The *Travels* of John Magee: Tracing the geographies of Britain's itinerant print-sellers, 1789-1815

Oskar Cox Jensen

Christ Church, University of Oxford

Abstract This article is concerned with the circulation of topical print culture in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, focusing on carriers rather than texts. Centred on the biographical and autobiographical accounts of ballad singers and chapmen, especially John Magee's *Travels*, it maps the geographies of numerous print-selling itinerants. By stressing the role of these individuals as mediators of topical material, it argues that our reading of the reception of news, in an age of propaganda, should privilege the agency of transmitters as much as that of writers. The article's geographies also challenge a London-centric model for the diffusion of topical material.

Keywords: ballad singers, news, print culture, itineraries, Napoleonic Wars

Introduction

In 1799, the English moral reformer Hannah More wrote an anonymous loyalist broadside, 'A King or a Consul?' in response to Napoleon's coup of the Eighteenth Brumaire. The song claimed to be sold 'by all the Booksellers in the UNITED KINGDOM'. Extant copies exist from London and Bath, where it was printed, and Windsor and Bristol, where it was not.[1] As all four cities are in the south of England, this boast of ubiquity appears overly ambitious. Yet its publishers were also responsible for distributing many of More's Cheap Repository Tracts, some of which specified their sale as also being carried out by 'Newsmen, and Hawkers, in Town and Country'.[2] This information extends our definition of 'Booksellers', hinting at a more diffuse geographical distribution.

This broadside provides a starting point for a wider examination of how topical ephemera were circulated. The song itself was fairly typical of the loyalist genre, but the forces behind it were not. More's knowledge of the informal side of the print trade was exceptional: when the Repository was first opened in Bath, she invited pedlars and hawkers in from the streets to receive copies, *gratis*, to sell on their travels, and asked Henry Thornton to enquire into hawkers' methods of distribution.[3] Yet it would be foolish to accept More's distribution plans for her Tracts as representative of loyalist ephemera. Two problems arise, which inform this article's arguments. The first is that, though More also secured printers at Edinburgh and Dublin, and reputable agents to spread the Tracts in sundry locations from Durham, in the north-east, to Shrewsbury, near the Welsh border, her publications still derived from a London source.[4] This was unusual. North of the capital, topical ephemera was generally produced on a sub-national scale based around centres of print culture such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne (referred to hereafter as Newcastle), Glasgow and Dublin. By 'topical ephemera', I refer to broadsides, songbooks or garlands, pamphlets, and similar vernacular printed matter related to current events, particularly the war with France. The years of the conflict, especially 1793-9, and 1803-5, prompted a deluge of this cheap literature, often engaging with events from a politically-interested perspective. These regional productions differed in dialect, idiom and allusion from those of London, constituting a regional print culture in which metropolitan publications, whether promoted by groups such as More's, spread legally, or pirated by local printers, were far from dominant.

The second, related issue is that this material reached its audience, not by the agency of lease-holding booksellers, but via itinerants: ballad singers, chapmen and pedlars. Even if on one celebrated occasion, More personally delivered her material into their hands, she lost all control over her works' dissemination the moment these itinerants went on their way. If we

wish to know how topical ephemera circulated across the British Isles, we should concern ourselves, not with grand overseers, but with those who actually carried and sold the material.

More herself, in the Cheap Repository's Prospectus, estimated there were above 20,000 such hawkers in Britain – and that was counting only those of whom she disapproved.[5] These were individuals involved in what has been dubbed the 'grey economy' of Georgian Britain, negotiating the unstable social and legal division between beggars and petty salespeople.[6] As Tim Hitchcock suggests in his elaboration of this term, it would be unwise to attempt to distinguish sellers of prose print from ballad singers. John Morris has noted, with regard to Scottish chapmen, that 'If they could play a musical instrument or sing it was all to the good…Alexander Wilson had a pleasing singing voice, William Nicholson played the bagpipes, and William Magee [could] play two jew-harps at the same time.'[7] Conversely, singers were not above peddling all manner of sundry wares, besides printed matter. John Magee, the focus of the later part of this article (and no relation to William), found it wisest to be flexible, since 'some would call for ballads, play books, or political pamphlets; so very different is the taste of men'.[8] Thus, though the more talented singers undoubtedly specialised in terms of performance and repertoire, I wish to suggest that we think of these persons more broadly as hawkers of ephemera – however that hawking was carried out.

The term 'hawker' encompasses several variants – pedlar, chapman, flying stationer – and implies that its subject carried out low-level commercial transactions, a distinction absent from competing terms such as beggar, vagrant, mendicant and itinerant. Whilst, as discussed below, this was crucial from a legal perspective, elevating the practitioner from public nuisance to salesperson, it was a nebulous distinction. Contemporaries frequently used all or any of these terms as interchangeable. A beggar one day might set up as a pedlar the next, and revert to begging once his stock was sold. Boundaries were permeable. Individuals dipped in and out of this 'grey economy': Alexander Wilson forsook his trade as a

journeyman weaver to follow his master on the road, spending three years as a pedlar.[9] John Freeth bought his way off the street, becoming a publican.[10] Definitions were therefore porous, and my use of terminology reflects that reality.

These men – and occasionally women – did not simply diffuse the print culture of London to the passively-receptive provinces.[11] This is a misreading, attributable to the need for simplification, still found in seminal works on both political and cultural dimensions of discourse on the Wars.[12] Instead, they operated on one (or both) of two models, as noted by Michael Harris, who has divided itinerants between 'the street sellers using London or some other urban centre as a regular base and those long-distance travellers also working the towns but constantly on the road'.[13] Though little-studied, records remain of dozens of these agents. The former hub-hinterland model contained characters such as Joseph 'Black Joe' Johnson of London, Joseph Mather of Sheffield (in Yorkshire) and Charles Lesly of Aberdeen (in north-east Scotland).[14] The latter, peripatetic model encompassed the likes of the young David Love, Alexander Wilson (later famed as an ornithologist), and John Magee, the only wanderer known to have left fully-documented itineraries of his routes.[15] These were published at Paisley, 1826, in a pamphlet styled *Some Account of the Travels of John Magee, Pedlar and Flying Stationer, in North & South Britain, in the Years 1806 and 1808.*

This article is concerned with the role of these itinerants as transmitters of the material they sold, rather than with the history of the book or print culture more generally. Its scope is restricted to the British Isles, the author's interests stemming from the popular politics of loyalism and opposition peculiar to this polity – though contemporary continental parallels would be most welcome. The stress is upon the individual, as carrier and shaper, playing a neglected yet essential part in the creation and reception of cultural and political discourse. Rather than focusing upon the equally critical element of performance (song, patter, or pitch) and interaction between vendor and audience/customer, my concerns here are primarily

geographical: mapping the routes of these print-sellers, and exploring how these geographies affected both dissemination and reception of topical ephemera. The material itself does not form the focus. Though it would be fascinating to map the distribution of certain songs, for example, onto the itineraries of their wandering sellers, this article is not the proper place to make the attempt. The itinerants discussed herein were vague about their specific stock – William Magee is a notable exception – and *topical* ephemera was, of all print matter, the least likely to survive physically, to be preserved in oral memory, or to bear identifying marks of place and date of publication where it did survive.[16] Thus neither Roud index has proved helpful in mapping the precise geographies of songs specific to this article: the most we can ascertain is that broadsides easily permeated national borders, as did their singers. Popular semi-topical songs of the period, from 'Battle of the Nile' to 'Isle of St Helena', demonstrably spread across Ireland, Scotland and England, and in later years to America.[17]

Drawing upon the scholarship of, amongst others, Michael Harris, John Morris, David Vincent and Andy Rouse, my aim is to restore to the historical record the physical presence of those individuals, so central to popular political discourse, who were once thought either unimportant or untraceable.[18] The article's secondary function is to endorse a regionally-nuanced narrative of discourse on the Wars, pioneered by Albert Goodwin and developed by scholars like Katrina Navickas, which is so often lacking, especially in accounts of the period 1799-1812.[19] In stressing the provincial dimension to topical print culture, I seek to emulate recent work by Victoria Gardner and others.[20] My sources are primarily biographical and autobiographical accounts of specific itinerants, centring upon the travels John Magee dictated to his unknown editor at Paisley, near Glasgow. The article proceeds from large-scale geographies to practicalities of route, place and sustenance. The restoration of specific human agency to the circulation of these ephemeral texts should allow for more fruitful enquiry into reception and reaction on a popular level.

The hub-hinterland model: major cities

London was always an important base for itinerants, both as a beacon to those on extended journeys, and as a hub for those working a regular circuit. To take but one example, that of Joseph Johnson: a black ex-seaman whose particular *modus operandi* was 'to build a model of the ship Nelson; to which, when placed on his cap, he can…give the appearance of sea-motion' – this act serving to supplement his performance and sale of naval ballads.[21] For this idiosyncrasy, Johnson was included in J. T. Smith's *Vagabondiana*. Smith records that 'Johnson is as frequently to be seen in the rural village as in great cities; and when he takes a journey, the kind-hearted waggoner will often enable him in a few hours to visit the market-places of Staines, Rumford, or St. Albans, where he never fails to gain the farmer's penny'.[22] In other words, his area of operations took in a hinterland roughly delineated by the modern route of the M25. By the informal commercial relations of three parties – the hitch-hiking beggar; the publisher from whom he obtained his broadsides; and the waggoner who gave him his lift – topical material from the heart of the capital could be bought in rural market towns on the day it was printed, without any formal dealings between established book-sellers.

This model held true for other hubs, the main difference being that Johnson was one balladeer among thousands in London, whereas the number of singers or similar print-sellers was far smaller elsewhere. Indeed, in provincial cities, the instance of a single, pre-eminent figure recurs time and again; heir in spirit, if not in law, to city bellmen such as Glasgow's renowned Dougal Graham.[23] This person was usually male, advanced in years, charismatic, and composer of his own material. Passing into local legend, their names – and, often, lives – were recorded, giving us enough information to place Lesly of Aberdeen (Mussel Mou'd

Charlie), Michael Moran of Dublin (The Great Zozimus), Mather of Sheffield and Blind Willie Purvis of Newcastle in the same category and attempt certain generalisations.[24] Of these singular characters, only Birmingham's John Freeth differed in that he owned the public house in which he sung, though he had been a vagrant in his youth.[25] To their number might be added David Love in his later years at Nottingham; like Lesly and Freeth, Love was a rover who eventually 'settled down' to a regional circuit centred on a single city.

Though these six men left their mark in the historical record, the civic patriotism of their biographers has mitigated against a precise mapping of their regional circuits. Attentive to the smallest detail within their city limits, our sources grow vague beyond this boundary. We know little of their wider circuits beyond this typical report, concerning Joseph Mather: 'Mather was an attendant at the races and fairs in the neighbourhood'.[26] His biographer devotes his whole attention to his subject's life within Sheffield: his birth, in 1737, in Cack Alley; his early days as a file hewer; his satirical productions and slide into notoriety as the people's champion, and his spells in gaol.[27] Yet we have only that single sentence, and one anecdote, for the considerable amount of time Mather spent plying his trade as a ballad-seller outside Sheffield itself.

Of these six, Lesly and Love followed Mather's operational model. Moran and Purvis restricted themselves to the urban areas of their home cities, due perhaps to life-long blindness, whilst once Freeth bought his public house, he had no need to travel in search of trade. It is probable, however, that the former model was the more common – a base in a city, providing access to a publisher and a small but permanent audience, but a life spent as much on the road, working the regional hinterland, as in that city itself.

In interrogating this model from the traveller's perspective, the first question that obtains is: why? If the hawker was established in a densely-populated urban locale, why take to the road? Motivation may be divided into necessity and opportunity. The compulsion to travel –

beyond the wanderlust ascribed to or professed by many of these individuals – came from the accumulation of several factors. The three most prominent were harassment, competition, and the market's desire for novelty. Patricia Corfield writes, '"Stationary" mendicants, with their own regular pitch, tended to be relatively more accepted than the "moveables", who followed the crowd'.[28] Yet even established figures were liable to harassment by agents of the law. Moral campaigners were keen to enforce neglected statutes classing street print-sellers as nuisances to be removed: Patrick Colquhoun insisted upon the definition of '*Persons described in the statute of 17. Geo. II. as rogues and vagabonds,* comprising wandering players of interludes at fairs, *…showmen, ballad-singers, minstrels with hurdy-gurdies and hand-organs, &c.*'[29] In Scotland, those 'vagabonds' who risked being forcibly removed to their parish of origin included 'all tale tellers and ballad singers, not properly licensed; (i.e. not being in the service of the Lords of Parliament, or great boroughs)'.[30] This would have been the vast majority: in Aberdeen, for example, Lesly was the only licenced singer.[31] In England, the responsibility for such persons varied, and though the Quarter Sessions or Justices of the Peace were often technically the relevant authority, bylaws were passed, and actions taken, by either parish vestries or corporations.[32] This could lead to especially strict measures, such as when in 1794, the city of Birmingham ordered *all* street-singers to be apprehended and removed – little wonder then that Freeth stuck to his tavern, and that those on the street found it advisable to vary their surroundings.[33]

If these dangers stemmed from sellers' unstable social status, other forms of necessity were more general to cultural commercial activity. Though fresh material – an account of a battle, murder, or election, for example – was always sure of an audience, no pedlar could wholly rely upon a constant flow of such print matter. It would, moreover, be contested in cities by the greater number of sellers seeking to distribute it. Thus hawkers would also rely on a wider range of material, from traditional songs to the latest theatrical hit, from tales of Robin Hood

to evangelical tracts. On one walk from Hinxton to Cambridge, James Plumptre – an active moral reformer – found two hawkers peddling both the 'goodly' tracts he had formerly prescribed, and disreputable ballads.[34] Plumptre, who advocated the need to purge popular music of impiety and impropriety, was dismayed. Yet the sellers were merely making themselves flexible to their particular market conditions. Even so, this broader repertoire could interest a regular audience for only so long. A subsequently-fictionalized Scottish seller, working in London, noted that 'We were also careful to vary the scene, that our voices might not become too common in any one neighbourhood.' She continued, 'once we made a pedestrian excursion as far as Margate, subsisting on the road by singing a fashionable song of Grimaldi's in every town or village through which we passed'.[35] Once 'fashionable' material had outstayed its urban welcome, it was clearly still good for a provincial tour.

If the attentions of urban audiences were difficult to keep, they were equally hard to attract. Chapmen and singers alike were forced to ply their trade almost exclusively on the streets, pasting broadsides on bare walls where possible, with occasional recourse to the alehouse available to the better singers.[36] As a commercial space, the street was fiercely competitive, contested by all manner of petty vendors:

> A noise at every turn you'll find:
>
> 'Ground-ivy – Rabbit-skins to sell;
>
> 'Great news from France! and knives to grind,
>
> 'Matts – muffins – milk, and mackerel!'[37]

Thus print-sellers would periodically exchange the constant but contested footfall of the city street for the less frequent, but far more fruitful opportunities afforded in market towns and villages.

The hinterland: markets, fairs and races

Still not wholly separable occasions, markets and fairs formed the mainstay of the itinerant's rural circuit. These overlapped with a third traditional meet, especially important in rural Ireland: the horse race. The 'vagabonds' Colquhoun railed against 'visit almost every fair and horse-race in the country' – twin dens of 'fraud and deception'.[38] That which Morris writes of Scotland, remained true in this period for the British Isles as a whole: 'There were fairs in all parts of Scotland, and on almost every day of the year… One found out about them from almanacks, such as the Belfast almanack and Aberdeen almanack.'[39]

This last point is compelling. Though the consultation of almanacs assumes a degree of literacy, such information was presumably also an important aspect of oral culture, similar to the modern taxi driver's 'Knowledge'. The existence of guides based on Aberdeen or Belfast underlines the advantages of a regional circuit based upon an urban hub. Eneas Mackenzie, a contemporary local historian of Newcastle, attested this with regard to the fairs of the Northumbrian hinterland, where those on the circuit were 'always welcome'; Mather's biographer recounts that his subject 'was an attendant at the races and fairs in the neighbourhood [of Sheffield] to dispose of his songs in order to put money in his pocket'; a Belfast critic lamented the fact that 'In every market and fair of our country villages, some itinerant musician bellows out a panegyric on debauchery, riot, and splendid ruin; and sells the destructive doggerel as fast as he can hand it out.'[40]

The advantages to the itinerant are clear: a receptive, captive market, predisposed to listen and to buy. Though these meetings were not wholly lawless – John Magee found constables especially ready to arrest him at markets – social codes were nevertheless relaxed: whilst fairs were part of the common round for travellers, local attendees experienced them as rare

holidays, where indulgence was permissible.[41] John Clare, steeped in this world from childhood, makes the point especially well:

> & there while fidlers play they rant about
>
> & call for brimming tankards froathing oer…
>
> Resolvd to keep it merry when its here
>
> As toil comes every day & feasts but once a year[42]

The same poem, *The Village Minstrel*, depicts a customary transaction in the particular context of the 'statute fair or feast'. The lines demonstrate how the atmosphere was conducive to those seeking to sell ephemera:

> …[H]odge whose pockets wornt stand treats more high
>
> Hears which his simpering lass may please to want
>
> & brushing thro' the crowd most manfully
>
> Outs wi his pence the pleasing song to buy
>
> & crams it in her hand wi many a smile
>
> The trifling present makes the maid comply[43]

The gullibility and enthusiasm of the country man for cheap print was a common trope of contemporary discourse. But it was also largely true. This period engendered an immense appetite for news in any form, a hunger well-attested in working-class biographies.[44] The Wars were of course the main source of this appetite, stemming from concern for the fate of loved ones, and fascination at the events unfolding across Europe – the very greatest fascination being exerted by Napoleon himself.[45] Even isolated, largely illiterate communities would go to great lengths to obtain sight of a newspaper – but a travelling print-seller was a

surer source of information.[46] Admonishing Ireland's peasantry for its disregard of advice from authority figures, the commentator Peter O'Neil observed,

> But let a strolling hawker or pedlar, or a drunken ballad-singer…bring you any news, or give you any advice about what is passing in the country, and what is best for you to do in such wild and bad times as these, you open your mouths wide, and swallow everything they say to you.[47]

The interplay between pedlar and rural community was mutually satisfactory. Both as adjunct to the 'holiday' spirit, and as news-bearer, the itinerant earned a surer welcome – and remuneration – than in his habitual city environment. This is not to imply a one-sided relationship between town sophisticate and country bumpkin. It was the economic power of 'the farmer's penny' that attracted such trade.[48] Moreover, the itinerant would be expected to engage with local customs and traditions, rather than exclusively peddling 'big city' talk. Mackenzie writes of Northumbrian 'pedlars and tinkers', that they served a dual function for the audience: 'to vary the dull scene of their lives, and to recal[l], by their local songs and tunes, the bloody and admired deeds of their ancestors'.[49]

   This last point highlights the role of hub-hinterland practices in reinforcing local and regional networks, attitudes, and responses, rather than promulgating a homogenous national discourse. With the rise of regional popular print culture, news and other ephemera was increasingly transmitted in language and *form* idiomatic to locality, relying upon local allusions and phrasings.[50] Robert Anderson of Carlisle, in north-west England, recorded in verse the local practice of 'Nichol the Newsmonger', a poem in which Nichol's thick Cumbrian dialect and local allusions are faithfully reproduced.[51] This was standard practice, from Lesly's Highland dialect, to Mather's compositions satirising the people and politics of the West Riding of Yorkshire.[52]

These were individuals, moreover, peddling material usually written, and certainly printed, at a regional hub, rather than deriving from the capital. Roy Palmer makes the point that 1800 was the culminating moment in a trend of increasing regional cultural autonomy, when centres such as Birmingham threw off reliance on London, generating numerous successful ephemeral presses of their own: hawker and printer were symbiotic parts of an increasingly autonomous whole.[53]

This phenomenon counteracted the spread of a national, unifying print culture. If it was occasionally possible to obtain sight of a London paper in, for example, south-west Scotland, it was far more probable that the greater part of the populace participated in a regional news culture, subject to the idiosyncrasies of its disseminators.[54] Even where material was pirated *verbatim* from external sources, (a practice especially rife with ephemeral material, the legal status of which was ambiguous) it was necessarily subject to mediation by its vendors, recast orally if not in print.[55] Thus, greater weight should be lent to the role of these individuals in framing accounts of topical affairs, a necessity that becomes plainer still when we interrogate Harris' second model, that of the long-distance traveller.

The long-distance model: mapping mendicancy

If the hub-hinterland model reinforced regional discourses, then the mapping of more wide-ranging pedlars serves as a caveat to localism: cross-border exchange formed no small part of ephemeral culture. Nor were the two wholly distinct; mendicants' lives were rarely settled, and a change in circumstance could precipitate a shift from one practice to the other. Both Lesly and Love, though strongly identified in later life with Aberdeen and Nottingham, had ranged widely for many years. Figure 1 maps the extent of Scotland through which Lesly is

known to have travelled; though centred on Aberdeenshire, his 'fame' spread surprisingly far south.

Figure 1. Places mentioned in the song 'Mussel-Mou'd Charlie' where Lesly was 'famed'.

Source: *The Ballad Book [a collection, preceded by a life of Charles Lesly]* (Edinburgh, 1827), ix-xiii.

Lesly's travels appear to have been confined to Scotland: here he differs from many of our itinerants. Only Mary Saxby, whose wandering days were also over by the century's close, is comparable in that her journeys were exclusively English: still, she roamed between points as far apart as Northampton, in the Midlands, and Dover, on Kent's south-east coast.[56] More common are memoirs characterized by cross-border travels, spanning at least two of Ireland, Scotland and England. Harris has paid particular attention to Love – a Scot by birth – whose wanderings often centred on Northumbria, that most Scottish of English counties. His study

cites one of these journeys from Scotland, where Love names the towns in which he reprinted his stock of small books: this journey is plotted in Figure 2.[57]

1. Berwick-upon-Tweed
2. Newcastle
3. Leeds
4. Nottingham

Figure 2. David Love's route from Scotland to Nottingham, 1814: places of reprinting.

Source: Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the 18th Century', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850* (Winchester, 1990), p.96.

These journeys contained focal points. It is worth noting that, whilst London represented one pivot, Newcastle was more prominent; and that neither city was an end goal, but rather a staging-post. So strong was Love's working relationship with the Newcastle printer John Marshall, that it was Marshall who published Love's autobiography.[58] Yet Nottingham, not Newcastle, was Love's eventual home. James Dawson Burn, born at Dumfries in south-west

Scotland, begged his way to London with his father, a war veteran, but only in order to obtain his father's pension. This endeavour failing due to an irregularity in the old soldier's discharge, a traveller's pass was secured, allowing the pair to work the towns of the eastern seaboard as far north as Newcastle: here again, London and Newcastle served as pivots of a longer route.[59] Since so few accounts remain, however, it is difficult to reconstruct the town and village geographies of pedlars, and we are left with an abstract sense of locations strung between major cities, their absence from the known record reducing their stature to way-stations, rather than the mainstays of mendicants' economic activities they undoubtedly were. The exception to this is the account left by John Magee, whose meticulous itineraries allow us to track his travels day by day, town by town.

Mapping John Magee's *Travels*

'Pedlar and flying stationer', sometime drill-sergeant for the United Irishmen, radical, zealot: Magee's account makes for fascinating and frustrating reading, idiosyncratic yet shot through with humanity and eloquence. All of which brings into question its reliability as a document of his travels. This I would counter with a rigorous attention to accuracy of place and distance: Magee made a note of milestones for a hobby. Many people travelled widely in search of work, often self-consciously styling themselves as beggars or tramps, but none kept a better record than Magee.[60]

   Of the two journeys he details, that of 1806 is by far the longer, its two legs taking in some eighty named settlements and covering much of Scotland and England. This journey is mapped in Figure 3. Though the first leg begins at Paisley, near Glasgow, its pivots are Newcastle and London, points journeyed between first by land, then – once the towns between had been worked once – by sea, allowing Magee to travel west into Cumbria upon

his return north. This raises the possibility of Magee selling fresh material, obtained at London, in the north-west, subsequent to his return by sea. Conversely, it suggests the carrying south of material from Glasgow towards Newcastle, and from Newcastle towards London: neither direction predominated. The second leg, a loop of Scotland, has Glasgow at its ends and Aberdeen at the centre, suggesting a similar practice of diffusion.

1. Paisley (a) – Newcastle (c)
2. Newcastle – London (d)
3. London – Newcastle
4. Newcastle – Carlisle (e)

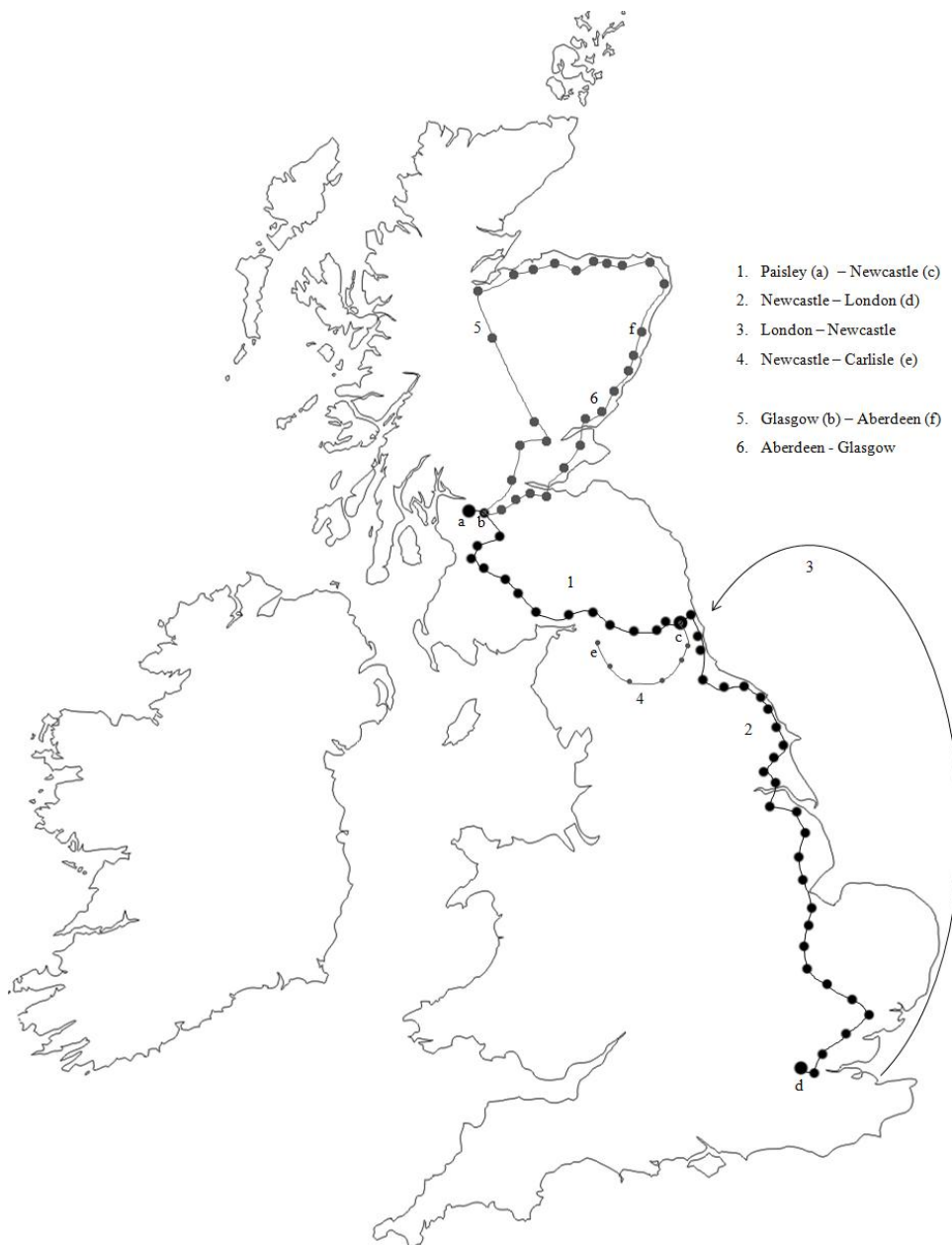5. Glasgow (b) – Aberdeen (f)
6. Aberdeen - Glasgow

Figure 3. John Magee's Travels, 1806.

Source: John Magee, *Some Account of the Travels of John Magee, Pedlar and Flying Stationer, in North & South Britain, in the Years 1806 and 1808* (Paisley, 1826), pp.3-5.

None of this addresses the degree to which hawkers other than Magee, who – unlike him – wrote as well as sold, simply had their own works reprinted, rather than obtaining fresh stock from regional publishers. Magee's own preference was for a particular body of tracts, which might be said to fulfil the same function as if they were his own compositions. His statements suggest a pragmatic mix of favouring these, yet having more popular items ready in case of (probable) lack of interest:

> As I carry with me in my travels a few pious books and sermons for sale, when I enter any house, and shew these articles, the common salutation I get is, We want no good books; for we have more good books than we have time to read. … Some would call for ballads, play books, or political pamphlets; so very different is the taste of men.[61]

This constituted a leavening of conviction – or egoism – with commercial nous, that it is reasonable to assume held true for Love, Lesly, Alexander Wilson, and other writers-cum-hawkers. Here again, individual agency imposes itself upon more abstracted geographical suppositions, a recurrent theme central to this article's main contentions.

Whilst Magee's second journey, in 1808, covered just 200 miles, confined to Scotland, it has a still more precise itinerary, with places tied to days of the week, and the observation that Magee sold £1 5s of 'small books' at Inverary: this appears to have been noteworthy due to the large sum of money made on that day.[62] Fifteen miles was the maximum distance Magee covered in a single day on foot, though he walked as few as five if a settlement in which ephemera could be sold was nearer at hand. The object was primarily to subsist, rather than to cover ground. Similarly, he would extend his stay by a day if it appeared profitable to do so. On this journey, he did so at Ardanenty (an untraceable location on Loch Long) and Strachur.[63] This route is mapped in Figure 4.
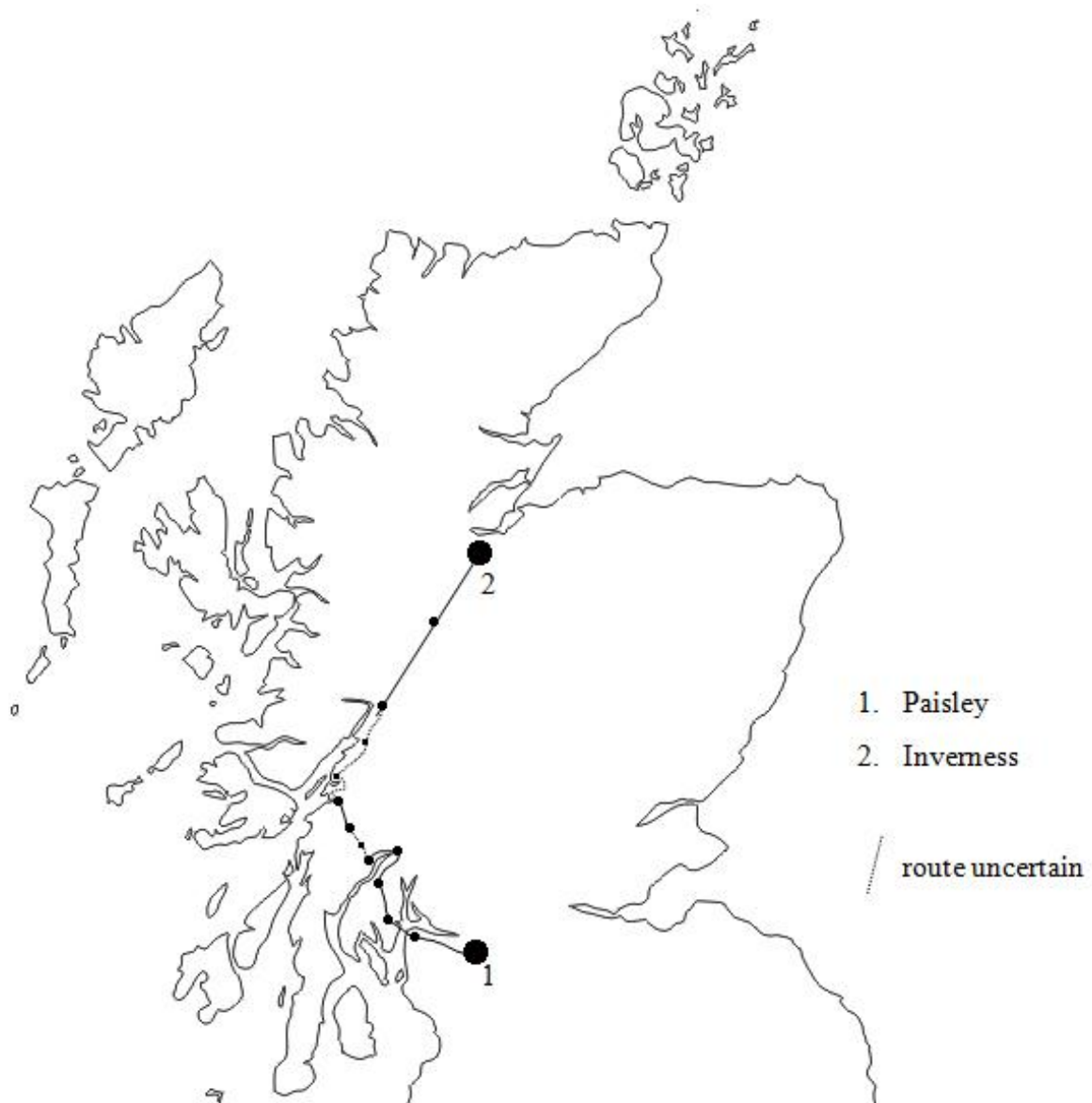
Figure 4. John Magee's 'Journey through the Western Highlands in 1808'.

Source: Magee, *Travels*, pp.23-5, 32.

It is easy to envisage his progress from village to village along the lochs, selling a portion of his stock in each and using some or all of the proceeds to secure a bed and a meal, and leaving once custom dropped off – usually the next day, occasionally after two. More intriguing are the entries for Friday 10 October, when Magee ventured 'seven miles into the country' between Inveraray and Portsonachan – country that even today contains nothing more than a couple of isolated farmsteads – and those that list his consecutive destinations as

Fort William, Fort Augustus and Inverness, each separated, as he states, by thirty miles.[64] The question arises of how itinerants sustained themselves between settlements. Its answering has significant implications for issues of print and orality, and the greater matter of reception by these persons' audiences.

Accommodation and hospitality

When not working a town, there were several options available to the itinerant. At a pinch, they might rely on their pack and spend the night under a hedge or tree – though this was no very tenable mode of life in an age when the Thames still froze over at London in midwinter. This left wayside inns and farmhouses, neither of which could be relied upon. Magee said of the former, 'Our public houses, or inns…will not lodge you if you are not on horseback, or in a phaeton.'[65] His luck was often little better with the latter. 'In the country, where public houses are at a great distance from each other, and often provided with little accommodation, neither intreaty nor money can procure lodgings in any farm-house, or perhaps the least ar[t]icle of victuals'.[66] This was not a question of being refused charity, as his reference to money makes clear – though charity itself was in short supply. On one occasion, the animosity displayed by an Anglican minister's dog was only matched by that of the minister himself.[67] Nor was this hostile reception reserved for Magee. Alexander Wilson – a far more reputable character, later famed in American polite society – penned this verse about a similar experience:

> To think how aft I'm putten wud,
>
> Whan drawing near a door;
>
> Out springs the mastiff, through the mud,
>
> Wi' fell Cerberian roar,

And growling, as he really would

Me instantly devour,

Alive, that day.[68]

The problem, Wilson elaborated, was the householder's prejudice against those suspected of criminality:

"Ye're come frae Glasgow, lad, I true;

(The pert guidwife presumes;)

Ye'll be a malefactor too…"[69]

Under these circumstances, the traveller might obtain admission – fairly or surreptitiously – to a barn, rather than the farmhouse itself. Saxby recalled how very often, 'we could get no lodging for our money, except in a barn'.[70] These could be surprisingly full: vagrancy was a common and often communal activity. William 'Hawkie' Cameron shared his accommodation with nine female 'routers' – real or fraudulent soldiers' wives and widows – in Yorkshire.[71] In one Scottish barn, Love found himself sheltering with thirty-nine others.[72] The impression is that of a rich and varied community, able to share experiences, material and resources.

It should not, however, be supposed either that it was impossible to receive more domestic hospitality, or that itinerants experienced uniformly prejudicial hostility across the British Isles. Though evidence remains necessarily anecdotal, a clear pattern emerges from first-hand accounts. Speaking of his warm reception at the Portsonachan ferry farm-house on Loch Awe, Magee generalized thus: 'the farther you go north, and the colder the clime, the warmer and more kindly the hearts of the people: wheress, in your progression southward, you will find occasion to reverse the observation'.[73] This was a theme to which he returned later in his narrative, stating that, 'Could I speak Gaelic, I would certainly find myself much more

comfortable among these plain honest people, than in the more southern parts of our isle, where the hearts of men are some how hardened.'[74] Talk of 'plain honest people' seems platitudinous, yet he elaborates further after several pages, revealing more specific reasons for his hostile treatment in southern England. 'I, who travel through different countries, have often heard poor ignorant creatures curse and swear, and reproach me, and the like of me, as beggars, crying, Go home, Irish Pady, to your potatoes and butter milk. – Go home, you Highland Sandy, to your brogs and brose, and to your brosky.'[75]

Magee's experiences are echoed across the Isles, from Smith's understanding in *Vagabondiana* that beggars were better treated in Ireland than London, to the testimony of Samuel Milnes, an itinerant ballad singer: 'I have travelled all over England…but the North's the best – Manchester, Liverpool, and them towns; but down Bath and Cheltenham way I was nearly starved.'[76] The Tyneside engraver Thomas Bewick retained fond memories of his own youthful tour as a 'beggar' through the Highlands, contrasting the invariable 'warm and friendly reception' with the hostility and suspicion he later encountered in London.[77] Love devoted three pages of his memoir to precisely the same theme.[78] The distinction lay, not between England and Scotland-Ireland, but between, as Magee put it, 'North and South Britain'.[79] (Sadly, I have been unable to identify any travelling, Anglophone print-sellers with experience of Wales: Welsh-language print culture was well-established, unlike its Gaelic counterparts.)[80] This division between two communities, north and south, cannot be insisted upon from so slender an evidential base, yet this perception, if not the absolute distinction itself, certainly obtained at the time.

The hospitality of small-holders, often battling penury themselves, cannot be ascribed solely to the goodness of their northern hearts. Magee acknowledged this, characterising Highlanders thus: 'They are glad to see a stranger, will bid you come in, and when you enter, to take a seat, and tell them the news.'[81] Though he idealizes the northern Scots, a good deal

may be read into the importance of news-bearing. Both Burn, as a traveller, and Thomas Cooper of Gainsborough, as an audience member, write at greater length on this point. Before analysing their accounts, it is worth making an observation on the interplay of ephemeral print and oral culture. Whilst in a town, the pedlar sold his print wares to fund his lifestyle. Yet when overnighting in a single-family establishment, in isolated spots where an especially low degree of literacy was to be expected, this model was not viable. Even were a sale to be made, a single transaction would not cover the cost of a bed or meal. Hosts were not 'buying' the traveller's material goods, but his news, songs or stories in oral form. This commodification of the intangible is of course as old as human society, and is further proof, were proof needed, that oral tradition and popular print culture were inextricably intermingled in this period.

The two testimonies themselves justify mentioning oral tradition and stories alongside news and topical ephemera, for it was this intermingling of the topical with folklore that characterized popular discourse during the Wars. Burn, the wandering beggar, makes the connection explicit. Describing his experiences of 1813, he speaks first of the topical.

> The French war was then carrying desolation over a large portion of Europe, and there were few of the people even in these lonely, and sequestered vallies who had not occasion to mourn some dear relative who had fallen in the service of his country… There were few newspapers in these days…the various classes of people who made their living by travelling among these wilds were then the real news-mongers, and of course, were always welcome guests[82]

Burn proceeds to a discussion of his ex-guardsman father's performances – 'many a time he has held the farm circle in breathless suspense, while delineating the havoc of the battle, or the dreadful carnage of the siege, the clash of arms, and the horrors of the sacked town' –

before adding that, as the company was gathered in the chimney nook, 'tales of ghosts, witches, and fairies, would go round until bed-time'.[83] He then dedicates a page to his firm belief in fairies.

   This comingling of battle and folklore is common to Cooper's recollections, as indeed to the repertoire of many vernacular writers of the time: Samuel Bamford's early output mixed tales of fairies with political and military subjects. Cooper writes,

> Many fragments of the fairy, and witch, and ghost-stories, told by the beggars and wandering pedlars, remain in my memory; but I have a far more vivid recollection of the blind soldier [Thomas Chatterton]'s relations of the way in which he stepped out of the boat up to the waist in water, in the Bay of Aboukir, and how they charged the French with the bayonet[84]

This theme of the conjoined realms of folklore and topical discourse in itinerants' repertoires is key to our appreciation of the popular perception of the Wars. It shaped vernacular mentalities and imaginings of conflict, and was partially formed and most certainly reinforced by itinerants' lifestyles. Such persons' reliance upon traditional 'folk' forms of hospitality, and the performances they drew upon to earn their keep, brought the topical into a primarily folkloric realm of discourse.

Conclusions

The geographical implications of both the hub-hinterland and long distance models are clear. Considered together, the patterns enrich a picture of semi-autonomous, localist cultures, anchored by the circuitous motions of sellers based at urban centres, with a less insular mode of distribution reliant upon the long-range travels of footloose individuals. This latter practice

effectively cross-pollinated regional print cultures with more widely-sourced material, conveyed hundreds of miles in a linear fashion, rather than in a day's journey outwards from a central print source.

Whether this second phenomenon helped inculcate a national discourse, or merely refreshed inherently regional discourses with swiftly-assimilated print matter, is a question of emphasis. Crucially, neither position is rooted in a model of steadily-diffused, homogenising material radiating outwards from London. In a word, the geographies of popular print at this time were not 'London-centric'. The capital, possessed of more presses and itinerants than elsewhere, played a major part in this peripatetic economy, but that part was one of a *primus inter pares*.

The second and not unrelated theme which this article has developed has been that of ephemeral print culture's mediators, and their importance to any conception of popular discourse writ large. Theirs were the voices, whims and peregrinations upon which this trade was dependent, and whilst as vendors they were subject to the demands, fads, and morals of their customers, their own characters influenced the dissemination of print matter. Thus it is notable that the individuals herein tended towards the radical and the seditious. Mather was a known Jacobin, Lesly an incorrigible Jacobite.[85] Wilson, who in subsequent, more prosperous years joined the Friends of the People, was imprisoned for a satire attacking manufacturers on behalf of the common weaver; Saxby was jailed for more carnal transgressions.[86] In Dublin, Moran was a provocative Catholic zealot who venerated O'Connell.[87] In rural Ireland a host of lesser singers spread the radical topical compositions of O'Sullivan, whilst the Connaught gentry lived in fear of the scurrilous barbs of the wandering poet O'Kelly.[88] Love was a repeatedly-arrested freethinker who opposed the war, and as we have seen, Magee himself had served with the United Irishmen.[89] Furthermore, he appears at times to have sported a tricolour cockade, to have sympathized with Napoleon, and to have wished the extension of

the French Revolution across the Channel.[90] None of this may be termed 'statistically significant' as the sample size is both small and self-selecting, yet the propensity is marked.

Nor is it coincidental that these persons either wrote some of their own material, or – like Magee – had a strongly, principled connection with some of their literature. Practically, this vested interest in their wares would have facilitated good commercial relations with printers: it was easier for a printer to entrust goods on which he sought to make a profit to an unpropertied salesperson, proposing to leave town, if that person was committed to the venture's success. Itinerants stood a better chance of obtaining stock on credit, if they, as author – or proselytizer – were linked to the printer. In his early days as an unknown singer, Love had to raise capital in cash to secure his material.[91] But later, in Gosport, he worked closely with a printer: 'Mr. Steed and I was [sic.] in good agreement, and I got large quantities of Books on trust, till I sold them.'[92]

This writerly characteristic, of free will and essential egotism, was beneficial to commercial relations, yet it had a second effect: an opinionated, self-conscious hawker would have been unreliable as a passive mouthpiece of propaganda. If these persons were already selling their own views on the Wars, then they were less likely to be effective, enthusiastic disseminators of the loyalist or moral-reformist propaganda that formed such a large part of the ephemeral market.

This tendency is readily explicable in persons who lacked a stake in the state, holding no property, often persecuted by the authorities, yet who possessed the independence of spirit required to travel and the self-belief necessary to earn a living in a performative manner. It is borne out by the widespread disquiet occasioned in public-spirited commentators, from More and Colquhoun to anonymous provincial editors, who turned their efforts to the suppression or cleansing of the practice. This attitude was typified by the very existence of the *Patriot: a Periodical Publication, Intended to Arrest the Progress of Seditious and Blasphemous*

Opinions, whose sixth issue bemoaned that 'Seditious publications [are disseminated] by persons travelling in the garb of Ballad Singers; and…are pushed into the hands of the people'.[93]

The two themes of models of travel, and individual mediation, have their synthesis in this practice's relation to the wider book trade, and to popular politics. The boast of More's 'A King or a Consul?', with which we began, was that it was sold 'by all the Booksellers in the UNITED KINGDOM'. This boast, preceded by a list of established tradesmen and their addresses, implied a respectable model of dissemination based upon formal trade relations, undertaken by licenced shopmen. Yet, as More herself was well aware, 'booksellers' meant the likes of John Magee as much as it did reputable firms. If her society, or the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, wished to extend their diffuse nationwide activities from provincial bookshops, to within reach of the average labourer, then they had to rely upon those disreputable intermediaries with whom they had such an ambivalent relationship. Across the Isles, the trade in even the most patriotic of ephemera depended upon 'vagabonds'. The majority of topical ephemera was loyalist. Yet its distributors were those persons least likely to share its authors' sentiments. We must remember that, more likely than not, the greater part of the nation's printed activity, however sensitive or sensational its topical import, passed through the grubby hands of men like John Magee.

[1] Bodleian Library Broadside Ballads: Curzon b.10(102), Johnson Ballads fol.284.

[2] E.g. Hannah More, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* (London, 1795), frontispiece.

[3] Mary G. Jones, *Hannah More* (Cambridge, 1952), p.141; Christopher Tolley, 'Thornton, Henry (1760–1815)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27357, accessed 10 October 2012.

[4] Jones, *Hannah More*, p.141.

[5] Philip Connell and Nigel Leask (eds), *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009), p.28.

[6] Tim Hitchcock, 'Begging on the Streets of Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005), p.488.

[7] John Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', in Robin Myers et al, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (New Castle, D. E., 2007), p.169.

[8] John Magee, *Some Account of the Travels of John Magee, Pedlar and Flying Stationer, in North & South Britain, in the Years 1806 and 1808* (Paisley, 1826), p.18.

[9] Alexander Wilson, *The Poetical Works of Alexander Wilson: Also His Miscellaneous Prose Writings…* (Belfast, 1844), xvii.

[10] John Horden, *John Freeth (1731-1808): Political ballad-writer and innkeeper* (Oxford, 1993), p.3.

[11] The question of gender is open to debate: memoirs were weighted in favour of men, whilst pictorial and fictional representations favoured women. Eyewitness accounts of named individuals show a definite male majority.

[12] E.g. Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p.125, or Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (Yale, 2004), pp.41-2.

[13] Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the 18th Century', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1850* (Winchester, 1990), p.84.

[14] J. T. Smith, *Vagabondiana; or, Anecdotes of Mendicant Wanderers through the Streets of London* (London, 1817), p.33; Joseph Mather, *The Songs of Joseph Mather: to which are added a memoir of Mather, and miscellaneous songs relating to Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1862); Anon, *The Ballad Book [a collection, preceded by a life of Charles Lesly],* (Edinburgh, 1827).

[15] David Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience, of David Love. Written by Himself* (3rd ed. Nottingham, 1823); Wilson, *The Poetical Works*.

[16] Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', p.167.

[17] Roud numbers 950 and 349, respectively.

[18] Harris, 'A Few Shillings'; Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman'; David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London, 1981); Andrew C. Rouse, *The Remunerated Vernacular Singer: From Medieval England to the Post-War Revival* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005).

[19] Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (London, 1979); Katrina Navickas, *Loyalism and Radicalism in Lancashire, 1798-1815* (Oxford, 2009).

[20] Victoria Gardner, *Newspaper Proprietors and the Business of Newspaper Publishing in Provincial England, 1760-1820,* unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 2009.

[21] Smith, *Vagabondiana*, p.33.

[22] Ibid., p.33.

[23] R. Collison, *The Story of Street Literature: Forerunner of the Popular Press* (1973), p.3.

[24] Anon, *The Ballad Book*; 'Gulielmus Dubliniensis Humoriensis', *Memoir of the Great Original Zozimus (Michael Moran)…* (2nd ed. Dublin, 1976); Mather, *The Songs*; E. Corvan et al, *A Choice Collection of Tyneside Songs…* (Newcastle, 1863), pp.136-8.

[25] Horden, *John Freeth*, p.3.

[26] Mather, *The Songs*, ix.

[27] Ibid., vii-ix.

[28] Patricia .J. Corfield, 'Walking the City Streets: "The Urban Odyssey in Eighteenth-Century England"', *Journal of Urban History* 16, No.2 (1990), p.154.

[29] Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on Indigence…* (London, 1806), p.41.

[30] Robert Burns, *Historical dissertations on the law and practice of Great Britain, and particularly of Scotland, with regard to the poor* (2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1819), p.265.

[31] Anon, *The Ballad Book*, v.

[32] See Bryan Keith-Lucas' works, *English Local Government in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1977), pp.7-8, and *The Unreformed Local Government System* (London, 1980), pp.79, 94.

[33] Roy Palmer (ed.), *Birmingham Ballads* (Birmingham, 1979), p.4.

[34] James Plumptre, *A Collection of Songs Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing* (London, 1806), pp.3-4 *fn.* Plumptre was a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, and an ordained clergyman: Albert F. Pollard, 'Plumptre, James (1771-1832)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22404, accessed 27 September 2012.

[35] 'Ermina Wargrove', *The Surprising History of a Ballad Singer* (Falkirk, 1818), p.14.

[36] See The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, London 1674 to 1834, www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref=t18021027-102, accessed 15 December 2012, testimony of Isaac Ellswood, and J. T. Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day: or, Recollections of the Events of the Last Sixty-Six Years* (London, 1845), pp.211-2, for first- and second-hand accounts respectively of hanging ballads against walls, and Proceedings, www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?ref= t18171029-137, accessed 15 December 2012, testimony of Mary Moseley, for the practice of selling ballads in alehouses.

[37] Excerpt from 'London Cries', in *The Myrtle and Vine; Or, Complete Vocal Library*, 4 vols (London, 1800), I, pp.130-1. Though I have addressed this issue in conference papers, little published material exists. For a brief discussion, see Rouse, *The Remunerated Vernacular Singer*, p.97.

[38] Colquhoun, *A Treatise*, p.41.

[39] Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', p.174.

[40] Eneas Mackenzie, *An Historical, Topographical, and Descriptive View of the County of Northumberland* (2nd ed. Newcastle, 1825), pp.200, 203; Mather, *The Songs*, ix; Anon, *Belfast Monthly Magazine* vol.4, no.22 (May 1810), p.321.

[41] Magee, *Travels*, p.34.

[42] John Clare, 'The Village Minstrel', in Eric Robinson (ed.), *The Early Poems of John Clare, 1804-1822,* 2 vols (Oxford, 1989), II, p.161. For a recent analysis of audiences' experience of fairs, see Ben Heller, 'The "Mene Peuple" and the Polite Spectator: The Individual in the Crowd at Eighteenth-Century London Fairs', *Past & Present* 208 (2010), pp.131-57.

[43] Robinson, *The Early Poems*, II, p.153.

[44] E.g. Thomas Carter, *Memoirs of a Working Man* (London, 1845), pp.89-90, 144, 170-1, 186; John Nicol, *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner* (London, 1937), p.208; Samuel Robinson, *Reminiscences of Wigtonshire* (Wigtown, 1995), p.39; Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper. Written by Himself* (3rd ed. London, 1872), p.17.

[45] See especially Carter, *Memoirs,* p.170.

[46] Nicol, *The Life and Adventures*, p.208, Robinson, *Reminiscences,* p.39.

[47] Peter O'Neil, *Letters to the farmers, tradesmen, shop-keepers, and labourers of Ireland* (Dublin, 1804), p.1.

[48] Smith, *Vagabondiana,* p.33.

[49] Mackenzie, *An Historical…View,* p.200.

[50] There is a convincing argument that use of dialect was a bourgeois affectation. Yet this does not negate its increasing prevalence; nor does the argument extend to allusions and colloquial expressions. See Robert Colls, *The Collier's Rant: Song and Culture in the Industrial Village* (London, 1977), pp.22, 25, and David Harker, 'The Original Bob Cranky?', *Folk Music Journal* 5, No.1 (1985), p.70.

[51] Robert Anderson, 'Nichols the Newsmonger', in Sidney Gilpin (ed.), *The Songs and Ballads of Cumberland* (London, 1866), pp.310-2. The song has been dated to 1 July 1802.

[52] See Mather, *The Songs*, passim.

[53] Palmer, *Birmingham Ballads*, p.4.

[54] E.g. Robinson, *Reminiscences*, p.39.

[55] At least one prosecution over copyright foundered over whether a single sheet constituted a book: G. Speaight (ed.), *Professional & Literary Memoirs of Charles Dibdin the Younger* (London, 1956), p.35.

[56] Mary Saxby, *Memoirs of a Female Vagrant, Written by Herself* (London, 1806), viii, p.11.

[57] One presumes Love had these short pamphlets run up from scratch at each printer's, rather than carrying impressions.

[58] David Love, *The Life of David Love. Part I. Containing his birth, parentage, and education, with several curious transactions during his youth* (Newcastle, c.1810-20).

[59] James D. Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy* (London, 1855), pp.3, 16, 24.

[60] Thomas Bewick recalls being teased for having, in his youth, 'begged my way through Scotland'. Thomas Bewick, *A Memoir of Thomas Bewick* (Newcastle, 1862), p.93.

[61] Magee, *Travels*, p.18.

[62] Ibid., pp.23-5.

[63] Ibid., pp.23-5.

[64] Ibid., pp.25, 32.

[65] Ibid., p.41.

[66] Ibid., p.8.

[67] Ibid., p.10.

[68] Alexander Wilson, 'The Pack', in Wilson, *The Poetical Works*, p.27.

[69] Ibid., p.27.

[70] Saxby, *Memoirs*, p.12.

[71] William Cameron, *Hawkie: The Autobiography of a Gangrel* (Glasgow, 1888), pp.18-19.

[72] Harris, 'A Few Shillings', p.96.

[73] Magee, *Travels*, p.25.

[74] Ibid., p.33.

[75] Ibid., p.38.

[76] Smith, *Vagabondiana,* pp.48-9; Charles Hindley, *The History of the Catnach Press…* (London, 1887), ix.

[77] Bewick, *A Memoir,* pp.87-91, 96.

[78] Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience,* pp.16-18.

[79] Though 'North Britain' was sometimes used to mean simply 'Scotland', those cited here – with the sole exception of Love – make a clear distinction between north and south that lies well below the border.

[80] See Ffion Mair Jones, *Welsh Ballads of the French Revolution, 1793-1815* (Cardiff, 2012), especially the introduction. The paucity of Gaelic-language broadsides, in contrast to Welsh and Breton productions, is discussed in Niall Ó Ciosáin*, Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750-1850* (London, 1997), p.165.

[81] Magee, *Travels*, p.32.

[82] Burn, *Autobiography*, p.31.

[83] Ibid., p.32.

[84] Cooper, *The Life,* p.10.

[85] Mather, *The Songs*, ix; Anon, *The Ballad Book,* iii.

[86] Wilson, *The Poetical Works,* xxi-ii; Saxby, *Memoirs*, p.18.

[87] 'Gulielmus Dubliniensis Humoriensis', *Memoir*, p.24.

[88] S. Ďub, *The Songs of Tomàs Ruadh O'Sullivan, The Iveragh Poet (1785-1848)* (Dublin, 1914), p.18; P.W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 2 vols (2nd ed. Dublin, 1913), I, p.451.

[89] Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, pp.102-4, and David Love, *A Few Remarks on the Present Times…* (London, n.d.), pp.7-8; Magee, *Travels*, p.30.

[90] Magee, *Travels,* pp.31, 38, 12.

[91] Love, *The Life, Adventures, and Experience*, pp.7-8, 31-2.

[92] Ibid., pp.65-6.

[93] Anon, *Patriot: A Periodical Publication* No.6 (2 October 1819), pp.93-4.

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