



The Women's Print History Project

May Hays, Mapped (feat. Timothy Whelan), *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

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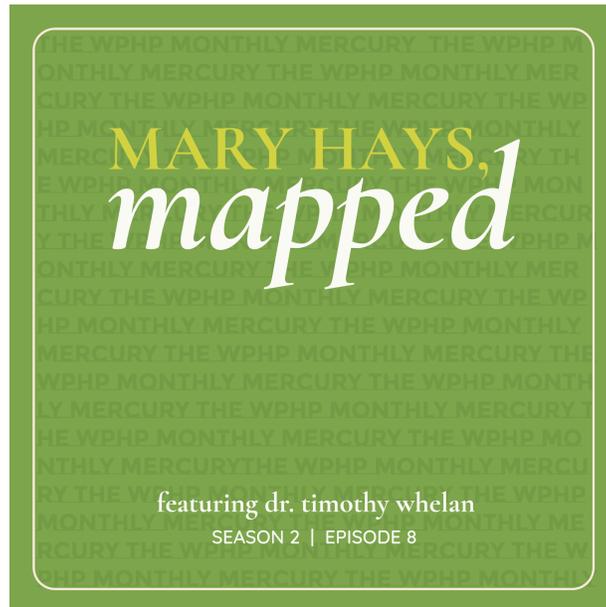
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May Hays, Mapped (feat. Timothy Whelan)

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren



Mary Hays (1759–1843) was a religious Dissenter in London, and a prolific author of her period, publishing in a wide range of genres from history to education to essays to novels. In 1803, she published the six-volume work *Female Biography*, a substantial work of scholarship that relied on more than one hundred sources to write biographies about more than 300 hundred women. (Read Amanda Law’s Spotlight about Hays and *Female Biography* [here](#).) But how did Hays, a Dissenting writer of moderate means, access all of those books?

To find out, we invited Dr. Timothy Whelan to talk all things Mary Hays, but especially her literary environs, which included relationships with Dissenting booksellers, connections with the Godwin circle, a number of the biggest and most successful circulating libraries of the time, including the *Minerva Press* and *Hookham’s*, and residences across London that were never more than a five-minute walk from a library or a bookshop. And we meander through London itself, where Dr. Whelan tracked more than just where Hays’ likely found her sources for her *History*: he mapped Hays’ residences, the residences of her large extended family, the booksellers and circulating libraries around her locations, Dissenting booksellers, and the chapels of Dissenters in London—a variety of networks that, as it turns out, are far more interwoven than one could have anticipated without the help of Dr. Whelan’s seven-by-seven foot map. (You can see some of this mapping on his website, [here](#).)

Dr. Timothy Whelan is a Professor of English at Georgia Southern University. He works in the area of women’s studies and at the intersection of religion and literature in the lives of British and American Nonconformist women writers between 1650 and 1850, with a particular focus on various Romantic writers, both men and women, and their interaction with religious Dissent. He was the general editor for Pickering and Chatto’s eight-volume collection of

Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720–1840, and some of his recent publications include an article in *Publishing History* called, “Mary Lewis and her Family of Printers and Booksellers, 1 Paternoster Row, 1749-1812” and an article in *Women’s Writing* called “Room[s] of her Own”: Libraries and Residences in the Later Career of Mary Hays, 1814–1828.” To learn more about his work on Mary Hays, you can visit his website

<https://www.maryhayslifewritingscorrespondence.com>, and to learn more about his work on Non-Conformist women, including booksellers, visit his website <https://www.nonconformistwomenwriters1650-1850.com/>.

WPHP Records Referenced

Hays, Mary (person, author)

Female Biography (title)

Fenwick, Eliza (person, author)

Memoirs of Emma Courtney (title)

The Victim of Prejudice (title)

Macaulay, Catharine (person, author)

Wollstonecraft, Mary (person, author)

Richard Phillips (firm, publisher)

Stuart, Mary [Queen of Scots] (person, author)

Roland de la Platière, Marie-Jeanne (person, author)

Bradstreet, Anne (person, author)

Ann Cole (firm)

Godwin, William (person, author)

Thomas Hookham, Hookham’s Library (firm, publisher and bookseller)

William Lane, Minerva Library (firm, publisher and printer)

Martha Gurney (firm, publisher and bookseller)

Joseph Johnson (firm, publisher and bookseller)

John Aikin (person, author)

Charlotte Smith (person, author)

The History of England (title)

Charles Taylor (firm)

Taylor, Jane (person)

Taylor, Ann (person)

George Cawthorn (firm, publisher and printer)

Thomas Knott (firm, bookseller)

William Button (firm, bookseller)

The Brothers; or, Consequences (title)

John Robinson (firm, publisher and bookseller)

Mary Lewis (firm, bookseller and printer)

Timothy Priestley (firm, publisher)

Works Cited

Griffin, Julia B, gen. ed. *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720-1840*. Vol 2. Pickering & Chatto, 2011.

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Whelan, Timothy. "Mary Lewis and her Family of Printers and Booksellers, 1 Paternoster Row, 1749-1812." *Publishing History*, vol. 85, 2021, pp. 31–67.

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Further Reading

Chen, Li-ching. "'Like the Lion in His Den': Mary Hays, Solitude and Women's Enfranchisement." *European Romantic Review*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2021, pp. 335–54.

Walker, Gina Luria, ed. *The Idea of Being Free: a Mary Hays Reader*. Broadview, 2006.

Waters, Mary A. "'The First of a New Genus': Mary Wollstonecraft as a Literary Critic and Mentor to Mary Hays." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2004, pp. 415–34.

Whelan, Timothy. "Mary Hays And Dissenting Culture, 1770–1810." *The Wordsworth Circle*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2019, pp. 318–47.

Whelan, Timothy. "Piety and Print: Dissenters and Evangelicals in Eighteenth-Century Book History." *Bunyan Studies*, vol. 24, 2020, pp. 114–18.

- 00:00:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so, by the time I had done all of London, north and south, the yellow marks, I just stood back, and it was an absolute epiphanic moment [Kate and Kandice laugh] because they're everywhere. The first thing I realized was that, so put anybody there, let's put Mary Hays anywhere in London, anytime during her lifetime, she was never more than a 5 to 10 minute walk from reading material. Never. Never. No one. No one is.
- 00:00:35  [music playing]
- 00:00:44 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Based on her person record in the WPHP, we can tell that Mary Hays was born in 1759 in Southwark, died in 1843 in Lower Clapton, and that she published at least sixteen titles before 1836. While this record includes more information than we have about many women writers in our period, it doesn't tell us much about the wealth of information out there about Hays, from her involvement in the Dissenting community of London to her reading habits.
- 00:01:12 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Every interview that we have done for *The WPHP Monthly Mercury* has led to me exclaiming how much I love the individuals we've talked about—and honestly, this episode is no different. This month, we talked to Dr. Timothy Whelan to learn more about Mary Hays and *her* literary environs: the Dissenting community, the booksellers she published with, and the local libraries she borrowed from.
- 00:01:35  [music playing]
- 00:01:43 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Hello, and welcome to the *WPHP Monthly Mercury*, the podcast for *The Women's Print History Project*! The WPHP is a bibliographical database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kandice Sharren—
- 00:01:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) and I'm Kate Moffatt—
- 00:02:00 Kandice Sharren (co-host) and we are long-time editors of the WPHP, and the hosts of this podcast. This season, we have some exciting special guests to interview, new research to share, and more stories to tell. Join us every third Wednesday of the month to learn more about the history of women's involvement in print.
- 00:02:17  [music playing]
- 00:02:28 Kandice Sharren In 1803, Mary Hays published *Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and*

- (co-host) *Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries*. In six volumes, Hays presented deeply researched biographies of 300 women, including those as famous as Queen Elizabeth I, or as contemporary as Catharine Macaulay.
- 00:02:49 Kandice Sharren (co-host) *Female Biography* drew on over 100 sources, many of which have been documented by Gina Luria Walker’s *The Female Biography Project*. We at the WPHP are quite familiar with *Female Biography*, because one of our Research Assistants, Amanda Law, wrote a spotlight about the work early last year.
- 00:03:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host) While she was working on it, we jumped at the chance to attend Timothy Whelan’s talk, “Circulating Libraries and Private Networks: Locating Sources for Mary Hays’s *Female Biography, 1795–1803*”, a “History of Libraries” seminar hosted by The Institute of English Studies at the University of London. The many ways his talk related to our WPHP data—from female authorship to the history of women-owned book trade businesses—means when we began brainstorming potential podcast guests for this season, we knew we absolutely *had* to invite Dr. Whelan.
- 00:03:42 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And so, in today’s episode, Dr. Timothy Whelan joined us to chat *all* things Mary Hays including her status as a Dissenter, *Female Biography*, and its many sources, booksellers, circulating libraries, familial and religious connections, six-foot maps, walks around London “and its environs”, and much much more!
- 00:04:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Timothy Whelan is a Professor of English at Georgia Southern University. He works in the area of women’s studies and at the intersection of religion and literature in the lives of British and American nonconformist women writers between 1650 and 1850, with a particular focus on various Romantic writers, both men and women, and their interaction with religious Dissent.
- 00:04:22 Kandice Sharren (co-host) He was the general editor for Pickering and Chatto’s eight-volume collection of *Nonconformist Women Writers, 1720–1840*, and some of his recent publications include an article in *Publishing History* called, “Mary Lewis and her Family of Printers and Booksellers, 1 Paternoster Row, 1749-1812”, and an article in *Women’s Writing* called “Room[s] of her Own”: Libraries and Residences in the Later Career of Mary Hays, 1814–1828.”
- 00:04:40 Kandice Sharren (co-host) To learn more about his work on Mary Hays, you can visit his website <https://www.maryhayslifewritingscorrespondence.com/>; and to learn more about his work on Non-Conformist women, including booksellers, visit his website <https://www.nonconformistwomenwriters1650-1850.com/>.

- 00:05:09  [music playing]
- 00:05:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) We are so excited to have you here today, Tim. Thank you so much for joining us. We are looking forward to talking about Mary Hays, who we have in the WPHP as an author, and, this means that we know she was born in Southwark in 1759, and she died in Lower Clapton in 1843. But our person record data, while fairly thorough in terms of those biographical facts, doesn't tell us much about who she was really. So, Tim, can you please tell us, who was Mary Hays?
- 00:05:52 Timothy Whelan (guest) Well thank you very much for having me as a guest today. So, it's quite an honor, and it's always fun to talk about Mary Hays, who has become a sort of a friend of mine, since I've devoted so much energy to her.
- 00:06:07 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Aw! [laughs]
- 00:06:09 Timothy Whelan (guest) It's been quite fun, but you really do feel like you know this person now. So, I do know some things about her. I think the most important thing about her that I've stressed that has not been I think as known as it should be is that Mary Hays is the first woman novelist in England who lives her entire life as a religious Dissenter. She's born a Dissenter and she dies a Dissenter; and there is, she's the first one to then publish novels as we know it, so, I always think that that's a distinction.
- 00:06:44 Timothy Whelan (guest) And she's also a Baptist, which is of more interest to me, because I do Baptist history, so she has this double thing for me. She's both the first Dissenting woman novelist and she's the first Baptist woman novelist. But that also shapes her life, and so, as a Dissenter, a nonconformist, she's part of a group that in the seventeenth century, they split from the Anglican church mostly over issues of church governance and some doctrinal issues, and the sacraments, how the sacraments were done, and the Dissenters really really believed that it was a local church that that's the center of things,
- 00:07:27 Timothy Whelan (guest) and so the hierarchy of the Anglican church in the Catholic Church, they just began to view as not biblical, and so they break away and out of that comes this tradition of people voting for their ministers, and choosing their ministers, and women voting; and so Hays, by the time she's born, there's a 100 years of this tradition that women have these roles to play and that they were expected to contribute.
- 00:07:53 Kate Moffatt Cool!

(co-host)

- 00:07:54 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so I think by the time she's a teenager we see this in her letters, in her writing, and she continues all her life, so coming out of Dissent is a very central issue and feature for Mary Hays, and often her friendships with Godwin and Wollstonecraft and others has been seen as a turning point. But I would argue that I think she brings much of this already with her by the time she makes them this, so this is not a beginning point, it's just a transition point.
- 00:08:21 Timothy Whelan (guest) So the groups that are formed at that time are mostly the Baptists, the independents and they will later become congregationalist, and the Presbyterian, so there are three main groups. And Hays is a Baptist and she's raised a Particular Baptist, which would have been the Calvinist Baptist. There were also General Baptists, and they tended by the late eighteenth century to become Unitarians, and these are people she will have more to do with after the 1790s, actually will be general Baptists.
- 00:08:53 Timothy Whelan (guest) And many of her family members will remain particular Baptists, so she and her sister are on the side over here with more of the Unitarian leanings, so it does cost some divisions in the family between those who remain orthodox and those who were viewed as heterodox. And Hays is definitely by 1793 she's definitely in that group probably earlier than that as well. Moravians and the Quakers also a part of this, and then later the Methodists.
- 00:09:27 Timothy Whelan (guest) Methodists initially are not out of the church but by the nineteenth century they do kind of move out of the church, so eventually, the nineteenth century it's a much larger group and then by the mid-century of the nineteenth century it sort of ends after the reform bill and other things. And then the Toleration Act and stuff, and so to be a Dissenter by 1850 is not what it was in 1715, so I like the eighteenth century when they are really Dissenters [Kate laughs], and they take pride in it, and it forms a very interesting cultural group.
- 00:10:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, that's Hays, as she grows up in that environment. And then she embodies these ideals early in her life, they show up in her first letters and then shortly before her death, 1843, probably right written maybe in 1842, she writes to Matilda Mary Hays—which was one of her nieces, and later a writer herself—and she writes to her about telling her that she is to continue in her life to pay homage to the supreme being, supposed to originate in her own understanding and her own heart and not derived from religious cant and all of the institutionalized church, and it

- was to form the offspring of love not of hate and fear,
- 00:10:50 Timothy Whelan (guest) and these are the very things that Hays would have had when she was a teenager, now she's imparting them to a very young Matilda Mary Hays, and so, you just see how this remains with Hays throughout her life, it's really a turning point. And then in the mid 1790s, she moves into the Godwin circle, certainly a major influence. She develops friendships, William Friend, George Dire, Eliza Fenyk, Crabb Robinson, Hays by 1799 knows so many people and is moving in very interesting circles [Kandice laughs]. And out of this comes her two novels: *Emma Courtney* and *The Victim of Prejudice*. Very important proto-feminist novels for certain.
- 00:11:33 Timothy Whelan (guest) And she publishes numerous periodical essays and reviews, and moves out of her family home, across the river to Hatton Garden, in 1795. So 1795, clearly a turning point. Major turning point in her life, and she seeks to become this independent woman writer. And her friendships and her interests expand just dramatically. And if you look at what happens then, by 1821 Hays has this distinction of being one of the most prolific writers of her generation, as well. Not just how *much* she writes, but *what* she writes.
- 00:12:16 Timothy Whelan (guest) So just to give you an idea, between 1784 and 1821 Hays publishes poetry, 'Oriental' tales, moral and philosophical essays, religious tracks, periodical essays, book reviews, two feminist novels, a treatise on women's rights and educations, women's biographies, including one on Wollstonecraft, and life writing, the *Female Biography*, a novel, as well as historical literature for young readers, and at the end of her career, moral and didactic fiction and drama for adolescents and young adults. That kind of breadth—
- 00:12:55 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Wow!
- 00:12:56 Timothy Whelan (guest) I don't think any other woman writer has that during her period.
- 00:13:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host) I feel like I'm underachieving! [Kate and Kandice laugh]
- 00:13:02 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yeah! It's impressive!
- 00:13:05 Kate Moffatt It's very impressive!

(co-host)

00:13:07 Timothy Whelan (guest) And probably she deserves more recognition, I think for this totality of what she does. Not just her friendship in that period with Godwin and Wollstonecraft, which tends to dominate the interest.

00:13:25 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right, right.

00:13:25 Timothy Whelan (guest) Much more than that. She is also very close to her family, and so if there is a third issue, it's that she's not alone. She does move all over twenty residences, I think, in total.

00:13:38 Kandice and Kate Oh wow!

00:13:38 Timothy Whelan (guest) Which is unusual for anyone at any time in anyone's life.

00:13:44 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, she is a bit nomadic, and that has been viewed, I think by people, that she's hard to get along with, can't find a place, always looking to escape. I don't think it's exactly that. Once I did all this mapping, and then mapped where all of her nieces and brothers and sisters, this massive family that she has, are living, she's always nearby. So, in some ways, it's not that she's looking to escape. It seems to be much more that she's locating herself in areas where she's actually serving between 40 and 50 nephews and nieces.

00:14:20 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh wow! [laughs]

00:14:19 Timothy Whelan (guest) And she teaches many of them, and at one point, she is living on a street in which almost the entire street is occupied by her family members. Six of them [Kandice laughs].

00:14:31 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!

00:14:33 Timothy Whelan (guest) So the mapping thing is interesting, because when I did the genealogical work, and then you locate them, you find out that she's not living in isolation ever.

00:14:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Not at all! Right.

00:14:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) It's always where she could get to them. And so it changes that whole perspective of how, if you only look at that in isolation, it does appear odd. Somebody just can't find a place to live. And yet it's probably not that at all.

00:15:00 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right, you need the context.

00:15:02 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah.

00:15:03 Timothy Whelan (guest) She does seem very devoted to her religious ideals of descent. She's devoted certainly to women's rights and issues at all times. Very much politically involved, and very much devoted to her family. So I think if I were to sum her up, those are the, some of the main points that I have found that really do characterize who she is. And she seems to be consistent with that from youth, all the way to her eighties, so, it's quite an achievement I think.

00:15:33 Kate Moffatt (co-host) She sounds wonderful!

00:15:34 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, and sorry, I might have missed this, but did you say that all of those addresses were within London, or is that like wider movements?

00:15:43 Timothy Whelan (guest) London and the environs is what they often say [Kate and Kandice laugh] South London, yes.

00:15:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah. Suburbs! [laughs].

00:15:51 Timothy Whelan (guest) For a four-year period she lives outside of London. After her mother dies and she inherits, she and her sister inherit about 800 pounds each. It helps her. It certainly puts her [in] a different situation where she's not as dependent now on producing income from what she writes. And she says that her health was an issue, so she goes to Northamptonshire to stay in a school. She's not teaching anything. She just boards there but that's no good.

00:16:21 Timothy Whelan (guest) And then, [from] 1814 to 1817, she lives mostly in Bristol. And she does seem to do quite well there. And then she comes back to London, and again, it seems to be issues of the family that bring her back. She may have wanted to stay in Bristol, but she's just too tied to them. So, it seems like it serves her purpose and then she's back in London. But she does live on east side of the river. She moves back and forth.

And again, it seems to be family issues that take her, her brother moves to the south. The next thing you know, she is out with them. They go back, she goes back—

- 00:16:52 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Interesting!
- 00:16:54 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes, and she moves around, much as they are moving.
- 00:16:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right!
- 00:17:01 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, the furthest was the Norwood Lodge, which I liked to have never found. Because Norwood is actually quite common. There is a lot of Norwoods [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And finding Norwood Lodge, there were actually several Norwood lodges.
- 00:17:16 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh no! [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:17:18 Timothy Whelan (guest) And I think I had it, and then no, that's not it [Kate laughs], and I finally found it on a map from the late nineteenth century before it was torn down. I never could find it on earlier maps because it was too far south, it was really seven miles from central London.
- 00:17:32 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right!
- 00:17:34 Timothy Whelan (guest) Now that's about the furthest away she is, and that's only for a short time with her brother, then he moves up to Camberwell, and she goes with them. So, she is only out there, but Crabb Robinson walks all the way out there to visit her, and says he just walks seven miles, so that's how I knew!
- 00:17:48 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Cool! [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:17:49 Timothy Whelan (guest) It's to the south, but the ones I kept finding weren't that far. And I finally found the record office by someone who was very generous in helping me—
- 00:17:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!

- 00:18:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think I know where it was, and we got it, and I was quite happy to actually see it on a map and know where she lived. But yes, most of the time, the farthest is Islington to the north, Norwood to the south, and then onto the east is where she lives at Greenwich park at the castle. And then at one point she stays in the west side at Pimlico, but I don't know where, that's just a reference from Crabb Robinson. And I think she's just staying with somebody. I think she's just visiting somebody. So, and then, in central London and Southwark, that area is the most, the key areas, but I know one time she said Peckham. She does seem to want to live after a while, where she can easily walk out of the city into the country. She's a walker.
- 00:18:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh I love that! I study women walking so I'm thrilled to hear that [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:18:52 Timothy Whelan (guest) Robinson will come over and visit and they will go for a walk and the walk will go on for two or three hours.
- 00:18:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, wow!
- 00:18:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, I love it! I love it.
- 00:18:59 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yeah! And this is when she is in her sixties and seventies! So she is an avid walker. So, if you look at where she's living, and look at the map, you'll see that she is almost always within, she lives with her brother, at once for about four years, right across from open lands. Robinson goes over there, and they go for a walk out there. So, when you do all that, you look at the mapping, it does begin to make sense that she is not just finding a place anywhere. They seem to be actually carefully chosen for different reasons, so it tells you something very different about her than what I think people had ever known before.
- 00:19:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It really reminds you of how important that context is to understanding the information that we dig for, and find as historians, as scholars, as researchers. How important it is to really look for the information around it as well, which is actually kind of what we try to do on the podcast, we try to look at the data that we have and what exists outside of that that we were not able to capture, and how does that influence or change the way that we think about or look at that data, or understand it. So that's really, that's really fascinating. She sounds very cool [Kate and Kandice laugh].

- 00:20:09 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, you mentioned that she writes in a really wide range of genres, including biography, and one of the titles that we have in the WPHP that I know that you've worked on, is her book, *Female Biography*. So, we were wondering if you could tell us a little bit more about this particular book; who's in it, who isn't in it, how did she write it?
- 00:20:35 Timothy Whelan (guest) Well, that is an interesting topic that I got drawn into, so to speak, from conversations I had with Gina Luria Walker, in which she had done quite a bit of work, they republished *Female Biography*, and then they got published in a volume of essays, on the sources, and I was talking with her, and I asked her, I think, about how does she get them, she says what we just really don't know, how she accessed—I thought that was maybe a question that could be answered, I did not know how—
- 00:21:08 Timothy Whelan (guest) I just found it would be interesting to see if I could do it [Kate laughs], and I decided when I was in London on my next trip that I would explore that sum, and I began to look, and I'd never really done any work of that nature in libraries, and circulating libraries, and I began to look at some catalogues, and began to, then, look at some of the works that she cites. She cites about eighty sources in *Female Biography*.
- 00:21:36 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!
- 00:21:36 Timothy Whelan (guest) And, so, this came out in six volumes, and about three hundred women biographies from antiquity all the way to Catharine Macaulay, so, not Wollstonecraft, Wollstonecraft had already written a biography of, and published for Richard Phillips, and most people now think that that she did not see the need to republish that or to read to that biography. Now, that may be one way of reading it, [Kate laughs], it could also be that by 1803 Richard Phillips told her not to put Wollstonecraft in there, that Wollstonecraft may have been too controversial.
- 00:22:13 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 00:22:14 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, she had already done the *Biography*, and it was available, between 1800 and 1803, things might have changed, so that he did not want it in there.
- 00:22:28 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.

- 00:22:28 Timothy Whelan (guest) For whatever reason, it's not. But there were still plenty of controversial ones in it. So, she has all the people that you would expect, the women figures to be in there, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, Lady Gengrade, hugely popular ones, Catherine the Great of Russia, so these have long entries, Margaret of Anjou, Madame Roland, a more contemporary one, Catharine Macaulay, and then many many women that were certainly not household names by any means, that she gets from books of Roman history, French history, even Ann Bradstreet shows up briefly from the American colonies, the names not spoken correctly [Kandice and Kate both laugh], but that's ok, and—
- 00:23:19 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Names were flexible! [Kate laughs]
- 00:23:19 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes! And some of the French writers that she chose, were, some of the critics thought were not the best appropriate choices. So, she did have, she pushes the button at times, as probably as much as she could do, about bringing as many women as possible to the forefront. And she says, in her preface, she wanted to improve the knowledge of women about women. And to help cultivate the minds of women in general to biography and history.
- 00:23:55 Timothy Whelan (guest) She knows very well the state of women's education in 1803, for the previous fifty years had not been great, she has written on it before, she has complained about it, and *Female Biography*, and some of these works that she does, is a way to try to give women something else to read, that would, yes, educate them, cultivate them, but also I think establish a sense of women's history—
- 00:24:24 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right—
- 00:24:25 Timothy Whelan (guest) which had not been done very well at all. And she is not the only woman to do this, but she certainly makes a serious contribution with these six volumes and three-hundred biographies. They are not all what you would say 'original' work in that regard, because it's almost impossible for her to do that kind of research.
- 00:24:46 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 00:24:47 Timothy Whelan (guest) But, still! Putting together the materials for three hundred women would not have been an easy task, no matter what, she certainly could not have purchased, we know she would not have purchased all the books. So, if she couldn't purchase

- them, then how did she write three hundred biographies about these women [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:25:11 Timothy Whelan (guest) It's a two-year period, probably.
- 00:25:13 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh wow!
- 00:25:13 Timothy Whelan (guest) The time she finishes *The Victim of Prejudice*, 1799, and this is all done by the end of 1802, she's got, let's say three years, where she is really working hard on this. So, in three years, she's got to find these sources, get them in some fashion, read them, take notes, write out her things. So it's a lot of work! Six volumes, and it's all being done by hand.
- 00:25:39 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, I thought that question would be an interesting one, and since the new edition, the new volume, they have been republished, and these essays were there, about some of these sources, I thought maybe I could augment some of that work in a way that might help us understand how any woman would have gone about doing research in 1800 in London, how, what would they do? So I just began to plow through it, so to speak [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:26:11 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so, the first thing I did was to look at existing catalogues of libraries, and the first two I thought of were the subscription libraries. The London library and the Westminster library. And they were both operating at that time, and certainly, I looked at her location, so there she is, in Kirby Street and Hatton Garden from 1795 to 1803, so this is when she is doing all of this work, and so right in the very heart of central London. If you look at the map, I mean, she is *right* there, you couldn't get a much more central location to the east—
- 00:26:49 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right!—
- 00:26:50 Timothy Whelan (guest) and to the west than Hatton Garden. So, good choice! [Kandice laughs]. She is living with Ann Cole, whose father was an engraver and print seller, and Ann Cole continues the business, and that's typical in Hatton Garden area, there were many in there, so she is living in the home of a single woman now, so there is two single women there, and she is trying to be her own professional writer, and pay her way, and she does for those eight years, and so it's an interesting combination there. And then she's got her own rooms.

00:27:24 Timothy Whelan (guest) Not her own house, but she has her own rooms in that house. And so she, so she obviously is in the daytime going out and getting books, and then coming back, and then writes in her room. And this is this process that goes on from about 1800, 1801, 1802, for about three years. So I began to look at catalogues, and then I began to take all her sources, and there were new sources that had emerged out of the work of professor Walker and these other individuals who wrote these essays. So I had around a 110 maybe total, somewhere 108, 110 total works that they think—

00:28:10 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!—

00:28:11 Timothy Whelan (guest) do appear, okay, in some fashion, in those six volumes. So, I made a list of all those books and then I began to just explore catalogue after catalogue and find them, and I made a spreadsheet.

00:28:30 Kandice Sharren (co-host) [laughs] As you do.

00:28:31 Kate Moffatt (co-host) [laughs] Kandice loves spreadsheets! [Kandice laughs].

00:28:34 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes, and this one, mine is around ten pages, and I began to add libraries, so I started with those two subscription libraries, which made sense to me because they were right there located, and she would have known many of the individuals who were subscribers, they were heavy on the unitarians. So, many of her friends are subscribers.

00:28:55 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So it's cool you see the different kinds of circles, kind of like meeting each other. Neat!

00:28:59 Timothy Whelan (guest) That's right, so it would have been a logical choice, now maybe she could not be a subscriber, but there were women subscribers. Now the catalogues are very sketchy. So, the one that would have been of great benefit to me, one was 1803, and another one was 1799, those two catalogues are now missing, and it was quite a disappointment to me, they were seen.

00:29:22 Kate Moffatt (co-host) [laughs] Yes! I can imagine!

00:29:24 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes, they were seen. That these were the two most critical ones, and I thought, "I am really going to be able to nail this down if she shows up as a subscriber, I got

it”[Kate and Kandice laugh]. Yeah. So, I went to the Westminster library because these have been seen by professor Ken Manley who has written about these two libraries back in the 1980s. And he took images of the title pages of these two catalogues. So I thought, “he’s made this so simple for me!” [Kate and Kandice laugh]

00:29:55 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I went and found out that those materials had now moved from one of—they had condensed the library that he went to, and now all of the Westminster archive was in one place, which is down at St. Anne’s Street. So I went down there to the now archives of the Westminster city libraries for Westminster. And I showed them those two images, and I said I want to see those two catalogues. And they went back and said “okay” [Kate laughs]. And then they came out and said “well, now, you are sure they are here?”, I said, “well of course, they have to be here. Look that professor Manley has cited them, and there they are,” he said “yes I see that, but I’m not finding these.” So he said “let me call somebody else.”

00:30:42 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, no!

00:30:44 Timothy Whelan (guest) And they go back, and twenty minutes later come back out, said “we still are not finding these, now that does not mean that we don’t know where they are, but at the moment, we are not certain.”

00:30:56 Kate Moffatt (co-host) At the moment we don’t know where they are! [Kate and Kandice laugh].

00:31:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) And I said, “these are the only two copies in existence,” I said, “there aren’t anymore,” and I said, “but Mr Manley saw them,” and I said, “I really need to see them,” and they said “well, we understand that, so we are going to do a search for them,” and they said “how long are you going to be in London?” I said “I’ll be here for quite a while,” and he said “come back in two weeks.” So I came back in two weeks, and they said no.

00:31:28 Kate Moffatt (co-host) They are lost!

00:31:28 Timothy Whelan (guest) They said we have no idea where they are.

00:31:34 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, devastating!

00:31:34 Timothy Whelan (guest) But any time a librarian tells you that, you understand how bad that is, because that means they have been misplaced, and if they've been misplaced, they are only going to be found when someone—

00:31:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) By accident! Right!

00:31:48 Timothy Whelan (guest) That's right.

00:31:49 Kate Moffatt (co-host) They are only going to be found again by accident.

00:31:51 Timothy Whelan (guest) Cannot be found by logic. So, I struck out. I was so disappointed [Kate laughs]. But I had the earlier ones, and then I kept expanding, so I decide I will expand my library, so began to get into the circulating libraries, and then even talked to Williams' Library. So, eventually had eleven libraries, and I was restricted somewhat to the catalogues that have survived, I mean there are almost a hundred circulating libraries by 1800. But most of them, no catalogues have survived,

00:32:25 Timothy Whelan (guest) so it's hard to know what they would have had, you might know what they sold, because they'll tell you what they were dealing in, French books, or this book and that, or books of law, and stuff. So, I worked with the catalogues that I could get my hands on, which was still actually not a bad set, and it went all the way to Hookham's 1829, and then I started with Boosey, which was 1788. So, from about catalogues from about 1788 to 1829, to see how these works show up. And I found 103 of 108, and I probably could find all of them, it's very tedious [Kate and Kandice laugh].

00:33:02 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow! [laughs]

00:33:10 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so, once I had done all of that, I felt like I had done enough to prove my point,

00:33:14 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right! [Kate and Kandice laugh]

00:33:16 Timothy Whelan (guest) Not to say that you couldn't go further. But I was somewhat exhausted with going through these [Kandice laughs], because you cannot search them, most of them you have to read—

00:33:24 Kate Moffatt No!
(co-host)

00:33:27 Timothy Whelan No, if it's 10, 000 entries, you are going, you have to find—
(guest)

00:33:30 Kate Moffatt You are reading them! [laughs].
(co-host)

00:33:30 Timothy Whelan Oh, and they are not—
(guest)

00:33:33 Kandice Sharren The way they list titles, it's really hard to identify.
(co-host)

00:33:36 Timothy Whelan Even though they are done by subjects, you can't go by that, either. They would
(guest) put biographies in history. The rhyme or reason to how the catalogue was not ever
consistent.

00:33:50 Kate Moffatt It never made sense.
(co-host)

00:33:52 Timothy Whelan So I just had to go through line by line, page by page,
(guest)

00:33:55 Kandice Sharren Wow.
(co-host)

00:33:56 Kate Moffatt A Herculean task.
(co-host)

00:33:57 Timothy Whelan It was a bit of work, but I found them, and then I would mark how many showed
(guest) up in the library, and so some of the works were in as many as 8 of the 11 libraries,
so you can see the common—and there were some of those who'd be the ones you
would expect—

00:34:14 Kate Moffatt Interesting!
(co-host)

00:34:15 Timothy Whelan Ballard's, and these large encyclopedic books that had come out, they were mostly
(guest) in, and she would have relied on those, Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great
Britain*, Bayle's *General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, the *Biographium*

Fæmineum, Granger's *Biographical History*, Hugh's *History of England*. These were very very common. Plutarch's *Lives*. So some of the sources she used, even the critics in 1803 when they wrote about it would say that some of them were very common, and they were. So that is no question, she could have found them all over the place.

- 00:34:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Anywhere. Right.
- 00:34:53 Timothy Whelan (guest) Okay. But that's maybe 10 or 15, and after that, they are not so common. So, some of them were only found in I think two, I only found in one library, but they were there.
- 00:35:05 Timothy Whelan (guest) Others, I think, had other means of getting some. So, after doing that, it clearly was possible to find these sources. They were in London during that time. How, then, did she go about doing it, well, I think there is some guesswork: did she borrow some from friends who were members of these libraries? We know that she did. She did borrow from some of her friends, and that would make sense. She even borrowed from William Godwin, I mean, she was a book borrower [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:35:44 Timothy Whelan (guest) And why not? When you consider how expensive books were, if you could borrow, right, and she is on a meager income, it would make no sense for her to go purchase books when she could just borrow it from him and turn it back to him, and that's what she did.
- 00:35:56 Kate Moffatt (co-host) She was a book borrower. That's so funny [Kandice laughs].
- 00:35:58 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, she is very practical. So we know she is not purchasing all of these books. So that's how. She is borrowing some. But then, when I looked at this cost of these subscriptions, they weren't that out of line. Could she have joined some of these circulating libraries quite easily? Yes, for, given her income at that time, yes, she could have joined some of them on a daily, she could have gone just for one day, to look at the one book she needed, done her work, and paid, I think, just a minimum amount.
- 00:36:33 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right. Versus a full subscription.

- 00:36:34 Timothy Whelan (guest) That's right. A quarterly entry might have been 4 shillings for some of them. She is probably earning, at this time anyway, £80 to £100 pounds a year during this period. So she is not rich, but she is doing okay. Alright. She is. And, so I think it was very feasible for her to join. And she could have picked some of these, so that she sees okay, "if I join, if I go over here to Bell's library, it has got ten that I need," then she maybe joins for three months there, or maybe then she joins at Hookham, and then she moves over to this.
- 00:37:05 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I don't think she used just one, because she couldn't have. Hookham's library had about 60 percent of the books, it's the largest one, so Hookham's over on New Bonds street, I think definitely she is going there to that reading room, very famous reading room, opens in 1794, flourishes during the whole time, but the Minerva Library on William Lane, that she could have gone there. So I think she would have done much like I did.
- 00:37:36 Timothy Whelan (guest) She would have just got her catalogues, you know, [Kandice laughs], she sees them, she goes and gets them, she joins, they had reading rooms, she is in the reading rooms, we know that women went to these, we know that because there is pictures of women, drawings of the women in these reading rooms. So there is nothing unusual about that. She could borrow the books, take them home, she has her own private rooms, she can compose. So in some respects, the question didn't seem that difficult to me, she probably did it the way we would do it.
- 00:38:04 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right! [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:38:05 Timothy Whelan (guest) Go to the libraries—you do your leg work.
- 00:38:08 Kate Moffatt (co-host) See what they have, go find it, go use it.
- 00:38:09 Timothy Whelan (guest) And take your notes, there is no laptop, that is like the old days, you just write everything down.
- 00:38:15 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Write your notes [laughs].
- 00:38:16 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think it was a very doable thing. And, and even if there was some money involved, she has enough money to do it. So, I don't think that that precluded anything like that. She borrowed what she could borrow, then she subscribed where she needed

to subscribe, and I think she would have probably purchased some as well.

- 00:38:41 Timothy Whelan (guest) When I looked at some of the prices of some of the books that she needed that were at Lackington's Temple of the Muses—and she does have a library, she takes it with her, we know, so she is not direct of books. And she probably even had some books from her family members. Her brothers are very wealthy, they'd obviously have books in their home, so where she is living, moving around. I think getting her sources, now when I look at it, was not an overwhelming task. Now doing the work would have been—
- 00:39:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Bigger [laughs].
- 00:39:20 Timothy Whelan (guest) [Kandice laughs] Yes. But actually finding them no.
- 00:39:25 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right. She had lots of options.
- 00:39:26 Timothy Whelan (guest) She did, and I think none of them were so she couldn't walk there, so when you map them out, 15, 20-minute, 30-minute walk maybe. She is a walker, that's nothing in London, so. So it's not like she can't get to them, it's not like she couldn't afford them, and it's not like she was prohibited from going. So it's not. So I think there was an ideal time, and maybe it's the time when it began to be feasible, to do that kind of work, maybe in 1750 not so.
- 00:39:57 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And I have to ask, because it's so cool to know about how many circulating libraries and potentially booksellers and other places where she was going to get her books from—it's so fascinating to know that there was so many, because we do capture data about book trades businesses in the WPHP, but only the ones that appear on title pages. We call them firms.
- 00:40:22 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And, so we have a number of firms attached to Mary Hays in the WPHP, because they published or sold her books, or printed her books, or what have you. But we don't have her, like our data model doesn't allow us to connect all these other businesses that she was using to get these sources, for example. We don't have that connection indicated in the WPHP anywhere, because it just doesn't work with the way that our data works.
- 00:40:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So I would love to hear more like about those businesses, about those like relationships that she had, especially because circulating libraries—I don't want to

say we've waffled on them [Kandice laughs], but, Kandice, we've maybe waffled on them a little, because again, circulating libraries don't always appear on something like a title page.

- 00:41:09 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I work a lot on our women-run businesses and firms, when I'm bringing them into the WPHP, I have to sometimes make some choices about "do I bring in the women who ran circulating libraries," because what are the chances that they also sold books, or also published books, or had multiple businesses going, so I would love to hear more about those businesses that she was using. You mentioned William Lane and the Minerva Press, and you mentioned the Hookham Library and the reading room there. I'd love to hear a little bit more about these, [more] generally. [Kandice laughs].
- 00:41:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) Well, I agree with you. They show up in advertisements, and, so yes, you are right. On some title pages, they do appear, but not very common. I did find some on title pages where they will say it is a part of their title that's mainly by the 1790s and after that that they start showing up that way. And then others are in advertisements, so there are ways, and Ian Maxted has done a very good job of isolating an awful lot of those who also use that. Boosey goes back to 1773, 74, and he became a Sandemanian, and so, I think she might have known of that library just because of the Dissenting nature of it.
- 00:42:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) And James Aderow, also, I think, is a Dissenter, he is over in Southwark. I think many of these libraries she would have known because of Dissenting connections, and I tried to identify a number of them that way. It's not easy to do. I think David Oglivy library, which is just down the street from her, she is on Holburn 315, Martha Gurney is about 128, she is a little further down on High Holborn; Ogilvy, on 315 or 345, and then the London library moves right to that corner in 1801 on Holburn and Hatton Garden, so just down the street.
- 00:43:29 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think Oglivy comes down from Scotland, and I'm almost positive that he is also Dissenter, and I think these people all know that, again, they are steeped in that culture. That's not going to be the only reason why she would go—William Lanes and Bell, they are just very very large libraries. But I think some of them would have been connected. I think Richard Phillips and Joseph Johnson are both over on St. Paul's Churchyard, they are practically next door to each other. Those are her two main sellers, and they have large establishments.
- 00:44:04 Timothy Whelan And so, would it have been possible for her to get materials and books? We know

- (guest) later about 1806 that there is a reference in a letter where she has gotten materials from Phillips on loan, so it's possible that she got some things even that she needed from people that she knew in the book trade. Just because of her friendships. I don't think that's impossible.
- 00:44:25 Kate Moffatt (guest) Right.
- 00:44:26 Timothy Whelan (guest) Who would have had large stores of things and would have had easy ways to get things for her? So, could she have done that? I think that's very possible. I think others, were heavily by location, they were just nearby, some of them may have had Dissenting interest that she would have found worthwhile, and others are just, like Hookham, would have just been on this large scale, so that it just would have made sense that if I'm going to go somewhere, I'm going to go there. Maybe not for any other reason [Kandice laughs], other than it just would have been the best one, the best source for her.
- 00:45:02 Timothy Whelan (guest) But I think she would have had some connections, but yes, there is an interesting letter by John Aiken in January 1806. She is working on Charlotte Smith, now this is after the *Female Biography*, she takes on another job, and when Charlotte Smith is writing the *History of England for Young Girls*; it may have only been two volumes to begin with, but it becomes more than that, it ends up three volumes, and Hays, then, is asked to write essentially the second half of the history.
- 00:45:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) And she does. It ends up being probably a volume and a half that she writes of the three volumes. Now her name is not on there, but in that letter, she is trying to get more money, it appears, from Philips. But Aiken mentions that yes, there has possibly been some materials from Philips, but also he writes that everything is settled with respect to some books that she'd borrowed, Rochemont Barbauld who is Mrs. Barbauld's husband.
- 00:46:16 Timothy Whelan (guest) And he says that there is no demand whatsoever against you, he would have written himself to give you this information, but the affair is just now concluded. So it doesn't say what library, you see what I mean? So I think there is again evidence that she uses her connections to get materials—and some of these people were people who wrote about people she wants to write about, and she just goes and says “Can I borrow your book?” Which would make perfect sense.
- 00:46:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) “Can I pick your brain?” [Kandice laughs]

- 00:46:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think she is very clever, I think she is a woman who doesn't have much money, but she has enough, alright, she's chosen to move to a location where she can get to these things, it would have been much harder to have done this from the family home in Southwark—
- 00:46:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right—
- 00:47:01 Timothy Whelan (guest) and she is now in a situation that she can utilize all these new connections that she's been developing and these circles that she's moving in, and it does seem like a confluence of factors that just merge—the circulating libraries are flourishing, they are all around her, and there were little ones too, and this is Lintott, I think it is, she is right there around Brunswick Square, and there are actually little ones all over the place—
- 00:47:26 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh!—
- 00:47:27 Timothy Whelan (guest) and they only appear on a few pages but you can locate them, and maybe they only are operating for a few years, but there are French ones, so it's hard for us to say. So there is just no way to know.
- 00:47:37 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yeah.
- 00:47:38 Timothy Whelan (guest) I chose the big guys cause they have the printing catalogues.
- 00:47:40 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right, they have the records available. Right? We are limited by what paper records we can find of these things.
- 00:47:47 Timothy Whelan (guest) When you map all these people, and then you look at where she is, you realize, oh, she is five minutes away from—she could've had personal friendships with these people. They might have gotten things for her, it's just hard to know. But the point would be, she has ample opportunities. They're all over. And I think these little ones to me, I found quite interesting, and I have a separate list where I made of just so many [Kandice laughs] that were scattered around, that were not that far from where she is living, but we will never know that—
- 00:48:23 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right—

- 00:48:24 Timothy Whelan (guest) unless you were to find a record of everybody who comes into the store. So, you can only kind of make these inferences. But I would think that Mary Hays, wherever she is living, knows where she can go to get things to read. And I think she was doing that from a young age. That was what struck me when I started doing this was the Southwark, from the very beginning, when I did all of the booksellers and you just see that she is never more than a short walk from somebody, where she can go read something. She never is. Never.
- 00:48:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) That's so cool. I love that. I was going to say, those are some priorities. I like that a lot [Kandice laughs].
- 00:49:05 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think the other thing that came out of this so interesting is when the London library moved to 1801, and I did not know this, so this was like a gift [Kate laughs], because all of a sudden, I'm doing this work on—moves to the home of Charles Taylor, who is this biblical writer, his very famous work on biblical commentary. And he was a member at that time of the Fetter Lane Independent congregation which would have not been a very far walk from Hatton Garden.
- 00:49:40 Timothy Whelan (guest) So he is right at the corner, if you were to go down, walking down Holborn now, and you were walking to the West End, you would come to Hatton Garden and he would have been right on that west corner. Okay. And now that would have been the London Library at that time. For a number of viewers, it's there. And, he is living, I'm sure, upstairs, and then downstairs is the library. And, if we turn there, and go down Hatton Garden, so in 1801, 1803, Mary Hays is up there at No. 22, which is just at the end of the block.
- 00:50:16 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, it's so close!
- 00:50:17 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I have pictures of it on my website, but if you walk it, it's maybe a thousand feet.
- 00:50:23 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right. So close!
- 00:50:24 Timothy Whelan (guest) And there he is at the center, he would have been known to all her family members, and probably to Ann Cole, who is probably an independent as well, I don't think she is a Baptist. So, right at her doorstep, here comes the London Library, I mean you couldn't ask for more [Kate and Kandice laugh], and he's got some of those connections besides having about seven to ten thousand books, and covering all

- kinds of areas that she's—they got quite a few books that she uses, they have there. They would've had there in 1801, from earlier catalogues.
- 00:51:03 Timothy Whelan (guest) So, we know that. And then she has this Dissenting connection, she's got the books there, it's got a reading room, and later his nephew who became quite a prominent writer himself, Charles Taylor, was his brother was a famous engraver, and his two daughters of course are Jane and Ann Taylor who become the children's poets.
- 00:51:25 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right. Right right right. Familiar names [laughs].
- 00:51:28 Timothy Whelan (guest) So when you talk about the Taylors, it is a very important family to say the least. And so Charles' nephew, Isaac Taylor Jr., and his sisters are the poets, he is also a writer, and he visits his uncle around 1802, 1803, right in that period when he is very young, and the library had just come there, and he says, "The rooms were crammed with books. Upstairs, downstairs, and in the hall and passages, books of all sizes and sorts, books in piles that had slid down from chairs, or stools, and had rested unmoved into a deep deposit of dust had got a lodgement upon them."
- 00:52:17 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh amazing [laughs].
- 00:52:17 Timothy Whelan (guest) And this is just right down the street. So I can just see Mary Hays going in there and saying "Mr. Taylor!" "Yes?" "I'm here to see such and such", and he'd say, "Oh, I'm sure I can, give me a minute, I'll find it," and he brings it out and takes the dust off of it and says "here you go," and it just seems like such an interesting thing that we think about all libraries like that, it was probably a very perfect situation.
- 00:52:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It sounds so Romantic somehow.
- 00:52:50 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes!
- 00:52:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I want to go in and [Kandice laughs] I want to sit in there and dig around, you know? What will you find? It sounds wonderful.
- 00:52:59 Timothy Whelan (guest) We don't know if she went down there and said, "Oh, Charles! Can you find me this book?" He says, "Well, I know it's here somewhere!" [Kate and Kandice laugh], and it's almost straight out of a Dickens' novel!

- 00:53:12 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Me with my library: “I know it’s here somewhere” [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:53:14 Timothy Whelan (guest) It’s like yes, I know it’s here somewhere.
- 00:53:17 Kate Moffatt (co-host) “Sorry, it’s in the catalogue but we can’t find it” [Kate and Kandice laugh]. It’s too many books.
- 00:53:22 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yeah, we can only imagine, but it does seem to me that during that time, I cannot imagine that she is not down there. Just, no way. It’s just right there. So these libraries have these long hours of operation, relatively affordable subscription rates, and then having so many the books that she used, it just does make perfect sense and she has so many connections that she would’ve explored every available connection to find these, but yes, will we ever know for certain about some of those? No, we will not, because of the missing records.
- 00:54:04 Timothy Whelan (guest) But I think we can put together some pretty good inferences, about how she may have been moving around those sections of London, looking here and there for books. So, yes, she could even go back and visit her mother across the river, and on the way, stop in at the Borough, at Anna Rowe’s Shop, which is just on the way to Gainsford Street, and see if he’s got anything there—he does have one of the books. It’s quite rare , he’s got one. Yes, one of the most rare ones.
- 00:54:37 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It’s so cool to me that there was only one circulating library that had this book, and we know she used it. It’s cool to be able to make those jumps, right? To make that inference be like, chances are pretty darn good she went to that library to borrow that book; that’s very neat.
- 00:54:54 Timothy Whelan (guest) Yes. Yes, I think so.
- 00:54:55 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, the layers to of geography and physical proximity but also personal connections, all those kinds of things, they structure a series of possibilities that is a really interesting counterpoint, I think, to what we do with the WPHP which is very much just like what is on the page; how big is the book, how does the author sign their name, all these things, which provides a lot of information but there is just so much that you don’t see unless you start bringing in all these different pictures, whether it’s like religious—
- 00:55:31 Kate Moffatt Doing more of that digging.

- (guest) “I want to provide a suitable opportunity of enjoying a free communication and converse and of consulting works of a greater magnitude and value than are generally to be met with in one collection, hence the scholar intent any [Kandice laughs] particular inquiry, will be enabled to consult such books as are necessary to his purpose, and to avail himself of the opinions of men of erudition.” If Mary Hays saw that I just think she would have said [Kate and Kandice laugh] “that’s it!”
- 00:58:38 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Off to Cawthorn’s. Yeah.
- 00:58:39 Timothy Whelan (guest) Do you see what I mean? She would have just said forget the “him”, and she would have just put herself in there and say, “I’ll have to go down there and check this out” [Kate and Kandice laugh].
- 00:58:49 Kate Moffatt (co-host) That’s me!
- 00:58:51 Timothy Whelan (guest) I have a big project and I need books of erudition [Kate and Kandice laugh], I need all this, and Bell’s had this. I mean of all those libraries—Bell, Hookham, Lane, Minerva, Boosey, Lackington’s—if you put all those together, it was 100 of the 108. She did not have to go all over, necessarily. But she could have gone to so many different ones, so that’s why I think it’s interesting; and will we ever know for certain about some of that?
- 00:50:32 Timothy Whelan (guest) No [Kandice laughs] but I think if we do more work like this we can create scenarios, or we can put people in locations. And if we know wherever they are living, and you map all of these sellers and printers and bookshops and all these libraries and have them all down there, it is not hard to see, and then if you know some of the religious connotations, you could also see where they might have gone even to fit some of that, and that’s what I’m kind of interested in.
- 00:59:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:00:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) So when it’s all done, it does form a fascinating mosaic.
- 01:00:04 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yeah, and I have to ask, I think I thought the mapping was, correct me if I’m wrong here, but it almost sounds like the mapping, the figuring out where she was and what was near her, that was earlier in your research process than I was realizing it was. I’ve been able from other primary sources to figure out what she was working

with, where she was going, etc., and now I'm going to map them later. But it sounds like you map them earlier and that really shaped the research process for you.

01:00:38 Timothy Whelan (guest) It does.

01:00:38 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And that's also very interesting to me, because I don't know why [Kandice laughs] in my head I was like "Oh, yeah the mapping just happened after", but no, the mapping was crucial.

01:00:46 Timothy Whelan (guest) No, I was asked to write a chapter in a book that's coming out on Evangelical culture in the eighteenth century for Oxford, and I did the book trade. So these huge one-hundred-year subjects to do in one chapter, which are miserable to write [Kate and Kandice laugh].

01:01:08 Kate Moffatt (co-host) That's a lot!

01:01:08 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so, I told them I was going to do some different things for it, rather than just do the overall survey, and so I actually had some fun with it. But I took a subscription list and mapped all of that and then I just wanted to know every Evangelical and Dissenting bookseller in London in the eighteenth century. So I just started and ended up with about 300. So my first map was of these 300 Dissenting and Evangelical booksellers.

01:01:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) You started big! [Kate and Kandice laugh]

01:01:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) And this is when I took the A4 pages of the Richard Horwood map, 1799—

01:01:50 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right!

01:01:51 Timothy Whelan (guest) put them all on the floor and taped them together [Kate and Kandice laugh], and it's about maybe 6 or 7 feet by 7 feet.

01:01:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow.

01:02:00 Timothy Whelan And so it took up the whole room. And then I took the yellow marker and I

- (guest) marked all the locations of the 300. So by the time I came to Mary Hays I'd already had this in my head, you see what I mean? So I settled this—
- 01:02:14 Kate Moffatt (co-host) You were already kind of familiar with the map and being able to trace things.
- 01:02:12 Timothy Whelan (guest) Not the circulating libraries per se, but they were easy, that's pretty easy to add in there.
- 01:02:21 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:02:22 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so, by the time I had done all of London, north and south, the yellow marks, I just stood back, and it was an absolute epiphanic moment [Kate and Kandice laugh] because they're everywhere. The first thing I realized was that, so put anybody there, let's put Mary Hays anywhere in London, anytime during her lifetime, she was never more than a 5 to 10 minute walk from reading material. Never. Never. No one. No one is.
- 01:02:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right [Kandice laughs]. Everyone is near a library, whether they like it or not [laughs].
- 01:03:04 Timothy Whelan (guest) I was only doing Dissenting and Evangelical. You understand that I only did a portion—250, around 250, maybe was the actual ones that I did. There's probably 800 to 1000 that show up during that period. So, I'm just doing those and so it is looking like the London underground map. You got the circles that go all the way around it and then they go through. And up and down, east and west. And they are following the Dissenting chapels. So if you look where Whitfield's chapel is at Warfield, all of his sellers, once you plot them, they're just all in a circle around it. And they are all over.
- 01:03:44 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Interesting!
- 01:03:47 Timothy Whelan (guest) And so for each of the chapels, say, the Baptist chapel that was over at Grafton street for a while, it's got three sellers that I know from the church book. I also had a church book—so I have a lot of the church records for Dissenting chapels in the eighteenth century. I have about 250. So I then went back to those records, and I have located many of the sellers from their churches. So then I would go and there they are. So it makes sense that he is over Prince's Street, because it's only two blocks from the church. And, so, then you go to Mary Hays, where she is growing

- up in Southwark, and then you see there is a little circle around her, because that's where those chapels are. There are about five chapels in that area in Southwark and there is about fifteen booksellers and printers circling it.
- 01:04:36 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh! So the booksellers are really setting up where the chapels are, like it's a—
- 01:04:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) The people live near—because they all walk to church, so they are all within. So, if you go back and look at the things they begin to make sense. It's a walking community everywhere they live. Now they can walk all over London, but yes, they live usually within walking distance of the chapels, and so within walking distance there are bookshops.
- 01:05:02 Timothy Whelan (guest) Usually, members of those congregations that are in those chapels. And so then you just spread out, so they are just all over London, you see, they are pockets. So you can never go anywhere and not run into one [Kate and Kandice laugh]. I mean it was really epiphanic and then it makes sense how they operate.
- 01:05:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yeah, yeah!
- 01:05:20 Timothy Whelan (guest) So then they are selling many of the books; if you look at the title pages they will say 'sold from the vestries,' so the seller just comes down and you can not only get them if you went in the shop, a few blocks away, you can also get them in the vestry of the church. And so, Mary Hays' brother-in-law sells rights of book and the proceeds go to her mother, who is his neighbor—they live next door to each other in Gainsford Street. And that was done by Joseph Brown and he is just less than a five-minute walk away. And he is a General Baptist. So all that makes perfect sense.
- 01:05:56 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yup.
- 01:05:57 Timothy Whelan (guest) Why would he go very far away? He doesn't need to go far away. And so they stay with him in what's called the 'household of faith.' And Hays grows up in that environment, and she continues with it. Her first seller is Thomas Knott, 1792 and '93, her first two works with Thomas Knott on Lombard Street. So who is Thomas Knott? He is a Baptist [Kate and Kandice laugh]. So what is she? She is a Baptist. He is a member of the Knott family, his brother is John Knott, a Baptist minister [Kate laughs]. So her brother-in-law, John Duncan Jr., who is very wealthy by this time, and in 1799 he is going to move to the Paragon—the first Paragon in

- Walworth, these beautiful, big, huge new town homes—and she is going to to live with him for a couple years and help with his family her nieces and nephews.
- 01:06:52 Timothy Whelan (guest) And, get away from her mother. But he is very Orthodox, he must have been very tolerant of Mary. And so he knows that she has got issues with the mother, who is, I think, not so tolerant. And so, I think she goes and lives with them. William Godwin comes to dinner at least twice at that residence with Hays and has dinner with the Duncans who are totally Orthodox Calvinists.
- 01:07:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right!
- 01:07:20 Timothy Whelan (guest) People don't even know that very well. And it's at the Paragon Place, which is the palatial home. So Hays is living high [Kate and Kandice laugh]. But when she wants to publish that work, it's a little response to Gilbert Wakefield; it's more than likely that it's her brother-in-law who does this for her. I don't know that Mary Hays is going to traipse on her own to the bookstore. Women often didn't do this.
- 01:07:48 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:07:49 Timothy Whelan (guest) And he would have said “well I'll find somebody, let's just use Knott, you know, he's a good guy” and that would have made perfect sense [Kate and Kandice laugh]. He *would* have known him, you see. And he's in the household of faith. In 1793, her book of essays is published by him as well, then she shifts to Joseph Johnson and he also was a particular Baptist, groomed by George Keeth, who's from Southwark, and the Baptist church was just down the street, and then Richard Phillips, who was from the Old Meeting in Leicester.
- 01:08:28 Timothy Whelan (guest) So when Hays goes to think about a bookseller and a printer, from 1792 all the way to the end, she's always connected with Dissenters. Except maybe the 1821 one, I am not so certain about the printer and seller for her *Memoirs of Queens* 1821, I think that they are not a Dissenting firm. But all the rest are. In fact, William Batton would have been someone she would know from her youth through her brother-in-law, and from the same church, all Baptists.
- 01:09:03 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:09:05 Timothy Whelan (guest) He sets up in Dean St. and moves in 1793 to 1 Pasternost to 24 Paternoster Road and in 1815, she uses him to publish the *Two Brothers*, the work about a moral

didactic drama called *The Brothers* that she writes in Bristol. Now, it's actually quite an interesting work but it wouldn't be highly valued today. I find it interesting because of what she's trying to do with it from a social perspective, and a very practical perspective, but she chooses William Batton, someone she would have known at that point for fifty years.

- 01:09:42 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I think this idea of the 'household of faith,' if you ignore that, you do so at your peril when you talk about Dissenting writers because they are very tied to that culture. So Joseph Johnson is certainly not just connected with Dissenters, but he is. And that was unmistakable. And all of them are, and that's often not noticed. So she is staying within all the way through there, and 1815 comes right back to William Batton, from whom she would have known from the beginning, and would have visited his bookshop in Charles St., which was only ten minutes away from where she was living at that time, for a while.
- 01:10:31 Timothy Whelan (guest) So all of those are interesting connections, and the one in Fair St. by Joseph Brown, that was five minutes away. And then the one straight to the north up on the Shad Thames was John Robinson and Joseph Dermur, that's there for forty years and that again couldn't be more than a five minute walk if you go there now. It's just down and one block up to the right, she could have just run over there to get something.
- 01:11:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) So she's from her youth surrounded by those Dissenting things, and I think that continues wherever she goes, she knows where they are, and so if we could identify these people first, and then we plot them on a map and once that's done you just take somebody and simply say "Where are they living?" and all you would have to do is plug them in and ask "What kind of religious background?" And that might tell us something about why they're there or their access to things. So the mapping really does open tremendous doors.
- 01:11:39 Kate Moffatt (co-host) We are all excited about it but I am the most excited about it [laughs] this is something I obsess over a little bit. But we are dying one day to map the firms that we have in the WPHP. We collect all the addresses in the data: if we have one firm and they have multiple addresses, we'll create different records for each address so that we know which books were published from which address. Where did this firm move to, and where did they end up? I think that's really interesting—there's this geography of book trades that could be really cool to plot!
- 01:12:18 Kate Moffatt And it's so interesting to have this conversation with you because it's showing me

- (co-host) [Kandice laughs] how much potential information that could be so crucial to understanding the book trades. Until you've done that mapping, it's very difficult to see what those connections might be [Kandice laughs]. And you say, for example, if you're in London and you go to where Mary Hays is living and you're like, "Okay, if I'm on the street in front of her house and I were to walk down the street, oh my gosh, it's literally a couple minutes away—"
- 01:12:50 Kate Moffatt (co-host) What kind of impact would that have, if you have multiple women booksellers working on the same street, or next door to each other, what kinds of inferences can you make about the things that they were producing selling, the fact that they probably knew each other, the kinds of relationships that would have formed based on that geographical proximity? That's really hard for us to trace with the way our data model works right now. This has just gotten me fired up all over again, I am dying to map the women-run firms from the WPHP! [all laugh]
- 01:13:22 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think it would be an outstanding thing to do. I think I have that one page that's got all them on there, but my technology is weak because then I have to use the bigger image and then post them. But I don't know that I can zoom in very well on that, you really have to get that high technology so that you can create your big location and there are all the dots, and then somebody zooms in. And yes, let's go for a walk, and then they're just right there, and then you click on each one, you could have all this information about them. And then they would begin to say that would make sense, you know?
- 01:14:09 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And think about being able to provide walking groups, right? If you're going to London and you're interested in this particular publisher or this particular author, go walk down this road and pay attention to these addresses. To be able to provide that kind of information, it would be a very cool scholarly contribution that people could take advantage of.
- 01:14:30 Timothy Whelan (guest) Oh! I did a lot of work on Mary Louis and her family and that has just come out in *Publishing History*, and they own No. 1 Paternoster Road from 1749 to about 1803, and the family members continue on. No. 1 Paternoster Road. And from '49 to '96, it is Mary and then her daughter that are the main two people doing all the work until '03. The men are there, the husbands are there, their names go on the pages but they're not very good. It is the *women* who are running the show.
- 01:15:16 Timothy Whelan (guest) How can anyone not know that if you were to take a walk in 1772, let's say, 1789, and let's go over to Paternoster Road and you go to the entrance—now today it's

- all gone, you know—do you think that people did not know that at No. 1 Paternoster Road, Mary Lewis and Martha Lewis, who then becomes Martha Lewis Trapp and then Marth Lewis Trapp Priestley, and those names are on title pages that I have yet to do genealogical work to follow that.
- 01:15:51 Timothy Whelan (guest) But actually the title pages can help you because they'll say 'Late Mrs. Trapp', and then I had to know who Presley was, but I found that out because I couldn't do work without Timothy Priestley, whom she married, that's the brother of Joseph Priestley. But No. 1; would that have not been known to people then?
- 01:16:21 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:16:22 Timothy Whelan (guest) I think it would have been known, but it's not known to anybody hardly today! They just completely disappeared. She's on all these title pages as just 'M. Lewis', like Martha Gurney as 'M. Gurney.' So if you don't do some of that work—there are women who wrote about about women writing about the slave trade, and wrote and published, talked about work after work after work that Martha Gurney did but never knew it was Martha Gurney.
- 01:16:40 Timothy Whelan (guest) The very subject that they were writing about, those books were printed and sold by women but they didn't know that 'M. Gurney' stood for 'Martha.' And I remember reading that and thinking that's a loss. So yes, if you do your site you can put that to rest [Kandice laughs], and show where they are, and people can go on these little tours, and I think it would be amazing.
- 01:17:06 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It does, it gives you a different understanding of the business and of what it's like to not just have that in your head as kind of a fuzzy thing that was going on in 1790s or 1800s [Kandice laughs], but actually, physically on a street in front of you, as something that was actually taking place. I feel like there is a very different and important and powerful and almost affective experience from being in that physical space itself.
- 01:17:36 Timothy Whelan (guest) I agree.
- 01:17:38 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I'm dying to do those walks myself, to just literally wander around London, finding all the addresses of my favourite women booksellers [laughs].
- 01:17:47 Timothy Whelan (guest) Well, it's fun to do [laughs].

- 01:17:50 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yeah [laughs]
- 01:17:53 Timothy Whelan (guest) I do churches the same way. I was cutting back from along the Strand, going up to where Hookham’s was on New Bonds St. and I just cut over to Piccadilly and decided I would cut down a lane, and I saw that it was Orange St. and there’s a very famous chapel, Orange Street Chapel, where Augustus Toplady preached for a while, the [author of] the *Rock of Ages* [Kandice laughs], yes! Well, I took a picture of the sign because I’m doing these Dissenting chapels.
- 01:18:30 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Yeah!
- 01:18:31 Timothy Whelan (guest) I have been by that street a thousand times—it’s just a very short street and almost looks like an alley. I’m walking down there, and if you get to the other end you come out right to the National Gallery. But if you keep going across the street, you’ll go to St Martin’s in the fields, so I cut through the street called Orange St. [Kate laughs], and there is the chapel! The chapel is still there! And I said “What?!” I had no idea! [Kate and Kandice laugh]. And it’s the same chapel! They sold part of the property to the city and they get loads of money for it, so the chapel continues on forever.
- 01:19:14 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow! That’s so cool!
- 01:19:18 Timothy Whelan (guest) So Sunday morning, I was over there—
- 01:19:20 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right! Amazing!
- 01:19:23 Timothy Whelan (guest) And it’s got twelve people—and, see, my dad was a Baptist minister—and I went there and they didn’t have anyone to play the piano, so I said “I’ll play for you” [Kate laughs]. I play the piano, so they said “Well, that would be great!”
- 01:19:35 Kate Moffatt (co-host) That’s amazing!
- 01:19:36 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I was now their best friend. They said to stay for coffee afterwards, and I said, “Sure!” [Kate and Kandice laugh.] So we go downstairs, and my whole purpose was to find out if they had the church book—one of the most important congregations

in the eighteenth century—it does not exist that anybody knows of.

- 01:19:56 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Right.
- 01:19:57 Timothy Whelan (guest) So finally after I became their best friend [Kate laughs], I said, “Well, you wouldn’t have any old books around would you, like church books?” And the guy said, “I don’t know, what do they look like?” And I said “Oh, you know, big fat books that would have the church records” and he said, “Well, I don’t know, you have to talk to this guy,” and there’s this other guy and he says, “Oh, I don’t think we do.” And I said “Oh, well do you have any bookcases where they might be? I will know it when I see it.”
- 01:20:26 Timothy Whelan (guest) And he said “Well, we do have bookcases, there’s most up in there.” He said, “Why don’t you come back next week and you can look at them?” So I did, I came back the next week, and yes, he opened up the cabinet and I said “That’s it right there.”
- 01:20:40 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh my gosh!
- 01:20:41 Timothy Whelan (guest) And I opened it up and it began in 1833, and the minister said on the very opening page, the previous books are no longer here, and they’re gone.
- 01:20:55 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Oh, no!
- 01:20:57 Timothy Whelan (guest) And those would be words you just can’t imagine in that kind of history. Those two church books—there would probably be at least one, maybe two. But he recorded a member’s list by a person in the church who knew of everybody almost from the previous fifty years, and so I still got that amazing church members list that went back into the eighteenth century.
- 01:21:24 Kate Moffatt (co-host) The serendipity of it all! You’re like “I’m just going to cut across the little lane and then look it this is the church I’ve been looking for”—
- 01:21:33 Timothy Whelan (guest) That’s only because I decided to do what you’re talking about—
- 01:21:38 Kate Moffatt (co-host) To do the walk.
- 01:21:39 Timothy Whelan Walking around, there’s no telling how many of those little things are out there it’s

(guest) so much fun to do.

01:21:45 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I have goosebumps! I think that's amazing! [all laugh] I think that's all so magical.

01:21:46 Timothy Whelan (guest) I would encourage you to go over there and just start walking, get you a little map out and you're going to find something, you will yeah.

01:21:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I'm going to have to.

01:22:00 Timothy Whelan (guest) So I got a church book that nobody has ever seen—

01:22:02 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Incredible. Absolutely incredible. Thank you so much for joining us Tim, this has been so much fun. I absolutely adore Mary Hays now, I think she's amazing! I liked her before, but now I feel a little bit like I know her. I think I understand where you're coming from, saying she feels like a friend. This has been so much fun.

01:22:23 Timothy Whelan (guest) Well thank you for having me, it's been fun for me. Always good to talk about this stuff.

01:22:28  [music playing]

01:22:36 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Our interview with Dr. Whelan revealed just how much more can be done with the kinds of data that we are collecting in the WPHP—we feel, now, particularly validated in our choice to collect the various addresses that our firms work at, given the potential for mapping that the findings of Dr. Whelan's own work illustrate.

01:22:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host) But more importantly, it served as a strong reminder of the fact that our data comes from things that *people* did and places that they lived and visited: their participation in religious communities influenced who they knew in the book trades; those same tradespeople set up shop in locations within walking distances of their church and their community; and many people, like Hays herself, moved within and between communities for familial and financial reasons.

01:23:26 Kandice Sharren (co-host) While the WPHP provides some of the basic facts, conversations like ours with Dr Whelan bring life back into those dates and numbers and firm addresses and titles, reminding us that the data we record is the products of layers of networks, not all of which are captured in the imprint or byline.

01:23:49  [music playing]

- 01:23:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) This has been the eighth episode of Season 2 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. If you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've compiled a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP in a blog post that you can find at womensprinthistoryproject.com. You can also find us @theWPHP on Twitter and on Instagram @womensprinthistoryproject.
- 01:24:27  [music playing]
- 01:24:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host) [outtakes, part 1] I flailed my arms and almost knocked the mike over, so [laughs]. The extreme of hand talking! [laughs]
- 01:24:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) [outtakes, part 2] I don't know what I just did! I, like, mashed some buttons, I swear to God! [laughs]