'Virgil's Head, Round-Court, the Strand' after Vandenhoeck's retirement to Hamburg.³⁶⁷ Vandenhoeck's continued presence in Round Court after his

³⁶⁴ *Catalogus insignium & omnis generis studii librorum. Being a catalogue of choice, valuable, and very scarce books* (London: Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck at Horace's Head, the Strand, 18 March 1723/17224); [*Bibliotheca librorum maxime insignium: or a curious collection of choice and valuable books lately imported from abroad, etc.* (London: J. Groenewegen and A. Vander Boeck at Horace's Head, Strand. 20 Nov [1721]); *Bibliotheca Groenewegeana: being a catalogue of the stock of John Groenewegen...* (London, Thomas Ballard at Paul's Coffee-House, 10th of March, 1728/1729).

³⁶⁵ *Bibliopolium Vandenhoeckianum: or, a catalogue of books in most faculties and languages. Collected in Italy, France, Germany, England and Holland, by Abram. Vandenhoeck.* (London: Abraham Vandenhoeck at Virgil's Head in The Strand, 14 [December] 1730).

³⁶⁶ François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *Twenty seven moral tales and fables, French and English. Invented for the education of a prince by the late celebrated Archbishop of Cambrai... To which is prefix'd an essay of the nature of fable. Extracted from Mons. de la Motte.* (London: printed for J. Wilcox; W. Meadows; T. Worral; A. Vandenhoeck; and J. Jackson, 1729).

³⁶⁷ John Wilcox announced Vandenhoeck's retirement on the title page of *A catalogue of books, being The Libraries of A Right Reverend Prelate. Thomas Wickham, M. D. and J. Shaw, Attorney, deceased's*. ... (London: John Wilcox at Virgil's Head, Strand, 1734).

partner's death, and the similarity between the shop signs of Virgil and Horace, suggests that these buildings were in close proximity, if not part of the same structure; and it is interesting that Payne and Wilcox's association was established around the same time as Wilcox's takeover, and that the beginning of Payne's career also coincides with the dissolution of the Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck's partnership.

The proliferation of these connections and parallels, and the 1728-29 changes to their business, suggests that Payne may have acquired some stock from Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck's inventories –therefore flagging their sales catalogues as a source to consider in the further identification of Defoe/Farewell's salted stock. While it is incomplete, the research to date supports this hypothesis. Surveying a number of their catalogues, it becomes evident that Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck not only stocked many of the authors and titles found in Defoe/Farewell (and demonstrated a proportionate interest in French and Italian titles, but that there are over a hundred titles sharing a place and year of publication, making them potential duplicate editions. The degree of removal from the Defoe sale, and the fact that Payne and these booksellers shared common interests, means that these duplicates cannot be confirmed as salted items with the same certainty as the Hunt texts, since it is distinctly possible that Payne, Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck independently acquired copies of the same editions.³⁶⁸ However, these items are still relevant to the question of the Defoe/Farewell inventory's provenance, and are thereby listed separately in Appendix A.

³⁶⁸ To give an idea of the extent to which Payne and Groenewegen/Vandenhoeck shared interests, note that in addition to these duplicates, Defoe/Farewell and the 1729-30 stock sales contain over 200 instances where the same title is present in both catalogues in different editions.

128. i 3 13
12

Catalogus insignium & omnis generis studii
LIBRORUM.
A. Catalogus Jul. 1723
BEING A

CATALOGUE

Of choice, valuable, and very scarce

B O O K S,

I N

Latin
GREEK, ITALIAN, FRENCH, SPANISH, &c.

Lately imported from

ITALY, FRANCE, and HOLLAND;

Consisting of a large Collection of Books in Divinity, Law, Philosophy, Physick, Natural History, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, by the best Masters; Antiquity, Medals, History of Foreign Countries, Orators, Poets, Literature, Classics, in Uium Delphini of the Paris Editions, and all the valuable Variorums and Old Elzevier's, several upon large Paper, Bound at PARIS by the most famous Binders.

Which will begin to be sold Cheap (the Price being mark'd in each Book) at the Shop of *J. Groenewegen*, and *A. vander Hoeck*, Booksellers, at *Horace's Head*, the third Door from the Corner of *Catherine-street* in the *Strand*, on *Wednesday* the *18th* of *March*, 1723-4. at Nine in the Morning.

The Books may be view'd three Days before the Sale.

CATALOGUES may be had at *W'ljze's Chocolate-House* in *St. James's-street*, the *British Coffee-House*, *Charing-Cross*, *14th's*, *Tom's*, and *Boston's*, in *Covent-Garden*; as also at *Mr. King's*, in *Juniper-hall*; *Mr. T. Ballard's*, in *Little Britain*; *Mr. Lewis's*, in *Covent-Garden*; *Mr. Melcham's*, in *Gray's-Lane-Gate*; *Mr. Strahan's* in *Cornhill*, Booksellers; *Clayton's* Coffee-House, *Pater-noster-Row*; *Paul's* Coffee-House, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; *Over's*, *Mr. Clements*, *Cambridge*, *Mr. Crompton*, and at the Place of Sale.
(Price Three-Pence.)

Figure 15: Title page from a typical Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck book sale (sale held on the 18th of March 1723/1724)

Whatever the extent of Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck's influence on the Defoe/Farewell inventory, it is notable that Payne's 1733-34 publications and sales both appealed to their customer base and demonstrated his continued interest in the high-end book trade. He continued to acquire prestigious library sales, on both sides of the political spectrum. In 1734, he sold the libraries of Robert Price, a Welsh Tory judge and politician with connections to Robert Harley, and the second Earl of Yarmouth, William Paston, a Catholic convert and suspected Jacobite. Paston's political allegiance is clear –he refused to swear allegiance to William and Mary and was imprisoned on suspicion of Jacobite activity, before being readmitted to Parliament in 1696³⁶⁹ but Price's is more ambiguous. He had strong connections to the Stuarts, having served as Queen Catherine of Braganza's steward from 1685, and in 1699 opposed proceedings by parliamentary bill of attainder against the Jacobite plotter Sir John Fenwick. However, he also subscribed £20 to 'the Herefordshire loan of the Prince of Orange' in 1688, and refused to read James II's first Declaration of Indulgence.³⁷⁰ He was a relatively independent figure, challenging authority on all sides. An interesting oddity about this sale is that while both men were collectors of rare books (the Paston family being particularly known for their library), Payne chose to combine these sales, and sold the smaller collection of the obscure playwright Gabriel Odingsell by itself.

Similarly, Payne's publications in this period demonstrate both his consistent interests and his movement towards increasingly ambitious and expensive publications, with which he seems to have been successful. Even in the joint publications with established sellers, the only advertisements on display are for Olive Payne's solo productions –which may indicate his

³⁶⁹ ODNB, 'Paston, Robert (1613-1683)'.

³⁷⁰ ODNB, 'Price, Robert (1655-1733)'.

leadership of the publication process, or his superior stake.³⁷¹ He continued to print Baston, Ramsay and Sarpi, but expanded his publication list to include French translations of Luigi Riccoboni's *Storia del Teatro Italiano* and Baltasar Gracián's letters, a Life of Sir Thomas More, an edition of Collins's *English Baronage*, and an edition of George Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, among others. These new items are clearly targeted towards the prestige customer. Not only does Payne increase the average price of his solo publications (bound works) from 3s to 5s, his advertisements also emphasize the quality of the binding and production. From this point on, most items are offered bound and gilt, and high quality illustrations and maps are an important selling point. However, he is still careful not to price himself out of the market at this point, offering several works in two grades of binding with corresponding price points -- Collins, his most expensive item at 7s 6d, is also offered for 5s in 'past-Board'. His advertisement of one particular luxury item stresses both its quality and the bargain on offer: the *Memoirs of the Catholic Marquis of Clanricarde, and Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Ulick Burke*, which allegedly contained 'several original papers and Letters of King Charles II'. Payne seems not to have produced it himself, but to have acquired it from the original seller: it was 'originally ...sold at 10s 6d in Sheets', and the 'small Number remaining in Royal Paper' are now sold on by Payne for 5s. 'bound and gilt'.³⁷² Exactly how he acquired this item is unknown, but the fact that he did --and offered it for resale-- provides another indication of Payne and his customers' amenability towards the Stuarts and towards Catholicism, and possible Jacobite inclinations.

³⁷¹ Ambrose Phillips, *The Free Thinker: or Essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, Enthusiasm, Craft, &c.* 2nd edn. (London: Olive Payne, J. Brindley, R. Montagu, T. Woodman, 1733), p. 246.

³⁷² No contemporary advertisement has been located; the last edition was *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Earl of Clanricarde* (London: James Woodman, at Camden's Head, Covent-Garden, 1722).

The packaging of Buchanan's *History of Scotland* seems to be targeted at the same audience. The title page places particular emphasis on the addition of 'a genealogy of all the Kings of Scotland from *Fergus I* before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ 330 years, to the reign of James VI. of that name, King of Scots, and the 1st of England', to which further credibility is added by 'the Oath of a Duke, Earl, Lord of Parliament, and Knight of Scotland.'³⁷³ Also of note are the pamphlet by Scottish historian John Campbell on the potential problems of Spanish possession of Sicily and Naples,³⁷⁴ and John Sparrow's English translation of a 'Complete History of the Wars in Italy' by Comte Claude Alexandre de Bonneval, a former general in the Austrian army exiled to Venice, who would eventually serve in the Ottoman army.

However, the most interesting development in Payne's career at this point is the appearance of two connections with the Defoes, which may help answer the question of how he acquired the library sale. The first link comes from Payne's two 1734 reprints of Defoe's *Political History of the Devil*, where one of the co-publishers provides another connection to the Defoes. William Mears of 'The Lamb without Temple-Bar' (fl. 1713-27)³⁷⁵ was among the publishers of several early editions of Defoe's major works. His name appears on the title pages of all three volumes of the *Tour thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*,³⁷⁶ the 1725 edition of the *New Voyage round the World*,³⁷⁷ the second and third editions of *Colonel Jack*,³⁷⁸ and the fourth

³⁷³ George Buchanan, *Buchanan's History of Scotland...* (London: Olive Payne et. al. 1734), p. 1.

³⁷⁴ John Campbell, *A view of the dangers to which the trade of Great-Britain to Turkey and Italy will be exposed, if Naples and Sicily fall into the hands of the Spaniards ...* (London: W. Mears and O. Payne, 1734).

³⁷⁵ See Plomer, *1668-1725*, p. 202; *1726-1775*, p. 166. I have placed Mears's activity between 1713 and 1728, a dating I have revised with reference to the English Short Title Catalogue.

³⁷⁶ See P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998), pp. 209, 214, 222, for details on the title's publication history.

³⁷⁷ Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, p. 211-12.

³⁷⁸ Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, pp. 205-6. Note also that a 'T. Payne, of Stationers-Hall' is among the listed printers. I have been unable to confirm whether he was the Paternoster Row publisher of that name, or indeed, any relation to Olive.

part of 'A General History of Discoveries and Improvements/The History of the Princ. Discoveries and Improvements'.³⁷⁹ Interestingly, there is evidence that Payne's acquaintance with Mears was a few years old at this point, possibly predating the Defoe/Farewell sale. Mears and Payne had previously co-published the aforementioned works by Bonneval and Campbell; and several of the publishers and sellers listed beside Mears on the title pages of *New Voyage and Tour* are Payne's most frequent early associates: Strahan, Jackson, Stagg, Chapman, Dodd, and Brindley, the latter's connection with Mears dating as far back as 1717. Mears's publication history, which primarily comprised dramatic and scientific/medical works, also reveals he shared Payne's interest in Romance languages, producing editions of at least two specific works found in the Defoe/Farewell sale: Gracián's *Art of Prudence* (with notes by de la Houssaie), and Boyer's *French Dictionary*. Although Payne does not supply sufficient publication information to confirm whether the listed works are Mears's editions, the coincidence is still worth noting. While it is impossible to confirm any sort of acquaintance between Defoe and Payne from this material—especially as the extent of Defoe's own relationship with Mears is uncertain—it does indicate Mears and certain members of Payne's circle as potential factors in Payne's acquisition of Defoe's library. Brindley and Jackson & Jolliffe stand out as the most probable parties, having established connections with Mears in the 1720s, and been connected with Payne since 1730.

The second connection provides a direct link between the Defoes and Payne, as well as reinforcing Mears and Payne's network of common associates. In 1735, Payne is listed (alongside frequent associates Brindley, Jolliffe, Lyon, and Charles Corbett) as a printer and stockist of two editions of an early English dictionary—the first known published work by

³⁷⁹ Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, pp. 217-18.

Defoe's recalcitrant son, Benjamin Norton Defoe.³⁸⁰ This work is distinguished from Payne's other publications by two characteristics: it is a new publication, rather than a reprint, and it is Payne's most frequently republished item. As well as the two 1735 editions, Payne released new editions in 1737 and 1739 as a solo printer.³⁸¹ Remarkably, this gives him a role in 80% of Norton Defoe's attributed works: the English Short Title Catalogue lists 'B.N. Defoe [Benjamin Norton]' as the author of only five items, all various editions of the *Dictionary* published between 1735 and 1741. Moreover, Payne still has a connection to the only edition where he is absent from the title page, since the 1741 edition was printed by his one-time business partner John Wilcox, who likely acquired the title in the fallout of Payne's bankruptcy.

It is difficult to determine the reasons for Payne's consistent interest in this work. Its merit as a dictionary is minor: not only do its limited list of words and basic definitions fall unsurprisingly short of its promise to contain 'the True Meaning of all the Words in the *English Language*' (although its informal manner and focus on English geography make it an interesting resource for studies of early eighteenth-century idioms), but its lack of interest in etymology make it more of a vocabulary list or reference book than a proto-dictionary. But it is possible that these very limitations, while restricting its appeal to scholars, made it an accessible and useful resource to the 'Gentlemen, Ladies, Foreigners, Artificers, Tradesmen' seeking to improve or correct their command of written English, whose increasing importance as a status marker prompted demand for works of this kind. The other possibility is that Payne's republications were a consequence of his acquaintance with Norton Defoe, a theory for which no external evidence has been found. However, the appearance of the Mears circle (Brindley and Jolliffe) and Payne's other early associates on the title pages of the 1735 dictionaries provides support

³⁸⁰ In 'Defoe's Library', James Kelly briefly noted Payne's publication of the 1734 and 1735 items (p. 293).

³⁸¹ The author of the 1739 edition is listed as 'J. Sparrow' on the title page, probably to present this work as a new product.

for Heidenreich's suspicion that Payne acquired the Defoe/Farewell sale through Defoe's family. It seems clear that Payne and Norton Defoe moved in the same circles of publishers and booksellers in 1735, but it is uncertain whether their acquaintance dates as far back as 1731. In any case, it is clearly a significant point in consideration of the catalogue's background. While the span (c. 1718-39) of Norton Defoe's journalistic career confirms that this was not his first actual publication, it is the first to carry his name on the title page, and the fact remains that Payne is not only among its publishers, but also reprinted it twice as a solo publisher.³⁸²

³⁸² I have primarily based these dates on Novak's research on Norton Defoe in *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, p. 594-98, 703-4.

A' A C O M P L E A T
English Dictionary.

Containing the
TRUE MEANING
 Of all W O R D S in the
ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

A L S O

The P R O P E R N A M E S of all the
 K I N G D O M S, T O W N S, and C I T I E S
 in the W O R L D :

Properly Explain'd and Alphabetically Dispos'd.

Design'd for the U S E of
 Gentlemen, Ladies, Foreigners, Artificers,
 Tradesmen; and A L L who desire to Speak
 or Write *ENGLISH* in its present Purity
 and Perfection.

By *B. N. DEFOE*, Gent. *no.*

W E S T M I N S T E R :

Printed for JOHN BRINDLEY, at the *King's-Arms*, in *New-Bond-Street*; OLIVE PAYNE, at *Huac's-Head*, in *Round-Court*, in the *Strand*; JOHN JOLLIFFE, at the *Eagle*, in *St. James's-Street*; ALEXANDER LYON, under *Tem's Coffee-House* in *Russel-Street, Covent-Garden*; and CHARLES CORBETT, at *Adelphi's-Head*, without *Temple-Bar*. MDCCLXXXV.

The POLITICAL
HISTORY
 OF THE
DEVIL.

CONTAINING

<p>His ORIGINAL A State of his CIRCUM- STANCES. His CONDUCT Publick and Private. The various Turns of his AFFAIRS from <i>Adam</i> down to this present Time.</p>	<p>The various METHODS he takes to converse with Man- kind. With the MANNER of his making Witches, Wizards, and Conjurers; and how they sell their Souls to him <i>&c. &c.</i></p>
--	---

THE WHOLE
 Interspers'd with many of the DEVIL's
 ADVENTURES.

To which is ADDED,
 A DESCRIPTION of the *Devil's Dwelling*,
 vulgarly call'd HELL.

THE THIRD EDITION.

*Bad as he is, the DEVIL may be abus'd,
 Be falsely charg'd, and causelessly accus'd;
 When Men uncoiling to be Blam'd alone,
 Shift off those Crimes on him which are their own.*

WESTMINSTER:

Printed for JOHN BRINDLEY in *Bond-street*, OLIVE PAYNE in
Round Court in the *Strand*, JOHN JOLLIFFE in *St. James's*
Street, ALEXANDER LYON in *Russel-street*, *Covent-garden*,
 CHARLES CORBETT without *Temple-bar*, and Sold in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard, at the *Royal-Exchange*, and in *Westminster-Hall*,
 MDCCXXXIV.

(Price Bound Five Shillings.)

1735 was a turning point in Payne's career as both publisher and bookseller, being marked by a number of changes and developments. Payne continued to acquire prestigious library sales in the next few years (most notably those of the historian James Tyrrell and the Scottish singer and antiquary Alexander Gordon),³⁸³ but began to shift his focus towards publications and printing.

Firstly, it was at this time he implemented the innovation with which he is credited by Plomer: printing set prices beside items in library sale catalogues.³⁸⁴ I have found nothing to contradict this assertion – no earlier sales catalogues with set prices, or claims that the practice originated with other bookseller; although it is admittedly strange that the bookseller who initiated such an important practice should have attracted so little attention from book historians. In any case, Payne's listed prices are a valuable resource for catalogue study, as they provide further confirmation of his focus on the prestige market. (His decision to fix a reserve price may also indicate his confidence that these demands would not deter his customers, although it is always possible that the listed prices were subject to negotiation.) The average cost of a folio in the first catalogue with listed prices, the 7th of May 1735 sale of Peter Baudoin and 'the Reverend Mr. Brown's' libraries,³⁸⁵ is around 10s, with the majority costing between 3 and 17s. Quartos average 3s, ranging from 1s 6d to £1 11s 6d; and octavos and duodecimos ranging from 6d to £2 2s. Even significantly damaged works can command high prices: a folio edition of

³⁸³ This is a speculative identification of the 'Mr. Gordon' whose books were sold together with those of a Cambridge student on the 8th of September 1736. The title page suggests this library belonged to a person of some renown, and Alexander Gordon, who not only travelled extensively through France and Italy, but was also a noted collector and onetime associate of Vandenhoeck and John Wilcox.

³⁸⁴ Plomer, 1726-1775, p. 194.

³⁸⁵ *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Peter Baudoin, Esq. and the Reverend Mr. Brown...* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 7th of May 1735).

Philo Judaeus 'apud. Turneb.' is priced at 5s, although Payne asks the buyer to 'note, the above is stain'd'.³⁸⁶ Comments like this, in fact, demonstrate another strategy in Payne's approach to the elite market. He frequently calls the customer's attention to the particular quality or rarity of a binding or text (sometimes cunningly using these features to present his product as a relative bargain, as we see with the £5 5s edition of 'Antoniana Margarita' which 'has sold for 20 Guineas'),³⁸⁷ or admits a work's defects (specifying that the 1726 edition of Keating's *General History of Ireland* offered for 12s 6d 'wants the Coat of Arms').³⁸⁸ The particular merits of various dictionaries and grammars are also emphasized through Payne's notes, echoing similar comments found in Defoe/Farewell. (Amusingly, the two catalogues describe two different French/English dictionaries as 'the best Dict. extant for the old French'.)³⁸⁹ Payne's tone is knowledgeable and intimate: he flatters the customer's connoisseurship by implying their shared interest in these salient points, addressing him as a fellow collector. The fact that he returned to this strategy throughout his career suggests that it was a successful method of courting the market.

The Baudoin/Brown sale is also notable for the considerable number of items (87 of approximately 3993) offered at one pound or more –the most expensive being a 1710 4-volume edition of Pierre Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* priced at £6 6s.³⁹⁰ These prices seem to have been fairly representative of Payne's usual range. Later catalogues, such as the 1737 Bennett/Toland sale, have a similar range of products and prices, with most folios

³⁸⁶ Baudoin/Brown, p. 8. An edition of Speed's maps 'in bad condition' is also offered at this price.

³⁸⁷ Baudoin/Brown, p. 14.

³⁸⁸ Baudoin/Brown, p. 19.

³⁸⁹ Defoe/Farewell, item 221; Baudoin/Brown, item 542 (folio).

³⁹⁰ Baudoin/Brown, item 509 (folio).

ranging between 5s and 17s, and about 40 of the 2104 items priced at £1 or higher (of which, just under half are £2 and over.) The most expensive work here is a 1682 4-volume edition of *The English Atlas*, 'beautifully printed on royal Paper, with a Pane of Gold', which is offered for £4 4s.³⁹¹ These prices are helpful in studying the Defoe/Farewell sale, as the consistency of Payne's interest in modern and classical languages, medical texts, travel literature and rare continental publications means that something can be credibly extrapolated about the pricing of the Defoe and Farewell inventory, indicating that it targeted the same elite market. I will confine examples here to authors/subjects well-represented in both catalogues which have been discussed either in this thesis or by other critics.

For example, the four works by Hugo Grotius are priced between 4s and 12s 6d,³⁹² and the five works by John Selden range from 2s 6d to 7s 6d.³⁹³ The many Italian titles whose rarity and quality is specifically emphasized range from 2s 6d. to £5 5s;³⁹⁴ and the sale's surprisingly good representation of Defoe (five titles) ranges from 2s 6d to 5s for a folio of *Jure Divino*—that is, at the lower end of Payne's price range. Among the prestige texts, there are several common titles which appear to be the same editions of the same works: whether they were in fact salted in *from* the Hunt or Defoe/Farewell sales cannot be confirmed, but these works' 1735 prices give further insight into Payne's price range in 1730-31. The 1710 edition of William Salmon's *Botanologia, the English Herbal* is offered for £1 1s.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Bennett/Toland, p. 1.

³⁹² Baudoin/Brown, items 158 (quarto) and 120, 128 and 603 (folio).

³⁹³ Baudoin/Brown, items 237 and 299 (quarto) and 95, 186, and 611 (folio).

³⁹⁴ Baudoin/Brown, items 569 (quarto) and 357 (folio).

³⁹⁵ Defoe/Farewell: L.O. 80; Baudoin/Brown, item 512 (folio).

			(12)				
L.	s.	d.					
1	1	0	343	Museum Calceolarianum Veronense, cum multis figuris, Lib. rariff. —————	Veronæ	1622	
0	7	6	344	Regum pariumque Magnæ Britannia: Historia Genealogica, per Im-hoff —————	Norimb.	1690	
0	5	0	345	Stuckii Antiquitates Convivialium —————		1597	
0	15	0	346	Monumenta Illustrium virorum Elogia, cura ac Studio Marci Zuerii Boxhornii, cum multis figuris, Lib. rariff. Augst. apud Janfon —————		1638	
0	7	6	347	Virelli Opera Novis Variationum —————	Basil.		
0	7	6	348	Vodii Etymologicon Linguae Latinae. Elz. —————		1662	
0	5	0	349	Origo Italiae ac Romæ —————	Rom.	1655	
0	5	0	350	Epistolarum Miscellaneæ, ad Fredericum nausæam blanci campian in Episcopum Viennensem, &c. Singularium Personarum —————	B. fl.		
0	2	0	351	Baconi novum Organum —————	Lond.	1620	
0	5	0	352	Fili Lexicon Chaldaicum —————		1541	
0	2	6	353	Seldeni Mare Clausum, seu de domino Maris —————	Lond.	1635	
0	2	0	354	Solimus de Mirabilibus Mundi, Edit. primo			
0	5	0	355	Historiæ Regum Septentrionalium, Swedish and Latin —————	Stock.	1697	
0	5	0	356	Historiæ Bohemicae —————	Weibel.	1621	
5	5	0	357	Antoniæ Margarita, 2 Tom. Corio Turcico foliis doratis, Lib. rariff. —————			
0	15	0	358	N. B. The above has been sold for 20 Guineas. Sabellici Opera, 3 Tom. —————	Bad. Asten.	1509	

Livres François. Folio.

1	1	0	359	Vies de Plutarque, par Amyot, 2 Tom. —————	Par.		
3	3	0	360	Histoire de France, par Mezeray, avec Portraits, 3 Tom. —————	Chez Valsosan	1565	
0	14	0	361	Loix Civiles dans Leur Ordre naturel, par Domat. —————	Haye	1703	
1	5	0	362	Histoire de Thou Mist. en François, par du-ryer, 2 Tom. —————	Par	1659	
1	7	6	363	Dictionnaire Oeconom. par Chomel, 2 Tom. 1 vol. avec grand Nomb. de fig. gravées, par Picart —————	Amst.	1732	
0	5	0	364	Cavalerie François, avec fig. —————	Par.	1602	
0	5	0	365	Lettres de Card. D'Ostât —————	ibid.	1624	
0	15	0	366	L'Hittoire du Monde de Pline, Traduit par Pinet, 2 Tom. —————	Lyon.	1584	
0	5	0	367	Architecture de Vitruve —————	Par.	1547	
0	15	0	368	Arithmétique, Logarithmétique, &c. par Ulacq. —————	Goud.	1628	
0	10	6	369	Histoire des Comtes de Poictou & Ducs de Guyenne, par Bély —————	Par.	1647	

Figure 18: Sample page from the 1735 Baudoin/Brown catalogue, Payne's first known sale with listed prices.

Among the prestige items in the Baudoin/Brown catalogue is one of Payne's newest works, Thomas Lediard's *The Naval History of England*, priced at £1 10s.³⁹⁶ His continuing propensity to salt his own publications into library sales requires no elaboration,³⁹⁷ but this title does demonstrate several important developments worth discussing in detail. Firstly, Payne seems to have made a concerted effort to increase the number and the quality of his publications, perhaps to bring them closer to parity with the items on offer in his library sales. In addition to the five titles published with Brindley, Jolliffe, Jackson, Corbett, and Lyon, in 1735 Payne named himself as the sole publisher of sixteen works, of which most were new editions. His publication list continues to focus on his established interests. French and Italian literature are represented by 'The Divine Poems of the Celebrated Vida' and an Italian language edition of Ludovico Ariosto's *Satire e Rime* (with notes by Paolo Rolli). His interest in issues connected with Catholicism and Jacobitism continues to be demonstrated through diverse items that span the political and religious spectrum. For example, Payne published both Richard Steele's critical *The Present State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World*,³⁹⁸ and a pamphlet arguing that since the Treaty of Utrecht, 'the Emperor and Muscovies' have 'acted in Opposition to the Trade, Interest, and Honour of Great Britain, and that France has punctually perform'd all her Engagements with England', and the appendage of 'a Large Dedication to the Pope, giving a very particular Account of the State of Religion among the Protestants'.

Works of this type remained within Payne's usual price range of 3 to 5s for folios and quartos, and 6d to 1s 6d for pamphlets. But in 1735 Payne began to add his own prestige items to the

³⁹⁶ Baudoin/Brown, p 20, item 529.

³⁹⁷ The Baudoin/Brown catalogue and its predecessors contain almost all of Payne's publications to date, often listing several copies of the same works as separate items.

³⁹⁸ All taken from the advertisements in *A Catalogue of a Small but Curious Collection of Books and Manuscripts in Several Languages, Being the Library of that Eminent Historian James Tyrrell, Esq; Deceased*. (London: Olive Payne, 1735) pp. 47-48.

list, producing finely printed and lavishly bound and illustrated texts, often with appended maps, priced at 12s and above. The aforementioned edition of Lediard is distinguished by its fine paper, printing, ornaments, bindings, and the detail and number of its nautical charts, but although it would remain Payne's most expensive production for some time, it would pale beside the intricacy of later engravings and maps. It is worth noting that there is now an overall improvement in the quality of Payne's printing, at every price point. Even the catalogues now have finer and cleaner lettering, sharper and more complex ornaments and less frequent misspellings or misattributions.

While Payne may have been increasingly inclined to claim sole credit as a publisher, it is distinctly possible that these improvements owed something to John Wilcox, with whom he was in some form of partnership between 1735 and 1738. They are listed as the co-publishers of the 1735 edition of *The Naval History of England*, appending comprehensive advertisements for their separate publication lists, and are credited as 'Wilcox and Payne' on the title page of a 1738 edition of John Jacob Mascou's *The history of the ancient Germans*.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ Dr. John Jacob Mascou, *The history of the ancient Germans; including that of the Cimbri, Celtæ, Teutones, Alemanni, Saxons, Goths, Vandals, and other Ancient Northern Nations*, trans. by Thomas Lediard. 4 volumes, (London and Westminster: Wilcox and Payne et. al. 1738)



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir CHARLES WAGER, Kt.

ADMIRAL of the WHITE SQUADRON of HIS MAJESTY'S FLEET,
First Commissioner, for Executing the Office of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL
of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

One of His MAJESTY'S Most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL,

AND

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT for the City and Liberties of
WESTMINSTER.

S I R,



YOUR Superiour Knowledge in *Naval*
Affairs, and the Share You have had in some
of the Great Events of this *History*, are the
Pleas it has to Your Patronage; So I must
give up all Pretence to Impartiality, should
I depart from that just and natural Claim,
and dare to place it under any other Protection.

A 2

I

Wilcox's career as a bookseller and publisher began in 1720, seven years before Payne's, but until his 1734 takeover of Vandenhoeck's Virgil's Head shop he was something of an itinerant, working out of a variety of locations in Little Britain and the Strand (primarily coffee-houses and other sellers' shops, although he settled for a time at the 'Green-Dragon, Little Britain' in the early 1720s).⁴⁰⁰ While the Lediard publication is the first evidence of their connection, it is likely that they had moved in the same circles for some time: in addition to the aforementioned connections with Groenewegen, Vandenhoeck and Jackson, Wilcox's list of library sales also focuses heavily on foreign language books (particularly French rarities),⁴⁰¹ as does his publication list, where translated titles are especially prominent. These shared interests and common factors suggest that they shared a customer base as early as the late 1720s. It is also Wilcox's interests and publication history that suggest his role in the improvement in Payne's publications. Not only had he begun producing 'prestige' items at a much earlier date—for example, the two-volume *System of Astronomy* advertised for 12s in Lediard first appeared in 1728— but his production of astronomical, scientific and mathematical titles had required early collaboration with engravers, mapmakers and instrument-makers.⁴⁰² As high-quality mapping, illustration and ornamentation would become an increasingly important feature of Payne's prestige publications, it is logical that his association with Wilcox helped him connect with the experts he needed.

⁴⁰⁰ It also seems that Wilcox may have been working out of the Virgil's Head shop before the takeover announcement: a 1733 edition of John Stevens's *A Historical Account of all Taxes* places Wilcox at 'Virgil's Head against the New-Church in the Strand'. It is unconfirmed whether New Church was part of New Round Court.

⁴⁰¹ The most interesting of his sales in this respect are the sale of 'the library of a Foreign Minister, collected by himself in Italy and France' (London: J. Wilcox at Davis's Coffee-House, Covent-Garden, 1725), the library of George Sale, whose translation of the Koran Wilcox also published at 18s. (London: John Wilcox at Paul's Coffee House, 2 May 1737), and Peter Le Neve, 'Norroy King of Arms' (London: J. Wilcox at Bedford Coffee House, Covent-Garden, 22nd of February and 19th of March 1732).

⁴⁰² For examples of Wilcox's expertise in this area, see William Halfpenny, *Magnum in parva, or the marrow of architecture* (London: London: John Wilcox and Thomas Heath, instrument-maker, 1728), Samuel Cunn, *A new treatise of the construction and use of the sector*, (London: Wilcox and Heath, 1729); Joshua Kelly, *The modern navigator's compleat tutor* (London: J. Wilcox, B. Macy, J. Marston, J. Eade, and J. Kelly, 1724); Andrea Palladio, *Andrea Palladio's Architecture, in four books* (London: John Wilcox and Benjamin Cole, engraver 1736).

The upward trajectory suggested by all these developments was solidly confirmed on the 2nd of November 1736, when Payne took on his own apprentice and became a liveryman of the Stationers' Company.⁴⁰³ Although the records do not state whether he gained this promotion through patrimony, servitude or redemption, his elevation from freeman was a clear marker of professional success. Unsurprisingly, he responded to this development by pushing his hitherto successful strategy even further, producing more prestige items and increasingly taking on the risks of solo publication. From 1736 to 1738, Payne published and/or sold 43 works, 17 of which he published alone. Payne's long-term associates Brindley, Jolliffe and Jackson were frequent co-publishers, along with their neighbouring booksellers around Old and New Bond Street; and Brindley, by this time firmly established as an elite bookseller and is the exclusive seller of several of Payne's solo publications. Although Payne continued to hold library sales, they were no longer the main focus of his business, and this may have hindered his acquisition of prestigious sales.⁴⁰⁴ By 1736-38, the Earls and Viscounts of his early years have been supplanted by 'Esquires' and 'ingenious' untitled men, with the most eminent figure being Antonio de Campos, a 'Secretary to the Portuguese Ambassador'.⁴⁰⁵ Two famous names *do* appear on the list – John Stevens and John Toland – but the former appears to be a namesake, since the famous translator died in 1726 and his widow's financial troubles necessitated the rapid dispersal of his effects;⁴⁰⁶ and the latter comprises only a 'parcel of the famous Mr. John

⁴⁰³ See Howe, p. 74, for details of Payne's promotion and for his apprentice. see *Stationers' Company Apprentices: 1701-1800*, ed. by D.F. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978), p. 266. George Butts was apprenticed as a clerk for an unknown sum, and turned over to Thomas Astley in 1739, for the sum of £42.

⁴⁰⁴ The *List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum* shows that the most prestigious library sales between 1736-39 (that is, the libraries of titled or eminent people, or noted collectors) were held by Thomas Osbourn, with D. Brown, C. Cock, J. Whiston, T. Woodman and Payne's associates John Brindley and John Wilcox also doing well.

⁴⁰⁵ *A catalogue of the library of the learned Signor Antonio de Campos, Secretary to the Portuguese Ambassador* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 6th of September 1737).

⁴⁰⁶ ODNB, 'John Stevens (c. 1662-1726)'.

Toland' added to a larger library sale.⁴⁰⁷ The publications of this period are again consistent with Payne's early interests. Italian literature, art and theology continue constituting an important part of Payne's prestige publication list. The Tobias Jenkins translation of Sarpi, first issued in 1733, was offered again in 1735 and 1736, with its price increased from 3s to 5s for a 'gilt and letter'd' octavo, and the quality of its printing vastly improved.

Payne's 1737 edition of Baltasar Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, which sold for 10s 6d, is among his most ambitious and revealing publications.⁴⁰⁸ The morocco binding, thick and fine-grained paper, sharp and even lettering, dual-coloured type, and fine ornamental capitals and arabesque banners all mark it as a prestigious item, as does the fine frontispiece portrait by Raphael Urbinas. But the most interesting thing is the fact that it is a *dual-language* book, with the original Italian text of *Il Cortegiano* and an English translation printed in parallel columns on each page, with an entirely Italian introduction and several of Castiglione's untranslated Italian and Latin works appended to the main text. The fact that Payne offered his luxury edition in this format –rather than an English translation or an Italian text– may reveal something about his target customer: a wealthy person with some reading knowledge of Italian, for whom improving proficiency was an appealing and status-enhancing activity. An appeal to the less-proficient Italophile can be found in Payne's edition of William Ayre's verse translation of Tasso's *Amintas*. The advertisement for this work reassures the customer that 'the Translation is said to be very good by the best Criticks in the Italian Language'⁴⁰⁹ –an

⁴⁰⁷ *A catalogue of several thousand volumes...being the libraries of Thomas Bennet, Esq; and a rev divine. Likewise a Curious Parcel of the famous Mr. John Toland* (London: Olive Payne at Horace's Head, Strand, 1735).

⁴⁰⁸ Conde Baldassar Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, trans. by unknown, 2nd edition (London: Olive Payne, Horace's Head, Round-Court, 1737).

⁴⁰⁹ Advertisement in Albaro Alonso Barba et. al., *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Treatises upon Metals, Mines and Minerals. In Four Parts*, trans. by the Earl of Sandwich (London: C. Jephson and O. Payne, 1738), p. 303.

assertion which is somewhat undermined by Payne's decision to omit these comments in favour of Pope's more general praise of Tasso.



Figure 20: Frontispiece portrait and sample page from Payne's *Il Cortegiano* (1737)

Both this hypothesis about Payne's client base, and those advanced earlier, are further strengthened by *Il Cortegiano's* inclusion of Payne's sole surviving subscription list. As the

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ma badi il replicare, che i bechi, let is fallen to repeat, that they are de-
made si danno, suo i medesimi delle rived from the very fine Faces with
faceto. De gli spaggi poi whata these Speeches which amuse and divert
no infanti, che ogni di ne veggiono: 12. And as to Examples, they are no-
Et tra gli altri molti piacevoli ne Enes which occur da'y: Among whom,
sono quelli che factosi Bruno, & we find every wonder:ly extolling
Buffalmara al suo Calandrino, & in the Novels of Boccaccio, as the Tricks
il nostro Smonio: & molte altre di Bruno and Buffalmara play'd with their
Dante, che veramente sono ingra- Calandrino and Mr. Smonio, and several
te & belle in which the Ladies are engag'd, all ex-
ceeding ingenious and amusing

Molti bechosi piacevoli, di questa Many Persons excellent in this Way
forte, ricordomi anche haver con- of Pleasantry I myself have known, and
ferito à uno di: e tra gli altri in one Poet, a Sicilian, who studied at
Padua un fechio Siciliano, chiamato Padua, remarkably so: He saying once
to Plinio, il qual vedendo una ve- a Countryman with a couple of delicate
sta un cavallino, che aveva un paio Capons, pretended that he would buy
di grossi caponi, facendo volergli them, agreed on a certain Price, and had
comperare, fece marciare con esso. & but was follow him home, for he told his
disse, che andasse à casa sua, che Master, he would give him a Bit of
di dire al prezo gli darebbe da far fooding for his Breakfast: The Man
collatione: S'era incandido in parte, attended, and Poetico led him to a Stre-
dice era un Campanile, il qual'è di- gle about from the Church, so that you
verso della Chiesa, tanto che andar might go quite round it: and one of
vi si può d'intorno: & proprio ad white Sides was held by a Joke Street:
una delle quattro facce del campan- Here Poetico, having digested his Plot,
tile rispalmata una fredda pice- led to the Countryman, I have said,
la: Quasi Plinio, havendo prima Friend, these couple of Capons, that
pensato ciò che far intendeva, disse the Tower you see is not very Foot
al cavallino, se ha piacere questi ca- about, as another Gentleman says it is,
poni con te mio compagno, il qual and the Moment before I met you, I
dice, che questa torre circonda ben thought this Pleasantry to measure it,
quaranta piedi. & io dico di no: & pray therefore, before we go some, let
è appunto allora, quand'io si trovai, us see who has won: Immediately tak-
havendo comperato questi spaggi per ing the Capons out of the Country-
misurarla, però, prima che andasse man's Hand, and giving him one End
à casa, voglio chiarirmi chi di noi of the Pleasantry to hold on the Side of
habbia vinto: & così dicendo, se il the Scepter opposite to that which he'd
si è di un capo in mano al cavallino, be Street, he with the other going round
& disse, se hai, & risse i caponi, the Tower, as if his Intention had been
& prese in spaga dell'altro capo, & indeed so to receive it, when he was come
come misurar visse, comincò a cir- readily against the Street, siter'd the
condir Pleasantry

sample page below demonstrates, Payne's prestige publications attracted a wealthy, cultured and illustrious group of customers. There are 3 dukes and duchesses, 8 earls and countesses,⁴¹⁰ a marquis and a viscount (all often accompanied by their non-titles 'honourable' spouses or relatives), the Archbishop of Canterbury, 12 Lord Bishops, 9 deans and an Archdeacon. Furthermore, there is a large number of subscribers with significant academic qualifications: In a list of some 500 subscribers, 72 have a doctoral degree (most commonly D.D., followed by LL. D), and 160 have a master's degree (A.M.)⁴¹¹

Interestingly, a significant number of subscribers are based outside London, and even outside England –the most distant customer being one 'Gooch, *Esq. Deputy Governor of Virginia*'.⁴¹² The list includes Lord Bishops and Deans of places as distant as Bangor, Carlisle, Derry, Durham, Ely, Exeter, Hereford, Landaff, St. Asaph's and St. David's. Oxford and Cambridge are also well-represented, with 7 deans of colleges, professors and fellows present. Among the other names of note are 'Sign. Nicolò Haym', presumably a relative of the librettist and composer who died in 1729 (and also, the only Italian name on the list), John King, D.D., Master of the Charterhouse, 'The Honourable Martin Bladen, Esq., one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations' and Stephen Hales of Tedington, a Fellow of the Royal Society.

⁴¹⁰ Interestingly, women form the majority of these categories, although men dominate the rest of the list.

⁴¹¹ Castiglione, pp. 8-12.

⁴¹² Castiglione, p. 9.

T H E

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

- A.
- M** R. Adam, *A. M.*
 John Addenbrook, *A. M.*
 Edw. Alexander, *Efq;*
 Tho. Alcock, *A. M.*
 Peter Alix, *D. D.*
 Roger Altham, *D. D.*
 Jam. Altham, *Jun. Gent.*
 John Andrew, *LL. D.*
 John Anstis, *Efq;* *King at Arms.*
 William Archer, *Efq;*
 Edw. Arrowsmith, *A. M.*
 Mr. Aspin, *A. M.*
 Edward Aspinwall, *A. M.*
 Franc. Astrey, *D. D.*
 William Atkinson, *A. M.*
 Lewis Atterbury, *LL. D.*
 Dr. Avery.
 William Ayers, *A. M.*
 Wadam Aylwin, *Gent.*
- B.
- Her Grace the Duchefs of Bolton.*
The Rt. Hon. Lord Brudenell.
The Lord Bifhop of Bangor.
The Lord Bifhop of Briitol.
 John Bettefworth, *LL. D.*
 William Bagnal, *Efq;*
 Franc. Bagshaw, *A. M.*
 Lewis Baillardeau, *A. M.*
 6 Books.
 Sam. Baker, *A. M.*
 John Banfon, *A. M.*
 William Barcroft, *A. M.*
 Sir Rob. Barnardifton, *Bart.*
 Sam. Barker, *Efq;*
 Barnett, *A. M.*
 Henry Barron, *A. M.*
 Joh. Barnwell, *A. M. Fellow*
- of Trin. Coll. Cant.* 12 B.
- Jeffrey Barton, *A. M.*
 John Barton, *A. M.*
 Mr. Rob. Bartlett.
 Mr. William Bassam.
 Peter Battailler, *Gent.*
 Adam Batty, *A. M.*
 William Bearcroft, *A. M.*
 Sir Edw. Beecher, 7 B.
 Thomas Beighton, *A. M.*
 Richard Bell, *A. M.*
 William Bellafis, *Efq;*
 Tho. Bennet, *D. D.*
 Senge Berkely, *D. D. Dean of Derry.*
 William Berriman, *D. D.*
 John Berriman, *A. M.*
 Sir William Billers.
 Hum. Worley Birch, *Efq;*
The Hon. Martin Bladen, Efq;
one of the Lords Commiffioners of Trade and Plantations.
 Tho. Blackwell, *A. M.*
 Tho. Blennerhayfet, *A. M.*
The Lady Blount.
 Mr. Robert Bolton.
 Penifton Booth, *A. M.* 3 B.
 Nich. Bonfoy, *Efq;*
 Mr. William Bowyer, *Sen.*
 Mr. William Bowyer, *Jun.*
 Mr. Thomas Bradbury.
 Mr. Peter Bradbury,
 Mr. John Bradbury,
 Mr. Bradley. 2 B.
The Lady Bradshaw.
 John Bramfton, *A. M.*
 Jonathan Brian, *Jun. Gent.*
 Richard Briggs, *A. M.*
 John Brigden, *A. M.*
 Laurence Broderick, *D. D.*
 Stamp Brookbank, *Efq;* 2 B.
- John Brown, *A. M.*
 Sir John Buckworth, *Bart.*
 Tho. Bullock, *A. M.*
 William Burbury, *Efq;*
 John Burnaby, *Efq;*
 John Bury, *Efq;*
- C.
- His Grace the Lord Archbifhop Canterbury.*
Her Grace the Duchefs of Chandois.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Chetterfield.
The Lord Bifhop of Carlifle.
The Lord Bifhop of Chichefter.
The Honourable Mrs. Mary Carteret.
 Felix Calvert, *Sen. Efq;*
 7 B.
 Felix Calvert, *Jun. Efq;*
 Peter Calvert, *Efq;*
 Mrs. Eliz. Calvert.
 Mrs. Honour Calvert.
 Mifs Mary Calvert.
 Edw. Capper, *A. M.*
 John Cary, *A. M.*
 Mordecai Cary, *A. M.*
 George Carleton, *A. M.*
 George Carter, *D. D.*
 Benjamin Carter, *A. M.*
 Tho. Cartwright, *Efq;*
 Cattle, *A. M.*
 Mr. Caverly, *of Ormond-ftreet.*
 Tho. Chamberlayne, *A. M.*
 Mr. Robert Channy, *Jun. Chandler, Efq;*
 John Chaplin, *Efq;*
 • 2 *Mr. An-*

Figure 21: Sample page from Castiglione subscription list (p. 8).

Jacobite and Royalist interests also remain prominent during this period, with the most specific item of interest being a 1737 edition of Eustace Budgell's *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles*.⁴¹³ Although Budgell himself was a Whig, Payne's packaging of the work is designed to emphasize the family's impeccably Jacobite credentials. He places particular focus on the 'late, eminently learned Charles, Earl of Orrery' who is commemorated with a frontispiece portrait that lists his English and Irish titles, and lauded as 'one of the Knights of the Most Antient Order of the Thistle,' the Scottish equivalent to the Order of the Garter revived by James II in 1687 and subsequently issued post-exile.⁴¹⁴

However, during this period Payne's publications also begin extending into related areas like travel literature, geography, picaresque fiction, and the American and Indian colonies. He released editions of Captain James Ogilvie's translation of the Marquis de Santa Cruz's *Reflections, military and political*,⁴¹⁵ an English rendering of Alain-René Le Sage's translation of *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González*,⁴¹⁶ the naturalist Francis Willughby's travels 'through a great part of Spain',⁴¹⁷ a collection of proverbs in 'English, Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and

⁴¹³ Eustace Budgell, *Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles; Particularly of the Late, Eminently Learned Charles, Earl of Orrery* ... 3rd edn. (London: Olive Payne, 1737).

⁴¹⁴ ODNB, 'Charles Boyle, 4th Earl of Orrery' (1674-1731); *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, Clan Chiefs, Scottish Feudal Barons, 107th edition*, ed. by Charles Mosely. 2 vols (Wilmington, Delaware/Stokesley, UK: Burke's Peerage & Gentry LLC, 2003) vol. I, pp. lv-lvi.

⁴¹⁵ Marquis de Santa Cruz, *Reflections, military and political. Interspersed with moral and historical observations*. Translated ... by Captain James Ogilvie, (London: Olive Payne et. al. 1737). Note that Captain James Ogilvie, like so many men associated with Payne, was a Scottish Francophile and Royalist who is suspected to have had Catholic leanings. See ODNB: 'James Ogilvie, second earl of Airlie (1611-1704)'.

⁴¹⁶ Anon, *The comical history and humorous adventures of Estevanillo Gonzalez, surnamed The merry fellow*, trans. by Alain-René Lesage and others (London: Olive Payne, 1737).

⁴¹⁷ John Ray; Francis Willughby, *Travels through the Low-countries, Germany, Italy and France, with curious observations ... Also a catalogue of plants, found spontaneously growing in those parts ... To which is added, An account of the travels of Francis Willughby, Esq; through great part of Spain*, 2nd edn. (London: J. Hughs for O. Payne et. al., 1738).

other Languages',⁴¹⁸ and the Earl of Sandwich's translation of a treatise on metals by Alvaro Alonso Barba, 'Director of the Mines at Potosi'.⁴¹⁹ The works of travel literature and foreign history Payne produced during this period not only present some interesting parallels with Defoe's spheres of interest (as does the lavish 15s edition of Captain Charles Johnson's history of roguery) they also illustrate the extent to which Payne now concentrated on producing luxury products.⁴²⁰ During this period, Payne released the Jesuit Louis Lecomte's monumental work on China—in 'a new Translation from the best Paris Edition, and adorned with Copper-Plates',⁴²¹ Leonard Rauwolf and John Ray's travels in the Mediterranean and Levant,⁴²² Johann Jacob Mascou's *History of the ancient Germans*,⁴²³ and Jeffrey Keating's history of Ireland, 'faithfully translated from the original Irish language'.⁴²⁴ All these new publications demonstrate the advances in printing quality and illustration earlier discussed; and their prices are correspondingly high. But his most lavish production is the following year's *The Portraits of the most Eminent Painters and other Famous Artists, that have flourished in Europe*. Produced

⁴¹⁸ John Ray, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs; Also the most celebrated Proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and other Languages....* (London: O. Payne and J. Hughs, 1737).

⁴¹⁹ Alonso Barba, p. 1.

⁴²⁰ Charles Johnson, *A general history of the lives and adventures of the most famous highwaymen, murderers, street-robbers, &c.* (London: Olive Payne, 1736).

⁴²¹ Lewis Lecomte, *Memoirs and remarks Geographical, Historical, Topographical, Physical, Natural, Astronomical, Mechanical, Military, Mercantile, Political and Ecclesiastical made in above Ten Years Travels through the Empire of China* (London: Olive Payne et. al. 1737).

⁴²² Dr. Leonard Rauwolf, John Ray, et. al. *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages in Two Parts. Part I containing, Dr. Leonard Rauwolf's Journey into the Eastern Countries; Part II. Containing Travels into Greece, Asia minor, Egypt, Arabia felix, Petraea, Ethiopia, the Red Sea, &c ... To which are added Three Catalogues of Trees, Shrubs, and Herbs, as grow in the Levant.* By J. Ray, F.R.S., 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Olive Payne, et. al., 1738).

⁴²³ Dr. Johann Jacob Mascou, *The history of the ancient Germans; including that of the Cimbr, Celtæ, Teutones, Alemanni, Saxons, Goths, Vandals, and other Ancient Northern Nations*, trans. by Thomas Lediard. 4 vols (London and Westminster: Wilcox and Payne et. al. 1738).

⁴²⁴ Jeffrey Keating, *A general history of Ireland, viz. a full and impartial account of the original of that kingdom*, trans. by Dermot O'Connor, 2nd edn. (London: B. Creak, sold by O. Payne, 1738).

in collaboration with the engraver W.H. Toms, this compilation of finely-printed author biographies and over 100 copperplate portraits reproduces the work of renowned engravers like Frederik Bouttats, Pieter de Jode (father and son) and Johannes Vorsteman.⁴²⁵ Although the price of this item is unknown, the fact that the only advertisements included are for two prestigious and expensive publications (Keating, priced between 15s and one guinea for a folio; and Lecomte, priced at 15s for a morocco-bound octavo) suggests that this quarto sold for a comparable sum.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ Frederik Bouttats, *et. al.*, *The Portraits of the most Eminent Painters and other Famous Artists, that have flourished in Europe.* (London: O. Payne and W.H. Toms, 1739).

⁴²⁶ Bouttats, *et al.*, p 71.

Despite the apparent success of Payne's focus on the prestige market between 1736 and 1738, the first cracks in his publishing operation become visible towards the end of this period. Although he had established a customer base with the wealth and interests to appreciate his products, it is still doubtful whether his own editions sold well enough to cover their increasing production costs. This issue became increasingly vital as Payne turned his focus from library sales to book production, and was less inclined to share costs and risks with co-publishers.

It is difficult to determine exactly how much unsold stock resulted from Payne's publications, because several items were printed by subscription or commission and bound to order, meaning that the production of texts was precisely shaped to customer demand, and therefore unlikely to produce a significant unsold surplus. The frequent appearances of Payne's own publications in the inventories of his library sales (where they were usually sold for their original retail price) is not in itself indicative, as Payne had salted library sales with his own works since the 1730 Hunt sale. However, there is one clear indication that Payne's production exceeded customer demand on at least one occasion, requiring drastic discounts to shift a prestige item. One advertisement in the 1738 *Collection of Scarce and Valuable Treatises upon Metals, Mines and Minerals* promotes *Royal Genealogies, or the Genealogical Tables of European Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other eminent Persons of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, from Adam to the Present*. An edition of this work was produced in 1736, but there are no records of Payne's advertised edition.⁴²⁷ But the description makes it clear that in 1738, Payne needed to shift a considerable surplus of this item—it is uncertain whether it was

⁴²⁷ The English Short Title Catalogue records one folio edition of *Royal Genealogies* (London: James Bettenham for C. Davis, 1736) which contains subscription lists.

on his hands because of his own non-paying subscribers,⁴²⁸ or because he acquired it from another publisher or seller.

It was subscribed for at 3l. 3s. in sheets the large Paper, and 2l. 2s. the small, and the Price advanced at its first Publication, in large Folio 1736, and are now sold, the large Paper in Sheets at 11s. 6d., the small at 11s. 1s. Large Paper neatly bound and gilt 1l. 14.s. Small, gilt, 1l. 6s.⁴²⁹

Whatever its origins, the drastic discount suggests that Payne needed to raise cash quickly, since the item's appeal to Payne's customer base seems likely to have produced gradual sales at a price closer to the original.

These foreshadowings of later financial troubles may help explain his 1738 renewal of contact with his hometown of Brackley, Northamptonshire, and his dealings with the Dicey family, the most important printers in the region. Two of his publications from that year – a sermon and a Latin grammar, both by Thomas Bowles D.D., vicar and 'teacher at a private Grammar-School' in Brackley⁴³⁰ were joint ventures with William Dicey, printer and founder of the *Northamptonshire Mercury*.⁴³¹ William Dicey was now working out of Northampton (having left the management of the London branch of the printing business to his son Cluer Dicey and

⁴²⁸ No records of Payne's subscription lists for this title are known to have survived.

⁴²⁹ Alonso Barba et. al., pp. 67-68.

⁴³⁰ Thomas Bowles, *A Sermon on the Gradual Advances and Distinct Periods of Divine Revelation and Grammaticae Latinae Syntaxis Commentariis Illustrata: Or The Fundamental Rules of the Latin Grammar made Plain and Easy* (both Northampton: William Dicey, sold by Olive Payne et. al. 1738).

⁴³¹ See Plomer, 1668-1725, p. 103; 1726-1775, pp. 73-74.

brother-in-law Thomas Cobb). The fact that Dicey chose Payne over his family members as the sole London seller of the Bowles texts supports the hypothesis of an earlier connection between the local printing families, which may have been a factor in Payne's early success. But the location of Payne's first documented dealings with the Diceys in Brackley, rather than London, suggests that he may already have been planning a return to his hometown.

1738 and 1739 saw a sharp downturn in Payne's fortunes. In March of that year, notices appeared in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* and the *London Gazette* announcing Olive Payne's bankruptcy,⁴³² and his stock was sold shortly after, on the 12th of April 1739.⁴³³ None of the available records clearly indicate the reason for his failure, and the extant catalogue scholarship offers no insight into the factors behind Payne's bankruptcy. However, the trajectory of his career suggests the most probable cause as his aforementioned shift from library sales to publications (and an increasing propensity for solo publication, which left him especially vulnerable to failures) and a heavy investment in prestige publication.

The notices themselves may also reveal something about his assets and the number of creditors. While the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* notice, which is the item most often cited by catalogue scholars, merely includes 'Olive Payne of Round-Court in the Strand' in a list of 'Persons declar'd Bankrupts';⁴³⁴ the *London Gazette* notices are more detailed. The first notice appears in the 20th of March 1738 issue, and the second in the 19th of February 1739 issue.

⁴³² *London Gazette*, 20th of March 1738, Issue 7790, p. 3; and 19th of February 1739, Issue 7886, p. 2; *The London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, March 1739, p. 154

⁴³³ *A catalogue of the books in quires, and copies, of Mr. Olive Payne, bankrupt...* [to be sold at the Queen's Head Tavern, Paternoster Row, 12th of April 1739] (London, 1739).

⁴³⁴ *The London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer*, March 1739, p. 154.

W Hereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against Olive Payne, of Round Court in the Strand, in the County of Middlesex, Bookseller, and he being declared a Bankrupt, is hereby required to surrender himself to the Commissioners in the said Commission named, or the major part of them, on the 30th of March Instant, on the 3d of April next, and on the 3d of May following, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon on each of the said Days, at Guildhall, London, and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects; when and where the Creditors are to come prepared to prove their Debts, and at the 2d Sitting to chuse Assignees, and at the last Sitting the said Bankrupt is required to finish his Examination, and the Creditors are to assent to or dissent from the Allowance of his Certificate. All Persons indebted to the said Bankrupt, or that have any of his Effects, are not to pay or deliver the same, but to whom the Commissioners shall appoint, but give Notice to Mr. Thomas Owen, Attorney, at the King's Bench Office in the Temple.

Figure 23: First notice of Payne's bankruptcy, London Gazette, 20th of March 1738.

T HE Commissioners in a Commission of Bankrupt awarded against Olive Payne, of Round Court in the Strand, in the County of Middlesex, Bookseller, intend to meet on the 18th of March next, at Three in the Afternoon, at Guildhall, London, in order to make a Dividend of the said Bankrupt's Estate; when and where the Creditors who have not already proved their Debts, are to come prepared to do the same, or they will be excluded the Benefit of the said Dividend.

Figure 24: Second notice of Payne's bankruptcy proceedings, London Gazette, 19th of February 1739.

While they leave the cause of bankruptcy obscure, these notices provide some insight into Payne's circumstances at this time. The initial award and issue of a Commission of Bankruptcy against Payne uses formulaic phrases to detail the standard procedure in bankruptcy cases: full discovery and disclosure of effects, and one or more appearances before a commission at the Guildhall, where the creditors' cases would be presented. But the details of his case suggest there may have been a relatively substantial amount of assets to consider. A survey of contemporary bankruptcy announcements in the *Gazette* reveals that while an appearance before the Guildhall was required from all but the poorest and most provincial bankrupts,⁴³⁵ the number of mandatory appearances varied, in correlation with the number of claimants and the amount of money under dispute. Therefore the case of Thomas Hinde, a grocer from Sudbury, Suffolk, could be resolved in a single session at the Guildhall,⁴³⁶ whereas three sessions were initially required for William Woodcock, a wealthy London malt factor and chapman.⁴³⁷ The fact that three Guildhall sessions were also stipulated for Payne (with approximately one week between the first and second summons, and one month between the second and third, which seems to have been typical) would seem to place him at the upper end of the spectrum of bankrupts, as would the other common factor: his possession of legal counsel. Another potential class-marker appears in connection with his legal representation: it is noted attorney Thomas Owen works out of the 'King's Bench Office in the Temple'. The connection of such an important public court with bankruptcy proceedings is extremely unusual – the majority of lawyers cited are located in offices at Holborn, Cheapside or

⁴³⁵ An example appears in the 20th of March 1738 *London Gazette*: the case against a butcher named Thomas Foxhall, 'late of Cleobury Mortimer in the County of Salop' is to be settled in Cleobury 'at the House of William Eysham...known by the Sign of the Seven Stars'.

⁴³⁶ *London Gazette*, 19th of February 1739, Issue 7886.

⁴³⁷ *London Gazette*, 6th of May 1738, Issue 7699.

Spitalfields— and suggests that this case required some degree of special attention. The final dividend of Payne’s estate—which also took place at the Guildhall, like most of the larger cases— indicates that number (or complexity) of creditors could not be dealt with in the three allotted sessions, as the notice importunes ‘creditors who have not already proved their Debts’ to attend.

Payne’s most valuable stock and publication templates and rights were disposed of in the April 1739 sale at the Queens’ Head Tavern in Paternoster Row, whose advertisement noted its particular appeal for ‘the booksellers of London and Westminster’.⁴³⁸ The copy of this short catalogue now held in the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library includes handwritten notes on the buyers’ names and the purchase prices, which reveal two interesting facts. Firstly, the listed items sold for sums far outstripping their already-high publication prices. For example, Keating’s *History of Ireland* was sold to ‘Davy’⁴³⁹ for £7 14s 6d (and £10 10s for the large paper version), while J. Osbourne bought *Father Paul* ‘with half the Copy’ for £1 10s. The increase in price obviously derives from the inclusion of printing layouts and plates, but the degree to which they comprised any exclusive publication rights is unknown—the stipulation that one work, John Ray’s *Travels* (sold at £1 10s) includes only ‘Mr. Payne’s share in the Copy’ suggests not.

The second point of interest is that a small and fairly specialized group of booksellers bought the majority of Payne’s stock. Only 25 names appear, with the majority of stock sold to four or five buyers. The two who bought the most titles had both previously co-published with Payne,

⁴³⁸ *A catalogue of the books ... of Mr. Olive Payne, bankrupt*, p. 11.

⁴³⁹ The buyer’s first name is unknown; the lack of possible matches in Plomer or ECCO suggests he was not in the book trade.

and shared his established interests and regional connections: the renowned Edinburgh native Andrew Millar of Buchanan's Head, The Strand, was involved in five titles between 1732 and 1737; and John Millan of Whitehall and Charing Cross (an Italophile and heraldry specialist) is listed on three 1737-40 title pages.⁴⁴⁰ Two other familiar names appear among the list of buyers: John Wilcox (2 editions of Anderson's *Genealogies* for £7 4s, a collection of epitaphs 'with half the Copy' for 5s, and 'Several Lediard's *Naval History, Imperfect*' for £2 3s) and T. Payne—either Olive's brother Thomas or the established bookseller in Paternoster Row—who paid £2 5s for Bacon's *Letters* and 17s 6d for the 'last seven vols' of the *Craftsman*. Also of interest is John Nourse's presence among the buyers: not only was he a specialist in French literature, he was also William Mears's successor, taking over his shop in the early 1730s;⁴⁴¹ and the appearance of John Osborn, who co-sold two items with Payne in 1734, and was also the executor and successor of one of Defoe's most important publishers, William Taylor.

Finally, it is worth noting that among the few items in this sale not derived from Payne's publication list is a 'Life of Col. Jack', which sold for 8s to Millan. Assuming this is Defoe's novel, it seems possible that this is William Mears's 1722 edition—which invites the question of how (and why) Payne may have acquired it. One name among Mears's co-publishers may suggest a solution: 'T. Payne, near Stationer's-Hall'.⁴⁴²

Although Plomer and Heidenreich have seen bankruptcy as the end of Payne's story, his work as a bookseller and printer actually continued until 1741. Of course, there were notable

⁴⁴⁰ See Plomer, 1726-1775, pp. 170-72.

⁴⁴¹ Plomer, 1726-1775, p. 183.

⁴⁴² See Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, p. 205.

changes after 1739: namely, a change of address and a downscaling of publication. Payne did not attempt to re-establish himself in the neighbourhood where he had spent most of his career, but instead moved approximately 2.9 km east,⁴⁴³ to Popes' Head Alley in Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange. Although this area was a less established and specialized a centre of book sales and printing than the Strand, it was not unsuited to Payne's target markets. A variety of bookshops and printers had begun to settle around the Royal Exchange after its 1669 reconstruction; one of whom, Francis Saunders (*fl.* 1680-1700, publisher of John Savage, among others), is noted by John Dunton to have 'had the honour to be personally known to very many of the Nobility and Gentry of the first rank in England'.⁴⁴⁴ The fact that Payne chose to keep the Horace's Head sign for his new shop suggests that the move was motivated more by economic necessity than the desire to burn bridges and begin again—retaining the familiar name was also logical for a bookseller with an established clientele. But although customers may have followed Payne across town, the professional connections forged at Round-Court did not: Brindley, Jackson, and Wilcox, along with most of their associates are now conspicuous by their absence from Payne's title pages.

There were also significant changes to Payne's publications post-bankruptcy. The dispersal of most of his publication templates and plates in the aforementioned sale meant that he needed to source new material that was less expensive and complicated to produce. (It is also highly probable that Payne lost much of his printing machinery in the bankruptcy process, making the production of prestige items even less practicable.) The majority of his late publications are

⁴⁴³ I have arrived at this estimate with the help of *Locating London's Past* (<http://www.locatinglondon.org>), a project directed by the University of Hertfordshire, the Institute of Historical Research, the University of London and the University of Sheffield which cross-references geo-referenced versions of historical maps (like John Roque's 1746 map of London) with modern digital map sets (e.g. Google Maps), allowing long-demolished streets to be located easily.

⁴⁴⁴ John Dunton, *The life and errors of John Dunton late citizen of London ...* (London: printed for S. Malthus, 1705), p. 312; Plomer 1668-1725, p. 262.

unsurprisingly distinguished from their predecessors by a substantial drop in price: while Payne continued to concentrate on his established subjects of interest (travel narratives and geographical works, French translations and, theological works), there is a swerve away from titles of specialist appeal and a predominance of pamphlets and short works in octavo, priced between 6d and 2s 6d. All items of this period, excepting two titles, are solo publications. One particularly interesting work from this period is an anonymous life of 'Pope Joan'.⁴⁴⁵ Its somewhat anti-Catholic advertisements –which titillate with the promise of 'curious Memoirs of the profane, infamous and lewd Lives of Popes, Jesuits, Priests, and Nuns'–⁴⁴⁶ suggest that Payne now needed to target a broader customer base that lacked the Round Court audience's amenability to Catholic-related subjects. However, Payne did not entirely abandon his interest in the prestige market, advertising six publications priced between 5s and £1 10s in 1740-1. However, only one of these was ever produced bearing his name: the proffered titles were either new editions produced by either the buyers of Payne's copies (e.g. John Wilcox's reprint of Lediard) or Payne's own leftover editions.⁴⁴⁷

Payne also tried to re-establish himself as a bookseller during this period, holding two library sales in 1740.⁴⁴⁸ But his success here seems to have been limited, and he disappeared from the

⁴⁴⁵ Anon, *A present for a Papist: or, the history of the life of Pope Joan, from her birth to her death*, (London: Olive Payne, 1740).

⁴⁴⁶ Advertisement in Zachary Cradock, *Charity, or the Great End and Design of Christianity, in a Sermon Preach'd at Eaton*, 2nd edn. (London: Olive Payne, 1740), p. 32.

⁴⁴⁷ Daniel Cox, *A description of the English province of Carolana. By the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French, La Louisiane ... To which is added, a large and accurate map of Carolana, and of the River Meschacebe* (London: Olive Payne, 1741).

⁴⁴⁸ *A catalogue of the library of that learned divine, and eminent mathematician Dr. James Milnes...* (Olive Payne: Horace's Head, Popes-Head Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, 12th of February, 1740); and *A catalogue of books in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, French, and English ...* (Olive Payne: Horace's Head, Cornhill, 1st of May, 1740).

London book trade in 1741. The reasons for this are largely a matter of conjecture, as is Payne's subsequent fate. Between 1741 and 1745, there are no known records of Payne's death. Similarly, nothing has been found in the London periodicals that reported his bankruptcy, in the Burney Collection or in the *Northamptonshire Mercury*. However, there are two potential records of his death with later dates: one entry in the registry of Northamptonshire Burials, recording the death of an Olive Payne on the 18th of November 1746 in Brackley;⁴⁴⁹ and an 11th of December 1749 death of the same name, in the parish register of St. George, Bloomsbury.⁴⁵⁰ In both cases, there is some circumstantial evidence supporting identification with Olive Payne the bookseller.

⁴⁴⁹ *Northamptonshire Burials* [Transcript]: Brackley, Northamptonshire, B0033/2794. Last accessed through <http://www.findmypast.com.au> on 23 July, 2014.

⁴⁵⁰ London Metropolitan Archives: St George, Bloomsbury: *Register of burials, Feb 1731-Mar 1761*, P82/GEO1/056, p. 69. Last accessed through <http://www.ancestry.com> on 23 July 2014.

Buryed in 1749
 December 13 Jane Hough of Kingsgate street
 3 Lucia Waller of King street
 3 James Low
 4 Robert Martin
 7 Mary Food
 8 David Horn
 8 Sarah Fisher
 9 John Corner
 10 John Hiller
 10 Thomas Sidney
 10 Joseph Kidgall
 11 Oliver Payne
 12 William Palmer

Figure 25: Record of the 11 December 1749 death of an Oliver Payne, in the parish of St. George, Bloomsbury.

The 1746 entry is a better fit with the timeline, and specifically references Brackley. Payne's renewal of contact with his hometown in 1738 suggests that he may well have returned there in the few years after his bankruptcy. However, the 1749 register also records the March 14, 1749 death of an 'Ann Payne' – the same name that was registered at St. Martin-in-the-Fields as the mother of Olive Payne's four children.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ The same register also records the death of a 'Thomas Payne' on 27 January 1749 (clearly not Olive's brother) whose relation to the Brackley family and the Thomas Payne of St. Paul's is unknown.

There are also a couple of developments that suggest Payne may have died at an earlier point: firstly, Payne's one time partner John Wilcox produced a complete reprint of the Norton Defoe/'John Sparrow' dictionary in 1741, in which the author is renamed 'J. Manlove'.⁴⁵² As Wilcox was not the listed purchaser of the copy of Sparrow in the sale of Payne's copies and quires, this was an ethically and legally dubious publication; and although Payne's scope for retaliation was likely minimal at this point, the coincidence of Wilcox's edition with Payne's cessation of activity may be suggestive.

The development of younger brother Thomas's career may also indicate that Olive died sometime between 1741 and 1742. His first recorded sale, after the completion of his apprenticeship with Olive, was in 1739, 'near the south-sea house in Westminster-hall'.⁴⁵³ After some years of obscurity, there was a sudden surge in his activity in 1742, when he not only began publishing new editions of Olive Payne's productions (Cradock, Castiglione) but also took over his brother's old shop in Round Court. This was his base of operations until 1745, when his marriage into the Taylor family allowed him to begin establishing the new shop at the Mews-Gate where he would make his name.⁴⁵⁴ However, he continued holding library sales there into the late 1740s; and the catalogues of this period demonstrate he inherited something of his brother's interests and his connections, and was unhindered by the stigma of his brother's bankruptcy. There are several familiar names on the title page below, most

⁴⁵² 'James Manlove, Philomath,' *A new dictionary of all such English words (with their explanation) as are generally made use of, in speaking or writing the English language ...* (London: John Wilcox in the Strand, 1741).

⁴⁵³ *Catalogus librorum in omni literatura. A catalogue of several libraries and parcels lately purchas'd; Containing near 3000 volumes ...* (London: Thomas Payne, 12th of March 1739).

⁴⁵⁴ Plomer 1726-1775, pp. 195, 242-43.

notably Brindley and Jackson, who appear among the stockists of his catalogues as early as 1739. (Interestingly, several buyers of Olive Payne's stock, like Francis Noble, John Nourse, and J. Wright are also among Thomas's early co-printers and sellers). It is clear that 'Honest Tom Payne's' success owed more to the foundations laid by his brother than has been recognized.

None of Payne's children are known to have remained in the bookselling or printing trade in London, although they could well have been among the Paynes involved in the Northamptonshire publishing trade throughout the eighteenth century. The 'Horace's Head' sign seems to have become something of a Payne family brand, as we find a William Payne (who was briefly in partnership with Thomas around 1744, and was possibly another brother or relative from Brackley) selling from 'Horace's Head, opposite Durham Yard in the Strand in 1744, less than 200 metres from New Round Court.'⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁵ See, for example, *A catalogue of the libraries of Thomas Parker, Esq; and the Reverend and learned Dr. George Green, rector of Cliffe*, (London: William Payne, at Horace's Head, opposite Durham Yard, in the Strand, 1744).

CATALOGUE

O F A

Very Neat and Valuable

Collection of Books,

I N

Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian,
and *English*, many of them are bound in
Turkey Leather, and other elegant Bindings.

Amongst which are the following,

F O L I O.

Dictionnaire de Bayle, 5 tom. *Paris*

Diction de Commerce, 3 tom. 1741

Vitrave, par Perrault - - - 1694

Sir T. Ruc's Negotiations, in *Tur-*

key Leather

Tanner's Notitia, in *Turkey Leather*

Sir H. Sloane's Jamaica, 2 vol. in

Turkey Leather

Petty's Maps of Ireland

Plans of all the Cities, Forts, &c. of

Candia, *finely drawn*

T. Livius ap. Aldum, *coris Tureico*

Jul. Pollux, *ch. max. coris Tureico*

Horsfeman's Conveyancing, 2 vol.

Hale's Pleas of the Crown, 2 vol.

Vossii Opera omnia. 6 tom.

Milton, 2 vol. Lock, 3 v. &c. Works

Q U A R T O.

Don Quixote, in Spanish, 4 vol.

with fine Cuts - - - Lond.

Eltan de Natura Animal. 2 tom.

coris Tureico

De Moivre of Chances, *less Fait.*

Transactions abridg'd, 8 vol.

Histoire de France par Daniel, 10

tom. - - - *Paris*

Berman's Quintillian, 2 tom.

Histoire des Finances, 3 tom.

Dictionnaire de Richelet, 2 t. 1772

Jugemens de Scavans, par Baillet,

8 tom. *grand Pap.*

Voyage de Tournetort, 2 tom. *Par.*

Histoire de Turenne, 2 tom. *Par.*

With many more in Folio, Quarto, and Octavo, equally
good, which will be Sold (very cheap) the Prices printed
in the Catalogue, on Monday the 4th of June, 1748, 13
and continue daily till all are Sold,

By **THOMAS PAYNE**, Bookfeller,

In Old Round Court, in the Strand, against York-Buildings.

CATALOGUES to be had *Gratis* at the following Bookfellers,
viz. Mr. Strahan's, Cornhill; Mr. Osborne's, *Pater noster-*
Row; Mr. Lewis's, in *Russel-street, Covent Garden*; Mr.
Brindley's, in *New-Bond-street*; Mr. Jackson's, in *St. James's*
street; Mr. Owen's, next the *Devil Tavern, Fleet-street*; and
at the Place of Sale: Where may be had the full Value for
any Library or Parcel of Books.

Figure 26: Title page for a 1748 sales catalogue by Thomas Payne, which is stocked by several of Olive Payne's most frequent associates.

Part II: The effect of Payne's biography on Defoe studies

The completion of a detailed profile of Olive Payne has distinct benefits for both general book history and specialist Defoe studies. An exploration of the life and career path of this minor bookseller and printer highlights several networks of interest among both specialist producers of high-end reprints and sellers of rarities, prestige items, and foreign-language texts. The network of obscure booksellers and publishers clustered around this end of the Strand are promising sites for investigating the circulation of foreign-language texts and translations (with or without Jacobite and/or Catholic affinities) in the first few decades of the eighteenth century. Turning to Defoe studies, it is clear that the profile corrects a major omission from the extant catalogue scholarship, and that it gives scholars access to the full extent of available information on the catalogue's background and difficulties. However, as Chapter 3 concluded, its primary importance comes from its major role in the resolution of the salting question.

Payne's profile supports the theory that the catalogue not only contains a large quantity of items that did not originate from Defoe or Farewell's libraries, but also that the true extent of salted content extends beyond the items located through the Hunt catalogue. . An examination of his later sales demonstrates that his practice of salting was a constant feature of his bookselling career. Not only are there similar quantities of duplicate items salted from Hunt into Defoe/Farewell and from Defoe/Farewell into Londonderry/Fraser, but Payne also kept trying to resell items first seen in Defoe/Farewell as late as 1735. His methods of salting were also fairly consistent, with his own publications added to every library sale (often with multiple lots of the same item), and item descriptions frequently repeated from earlier sales.

Furthermore, the correlation between the number of titled and illustrious names connected to Payne's early library sales and those found in the subscription list for his 1737 edition of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* suggests that his customer base shared something of this continuity.

As this salted content cannot be identified through the cross-referencing process, the profile provides valuable information on Payne's interests, connections, and target customers which is the key to provisionally identifying additional salted items –or at least locating the subjects which should be handled with particular caution. In conjunction with constant reference to Defoe's biography and writings, educated guesswork based on this material is the only method for further consideration of the catalogue's attribution problems, since so little is known about Farewell. And although significant gaps remain in Payne's biography, his sales and publications still reveal strong and consistent interests whose probable influence on the Defoe/Farewell catalogue is evident.

Payne's consistency is a distinctive feature of his career as both bookseller and publisher. His earliest publications and sales demonstrated the interests that dominated his later sales and publication lists, and from the earliest stages of his career he attempted to orient his business towards both foreign-language texts and the upper end of the market. Even his early acquisition of a permanent shop –which may have been a consequence of family support– strengthens this characterization. Overall, this means that the later stages of Payne's career have a strong relevance to the early years, as his interests and target markets remained constant, and that the post-Defoe material can reveal a surprising amount about the pre-Defoe Payne.

From the beginning of his career, Payne demonstrated a consistent interest in two particular areas: French and Italian works, particularly literature and theology, and works with connections to Scotland, Ireland, the Royalists and the Jacobites. A high proportion of his publication list and his prestige acquisitions are directly related to these subjects, and his advertisements and library acquisitions suggest that he actively courted a customer base that shared these interests. This means that he is most likely to have acquired items relating to these subjects, particularly in small parcels, and that extra caution needs to be used when considering Defoe's possible use of related items in the catalogue. Caution is also advisable, albeit to a lesser extent, to related subjects and languages in which Payne demonstrated a lesser and/or later interest, like works on geography, travel and geology, and in Spanish, German, Latin and Dutch.

Of course, it is impossible to extend this observation to any sweeping classification of the relevant items in Defoe/Farewell as 'probably salted', and demote them entirely from consideration as potential sources. Not only does the above list of subjects and languages comprise a large proportion of the catalogue's contents, it also includes subjects and languages in which Defoe had strong and proven interests. It is often impossible to split the difference: for example, the breadth of Defoe's historical and political reading makes a credible case for his ownership of much of the Jacobite or Royalist material, while many of the French titles look equally at home in Payne's back catalogue and in the library of a man whose proficiency in the language allowed him to pass as 'Claude Guilot'.

But it is possible to break down this list, and identify sub-categories which *probably* originated from Payne's stock. Firstly, it must be noted that Defoe's displayed significantly less interest in Italy than Payne: he may have had some proficiency in the language (and have travelled

through the country), but his reading seems to have been limited to modern political and historical works –there is little evident interest in modern literature, art, for example. As for religion, it is probable that he would have read such a popular (and Protestant-friendly) work as Sarpi's *Trattato delle materie beneficarie*, but it is considerably more difficult to build a case for his interest in the catalogue's more esoteric Catholic texts. Because of the comparative strength of Payne's interest in Italian texts –particularly works on art and religion– and the consistent representation of Italian titles in later sales and publications, I feel confident in *identifying the majority of Italian texts as belonging either to Payne or Farewell*. This statement is intended only as a rule of thumb: as with all catalogue study, case-by-case evaluation is always necessary.

Secondly, Payne's established interest in the sale of rare and expensive books suggests that he is the more likely source of *all rarities, manuscripts and high-prestige items on the aforementioned subjects*. While the extent of Defoe's reading suggests he made a sizable contribution to the inventory, it seems relatively unlikely that his omnivorous reading habits would extend as far as some of the more esoteric Catholic texts. In contrast, Payne had already begun to establish a market for the sale of such rarities in 1731. Moreover, he established his shop in an area notable for a number of high-end printers and foreign language specialist booksellers. Using these guidelines, we can identify several items that were most probably acquired by Payne, independently of the Defoe/Farewell sale. For brevity's sake, I will group these into categories (each with a demonstrative example), and append a complete list to Appendix A.

Italian texts comprise the majority of probable salted items, and this group falls into several sub-categories. There are approximately 74 sixteenth and seventeenth-century items

published in Italy, with the publisher specified in eleven cases –most often for sixteenth-century rarities published in Venice, like Domenico Giglio’s 1553 edition of Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo’s annotated Petrarch,⁴⁵⁶ or works produced by the Duaci, Giunti (Juntas), or Varisco families. The majority of these are literary and religious works (one notable example being the 1593 edition of the *Biblica Sacra vulgatae* attributed to the Vatican’s press),⁴⁵⁷ but there are also numerous works on classical history, and contemporary military history. The category also includes translations of Italian texts, English-language rarities, like a 1548 black letter edition of William Thomas’s *Principle Rules of the Italian Grammar*,⁴⁵⁸ and a few recent Italian grammars, dictionaries, and works on Italian art, literature, and history, like John Henley’s 1725 *The Antiquities of Italy*, a translation of Bernard de Montfauçon.⁴⁵⁹

Arguably, salted items can be identified with the greatest certainty here, both because of Payne’s consistent interests and associations, and certain bibliographical characteristics that distinguish the Italian group from the other languages and related subjects well-represented in his career. The publication dates of the catalogue’s French, Spanish and Latin works all range from the sixteenth century (occasionally earlier) to the 1720s and 30s, with modern titles strongly represented. In contrast, only four of the Italian language works were published after 1700 (compared to 27 from the sixteenth century and 47 from the seventeenth century), a number which only rises to nine after the addition of contemporary translations and titles on related subjects. Moreover, Payne specifies more publishers in the Italian category than in any other, with most of his notes relating to sixteenth-century works.

⁴⁵⁶ Defoe/Farewell, item 523.

⁴⁵⁷ Defoe/Farewell, item 275.

⁴⁵⁸ Defoe/Farewell, item 463.

⁴⁵⁹ Defoe/Farewell, item 183.

Overall, all this data suggests that the Italian group is a language and subject category unlike any other in the catalogue: comprised primarily of foreign-language texts remarkable for their age and rarity, and with a heavy emphasis on literature and art and a comparatively low representation of contemporary politics and history. As all these traits accord so closely with what is known of Payne's interests –and the grounds for a counter-argument for Defoe or Farewell are dubious– it seems logical and credible to conclude that he was the primary source for this category.

It is considerably more difficult to grant Payne general ownership of his other main interests, as Defoe's known interests can support his ownership of French-language, Scottish and Royalist or Jacobite material. However, it is possible to draw some tentative about his shares of these categories, using the criteria of an item's age, rarity, and specific accordance with established interests. Payne's interest in both rarities and Italian material makes him the more probable source of the older French translations of Italian texts, Payne seems like the more probable source of sixteenth and seventeenth-century French translations of Italian texts such as Jérôme Chomedy's 1577 rendition of Francesco Guicciardini, *Histoire des guerres d'Italie*, and the Catholic works of similar age like the 1615 *Histoire de vie, vertus, mort et miracles de Saint Charles Borromeo* (another Italian translation).⁴⁶⁰ The same criteria can be used to evaluate the probable origins of items in the other languages in which Payne showed an interest, chiefly Spanish and Latin; and identify Payne as the probable source of the oldest and rarest European dictionaries, grammars and literary works. Similarly, Payne's publication list

⁴⁶⁰ Defoe/Farewell, items 227 and 553.

(and the lists of his associates) suggests an interest in works on art like Florent Lecomte's three-volume *Cabinet de Architecture, Peinture, Sculpture et Graveur*.⁴⁶¹

As for the Royalist, Jacobite and Scottish-related material, Payne's early publications and connections make him a credible source for the catalogue's most staunchly Royalist/pro-Stuart works, like the tracts by George Bate and Thomas Skinner tracts on 'the rise and progress of the late troubles in England' and the glories of the Restoration,⁴⁶² or George Mackenzie's explorations of the royal line of Scotland.⁴⁶³ However, Defoe's wide reading, in conjunction with the fact that most of these items are neither particularly rare nor particularly old, makes his acquisition of these texts equally probable, and attribution to either man less reliable. Some Scottish and Irish literary texts, however, align well with Payne's publication list, like the 1710 republication of Gavin Douglas's rendition of 'Virgil in Scots Verse'.⁴⁶⁴

Moreover, the combination of Payne's consistent interests and habitual addition of his own publications to sales means that his entire publication list should be evaluated with caution in Defoe/Farewell. The catalogue contains several of his later publications: two editions of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*,⁴⁶⁵ and of Trenchard's *Short History of Standing Armies in England*,⁴⁶⁶ Ray's *Proverbs*,⁴⁶⁷ Ramsay's *Essay upon Civil Government*⁴⁶⁸ and Sarpì's *Treatise on Beneficiary*

⁴⁶¹ Defoe/Farewell, item 1336.

⁴⁶² Defoe/Farewell, item 967.

⁴⁶³ Defoe/Farewell, items 152, 663b, 1036, 1089.

⁴⁶⁴ Defoe/Farewell, item 168.

⁴⁶⁵ Defoe/Farewell, item 494, 1268.

⁴⁶⁶ Defoe/Farewell, item L.O. 179, 202.

⁴⁶⁷ Defoe/Farewell, item 1183.

⁴⁶⁸ Defoe/Farewell, item 1222.

Matters.⁴⁶⁹ Titles published by Payne's associates should perhaps also be treated with caution, although, as the William Mears works showed, the catalogue often omits the publication details needed to identify specific editions.

As well as the categories highlighted above, it is also possible that Payne's profile can help identify *specific* salted titles in Defoe/Farewell, through its information on his possible sources of stock. In this context, Abraham Vandenhoeck and John Groenewegen, the previous owners of the Horace's Head, Round-Court shop, stand out as the most promising connection. Not only did they specialize in selling and publishing foreign-language texts, but the 1729-30 dissolution of their partnership also coincides with Payne's establishment as a bookseller, and his shared interests and proximity makes him an ideal customer for the stock sales they held before 1731. Certainly, cross-referencing these sales catalogues with Defoe/Farewell reveals a significant number of duplicate editions. While these items cannot be confirmed as 'salted' with the same certainty as the Hunt stock, since it is possible that booksellers with common interests acquired distinct copies of the same edition, they should still be acknowledged in any rigorous consideration of the salting problem. I have therefore placed the titles listed below in a separate table in Appendix A, allowing them to be assessed alongside the Hunt items, but indicating the doubts attached to their provenance.

Appearing in both Defoe/Farewell and the 1730 sale of Vandenhoeck's stock is Cardinal Pietro Bembo's *Rerum Venetarum Historiae* (Venice, 1551), Simon Episcopius's *Opera Theologica* (Amsterdam, 1650), Nicholas Harpsfeld's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica* (Duaci, 1622), Robert Johnston's *Historia Rerum Britannicarum* (Amsterdam, 1655), Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat's

⁴⁶⁹ Defoe/Farewell, item L.O. 30, L.O. 169c.

Lettres au Roy Henri le Grand (Paris, 1627), James Ussher's *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (London, 1687), Prosper Alpinus's *De plantis Aegypti liber* (Venice, 1592), Lorenzo Bellini's *Exertationes anatomicae duae de structura renum et de gustus organo* (Lugdunum Batavia, 1726), a 4 volume edition of Cicero's *Opera Omnia* with notes by Grotius (Amsterdam, 1661), Henry Dodwell's *De veteribus Graecorum Romanorumque cyclis* (Oxford, 1701), Pierre Danet's *Magnum Dictionarium Latinum et Gallicum* (1711), Willem J.S. van Gravesande's *Physices Elementa Mathematica* (Lugdunum Batavia, 1725), Nicholas Haym's *Del Tesoro Britannico* (Jacob Tonson, 1719), Richard Bentley's edition of Horace (Amsterdam, 1713), the *Epistolae* of St. Ignatius the Martyr (London, 1680), Jacobus Lydius's *Syntagma scarum de re militari* (Dordraci, 1698), Michel Maittaire's *Annales typographici* (Hagae-Comitum, 1719), Joannes Meursius's *Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus...* (Amsterdam, 1675), Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (London, 1726), Jacques Ozanam's *Dictionaire Mathematique* (Paris, 1691), Daniel Heinsius's version of Titus Livius's *Historiarum libri* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1634), and Johannes Clericus/Jean le Clerc's edition of Livius's *Historiarum quod exstat* (Amsterdam, 1710), Maittaire's edition of Ovid's *Opera* (London, 1715) and an anonymous Amsterdam 1717 edition of the same work, Eutropius's *Historiae Romanae* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1729), a 2-volume edition of Sophocles' *Tragoediae septem* (London, 1722), Maittaire's edition of Virgil (London, 1715), George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (Edinburgh, 1643), Johann Pieter de Crosa's 2 volume *Logicae Systema* (Geneva, 1724), Cicero's *Epistolae*, with notes by Johann G Graevius (Amsterdam, 1689), Samuel Jebb's edition of Saint Justinus the Martyr's *Dialogus...cum Tryphone Judaeo* (London, 1719), Paolo Manuzio's *Epistolarum* (Venice, 1560), Henri de Boulanvilliers' *Mémoires présentés à M. le Duc d'Orleans* (Amsterdam, 1727), Paul de Rapin's *History of England*, with notes by Nicholas Tindal (London, 1725-31), David Mill's *Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum secundum exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum* (Amsterdam, 1725), Amelot de la Houssaie's French translation of Tacitus's *Annales* (Amsterdam, 1716), Amédée F. Frézier's *A voyage to*

the South Sea (London, 1717), and Jean Hardouin's *Nummi antiquae populorum et urbium* (Paris, 1684).⁴⁷⁰

The Vandenhoeck sale also contains an undated edition of Jean le Feron's *Histoire des Connestables, Chancellier & Gardes des Seaux* that, like Payne's copy, was printed by 'l'imprimerie Royale',⁴⁷¹ making it possibly the same edition. There are also undated editions of Philip van Limborch's *Theologia Christiana*,⁴⁷² Jacques Amyot's translation of Plutarch,⁴⁷³ and Nicolas Lemery's *Pharmacopée Universelle*.⁴⁷⁴

My work on the 1729 Groenewegen sale is incomplete, but I have located some duplicates: Samuel Moody's annotated edition of Grotius's *Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (London, 1727),⁴⁷⁵ *Biblia sacra vulgata editionis Sixti VI* (Vatican, 1593),⁴⁷⁶ J. Davis's edition of L.C.F. Lactantius's *Epitome divinarum institutionum...*(*Cantabrigiensis*, 1718),⁴⁷⁷ and Johann F. Grabe's *Specilegium S.S. Patrum ut et haeticorum* (Oxford, 1714).⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁰ A table of these items, and their possible Defoe/Farewell counterparts, is included in Appendix A.

⁴⁷¹ Item 228 in Defoe/Farewell; Folio 142 in Vandenhoeck (1730).

⁴⁷² Item 35 in Defoe/Farewell; Folio 218 in Vandenhoeck (1730).

⁴⁷³ Item 236 in Defoe/Farewell; Folio 284 in Vandenhoeck (1730).

⁴⁷⁴ Item 558 in Defoe/Farewell; Quarto 216 in Vandenhoeck (1730).

⁴⁷⁵ Item 289 in Defoe/Farewell; Libri Theologici in Quarto 28, in Groenewegen (1729).

⁴⁷⁶ Item 275 in Defoe/Farewell; Libri Theologici in Folio 1, in Groenewegen (1729).

⁴⁷⁷ Item 723 in Defoe/Farewell; Libri Theologici in Octavo 61, in Groenewegen (1729).

⁴⁷⁸ Item 604 in Defoe/Farewell; Libri Theologici in Octavo 84, in Groenewegen (1729).

Moving away from the attribution question, the second benefit of a detailed Olive Payne profile becomes evident: it helps formulate an answer to the longstanding question about how this young bookseller came to sell Defoe's library. In the light of Payne's early establishment and prosperity, his interest in rare books and his cultivation of useful connections, his acquisition of the Defoe sale seems less surprising than it did to Heidenreich, who believed him to be 'a relative newcomer on the scene' in 1731.⁴⁷⁹ The Defoe sale is no prestigious or noteworthy anomaly among Payne's early sales; in fact, its positioning between the sales of a doctor and a priest's libraries and those of an earl and a famous bookseller and collector may suggest he was chosen by Defoe's family precisely for his orientation towards the upper end of the market.

However, in addition to his growing reputation, there are also two specific connections between Payne and Defoe that may have been relevant here: William Mears and Benjamin Norton Defoe. Mears's title pages indicate that he had established associations with significant members of Payne's circles as early as 1717; and they had begun appearing on the same title pages in 1732, and became co-publishers in 1734. Interestingly, this was the same year that Payne began publishing the Defoes, with his reprint of *History of the Devil* appearing in 1734, and three editions of Norton Defoe's *Dictionary* appearing between 1735 and 1739, the last two of which were published by Payne alone. The common denominator in both cases is the Brindley/Jolliffe circle, who associated with Mears in the 1720s and co-published the 1732-34 Mears titles and the first edition of the *Dictionary* with Payne. But while it seems clear that Payne had established solid business relationships with both Mears and Norton Defoe by 1734-35, it is impossible to do more than speculate on whether they were in place before the

⁴⁷⁹ Heidenreich, p. XXXVI.

Defoe sale. The circumstantial evidence of common associates suggests Mears and Defoe were at least acquainted, but there is no firm proof.

Another possibility is that Payne was connected with some of Defoe's other late-career publishers: William Taylor (the original publisher of all three parts of *Robinson Crusoe*, *A Continuation of the Letters Written by a Turkish Spy*, and *Memoirs of a Cavalier*)⁴⁸⁰ and Charles Rivington (*The Compleat English Tradesman* and its supplement, *A Plan of the English Commerce*, and *A Humble Proposal to the People of England*)⁴⁸¹ Both Rivington and John Osborn (Taylor's executor and successor)⁴⁸² are listed as Payne's co-sellers in two 1734 works; and both also had shops in Paternoster Row during Payne's 1719-26 apprenticeship with William Gray in Canon Alley.⁴⁸³ It seems likely that the small group of established printers in this exclusive area would have been well-acquainted (as would their apprentices), and Payne's career demonstrates his early talent for making useful connections. However, the surviving evidence does not indicate a relationship as clearly as it does with Mears. In any case, the simultaneous appearances of all these names connected to the Defoes, the Norton Defoe dictionary, and the *History of the Devil* in 1734-35 strongly suggest that during this period Payne had extensive connections with Defoe's family and business associates. The question of their relevance to the Defoe library sale, however, remains open.

In conclusion, it is clear that although Olive Payne remains a minor figure in the contemporary London book trade, this detailed biography and business profile has specific benefits for both

⁴⁸⁰ Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, pp. 182, 185-86, 188-89, 192.

⁴⁸¹ Furbank and Owens, *Critical Bibliography*, pp. 216, 223, 231-32, 236-37.

⁴⁸² Plomer *1668-1725* states that William Taylor of the Ship in Paternoster Row died in 1723 (pp. 225, 285).

⁴⁸³ See Plomer *1668-1725*, pp. 225, 254, 285.

general book history and Defoe studies. For the former, the exploration of Payne's geographic and social contexts and sales and publication list helps illuminate the obscure networks of high-end and foreign-language booksellers and publishers in eighteenth-century London. For Defoe scholars, it not only fills a gap in the extant catalogue scholarship, but also provides solid information with which to resolve the salting problem to the fullest possible extent, and on which to base guidelines for future use of this resource. Payne's connections with Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck make it highly probable that the above-listed duplicate editions found in Defoe/Farewell originated from their libraries, and therefore extra caution and textual support from Defoe's writings is needed for any evaluation of these items as potential sources. The same caution is advised for the subjects related to Payne's consistent interests and connections: that is, foreign-language texts, particularly French and Italian works, and items of interest to a Jacobite-leaning market, particularly relating to Scotland, Royalism, and Catholicism.

The findings of the Chapters 3 and 4 indicate that the Defoe/Farewell catalogue is an even more complex and uncertain resource than has been previously believed, since Olive Payne himself was a major source of an indeterminate amount of its content. Any credible use must therefore acknowledge its inherent problems of provenance and attribution, and use all the available background information in its consideration of Defoe's potential sources.

Chapter 5:

New guidelines for responsible use of the catalogue, and a reconsideration of its role on Defoe studies

This chapter defines the practical significance of revisionary catalogue study for Defoe scholarship, using the findings of the earlier chapters to determine the extent and nature of the resource's future role in the field, and to develop comprehensive new guidelines for responsible use. This process fully acknowledges the catalogue's inherent problems, which are even more extensive than its strongest critics have realized, and concedes that they can provide credible support for marginalization or abandonment of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. However, it also argues that the resource's chronic history of neglect and misinterpretation present a compelling case for continued (or even more extensive) usage, and suggests some potential benefits of finally integrating it into studies of Defoe's sources and contexts. Not only is a rigorous study of the catalogue's background needed to bring Defoe studies up to parity with the bibliographical resources available to Swift or Fielding scholars, but examination of the inventory can both help studies of Defoe's neglected contexts and directly address John Paul Hunter's criticisms of the first generation of 'source hunters'.

As this chapter is based so heavily on this catalogue study, a brief summary of the main points is offered here to further clarify its interpretations and conclusions. Chapter 1's critical survey demonstrated that the catalogue has been consistently neglected, derided and misused since its 1895 discovery. Not only was the vast majority of early scholarship based solely on Aitken's

list of items of interest rather than the complete catalogue, but exploration of this resource was almost exclusively focused on a few, well-established areas of interest, with Secord's analysis of Defoe's use of voyage and travel literature being an exemplary and influential case. The Defoe studies of the late 1950s and early 1960s were marked by a minor surge of critical interest in the catalogue, but this was stifled by the reaction against the Secord/Moore generation's methods and areas of interest, which was most clearly and forcefully defined in Hunter's *The Reluctant Pilgrim*. This critical movement arguably attached a stigma to the catalogue which has yet to dissipate, and has confined the resource firmly to the margins of Defoe studies until today. Upon its 1970 publication, Helmut Heidenreich's indexed and amended edition of the catalogue was desultorily accepted as the definitive and conclusive study of the resource; and therefore, neither criticism of its methodology nor supplementary work on the catalogue's background would appear for more than 30 years. As a consequence of this idiosyncratic critical history, Defoe studies never reached consensus on how to incorporate catalogue material into Defoe biography and criticism, and it has remained on the periphery of the field, with credible usages limited to occasional footnote appearances, or, less frequently, in a deliberately minimized and curtailed role in a context study.

Chapter 2 turned its focus to the small body of specialist catalogue scholarship, analysing the work of Aitken, Heidenreich, Kropf and Kelly. This comparative study revealed that there are significant gaps in the extant catalogue scholarship, which have remained undetected due to a lack of critical interest. The two most significant flaws were identified as inadequate consideration of the catalogue's inherent problems of attribution and provenance, particularly the influence of salting on the inventory's composition; and the comparatively brief and desultory attention given to Olive Payne's biography and business, which, as well as

completing the record of the catalogue's history, is intrinsic to the address of the provenance question.

Chapters 3 and 4 proposed a two-part remedy for these flaws and omissions which would allow for a more confident and credible use, as it would resolve the question of provenance to the greatest possible extent, and give scholars interested in the resource full access to the all the background information available. The first part of the remedy (documented in Chapter 3) focused on determining the extent of the catalogue's salted contents, by first cross-referencing Defoe/Farewell with Olive Payne's previous sales and publications, and then compiling a list of confirmed and suspected duplicate editions; then concluding from Payne's habitual business practices that the catalogue inventory likely contains even more salted items. It determined that the only credible method of identifying these additional items is by determining the subject areas in which Payne was most likely to have acquired texts, and/or the colleagues and associates from which he may have sourced them. Chapter 4 moved to consideration of second stage of the salting problem, locating Payne's major interests and significant connections through his biography and a business profile. In addition, this study fills the second gap in extant catalogue scholarship, and also highlights two key figures (Benjamin Norton Defoe and William Mears) who are likely to have had a role in Payne's acquisition of the Defoe/Farewell sale.

Conclusions on the impact of catalogue research:

While these findings are relatively straightforward in themselves, their impact on how scholars use the Defoe/Farewell catalogue is more complex. They raise several important questions.

How, if at all, does this new background information change the ways scholars use this resource? Do its inherent problems of attribution support Hunter's argument for the conscious rejection of a resource which encouraged the worst traits of early source hunting? Or does the history of its consistent neglect instead prove the need for a more extensive and overt investigation of the inventory contents? The most logical interpretation of the new information supplied by this study falls somewhere between these poles, fusing elements of each position into its new guidelines for responsible use.

When considering these issues, the attribution problem is, again, the first thing that needs to be addressed. The revelation of the hitherto-unrecognized extent of its impact on the inventory, and of the true diversity and complexity of the catalogue items' origins, is the most significant discovery of this study. It seems indubitable that items salted into the sale by Olive Payne comprise a considerable portion of the Defoe/Farewell inventory. Cross-referencing it with Payne's previous sales and publications identify 342 items as confirmed or suspected matches;⁴⁸⁴ and Payne's consistent habits of salting, the discovery of his pre-Defoe/Farewell sales, his probable purchase of 'small parcels of Books' from walk-up sellers and the prevalence of the practice among contemporaries all indicate that the true number of salted items is likely even higher. Informed guesswork remains the only means of tentatively identifying these additional items, and here we have only two sources of guidance: the relevant quotes, paraphrases, and other indicators of knowledge in Defoe's own writings, and, as noted above, Olive Payne's biography. But aside from several works in Defoe/Farewell with potential duplicates in the Groenewegen and Vandenhoeck sales, these resources provide no clear answers, as Defoe's known reading covered several of Payne's subjects and languages of interest. The only categories where Payne is clearly indicated as the original source of items

⁴⁸⁴ The full list is reproduced as Appendix A.

are expensive rarities, particularly Italian and (to a lesser extent) French works on literature, art and architecture, and Catholicism –and even items in these categories cannot be entirely ruled out, although extra caution is necessary.

The extent to which Payne directly influenced the contents of the Defoe/Farewell sale not only reduces the chance of any given item belonging to Defoe (purely by percentage) but also destabilizes the whole inventory, which is now known to include items from multiple, often untraceable sources. The whole catalogue now falls under a cloud of doubt, begging the question of whether Defoe studies should continue to engage with such a problematic resource. It is arguable that, in addition to the significant and essentially irresolvable difficulties of ownership, use of the catalogue has, to date, had limited benefits for Defoe studies. Secord, Novak and Rogers exemplify the pattern of most credible usages, where the catalogue contents are cited in footnotes as supporting evidence for a point already made through textual analysis. Here, the catalogue items do not constitute proof in themselves, but merely serve to corroborate the case for a source or subject's relevance. On the rare occasions where the catalogue does form a functioning part of an argument, usage has either been marred by questionable methodology (Moore, Fawcett), or deliberately curtailed and downplayed in order to avoid any loss of credibility (Vickers). Even if Hunter's assertion that the catalogue's discovery 'greatly encouraged' the worst characteristics of source study is questioned,⁴⁸⁵ the fact still remains that the catalogue is not necessary for the investigation of either Defoe's specific sources, or his broader social and intellectual contexts, as both his writings and biographical/bibliographical resources and those of his contemporaries supply clues to his reading on most topics. Furthermore, this generation of scholars has the enormous advantage of the digitization of contemporary ephemera, which enlarges the range of

⁴⁸⁵ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 7.

contemporary context available, and allows previously untraceable quotations to be identified with relative ease.

However, in spite of the validity of these points, there are equally strong arguments that jettisoning the catalogue would be a significant loss for Defoe studies. Before discussing the real benefits which integration of this resource can bring, it also needs to be assessed in relation to the history of Defoe studies itself. Although Defoe has been one of the major figures in studies of the long eighteenth century since (at least) the mid twentieth century, his critical history has very little resemblance to the steady and methodical development of comparable specialist fields, like Swift or Fielding studies. While both these fields have produced a steady stream of biographies, bibliographical studies, annotated editions and contextual studies, leaving an comprehensive body of groundwork for scholars to build on, Defoe scholars are faced with both a relative paucity of biographical and bibliographical resources and a desultory and sporadic critical history, shaped by Defoe's extraordinarily belated installation in the pantheon of eighteenth-century literature. And in consequence, Defoe studies lags behind comparable contemporary fields in terms of both the breadth and the thoroughness of its biographical, contextual, and bibliographical groundwork. Throughout the twentieth century, Defoe scholars have had to spend a disproportionate amount of time identifying and remedying the gaps in the body of accumulated knowledge on Defoe's life and attributed writings, and in responding to persistent and reductive theories like his 'plagiarism' of Selkirk. Scholars have been so occupied with trying to prove what now seem like basic tenets of Defoe study, such as the element of conscious artistry in Defoe's work, and in the long-delayed production of fundamental resources like a complete annotated edition of Defoe's fiction and non-fiction (which only appeared in the year 2000),⁴⁸⁶ that it is unsurprising

⁴⁸⁶ The series referred to is the *Works of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by P.N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, 44 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000-8).

that the field's spectrum of interest has remained comparatively narrow, and that significant gaps are still found in the extant scholarship.

This overall critical lag is also evident in the history of the Defoe/Farewell catalogue's usage, both in the 75-year gap between its discovery and its full publication, and when its neglect is contrasted with the work done on the libraries of Defoe's contemporaries. The treatment of Swift's library catalogue provides a salient comparison. In 1932, when Defoe scholars were still reliant on Aitken's list, Harold Williams published a study and an annotated facsimile edition.⁴⁸⁷ Like Aitken and Heidenreich, Williams was careful to caution scholars against using the resource for excessive and overly-literal source hunting.⁴⁸⁸ However, this did not hinder scholars from quickly incorporating the catalogue into the mainstream of Swift studies, nor did it prevent the appearance of follow-up scholarship on the resource.⁴⁸⁹ The extent to which the catalogue forms a part of modern Swift scholarship is best demonstrated by *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift*, a four-volume encyclopaedia of 'bio-bibliographical' information on every listed title and author, as well as facsimile reproductions of Swift's catalogues and other related libraries;⁴⁹⁰ and the ongoing project at the Ehrenpreis Centre for Swift Studies in Münster for the reconstruction 'in identical imprints, of all the titles known to have been in the Dean's library and known to have been read by him'.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁷ Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library: with a facsimile of the original sale catalogue and sons account of two manuscript lists of his books* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1932).

⁴⁸⁸ Williams, p. 89.

⁴⁸⁹ See also F.P. Lock, 'Swift's Library: The Yale Copy and the Sale Catalogue Reconsidered', *The Book Collector*, 40, 1 (Spring 1991).

⁴⁹⁰ Dirk Passmann and Heinz J. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift: A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003).

⁴⁹¹ <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Anglistik/Swift/Library/index.html> [accessed last accessed 19th of December 2014]

This state of play obviously contrasts sharply with Defoe studies' use of a similar bibliographical resource, and it highlights two particularly pertinent points of comparison. Firstly, it is notable that one of Swift's catalogues come with its own attribution problem. The 1745 sale of Swift's library bundled his books together with those of Reverend Francis Wilson, his one-time housemate, who was suspected to have disposed of some of Swift's collection prior to the sale.⁴⁹² However, three factors have allowed critics to divide the libraries with relative certainty: the survival of a 1715 list of the contents of Swift's library, the bookseller's apparent separation of the two libraries (determined with the help of the list), meaning that Swift's books are confined to the first sixteen pages, and the catalogue owner's marking of items with Swift's marginalia, which support this division of the contents.⁴⁹³ These attribution difficulties are nowhere near as pervasive as those of the Defoe catalogue --a comparison also made by Williams, who acknowledges the greater difficulty of 'sifting out [Defoe's] library' using only 'conjecture and a knowledge of his reading'.⁴⁹⁴ However, this is not a definitive resolution, (for example, some books in the Wilson section may have originally belonged to Swift, and the bookseller may, like Payne, have salted his own stock into each discrete collection), and it is notable that doubts over attribution never seem to have hindered the catalogue's integration into Swift studies.

Secondly, there is a distinct contrast between the framing of Defoe and Swift's use of sources, as only one of these writers is granted authentic creative agency in his incorporation of catalogue material. As mentioned earlier, Defoe is seen by early critics primarily as a compiler,

⁴⁹² Williams, p. 16-17.

⁴⁹³ Williams, pp. 16-19, 21.

⁴⁹⁴ Williams, p. 36.

adapter, or a plagiarist of catalogue items (and of related genres); and this inadequate 'conception of Defoe's imaginative act' is central to Hunter's critique of 'source hunting', and the catalogue's enabling of its worst tendencies.⁴⁹⁵ In contrast, Williams consistently presents Swift as a deliberate artist, describing his use of sources in terms of creative synthesis and transformation, even when discussing direct borrowings. He notes that 'the description of the storm in the first chapter of the *Voyage to Brobdingnag* is copied, almost word for word, from Samuel Sturmy's *Mariner's Magazine*',⁴⁹⁶ but ultimately concludes that '*Gulliver's Travels* owes little to direct hints. Its chief sources were originality in the author and some general reading'.⁴⁹⁷ In contrast, there is no comparable contemporary argument that Defoe's extensive and unaltered use of a specific source reflects his conscious artistry or overriding vision, rather than opportunistic plagiarism or a naïve emulation. When, for example, Williams's discussion of Swift's use of Dampier's 1715 *New Voyage round the World*, which explores the specific ironic and satiric transformations of the material, is contrasted with Secord's discussion of the same source, which focuses on his simple replication of details and incidents, the difference becomes clear.⁴⁹⁸

Both of these points throw Defoe scholars' neglect and misuse of the catalogue into even sharper relief, by demonstrating the extent to which it is a consequence of the field's unique trajectory rather than the material's intrinsic qualities. Although its difficulties of attribution are far greater than those of the Swift catalogues, and offer a partial explanation for the lack of scholarly engagement, the fact remains that Defoe studies has, to date, failed to even establish the comparable level of groundwork that would allow for a credible rejection of this resource.

⁴⁹⁵ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁹⁶ Williams, p. 93. He credits this observation to 'Canon E.H. Knowles, *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, I, 223.'

⁴⁹⁷ Williams, p. 89.

⁴⁹⁸ Williams, p. 91.

Moreover, it remains a field where biographical and bibliographical resources are comparatively scarce, and where scholars cannot afford to discard *any* potentially beneficial resource without a thorough investigation, something which Chapters 1 and 2 identified as significantly absent from the critical record. The Defoe/Farewell catalogue has been a chronically neglected and understudied resource, due to both lack of critical interest and its intrinsic problems; and it is only now, after Heidenreich and Kelly's work has been sufficiently analysed and supplemented, that scholars can credibly evaluate the true extent of both its limitations and its potential. A rigorous and creative process of investigation is needed to interrogate and also vindicate this problematic, yet unfairly stigmatized, resource.

Guidelines for catalogue use

As well as correcting the historical neglect of this resource, more extensive catalogue usage can also bring distinct benefits to Defoe scholars. However, before expanding further on *why* this is both credible and desirable, it is necessary to establish *how* the catalogue should be used in the light of this study's findings, and establish some clear, non-partisan guidelines for responsible usage. These rules build on Heidenreich and Kelly's recommendations, revising and supplementing them in light of Payne's influence on the inventory's composition and the fundamental importance of the attribution question.

- 1) *Credible use of the catalogue requires a rigorous consideration of the catalogue's inherent problems of attribution, which takes all the new information presented here into account.*

The findings detailed in Chapters 3 and 4 means that Heidenreich's *in dubio pro Daniele*⁴⁹⁹ is no longer an acceptable rule for broadly determining ownership of the catalogue's contents. The inventory's origins are even more diverse and problematic than has been suspected by the catalogue's strongest critics, since the evidence clearly indicates that Olive Payne heavily salted the sale with his own stock. Not only does this reduce the chance of any given item belonging to Defoe, but the impossibility of identifying all the non-Hunt salted content makes it even more vital for scholars to incorporate consideration of the attribution problem into pertinent discussions of Defoe's potential sources. The traditional 'Defoe or Farewell?' question should be appended to 'Defoe, Farewell, or *Payne*?' and every use of the catalogue should attempt to answer it in relation to the items under consideration.

Defoe's writings obviously remain the best means of discovering his share of the inventory, but analysis of Farewell and Payne is aided by two resources: the lists of matches between the Defoe/Farewell catalogue and the earlier sales of Payne and his contemporaries (which should be appended to all future editions of the catalogue); and our knowledge of both Payne and Farewell's interests, which flags the subjects on which they were most likely to have acquired books. These are, in summary, theological works, foreign-language texts or translations, particularly items in French or Italian on art and literature, items connected to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, or sixteenth and seventeenth century rarities, especially those with a specified publisher.

- 2) *As James Kelly argued, Defoe's reliably-attributed writings and biography must form the foundation of any credible speculation on Defoe's use of catalogue items –any*

⁴⁹⁹ Heidenreich, p. XXXIV.

consideration that lacks considerable textual and/or biographical support should be disregarded.

The indispensability of Defoe's writings to any evaluation of the catalogue has been implicitly understood by almost all scholars using the resource, and James Kelly's second guideline made this point explicit.⁵⁰⁰ The discovery of the true extent of the attribution problems makes this point even more important, since we are unable to identify Farewell and Payne's shares with certainty, or decide which books Defoe owned by any other means. The demonstration of any given catalogue item's validity as a line of enquiry can only be supplied by adequate textual support in Defoe himself. For the catalogue to attain any kind of credible place in Defoe studies, it is necessary to be strict on this rule. It is bad practice to extrapolate anything about Defoe's interests or background from the catalogue alone, not least because of the resource's irresolvable attribution problems. A critic claiming, for example, that the heavy representation of Italian titles indicated something about Defoe's proficiency and interest in the language would have difficulty finding textual support in Defoe's writings, and would also be confronted with the strong evidence of Payne's contribution to this category. (Here, it is clear how attention to the catalogue items' origins acts as a further safeguard against overly speculative use).

However, there should be some flexibility around the definition of 'adequate textual support'. The clearest sign of Defoe's knowledge of a given source is obviously a direct quote or paraphrase, but these are not the only valid indications. Strong evidence of Defoe's interest in a subject should also justify further investigation, as long as the project is framed as an

⁵⁰⁰ 'When items in the catalogue are cited as evidence for Defoe's familiarity with sources, in the absence of internal witness connecting the source with Defoe's undisputed writings all such claims must be regarded as unsubstantiated.' Kelly, p. 300.

exploration of broader contexts (i.e., including pertinent non-catalogue material) rather than specific inventory items. The known breadth of Defoe's reading makes it possible that his knowledge of a subject included the listed title (although evidence suggesting Farewell or Payne's ownership may also appear), and an evaluation of Defoe's divergence from or transformation of a given resource may illuminate the idiosyncrasies of his treatment of the topic. It must be emphasized that the catalogue's contents should never be treated as representing the limits of Defoe's reading on any subject, as his frequent use of sources not listed in the inventory indicates a much broader scope. Rather, they should be analysed in the context of both his writings and the non-catalogue literature, and used as a potential guide to his body of knowledge.

Furthermore, while credible catalogue usage is reliant on textual support from Defoe, this does not dictate a set order of study. The model of credible usage proposed by James Kelly, which uses the inventory to provide further confirmation of Defoe's sources, is certainly the most straightforward and clear use of this resource. But it is not the only valid method, and a creative rethinking of catalogue methodology can arguably bring greater benefits to Defoe studies than the somewhat redundant confirmation of a known source like Petty's *Political Arithmetick*, which Kelly chose for his example.⁵⁰¹ There is no reason that consultation of the catalogue must always be *preceded* by the location of an area of interest in Defoe's writings. It is equally acceptable for the catalogue's contents to serve as an inspiration for further study (for example, for its extensive quantity of medical books to spark inquiry about Defoe's knowledge of contemporary medicine and anatomy), as long as there is no attempt to transfer non-existent meaning *into* Defoe, and unpromising lines of inquiry are discarded when

⁵⁰¹ Kelly, pp. 300-1.

insufficient support is found in Defoe (e.g. the Italian query suggested above). Using the catalogue in this manner can help highlight Defoe's relevant and neglected contexts.

These guidelines may provoke debates over the strength and validity of various instances of 'textual support', but these should, like all uses of the catalogue, be evaluated individually, with a suspension of the stigma historically attached to this resource. When combined, both guidelines promote an approach to the catalogue that combines scholarly rigour with a flexible and creative illumination of Defoe's potential sources and contexts: Vickers's *Defoe and the New Sciences*, with an overt acknowledgement of the catalogue's role, would be an excellent example of a credible incorporation of the catalogue into a thematic or contextual study.

Potential benefits of increased catalogue usage

As well as bringing Defoe studies closer to parity with fields like Swift or Fielding studies, reintegrating the Defoe/Farewell catalogue with Defoe criticism and biography will bring two distinct benefits. As mentioned earlier, Defoe's unique critical history has produced a field of specialist scholarship marked by several gaps and misconceptions, obliging modern Defoe studies to devote much of its energy to their supplementation and correction. This state of affairs has left Defoe studies operating on something of a critical lag, as major areas such as Defoe's political, religious, economic and cultural contexts only began receiving specialist critical analysis in the last half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it has also meant that exploration of Defoe's contexts has not extended far beyond his British connections and interests, as most of the focus has concentrated on local spheres such as the Dissenting communities in London, Harley's associates and connections, or the political spectrum of the

contemporary press. While this prioritization is logical and practical, it has also meant that Defoe's pan-European biographical and intellectual contexts have been neglected and understudied, in spite of their complex and diverse influences on both his fiction and his non-fiction.

The catalogue is an extremely useful tool for closing the aforementioned critical gap, as cautious analysis of its contents can help scholars determine the broad parameters of his reading on topics of established interest, and identify some of the obscure pamphlets and rarities which may have been included in his body of knowledge. With diligent accordance to the two tenets of responsible usage, Defoe scholars are able to incorporate the catalogue's information on specific titles into their more extensive explorations of his known interests. This process can help situate Defoe even more firmly and vividly in his contemporary political, religious, literary and social contexts, whose definition has been a major project in Defoe studies over the last three decades, as there has been a widespread increase of interest in Defoe's non-fiction, which has produced array of alternative Defoes –journalist, politician, spy and trader– to accompany Defoe the novelist.

Moreover, evaluation of the catalogue contents in conjunction with Defoe's biography and writings can also help scholars locate illuminating new critical angles and cultural contexts. While an era's main reference points on a topic can usually be easily identified, book sale catalogues and related materials like subscription lists are particularly useful for their information on rare titles and other ephemera often absent from the historical record and from library collections. The heightened awareness of the importance of ephemera is one of the defining characteristics of modern eighteenth-century studies; and the ever-increasing accessibility of bibliographical resources through online databases and digitized collections

makes it possible for modern scholars to give these works their due place in the reconstruction of a writer's intellectual contexts.

As stated earlier, Defoe's writings and biography are the cornerstones of credible use of the catalogue, as sufficient textual support must be found to prove the validity of any usage. With rigorous adherence to this rule, comparative study can be carried out as a two-way process: going from Defoe's writings to the catalogue, and *vice versa*. In the latter case, the catalogue's contents can play an inspirational role, when it prompts a scholar to consider whether a subject or author's heavy representation in the catalogue is reflected in Defoe's own writings. Given the sheer size of Defoe's body of work, this may be a valuable shortcut for identifying neglected areas. However, here it is especially important for scholars to not only factor in the attribution problems and provide a strong body of textual support, but also to avoid catalogue-based over-extrapolation or bias.

Both of these benefits encourage a critical approach which blends caution and creativity. It dispels the accumulated stigma and accepts the catalogue as a valid resource for exploring both Defoe's potential use of specific listed texts and his broader relationship to represented contexts. However, it also acknowledges the full extent of the resource's attribution problems by demanding rigorous assessment of Payne and Farewell's probabilities of ownership, and also by foregrounding the essentially speculative and subjective nature of the project of source and context study. Educated guesswork is, by necessity, already at the heart of much Defoe scholarship, due to both the relative scarcity of biographical resources and the size and variety of his writings. This approach not only accords well with established practice, it also helps ensure that modern catalogue usage will not be limited to the Secordian 'proof' of specific

sources, but will instead be incorporated into the more expansive project of unpacking Defoe's diverse and complex relationship to various subjects, authors, ideas and genres.

This critical approach is perhaps best demonstrated through a representative example. Of the catalogue's several promising starting points for critically-neglected aspects of Defoe, the area with arguably the strongest textual and biographical support and widest application is the foreign-language material (both original and translated), particularly in French, Dutch, and Spanish. Defoe seems to have achieved varying degrees of proficiency in a few European languages,⁵⁰² and while no documentary evidence for his travels outside Britain has yet been located, several biographers have suggested that the observations and cultural references in his writings indicate his firsthand knowledge of France, Germany, Holland, and Spain.⁵⁰³

However, there has been surprisingly little critical interest on Defoe's wider European literary and intellectual contexts. Novak's work on the natural-law philosophers, and Roosen's on diplomacy (both of which, interestingly, utilized the catalogue) both explored Defoe's utilization of European sources, but their situation of Defoe within broader philosophical and historical contexts remains uncommon. As for literature, Fawcett's *Krinke Kesmes* study is a rare (and problematic) exception to the early, desultory references to Spanish picaresque fiction and French 'scandal fiction' which comprises most treatment of the topic – modern Defoe studies has shifted their focus to Defoe's local contexts, including Delarivière Manley's adaptations of the French *roman de clef*.

⁵⁰² In addition to the direct evidence of Defoe's foreign-language usage, he explicitly claimed proficiency in Latin, French and Italian in the translation challenge issued to John Tutchin in the *Review*. It is also notable that Defoe's French reportedly allowed him to use 'Claude Guilot' as an alias. See Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 326-27, 337.

⁵⁰³ See Bastian, pp. 69-80, 91-95, 118-22; Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, pp. 86-88. It should be pointed out that these hypotheses on Defoe's European travels are not universally accepted, as the lack of substantial biographical evidence means that they are based solely on subjective interpretations of Defoe's novels and non-fiction, most notably the *Review*, *Atlas Maritimus*, *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, and *The Compleat English Tradesman*.

This is surprising, as one of the most interesting and strikingly modern aspects of Defoe's work is the geographically and thematically broad scope of his worldview and the relative absence of contemporary forms of xenophobia. *The True-Born Englishman* is often cited as emblematic of Defoe's proto-internationalist qualities, but the extent to which its interrogation of English cultural supremacy is consistently echoed in his fiction (often in connection with his foreign characters) has been neglected. To explore the full extent of this ideology, it is necessary for Defoe studies to systematically extend itself beyond Britain, Ireland and the English Americas, and begin situating him in his proper pan-European contexts.

The known breadth of Defoe's reading and the international panorama of his fictional landscape (to say nothing of his non-fiction) makes the Anglocentric nature of so much criticism seem somewhat strange.⁵⁰⁴ However, it is a logical consequence of early scholars' myopic focus on Selkirk and the delayed recognition of Defoe's conscious artistry and his correspondingly complex use of sources. In any case, it is time that the cosmopolitan, cross-cultural qualities of the historical Defoe made a stronger impact on our interpretations of his writing. Analysis of Defoe's European contexts will help illuminate the full range of Defoe's diverse creative and intellectual influences, and guide analyses of his idiosyncratic perspective on international relations and economics.

⁵⁰⁴ It is important to acknowledge here that although much remains to be done in connection with Defoe and Europe, there has been a significant amount of valuable work on Defoe and Asia in recent years. See Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600-1730* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); G.A. Starr, 'Defoe and China', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 43, 4 (2010), 435-54; and Eugenia Zuroski Jenkins, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

The next two chapters contribute to the project of 'internationalizing' Defoe by studying an aspect of his European contexts in accordance with the guidelines and recommendations for catalogue use detailed earlier. This study focuses on Defoe's relationship to Spain, and the catalogue's potential relevance to his biography and related writings, with a particular focus on his possible operation within a Spanish literary context. Despite the large and complex body of textual and biographical support for investigation of Defoe and Iberia, it remains a neglected context, with the small body of extant criticism displaying little interest in the catalogue items. But despite its limitations, this study demonstrates the resource's real potential for context studies of this type –especially now that the groundwork has been laid.

Finally, there is an additional benefit to integrating the catalogue more extensively into Defoe studies, although it is of less immediate interest to scholars. It is ironic that, despite the fact that this study has argued for the destigmatization and revival of aspects of Secordian source study, the catalogue can also directly address the criticisms and recommendations of the source hunters' most vocal critic, John Paul Hunter. Not only does the catalogue's critical history help dispel the stigma deriving from *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, but the methodology and approach recommended in this chapter can also help promote the very type of critical engagement advocated by Hunter and Starr: a wide-ranging exploration of Defoe's intellectual contexts which emphasizes his creative process and unique transformations of ideas and motifs.

As Chapter 1 noted, *The Reluctant Pilgrim* erroneously characterises the Defoe/Farewell catalogue as a tool which had served only to encourage the source hunters in their Gradgrindian literalism, and to perpetuate the neglect of Defoe's conscious artistry. Consequently, his hostile critique of earlier source studies does not propose any alternative

methodologies for the use of this resource in modern scholarship, but rather implies that it should be consigned to history with the other products of this obsolete approach.⁵⁰⁵ However, and somewhat surprisingly, he does not extend this proscriptive attitude to source study in general. The new critical sensibility and methodology he advocates is instead a correction, expansion and reorientation of the Secordian context study, which constructs this foundation from the best qualities of both pre and post-Aitken scholarship. Identifying the 'source students'' single positive contribution as the provision of 'evidence that Defoe grounded his story on the geographical and cultural facts and beliefs of his contemporaries',⁵⁰⁶ he ultimately rejects a New Criticism-influenced text-centric approach in favour of an exploration of Defoe's historical and creative contexts. Hunter argues that the unique qualities of Defoe's art are most apparent, and most effectively analysed, when his works are studied with reference to both the broader contexts of ideas, events and forms, and the unique use he made of specific sources. Hunter concludes this work insisting that '[Defoe's] proper 'placing' in literary history demands that we evaluate his artistry on proper, not imaginary, critical grounds'⁵⁰⁷ – an assertion that, at first impression, would seem more at home in Aitken or Secord than in a strong critique of the old guard of source studies.

The actual continuity between Hunter's project and Secord's methods was first noted by J.A. Downie, who asserted that '[Hunter], too is source hunting, in a different field, without finding any specific debt'.⁵⁰⁸ While his criticism perhaps overstates the direct equation, *The Reluctant Pilgrim's* critical recommendations do constitute a revised form of source study. It presents a

⁵⁰⁵ See Chapter 1, pp. 43-7; Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, pp. 7-9.

⁵⁰⁶ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 12.

⁵⁰⁷ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 204.

⁵⁰⁸ J.A. Downie, 'Defoe, Imperialism, and the Travel Books reconsidered', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), pp 66-83 (p. 67).

series of alternative contexts for *Robinson Crusoe*, which Hunter argues reflect the novel's full complexities far more accurately than voyage and travel literature: 'guide' narratives, the Providence tradition, the 'Pilgrim' allegory, and tales of repentance, rebellion, punishment, and deliverance. Although specific titles are often cited and analysed, the focus is on general themes, ideas and motifs, which are used as cultural barometers for assessing Defoe's unique artistic choices. The analysis of Defoe's deliberate artistry is where Hunter's advance on Secord is most apparent. He constantly emphasizes that the location of 'parallel passages as evidence of borrowing'⁵⁰⁹ is not the only method of measuring influence, and insists that Defoe's divergences from or rejections of specific sources can be as informative as his duplications and paraphrases. Rather than rejecting source study outright, Hunter's critique both reaffirms the importance of Defoe's sources and wider contexts, and demands that this generation of scholars do justice to their real complexities and difficulties. His conclusion places heavy emphasis on both this point and on the field's critical lag, noting that studying Defoe as an artist means that scholars must analyse his selection, rejection, fusion, revision, and transformation of materials with the same degree of rigour seen in analyses of Richardson, Fielding, and Swift's complex relationship to source materials.⁵¹⁰

The emphasis Hunter's generation rightly placed on Defoe's conscious artistry had a major impact on subsequent criticism, refuting lingering and inaccurate criticisms of Defoe's 'plagiarism', illuminating the broader extent of his engagement with contemporary ideas and genres, and firmly establishing him as a major novelist. But the dismissal and stigmatization of the catalogue in *The Reluctant Pilgrim* has arguably had an equivalent impact on the field, unjustifiably excluding a useful resource from modern Defoe studies. The strength of Hunter's

⁵⁰⁹ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 12.

⁵¹⁰ Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, pp. 208-11.

reaction against the previous generation's shortcomings arguably caused him to overlook the potential of one of their most prominent resources, as credible and creative use of the catalogue is objectively compatible with both his delineations of *Crusoe's* specific genre contexts and his broader critical manifesto.⁵¹¹

When the catalogue is considered separately from its critical history, there is no single factor that debars it from being incorporated into studies of Defoe's historical, intellectual, or artistic contexts. Within the proposed terms of credible usage, there will be little danger of encouraging a new generation of literalist source hunters, as not only do the attribution problems prevent any overly-confident assertions about Defoe's use of catalogue titles, but contemporary critics will obviously transfer their superior knowledge of the diverse and often disguised nature of source and context usage over to their use of the catalogue.⁵¹² Both of these factors will help prevent scholars from replicating another of Secord's flaws: the emphasis on duplication or paraphrasing as the primary evidence of usage, which led to the divergence or difference from potential source material being interpreted as something which necessarily disqualified (or diminished) an item or genre from discussion. Post-Hunter, it will be understood that these instances are not stop signs, but invitations to dig deeper, as Defoe's rejections, transformations or omissions can be even more revealing than his direct transcripts. Furthermore, Hunter's major emphasis on the true complexities of source and context usage is well-accommodated by Guideline 2, as its deliberately broad definition of 'textual support' encourages speculation on Defoe's contexts and potential usages.

⁵¹¹ The catalogue contains a considerable body of material that falls into one or more of Hunter's contextual categories—needless to say, he makes no use of its obscurities or rarities, although he does discuss several well-known items that are in the inventory.

⁵¹² The obvious extent to which our understanding of 'sources' has developed since *The Reluctant Pilgrim's* publication is perhaps best exemplified by the fact that the title of Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence* has become a figure of speech.

Conclusion

This project has demonstrated two key facts about the Defoe/Farewell catalogue. Firstly, it has been a historically-neglected resource, due to both the critical history of Defoe studies, and the difficulties of determining Defoe's portion of the inventory. Secondly, its attribution problems are far more extensive and complex than has been hitherto suspected. Although the latter finding has greatly increases the difficulty of using this resource, and understandably provokes scepticism over its continued use, it should not be jettisoned from Defoe studies.

There are three major reasons for this conclusion: the field's comparative lack of biographical and bibliographical resources, the fact that contemporary fields like Swift studies have found methods of credibly incorporating similar resources, and the absence of a complete investigation of both the catalogue's limits and its potential from the extant scholarship.

The previous chapters' findings require stringent revisions to the guidelines for responsible usage of this resource, making rigorous investigation of the attribution issues and the location of credible textual support in Defoe indispensable. However, it is still possible to combine adherence to these guidelines with creative and speculative considerations of their roles in Defoe's wider bodies of knowledge; and it is here that the catalogue can be most useful, by helping locate and shape studies of his wider-ranging and often neglected contexts. The vast amount of foreign-language material it contains stands out as a promising starting point, given the surprising lack of critical interest in Defoe's pan-European contexts; and the final chapter will provide an example of the type of credible usage described here in a study of Defoe and Spain.

The projected reintegration of the catalogue into Defoe studies is also something of a reconciliation of the Secordian 'source hunters' and their most vocal critics of the 1960s. It both dispels the erroneous stigma arising from *The Reluctant Pilgrim's* criticism and demonstrates the resource's compatibility with Hunter's focus on Defoe's deliberate artistry and his complex and diverse use of facts and ideas, which actually builds on the foundations of earlier source study. Despite the major attribution difficulties caused by Payne's involvement, the Defoe/Farewell catalogue still contains *some* portion of Defoe's library, and therefore remains a valuable, if problematic, resource that deserves to be reintegrated into Defoe studies.

Chapter 6:

Catalogue use in practice: defining Defoe's biographical and textual Spanish contexts

The next two chapters attempt to demonstrate the validity of Chapter 5's recommendations through a study of Defoe's Spanish connections and contexts, and their relation to selected items from the Defoe/Farewell inventory. As a model, it aims to prove that this neglected resource can play a major role in a contextual or source study, in a way that both adheres to the guidelines of responsible usage and supports creative and speculative investigations of Defoe's intellectual and creative processes. Summarizing the unique difficulties of Defoe studies, John McVeigh argues that 'understanding [Defoe] therefore is a matter of separating threads and undoing knots, and, more important, of not being put off by the fact that his theories do not all agree with each other all the time',⁵¹³ and it is arguably in the identification and analysis of the diverse threads that comprise the fabric of Defoe's writings that the catalogue can be most beneficial.

Methodology of this study

Chapter 5 identified the two main benefits of catalogue usage: the location of hitherto-neglected topics and contexts in Defoe through a study of the inventory's contents; and the cautious application of its contents to extant problems in Defoe studies. The credibility of these approaches rests on the two tenets of responsible usage, which were developed with reference to the previous chapters' catalogue research, and which I recap here for clarity:

⁵¹³ John McVeigh, 'Rochester and Defoe: A Study in Influence', *Studies in English Literature*, 14 (1974), 327-41 (pp. 327-28).

- 1) *The credibility of any invocation of catalogue material is dependent on the location of significant textual support in Defoe's writings and/or biography.*

- 2) *A comprehensive and measured consideration of the attribution difficulties and inherent uncertainties is indispensable to any use of the catalogue's contents.*

These 'rules' help prevent facile overstatements on the catalogue's relevance to Defoe, and ensure that any speculative use of this resource is based on the firmest possible foundation. The catalogue is a particularly useful resource for exploring both Defoe's use of specific source material, and of his relationship to wider bodies of knowledge. A credible catalogue-inclusive source or context study therefore requires the proof of two propositions. Firstly, there is the presentation of solid textual support, where it must be demonstrated that sufficient grounds can be found in Defoe's biography and writings to justify an analysis of catalogue items. Secondly (and with constant reference to the attribution question), a coherent and convincing argument for Defoe's relationship to the catalogue material must be presented.

The means of presenting these two distinct types of evidence may vary in accordance with the extant scholarship. The catalogue material can be organically integrated into studies of topics that have already prompted significant critical interest, as Defoe scholars will only require textual support to be established through a discussion of salient points, rather than through a comprehensive overview of Defoe's relation to a subject. However, obscure and critically-neglected subjects' relation to the catalogue will require more extensive justification through this type of panoramic survey of Defoe's demonstrated interest and connections.

As 'proof of textual support' is a longer and more complex process for studies of this type, it may be beneficial to organize them into two distinct parts corresponding to the two required proofs. The first part will define the overall context of textual and biographical support in Defoe, summarizing and analysing the characteristics of his general treatment of a subject, and highlighting points of particular interest. The second part will turn to the catalogue itself, outlining the relevant inventory items, analysing attribution issues, and exploring any possible connections to the credible context established in part one. This method has two distinct benefits for the exploration of obscure topics: the compulsory establishment of a credible Defoe context helps bring neglected aspects of his work to the foreground, and it also prevents unsupported extrapolation from the inventory's contexts.

This study has been organized around this two-part structure, in order to give the fullest possible demonstration of the guidelines of responsible use, and to demonstrate that Defoe's relation to Spain has received less critical attention than his writings and biography merit. Chapter 6 will therefore establish the broad context of his connections to and depiction of the country and its colonies, and Chapter 7 will explore the catalogue's possible relation to points of interest outlined here. For ease of reading, I have subdivided Chapter 6 into two further parts, with Part I outlining Defoe's biographical connections to Spain, and Part II surveying his depictions of Spanish territories and Spanish people.

A brief critical history of Defoe and Spain, and an argument for the catalogue's potential benefits

Despite the prominence of Spain and Portugal (and their colonies) in Defoe's biography and writings, the body of relevant scholarship is comparatively small, and somewhat limited in its scope. There have been several astute analyses of discrete elements, such as Defoe's use of picaresque sources and his handling of the Iberian colonies, but no attempt has yet been made to fuse these related themes into a comprehensive overview. These two chapters will lay some of the groundwork for a study of this type, demonstrating that a more panoramic and holistic assessment of Defoe's Iberian contexts is essential to interpreting his idiosyncratic and complex treatment of the related topics in fiction and non-fiction.

The vast majority of extant criticism on Defoe and Spain has focused on the fiction's relationship to the Spanish picaresque novel. While analysis of his use of the genre's structures and tropes appears rather superficial in comparison with treatments of Fielding, Smollett and Sterne's adaptation of Spanish models, its relevance has been emphasized from almost the beginning of Defoe studies. Walter Scott's appraisal, in fact, remains one of the most nuanced and imaginative delineations of Defoe's possible Spanish contexts. Not only did he position Defoe's depictions of criminal and itinerant life firmly within the literary picaresque tradition of Cervantes, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, he expanded Defoe's frame of reference into the contemporary visual arts, highlighting the pathos and artistry of his fiction through a comparison with Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, a painter best known in Britain for his sympathetic and realistic depictions of Spanish street life:

But whatever way he acquired his knowledge of low life, De Foe certainly possessed it in the most extensive sense, and applied it in the composition of several works of fiction, in the style termed by the Spaniards *Gusto Picaresco*, of which no man was ever a greater master... the strange and blackguard scenes which De Foe describes are fit to be compared to the gipsy-boys of the Spanish painter Murillo, which are so justly admired, as being, in truth of conception, the very *chef d'oeuvres* of art, however low and loathsome the originals from which they are taken.⁵¹⁴

Unfortunately, Scott's intriguing parallels were not pursued in later criticism, which limited its scope to the major picaresque literary fictions, and became more interested in Defoe's use of more local and contemporary sources, like criminal biography and travel and voyage narratives. There was some early interest in Defoe's use of Spanish-related sources, mostly desert island tales like *The Critick*, *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* or *The Isle of Pines*,⁵¹⁵ as well as brief considerations of Defoe's foreign-language proficiency and potential travels to Spain and Portugal.⁵¹⁶ However, while general historians of the novel continued to incorporate Defoe into studies of the picaresque mode and Anglo-Iberian literary history,⁵¹⁷ specialist Defoe

⁵¹⁴ Walter Scott, 'Daniel Defoe', from *Sir Walter Scott: On Novelists and Fiction*, ed. Ioan Williams (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 166.

⁵¹⁵ See A. T. S. Goodrick, 'Robinson Crusoe, Imposter', *Blackwood's Magazine* 183 (1908), 672-85; Martin Hume, *Spanish influence on English Literature* (New York: Haskell House, 1964); John Leckie, 'A Spanish Robinson Crusoe', *Chambers Journal*, 11 (1908), 510-12; Maurice Muret, 'Pedro Serrano, le vrai Robinson Crusoe' *Journal des Débats*, 15 (1908), 595-96.

⁵¹⁶ See Aitken, *Romances and Narratives of Daniel Defoe*, vol. 1, (London: J.M. Dent, 1895), xiv-v.

⁵¹⁷ See Ernest A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel*, 10 vols. (1929, repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), vol. III, 133-49, 170-209; Alexander Blackburn, *The Myth of the Picaro: Continuity and Transformation of the Picaresque Novel, 1554-1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Richard Bjornson, *The Picaresque Hero in European Fiction* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), pp. 188-206; Frank Wadleigh Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery*, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1958); and Arnold Kettle, 'The 18th Century Novel in England', in *Estudios sobre los géneros literarios*, ed. by Javier Coy and Javier de Hoz. (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 1975), 149-60.

scholars have never demonstrated a strong interest in Defoe's Spanish contexts. His potential use of picaresque fiction has received by far the most attention. However, although Defoe himself obviously knew Cervantes's work well – even drawing a parallel between *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe* and claiming that a contemporary slur on 'the Quixoticism of R. Crusoe' instead constituted 'the greatest of Panegyricks'⁵¹⁸ there has been proportionately little dedicated analysis of his use of Cervantes, and also of the lesser-known picaresque novelists.

Once again, it is possible that the influence of Secord's *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* helped discourage critical interest in this area for much of the twentieth century. Secord categorically denies the influence of the Spanish picaresque on Defoe's novels, using questionable reasoning. After establishing picaresque fiction as one of the four major source groups whose relevance to Defoe's fiction is to be tested, Secord demolishes this theory as 'the weakest assumption',⁵¹⁹ rebutting its claims by noting the rarity of original English picaresques after 1665, the comparative lack of parallels between this tradition and *Robinson Crusoe*, and other critics' comments on the tonal and subject differences between the same works.⁵²⁰ Secord's dismissal of the picaresque tradition is compromised by his aforementioned tendency to measure a source's influence primarily by its reproduction of ideas and episodes, as well as a tendency to focus almost entirely on *Robinson Crusoe* (which 'owes nothing discoverable to [*The English Rogue*] or any other picaresque narrative')⁵²¹ and ignore novels like *Colonel Jack and Moll Flanders*, whose picaresque elements are undeniable. Although he acknowledges a tone and morality in *Captain Singleton* 'which seems to indicate picaresque

⁵¹⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: With His Vision of the Angelick World* (London: W. Taylor, 1720) p. 3.

⁵¹⁹ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 12.

⁵²⁰ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 12–14.

⁵²¹ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 230.

influence', he dismisses this as an anomaly and redirects discussion towards voyage literature.⁵²²

The post-1970s growth of Defoe studies produced some reconsiderations of this unfashionable topic, as scholars like J.A. Michie,⁵²³ Anne K. Kaler,⁵²⁴ Frederick Monteser,⁵²⁵ Walter L. Reed,⁵²⁶ John Richetti,⁵²⁷ Nicholas Seager,⁵²⁸ Nicholas Spadaccini⁵²⁹ and Harry Sieber⁵³⁰ highlighted aspects of Defoe's relationship to both general picaresque tropes and specific sources. During the 1950s and 1960s, Novak also demonstrated a consistent and wide-ranging interest in Defoe's potential Spanish sources, including Gracián's *The Critick* (discussed in Chapter 7).⁵³¹ In *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, he even suggests that Defoe's artistic innovation may be located in his conscious transformation of 'the *pícaro*, an antihero, into a realistic hero', which 'created an entirely new form'.⁵³² John Richetti provides further illustration of this

⁵²² Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, pp. 15-16.

⁵²³ J.A. Michie, 'The Unity of *Moll Flanders*' in *Knaves and Swindlers: Essays on the Picaresque Novel in Europe*, ed. by Christine J. Whitbourn (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 75-92.

⁵²⁴ Anne K. Kaler, 'Daniel Defoe's Version of the Picaresque Traditions in his Novel *Roxana*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Temple University, 1971).

⁵²⁵ Frederick Monteser, *The Picaresque Element in Western Literature* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1975).

⁵²⁶ Walter L. Reed, 'Moll Flanders and the Picaresque: The Transvaluation of Virtue' in *An Exemplary History of the Novel: The Quixotic versus the Picaresque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 93-116.

⁵²⁷ John Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives: Situations and Structures*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

⁵²⁸ Nicholas Seager, 'Picaresque and Rogue Narratives' in *The Encyclopaedia of British Literature 1660-1789*, ed. by Gary Day and Jack Lynch (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014).

⁵²⁹ Nicholas Spadaccini, 'Daniel Defoe and the Spanish Picaresque Tradition: The Case of *Moll Flanders*', *Ideologies and Literature: A Journal of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Studies*, 2 (1978), 10-26.

⁵³⁰ Harry Sieber, *The Picaresque* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 52-55.

⁵³¹ In *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, he suggests Defoe's use of Baltasar Gracián's "card of sincerity" in a 1704 letter to Harley, a political strategy outlined in *The Art of Prudence*, whose presence in Defoe's library he also remarks (p. 234). For discussion of *The Critick*, see Novak, 'The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 20, 3 (2008), 445-68 (pp. 454-57).

⁵³² *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, p. 67.

point by exploring Don Quixote's potential as an 'impeccable precedent' for Defoe's protagonists, who are 'engaged in their several ways and on their distinct social and historical ground in a similar enterprise and quest for autonomy'.⁵³³

Defoe studies' increasing interest in his writings on economics, trade, and colonization has also produced a small body of valuable work on the Spanish and Portuguese Americas, such as Jane Jack, Burton J. Fishman, P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens's analyses of the *New Voyage's* propagandistic content and its relation to Defoe's plans for colonizing Spanish-controlled America;⁵³⁴ Novak's exploration of commercial morality in Colonel Jack's trades in Mexico;⁵³⁵ and Kathryn Rummell's survey of manifestations of the anti-Spanish Black Legend in Defoe's work.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, while Dennis Todd's *Defoe's America* focuses primarily on the English and indigenous aspects of the colonial project, its brief consideration of the Spanish does acknowledge the importance of the Black Legend in their representation, and notes how the Spanish characters' actions contradict the stereotypes.⁵³⁷ As for biography, the only detailed treatment of Defoe's career as a trader—in which he is thought to have spent considerable time in Spain and Portugal—is Frank Bastian's *Defoe's Early Life*, a speculative reconstruction of his early travels and business ventures through literary analysis and biographical research. It is also worth noting that Secord's contemporary Paul Dottin has paid

⁵³³ Richetti, *Defoe's Narratives*, p. 13.

⁵³⁴ Burton J. Fishman 'Defoe, Herman Moll, and the Geography of South America', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 36 (1973), 227-38; Jane A. Jack, 'A New Voyage round the World: Defoe's Roman à Thèse', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 24 (1961), 323-36. P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens, 'Defoe's "South-Sea" and "North-Sea" Schemes: A Footnote to A New Voyage Round the World', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 13, 4 (2001), pp. 501-8.

⁵³⁵ Novak, 'Colonel Jack's "Thieving Roguing" Trade to Mexico and Defoe's Attack on Economic Individualism' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 24 (1961), 349-53.

⁵³⁶ Kathryn Rummell, 'Defoe and the Black Legend: The Spanish Stereotype in the "New Voyage Round the World"', *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 52, 2 (1998), 13-28.

⁵³⁷ Dennis Todd, *Defoe's America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 58-59.

cursory attention to Defoe's European travels, noting Defoe's comparatively favourable view of the Spanish.⁵³⁸

However, in spite of the quality of this body of criticism, these insights have remained scattered and isolated. Despite the extent of available material, there has been no attempt to consolidate these findings into a comprehensive study of Defoe's relationship to *all* aspects of Spain and the Spanish Americas: biographical, cultural, economic and political. Due to modern Defoe studies' strong focus on Defoe's local contexts, as well as the wider decline in comparative literature, the field currently lacks the sort of broader trans-cultural and multidisciplinary discourse that would allow these findings to cross-pollinate and produce comprehensive explorations of Defoe's pan-European contexts.

A study of Defoe and Spain is an excellent place to both develop the project of 'internationalizing' Defoe and to demonstrate the catalogue's potential benefits, as the inventory, his biography and his writings all contain substantial amounts of relevant material. Defining the full spectrum of his Spanish context, which combines biographical, economic, colonial, and literary material, reveals a coherent and consistent view of the country which is particularly significant in his late fiction. As well as highlighting a neglected aspect of Defoe studies, this project also contributes to the growing interest in Anglo-Iberian literary relations, whose historic neglect in English criticism owes a considerable debt to the anti-Spanish 'Black Legend'. Barbara Fuchs's *The Poetics of Piracy* makes a particularly interesting contribution to this field, mapping the 'domestication, disavowal or occlusion'⁵³⁹ of Spanish sources in

⁵³⁸ Paul Dottin, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe*, trans. by Louise Ragan (New York: Macaulay Company, 1929), p. 30.

⁵³⁹ Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013), p. 6.

Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, and helping to clarify the truly multicultural heritage of the 'Golden Age' of English poetry and drama. Extending Fuchs's approach to Defoe could arguably make a similar contribution to our understanding of a later milestone in English literary history –the 'rise of the novel'—as exploration of Defoe's conscious use of Spanish sources would both emphasize the pan-European heritage of the 'first modern English novel' and dispel the widespread belief that he was an accidental artist.

The extent of preliminary catalogue research involved in this study means that these two chapters cannot be the truly comprehensive study that Defoe's relation to Spain deserves. Instead, they are intended only as a beginning, aiming to map the territory and report back the most promising initial findings. I have therefore concentrated on specific elements of both Defoe's biographical and textual connections to Spain, sometimes summarizing or condensing bodies of similar material (e.g. *The Review's* commentary on the war of the Spanish Succession) in order to give a sense of the true extent and consistency of his writings on Spain. I have also restricted my analysis of catalogue titles to Spanish literary works through which I can explore the area of most interest to extant scholarship: Defoe's use of picaresque conventions and other related genres. As fragmentary and incomplete as my treatment of the subject must necessarily be at this time, I find support in Secord's statement that 'my justification is the vastness of the field, and the need of making a beginning somewhere'.⁵⁴⁰

As Ashley Marshall has noted, large-scale literary studies that aim to reposition authors or genres within their complete contemporary contexts (comprising more ephemera and obscurities than other 'canonical masterworks') have only recently become feasible projects,

⁵⁴⁰ Secord, *Studies in the narrative method of Defoe*, p. 19.

as the digitization and distribution of obscure archival material through databases like Eighteenth Century Collections Online has made this material not only widely available, but easily searchable.⁵⁴¹ Her comprehensive and entertaining recharting of the satirical landscape indicates the potential benefits of this new technology, and applying this approach to a writer as prolific and diverse as Defoe is a promising and daunting project. However, this is the sort of endeavour in which the Defoe/Farewell catalogue can be particularly useful, as the listed titles provide a practical and credible frame for initial exploration of any given subject (which the attribution problems will likely shrink even further). These limitations reduce a large field of potential sources to a manageable scope, while helping chart the territory where non-catalogue resources are likely to be of relevance or interest. For example, my survey of both Defoe's writing and the catalogue contents highlights a significant number of Spanish picaresque tropes and titles, which suggest an extensive knowledge of the genre, and also of related fictional forms. The way in which Defoe uses these titles suggests that follow-up work would do well to focus on Defoe's similar use of non-listed titles, like Cervantes's *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache*, and the other amatory novellas of María de Zayas y Sotomayor, all of which have important parallels of subject, style and characterization that deserve detailed exploration.

⁵⁴¹ Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England: 1658-1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

I: Defoe's biographical links to Spain

Defoe's biographical and textual connections to Spain are extensive and diverse; and the lack of critical attention most areas have received requires them to be summarized at some length. This overview will proceed in broadly chronological order: moving from Defoe's early trading career to his writing on the War of the Spanish Succession and on the English colonization of the Spanish Americas, finishing with an analysis of his fictional treatment of Spain and the Spanish Americas.

The Iberian Peninsula seems to have figured prominently in what is, unfortunately, the most obscure and least-documented period of Defoe's life: his early career as a trader. He was born into a London family of traders, which may have had family connections to Joseph Hardwick, an important English merchant in Lisbon in the 1660s and 1670s.⁵⁴² Certainly, the strong parallels between his uncle Henry and the H. F. of the *Journal of the Plague Year* have led some critics to suspect that the details H.F. supplied on his brother's career as a merchant were based around the business dealings of James Foe, Daniel's father.⁵⁴³ This fictional merchant had several correspondents in Portugal and Italy, 'where he chiefly traded', and had only returned to England a few years before the novel's events, 'coming last from *Lisbon*' after spending some length of time in Portugal.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Defoe's mother's Alice is said to have had a family connection to Lawrence Marsh, 'a Dorking Puritan and Member of the Barebones Parliament,' whose 'Cousen Hardwicke' has been tentatively identified as Joseph Hardwick of Lisbon. See Frank Bastian, *Defoe's Early Life* (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), pp. 16-17, 321.

⁵⁴³ See Bastian, 10; Novak, *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*, pp. 22-23.

⁵⁴⁴ Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year...* (London: E. Nutt et. al. 1722), p. 11; Bastian, p. 10.

Although these connections remain conjectural, they seem to be supported by what is known of Defoe's own career as a hosier and importer of luxury goods, which would likely have continued established family connections. The wine trade seems to have quickly become a key area of interest and 'Porto wine' was a particularly important product,⁵⁴⁵ particularly after the 1689 prohibition of the importation of French wines. In *The Review*, Defoe often references his involvement in the 'Portugal Wine Trade', in ways which demonstrate his first-hand knowledge of the English wine trade's changing topography, describing merchants' 'ways and means' of inclining the sceptical English palate away from superior French products and towards 'heavy and strong' Portuguese wines,⁵⁴⁶ and often invoking this change as a supporting analogy. For example, he emphasizes the danger of diminishing Spanish interests in English exports by reminding the reader of how the English palate grew accustomed to ostensibly inferior Portuguese wines after the proscription of French products:

And it is no improbable Thing, as is very well Remark'd by the Author of the
 Observator Reform'd, that in time *Spain* may be so Influenced by France, as to bring
 them to use their slight Manufactures, instead of our solid ones, by the same Rule as
 our People by Custom and Management, are brought off from the use of *French* Wines
 to *Portugal*.⁵⁴⁷

During his career as a merchant, Defoe dealt extensively in Spanish wines and brandy (and related products like snuff), whose reputation and prestige was far better established in

⁵⁴⁵ Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 52; *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions*, pp. 82, 88, 619.

⁵⁴⁶ *Review*, vol. 1 no. 86, 30th of December 1704, p. 2

⁵⁴⁷ *Review*, vol. 1 no. 89, 9th of January 1705, p. 2.

England at this time.⁵⁴⁸ Reviewing his comments, it seems that Spain was a more important centre of business for him, in spite of his family's links to Portugal. There is consensus among biographers that he had 'firm links with Spain, probably through his dealing in wines'.⁵⁴⁹ This conclusion is drawn from the numerous references and stories scattered through his body of work, especially from Defoe's intriguing reference in *The Review* to a time 'when I liv'd in [Spain]'.⁵⁵⁰ Although he seems to have spent enough time in the country to have acquired at least a working knowledge of the language and some familiarity with the culture,⁵⁵¹ scholarship to date has been unable to pin down the time, duration, or even the place of his residence there. One strong possibility is that it took place between July 1685 and March 1686, when Defoe is widely believed to have fled the country in fear of retribution for his participation in the Monmouth Rebellion, only returning after the issue of a pardon.⁵⁵²

Frank Bastian has also proposed 1682, 1683 and 1684 as the most likely years for Defoe's Spanish sojourn, giving precedence to the earliest dates.⁵⁵³ He also argues that Defoe's apparent familiarity with the geography of southern Spain, Spanish proverbs and culture point to a long-term residence.⁵⁵⁴ Bastian's suggestions deserve strong consideration, as *Defoe's*

⁵⁴⁸ Unlike Spanish wines, whose quality had been recognized by English importers since the late sixteenth century, the first records of Portuguese wine circulating in England and its colonies did not appear until the 1670s. See A.D. Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972), pp. 47-51; George F. Steckley, 'The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade', *The Economic History Review*, 33, 3 (1980), 335-50 (pp. 346, 348).

⁵⁴⁹ Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, p. 88; Bastian, pp. 93-4; Dottin, pp. 29-30.

⁵⁵⁰ *Review*, vol. vii, no. 122, 27th of January 1711, p. 3.

⁵⁵¹ Defoe concludes the above issue of the *Review* with an English translation of 'an Old Spanish Proverb, which I learnt when I liv'd in that Country' (*ibid.* p. 3).

⁵⁵² I take this date range from Novak's *Daniel Defoe, Master of Fictions* (p. 88). Novak also argues that Defoe's apparent postage of bail for two female relatives may indicate that he had returned to London by January 1686.

⁵⁵³ Bastian, p. 92.

⁵⁵⁴ Bastian, pp. 93-94.

Early Life remains the most comprehensive analysis of Defoe's early trading career available. However, it should also be noted that Bastian's reconstruction is often based on a speculative and subjective evaluation of the biographical hints in Defoe's writings, and that his tentative hypotheses are thrown into some doubt by the available facts on Defoe's early adulthood. For example, Defoe is firmly located in England in January 1684 by his marriage to Mary Tuffley; and Novak notes that he presented her with a self-compiled anthology of his early reading 'more than a year' before their wedding.⁵⁵⁵ The timing of this gift indicates that Defoe and Tuffley's courtship had reached a certain level of intimacy by 1682-83, which was probably developed through a sustained period of contact. These details suggest that Defoe was in England for a significant portion of the period in which Bastian believes his Spanish residence to have occurred. However, while Defoe's courtship and marriage curtail the length of any foreign residence at this period, they do not invalidate Bastian's theory. The early years of Defoe's mercantile career seem to have involved a significant amount of travel to the continent (as his own writings indicate); and the sporadic English documentation of his activities during the early 1680s may have some correlation with his absence from the country.

What can be stated with reasonable certainty is that Defoe's Spanish sojourn probably took place no later than 1702, when journalism and espionage work begins to occupy most of his time, and where the biographical records leave far fewer gaps for extended residences abroad. However, it may be significant that he could use his identity as a 'Canary wine' merchant as a cover – while working for Robert Harley in Scotland – as late as 1710.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, p. 73. The anthology is *Historical Collections or Memoires of Passages & Stories Collected from Several Authors*. MS H673M3. William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles.

⁵⁵⁶ Paula Backscheider, 'John Russell to Daniel Defoe: Fifteen Unpublished Letters from Scotland', *Philological Quarterly* 61 (1982), 161-77.

The topography of the English-Spanish wine trade between 1680 and 1700, which centred around the southern cities of Seville, Jerez de la Frontera and Cádiz, suggest Andalucía as the most likely location. Paul Dottin supports this theory by confidently locating an anecdote about the brandy trade in the *Complete English Tradesman* in Spain rather than France, concluding that Jerez's historical centrality to brandy production makes it the likeliest Spanish location.⁵⁵⁷ Additionally, there is a persistent folkloric belief in Cádiz that Defoe once resided there, although it is not based on any known piece of documentary evidence.⁵⁵⁸ However, Defoe's connection with this port is strengthened by his 1715 account of an invitation he received in 1694 from 'some Merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cádiz in Spain, and that with offers of very good Commissions'.⁵⁵⁹ He states that he declined this specific invitation, but makes no reference to any previous residence. Bastian suggests that the 1694 invitation was extended to Defoe by James Dollyffe and Solomon Merritt, a pair of 'Spanish Merchants' who employed him as a bookkeeper post-bankruptcy, but again, no documentary evidence has been located.⁵⁶⁰

Another detail which supports Defoe's familiarity with this region is *Atlas Maritimus's*⁵⁶¹ unusual refutation of a significant national stereotype: the greedy, lazy and unreliable

⁵⁵⁷ Dottin, 29. Cites Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman...3rd edn*, 2 vols. (London: C. Rivington at the Bible and Crown, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1727), I, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵⁸ I am grateful to José Ramón Barroso Rosendo, archivist at the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz, for drawing my attention to this local urban legend.

⁵⁵⁹ Daniel Defoe, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice ...* (London: J. Baker, 1715) pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶⁰ Bastian, pp. 181, 183.

⁵⁶¹ There is some uncertainty about exactly which parts of the *Atlas Maritimus* Defoe wrote, and the extent to which his contributions borrowed from other sources. Furbank and Owens, evaluating the work for the first time in *A Critical Biography of Daniel Defoe*, conclude that while 'it seems probable that Defoe had some connection with the *Atlas Maritimus*, but to suppose him the main author and compiler of this enormous and expert work seems implausible' (p. 278-79). Acknowledging my awareness of these difficulties, I justify inclusion of *Atlas Maritimus* in this study on the grounds that it has been of consistent interest to critics and biographers, and that evaluating its

Andalusian.⁵⁶² Defoe's emphasis on the region's development and industry (and the locals' strong work ethic) correlates well with the other hints in his writing, which suggest his experiences in the region were positive. Noting the 'manifest Difference' between northern and southern Spain, he attributes stereotypical Spanish pride and indolence to the former, and presents the southern coastal provinces (and Catalonia) as being 'particularly fruitful and industrious,' their prosperity and population being 'the natural Consequence of a fruitful Soil and a diligent People'.⁵⁶³ In the context of these indicators, Scott's belief in the affinity between Defoe and Murillo's picaresque qualities highlights another interesting point. Murillo spent the majority of his career in his native Seville; and the city's religious buildings and its Academia de Bellas Artes contained the most extensive and diverse representation of his work available in Europe in the late seventeenth century. If further work supports Scott's intriguing suggestion that Defoe's juvenile *pícaros* owe a direct debt to Murillo's urchins, it may also support Defoe's familiarity with Seville.

The fact that no firm biographical substantiation of Defoe's Spanish and Portuguese activities have been located, however, does not mean that it does not exist. Most biographical work on Defoe's trading career has tracked his movements through British and American documents, leaving the Iberian archives almost untouched. The Spanish shipping and criminal records comprise a vast and promising body of material which may provide insight into the most obscure period of Defoe's life. They have not, to my knowledge, been examined by either

Iberian content in connection with Defoe's broader Spanish contexts may help answer one aspect of its attribution difficulties.

⁵⁶² One succinct example of this prevalent Spanish stereotype is found in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, in Paul Rycout's translation of Baltasar Gracián's *El Criticón*:

'Sevil... displeased her, Covetousness and Lucre being Enemies ... [the people] speak much, and perform but little, which is the common disease of Andaluza' (pp. 177-78).

⁵⁶³ Daniel Defoe, *Atlas maritimus & commercialis; or, A general view of the world [...]* (London: James and John Knapton, et. al, 1728) p. 158.

English or Spanish-language Defoe scholarship. The known English biographical and historical sources provide little information on this obscure period of Defoe's life, but Spanish documents may provide further insight. The very process of trading in Spain as an Englishman in the 1680s and 1690s required Defoe to engage with the labyrinthine and rigorous Spanish bureaucracy that controlled imports and exports –either successfully negotiating the passage of goods, falling foul of the Casa de Contratación's regulations, or learning how to evade their scrutiny through smuggling. The Inquisition closely monitored foreign traders' activity in Spanish ports during this period (particularly that of the English and Dutch) and was quick to punish the most minor transgressions, often seizing the disputed goods in the process, and imposing significant fines. The copious and detailed records they kept of these proceedings gives scholars a valuable insight into the life of contemporary English, Scottish and Irish traders in Andalucía; and it seems probable that the enormous body of material they generated contains some traces of Defoe's early business dealings.

However, investigation of these sources is hindered by two factors. Firstly, the fact that so much of the trade in this region was illegal means that only the failures were recorded, since successful bribery or evasion left no traces. As Henry Kamen has noted, a significant proportion of the Spanish-America shipping trade was not documented in the official records, since 'the register book at Seville ... generally gives details only ... of ships actually registered with the authorities, and fails to take account of the movement of vessels to and from other parts of Spain', noting that unregistered vessels tended to dock 'on the Galician and Basque coasts, or in France'.⁵⁶⁴ Progress is further impeded by the fact that relevant records are often scattered throughout provincial archives and private collections, with a large number of them yet to be comprehensively digitally catalogued and scanned. Furthermore, documents in

⁵⁶⁴ Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700-15* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969), p. 399.

regional archives have often been poorly stored and preserved, leaving them worm-eaten, fragile, and occasionally illegible.

However, these sources still deserve the attention of Defoe biographers. I have begun the process of searching for relevant records in the Andalusian archives, starting with the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, which has consolidated the majority of records on trades involving the Americas; and the Archivo Histórico Provincial in Cádiz, which contains several records of contemporary cases involving English traders. The financial and logistical limits of this project prevented me from extending the search to the other regional Spanish archives that are likely to be relevant: Bastian suggests that Defoe may have had particular knowledge of the Velez-Malaga region in eastern Andalucía,⁵⁶⁵ and of the Canary Islands, whose importance as a regulation-free zone in the trans-Atlantic wine trade suggests that local records may be useful in the reconstruction of Defoe's Iberian trading career. However, my search of the Seville and Cádiz records (concentrating on the period between 1680 and 1700), has highlighted one known associate as a possible local contact.

At the Archivo de Indias, I found no clear indication of proceedings against Defoe himself. However, there is record of a case involving a 'Juan Lamberto',⁵⁶⁶ who may be the John Lambert who in 1689 partnered Defoe (alongside three other Huguenot traders) in sending supplies to Protestant forces in Ireland.⁵⁶⁷ Both Defoe and Lambert's cargo in this deal was

⁵⁶⁵ Bastian, p. 93.

⁵⁶⁶ The Hispanicization of both first names and surnames is a ubiquitous feature of these records, and the resulting changes and misspellings can further complicate searches, since extra information on nationality and profession is often needed to confirm an identity. A representative (and recognizable) example is the contemporary Scottish merchant listed as both 'David Colingan' and 'Diego Corigan' (Archivo General de Indias, *Contaduría* 239, (1576-1760), no. 4; *Protocolos Cádiz*, 4.243, (1688-89).

⁵⁶⁷ Frank Bastian summarizes this episode in *Defoe's Early Life*, pp. 148-9, also suggesting that this Lambert is 'probably the future South Sea director and Baronet'. His name frequently appears in the South Sea Company

composed of wine and liquor, or of other products likely sourced from Spain and the Americas: Defoe contributed 'six pipes of Porto wine, six pipes of beer, four hogsheads and two barrels of tobacco ... one barrel of tobacco pipes, two trunks of hoses and stuffs, 120 gallons of English spirits, and 100lb of Spanish snuff', while Lambert brought 'brandy and other goods'.⁵⁶⁸

There are several similarities between what is known of this John Lambert, and the details recorded in the Archivo General de Indias. There is a surviving collection of financial records which detail cases against '*extranjeros que pasaron a las Indias sin licencia*' (that is, foreign traders carrying goods from Spain to the Americas without permission), and the confessions of the guilty parties.⁵⁶⁹ One section of the document details how in 1686 'Juan Lamberto, flamenco' was imprisoned in Cádiz (with two other traders who seem to have been his business partners) for planning an unauthorized voyage from Spain without permission (and in collaboration with a Spanish captain), with an illegal shipment of cargo. All three men claim to have been unaware that their actions were criminal, and disclaim ownership of the cargo, throwing themselves on the governor's mercy. Their pleas were successful: the original sentence of four years in prison was reduced to payment of an unspecified fine, after which they were pardoned and released.⁵⁷⁰ Records show that Seville's Casa de Contratación –the government body which controlled colonial trade and exploration–often treated foreign merchants in this manner, which provided a source of regular revenue and allowed the

Registers; see *A list of the names of the corporation of the governor and company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South-Seas, and other parts of America* (London: Edward Symon, 1723).

⁵⁶⁸ Bastian, 148-9. He cites two entries in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, ix (2) (1689-92) p. 533 (10th of March 1689/90); and p. 545 (19th of March, 1689/90).

⁵⁶⁹ Archivo General de Indias, *Contratación* 662. tira 1, no. 5 (1685-89).

⁵⁷⁰ *Contratación* 662, tira 1, no. 5, p. 73, 75.

continued and controlled participation of non-Spanish traders in the economy.⁵⁷¹

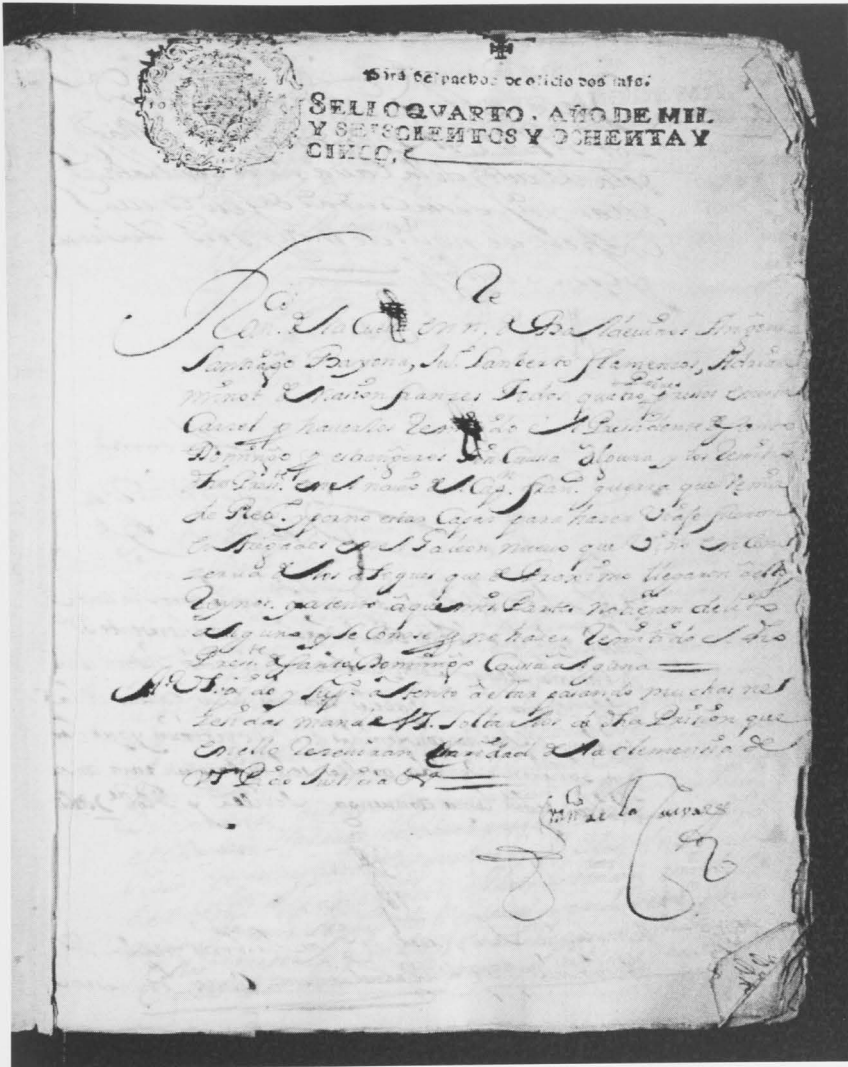


Figure 27: Record of case against 'Juan Lamberto, flamenco', a possible business associate of Defoe's.

⁵⁷¹ For discussions of the Casa de Contratación's *modus operandi* in the seventeenth century, see Ángel Alloza Aparacio, *Europa en el Mercado Español: Mercedes, Represalias y Contrabando en el siglo XVII* (Junta de Castilla y León: Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2006) pp. 201-20; Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900* (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2008) pp. 118-21; *The Atlantic Economy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: organization, operation, practice and personnel*, ed. Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of Carolina Press, 2005) p. 156-59.

It is unconfirmed whether this is the same John Lambert who partnered Defoe in the Irish trade, but a few details strengthen the probability. Firstly, there is the description of his nationality as 'Flamenco' or Flemish. The John Lambert in question was French-born, and spent much of his youth in England. However, he was also a Huguenot from the Isle of Ré, off the central-west coast of France; and in seventeenth-century Spain, the term *huguenot* (or *hugonot*) was used far less frequently than in contemporary France or England: when their religion was known, French Protestants were more likely to be called *luteranos* or, in reference to the large refugee population in the former Spanish Netherlands, *flamencos*.⁵⁷²

Secondly, there is the cargo itself. Although the records contain no itemization or description of the illegal shipment, both the time and the locations involved in the trade route suggest it involved the wine trade. The document states that the shipment in question was travelling from Cádiz to Santo Domingo,⁵⁷³ and trade records for the latter indicate that the 1670s and 1680s saw the major source of its wine imports shift from the Canary Islands to Andalucía and Murcia.⁵⁷⁴ Although this is circumstantial evidence, it is suggestive when taken in conjunction with Lambert's known mercantile interests. Finally, there is the date of the record. If Lambert was an active trader in this region around 1685 (possibly with influential and established local connections), it would give Defoe a valuable contact in Cádiz and Seville for 1682-4, the years in which Bastian has cautiously placed his Spanish residence. It is also notable that the late 1680s was when Defoe's trade to the Americas reached its zenith: not only did he supply significant quantities of cargo and own stakes in several ships,⁵⁷⁵ he was even able to afford his

⁵⁷² See José Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte (1618-1639): la última ofensiva europea de los Austrias madrileños* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1975).

⁵⁷³ *Contratación* 662, tira 1, no. 5 (1685-89).

⁵⁷⁴ See O'Flanagan, pp. 119-20.

⁵⁷⁵ Bastian, pp. 125-26, 162.

own ship by 1688, the *Desire*.⁵⁷⁶ Further investigation of the legal disputes surrounding this ship may provide further leads on Defoe's Spanish-American trade.

If this is the John Lambert who was connected with Defoe, it may also be worth noting his possible connection with Antonio Lambert, a merchant who resided in Cádiz in the 1680s who died around 1690. He frequently appears in the Archivo Histórico Provincial records of this period –unlike Juan, not in connection with criminal activity, but with reference to the issue of insurance policies, his transfer of power of attorney and the record of his will.⁵⁷⁷ Antonio is described as the son of a 'Juan Maria Lamberto', and as a 'mallorqueno' from Palma now residing in Cádiz; and the records of his affairs suggest he was in good standing with the authorities and merchants of the city.⁵⁷⁸ If there was a family connection between John and Antonio Lambert, his status may help explain the former's pardon.⁵⁷⁹

As well as the potential Lambert connection, it is also possible that regional mercantile archives contain information on Defoe's activities under another name. Both the scribes' propensity for Hispanicising and distorting English names, and Defoe's documented use of pseudonyms lend credibility to this theory;⁵⁸⁰ and a few possibilities stand out from

⁵⁷⁶ See Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions*, p. 94; Bastian, pp. 125–26.

⁵⁷⁷ *Protocolos Cádiz*, 3.103 (1690); 3.095. (1683); 5.725 (1683–86);

⁵⁷⁸ *Protocolos Cádiz*. 3.103 (1690)

⁵⁷⁹ It should also be noted that local authorities accumulated significant and regular revenue through fines for illegal transactions, most of which were implemented by non-Spanish traders. The large number of English, Scottish and Irish traders consistently active in the region at this time –and their frequent marriages to Spanish women— suggests that these measures did not prevent their participation in the local economy, and that their presence was tolerated, if not encouraged.

⁵⁸⁰ English traders –particularly those engaged in illegal activity– often gave false names to Spanish authorities. Two representative examples indicate the prevalence of this practice in the seventeenth century: Alloza Aparicio lists 'Juan Boy', 'El Bel' and both Juan and Mauricio Nil on a 1606 list of English subjects required to pay export taxes (pp. 240–41), and a 'Juan Smith' and a 'Juan White' appear in *Protocolos Cádiz* 5.303 (1690).

contemporary records in Seville and Cádiz: 'Daniel Sfoyer/Foyer', a ship owner 'de nación amburgues' who was granted limited permission to operate out of Cádiz in 1689;⁵⁸¹ '[Robertto?] Diego [de] Hoa' (referred to elsewhere as Hoos or Roos, whose misspelt signature of 'Daigo' suggests a false name), fined by the City of Cádiz in 1683,⁵⁸² and 'Juan de fau/pau' briefly mentioned in connection with a 1685 case.⁵⁸³

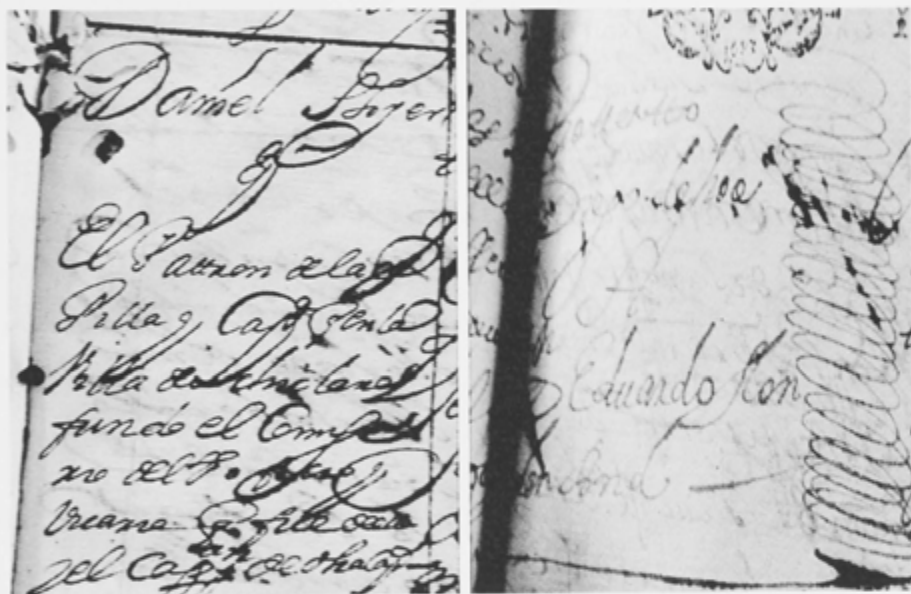


Figure 28: 'Daniel Sfoyer' and 'Diego de Hoa' files, Archivo Histórico de Cádiz

⁵⁸¹ *Protocolos Cádiz* 2.114 (1688-90).

⁵⁸² *Protocolos Cádiz* 5.725 (1683-86)

⁵⁸³ *Protocolos Cádiz* 3.572 (1685). Unfortunately, my photograph of this file was too unclear for inclusion here.

II: Defoe's writings on Spain and the Spanish Americas

It remains to be seen whether Defoe left any detectable traces in the Spanish archives –and it may be that the positive tone of his comments on Spain owes something to his successful avoidance of the authorities. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that his time in the regions associated with the wine trade was an important source for the knowledge of Spanish language, geography and culture evident in his writings. By 1705, Defoe claimed to be proficient in Spanish, an assertion which is generally substantiated by the command of the language he demonstrates.⁵⁸⁴ While his spelling and grammar are often questionable (at times resembling a hybrid of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian), his phonetic and idiomatic renditions of Spanish are fairly accurate.

In *Defoe's Early Life*, Bastian argues that Defoe regularly demonstrates firsthand knowledge of Spanish physiognomy and dress, culinary habits, manners and speech, as well as the Casa de la Contratación's records of the Spanish Americas.⁵⁸⁵ These conclusions are strengthened and supported when analysis of Defoe's Spanish-related writings is extended into the fiction and poetry. The complete body of Defoe's work clearly indicates that he drew on a wide-ranging knowledge of Spanish society and culture throughout his writing career. Scattered throughout

⁵⁸⁴ *Review*, vol. 2 no. 38 (31st of May 1705), pp.1-3.

⁵⁸⁵ Bastian, pp. 92-94. His observations in this section are based on *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, The Review, The Complete English Gentleman and A Plan of the English Commerce*.

his fiction alone are indications of his knowledge of Spanish food and drink,⁵⁸⁶ social customs,⁵⁸⁷ and his familiarity with Cervantes.

However, Defoe's total body of Iberian writings is much more diverse and complex. Discussions of Spain and its colonies are also incorporated into his political and economic works (including private correspondence) at all stages of his career. And the forms and subjects on display range from verse satire,⁵⁸⁸ to detailed plans for colonization,⁵⁸⁹ to fictional accounts of exploration, settlement and trade, and a non-fiction travel guide. In addition, there are the aforementioned brief discussions of related topics in *The Review*, *The Complete English Tradesman*, and other nonfiction works; and Defoe's quasi-picaresque novels, where the genre itself arguably comprises a 'Spanish' subject.⁵⁹⁰ Moreover, when this body of work is assessed as a whole, it presents a coherent and complex perspective on Spain and the Spanish which gives new insights into Defoe's intellectual and creative processes. There is an interesting dichotomy at its heart, which reveals that Defoe had distinctive and unusual perspective on the country and its people.

⁵⁸⁶ *The New Voyage* describes a 'Spanish Breakfast, that is to say, About a Pint of Chocolate' *New Voyage*, vol. II, p. 108. Also see *Colonel Jack*, p. 392.

⁵⁸⁷ *The New Voyage* references the customary seclusion of women from male visitors, their veiled appearances in mixed company, and their being of marriageable age at 12 or 13 (vol. II, 60, 69-72), siesta (vol. II, 98), and the common use of florid compliments (vol. II, 132).

⁵⁸⁸ Daniel Defoe, *The Spanish Descent: A Poem by the Author of the True-Born Englishman* (London, 1702).

⁵⁸⁹ *The letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. by George Harris Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 343-49.

⁵⁹⁰ It is important to note that English, French, and German strains of picaresque fiction had developed by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, including several works Defoe almost certainly knew, like *The English Rogue*, *Gil Blas*, and *Simplicissimus*. However, I believe the genre should still be identified as primarily Spanish during Defoe's lifetime, on account of both its historical origins and its deep and complex connections with other contemporary Spanish literary traditions.

Like the majority of his journalistic contemporaries, Defoe is often highly critical of the Spanish government and colonial authorities, criticizing their repressive authoritarianism, incompetent management of natural resources, and cruel treatment of Native American populations. However, he is often similarly critical of English government and military mismanagement, which he ultimately blames for Britain's failure to establish more American colonies and control trade routes.⁵⁹¹ These condemnations of 'The Spaniard, a Slothful and Impoverishd Nation'⁵⁹² have a broad resemblance to the writings of Defoe's contemporaries, all showing the influence of what has come to be known as the 'Black Legend': the widespread belief that the Spanish were uniformly characterized by an array of negative traits (greed, carnality, cruelty, laziness, and a lack of independent thought).⁵⁹³ Originally galvanized by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's graphic 1542 condemnation of murders and tortures committed in the settlement of Santo Domingo, this enduring idea's rapid propagation throughout Protestant Europe also owed a great deal to xenophobia and political and religious conflicts in the seventeenth century. Unsurprisingly, it was particularly prominent in England and its colonies, to the extent that it was a ubiquitous presence in English-language writings on Spain until the early twentieth century, and its negative tropes remain recognizable clichés today.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹¹ See *Review*, vol. 1 no. 30, 17th of June 1704, where competent English expeditions would have made it 'impossible for the Spaniards to have maintained themselves on the Continent' (p. 3).

⁵⁹² *Review*, vol. 1 no. 3, 4th of March 1704, p. 4.

⁵⁹³ Although Spanish writers have recognized this phenomenon since the early seventeenth century (Quevedo's 1604 *España Defendida* is often cited as the first known description), it was journalist Julián Juderías who coined the phrase in 1912. His 1917 book *La Leyenda Negra* remains a definitive and influential summary of the phenomenon; and Anglophone scholars like William S. Maltby, Charles Gibson and Phillip Wayne Powell have presented valuable overviews of its distinctive English and American manifestations, which emphasize character flaws over intellectual shortcomings.

⁵⁹⁴ In *The Black Legend in England: The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971), William S. Maltby deftly summarizes the cliché Spanish villain of historical fiction:

When the Spaniard has the upper hand, his cruelty and hauteur are insupportable. When reduced to his proper stature by some unimpeachably Nordic hero, he is cringing and mean-spirited, a coward whose love of plots and treacheries is exceeded only by his incompetence in carrying them out. (p. 6).

The most distinguishing feature of Defoe's echoes of the Black Legend is his focus on trade and economics, his inclusion of details suggesting knowledge of the culture, and his unbigoted and pragmatic manner. In *Atlas Maritimus*, he analyses Spain's failure to fully capitalize on its natural resources and domination of American trade at some length, wondering how 'the richest Nation in the World [is] so Poor and Empty'. He attributes its relative poverty partly to the 'national Sin' of pride and its attendant 'Indolence in Arts, and Bigotry in Religion'.⁵⁹⁵ However, he places greater emphasis on practical failings, like its excessive exportation of raw materials and importation of refined products, its neglect of manufacturing and infrastructure, and the bureaucratic labyrinth of restrictions, duties and customs which hinder local and trans-Atlantic trade.⁵⁹⁶ His conclusion that 'the very Government of *Spain* seems to have been calculated for the Hindrance and Obstruction of Commerce' places the blame firmly on institutional failure rather than flaws in the national character.⁵⁹⁷ Moreover, he also provides a sympathetic consideration of how the country's economic situation might be improved, stipulating that Spain's negative characteristics 'are not equally true of all the Parts and Provinces' and devoting as much space to the nation's positive characteristics:

Not that the *Spaniards* want Understanding or Capacities either for Arts or Improvement, and generally speaking are a People of great Prudence, Wisdom, Gallantry and courage, hardy, brave; patient of Difficulties, sober and temperate.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁵ *Atlas Maritimus*, p. 158.

⁵⁹⁶ *Atlas Maritimus*, pp. 158, 162.

⁵⁹⁷ *Atlas Maritimus*, pp. 162.

⁵⁹⁸ *Atlas Maritimus*, p. 158.

Even when hostile, Defoe never falls into the common practice of treating Spain and the Catholic Church as synonymous, instead recognizing church and state as separate institutions with their own distinct interests. Praising Spanish Admiral Frederic de Toledo's desire to assist the Protestant residents in the 1704 siege of Rochelle, Defoe argued that while his commanding officer's opposition made him 'the better Catholick ... securing the Catholick Religion', de Toledo was 'truest to the Interest of his native Country, and consequently the best Spaniard'.⁵⁹⁹ He acknowledges Spanish military strength, and analyses Phillip II's suppression of Protestants in the Netherlands as a tactical error (encouraged by 'the Obstinacy of his Blind Courtiers') rather than an indicator of innate Spanish cruelty or immorality.⁶⁰⁰

Kathryn Rummell has highlighted the particular relevance of the Black Legend to the *New Voyage*, suggesting that its descriptions of Spanish cruelty to the Indian population bears Las Casas' specific influence (briefly noting his representation in Defoe's library) and arguing that having the sympathetic character of the Spanish planter 'spout anti-Spanish propaganda' strengthens both the Black Legend tropes and the case for English colonization.⁶⁰¹ Despite noting the incongruity of the planter's positive depiction, she argues that instead of overturning negative perceptions of the Spanish, he ultimately reinforces them by helping establish the dichotomy between 'bad' (the lazy, cruel and proud Spanish) and 'good' colonists (the diligent, resourceful and diplomatic English).⁶⁰² In this scheme, the planter is presented as the exception who proves the rule. Although her argument raises several valid points about the *New Voyage's* use of Las Casas and its propagandistic elements, by treating both the

⁵⁹⁹ *Review*, vol. 1 no. 23, 27th of May 1704, p. 3.

⁶⁰⁰ *Review*, vol. 1 no. 20, 19th of April 1705, p. 2.

⁶⁰¹ Kathryn Rummell, 'Defoe and the Black Legend: The Spanish Stereotype in the *New Voyage Round the World*', *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 52, 2 (1998), 13-28 (p. 17-19).

⁶⁰² Rummell, 23-25.

Spanish planter and the *New Voyage* in isolation, it has missed how both elements fit into a wider use of the Black Legend in Defoe's fiction.

The planter is arguably one example of a character type found throughout Defoe's colonial fictions: the 'good Spaniard' whose exemplary conduct not only debunks Black Legend stereotypes, but who highlights the moral and ethical flaws of both Spanish authorities and English individuals and ideologies. Although Black Legend tropes are often invoked in connection with Spanish authorities and social structures (where they frequently support criticisms of their flaws), they are *never* reinforced through individual Spanish characters, who are almost without exception depicted positively, and are often positioned on the same side as the English protagonist in the struggle against both government restrictions and innate human depravity. The 'good Spaniard' is a key figure in *Robinson Crusoe*, *Colonel Jack* and the *New Voyage*.

The *New Voyage* provides the clearest summary of this dichotomy between flawed institutions and exemplary individuals. The 'planter' is a wealthy Chilean farmer, one of the passengers taken captive by the English off the coast of Juan Fernandez Island. After a tip-off from the fugitive Irish Jesuit doctor (who, after thirty years in Chile, is also an important source of 'insider criticism'), the opportunistic narrator recognizes him as a useful source of local knowledge for his projected search for gold in the Andes. He complies, and the ensuing dialogues between the narrator and the planter elucidate the lengthy criticisms of Spain's colonial practices referred to by Rummell – although it should also be noted that the doctor (who serves as interpreter and has made the captive 'very sensible...of the Obligation both he

and his Fellow-Prisoners were under to me') –⁶⁰³ also provides a great deal of negative commentary, forcefully evoking Black Legend stereotypes:

...The *Spaniards* are, in some Respects, the worst Nation under the Sun; They are Cruel, inexorable, uncharitable, voracious, and, in several Cases, treacherous, but in Two Things, they are to be depended upon beyond all the Nations in the World; that is to say, When they give their Honour to perform any thing; and when they have a Return to make for any Favour received.⁶⁰⁴

As Rummell notes, the planter supports these criticisms of Spanish colonial rule, and the opportunities its failings have created for other colonial powers, although his tone is more analytical and measured than the narrator's or the doctor's. Echoing the doctor's phrasing, he notes that the Spanish are 'the worst Nation in the World'⁶⁰⁵ to control such extensive mineral resources, he attributes their failure to properly exploit them to 'Two Things, namely Pride and Sloth ... we have so much Pride, that we have no Avarice, and we do not covet enough to make us work for it'.⁶⁰⁶ But (like Defoe's) his criticisms extend beyond character flaws: he also notes the Crown's failure to adequately populate its territories, and decries the Governor and Viceroy's sybaritism and consequent neglect of 'the Encrease, either of the King's Revenues, or the National Wealth'.⁶⁰⁷ He also supports the narrator's assertion of 'the Cruelty and Tyranny

⁶⁰³ Daniel Defoe, *A New Voyage round the World*, 2 vols. (London: A Bettesworth and W. Mears, 1725) vol. II, 42, 51, 155.

⁶⁰⁴ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 52.

⁶⁰⁵ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 40.

⁶⁰⁶ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 45.

⁶⁰⁷ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 41.

of the *Spaniards*' towards the Indians,⁶⁰⁸ describing how local populations have been dispersed and controlled through violence and fear.⁶⁰⁹

However, this man's character and actions directly rebut all these Black Legend tropes. He is humble, kind, generous, hardworking and intelligent –such a paragon that even the anti-Spanish narrator describes him as a 'Gentleman; for such he was in himself, and in his Disposition, whatever he was by Family'.⁶¹⁰ The one stereotypical characteristic he has –the emphasis on pride and honour described by the doctor– is presented in a wholly positive way. He is so far from being treacherous that not only does he answer the narrator's questions truthfully, he insists that his two young sons (who are equally loyal and honest) be sent to the English ships as hostages to guarantee the narrator's safety on the inland expedition, even refusing the narrator's offer to let them return home.⁶¹¹ He supplies food to the English ships during the captain's absence,⁶¹² and gives the expedition a lavish and welcoming reception at his home which the narrator condescendingly describes as 'all that Pride and Ostentation was capable of inspiring him with'.⁶¹³ Moreover, he is shown to be friendly with the native Chileans in the surrounding regions, regularly sending his sons on overnight hunting trips with Chilean guides, and noting that none of the local people 'were ever known to do any foul or treacherous thing by the *Spaniards*, since he came into that Country'.⁶¹⁴ He is particularly close to a former servant who lodges the expedition members, and the regularity and amicability of

⁶⁰⁸ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 6. See also 7, 78, 92.

⁶⁰⁹ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 78.

⁶¹⁰ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 51.

⁶¹¹ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 58, 64.

⁶¹² *New Voyage*, vol. II, 68.

⁶¹³ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 59.

⁶¹⁴ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 78.

their contact is demonstrated by their shared languages: the Chilean speaks perfect Spanish to the narrator, and converses with the planter in 'a kind of *Mountain Jargon*, some *Spanish* and some *Chilian*'.⁶¹⁵ While the narrator holds fast to his core beliefs about the country and the people, he does indicate that contact with this man and his family has contradicted his preconceptions about the Spanish, when he describes the planters' wife's reception of his gift:

[She] thank'd me in the most obliging Manner, and with a modest graceful Way of Speech, such as I cannot represent, and which, indeed, I did not think the *Spaniards*, who are said to be so haughty, had been acquainted with.⁶¹⁶

However, he returns to his old judgments, in the last section describing 'the *Spaniards* in the Country' as 'the most supinely negligent People in the World'.⁶¹⁷

The English characters form a starkly negative contrast to this paragon of virtue and reason. The narrator himself has the ethical ambiguity that is such a frequent feature of Defoe's protagonists. He is an avaricious, pragmatic, unscrupulous figure whose characterization lacks the sympathetic elements Defoe uses elsewhere, such as Roxana and Crusoe's flaws and psychological complexity, or even Captain Singleton's pathetic backstory. His negative qualities, and the function of the Spanish characters, are reinforced in the early episode when the narrator and his French co-captain seize a Spanish cargo vessel by passing themselves as a French military escort. Once at sea, they summon the Spanish captain and inform him of their

⁶¹⁵ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 97.

⁶¹⁶ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 71.

⁶¹⁷ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 138.

intention to seize his goods and release the crew without harm –providing they make no resistance. The captive’s negotiations are marked by his defiance and bravery as he ‘shew’d a great Presence of Mind under his Misfortune; and, as I verily believe, he would have fought us very bravely’, and although his release is claimed to ‘let the other *Spanish* captains know what scouring they had escap’d’, he is presented as the strongest and most admirable person.⁶¹⁸

Whatever Defoe’s intent towards the *New Voyage*’s narrator, there is no such ambiguity surrounding the portrayal of some of his crew, whose actions are clearly condemned. The last section of the *New Voyage* is an extended flashback that recounts the adventures of the breakaway party that recrosses the territory to gather more gold. The conduct of his crew arguably *disproves* the narrator’s thesis –that given the chance, the pragmatic and hard-working English could, unlike the proud and lazy Spanish, take proper advantage of the opportunities offered by this land. Their hasty and poorly-planned journey to the island in the centre of a lake whose sand is ‘infinitely rich in Gold’ leaves them stranded, and so afraid of dying by starvation, drowning and exposure that ‘they would have given all the Gold they had got ... to have been on Shore on the wildest and most barren part of the Country’.⁶¹⁹ Even after one man retrieves their boat by a heroic four-mile swim, they are confronted with a week of torrential floods and wild winds, and driven back inland.⁶²⁰ When they rejoin the main group, ‘quarrelling and wrangling about their Wealth’, it also becomes apparent that much of the reward gained by this risk has been lost through infighting, as in ‘a Scuffle ... one of their Canoes was upset...and one of their Number drowned, at the same Time when they lost a

⁶¹⁸ *New Voyage*, vol. I, 12-13.

⁶¹⁹ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 168, 171.

⁶²⁰ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 175-80.

great Part of their Gold'. The narrator clearly believes this was no accidental death, noting that 'some were thought to have done it maliciously too'.⁶²¹

This incident is preceded by another crime which most clearly exemplifies the 'good Spaniard's' function. As this crew are beginning their trek back through the mountains, they are visited again by the Spanish planter, who 'with the utmost Kindness and Generosity, was their Guide himself, and their Purveyor also'.⁶²² However, this crew do not treat him with the same respect as the narrator and his associates did, nor do they share the narrator's concern with developing good relations with the native population:

... Two or Three Times, the Fellows were so rude, so ungovernable, and unbounded in their hunting after Gold, that the *Spaniard* was almost frighted at them, and told the Captain of it: Nor, indeed, was it altogether without Cause, for the Dogs were so ungrateful, that they robbed Two of the Houses of the *Chilians*, and took what Gold they had.⁶²³

As this violation of a longstanding peace in this area risks 'alarming the Country, and raising all the *Mountaineers*' upon the expedition and European settlers, both the captain and the planter are desperate to make peace and punish the thieves, preventing any further crimes. But the crew stand together, swearing that 'they did not value all the *Spaniards* or *Indians* in the Country; they would have all the Gold in the whole Mountain' and threatening to 'whip

⁶²¹ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 203-4.

⁶²² *New Voyage*, vol. II, 152.

⁶²³ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 152-53.

[the planter's] Head off' if he intervenes.⁶²⁴ It is only after the captain threatens to deliver eleven of the group to the Spaniards to 'do the poor *Chilians* justice upon them' that order is somewhat restored. However, it is the planter who most effectively resolves the situation through his amicable relationship with the Chileans:

But the *Spaniard* had taken a wiser Course than this, or, perhaps, they had all been murdered; for he ran to the two *Chilian* Houses where the Rogues had plunder'd, and where, in short, there was a kind of little Hubbub about it, and with good Words ... [and financial reparation] he appeased the People; and so our Men were not ruined, as they would certainly have been, if the Mountaineers had taken the Alarm.⁶²⁵

It is later discovered that the thieves had an even worse scheme planned, which 'had it taken Effect, would, beside the Baseness of the Fact, have ended in their total Destruction':⁶²⁶ the robbery of their Chilean host. The plot is uncovered and thwarted when they revisit him, and the extent of the betrayal it involves makes it necessary 'never to let the *Spaniard* know of it'. The narrator's unequivocal condemnation of this 'cursed Conspiracy' is again contrasted with a positive depiction of the Spanish and the Chilean: the planter's generosity has provided 'all kinds of needful Stores for Provisions', and both men ensure the crew 'were not Fed only, but Feasted'.⁶²⁷ The quality of their hospitality only serves to highlight the shortcomings of their guests; and the idyllic and industrious settlements they have established in the Americas show up the failings of both Spanish colonial authorities, and English adventurers. Novak has argued

⁶²⁴ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 153.

⁶²⁵ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 154.

⁶²⁶ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 155.

⁶²⁷ *New Voyage*, vol. II, 155.

that Defoe's fiction continually implies that 'the European makes the natives avaricious, fierce and suspicious by corrupting their innocence',⁶²⁸ but Defoe's insistence on this contrast suggests that 'European' would be better amended to 'English.'

The same contrast between Spanish rectitude and civilization and English depravity and chaos is drawn in *Robinson Crusoe*, with the two rival settlements in Part II permitting more direct comparisons. The strength of this contrast was even singled out in one of the earliest pieces of criticism on the novel, as Charles Gildon attacked Defoe's contrast of the 'honest, religious' Spanish and Portuguese with the blasphemous and ungodly English colonists.⁶²⁹ The population of Crusoe's island towards the end of Part I (after the rescue of Friday's father, the Spanish sailors, and the decision to leave three English mutineers on the island) is divided into two colonies separated by nationality. Although the contrast between the two groups is drawn from the start, it is only when Crusoe revisits the island and hears the history of the colonies' development that the difference really becomes apparent. At the end of the first volume, Crusoe offers a succinct summary of events:

In this Voyage I visited my new Collony in the Island, saw my Successors the *Spaniards*, had the whole Story of their Lives, and of the Villains I left there; how at first they insulted the poor *Spaniards*, how they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the *Spaniards* were obliged to use Violence with them, how they were subjected to the *Spaniards*, how honestly the *Spaniards* used them ...⁶³⁰

⁶²⁸ Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man*, p.41.

⁶²⁹ Charles Gildon, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr. D...De F... of London, Hosier* (London: J. Roberts, 1719), p. 7.

⁶³⁰ Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe...* (London: W. Taylor, 1719), pp. 362-63.

The characterization of both parties is very similar to the contrasting depictions of the Spanish planter and the English expedition members in *New Voyage*. The broad Las Casas-influenced references to the brutality of the Inquisition towards foreigners and of Spanish colonists towards the native population⁶³¹ are juxtaposed with depictions of individual Spaniards as brave, honourable, wise, generous, courteous and pious.⁶³² In the most emphatic and consistent refutation of Black Legend stereotypes, Crusoe's Spanish and Portuguese colonists are again granted some proficiency in 'the Language of the *Savages*' and shown to have 'liv'd there in Peace indeed' with them for some time.⁶³³ Moreover, the Spanish colonists and their native allies (led by Friday's father) are further united in goodness by their adherence to Crusoe's 'long Paper of Directions' for island life, which the English adamantly reject.

In contrast, the English mutineers are 'three of the most impudent, harden'd, ungovern'd, disagreeable Villains': violent, blaspheming and cruel.⁶³⁴ Their obedience of Crusoe's order to give the Spanish access to his survival guide is 'the only just Thing the Rogues did';⁶³⁵ they even force the two other English sailors on the island –whom Crusoe distinguishes as 'the *Honest Men*'– to fly to the Spanish for support and redress after 'the barbarous Usage they had met with from their three Country-Men' left them in danger of starvation.⁶³⁶ The conflict that

⁶³¹ 'The *Spaniards*, whose Cruelties in America has been spread over the whole Countries, and was remember'd by all the Nations from Father to Son'. *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 255.

⁶³² *Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 280, 289-90.

⁶³³ *Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 287-88.

⁶³⁴ Daniel Defoe, *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the Second and Last Part of his Life ...* (London: W. Taylor, 1719), p. 46.

⁶³⁵ *Farther Adventures*, p. 46.

⁶³⁶ *Farther Adventures*, p. 52.

follows this exchange is prompted by the very un-Black Legend like Spanish defence of the right to free settlement by independent colonists, and as a means of securing their wellbeing, security and liberty. These Spanish colonizers are actively *preventing* cruelty, not enforcing it:

Why, said the *Spaniard* very calmly, Seignor Inglese, *they must not starve?*

The *English Man* replied like a true rough-hew'd Tarpaulin, they might Starve and be Damn'd, they should not Plant nor Build. But what must they do then, Seignor, said the *Spaniard*? Another of the Brutes return'd, do! D....m 'em, they should be Servants and work for them. But how can you expect that of them, says the *Spaniard*, they are not bought with your Money; you have no Right to make them Servants [...]

Why Seignor, says the *Spaniard*, by the same Rule we must be your Servants too? Ay, says the bold Dog, and so you shall too, before we have done with you, mixing two or three G d Dame's in the proper Intervals of his Speech; the *Spaniard* only smil'd at that, and made him no Answer.⁶³⁷

The Spanish successfully subdue the English, and by doing so, help bring the English colonists to redemption. It is this wider narrative of redemption that is served by the heavy emphasis on the mutineers' negative qualities, as they rise from this state of degradation. Will Atkins, the worst of the three, experiences his own version of Crusoe's epiphany of Providence and transformation. He eventually becomes a model colonist and the leader of the English settlement: 'a most sober grave managing Fellow, perfectly reform'd, exceeding Pious and Religious'.⁶³⁸ In his assessment of *Robinson Crusoe*, Dennis Todd argues that 'it is the English

⁶³⁷ *Farther Adventures*, p. 53.

⁶³⁸ *Farther Adventures*, p. 191.

who act out the role of cruel barbarians English colonial authority had assigned to the Spanish', but a wider survey of Defoe's Spanish characters indicates that this is almost universally true: there is a consistent and deliberate inversion of Black Legend stereotypes throughout Defoe's colonial fictions.⁶³⁹

An interesting early precedent for this strategy of contrast appears in *The Spanish Descent* (1702), a verse satire on the recent unsuccessful Anglo-Dutch campaign against Cádiz. Defoe's targets here are the greed and rapaciousness of the English forces, whose looting and destruction of convents, churches and warehouses (many actually belonging to English or Dutch merchants trading under Spanish names) was universally condemned; and the greed, arrogance and incompetence of those commissioning another 'fruitless Voyage to Spain' despite the financial and personal costs.⁶⁴⁰ After 'plundering the People they came there to save', the English forces have lost the right to justify their actions by any greater good – ultimately, they are no better than their ostensible enemy:

As if the *Spaniards* were so plagued with *France*,

To fly to Thieves for their deliverance.⁶⁴¹

The soldiers' actions are ironically lauded as examples of 'uncommon *English* Valour...the forward Courage of our *Ill Paid Men*',⁶⁴² but the lengthy and vivid depiction of their reflections

⁶³⁹ Todd, *Defoe's America*, p. 59.

⁶⁴⁰ *The Spanish Descent*, p. 17.

⁶⁴¹ *The Spanish Descent*, p. 7.

⁶⁴² *The Spanish Descent*, p. 8.

'with shame upon the things mis-done' on the journey back to England emphasizes the sordid reality of their actions and their miserable consequences:

Imaginary Punishments appear,
 And suited to their secret Guiltes, their Fear...
 And Few, 'tis true, their Inocence can plead...
 Disgorge the Wealth they dare not entertain,
 And wish the Nuns *their Maiden Heads again* ...⁶⁴³

There is no mitigation of this judgment by an implication that the Spanish were deserving victims, although they are viewed almost entirely from the English perspective. In fact, the only negative characterization of the Spanish appears in the English soldier's internal monologue before the second raid, when he resolves to 'pay the haughty *Spaniard* home'.⁶⁴⁴ This invocation of Black Legend stereotypes becomes ironic in contrast with the prudent and morally sound actions of the 'frighted Spanish', who abandon their homes and businesses, 'loth to forsake their Wealth, *but loth to die*', mixing '*some Small Discretion with their Fear*'.⁶⁴⁵ Not only do the Spanish serve as a positive contrast with the English forces, but they also align with the moral centre of an anti-war satire that emphasizes the human cost of avariciousness.⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴³ *The Spanish Descent*, p. 15-16.

⁶⁴⁴ *The Spanish Descent*, p. 20.

⁶⁴⁵ *The Spanish Descent*, p. 23.

⁶⁴⁶ The following passage immediately follows the aforementioned stanza, the most explicit and didactic passage in the poem:

In addition to providing insider criticism of the English through consistent contrast, Defoe also uses the 'good Spaniard' to explore the English and the Spanish's common interests and problems, and to reinforce the distinction between individuals and institutions. Traders and colonists of both nationalities struggle against the restrictions of Spanish colonial authority, and collaborate in finding solutions outside the accepted boundaries. This form of usage is most prevalent in *Colonel Jack*, where the treatment of clandestine trading in Mexico, Cuba and Antigua seems to reflect aspects of Defoe's own early experiences as a trader in Spain. The depiction of Jack's arrest for trespassing through Spanish territory, and his negotiation for release is a fair and neutral analysis of Spanish colonial authority. There are some brief references to the horrors of the Inquisition,⁶⁴⁷ and to characteristic Spanish vanity and pride: Jack attributes his liberation to the fact that he 'spoke Spanish very well,' and was thereby able to ingratiate himself with his captors through flattery.⁶⁴⁸ However, it is free of Black Legend tropes, instead presenting a brief but accurate summary of Spanish colonial bureaucracy, and its stifling effects on trade. After several months of imprisonment and 'the Satisfaction of seeing my Ship and Cargo confiscated, and my poor Sailors in a fair Way to be sent to the Mines' (the latter is prevented through a ransom of 300 pieces of eight),⁶⁴⁹ Jack is finally

Life's the best Gift that Nature can bestow;
 The first that we receive, the last which we forego:
 And he that's vainly Prodigal of Blood,
 Forfeits his Sense to do his Cause no Good
 (*The Spanish Descent*, p. 24)

⁶⁴⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The History and Remarkable Life of Col. Jacque, commonly called Col. Jack* ... (London: J. Brotherton, T. Payne, et. al., 1723), p. 386. Note that while being caught by the Inquisition is 'then Thousand Times worse' than being sent to the Peruvian mines, Jack presents 'wandering among Savages, and the more savage French' as an equivalent danger. Additionally, when describing his fear of being sent to the mines, as the Spanish have 'pretended to do to all that come on shore in their dominions, how great soever the distresses may have been that brought them thither', Jack posits that this may have been 'the reason why others who have been forced on shore have committed all manner of violence upon the Spaniards in their turn, resolving, however dear they sold their lives, not to fall into their hands' (p. 359).

⁶⁴⁸ *Colonel Jack*, p. 358. Later, Jack draws on his military service in Italy to ingratiate himself with his captors, finding that 'I talked to people who knew nothing of the matter, and so everything went down with them if it did but praise the King of Spain and talk big of the Spanish cavalry' (p. 360).

⁶⁴⁹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 360.

granted an audience with the *Corregidor* (Judge) and the Governor of Havana, and successfully barter his freedom for payment of a large ransom, to be raised through the sale of his confiscated goods. What is interesting here is that the representatives of authority are shown to be as aware of the restrictions of their system as outsiders like Jack are –and also to be as open to devising strategies to work around them. The *Corregidor*, despite ‘adhering with a true *Spanish* stiffness to the Letter of the Law’,⁶⁵⁰ acknowledges the logic in Jack’s arguments, especially the statement that being unable to receive foreign emissaries without approval makes him unable to ‘act according to the Law of Nations’ but argues that he is powerless to overrule extant policies, proving this through an accurate summary of the system that binds his hands:

Tho’ this was so reasonable a Request, that it could not be withstood, in point of Argument, yet the *Spaniard* shrunk his Head into his Shoulders, and said, they had not Power sufficient to act in such a Case; that the King’s Laws were so severe against the suffering any Strangers to set their Foot on his *Catholick* Majesty’s Dominions in *America*, and they could not dispense with the least Tittle of them without a particular Assiento, as they call’d it, from the Consulado, or the Chamber of Commerce at *Seville*, or a Command under the Hand and Seal of the Viceroy of *Mexico*.⁶⁵¹

However, he is eventually persuaded by the pragmatic governor, who notes that the flaws in the system may prevent them from receiving any payment. The sale of the goods by a Spanish

⁶⁵⁰ *Colonel Jack*, p. 364.

⁶⁵¹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 362.

proxy offers the prisoner no security that 'he shall have his Liberty, when it is paid you',⁶⁵² and also poses significant risks, since the most profitable ports are in English territory. Conversely, an English emissary would be unable to return the money to Havana without being arrested for the same trespass as Jack. He devises a scheme to mitigate both problems: Jack's goods will be sold from a vessel manned by his crew (who will carry out the trades), but with a Spanish captain and two other representatives that will 'be entered as one of the sloops belonging to the Havana' and return carrying 'his Catholic Majesty's colours'. He proposes that Jack will serve as a hostage for the ship's return; and the judge notes that, as long as the ship brings 'no European goods on shore' this plan is 'within the Letter of the King's Commanderie and Precept'.⁶⁵³ Jack earns the governor and judge's gratitude after the highly profitable completion of the trade, with the judge proving 'as severly just on my Side, as on theirs' accepting only a deposit for the ransom, which still must be confirmed by the Viceroy, and the governor vowing to see 'if he could not oblige [Jack] farther before [he] left the place'.⁶⁵⁴ These promises are kept: they send a letter on Jack's behalf to the Viceroy of Mexico, which has the potential of vastly reducing the amount of ransom to be paid, but provide more immediate assistance by directing him towards the network of illegal trade established around Vera Cruz. Jack decides to not to wait around for the verdict, and after receiving 'a Licenceat, or Passport, for myself and the Sloop' from the governor, leaves to try his luck with the European goods in the region's black market.⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵² *Colonel Jack*, p. 363.

⁶⁵³ *Colonel Jack*, p. 364.

⁶⁵⁴ *Colonel Jack*, p. 368.

⁶⁵⁵ *Colonel Jack*, p. 371.

Although Jack anticipates the chance to 'make myself full amends of *Jack Spaniard*, for all the injuries he had done me',⁶⁵⁶ the distinction between the nation and its institutions is again evident, as the expedition is carried out in amicable collaboration with the Spanish. Jack sets sail in company with three Spanish merchants who guarantee his entry into Vera Cruz with 'such Authentick Papers from the proper Officers, that there was no room to fear any thing', and introduce him to the black market shipboard trading network 'which, tho' it was Secret, yet they knew the way of it so well, that it was but a meer Road to them'.⁶⁵⁷ He develops close and enduring relationships with these merchants (and through them, becomes friendly with the Vera Cruz buyers), noting how in subsequent ventures they 'readily undertook to protect me, especially it being so easie to have me pass as a natural *Spaniard*'.⁶⁵⁸

But the most significant episode is Jack's lengthy stay with one of the merchants, after an alarm is raised at Vera Cruz, and he is stranded on shore while his ship is pursued as a privateer. He remains concealed for some weeks in 'a little House in a Wood',⁶⁵⁹ and, upon hearing the good news of his crew's escape (and his subsequent freedom from incrimination), the merchant publicly brings him home, 'as a Merchant come from old *Spain* by the last galleons, and who, having been at *Mexico*, was come to reside with him'. It is in the character of 'Don Ferdinand de Villa Moresa',⁶⁶⁰ that Jack achieves his most enduring happiness,

⁶⁵⁶ *Colonel Jack*, p. 370.

⁶⁵⁷ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 371-72.

⁶⁵⁸ *Colonel Jack*, p. 385.

⁶⁵⁹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 387.

⁶⁶⁰ *Colonel Jack*, p. 388. Interestingly, Jack stipulates here that this is the name's form in '*Castilla la Veja*, that is to say, in *Old Castile*'.

enjoying 'everything I could think of that was agreeable and pleasant',⁶⁶¹ and coming closest to achieving his nebulous ideal of being a 'gentleman':

I was dress'd like a *Spaniard* of the better Sort, had Three *Negroes* to attend me...Here I had Nothing to do but walk about, and ride out into the Woods, and come home again to enjoy the pleasantest and most agreeable Retirement in the World, for certainly no Men in the World live in such Splendour, and wallow in such immense Treasures, as the Merchants in this Place...in a Kind of Country Retreat at their Villa's ...

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Characteristically for Defoe, this genteel ideal incorporates a continuing involvement with work: the splendid and efficient warehouses and ships are admired as part of the estate, alongside the sugar and indigo plantations, and the extensive grounds.⁶⁶³ Like the planter in *New Voyage*, this merchant not only entertains his English guest 'like a Prince', and uses him 'with an uncommon Friendship', but also acts with unexpected rectitude and integrity in all business dealings –when Jack notes that he should have given his host the cargo rather than sold it to him, the merchant replies that 'not to have paid me for them, would have been to have plunder'd a Shipwreck, which had been worse than to have robb'd a Hospital'.⁶⁶⁴ The merchant also offers some defence of Spanish customs, accepting Jack's gift on his wife's behalf with a rueful disclaimer:

⁶⁶¹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 395.

⁶⁶² *Colonel Jack*, pp. 388-89.

⁶⁶³ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 389-90.

⁶⁶⁴ *Colonel Jack*, p. 393.

He smil'd, and told me it was true, the *Spaniards* did not ordinarily admit so much Freedom among the Women, as other Nations; but he hop'd, *he said*, I would not think the *Spaniards* thought all their Women Whores, or that all *Spaniards* where jealous of their Wives.⁶⁶⁵

It is in this 'happy and most comfortable Retreat' that Jack reaches the final stage of his development: gaining the security and maturity to be able to reflect on his experiences, and to write the story of his life –an episode whose significance will be elaborated in the next chapter. The novel concludes with his return to England, through two Spanish intermediaries, as the merchant arranges 'a Licence, for [Jack] to come in the next Galeons, as a *Spanish* merchant to *Cádiz*', from where he returns to London, 'safe with all my Treasure'.⁶⁶⁶ The conclusion of Jack's story –returning to England through a Spanish intermediary– is arguably an apt metaphor for Defoe's incorporation of his Spanish contexts, sources and experiences into the heart of the English novel. Defining the origins and precise significances of Defoe's 'good Spaniard' strategy will require further biographical, contextual, and literary analysis. However, at this point, it can be credibly surmised that the positive characterisation of the Spanish has some connection to Defoe's early experiences with the country and people, which also served as a major source for his knowledge of Spanish trading customs, and colonial institutions.

The individuality and significance of Defoe's perspective on Spain becomes even more evident when his fictional depictions of the Spanish are contrasted with those of near-neighbours Italy

⁶⁶⁵ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 394-95.

⁶⁶⁶ *Colonel Jack*, p. 399.

and Portugal. Not only is his treatment of these nationalities more consistently negative, with no balance or correction provided by exemplary individuals, but it also relies on the invocation of Black-Legend like tropes. The Italians are summarized as having degenerated to 'a vicious Baseness of Soul, barbarous, treacherous, jealous and revengeful, lewd and cowardly, intolerably proud and haughty, bigotted to blind, incoherent Devotion, and the grossest of Idolatry',⁶⁶⁷ qualities exemplified in the Italian women of *Memoirs of a Cavalier* and *Colonel Jack*. Similarly, Captain Singleton's description of his apprenticeship on the Portuguese vessel relies generalizes at length about 'a Nation the most perfidious and the most debauch'd, the most intolerant and cruel, of any that pretend to call themselves Christians, in the World'.⁶⁶⁸ He states that the crew's example taught him to be 'an errant Thief and a bad Sailor ... the best Masters for Teaching both these, of any Nation in the World'⁶⁶⁹ and left him with a lifelong antipathy to the whole nation that could serve as a summary of the Spaniard of the Black Legend:

They were so brutishly wicked, so base and perfidious, not only to Strangers, but to one another; so meanly submissive when subjected; so insolent, or barbarous and tyrannical when superiour, that I thought there was something in them that shock'd my very Nature. Add to this, that 'tis natural to an *Englishman* to hate a Coward, it all join'd together to make the Devil and a *Portuguese* equally my aversion.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁷ Daniel Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier, or a Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England; From the Year 1632 to the Year 1648* (London: A. Bell, J. Osborn et al., 1720) p. 32. This characterization is often anticipated in *The Review*, which regularly condemns the present 'Sloth, Bigottry and Debauchery' of the Italians (vol. I, no. 27, 6th of June 1704, p. 1)

⁶⁶⁸ Daniel Defoe, *The Life, Adventures and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton* (London: J. Brotherton, A. Dodd et al., 1720) p. 8.

⁶⁶⁹ *Captain Singleton*, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁷⁰ *Captain Singleton*, p. 9.

Of course, these statements are Singleton's beliefs, and reflect nothing of Defoe's admiration for Portuguese success in commerce and navigation.⁶⁷¹ And there are some positive depictions of Portuguese individuals in Defoe's fiction which offset these generalizations, like the old pilot who takes in Singleton, and the Brazilian traders in *Robinson Crusoe*; Singleton himself concedes, 'there was here and there one among them that was not so bad as the rest [which] ... made me have the most contemptible Thoughts of the rest'.⁶⁷² However, Defoe's Portuguese characters are comparatively minor, and his depiction of even the best of them shows nothing like the comprehensive and coherent contrast of institutions and individuals which appears in connection with Spain. The reasons behind this choice are as yet unclear, given Portugal's enduring history of amicable relations with England and the important role it seems to have played in Defoe's early business ventures. To answer this and many other questions, more study of Defoe's Iberian contexts is needed, along with a rigorous survey of the full breadth and diversity of British depictions of Iberians after the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession. Interestingly, one of the most interesting contemporary analogues to Defoe's 'good Spaniard' is Portuguese: Pedro de Mendez in *Gulliver's Travels*, a captain whose honesty and generosity is implicitly contrasted with the perfidy of his Dutch Calvinist counterpart, and who plays a good Samaritan-like role towards Gulliver.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ See *Atlas Maritimus*, pp. 152-53, 158.

⁶⁷² *Captain Singleton*, p. 8.

⁶⁷³ I am grateful to Ian Higgins at the Australian National University for bringing this parallel to my attention. See Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. by Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 358; and Maurice A. Géracht, 'Pedro de Mendez: Marrano Jew and Good Samaritan in Swift's *Voyages*', *Swift Studies*, 5 (1990) 39-52.

Conclusion

This detailed summary of Defoe's biographical and textual connections to Spain has clarified how extensive, diverse, and sympathetic his interest in Spain and the Spanish Americas is in actuality, and has located sufficient 'textual support' to begin researching relevant catalogue items. In addition to the adaptation of picaresque themes and conventions which has been the focus of most extant criticism, Defoe's engagement with the country and its colonies permeates his economic and political writings, and even figures heavily in aspects of his fiction beyond the picaresque. Furthermore, the review of Defoe's probable biographical connections to Spain has highlighted this period as a probable source for his later fiction, and has located some promising Spanish resources for further research on his early career as a wine merchant. His consistently positive, non-xenophobic and sympathetic portrayal of the Spanish may have its origins in this period. Here, Defoe would have gained first-hand experience with the restrictive and punitive nature of the Casa de la Contratación, and learned how to negotiate and evade it (probably in collaboration with other foreign merchants and Spanish traders). Traces of this experience seem evident throughout Defoe's writing, as does his wide-ranging knowledge of Spanish culture, but it arguably has its strongest and most coherent expression in the late fiction.

This manner of characterization may also be linked to his ambiguous perspective on the broader colonial project. Defoe's depiction of the Spanish is marked by a dichotomous contrast between a critical view of the country's institutions, and a sympathetic and approving view of its people. *Robinson Crusoe*, *Colonel Jack* and the *New Voyage* all use a 'good Spaniard' character to criticize both Spanish colonial institutions and the moral and ethical flaws of individual English colonists. It is a double-edged tool for insider criticism of both nations.

Although Defoe has been characterized as a firm advocate for English colonialism, his fiction is extremely concerned with the negative ethical and moral consequences for those who carry it out. Defoe depicts the majority of Englishmen engaged in the pursuit of wealth and the expansion of empire not as admirable pioneers, but as greedy, treacherous and cruel servants of their own interests, the failure of whose schemes robs them of even a redeeming pragmatism. The moral of the story seems to be that, when motivated solely by the desire for wealth and power, colonization does not encourage men to live up to an ideal, but down to their worst instincts.

Like his protagonists, Defoe's 'good Spaniards' are all outsiders in some sense: breaking or bending the law, or living apart from wider civilization. They share the ambitions of finding a way around, or a better alternative to, the rules and standards of their societies. But what distinguishes the Spanish from the English rogues is either the prioritization of piety, generosity, community and harmony with nature over the pursuit of wealth or power, or the equilibrium and wisdom to stop the latter from turning into greed. The Spaniards of Defoe's late fiction represent the moral and ethical standards that his protagonists, despite their best intentions, often cannot uphold with the same consistency.

Chapter 7:

Catalogue use in practice: analysing the catalogue's Spanish items in relation to Defoe's Spanish contexts.

This chapter addresses the second requirement of successful catalogue study defined in chapter 5, by listing the catalogue items relevant to the previously defined Spanish context, assessing their relationship to the attribution question, and exploring their possible connections to Defoe's writings. Chapter 6's analysis demonstrated something of the scope, diversity and complexity of Defoe's treatment of Spain, defining a body of material that raises several questions about his use of relevant sources and relation to the broader cultural context. For example, why does Defoe draw such a firm contrast between Spanish cultural institutions (whose officiousness, oppressiveness and cruelty are often subject to criticism) and individual Spaniards (whose actions almost always contradict the general criticisms)? What were the reasons for Defoe's unusually favourable depiction of individual Spaniards, and why was he more likely to attach negative qualities typically attributed to them to the Portuguese or Italians? Were the Black Legend tropes he both perpetuated and subverted derived from specific sources, or was their general cultural pervasiveness sufficient inspiration? Similarly, can the catalogue's contents shed any light on the particular qualities of his use of the Spanish picaresque – the wider parallels and analogues between this tradition and Defoe's fictional achievement have often been explored, but will examining his use of *specific works* help demonstrate how and why he 'transformed' the genre?

Satisfactory answers to all these questions can only be provided through a dedicated and all-inclusive study of Defoe's Iberian contexts and connections, which would comprise a lengthy

thesis in itself. To be truly comprehensive, its methods may also need to be extended into biographical and literary considerations of Defoe's relationships with France and Italy. It is impossible, in one chapter, to give all the relevant catalogue items the attention they deserve; especially since represented genres like voyage literature and political or espionage memoirs need to be considered in relation to the full array of non-catalogue sources and contexts. Therefore, this chapter only offers a deliberately partial and limited assessment of the catalogue items' relation to Defoe's work. While broader genre conventions and motifs certainly play a major role in assessing Defoe's use of potential sources, these comparative analyses will include only items listed in the catalogue. Furthermore, the main focus will be directed on one specific category: Spanish literary texts, addressing questions of source and context relations in relation to items listed in the inventory.

This deliberately condensed delineation and assessment of Defoe's Spanish contexts, however, remains a credible model of catalogue usage—whose demonstration of Chapter 5's methodologies is perhaps clearer and more effective than a wider-ranging study would be at this point in Defoe studies. It is also fitting that a study of Defoe's Spanish contexts utilizing the catalogue should begin by focusing on his late fiction, since (as Chapter 6 noted) this is where his complex perspective has its fullest expression. Furthermore, it allows development of a detailed response to the question that has dominated the critical history of Defoe and Spain: the extent and nature of his use of picaresque novels in his fiction. Close examination of the Spanish literary texts in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue (which comprises, if anything, only a fragment of his reading in this area) highlights some interesting aspects of his use of these sources, which can be a valuable guide when extended into the consideration of his relationship to the broader nexus of Iberian literary texts. This study not only refutes Secord by confirming the importance of this group of potential sources, it also helps define the specific

characteristics and parameters of Defoe's usage. Comparative analysis reveals that Defoe's fiction incorporated both specific elements from catalogue items, and conventions, tropes and tones belonging to the wider genre. Furthermore, the catalogue material reveals that Defoe made similar use of other Spanish literary modes like the Italianate amatory novella and the satirical allegory, with his depiction of ostensibly 'picaresque' subjects like crime, deviancy, love and urban life navigating and combining the tropes and tones of all three genres. The process also helps highlight the extent to which the philosophical elements of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Colonel Jack* arguably owe as much to Baltasar Gracián's *The Critick* as to the more localized sources which have received most of the critical attention, such as the traditions of Puritan allegory and of redemption narratives.

I: The catalogue's Iberian material

The tentative identification of Defoe's probable share of the catalogue's representation of any given subject requires assessment of both Farewell and Payne's claims to ownership (outlined in Chapters 2-4) and of Defoe's relevant connections and representations (Chapter 6). Of the approximately 2107 titles listed in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue, 120 are connected to Spain, Portugal and the Iberian colonies (and former possessions) through language and/or subject matter. These items are listed below, in order of their appearance in Defoe/Farewell. I have reproduced Payne's descriptions without alteration, but have used footnotes to expand or amend the author/title information whenever Payne is vague or inaccurate –here, Heidenreich has been a valuable guide. Items with only tangential or indirect links to these subjects have been omitted.

For reasons of brevity and clarity, I have only included items in this list that *directly* engages with Spain or Portugal. There is a considerable body of material in the catalogue with a broad relevance to the Iberian context (e.g. much of the theological material), but I have omitted all titles without a direct connection to the language or culture – histories of the Jesuits are included, for example, but most general works on Catholicism or related theological controversies are not. However, it should be noted that the excluded contents are a promising starting point for a wide-ranging study of Defoe’s pan-European cultural contexts. I have applied the same rule to historical texts, omitting several works relating to the War of the Spanish Succession, for example, that are exclusively devoted to events or issues in France or England. Finally, I have excised items with tangential or indirect connections to the subjects of interest. For example, Roger L’Estrange is well-represented here as a translator of Spanish material, but his *Dissenters’ Sayings*⁶⁷⁴ has been omitted. Even with these limits, the list could in truth be even longer, as it is probable that some related works were included in lots with names like ‘a catalogue of Popish books’.⁶⁷⁵ However, there is obviously no way to confirm this, short of discovering Defoe, Farewell, or Payne’s signature on a flyleaf.

As Heidenreich and Kelly noted, the lack of definite information on Phillips Farewell makes it extremely difficult to attribute any portion of this list to him with any precision. His possible interest in foreign-language material and missionary work can be used to build a case for his ownership of some of this material, particularly the items relating to the Americas. However, Defoe’s writing and biography presents an equally credible and far more detailed argument for his ownership of the same material. He is also a plausible owner of some of the religious material in this category, but Olive Payne presents far stronger claims. Payne can also be

⁶⁷⁴ Defoe/Farewell, item 1411c.

⁶⁷⁵ Defoe/Farewell ,item 1449d.

identified as the probable source of several items in this category with relative certainty. All 20 items marked with a strikethrough line in the following table have confirmed or possible matches in Payne's previous sales (and potential sources like Vandenhoeck and Groenewegen), and full details on these duplicates are found in Appendix A's list of salted items.

Table I: Iberian items in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue:

Item number:	Payne's title, author and publication information:
22:	Viccars, Decalpa in Psalmos, Heb., &c. (1639) ⁶⁷⁶
71:	Nebrissensis, a Rerum Fernando & Elisabethae Hispania (1545) ⁶⁷⁷
79:	Minshieu's Dictionary, Nine Languages.
122:	Fryer's Travels to East-India, and Persia ([London] 1698)
123:	Ambassador's Travels to Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and India (1662)
124:	Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, five Heads (1554)
132:	Dictionary Spanish and English, by Minshieu ([Oxford] 1623) ⁶⁷⁸
133:	Hakluyt's Voyages ([Oxford] 1589)
135:	Robert's Merchant's Map of Commerce, best ([Oxford] 1700)
142:	Purchas's Relations of the World, and the Religions in it.

⁶⁷⁶ John Vicars, *Decalpa in Psalmos: sive commentarius ex decem linguis ...* (London: 1639).

⁶⁷⁷ Aelia Antonio de Nebrija, *Rerum Fernando & Elisabe Hispaniarum foelicissimus regibus gestarum decadas duas* (Granada: 1545).

⁶⁷⁸ Heidenreich notes that this item comprises other related works: [Richard Percevall] and John Minshieu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English – A Spanish Grammar – Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English*. (London: John Havilland for William Aspley, 1623).

169:	Howell's Lexicon, English, French, Italian and Spanish (1660)
196:	Hakluyt's Voyages, with the Voyage to Cadiz, 3 vol. complet.
198:	Knox's History of the Island of Ceylon, fine Cuts (1681)
226:	Histoire de Navarre, contenant l'Origine, les Vies & Conquestes de ses Roys &c. par Favyn (1612)
230:	Guerras de Flandes, avec fig. Curieuse, 2 vol. in Span. (Col. 1682)
231b:	Teatro de las Grandezas de Madrid, fig. por Davila (1580)
232:	Historia de las Vidas y Milagros de Nuestro Beato Padres Frai Pedro de Alcantara ogotude San Francisco, &c. 2 tom. (Arvala, 1644)
233:	Vida l Echos Maravillosos de Dona Maria de Cervellon (Barcelona 1629)
237:	Annales del Regno di Valencia por Diego Valencia (1613)
238:	Historia del invincible Cavallero Don Polindo (Toledo)
241:	Excellencias y Primacias del Apostol Santiago el Mago unico Patron de Espanay Capitan de las Armas Catholicas (Villa Franca 1658)
246:	The Statutes of several Spanish Universities, and other Tracts in Spanish.
247:	Descripcion del Monasterio de Sanlorenzo el Real, fig. (Madrid 1698)
248:	Bocados de Oro (Toledo, 1502)
250a:	Flores de Espana Excellencias de Portugal, por Antonio de Sousa.
250b:	Catedra Episcopal de Zaragoza, with a Manuscript at the End (Lisb. 1631)
357:	De Vergas Relatio de Stratagematis Jesuitarum. ⁶⁷⁹
425:	Historia Jesuitica de Jesuiticarum Ordinis Origine per Lucium (Basil. 1627)
453:	Hero from the Spanish of Gracian, with Political Notes, by Father Courberville (1726)

⁶⁷⁹ Kaspar Schoppe, *Alphonsi de Vargas Toletani relatio ad reges et principes Christianos de strategomatis ... Societatis Jesu* (Padua: 1636).

455:	Mons. Frezier's Voyage to the South-Sea, and the Coasts of China and Peru, fine Cuts
486:	Joyful News out of Newfound-Land (1580) ⁶⁸⁰
509:	Heroyda Ovidiana Dido a Eneas, con Parafraſis. Eſpanol (1628)
510:	Don Filipe el Prudente rey de las Eſpanas y Nuevo Mundo (Mad. 1625) ⁶⁸¹
512:	L'India Orientale Deſcrit. Geog. & Hiſt. del Abbat. Toſi (Rom. 1676)
513:	Idea del Perſetto Ambaſciadore (Ven. 1654) ⁶⁸²
515:	Hiſtoria y Anal Relacion de las Coſas que hizieron los Padres de la Compania de Jesus, por las Partes de Oriente, y otras en la Propagacion del Santo Evangelio (Mad. 1614)
517:	Hiſtoria de la Ciudad de Merida, par [Bernabé Moreno de Vargas] (Mad. 1633)
521:	Biblia Eſpanol.
524:	Rimas de [Leonardo] Lupercio y Argensola (Zar. 1634)
525:	El Parnasso Eſpanol de Quevedo (Liſb. 1652)
527:	Armas y Triunfos Hechos Heroicos de los Hijos de Galicia (Mad. 1662)
528:	Imperio de la China Coultura Evangelica en il por les Religios, de la Compania de Jesus, pub. por [Manuel de Faria e] Sousa (1642)
529:	Discours. Hiſt. de la Naiſſance de Reine de Portugal (Par. 1669) ⁶⁸³
534:	La Vida della B. Madre Teresa (1604)

⁶⁸⁰ Nicolás Monardes, *Joyfull neues out of the newfound world, wherein are declared the rare and singular vertues of divers and sundrie herbs, trees, oyles, plants, [and] stones...* trans. from Spanish by John Frampton, (London: Thomas Dawson for William Norton, 1580).

⁶⁸¹ Lorenzo van der Hammen y León, *Don Filipe el prudente segundo deste nombre, rey de las Españas y nuevo mundo* (Madrid, widow of A. Martin, 1625).

⁶⁸² Juan Antonio Vera y Figueroa, *Idea del perſetto ambasciadore : dialoghi historici, e politici* (Venice: 1654).

⁶⁸³ Heidenreich identifies Antonio Viera as the author.

536:	L'Ambassade de Garcia Silva y Figueroa en Persie (Par. 1668) ⁶⁸⁴
546:	L'Histoire des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, par Maffée (Par. 1665)
551:	Tesore de Linguas Francese Ital. y Espanol (Col. 1606)
559:	Empresas Politicas por [Diego de Saavedra Fajardo], fig. (Val. 1658)
566:	Vida del Padre Baltazar Alvarez (Mad. 1615)
751:	Hist. Novi Orbis ([Lutetia] 1581) ⁶⁸⁵
765:	Barlei Histor. Brasiliae, cum figuris (1660) ⁶⁸⁶
769:	Vita Aloysii Gonzage, à Vir. Capario (Antw. 1609)
788:	Liber Auteus de Marco Aurelio (Sevil. 1587) ⁶⁸⁷
806:	Vita Ignatii, à Ribadeneira (1602)
830:	Vita Gonzali Sylveriae (Lugd. 1612) ⁶⁸⁸
882:	Speculum Tyrannidis Phillipi R. in Usurp. Portug. (Par. 1595)
918:	Vertot's Revolutions in Spain, 5 vol. (Lond. 1724)
963:	Tracts relating to the Colony in Darien (1699) ⁶⁸⁹
979b:	Vocabulary in six Languages (1725) ⁶⁹⁰
986:	Raleigh's Discourse concerning a War with Spain, &c. (1702)
995:	Brockwell's History of Portugal. Cuts (1726)

⁶⁸⁴ Garcia Silva y Figueroa, *L'Ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva y Figueroa en Persie*, trans. by Abraham van Wiquefort (Paris: 1668).

⁶⁸⁵ Girolamo Benzoni and Urbain Chauveton, *Novæ Novi Orbis Historiae, id est, rerum ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestarum...* (Geneva: Eustathius Vignon, 1581).

⁶⁸⁶ Casper van Braele, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi gestarum ...* (Clivis: Tobias Silverling, 1660).

⁶⁸⁷ *Liber aureo de Marco Aurelio*, a didactic novel by Spanish moralist Fray Antonio de Guevara, original author of item 1086.

⁶⁸⁸ Nicolao Godinho, *Vita patris Gonzali Sylveriae, S.J. sacerdotis, in Urbis Monomotapa martyrium passi* (Lugduni: 1612).

⁶⁸⁹ Heidenreich has been unable to further identify these tracts, as have I.

⁶⁹⁰ R. John Andrée. *A vocabulary in six languages, viz. English, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese* (London: 1725).

996:	Gibson's Affairs of Europe, from Utrecht to Quad. Alliance (1725)
1000:	Lockyer of the Indian Trade (1711)
1034:	Trapham's State of Health in Jamaica (1679)
1046:	Wells's Geography (1726)
1048:	Voyages into South America (1698)
1064:	The Spanish Critick, by Rycaut (1681) ⁶⁹¹
1068:	Wafer's Voyage and Desc. of the Isthmus of America (1699)
1070:	Betagh's Voyages round the World (1728)
1071:	Froger's Voyages, with Cuts, in An. 1695, 6, 7. (1698)
1086:	Spanish Letters, recommended by Sir R.L.S. (1697)⁶⁹²
1138:	Quevedo's Visions by Sir R. L'Estrange (1715)
1167:	Stubbes's Discourse upon Chocolate, with the Nature of the Nut, &c. (1662)
1173:	Villault's Voyage to Guinea (1670)
1187:	Art of Prudence, by Savage⁶⁹³
1207:	Pineda's Spanish Grammar (1726)
1210:	Davies's Triumphs of Female Subtilty, Curious Novel, Span.⁶⁹⁴
1232:	L'Estrange's History of the Times in Morocco. L. Pap. (1687)
1233:	Brodrick's History of the late War, L. Paper, 2. Vol. Cuts.
1244:	Cervante's Six surprising and diverting Adventures ⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹¹ English translation of Baltasar Gracián's *El Criticón*.

⁶⁹² Translation of Fray Antonio de Guevara's 1539-41 *Epistolas Familiares*. See also item 788.

⁶⁹³ 1702 English translation of Baltasar Gracián's *Oráculo Manual y Arte de Prudencia*, a 1647 manual of diplomacy and statecraft.

⁶⁹⁴ English translation of Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's 1642 picaresque novel *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas* (which roughly translates as 'the thief and hook-purse of Seville').

⁶⁹⁵ This item is an English-language compilation of stories by two separate authors. Juan Perez de Montalbán and Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, *A week's entertainment at a wedding. Written in Spanish by the author of Don Quixot* [London 1710]. Note that Payne has not corrected the false attribution to Cervantes.

1258:	Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, 3 Tom. (Par. 1699) ⁶⁹⁶
1275:	Hist. della Guerra di Fiandra. Parte Terza (Col. 1640)
1281:	La Muger Fuerte, la Vida de D. Maria Vela Gonzalez (1640)
1309:	Libro de Entretenimiento de la Picara Justina (Brux. 1608)
1313:	Memoires & Negotiat. Secrettes de la Torre (La Haye 1720) ⁶⁹⁷
1314:	Lettres & Memoires de Vargas (Amst. 1699) ⁶⁹⁸
1321:	Histoire des Indes Occidentales, par Barthe de las Casas (Lyon. 1642)
1326:	Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales ([Paris] 1677) ⁶⁹⁹
1332:	Relationes de Anton. Perez (Gen. 1654) ⁷⁰⁰
1339:	Tratado de los Derechos de la Reyna Christ (Par. 1687) ⁷⁰¹
1341:	Epitome des Histoires, des Roys Espagne & Castille, des Roys d'Arragon, des Ducs & Roys de Boheme, des Roy de Hongrie, des Maisons d'Ausbery & Autriche, par Gilles Corrozet Parisien (1553)
1345:	Les Emblemas de Alciato, fig. (Lyon. 1547) ⁷⁰²
1349:	La Liturgia Yngleia Hyspanizado por de Alvarado (Lond. 1707)
1358:	Parangon de las dos Cromueles de Inglaterra (Mad. 1657) ⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁶ Heidenreich suggests a 'Mme. D'Aulnoy' as the author.

⁶⁹⁷ M. de la Torre, *Mémoires et négociations secrets de F.B. comte de Harrach...a la cour de Madrid*. (La Haye: 1720).

⁶⁹⁸ M. de la Vassor, *Lettres et mémoires de F. de Vargas, de P. de Malvenda...et de quelques évêques d'Espagne touchant le Concile de Trent* (Amsterdam: 1699).

⁶⁹⁹ Heidenreich identifies Francois L'Estra as the author.

⁷⁰⁰ Antonio Perez, *Las obras y relaciones de Antonio Perez, Secretario de Estado ... del Don Phelipe Second* (Geneva: Samuel de Tounes, 1654).

⁷⁰¹ Heidenreich identifies this item as Antoine Bilain and Amable de Bourzeis, *Tratado de los derechos de la Reina Christianissima sobre varios estados de la monarquia de España* (Paris: 1667).

⁷⁰² Andrea Alciato, *Los emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rimas españolas*, trans. by Bernadino Daza Pinciano (Lyon: 1547).

⁷⁰³ Heidenreich identifies the author as Rodrigo Mendez-Silva.

1359:	Relation de Eleccion en Coronacion Emperadoris Carlos Sextus. (Bar.) ⁷⁰⁴
1417b:	Texeda Rexterus, or the Spanish Monk, his Bill of Divorce against the Church of Rome (1623) ⁷⁰⁵
1437i:	Golbourne's Lives of the Popes and Doct. of the Mass (1600) ⁷⁰⁶
1439e:	La Copie d'un Lettre envoyée de Angleterre a Barnadi de Mendoza, (1588) ⁷⁰⁷
1441c:	Discourse upon Navigation ⁷⁰⁸
1448e:	Auvergne's Hist. of the Last Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands, (1693)⁷⁰⁹
1463g:	The Duke of Anjou's Succession Consider'd
1465b:	Ignatian Fire-Works, shewing the Practices of the Jesuits, with other Tracts of Transubstantiation and Popery (1688) ⁷¹⁰
<i>Libri</i>	Different Views of Guinea, by William Smith, Surveyor to the Royal African
<i>Omissi</i> 3:	Company of England.
<i>L. O.</i> 20a:	His Highness the Protector's Declaration of the Justice of his Cause against Spain (1655)
<i>L. O.</i> 36:	White's Account of the Trade to the East Indies (1691)

⁷⁰⁴ Rafael Figuera, *Exacta relacion de todo lo que se observa y executa en la eleccion de la emperador ò rey de Romanos; como assi mesmode lo que se observó, y executó en la de...Carlos Sexto hasta el fin de su coronación* (Barcelona: no publication date).

⁷⁰⁵ Fernando de Tejada's account of his conversion to Protestantism. This English edition appears to have been the first widely-circulated publication (appearing after de Tejada's move to England), although references to an earlier Spanish version can be found.

⁷⁰⁶ Identified by Heidenreich as Cipriano de Valera, *Two Treatises: the first of the lives of the Popes...the second of the masses...* trans. by John Goulbourne, 2nd edn. (London: John Harrison, 1600).

⁷⁰⁷ William Cecil, *La copie d'une lettre envoyée d'Angleterre a dom Bernadin de Mendoza, Ambassadeur en France pour le Roy d'Espagne ...* (London: J. Voutrouillier for R. Field, 1588).

⁷⁰⁸ One of two complete titles suggested by Heidenreich is Bernardino de Escalante, *A discourse of the navigation which the Portugales doe make to the realms and provinces of the east partes of the world...* trans. from Spanish by John Frampton (London: Thomas Dawson, 1579).

⁷⁰⁹ Edward d'Auvergne, *The history of the last campaign in the Spanish Netherlands, anno Dom. 1693 ...* (London: John Newton, 1693).

⁷¹⁰ *Pyrotechnica Loyolana*, Ignatian Fire-Works...an historical compendium of the rise, doctrines, and deeds of the Jesuits (London: 1667-68).

L. O. 66:	La Biblia en Espanola, por Cypriano de Valera (1602)
L. O. 71:	Defensa de los Estatutos y Noblesas Espanolas (1637)
L. O. 86:	Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique (Rot. 1665) ⁷¹¹
L. O. 98:	Discurso Critico en que se Manifiesta Celebravan los Antiguos alos Cavallos. Manuscrip. ⁷¹²
L. O. 99g/99h:	Complaincte d' l'Universite de Paris contra aucuns Estrangers Surnommos Jesuites. (1564) <u>and</u> De eorum qui se Jesuitas
L. O. 105:	De Successione Regni Portugalliae (Brug. 1643)
L. O. 110:	Relacion de las Demonstraciones de Accion de Gratias y Regocijo (Salamanca. 1707) ⁷¹³
L. O. 113c:	Two Conferences between Father le Chaise and four Jesuits ⁷¹⁴
L. O. 133:	A Narrative of Sir G. Rooke's Voyage to the Mediterranean (1704) ⁷¹⁵
L. O. 143:	Manifeste Apolegetique, pour la Doctrine des Jesuites (Par. 1644)
L. O. 186:	An Entrance to the Spanish Tongue (1611)
L. O. 209:	The History of the Inquisition at Goa (1688)⁷¹⁶

⁷¹¹ Louis de Poincy and Cesar and Charles de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Îles Antilles de l'Amérique ...* (Rotterdam: Arnout Leers, 1665).

⁷¹² Unidentified.

⁷¹³ Identified by Heidenreich as Fr. Juan Interián de Ayalá, *Relación de las demostraciones de accion de gracias y recocijo que celebró en la Universidad de Salamanca por el...nacimiento del sereniss. Principe Luis Primero...* (Salamanca: 1707).

⁷¹⁴ François d'Aix de La Chaise, *A relation of two free conferences between Fataer [sic] L'Chese, and four considerable Jesuits, touching the present state of the affair of the Romanists in England ...* (London: 1680).

⁷¹⁵ *A narrative of Sir George Rooke's late voyage to the Mediterranean... With a description of Gibraltar; and observations on the usefulness and importance of that place ...* (London: Benji Tooke, 1704).

⁷¹⁶ Gabriel Dellon, *The History of the Inquisition as it is exercised at Goa* (London: James Knapton, 1688).

L. O. 225:	A True Relation of what happen'd to the Great Spanish Fleet and Galeons of Terra Firma in America (1623)
L. O. 266:	History of the Bucaniers of America. Cuts (1699)
L. O. 273:	Explicacion Mistica de Las Armas de España, caret Titulo ⁷¹⁷

The available information on Payne's interests and customer base allows for further speculative reduction of this list. His consistent interest in rare, luxurious, and foreign-language publications suggests that he was the likely source of much of the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century material listed here, as well as the titles with Italian origins, and the religious texts, particularly those items appealing to an almost exclusively Catholic audience. On these grounds of probability, I have therefore tentatively demoted 46 items from immediate consideration: all titles published earlier than 1640, all items published in Italy, and religious items with a clear Catholic affiliation like tracts, or saints' lives. The following table presents the Iberian items for which no positive case for either Payne or Farewell's ownership can be made.

Table II: Revised Iberian catalogue contents, with confirmed and probable salted items

filtered out:

<u>Item number:</u>	<u>Payne's title, author and publication information:</u>

⁷¹⁷ Heidenreich identifies this item as Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, *ἩΣΠΑΝΟ-ΙΘΗΜΑ, o Declaración mistica de las Armas de España* (Brussels: Lucas de Meerbeque, 1636).

122:	Fryer's Travels to East-India, and Persia ([London] 1698)
123:	Ambassador's Travels to Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, and India (1662)
135:	Robert's Merchant's Map of Commerce, best ([Oxford] 1700)
198:	Knox's History of the Island of Ceylon, fine Cuts (1681)
230:	Guerras de Flandes, avec fig. Curieuse, 2 vol. in Span. (Col. 1682)
241:	Excellencias y Primacias del Apostol Santiago el Mago unico Patron de Espanay Capitan de las Armas Catholicas (Villa Franca 1658)
246:	The Statutes of several Spanish Universities, and other Tracts in Spanish.
247:	Descripcion del Monasterio de Sanlorenzo el Real, fig. (Madrid 1698)
453:	Hero from the Spanish of Gracian, with Political Notes, by Father Courberville (1726)
455:	Mons. Frezier's Voyage to the South-Sea, and the Coasts of China and Peru, fine Cuts
521:	Biblia Espanol
528:	Imperio de la China Coultura Evangelica en il por les Religios, de la Compania de Jesus, pub. por [Manuel de Faria e] Sousa (1642)
529:	Discours. Hist. de la Naissance de Reine de Portugal (Par. 1669)
536:	L'Ambassade de Garcia Silva y Figueroa en Persie (Par. 1668)
546:	L'Histoire des Indes Orientales et Occidentales, par Maffée (Par. 1665)
559:	Empresas Politicas por [Diego de Saavedra Fajardo], fig. (Val. 1658)
765:	Barlei Histor. Brasiliae, cum figuris (1660)
918:	Vertot's Revolutions in Spain, 5 vol. (Lond. 1724)
963:	Tracts relating to the Colony in Darien (1699)
979b:	Vocabulary in six Languages (1725)
995:	Brockwell's History of Portugal. Cuts (1726)

996:	Gibson's Affairs of Europe, from Utrecht to Quad. Alliance (1725)
1000:	Lockyer of the Indian Trade (1711)
1034:	Trapham's State of Health in Jamaica (1679)
1046:	Wells's Geography (1726)
1064:	The Spanish Critick, by Rycout (1681)
1068:	Wafer's Voyage and Desc. of the Isthmus of America (1699)
1070:	Betagh's Voyages round the World (1728)
1071:	Froger's Voyages, with Cuts, in An. 1695, 6, 7. (1698)
1232:	L'Estrange's History of the Times in Morocco. L. Pap. (1687)
1233:	Brodrick's History of the late War, L. Paper, 2. Vol. Cuts.
1244:	Cervante's Six surprising and diverting Adventures.
1258:	Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, 3 Tom. (Par. 1699)
1313:	Memoires & Negotiat. Secrettes de la Torre (La Haye 1720)
1314:	Lettres & Memoires de Vargas (Amst. 1699)
1321:	Histoire des Indes Occidentales, par Barthe de las Casas (Lyon 1642)
1326:	Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales ([Paris] 1677)
1332:	Relationes de Anton. Perez (Gen. 1654)
1339:	Tratado de los Derechos de la Reyna Christ (Par. 1687)
1349:	La Liturgia Yngleia Hyspanizado por de Alvarado (Lond. 1707)
1358:	Parangon de las dos Cromueles de Inglaterra (Mad. 1657)
1359:	Relation de Eleccion en Coronacion Emperadoris Carlos Sextus (Bar.)
1463g:	The Duke of Anjou's Succession Consider'd
1465b:	Ignatian Fire-Works, shewing the Practices of the Jesuits, with other Tracts of Transubstantiation and Popery (1688)

<i>Libri Omissi</i> 3:	Different Views of Guinea, by William Smith, Surveyor to the Royal African Company of England.
L.O. 20a:	His Highness the Protector's Declaration of the Justice of his Cause against Spain (1655)
L.O. 36:	White's Account of the Trade to the East Indies (1691)
L.O. 86:	Histoire Naturelle des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique (Rot. 1665)
L.O. 105:	De Successione Regni Portugalliae (Brug. 1643)
L.O. 110:	Relacion de las Demonstraciones de Accion de Gracias y Regocijo Salamanca (1707)
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L.O. 143:	Manifeste Apolegetique, pour la Doctrine des Jesuites (Par. 1644)
L.O. 266:	History of the Bucaniers of America. Cuts (1699)

Now that the attribution question has been duly considered from Payne and Farewell's side, Defoe's own case for ownership can begin to be addressed. This filtering process is necessarily rather generalized and imprecise: for example, two items connected to an important source group were initially ruled out on account of their publication dates or possible attribution to Payne. However, it also provides a more manageable list for initial consideration, one which already indicates some clear general correspondences with Defoe's writings on the Iberian Peninsula and its colonies. There is a predominance of voyage and travel literature, which accords well with Aitken and Secord's early emphases. But there are also a significant number of works on modern history and politics, diplomatic letters and memoirs, and a representative cross-section of Spanish seventeenth-century prose literature: picaresque fiction, amatory novellas, and allegorical satire.

Taken as a whole –and assuming, for the moment, that this collection belonged to a single person– the probable owner of this material shares many of the characteristics that are suggested by Defoe’s biography and writings on the Iberias. The owner would have a wide-ranging and enduring interest in the region’s politics and culture; and a partial, but limited, proficiency in Spanish is indicated by the large number of English and French translations. The latter characteristic is further suggested by the fact that almost all of the dictionaries and grammars fall into the ‘salted’ group, as do a large portion of the most challenging Spanish-language literary texts, like Quevedo. Among those remaining are items like a Spanish bible and a Spanish translation of the Anglican liturgy, whose familiarity makes them an accessible and useful resource for an English student of the language. In addition to the general thematic similarities, the dates of the filtered group suggest another parallel to Defoe. Nine items relating to travel and geography on this list are dated between 1717 and 1729, the period when Defoe engaged most extensively with the Iberias in writing, particularly in fiction; and eight editions were published between 1724 and 1729. The presence of so many new works in a 1731 library sale indicates a recent interest in these topics, something which Defoe’s late writings demonstrates at length. While some of the publication dates preclude works from being direct influences, their presence in the library may strengthen the argument for Defoe’s intense engagement with the Iberian Americas towards the end of his life –particularly in conjunction with the fact that neither Payne nor Farewell demonstrated any marked interest in this subject. However, these parallels remain hypothetical and circumstantial: as earlier chapters have argued at length, the mere presence of this collection of material in the catalogue (even after considerations of the attribution issues) does not mean that it can be unequivocally attributed to Defoe. However, it does seem likely that least some part of it was likely incorporated into his knowledge of the Iberian peninsula and its colonies, and that there is sufficient grounds for further investigation of individual items, and for their incorporation into his studies of his broader relationship to a subject or genre.

Assessing the filtered list in terms of genre highlights the areas in which Defoe is most likely to have had reference to the listed items, and suggests some promising lines of enquiry.

Undoubtedly, the heavy representation of voyage, travel and geographic literature needs to be woven into a complete study of Defoe and Iberia, since it spans the whole length of his career and since his fiction deals so extensively with exploration and colonization. The fact that so many titles in this category material are of non-English origin also needs to be emphasized in future studies of this category, providing an important emendation of Secord's influential work which, as mentioned, already excludes so much catalogue material.⁷¹⁸ The works on diplomacy and statecraft also deserve detailed analysis. A particularly interesting study could be made of the relationship between works like the 1654 *Obras y Relaciones* of Antonio Perez, Secretary of State under Phillip II, García de Silva y Figueroa's account of his ambassadorship in Persia, and Defoe's own excursions into political and military memoirs like *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, and *A Continuation of the Letters Written by a Turkish Spy*. Whether these specific works were direct sources or not (something which can only be decided through comparative analysis), they could be useful orientation points in an overview of Defoe's relation to this field.

However, as mentioned earlier, these areas are beyond the scope of this study. It focuses solely on the Spanish literary prose works on these lists, examining their relevance to Defoe's transformation of picaresque conventions and motifs, and his possible relation to broader Spanish literary currents. Several of the items listed here arguably reveal a great deal about Defoe's fictional methods, as they indicate that both a considerable knowledge of non-English literary traditions, and an idiosyncratic repurposing of its subjects and conventions, were

⁷¹⁸ Of the list of Spanish-related items above, *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe* includes only Knox's *Ceylon*, Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, and Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

important aspects of his most famous novels. It is emphatically not intended to be a *complete* exploration of Defoe's use of the picaresque: anything even approaching such claims needs to assess a broader nexus of non-catalogue Spanish texts with obvious relevance: *Don Quixote*, the *Novelas Ejemplares*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzman de Alfarache* and other Spanish picaresque landmarks, as well as the English, French and German traditions of picaresque fiction, and the literature of female roguery.

Nonetheless, an exploration of the selected catalogue titles may highlight neglected aspects of Defoe's fictional methods, and indicate the necessity of broadening his literary contexts beyond not only English voyage and criminal narratives, but also the Spanish picaresque novel. Baltasar Gracián's *The Critick*, for example, may have provided Defoe with inspiration extending far beyond the often-cited desert island episode in the first chapter, and deserves to be incorporated into studies of Defoe's use of contemporary moral allegories like *The Pilgrim's Progress*, as well as satirical traditions. It also, along with other works by Gracián, Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor and Juan Perez de Montalban, raises questions about Defoe's awareness of Spanish exemplary literature – a fictional tradition to perhaps analyse alongside English 'spiritual autobiography'. However, in order to provide the necessary context, this study will begin with a comparative analysis of the catalogue's picaresque and amatory fiction, whose very typicality reveals how Defoe transformed elements of these genres in his fictional narratives. Although the filtering process struck both these works off the 'final' list (because of age and a possible match in Payne), the two female picaresque novels in the catalogue deserve consideration, as there are a few parallels that suggest Defoe knew these specific novels.

II: The catalogue's contents and Defoe's use of Spanish literary sources and conventions

La Picara and Libro de entretenimiento de la picara Justina: picaresque fiction

Several convincing cases have been made for the expansion and redefinition of 'picaresque' that is, for considerations of the genre to incorporate narratives outside the *Lazarillo/Guzmán de Alfarache*-style novel of roguery.⁷¹⁹ However, for clarity's sake, I will use the term here in its traditional sense of 'depicting a delinquent's passage through life, frequently with moral or religious comments ... characterized by a low-life milieu and a shrewd hero (later sometimes a heroine) who may manage to climb the social ladder and achieve –albeit temporarily– financial and other successes'.⁷²⁰

It is generally accepted that picaresque fiction was one of the literary contexts which shaped the development of Defoe's novels, although the extent of its influence has been debated; and there have been few detailed studies of specific sources. The broad parallels of subject and approach between the traditional picaresque tale and Defoe's major novels are too well-known for a summary to be necessary here. However, there is one hitherto undiscussed aspect of the picaresque tradition, which may have given it an additional attraction for Defoe: its exploration of cultural and religious outsider perspectives. This was a genre in which a religious minority (the Jewish *conversos*) played a central role. The *converso* background of major protagonists is often hinted at or openly avowed –*Guzmán de Alfarache*, *El Buscón* and

⁷¹⁹ See Francisco Rico, *The Spanish picaresque novel and the point of view*, trans. by Charles Davis and Harry Sieber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 65-90.

⁷²⁰ *The Oxford Companion to Spanish Literature*, ed. by Philip Ward (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 464.

La Pícaro Justina being some particularly notable examples—and major authors like Francisco Lopez de Úbeda, Mateo Alemán, Fernando de Rojas and Cervantes were also known or suspected to have had *converso* backgrounds.⁷²¹ A considerable body of criticism has been devoted to the ways in which the *converso* experience is encoded into the picaresque novel, which often notes the prominence of exiles, outcasts, itinerants and shapeshifters, and its focus on disguise, adaptation and survival.⁷²² The parallels between the genre's concerns and Defoe's own background (as a Dissenter, traveller, criminal and spy) are clear and suggestive; whether he himself was aware of them is uncertain. Again, a comparative study of Swift's Portuguese counterpart to Defoe's 'good Spaniard' may be helpful here, as a convincing case has been made for this figure's *converso* status.⁷²³

The extant commentary on Defoe's use of the picaresque tends to agree that Defoe directly reproduces characteristics like the focus on crime, travel and movement, exploration of outsiderdom, and abundance of local physical detail and vernacular. His achievement is usually defined as the addition of pathos, psychological and situational realism—what A.A. Parker describes as his 'humanization' of the genre.⁷²⁴ Analysing his development of the form, both Novak and picaresque historian Frank Wadleigh Chandler argue that he achieved this change primarily by making his heroes and heroines physically, emotionally and morally vulnerable,

⁷²¹ For a concise overview of the *converso*'s centrality to the picaresque novel, see Joseph V. Ricapito, 'Review [Peter N. Dunn] *Spanish Picaresque Fiction: A New Literary History ...*' *Cervantes* 14, 2 (1994), 170-76.

⁷²² See Ricapito, *ibid*; Marcel Batallion, 'Les nouveaux chrétiens dans l'essai du roman picaresque,' *Neophilologus* 4 (1964), 283-98; and *Pícaros y picaresca* (Madrid: Taurus, 1980), pp. 203-43; Américo Castro, *España en su historia* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948), pp. 581-97; *The Picaresque: A Symposium on a Rogue's Tale*, ed. by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael Zappala (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1994); Deborah S. Rosenberg, 'The *Converso* and the Spanish Picaresque Novel', in *Marginal Voices: Studies in *Converso* Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain*, ed. by A Aaronson-Friedman and GB Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 183-206.

⁷²³ Géracht, 39-52.

⁷²⁴ A.A. Parker, *Literature and the Delinquent: The Picaresque Novel in Spain and Europe 1599-1753* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), p. 108.

the fact that 'success does not always appear imminent', lending their situations a gravity absent from the typical *picaro* novel, whose protagonists are largely invulnerable and untroubled by any sort of conscience.⁷²⁵ The reader's investment in the predicament of a Defoe protagonist, according to Chandler, rests on this 'unprecedented' psychological consistency and depth. He credits Defoe and Le Sage as 'the first to endow the picaresque form with a unity deeper than the anti-hero's identity' and to elevate character over plot, thereby giving the typical picaresque succession of unrelated and diverse events the illusion of being natural consequences of the protagonist's background and personality.⁷²⁶ These broad conclusions are supported by examination of the two *picara* novels in the catalogue, which, when examined beside Defoe's counterparts of *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*, provide clear indications that he knew the genre well, and probably borrowed specific details from these novels.

Both Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *La Picara, or the triumphs of female subtily*⁷²⁷ and Francisco Lopez de Úbeda's *Libro de entretenimiento de la picara Justina*⁷²⁸ are deliberate feminizations of the male *picaro* tale –indeed, both authors explicitly connect their novels to *Guzman de Alfarache*. They both tell stories of a wily and attractive social outsider who sought to advance his fortunes through seduction and crime, with Úbeda focusing on rural communities and provincial towns, and Castillo Solórzano using wider-ranging, primarily urban,

⁷²⁵ *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, p. 67.

⁷²⁶ Frank Wadleigh Chandler: *Romances of Roguery: An Episode in the History of the Novel*, 2 vols (New York: Burt Franklin, 1961), vol. II, 291.

⁷²⁷ Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *La Picara, or the triumphs of female subtily*, trans. by John Davies (London: W.W. for John Starkey, 1665). Originally published in 1642 as *La Garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de bolsas*, which roughly translates as *The thief and hook-purse of Seville*.

⁷²⁸ Francisco Lopez de Úbeda, *The Spanish Libertines: or the Lives of Justina, the Country Jilt, Celestina, the Bawd of Madrid and Estevanillo Gonzales, the most Arch and Comical of Scoundrels*, trans. by John Stevens (London: J. How, 1707). Nicholas Spadaccini has made additional claims for this work's connection to the *Preface to Moll Flanders*, noting its presence in the catalogue.

settings. *La Picara* is also told in the third person, while Úbeda uses the garrulous and idiomatic first-person voice of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. In their quest for fortune and advancement, which is most easily achieved through the entrapment of men, both women employ the same weapons: their attractiveness, and a façade of prosperity and respectability. Changes of location, the assumption of new identities, and a rich and varied wardrobe are the constants of their lives as adventurers, and with this bait, they actively hunt out suitable targets. The necessity of relocation and reinvention is obviously central to both *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*; and the strong parallels between the passages summarizing this process suggest Defoe's direct use of the genre as source material:

[*Moll Flanders*:] ...it was absolutely necessary to change my Station and make a new Appearance in some other PLACE where I was not known, and even to pass by another NAME if I found occasion...it presently went all over the Neighbourhood that the young Widow at Captain ---s was a Fortune...I Pick'd out my man without much Difficulty, by the Judgment I made of his way of Courting me...upon a full satisfaction, that I was very Rich, though I never told him a word of it myself.⁷²⁹

[*La Picara*:] *Rusina*, having remov'd into another Quarter of the City, and being young, sumptuous in cloaths and perfectly handsome, did not as many other Widows are wont to do [base their choice on lust, not wealth]...she concluded, that [a greedy merchant from Peru] might be made an excellent Cully, whom if she could smite, as she expected, her condition would be better than ever it had been.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁹ Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders* (London: W. Chetwood and T. Edling, 1722) pp. 88-90.

⁷³⁰ Castillo Solórzano, pp. 30-31; see also pp. 222-23.

La Picara Justina presents further parallels with Defoe's fiction in the portrayal of landladies as accomplices and confidantes,⁷³¹ the play-by-play first-person account of petty crime,⁷³² and the use of riddles in flirtation and courtship. There are also interesting similarities between Roxana's famous tirade against marriage –and the lack of financial freedom it accords women– and Justina's observation that on the marriage market '... now a-days Love is Bought and Sold, and the fairest Bidder carries the Prize; *It is Money makes the mare to go*, and an Ass loaded with *Gold* is more acceptable than the Noblest Creature without that Ornament'.⁷³³

There is no direct model for the psychological complexity, vulnerability and fallibility of Defoe's female protagonists in either Castillo Solórzano's *Rusina* or Úbeda's *Justina*, both of whom exemplify the cartoonishly resilient and wily picaresque archetype. However, Castillo Solórzano's novel does contain an interesting precedent for one of *Moll Flanders*'s most sympathetic moments: the introduction of her 'Lancashire Husband'. *Rusina* sets herself up so successfully as a 'Widdow of Quality' that she ingratiates herself with 'many of her own Sex, who took for Gold all that Glitter'd in that subtle woman' and begins to attract the district's eligible men.⁷³⁴ One of them –as in *Moll Flanders*, introduced to the widow by an accomplice–⁷³⁵ is a mirror-image of the female protagonist: an attractive and charming fortune-hunter who has established a façade of prosperity. Interestingly, these men are both named James

⁷³¹ Úbeda, pp. 54-55.

⁷³² Úbeda, pp. 52-56.

⁷³³ Úbeda, p. 61.

⁷³⁴ Castillo Solórzano, pp. 222-29.

⁷³⁵ Don Jaimo is supported by Crispin, one of *Rusina*'s former victims; and James's sister lies to her tenant about her brother's prospects.

(Hispanicised by Davies as 'Jaimo'). After mistaking him for a suitable target, Rusina allows herself to fall in love with him, and forms a design to trap him into marriage. But his genuine attachment to her drives him to confess everything to her. In both *La Picara* and *Moll Flanders*, there is a mutual confession of the lovers' true background and original intent to deceive, which only confirms and strengthens their attachment. The basic content of these scenes is almost identical, something which is obscured by the vividness and detail by Defoe adds through rewriting indirect discourse as realistic dialogue:

[La Picara:] Whereupon considering that [Don Jaimo] had so ingeniously discover'd himself to her, and acknowledg'd even to the meanness of his birth, she thought her self oblig'd to do the like, and to give him a sincere account of her descent, course of life, friends, in a word, all her adventures, to her arrival at *Toledo* ... that equality of condition not only occasion'd a greater kindness, but begat thoughts of a match, between them.⁷³⁶

[Moll Flanders:] Why, says I to him, this has been a hellish Juggle, for we are married here upon the foot of a double Fraud, you are undone by the Disappointment it seems, and if I had a Fortune I had been cheated too, for you say you have nothing. You would indeed have been cheated, my Dear, says he, but you would not have been undone, for Fifteen Thousand Pound would have maintain'd us both very handsomely in this Country...I would not have wrong'd you of a Shilling, and the rest I would have made up in my Affection to you, and tenderness as long as I liv'd.

⁷³⁶Castillo Solórzano, pp. 285-86.

This was very honest indeed, and I really believe he spoke as he intended ...⁷³⁷

This parallel contradicts Chandler's claim that 'the Spanish and French anti-heroines seem never to have known unarmed innocence or natural affection', on which he bases much of his comparison of picaresque archetypes with Defoe's female adventurers.⁷³⁸ *La Picara's* viability as a source for *Moll Flanders* is further strengthened by the fact that both these relationships factor into the heroine's happy ending, as the couples unite and embark on 'reformed' lives in distant places. Moll and James renounce crime and reunite in America; Rusina and Jaimo end their story here, fleeing Madrid for Zaragoza and continuing their criminal careers, but opening a 'Silk Shop' and feigning respectability.

In addition to these direct parallels, the novels also indicate that Defoe's 'transformation' of the picaresque involved more than the bestowal of morality, conscience, and complexity upon the central *picara* or *picaro* figure. A conscious manipulations of the boundaries and norms of the genre seem to have played a role in his methods of characterization. What is notable is that, although Defoe's reproduction of picaresque situations is most often a direct and simple expansion through dialogue and detail, he does not imitate the genre's typical perspective and distribution of sympathy. In the typical picaresque novel, the *picaro* or *picara's* targets are social archetypes whose only pronounced traits are the manners and pretensions common to their station or profession, which are comically undercut by their actual conditions, motives and desires. Even when these characters' sufferings place them in sympathetic situations, it is still implied that they deserved their victim status through their character flaws, and failure to

⁷³⁷ *Moll Flanders*, p. 179.

⁷³⁸ Chandler, vol. II, 292.

outsmart the trickster.⁷³⁹ What Defoe typically does, in contrast, is extend a similar degree of realism and sympathy to both his heroines and their victims, and blur the lines between victim and predator by giving his heroines traits usually confined to the targets, like vanity, greed, or even the propensity for infatuation. It is arguably the combination of the two specific types which populate picaresque fiction –the trickster and the victim– that produces Defoe’s unique transformation. His female protagonists combine the *picara*’s characteristic traits (witty, hard, protean, resilient) with those of her dupe (pretentious, aspirational, greedy, flawed, vulnerable), and incorporate an equal awareness of both groups into their autobiographies. For example, Roxana’s account of her captivation of a French prince details both her success in emotional manipulation (feigning tears and vulnerability), and the success with which her own extreme vanity can be exploited.

As the above example of *Rusina* and *Jaimo* shows (and as Chandler’s critics have noted),⁷⁴⁰ picaresque fiction was actually more diverse and less proscriptive mode than has often been assumed; and one of the catalogue novels contains an interesting inversion of sympathy that may have set a precedent for Defoe’s manipulation of convention here. While *Úbeda*’s work reinforces the traditional boundaries, inviting the reader to enjoy *Justina*’s comic triumphs over contemptible victims, *Castillo y Solórzano* demonstrates an ambiguous relationship to this tradition in his handling of the miserly Peru merchant, *Marquina*. Before falling in love with *Rusina*, the merchant’s sole defining traits are his extravagant possessions (his Seville palace is

⁷³⁹ The division between predator and victim is arguably at its most extreme in the *picara* novels, where the lack of acceptable female social mobility has been said to require heroines to be ‘jokers and swindlers of a criminal, or near-criminal sort’ (Peter N. Dunn, *The Spanish Picaresque Novel*, p. 133), lacking the tensions and ambiguities of the *picara*’s navigation of the social scale.

⁷⁴⁰ The accuracy of Chandler’s exclusion of psychological consistency, complex characterization and didactic intent from the genre has been challenged (see Ward, *ibid.* 465). I include his comments here for their observations on Defoe, without condoning his over-proscriptive interpretation of the genre.

described in exhaustive detail) and his 'covetous and sordid' nature.⁷⁴¹ However, the torments he undergoes under 'the first love that had ever mov'd [his] heart' are depicted with an unusual sympathy and detail.⁷⁴² Transformed into a 'liberal and magnificent' person through infatuation,⁷⁴³ he is completely subjugated, and oscillates between fears of losing her and losing his wealth, which he knows to be integral to keeping her. In contrast, Castillo Solórzano extends little sympathy to Rusina herself, and unlike Úbeda, shows no amusement in his heroine's antics. She carries out 'her design to bring in this covetous Merchant into the noose'⁷⁴⁴ with cold precision, spinning stories and beguiling him with music in order to 'breed one maggot more in his brain than he had already',⁷⁴⁵ while planning a full-scale robbery. The chapter concludes with Rusina's successful escape to Madrid, but Úbeda unusually chooses to spend the chapter's last three pages on Marquina's devastation by her theft and betrayal. Initially, he is merely concerned by her disappearance, but after gradually realizing the truth he goes 'stark mad, throwing himself on the ground, running his head against the wall, and doing such a thing as raised a compassion in his servants'.⁷⁴⁶ He falls into a lingering illness, with the sympathy that has been directed towards his predicament rendering the closing justification hollow:

⁷⁴¹ Castillo Solórzano, p. 46.

⁷⁴² Castillo Solórzano, p. 45.

⁷⁴³ Castillo Solórzano, p. 49.

⁷⁴⁴ Castillo Solórzano, p. 32.

⁷⁴⁵ Castillo Solórzano, p. 48.

⁷⁴⁶ Castillo Solórzano, p. 62.

The robbery was soon divulg'd all over the City; some, who knew not his humour, pitied his misfortune, but such as had experience of his insatiable avarice were not a little pleased to find him so justly punish'd.⁷⁴⁷

A similar extension of sympathy can be seen in Defoe's treatment of another protagonist: Colonel Jack, whose characterization in his romantic relationships closely parallels the archetype of the *picara's* dupe. Jack is often the target and victim of scheming and dishonest women, and his experiences—which draw extensively on the tropes of picaresque fiction and the amatory novella—explore the emotional and practical consequences of these schemes. Returning from America, and as much 'a meer Boy in the Affair of Love ... as perfectly unacquainted with the Sex, and as unconcerned about them, as when I was ten Year old,'⁷⁴⁸ Jack is falsely identified as 'vastly Rich, a great Merchant'⁷⁴⁹ by a female fortune-hunter, who schemes to entice him into marriage. Her 'witchcraft'—a skilful balance of constant proximity, flirtatious wit and extreme propriety, and, like Rusina, musical performance⁷⁵⁰ succeeds, as Jack is gradually 'drawn in by the Magick of a Genius capable to Deceive a more wary Capacity than mine' and makes him 'effectually Court her, tho' at the same time in her Design she Courted me with the utmost Skill, and such Skill it was that her Design was perfectly Impenetrable to the last Moment'.⁷⁵¹ By the time Jack's realization comes, however, she has achieved her goals of marriage and financial security, and thrown off 'the Mask of her Gravity, and Good Conduct, that I had so long fancy'd was her natural Disposition', reverting to her true

⁷⁴⁷ Castillo Solórzano, p. 62.

⁷⁴⁸ *Colonel Jack*, p. 239.

⁷⁴⁹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 240.

⁷⁵⁰ *Colonel Jack*, p. 244.

⁷⁵¹ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 239, 247.

form: 'a wild, untam'd Colt, perfectly loose, and careless to conceal any part, no not the worst of her Conduct'.⁷⁵²

Jack is devastated by the infidelity and profligate spending that marks the rest of their married life, remaining in love with the woman with whom he 'could have been any thing but a Beggar, and a Cuckold', but finally driven to separate by the 'intollerable' extremes of her vices, especially as they were put upon me with so much Insult, and Rudeness'.⁷⁵³ The fallout of this separation (perhaps anticipating the couple's happy reunion) focuses more on the material consequences than the emotional ones: Jack loses his entire estate, and is forced to leave the country after an altercation over one of his wife's bills. However, the downfall of his next unhappy marriage details his jealousy and torment in considerable detail –drawing heavily, as will be seen, on the tropes of the amatory novella.

A Week's Entertainment at a Wedding: the amatory novella

A Week's Entertainment at a Wedding is not, as claimed on the title page, a translation of Cervantes, but a 1710 English compilation of novellas by Juan Pérez de Montalbán and Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor. These disparate stories of romantic intrigue, mistaken identity and murder are connected through a Boccaccio-esque framing preface (supplied by the translator). They are typical examples of Spanish and Italian seventeenth-century amatory fiction, which, like the genre's best-known examples (the novellas in *Don Quixote*) contain all the stock situations: marriages obstructed by money and family rivalries, suspicious lovers and violent

⁷⁵² *Colonel Jack*, p. 247.

⁷⁵³ *Colonel Jack*, p. 253.

outbreaks of jealous rage, long separations and happy, coincidental reunions. Obviously, the presence of these common plots in Defoe's fiction cannot be traced directly back to this collection. However, there are more specific parallels with *Week's Entertainment at a Wedding* that deserve investigation: a heavy focus on crime, particularly murder,⁷⁵⁴ the maid's function as the instigator and perpetrator of crimes (with the mistress's limited knowledge),⁷⁵⁵ descriptions of the minutiae of 'respectable' female poverty,⁷⁵⁶ and detailed descriptions of female adornment.⁷⁵⁷ These parallels argue for a more detailed examination of de Zayas's possible influence on *Roxana* and *Moll Flanders* than is possible here; and recent critical analyses of her depiction of the conflicts between complex, flawed and wilful female protagonists and patriarchal institutions suggest that a study of de Zayas and Defoe extending beyond the catalogue may be a worthwhile project.⁷⁵⁸

Turning back to Defoe's writings, it is clear that *Colonel Jack* not only makes the most extensive and cohesive use of genre-specific tropes found in this collection, it also employs them in a consistent and purposeful manner. Defoe incorporates them into two of Jack's three failed marriages, and uses the stock situations as starting points and frameworks for (relatively) realistic and credible explorations of Jack's psychological development. He rewrites melodrama and bathos with verisimilitude and human-scaled emotions, tracing the situation back to its core emotional response, and recasting it with flawed and pragmatic modern people. Jack's third wife (the widow) is introduced with her face covered; the removal of her

⁷⁵⁴ Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor and Juan Pérez de Montalbán and, *A week's entertainment at a wedding. Written in Spanish by the author of Don Quixot*, trans. by anon. (London: J. Woodward 1710), pp. 34-36, 123-26.

⁷⁵⁵ De Zayas y Sotomayor, pp. 88-90.

⁷⁵⁶ De Zayas y Sotomayor, p. 121.

⁷⁵⁷ De Zayas y Sotomayor, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁵⁸ See Eavan O'Brien, *Women in the Prose of Maria de Zayas* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2010), and Marina S. Brownlee, *The Cultural Labyrinth of Maria de Zayas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

veils and the discovery of 'one of the most beautiful Faces upon Earth' causes Jack to fall in love with her.⁷⁵⁹ The revelation of the beautiful woman beneath the veil is a cliché of early Spanish, Italian, and Arabic prose fiction, and it duly appears in Don Frederick's nested account of falling in love Donna Stephania:⁷⁶⁰

A Lady...who, tho' veil'd, was not so close cover'd at first, but that the Silk Vail being a little slipp'd on one Side, I discover'd the greatest Beauty I thought I had ever seen.⁷⁶¹

In *A Week's Entertainment*, this trope produces typically melodramatic events: Don Frederick is unwittingly telling this story to Don Henry, the actual husband of Donna Stephania, causing him to believe that his wife has cuckolded him, and to plan the couple's murder. In Defoe's realistic world, however, the woman's beauty and 'exquisitely Genteel' conversation only renew Jack's desire for a happy marriage and lead him into a prolonged and cautious courtship – in which he tries to avoid repeating his initial mistake by inquiring 'into her Circumstances, and her Character'.⁷⁶² This wife's eventual slide into alcoholism, infidelity and illness provide a far more mundane and credible end to the relationship than the succession of misunderstandings and coincidences leading to the wife's vindication and the couple's reunion.

⁷⁵⁹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 304.

⁷⁶⁰ Davies's title: 'The unhappy Mistakes retriev'd by good Fortune'.

⁷⁶¹ De Zayas y Sotomayor, p. 30.

⁷⁶² *Colonel Jack*, p. 306.

Another trope from the same novella is reworked far more extensively in connection with Jack's Italian second wife, as his musings following the discovery of her infidelity closely parallel Henry's account of his reaction. De Zayas's treatment of this staple element of melodrama and amatory fiction –the cuckolded spouse's deliberation of revenge– is typical and rather unremarkable. Covering only two pages, it recounts how the details of Frederick's story convince Henry 'that it was my House which suffer'd, and I the most wretched of all Men.' After a brief interval in which he 'dissembled my Resentment as best I could,' Henry leads the unsuspecting Frederick into the woods, chattering of his 'Hopes and Expectations of Delight ... [which] stabbed me to the Heart' and repeatedly ran him through with his sword.⁷⁶³ Henry miraculously survives, and begs his assailant for 'an Hour or Two to make his Peace with Heaven'; his request is granted as Henry decides to 'take his Revenge, as an Enemy, and yet not forget he is a Christian', and refrain from the final blow. Leaving the scene, he briefly and pragmatically considers the proper course to take with his wife:

[I] began to consider what was best to be done, and then in the next Place, only reflecting that if I kill'd my Wife, that would serve to make my Dishonour the more publick, and tho' she had offended only in thought, yet the City would construe the Thing as if she actually committed the Crime, which was laying a Blemish on the Honour of both our Families, and so I thought it a much more proper Revenge never to see her more.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶³ De Zayas y Sotomayor, p. 34.

⁷⁶⁴ De Zayas y Sotomayor, p. 35.

He leaves the country after taking this resolution, remaining 'so Tender to this Point' that he continually regrets 'not having serv'd her in the same Manner as I did *Don Frederick*'.⁷⁶⁵ Jack's experience contains the same core incidents, in the same order. However, Defoe lingers on the period of deliberation, presenting a realistic and complex picture of Jack's thought processes, and concludes the episode in a believably impulsive way. Jack spends a considerable period of time in a limbo of suspicion, having 'no sufficient Evidence of her Guilt' but being 'fully possess'd with the belief of it'.⁷⁶⁶ Tormented by jealousy and betrayal, he spends 'whole Days ... [and] sometimes whole Nights' playing out the schemes of murder suggested by the Devil 'more than once, or indeed a Hundred Times in my Imagination' until this course becomes certain:

... I left debating whether I should Murder her or no, as a Thing out of the Question, and Determined; and my Thoughts were then taken up only with the Management of how I should kill her, and how to make my escape after I had done it.⁷⁶⁷

Jack conceals these plans for as long as possible, but an outburst of natural anger ultimately prevents him from carrying them out. His wife's friendliness with a French lodger—which has twice brought him to the point 'of breaking in upon them and affronting them both'—finally overwhelms him, as he impulsively insults the man with a look 'something akin to the face on the sign called the Bull and Mouth within Aldersgate'.⁷⁶⁸ A lively argument ensues with this 'man of Honour, and some Spirit too', whose vehemence actually prompts Jack to back down

⁷⁶⁵ De Zayas y Sotomayor, p. 37.

⁷⁶⁶ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 288-89.

⁷⁶⁷ *Colonel Jack*, p. 288.

⁷⁶⁸ *Colonel Jack*, p. 290.

and ask for clemency. He refuses, and they fight a duel outside the city, in which the Marquis admits Jack's wife's guilt after receiving a near-fatal wound, and Jack consequently flees Paris, after confronting his wife. He has now lost his desire to kill her, although he makes her aware of his anger and restraint by noting 'the Necessity I should be under, if I stay'd of sending you to 'keep company with your dear Friend the Marquis'.⁷⁶⁹ Instead he contemptuously casts off this 'infamous Creature', and shows further mercy when hearing of her condition after his departure, giving her a living allowance (with the condition that she not live 'a scandalous Life') in the hope of both saving her from further crimes, and preventing him from having her sins on his conscience:

She was in very bad Circumstances...I thought however it was, I ought not to let her Starve; and besides, Poverty was a Temptation which a Woman could not easily withstand, and I ought not to be the Instrument to drive her to a horrid Necessity of Crime, if I could prevent it.⁷⁷⁰

It is notable that Jack's only consistency happy marriage –the practical arrangement with his neighbour Moggy– is the only one which has no connection with the conventions and motifs of picaresque fiction or the amatory novella. As mentioned earlier, Defoe's use of the picaresque is often characterized by the addition of weight and pathos to a genre typically comprised of a succession of emotionally inconsequential events. But the amatory novella may have functioned as a similar reference point, albeit in the opposite manner: verisimilitude is here given to stock situations and motifs by scaling back bathos and coincidence, adding realistic and localized details (here borrowing from the picaresque novel), and fleshing out the

⁷⁶⁹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 294-95.

⁷⁷⁰ *Colonel Jack*, p. 297.

recognizably human emotions that comprise the melodramatic structures. To encompass the full extent of Defoe's transformation of Spanish fiction, it is arguably beneficial to consider his work as approximating a point in the Spanish literary spectrum between these two modes. In both cases, he is interested in exploring how real, imperfect people would respond to the emotional crisis they recount; and how emotions like fear, anger, jealousy or infatuation can either reinforce the typical course of these plots or disrupt them. In Defoe's brand of fictional realism, the interaction of both fictional modes is important as both a technique and a context.

The Critick/El Criticón: a worldly allegory

Baltasar Gracián y Morales's *El Criticón*, represented in the library by Paul Rycout's 1681 translation, may have had its own distinct impact upon both Defoe's transformation of the aforementioned conventions and motifs, and on the moral landscape of *Crusoe*, *Colonel Jack* and the *New Voyage*.⁷⁷¹ The small body of criticism on Defoe and Gracián is almost exclusively concerned with the parallels between Robinson Crusoe and the first chapters of *El Criticón*, in which the civilized and intellectual Critilio is shipwrecked on a deserted island.⁷⁷² Here, he encounters Andrenio, an intelligent young man who has been isolated not only from humankind, but from the natural world. Raised by animals 'within the Bowels of the Mountain',⁷⁷³ it is innate human curiosity and ingenuity which drives him towards the outside

⁷⁷¹ Baltasar Gracián y Morales, *The Critick*, written originally in Spanish...trans. by Paul Rycout (London: T.N. for Henry Brome, 1681).

⁷⁷² In a representative recent example of Defoe scholars' interest in this work, Novak briefly considers Andrenio's cavebound isolation as one of many possible models for Crusoe's distinctively mundane 'hermitage,' concluding that the episode's Platonic progression has little relevance to Crusoe's experiences. 'See 'The Cave and the Grotto: Realist Form and Robinson Crusoe's Imagined Interiors', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 20, 3 (2008), 445-68, (pp. 454-55).

⁷⁷³ *The Critick*, p. 8.

world. The first section of the book consists primarily of dialogues between Andrenio and Critilio, in which Andrenio ingenuously recounts his discovery of the natural world and his development of reason through this process, and Critilio intersperses his own story with an interpretation of Andrenio's findings, placing them within a philosophical and religious framework that proves the justness of his untaught conclusions. Heavily influenced by another potential Crusoe source (the Arabic novel *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*), the influence of this section has been detected in both Crusoe's account of the shipwreck, his journey to redemption through mastery of the island environment, and in his education of Friday.⁷⁷⁴ However, unlike Friday, Andrenio is presented as a noble savage is of distinctly European heritage (later discovered to be Critilio's long-lost son), as Critilio notes that 'the fairness and length of his Hair, and the equal proportions of his Mouth, as an argument that he was a *European*'.⁷⁷⁵

While this section is an important component of Defoe's potential use of Gracián, it is, however, only a fraction of the total work, comprising less than three chapters.⁷⁷⁶ Almost as soon as Andrenio concludes his story, he and Critilio are rescued by a Spanish galleon, and the next ten chapters ('crises') recount their travels through Spain, and the temptations and moral dilemmas that confront them in the civilized world. Several parallels with Defoe's fiction appear in this section of the Rycaut translation, from the general allegorical structure, to his treatment of female adventurers, and his critiques of greed and advocacy of a balanced life. That this section has received so little interest from Defoe scholars is perhaps a consequence

⁷⁷⁴ See Henry Clifton Hutchins, 'Review: *Studies in the Narrative Method of Daniel Defoe* by Arthur Wellesley Secord', *The Journal of English and German Philology*, 28, 3 (1929), pp. 443-52 (p.449); and Fausett, pp. 48, 99.

⁷⁷⁵ *The Critick*, p. 5.

⁷⁷⁶ The original *El Criticón* comprises three parts, divided into a number of 'crises', or chapters; Rycaut's translation only takes the reader up to the end of part I.

of its early miscategorization among the desert island narratives, which fell out of critical favour as the discipline sought to consign the Selkirk plagiarism debate to history.

Despite Gracián's Jesuit background, the post-island section of *The Critick* shares the basic structure of the Puritan allegory most often discussed in conjunction with *Robinson Crusoe*: *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁷⁷⁷ The spiritual struggle of the journey through the world and towards God is conveyed with the same core metaphors identified by Hunter: travel, wilderness, worldly temptation, and final arrival in the 'garden state' of man's soul.⁷⁷⁸ However, unlike Bunyan, Gracián firmly positions all of these stages in the modern world: Andrenio's island is near Saint Helena, the men travel through the sands and hills of southern Spain to the court of Madrid, and end this stage of their journey at the rocky but verdant 'Good Spain' of Aragon.⁷⁷⁹ Moreover, the characters are not only personifications of vices and virtues, but inhabitants of Philip II's Spain, who refer to regional and national stereotypes and have connections to the country's activity in the wider world. Even Critilio and Andrenio's encounter on the island was a consequence of Critilio's voyage to the Spanish colonies in the Indies.

Discussing the connection between the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*, Hunter notes that the latter is 'not, of course, a story of such abstraction. It is rooted in particular times and places and man's typical experience is presented as the history of a particular man'.⁷⁸⁰ As Gracián's work presents an interesting precedent for the combination of spiritual allegory and

⁷⁷⁷ See Hunter, *The Reluctant Pilgrim*; Stuart Sim, *Negotiations with Paradox: Narrative Practice and Narrative Form in Bunyan and Defoe* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 2010).

⁷⁷⁸ *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, pp. 93-124, 202.

⁷⁷⁹ *The Critick*, pp., 2, 63, 177-78, 196, 256.

⁷⁸⁰ *The Reluctant Pilgrim*, p. 123.

tangible details that distinguishes *Crusoe*, it may have had a particular appeal for Defoe, as may its distinctly urban and worldly flavour. *The Critick* contains extensive treatments of subjects usually associated with the Spanish picaresque novel – such as city life, crime, and female adventurers and rogues – and it is here that another important parallel with Defoe’s fiction appears.⁷⁸¹ There are specific parallels between Jack’s seduction by his first wife and Gracián’s *Falsirena*, an amoral and mercenary protean seductress who, like the *picaras*, conceals her intentions under a guise of prosperity and respectability, and changes her location and identity to catch her prey: the innocent Andrenio:

She fisheth away their Wealth and Livelihood from all that know her; their Jewels, Cloaths, Liberty, Honour, and that her Frauds may not be discovered, she changes every day. I do not mean her conditions, nor customs, but her place and residence, leaping from one end of the Town unto another ... when a Forraigner comes rich and wealthy, she presently informs her self, who he is, and from whence and to what Purpose he came ... she changes as often Names as Places ...⁷⁸²

Falsirena’s qualities and methods are essentially those of the seductive *picara*, whose influence on Defoe’s fiction was outlined earlier.⁷⁸³ However, the fact that Defoe’s account of Jack’s first wife’s pursuit is unusually heavy on language of myth and magic may indicate incorporation of this particular variation on the archetype. The newly-educated Jack makes

⁷⁸¹ In *Gracián y la picaresca pura* (Madrid: Cruz y Raya: 1933) José Fernandez Montesinos discusses the extensive parallels between *El Criticón* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* at length, and argues for an expansion of the picaresque genre beyond novels of roguery.

⁷⁸² *The Critick*, p 221.

⁷⁸³ Gracián’s general lack of sympathy for and strength of his condemnation of female adventurers (at times bordering on misogyny) particularly recall Úbeda’s perspective on *Rusina*.

references to this woman's 'witchcraft', describes her as a 'Camelion',⁷⁸⁴ and notes her Protean capacity to 'put herself into what Shapes she pleas'd'.⁷⁸⁵ This characterization strongly recalls Gracián's quasi-mythical seductress, whose 'wickedness' unites the evils of 'Furies, Destinies, Sirens, [and] Harpies'.⁷⁸⁶ Her siren-like qualities are particularly significant, as Gracián presents hearing as the sense least subject to government by will and reason, and therefore 'most subject to the Danger of Errors'.⁷⁸⁷ Unsurprisingly, singing is as integral to Falsirena's seduction technique as it is for Colonel Jack's first wife. His interest is piqued upon hearing her sing 'admirably fine, and sometimes I could hear her very distinctly, the Houses being over against one another ...',⁷⁸⁸ and he continues to hear her songs throughout their courtship. Both men are quickly captivated and subjugated by these women, and end the relationships in similar states of material and emotional devastation – the overcoming of which is a crucial early stage in their journeys towards wisdom and enlightenment.⁷⁸⁹

Finally, *The Critick's* moral perspective has an important and wide-ranging affinity with Defoe's. Of the many patterns of disobedience, redemption, and deliverance in *Robinson Crusoe*, one of the most interesting (and neglected) is Will Atkins's, whose redemption is linked to Crusoe's own journey to redemption through mastery of the island environment, and consequent discovery of Providence. The guidelines for island life that Crusoe gives the English exiles were based on his own division of time between survival, study, worship and, after

⁷⁸⁴ *Colonel Jack*, p. 190.

⁷⁸⁵ *Colonel Jack*, p. 243.

⁷⁸⁶ *The Critick*, pp. 220-21.

⁷⁸⁷ *The Critick*, p. 160.

⁷⁸⁸ *The Critick*, pp. 210, 215; *Colonel Jack*, pp. 186, 190.

⁷⁸⁹ Defoe depicts this state through realistic detail, Gracián uses the metaphor of Andrenio's imprisonment in the ruined house.

Friday's arrival, conversation.⁷⁹⁰ This perfectly balanced lifestyle echoes the 'middle State' recommended by Crusoe's father: that comfortable position between extreme wealth and poverty (and hence, free from covetousness or need) whose optimal status is seen by kings and wise men as 'the just standard of true Felicity':⁷⁹¹

...this way Men went silently and smoothly thro' the World, and comfortably out of it, not embarrass'd with Labours of the Head or Hands, not sold to the Life of Slavery for daily Bread, or harrasst with perplex'd circumstances which rob the Soul of Peace; not enrag'd with the passion of Envy, or secret burning Lust of Ambition for great Things...⁷⁹²

Crusoe's time on the island prompts a retrospective acknowledgment the correctness of his father's perspective, as he identifies his greatest mistake as failing to 'look back upon my primitive Condition, and the excellent Advice of my Father',⁷⁹³ instead falling into a 'deep Relapse into the wandering Disposition'.⁷⁹⁴ He compares his peripatetic later life unfavourably to the balanced state island survival and exile forced him into, 'where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted'.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹⁰ 'I then told them I would let them into the story of my living here, and put them into the way of making it easy to them...' *Robinson Crusoe*, pp. 330-31.

⁷⁹¹ *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 3.

⁷⁹² *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 4.

⁷⁹³ *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 230.

⁷⁹⁴ *Farther Adventures*, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁵ *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 339.

The philosophies of both Crusoe and his father bears a strong resemblance to Gracián's 'Golden Mediocrity', his distinctive version of the Aristotelian 'Golden Mean' (the theory that virtues constitute midpoints between vices of excess and vices of defect) into both practical and philosophical dimensions of lifestyle and ethics. The 'Golden Mediocrity' is the first piece of firm moral guidance Critilio and Andrenio encounter upon their arrival in the civilized world, as they come upon a forked path between Vice and Virtue, in the middle of which there is a concealed path preceded by a stone pillar. This 'Hieroglyphick of Wisdom ... to point us out the way, or as the clue of thread to guide us out of this Labyrinth into Heaven' bears the main inscription 'In all things there is a Mean, depart not to the Extremes'.⁷⁹⁶ It is engraved with a myriad of myths, histories and aphorisms which demonstrate how this philosophy relates to ambition, government, asceticism, work, love, and wealth. The last of these is represented by Prudence, sitting at the top holding a crown inscribed 'For Him who knows a Mediocrity in Wealth',⁷⁹⁷ reflecting the work's major emphasis on maintaining the correct perspective on money and worldly luxuries.⁷⁹⁸ Critilio answers Andrenio's questions about the monument, and offers a summary by which to direct their future actions:

In fine, you will see all run through Extremities, which is the course of Error, and which strays from the way of life. But let us pass through the most secure way, the most plausible and happy Mediocrity, happy in that it can contain it self in a prudent Mean ... [those who succeeded] felt a more than ordinary sence of Comfort, and satisfaction of Conscience which transported their Affections; they observed, that besides those

⁷⁹⁶ *The Critick*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁹⁷ *The Critick*, p. 74.

⁷⁹⁸ The thirteenth crisis, the allegory of the 'General Fair of the World' (analogous to Bunyan's Vanity Fair), details the destructive and futile nature of the pursuit of wealth and luxury.

pretious Jewels which adorned them, they were no less glorious with the rich Endowments and Abilities of Reason ...⁷⁹⁹

Of course, neither of them are immediately able to follow these directives upon arriving in the city: they are only convinced of its truth through experience. Like Crusoe, Andrenio and Critilio are best able to maintain the correct perspective and lifestyle on the island, separated from the world's hazards and temptations, and able to live in the way most likely to bring happiness and salvation. Neither *Colonel Jack* nor *New Voyage* presents such a direct analogue for the 'Golden Mediocrity' but traces of its philosophy can be seen in both Jack's discovery of happiness in the Americas (both English and Spanish) and the Spanish planter's idyll. Both works consistently emphasize the disturbing and negative consequences of wealth, and present a self-sufficient life free of desire, need, and fear as man's ideal state.

Additionally, Critilio's reflections provide another specific parallel to Jack's two intellectual and spiritual breakthroughs, and Crusoe's reform. The resemblance between these accounts suggests that *The Critick* should be considered in conjunction with source groups like Newgate memoirs and Puritan literature when tracing the source of Defoe's protagonists' capacity for reflection and self-analysis. Describing the unexpected benefits of an earlier imprisonment and isolation to Andrenio, Critilio summarizes his journey from passion and impulse to reason and piety:

I arrived at this grave and prison, the abiss and pit of my Miseries. Yet, I may truly say, that though Wealth corrupted my happiness, and raised enemies to throw troubles on

⁷⁹⁹ *The Critick*, p. 77.

me; yet Poverty restored me to a better Condition; for here I found Wisdom, unto which, till now, the extravagance of Youth had made me a Stranger; here I undeceived myself, and gained experience and health both of body and Soul: being abandoned of all living Society, I conversed with the dead, and by reading I began to understand, and to become rational, having only before led the sensitive Life ... my understanding was enlightened, and my will was obedient to the dictates of it, one being replete with Wisdom, and the other with Virtue.⁸⁰⁰

Both Defoe's novels place an equal emphasis on the inextricability of education, study, and reflection from religious revelation and true piety. Jack's two moments of reflection—which, significantly, both take place in the isolation of the Americas—reproduce this pattern of study and development, breaking it into two separate stages of prosperity and peace. In the first, he receives the education he missed as a child, acquiring the basic tools of rationality through learning to read and write, and becoming familiar with the rudiments of history, religion and culture. Like Critilio, Jack presents education as inextricable from religious feeling, noting that 'as I had no Education ... so I had no Instruction, no Knowledge of Religion, or indeed of the Meaning of it'.⁸⁰¹ He remedies this nebulous feeling of deficiency by being taught to read by another indentured servant, who attempts to convert him. However, despite the benefits of this education and his regrets about his past life, Jack finds this retreat unsatisfying and incomplete (and too unlike his ideal 'Life of a Gentleman')⁸⁰² and ultimately returns to the world. However, his reformation is finally completed in the second episode of isolation, when the Mexican idyll of gentility discussed in Chapter 6 gives Jack 'leisure to reflect, and to repent,

⁸⁰⁰ *The Critick*, pp. 57-58.

⁸⁰¹ *Colonel Jack*, p. 215.

⁸⁰² *Colonel Jack*, p. 220.

to call to mind things pass'd, with a just Detestation⁸⁰³ and put his intellectual tools to use in the writing of his own story.

Here I enjoyed the Moments which I had never before known how to employ – I mean that here I learned to look back upon a long ill-spent Life, blessed with infinite advantage, which I had no Heart given me till now to make Use of – and here I found just Reflections were the utmost Felicity of human Life.⁸⁰⁴

Jack exhorts his readers to consider to take advantage of their privilege of making reflections like this within the peaceful and comfortable confines of home 'rather than Abroad under the Discipline of a Transported Criminal ... or under the Miseries and Distresses of a Shipwreck'd wanderer' (a clear allusion to *Crusoe*). However, he acknowledges the true difficulty of this proposition, and by asking 'how few are they that seriously look in, till their way is hedg'd up, and they have no other way to look?',⁸⁰⁵ he concedes that some degree of compulsion or deprivation may be necessary for this type of insight.

Similarly, *Crusoe's* progress from ungoverned passion and impulse to reason, piety and order has been identified as the main characteristic of his spiritual development on the island,⁸⁰⁶ and his post-illness repentance and study suggests that Defoe expands and develops aspects of Critilio's story here, in a way that resembles his usage of picaresque and amatory fiction in

⁸⁰³ *Colonel Jack*, p. 398.

⁸⁰⁴ *Colonel Jack*, pp. 398-99.

⁸⁰⁵ *Colonel Jack*, p. 398.

⁸⁰⁶ See Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man*, p. 34.

Colonel Jack, Moll Flanders and Roxana. After his epiphany, Crusoe stops wishing to be physically delivered from his solitude, instead viewing his current condition as 'a Prison ... in another Sense'⁸⁰⁷ and turns to the Bible (and the basic tasks of survival) for salvation. Eventually, he realizes the blessings of his exile –although these beliefs are later destabilized by contact with the wider world:

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy this Life I now led was, with all its miserable Circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable Life I led all the past Part of my Days; and now I chang'd both my Sorrows and my Joys; my very Desired alter'd my Affections chang'd their Gusts, and my Delights were perfectly new.⁸⁰⁸

Although the course of events is reversed in *The Critick*, as the savage and the civilized man move from isolation into society, Gracián demonstrates a similar conviction in the centrality of seclusion to a virtuous lifestyle, and the impossibility of maintaining the correct perspective while living in the world. Upon entering their first Spanish city, Andrenio is astonished to see the streets filled with 'multitudes of Beasts,' and their guide confirms Critilio's suspicion that the original inhabitants 'out of a distaste to the miscarriages of the World, are retired into the Solitary Mountains' allowing the beasts to occupy their empty houses and 'imitate and counterfeit Citizens'.⁸⁰⁹ The current state of urban life, which Quiron the guide sees as enduring, is summarized as follows:

⁸⁰⁷ *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 113.

⁸⁰⁸ *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 132.

⁸⁰⁹ *The Critick*, p. 84.

All is filled with Beasts, and Brutes, who walk the Streets, inhabit the Dwellings, whilst the true Men are banished thence, and live retired within the limits of their own Wisdom and Moderation.⁸¹⁰

The vastness of the philosophical and literary complexities of *El Criticón* means that determining the precise meaning of all these parallels is beyond the scope of this project, but it is worth noting how often these philosophical issues are connected to the figures of the 'good Spaniard'. Jack's final retreat and return to England comes courtesy of a Mexican trader; the *New Voyage's* planter lives in harmony with the land and with the natives; and the Spanish colonists on Crusoe's island adhere to his guidelines. As Chapter 6 noted, Defoe's Spanish characters consistently function as a kind of moral compass or standard: either exemplifying the 'correct' lifestyle, or demonstrating how to act with mercy and pragmatism within the confines of the colonial system, while also highlighting English greed, brutality, and incompetence, and exploring the dark side of the colonization project. It is possible that this positive portrayal of the Spanish is in part an acknowledgement of Gracián's influence, particularly in terms of the 'Golden Mean'. One of Defoe's major interests as a novelist was the exploration of the vices on either side of the virtue of moderate wealth and comfort: the crimes induced by genuine need and indigence, and those prompted by greed for money and power. It is in his explorations of this balance (with male protagonists) that the Spanish serve as personifications of balance and moderation. To substantiate this connection, further work is needed on both Gracián and Defoe's Spanish contexts, with a particular focus on Gracián's other non-fiction texts listed in the catalogue. In any case, consideration of Defoe's use of *The*

⁸¹⁰ *The Critick*, pp. 84-85.

Critick would be a valuable addition to considerations of his thinking on exile, the conflict between the world and virtue, criticism of the pursuit of wealth, and use of allegorical models.

Conclusion

The Defoe/Farewell catalogue contains a considerable body of texts related to the Iberian Peninsula and its associated colonies, of which approximately half can be attributed to Olive Payne with relative confidence. The remaining works demonstrate broad parallels with Defoe's documented areas of interest –a predominance of works on travel and geography, diplomatic memoirs and literary texts. It seems likely that this collection both reflects the general shape of his reading on related areas, and contains specific items he used as sources. While considerable caution must still be used when attributing inventory items to Defoe, the available evidence suggests that he was the owner of a considerable portion of the 'filtered' Iberian list.

It is necessary to re-emphasize that the catalogue's contents can never provide a complete and definitive outline of Defoe's reading on a given topic. In addition to the complications of attribution, it is clear that the inventory contains only 'a possible proportion of Defoe's reading'⁸¹¹ since he frequently demonstrates knowledge of specific sources that are not listed. However, when used in accordance with the guidelines for credible usage, it can be a useful surveyor's tool which helps to guide the reconstruction of Defoe's overall body of knowledge, and can also play an important role in identifying or confirming key sources. To best demonstrate its effectiveness on both fronts, this study restricted its focus to the single

⁸¹¹ Kelly, p. 300.

category of Spanish literature, exploring its possible influence on Defoe's fiction through comparative analysis of two picaresque novels, a collection of amatory novellas, and a unique allegory whose island location prompted early critical interest. This process revealed a use of Spanish literary contexts and sources that seems far more extensive, diverse, and complex than has hitherto been recognized. Defoe's novels display significant patterns of use in regard to genre conventions, and their expansion, fusion and transformation was arguably a key element of his creative process and final achievements. This process has located some key points in the nexus of Spanish texts which informed Defoe's fiction, providing a map for the next stage: extending this study of this context beyond the catalogue.

Defoe's novels have extensive parallels with the subjects and conventions of picaresque fiction, many of which they reproduce fairly directly, and it is generally accepted that his development of the genre consisted of its 'humanization' –the addition of physical and psychological verisimilitude to its succession of events. Studying *La Picara* and *Libro de entretenimiento de la picara Justina* suggests that this innovation drew on intertextual as well as extra-textual resources: Defoe did not merely supplement from his own imagination, or from other source groups: he also consciously manipulated the genre's norms of perspective and characterization, fusing the stock traits of resilient, protean predator and flawed, vulnerable victim to create a sympathetic and complex revision of the *picara*. In *Colonel Jack*, this reconstruction is taken one step further, as (possibly influenced by Castillo y Solórzano's unusual empathy) a *picara's* dupe is elevated to the protagonist role, allowing him to explore the emotional fallout of her actions at greater length. The amatory novella and the *Falsirena* section of *The Critick* may also factor into Defoe's expansion and revision of picaresque conventions in *Colonel Jack*. The romantic aspect of his journey to wisdom and maturity is consistently connected with stock situations and characters (sirens, suspicions of infidelity,

veiled women). However, while he retains the core motif, Defoe supplants its typically melodramatic consequences with mundane and credible resolutions, arising out of impulsive emotional responses and practical concerns. His revision of the picaresque is, in some ways, the location of a halfway point between this tradition and the bathos and melodrama of the novella – combining realistic physical details and a concern with wealth and crime with explorations of extreme psychological states.

Most of the critical attention Defoe scholars have given *The Critick* has focused on its short desert island section, and its viability as an alternative *Crusoe* source. However, there are several interesting parallels in the later sections that suggest Defoe made wider use of it. Gracián's quasi-mythical rendition of the female adventurer, his advocacy of moderation in all things (especially wealth), belief in the importance of retreat, education and reflection, and the fundamental conflict between the world and true virtue have extensive echoes throughout *Crusoe*, *Colonel Jack* and the *New Voyage*, often in close proximity to the 'good Spaniard.' Determining the precise meaning of these resonances is a task beyond the scope of this project, as a comprehensive survey of his extra-catalogue contexts is necessary. However, the parallels between Defoe's texts and the catalogue items indicates that these potential sources are connected to his conflicted and ambiguous perspectives on the colonial project, and the pursuit of wealth and power.

Finally, although this chapter argues for the significant of the textual parallels with catalogue material, and for the underestimated significance of Defoe's Spanish contexts, it is necessary to emphasize that this conclusion does not imply a Secordian 'demotion' of other context or source groups. The breadth and diversity of Defoe's knowledge and interests means that source and context study is an inherently pluralistic project; and Defoe's potential Spanish

sources constitute only one of the ingredients used in his creative process. His fiction combined elements of Spanish literature with aspects of local contexts such as the traditions of, voyage literature, criminal biography and Puritan literature, in an idiosyncratic and complex manner that scholars are still trying to itemize. While a dish should never be reduced to the mere sum of its ingredients, studying its composition and preparation can undoubtedly help us appreciate and understand the complexities of its flavour.

Appendix A:

Table of Defoe/Farewell duplicates found in Hunt (1730) and Vandenhoeck (1730) catalogues.

The following tables contain all the matches located by cross-referencing the Defoe/Farewell catalogue with Payne's previous sales catalogue, as well as other potential sources of salted items, like his advertisements, and the stock sale of Abraham Vandenhoeck.

For reasons of transparency, I have chosen to reproduce Payne and Vandenhoeck's item descriptions *verbatim*, giving the actual title, author and publication details in a footnote when further clarification is needed. The footnotes also offer further clues to the identities of specific items –derived from both my own research and Heidenreich's edition– when these details affect an item's categorization. Finally, items that are duplicated in the table (mentioned more than once, and in distinct entries) are cross-referenced throughout this Appendix with footnotes, allowing for rapid comparison of potential matches.

Key to classification of matches:

- 1) **Definite** matches, where Payne supplies enough information to allow for identification of title, author *and* edition, making it almost certain that this item originated in Hunt and was salted into Defoe/Farewell. These items are indicated in **bold type**.
- 2) **Probable** matches, where information in one (or occasionally more) of these categories is missing, but where all the other supplied information (on title, author, or date and place of publication). These items are indicated in unmodified text.
- 3) **Possible** matches, where there is some difficulty in confirming an item's identity (usually because of Payne's paraphrasing or omission of details) but a partial or potential match is found. These items are indicated in *italics*.

<u>Items found in Hunt (1730)</u>	<u>Possible reappearance in Defoe/Farewell (1731)</u>
6: Dart's Hist. and Antiquity of the Church and Monastery of Canterbury, with the Lives of the Abps, Priors &c. fine Cuts	182: Dart's Antiq. Of Canterbury and the Monast. fine Cuts (1726)
8: Whitlock's Memorials, with his Life	200: Whitlock's Memorials (1682)

9: Strype's Annals of the Reformation. 2 vol. (1725)	<i>Libri Omissi</i> 276. Strype's Annals of the Reformation. 2 vol.
11: Habington's Hist. of Edward IV	161: Habington's History. of Edward IV (1640)
13: History of Edward II. By Ld. Falkland (1680)	1011b: Life of Edw. II. ⁸¹²
14: Bacon's Henry VII.	143: Bacon's Reign of Henry VII (Oxon. 1622) ⁸¹³ or 844: Baconi Historia Henrice Septimi (Lugd. 1647) ⁸¹⁴
18: Hacket's Life of Bp Williams (1693)	121: Hacket's Life of Abp Williams. Large Paper (1693) ⁸¹⁵
20: Selden's Tracts, viz. Jani Angolorum &c.	162: Selden's Tracts, English Janus, &c. (1682) or 384: Seldeni Comment. Juris Anglicani.
21: Walpole's Report from the Secret Committee (1715)	L.O. 21: Report of the Secret Committee, relating to Peace and Commerce, by R. Walpole, Esq. (1715) ⁸¹⁶
22: Tryal of Counsellor Layer. (1722)	L.O. 25: The Report of the Committee, on the Examination of Chr. Layer, and others (1722) ⁸¹⁷
23: <i>Tryal between Hambden and King Charles II. (1719)</i>	<i>L.O. 74: A Manuscript of Hamden's Trial, &c.</i>
24: <i>Webb's Vindication of Stone-Henge Restor'd. Cuts.</i>	<i>192: Inigo-Jones's Stone-Heng restor'd, with Memoirs of his Life and fine Cuts, with Carelton and Webb. (1725)</i> ⁸¹⁸
26: Brady's History of Cities and Boroughs, with an Account of their Liberties, &c; and 27. Ditto –large Paper.	129: Brady, of Eng. Cities and Boroughs, their Liberties (1722)
32: Spelmanni Vita Aelfredi Magni (Oxon. 1678)	84: Spelman Aelfredi Magni Vita. (Oxon. 1678)
34: Montfaucon's Antiq. of Italy, fine Cuts (1725)	183: Montfaucon's Antiquities of Italy, by Henley, with Cuts (1725)
36: Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, 3 rd Edt.	163: Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland.
42: Life of Mr. Richard Baxter, by Sylvester (1696)	138: Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times (1696)
43: Hobbes' Leviathan (1651)	126: Hobbes' Leviathan, best (1651)

⁸¹² Heidenreich proposes Falkland as the author of this work, and suggests 1680 as the publication date.

⁸¹³ See also Hunt 1466

⁸¹⁴ See also Hunt 1466.

⁸¹⁵ Note that the Defoe/Farewell sale also contains a 1715 edition of this work.

⁸¹⁶ For another potential match for Defoe/Farewell L.O. 21, see also Hunt CSUT 356.

⁸¹⁷ See also Hunt CSUT 391.

⁸¹⁸ See also Hunt 357.

47: Selden's Dominion of the Sea.	73: Seldeni Mare. Clausum seu de Dominium Maris . (Lond. 1635); <u>or</u> 432: Seldeni Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris. (Lugd. Bat. 1636) ⁸¹⁹
50: Minshieu's Dictionary, Nine Languages.	79: Minshae Dictionarium Nono-Linguae (1626)
52: Howell's English, French, Italian and Spanish Dictionary.	169: Howell's Lexicon. English, French, Italian and Spanish (1660) ⁸²⁰
56: Webster of Witchcraft	150: Webster of Witchcraft, Devils &c. (Oxon. 1677)
63: Brown's Vulgar Errors	465: Dr. Brown's Vulgar Errors, Urn Burial, Garden of Cyrus, with Annot. ⁸²¹
67: Garth's Ovid's Metamorphoses, with Cuts. (1717)	851: Ovidi Opera, 3 vol. Amst. (1717) ⁸²²
70: Collier's Hist. Dictionary, 1 st ed. with Supplement (1696)	L.O. 17. Collier's Supplement to his Historical Dictionary. Quires.
77: Scapulae Lexicon.	81: Scapulae Lexicon. (Basil. 1628); <u>or</u> 82: Ditto. (Gen. 1628.)
83: Terentius Variorum (Venet. 1567)	97: Terentius Comeodiae. Var. (Venet. 1567) ⁸²³
102: Epist. Melancthon. T. Mori & Lud. Vivis. (Lond. 1642)	85: Epist. Erasmi & Melancthonis. & Mori & Lud. Vivis. (Lond. 1642)
105: Corn. Agrippa de Occult. Philosoph.	263: Cornelious Agrippa de Occulta Philosophia ⁸²⁴
116: Euripides trag. Gr. & Lat. cum Vita ejus.	110: Euripides trag. Gr. & Lat. cum Notis (Basil. 1561)
132: Martyrolog. Romanum. (Plant. 1589)	24: Baronii Martyrologium Romanum. (Plant. 1589)
153: St Gregorii Nysseni Opera omini. Gr. Lat. (Paris. 1615)	19: Gregorii Nysseni Opera. 2. Vol Gr. Lat. (Paris. 1615)
161: Episcopii Opera. (Amst. 1650)	12: Episcopii Opera Theologica. (Amst. 1650) <u>or</u> 127 Episcopii (Simonus), Opera Theological, 2 vol. (Amsteloed, 1650)
222: Bedae de Nat. rerum & Eccles. Historiae	320: Venerable Bede's History of the Church of England. (Antwerp. 1565); <u>or</u> 817: Bedae Historiae Gentis Anglorum. (Lovani. 1566)
236: Lipomani de Vit. Sanctorum. 2 parts (Lovan. 1565)	31: Lipomanus de Vitis Sanctorum (Lov. 1565)
248: Wallisi Opera. tom 3d. (Oxon. 1699)	274: Johannis Wallis Opera Mathemat. Tom III. (Oxon. 1699)

⁸¹⁹ See also Hunt 1507.⁸²⁰ See also Hunt L.O. 43.⁸²¹ See also Hunt 1253.⁸²² See also Hunt L.O. 178.⁸²³ Note that Heidenreich includes this entry under 'Erasmus, Desidirus,' for reasons not immediately apparent. See also Hunt 1591, 1653 and 1722.⁸²⁴ See also Hunt 1988.

282: <i>Paraei Opera Medica, cum fig.</i>	500: <i>Discours de la Maniere des Venins de la Licorne & de la Peste par Ambroise Pare, avec fig. (Par. 1582)</i>
299: Savonarola Practibus Canon de Febribus, & Balneis	264: Savonarola de Febribus, de Balneis omnibus Ital. (Juntas 1552)
332: Illust. de Gaulle et. Sing de Troy, par Le Maire	222: Illustrations de Gaule & Singularites de Troye, par le Maire Lyon, par Jean de Tournes (1549)
342: Defensa de los Estatuos y Noblesas Espanolas destiero de los Abusos y Rigores de los Inform. (Zarag. 1637)	L.O. 71: Defensa de los Estatuos y Noblesas Espanolas (1637) ⁸²⁵
346: Carew's Survey of Cornwall, and an Epistle on the Excellency of the English Tongue, with his Life. (1723)	466: Carew's Survey of Cornwall, with his Life. (1723)
348. Norden's Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, Maps and Cuts. (1723)	492: Norden's Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire, Maps, &c. (1723) <u>or</u> L.O. 2: <i>A Map of Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire, six feet by four, with 728 Coats of Arms round the Map.</i> ⁸²⁶
355: England's Appeal from Whitehall to the Parliament.	1437e: England's Appeal from Whitehall to the Parliament (1673) <u>or</u> 1465a: England's Appeal from Whitehall to the Parliament (1673)
356: Sadler's Rights of the Kingdom touching the Power and Election of our Kings and Parliament.	474: Rights of the Kingdom, or Customs of Ancestors, touching the Duty, Power, Election or Succession of our Kings and Parliament...(1682) ⁸²⁷
357: Charleton's Stonehenge restor'd to the Danes, fig.	192: Inigo-Jones's Stone-Heng restor'd, with Memoirs of his Life and fine Cuts, with Carelton and Webb (1725) ⁸²⁸
360: <i>Husbands's Collection of Passages between King and Parliament. (1642)</i>	128: <i>Husband's Collections of Parliament from 1624, to 1646, 2 vol, complete. ([Oxon.] 1643)</i>
361: Yarranton's England's Improvement by Sea and Land, how to beat the Dutch without fighting.	483: Yarranton's England's Improvement by Sea and Land, to outdo the Dutch without fighting, and to pay debts without Money. 2. Vol. (1677)
364a: <i>Observat. On the Parliament (1640)</i> ⁸²⁹	487a: <i>History of Independency of the Parliament (1640)</i>

⁸²⁵ Heidenreich's specification of Zaragoza as the place of publication makes this a complete match.

⁸²⁶ Heidenreich supplies Norden as a possible author.

⁸²⁷ Heidenreich supplies Sadler as the author.

⁸²⁸ See also Hunt 24.

⁸²⁹ This has been flagged as a possible match because of the date match, and Payne's presentation of these items as part of a group of 2 in both catalogues –364b and 487b are the same title with different publication dates.

374: Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI.	L.O. 117: Hayward's Life of Edward VI (1630) ⁸³⁰
381: Randolph's State of the Islands in the Archipelago.	493: Randolph's State of the Islands in the Archipelago (Ox. 1687)
385: Proceedings against Kidd, Jus Regnum, Jura Populi Anglici, with several other Scarce Tracts.	162: An Account of the Proceedings in relation to Capt. Kidd (1701)
389: [Camden's] Remains, by Philpot	456: Camden's Remains, with rare Antiq. Added by Philpot (1636) ⁸³¹
394: Lloyd's Consent of Time, shewing the Errors of the Greeks &c.	108: <i>Lloyd Series Chronologica</i> . (Oxon. 1700) ⁸³² or 1467b: <i>Lloyd's Chronog. Account of Pythagoras, and other famous Men</i> .
395: <i>Ferne's Heraldry, with the Laws of Arms and Combat</i> .	471: <i>Fern's Heraldry, & Lacy's Nobility, Arms &c.</i> (1586)
398: <i>Sir Edward Deering's Speeches, revised by himself</i> .	131: <i>Sir Edward Dering's Speeches in Matters of Religion</i> . (1642)
399: Latham's Falcon Lure and Cure. 2 Parts. Cuts.	473: Latham's Falconry, in two books, viz. of ordering and training up of all the Hawks in general, Cuts. (1633)
400: Wotton's Elements of Architecture	482: Wotton's Elements of Architecture. (1624) ⁸³³
403: Brerewood's Enquiries on the Diversities of Languages.	L.O. 124: Brerewood on the Diversity of Languages and Religion (1614) ⁸³⁴
409: <i>Powell's Manner of Proceeding in All Courts</i> .	460: <i>Powel's Direction for searching of Records in the Chancery, Tower, Exchequer, with the Limnes thereof</i> (1622)
410: Epistles of Antient Writings, Laws and Customs, by Ant. Gueverra, Chronicler to Ch. 5 th Emp. Black Letter.	1086: Spanish Letters, recommended by Sir R.L.S. (1697) ⁸³⁵
413: Butler's History of Bees (1634)	462a: Butler's History of Bees
414: Cooke's Hesiod, neatly bound (1728)	450: Works of Hesiod, translated by Cooke, with Notes, 2 vol. ⁸³⁶
422: Austen of Fruit-Trees. 2 nd ed. ⁸³⁷	1067: <i>Austen's Treatise of Fruit-trees</i> (1657) ⁸³⁸

⁸³⁰ See also Hunt 1384.

⁸³¹ See also Hunt 991.

⁸³² Heidenreich's full title: *Series chronologica Olympiadum...quibus veteri Graeci tempora metiebantur*.

⁸³³ See also Hunt CSUT 185.

⁸³⁴ See also Hunt 999.

⁸³⁵ Heidenreich lists Antonio de Guevara as the author.

⁸³⁶ Heidenreich supplies 1728 as the publication date.

⁸³⁷ The English Short Title Catalogue identifies 1657 as the publication date for the second edition of Ralph Austen's *A Treatise of Fruit-Trees*.

⁸³⁸ See also Hunt, 1303, CSUT 144.

449: Virgil's Aenids, with the Supplement of Maph. Vegius, by Phaer & Twyne (1620)	485: Virgil translated by Phaer and Twyne, Black Letter (1620)
463: Cluverii. Int. in Geograph, cum Map. Not. Bunonis (Amst.)	428: Cluverii Geographia, cum Notis Hekelii & Reski, Mappis (Amst. 1697) ⁸³⁹
464: Hermanni Paradisus Batavus (1698)	146: Hermanni Paradisus Batavus, Cuts. (Elz. 1698)
467: Justiniani, nov. Constitut. per Goltz (Brugis, 1565)	360: Justiniani Novellae Constitutiones (Bruges 1565)
469: Casauboni Epistolae (1654)	358: Casauboni Epistolae.
472: Homerii Gnomologia, cum Com. Duporti (1660)	435: Duporti Homeri Gnomologia, Gr. Lat. (Field. Cant. 1660)
494: Waseri. Grammatical Syra (1619)	106: Waseri Grammatical Syra (Leyd. 1619)
498: Seaman Grammatica Ling. Turcicae (1670)	438: Seaman Grammatica Linguae-Turcicae (Oxon. 1670)
505: Vossius de Quatuor Artibus popularibus (1660)	370: Vossius de Quatuor Artis popularibus (Bleau. 1660)
514: Selden de Succession. Hebraeorum.	368: Seldenus de Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum (1650) or 388: Seldenus de Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum (Amst. 1679)
533: Vita & Reb. Gest. Fran Salesii (1634)	411: De Vita B. Francisci Salesii (Lugd. 1634)
544: Noodt Probabilia Juris Civilis (Lug. Bat. 1691)	383: Noodt Probabilia Juris Civilis, &c. (Lug. Bat. 1691)
548: Vita S. Antonii-Eremit. Gr. Lat.	381: Vita S. Antonii-Eremita, Gr. Lat. (August, Vind. 1681)
556: Fat. Simon's Critical Inquiries into various Edit. of the Bible.	305: Fath. Simon's Critical Inquiries into the various Editions of the Bible.
587: Nov. Testamenti ad. Ver. Christianiss. Rge. Hen. VIII	307: The Newe Testament...set forth with the Kynges most gracious Lycence (1538)
595: Grotii Annotat. in Vet & Novum Testam. 2 vol.	289: Grotii Annotationes, 2 vol. (1727)
634: Wallisi Mechanica, cum. Fig compleat (1670)	600: Wallis Mechanica, 3 Parts, compleat (1670)
635: Cluveri Introd. In Geograph, cum mappis.	428: Cluverii Geographia, cum Notis Hekelii & Reskii, Mappis (Amst. 1697) ⁸⁴⁰
643: Zubleri Nov. Instrum. Geomet. fig.	104: Zubleri Instrumentum Geometricum (1607)
645: Hortensi de Mercurio in Sol Viso.	95: Hortensi Dissertatio de Mercurio in Sol Viso (Lugd. 1633)
655: Dictionaire Mathematique, avec fig., par Ozanam (1691)	560: Dictionaire Mathematique, par Ozanam (1691)
662: Trios Traits de Philosop. Naturel, par Flamel, fig.	1248: Nicholas Flammel...his Exposition of the Hieroglyphical Figures....together with the Secret Book of Artepheus, and...both the Theory and the Practick of the Philosopher's Stone, fig. ⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁹ See also Hunt 635, 2143⁸⁴⁰ See also Hunt 463, 2143.⁸⁴¹ See also Hunt 1332.

674: Ottonis Tachenii Hippocrates Chymicus	1403: Otto Tachenius his Hippocrates Chymicus (1677) ⁸⁴²
720: Bellini de usu Renum & de Gust. Organo, fig.	L.O. 148: Bellini de Structura Renum & de Gustus Organo (Lugd. 1726) ⁸⁴³
789: <i>Tresor de 3 Langues, Fr. & Lat, Fr & Gr, par Gaudin, 2 tom.</i>	547: <i>Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum, auctore G. Tachart (1693)</i> ⁸⁴⁴
814: <i>L'India Orientale Descriit. Geog. & Hist. 2 tom. del Tosi (Roma 1676)</i>	512: <i>L'India Orientale Descriit. Geog. & Hist. del Abbat. Tosi, 2 vol. (Rom. 1676)</i>
837: Guerra da Fiandra dal Bentivoglio.	124: Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, fine Heads (1554) <i>or</i> 1275: Hist della Guerra di Fiandra. Parte Terza. (Col. 1640)
845: <i>La Commentare Oraccogliatrice del Mercurio (1645)</i>	581: <i>De Gli Errori Popolari d'Italia (Pad. 1645)</i>
859: <i>Armas i Triunfos del Reino de Galicia (Madrid. 1662)</i>	527: <i>Armas i Triunfos Hechos Heroicos de los Hijos de Galicia (Mad. 1662)</i>
861: <i>El Parnasso Espanol, por Gonzales (Lisb. 1652)</i>	525: <i>El Parnasso Espanol de Quevedo (Lisb. 1652)</i>
862: <i>Rimas de Lupercio Idol. Don Barthol. Leonardo (Zarag. 1634)</i>	524: <i>Rimas de Lupercio y Argensola (Zar. 1634)</i>
869: <i>Ludlow's Memoirs, 2 vol. (1698)</i>	914: <i>Ludlow's Memoirs, 3 vol. (Switzerland 1698)</i> ⁸⁴⁵
875: <i>Lock of Government in Answer to Filmer</i>	1075: <i>Locke's Treatise of Government</i>
878: <i>Lockart's Memoirs of Scot. to the Union, with Key and Append.</i>	908: <i>Memoirs of Scotland from Ist of Q. A. to the Union (1714)</i>
881: <i>Erdeswicke's Survey of Staffordshire.</i>	953: <i>Erdeswick's Antiquities of Staffordshire (1717)</i> ⁸⁴⁶
891: <i>Wotton of Antient and Modern Learning.</i>	948: <i>Wotton on Antient and Modern Learning, and Bentley on the Epist. Of Phalaris</i>
892: <i>De Witt's Max. of the Republic of Holland (1702)</i>	909: <i>De Witt's Interest of Holland (1702)</i> ⁸⁴⁷
895: <i>Edgar's Book of Rates (1718)</i>	1190: <i>Edgar's New Book of Rates (1718)</i>
900: <i>Fr. Paul's Letters, by Browne.</i>	L.O. 30: <i>A Treatise of Beneficiary Matters by Fr. Paolo Sarpi (1680)</i> ⁸⁴⁸ <i>or</i> 169: <i>Father Paul's Apologie... (1651)</i>
906: <i>Huet's Hist. of the Com. and Nav. of the Antients.</i>	293: [Huet] on Commerce and Navigation of the Antients (1717)

⁸⁴² See also Hunt 2098.

⁸⁴³ See also Hunt 2117.

⁸⁴⁴ Heidenreich's Index lists this work under the name 'Jean Gaudin,' who appears to be an additional author here.

⁸⁴⁵ The discrepancy in the volume numbers here may be due to the fact that the first two volumes of the 1698 edition of *Memoirs of Edward Ludlow* appeared in that year, with the final volume appearing in 1699. The Vevay, Switzerland edition was the only one to appear during this time.

⁸⁴⁶ Heidenreich supplies 'Survey of Staffordshire' as this work's full title.

⁸⁴⁷ The full title of this work is *The true interests and political maxims of the Republick of Holland.*

⁸⁴⁸ See also Hunt CSUT 404.

907: Barlow's Survey of the Tide, fig.	958: Barlow's Survey of the Tide, with Maps.
910: Works of Mr J. Phillips, with his Life	975: Phillip's Works and Life, by Sewel (1720)
922: Baker's Reflections on Learning	1041: Reflections on Learning, by Baker (1700)
923: Boetious's Consolations of Philosophy.	922: Boetius of Philosophy, by Ld. Preston (1695)
924: Skinner's Bates's Troubles of England	967: Bates's Troubles of England (1685)
935: Account of the Island of Orkney, by Wallace. Maps.	1074: Wallace's Account of the Islands of Orkney (1700)
939: Mackenzie's Antiq. Of the Royal Line of Scotland (1685)	663b: Lloyd of Chur. Government, and Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1685) ⁸⁴⁹
956: Toland's Tetradymus	257: Toland's Tetradymus (1720)
960: History of Count Zosimus.	965: History of Count Zosimus (1684)
962: Tryon's Letters, domestick and foreign (1700)	1093: Tryon's Letters, Philosoph. Theol. And Moral. (1700)
966: Pineda's Spanish Grammar (1726)	1207: Pineda's Spanish Grammar (1726)
969: Selden of the Judicature in Parliaments	1096: Selden's Judicature in Parliaments.
977: <i>Savage's Power of the Sovereign</i>	1187: <i>Art of Prudence, by Savage.</i> ⁸⁵⁰
978: Sir W. Raleigh's Discourses on the War with Spain.	986: Raleigh's Discourse concerning a War with Spain, &c. (1702)
982: Agrippa's Vanity of Arts and Sciences (1684)	1103: Cor. Agrippa's Vanity of Arts and Sciences (1684)
984: Sir F. Bacon's Remains (1679)	985: Ld. Bacon's Remains, with an Account of all his Works (1679)
989: Corn. Nepos in English (1684)	1045: Cornelius Nepos in English (1684)
991: Cambden's Remains, by Philipot, best Edition.	456: Camden's Remains, with rare Antiq. added by Philipot (1636) ⁸⁵¹
998: Grotius's Annales and Hist. of the Low-Countries.	691: Grotii Annales & Hist. de Rebus Belgicis. (ap. Bleau. ib. 1658) ⁸⁵² or 1263 Histoire de Hollande, 2 Tom. Par Neuville (Brus. 1702) ⁸⁵³
999: Brerewood's Enquiry Touching Languages.	124: Brerewood on the Diversity of Languages and Religion (1614) ⁸⁵⁴
1000: Bouhour's Ingenious Thoughts of the Fathers. ⁸⁵⁵	1057: Ingenious Thoughts of the Fathers of the Church (1727)
1002: Stubbes's Nature of the Cocoa-Nut, with Chocolate.	1167: Stubbes's Discourse upon Chocolate, with the Nature of the Nut &c. (1662)

⁸⁴⁹ Note that item 1036 and 1089 are, respectively, 1686 and 1484 editions of Mackenzie. See also Hunt 1263, CSUT 337.

⁸⁵⁰ Translation of Gracián. See also Hunt L.O. 140.

⁸⁵¹ See also Hunt 389.

⁸⁵² See also Hunt 1482.

⁸⁵³ Note that Heidenreich's Index lists this under Grotius (de Groot), Hugo, although the title entry he supplies doesn't specify his authorship.

⁸⁵⁴ See also Hunt 403.

⁸⁵⁵ Note that this was Payne's first known publication.

1008: Triveti Annales. Contin. & Murimuth. Chron. Bostoni Specul. Cenobit & Hypercritica (Oxon. 1722)	705: Triveti Annales – Marimuthensis Chronicon – Bostoni Speculum Hypercritica (Oxon. 1722) ⁸⁵⁶
1022: <i>Davis Tullii Cic. De Nat. Deorum (Cant. 1718)</i>	716: <i>Cicero de finibus bonorum & malorum, a Bentley (Cant. 1718)</i>
1043: Levin. Apollonius de Reb. in Peruvia gestis (1567)	833: Apolonius de rebus Peruvini (Ant. 1567)
1048: Machiavelli Princeps	868: Machiavelli Princeps, Vindiciae contra Tyrannos (Ursell. 1600) ⁸⁵⁷
1055: Puffendorfi Introduct. Ad Hist Europeam (1703)	912: Puffendorf's Introd. to Hist of Europe ⁸⁵⁸
1056: Tullii Ciceron. Epist. G. Graevii (1689)	710: Ciceronis Epistolae, Graevii. (Amst. 1689)
1070: Vita a Aloysii Gonzagae a Cepario (1609)	769: Vita Aloysii Gonzagae, à Vir. Capario. (Antw. 1609)
1075: Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis (Bleau. 1632)	780: Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis (Amst. 1632)
1092: <i>Smith de Repub. & Administrand. Angolorum.</i>	L.O. 156: <i>Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England (1621)</i> ⁸⁵⁹
1109: <i>Clerici Opera Philisop. Cum Effig. Auth. 4 vol. (1710)</i>	804: <i>Tiri Livii Hist. Clericus, 10 vol. (Amst. 1710)</i>
1110: <i>Clerici Ars Critica, 2 vol. (Amst. 1697)</i>	847: <i>Clerici Ars Critica (Amst. 1697)</i>
1117: <i>Hist. Navigat. in Brasil quae, & America dicitur.</i>	824: <i>Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam, fig. (1586)</i>
1118: Epicteti Enchirid. Cum Ceбет. Tab. À Wolfio, Gr. Lat.	699: Epicteti Enchiridium, Gr. & Lat. Notis Wolfii & var. (Hack. 1683)
1128: Sherlock of Death and Judgment.	215: Sherlock on Death (1696)
1130: Dodwell's Nat. Mortality of the Soul	641: Dodwell on the Soul, large Paper (1706)
1131: <i>Leslie's short Method with the Deists and Jews, 2 vol.</i>	302: <i>Leslie against the Socinians, compleat (1708) or 1040: Leslie's Case stated (1713)</i>
1148: Patrick's Jewish Hypocrisie	651: Patrick's Jewish Hypocrisy (1670)
1149: Lord King's Constitution of the Primitive Church, 2d vol.	1107: King's Enquiry into the Primitive Church, 2 Parts (1691)
1154: Grotii Epist. Puer. Inst. Euch & Serm. (Ox. 1706) or 1163: <i>Grotii de Bapt. Puerorum Institutio.</i>	609: <i>Grotii Institut Baptizatorum Puerorum, &c. (Oxon. 1706)</i>
1202: <i>Vita Miracul. & Canoniz. Card. Borromaei</i>	553: <i>Histoire de la Vie, Vertus, Mort & Miracles de St. Borromeo (1615)</i>
1227: <i>Wit and Subtilty of the Female Sex, a Novel.</i>	1210: <i>Davies Triumphs of Female Subtilty, Curious Novel, Span.</i>
1231: Mun England's treasure by Foreign Trade.	1177: Mun upon Foreign Trade (1664)

⁸⁵⁶ See also Hunt 1549.⁸⁵⁷ See also Hunt 1558.⁸⁵⁸ Heidenreich lists 1695 as the publication date.⁸⁵⁹ See also Hunt 1359, CSUT 98.

1236: <i>Cotton's Answer to Pr. Henry, inciting him to affect Arms, with a View of the Reign of Hen III and Fr. Charity.</i> ⁸⁶⁰	1430c: <i>Anticotton Answered</i>
1246: Ward's England's Reformation, 2 vol. (1719)	1054: Ward's Reformation, 2 vol. (1719)
1247: <i>Hist. and Geog. Descript. of the Country of Amazons.</i>	1048: <i>Voyages into South America (1698)</i>
1248: Evelyn's Gardner's Almanac.	1208: Evelyn's Gardener's Almanack (1691)
1249: <i>Bulwer's Nat. Language of the Hand, the Art of Manual Arithm. with Types.</i>	1061: <i>The Natural Language of the Hand, &c. (1644)</i>
1250: <i>Cotton's choice Pieces, viz. Parliament Affairs, &c.</i>	1101: <i>Sir R. Cotton's Choice Pieces, Parliament Affairs, &c. (1672)</i> ⁸⁶¹
1253: <i>Brown, of Urn Burial, with Garden of Cyrus.</i>	465: <i>Dr. Brown's Vulgar Errors, Urn Burial, Garden of Cyrus, with Annot.</i> ⁸⁶²
1258: <i>Child of Trade</i>	1429a: <i>Discourse upon Trade (1691)</i> ⁸⁶³
1262 <i>Steele's Political Writings</i>	1028: <i>Sir R. Steel's Political Writings, Case of Dunkirk, &c. 1715</i>
1263: <i>Mackenzie's Institut. Of the Laws of Scotland.</i>	663b: <i>Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1685) or 1036: Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1686)</i> ⁸⁶⁴ <i>or 1089: Mackenzie of the Monarchy of Scotland (1684)</i> ⁸⁶⁵
1282: Leicester's Commonwealth, with his Effig. (1641)	1152: Leicester's Common-wealth, by Parsons, with his Ghost. (1641) or L.O. 118: Leicester's Common Wealth (1641)
1283: <i>Spelman's Churches not to be violated</i> ⁸⁶⁶	1440c: <i>Spelman's Rights and Respect due unto Churches (1613)</i>
1287: <i>Moor's Commonwealth of Utopia</i>	479: <i>Sir Tho. Moor's Utopia.</i>
1295: <i>Sir H. Blount's Voyage into the Levant, 8th ed.</i>	L.O. 200: <i>Blount's Voyage into the Levant. (1636)</i>
1297: <i>Hist. Observ. On the Reigns of Edward I II and III, and Richard II, with Remarks on their faithful Council and false Favourites</i>	1112: <i>Howard's Hist. of Edward and Richard II, and Character of their Ministers (1690)</i>
1303: <i>Austen of Fruit Trees, Flowers, and Plant. Wood</i>	1067: <i>Austen's Treatise of Fruit-Trees (1657)</i> ⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁰ Aside from 'Anti-Cotton Answered' (London: John Wright, 1653), I have been unable to locate any other pamphlet responding to 'P.D.C.'s' 'Anticotton', so am tentatively including it here as a possible match.

⁸⁶¹ See also Hunt CSUT 592.

⁸⁶² See also Hunt 63.

⁸⁶³ Heidenreich lists Sir Joseph Child as the author.

⁸⁶⁴ See also Hunt 939, CSUT 337.

⁸⁶⁵ Note that Heidenreich only lists Mackenzie as the author of the first two titles.

⁸⁶⁶ Original Latin title of both items: *De non temerandic ecclesiis*. An English translation whose title resembles this listing was published at Oxford by H. Hall in 1646.

⁸⁶⁷ See also Hunt 422, CSUT 144.

1310: <i>Hobbes' Rudiments of Government. Cuts</i>	1141: <i>Hobbes Elements of Governm. and Civil Society, Cuts (1651)</i>
1312: <i>Wilson's Treatise of Durham Spaw.</i>	1219: <i>Wilson's Treatise of the Spaw near Durham City (1675)</i>
1314: <i>Johnston's Contancy of Nature.</i>	789: <i>Johnstoni Thaumatographia Nat. Amst. (1665)</i>
1320: <i>Eachard's Gazeteer.</i>	1145: <i>Echard's Gazeteer.</i>
1327: <i>Animadv. on Sir Rich. Baker's Chronicle.</i>	1172: <i>Animadversions on Baker's Chronicles (1672)</i>
1329: <i>Sober Inspec. Into the late Long Parliament (1656)</i>	1146: <i>Inspections into the Carriage of the Long Parliament (1656)</i>
1332: <i>Flamel's Hieroglyph. Fig. painted at Paris.</i>	1248a <i>Nicholas Flammel his exposition of the Hieroglyphical Figures which he caused to be painted upon the Arch in St. Innocent's Churchyard in Paris: Together with the Secret Book of Artephius, and the Epistle of John Pautanus, concerning both the Theorick and the Practick of the Philosopher's Stone, fig.⁸⁶⁸</i>
1349: <i>Sir H. Plat's Description of Flowers, Fruit, Herbs, Trees, and Plants.</i>	1142 <i>Plat's Garden of Eden, Description of Flowers, Herbs, Trees, and Plants (1653)</i>
1351: <i>Ashmole's Nobility of the Realm, according to Law.</i>	1229 <i>Ashmole's Hist. of the Order of the Garter, Cuts (1715) or L.O.6. Ashmole's Order of the Garter, very fair, a Presentation Book from the Author (Lond. 1672)</i>
1359: <i>Smith's Commonwealth of England.</i>	L.O. 156: <i>Sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England (1621)⁸⁶⁹</i>
1372: <i>Clifford of Human Reason.</i>	1149: <i>Treatise of Human Reason, by Clifford, and the Exam (1675)</i>
1374: <i>Life of Dr. Sanderson, with his Tracts by Walton.</i>	1105: <i>Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson, with Tracts (1678)</i>
1375: <i>Life of Sir Stephen Fox, with his Will.</i>	L.O. 263: <i>Memoirs of the Life of Sir Stephen Fox (1717)⁸⁷⁰</i>
1380: <i>Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and his Trial</i>	L.O. 39: <i>The Earl of Shaftesbury's Tryal at the Old Bailey (1681)⁸⁷¹</i>
1383: <i>Life of K. Richard II</i>	L.O. 255: <i>The Life and Reign of K. Richard II</i>
1384: <i>Life of Edward VI & Begin. Of Q. Elizabeth</i>	L.O. 117: <i>Hayward's Life of Edward VI (1630)⁸⁷²</i>
1394: <i>Sir W. Raleigh's Aphorisms of State.</i>	1133: <i>Raleigh's Aphorisms of State (1661)</i>
1420: Sir H. Spelman's Law Terms (1684)	1135: Spelman of Law-Terms (1684)
1430: <i>Zouch's Questions in the Civil Law</i>	839: <i>Zouchel Questiones Juris Civilis (Oxon. 1660)</i>

⁸⁶⁸ See also Hunt 662.⁸⁶⁹ See also Hunt 98, 1092.⁸⁷⁰ See also Hunt CSUT 604.⁸⁷¹ See also Hunt CSUT 398⁸⁷² See also Hunt 374.

1439: Petavii Rationar. Temporum	743: Petavii Rationarum Temporum (Par. 1643)
1466: Baconi Hist. Reg. Hen. Sept. (Hackium 1647)	844: Baconi Historia Henrici Septimi (Lugd. 1647) ⁸⁷³
1478: A. Loon de Manumission. Serv. apud. Roman. (1685)	792: W. à Loon de Manumissione Servorum apud Romanos (Ultraj. 1685)
1482: Grotii Annales & Hist. de Reb. Belgicis (Bleau 1658)	691: Grotii Annales & Hist. de Rebus Belgicis (Ap Bleau. ib. 1658) ⁸⁷⁴
1490: Zouchi Elementa Jurisprudentiae	809: Zoucheus de Jure Prudentiae, & Militar. & Marit. (Amst.)
1492: Miltoni pro Populi Ang. Defensio	352: Miltoni pro Populi Anglicano Defensio (1651) <u>or</u> 807: Miltoni pro Populi Anglicano defensio (Lond. 1652) <u>or</u> 1116: Milton's Defense of the People of England (1695) ⁸⁷⁵
1505: Suetonius, cum Annotat.	328: Suetonii Opera Comment. Pitisci, & Var. cum Fig. Medal. &c. 2 vol. (Leovard, 1714) <u>or</u> 776: Suetonius (Basil. 1537)
1507: Seldeni Mare Clausum, fig.	73: Seldeni Mare, Clausum seu de Dominio Maris ⁸⁷⁶ (Lond. 1635) <u>or</u> 432: Seldeni Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris (Lugd. Bat. 1636) ⁸⁷⁷
1512: Manutii Antiquit. Roman Lib. de Legibus	329: Rosini Antiquitates Romanae, cum fig. (Traj. ad Rhen. 1701) ⁸⁷⁸
1549: Triveti Anal. ut & ad Marimuthensis Chronicon Boston. Specul. Coenobit. & Boltoni Hypercritica (ap. Ant. Hallium, Oxon. 1722)	705: Triveti Annales – Marimuthensis Chronicon – Bostoni Speculum Hypercritica (Oxon. 1722) ⁸⁷⁹
1558: Machiavelli de Repub. J. Brutus contra Tyrann.	868: Machiavelli Princeps, Vindiciae contra Tyrannos. (Ursell. 1600) ⁸⁸⁰
1571: Buxtorfi Epit. Gram. Heb., per Leusden.	858: Buxtorf. Grammatica Ebraea (Amst. 1625) <u>or</u> 888: Buxtorfii Epitome Grammaticae Hebraeae (1691)
1576: Dion. Longini Philisop. & Ret. Not. Fabri.	785: Dionysus de Sublimitate, Gr. & Lat. (Oxon. 1717) ⁸⁸¹

⁸⁷³ See also Hunt 14.

⁸⁷⁴ See also Hunt 998.

⁸⁷⁵ See also Hunt L.O. 296

⁸⁷⁶ See also Hunt 43

⁸⁷⁷ See also Hunt 47.

⁸⁷⁸ Heidenreich lists Aldo a Paolo Manutius as an author here

⁸⁷⁹ See also Hunt 1008

⁸⁸⁰ See also Hunt 1048.

⁸⁸¹ See also Hunt L.O. 200.

1581: Valerius Maximus. Not. Min-Ellii.	748: Valerius Maximus. (ap. Colinaeum. 1535)
1591: <i>Terentius Heinsiani</i>	97: <i>Terentii Comoediae. Var. (Ven. 1567) or 737: Terentii Comoediae (Cantab. 1723) or 760: Terentii Comoediae (Ap. Gryphium. 1573)</i> ⁸⁸²
1646: <i>Instruct. Synodales, par Godeau</i>	686: <i>Bp. Godeau's Pastoral Instructions (1703)</i>
1653: <i>Comedies de Terence, par Dacier. 3 tom.</i>	760: <i>Terentii Comoediae. Ap. Gryphium (1573)</i> ⁸⁸³
1663: <i>Lettres de Voiture</i>	1126: <i>Voiture's Love-Letters, omitted in Ozell's Translation.</i>
1681: <i>Oeuvres Math., par Gast. Pardies</i>	1182: <i>Harris's Geometry and Trigonometry – (1702)</i> ⁸⁸⁴ <i>or 1342: La Statique des Forces Mouvantes, par le Gaston. (Par. 1674)</i>
1689: <i>Republique des Suisses, par Simler.</i>	812: <i>Simlerus de Republica Helvetiorum, fig. (apud du Puys. 1577)</i>
1697: <i>Poesies, Pastorelles, par Fontanelle. (1716)</i>	1296: <i>Lettres Galantes le Chevalier de Her. par Fontanelle (Amst. 1716)</i>
1709: <i>Test. Politique de Richelieu, 2 parts</i>	961: <i>Card. de Richelieu's Letters to Lewis 13th, 2 vol. (1698)</i>
1722: <i>Comed. De Terence par Dacier. Tom. 1</i>	760: <i>Terentii Comoediae (Ap. Gryphium. 1573)</i> ⁸⁸⁵
1724: <i>Hist. des Revolut. Romaine, par Vertot. Tom. 2, 3.</i>	918: <i>Vertot's Revolutions in Spain, 5 vol. (Lond. 1724)</i> ⁸⁸⁶
1747: <i>Relation de l'Inquisition at Goa (1687)</i>	209: <i>The History of the Inquisition at Goa. (1688)</i>
1765: <i>Sonetti e Canzone di Petrarca</i>	523: <i>Il Petrarca con la Spositone di Gesualdo. (Venet. Giglio. 1553) or 1253: Il Petrarca.</i>
1772: Discorsi di Francisco di Vieri. (Giunti 1568)	1356: Discorso di M. Francesco di Viere. (Fiorenza. 1568)
1812: <i>Pratica della Medaglie di Carlo Pattino.</i>	1334: <i>Practica della Medaglie di Carlo Pattino. – (Ven. 1673)</i>
1826: <i>Calisto Drama – Testament du Card. Mazarini.</i>	1198: <i>Last Will and Testament of Card. Mazarine, &c. and Hall's Paradoxes (1663)</i>
1829: <i>La Talicea di Ferrant. Pallavicino.</i>	1273 ^a : <i>Opere Scelte di Ferrante Pallavicino. (Villa Franc. 1673)</i>

⁸⁸² See also Hunt 83, 1653, 1722.

⁸⁸³ See also Hunt 83, 1591, 1722.

⁸⁸⁴ This is John Harris's English translation of Pardies, possibly bundled with other items. See also Hunt, 1895, L.O. 231.

⁸⁸⁵ See also Hunt 83, 1591, 1653.

⁸⁸⁶ Heidenreich's complete title: *History of the Revolutions in Spain, from the decadence of the Roman Empire to the accession of Lewis I.*

1833: Rime di P. Rolli, large Paper (Lond. 1717)	1350: Rime di Paolo Antonio Rolli (Lond. 1717)
1871: Boyle's Hydrostatical Paradoxes	1221: Boyle's Hydrostatical Paradoxes (1666)
1888: Harris's Treatise of Algebra	1227: Harris's Algebra, with the Nature of Fluxions (1705)
1895: Pardies Elementa Geometriae	1182: <i>Harris's Geometry and Trigonometry.</i> – (1702) ⁸⁸⁷
1922: Blegny on the Venereal Disease.	1390: Blegny's Art of Curing Venereal Diseases. (1707)
1956: Rowzee of Tunbridge Water.	1230b: Virtue of Tunbridge Water, by Rowzee.
1957: Lloyd's Treasury of Health	1130: Lloyd's Treasure of Health, Black Letter.
1960: Borlase's Latham Spaw in Lancashire	1218: Remarkable Cases and Cures by Latham Spaw in Lancashire (1672)
1968: <i>Mayerne of the Gout and Fits</i>	256: <i>Mayernii Opera Medica, Edit. Opt.</i> (Lond. 1701)
1972: La Charriere's Surgery.	1250: Charrier's Surgery.
1978: <i>Van der Linden, de Scriptis Med.</i>	1377: <i>Celsus de Medicina, ex Recognitione Vander Linden.</i> (Elz. 1657) ⁸⁸⁸
1982: Strother Pharmacopeia Practica.	1375: Strotheri Pharmacopeia Practica (1719)
1988: <i>Corn. Agrippae Opera</i>	263: <i>Cornelius Agrippa de Occulta Philosophia.</i> (1533) ⁸⁸⁹ or 1103 <i>Cor. Agrippae's Vanity of Arts and Sciences</i> (1684) ⁸⁹⁰
2011: <i>Cratonis Consil. Medicinae</i>	1379: <i>Cratonis Isagoge ad Artem Medicam.</i> (Venet. 1560) ⁸⁹¹
2026: <i>Testam. & Transmut. Item. Metal. Vade Mecum</i>	587: <i>Practica Raymund. Lulli.</i>
2038: <i>Valentini Cursus Triumph Antmonii.</i>	1151: <i>Valentinus of Metals; Suchten's Secrets of Antimony.</i> (1670)
2045: <i>Cratonis Consil. & Epist. Medicinal.</i>	1379: <i>Cratonis Isagoge ad Artem Medicam.</i> (Venet. 1560) ⁸⁹²
2053: <i>De Graaf, de Mulier Organis Generat. inservient., fig and 2054 : [de Graaf] de Vir. Organ. Generat. de Clyst. &c. fig and 205:5 [de Graaf] de Succ. Panereati. Nat. & Usu., fig.</i>	1370: <i>Regneri de Graaf Opera Omnia, fig.</i> (Lugd. 1678)

⁸⁸⁷ Heidenreich lists Pardies as the author, and Harris as translator, and lists the full title as 'short but yet plain elements of geometry...' See also Hunt 1681, L.O.231.

⁸⁸⁸ According to Heidenreich, Celsus is the author of this item.

⁸⁸⁹ See also Hunt 105.

⁸⁹⁰ See also Hunt 982 and L.O. 288.

⁸⁹¹ See also Hunt 2045.

⁸⁹² See also Hunt 2011.

2068: <i>Valentii Haliographia</i>	1247: <i>Vita B. Simonis Valentin. Sacerdot. Ex Offic. Plant. 1614</i>
2071: <i>Willis de Sangui. Accessione de Morol. Muscul., fig. and 2072: [Willis de Cerebri Anatome. fig.</i>	602: <i>Willis Opera Omnia Medica. (Amst. 1682)</i>
2098: Tachenii Hippocrates Chemicus.	1403: Otto Tachenus, his Hippocrates Chymicus, 4to. (1677) ⁸⁹³
2110b: <i>Kircheri Mag. Nat. Regnum</i>	L.O. 61 [Kircheri] <i>Physiologica Experimentalis, cum fig. Ch. Mag. Amst. 1671</i>
2117: Bellinus de Struct. & Usu. Renum, fig.	L.O. 148: Bellini de Structura Renum & de Gustus Organo (Lugd. 1726) ⁸⁹⁴
2143: Cluverii Introd. In Univ. Geograph., fig.	428: Cluverii Geographica, cum Notis Hekelii & Reskii, Mappis. (Amst. 1697) ⁸⁹⁵
4 Coll. of Scarce and Uncommon Tracts, folio, quarto, octavo: Answer of the Earl of Oxford to the Articles of Impeachment against him. ⁸⁹⁶	943: <i>Articles of Impeachment against the E. of Oxford (1727)</i> ⁸⁹⁷
CSUT 7: D. of Wharton's Speech in Defence of the Bishop of Rochester.	L.O. 45: <i>The Speech of the House of Lords on Inflicting Pains, &c. on the Bishop of Rochester.</i> ⁸⁹⁸
CSUT 17: C. Gyllenborg and B. Gortz's Letters.	L.O. 78: Count Gyllenborg, B. Gortz, Sparre, &c. Letters on raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden (1717)
CSUT 18: Atkin's Great Case of Elections to Parliament (1689)	L.O. 32: Atkyn's Argument concerning the Election of Members (1689) ⁸⁹⁹
CSUT 19: [Atkin's] Power of Dispensing with Penal Statutes.	L.O. 19: <i>Atkyn's Enquiry into the Power of dispensing with the Penal Statutes. With Animadver. on Sir Ed. Herbert. (1689)</i>
CSUT 24: Snell's Accompts for landed Men.	L.O. 33: Snell's Accompts for Landed-Men.
CSUT 51: <i>Papin's Engine for Softning Bones, with the Description of its Use in Cookery, Voyages, Chemist. and Dying, 2 Parts, fig.</i>	1361: <i>Divers Traictez à Mons. Papin (Par. 1651)</i>
CSUT 52: Hooke's Lectures and Collections. Cuts.	273: <i>Dr. Hook's Cutlerian Lectured, and other Discourses made before the Royal Society,</i>

⁸⁹³ See also Hunt 674.

⁸⁹⁴ See also Hunt 720.

⁸⁹⁵ See also Hunt 463, 635.

⁸⁹⁶ The abbreviation CSUT will be used to denote items in this section.

⁸⁹⁷ Heidenreich's additions indicate that this item contains Harley's 'Answer'

⁸⁹⁸ Full title of 1723 edition of the Hunt item: 'His Grace the Duke of Wharton's speech in the House of Lords, on the third reading of the Bill to inflict pains and penalties on Francis (late) Lord Bishop of Rochester.' It is unconfirmed which of the many speeches on the Bishop of Rochester is contained in the Defoe/Farewell item; Heidenreich tentatively suggests the Earl of Cowper or 'R. Willis' as possible authors.

⁸⁹⁹ (And CSUT 19) See also Hunt CSUT 389.

	<i>published by Waller, Secretary to the Society, with Cuts (1705)</i>
CSUT 76: <i>Hobbesii Vita, authore Seipso.</i>	974: <i>Hobbes's Life and Works, 3 vol.</i>
CSUT 78: Braddon's Essex's Innocen. and Honour. Vindicated (1690)	L.O. 182: Earl of Essex's Innocency and Honour Vindicated (1690)
CSUT 79: Enquiry into the barb. Murder of the Earl of Essex (1689)	L.O. 175c: The Detection of the Barbarous Murder of the E. of Essex. (1689)
CSUT 84: <i>Sir W. Raleigh's Prerogative of Parliament in England.</i>	1199: <i>Remains of Sir W. Raleigh; Prerogative of Parl. &c. (1726)</i>
CSUT 96: Mather's History of the War with the Indians in New-England (1676)	L.O. 43: The War between the Eng. and Indians in New-England (1676) or L.O. 188: Mather's History of the War with the Indians in New-England (1676)
CSUT 98: Smith's Common-Wealth of England.	L.O. 156: Sir Thomas Smith's Common-Wealth of England. 1621 ⁹⁰⁰
CSUT 108: Declarat. Of J. Pym, with Mr. St. John's Argum. of Law on the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford (1641)	L.O. 181: Pym's Declaration of the Charge of High-Treason against Earl of Strafford (1641)⁹⁰¹
CSUT 112: <i>Buchanan and Maitland de Jure Regni apud Scotos.</i>	731: <i>Buchanani Hist. Scoti. & Jure Reg. ap. Scot. (1643) or L.O. 171 De Jure Regni apud Scotos. (1689)</i>
CSUT 113: Account of Scotland's Grievances by Lauder. Ministry	L.O. 169e: Scotland's Grievance concerning Lauderdale's Ministry.
CSUT 114: Audley Mervin's Speech concerning the Affairs of Scotland. (1662)	1457: Sir Audley Mervin's Speech to the Duke of Ormond. (1662)
CSUT 119: Scotch Mist cleared up to prevent Eng. being wet to the Skin, with the Trial of the Earl of Argyle.	L.O. 183: The Scotch Mist cleared up.
CSUT 127: <i>Charge of the Commission of Scotland against Laud and Strafford (1641)</i>	<i>L.O. 181: Pym's Declaration of the Charge of High-Treason against Earl of Strafford (1641)⁹⁰²</i>
CSUT 137: Father La Chaise's Confer. with four Jesuits on the State of England.	L.O. 113: C Two Conferences between Father le Chaise, and four Jesuits.
CSUT 144: Austen of Fruit-Trees.	1067: Austen's Treatise of Fruit-Trees (1657) ⁹⁰³
CSUT 147: Maschall's Countryman's Art of Planting and Grafting. Cuts.	L.O. 210: The Country-Man's New Art of Planting and Grafting by Maschall.
CSUT 148: Plat's Jewel-house of Art and Nature.	491: Plat's Jewel-House of Art and Nature. – (1563)
CSUT 153: Poole Count. Farrier, teaching to Cure all Sorts of Cattel.	L.O. 180: Poole's Country Farrier. The English Farrier, &c. (1639)

⁹⁰⁰ See also Hunt 1092, 1359.

⁹⁰¹ See also Hunt CSUT 127

⁹⁰² See also Hunt CSUT 108.

⁹⁰³ See also Hunt 422, 1303.

CSUT 156: [Siege] of Londonderry, by Walker. (1689)	1409c: Walker's Account of the Siege of Londonderry [1689] ⁹⁰⁴
CSUT 174: Confess. Of M. Clerke, for Burning her Master's House.	1449a: The Case of Margaret Clark, executed for Firing her Master's House in Southwark (1680)
CSUT 185: Wotton's Elements of Architecture (1624)	482: Wotton's Elements of Architecture (1624) ⁹⁰⁵
CSUT 191: Waraei de Scriptoribus Hiberniae	323: Waraeus de Scriptoribus Hiberniae
CSUT 230: Hist. of the Campaign in the Netherlands 1693, with Cuts by d' Auvergne.	1448c: Auvergne's Hist. of the Last Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands (1693)
CSUT 235: Relation of the Inquisition at Goa, during 8 years, printed by the King of France's Permission (1688)	L.O. 209: The History of the Inquisition at Goa (1688) ⁹⁰⁶
CSUT 249: Leycester's Common-Wealth. – (1641)	L.O. 118: Leycester's Common Wealth (1641) ⁹⁰⁷ or 1214: Leicester's Common-Wealth, with his Ghost, and his Head, by Parsons the Jesuit.
CSUT 271: Lowndes on Silver Coins (1695)	955: Essay on mending the Silver Coins, by Lownds (1695)
CSUT 335: Dr. Ayliffe's Malicious Prosecution, for writing the State of the University of Oxford.	1472b: Dr. Ayliffe's Case.
CSUT 337: Mackenzie's Foundat. of Monarchy, especially in Scotland.	663b: Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland (1685) or 1036: Mackenzie's Royal Line of Scotland. (1686) or 1089: Mackenzie of the Monarchy of Scotland. (1684) ⁹⁰⁸
CSUT 354: Elsing's Memoirs of Parliaments.	1143: Method of holding Parliaments in England, by Elsyng (1660)
CSUT 356: Walpole's Report from the Secret Committee (1715)	L.O. 21: Report of the Secret Committee, relating to Peace and Commerce, by R. Walpole, Esq (1715) or L.O. 22: Observations on the Report of the Secret Committee (1715) ⁹⁰⁹
CSUT 367: Theatrum Botanic. Bauhini (1620)	L.O. 40: Bauhini Theatrum Botanicum (Franc. 1620)
CSUT 374: The Baiting of the Pope's Bull, or an unmasking of the Mystery of Enquiry	L.O. 169b: The Italian Bull-Baiting. ⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁴ Heidenreich lists this as the publication date, and earlier items in this bundle are also labelled 1689. See also Hunt CSUT 473.

⁹⁰⁵ See also Hunt 400.

⁹⁰⁶ See also Hunt 1747.

⁹⁰⁷ See also Hunt 1282.

⁹⁰⁸ See also Hunt 939, 1263.

⁹⁰⁹ See also Hunt 21.

⁹¹⁰ Heidenreich suggests this may be Burton's Baiting of the Pope's Bull

<i>folded up in a most pernicious Breve or Bull, sent from the Pope into England.</i>	
CSUT 389: The Power, Jurisdiction and Privilege of Parliament, by Sir Robert Atkyns (1689)	L.O. 19: <i>Atkyns' Enquiry into the Power of Dispensing with the Penal Statutes, with animadvert. On Sir Ed. Herbert (1689) or</i> L.O. 32: <i>Atkyns' Argument concerning the Election of Members (1689)</i> ⁹¹¹
CSUT 391: Report on the Committee of Commons, concerning Layer (1722)	L.O. 25: The report of the Committee, on the Examination of Chr. Layer, and others (1722) ⁹¹²
CSUT 396: Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England, by Sir Humphry Mackworth (1701)	160: <i>Mackworth's Rights of the Commons Vindicated (1701)</i>
CSUT 398: Proceedings at the Old Bailey against the Earl of Shaftesbury (1681)	L.O. 39: <i>The Earl of Shaftesbury's Tryal, at the Old Bailey (1681)</i> ⁹¹³
CSUT 404: Treatise of Manners Beneficiary, by F. Paul (1680)	L.O. 30: <i>A Treatise of Beneficiary Matters, by Fra. Paolo Sarpi (1680)</i> ⁹¹⁴
411: <i>Scandalum Magnatum, or the Great Tryal between the Bp. of London Plaintiff, and Edmond Hickeringhill, Defendant. (1682)</i>	1424e: <i>Hickeringhill's Trial of the Value of Spiritual Courts or</i> 1436f <i>Hickeringhill's Character of the Ceremony-Monger or</i> 1437g: <i>Hickeringhill's Essays Ecclesiastical</i>
CSUT 421: A Letter from General Ludlow to Sir E.S. comparing the Tyranny of the first Four Years of K. Charles the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the late K. James II (1691)	1415c: <i>Ludlow's Lett. To Sir E.S. comparing the Tyranny of the first Four Years of King Charles I with the Tyranny of the four years' Reign of King James II.</i>
CSUT 451: Ludlow against the gross Forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth (1693)	1450a: <i>Ludlow's Detection of the gross Forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth.</i>
CSUT 473: Walker's Account of the Siege of Londonderry (1689)	1409c: <i>Walker's Account of the Siege of London-derry.</i> ⁹¹⁵
CSUT 578: <i>Starkey's Exam. of the late Arcanas.</i>	1184: <i>Secrets Revealed, containing the Treasure in Chymistry (1669)</i>
CSUT 580: <i>Petty of the People, Housing, &c. of London and Paris.</i>	1472c: <i>Sir W. Petty's Political Arithmetick, Fr. and Eng.</i> ⁹¹⁶
CSUT 585: Sannazarii Opera omnia Poemata.	802: <i>Actii Sannazarii Opera ([Amsterdam] 1648)</i>
CSUT 592: <i>Sir Robert Cotton's Dis. Of Foreign War, with an Account of all the Taxations upon this Kingdom, from the Conq. to Qu. Elizabeth. Also a List of the Confed. from Hen I to the End of the Queen's Reign, &c.</i>	88: <i>Catalogus Manus. Bibliothecae Cottoniae. (Oxon. 1696) or</i> 1017: <i>Cotton's Right and Power of Lords and Commons in Parliament, with other Tracts (1679) or</i> 1101:

⁹¹¹ See also Hunt CSUT 18-9.

⁹¹² See also Hunt 22.

⁹¹³ See also Hunt 1380.

⁹¹⁴ See also Hunt 900

⁹¹⁵ See also Hunt CSUT 156.

⁹¹⁶ Heidenreich's notes suggest that this item includes 'Observations upon the cities of London and Rome.'

	<i>Sir R. Cotton's Choice Pieces, Parliament Affairs, &c. (1672)</i> ⁹¹⁷
CSUT 604: <i>Memoirs of the Life of Sir Stephen Fox.</i>	L.O. 263: <i>Memoirs of the Life of Sir Stephen Fox (1717)</i> ⁹¹⁸
610: <i>Prynne's Legal Vindication of the Liberties of England.</i>	1412b: <i>The Laws and not the King do Command, &c. or L.O. 189: Prynne's Discovery of Free-State Tyranny (1655)</i>
CSUT 638: <i>England's Advantage and Safety prov'd dependant on a formidable and well-disciplined Navy, &c. (1702)</i>	1413g: <i>England's Advantage and Safety prov'd Dependent on a formidable and well-disciplin'd Navy, and the Encrease and Encouragement of Seamen (1702)</i>
CSUT 640: <i>Prosper Alpinus de Plantis AEgypt. (Venet. 1592)</i>	L.O. 141: <i>Alpinus de Plantis AEgypti, & Dialogus de Balsamo (Venet. 1592)</i>
CSUT 648: <i>Jo. Franciscus Rota de Introd. Graec. Medicam. (Bonon. ap Ansel. Giaccarel. 1553)</i>	L.O. 167: <i>Franciscus Rota de Introductione Graec. Medicam (Bonon. 1553)</i>
CSUT 654: <i>An Advertisement of Corruption in our handling Religion, by H. Broughton.</i>	L.O. 122: <i>Broughton's Advertisement of Corruption in our handling of Religion (1605)</i>
CSUT 683: <i>Reasons for Abrogating the Test by Parker Bishop of Oxford (1688)</i>	L.O. 203: <i>Reasons for Abrogating the Test imposed on the Memb. (1688)</i> ⁹¹⁹
CSUT 693: <i>Prynne's Looking-Glass for Corrupt Governours and Soldiers, who through Pusillanimity or Bribery, betray their Trusts to the publick Prejudice (1643)</i>	1412d: <i>A Looking-Glass for Corrupt Governours and Soldiers, who through Pusillanimity or Bribery betray their Trust to the Publick Prejudice, by Prynne (1643)</i>
CSUT 709: <i>Knavery of Astrology Discovered, &c. My Lord Lucas, his Speech.</i>	L.O. 113: <i>Ld Lucas's Speech in Parliament (1671)</i>
CSUT 719: <i>An Inquiry into the Causes of Civil War in this King. in Exam. Of Dr. Kennet's Sermon, Jan. 31 and Vind. of the Royal Martyr.</i>	1436a: <i>Kennet's View of the Reign of Charles I (1704)</i>
CSUT 720: <i>Dissenters Sayings, in requital for L'Estrange's Sayings (1681)</i> ⁹²⁰	1411c: <i>Dissenters Sayings, by L'Estrange (1681)</i>
CSUT 722: <i>A True Account of the Murder of Duke Hamilton by Mac-kartney.</i>	1427c: <i>A Defense of Maccartney (1712)</i> ⁹²¹
Libri Omissi 9: <i>Continuat. of Murray's Laws of Scotland from 1689 to 1707, by Sir James Murray and others (1707)</i>	184a: <i>Murray's Laws of Scotland, &c. continued to the Union, 2 vol. (1707)</i>
L.O. 18: <i>Weever's Funeral Monuments, with Table.</i>	159: <i>Weever's Funeral Monuments (1631)</i>
L.O. 30: <i>Salmon's Herbal, with Cuts.</i>	L.O. 80: <i>Salmon's Herbal, with about 1200 Cuts (1710)</i>

⁹¹⁷ See also Hunt 1250.

⁹¹⁸ See also Hunt 1375.

⁹¹⁹ Heidenreich lists Samuel Parker as this tract's author.

⁹²⁰ Misleadingly, this is actually an edition of L'Estrange's work (London: Joanna Brome, 1681), not a response.

⁹²¹ The title suggested by Heidenreich emphasizes the work's focus on the duel between Hamilton and Lord Mohun.

L.O. 31: Taylor's Life of Christ with Cave's Apostles. Cuts.	39: [Cave's] Of the Apostles, ([London] 1667) <u>and</u> 40: Taylor's Life of Christ, fine Cuts. ([London] 1653)
L.O. 40: Politiques d'Aristote traduit par Fr. Morel.	201: Politiques d'Aristote traduit par Morel (Par. 1559)
L.O. 43: <i>Howell's Fr. and Eng. Dictionary.</i>	169: <i>Howell's Lexicon, English, French, Italian and Spanish (1660)</i> <u>or</u> 221: <i>Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary (Lond. 1650)</i> ⁹²²
L.O. 44: <i>Vietae Opera Mathematica & Studio Schooten.</i>	594: <i>Des Cartes Geometria, 2 vol. (Amst. 1683)</i> ⁹²³
L.O. 46: Boccalin's Parnassus.	1287: Raggiugli di Parnasso, del Signor Boccalini (Amst. 1596) <u>or</u> 1310: De Raggiugli di Parnasso, 2. Tom. (Ven. 1624) <u>or</u> L.O. 97: Boccalini Tratta dal Monte Parnasso (1615)
L.O. 50: Pomponius Mela de Orbis situ, cum Notis.	766: Pomponii Mela de Situ Orbis, fig. (Lugd. 1696)
L.O. 61: Oughtred Trigonometr. &c. com fig. Auth. (1657) ⁹²⁴	603: Oughtred Trigonometria, with his Head finely Engr. by Faithorne.
L.O. 69: <i>Compleat History of Druggs, by Lemery, Pomet, &c. 2 vol. fig.</i>	558: <i>Lemery Pharmacopoe Universale. (Par. 1688)</i>
L.O.83: Goodhall's Royal Colledge of Physicians (1684)	589: Goodall's College of Physicians (1684)
L.O. 87: Diemberbroeck Tract. de Peste (apud Bleau. 1665)	588: Diembrock de Peste (Bleau. 1665)
L.O. 102: Jul. Caesar Scaliger de subtilitate ad Cardan. (Lutet. Vascosan. 1557)	386: Scaliger de Subtiliate (<i>Vascosan</i> 1557)
L.O. 114: Varenius Geog. Fig a Jacobo Juris (Cant. 1712)	860: Varenii Geographia Generalis. – a Jurin. (Cant. 1712)
L.O. 121: Praelection Astronom. per Whiston	1385: [Whiston] Praelectiones Astronomicae in Schol. Cant. (Cant. 1707)
L.O. 122: [Praellection] Phys. Mathemat. Whiston.	1384: Whiston Praelectiones Physico-Mathematicae (1726)
L.O. 126: Walker's Dict. of Eng. & Lat. Idioms and Phrases.	L.O. 267: Idioms and Phrases, by Will. Walker (1670)
L.O. 127: Lemery's Course of Chymistry. Cuts.	1352 : Cours de Chymie, par l'Emery, fig. ([Paris] 1697) <u>or</u> 1396: Lemery's Course of Chymistry.
L.O. 137: Sydenham, Observationes Medicae.	1374: Sydenham Observationes circa Morborum acutorum & Curat. (1676)
L.O. 138: [Sydenham] Tractatus de Podagra & Hydrope.	1371: Sydenham de Podagra & Hydrope (Lond. 1683)
L.O. 139: Flagellum, or Life, Birth, Death, &c. of O. Cromwell.	1178: The Life of Oliver Cromwell (1679) ⁹²⁵

⁹²² Heidenreich's index also lists the latter work under 'James Howell.' See also Hunt 52.

⁹²³ Heidenreich lists this work under 'Peter and Franz von Schooten.'

⁹²⁴ Heidenreich lists Faithorne as the artist in this edition.

⁹²⁵ Heidenreich's notes suggest this item is John Heath's *Flagellum*.

L.O. 140: Courtier's Oracle of Art of Prudence from Span. of Gracian.	1187: Art of Prudence, by Savage. ⁹²⁶
L.O. 155: J. de Laet de gemmis & lapidibus. Theophrast. de lapid.	726: Tollius de Lapidibus & Gemmis & de Laet. Fig. (Lugd. 1647)
L.O. 178: Ovidii Opera Not. Variorum. 3 Vol.	734: Ovidii Opera Burmanni, 3 vol. (Traj. Batav. 1713) <i>or</i> 741: Ovidii Opera, 3 vol. (Maittaire. Lond. 1715) <i>or</i> 851 Ovidii Opera, 3 vol. (Amst. 1717) ⁹²⁷
L.O. 180: Sir John Pettus History of Adam and Eve.	1137: Pettus's History of Adam and Eve (1674)
L.O. 181: K. Henry the Eighth's Primer.	646: King Henry VIII's Primer (1546)
L.O. 185: Charleton of the different Wits of Men, and Mystery of Vintners.	1156: Wits of Men the Mysteries of Vintners (1669)
L.O. 200*: Dionysus Longinus Gr & Lat., cum Notis.	785: Dionysus de Sublimitate, Gr & Lat. Oxon. (1717) ⁹²⁸
L.O. 299: Quevedo's Visions	1138: Quevedo's Visions by Sir R. l'Estrange (1715)
L.O. 231: Harris's Elements of Geometry, 2 nd Edit.	1182: Harris's Geometry and Trigonometry. – (1702) ⁹²⁹
L.O. 239: Locke's Letter concerning Toleration.	498: Locke of Toleration complete (1690)
L.O. 286: The Art of law-Giving in 3 Books, shewing the Foundations and Superstructures of all Kinds of Governments, &c. Appendix. concerning an House of Peers. By J. Harrington (1659)	1185: Harrington's Art of Law-giving (1659)
L.O. 288: Cornelius Agrippa de Internectitadine & Vanital. omnuim Scient.	1103: Cor. Agrippa's Vanity of Arts and Sciences (1684) ⁹³⁰
L.O. 290: Hobbes of Liberty and Necessity. (1654)	1203: Hobbes of Liberty and Necessity.
L.O. 293: Il Sindicato di Alesandro VII, con il suo viaggio nall altro Mondo.	1254: Il Sindicato de Alexandro 7 (1668)
L.O. 296: Miltoni Anf. Pro populo Angl. Defensio contra Salmasium.	352: Miltoni pro Populo Anglicano Defensio. – 1651 <i>or</i> 807: Miltoni pro Populo Anglicano defensio. (Lond. 1652) <i>or</i> 1116: Milton's Defense of the People of England. (1695) ⁹³¹
L.O. 300: Ovidii oper, 3 vol. [per Mattaire]	741: Ovidii Opera, 3 vol. Maittaire. (Lond. 1715)

⁹²⁶ See also Hunt 977.

⁹²⁷ See also Hunt 67, L.O. 300.

⁹²⁸ See also Hunt 1576.

⁹²⁹ See also Hunt 1895.

⁹³⁰ See also Hunt 982 and 1988.

⁹³¹ See also Hunt 1492.

L.O. 301: Virgilii Opera [per Mattaire]	742: Virgilii Opera, 2 vol. ejusdem. – ((London, 1715) ⁹³²
L.O. 304: Catullus, Tibullius and Propertius [per Mattaire]	336 : Valerius, Catullus, Albius, Tibullus & Sextus Aurel. Propertii Opera in Usum. Delph. 2 vol. ([Paris] 1685)
L.O. 309: Velleius Paterculus [per Mattaire]	363: Velleii Paterculus Hist. Romana in Usum. Delph. (Par. 1675) <i>or</i> 707: Velleius Paterculus, variorum. Medail. (1693) <i>or</i> 720: Velleius Paterculus (Oxon. 1711)
L.O. 310: Quintius Curtius. [per Mattaire]	797: Q. Curtius. –(Elz. 1670)
L.O. 311: Horatius [per Mattaire]	335: Horatii Opera in Usum. Delph. 2 vol. (Par 1691)
L.O. 319: Life of General Monk (1724)	911: General Monk's Life, by Skinner (1724)
L.O 320: Dumb Campnell's Life and Adventures. Cuts.	915: Duncan Campbel's Life. Cuts (1720)
323: Voyage to Guinea, with an Account of the Customs, Manners, &c.	1173: Villault's Voyage to Guinea. (1670)

Other potential salted items:

<u>Item in Defoe/Farewell (1731):</u>	<u>Item in Bibliopolium Vandenhoeckiamum catalogue (1730)</u>
364: Card. Bembi Hist. Rerum Venetarum. (Vascosan, 1551)	Folio 58: Bembi, (Petri) Cardinalis Hist. Venetae (Venet. 1551)
228: Histoire des Connestables Chancelliers et Gardes des Seaux, Mareschaux, Admiraux &c. de France, par Godefroy, l'Imprimerie Royale (1658) ⁹³³	142: Feron (Jean le), Histoire des Connestables Chancelliers et Gardes des Seaux de France, Fig. 2 Vol, (a Paris de l'Imprimerie Royale)
3. Hist. Anglicana Ecclesiast. Harpsfeldii, & narration Divortii Henri VIII & Catherine (Duaci, 1622)	181: Harpsfeldii (Nicolai), Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica, a Primis. Gent suscept. Fidae (Duaci, 1622)
114: Johnstoni Historia Rerum Britannicarum (Amsterdam, 1654) ⁹³⁴	199: Johnstoni (Roberti), Historia rerum Britannicarum (Amst. 1655)

⁹³² Jacob Tonson's London 1715 publication was one of only two editions of Mattaire-edited Ovid to appear that year.

⁹³³ Heidenreich lists le Feron as Godefroy's co-author.

⁹³⁴ Heidenreich has amended the date of the Defoe/Farewell item to 1655, believing that Payne's given date of 1654 is erroneous.

35: Limborch Theologia Christiana (Amst.)	218: Limborch (Philippia) Theologia Christiana (Amst. 1714)
239: Lettres de Cardinal d'Ossat (1627)	268: D'Ossat (Cardinal), Lettres au Roy Henri le Grand (Paris, 1627)
236: Oeuvres Morales et Meslees de Plutarque, traduit d'Amyot (Vascosan, 1575)	284: Plutarque les Vies des Hommes Illustres, & Oeuvres Meslees de la Traduction d'Amyot. Fig. 4 vol. (Paris)
62: Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, Ussheri (Lond. 1687)	387. Ussheri (Jacobi), Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates Hist. (Londini, 1687)
L.O. 141: Alpinus de Plantis Aegypti, & Dialogus de Balsamo. (Venet. 1592)	Quarto 35: Alpini (Prosperi), De Plantis Aegypti, cum fig. (Ven. 1592)
L.O. 148: Bellini de Structura Renum et de Gustus Organo (Lugd. 1726)	50: Bellini (Laurenti), Exertationes anatomicae duae de structura renum et de gustus organo (Lugd. Bat.1726)
341: Ciceronis Opera Omnia Variorum, accurante Schrevel. 4 tom. (Elz. 1661)	99: Ciceronis Opera, cum Notis Gruteri (Amst. apud Elz. 1661)
345: Dodwellus de Cyclis. Oxon.	109: Dodwelli (Henrici), de Veteribus Graecorum Romanorumque Cyclis (Oxon. 1711)
408: Mag. Dict. Latino-Gallicum, per Danet in Usus Delphi (1711) ⁹³⁵	123: Danet (Pierre), Dictionaire Lat. & Francois, 2 vol. (Amst. 1710)
L.O. 81: Gravesande, Physices Elementa Mathematica, 2 vol. (Lugd. 1725)	148: Gravesande (Jacobi S.) Physices Elementa Mathematica, Fig. (Lugd. Bat. 1725)
444: Haym's Tesoro Britannico, 2 vol. Medals, &c (Tonson) ⁹³⁶	161: Haym (N. Francesco) Del Tesoro Britannico overo il Museo Nummario, 2 vol. (in Lond. 1719)
340: Horatius Bentleii (Amst. Wechtein, 1713)	174a: Horatius (Q.) Flaccus cum notis Richardi Bentleii (Amst. 1713)
288. St. Ignatii Epistolae Genuinae, Gr. Lat cum notis Vossi. (1680)	195: Ignatii (St.) Epistolae, Gr. & Lat. (Lond. 1680)
374: Lydius de Re militari, figuris. (Dord. 1698)	224: Lydi (Jacobi) Syntagma de re militari, nec non de jure jurando. (Dordraci, 1698)
333: Mattaire Annales Typographici (Hag. Com 1719)	242: Mattaire (Mich.) Annales Typographici ab Artis Inventae Originiae ad Annum, MD, 5 Vol. (Hage 1719)
420: Meursii Creta, Rhodus, Cyprus, &c. (Amst. 1675)	248: Meursii (Joannis), Creta, Cypra, Rhodus (Amst. 1675)
L.O. 82: Newtoni Principia Philosophiae Naturalis (Lond. 1726)	264: Newtoni (Isaaci) <i>Philosophiae naturalis</i> (Londini 1726)
560: Dictionaire Mathematique, par Ozanam. (1691)	278: Ozanam (M.) Dictionaire Mathematiques ou Idee General de Mathematiques (Paris, 1691)

⁹³⁵ Heidenreich has appended Payne's supplied publication date of 1711 to either 1710 or 1712, with the former date being the Amsterdam edition found in Vandenhoeck.

⁹³⁶ Heidenreich has dated Tonson's edition to 1719.

L.O. 217: Eutropius Historiae Romanae, cum Notis Variorum (Lugd. 1729)	Octavo 5: Eutropius (Lugd. Bat. 1729)
735: <i>Titi Livii</i> , 3 vol. (Elz. 1634)	23: <i>T. Livius ex recensione Heinsiana</i> , 3 vol. (Lugd. Bat. 1634)
821: Sophoclis Tragediae septem, Gr. & Lat. 2 vol. (Londini, 1722)	42: Sophoclis Tragediae septem, Gr. & Lat. 2 vol. (Londini, 1722)
804: Titi Livii Hist. Clericus, 10 vol (Amst. 1710)	45: T. Livius, cum Joan Freinshei ... cum Supplementis Recensuit & Notulis Auxit Joan. Clericus (Amst. 1710)
742: Virgillii Opera, 2. Vol ejusdem (Lond. 1715)	63: Virgilius (Londini, 1715)
741: Ovidii Opera, 3 vol. Maittaire (Lond. 1715)	69: Ovidius Opera, 3 vol. (Lond. 1715)
851: Ovidius Opera, 3 vol. (Amst. 1717)	73: Ovidius Opera, 3 vol. (Amst. 1717)
731: Buchananani Hist. Scoti. & Jure Reg. ap Scot. (1643)	130: Buchananani (Georg.) Rerum Scoticarum Historia (Edenburghi 1643)
732: De Crosa Logicae Systema, 2 vol. in unum (Gen. 1724)	184: Crosa (Joh. Pet. De) Logicae Systema, 2 vol. (Geneva, 1724)
710: Ciceronis Epistolae Graevii (Amst. 1689)	209: Ciceronis (M. Tulli) Epistolae ad Familiares ex recensione J. G. Graevii (Amst. 1689)
612: Jebb's Justini Dialog. cum Judaeo, Gr. & Lat. (Lond. 1719)	350: Justini (Sancti) cum Typhone Judaeo Dialogus, Gr. & Lat. Edita a S. Jebb (Londini 1719)
762: Manutii Epistolae (Aldus. 1560) ⁹³⁷	379: Manutii (Pauli) Epistolarum, Lib. IV, Venetiis 1560
1307: Memoire de Comte de Boulainvilliers (Amst. 1727)	409: Memoires de Boulainvilliers (a la Haye, 1727)
L.O. 274. <i>Rapin's Hist. of England</i> , in 15 Vol. compleat	507: <i>Rapin's History of England</i> , with Mr. Tindal's Notes, 12 Vol, Fig. (London, 1728)
623: Biblia Septuaginta Millii, 2 vol (Amst. 1725)	551: Testamentum (Vetus) ex Versione Septuagintar. Interpret. cum var. Lection D. Millii, 2 vol. (Amst. 1725)
1311: Les Annales de Tacite, par Amelot de la Houssaie, 4 Tom (Amst. 1716)	565: Tacite, avec des Notes Politiques et Historiques, par Amelot de la Houssaye, 4 vol. (Amst. 1716)
455. <i>Mons. Frezier's Voyage to the South Seas, and the Coasts of China and Peru, fine Cuts</i> ⁹³⁸	614: <i>Vertot (l'Abbe de), Voyage de la Mer de Sud, par M. Fresier</i> , 2 vol. (Amst. 1717)
342: <i>Harduini Nummi Antiqui Populorum & Urbium</i> (Par. 1684)	<i>Folio omissi</i> 402: <i>Themisti Orationes XXXIII. Gr. & Lat. Studio Joh. Harduini</i> (Parisi, 1684)

⁹³⁷ Note that Heidenreich has amended the place of publication to Venice.

⁹³⁸ Heidenreich identifies this as the London 1717 edition.

Appendix B:

Timeline of Olive Payne's book sales and publications

This Appendix presents all of Olive Payne's book sales and publications in chronological order, giving other scholars interested in the Defoe/Farewell catalogue a thorough overview of the most important group of primary resources for Chapters 3 and 4. Although I have often abridged titles and descriptions for brevity, I have reproduced the colophons in full whenever possible, as well as any valuable advertisements included in the text. Payne's advertisements for his own publications often provide information on pricing unavailable elsewhere, and occasionally describe publications and sales for which no hard copies have survived. I have therefore appended these to their parent items. I have indicated the presence of untranscribed advertisements and omitted material throughout this Appendix. Separate numerical entries have been given for reprints of the same text, when there are changes to Payne's co-publishers, or the material included.

The majority of this list was compiled from both original documents (primarily held in the British Library) and from digitized copies available through *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* and *Early English Books Online*. Where I have been unable to either consult an original document or obtain a digitized copy, I have reproduced the abridged title information given in the *English Short Title Catalogue*, occasionally incorporating the summaries in the *List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum*,⁹³⁹ when this resource provides more detailed information on the original owners of the libraries sold by Payne. For ease of reading, I have edited the punctuation and formatting of several longer entries, and removed much of the title pages' extensive use of upper-case and italics, retaining it only in cases where it is used to give particular emphasis to a name or subject. However, I have not corrected Payne's spelling, grammar or misidentifications. I have also chosen to underline rather than italicize book titles in this section, as I found they were often difficult to detect among the prolix descriptions and advertisements.

⁹³⁹ H. Mattingly, et al. *List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum*. (London: [British Museum], 1915).

1727Works published/printed:

- 1) A Complete Collection of Pamphlets, pro and con, relating to the Behaviour and Repute of an odd sort of a preacher among the Quakers, about ten years ago. Some of which were never before printed. Number I. Containing 1. A character. 2. A character defended.

London: printed, and sold by E. Richards, at L. Carter's, over-against Cooks-Court in Camamile-street, near Bishopsgate; O. Payne, at the Bible in Round-Court in the Strand, and M. Dewell, Stationer, the Corner of Craggs-Court, near Charing-Cross, 1727.

Works sold:

- 2) Ingenious Thoughts of the Fathers of the Church. Collected by Bouhours in *French*. Translated into *English*.

London, Printed by R. Phillips. And Sold by F Fayram, at the South-Entrance of the Royal-Exchange; J. Crokatt, T. Worrall, both against St. Dunstan's Church, *Fleet-Street*; T. Combes, in Pater-Noster Row; J. Clark, in Duck-Lane; and O Payne, in Round-Court in the Strand. 1727.

1728:Book sales:

- 3) Advertisement from *Daily Post* (London, England), Wednesday, March 13, 1728; Issue 2644.

Bibliotheca Selectissima: Or A Catalogue of Select Books, in Divinity, Antiquity, History, Voyages, Sculpture, Physick and Mathematics; Greek, Latin, Italian, France, Spanish

and English. Among which are the Works of the following Authors; Burnet, Taylor, Comber, Mede, Barrow, Usher, Causaubon [?] Buchanan, Lock, Dryden, Collier, Dugdale, Leslie, Grotius, Plutarch, Lord Clarendon, Hobbs, and Dart, &c. Which will begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price being mark'd in each Book) by Olive Payne, at the Bible, in New-Round Court, in the Strand, this Day the 12th Instant.

Catalogues may be had Gratis at the following Coffee-Houses; at Clare's in Conduit-Street, Hanover-Square; British, Charing-Cross; Slaughter's, St. Martin's Lane; Richard's, in Fleet-Street; St. Paul's, St. Paul's Churchyard: Also at these Booksellers, Mr. Stokoe's in the Haymarket; Mrs. Greave's, St. James's Street; Mr. King's, Westminster-Hall; Mr. Lewis, Covent-Garden; Mr. Bickerton's, Devereux-Court, near Temple-Bar; Mr. Meighan's, Gray's-Inn-Gate, Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; and at the Place of Sale; Where may be had for ready money any Library or Parcel of Books.

1729

Book sales:

4) Advertisement from *Daily Post* (London, England), Friday, May 16, 1729; Issue 3012.

By Olive Payne at the Bible in Round-Court in the Strand. This Day will begin to be Sold very cheap the Price mark'd in the first Leaf of each Book, a good and uncommon Collection of Books in several Languages, chiefly French, Italian, Spanish, Latin and English, among which are Roma Subterranea, 2 vol, description du monde, 6 vol. A Curious Herbal in 2 Vol in High German, Vocabulario, della Crusca, 2 Vol. A Curious Book of Fencing in French, with fine Cuts, Chronica del Guazzo, &c. Where may be had Money for any Parcel of Books in any Language.

N.B. The Books are priced five Shillings Cheaper in the Pound than they are to be bought for in London.

4a) Advertisement from *Daily Post* (London, England), Saturday, May 17, 1729; Issue 3013:

By Olive Payne, Bookseller, at the Bible, in Round-Court, in the Strand.

This day will begin to be sold very cheap the Price mark'd in the first Leaf of each Book, a good and uncommon Collection of Books in several Languages, chiefly French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and English, among which are the following Books, viz. Roma Subterranea, 2 vol 16s, Description du monde, par rocolles Paris, 1660, 2l. 2s. A Curious Herbal in high Dutch, 2 Vol, by Bauhinus. 1l. 1s. 1687. Baluzzi rerum francorum, 2 Tom Cha [illegible]. Mag. 16s. A large Book of Fencing, &c. in French, by

Tibault, with a great many fine Cuts, 1l. 11s. 6d. A Curious Chronicle in Italian, by Marco Guazzo, finely printed, 15s. All these in Folio.

N.B. The Books are pric'd five Shillings Cheaper in the Pound than they are to be bought for in London.

Catalogues to be seen at the Place of Sale.

1730

Book sales:

- 5) Advertisement from Daily Post (London, England), Monday, May 4, 1730; Issue 3314.

A Catalogue of Books: Containing above twelve Hundred Volumes, in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English. To which are added, above six Hundred scarce Tracts, in Mathematicks, Physick, Natural History, Voyages and Travels, Husbandry, Parliamentary Affairs, &c, which will begin to be sold cheap (the lowest price fix'd in each Book), this Day, May 4.

By Olive Payne, bookseller,

At the Bible in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite to York-Buildings, beginning at Eight in the Morning.

Catalogues may be had gratis at Mr. Strahan's in Cornhill; Mr. Worral's in Bell-Yard, Temple-Bar; Mr. Lewis's, Covent-Garden; Mr. Smith's in New Bond-Street; Mr. Jolliffe's and Mr. Jackson's, St. James's; Mr. Penn's in Westminster-Hall; and at the Place of Sale.

Where may be had,

- 6) Tractatus de Imputatione Divinae Peccati Adami Posteris ejus universis in Reatum.
 Authore Dan Whitby, S.T.P. Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis Praecentore⁹⁴⁰
- 7) Bibliotheca Curiosa: Being a Large and Curious Collection of Books in all Languages and Faculties: Chiefly relating to the History, Antiquities and Parliamentary Affairs of Great Britain and Ireland. With a great Variety of State-Pieces, scarce Tracts, in Husbandry, Trade, Voyages, Mathematicks, History, Law, &c. To which is added the

⁹⁴⁰ Note that this item was advertised, but there is no surviving evidence to indicate it was ever produced by Payne.

Library of Dr. Stephen Hunt, lately deceas'd, Being a curious Collection in Physick, Surgery, Natural History, Chymistry, Metals, Mines, Minerals, &c. Likewise, a Curious Parcel of Books collected abroad, in Divinity, &c, being the Library of a *Roman Catholick Priest*.

Which will begin to be sold very Cheap, the lowest Price fix'd in each Book, on Thursday the 14th of January, 1730. At the shop of Olive Payne, the Sign of the Bible, in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite to York-Buildings. Beginning at Eight in the Morning.

Catalogues are delivered gratis, by Mr Strahan, in Cornhill; Mr. Bickerton, without Temple-Bar; Mr. Meighan, at Gray's Inn-Gate; Mr. Woodman and Mr. Lewis, Covent Garden; Mr. Brindly, in New Bond-Street; Mr. Jollife, St. James's Street; Mr. Stagg, Westminster Hall; Forrest's Coffee House, Charing Cross, and at the Place of Sale.

Works published/printed:

- 8) Father Paul, of Beneficiary Matters, or the Dues of the Altar. Being, a Compleat History of Ecclesiastical Revenues.

London: Printed for Olive Payne, at the *Bible*, in *Round Court*, in the *Strand*. M.DCC.XXX. Price 3s.

- 9) A compleat history of convocations, from 1356 to 1689. Proving, from the acts and registers thereof, that they are agreeable to the principles of an Episcopal Church. With an appendix, containing three registers of the Upper-House ... Also the two entire journals of the Lower-House, in 1586 and 1588.

The second edition. London: printed for O. Payne; J. Whitaker; W. France; L. Stokoe, 1730.

- 10) What has been, may be again: or, an history of the last convocation of the prelates and clergy of the Province of Canterbury ... Faithfully drawn from the journal of the Upper, and from the narrative and minutes of the Lower-House. By White Kennett...The second edition.

London: printed for O. Payne, J. Whitaker, W. France, L. Stokoe, 1730.

- 11) Spiller's Jests: or, the Humours and Pleasant Adventures of the Comedians, With their Merry Jokes, Diverting Songs and Entertaining Tales...

London: Printed for J. Jackson, in Pall-Mall; J. Smith, in Bond-Street, Hanover Square; J. Robinson, in Turn-Style, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; Olive Payne, in Round-Court, in the Strand; A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar, and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. (Price 1s.).⁹⁴¹

- 12) An historical account of the discipline and jurisdiction of the Church of England... By White Kennett, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough.

The Second Edition. London. Printed for O. Payne, at the Bible in Round-Court, Covent-Garden; J. Whitaker, near Lincolns-Inn-Square; W. France, at the Great-Mews Gate, Charing-Cross; L. Stokoe, at the Bible in the Hay-Market, M.DCC.XXX. (Price 5s)

- 13) A miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflections, in Verse and Prose; with some Useful Remarks, to which are added, for the sake of Variety and Entertainment, Characters, Pleasant Narratives, Moral Observations, and Essays.

The Second Edition.⁹⁴² By Tamworth Resesby, Gent. London : printed for S. Chapman at the Angel in Pall-Mall; H. Whitridge at the Royal-Exchange; I. Isted, near St. Dunstan's Church; I. Whitaker, in Serle-Street near Lincoln's-Inn; O. Payne at the Bible in Round-Court.⁹⁴³

1731

Book sales:

- 14) Librorum ex Bibliothecis Philippi Farewell, D.D. et Danielis De Foe, Gen. Catalogus: or a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend and Learned Philips Farewell, D.D. Late Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge; and of the Ingenious Daniel Defoe, Gent. Lately Deceas'd. Containing A Curious Collection of Books relating to the History and Antiquities of divers Nations, particularly England, Scotland and Ireland. Likewise a great Variety of Books in Divinity, History, Mathematicks, Civil, Canon and Common-Law; Medals, Architecture, Coins, Inscriptions, Perspective, Voyages, Natural History, Physick and Lexicographers, viz. Stephani Thesaurus, &c. Several of the Classicks in

⁹⁴¹ The document is undated: 1730 is the English Short Title Catalogue's estimate of its year of publication; and the course of Payne's publishing career suggests it was an early work.

⁹⁴² The first edition was printed "By H. Meere, in Black-Fryars, for the Author, M.DCC.XXI"

⁹⁴³ This item is undated; the British Library has suggested 1730 as the year of publication.

Usum Delphini, printed at Paris, &c. Cum Notis Variorum; many printed by the most famous Printers, in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German and English. N.B. Manuscripts. Also several hundred Curios Scarce Tracts on Parliamentary Affairs, Politicks, Husbandry, Trade, Voyages, Natural History, Mines, Minerals, &c. Several Curios Prints, Medals &c.

Which will begin to be sold very cheap (the lowest Price mark'd in each Book) on Monday the 15th of November, 1731. By Olive Payne, at the Bible in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite York Buildings, and to continue daily until all are Sold. N.B. The books are in very good Condition, mostly well Bound, Gilt and Lettered.

Catalogues may be had Gratis of the following Booksellers, *vis.* Mr. Strahan, in Cornhill; Mr. Crownfield, in St-Paul's Church-yard; Mr. Noorthouck, against St. Clement's Church; Mr. Stone, at Gray's-Inn Back Gate; Mr. Lewis, in Russel-Street; Mr. Jolliffe, St. James's Street; Forrest's Coffee-house, Charing-Cross; and at the Place of Sale, where may be had Ready Money for any Library or Parcel of Books in any Language or Faculty.

Works published/printed:

- 15) Twelve Sermons Preached on Several Subjects and Occasions, By the Right Reverend Father of God, William Talbot, late Ld. Bishop of Durham. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for John Marshal, at the Bible in Grace-Church-Street, and Joseph Marshal, at the Bible in Newgate-Street, Olive Payne, in New Round-Court in the Strand, J. Jackson, near St. James's House, and J. Smith, at The Rose and Crown, New Bond-Street, over-against Grosvenor Street. 1731. Price, Five Shillings.

1732

Book sales:

- 16) Viri præclarissimi, & in omni literatura peritissimi, Jacobi Fraser J.V.D. nuper defuncti, librorum catalogus: or, a catalogue of the library of the very learned James

Fraser ... to be sold ... by Olive Payne ... on Monday the 24th of this instant January ... [London : printed by Henry Woodfall, 1732]³⁴⁴

17) A Catalogue of Part of the Library of the late Lord Londonderry [Thomas Pitt], And of the Reverend and Learned Mr. Henry Bennet, Chaplain to the Lord Lovel: Both Lately deceas'd.

Containing a Curious and Useful Collection of Books in all Parts of Learning and almost all Languages. To which are added several hundred of scarce old *Pamphlets*; being the Remains of the Library of the Ingenious James Fraser, J.U.D. Likewise a curious Parcel of *Physical Books*, Among which are the Following.

FOLIO: Eustathius's Homer, 4 vols. Ed. opt. Hiccesii Thesaurus, 2 vol. Scriptores de Matt. Paris. Camden Anglia Normantica—Sparke's Hist. Ang. &c. —Hist. England. Barnes' Euripides. Etymologicon Magn. Graecum, finely bound in Morocco, gilt leaves. Harduin's Pliny, 3 vol. S. Chrysostomi Opera, 8 vol. Walton's Polyglot Bible, 6 vol. Coccei Opera, 10 vol. Johnson's Nat. Hist., fine Cuts. Bracton de Legibus. Foesii Hippocrates. Basket's Large Bible and Common-prayer, large paper, both rul'd and finely bound in Blue Turkey, gilt Leaves. Wilkins's Real Character, large paper. Hammond's Works, 4 vol. Hakluyt's Voyages, 2 vol. Virgillii Opera, with Ogilby's fine Cuts. Atlas Maritimus & Comm. Speed's Chronicles, large Paper. Dugdale's Monasticon, 3 vols. Several good Law books

QUARTO: Barnes' Homer, 2 vol. Pitisci Suetonius, 2 vol. Cumberland de Legibus. Alpini Opera, 3 vol.

Pindari Opera, Gr. Edit. Prima. Pliny, in Usum Delph. 5 vol. finely bound, and gilt on the Leaves. Hicks's Saxon Grammar. Hyde's Relig. Vet Persarum. Ludwig's Engl. Germ. & Fr. Dict. 2 vol. Rowland's Antiq. of the Isle of Anglesea.

OCTAVO: Lucian, 2 vol. Quintillian, 2 vol. and several, var. Manuscripts.

³⁴⁴ The English Short Title Catalogue, which is the only digital source available for this resource, offers this note 'Printed by Woodfall on the evidence of the ornaments, and not before 1731 on internal evidence'.

With about 2000 more Articles. Which will begin to be sold very cheap on *Monday* the 27th of this Instant, *March*, and continue daily till all are sold, by Olive Payne, Bookseller, in Round-Court in the Strand against York-Buildings. Catalogues to be had *gratis* at the Place of Sale; and the full Value for any Library or Parcel of Books, in any Language or Faculty.

N.B. These Books are mostly finely bound, gilt, &c.

[Contains the following advertisements for 'Books printed for Olive Payne']

Just Publish'd; translated by the Learned Tobias Jenkins, Esq; with Notes, and the Notes of M. Amelot de la Houssaie.

- I. Father Paul of Beneficiary Matters: or the Dues of the Altar. Being a compleat History of Ecclesiastical Revenues...
- II. Observations on Trade, and a Publick Spirit ... Written by Thomas Baston, Esq. Price 1s. 6d.
- III. An Essay upon Civil Government: Wherein is set forth the Necessity, Origin, Rights, Boundaries, and different Forms of Sovereignty. With Observations on the ancient Government of Rome and England: According to the Principles of the late Archbishop of Cambray. Written originally in French by the Chevalier Ramsay, Author of The Travels of Cyrus. Price 1s.

- 18) Bibliotheca curiosa: or, a catalogue of a small but curious collection of books, in most languages and faculties being part of the library of a gentleman gone abroad ... to be sold ... on Thursday the 24th of this instant August, 1732. By Olive Payne ...⁹⁴⁵

Works published/printed:

- 19) An Essay upon Civil Government: wherein is set forth, the Necessity, Origin, Rights, Boundaries, and different Forms of Sovereignty. With Observations on the Ancient Government of Rome and England: According to the Principles of the late Archbishop of Cambray. Written originally in French, by the Chevalier Ramsay, Author of, The Travels of Cyrus.

London: Printed for Olive Payne, in New Round-Court, over-against York Buildings, in The Strand. MDCCXXXII. [Price, Stich'd, One Shilling]

⁹⁴⁵ The English Short Title Catalogue entry ends here, but Payne's other catalogues and publications indicate that he was still at the Bible, Round-Court at this time.

[Contains the following advertisements for "Books Printed for and Sold by Randall Minshull, in Ship-Yard, near Temple-Bar:"]

The Life of our Blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ; together with the Lives and Acts of the Holy Apostles. As also of St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Barnabas; methodically and plainly related, according to the Holy Scriptures and Writings of the Primitive Fathers. Adorned with Copper Plates, and a Map of the Apostles' Travels. In 8vo. Price, 6s.

Instructions for Youth, Gentlemen, and Noblemen (being Original Tracts) by Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Treasurer Burleigh, Cardinal Sermonetta and Mr. Walsingham. In 12mo. Price 2s, 6d.

History of the Irish Rebellion, traced from many Precedent Acts, to the grand Eruption, October 23, 1641. By Edm. Borlase, M.D. In which Book are added, the Large Eradications of the Licenser of the Press (at that Time) Sir Roger L'Estrange, in their proper Places, under the Author's own Hand, with an Original Letter of the said L'Estrange to the Author, setting forth his pretended Opinion of the Work, and Vindication of the Royal Family from that Horrid Imputation: with some Original Paper and Letters relating to the Massacres committed by the Papists on the English Protestants, and several other Remarkables in Manuscript. In Folio.

- 20) Memoirs of the Regency of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Orleans, during the minority of his present Most Christian Majesty Lewis the XVth ...

London: printed for R. Montagu at the General Post-Office, the Corner of Great Queen-Street Near-Drury-Lane; J. Brindley in New Bond-Street; Olive Payne in Round-Court in the Strand; and T. Woodman in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden, MDCCXXXII.

- 21) Observations on trade, and a publick spirit ... Written by Thomas Baston, Esq.

London: printed for Olive Payne in New-Round-Court, over-against York-Buildings, in the Strand, MDCCXXXII. [Price Stitch'd One Shilling and Six-pence]

Works sold:

- 22) An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul; Wherein the Immateriality of the Soul is evinced from the Principles of Reason and Philosophy...

Printed by James Bettenham, for the author, and sold by G. Strahan, over against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill; A. Millar, at Buchanan's Head in The Strand; A. Lyon, in Russell-Street, Covent-Garden; O. Payne, at Round-Court, in the Strand; and G.

Hamilton, opposite to the Parliament-Close, Edinburgh, at whose Shops Subscribers may call for their Books.

1733

Book sales:

- 23) Librorum prænobilis Benedicti Leonardi Calvert ... or, a catalogue of the libraries of the Honourable Benedict Leonard Calvert Esq; and the learned Monsieur Rollan ... to be sold ... on Monday the 28th of this instant January, 1733 ... by Olive Payne ... Horace's Head, Round Court, Strand. 28 Jan.⁹⁴⁶
- 24) Literaturæ in omni genere & facultate emporium: a catalogue of the libraries of Richard Harris Esq; and a reverend divine ... Which will be sold ... on Tuesday the 6th of this instant November, 1733 ... by Olive Payne ...

Works published/printed:

- 25) The Free Thinker: or Essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, Enthusiasm, Craft, &c. Intermixed with Several Pieces of Wit and Humour, Design'd to restore Mankind to the Use of Reason and Common-Sense.

The Second Edition, with Compleat Indexes... London, Printed for J. Brindley, in *New Bond-Street*; R. Montagu, at the General Post Office, the corner of Great Queen-Street, near Drury-Lane; Olive Payne, near Round-Court; T. Woodman in Russell-Street, Covent-Garden; Booksellers. MDCCXXXIII.

[Contains the following advertisements for "Books printed for Olive Payne, in Round-Court, In the Strand,"]

- I. The Learned Father *Paul's*, (Author of the History of the Council of Trent) Treatise of Beneficiary Matters, &c. translated from the best *Italian* edition, by *Tobias Jenkins*, Esq; and illustrated with Notes, by the Translator, and from the French of the learned *Amelot de la Houssaie*, 8vo. Price bound 3s.

⁹⁴⁶ This is Payne's first recorded sale at the Horace's Head shop.

- II. *An Essay upon Civil Government: Wherein is set forth, the Necessity, Origin, Rights, Boundaries, and different Forms of Sovereignty. With Observations on the Ancient Government of Rome and England: According to the Principles of the late Archbishop of Cambray. Written Originally in French, by the Chevalier Ramsay, Author of the Travels of Cyrus. Price bound 1s. 6d. Sew'd in Blue Paper, 1s. 12mo.*
- III. *Observations on Trade, and a Publick Spirit. Shewing, I. That all Trade ought to be in common, and the Danger of Monopolies. II. That the Abuse of it, by Publick Companies, was the Origin of Stock-Jobbing. III. Of the Deceits arising from the Encouragement of Projectors, Lotteries, and other Cheats. IV. Of the general Benefit of Trade. V. Of the Selling of Places, Corruptions in Elections of Members, in the Law, in the Commission of the Peace, and Select vestries. VI. The Advantages of a Publick Spirit, and wherein it consists. Written by Thomas Baston, Esq. Price bound, 2s. Sew'd in blue Paper, 1s. 6d. finely printed in 8vo.*

Where may be had, a small Number remaining in Royal Paper,

- IV. *The Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy General of Ireland: Containing several curious Pieces of History, in relation to the Irish affairs, in 1650, &c. not mentioned by any Historian that has wrote of that Time. N.B. The above was originally printed by Subscription at 10s, 6d. in Sheets; now sold bound and gilt, at 5s.*
- V. *The Life of Sir Thomas More, Rt. Lord High Chancellor of England, under King Henry VIII, and his Majesty's Ambassador to the Courts of France and Germany; by his great Grandson Thomas More, Esq. Beautifully printed in 8vo. and his effigies finely engrav'd by Vertue. Price bound and gilt, 4s.*
- VI. *A Rational Catechism, beautifully printed and finely wrote. Price bound and gilt 1s 6d, plain 1s. 12mo.*
- VII. *Brook's Discovery of Errors in Camden's Britannia, and Camden's Answer, finely printed in 4to. Price bound and gilt, 5s.*
- VIII. *The learned Huetius's Treatise of the Commerce, and Navigation of the Antients. 8vo, bound and gilt, 2s. 6d.*
- IX. *Lettres de Gracien, avec Remarques, a Paris. Bound and gilt, 2s.*
- X. *Collins's English Baronage, (dedic. to Sir Robert Walpole) containing about 700 pages in Quarto, with the arms of the Nobility. Price bound and gilt, 7s. 6d. in Past-Boards, 5s.*
- XI. *Histoire du Theatre Italien, par Riccoboni, avec 17 curieuses Figures, finely printed in 8vo. Bound and gilt, 5s.*
- XII. *A History of Standing Armies in England, written by that eminent Patriot Thomas Trenchard, Esq. Price 1s.*

26) Proposals for printing by subscription, A Natural History of spiders, and other curious insects. Beautifully Engrav'd on near Fifty copper-plates, by the Best Hands.

All Carefully Drawn from the Life by Eleazar Albin, Author of two Curious Treatises, viz. One a Natural History of Insects, and the other of Birds. To which will be prefixed a Preface, giving some Account of the Work, by W. Derham, Canon of Windsor and F. R. S.

Subscriptions are taken in by J. Brindley, at the King's-Arms in New Bond-Street; J. Jackson, J. Jolliffe, near St. James's House; J. Stagg, in Westminster-Hall; Olive Payne, in New Round-Court in the Strand; W. Lewis, T. Woodman, in Covent-Garden; R. Montagu, at the Post-Office in Queen-Street, near Drury-Lane; J. Worrall, at the Dove in Bed-Yard; near Lincoln's-Inn; F. Cogan, at the Middle-Temple-Gate; T. Worrall, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-Street; W. Mears, T. Boreman, on Ludgate-Hill, S. Austen, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; R. Willock, in Cornhill; Mr. Wells, at Oxford; Mr. Bonner, at Cambridge; Mr. Leane, at Bath; and Mr. Pote, at Eton: Booksellers. [March 12, 1732-3].

- 27) A compendious Account of the whole art of Breeding, Nursing, and right Ordering of the Silk-Worm. Illustrated with Figures engraven on Copper: Whereon is curiously exhibited the whole Management of this Profitable Insect.

London: printed for John Worrall, at the Dove in Bell-Yard, near Lincolns-Inn; Olive Payne, in Round Court in the Strand; Thomas Boreman, on Ludgate-Hill, near the Gate; and Thomas Game, at the Bible facing the East End of the New Church in the Strand; Booksellers, M.DCC.XXXIII.

1734

Book sales:

- 28) Catalogue of the library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Yarmouth [William Paston, and Robert Price], one of the Judges in the Court of Common Pleas. Books of Tracts P.F.P ...Which will be sold ... on Wednesday the tenth of this instant April, 1734. ... by Olive Payne.
- 29) A catalogue of the library of the late ingenious poet Gabriel Odingsells ... to be sold ... on Tuesday the 21st of this instant May, 1734 ... by Olive Payne.

Works published/printed:

- 30) The political history of the Devil. Containing his original. A state of his circumstances. His conduct publick and private. The various Turns of his Affairs from *Adam* down to the present Time. The various Methods he takes to converse with mankind. With the Manner of his making Witches, Wizards and Conjurers; and how they sell their Souls to him &c. &c. The Whole interspersed with many of the Devil's Adventures. To which is added, a Description of the *Devil's Dwelling*, vulgarly call'd Hell.

The Third Edition.

Bad as he is, the DEVIL may be abus'd,

Be falsely charg'd, and ceaselessly accus'd;

When Men unwilling to be Blam'd alone

Shift off those Crimes on him which are their own.

Westminster: Printed for John Brindley in Bond-Street, Olive Payne in *Round Court* in the *Strand*, John Jolliffe in St. James's Street, Alexander Lyon in Russell-street, Covent-garden, Charles Corbett without Temple-Bar, and Sold in St. Paul's Church-yard, at the Royal-Exchange, and in Westminster-Hall, MDCCXXXIV. (Price Bound Five Shillings)

- 31) A complete history of the wars in Italy; containing a particular account of all the battles, sieges, &c. ... Translated from the original French of Count Bonneval, now in great esteem at the court of the Grand-Seignior, by J. Sparrow... With a correct map ... London: printed for W. Mears, and Olive Payne, 1734.
- 32) Hibernicus's Letters: or, a Philosophical Miscellany. ... Interspersed with several Original Poems and Translations. Written by several eminent Hands in Dublin. The Second Edition, with a compleat Alphabetical Index.
- London: printed for J. Clark, T. Hatchet, E. Symon at the Royal Exchange; J. Gray, in the Poultry; C. Rivington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. Osborne, in Pater-Noster-Row; W. Innys and R. Manby, in Ludgate-Street; A. Millar, against St. Clement's Church in the Strand; J. Jackson, H. James's; J. Brindley, in New Bond-Street; and O Payne, in Round-Court. 1734.
- 33) Modern patriotism, or faction display'd: a poem. Being a satire on political writers.
- London: printed for J. Brindley; J. Jolliffe; O. Payne; A. Lyon; C. Corbett: and sold by J. Roberts; J. Wilford; Mrs. Nutt, Cooke, and Charlton; A. Dodd; J. Crichley; and by the booksellers of London and Westminster, [1734]

- 34) A view of the dangers to which the trade of Great-Britain to Turkey and Italy will be exposed, if Naples and Sicily fall into the hands of the Spaniards. ... With a chart of the Mediterranean. By J. Campbell, Gent. London: printed for W. Mears; and O. Payne, 1734.
- 35) Buchanan's history of Scotland. Containing, I. A detection of the actions of Mary Queen of Scots, concerning the murder of her husband, her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with Earl Bothwel, and a defence of the true Lords, maintainers of the King's Majesty's action and authority. II. *De jure Regni apud Scotos:* or, A discourse concerning the due privilege of government, in the kingdom of Scotland. To which is added, the genealogy of all the Kings of Scotland, their lives, the years of their coronation, the time of their reign, the year of their death, and manner thereof, with the place of their burial, from Fergus I. who began to reign in the year of the world 3641, before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ 330 years, to the reign of James VI. of that name, King of Scots, and the 1st of England. With the oath of a Duke, Earl, Lord of Parliament, and Knight of Scotland. Adorn'd with a curious cut.

The third edition. London: Printed for J. Clark and T. Hatchet, at the Royal Exchange; R. Ford and J. Gray in the Poultry; C. Rivington, in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Osborn at the Golden-Ball in Pater-Noster-Row; A. Millar at Buchanan's Head against St. Clement's Church in the strand; A. Lyon in Russel-street, Covent-Garden; J. Brindley in New Bond-street; J. Jackson by St. James's; J. Stagg in Westminster-Hall; and O. Payne in Round Court, MDCCXXXIV. [1734]

Works sold:

- 36) Considerations on the necessity of taxing the annuities granted by Parliament in the reigns of King William, and Queen Anne; and reducing one fifth of the capital stock of all persons possess'd of five thousand pounds or more in the South-Sea Company: In order to pay off the National Debt, And Ease Trade, and the Landed Interest.

London: printed for the author, and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in Round Court in the Strand, 1734.

1735

Book sales:

- 37) A catalogue of several thousand Volumes wherein are many useful and curious books, wherein are many Useful and Curious Books in all Parts of Learning, in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and English... Wednesday the 7th of this Instant, January 1735, and to continue daily until all are sold. By Olive Payne, bookseller, At Horace's Head in the Round Court, over against York Buildings in the Strand.
- 38) A Catalogue of the Libraries of John Milbourne, Esq. And the Rev. Mr. Clarke (both deceas'd) and of a young Gentleman gone to France. Containing upwards of 6000 Volumes in Divinity, History, Voyages, Travels, Mathematics, Physick, Natural History, Philosophy, Poetry, Romances, Husbandry, Trade Law, Parliamentary Affairs, Politicks, Lives, Memoirs, Antiquity, Metals, Minerals, Manuscripts, Books of Prints, Medals, &c, with some curious Single Prints, and MSS Sermons, among which are, in Folio:

Merian de Insects, cum Fig. Hudson's Josephus, 2 vol., large Paper. Wood's Hist. Antiq. de Oxon. 2 vol. with fine Cuts, bound in red Turkey, gilt Leaves. Lilly's Conveyancer, best. Ovid in Fr. & Lat. Fine Cuts. Tillotson, Barrow, Leslie, Bingham, Fiddes, &c. Works. Gentlemen's Recreation, best. Etat de la France, par Boullainvillers, 3 tom. Ventris's Reports, best. Wood's Institutes, best. Fuller's Worthies, with the Index.

With Several Hundreds in Folio, Quarto, Octavo, &c equally good and in excellent Condition, many curiously Bound, and all gilt on the Back or Letter'd. Which will begin to be sold, very Cheap, on Monday the 22d of this Instant, March, 1735-6 and will continue daily until all are sold. By Olive Payne, Bookseller. At Horace's Head in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite York Buildings.

Catalogues to be had *Gratis*, at the Place of Sale. Where may be had money for any Library or Parcel of Books.

- 39) Catalogue of the Libraries of Peter Baudoin, Esq, and the Reverend Mr. Brown (Both lately deceased). Containing near Ten Thousand Volumes in all Languages, Arts and Sciences.

And will be sold very cheap on Wednesday the 7th of this Instant May 1735; and continue selling daily until all are Sold.

By Olive Payne, Bookseller. At Horace's Head in Round-Court, opposite York Buildings in the Strand. Catalogues to be had, with the Prices Printed, at One Shilling each, of Mrs. Nutt at the Royal-Exchange, Mrs. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar, Mr. Chrichley's, Charing-Cross, and at the Place of Sale. Where may be had the full Value for any Library or Parcel of Books in any Faculty.

N.B. The Books in general are in good Condition, many bound in the best Manner, and several printed by the most famous, eminent Printers.

40) Bibliotheca Curiosa: or a catalogue of a Select Parcel of Books, in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English, being the library of Mr. Edward Hunt, deceased.

N.B. The Books are in Excellent Condition, many Curiously Bound, and all Gilt on the Back and Letter'd. Among which are the following in FOLIO: Bayle's Dictionary, 4 vol. compleat Large and Small Paper. Pool's Annotations, 2 vol. Giannone's Hist. of Naples, 2 vol. Vertot's Knights of Malta, 71 fine Heads. Tillotson's Works, 3 vol. Burnet's History of his Own Time, 2 vol. Machiavel's Works, best. Lives of the Painters, 120 fine Heads. Sir John Norris's Maps. Prior's Poems, large Paper. Hall's Chronicle. Voyages of Thevenot, 2 vol. État de la France, par Bouillanvilliers. 3 tom. Llvii—Vasc. De Chales Cursus Mathemat. 4 tom. Crusius Turco-Graecia. Virgillii Opera, fine Cuts. Demosthenis, Gr. —Benenat. Dryden's Virgil, fine Cuts.

QUARTO: De Moivres Chances. Emblemata Mich. Majori, fig. Voyages de Labat. 2 tom. Fig. Perspectives des Jesuites, 3 tom. fig. De Cameron di Boccace, per Rolli.

Verona illustrata par Massei, fig. 4 tom. Cellarii Geograph. 2 tom. —
Cant. Marinae de rebus Hisp. XXX. 2 v. Callimachus --- H. Steph.

OCTAVO: Clarendon's Hist. 6 vol. Cuts. Fleetwood's Chronicon. Annals of Q. Anne. 11 vol. compl. Vida del Don Quixot. 2 tom. Greek Text. R. Steph. 1549, beautifully bound. Several good Variorums. Hearn's Camden, 3 vol. Spectators, 16 vol.

[1735] By Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head, Round-Court, in the Strand. Catalogues to be had gratis, with the Prices printed, at the Place of Sale. Where may be had the full Value for any Library or Parcel of Books in any Language. N.B. At the said O. Payne's continues the sale of Peter Baudoin, Esq; the Rev. Mr. Brown, and J. Tyrrell, Esq. Being Two Catalogues of upwards of Ten Thousand Volumes, with the Prices printed. Baudoin and Brown's Catalogue being very large 1s. Tyrrel's 6d.

41) A Catalogue of a Small but Curious Collection of Books and Manuscripts in Several Languages, Being the Library of that Eminent Historian James Tyrrell, Esq; Deceased.

Author of the General History of England, in Five Volumes in Folio. To which is added some curious Books collected Abroad, the Whole in excellent Condition. Many bound in the most Curious Manner. Among which are the following, VIZ.

FOLIO: The History of the Old and New Testament, represented in upward of 300 curious Prints, double-ru'd, and finely bound. Several Books of Prints. Walton's Polyglot Bible, with the Lexicon complete. Dr. Hammond's Works, 4 vol. Tyrrell's History of England, 5 vol. complete, with very Large and curious Manuscript Notes of the Author. Stukely's Itinerary through England, with 100

Cuts. Father Montfaucon's Antiquities, with the Supplement, comp. 6 vol. full of fine Cuts. With many more equally good, in Folio, Quarto, Octavo, and Twelves. ...

[1735] Olive Payne, Bookseller, At Horace's Head in Round-Court, opposite York Buildings in the Strand. And the Sale to continue daily, 'till all are Sold. Catalogues to be had, with the Prices printed, at Six Pence each, of Mrs. Nutt in Cornhill; Mr. Mears, Bookseller, on Ludgate Hill, Mrs. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar, and at the Place of Sale. Where may be had Money for any Library or Parcel of Books in any Language or Faculty.

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- 42) The English Nobleman, or a Peasant of Quality. A True History. Intermix'd with such a Variety of Uncommon Incidents, as few True Histories can parallel.

Westminster: Printed for John Brindley, at the King's Arms, in New Bond Street; Olive Payne, in Round-Court, in the Strand; John Jolliffe, at the Bible in St James's Street; Alexander Lyon, in Russell-Street, Covent-Garden; and Charles Corbett, at Addison's Head, without Temple-Bar. MDCXXXV. [Contains advertisement for Benjamin Norton Defoe's *Compleat English Dictionary*]

- 43) A New English Dictionary Containing a Collection of Words in the English Language, Properly Explain'd and Alphabetically Dispos'd...by B.N. Defoe, Gent...

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- 44) A Compleat English Dictionary, Containing the True Meaning of All Words in the English Language; Also, the Proper Names of all the Kingdoms, Towns, and Cities in the World: Properly Explain'd and Alphabetically Dispos'd. Designed for the Use of Gentlemen, Ladies, Foreigners, Artificiers, Tradesmen; and All who desire to write or speak English in its present Purity and Perfection.

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- 45) The Naval History of England, in all its Branches; from the Norman Conquest in the year 1066. to the Conclusion of 1734. Collected from the most Approved Historians, English and Foreign, Authentick Records and Manuscripts, Scarce Tracts, Original Journals, &c. With many Facts and Observations, never before made Publick. By Thomas Lediard, Gent. Late Secretary to His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary in Lower Germany.

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- 47) The present State of the Roman-Catholick religion throughout the World: particularly in England, Scotland, France, Ireland, Spain, Venice, Georgia, Denmark, Sweden, China, Italy, Portugal, &c. The third Edition. ... By Sir Richard Steele.

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1736:

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- 48) A Catalogue of a small Parcel of Books, in very good Condition. Many of them Curiously Bound, and all the rest Gilt on the Back or Letter'd, to be sold very cheap, on Tuesday the 13th of this Instant July, and to continue until all are Sold. By Olive Payne, Bookseller. At Horace's Head in Round-Court in the Strand, opposite York Buildings.

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⁹⁴⁷ The catalogues for the Grainger and Borne sales have, to my knowledge, not survived –our only knowledge of these sales comes from title pages such as this.

deceas'd). Many curiously bound in French, &c., binding; all gilt Back or Letter'd. Among many valuable ones are the following.

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- 52) The Manual of Epictetus, the Philosopher. Translated from the original Greek, by a Person of Quality. Publish'd by the Ingenious William Bond, Esq., deceas'd. By whom is Added the Characters of Good and Bad Ministers of State. With a Character of Epictetus and his Works by the late Jeremy Collier, M.A.

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- 54) A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues ... Written originally in *Italian* by the Learned Father Paul, Author of the History of the Council of Trent. Translated by Tobias Jenkins, Esq. Late Member of Parliament, and Lord Mayor of York. And Illustrated with Notes by him, and from the ingenious Amelot De La Houssaye. The Third Edition. To which is Affixed, (never before printed), The Life of Father Paul, by Mr. Lockman. And a Preface, giving an Account of the Work.

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- 57) Several Voyages to Barbary. Containing an Historical and Geographical Account of the Country. With the Hardships, Sufferings, and Manner of Redeeming Christian Slaves. Together with a curious Description of Mequinez, Oran, and Alcazar. With a journal of the late siege and surrender of Oran. To which are added, the maps of

⁹⁴⁸ Note that Payne advertised the availability of the Jenkins translation as early as 1733, in *The Free-Thinker*.

⁹⁴⁹ ECCO contains record of a 1734 edition of this work, 'printed for and sold by J. Janeway, in White-Fryers; and by the booksellers of London and Westminster, M.DCC.XXXIV.'

Barbary, and the Sea-Coasts; the Prospects of Mequinez and Alcazar; an exact Plan of Oran, and a View of the Ancient Roman Ruins near Mequinez. All Design'd by Captain Henry Boyde. The Whole Illustrated with Notes Historical and Critical.

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- 58) A Compleat Collection of the genuine works of Flavius Josephus, Faithfully Translated from the original Greek, and compared with the Translation of Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight...

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- 59) A Complete History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, The East and West-Indies, In all its Branches, From the Origin of it in the Year 1163, to its present State. Illustrated with many Genuine and Curious Cases of unhappy Persons imprison'd in that Holy (alias Diabolical) Office, Particularly of Isaac Martin, and Englishman. Collected from the most authentick and impartial Writers, Popish and Protestant, and from Original Papers of Gentlemen that have resided many Years in those Countries, by the Reverend Mr. Baker, M. A. The whole embellished with several Copper Plates, representing their Manner of Punishment, &c. &c. &c.

Westminster: printed for and sold by O. Payne, at Horace's Head in Round Court in the Strand, over-against York Buildings, 1736.

- 60) A Natural History of Spiders, and other curious Insects, by Eleazar Albin. Illustrated with fifty three copper plates, engraved by the best hands.

London: printed by John Tilly, for R. Montagu in Great-Queen-Street, near Drury-Lane; J. Brindley at the King's Arms in New Bond-Street; O. Payne at Horace's Head in Round Court in the Strand; J. Worrall at the Dove in Bell-Yard near Lincolns-Inn; T. Worrall at the Judge's-Head in Fleetstreet, and T. Boreman near Child's-Coffee-House in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCCXXXVI.

Book sales:

- 61) A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Ingenious Mr. Herbert, and Eminent Engineer; and of the Rev. Mr. Parkins, both deceased. Containing some Thousands of valuable and scarce Books in most Languages and Faculties, in very good Condition, many curiously Bound, and all gilt or letter'd; among which are in Folio.

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- 62) A catalogue of the library of the learned Signor Antonio de Campos, Secretary to the Portuguese Ambassador ... Tuesday, September 6, 1737. ... By Olive Payne.
- 63) A catalogue of the libraries of John Stevens ... Mr. Thomas Bird, and a reverend divine ... Monday the 17th of this instant October, ... by Olive Payne.
- 64) A catalogue of several thousand volumes, in most languages and faculties, to which are added, a large and curious parcel of manuscripts. Being the libraries of Thomas Bennet, Esq; and a rev divine ... Wednesday the 29th ... by Olive Payne.

- 65) A catalogue of the library of the learned and judicious Edward Harrison ... Monday the 25th of April, 1737 ... by Olive Payne.

Works published/printed:

- 66) A New English Dictionary, Containing a Large and almost Complete Collection of Useful English Words⁹⁵⁰

Those of no real Use, with which the larger Works of this sort are generally stuffed, being intirely omitted. Also, the Proper Names of the Kingdoms, Cities, Towns, Remarkable Persons, &c., &c., &c., in the World. Design'd to assist Gentlemen, Ladies, Foreigners, Artificers, Tradesmen, &c. to Speak, Read and Write English in the greatest Purity and Perfection.

London: Printed for and Sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in the Round-Court, Strand, opposite York Buildings. Price Neatly Bound Two Shillings. [1737]

- 67) A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs; Also the most celebrated Proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and other Languages ... By the late Rev. and Learned J. Ray, M.A. and Fellow of the Royal Society ... To which is added (written by the same Author) A Collection of English Words, not Generally Used ... The Third Edition.

London: Printed by J. Hughs, near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields: For Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in New-Round-Court, opposite York Buildings, in the Strand. MDCCXXXVII. [Price neatly bound in Calf and Letter'd 5s.]

- 68) A collection of English words not generally used. With their significations and original, in two alphabetical catalogue ... The third edition, augmented with many hundreds of words, Observations, Letters, &c. By John Ray, F. R. S.

London: printed for J. Torbuck, in Clare-Court, Drury-Lane; O. Payne and T. Woodman, in New-Round-Court, in the Strand, M.DCC.XXXVII. [1737]⁹⁵¹

- 69) Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles; Particularly of the Late, Eminently Learned Charles, Earl of Orrery. In which is contain'd many Curious Piece of English History, not extant in any other Author: Extracted from original Papers and Manuscripts. With a Particular Account of the Famous Controversy

⁹⁵⁰ 'B.N. Defoe, Gent,' has disappeared from the title page, but the text is identical to one of the 1735 editions.

⁹⁵¹ Note that the English Short Title Catalogue confirms this was issued separately from the above inclusion in Ray's *Proverbs*.

between the Honourable Mr. Boyle and the Reverend Dr. Bentley, concerning the Genuineness of Phalaris's Epistles; also the same translated from the original Greek.

By E. Budgell, Esq. With an Appendix containing the Character of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; Founder of an Annual Lecture in Defense of Christianity. By Bishop Burnet and others. Likewise his Last Will and Testament.

The Third Edition, carefully Corrected...London. Printed for and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in Round Court opposite York Buildings, in the Strand. M.DCC.XXXVII. (Price Bound 3s 6d).

- 70) Memoirs of the lives and characters of the illustrious family of the Boyles; particularly, of the late ... Charles Earl of Orrery ... London: printed for, and sold by Olive Payne; and William Smith, 1737.
- 71) Memoirs and remarks Geographical, Historical, Topographical, Physical, Natural, Astronomical, Mechanical, Military, Mercantile, Political and Ecclesiastical made in above Ten Years Travels through the Empire of China ... Written by the learned Lewis Lecomte, *Jesuit*. Confessor to the Duchess of Burgundy, and one of the French King's Mathematicians. A new Translation from the best Paris edition, and adorned with Copper-Plates.
- London: Printed for J. Hughs, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. For Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in New-Round-Court, in the Strand opposite York Buildings; W. Shropshire, against the Duke of Grafton's, in Old Bond Street; E. Commins, under the Royal Exchange, and W. Smith, at Lord Chancellor Talbot's Head, against Serle's Coffee House, Lincoln's Inn. MDCCXXXVII. (Price bound Six Shillings).
- 72) The Female Page: A Genuine and Entertaining History, Relating to some Persons of Distinction. Intermix'd with a great Variety of affecting Intrigues, in Love and Gallantry. Also the remarkable Letters that pass'd between the Persons concern'd. In three Parts, compleat. By the Ingenious Mrs. Elizabeth Boyd.
- London: Printed for and Sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head, in Round Court, opposite York-Buildings in the Strand. MDCCXXXVII. (Price Bound 4 s).
- 73) Il Cortegiano... by Conde Baldassar Castiglione...2nd edition. London: printed for Olive Payne, Horace's Head, Round-Court, the Strand, opposite York-Buildings. 1737. Price Bound 10s 6d.
- 74) The comical history, and humorous adventures of Estevanille Gonzalez, surnamed the merry fellow. (Written by himself) Translated from the Spanish by the Ingenious

Monsieur Le Sage, author of the Devil upon two sticks. London: printed for, and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's-Head, in Round-Court in the Strand, over-against York-Buildings, MDCCXXXVII.

- 75) The Canterbury tales of Chaucer, in the original, from the most authentic manuscripts; and as they are turn'd into modern language by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Pope, and other eminent hands. With References to Authors, Ancient and Modern; Various Readings, and Explanatory Notes.

London: printed for the editor; and sold by J. Walthoe, in Cornhill; W. Bickerton, in the Strand; and O Payne, in Round-Court, M.DCC.XXXVII.

- 76) Reflections, military and political. Interspersed with moral and historical observations. Translated into English, from the Spanish of the Marquis de Santa Cruz ... by Captain James Ogilvie ...

London: printed for G. Strahan; D. Brown; J. Stagg; A. Millar; O. Payne and T. Woodman; J. Millar; and J. Brindley, 1737.

1738

Book sales:

- 77) A catalogue of the libraries of John Kempthorne, Esq; and the Rev. Mr. Waller ... and of a young gentleman ... To be sold ... on Thursday the 2d of this instant November, 1738 ... by Olive Payne.

- 78) A Catalogue of the Library of the Ingenious Mr. Delpfuch, deceas'd. Consisting of a scarce and valuable Collection of Books in Greek, Latin, and English. To which is added, some Books of Curious Prints, collected by a Gentleman at Rome.

... [sold on 7th of March] ...by Olive Payne, bookseller. At Horace's Head in the Round Court opposite York Buildings in the Strand. Catalogues to be had Gratis, with the Prices printed, at the following Booksellers: Strahan, in Cornhill; Warner, without Temple-Bar; Jolliffe, St. James's-Street; and at the Place of Sale, where may be had most Money for any Library or Parcel of Books in any Language.

N.B. at the said O. Payne's continues another sale of Books, consisting of several Thousand Volumes in both Languages, the price mark'd in each Book.

[Contains advertisements for 'Books printed for and sold by Olive Payne':]

Capt. Charles Johnson's Compleat and General History of the Lives and Adventures of the most famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers, &c ... Folio. 15s.

A Compleat History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, the East and West Indies, in all its Branches, from the Origin of it in the Year 1163 to its present State. ...by the Rev. Mr. Baker. M.A.

Works published/printed:

- 79) A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages in Two Parts. Part I containing, Dr. Leonard Rauwolf's Journey into the Eastern Countries ... Translated from the original High Dutch, by Nicholas Staphorst. Part II. Containing Travels into Greece, Asia minor, Egypt, Arabia felix, Petraea, Ethiopia, the Red Sea, &c.... To which are added Three Catalogues of Trees, Shrubs, and Herbs, as grow in the Levant. By J. Ray, F.R.S.

The Second Edition, Corrected and Improved. London: Printed for Olive Payne, Horace's Head, and Thomas Woodman at Cambden's Head, both in Round-Court in the Strand, and William Shropshire, in Old Bond-Street. M.DCC.XXXVIII

- 80) A New Treatise of Husbandry, Gardening, and other Matters relating to Rural Affairs... By Samuel Trowell, Gent....

London: Printed for and sold by Olive Payne at *Horace's Head* in Round Court in the Strand. 1738. (Price bound Two Shillings and Six pence).

Works sold:

- 81) A Sermon on the Gradual Advances and Distinct Periods of Divine Revelation. By Thomas Bowles, D.D. Rector of Tubney and Aston-Thorold in Berkshire, and Vicar of Brackley in Northamptonshire.

Northampton. Printed by William Dicey, for the author, and Sold by Olive Payne, Horace's Head, in Round Court, in the Strand, opposite York-Buildings. John Smith, in Daventry; Caleb Ratten, in Harborough; William Ratten, in Coventry; and John Cook, in Uppingham. MDCCLXXXVIII.

[Contains advertisement for Thomas Bowles's Grammaticae Latinae Syntaxis Commentariis Illustrata.]

- 82) The history of the ancient Germans; including that of the Cimbri, Celtæ, Teutones, Alemanni, Saxons, Goths, Vandals, and other Ancient Northern Nations, who overthrew the Roman Empire and established that of Germany, and most of the Kingdoms in Europe. Written originally in High German...by Dr John Jacob Mascou... Now translated into English, by Thomas Lediard, Esq. Late Secretary to his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary in *Lower Germany*...

London and Westminster. Printed and Sold by James Mechell, at the King's Arms, in Fleet-Street: And to be had at the Translator's House, in Smith Square, Westminster; of Innys and Manby, near St. Paul's; Wilcox and Payne, in the Strand; Bettesworth and Hitch, in Paternoster-Row, Curll in Covent-Garden; Millan, at Whitehall; Willock, in Cornhill and Brett, in Westminster-Hall. 1738.

- 83) Grammaticæ Latinae Syntaxis Commentariis Illustrata: Or The Fundamental Rules of the Latin Grammar made Plain and Easy. By Thomas Bowles, D.D. *Teacher of a private Grammar-School at Brackley in Northhamptonshire.*

Northampton. Printed by William Dicey, for the author: And Sold by Olive Payne, Horace's Head, in Round Court, in the Strand, opposite York-Buildings. John Smith, in Daventry; Caleb Ratten, in Harborough; William Ratten, in Coventry; and John Cook, in Uppingham. 1738. [Contains advertisement for Bowles's *Sermon*.]

- 84) A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Treatises upon Metals, Mines and Minerals. In Four Parts.

Parts I and II. Containing the Art of Metals, Written originally in Spanish. By the learned Albaro Alonso Barba, Director of the Mines at Potosi, in the Spanish West-Indies. Translated by the Earl of Sandwich, in the Year 1669. Part III. Containing that invaluable Piece of Mr. G. Plattes, viz. a Discovery of all Sorts of Mines from Gold to Coal. Part IV. Houghton's compleat Miner.

London: Printed for C Jephson, in West-Smithfield, for Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in Round-Court in the Strand. MDCCXXXVIII.

[Contains the following advertisements:]

- 85) Amintas. A Dramatic Pastoral, in five Acts. Written in Italian by that inimitable Poet Torquato Tasso, Author of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Translated into English Verse by Mr William Ayre.

Characters represented: 1: Cupid in the Habit of a Shepherd. 2. Amintas in Love with Silvia. Thyrsis, Companion to Amintas. 4. The Satyr in Love with Silvia. 5.

Elpino. 6. Ergato. 7. Silvia, beloved by Amintas. 8. Daphne, Companion to Silvia. 9. Nerina. 10. Chorus of Shepherds.

N.B. *It's universally esteemed the most curious Piece that ever was wrote in its Kind; wherein the Affair of Love is displayed in the most pathetic, delicate, soft, &c. Manner imaginable; also the Translation is said to be very good by the best Criticks in the Italian Language.*

From Mr. Pope.

"The most considerable Genius appears in the famous Tasso and our Spencer. Tasso in his Aminta has far exceeded all the Pastoral Writers, as in his Gerusalemme he has outdone the Epic Poets of his Country: See Pope on Pastoral Poetry, pag. 23, in the First Volume of his Works, lately published.

Beautifully printed in Octavo, adorned with Copper-Plates, address'd to the Ladies. Price in blue Paper 1s 6d. Bound in red Sheep 2s.⁹⁵²

- 86) Royal Genealogies: or, the Genealogica tables of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other eminent Persons of Asia, Europe, Africa and America, from Adam to the present Times.

Note, The above being a perfect Magazine of History, Chronology, &c. is a Book no Library or Gentleman that reads History should be without.

It was subscribed for at 3l. 3s in Sheets the large Paper, and 2l 2s the small, and the Price advanced at its first Publication, in large Folio 1736, and are now sold, the large Paper in Sheets at 1l 6s, the small at 1l 1s. Large paper neatly bound and gilt 1l 14s. Small, gilt, &c. 1l, 6s.

It is the most copious, useful and correct Book in its Kind ever printed in any Language. The Second Edition, with large Additions, by Dr. Anderson.

- 87) APETH-AOFIA; or an Enquiry into the Origin of moral Virtue; wherein the false Notions of Machiavel, Hobbes, Spinoza, Bayle, Mandeville (Author of the Fable of the Bees) &c. are examined and confuted, and the eternal and unalterable Nature and Obligation of Moral Virtue is stated and vindicated, by the Reverend and Learned Mr Campbel, to which is prefix'd an Introduction, address'd to Dr Mandeville, by A. Innes, D.D. Octavo 1738, gilt, &c. 2s 6d.

An Alphabetical Index to Fuller's Worthies; 'tis printed to the Size of the Book, and may be put in without new Binding.⁹⁵³

⁹⁵² This work appeared in 1737: I have chosen to use the advertisement for its listing because of the greater amount of detail offered.

⁹⁵³ See above note.

- 88) A general history of Ireland, viz. a full and impartial account of the original of that kingdom ... Collected by the learned Jeoffry Keating ... Faithfully translated from the original Irish language, by Dermo'd O Connor ... The third edition. With an appendix ... collected from the remarks of the learned Dr. Anthony Raymond ...

London: printed for B. Creake, and sold by Olive Payne, 1738

- 89) Memoirs and remarks geographical, historical ... and ecclesiastical. Made in above ten years travels through the empire of China... Written by the learned Lewis le Comte, Jesuit; ... A new translation from the best Paris edition, and adorn'd with copper-plates.

London: printed by John Hughs: for Olive Payne, 1738.

- 90) Travels through the Low-countries, Germany, Italy and France, with curious observations ... [by] John Ray, F.R.S. To which is added, an account of the travels of Francis Willughby, Esq; through great part of Spain. The second edition. Corrected and improv'd, and adorn'd with copper-plates.

London: printed by J. Hughs: for Olive Payne, Thomas Woodman; and William Shropshire, 1738.

- 91) Travels through the Low-countries, Germany, Italy and France, with curious observation ... By the late reverend and learned Mr. John Ray, F.R.S. To which is added, an account of the travels of Francis Willughby, Esq; through great part of Spain. The second edition. Corrected and improv'd, and adorn'd with copper-plates.

London: printed for J. Walthoe, D Midwinter, A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, W. Innys, R. Robinson, J. Wilford, A. Ward, J. and P. Knapton, T. Longman, O. Payne, W. Shropshire, J. and R. Tonson, T. Woodman, R. Chandler, and J. Wellington, MDCCXXXVIII. [1738]

- 92) A new and complete history of the Old Testament, digested according to the order of time in which the several things mentioned therein were transacted. ... By John Campbell, Esq.

London: printed for Olive Payne, at Horace's-Head, in Round Court, in the Strand, and for John James, at Horace's Head, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange, MDCCXXXVIII.

- 93) The army regulator: or, the military adventures of Mr. John Railton; giving an account of his particular services in the Horse Grenadiers, the dragoons, the foot, and the train of artillery.... With the Artifices made use of to prevent the Publication of this Book. The Whole Addressed to his Majesty.

London: printed for W. Warner, under the Crown Coffee-House, against Bedford-Row, Holbourn ; O. Payne, in Round-Court in the Strand ; J. Jackson, in St. James's Street ; and J. Vokes, on Ludgate-Hill, 1738.

1739:

Post-bankruptcy, a large portion of Payne's stock and printing templates was sold at in April 1739. The catalogue has survived. See A catalogue of the books in quires, and copies, of Mr. Olive Payne, bankrupt, to be sold ... to the booksellers of London and Westminster... [at the Queen's Head Tavern] Thursday April 12, 1739.

Book sales:

- 94) A catalogue of curious and useful books, in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and Greek, in very good condition: many curiously bound, and all gilt on the back, or letter'd... to be sold ... on Monday the 22d of his instant Jan. 1739. ... by Olive Payne.
- 95) A catalogue of a small, but exceeding curious collection of books; being the library of the Rev. and learned Dr. Save ... Saturday the third of this instant February, 1738-9, by Olive Payne.
- 96) A catalogue of books, in most languages and faculties, in good condition, some curiously bound, and all gilt back or letter'd ... Which will be sold cheap ... on Thursday, November 1, 1739. ... by Olive Payne.

Works published/printed:

- 97) The Portraits of the most Eminent Painters and other Famous Artists, that have flourished in Europe. Curiously Engraved on above one Hundred Copper Plates. By F. Bouttats, P. De Jode, Senior, P. De Jode, Junior, W Hollar, P. Pontius, J. Vorsterman, C. Waumans, &c. From original paintings of Sir Anthony Van Dyck, Gonzalo Coques, Peter Dankerse De Ry, Cornelius Janssens, James Jordaens, John Meyssens, Erasmus Quellinius, Guido Rheni, Nicholas De Helt Stocade, David Teniers, Thomas Willeborts Bossaert, and other celebrated Masters. To which is prefixed, an Account of their Lives, Characters, and most considerable Works, in French and English. Collected from the best Authors extant, and The Original Manuscripts.

London: Printed for and Sold by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head, in Round Court, in the Strand; and W.H. Toms, Engraver, in Union-Court, near Hatton-Garden, Holborn. MDCCXXXIX.

- 98) The best mine above ground; or, the most laudable and most certain means of enriching this nation, by improving our agriculture ... Recommended to the publick consideration; in a letter to a Member of Parliament. [By Samuel Trowell.] The second edition, with some additions.

London: printed for, and sold by Olive Payne, 1739

- 99) A new treatise of husbandry, gardening, and other matters relating to rural affairs By Samuel Trowell, gent. To which are added, several letters to Mr. Thomas Liveings, concerning his compound manure for land.

London: Printed for, and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in Round-Court in the Strand, 1739.

- 100) The history of the troubles of Great Britain: Containing a particular account of the most remarkable passages in Scotland from the year 1633 to 1650... Written in French by Robert Monteth of Salmonet. To which is added, the true causes and favourable conjunctures which contributed to the restoration of King Charles II. Written in French by D. Riordan de Muscary. Translated into English by Captain James Ogilvie.

London: Printed for and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's-Head, in Round-Court, in the Strand, opposite York-Buildings, MDCCXXXIX. [1739]

- 101) A new English dictionary, containing a compleat collection of useful English words; ... By J. Sparrow, gent.⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁵⁴ The author is actually B.N. Defoe: this is a reprint of his dictionary.

London: printed for, and sold by Olive Payne, 1739.

Works sold:

- 102) An inquiry into the origin of moral virtue; wherein the false notions of Machiavel, Hobbes, Spinoso, Bayle, &c. as they are collected and digested by Dr. Mandeville, in his Fable of the bees, are examin'd and confuted... By the Rev. ... Mr. Campbel. To which is added, a prefatory introduction, to Dr. Mandeville, by A. Innes, D.D.

London: printed for B. Creak, and sold by Olive Payne, 1739.

1740:

Book sales:

- 103) A catalogue of the library of that learned divine, and eminent mathematician Dr. James Milnes ... will be sold ... On Tuesday the 12th of this instant February, 1739-40. ... by Olive Payne.
- 104) A catalogue of books in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, French, and English ... Which will be sold ... on Thursday the first of May, 1740, by Olive Payne.

Works published/printed:

- 105) The Quintessence of English Poetry: Or, a Collection of all the Beautiful Passages in our Poems and Plays: From the Celebrated Spencer to 1688, ...In Three Volumes. London: Printed for O. Payne at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange. MDCCXL.
- 106) The Quintessence of English Poetry: Or, a Collection of all the Beautiful Passages in our Poems and Plays ... Collected from several hundred Volumes, by the Ingenious Tho. Hayward, and other Gentlemen.... By Mr Oldys. In Three Volumes.

London: Printed for Olive Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's-Head Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill; John Millan, opposite the admiralty, in Charing-Cross; Henry Chapelle, in Grosvenor Street; and Francis Noble, at Otway's Head, in St. Martin's Court, near Leicester-Fields. MDCCXL

- 107) An Authentick and Particular Account of the Taking of Cartagena by the French in the year 1697 ... By the Sieur Pontis, Commander in Chief. With a Preface giving an Account of the Original of Carthage in 1532, to the present Time; also an Account of the Climate and Produce of that Place, and the Country adjacent....

The Second edition. London: Printed for Olive Payne at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1740. (price Sew'd 1s 6d, Bound 2s.)

[Contains the following advertisements for 'Books just publish'd, printed for and Sold by Olive Payne.']

Lately published, is one large Volume, a new and beautiful Edition of the two following Books, written by the Judicious and Learned Mr. J. RAY, Fellow of the Royal Society. Price neatly bound in Calf, 5 s.

A Compleat Collection of the best *English, Scotch, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Greek, Hebrew, &c* Proverbs, with proper Explanations &c, *many of them useful to all Orders of Mankind, from the King to the Cobler.*

2. Collection of North Country and other Words not generally used in England, also an Account of Mines, Minerals, produced in England, of making Tin, Salt, &c.

Also beautifully printed in three Volumes in Twelves, (containing near a thousand Pages) Price bound in Calf 7 s, the most compleat and best of its Kind extant.

- II. [The Quintessence of English Poetry],
- III. [Ray, Willughby, et.al. *Travels*] Price bound 10 s.
- IV. Lediard's Naval History from the Conquest to 1734, in 2 vols. Folio. Price bound II 10 s.
- V. The History of *Adam and Eve*.... Price 1 s 6 d.

This Day is Re-published, Price 1 s in Octavo. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. (Containing 20 Half Sheets, with his Head curiously Engraved, about a hundred Copies remaining of.

- VI. An Oration made on the Death of that *Illustrious and Invincible General, Eugene Francis, Prince of Savoy*, written by Command of the Emperor in *Germany*, deliver'd in *Italian* by the Learned *Count Passionei*, Archbishop of *Ephesus*, Minister Plenipotentiary at the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, now *Nuncio* at *Vienna*.
- VII. [Middleton's *Abraham and Isaac*, octavo] Price 6 d.

- VIII. The History of the Council of Constance, by James Lensant, with several curious Heads of eminent Men. in 2 vols. 4to, translated by the ingenious Mr. Whatley. Price neatly bound, gilt, &c. 12 s.

108) Charity, or the Great End and Design of Christianity, in a Sermon Preach'd at Eaton. By Zachary Cradock, D.D. Late Provost of Eaton College. The Second Edition.

London: Printed for O. Payne at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley in Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange. MDCCXL. (Price Six Pence).

Contains the following advertisements:

1. [Ray's Proverbs/collection of North County words –transcription of title pages: octavo, 5s.]
2. A Present for a Papist.... Price 1s 6d. 8vo. 1740.
3. Capt. *Thomas James's* Voyage for discovering a North-West Passage to the South-Sea, &c. Moll characterizes the navigator as a *most skilful Navigator, and says the Account is very accurate and judicious.* See his Geography, Page 282. Price bound 2 s. 6 d. sew'd in blue Covers, 2 s. With a Map. 1740
4. The Voyages and Adventures of the Sieur Pointis; with an Account of the Taking of Carthage in 1697, by the French and Bucaniers, with a Booty of 900,000 l. Sterling. The 2d. Edit. To which is added a new and accurate Map. Price bound 2 s. sew'd 1s. 6d. 8vo. 1740.
5. [Middleton's Abraham and Isaac]
6. A compleat Collection of the most elegant Passages in our Poems and Plays, from Spencer to 1688. By Mr. T. Haywood, Gent. and other Hands, in 3 Volumes. 12mo. Price bound 1s 6d. 1740. N.B. This is quite different from Byshe's Collection.

109) A Sermon Preach'd before King Charles II. February 10, 1677/78. Upon the Provenance of God in the Government of the World. By Zachary Cradock, D.D. Preacher to the Honorable Society of Gray's Inn, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Publish'd by His Majesty's Special Command. The Second Edition, Corrected.

London: Printed for O. Payne at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley in Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange. MDCCXL. [Contains advertisements for Ray's Proverbs (5s), A Present for a Papist, Captain James's Voyage, Sieur de Pontis, Middleton on Abraham and Isaac and Haywood's Anthology.]

- 110) An epistolary poem to a lady, on the present expedition of Lord Cathcart. By T. R. Esquire. London: printed for and sold by Olive Payne, 1740.

- 111) The history of Adam and Eve: or, an historical and critical account of the origination and fall of man. Extracted from the most celebrated authors, by the Reverend Mr. T. Johnson. Illustrated with five large and beautiful copper plates, engraved by G. King, (disciple to Mr. Vertue,) and other eminent hands...

London: printed for Olive Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange, MDCCXL. [1740]

- 112) A present for a Papist: or, the history of the life of Pope Joan, from her birth to her death... With Many curious Memoirs relating to those Holy Fathers the Jesuits, &c. Cum Multis aliis. Published for the Information of the People of England.

[London]: Printed for, and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's-Head in Pope's Head-Alley in Cornhill, opposite the Royal-Exchange, [1740]

- 113) The dangerous voyage of Capt. Thomas James, in his intended discovery of a north west passage into the South Sea... publish'd by the Special Command of King Charles I. To which is added, a map for sailing in those sea ... with an appendix concerning the longitude, by Master Gellibrand, Astronomy Reader at Gresham College. The second edition, revised and corrected.

London: printed in 1633, and now reprinted for O. Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, over-against the Royal Exchange, MDCCXL. [1740]

- 114) The praise of folly. Made English from the Latin of Erasmus. By W. Kennet, of S. Edm. Hall, Oxon. late Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Adorn'd with forty-eight copper-plates, including the Effigies of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. All neatly engraved from the designs of the celebrated Hans Holbeine. To which is prefix'd, a preface by the translator. The sixth edition.

London: printed for R. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall; H. Chappelle, in Grosvenor-Street; J. Jolliffe, in St. James's-Street; W. Sare, in Long-Acre; O. Payne, in Popes's-Head Alley, Cornhill; C. Marsh, in Round Court, in the Strand; and F. Noble, in St. Martin's-Court, 1740.

Works sold:

- 115) The case of Abraham's being commanded by God Almighty to offer up his son Isaac in sacrifice, impartially examined and defended, against the deists and other modern infidels. By the late Reverend and learned P. Middleton, D.D. The second edition.

London: printed for A. M. and sold by O. Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's-Head-Alley, opposite the Royal-Exchange, MDCCXL. [1740]

1741:Works published/printed:

- 116) A description of the English province of Carolana. By the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French, La Louisiane. ...To which is added, a large and accurate map of Carolana, and of the River Meschacebe. By Daniel Coxe, Esq;

[London]: Printed for and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head in Pope's-Head Alley, Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange, 1741.

- 117) A Collection of Voyages and Travels in Three Parts. Part I. The Dangerous Voyage of Capt. Thomas James....Part II. The Sieur Pointis's Voyage to America; with an Account of the taking of Carthage by the French in 1697... Part III. A Description of the English Province of Carolana; by the Spaniards call'd Florida; and by the French La Louisiane. With a large and judicious Preface, Proving the Right of the English to that Country....

By Daniel Coxe, Esq. To which is added, a Large and Accurate Map of Carolana, and of the River Meschacebe. Printed for and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange. 1741. [Price. Bound 5s.] *NB. Either part may be had separate.*

[Contains advertisements for Ray's *Proverbs* (5s) and the *Quintessence of Poetry* (7s). Payne has also appended the following description of Coxe to the Preface:]

The universal good Character this Voyage has among the Judicious for its Integrity and Simplicity, and the great Scarcity of it (having been sold for 15 s and a Guinea, in several Auctions) are sufficient Motives for the reprinting of it; likewise we hope it will prove useful and agreeable to the Publick.

OLIVE PAYNE

118) Some queries and observations upon the Revolution in 1688, and its Consequences: Also a Short View of the Rise and Progress of the Dutch East India Company; With Critical Remarks in a Letter from *Paris* to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole. By the Late Charles Forman, Esq ...

The Second Edition. London: Printed for and sold by Olive Payne, at Horace's Head, in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, opposite the Royal Exchange. 1741. (Price, One Shilling.)

Bibliography:**I) Works by Defoe**

- Defoe, Daniel, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice ...* (London: J. Baker, 1715)
- *An essay on the South-Sea Trade* (London: J. Baker, 1712)
- *Atlas maritimus & commercialis; or, A general view of the world ...* (London: James and John Knapton, et. al, 1728)
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- *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the Second and Last Part of his Life...* (London: W. Taylor, 1719)
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