



## The Women's Print History Project

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### Cheap Thrills (Pay Lemoine's Bills) (feat. Sara Penn and Roy Bearden-White), *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

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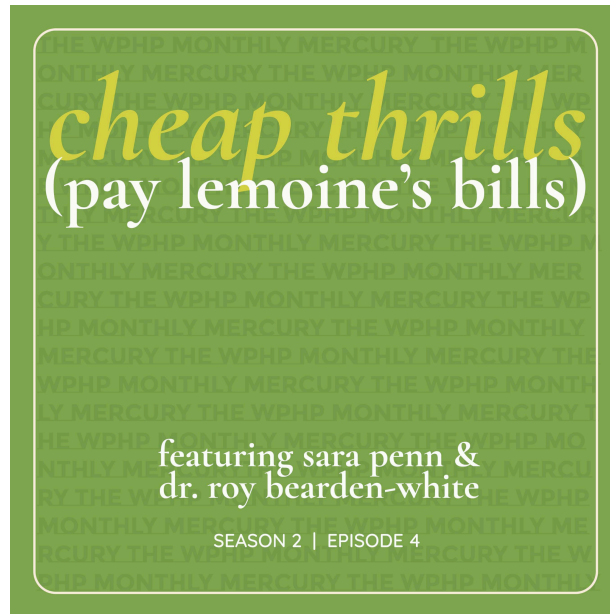
Conseil de recherches en  
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Canada



# Cheap Thrills (Pay Lemoine's Bills) (feat. Sara Penn and Roy Bearden-White)

*Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren*



In 1794, **Ann Lemoine**'s husband, **Henry**, who was an author and publisher, went to debtor's prison—this led to their separation, and the following year, Ann Lemoine began her own publishing business in White Rose Court in London. Between 1795 and the early 1820s, it is estimated that Ann Lemoine published, printed, and sold more than 400 titles, and explored new and inventive ways of packaging and reselling the cheap print she was known for publishing: chapbooks.

In Episode 4 of Season 2, “Cheap Thrills (Pay Lemoine's Bills)”, hosts Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren are joined by WPHP Research Assistant **Sara Penn**, who undertook entering the many titles Lemoine published, printed, and sold into the database and has become our resident Lemoine expert.

We share some of Sara's conversation with Dr. Roy Bearden-White, explore the history of the chapbook—including the difficulties of defining the term itself—and the significance of cheap print, the challenges of including it in the database, and the hours of invisible labour involved in working with female publishers, printers, or booksellers, or forms of print that are lacking in bibliographical sources.

## Guests

**Sara Penn** is a second-year MA Candidate in SFU's Department of English. Her primary interests are in Romantic-era British literature, women in the literary marketplace, print culture, and digital humanities. She has been the WPHP's most troublesome RA since 2018.

During the day, **Dr. Roy Bearden-White** works at South Plains College in Levelland, Texas. After hours, Dr. Roy works on discovering, editing, and publishing important, hard to find texts that would work well in a classroom setting.

### **WPHP Monthly Mercury Episodes Referenced**

Season 1, Episode 4: “*A Bibliographical Education*”

Season 1, Episode 5: “*Of Monks and Mountains!!!*”

Season 2, Episode 3: “*Around the World with Six Women*”

### **WPHP Records Referenced**

*Ann Lemoine* (firm, publisher and bookseller)

*Henry Lemoine* (firm, publisher)

*Mrs. Vertue* (firm, bookseller and printer)

*Alice Reilly* (firm, printer)

*Elizabeth Watts* (firm)

*Ann Rivington* (firm, printer)

*Radcliffe, Ann* (person, author)

*John Bailey* (firm, publisher and printer)

*Thomas Tegg* (firm, publisher)

*Wilkinson, Sarah* (person, author)

*Amelia; or, The Interesting History of a Lovely Female in Married Life. Epitomized by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson* (title)

*Minerva Press* (firm, publisher)

*The Strange and Unaccountable Life of the Penurious Daniel Dancer* (title)

*The Heart of Oak* (title)

*English Nights Entertainments* (title)

*The Art of Cookery: Made Plain and Easy* (title)

*The Little White Mouse* (title)

*Little Thumb; or, Seven League Boots* (title)

*Authentic Memoirs of Phebe Phillips* (title)

*Thomas Hurst* (firm, bookseller)

*Longmans* (firm, publisher)

*Thomas Maiden* (firm, printer)

*John Roe* (firm, publisher)

*More, Hannah* (person, author)

*The story of Sinful Sally* (title)

*The Canterbury Tales* (title)

*The Haunted Castle* (title)

*The Magdalen; or, History of the First Penitent Prostitute Received Into That Charitable Asylum* (title)

*The Fair Wanderer; or, The History of Caroline Dormer, A Reformed Prostitute* (title)

Elizabeth Newbery (firm, publisher and bookseller)

Dartons (firm, publisher)

## WPHP Sources

Roy Bearden-White

*Eighteenth Century Collections Online*

*WorldCat*

Bodleian Library

Houghton Library

British Library

*Non-Conformist and Dissenting Women Writers, 1650-1850* (the project can be found [here](#))

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Mandal, Anthony. "Gothic Fiction, from Shilling Shockers to Penny Bloods." *The Cambridge History of the Gothic*, edited by Dale Townshend and Angela Wright, Cambridge UP, 2020, pp. 139–61.

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Newcomb, Lori Humphrey. "What is a Chapbook?" *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, edited by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield, Taylor & Francis, 2016, pp. 71–86.

Potter, Franz J. *Gothic Chapbooks, Bluebooks and Shilling Shockers, 1797–1830*. U of Wales P, 2021.

Potter, Franz J. *The History of Gothic Publishing, 1800–1835*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005.

### Further Reading




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Hoeveler, Diane Long. *Gothic Riffs: Secularizing the Uncanny in the European Imaginary, 1780–1820*. Ohio State University Press, 2010.

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Moffatt, Kate, and Kandice Sharren. “Absence and Feeling: Documenting Invisible Labour on the Women’s Print History Project.” *Digital Studies/le Champ Numérique*, vol. 11, no. 1, <http://doi.org/10.16995/dscn.375>.

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00:00:00		[music playing]
00:00:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Ann Lemoine, publisher, does not have her own entry in the <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Her husband Henry, however, does. And while his entry makes only brief reference to Ann, it does recount, in a single sentence, no less, that in the year 1794 his debts led to his imprisonment, and a subsequent separation from his wife—who, as this episode will share with you, went on to publish more than 240 titles.
00:00:33		[music playing]
00:00:42	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Hello and welcome to <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> , the podcast for <i>The Women's Print History Project</i> ! The WPHP is a bibliographic database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kandice Sharren—
00:00:57	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	and I'm Kate Moffatt—
00:00:59	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	and we are longtime 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.
00:01:17		[music playing]
00:01:28	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Ann and Henry Lemoine married in 1786. Henry was an author and a bookseller, and after making some risky business arrangements that went badly, was sent to debtor's prison in 1794. This is when Ann Lemoine's career as a prominent bookseller, publisher, and printer really began: she separated from her husband when he was sent to prison, and the following year began her own business in White Rose Court in London.
00:01:52	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Ann Lemoine currently has over 240 title records in the WPHP. But as her lack of an entry in the <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> and her rather sparse <i>Wikipedia</i> page suggest, she hasn't been broadly recognized as a significant contributor to print during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There may be a few reasons for this: she and her husband published chapbooks, a form of cheap print less well-preserved and less popular now as objects of study, or as a genre

than, say, novels or poetry, she was a publisher and publishers tend to receive less attention than authors.

- 00:02:24 Kate Moffatt  
(co-host) And she was a woman publisher, at that—women-run firms, as we well know, often have spotty records kept of their work or their biography. All of this will be touched on throughout today's episode, but these hurdles also point to another challenge we face during our work on the WPHP, and which Kandice and I have actually written about before. And that's the invisible labour of not finding. The hours of effort that go into trying to track down a digitized copy of an obscure printed work of trying to find out what that first initial of an author or a firm's name stands for.
- 00:02:55 Kate Moffatt  
(co-host) Is it Ann or is it Alexander? Of following a rabbit hole in the hopes that we'll discover who the successful widow of a failed male publisher was, despite having only a very brief mention of her existence to go on. We get invested in these searches, these rabbit holes—I will forever remember the names of Mrs. Vertue, Alice Reilly, Elizabeth Watts, Ann Rivington, and many more women publishers and booksellers—because we are labouring to find or amalgamate documentation of their labour.
- 00:03:22 Kate Moffatt  
(co-host) So even as we work to find data, to find numbers and dates and imprints, it is an affective and emotional process latent within the echoes of our own invisible efforts. So when these searches are unsuccessful, when these hours of effort don't bear fruit, when they don't bear the data that will provide documentation, not only of their labour, but also of ours, how do we make visible this invisible work?
- 00:03:45 Kate Moffatt  
(co-host) Today's episode is one of the ways that we are documenting this labour. Master's student Sara Penn is a Research Assistant who has worked on the WPHP since 2018, and took on the Herculean task of adding all of the Lemoine titles into the WPHP. This is actually a particularly fun aspect of the project. We often have particular authors, genres, or firms that a Research Assistant will focus on and they become our leading experts, so to speak, in those topics.
- 00:04:10 Kate Moffatt  
(co-host) We often turn to them when we have questions; much like how we had Reese Irwin join us in Season 1, Episode 4, to chat about children's literature and Victoria DeHart to share her experiences with the travel literature genre in last month's episode, Sara Penn is our chapbook and Lemoine expert. She's joining us for today's episode to talk about the lengthy experience of working on Ann Lemoine and all of her books.


- 00:04:31 Kandice Sharren (co-host) But first, some context about cheap print more generally. So one of the difficulties of talking about the Lemoines' publications is what to even call them in the first place. Roy Bearden-White, who provided us with a lot of our data, uses the term 'chapbook.' However, that is a flexible word that has meant quite a few different things over the last 200 years or so.
- 00:04:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, if you want a really comprehensive overview of the ways that the term has been used to describe publications between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, I would really recommend taking a look at Lori Humphrey Newcomb's chapter, "What is a Chapbook?" in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*.
- 00:05:13 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And a lot of the information I'm about to provide has been very helpfully taken from that chapter. So, in general, 'chapbook' is a term that's used to describe a category of cheap print that took the form of short books, but how cheap and how short counts as a chapbook has been a matter of debate. So the term 'chapbook' is thought to refer to the 'chapmen' or itinerant sellers who included these books in their wares.
- 00:05:42 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And it has long been understood by scholars as an anachronistic term used by Victorian collectors to describe an earlier phenomenon, although as Humphrey Newcomb points out, looking at the transatlantic book trade offers a more complex history of the term, and we can see it being used by American distributors importing titles from British publishers throughout the eighteenth century. According to John Feather, "The typical mid-eighteenth century chapbook was a 12-page book, with a crude woodcut illustration on its title page, and a closely printed text set in abominable type on the cheapest available paper" [both laugh].
- 00:06:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As we move later in the century, this changes. In an early American context, Victor Neuberg describes chapbooks as "small books measuring roughly 8.5 centimeters by 16 centimeters . . . comprising twenty-four, or less usually sixteen or thirty-two pages. Many were illustrated with crude though lively woodcuts – usually relevant to the printed text, but sometimes a woodcut might be used . . . to fill a page when the text ran out." So here you can see there's a bit of variance in the length, depending on the context.
- 00:06:58 Kandice Sharren (co-host) But the general idea of cheapness of these poorly made woodcut illustrations is consistent. So in general, chapbooks offered a more affordable alternative to full-scale books, which meant that they were distributed more widely and reached a broader

audience. Ann Lemoine's publications were really on the higher end of the chapbook scale. So while some of her titles were around the thirty-two pages that Neuburg describes, many titles ran to 48 or 70 pages. Of these, shorter titles sold for around 6 to 9 pence, while the longer books sold for a shilling and twelve pence.

- 00:07:41    Kandice Sharren (co-host)    Chapbooks, Lemoine's chapbooks specifically that didn't sell on their own, were often rebound into larger volumes of 288 pages, which is something we'll come back to later, as one of Lemoine's major marketing innovations. From the 1770s until the 1820s, the history of chapbooks is really entangled with the history of the gothic. If the gothic is something that you're interested in, we discussed it in greater detail for our spooky Halloween episode last year, which is Episode 5 of Season 1.
- 00:08:15    Kandice Sharren (co-host)    But the important thing to keep in mind for this episode today is that the gothic is really more of a mode than a cohesive genre, which is to say it's a jumble of tropes that appear across fiction, poetry, and drama in the period, and which exploded in popularity in the 1790s, most notably in relation to Ann Radcliffe's novels and Matthew Lewis's scandalous novel *The Monk*. And this mode really continued to be popular well into the nineteenth century. So the tropes that appeared in these popular novels by Radcliffe and Lewis were often integrated into the shorter chapbooks, often referred to by scholars of the gothic as 'shilling shockers' or 'bluebooks' [both laugh].
- 00:09:00    Kate Moffatt (co-host)    I really love 'shilling shockers.'
- 00:09:02    Kandice Sharren (co-host)    I know! So bluebooks were named this because of the blue wrappers that some of them were sold in, although notably many publishers sold them in wrappers of other colors too. So Anthony Mandal describes bluebooks as "slightly larger and longer than their chapbook predecessors, typically spanning thirty-six or seventy-two pages. The first variant sold for sixpence and the second for a shilling; hence, the bluebooks' alternative descriptor as 'shilling shockers' [both laugh].
- 00:09:35    Kandice Sharren (co-host)    While a three-volume gothic novel in 1800 might cost up to two weeks' wages for a labourer, expenditure of sixpence or a shilling equated to the price of a meal or a cheap theatre seat." So here, this is clearly what Ann Lemoine is publishing these 36 to 72 page books. Despite their comparatively low price, Mandal also notes that "Bluebooks were pitched to multiple audiences: in addition to the traditional chapbook readers drawn from the lower orders, a more polite readership emerged."

- 00:10:11 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So while these books are priced so that they're accessible to people in the lower classes, it's by no means only people in the lower classes who are reading them. Percy Shelley famously, when he was at school, read a lot of these shilling shockers or bluebooks [Kate laughs], and other upper-and middle- class readers did as well. So with the exception of Roy Bearden-White's work on the Lemoines, most of the research that has been done on Ann Lemoine focuses on this gothic connection.
- 00:10:45 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Franz J. Potter's recent book, *Gothic Chapbooks, Bluebooks, and Shilling Shockers, 1797–1830* has a chapter devoted to Ann Lemoine's marketing strategies, including this practice of binding individual chapbooks into larger volumes. The importance of Ann Lemoine within the bluebook market is particularly evident when we look at Angela Koch's checklist of early nineteenth century bluebooks, which draws on the holdings of the Corvey collection.
- 00:11:10 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Of the 217 titles listed, Lemoine appears in the imprint of 64 or roughly 29 percent of them. And she was involved in three of the four bluebook series that are listed. In his more recent survey, Potter identifies 99 gothic pamphlets published by Lemoine between 1797 and 1830, which accounts for not quite 25 percent of the titles surveyed. By contrast, John Bailey and Thomas Tegg, the next most prolific publishers of bluebooks, only published 38 and 37 gothic titles respectively.
- 00:11:47 Kandice Sharren (co-host) However, despite Lemoine's significance to the production of gothic bluebooks, she didn't exclusively publish gothic titles. The 99 titles Potter counts are probably somewhere around only a quarter of her total output. So one of the things we want to come back to in this episode is how that makes adding Lemoine's titles to the database and verifying them more complicated.
- 00:12:12 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And the challenge with chapbooks and cheap print isn't, as Kandice has so aptly demonstrated, just *defining* it—it's also *finding* it, especially for inclusion in the WPHP. Because it was cheap, it wasn't necessarily made to last; many of these titles are anonymous, so women's authorship can be difficult to ascertain. There's limited access to digitizations of cheap print. So using a title page to verify the data we find in sources elsewhere can be next to impossible.
- 00:12:37 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And, while we know that many of these works went into multiple editions, these editions can be particularly tricky to identify because the title pages for cheap print don't always include edition statements, or even dates of publication, which are two of the most straightforward ways to tell editions apart. These challenges were faced

directly by a wonderful Research Assistant for the WPHP, Sara Penn, who took on Ann Lemoine—no easy task!

- 00:13:00 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Sara's been working on the Ann Lemoine titles for the last while, and even had the opportunity to chat with Roy Bearden-White earlier this year! We've got a couple of clips from that conversation to share with you today, and then Sara's going to chat with us about her experience bringing the industrious and inventive Ann Lemoine into the WPHP.
- 00:13:18  [music playing]
- 00:13:25 Sara Penn (guest) There are currently over 240 titles published, sold, or printed by Ann Lemoine in the WPHP—and this number is constantly changing; tomorrow we may discover 5 more titles! Or even 50! But despite her substantial literary output, we are only able to verify over 80 titles. The case of Lemoine demonstrates that locating these titles can be difficult, not only because they were a cheap form of print, but also because the works of publishers are not often digitized.
- 00:13:58 Sara Penn (guest) What is particularly special about Lemoine's contribution to the literary sphere, is the creativity with which she published and distributed her chapbooks. Potter, for example, discusses Lemoine's practice of rebinding unsold chapbooks by "compil[ing] these chapbook anthologies from overruns; . . . organis[ing] them in advance of releasing the individual chapbooks" and by identifying "individual chapbooks . . . as belonging to a specific series before the entire sequence was completed."
- 00:14:30 Sara Penn (guest) Potter further notes that "Lemoine's collected volumes are distinct from other 'serial-anthologies' in that the pamphlets often retained their own title page, date of original publication and pagination." Lemoine's treatment of volumes aligns similarly to our approach of them in the WPHP—each edition is added as a separate work. Lemoine's recycling of chapbooks also came up in my conversation with Dr. Roy Bearden-White:
- 00:14:57 Roy Bearden-White (guest) A lot of critics discounted the whole medium simply because they were smaller. "Well, yeah, they're not real books, they're mainly written by women, they're not on any type of paper that you want to save", I mean, these things were made for one purpose, just to read, and keeping it beyond that was never really considered. At the time, when chapbooks were being sold in London, you would print a run, put 'em in your bag, and walk around London like you would hotdogs and sell them out of

your bag. At the end of the day, if you had extra hotdogs, you would get rid of them. You would burn the chapbooks.

- 00:15:56 Roy Bearden-White (guest) I know, a lot of so-called innovations that Ann Lemoine came up with seem completely obvious today but the tradition up to about 1790s, you're, at the end of the day, you've got chapbooks, they're not selling, you've got no place to keep 'em, burn them, and then we'll print more. Ann Lemoine came up with an idea where if those chapbooks wouldn't sell, she would buttonhole them, and, as other chapbooks didn't sell she would group them thematically, bind them into larger books, and sell them.
- 00:16:52 Sara Penn (guest) Dr. Bearden-White, Kandice, and I also discuss the elusive Sarah Wilkinson, author of gothic chapbooks and children's stories. According to Potter, she published with "at least twenty-five different publishers", including, of course, Ann Lemoine. Although Wilkinson's literary career in the late eighteenth-century remains unknown, her contributions to the gothic chapbook trade began, according to Potter, in 1803.
- 00:17:20 Sara Penn (guest) Her *oeuvre*, not unlike Lemoine's, includes adaptations of popular novels and dramas, pamphlets, and tales. This next clip offers insight into the conventional anonymity of chapbooks. In this market, most publications include anonymous authorship, which is not necessarily the case in the print trade more broadly. Wilkinson is an anomaly in the chapbook industry because she publishes her name.
- 00:17:48 Sara Penn (guest) And Potter informs us that the first time that Wilkinson published her maiden name with her work was in an 1815 pamphlet, *Amelia; or, The Interesting History of a Lovely Female in Married Life* [Kandice laughs], *Epitomized by Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson* to, perhaps, capitalize on her status as a widow. And we can extrapolate what we know about Wilkinson and apply it to other women in the trade.
- 00:18:12 Roy Bearden-White (guest) This is what people did for a living. They wrote, they translated, they created chapbooks. There's really not that idea of celebrity associated with the book trade at that time. People tended not to add their name to chapbooks. Certain people, Sarah Wilkinson for one, had an association with Ann Lemoine, and all of her works are indeed titled with her name. Not that in the long run it really helped her that much.
- 00:18:58 Roy Bearden-White (guest) Eventually one of the best known writers of Ann Lemoine's stable of writers, Sarah Wilkinson, ended up in poverty. While I don't know anything about Wilkinson, about her life, how she grew up, I could say that she was certainly of the working class and that what she did gave her autonomy, in whatever fashion. And I'm not

		saying that she made a lot of money, I mean certainly we have her application to the Royal Literary Fund which would give some financial support in their old age.
00:19:46	Roy Bearden-White (guest)	So we know that things did not go as well as they could have, but that still doesn't discount—here's a regular person making a living, and I say that because her works were published over a number of years, that Lemoine's publishing company was established for a number of years, and that she was successful. Wilkinson was later associated with Minerva Press, a larger publication venture that—the only way that she could have become a part of Minerva Press or for Ann Lemoine is to put herself out there.
00:20:42	Sara Penn (guest)	Dr. Bearden-White discusses his favourite title in this third clip—and shares with us the longest title I have ever heard [Kate and Kandice laugh].
00:20:50	Roy Bearden-White (guest)	My absolute favourite has to be, and there's no way I can recite the long title, <i>The Story of Daniel Dancer</i> , the miser who lived with his sister and then died in a sack [Sara laughs]. Absolutely a brilliant story. And one of the things Lemoine came up with in advertising these chapbooks was illustrations on the front. And there's a brilliant picture of Daniel Dancer coming home, with a dead sheep he had found, to his sister.
00:21:33	Roy Bearden-White (guest)	And she's just, "Oh my goodness, is that gothic?" Well, I don't know. No, I wouldn't classify that as <i>gothic</i> , certainly that act of using popularity of the current fad and what could entice readers to pay their couple of shillings for a chapbook, she was very good at that. And part of that was, and indeed, making of the titles for these chapbooks.
00:22:11	Roy Bearden-White (guest)	There's a lot of cases where you can see the difference between a novel that has been adapted to a chapbook where the title, in pure eighteenth century the title just goes on forever. For the chapbook Ann Lemoine would cut it down instead of adding to it. Because she would then take out certain key pieces of information about the story. Why did Daniel Dancer die in a sack? Who knows? Pay two shillings and find out.
00:22:52	Sara Penn (guest)	[laughs] I love this clip. And we do have <i>Daniel Dancer</i> in the database—the full, very long title of the first edition we have in the WPHP is <i>The Strange and Unaccountable Life of the Penurious Daniel Dancer, Esq. A Miserable Miser Who Died in a Sack Though Worth Upwards of £3000 Per Ann. With Singular Anecdotes of the Famous Jemmy Taylor, the Sutherk User-er, A Character Well Known Upon the Stock Exchange. To Which is Added</i> [Kate and Kandice laugh], <i>A True Account of</i>

*Henry Welby, Who Lived Invisible Forty-Four Years in Grub Street; With a Sketch of the Life of the Rev. George Harvest; Called the Absent Man; or Parson and Player*” [Kate and Kandice laugh].

- 00:23:38    Kandice Sharren    That is one heck of a title [all laugh].  
(co-host)
- 00:23:41    Sara Penn    There are six other editions of *Daniel Dancer* in the WPHP, all published with  
(guest)    different tales and anecdotes attached, although it looks like Daniel Dancer reaches his demise in each version [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Out of the seven editions of this work, three have been verified; one because Michelle Levy, our project lead, hand-checked it at the Houghton Library, and the two others because there are digitized copies available in the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* database.
- 00:24:12    Kate Moffatt    Sara has been doing all of this work for us, gathering editions and attempting to  
(co-host)    verify them. Thank you so much, Sara! [Sara laughs]. And as our leading expert in the WPHP on Ann Lemoine, we’re very excited to ask her a whole whack of questions about what she’s been doing. Thanks for joining us for today’s episode, Sara!
- 00:24:30    Sara Penn    Hi! Thanks for having me! My mom’s a huge fan of the podcast, so she’s been  
(guest)    waiting for my debut for, like, two years [all laugh].
- 00:24:40    Kandice Sharren    So let’s start at the very beginning: how did you come to work on Ann Lemoine?  
(co-host)    Why did we give you this work? [laughs]
- 00:24:51    Sara Penn    Please tell me! [all laugh]. Ann Lemoine kind of fell into my lap. Michelle asked me  
(guest)    to edit an article of hers called “Female Booksellers at the End of the Long Eighteenth Century” for the *Huntington Library Quarterly* in 2020, which is on stands now—
- 00:25:11    Kandice Sharren    It is! I am in it too!—  
(co-host)
- 00:25:17    Sara Penn    that examines Lemoine’s presence in the book trade [laughs]. I took a special interest  
(guest)    in Michelle’s case study because she notes that Lemoine published works about marginalized women, such as sex workers, which was the subject of my undergraduate thesis. But this is only the half of the story! Michelle’s work— and ours—is deeply informed by Dr. Bearden-White’s MA thesis which compiles a bibliography of 201 of Lemoine’s works. I was then offered the task, equal parts

exciting and labourious [Kate and Kandice laugh], of adding these titles to the WPHP.

- 00:25:56 Sara Penn (guest) Lucky me, right? [all laugh]. But I'm excited to share that our database expands beyond Dr. Bearden-White's work to include over 240 works, editions, reprints, and a handful of redactions that Lemoine has either published, sold, or printed. Which is an incredible number when you think about it! And there are possibly even more. Dr. Bearden White estimates there may be as many as 400 works of Lemoine's waiting to be discovered.
- 00:26:27 Kate Moffatt (co-host) 400! Wow!
- 00:26:29 Kandice Sharren (co-host) 400! That's so many! [laughs]
- 00:26:32 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Okay. So 400. How did he get that number? How did he get 400?
- 00:26:38 Sara Penn (guest) He primarily referenced open-access online catalogues of all the libraries a part of the Association of Research Libraries. He also used *WorldCat*, the British Library, Bodleian, and ABE books, the second-hand book market. It looks like the number 400 is extrapolated from some of the data he's collected from these libraries. His thesis suggests that Lemoine's bibliography points us to a larger collection of titles that were otherwise lost or discarded. *The Heart of Oak* song series, for example, is a collection of songs compiled yearly from 1802 to about 1813.
- 00:27:19 Sara Penn (guest) And he estimates that later collections likely existed and extended beyond this time frame. Another series, such as the *English Nights Entertainments* series, was produced in volumes and likely introduced pretty regularly throughout the period. The British Library and Harvard's Houghton Library have several of these volumes that are not included in Dr. Bearden-White's bibliography.
- 00:27:44 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So in addition to these ones you've already referenced, what kinds of chapbook titles did you encounter while working through the bibliography?
- 00:27:54 Sara Penn (guest) Apart from *Daniel Dancer* who died in a sack, you mean? [all laugh]. Kind of hard to beat that title [all laugh]. It becomes clear that Lemoine heavily capitalizes on the gothic boom that was present at the time, since she has many early titles referring to ghosts, spirits, magic, and terror. There are also songs, tales, and romances. I,

however, was very drawn to the cool titles that reference female robbers, female explorers, even women in polyandrous relationships, and of course, sex workers.

- 00:28:32 Sara Penn (guest) I take a special interest in these titles because some of them are wonderfully explicit [Kandice laughs].. As Michelle's article notes, the word 'prostitute' is even used in some of these titles and informs us that Lemoine's publications were unusually straightforward in their representation of marginalized women, which makes me adore her even more! [Kate and Kandice laugh. But by 1805, Lemoine's use of gothic motifs started to settle down, and we see more romances, historic tales, and song collections, such as the *Heart of Oak* song series.
- 00:29:08 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So as Kandice noted earlier, gothic isn't a genre in the WPHP, which raises a question: given that there are a lot of gothic titles that you are mentioning here, what genre would you find those in, in the WPHP? And, what about the titles that weren't gothic?
- 00:29:27 Sara Penn (guest) The non-gothic titles definitely stand out because there aren't many of them! *The Art of Cookery: Made Plain and Easy* is classified as a Domestic title. There are several song collections in the Music category, as well as several historic tales and romances added in the [WPHP] Tales and Romance genres, respectively. Also included are some cute children's stories, in the Juvenile Literature genre, such as *The Little White Mouse* or *Little Thumb* [Kate laughs]. On the other end of the spectrum, there are interesting sex worker narratives such as the *Authentic Memoirs of Phebe Phillips; otherwise Maria Maitland; well known in the vicinity of Covent Garden. Written by herself* that I added under the Memoir genre because it is a record of Maria Maitland's own life.
- 00:30:19 Sara Penn (guest) I'm lucky because Dr. Bearden-White's research was thorough and generally noted the title, firms involved, date of publication, pagination, pricing, and imprint of each work. But it didn't include genre, so I had to make an informed decision for those fields, often just by looking at the title itself. If I came across a digitized file, I would flip through it and have a quick read to see where we may categorize it.
- 00:30:46 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, what kinds of information can we glean about Lemoine's career through the data that you entered?
- 00:30:53 Sara Penn (guest) Well, Kandice, [laughs] Lemoine's bibliography in WPHP offers more than just titles and numbers; it shows a shift in how she approached her business, and how her relationships with publishers, printers, and authors changed over time. Her early years seem to feature a working relationship with bookseller Thomas Hurst, whose

success as a chapbook publisher led him to later become a partner in the major bookselling firm, Longmans, and printer Thomas Maiden. By 1802, it seems as if she started publishing with John Roe regularly. Their collaborations became more frequent until the 1820s, maybe because they eventually married, I don't know.

- 00:31:35 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I had no idea they got married. I had no idea [all laugh].
- 00:31:38 Kandice Sharren (co-host) I know! [all laugh].
- 00:31:39 Sara Penn (guest) I didn't know either [all laugh]. But the only female contributor that Lemoine seems to have worked with was Sarah Wilkinson in primarily 1805 and 1806. Thirty-one titles out of Dr. Bearden's White's bibliography have a known author, and 21 of these are from Wilkinson.
- 00:31:57 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Wow!
- 00:31:58 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Oh, wow. So, as Dr. Bearden-White noted in the interview, Sarah Wilkinson is unusual because we know her name, but otherwise likely represents a pretty typical chapbook author. One of the fascinating things about working on the WPHP has been seeing first-hand how anonymity wasn't necessarily the norm for women writers in our period, in the way that I think it is often assumed to be.
- 00:32:24 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Works published anonymously often include some kind of marker of identity (which we include in the 'signed author' field of our titles), and authors who didn't sign their names to the first edition of a title, would often *later* reveal their identity if the work was successful or well-received. This isn't the case for cheap print though, where most publications *were* anonymous. Even well-known authors might not want to be associated with cheaper forms of print like chapbooks.
- 00:32:56 Kandice Sharren (co-host) For example, in the series, *Cheap Repository Tracts*, the well-known author and educational reformer Hannah More often signed her works with the letter 'Z.' Longtime *WPHP Monthly Mercury* listeners might recall More's ballad *Sinful Sally* from the fourth episode of Season 1 [all laugh], so that's an example of cheap print where More would not have attached her name to, even though we now know she was the author.
- 00:33:25 Sara Penn (guest) Ah yes, *Sinful Sally* [Kate laughs]—you're not a WPHP RA until you've come across a *Sally* title! [all laugh].

00:33:32 Kandice Sharren (co-host) They are nightmares [all laugh]. So many editions.

00:33:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Hannah More is a nightmare in general, to be quite honest.

00:33:44 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah.

00:33:46 Sara Penn (guest) I think it's also important to differentiate how anonymity works in print and cheap print trades. True anonymity is more common in the cheap print marketplace. One of the reasons for this was likely because they were produced at warp speed, often for a lower or middle class, or because an author's association with chapbooks may have even been embarrassing.

00:34:10 Sara Penn (guest) Lemoine's husband, Henry, edited and published *The Cuckold's Chronicle, Being Select Trials for Adultery, Incest, Imbecility, Ravishment* in 1793 [Kate and Kandice laugh] which featured trial transcripts referencing adultery and testicles among other enticing topics [Kate and Kandice laugh]. Only a handful of copies credit Henry, who likely wanted to remain anonymous for all editions—despite the chapbook's blaring popularity [all laugh].

00:34:40 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Why wouldn't he want his name on that?

00:34:43 Sara Penn (guest) I have no idea!

00:34:45 Kate Moffatt (co-host) It's the popularity of it that's killing me, personally [all laugh].

00:34:48 Sara Penn (guest) In Ann Lemoine's case, however, she published chapbooks that were reminiscent of more popular works, such as *The Canterbury Tales*. And her versions, however, include tales from figures such as sailors and devils, which literate readers would know are *not* part of the original story [Kandice laughs]. The authors' anonymity with such titles, and Lemoine's publication of them, suggest that all parties were marketing these works judiciously.

00:35:17 Sara Penn (guest) As Dr. Bearden-White mentioned earlier, most chapbook titles *are* anonymous, which means that the signed author field in the WPHP often says so. But if a

contributor is anonymous and they sign the work through a particular gender, then the field will reflect this as ‘unknown man’ or ‘unknown woman’ for example.

- 00:35:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So you spent a lot of time—
- 00:35:46 Sara Penn (guest) [laughs] Yes—
- 00:35:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host) entering these titles into the WPHP, which first requires finding them. So, can you talk a little bit [about] where these chapbooks survive? How many are digitized?
- 00:35:58 Sara Penn (guest) [laughs] Well, sadly, many of these works don’t survive.
- 00:36:03 Kate Moffatt (co-host) No! [laughs]
- 00:36:04 Sara Penn (guest) And they likely weren’t meant to because they were printed as cheaply bound booklets. Because they don’t survive, they don’t often appear in digitizations. Most of Lemoine’s works in the WPHP *aren’t* verified or digitized. In fact, only about 80 titles are verified. And about 40 of these titles are digitized—which is less than 20 percent of her preserved output of books. The titles that are verified but not digitized are ones that have been hand-verified from a library. Which is something we haven’t been able to do for the last year and a half.
- 00:36:40 Sara Penn (guest) In fact, Dr. Bearden-White mentions that “Virtually every major library in North America owns at least one Lemoine chapbook.” Unfortunately, for us, a lot of these are not digitized. So we’re not able to appreciate Lemoine’s *oeuvre* to its fullest extent. But even if the chapbooks are digitized, there may be inconsistencies within their digitization. For example, *The Haunted Castle* is digitized by *HathiTrust*, a digital library and source that we often use to verify titles.
- 00:37:15 Sara Penn (guest) But according to Dr. Bearden-White and Peter Garside and Karen O’Brien, this chapbook also includes a short story at the chapbook’s conclusion called “Ivar and Matilda.” But this short story is *not* included in the digitization of the chapbook. Was this a human error? Or perhaps there are more editions of this title? We just don’t know. So yes, there are several frustrations within this process, and they make clear that ephemeral, cheap print forms are not often prioritized.

- 00:37:49 Sara Penn (guest) And Dr. Bearden-White's bibliography grants us generous access into Lemoine's works that were otherwise hiding in plain sight. Verifying titles is always a challenging task [Kandice laughs]. This process takes up a large chunk of our time. And, the work can be a little bit monotonous [Kate laughs], checking the same sources, filling out the same fields. We usually give this work to our most troublesome RAs, which is why I was verifying for most of 2019 [all laugh].
- 00:38:27 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It's true, it's true. You're a huge problem [all laugh].
- 00:38:33 Sara Penn (guest) Michelle tells me regularly [all laugh].
- 00:38:37 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As she should [all laugh]. So, even though it was a *tedious* task, Sara, surely there was some things that you found interesting in the process. So tell us a bit about those. What did you find that you were most intrigued by?
- 00:38:55 Sara Penn (guest) [laughs] This might be a hint of bias talking, but there are several sex worker narratives that are digitized which makes me, and five other people on the planet, quite excited [Kate and Kandice laugh]. *The Magdalen; or, History of the First Penitent Prostitute Received Into That Charitable Asylum* is digitized and hand-verified, which is really exciting.
- 00:39:19 Sara Penn (guest) Two out of three editions of *The Woman of the Town; or, Authentic Memoirs of Phebe Phillips; Otherwise Maria Maitland; Well Known in the Vicinity of Covent Garden*, as I mentioned earlier, are digitized, and two of these editions are hand-verified, as well. *The Fair Wanderer; or, The History of Caroline Dormer, A Reformed Prostitute* is also digitized, which makes me really happy [Kate laughs], and I'm grateful to the librarians who make this happen. Who doesn't love seeing how women's labour, cheap print, and sex work come together?! [all laugh].
- 00:39:54 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Looking at the number of titles we have in the WPHP that were published, printed, or sold by Ann Lemoine will suggest a decent amount of work was done by someone—in this case, Sara. Thank you, Sara! But as we mentioned earlier in this episode, and as Sara has just shared, there's a lot of work to bringing these titles into the database that doesn't end up yielding data or other visible traces of our labour.
- 00:40:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And that's for a female-run firm that we do have a decent amount of information for, Ann Lemoine. These traces become even less visible aside from the scribbles in my notebook, when we're working on female-run firms who have very little information

available about them or whose own traces of their work are less visible to us say for someone who signed her name in a less obvious way than ‘Ann Lemoine’, who would often put her full name in imprints. Thank you, Ann!



- 00:40:45    Kandice Sharren    So helpful.  
(co-host)
- 00:40:46    Kate Moffatt    So helpful. Bless Ann. Ann Lemoine is an anomaly in a lot of ways. And certainly in terms of how much information we have about her. We’ve talked a lot about female-run firms before, especially in Episode 2 of Season 1, but it’s been a while. So I’ll refresh your memory. They’re hard to find [Kandice laughs]. And when we do find them, it’s then really difficult to find more information about them, either about their business or their biographical data.
- 00:41:13    Kate Moffatt    We have very few female-run firms where we know for example, where, or when they were born or when they died or who they married, and in a lot of cases, even their first names. There is a lot of labour [Sara and Kandice laugh] that goes into trying to find this sort of information about these women and also to try and track down the titles that they published or printed or sold, which can be really hard because most databases don’t let you search for a publisher or a name in an imprint.
- 00:41:39    Kate Moffatt    And if they do, it’s not always a super effective search capability. And so we fail a lot [Kandice laughs, all the time when we’re trying to do this. So we have so much information in the WPHP about Lemoine and that’s weird. It’s because we have sources specifically about her. So it’s great, but it’s not typical. We’ve talked a little bit about this before. I think also in Episode 2 of Season 1 and in a chapter that Kandice and I wrote, that’s forthcoming in *Women in Print*, but there are implications to having so much information available about one single female-run firm.
- 00:42:15    Kate Moffatt    And this includes something we’ve talked about before, which is the fact that it skews our data. It makes her look miles more productive than any other female-run firm that we have. And while Ann Lemoine was very impressively productive, the gap between her and our other female-run firms is likely exaggerated in the WPHP because we’re still working to find the titles of other female-run firms who aren’t as visible or who don’t have such specific sources available for them.
- 00:42:41    Kate Moffatt    And I would argue that once we’ve done that work it’ll balance those numbers pretty greatly. It will make that gap still noticeable, but it will be less extreme. And it really does come down to sources. They tend to be specific for reasons of manageability—because it’s impossible to do everything—and topic interest, but it

does exclude less popular individuals or forms from having the same amount of information available about them. Publisher biographies exist, but they tend to trace genres and formats popular in scholarship today.

- 00:43:11 Kate Moffatt (co-host) I'm thinking of the Newberys and their work publishing children's literature, or the Dartons, or Timothy Whelan's website *Non-conformist and Dissenting Women Writers, 1650–1850* which includes a section on non-conformist women booksellers and printers, for example. So while these sources are really useful, we love them, they are very limited to specific people or genres or formats. And that limitation is then transferred to the WPHP data. It's one of our limitations. We are limited by the sources that we have access to.
- 00:43:41 Kandice Sharren (co-host) But we also are limited by the scope of our own database. Together these limitations mean that it's actually quite difficult to assess Lemoine in the context of other comparable chapbook publishers. So earlier in the episode, I talked about how some of Lemoine's publications are classified as gothic bluebooks, which is a category that has received a decent amount of scholarly attention. Lemoine features heavily in Angela Koch's bibliography, as well as Franz Potter's recent book on cheap print and the gothic.
- 00:44:13 Kandice Sharren (co-host) However, Lemoine, like other chapbook publishers, didn't exclusively publish gothic chapbooks. As Sara noted, in the WPHP, we have titles linked to Lemoine in other genres, including prostitute narratives, manuals on how to swim, and popular songs. Wide range [Kate laughs]. But because of the scope of the WPHP, comparing Lemoine's output to other publishers of similar titles is difficult because the WPHP only collects data about titles that *women* were involved in producing.
- 00:44:47 Kandice Sharren (co-host) We will have records for all of Lemoine's titles that we can identify, but we won't have all of the records for titles printed or published by a firm that wasn't run by a woman. Thomas Tegg, for example, who Franz Potter notes as one of Lemoine's contemporaries, comes up 44 times in Koch's checklist compared to the 67 imprints that Lemoine appears in over the same period. So there's a gap, but they are somewhat comparable.
- 00:45:17 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Like Lemoine, Tegg published chapbooks in a variety of genres, including the gothic. However, unlike Lemoine, Tegg was heavily involved in the reprint trade, in buying and repackaging remaindered titles, and also in printing new books of his own. James Barnes and Patience Barnes have explored Tegg's diverse publications, citing his

claim, made in 1838, that “I have published more books, and sold them at a cheaper rate, than any bookseller in Britain.”

- 00:45:49 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Confident man! [laughs]
- 00:45:50 Kandice Sharren (co-host) I know! Bold claims, sir! And you wouldn't necessarily come to that conclusion from looking at the WPHP, which only has 36 of Tegg's titles, because those are the ones that we've identified that have a woman's involvement. So it's really hard for us to assess his bold claim [all laugh] in relation to Lemoine's output or any other publisher in the early eighteenth century, because firm-specific resources are few and far between, and genre specific resources like Koch's bibliography provide a quite limited picture.
- 00:46:28 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Together, though, Tegg and Lemoine, indicate how incomplete the picture really is when we bring cheap forms of print into the equation, whether we are talking about chapbooks or cheap reprints, or broadsides, and how difficult it can be to assess the importance of these firms in relation to their more prestigious counterparts.
- 00:46:50 Sara Penn (guest) Working exclusively with Lemoine's titles for the past year has shown me that bibliography is an undervalued discipline. There are some great resources out there, but they are scarce. In 2013, Angela Koch compiled a bibliographical checklist of early nineteenth-century gothic bluebooks. There are 217 titles here and 59 of them are published by Lemoine: 56 independent titles and 3 titles included in a series. This means that she has contributed to almost 30 percent of this list! Her bibliography is truly astonishing, and yet she is not really on anyone's radar.
- 00:47:30 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Until now when she has become the topic of a podcast episode on *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, and will undoubtedly become famous! [all laugh]
- 00:47:38 Sara Penn (guest) Truly famous [laughs]. So, we rely on other people's projects, like Koch's and Roy Bearden-White's, but it's not a balanced recovery because the info becomes skewed. Bibliographical resources for women authors are rare, especially so for women in cheap print industries. And even more so for women publishers in cheap print.
- 00:48:04 Sara Penn (guest) Women's works are often without attribution, scattered across many resources, making their contributions to print harder to trace. And this recovery work is quite often invisible. There is a huge chunk of emotional labour that goes into trying to piece together a patchwork of women's book history, only to face dead ends. It's not always as glamorous as we make it seem! [all laugh]

00:48:34	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Very glamorous.
00:48:34		[music playing]
00:48:46	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	This has been the fourth episode of Season 2 of <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> ! 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 <a href="http://womensprinthistoryproject.com">womensprinthistoryproject.com</a> . You can also find us at @TheWPHP on Twitter and on Instagram @womensprinthistoryproject.
00:49:09		[music playing]
00:49:26	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	[outtakes, part 1] The importance of Ann Lemoine in the bluebock—words aren't working anymore! [laughs]
00:49:33	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	The bluebock market! [laughs]
00:49:34	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Bluebock [laughs] it's time for a shitty Victoria beer podcast! [all laugh] No, bluebock is a perfectly acceptable fine beer, it's just not very interesting. Now I'm just going to try and say it—why can I not say this sentence? [laughs]
00:49:54	Sara Penn (guest)	[laughs] I'm going to grab some water and come back.
00:49:49	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Do it! [laughs]
00:50:00	Sara Penn (guest)	[laughs] Maybe I'll take a quick nap, I don't know! [laughs] I'll be right back.
00:50:09	Sara Penn (guest)	[outtakes, part 2] <i>The Art of Cooker</i> —I was going to say <i>The Art of Cockery</i> [all laugh].
00:50:22	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	There's our bluebock! [all laugh]
00:50:24	Sara Penn (guest)	[outtakes, part 3] Kandice! No!