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Lines of defence: thoughts on Scottish chapbook title-page woodcuts and their functions

Preliminaries

This essay looks at comments made by scholars on the quality of execution, range of possible meaning, and meaningfulness of chapbook woodcuts, primarily those that appeared on their title-pages, and weighs these comments against a loosely defined group of Scottish chapbooks, to consider the overall fairness and applicability of the criticisms made. In so doing, the paper tries to elucidate some of the theoretical issues involved.

It is tempting to assume that chapbooks and other cheap print in Britain offered a common visual language at the period in question, and that readers derived a common understanding of either the same meaning from the images, or at least an appreciation of the functions that they performed on the various title-pages. But as far as chapbooks are concerned, such an assumption remains exactly that: any such assertion has yet to be properly examined.

Moreover, this paper has limited aims in that any comments and provisional conclusions are not aimed at other forms of cheap print.

The Scottish chapbooks referred to in this paper show levels of similarity and elements of coherence. They are examples from a much larger and loosely grouped set of chapbooks that can be distinguished temporally (the period, roughly 1770s to the early 1830s is widely accepted as representing the decades of highest production), geographically, and, crucially, also in terms of content, both verbal and visual. Most of the chapbooks under immediate consideration were printed in Edinburgh or the towns and cities in, bordering, or near the Central Belt of Scotland (e.g. Glasgow, Stirling, Falkirk, Paisley).¹ Considerations of place of printing are clearly very important, and such matters can feed into questions regarding subsequent distribution, prompting questions of where the readership was to be found.² But what links these chapbooks just as firmly as any other criterion, are the elements of content and idiom. It is on Scottish garlands (song chapbooks) that this paper has its main focus,

because they (along with many song chapbooks printed elsewhere in Britain) very frequently exhibit a single woodcut – on the title-page. This stands them as somewhat distinct from chapbook histories and other narrative tales that often have several woodcuts embedded within the main text. With the very extensive number of songs that appeared only in Scottish chapbook form, compositions by Burns, Skinner, Tannahill, Lowe, and Alexander Wilson (all Scottish poets) can be found absorbed into such a publishing form, as can many ballads, recorded in the large number of Scottish song books previously published north of the border.³ The idiom, also, was often entirely Scots, or else Scots and English.⁴ Occasionally, too, a tune was suggested to which the song or ballad should be performed, and again, an ultimate Scottish origin is often to be identified.⁵ There is also (discussed in more detail below) evidence that some of the Scottish printers under consideration acquired and used some of each other's woodcuts.⁶

Several chapbooks printed outwith Scotland have been introduced into this paper, for two very specific reasons.

i. Their woodcuts better exemplify a particular stylistic feature than any Scottish example so far identified, or else provide a helpful stylistic comparator.⁷

ii. In other instances, these chosen non-Scottish chapbooks very clearly indicate a considerably wider geographical use of a particular motif (e.g. a goat being ridden), and as such admittedly breach the limited area of study laid down in these introductory remarks. But what *is* suggested is that at least one Scottish printer exploited a motif that had been previously in use in other parts of the kingdom. This is not to claim that any meaning (or meanings, if any) that may have been taken from this motif was (were) the same in different parts of Britain: but merely that a particular image (and its variations) had actually been used.

There is one, thorny and major issue to be initially addressed: the question of meaning. The question, 'Do (individual) chapbook woodcuts have a meaning?' can be variously recast as

‘Does a particular woodcut have a single, unique meaning?’ or ‘Does a particular woodcut function as a visual tool, conveying meaning *at all*?’. Such an enquiry might be understood as underpinned by the assumption that there is a single, rather ghostly meaning to be prised out, that somehow inheres within the object (the woodcut) itself. But the meaning to be derived from a woodcut was largely open to change depending on who, when, where, and under what circumstances any statement regarding its expressed meaning is made.⁸ To take a simple example, the figure of an individual floating in water in John Morren’s Edinburgh-printed chapbook, *The Factors Garland [...]*, c.1800 might have been a depiction of someone swimming in a race, as recreation, or just showing off, but it is in fact a depiction of the factor himself who was ‘betrayed and thrown overboard’ (as stated in the extended title). (Fig.1).

Moreover, there is a fundamental epistemological element at work: common sense tells us that a woodcut of a horse can only be said to represent a horse if the speaker already knows what a horse looks like (or is being taught what that particular species looks like). Without the requisite knowledge, the most that might be said is that the cut was of some sort of animal. Rather separately, some images may have only one obvious point of reference. The cut of Burns’s head on the chapbook, *Life of Burns* (Edinburgh: printed for the booksellers, 1828), may be well or poorly executed, but it has a single, identifiable reference.

To the question, ‘Can woodcuts be used as (mere) ornaments?’, the answer is undoubtedly positive. Woodcuts were used on chapbook title-pages in ways that suggest that no direct meaning was to have been read from them. That, however, is not to say that they were, in any fundamental way, meaningless. The cut consisting of a representation of a peacock with an upper case letter P, was undoubtedly used pragmatically as an ornament, as it appears on *Hills o’ Gallowa; to which are added, Last May a Braw Wooer [...]* (Stirling: Macnie, 1826). But it is a potentially meaningful object: even as an ornament it represents a recognisable entity. The cut was clearly originally designed to perform a role in a child’s

spelling book, and (hypothetically) could have been seen as a useful depiction in a book of nature.⁹

There is another, much less detached and theoretical approach to the question as to whether chapbook woodcuts were treated as meaningful (i.e. were used in an accepted representational way) and that is quite simply to ask what readers of the time may have said about them. Sources, relating specifically to an understanding of Scottish chapbook woodcuts, are unfortunately sparse, though what few there are, are consistent with comments from elsewhere within Britain. Isabel Cameron recognised the use, on at least four occasions, of a single woodcut to represent different clergymen; whilst Hugh Miller, later stonemason and Scottish newspaper editor, reacted to chapbook images as variously 'delightful' or 'uncouth'.¹⁰ Previous commentators have suggested that title-page illustrations were designed to be eye-catching or striking.¹¹ This is entirely plausible, though perhaps demands more thorough examination; though William Bannerman did report that in his youth he was a regular visitor (in a period before the 1830s) to Agnes Thomson's bookshop in Aberdeen where he would buy chapbooks. In his recollections of the shop, he, perhaps significantly, remarked on the prints, and the chapbooks 'with cuts' placed in the window.¹²

What can be agreed on with more confidence (and can be seen in some volumes in the present examples) is that an individual cut can provide a visual 'shorthand' to the overall theme of a chapbook.¹³

Scottish chapbooks continued to be printed in large quantities through to the 1830s, and their final decline took place erratically, even within particular regions, with country areas (especially north-east Scotland) being the last to see them vanish. A number of reasons for this can be adduced, though none, unsurprisingly, completely conclusive in itself.

Chambers's Edinburgh Journal and the *Penny Magazine* sold well, and, with other cheap literature, dented the sale, and blunted the taste for chapbook literature. Reports, though not necessarily unbiased, suggest that the various tract societies had successfully persuaded some hawkers to carry their materials rather than the disdained and disliked chapbooks.

However, in spite of increasing urbanisation, Scotland remained a largely rural nation, regions of which retained a particularly strong song culture, and in which itinerant bookselling remained a viable option for many decades into the nineteenth century.¹⁴

But how popular were Scottish chapbooks during the height of production? Some titles (e.g. *John Cheap the Chapman*, *Lothian Tom*, and *The Merry Exploits of George Buchanan*) appear to have been particularly popular, as they crop up regularly in various descriptions and biographies. But we are on marginally firmer ground when assessing chapbooks' overall popularity as a publishing form. It has been claimed (though largely as intelligent guesswork) that perhaps 200,000 to 250,000 copies of chapbooks were sold annually in Scotland over the decades of greatest production. The chapbook printers, the Robertson brothers of Glasgow are said to have made some £30,000 profit from the sale of chapbooks; and John Morren left an estate worth over £5,600.¹⁵

As to who read chapbooks in Scotland at this period, answers again tend to be generalised. Some children indisputably did.¹⁶ Other commentators have asserted they reflected the tastes of cottars (tenant farmers), and farm workers, others that they were absorbed by 'the lower classes of persons, old and young',¹⁷ and the poor, though it is also evident that for some from more educated (or self-educated) groups, chapbooks were their earliest reading material, before moving on to more demanding texts. But although their distribution was primarily through hawkers, some urban booksellers kept a stock. And although the texts may have been short, the Scottish chapbook printers made little allowance for limited literacy, and a command of various orthographies was necessary.

The title-page woodcut: its various roles

In his anonymously-written *Concise History of the Origin and Progress of Printing*, the author, Philip Luckombe, a practising printer, concluded that the layout of a book's title-page was a matter of balance and symmetry, the type setting of which fell to the compositor, and the success of which could, somewhat exaggeratedly, be regarded as 'a masterly

performance'. However, the compositor's judgement had to reflect the prevailing tastes and conventions of the established book trade, else 'fancy should be tolerated' and the result 'be taken to belong to Chapmens books'.¹⁸ What Luckombe appears to have been concerned about is not so much the pieces of information and their sequence on a title-page, but their relative emphasis, verbosity, and typographical appearance.

But the differences between the title-page layout of chapbooks and other, larger forms of publication may, at a very fundamental level, not be that radical. Books and pamphlets of the period under consideration used a number of techniques to separate out, and emphasise the various pieces of information on the title-page. These techniques included (not limited to) type size, spacing, the use of rules (long, short, double, swelled) or perhaps the use of a vignette. The imprint was placed at the foot of the title-page. Yet - with one important difference - that same fundamental layout pattern can be identified in the large majority of chapbooks. The difference resides in the fact that a woodcut on a chapbook title-page performed the same role as a typographical rule (or perhaps vignette) so that, schematically, a very common, generalised chapbook title-page layout might look something like:

Title | author (if given) | woodcut | imprint.

But there were few inviolable rules, except, perhaps, not to breach the boundaries of acceptable taste. That being so, much of what can be said about chapbook images will always be subject to qualification: there will always be exceptions.

Printers knew precisely when and how to use the appropriate stylistic convention. Most so-called chapbook printers also produced other material, and the difference in the treatment of title-pages is very obvious. John Morren included a large number of chapbooks in his overall output. But his 1800 edition of Ebenezer Erskine's *The Believer Exalted in Imputed Righteousness: a Sermon [...]* demonstrates his complete competence in handling the various typographical conventions required in setting the title-page (upper and lower case, roman and italic faces, a double rule to separate off the imprint). This title-page stands in

contrast to that of his chapbook, *Four Songs. Love and Brandy [...]*, whereon he also used upper and lower case, and roman and italic types, but instead of a typographical rule, a woodcut of ships at sea is employed to separate off the imprint from the other elements.

One other rather theoretical matter immediately emerges from the chapbook example just given, that relates to the possible simultaneous functions of a title-page woodcut. . A general (and correct) assumption is that the woodcut could act as a marker or indicator of the theme or elements thereof within the overall chapbook text, or perhaps that it depicted an element from one of the stories or songs. But it may be a hasty conclusion to assume that it had – or could only have had – a single function at any one time. It may have been a piece of information expressed in a depiction, but performed both in a depictive manner and otherwise. To take a rather commonplace example, the chapbook, *Four Popular Songs: viz. Oh! Waes me for Prince Charley [...]* (Falkirk: Robert Taylor, [c.1825-26]) has a woodcut separating the imprint from the other title-page elements, and thus serves at one level as a straightforward typographical tool (rather like a rule). The woodcut itself is of a crown, here simultaneously functioning as a well-recognised symbol for royalty and kingship, and entirely suitable for the work's overall Jacobite theme.¹⁹

Criticisms of the chapbook woodcut

Whilst we may accept that the introduction of wood engravings provided the means for more subtle depictions and overall precision, the use of woodcuts in chapbooks remained extremely common (almost predominant) throughout the period under discussion. The cuts under consideration here mostly fall within the orbit of what has been regarded as an older tradition.²⁰

In the more general context of street literature, Steve Roud has recently noticed – indisputably correctly – that ‘woodcuts of the nineteenth century do not usually get a good press, and in recent writing the illustrations have routinely been neglected in favour of the texts’.²¹ Adverse comments arose early and have continued until relatively recently, and

predominately fall into two categories: concerns over the relationship between image and text; and the execution of the woodcut itself.

Whilst speaking of his youth, Michael Titmarsh commented in 1846, 'Such picture-books as we had were illustrated with the most shameful, hideous, old wood-cuts...some of which may actually be seen lingering about still as head-pieces to the Catnach ballads'.²² In the 1940s Harry Weiss described the production and woodcuts of chapbooks as 'in many cases...execrable, the paper even worse. And the woodcut illustrations, some of which did duty for various tales...were sometimes worse than the type, paper and presswork combined'.²³ More recently, Ted Cowan and Mike Paterson have summarised, in a specifically Scottish context, 'It was often felt necessary to ornament the front cover with a picture, and a woodcut usually served this purpose...[it] was fairly crudely executed and made only an indirect allusion (if any at all) to the content'.²⁴

The execution of the cut: developing a sense of perspective

A closer examination of scholars' criticisms of chapbook woodcuts suggests that some Scottish examples are not all are quite as bad as might be suggested. There is, however, a preliminary matter to be mentioned, and that relates to what – and whose – standards have been applied to the woodcuts. Those same judgements that have *in the past* been applied to the formal elements of the chapbook woodcut – and in this context they mostly relate to issues surrounding perspective, proportion, space, and line – had routinely also been adopted across much of the spectrum of fine arts: they helped to define a successfully executed piece of artistic creativity.²⁵ There is a wide variation in the extent to which chapbook images reflected these formal properties. But if a chapbook woodcut did not meet the expected standards, we are left with at least one major question. Even if it patently failed on questions of (for sake of argument) proportionality, did it matter? Or might there have been more important considerations at work for the woodblock cutter, the printer and the reader?

Folk art, naïve art, or popular art?

Can we turn to other disciplines to assist in our understanding of (in the present context) Scottish garland woodcuts? Some Scottish chapbook woodcuts render perspective, line and proportionality well, many others, not so. And in so far as they do not, they share many qualities with what have been called, in other contexts, naïve art and folk art. And it is from naïve art in particular that we can borrow some potentially useful approaches.²⁶

Because chapbooks were (rightly) closely associated with working people and their reading habits, attitudes and tastes, such texts and their material embodiments are often thought of conceived of as part of popular culture.²⁷ And popular art is almost invariably regarded as integral to popular culture. Naïve art and popular art are not necessarily co-extensive and automatically to assimilate the two would be something of a category mistake.²⁸ Whether, however, chapbook woodcuts should be regarded as 'folk art' as such is undoubtedly subject to extended (and inconclusive) debate, though they certainly share a number of important features with that concept. As Ruth Kenny has recently noted, 'Folk art...is rooted in the idea of community, in the sense of being produced for and often by a group. 'Community' is, of course, not a fixed entity, but individual to each object or category of objects'.²⁹ And, broadly, the concept of a socially definable readership, and interpretive community are now widely used and basic tools in bibliographically-related research. And, similar to much anonymous craftsmanship that is associated with folk art, those who cut the blocks for chapbook printers are infrequently identified, and their status was presumably at best that of an artisan, who may possibly have had some limited artistic training. The artisan and creative act seem to have received little prominence. In the context of chapbook production and in the general period in question, it was the image that mattered, not the creator.³⁰ There is also some overlap between themes and motifs in folk art in, for example, shop and trade display signs, carvings (e.g. sun-faces in infinite variation), rather two-dimensional imagery in patchwork and wool work,³¹ and chapbook woodcut illustrations. Nevertheless, working

definitions of 'popular art' undoubtedly fit better in the present context, as it is seen as including mass-produced items and materials.³²

A woodcut used a number of times by the Robertson brothers of Glasgow provides a focus for several observations. It is an image of a mixed, convivial group where drink (and maybe food) was available, and appears, with obvious applicability, on *The Drunkard's Consolation on the Ale being Raised [...]*, and separately, *The Tippling Farmer [...]*, both 1802.(fig.2).

Although there is no background, perspective round the table has been achieved, as has the proportionality of the individuals' bodies relative to each other; and individual features have been articulated reasonably well. The Edinburgh chapbook printer, John Morren, who was their early nineteenth-century contemporary, copied the cut though in so doing made it considerably worse.(fig.3). (It is also just possible though unlikely that the opposite state of affairs may have occurred: the Glasgow firm may have copied and greatly improved Morren's version.) Morren's version has not so clearly achieved the differentiation between the floor, the table and the individuals, and has executed the tableware in a more rudimentary way. The individuals - especially the foregrounded female - are more poorly depicted, their clothing is not so well executed, and their features, particularly those round the far side of the table, have been exaggerated; and in other contexts, one might suspect a conscious attempt at grotesquerie. Conversely, a lack of accurate perspective is demonstrated in an Irish example, *A Favourite New Song called the Irish Maniac [...]* (Belfast: printed for the hawkers, c.1810): the angle of the ladder is incompatible with other elements of the cut, and the tree is clumsily drawn. But it is a lively woodcut, and it successfully illustrates four people fruit picking. (fig.4).

Woodcuts of buildings exposed the varying skill levels of those carrying through the task. The execution of the woodcut of a five-bay house, with approaching steps, on *The Cruel Cooper of Kirkaldy, in three parts*,³³ printed by James Chalmers of Aberdeen, achieves perspective using simple outline linearity, whilst these formal features were most fully articulated in the block of a property on the title-page of *The History of Thomas Hickathrift*

(Glasgow: printed for the booksellers, [c.1840-50]). However, results were not always so successful. The somewhat greater skill seen in these two Scottish cuts becomes the more obvious when compared with *he Bacchanalian Ggarland [...] printed in Preston by Elizabeth Sergent about 1790*³⁴ which makes no effort to present a three-dimensional image of a hall: it is entirely planar. (fig.25). *The Notted [sic] History of Mother Grim [...]*, printed about 1780 and assigned to a Newcastle upon Tyne press,³⁵ carried a woodcut of a building in which a recognition of perspective is clearly evident in the pitch of its roof, but the overall linearity and side-on aspect leads to an awkward two-dimensional effect.(fig.28).

Proportion, perspective and relative height could be successfully attained and exploited to advance the meaning, and identity of the individuals within a woodcut. This was achieved in the cut for *The Whole Life and Death of Long Meg of Westminster*, printed by Joseph Smart of Wolverhampton, c. 1785³⁶. Although Meg was indeed reputedly tall, that fact was reinforced placing her towards the foreground, with her (shorter) male companion set further back. There are also instances where a rejection of proportionality and scale actually promote the likely meaning of the resultant image. This is clearly seen in the Glasgow editions (possibly reissues) of part I of *Fun upon fun; or, The Comical Merry Tricks of Leper the Taylor* that appeared in 1786 and 1789. Here articles of clothing, a pair of scissors and a comb (or brush) are incorporated, that are disproportionately large in comparison to the human figure. The image could not make it more explicit that the figure is supposed to be taken as Leper himself. (fig.5). Walter Kelly, the Waterford printer, used an oval woodcut of two birds sat on a tree branch. The tree is not particularly realistically depicted, the background hills are reduced to a series of wave-like shapes, and the birds themselves are disproportionately large. Again although these observations are accurate enough according to the precepts of 'high' art, they are probably utterly beside the point: basic but simple effectiveness was the main priority. Kelly's image achieves this, and visually reinforces the title of the garland in which it appears: *The Royal Blackbird*, undated but 1820s or 1830s.

Royal Naval ships in port, at sea, or engaged in battle, appeared often in chapbook woodcuts, and unsurprisingly so during the period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Attempts to depict catch a true representation of a ship's stern in relation to its hull proved difficult, and the results were very variable. The title-page cut to *A New Garland, containing Three Excellent New Songs: I. The Bonny Lass of Bannaphie [...]* printed in Falkirk by either Patrick Mair or his successor, Thomas Johnston, about 1800, demonstrates an awkwardness of perspective between a misshapen stern and the vessel's hull.³⁷ (fig.6). The title-page cut of two men-of-war firing broadsides accompanying *Three Excellent New Songs, viz. Love, Port, and Sherry. Britons, are the Sons of Fame! [...]* in an 1805 chapbook, probably printed in Scotland, has the British vessel marginally more accurately cut than the other. That cut is also interesting because rather than attempt a realistic representation of either the cannon smoke or the wave motion, these features have been effectively stylised.³⁸ Quite frequently also, cuts of ships show either ensign or pennant flying at an unnatural angle relative to the prevailing wind direction.³⁹

It has to be said, however, that some of the better articulated cuts (as seen on garlands) appear to have come from the Angus family, printers in Newcastle upon Tyne. *A Garland of New Songs, containing, 1 Lash'd to the Helm [...]* has the hull and prow of the ship reasonably accurately executed and similarly, the 'sailor's farewell' woodcut, as it appears in a *Collection of New Songs. 1. Poor Jack [...]*, which reinforces a sense of purpose in the parting, and a feeling of patriotism, by including the British Naval ensign in the cut.

The cut to *The Wandering Young Gentlewoman; or, Cat-skin's Garland [...]*, probably Glasgow, c.1790⁴⁰ raises a different issue. (fig.7). It presents three elements – a house, a female holding a fan, and a tree, equidistant from each other. Although such spacing provides a neat symmetry across the cut, the overall effect is artificial: and, it must be said, any criticism that they do not come together in a cohesive way, as the elements stand in isolation, is entirely valid.⁴¹ The question of the relationship between different elements depicted in a woodcut can be raised in other examples. *The Trade o' Langsyne; or, The*

Mechanic's Farewell [...] (Glasgow: R. Hutchison & Co., c.1804-19) shows an individual stood in front of - or perhaps beside - what appear to be two separate buildings. Quite how the elements work as an integral whole (assuming that they were meant to) is difficult to grasp.

The delineation of the human form was also subject to varying degrees of anatomical accuracy.⁴² The figures on the title-pages of the Darlington-printed *Paddy Wack's Garland [...]*, 1775, *The Ploughman's Garland, an Excellent New Song*, 1774, and *The Farmer at Colation, a Garland [...]*, 1775⁴³ are two-dimensional, inaccurate anatomically, and the overall effect has not been helped by little variance in the thickness of the graved line, and use (or otherwise) of white space. (fig.8). Whilst allowing for the challenges inherent in the technique for preparing woodcuts (that could include difficulties in achieving fine detail and shading) no attempt was made in this example to achieve any form of tonal variation by varying the thickness of, and spacing between lines.⁴⁴ Again, whoever cut the head-and-shoulders image for *Black eyed Susan's Garland [...]*, probably Worcester, c.1770,⁴⁵ was no draughtsman, with limited subtlety or attempt at verisimilitude in the creation of line. However, it is quite a vivid image, and clearly invites a reader to identify the cut with Black-eyed Susan herself. (fig.9). Moreover, the emphasis given in the cut to her individual features (here, her eyes) has been noticed as a characteristic of naïve art.⁴⁶

One of John Morren's more frequently used cuts was that of a female with what can best be described as a somewhat startled look. By the mid-1820s the cut had been acquired by Robert Taylor, in Falkirk, who used it on the title-page of his printing of the chapbook, *The Irish Maniac [...]*, where it could not have been more apposite. (fig.10).

As I stray'd o'er the common on Corks rugged border
While the dew-drops of morn the sweet primrose array'd,
I saw a poor female, whose mental disorder
Her quick glancing eye and wild aspect betrayed
[...]
From 'The Irish maniac', lines 1-4.

In terms of its execution, the Darlington cut stands in rather unfavourable contrast, both to the woodcut used by the Angus family on *A Collection of New Songs. 1 Robinson Crusoe* [...] ⁴⁷ (fig. 26) and also to a cut that appeared on the title-page of *A Most Choice Collection of Popular Songs; 1. Highland Mary* [...] (Edinburgh: printed for the booksellers in town and country, c.1815-25). The head-and-shoulders woodcut of a lady on the Glasgow, 1786, *Ancient and Modern History of Buck-haven in Fife-shire* [...] ⁴⁸ in a decorative oval and square was copied by or for the Falkirk printer, Thomas Johnston in or before 1815, and used on the title-page of his *Bony [sic] Jean of Aberdeen* [...], though this latter cut exhibits less skill in its execution. It is evident that Johnston considered the original image sufficiently to have had a copy made, yet – and this is crucial – he was self-evidently not so disappointed with the relatively unskilled copy as to reject it. ⁴⁹ We should not conclude that in general chapbook printers were necessarily indifferent to the skills displayed in the execution of a woodcut – clearly not, given the existence of those blocks that do indeed reflect a noticeable level of expertise - but rather that it was distinctly secondary to the attainment of the image at all. In spite of some depictions having been rendered in a most simplistic and rudimentary way, they assumedly would have been meaningful for contemporaneous purchasers and readers. As an extreme example, the woodcut on the Airdrie-printed *The Highland Piper's Advice* [...], by J. & J. Neil, c. 1830 of two, probably female figures, is capable of little further reduction. ⁵⁰ (fig.11).

The depiction of humans in simple repetitive patterns does not accord with reality, but it was a feature commonly found in both English and Scottish chapbook woodcuts. (It was also a centuries-old stylistic device.) Whilst Angus & Son's printing of *The Famous and Memorable History of the Battle on Chevy-Chace* c.1790 ⁵¹ carries a woodcut (p.11) of a group of soldiers in (very broadly) naturalistic stance, the Angus slip-song, of c.1773, *The Seige [sic] of Belisle* ⁵² has a cut of two groups of (not individuated) soldiers presented in a very linear fashion, facing each other. (fig.12). Such serried ranks are also to be seen in *The Second Part of Thomas Hickathrift*, printed by Anne Dunn, Whitehaven, c.1795 (p.12), ⁵³ and *Chevy*

Chase, c.1795 (p.18).⁵⁴ The Angus and Dunn cuts are very similar and look as though they are conscious copies. The same technique has been used by the Swindells family of Manchester in their slip-song variant issues of *Tom Bowling*, whereon the cut depicts a line of three coffin bearers.⁵⁵

One substantial question, however, continues to hover over judgements about the more formal qualities of chapbook woodcuts. There are some small hints in nineteenth-century autobiographies that readers actually enjoyed the characteristics and qualities of chapbook (and broadside) illustrations,⁵⁶ a fact supported by the long and active life of many cuts.⁵⁷ If such were the case, then it might in itself suggest that some cuts were quite intentionally rendered in an unsophisticated fashion, as a kind of conscious and knowing naivety. There is also evidence to support the claim that the nature of some cuts reflected popular taste for many decades. A very large number of chapbooks were printed in Glasgow and Falkirk in the 1840s-50s, and all available evidence points to their having been stereotyped. Whilst the majority of these stereotyped chapbooks carry new images, some have cuts that can be dated to previous decades, though they look much sharper and refreshed. And one, obvious, plausible reason why these older cuts should have been used, is because they still reflected the preferences of the purchasing public.

Some chapbook printers occasionally did not use a title-page woodcut at all.⁵⁸ George Miller's Dunbar-printed *An Account of Some Imaginary Apparitions [...]*, c. 1800,⁵⁹ preferred to include fourteen lines of amusingly alarming verse to separate title from imprint.⁶⁰ Samuel Gamage of Worcester had a stock of woodcuts that he could use on his chapbook title-pages, but sometimes chose not to. At least four garlands printed by Gamage – each one issued under the title of *A Collection of New Songs*, and only distinguished by the individual songs listed in the sub-titles - carried either a Roman numeral or an upper-case letter surrounded by a series of fleurons in decorative fashion instead of a depictive woodcut. Gamage may have been trying to suggest that his collections of new songs constituted a

series (though no real numerical or alphabetical sequence can be identified): his *Collection of New Songs, containing 1. Gramachree Molly [...]*, c.1760-1777,⁶¹ is given as 'Num XVII'.

Occasionally the very nature of the woodcut process was exploited by inverting the usual relationship between incised line and what remained to be inked, so that the expected black areas remained white. *A New Mason's Song, to which is Added, Captain Johnstons Last Farewell [...]* probably Edinburgh-printed, c.1760-1780⁶² has a woodcut of a pipe-smoker. The face's shadowy effect and the rendering of the pipe smoke in white is quite noteworthy (fig.13). Similarly the rendering of an Asian or Middle-Eastern fighter on the title-page of *He Comes from the Wars: Love's Young Dream [...]* a Glasgow production from about 1825 creates a quite striking effect.

Copying the cut

We know that some chapbook woodcuts passed between Scottish printshops, perhaps because of closure or a firm's withdrawal from printing chapbooks and similar material, and it is not surprising that blocks should be acquired from rival firms, particularly when they were in close proximity.⁶³ It is, however, equally evident that many woodcuts were copied, and that it was a common practice. In Stirling, the chapbook printer Mary Randall, in business c.1813-20, used a cut of a cow being milked on *The Blackamoor in the Wood [...]* that bears a very considerable resemblance to a cut on *The Yellow-hair'd Laddie [...]*, Glasgow, c.1790.⁶⁴ Coincidentally, lest there were any residual doubt that English chapbooks made their way into Scotland, the family of ballad singers (depicted looking rightwards) on the title-page of *A Garland of New Songs, Containing, 1. Abraham Newland [...]*⁶⁵ that appeared under the Angus imprint, c.1790, appeared in very similar form (the family looking in a leftward direction) in Glasgow, J. & M. Robertson, 1803 on the title-page of *The Dunghilcock [...]*, and this Glasgow illustration was later copied for Mary Randall. Overall, indeed, ballad singers or hawkers were frequently and widely depicted and also appear on chapbooks from Edinburgh and Manchester, and on other, related forms cheap print, sometimes alone, sometimes as a figure group.⁶⁶

Some Scottish cuts carry sufficiently few specific details that it becomes difficult to know whether they were conscious copies or not even though the composition looks, overall, extremely similar. Fairly typical of these 'indecisive' images is John Morren's *Five Excellent New Songs [.] 1 The Female Drummer [...]*, in which two individuals stand, holding staves.⁶⁷ It bears comparison with the Newry-printed chapbook of 1788, *A Friendly Caution to the Break-a-day Men & Defenders [...]* that carries a cut of two men (probably soldiers or guardsmen) facing, rather artificially, directly forward, one with sword, the other carrying a staff (figs 14 and 15).

The cut of a Welshman riding on a goat on the broadside, *A Funeral Sermon Preached by the Minister of Glangothan in Wales*, probably London, c.1750, had considerable lasting appeal throughout Britain.⁶⁸ A copy appears on *The Humours of Rag-fair [...]*, a broadside sold by Samuel Gamidge in Worcester and by others in Gloucestershire and Shropshire.⁶⁹ Whilst it could reasonably be pointed out that these counties are adjacent to, or near Wales, a noticeably similar cut was used at least three times in the 1780s-1790s by Patrick Mair of Falkirk, and was still in use by Falkirk chapbook printers in the mid-1820s.⁷⁰ (fig.16). In Belfast, Joseph Smyth used a very closely copied cut of the Dicey original in his broadside of *Son-ap-Morgan*, dated to at least the second decade of the nineteenth century - minimally 55 years after its first manifestation. It is unusual – certainly in Scotland - as a chapbook cut, and its longevity noteworthy, possibly because it had such rich potential as either a straightforwardly humorous piece, or as a caricature. Its fanciful and whimsical nature places it more comfortably with broadsheets and prints, rather than as a Scottish chapbook image, most of which tended to rely on domestic, social, quotidian, familiar and rather generic themes and scenes.

Common (and not so common) sights

Whilst the sight of hawkers and ballad singers was undoubtedly common enough in both rural and urban environments, a depiction of a cow being milked would have been immediately familiar to those living in the countryside, though possibly probably less so to

those born in towns and cities. Many Scottish garland images are simple in composition, often little more than a single individual standing, or depict some form of basic social interaction of two or more people socialising in various ways, or perhaps children with their parents. Quite frequently, the cut is of a man and woman greeting each other affectionately. There is also a thread (though not a predominant one) to be detected in Scottish garland woodcuts of this period, of broadly rural themes, in either the depiction of occupations - ploughing, shepherding, milking, animal feeding, harvesting, rural and horticultural objects, as with ploughs, watering cans, or rural pursuits - hunting, horse riding, horse racing. The woman carrying a basket on her head in *Three Songs. The Dawning of the Day* [...],⁷¹ printed by Thomas Duncan, Glasgow between 1794 and 1801 and the lively cut of a hunt with dogs on M. Angus and Son's *A Garland of New Songs, Containing, 1 Old Towler* [...]⁷² illustrate aspects of the point above. However, many of the woodcuts give no hint as to any expectations or assumptions as to whether the readers may have been town or country dwellers. Many cuts depict convivial, social scenes and dancing, occasionally with rather vague interior views. However, the large number of woodcut depictions of individuals standing with glasses or bottles in their hands, or evidently enjoying the liquor within, must have been exasperating for those anxious over the evils of drink.

Woodblocks cut specially for a narrative chapbook text were in the minority. Scottish printers tended to overcome this, not by using a compartmentalised block (as had the Angus family with their printings of *The History of Jack and the Giants*) but by the simple expedient of placing two discrete cuts together, as seen in Robertson's 1802 printing of *The Goodman of Auchtermouchtie; or, The Goodwife turned Goodman*, wherein we see one cut with the goodman (husband) ploughing the field and the other with goodwife by a hearth.⁷³

A few specially cut woodblocks are found with other texts, though again, infrequently in Scotland. The splendidly melodramatic murder and subsequent suicide in Margaret Angus & Son's *The Bloody Gardner's Garland* [...]⁷⁴ is accompanied by a very arresting woodblock of the tragic heroine having her throat cut. (fig.17).The most clear – and exceptional -

example is *The World Turn'd Upside Down [...]* that appeared in chapbook form in the eighteenth century (e.g., Dicey, Aldermay Churchyard, London, c.1775) and nineteenth (e.g., Kendrew, York, c.1820).⁷⁵ A visual expression of the title was made very obvious in a slip-song, probably London, c.1760,⁷⁶ of the same title, by the simple expedient of setting the cut of a river and urban scene, upside down, thus rendering it a very obvious, simply achieved, but nevertheless effective, visual metaphor.⁷⁷ Some visual metaphors were clearly found funny, possibly unintentionally so. Thomas Carter remembered seeing a cut of St Paul being 'miraculously restored to sight; and here the artist represented the Apostle as having a pair of balances falling from his eyes'.⁷⁸

Some woodcuts depict quieter more domestic scenes of children being taught to read, or in conversation with their parents, though interestingly – and perhaps significantly – there are, amongst Scottish garlands at least, few woodcuts of children playing. The prevalence of cuts of sailors' farewells to their loved ones has been noticed elsewhere,⁷⁹ and added to these, it is unsurprising – given that Britain had been engaged in Continental wars (except for a short truce) from 1793 to 1815 – that soldiers also commonly appear in the woodcuts; and it is during this period and immediately thereafter, there were many chapbook versions (including that by Burns) of the song, 'The soldier's / the sodger's return'.

The extent of shared imagery between chapbooks (and similar printed forms) and other forms of popular artistic expression on ceramics, painting, embroidery, japanned work, was very considerable. Soldiers, sailors, rural scenes and objects, e.g. hunting, ploughs (some ceramic ware and chapbooks both expressed the centuries-old entreaty, 'God speed the plough / plow'),⁸⁰ and properties set within their policies all appeared as illustrations on everyday ware. Quite how pervasive some images were, can be sensed from the rustic scene of two harvesters (man and woman) that appeared on a print, published by Robert Sayer in London, on or before 1763, on a tankard and mug,⁸¹ and, in simplified form as a woodcut on the eight-page *The New Summer's Amusement, or, Entertaining Companion [...]*, by John Evans of London, between 1791 and 1800.⁸² (fig.18). There is evidence, too,

that song could contribute towards the generation of images. The favourite song, 'John Anderson, my jo', that Burns much modified, and appeared in different versions in over twenty Scottish chapbooks, found itself expressed in ceramic form in earthenware figure groups.⁸³

Text and image

The question that hangs over much discussion about chapbook images is what is the relationship between the woodcut depiction and the (verbal) text. In Scottish garlands of the period under consideration, there are a number of weak associations to be seen between text and the woodcut on their relative title-pages. This is not to say that the presence of a woodcut X either guarantees or even strongly implies that the text would be on subject Y – and to say that there was a correlation between X and Y would be to employ far too binding a term - but nevertheless, there are a number of faint patterns to be discerned.

With what exactly is the chapbook title-page image assumed to have a relationship, if at all? The most general assumption is that chapbook title-page woodcuts bear a relationship (if they have one at all) to the text. This presents a coherent (though not necessarily invariably correct) model *provided* there is but one sustained text within the chapbook itself. Michael Preston has recently commented that 'the conventional representation of a sailing-ship' on the title-page of a chapbook edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, 'intended to inform a purchaser what class of story this was; namely it was about sea-faring'.⁸⁴ Explicitly reinforcing Preston's point, Sandro Jung has observed that the chapbook title-page could, on occasion, be perceived as 'determining the general, generic character of the text it adorns'.⁸⁵ We can agree with this, but in our present discussion, *Crusoe* is a good, but relatively straightforward example. More recently, Steve Roud, in a discussion on ballad printing has noted that, 'It is generally assumed that printers made little effort to match the woodcut illustrations with the songs they accompanied, but this is true only up to a point', and, 'a perusal of a large number of sheets gives the overall impression that printers did make some effort to match illustration and song, within their limited resources and necessarily at a generalized level'.⁸⁶

But moving from broadsides to chapbooks, is there anything more specific to be said other than Scottish chapbook printers exercised some discrimination and choice when they selected a woodcut (from their limited resources) for insertion into the type-set page for the title?

Chapbook titles of the generalised form, ‘*n* songs’ or ‘*n* new / popular / favourite songs’ appear extremely frequently in garlands. Similarly, ‘Bloggs’ garland’ was a very common and generalised title, and sometimes indicated little or nothing of the actual content. Indeed, the specific content of chapbooks containing multiple songs frequently only became evident with the (often lengthy) sub-title. If we *assume* that the woodcut bore some meaningful relationship to the text (discussed above), then frequently it was to (a) particular song(s) which would have been listed in the sub-title, rather than to the text as a whole. There is, however, a straightforward modification to be made here: if the garland had some thematic cohesion, e.g. *Seven Love Songs [...]* (Kincardine: W. Liddell, [c.1820]), then it is entirely possible that the printed woodcut could have related to the overall title and thereby to the entire text. But the relationship between image and overall text in so many garlands containing multiple songs is one-to-many. Sometimes the link between woodcut and given title was explicit and directly representational. This can be seen in the Edinburgh-printed, c.1815-25, *A Most Excellent Song, called, The Sodger’s Return [...]* where the woodcut was of three soldiers meeting with a civilian: the main title is expressed verbally and also visually, and the overall nature of the set of relationships is triangular – title/text, title/woodcut, woodcut/text. (fig.19). Indeed, it is surprising quite how immediate the link between title (and subject) and the title-page woodcut could be. *The Mavis [...]*, *The Melodist [...]*, *The Canary [...]*, *The Goldfinch [...]*, all Scottish chapbooks or short texts of favourite songs that carried a title-page woodcut of a bird, thus playing on the related meanings of ‘songster’.

However, the nature of the link may not always be exactly like the example above. Morren’s Edinburgh, c.1800 version of *Jamie and Nancy of Yarmouth*, has a woodcut of a ship.⁸⁷

There is no obvious, *explicit* link between the (verbal) title and the woodcut, yet it is well

chosen, as sea voyages were instrumental in the subjects' misfortunes and fatalities. There is a robust link (almost by definition) between title (*Jamie and Nancy*) and text;⁸⁸ but the links or relationships between woodcut and text, and, separately, woodcut and title, are in this instance at best only suggested (if they are suggested at all). It is as though there is an allusion made on the title-page by the printer that he or she assumed that the reader would be able to grasp.

The Perthshire Gardeners [...] (Falkirk: Thomas Johnston, 1809) has a woodcut of Adam and Eve with the deceitful serpent in the Garden of Eden. Robert Trewman's Exeter-printed, children's chapbook of c.1780, *The Heavenly Messenger [...]*⁸⁹ has a woodcut of what is almost certainly an attempt at 'The Annunciation to the Shepherds'. Whatever constituted (or not) their stock of knowledge, neither woodcut would have made much sense unless it was (correctly) assumed that the chapbook readers were very familiar with stories from the Bible. However, we may have to be somewhat cautious in arriving at too generalised a model, because, as it stands, it assumes that all chapbook title-page woodcuts (no matter on what title-page they may appear) have some function that is allusive or directly referential to the text they accompany, and that is clearly not always the case.

(a) images, recognised as symbolic

Woodcuts of a square and compasses – a widely recognised symbol of the masonic movement - appear regularly on chapbook title-pages. And the presence of the woodcut is entirely appropriate on chapbooks with a masonic theme, of which there are several examples, including *Six Songs. Free-mason's Song [...]*, Kilmarnock, c.1815-20, *The Free-mason's Garland*, Falkirk, 1821, and *Six Excellent Songs. The Farewell to the Brethren of St James' Lodge, Tarbolton [...]* (Newton-Stewart, J. M'Nairn, c.1830).⁹⁰ The publication of *Three Songs. Stewarton Lodge. The Humours of Glasgow Fair. All's Well*, probably printed in Glasgow in the 1820s, gives pause for thought over the limits of readership of some chapbooks at least, as the first song relates to the laying of a lodge foundation stone in 1824. (fig.20). But as a symbol, the use of the compasses and set-square on title-pages is

erratic, and its presence or absence cannot be taken as an infallible guide as to the (partial) contents of a chapbook. In Stirling, Charles Randall's *The Kail-brose of Aula [recte, Auld] Scotland. To which are Added [...] The Free-mason's Song [...]*, c.1793-1812, carries a woodcut of a man holding a wine glass, and, conversely, Joseph M'Nairn chose to put his 'square and compasses' woodcut on his *Five Excellent Songs. The Flower of Dumblane [...]*, which appears to have had nothing directly to do with freemasonry whatsoever.

Broadly the same pattern emerges when comparing a title-page woodcut of a crown with the text within the relative chapbook. There is usually a regal connection, be it explicit as in *King George IV. His Welcome to Scotland [...]* (Falkirk, 1822) or fictional, as in *The Comical History of the King & the Cobbler [...]* (Glasgow: pr. for the booksellers, 1840-50). However, the use of a woodcut of a crown on *The Elocutionist, a Choice Selection [...]* printed by Thomas Johnston, c.1815-30 seems to bear no direct relevance to the text itself.

A close reading of the text is sometimes required before the relevance of a woodcut can be appreciated. The Grim Reaper, scythe in hand, makes regular appearances, and, as one may expect, inevitable death lies at the core of the texts, and entirely typical is *The Great Messenger of Mortality; or, A Dialogue Betwixt Death and a Lady [...]* (Edinburgh: J. Morren, c.1800). The Grim Reaper was obviously busy along the Clyde, and was a figure well recognised by the Glasgow chapbook printers. J. & M. Robertson's 1802 chapbook, *The Vanity of Pride [...]* which consisted altogether of seven songs, carried a title-page woodcut of the Grim Reaper all but touching hands with a fashionably-dressed lady. Whilst the relationship between cut and text is not immediately clear, it becomes so on a reading of 'The vanity of pride' which ends with an entreaty of make one's peace with God before earthly departure. (fig.21). However, *The Proud Dutchess; or, Death and the Lady [...]* (Falkirk: T. Johnston, 1816), offered a title-page woodcut, not of a skeleton or the Grim Reaper, but of a complex vignette of square and compasses, three castles surrounded by swirled-leaf fleurons.

(b) images, not directly symbolic

Most Scottish garland woodcuts are not immediately perceived as symbolic or emblematic, but rather, are seen as direct depictions of individuals, events or aspects of the external, material world. It would be defensible to say that two broad themes appeared more frequently than any others during the period of highest Scottish chapbook production: love and war, and that they not infrequently intersected. Courtship, affection returned or spurned, and getting a husband or wife, happy marriages or matrimonial disaffection are themselves related themes that appeared extremely often in both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century chapbooks. The woodcut on *The Young Squire's Frolic: to which are Added...The Naval Heroes [...]* (Glasgow: Robertson, 1802) is of a couple walking apparently contentedly side-by-side. The same cut had, however, been used in 1799 on the Robertson printing of *The Oxfordshire Tragedy [...]*⁹¹ wherein it increases a certain pathos to a story of callousness and murderous intent. On the other hand, *Jockey and Maggy's Courtship, and Unlucky Marriage [...]*, Glasgow, c.1790,⁹² depicted Jockey being chased after by his wife, broom in hand. Cupid had also been extremely busy, and appeared throughout Britain, most often in the background to the cut - bow at the ready, occasionally holding a pierced heart - in woodcuts of affectionate couples. The figure is known from Glasgow chapbooks (e.g. *The Keys of Love [...]*, Glasgow, c.1790) and had previously been matchmaking in the South-West (e.g. *Daniel Cooper's Garland [...]*, c.1765 and *The Drummer's Garland [...]*, c.1770, both Bristol-printed), in Darlington, Lincoln and in London.⁹³ Overall, Cupid, as personification, and the pierced heart, as symbol, had remained extremely well embedded in the conceptual universe of British (including Scottish) chapbook readers since at least the seventeenth century.⁹⁴

Depictions of the same episodes in traditional and legendary stories seem to occur with a frequency that suggests widespread conventions. The feature is particularly noticeable in chapbook renderings of the rather cruel children's tale of *The Babes (or Children) in the Wood*. The image that appears not invariably but certainly more frequently than others –

both in chapbooks and broadsides – is that of the two murderous conspirators quarrelling and fighting with the two little innocents looking on helplessly. (fig.22). The occurrence is depicted on the title-pages of chapbooks printed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Falkirk, Dublin and London (where it also appeared in broadsides). A broadly similar pattern is to be seen with the romance of *Valentine and Orson*. In its appearances as heavily abridged text in chapbook form, the woodcut depiction that appeared more than any other was that of Valentine, on horseback, leading Orson out of the wood, where the latter had been living in a wild state. Abridged versions were widely printed in the last decade of the eighteenth century (both in Scotland and England) by well-known chapbook printers: Charles Randall (Stirling), the Robertson family (Glasgow) and Margaret Angus & Son (Newcastle).⁹⁵

Chapbook printers throughout Britain understood that there was a fascination amongst their readers as to what the future might bring. This preoccupation was met with various texts on fortune-telling, and in particular how to identify and attract a lover. (Fortune-telling, it should be said, was an activity particularly frowned upon by the promoters and followers of the Cheap Repository Tracts.)⁹⁶ Certain motifs often appeared within title-page woodcuts: the sun (regularly presented as a sun-face), moon and stars, astrological or astronomical globes, and individuals holding a cross-staff. And, overall, the relationship with cuts on aspects of celestial mechanics (e.g. eclipses, phases of the moon) as used in prognostications (that not only included factual information on the dates of fairs and markets, but also what might now be called long-range weather forecasting) is, unsurprisingly, very close. The title-page details given on some of these chapbooks were sometimes very similar: from Scotland, *Aristotle's True fortune-teller, Containing a Great Many Rare and True Receipts for Love...Whether a Person Shall Marry or Live Single...The Interpretation of Dreams. The Signification of Moles...How to Make a True Love Powder [...]* (Aberdeen: published for the instruction of young men and maids, bachelors and widows, 1786) and from Cirencester, c.1770, came *A New Fortune-book. Being a New Art of Courtship, Open'd*

for Young Men and Maids...the Signification of Moles, the Interpretation of Dreams, the...Art of Making the True and False Love-powder [...]. .

Is it possible even to arrive at a very generalised, tentative idea of the relationship (if any) or relevance between image (as symbol or emblem or realistic depiction) and text? One first step towards expressing this overlap might be to say that:

some Scottish chapbooks with content about X (*for sake of argument*, say, mortality or courtship) have a woodcut relevant to X (say, an hourglass or a depiction of lovers holding hands);

conversely, some Scottish chapbooks that have a woodcut X (say, of an hourglass or of lovers holding hands) have content about X (e.g. mortality or courtship)

and that the overlaps between the two sets of chapbooks will vary, depending on individual texts, but can be quite considerable.

But, as it stands, such an attempt is inadequate. It does not, for example, account for the very significant percentage of chapbooks that do not meet both conditions simultaneously, i.e. that large number of chapbooks that have a woodcut X (e.g. a plough) but have no content about X (e.g. crops, farming, reliance on agricultural economy, etc.).

It seems reasonable to assume that chapbook printers did not want to use images that could not be identified or understood: such a move may have been counterproductive. They therefore used woodcuts that their readers were able to appreciate, and would also understand their use within the context it was placed. It also means that purchasers should have been able to apprehend those instances when the woodcut was likely to have had no direct relevance to the accompanying text (though a reading might prove them wrong).

Thomas Johnston's printing of *Four Excellent Songs, Intituled The Whisky Still Taken and Retaken [...]*, has a woodcut of a watering can, a commonly encountered object that most (except perhaps young children) would have been immediately able to recognise. In this instance, it has no obvious (or even obscure) relevance to any element of the content of the chapbook. It certainly performs the function of separating title from imprint, and it is here used as an ornament piece, in this particular instance, similar in some respects to a vignette.

Scottish chapbook woodcuts and their imagery, from conventional depictions of the devil with forked tail, to milk pails and spinning-wheels, were very largely conservative, and reflected and reinforced (though not challenged or stretched) the belief systems and aspirations of the common people.⁹⁷ There is a yet further consideration: even when the title-page woodcuts served the limited purpose of dividing the title-page into discrete elements, what is interesting to note is not what cuts were used, but what cuts were not. There were limits of taste that were not to be breached. Woodcut depictions were acceptable in what were considered their appropriate contexts, but there were occasions when their use may have appeared simply unsuitable, and grated against the prevailing taste of the readers. Within the limits of their ornament stock, Scottish chapbook printers seem not to have indiscriminately chosen woodcuts for insertion. To construct a rather artificial example, Hugh Crawford, a prolific chapbook printer in Kilmarnock, used a lively scene of coach and horses, passengers and pedestrians to animate the title-page of his *The New Winter Evening's Companion of Fun, Mirth, and Frolic [...]*, 1822. (fig.23). What he did not use was the sombre view of a church as it appeared in his printing of the *Life of David Haggart...who was Executed at Edinburgh...for the Murder of the Dumfries Jailor [...]*, c.1821.

Seeing and 'seeing as'

Song collections constituted the single largest group amongst Scottish chapbooks as a whole, and their illustrative content was usually limited to a single title-page woodcut (though occasionally there was also a tail-piece cut). *The Shady Grove. To which are added, The Maid's Complaint for Jockey. Happy Lizzy...The Lass of Primrose-hill. The Unfortunate Swain [...]* printed by Robertson in Glasgow, 1802, carries a woodcut of a man and woman sat close together with Cupid, airborne, carrying a bow and a pierced heart. (fig.27). But the question is exactly how is the depiction to be 'read', as readers themselves were presented with a state of affairs whereby one woodcut was relevant to – or could be seen as relevant to – the text of more than one song. The function of the woodcut in the 1802 chapbook above is plausibly more than ornamental, and one could argue that it was merely reflecting the

overall theme of the chapbook. Such an analysis might have traction in the example above, but it is difficult to see how it can apply in quite the same way in other garland woodcuts. Patrick Mair's Falkirk-printed *Four Excellent Songs. Viz. 1. The Scots Rover [...]*, c.1780, has a title-page woodcut of an armed soldier on horseback. But the four songs are rather different in tone and overall subject, so that, although the woodcut could be seen as relevant to the subject or narrative voice in each of the four songs separately, there is no single theme as such to which the cut can easily relate. But *The Shady Grove [...]* may also have offered up the possibility of identifying either the depiction as a whole, or elements within it, with 'the maid', 'Happy Lizzie', 'the lass of Primrose-hill' or even 'the unfortunate swain'. In other words, the female within the woodcut can be interpreted as, or seen as one of the individuals within the separate songs. And, as J. L. Austin has commented, 'When something is seen, there may not only be different ways of *saying* what is seen; it may also be seen *in different ways, seen differently*', and continued:

The different ways of saying what is seen will quite often be due...to the fact that what is seen is seen differently, seen as this rather than that. And there will sometimes be no one right way of saying what is seen, for the additional reason that there may be no one right way of seeing it. (Austin's editor's emphases.)⁹⁸

Some researchers have concluded that many woodcuts on broadsides and slip-songs (Alexandra Franklin⁹⁹) and chapbooks (Sandro Jung¹⁰⁰) are the products of 'an allusive mode of illustration' – the allusions in this context being to a 'set of wider associations', and Cowan and Patterson (above) talk of cuts making allusions to chapbook contents (i.e. 'internal' allusions). In many instances such is the case, but ought we hesitate before accepting such an all-embracing model when particularly applied to chapbooks. *The Athole Highlanders [...]* ([Falkirk]: printed for the booksellers [by T. Johnston, c.1810-25]) and *The Life and Exploits of Rob Roy M'Gregor* (Falkirk: pr. by T. Johnston, 1814) both have a stock image of a Highland soldier, bearing sword and shield, on their respective title-pages. (fig.24). And it is not exactly difficult to work out, in the two instances, who the cut was

probably supposed to represent. But the question of what indirect references are to be, or could have been, drawn from the woodcut – and many chapbook woodcuts were even simpler than this example (e.g. a watering can)¹⁰¹ - is quite problematic, and a somewhat different question, the answers to which are likely to be subjective, conceivably open-ended and relate to the perceiver's personal experience, knowledge and predispositions. While broader allusions to a sense of patriotism (given the dates of publication) are most likely to have been drawn – and also assumed by the printer - there is however, little to have stopped the woodcut's evoking a sense of nostalgic Jacobitism within a reader. Allusion (or indirect reference) in the instances above, starts at a point beyond the explication of the immediate, fundamental relationship between image and text itself.

However, in other instances we can agree that visual allusion may play a more immediate role in elucidating a cut's significance in relation both to a given text, and to possible wider associations. *Purely hypothetically*, we might see a title-page woodcut of a walking-stick and a toothbrush moustache on the title-page of a chapbook entitled, 'A penny's worth of laughter'. Here we may fairly say that the woodcut – depending on shared experience and stock of knowledge - alluded to Charlie Chaplain and that may in itself evoke many other associations including the 1940 satirical film, *The Great Dictator*, accusations of Communism, and McCarthyism.

Allusion may contribute to an overall description of what a reader saw, but not necessarily so. There is also a subtle but significant difference to be noticed between 'seeing X as...' when X is a scene or subject within one of a chapbook's multiple texts (call it "internal seeing as'), and an allusive sense of 'seeing X as...' ("associative' seeing as'). This can be demonstrated by comparing figs.10 and 24. The first (fig.10; 'internal' seeing as) has the 'startled lady' woodcut and there is an apparent choice between seeing the cut as (or at least, the depiction of her as) 'The Irish maniac' or as 'Mary Morrison'. (However, the relative sizes of the type used on the title-page gave the reader considerable steerage towards 'The Irish maniac'.) The second (fig.24; 'associative' seeing as) can demonstrate a potentially

allusive sense of 'seeing X as'. The image accompanying *The Athole Highlanders*, previously discussed, could *potentially be seen as* (or, the depiction *seen as*) one of many people, including The Young Pretender, or even as the Duke of Cumberland in disguise, though neither is the topic of the chapbook's texts, and such an identification would depend on readers' interpretations – and one may well find that what is claimed that the image alludes to (if it does at all) - differs amongst this chapbook's purchasers. Indeed, a 'reading' of this image may have been richer amongst those who were familiar with earlier Scottish history; though this must be no more than supposition. ¹⁰²

Conclusion

The 'one image / many texts' form of chapbook is very common, but undoubtedly needs further careful analysis, as do aspects of the use of both 'allusion' and 'seeing as'. But if we grant to readers of the time the ability to see an image as something or as someone (e.g. 'Who might the rider in fig.16 be seen as?') then we may begin to open up other avenues as to how scholars may explain the various verbal and visual relationships in the humble, but surprisingly complex chapbook.

The foregoing essay can be read as a statement of, if not the achingly obvious, then what have been taken as widely accepted assumptions for many decades. But it is often helpful to spell out our basic premises. We can provisionally conclude that Scottish garland woodcuts (and, by extension, possibly other British) were very variable in execution, and all need not have been dismissed as poorly executed, and that an appeal to concepts used in representational art helps us towards a sharper appreciation of their qualities. Provided that we accept that such woodcuts were meaningful then a pattern of weak and unstable associations between the cuts and texts of Scottish garlands can be detected. The notion of 'seeing as' can provide a tool for arriving at a set of possibilities as to what might have been described as seen in these garland images.

Looking beyond

What may have applied to Scottish chapbooks at a particular period, may not have applied elsewhere contemporaneously or otherwise, and research questions crowd in from bibliographical and variety of historical and philosophical perspectives. Whilst the experience of seeing and 'seeing as' may be susceptible to generalised analysis, there are many specific questions relating to chapbook woodcuts yet to be addressed.

Did chapbook readers elsewhere in Britain share the same popular imagery as those in Scotland; and if so, did they see the woodcut images as representing the same people, objects and scenes as Scottish readers? How did readers react to chapbook title-page woodcuts – perhaps as a type of textual (if not directly genre) marker or indicator? Did readers' tastes ('manifested preferences'¹⁰³) for illustration and chapbook content remain the same, geographically and temporally? Were broadside images similar in physical execution, or in content, and did they perform the same way as chapbook title-page woodcuts, given that in the former, text and image appeared on the same page? And finally, should chapbook woodcuts be analysed entirely on their own terms, as though in a class of their own, or is there a broader field (e.g. popular art), in which these images are more deeply understood and appreciated as part of Scottish (or British) visual culture? Many research fields beckon.

Acknowledgement

A considerable debt of gratitude goes to Barry McKay who has always given freely of his knowledge and expertise, and who has shown me never to take chapbook woodcuts for granted.

¹ Some Glasgow printers worked in close proximity. In the early 1800s, Thomas Duncan, Robert Hutchison (or Hutcheson) and the Robertson family were all based in the Saltmarket, busily printing chapbooks.

² In the nineteenth century, William Cameron (invariably known as Hawkie) worked as a chapman and trawled his way through a variety of printing shops in Glasgow looking for stock to sell, subsequently taking it though the Central Belt, on to the Scottish Borders and into Northumberland. William Cameron, *Hawkie: the Autobiography of a Gangrel*, ed. John Strathesk (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1888).

³ Thomas Crawford, *Society and the Lyric: a Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic P., 1979), p. 7

The song, 'Tullochgorum', written in 1776 by Rev. John Skinner, episcopalian minister of Longside, Aberdeenshire, was given considerable geographical coverage. It was included in chapbooks emanating from Aberdeen, Ayr, Dunbar, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Glasgow, Kirkcudbright, and Stirling. It was, to be fair, also picked up by a limited number of chapbook printers in England.

⁴ E.g., *Beauties of Glasgow; to which are added, Bonny Jessie, and Fy Gar Rub Her o'er wi' Strae* (Glasgow: Hutchison, between 1804-19). See also Emily Lyle, Valentina Bold and Ian Russell, 'Genre' in *Edinburgh Companion to Traditional Scottish Literatures*, ed. by Sarah Dunnigan and Suzanne Gilbert. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U.P., 2013), pp. 14-25 (p. 16).

⁵ The chapbook, *Come under my Plaidie. On a Bonny Day when the Heather was Blooming. [...]* (Edinburgh: printed for the booksellers, 1819) recommended that the first (and titular) song was to be sung to the tune, accepted as Scottish, of 'Johnny Macgill'.

⁶ Robert Hutchison's cut on the title-page of his *Beauties of Glasgow [...]* was previously used by the Robertson family in their chapbook, *The Country Cousin [...]*, 1802.

⁷ Rather artificially drawn lines of soldiers and courtiers can be seen on the woodcut accompanying *St Helena for Bonaparte [...]* (Glasgow: Hutchison & Co., between 1815-19) but it is an indifferent example. Much clearer is that taken from one of the slip-songs from the Angus family of Newcastle. (discussed above).

⁸ To take a well-worn example, a person seen stood on a ladder with an arm outstretched, may be waving, balancing, or about to fall off. Context and circumstances dictate the meaning of the scene.

⁹ One set of circumstances suggests that, in general, woodcuts were recognised as meaningful, even when used as ornaments, and that is when the printer inadvertently or otherwise, set the block upside down. That something is perceptibly wrong, is immediately obvious, and that tells us a lot about what we think is seen: it is a recognisable depiction upside down, and not a series of random scrawls.

¹⁰ Hugh Miller, *My School and Schoolmasters*. 14th ed. (Edinburgh: Nimmo, 1869), pp. 29-30; Isabel Cameron, *A Highland Chapbook* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay (Observer Press), 1928), pp. 21-22. Further examples (including some from beyond Scotland) are given in I. Beavan, 'The Chapbooks and Broad-sides of James Chalmers III, Printer in Aberdeen...', *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 10 (2015), pp. 29-85 (p. 52).

¹¹ E.g., Victor E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature: a History and Guide...* (London: Woburn Press., 1977), p. 103

¹² William Bannerman, *The Aberdeen Worthies...* (Aberdeen: Lewis Smith & Samuel Maclean, 1840), pp. 90-91.

¹³ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1987), p. 253.

¹⁴ For fuller discussions of the decline of the Scottish chapbook, see Scott A. McLean, 'Cleansing the Hawker's Basket: Popular Literature and the Cheap Periodical Press in Scotland', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 32 (2001), pp. 88–100, and I. Beavan, 'The Decline

and Fall of the Scottish Chapbook', in *Street Literature of the Long Nineteenth Century: Producers, Sellers, Consumers*, ed. by David Atkinson and Steve Roud (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2017), pp. 154-93.

¹⁵ George MacGregor, 'Chap-literature of Scotland', in Dougal Graham, *Collected Writings of Dougal Graham, 'Skellat' Bellman of Glasgow*, ed. by George MacGregor. 2 vols (Glasgow: T.D. Morison, 1883), I, p. 78; where MacGregor claims that the Robertson brothers made about £30,000 from the sale of their chapbooks. In 1826, John Morren left an estate worth over £5,600. <<https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>> sub 'Wills and testaments' [accessed April 2018].

¹⁶ Around Peebles, Handsel Monday was 'marked by tossing a profusion of ballads and penny chap-books from windows among a crowd of clamorous youngsters', William Chambers, *Memoir of William and Robert Chambers*. 7th ed. (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, [1873]), p. 19.

¹⁷ 'The Scotch Penny Chap-books', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (no. 479, 3 April 1841), p. 84.

¹⁸ *A Concise History of the Origin and Progress of Printing* [by Philip Luckombe] (London: pr. and sold by Adlard and Browne, [1770]), p.389. ESTC T31123.

¹⁹ The chapbook woodcut has not been the only book trade element simultaneously to function in more than one way. Dust jackets have not only provided physical protection, but have carried designs to provide some 'sort of epitome of the contents.' Gregory Brown, 'Book-jacket Design', *Penrose Annual*, 38(1936), pp.30-35 (p.30).

²⁰ Brian Maidment, *Into the 1830s: Some Origins of Victorian Illustrated Journalism* (Manchester: Manchester Polytechnic Library, 1992), p. 9, col. 2, encapsulates many of the criticisms of woodcuts in cheap print of the early nineteenth century as 'lacking proper perspective, with little tonal variation, and...a clumsy sense of scale'. Maidment above and in his *Reading Popular Prints, 1790-1870*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 2001) has much of relevance to say on the transition from woodcut to wood engraving in cheap print.

²¹ David Atkinson and Steve Roud, 'Introduction', in *Street Literature* pp.1-59 (p.46).

²² Michael A. Titmarsh, review article, 'On Some Illustrated Children's Books' *Fraser's Magazine*, 33 (1846), pp.495-502 (p.496).

²³ Harry B. Weiss, *A Book about Chapbooks: the People's Literature of Bygone Times* (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1969), p. 1. (Orig. publ. 1942.)

²⁴ Edward J. Cowan and Mike Paterson, *Folk in Print: Scotland's Chapbook Heritage, 1750-1850* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), p.13.

²⁵ Entirely typical of the general 'academic' approach is *The Art of Drawing in Perspective*, which came out in numerous editions over 45 years from the 1750s.

²⁶ Laura Wortley, *Everyday Images: Naïve Painting of Everyday Life, 1750-1900: [catalogue of an exhibition, River & Rowing Museum, Henley on Thames, 2003]* (Henley on Thames: River & Rowing Museum, 2003), *passim*. James Ayres, *English Naïve Painting, 1750-1900* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), *passim*, and esp. pp.9-12.

²⁷ Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860*. Oxford: Clarendon P., 1991, pp. 8, 43.

²⁸ Whilst one relates to style and convention, the other is fundamentally social and cultural.

²⁹ Ruth Kenny, "'Wallflowers at the Dance of Western Civilization": the Limits of Folk Art', in Ruth Kenny, Jeff McMillan and Martin Myrone, *British Folk Art: [a Tate Britain Exhibition]*, (London: Tate Enterprises, 2014), pp.126-133 (p.127).

³⁰ Barry McKay, 'Three Cumbrian Printers: the Dunns of Whitehaven, Ann Bell & Anthony Soulby of Penrith', in *Images and Texts: their Production and Distribution in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. by Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp.65-87 has much on provincial woodcuts and their 'naïve charm' (p.67). Of equal relevance is his 'Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts: Some Sources and other Versions', in *The Reach of Print: Making, Selling and Using Books*, ed. by Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), pp. 65-84.

³¹ James Ayres, *British Folk Art* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1977), *passim*.

³² Margaret Lambert and Enid Marx, *English Popular Art*. New ed. (London: Merlin P., 1989),

Ch 7, 'Printing'; also p. vii, 'We have kept the title 'Popular Art' as the nearest English

equivalent of the neat French term 'imagerie populaire'; and have...used it to cover not only handicrafts but also machine production, such as printing'. The same authors note that the phrase, 'popular art' has 'the merit of being sufficiently elastic to include...things made to country needs and tastes in towns and by machinery'. Museum of English Rural Life, *English Popular Art...a Loan Exhibition...*(Reading: Museum of English Popular Life, 1958), p.3.

³³ ESTC T192253

³⁴ ESTC T182845

³⁵ ESTC T43200

³⁶ ESTC T220372

³⁷ A poorly executed cut was not inevitable. See *Battles of the Nile and Alexandria* (A selection of amusing and instructive pamphlets, 6) (Edinburgh: pr. for the booksellers by R. Allardice, Leith, 1828).

³⁸ This particular stylisation of the smoke was not new. It can be seen, for example, on Dicey's broadsheet, *The Plymouth Tragedy; or, Fair Susan's Overthrow*, betw.1736 and 1763. ESTC T42508.

³⁹ This feature has previously been noticed. See David Drakard, *Printed English Pottery: History and Humour in the Reign of George III, 1760-1820* (London: Horne, 1992), p.112, and is obvious on the tail-piece woodcut to *Of the History and Travels of Hector Maclean, Late Sailor* (Edinburgh: pr. by Alex. Robertson for Hector Maclean..., 1771), ESTC T186365.

⁴⁰ ESTC T175729

⁴¹ James Ayres, *British Folk Art* p.104, and following double-page insert.

⁴² The impression that the human figure appears most frequently in chapbook woodcuts has some support from a recent limited survey. It has suggested that of those Scottish chapbooks that carried woodcuts, nearly 75% of the images related to humans and human activity. I. Beavan, 'Chapbooks and Broadsides', p.67, note 44.

⁴³ ESTC T300214

⁴⁴ On the challenges posed in the execution of woodcuts (other than to the exceptionally

skilled), Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986),

sects. 5a-d, 53e ; Thomas Gretton, *Murders and Moralities: English Catchpenny Prints, 1800-1860* (London: British Museum Pubs, 1980), pp.8-9; David Lewis, *Reading Contemporary Picture Books: Picturing Text* (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001), p.138; Brian Alderson, *Sing a Song for Sixpence: the English Picture Book Tradition and Randolph Caldecott* (Cambridge: C.U.P. and The British Library Board, 1986), pp.26-27. On attempts to achieve tonal variation in woodcuts, see Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008, repr. 2010), p.10.

⁴⁵ ESTC T22870

⁴⁶ Peter Lord, *Gwenllian: Essays on Visual Culture* (Llandysul: Gomer P., 1994), p.79: 'The naïve painter...tends to note in detail everything that is idiosyncratic about a person or a view'.

⁴⁷ The cut used by Margaret Angus & Son belonged to the earlier Newcastle printer, John White. It appears on White's broadside, *The Noble Lord's Cruelty [...]*. ESTC T142790. Its presence corroborates Barry McKay's comments in 'Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts', p.68.

⁴⁸ ESTC T193569

⁴⁹ Irrespective of the perceived quality of the cut used on Darlington-printed *The Ploughman's Garland*, it was clearly good enough for the Stockton printer and bookseller Robert Christopher, as it appears in his *Youth's Warning-piece; or, The Tragical History of George Barnwell* c.1795. ESTC T52908.

⁵⁰ The Airdrie woodcuts bear comparison, for sheer stylisation and reductionism to one printed in Gretton, *Murders and Moralities*, image 26 (p.56).

⁵¹ ESTC T35314; 35315

⁵² ESTC T197134

⁵³ ESTC T172452

⁵⁴ ESTC T184609

⁵⁵ University of Oxford. Bodleian Library. Rare Books, 2806 c.17(432).

The depiction of historical figures (Burns, Bonaparte, etc.) on chapbook title-pages seems to have been, within Scotland at least, a mid-nineteenth-century development, and reflects the texts themselves as epitomised biographies.

⁵⁶ E.g., Samuel Bamford, *Autobiography*. 2 vols., new ed. by W. H. Chaloner (London: Cass, 1967), I, p.90.

⁵⁷ Charles Hindley, *Curiosities of Street Literature* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1871), p.ii.

⁵⁸ Initial indications are that slightly over 10% of Scottish chapbooks carried no title-page woodcut image. Beavan, 'Chapbooks and Broadsides' p.67 note 44.

⁵⁹ ESTC T66797

⁶⁰ Charles Randall of Stirling reprinted this chapbook in 1801 and laid out the title-page exactly like Dunbar.

⁶¹ ESTC T194027

⁶² ESTC T300140

⁶³ James Chalmers of Aberdeen stopped printing chapbooks about 1800. Some of his cuts were acquired by John Fraser & Co. of Stirling. Beavan, 'Chapbooks and Broadsides', pp.48, 50 and fig.16.

⁶⁴ Both cuts may owe their origin to a much older similar title-page depiction seen on John Tillotson, *A Perswasive to Frequent Communion* (Edinburgh: Heir of Andrew Anderson, 1688), ESTC R185141.

⁶⁵ ESTC T40445

⁶⁶ See examples in Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: British Museum P., 1999), ch. 7.

⁶⁷ This cut bears comparison with the Whitehaven cut as shown in Barry McKay, 'Cumbrian Chapbook Cuts', pp.69-70 and fig.3. The only major difference is that the Newry cut has the individuals standing on opposite sides to the Whitehaven example.

⁶⁸ It, and subsequent appearances, were clearly modelled on the Dicey broadside of c.1747, *Shon-ap-Morgan, Shentleman of Wales*...For a full discussion, see Peter Lord, *Words with*

Pictures: Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press, 1640-1860

(Aberystwyth: Planet, 1995), pp.48-49 and illus betw. pp. 80-81. Also Brian Alderson, 'Collecting Children's Books: Self-indulgence and Scholarship', in *Children and their Books: a Celebration of the Work of Iona and Peter Opie*, ed. by Gillian Avery and Julia Briggs. (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1989, repr. 1990), pp. 7-17 (p.14) in which he notes the use of the motif by Bewick (Newcastle) and Newbery (London).

⁶⁹ ESTC N1951

⁷⁰ E.g., *Five Excellent New Songs, viz. 1. The Crafty Millar [...]*, Mair, c. 1785. ESTC T178391.

The presence of the cut on *A Mirry [sic] and Diverting Song, called John Gilpin's Expedition from London to Edmonton*, 1790, is at least explicable by virtue of the text's humorous description of a journey undertaken. Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Apparently not in ESTC.

⁷¹ ESTC T126555

⁷² ESTC N30521

⁷³ ESTC T36390 (*Jack and the Giants*).

⁷⁴ ESTC T22915

⁷⁵ The work had mid-seventeenth-century origins. ESTC R8264.

⁷⁶ ESTC T10531

⁷⁷ *The Memorable Battle of Bannockburn [...]* (Paisley: Neilson, 1813) has a cut that is difficult to interpret, but may be the Mosaic 'Opening of the Red Sea'. (There is a cut with similar elements in *The Child's Book about Moses* (Concord, NH: Merrill & Co., 1842, p.8). If Neilson's cut is of the Old Testament account, then it may be a visual metaphor for national salvation (i.e. Battle of Bannockburn) though if so, it is both extremely subtle and sophisticated.

⁷⁸ Thomas Carter, *Memoirs of a Working Man* (London: Knight, 1845) p.21. The image was based on Acts 9.17-19 which refers to scales being removed from Paul's eyes. Also discussed in Anderson, *Printed Image*, p.44.

⁷⁹ Beavan, 'Chapbooks and Broad-sides', pp.59-61.

⁸⁰ E.g., Earthenware jug, 1769, Victoria and Albert Museum. Inv. C14-1952. For hunting scenes on ceramics, see Aileen Dawson, *The Art of Worcester Porcelain, 1751-1788: Masterpieces From the British Museum Collection*. (London: British Museum, 2007), pp. 178-81.

⁸¹ Drakard, pp. 100-101 (plates 260, 261). Dawson, *Worcester Porcelain*, pp. 52; illus. on p. 176.

⁸²ESTC T300896.

⁸³ Staffordshire earthenware group, c.1850. Victoria and Albert Museum. Inv. C74-2001.

⁸⁴ Michael J. Preston, 'Rethinking Folklore, Rethinking Literature: looking at *Robinson Crusoe*...: a Chapbook-inspired Inquiry', in *The Other Print Tradition: Essays on Chapbooks, Broadsides and Related Ephemera*, ed. by Cathy L. Preston and Michael J. Preston (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 19-73 (p.26).

⁸⁵ Sandro Jung, 'Introduction [to the 2015 issue of the *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society [JEBS] Devoted to Chapbooks*]', *JEBS*, 10 (2015), pp. 13-27 (p.23). The present author has benefited immensely from the articulation of issues discussed in this introduction.

⁸⁶ Atkinson and Roud, 'Introduction', p.47.

⁸⁷ ESTC T187784

⁸⁸ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1997), p.76.

⁸⁹ ESTC T223820

⁹⁰ I. Beavan, 'Burns and Chapbooks: A Bibliographer's Twilight Zone', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 43 (2017) pp.321–327. 'The farewell to the brethren of St James' Lodge, Tarbolton' is by Burns, but his compositions are frequently not credited to him in chapbooks.

⁹¹ ESTC T169908

⁹² ESTC T188401

⁹³ ESTC T155175; T34977; T32067

⁹⁴ For seventeenth-century depictions of Cupid, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*...(Cambridge: C.U.P., 1981, repr 1985), illus. on pp.143, 168.

⁹⁵ The woodcut composition of Valentine leading Orson had scarcely changed since at least the seventeenth century.

⁹⁶ George Miller, printer and bookseller of Dunbar published a 24-page *Antidote to Superstition; or, A Cure for Those Weak Minds which are Troubled with the Fear of Ghosts & Witches [...]* (Cheap tracts, 19) (Dunbar: Miller, between 1795 and 1804).

⁹⁷ This claim for the general conservatism of the chapbook image contrasts with Susan Pedersen's detection, within chapbook texts, of an 'antiauthoritarian, subversive...aspect [that] gave this literature its ideological coherence'. 'Hannah More meets Simple Simon: Tracts, Chapbooks and Popular Culture in Late Eighteenth-century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), pp. 84-113 (p.104).

⁹⁸ J. L. Austin, *Sense and Sensibilia*...ed. by G. J. Warnock (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1962, repr. 1964) pp.100-101.

⁹⁹ Alexandra Franklin, 'Making Sense of Broadside Ballad Illustrations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-century Print*, ed. by Kevin D. Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll (Lewisburgh: Bucknell U.P., 2013), pp. 169-94. 'The allusive mode of illustration was popular with ballad printers...when slip-songs...[required] only one small woodcut...This mode drew upon images which, while they had inherent meaning themselves, also served as pointers to a set of wider associations' (p.180) and 'The use of stock images...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', (p.183).

¹⁰⁰ Sandro Jung, 'Introduction', p.24, comments that chapbook woodcut illustrations 'collectively constituted a symbolic grammar which conveyed sets of ideological messages...that confirmed ideal notions of prosperous and meaningful selfhood', citing Franklin (above) in support of his observations. However, it could equally plausibly be argued that chapbook woodcuts recognised and confirmed the relatively disadvantaged social position of many of the works' readers.

¹⁰¹ There is a real danger of falling into over-complication in analysing the woodcuts. *The Tragedy of Sir James the Rose* (Stirling: W. Macnie, c.1820s) has a cut of a knight on horseback. Whilst we can analyse the components of the cut in various ways (arms, legs, lance, horse) what we see is a depiction of Sir James. We do not, in this particular context, see a knight in armour from which we take a further mental step towards identifying the depiction with Sir James.

¹⁰² Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*. (Oxford: Polity P., 1988), pp. 40-41.

¹⁰³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. New ed. (London: Routledge Kegan & Paul, 2010), p. 49.