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**PRINTING AT THE RED-WELL:
AN EARLY NORWICH PRESS THROUGH
THE EYES OF CONTEMPORARIES**

THOMAS TANNER AND HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX

Charting the history of an early provincial printing press is like doing a jigsaw puzzle where most, of the pieces are missing. Concrete information is usually difficult, and sometimes almost impossible, to find. Typically, there may be a few surviving publications, perhaps a newspaper advertisement, or passing reference in a history of the locality. Searching local records may unearth the odd entry in a parish register or payment for a small printing job. For most early provincial printers, that will be as much as is findable. Yet from time to time scraps of information may crop up in unexpected places.

This paper seeks to contribute a few pieces to a picture where the general outline is reasonably well known, but most of the detail is missing. It will examine the earliest eighteenth-century printing office in Norwich through the eyes of two unlikely commentators - Thomas Tanner and Humphrey Prideaux. Both men were cathedral dignitaries: Tanner was Chancellor from 1701 until he became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1731, Prideaux was Archdeacon of Suffolk from 1688, and Dean of Norwich from 1702 until his death in 1724. Both were noted scholars, although with different temperaments. Tanner was an antiquary who published *Notitia Monastica* in 1695 aged twenty-one, and was working upon the ambitious *Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica*, which appeared posthumously in 1748. He was a kindly, generous man who never forgot his modest origins. Prideaux had a reputation for pride, and irascibility, particularly later in life. He was wealthy, and so was not constantly seeking promotion within the church, but had little sympathy for less fortunate colleagues. He was a distinguished ecclesiastical historian and orientalist who published a *Life of Mohamet* in 1697 and was working on a history of the Jews. Neither would seem likely to have dealings with a fledgling local press, yet they both took a particular interest in its activities. Indeed the earliest references to its existence appear in their correspondence.

FRANCIS BURGESS

Writing to Arthur Charlett, Master of University College Oxford, in April 1701 Tanner commented:

Here is a young Printer at present in this town who upon the encouragement of Dr Prideaux &c intends to bring down a new font of Letters from London and set up his press here. He proposes to print cheaper here than they can in London, by having paper at easier rates from Holland &c. I should be mighty glad if this project takes.¹

Three weeks later Prideaux received a letter from Bishop White Kennett confirming his encouragement of the plan.

I am very glad to hear of the publick spirit for encouraging a press in Norwich, and hope that first fruits of it will be that excellent discourse of which I have seen a part, and which you ought no longer to deny the world.²

Francis Burges, the printer in question, set up his office, 'near the Red-Well',³ during the summer, and his press continued in existence under the stewardship of at least *nine* printers, until its demise in 1718. He had been an apprentice of the prosperous London printer, and Deputy Alderman, Freeman Collins, between November 1692 and December 1699.⁴ Why he came to Norwich in April 1701, and how he attracted the attention of Dr Prideaux is not known. Norwich was however the largest English provincial city with a rapidly growing population, and would remain so for thirty years;⁵ an obvious place to set up a new press following the lapse of the 'Licensing Acts' in 1695.

Tanner also arrived in Norwich early in 1701. His scholarship had brought him to the notice of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, renowned as the owner of one of the finest private libraries in England, and the father of two unprepossessing daughters. Moore appointed Tanner his personal chaplain, but employed him as researcher, book buyer, and writing master for his daughters. When early in 1701 Tanner married Moore's eldest daughter, Rose, the bishop showed his gratitude by appointing the young man Chancellor of his diocese.⁶

Once established Tanner took an interest in the local press. He sent a half-sheet 'combination paper' listing clergy due to preach at the Cathedral, to his friend John Bagford, who was collecting materials for a history of printing - thinking it was the first item printed in Norwich.⁷ Bagford afterwards received an earlier publication written by the printer to forestall concerns about seditious printing, dated 27 September. In *Some observations on the use and original of the noble art and mystery of printing* Burges set out his reasons for setting up his press.⁸

I likewise observed, when at London, how usfull it [printing] was to a bundance of traders in divers respects, concluded this a fit place or as able to mantane a printing house as Exeter Chester Bristoll or York.⁹

In answer to charges that the press might promote the publication of libels, Burges promised his readers 'not to meddle with such'.

Burges is noteworthy for producing the first English provincial newspaper *The Norwich Post*, in 1701.¹⁰ Tanner followed the fortunes of the newspaper and mentions it several times. In August 1706, he discussed its origins with Browne Willis:

The Norwich newspapers are the principal support of our poor printer here, by which, with Advertisements, he clears nearly 50s every week, selling vast numbers to the country people. As far as I can learn, this Burgess first began here the printing the news out of London, since I have seen also the Bristol *Postman*, and I am told they print also now a weekly paper at Exeter'.¹¹

Few copies of the *Norwich Post* survive but until the Norwich Library fire in 1994, there were 26 publications surviving with his imprint, and 32 with anonymous Norwich imprints many of which might be attributed to it. Seven other publications are known to have existed. These encompassed all types of small publications ranging from official notices for the Cathedral and Corporation, almanacs, catechisms, and accounts of trials and executions. However most of his publications were religious works published by the local clergy. His two most prolific authors were both archdeacons - John Jeffery Archdeacon of Norwich, author of at least nine works printed by Burges, and Humphrey Prideaux, Archdeacon of Suffolk.

Prideaux knew better than follow Kennet's suggestion of entrusting a major work to the press, but soon it some business - a handbook for the churchwardens in his Archdeaconry.

The Doctor found in his Archdiaconal Visitations, that the Church-wardens of *Suffolk*, ... instead of presenting what was amiss, as they are bound ... usually gave in their presentments, as if all was right; and that for those parishes, where the contrary was most notorious. This afforded him, ... matter of melancholy reflection, that three or four hundred men should thus deliberately perjure themselves twice a year. In order to put a stop to this evil, ... he wrote his Directions to Churchwardens instructing them in all the branches of their duty, ... and exhorting and directing them faithfully and carefully to discharge their offices.¹²

Directions to church-wardens, was the only publication to emerge from the press in 1701 which extended beyond two printed sheets. Whether it was distributed freely by the author to those parishes in his charge, or was required reading, is not known. However it was clearly a success, and due to Prideaux's reputation, it had an impact beyond his own Archdeaconry. Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester asked him to send copies 'to some Bookseller here in London, that I may take some down with me into my diocese'.¹³ Thus in 1704 Prideaux commissioned an enlarged edition from Burges, extended to four and a half sheets, and with two London booksellers and one from Norwich identified as distributors.¹⁴

An account to Prideaux dated 22 June 1704, apparently from one of these London distributors indicates that copies were being exchanged for 720 religious tracts, as part of a pre-arranged deal also involving Burges

100 Xtian scholar	01	00	00
100 Exercises for Sacrament	01	00	00
100 Directions for spending a day	00	06	00
100 Knowledge of religion	00	10	00
100 Essay to make religion easy	01	00	00
100 Instructions to young & ignorant	01	00	00
120 Husbandman duty	01	00	00
Box and portage	00	01	06
	05	17	06

I have not yet received the Books as desired from your Printer at Norwich, I expect them and then you may please to account.¹⁵

These may have been intended for Burges' stock, as payment in kind to offset part of the cost of printing. Indeed it is clear from various advertisements that Burges and his successors supplemented their business by supplying such works to chapmen and hawkers.

In common with other senior clergy Prideaux was periodically invited to preach before the Mayor, Sheriff, Aldermen and Common Councilors, to commemorate some anniversary. In December 1702 he preached a thanksgiving sermon for "Successes vouchsafed to Her Majesty's Forces" in expedition against Vigo, in his usual outspoken manner, railing against popery and Jacobitism. The Mayor's Court approved so much that instead of merely thanking him, added a request that he should have his work printed. This seems to be the first occasion that such an invitation was given in Norwich. Prideaux did not like publishing his sermons, and sought the advice of his friend Sir John Holland whether he should have to comply.

I am glad yr sermon took so well, I am suer you will always be valued when you have not those to deal withal who have more Passion than Brains. I should apprehend that you must comply in Printing, & cannot think it will be to your disadvantage, after what the Bp of Exeter has said before Q[ueen] L[ords] & Commons.¹⁶

The sermon was printed by Burges with the prosaic, if accurate, title *A sermon preach'd 3 December 1702*, and included the request from the Mayor's Court that it be published.

Thereafter, several other sermons were published by the press specifically at the request of the Norwich Corporation, although after 1710 the practice becomes noticeably less common. In that year a glut of such sermons was followed by the reluctance of the local trade to publish any more. Writing to Charlett in July Tanner commented:

I wish I could make you some return from hence for the sermons the same way - but our Booksellers having been bit by 2 or more unsaleable ones, many that have been desired to be printed are dropt and our printers have furnish'd this place of late with nothing but stale news.¹⁷

This coincides with the only instance of the Mayor's Court ordering payment of a printer's account for a sermon that they had requested to be printed.¹⁸

By 1706, Burges was established as the official printer for Norwich cathedral and corporation. In that year he printed a table of *The bishops, deans, and prebendaries of Norwich* drawn up by Prideaux, the visitation articles for the Tanner's father-in-law, Bishop Moore, two commemoration sermons, and another work by Archdeacon Jeffery. He believed he had introduced printing to the city, but was mistaken. Soon afterwards Tanner found evidence of an Elizabethan press in the Cathedral muniments, and Thomas Hearne discovered a broadsheet issued by it in the Bodleian Library.¹⁹ However by November 1706 Burges had died aged 30, and his mistaken claim was engraved upon his gravestone in St Andrew's church. It was not until the 1740s when Francis Blomefield published more evidence that Burges' claim was generally discounted.²⁰

ELIZABETH BURGES

Confirmation that Francis Burges was successful is provided by the events that took place following his premature death. Two further businesses were established by a local distiller and a bookseller, neither of whom was aware of the other's plans, or that Burges' widow Elizabeth would also remain in business. Each of the newcomers employed a printer and founded a weekly newspaper. The struggle between the three printing houses in Norwich over the next few years is well documented elsewhere.²¹ Thus the spectacle of the three printing houses in the city competing for business that had previously kept one in business gave rise to comment. Writing to Charlett 10 June 1709, Tanner comments 'what with Newspapers, Sermons & Ballads our three Printing Houses still keep up.'²²

Elizabeth Burges continued the *Norwich Post* and retained her husband's official position by printing various commemoration sermons and items for the Corporation, such as a catalogue of the city library. Yet this was only a small part of the business - an newspaper advertisement from May 1707 indicates the staple fare of the press

These are to give notice to all country chapmen & others that at the Printing-house near the Red-Well, Norwich they may be furnish'd with all sort of history-Books, Song-Books, Broad-sides &c. There may also be had, Devotions for the Holy

Communion. Price one penny. Likewise may be had a Book entitul'd a path-way to heaven: or, a sure way to happiness Price one penny. The true description of Norwich, both in its antient & modern state, Price one Penny. Advertisements are also taken in there and carefully inserted in this Paper at very reasonable rates.²³

However she did not survive her husband for long. Her rivals assumed that her death in November 1708 would mark the end of the Red-Well press, but this was not to happen for a further decade. Both the newspaper and other publications continued to appear, initially under the imprint of 'the Administrator of E. Burges', and from 1710 until 1713 that of Freeman Collins. A complaint from Henry Cross-grove one of the rival printers in February 1710 also refers to the 'Printing-Office of Deputy Collins'.²⁴

FREEMAN COLLINS

Freeman Collins had not lost touch with his former apprentice, and indeed in 1704 he had even printed a Norwich commemoration sermon - presumably because the Norwich press was unable to do so.²⁵ The transfer of the Red-Well press from the Burges' family to Collins was a different matter, and raises two significant questions. Firstly, what was the connection between Elizabeth Burges and her husband's former master, which effected the transfer of the business? Secondly, why should a man such as Freeman Collins abandon a successful business in London, late in life, move to Norwich, and manage a near bankrupt enterprise?

The answer to the first question must be speculation, but Collins had a daughter named Elizabeth and several sons. Francis Burges *might* have married his master's daughter, and Collins *might* then have financed their setting up in business in Norwich. Francis and Elizabeth Burges died childless and so Collins would have been the beneficiary of their business.

It is most unlikely that Freeman Collins ever moved to Norwich, especially as his business continued to operate on a much larger scale in London until his death in 1713. He rather sent trusted workmen or apprentices to manage the Red-Well press on his behalf. Certainly this was the case after 1711, when a notable apprentice named Edward Cave worked the press.²⁶ However Cave did not arrive in the city until 1711, two years after beginning his apprenticeship. Yet between 1709 and the spring 1711 there are several references in Tanner's correspondence to a printer named Collins working in the city.²⁷ I believe this was Freeman, son of Freeman Collins, who was bound to his father 7 July 1707 immediately prior to Cave.²⁸ He was apparently sent to manage the Red-Well two years later, but by June 1711 had

left and moved to Cambridge where he worked as a compositor at the University press for a few weeks before returning to London.²⁹

1709 saw the publication of the most interesting of the publications from the press - Humphrey Prideaux's, *The original and right of tithes*.³⁰ This was somewhat more substantial than any work previously printed in the city, or indeed for many years afterwards, consisting of twenty-five octavo sheets. The background to the work and how it came to be printed in Norwich rather than London, is provided in Prideaux's biography.

His design at first, was to give the History of Appropriations ... and the treating of *the Original Right of Tythes* was intended ... as a Preface ... But when he came to write it, finding it swell to a bulk, beyond what he had expected, he thought it best, to publish separately, and reserve the rest for a second work, ... Whilst he was engaged in this undertaking, the unhappy distemper of the stone first seized him, which put a stop to all further proceedings: for in order to compleat the work, ... it was necessary for him to consult the *Cotton* library, the *Tower of London*, and other places, where antient Records are kept, which he could not do, but by taking a journey to those places; and being utterly disabled from bearing any such journey by his distemper, he was obliged to lay aside the whole design.³¹

Prideaux's painful disorder and inability to travel was the reason why the work was printed in Norwich. As he explained to John Ellis

Another part was intended when I began, wch would be much larger than this, but God hath pleased to disable me from proceeding any further by ye calamity wch is since fallen upon me.³²

Tanner's correspondence provides a commentary on its nine month progress in the press. In June 1709 he reported to Charlett: 'Our Dean has got 9 or 10 sheets of his book of Tithes printed of here & the whole will be about as much more.'³³ In August Prideaux was:

very much indisposed above this month, there are symptoms on him either of an ulcer or stone in the bladder, which deject him pretty much ... He complains sadly of his printer, who will not do a sheet of his book a week.³⁴

During the autumn of 1709 Prideaux's condition declined and he thought himself near to death. He wanted to air his views on a related subject whilst he still could, and decided to extend his work by adding a further five sheets, including 'A bill for restraining pluralities' dating from 1691, together with his commentary. This additional material had a separate title page and preface dated 10 October 1709, but was otherwise a component part of the work. The book was issued mid December, when the author assumed he would be long dead.

The work was clearly too specialised for the local market and was therefore issued twice: with a Norwich imprint, and also with a misleading London imprint, each bearing the date

1710. Tanner commented that it was overpriced at 4s 6d and that 'Mr Collins might certainly afford it cheaper paying nothing for the copy, only 50 Books'.³⁵ The scholarship of the work was widely respected, but the outspoken tone of the Dean's additional material caused grave offence, particularly among curates and poorer clergy who were pluralists out of necessity rather than greed. As Tanner reported to Bishop Moore

The Dean ... shew me all the English History part of his Book of Tithes before it was printed, but I never saw the latter thing about the Act, till Mr Collins presented me with the Book. I am no pluralist my self nor love it in others, where tolerable subsistence for the clergy can be had without them - but I can't see the necessity of Publishing all those things as we have upon the occasions of a project that will remedy but very few or none of the mischiefs wch equally arose from non-residence even on one living. But it has given most offence in some of those hard and scarce true expressions against curates, in wch most of the country clergy as having be so themselves at first, and think these passages design'd purposely to render them contemptible.³⁶

The controversy was still smouldering in May, when Tanner again showed his disapproval in a letter to Charlett:

As for the business of Tithes, I think he has hit right - but his additional project of his Act of Parliament I never saw nor heard of till in print, where if I could have prevail'd it never should have been - for I fear there are many unguarded general expressions in it against my friends the Curates, (who as little deserve those hard expressions as any other number of clergymen) ...³⁷

However Prideaux did not die - he had a strong constitution for although in his sixties, he underwent an operation, 'to be cut for the stone', from which nobody thought he would recover. He lived until 1724, although perpetually thereafter in pain, and became yet more renowned for his bad temper. He had no more dealings with Norwich printers, but the elder Freeman Collins did print the third edition of his *Directions to Churchwarden* in London in 1712. Eventually in 1717 he quarreled with the long-suffering Tanner:

He having thought fit to break of all correspondence and good neighbourhood with me without any just offence by me given - who have pass'd by and covered many of his infirmities of mind & temper, out of regard for his learning and infirmities of body age &c.

After 1710 there appears to be no further reference to the press in the correspondence of either Prideaux or Tanner. However in 1712, he did publish anonymously a tract for the use of his parishioners of Thorpe Hamlet,³⁸ but there is no indication of which of the three Norwich presses was responsible. The active support given to the Red-Well press during its first decade seems to have dissipated.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE PRESS

Edward Cave replaced the younger Freeman Collins in the summer of 1711.

He was sent without any super-intendant to conduct a printing house at Norwich and publish a weekly paper. In this undertaking he met with some opposition, which produced a public controversy, and procured young Cave reputation as a writer.

The newspapers for the period have not survived and the nature of this controversy is not known, but other survivals from the press from 1712 and 1713 indicate that it was productive, and many of the productions were of a reasonable standard. The elder Freeman Collins died January 1713 and was succeeded by his widow Susanna, whose name appears on Norwich imprints in the same year. Cave did not remain in the city for much longer, for he was 'unable to bear the perverseness of his mistress'. This accords with the surviving evidence, and Susanna seems to have handed over the operation of the Norwich business to her younger children in 1714. The newspaper was changed from the *Norwich Post* to the *Norwich Courant* but no copies now survive. John Chambers saw a file of the *Norwich Courant*, a century afterwards and gives a sorry account of the last years of the press:

These papers are so wretchedly printed as to be scarcely readable. It is printed by S., afterwards by John Collins, and then by H. Collins, price three half pence, near the Red Well, St Andrew's, and has two slurred woodcuts of an express on horseback, and as rude a one of the city arms. It appears that the editor was a whig. At the end of one paper, wretchedly spelt, the editor concludes in the following elegant style:- "Note. An accident happening, the reader is desired to pardon all literal errors as it is not corrected."³⁹

The quality of printing of the few surviving productions from this period confirms this account.⁴⁰

Eventually the business was put up for sale in the autumn of 1717, and was taken over by Benjamin Lyon, yet another former apprentice of Freeman Collins.⁴¹ Lyon was somewhat unfortunate, for within two months he was appearing before the Norwich Quarter Sessions charged with printing a libel, and within six months was out of business. He later turned up as the first printer in Bath in 1729.⁴² Thus over an eighteen-year period, and due to a variety of internal and external circumstances, the Red-Well press declined from being a prosperous and respectable enterprise enjoying the support of the authorities, to an ill-equipped and poverty-stricken business operating on the edge of legality.

Notes

- [1.](#) Bodleian Library Ms Ballard 4 fol.57.
- [2.](#) Cornwall Record Office (C.R.O.) PB 8/1/1-4, 17 May 1701.

- [3.](#) The 'Red-Well' was at a junction of five roads, close to St Michael at Plea church; the press was situated at the north-western corner of this junction in St Andrew's parish.
- [4.](#) D.F. MacKenzie, *Stationers' Company apprentices* 2v, (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974-8). Collins ultimately had nineteen apprentices, and operated five presses. Gwyn Walters and Frank Emery, 'Edward Lhuys, Edmund Gibson, and the printing of Camden's Britannia, 1695', *The Library* XXXII, (1977), pp.109-137., 128.
- [5.](#) The population was 30000 in 1700 and 42,000 in 1727.
- [6.](#) Described unkindly by Hearne as a 'short squab dame ...remarkable for drinking of Brandy', *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 v. (Oxford Historical Society, 1885-1918) ii. p.9.
- [7.](#) *Norfolk preachers... 2 November 1701 to Trinity Sunday following*, (Norwich, 1701). British Library (BL) Harleian Ms 5910. ii f.152.
- [8.](#) No copies have survived but the text was reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany*: 8v. (London, 1745), iii. pp.148-151. Bagford transcribed extracts from Burges' preface and title page (Harleian Ms 5910. II. f.152). Other extracts from the preliminaries are in John Chambers in *A general history of the county of Norfolk*, 2v. (Norwich, 1829). ii. 1286-7.
- [9.](#) B.L. Harleian Ms 5910 II f.152.
- [10.](#) See G.A. Cranfield, *The development of the provincial newspaper 1700-1760*, (Oxford, 1962), pp.13-4 and R. M. Wiles, *Freshest advises: early provincial newspapers in England*, (Columbus, 1965), 463-5..
- [11.](#) Bodleian, Browne Willis Ms. xcv., fol.259.
- [12.](#) *The life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux*, (London, 1744) pp. 100-101.
- [13.](#) CRO PB 8/1/1-4, 26 March 1702.
- [14.](#) R. Simpson, and J. Nicholson in London and Samuel Selfe in Norwich.
- [15.](#) CRO PB 8/1/1-4, 22 June 1704.
- [16.](#) CRO PB 8/1/1-4, 9 January 1702/3
- [17.](#) Bodleian Ms Ballard 4 fo.105
- [18.](#) Norfolk Record Office, Norwich Mayor's Court Book, 20 July 1710.
- [19.](#) BL Harleian Ms 5910 II f.147, and Ms 5906 f.57.
- [20.](#) John Chambers *A general history of Norfolk*, 1178, and Francis Blomefield, *An essay towards a topographical history of Norfolk*, 5v. (Fersfield, Norwich and Lynn 1739-1775) ii. p.210.
- [21.](#) David Stoker 'The re-introduction of printing to Norwich: causes and effects 1660-1760', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, VIII, 1977, 94-111/
- [22.](#) Bodl. Ms Ballard 4 fo.95.
- [23.](#) *Norwich Post* 3 May 1707.
- [24.](#) *Norwich Gazette*, 11 Feb. 1710.
- [25.](#) Thomas Clayton, *Unity of worship earnestly recommended*, (London, 1704).
- [26.](#) Cave's obituary (by Samuel Johnson) *Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1754).
- [27.](#) Bodleian, Ms Bodl. 1013, fo.8-10 23 January and 22 February 1709/10.
- [28.](#) MacKenzie, *Stationers' Company apprentices* 1701-1800, p.82.
- [29.](#) D.F. MacKenzie, *Cambridge University Press 1696-1712*, 2v. C.U.P, 1965, I, 84, II, 336.

- [30.](#) Humphrey Prideaux, *The original and right of tithes*, (Norwich, 1710).
- [31.](#) *The life of the Reverend Humphrey Prideaux*, (London, 1744). pp.115-117.
- [32.](#) *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux .. to John Ellis ... 1674-1722*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, Camden Society, 1875, 204.
- [33.](#) Bodleian Ms Ballard 4. f.95.
- [34.](#) Letter to Charlett 10 August 1709 Bodleian Ms Ballard 4 fo.96.
- [35.](#) Letter to Charlett 14 December 1709 Ms Ballard 4 fo. 99.
- [36.](#) Letter to John Moore, 22 February 1709/10 Bodleian Ms Bodl 1013.
- [37.](#) Letter to Charlett 15 May 1710 Bodleian Ms Ballard 4 fo.101
- [38.](#) *The first principles of the oracles of God, made plain to the meanest capacities ...* For use of a country parish in the diocese of Norwich, (Norwich, 1712). Tanner refers to the publication in a letter to John Moore 21 March 1711/2. Bodleian Ms. Eng. Lett c.570 f.191.
- [39.](#) John Chambers *A general history of the county of Norfolk*, (London, 1829) p.1291. Evidence from other surviving imprints tends to confirm Chamber's account of the succession of printers. However the Window-tax returns give a slightly different story. Susannah is listed as having paid for 1713/14, John for 1714/15, Samuel Collins for 1715/16, and Freeman Collins 1716/17.
- [40.](#) The complicated and often confusing evidence for the ownership of the Red-Well office is given in the entries for the Collins family in David Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades before 1800', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, VIII, 1981 93-4.
- [41.](#) *Norwich Gazette* 21 Sep. 1717
- [42.](#) Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades before 1800', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, VIII, 1981 109.