

MAKING SENSE OF BROADSIDE BALLAD
ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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THE FIRE OF LONDON in 1666, which destroyed the old St. Paul's Cathedral, also consumed the shops and warehouses of many booksellers sheltering under its walls. The fire, and the plague which had begun its march through London the year before, were easily identified by the pious as God's judgment on the wicked ways of England, not least the frivolity and lewdness of cheap print. It seemed that the words of a Quaker pamphleteer of the 1650s were coming true: lamenting the "streets, and walls painted with ballads and fables," decorated with many pictures in contravention of the commandment against graven images, he had warned "Ye Ballet-makers, and ye Ballet-sellers, Stationers, and Printers of them; and buyers of them beware, for the Lord . . . saith, *Thou shalt not make any Image of Male or Female*, which . . . are found upon your ballets . . . and your vain jesting books." These irreligious and worldly prints "are all for the fire."¹ Students of printed ephemera are well aware of the many less dramatic ways in which a relatively large portion of their primary sources have been lost forever. Luckily, some thousands of a particular genre, the broadside ballad, survive in library collections.² In some ways the ballad broadside was a paradoxical creation. The physical carrier, the printed broadside, a single sheet printed on one side only, was quickly and cheaply manufactured, and easily adapted to many genres of content and many uses,³ while eighteenth-century literary appreciation of the ballad songs came to regard these as the legacy of an ancient oral culture and folk tradition.⁴ Eighteenth-century appreciations of the ballads played upon the tension between the antiquity of the oral tradition and the cheapness and contemporary appearance of the printed work: which one elevated, or demeaned, the other?⁵

An understanding of the histories of printing houses, of censorship and licensing of print, and of the economics of cheap printing and ballad-selling have provided clues to the dates of publication of ballad broadsides in Britain, and suggested the motivations behind the production of particular styles and titles of broadside ballad, not all of which were confined to traditional content.⁶ Appreciation of the cultural and social context of ballad broadsides has led to a better understanding of the messages ballads contained and how the literary status of ballads changed during the eighteenth century.⁷ With the greater attention given by recent scholarship to ephemera as a significant part of print production in the early modern period,⁸ further consideration is also due to the “graven images” carried on ballad sheets. It is often commented that the ballad sheets deployed re-used images; this in itself gave early modern ballads a particular aesthetic quality,⁹ and the evidence of re-use of woodblocks is certainly helpful to scholars seeking evidence for the date of printing of ballads, which is often otherwise lacking.¹⁰ In addition, much of the character of printed broadsides, whether with ballads or other content, must have derived from the illustrations, especially if cheap broadsides were hardly read in the way that we imagine books were.¹¹ Recent research on the illustration of books from the early modern period to the nineteenth century provides the context for examining the meanings contained in the illustrations of ballads and other ephemeral printing, even when, as also occurred in illustrated books, the illustrations were re-used.¹² A further aspect that deserves more attention is how, over the changing history of this genre, the relationship of image to text in these broadsides also changed.¹³

The modern reader encountering a collection of printed broadsides sees the same woodcuts appearing time and again on the sheets, even on the small proportion of broadsides and “slip” ballads that survive. Woodcut blocks are durable, and can withstand multiple printings. As a relief form of printing, woodblocks were printed along with the letterpress, used to set the text of a ballad. This was the cheapest method of adding images to the page; unlike engraved pictures, they required no additional equipment or operations of the press. Any printer hoping to use illustrations to spice up a broadside was well advised to keep a stock of images on hand, or even to acquire the stock of a late colleague.¹⁴ A sad result of the repetitiveness of these images is that they can lose significance, to the modern eye, the more we encounter them. Many scholars remain unconvinced that broadside illustrations carried any meaning at all in relation to the texts of the ballads. One response among book historians has been to suggest that images were used by printers without regard to the textual content of the ballad.¹⁵ But an exercise in

reading for the sense of the illustrations can deepen our appreciation of the history of images, in relation to text, in ephemeral printing.

The basic vocabulary of communication through images was an iconography derived from the Bible and from popular lore.¹⁶ The grammar of this visual language is shared with English and European popular prints more generally.¹⁷ Just as the ballad texts appeared in a range of topical flavors, as enumerated by Samuel Pepys in his classification of his own collection (Devotion and morality, History, Tragedy, Love: pleasant, and Love: unfortunate, etc.),¹⁸ when the visual content of the ballad sheets is taken into account, several modes of illustration can be more precisely identified, each of which enjoyed varied success in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The possible modes of reading text and image together specifically in the ballad broadside (with a few examples from other genres) are categorized here in order to demonstrate how different types of woodcut, whether purpose-made or borrowed, might contribute meaning to the sheet. It is suggested here that deliberate programs of illustration were implemented by printers and publishers; that these assumed a basic shared knowledge of iconography available to all readers, within which images might be read in a variety of ways that went beyond a simple metaphorical representation of the stories recounted in the text; and that the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw a developing tension between the various modes of illustration available to ballad publishers. Printers of broadsides used common modes of illustration to position broadsides within the print market and to lend certain cultural qualities to their wares, as tools for education, as entertainment, or as commentary on current affairs.¹⁹

Illustrations could be *reflective*, offering a mirror of the reader and the reading process; they could follow a *narrative* program, providing a set of guiding lights through a story; or they might open a window looking beyond the text, through the *allusive* use of a particular image. These three modes of illustration all appear in ballads of the long eighteenth century. Even if we start with the assumption that most woodcuts on ballad sheets were “stock” images intended to be used more than once, and that many others had in fact been originally designed for other publications, recognizing the content of the woodcut is only a first step in determining its meaning on the page. Interpreting the meaning of an illustration requires determining in what mode the picture is being used. Attempts to recreate the history of popular reading have long recognized this function of images on the page; Roger Chartier has pointed to layout and typography as guiding features leading to a “new horizon of reception,”²⁰ suggesting that new readers were enabled to navigate texts by these visual cues. Here something more is suggested: the

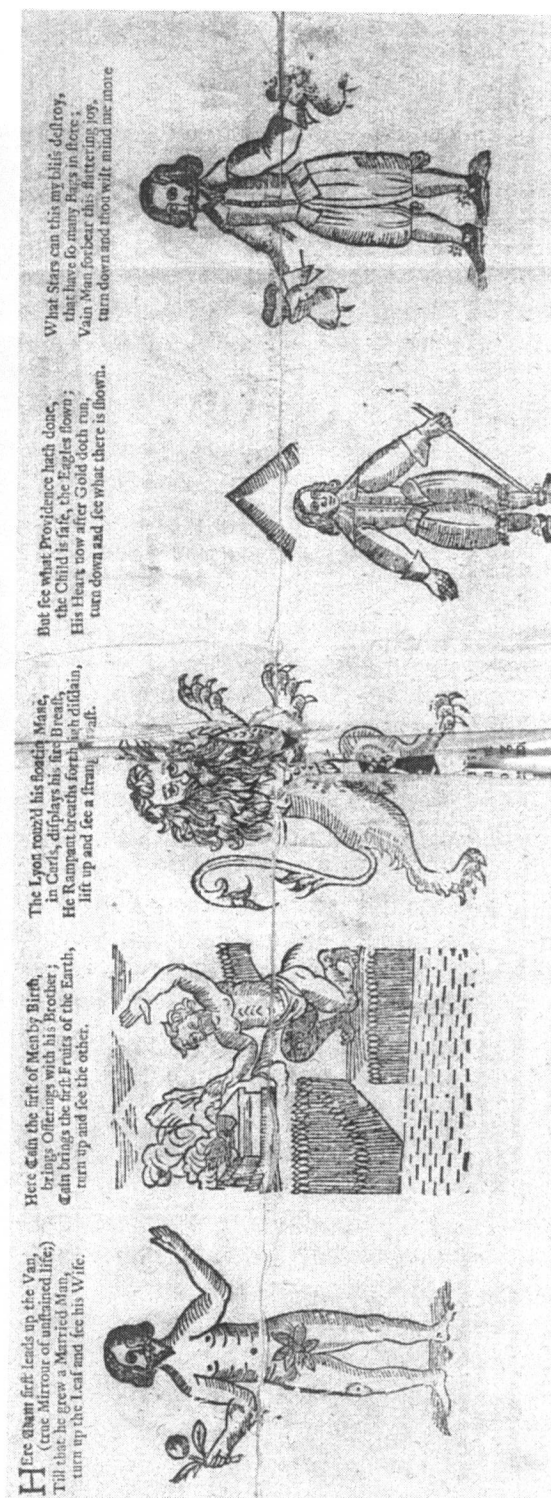
usage of each of the modes of illustration is sufficiently different, and sufficiently relevant to eighteenth-century cultural concerns, to argue that what was or was not “legible” in terms of the ballad woodcuts was a matter of convention, a culturally and socially contested question, not simply a matter of the individual reader’s competence along a single scale of visual literacy.²¹ Considering the advances made by recent scholarship in detecting a vibrant visual culture in early modern England, it is now possible to argue that the same presumption of intelligibility should apply to the ballad broadsides as to illustrated books.

A reflective mode of illustration was one that used images not only, or sometimes not even, to explicate the text, but to emphasize the very act of reading. In the case of ballad broadsides, the audience’s engagement with the text might include shared reading, listening to a ballad-seller singing the song, singing together, or silent reading. Printers could provide visual cues reminding the reader of his or her interaction with the printed page, implicitly contrasting print with other means of receiving the word. A dramatic example of an effort in this direction is a “turn-up” or “harlequinade,” from 1689, entitled “The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man,” shown in Figure 7.1.

This was, surely, an exceptional item but one that came to have resonance within the tradition of the printed broadside ballad, as we shall see. This sheet encouraged readers to transform the images by folding and re-folding the page. By this means the woodcuts were transformed; in the first panel, by folding the paper up or down, Adam became Eve, and Eve turned into a mermaid; the second panel showed a woodcut of Cain making his offering of grain which, with a lift of the flap, became Abel’s sacrifice, and then, on folding the page down, revealed the terrible scene of the first murder.²²

This “lift-the-flap” page demonstrated in concrete form a common type of visual experience associated with religious imagery, namely the use of typology. Conventionally, this was the recognition of the truths of Old Testament prophecy as realized in New Testament events. As Paul Korshin has shown, an extension to parallels with modern events brought typology into both spiritual and secular thought in England during the long eighteenth century.²³ In this broadside, the illustrations encouraged the user to manipulate a clear set of “before-and-after” cases, visual transformations that should cause the reader to contemplate his or her own inevitable transformation: “the end of man”—a skeleton.

The way a reflective program of illustration worked can best be appreciated in a moralistic publication in prose, a 1652 broadside entitled “A looking-glasse for a drunkard, or a Drunkard defined” (see fig. 7.2).



7.1. “The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man,” c. 1689 [detail]. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. Wood E 25(10).

Printed on a half-folio sheet oriented vertically, the broadside is decorated with a frame of small woodcuts. These small square images, Sheila O'Connell has shown, were taken from an earlier book of emblems.²⁴ Ranged around the borders of the sheet in a neat rectangle, they provide the frame for the "looking glasse," which itself reflects the poor sinner in well laid-out text consisting of Biblical references to drunkenness, concluding with "Threatnings" and "Exhortations" advising the reader how to emerge from the sin of drunkenness to salvation.²⁵ The broadside models itself on a mirror, which is also a flat rectangle held up before the reader.

Not only do the small cuts, as arranged on the page, create a frame for the mirror, but their content also perfectly echoes the import of the text, though detection of the pattern requires reading of an emblematic shorthand. The woodcuts form two sets of mirroring images, on the horizontal and vertical axes. The top row contains (somewhat disguised) scenes of two sins of human worldly appetites and their necessary end. A "garden" (the Garden of Eden) appears beside Adam and Eve. Noah, the first drunkard, is shown pouring wine into a jug. Between these two images is a bread oven (fiery Hell). The bottom row depicts the struggle of human beings in the world (represented by the cityscapes at either corner). Here Christian holds his shield against sin, embodied by savage beasts. Down the two sides are ranged a series of oppositions: on the left are emblems of virtue and hard-ship, and on the right, sin and worldliness. Thus at the very top the holiness of the Virgin (with crown and palm) is contrasted with Vanity (posing with a peacock). Below, the sacrifice of a boar (perhaps standing in for Abraham's sacrifice of the ram) is contrasted with Cain's murder of Abel. Others in these oppositional pairs are less clear in their meaning, but their placement makes evident the intentional contrast: a lone woman reading in pious contemplation (on the left) is opposite the traditional icon of a happy—but worldly—marriage (on the right); a man carrying a heavy burden is opposed to the thief who takes only for himself.

The text of the broadside confirms that the theme is "reflections": pairing and contrasts mark the rhythm of the text, in the first "definition of a drunkard"—"the annoyance of modesty, the trouble of civility, the spoile of wealth"—and the scriptural examples of consequences of drunkenness. Reading "A looking-glasse for a drunkard" required the repeated contemplation in text and image of contrasts and consequences, just as in a real looking-glass the individual would continually contemplate his own (reversed) image in relation to his sensory experience of his own face. The exercise of reading this broadside was preparation for the exercise of choice between sin and virtue. The composition, including the illustrative program, occurred with an understanding of the way religious and devotional texts

figure 1.2. "A looking-glasse for a drunkard," 1652. © The British Library Board.
669.f.16(59).

could be read, and with an awareness of the power of pictorial emblems to focus the attention of the reader on his own sensations in reading.

This mode of reading was not limited to the seventeenth century. A direct stylistic descendant of the temperance broadside of 1652 survives from the nineteenth century, in the Murray Collection of ballads at Glasgow University. The ballad "One Glass More" (begging, "Stay, mortal stay! Nor heedless thus / Thy sure destruction seal") closely replicates the illustrative program of the earlier temperance broadside, demonstrating the longevity of this particular formula and of the reflective mode itself (see fig. 7.3).²⁶

The illustrations in the nineteenth-century Glasgow broadside repeat, albeit in a simplified fashion, the entire iconographic program of the 1652 publication: at the top, a roistering drunkard stands outside an alehouse; running down each side of the text, as before, are small cuts contrasting good and evil, in this case rendered in animal symbolism—a cock, a stag, and a lamb, animals with positive connotations, set opposite an owl, a monkey, and a pig (symbols of death, lustfulness, and filth). At the bottom of the sheet, a tiny steamship, updating for the nineteenth century, and most appropriately in a port city, the reference to worldly perils, plies the waves between a whale and a fish.

The reflective mode can be seen as forcing the reader's attention to the printed page, using woodcuts to make the page itself the site of reading, not merely the conduit for concepts. A simpler version of the reflective mode was seen in ballad sheets whose illustrations, instead of telling a story, positioned the broadside itself as the protagonist of the story, by advertising how it could be bought and where it might be enjoyed. Here the printed sheet was asserting itself as the heir to a strong oral tradition, as the new form of "the word on the street," through cues acknowledging the places of possible performance of the song (street and tavern) and the potential audience. In the ballad texts, a reflective mode could be evoked by the common opening line, "Gather round all ye young lads and lasses," signaling (whether by voice or in printed letters) the oral tradition. On printed broadsides, a woodcut of a ballad singer or ballad seller referenced the ballad sheet itself, not the story in the ballad.²⁷ Branding ballads according to their usage, not their specific narrative content, allowed woodcuts to convey the intentions, as opposed to the explicit message, of a song.

The potential of this approach is exemplified in the life cycle of a woodcut whose very ubiquity might obscure its meaning unless we look carefully at contexts. This illustration of three men drinking in a tavern—one standing, smoking a pipe, and two seated at the table, on which a candle and paper are placed—was

Figure 7.3. William Harriston, "One glass more," c. 1825. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections. Mu23-y1:006.

repeated across several ballads in the late seventeenth century.²⁸ It contains some circumstantial detail—the pipe-smoking, the paper on the table—suggesting that it may have originated as an illustration for a particular story, but appears generic enough to have served many purposes. It was such a popular image with printers that new versions of the woodcut were made when a woodblock wore out or was too worm-eaten to use anymore. The characters of the three men as they appear in this woodcut are well described by the subtitle of “The delights of the bottle” . . . “being a description of a town-bred gentleman, with all his Intregues, pleasure, company, humor, and conversation.”²⁹ The conversation might well turn on political matters, but just as often the ballads it illustrated praised drink and good company. The political message that was favored by the censors is summed up in the title of another ballad which it illustrated: “The loyal subject (as it is reason) drinks good sack and is free from treason” (see fig. 7.4).³⁰

The men in this picture made drinking an outlet rather than a stimulus to political activism, and the underlying message was one which united moderate drinking, thrift, and the rejection of political or religious extremism; the characters were summed up in a recurring phrase in these ballads as “good husbands”—men



Figure 7.4. “The loyal subject (as it is reason) drinks good sack and is free from treason,” c. 1663–75, [detail]. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, 4o Rawl. 566(84).

who managed their households well and, by implication, eschewed hot-headed politics. This woodcut served as an idealizing mirror of the users of the ballad sheet, even defining the setting in which they might use it, reading it aloud in a tavern. It defused criticism of political themes by emphasizing the community in which the ballad should be used.³¹

Although publishers in the early seventeenth century had introduced woodcut illustrations as a way of increasing the marketability of broadsides of all kinds, an innovative form of political ballad which developed from the 1660s was printed in a different format, in vertically oriented half-folios, instead of the usual horizontal orientation, and without the “crude” woodcuts often seen on the other ballad sheets.³² Seemingly directed at a more knowing audience, these satires took force from hinting at individuals by name, and alluding to events of the court and Parliament. This form developed from the late seventeenth to the eighteenth century into political poems and biting satires directed at individuals, throughout which a liberal sprinkling of asterisks and dashes skirted the edges of libel. Deciphering these was the treat for the knowing reader. The ballads in this idiom refer to details of current events, point to named individuals, and, in an unusual sign of a high-class production, several have music printed with them.³³ One of these is titled “The ballad of the cloak,” a song referring to Puritan success in the civil wars.³⁴ A copy appears unillustrated, with music, dated in manuscript by the collector, Anthony Wood, to 1679.³⁵ Another edition of the same song, “The ballad of the cloak,” was printed by John White of Newcastle after 1710. This time it was illustrated, and the illustration used was a copy of the same old image of the three men in a tavern, the “good husbands” mentioned above.³⁶ By employing an illustration in an old style, actually copied from the seventeenth-century image, John White reached into the past to highlight the parallels between late Stuart politics and the dynastic controversies of his own time. To reprint the text of “The ballad of the cloak” in the 1710s was to draw a parallel between the political divisions of the Civil War and the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, an event that touched Newcastle readers directly. By reprinting it in conjunction with the old woodcut, White ironically emphasized the traditional, conservative content of a ballad sheet which, in the context of its publication, was a live commentary on current events. Printers of ballads were adept at bringing forward old songs that had gained newly apt meanings. Images, too, could be used to allude to events or people outside the ostensible subject of the ballad text. The skillful use of woodcuts could weave allusions between text and image, yielding a third meaning that went beyond both.

The allusive mode of illustration was popular with ballad printers in the eighteenth century, when slip songs requiring only one small woodcut were the commonest form of ballad sheet. This mode drew upon images which, while they had inherent meaning themselves, also served as pointers to a set of wider associations. One direct means of establishing an allusion was to pair a portrait with an ostensibly unrelated text.

Portraits, whether of recognizable individuals or character types, were a favorite genre of ballad illustration. At the same time as portraiture was rising in high art as a projection of personality and as a token of individual character, the reproductions of "heads" in woodcut form provided a stock of images for a cheaper dissemination of these images. Kevin Sharpe has documented the Tudor monarchs' deliberate promulgation of their images and the later political "image wars" of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth in the seventeenth century, which saw the issuing of cheap printed portraits and the erection of statues in public places.³⁷ Associations between portraits and history were a common visual vocabulary.³⁸ Printed portraits of individual members of Jacobite families were used to signify devotion to the Stuart dynasty,³⁹ and the likenesses of Admiral Vernon and John Wilkes were reproduced in a multitude of media, as a way of showing support for their political causes.⁴⁰ The collecting of portraits was vastly extended in the eighteenth century by publications such as Thomas Birch's *Heads of illustrious persons of Great Britain* (1743), ready-made picture galleries of engravings taken from paintings.

Were portraits recognizable widely enough to carry any weight of meaning in cheap printed ballads? It is difficult to gain insight into the visual literacy of plebeian readers, but a clue can be taken from the memoirs of the printer Thomas Gent, an Irishman whose long career took him through London and finally to York. Writing in his middle age, he recalled that on his arrival in London thirty years earlier, that is, the year after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, his landlady at the King's Head in Drury Lane, trying to cheer him up while he waited to secure a journeyman position with another printer, "asked me if I knew the picture of the Chevalier [that is, the old pretender, James III] which was in my chamber? But I had other things to think on, or I might, on play nights, have seen Prince George and Princess Caroline visiting the theatre. My notions were not so much fixed on great personages, (though, in a political thought, I did not want the least sense of the most humble and dutiful respect to our superiors, in church and state,) as how to spend my time well."⁴¹ Even many years after the event, Gent chose to elide the political undertones of the conversation: his landlady at the King's Head was not the first or last to suspect

the Irishman of Jacobite sympathies, and his memoir neatly sidesteps the issue of whether he "knew" the picture, and accepted its presence.

We can contrast the woodcut portraits that appeared on ballad sheets with the flowering of political caricature in the late eighteenth century. Caricatures placed the persons portrayed in laughably exaggerated situations, for the purposes of a political lampoon, and for this reason the use of caricature has come to seem populist in its ridicule of great personages, while "straight" portrayals appear less derogatory. Yet the very cheapest prints rarely used caricatures of "great personages," instead employing the seemingly more sympathetic mode of realistic portraiture. It seems that only by remaining within the idiom of the "straight" portrait could ballad printers use portraits as an allusion to events of the day, or to figures not openly named in the texts of the songs.⁴²

The use of portraits to convey some meaning beyond physical appearances was a live topic in the long eighteenth century. The significance of portraits was discussed by Samuel Pepys in correspondence with his friend and fellow diarist John Evelyn. They were both avid collectors of portraits, and a letter from Evelyn to Pepys touched on several of their reasons for wishing to furnish their walls with portraits of "men illustrious for their parts and condition." The portrait collection, Evelyn thought, should be a celebration of national achievement and an inspiration to the owner, and he reminded Pepys that the subject of each portrait should be carefully noted on the canvas. As he warned half-jokingly, without such guidance a "squalid Tinker" with a "prolix beard, and wrinkl'd forehead" might be mistaken for a philosopher.⁴³ Evelyn and Pepys seemingly did not take the view that appreciation of the humanity of a person was the purpose of contemplating a portrait; rather, it was the life and achievements of an historical person, represented by the icon of his face, with which they wished to adorn their own libraries. Yet they were self-conscious of their own conventions of seeing, which might lead them into errors, for instance the equation of bearded old age with wisdom.

A similar, but less nuanced, approach prevailed in the use of portraits as allusions in ballad broadsides. Here, the hint of a single biographical detail was all that was required to draw a personage into association with a text. The face of Charles I stood as a symbol of the political martyr and a warning against (political) patricide, even on ballads whose subjects were far removed from the Civil War of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ Meanwhile the epithet "the virgin Queen" warranted the use of Elizabeth I's image to illustrate any ballad text mentioning a virgin—or, with an irony equally valid in the grammar of allusion, any ballads mentioning the opposite of virgins.⁴⁵

Two eighteenth-century editions of a ballad praising country life—as a retreat from the cares of political office (“Let the Courtier bend his Knee / So I enjoy my liberty”)—are nestled side by side in the Madden Collection of ballads at Cambridge University Library.⁴⁶ While the setting of type is identical, the woodcut illustrations on the two slips are different: one depicts a Tudor gentleman, the other a Roman. Reconstructing the printing process which produced these, we might assume that the type was set first, the printers selected a woodcut to decorate the sheet, and after printing a certain number decided to change the cut in order to introduce some variety into the edition. The appearance of two different illustrations accompanying the same text may not seem to offer the soundest foundation for establishing the allusive mode of illustration in ballad sheets. After all, the established practice of broadside ballad illustration was to borrow woodcuts from a variety of sources; the plausible scenario outlined above only assumes that the publisher of the ballad decided to vary the illustration to provide a choice to customers, in the hope that two versions might double the number of buyers. But, reading for the sense of these illustrations, we could find that both woodcuts did have an allusive connection with the text of the song: Thomas More’s retirement to Chelsea, and Cicero’s to the countryside, were both cases of political exile. In each case the portrait yielded an allusion to the retreat of politicians to the country. With this additional meaning the ballad sheets became references to the eighteenth-century “country party.”

This use of portraits as allusions to contemporary events intersected with the recognition of older ballads themselves as repositories of seventeenth-century images. The visual resources available to wealthier consumers of print included series of printed portraits. James Granger’s *Biographical History of England* attempted to stimulate a broader public to collect portrait heads, giving visual form to national history. In 1794, James Caulfield noted that, “[o]f the twelve different classes of Engraved Portraits arranged by the late ingenious Mr. Granger, there is not one so difficult to perfect, with original prints, as that which relates to persons of the lowest description.”⁴⁷ Caulfield promised to redress the class imbalance with portraits from cheap prints, including old broadside ballads.

While portraits established allusions to contemporary events or to English history, other images available as small woodcuts could also be used as visual symbols. The associations may be more or less easy to recover today, out of the context of the time and place of printing. An example is found in the Madden Collection at Cambridge University Library, which contains an edition of “The Swiss boy” (purportedly the song of a Swiss immigrant to London) illustrated with a woodcut of an elephant, complete with howdah. The train of associations is easily followed:

Swiss = Alps = Hannibal = elephants. But the allusion to which song and illustration were intended to lead the reader can only be surmised from the approximate publication date: Napoleon’s conquests were the modern type of Hannibal’s journey. Jacques-Louis David’s 1800 equestrian portrait of Napoleon crossing the Alps made the association explicit, while in England J. M. W. Turner used the Hannibal/Napoleon references in a painting (*Snowstorm: Hannibal and his army crossing the Alps*, 1812) and in vignettes illustrating Samuel Rogers’s poem, *Italy*.⁴⁸ With “The Swiss boy,” the association was reproduced for a mass market.

If printers were adept at deploying “stock” images, the visual resources they commanded were changing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Advertising imagery was especially influential. The spread of printing meant that more printers in more towns were looking for images, and about the middle of the nineteenth century a catalogue offered for sale eleven hundred woodcuts and metalcuts as used by W. Davison of Alnwick.⁴⁹ As an indication of the types of illustration available, this provides a context for considering the choices printers made. The catalogue contained numerous illustrations of Chinese merchants standing beside square crates packed with tea, or American Indians puffing on pipes full of tobacco. These could be used for packaging or advertising, and were also frequently used as ballad illustrations, being the stock images any jobbing printer might need. However the use of stock images, as well as being the cheapest way to illustrate a ballad, also encouraged, or at least supported, an allusive mode of illustration in which a stock image only gained significance in the context of a ballad title or text. At the same time as this mode of illustration became more available to more printers, it conflicted with the adoption of a narrative program by other ballad publishers, inspired by the eighteenth-century discovery of the ballads as a traditional literary form.

Visual and verbal punning, however effective at drawing out connections between officially separate events, is considered a low form of humor, and it was no accident that when, in the first half of the eighteenth century, ballad printers saw an opportunity to raise the social standing of their products, one of the first changes they promised was woodcuts “more truly adapted to each story.”⁵⁰ This is usually taken as a repudiation of earlier ballad printers who had carelessly used whatever woodcuts were to hand. But perhaps it is more significantly seen as a play for respectability, a repudiation of the pun and allusion, and an attempt to achieve the style of illustration that characterized the chapbook versions of novels, to say nothing of higher-priced illustrated books themselves. This brings us to consideration of how ballad printers employed narrative illustration, a mode that would become significant in the context of the increasing variety of ephemeral printing

produced during the eighteenth century, and which, to some extent, came to define different genres of broadside ballad.

The narrative mode had never been easy to achieve in ephemeral printing with borrowed woodcuts. Many seventeenth-century ballad sheets bear a string of images dancing across the top of the page that may refer to all the characters in the ballad story, but to the modern eye they lack aesthetic, and therefore narrative, unity. There were seventeenth-century ballad broadsides that were illustrated with detailed, circumstantial, narrative images, but many of these were songs relating to accounts of war, execution and high state events, or natural (and supernatural) wonders. In the years of the Bishops' Wars during 1639 and 1640, some broadside ballads reported the battles, and even listed the dead and captured. While they were not the only news that Londoners received of the wars, these were the first widely available illustrated accounts of contemporary events. Two ballads describing the course of the war in Scotland in 1640 bear the same finely drawn woodcut showing a battle raging on a plain, in front of a city on a hill (see fig. 7.5).⁵¹ Here the ballad printers gave their readers the satisfaction of a detailed and compelling scene; yet the spaces left in the woodblock, for setting the name of the city and the identity of the troops in type, are a telltale indication that it could have been used to report other battles equally well.

Topical ballads of the seventeenth century were often very effective in conveying the solemnity of events, even with re-used woodcuts. Figure 7.6 shows several blocks that fit together to show king, courtiers, bishops and heralds riding in stately procession.⁵² The segments of this composite image were used in several ballads referring to the activities of Charles in 1640 and 1641.⁵³ What is indicated by these "news" ballads, and other examples of ballads reporting natural wonders, is that seventeenth-century ballad broadsides could use images, however unoriginal, to convey a sense of reportage.

By contrast, the effort by some printers in the eighteenth century to make ballad illustrations more appropriate to the text was focused on the narratives of old adventures and chapbook tales. Perhaps spurred in part by the literary "discovery" of ballads, and by a realization that the broadsides seemed hopelessly outmoded in comparison to the popular chapbook versions of Daniel Defoe's novels,⁵⁴ the family printing firm of William and Cluer Dicey responded with a promise to illustrate the strong narrative qualities of ballad and chapbook tales.⁵⁵ Examination of the Dicey productions reveals that the reformation of woodcuts referred not only to the broadside ballads that they produced in imitation of



Figure 7.5. "Good news from the north," 1640. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Wood 401(133).



Figure 7.6. "An exact description of the manner how his maiestie and his nobles went to the Parliamt, on Munday, the thirteenth day of April, 1640," [detail]. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Wood 401(139).

the 1723 publication, *A collection of old ballads*.⁵⁶ This book had prefaced each ballad with a full-page engraving, and the Diceys, not to be outdone, adopted several of these in large-format woodcut form for broadside versions. They also modernized their chapbook list, with cuts again "more truly adapted to the story than elsewhere," and this claim probably referred to another set of woodcuts made for the Diceys, on a smaller scale than the "Old Ballads" cuts. These small oblong woodcuts were the width of one column of type in a ballad sheet. Being more "adapted to each story," these woodcuts would enclose the plot within the page, offering ballad readers the same kind of window into a narrative that was promised by the novel.⁵⁷

In apparent imitation of the "Old Ballads" style, and the versions of it produced by the Diceys, a correspondence between the illustration and the ballad narrative was the mode adopted by the Cheap Repository printers in the 1790s. The Cheap Repository tracts were moralistic tales intended, in their broadside form, to be distributed free by the wealthy to their dependents and servants. In Cheap Repository broadsides, issued in imitation of popular ballads, a single image serves to illustrate the whole parable. In "The Riot," issued to warn against protesting the high cost of bread, the mill surrounded by a mob symbolizes the fatal power of revolution to destroy prosperity.⁵⁸ But this is not allusion; the metaphor is created by the author and artist, not by references beyond the ballad text, nor by any reversal of meaning, such as was commonly found in the contrast between the text and the illustrations of broadsides. The reader of Cheap Repository tracts is put in the position of a passive recipient of information and doctrine, not an interpreter but a receiver of the narrative.⁵⁹ Although Hannah More, the author of many Cheap Repository stories, would have liked her readers to be active in policing their own conduct and that of their children and dependents, the divine spark of inspiration might light too dangerous a fire. Knowingness was a quality of mind to which the Cheap Repository tracts offered an antidote, not fuel.

To conclude this story of the selections ballad printers made, between reflective, allusive and narrative programs of illustrations, a curious case of a strong image from within the ballad genre highlights the strength of the visual tradition of ballad printing even in the early nineteenth century. This is the reappearance of another version of an image earlier used on the 1680s turn-up or harlequinade, "The beginning, progress, and end of man." A copy of the woodcut of Cain making his offering appeared on ballads published in the first part of the nineteenth century. Figure 7.7 shows the appearance of this woodcut with a song called "Coffee and Tea."⁶⁰



Figure 7.7. "A new song called Coffee and Tea," undated [detail]. Courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Harding B 25(392).

In the context of this printed ballad, the half-naked figure engaged in labor in an exotic agricultural setting, together with the allusion to hot drinks sweetened with sugar, suggests parallels with two images then in circulation. The first image is the Wedgwood medallion issued in 1787 to support the campaign against the slave trade, and often reproduced in print, "Am I not a man and a brother?" which depicts an African kneeling on one knee, in a mirror of the pose of Cain in this woodcut. Visually, this is the obvious reference in the ballad "Coffee and Tea." But as the song refers to colonial products (coffee, tea and sugar), a parallel should also be drawn with the images then in use, for instance as sold in the catalogue of W. Davison's woodcuts, of American Indians for tobacco packets and Chinese merchants for tea labels. These were the images often used on other ballad sheets to illustrate songs about the colonies. In fact, the woodcut of Cain, with smoke billowing from his offering of grain, is not unsuited to a visual representation of the sugar harvest, in which the canes are burnt before harvesting. The deliberate use of the antique image of Cain—instead of a token "colonial" figure as used in advertising images—adds another dimension to the text of a slight and humorous song. It refers to the visual tradition of the ballad sheets themselves, and also reminds the reader of the first-person narrative of the song to observe the labor that went into production of sugar to sweeten the "Coffee and Tea."

This essay has argued that the images used to illustrate ballad sheets commonly referred to iconographic tradition and to images in popular circulation. Contrary to repeated criticisms, at the time and since, the practice of re-using stock woodcuts bore no direct relationship to how meaningful the images could be on the page. The eighteenth-century appropriation of ballads as traditional popular literature, and competition from other forms of popular literature, prompted some ballad publishers to attempt a radical visual reformation of the ballad sheets toward the narrative mode of illustration. This only highlighted the continued use of bricolage in cheap ballad slips, a mode they shared with radical poetry of the time.⁶¹ The paradox was that a ballad with a more circumstantial illustration, designed to fit the story, such as those printed by the Diceys, might contain a text that was unchanged from earlier centuries, while other printers might deploy low-quality stock images to allude to up-to-the-moment current affairs. A further paradoxical effect, in tune with a popular culture that was both conservative in attitude and always alive to the "news," was achieved by the preservation or re-cutting of old woodcuts, by which means some eighteenth-century ballads succeeded in alluding to both the history of the broadside tradition and current events.

This essay has considered different modes of illustration mainly from the evidence preserved in surviving collections of broadside ballads, whose textual contents purveyed old jokes and tales, and has assumed that this mode of addressing readers, including them in a shared knowledge, extended to the way printers used illustrations. As important as the content of illustrations in ephemeral printing was a shared sense, between printer and reader, that something was being conveyed by the printed image and also by the viewer's apprehension of it. This was what Thomas Gent grasped in his memory of being challenged to identify "great personages" in printed images. Printers might tempt readers towards engagement through identification, just as fashion magazine covers today reflect back our imaginary "best selves"; they could amuse or challenge readers with an allusion; or they could entertain and instruct them with a scene corresponding to the narrative. Each mode allowed readers to engage with the printed page in a different way. In the case of ballads, each of these modes also located the printed broadside in a different relationship to the ballad tradition and to other print media.

Notes

1. Anonymous, *A Declaration from the Children of Light (who are by the world scornfully called Quakers) against several false reports, scandals and lyes . . . Also a warning from the Lord to all ballad-makers, and image-makers, with them that print and sell them, who are found without the fear of God, contrary to the command of God, who saith, you shall not make an image of male nor female . . .* Thomason Tracts Series, 127:E.83811 (London: Printed for Giles Calvert at the Black-Spread-Eagle at the west end of Pauls, 1655).
2. Collections of ballad sheets published in Britain are preserved in the British Library; the Bodleian Library; the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge; the Harvard College Library; the National Library of Scotland; the University of Glasgow Library; and the Huntington Library, California. Many can be found in facsimile online at Bodleian Broadside Ballads, <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> (accessed May 24, 2012); and UCSB English Broadside Ballad Archive, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> (accessed May 24, 2012). Collections of American ballads and broadsides are held at the American Antiquarian Society, <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/broadsides.htm> (accessed May 24, 2012), the Library Company of Philadelphia and the New York Public Library, <http://www.nypl.org/archives/2522> (accessed May 24, 2012).
3. Angela McShane, "Ballads and Broadside," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. 1, Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond, 339–62 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
4. Paula McDowell, "'The Art of Printing Was Fatal': Print Commerce and the Idea of Oral Tradition in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Ballads and Broadside in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 33–56.

5. Susan Pedersen, "Hannah More Meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks, and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 1986): 84–113.
6. Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550–1650*, trans. Gayna Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Cyprian Blagden, "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Bibliography* 6 (1954): 161–65; Angela McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).
7. Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Dianne Dugaw, "The Popular Marketing of 'Old Ballads': The Ballad Revival and Eighteenth-Century Antiquarianism Reconsidered," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1987): 71–90.
8. Peter Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs': Broadside and the Printing Revolution," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, and Washington, DC: In association with the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 2007).
9. Patricia Fumerton, "Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (2002): 501.
10. Two articles by Barry McKay explore woodcut illustrations as sources for the history of ballad and chapbook production: "Three Cumbrian Chapbook Printers: the Dunns of Whitehaven, Ann Bell and Anthony Soulbey of Penrith," in *Images and Texts: Their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Peter C. G. Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), 65–87; and "Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts: Some Sources and Other Versions," in *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books*, ed. Peter C. G. Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), 65–84.
11. Stallybrass, "'Little Jobs,'" 340.
12. Ruth Samson Luborsky, "Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of Secular Tudor Book Illustration," *Word and Image* 3, no. 1 (1987): 74–85; Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998); James A. Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
13. Brian E. Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 5: "The history of prints is also the history of a complex dialogue between social history and the history, conventions, and representational capacity of the various genres and forms of printmaking."
14. McKay, "Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts," 66–67.
15. Patricia J. Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 341, notes the use of a woodcut of "the Virgin Queen Elizabeth doing equally well for the Wanton Wife of Bath."
16. Helen Pierce, "Images, Representation, and Counter-representation," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. 1, Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, eds. Joad Raymond,

- 263–79 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Michael Cyril William Hunter, ed. *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
17. Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999).
18. Robert Latham and Helen Weinstein, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge, Vol. II: Ballads*. Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994).
19. The slender first-hand evidence of reader responses presented here justifies the remarks of Maidment, "Prints as History and the History of Prints," in *Reading Popular Prints*, chap. 1, 2, 23; the question of whether readers of the time understood emblems or visual puns is probably "incapable of resolution," but this chapter is also intended to support his encouragement to scholars: the first requirement for understanding is to "dive into the vast sea" of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cheap printed images.
20. Roger Chartier, "Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader," in *The Book History Reader*, eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 47–58, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 91–2.
21. David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
22. *The Beginning, Progress, and End of Man* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, at the Angel in Guiltspurstreet). The same transformations can be found in manuscript items in the John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Library, and in an item referred to, <http://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/bpg/annual/v06/bp06-03.html> (accessed May 15, 2012). Both lack the Cain and Abel panel.
23. Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650–1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982). Biblical references across visual media are explored by Tara Hamling, "Guides to Godliness: From Print to Plaster," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Cyril William Hunter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 65–85.
24. British Library. 669.f.16(59). Also reproduced in O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 125, fig. 4.58. The illustrations come from the English edition of an Italian book by Andrea Ghisi, whose English title was *Wits laberynth, or The exercise of idleness* (London: Thomas Purfoot, 1610).
25. A likely source for the theme of this broadside was Henry Smith, *The First Sermon of Noahs Drunkenness: A Glasse wherein All Drunkards may Behold Their Beastliness* (London, 1591). Smith's sermons were reprinted frequently in the 1630s and occasionally up to the 1650s.
26. [William Harriston], "One Glass More" (Glasgow: Robert Harriston, n.d.) University of Glasgow, Murray Collection, Mu23-y1:006.
27. Illustrations of ballad singers or sellers appear on forty ballad sheets, of all periods up to the nineteenth century, in Bodleian Library collections. An early illustration of a ballad seller appears in *Robin Hood and the Shepherd* (London: John Andrews); later in the eighteenth century a copy was used, in a typically more self-referential sheet, *The Cries of London* (London: Bow Church Yard), Bodleian Library Douce Ballads 3(7b); the ballad seller was one of the figures portrayed in

- Marcellus Laroon, Pierce Tempest, and John Savage, *The Cryes of the City of London Drawne After the Life* (London: H. Overton, 1711).
28. Alexandra Franklin, "The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads before 1820," *Bodleian Library Record* Vol. 17, no. 5 (2002): 335.
 29. Thomas Shadwell, *The Delights of the Bottle: or, The Town-Gallants Declaration for Women and Wine* . . . (London: P. Brooksby and R. Burton, c. 1672–1696). Bodleian Library, Douce Ballads 1(55a).
 30. Two editions, with the same illustrations, in Bodleian collections: 4o Rawl. 566(84) (London: E. Crouch, Coles, Vere, and Wright, 1663–1674); and Douce Ballads 2(143b) (London: J. Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passinger, 1681–1684).
 31. Angela McShane notes that political ballads were "frequently endured by people who did not share the sentiments of a song"; "'Ne sutor ultra crepidam': Political Cobblers and Broadside Ballads in Late Seventeenth-Century England," in *Ballads and Broadside in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 208.
 32. Franklin, "Art of Illustration," 330; McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads*, xxii–xxiii.
 33. For instance, *London's joy and loyalty on his royal highness the duke of York's return out of Scotland*, Bodleian Library, Ashm. G 15(65); and *A song of the new plot [and] A dialogue between Mrs. Celier and the L[ord] S[haftebury]*, Bodleian Library, Ashm. G 16(101). See McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads*.
 34. See McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads*, No. 402X, for a history of early editions of this title.
 35. "The ballad of the cloak: or, The cloaks knavery." [n.p., n.d.]. Dated in ms.: June, 1679. Bodleian Library, Wood 417(4).
 36. "The ballad of the cloak: or, The cloak's knavery." Newcastle upon Tyne: John White, [c. 1715]. Bodleian Library, Douce Ballads 3(12a). The woodcut is reversed from the seventeenth-century versions, an indication that it was copied from one of those earlier impressions. It appears in Emerson Charnley, *Specimens of Early Wood Engraving: Being Impressions of Wood-cuts from the Collection of Mr Charnley, Newcastle* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1858). Barry McKay, "Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts," 66–69, recounts the history of these woodcuts as they passed among Newcastle printers.
 37. Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010) and Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).
 38. Franklin, "Art of Illustration," 336.
 39. Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).
 40. Shearer West, "The De-Formed Face of Democracy: Class, Comedy and Character in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," in *Culture and Society in Britain 1660–1800*, ed. Jeremy Black (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 163–88.
 41. Thomas Gent, and Rev. Joseph Hunter, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York* (London: T. Thorpe, 1832), 73.
 42. Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2008), 136–9.

43. Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, "John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys, 26 Aug. 1689," in *Particular Friends: the Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn*, ed. Guy de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Press, 2005), 189.
44. Franklin, "Art of Illustration," 336–9; Joad Raymond, "Popular Representations of Charles I," in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
45. See note 15 above.
46. *The Honest Man's Wish*. Madden Ballad Collection, Cambridge University Library, vol. 5, nos. 777 and 778; *Madden Ballads from the Cambridge University Library*, (Primary Source Microfilm, 1987), Reel 2, Frame 1323. A description of the collection is given here: <http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/30330FM.htm> (accessed August 8, 2012).
47. James Caulfield, *Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward the Third, to the Revolution* (London, 1794–1795).
48. Samuel Rogers, *Italy: A poem* (London: T. Cadell and E. Moxon, 1830), 17, 29.
49. William Davison, *New Specimen of Cast-Metal Ornaments and Wood Types sold by W. Davison* (Alnwick: c. 1850).
50. *A catalogue of maps, prints, copy-books, drawing-books, &c. histories, old ballads, broad-sheet and other patters, garlands, &c. printed and sold by William and Cluer Dicey at their warehouse, opposite the south door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, London. Printed in the year M. DCC. LIV*, 45. The Bodleian Library holds the interleaved copy used by Thomas Percy to catalogue his collection of broadside ballads (lacks pages after p. 56). Bodleian Library, 258 c.109. Among the prints listed for sale in the catalogue supposedly published in 1754 were some that must have been made after that date, for instance, "King George the third and Queen Charlotte, with the ceremony of the royal marriage" [1761]. Gilles Duval suggests that a 1754 publication was reset with the addition of those items but the title page and imprint left intact. Gilles Duval, *Littérature de Colportage et Imaginaire Collectif en Angleterre à l'époque des Dicey (1720–u. 1800)* (Lille: Université de Lille III, 1986), 2:711.
51. Bodleian Library, Wood 401(133): M. P. [Martin Parker], *Good newes from the north* (n.p., n.d.) and Bodleian Library, Wood 401(131) *Britaines honour. In the two valiant Welchmen, who fought against fiftene thousand Scots, at their now comming to England* (London: E. G[riffin]). See Franklin, "Art of Illustration," 332.
52. Bodleian Library, Wood 401(139): M. P. [Martin Parker], *An exact description of the manner how his maiestie and his nobles went to the parliament, on Munday, the thirteenth of Aprill, 1640* (London: T. Lambert, [1640]).
53. Bodleian Library, Wood 401(141): *A true subiects wish. For the happy successe of our royall army preparing to resist the factious rebellion of those insolent covenanters . . . in Scotland* ([London]: E. G[riffin], [c. 1640]).
54. Andrew O'Malley, "Poaching on Crusoe's Island: Popular Reading and Chapbook Editions of Robinson Crusoe," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 35, no. 2 (2011): 18–38.
55. [William and Cluer Dicey], *A catalogue of maps, prints, copy-books, drawing-books, &c. histories, old ballads . . . Printed in the year M. DCC. LIV*, 45.

56. *A Collection of Old Ballads. Corrected from the Best and Most Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical, Critical, or Humorous* (London: J. Roberts, 1723–1725).
57. See Franklin, "Art of Illustration," 341–3, for a discussion of how the small chapbook woodcuts might themselves be used interchangeably.
58. [Hannah More] *The Riot; or, Half a Loaf is Better than No Bread. In a Dialogue between Jack Anvil and Tom Hod* (London: J. Marshall, 1795?).
59. Kevin Gilmartin, *Writing Against Revolution: Literary Conservatism in Britain, 1790–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 55–95.
60. Bodleian Library, Harding B 25(392): "A new song called Coffee and Tea" [n.p., n.d.]. The woodcut of Cain also appears on a publication by W. and T. Fordyce, of Newcastle (active c. 1840), of two ballads on a sheet: *The battle of the Nile* [and] *Money is your friend*, Bodleian Library Firth b.25(238). This cut may have come from the collection of eighteenth-century copies of early ballad woodcuts, assembled by John White of Newcastle: see above, note 36. A copy of one of the companion images also from *The beginning progress, and end of man* (fig. 7.1), the man with a triangular shape over his head, is in the publication Charnley, *Specimens of Early Wood Engraving*. The firm of Fordyce perhaps acquired the "Cain" woodcut from the collection originally formed by John White, as described above.
61. James K. Chandler, "Romantic Allusiveness," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 3 (Spring, 1982): 463; John Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5–6.