

Author Attributions in English Literature – 1730-70

Attribution of anonymous mid-eighteenth century English literature is largely unresearched. This paper discusses progress on attribution of anonymous works authored by Tobias George Smollett (1721-71). The paper traces back to 1737, Smollett's involvement in the 1751 Paper War; to reveal errors in previous accounts of his early career. The research shows Smollett contributed to London magazines from 1732, and moved to London in 1737; to replace Jacob Ilive as literary editor for Edward Cave, at The Gentleman's Magazine. Analysis of Smollett's contributions to The Gentleman's Magazine, London Magazine, and Scots Magazine enabled development of a notional template for his anonymous works. This was compared against anonymous works published in 1730-70; firstly those titles bearing spurious imprints, a category normally avoided in book-trade research. In contrast this paper sees them as an opportunity, based upon a proposition that works sharing a spurious imprint, such as W. Webb, are likely by a single author. The proposition was validated by detailed research, with the Smollett notional template enabling attribution to Smollett of 180 titles bearing W. Webb spurious imprints. This action reinforced the template's validity, further reinforced by successful application to many other spurious imprints, and it is gradually being applied to genuine imprints

Introduction

Tobias Smollett

It seems axiomatic that, if a proven method of making author attributions had existed, many of the thousands of anonymous or pseudonymous (a/p) works published in 1730-70 would be now attributed. In 1740, London was a compact city of under 700,000 people, many illiterate, and with a tight literary clique, all aware and envious of each other's works. Attributions have been made to a handful of names, such as Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, and Daniel Defoe; but they were largely off the scene in 1730-70. A similar depth of attention has been given to Henry Fielding, but he was a magistrate in the decade prior to his 1754 death, and works attributed to him are a drop in the a/p ocean for 1730-70. So who was writing and publishing a/p works in 1730-70? The works of Colley Cibber, Henry Fielding, Sarah Fielding, Eliza Haywood, Sir John Hill, Samuel Richardson, Samuel Johnson,

Richard Savage, Christopher Smart, William Kenrick, and Oliver Goldsmith are largely identified. So who else could account for any of the thousands of a/p works? This paper discusses Tobias George Smollett (1721-71), who wrote many, many, a/p works; as poet, journalist, novelist, satirist, and as a commentator on matters, naval, political, religious, biographical, criminal, theatrical, and social.

The paper reveals it as no coincidence the a/p era of 1730-70 parallels the life of Smollett. A puzzle is rather, why has literary research paid so little attention to his life? Smollett followed Daniel Defoe, being determined to conceal his authorship: thereby misleading Lewis Mansfield Knapp in his biography of Smollett.¹ If he is mentioned at all, books discussing 1730-70 normally take only passing note of Smollett, and those which reference his life perpetuate misleading claims: this extract from Wikipedia includes ten significant errors;

Smollett ... was educated at the University of Glasgow, where he qualified as a surgeon. Some biographers assert that he then proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, but left without earning a degree. His career in medicine came second to his literary ambitions; in 1739 he went to London to seek fortune as a dramatist. Unsuccessful, he obtained a commission as a naval surgeon on HMS Chichester and travelled to Jamaica, where he settled down for several years. In 1742 he served as a surgeon during the disastrous campaign to capture Cartagena. On his return to Britain, Smollett established a practice in Downing Street and married a wealthy Jamaican heiress, Anne "Nancy" Lascelles (1721–91), in 1747. ...

Smollett's first published work was a poem about the Battle of Culloden entitled *The Tears of Scotland*, but it was *The Adventures of Roderick Random* which made his name... *Roderick Random* was modelled on Le Sage's *Gil Blas* and published in 1748. After that, Smollett finally had his tragedy *The Regicide* published, although it was never performed. In 1750, Smollett was granted his MD degree at the University of Aberdeen. He also travelled to France, where he obtained material for his second novel, *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, another success. Having lived for a brief time in Bath, he returned to London and published *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* in 1753. He was now recognised as a major author....

When research seeks confirmation of Smollett's career, some of the

1. L. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners*, (Princeton: PUP, 1949).

above details become illusory; as they draw on material recorded long after his death; and perpetuate inaccuracies. In contrast, a decade of research into Smollett from contemporary eighteenth-century sources, reveals circumstantial, but convincing, evidence of his life and works; as made available in open access research notes at www.tobiassmollett.blogspot.com.²

This paper summarises key elements of that research; progressed in the manner of an archaeological excavation: commencing with the 1751 Paper War, and working backwards from Smollett's satiric attacks, in *Peregrine Pickle*, and *Habbakkuk Hilding*, on William Hogarth, George Lyttelton, and Henry Fielding.

William Hogarth and Smollett

A methodical, detailed, and logical essay discussing William Hogarth's *Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751) confirms Ronald Paulson's view Smollett is caricatured in *Paul Before Felix Burlesqued*.³ The paper makes attributions to Smollett, and confirms a deep enmity between Smollett and Fielding. It raises several valid questions: What, and when, had caused such deep antipathy to Fielding? A parallel question asks, what and when caused Smollett's antagonism towards Hogarth, wherein Smollett ridicules Hogarth as the artist Pallet in *Peregrine Pickle*? A third question being, why did Smollett mock George Lyttelton in *Peregrine Pickle*?

2. D. Shelton, The Lost Works of Tobias Smollett and the War of the Satirists ...

3. D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, Four Stages of Cruelty* ... (ATINER, 2020, doi.org/10.30958/ajhis.6-3-3)



Figure 1. *Smollett: 1748*



Figure 2. *Smollett: 1741*

The answers to those questions, and a reassessment of Smollett's career, were markedly aided by a serendipitous realisation of Smollett's depiction by Hogarth in several prints from 1741-51. In recognising Smollett, the reasons for his depiction were investigated. In each case, countless iterations were required, but it gradually emerged that several Hogarth series, hitherto accepted as *Sermons* for the uneducated, were actually cryptic *Satires* for the amusement of Hogarth's educated friends.

1 An answer for Smollett's attack on Lyttelton is explained in a paper
 2 revealing reasons for Smollett's depiction in Hogarth's 1748 *Satire, The*
 3 *Gate of Calais* (Figure 1).⁴ It was apparent antagonism towards Fielding
 4 and Hogarth went even further back. Analysis of Hogarth's 1745
 5 *Marriage A-la-Mode* series revealed another Hogarth cryptic *Satire*;
 6 reasons for the antagonism, and further depictions of Smollett.⁵
 7 Research continued via analysis of Hogarth's 1741 *The Enraged Musician*,
 8 as yet another unrecognised Hogarth *Satire*, and with a further portrait
 9 of Smollett (Figure 2).⁶ Digging even deeper, bed-rock for the Smollett v.
 10 Fielding antipathy emerged in 1737, with the Golden Rump fracas
 11 bringing an abrupt end to Fielding's career as a playwright.⁷

12 The Hogarth depictions demonstrate Smollett was prominent in the
 13 London literary scene by 1741, even though he wrote anonymously:
 14 and the Golden Rump took the origin back to 1737. It was evident
 15 Knapp's biography of Smollett, claiming he had left Glasgow in late
 16 1739, was in conflict with Smollett's interactions with Hogarth and
 17 Fielding. A critical and detailed review of Knapp's 1739 claim was
 18 needed, and followed, with the resultant analysis supporting a view of
 19 Smollett's recruitment by Edward Cave to replace Jacob Ilive, the
 20 previous literary editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*; and Smollett's
 21 arrival in London by early 1737.⁸

22 23 24 **Contributions and Pseudonyms in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and** 25 **Elsewhere** 26

27 Critical reassessment of Knapp's biography revealed Smollett as a
 28 contributor to contemporary periodicals, especially *The Gentleman's*
 29 *Magazine*, *London Magazine*, and *Scots Magazine*. There are several
 30 studies of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, but their shared characteristic, is a
 31 presumption each different pseudonym in the magazine represents a

4. D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, The Gate of Calais and the Young Pretender*, (ATINER: under peer-review).

5. D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, Marriage A-la-Mode and Shamela*, (ATINER: under peer-review).

6. D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, The Enraged Musician and the Cibbers*, (ATINER: under peer-review).

7. D. Shelton, Smollett and The Golden Rump

8. D. Shelton, Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737 and Finances; Smollett - Writing for Periodicals - 1733-40

different author.⁹ That assumption of widespread authorship is inconsistent with contemporary norms; periodicals; such as Fielding's *The Champion*, having only one or two authors.

Realisation of Smollett's role as literary editor, led to a search for his own contributions. The review focused on *The Gentleman's Magazine*, then extended to *London Magazine* and *Scots Magazine*. Over 25,000 pages from those periodicals are summarised as open access research notes, and support attribution to Smollett of hundreds of published contributions.¹⁰ To date the notes cover, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1735-51; *London Magazine*, 1735-50, and *Scots Magazine*, 1739-49. That review, the quantity of contributions analysed, and the open-access notes, represent a notional template for Smollett material, and it became easier and easier to recognise his stylistic variations, even across differing and disparate themes and content. In this process it was apparent many related pieces were by a single hand, despite appearing over varying pseudonyms.

A feature of Smollett's 1733-50 contributions in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, *Scots Magazine* and elsewhere, is the use of countless different pseudonyms; intended to puff the magazines, by conveying an impression of vigorous debate among many discrete authors. That variety is an impenetrable barrier for any research adopting a stance of each different pseudonym concealing a different author.

Thus, rather than focus on pseudonyms, this project sought and determined patterns of attribution to Smollett, via a notional template of style, theme, content, and language in published contributions. Confidence in those attributions was then aided by observing repeating and parallel patterns within his pseudonyms; including;¹¹

1. Pseudonyms based on his own T.G.S. initials, i.e. T.S., G.S., S.T., or

9. C. Carlson, *The First Magazine. A History of The Gentleman's Magazine*, (Providence: Brown University, 1938); A. Pailler, *Edward Cave et le Gentleman's Magazine (1731-1754)*, (Lille: University of Lille, 1975); J. Kuist, *The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1982); T. Ram, *Magnitude in Marginality. Edward Cave and The Gentleman's Magazine 1731-54*, (Katz: Gottman, 1999); E. de Montluzin, *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman's Magazine 1731-1868*, <http://bsuva.org/bsuva/gm2/index.html>.

10. D. Shelton, www.tobiassmollett.blogspot.com; Smollett - Writing for Periodicals - 1733-40.

11. D. Shelton, Smollett - Pseudonyms & Literary Collections.

- 1 T.G.
- 2 2. Pseudonyms beginning Phil_____, e.g. Philodemos and
- 3 Philagathus.
- 4 3. Many Latin names ending _____us, or ____iensis, usually used only
- 5 once.
- 6 4. Names of deceased persons, e.g. Algernon Sidney, R. Freeman, and
- 7 Andrew Horne.
- 8 5. Real names, used generically to hint at real people, e.g. Mr Cibber,
- 9 Mr Whitehead, and Mr Pope.
- 10 6. Creation of deliberately misleading identities, e.g. Edmund Burt
- 11 and Dougal Graham.¹²
- 12 7. Pseudonyms using arbitrary initials, e.g. W.C. or A.B.
- 13 8. Pseudonyms implying an occupation or characteristic, e.g. Frank
- 14 Firelock, or Witless Wary.
- 15 9. Patterns of location, e.g. a wide scatter of small Scottish towns in
- 16 *Scots Magazine*.

17
18 The numerous Smollett contributions, and associated patterns of
19 pseudonym, support him as a prolific author and literary editor;
20 writing prose and poetry for monthly magazines, with ability to puff
21 therein his published works, and able to include, as reprints, his
22 contributions to other periodicals. Proof of Smollett's elevated literary
23 status in 1741 being confirmed by his contemporary depiction in
24 Hogarth's *The Enraged Musician*.

25 26 27 **Smollett's Early Career Restated**

28
29 The above comments and the open-access notes support a revision
30 of Smollett's early career.¹³ At Dunbarton school, the noted controversialist,
31 John Love, taught him the classics, also Greek, Latin, divinity, logic, and
32 mathematics. Smollett's mother was a widow, and so he had little access
33 to money. Whilst still at school he submitted poems for publication,
34 hoping to receive acknowledgement and encouragement, if not
35 payment. Whether he received any payment is uncertain, but more

12. D. Shelton, *Lost in the Scotch Mist - New Attributions to Tobias Smollett*, (ATINER: under peer review).

13. D. Shelton, *The Lost Works of Tobias Smollett and the War of the Satirists ...; Smollett - Arrival in London in 1737*

1 likely he was rewarded by seeing his poems in print.

2

A begging Epistle in Rhime from a
poor Poet.

S I R,
YOUR friendship I court
For a timely support ;
My guts are grown wond'rous limber :
My belly complains
Of the want of my brains,
Which us'd to supply it with timber.
May I fwing like a dog
If I have a hog,
A smelt, a george, or a teaster :
But here am I pent
To keep a sod Lent,
Without any hopes of an Easter.
I've sent to my betters
Circular letters,
Of this my dismal condition :
But you, Sir, I'm sure
My distemper will cure ;
Or a better must be the physician.
'Tis the first time that I,
E'er at rhyming did try :
In which if I had any skill ;
In a more elegant way,
As I ought I would say,
Your obliged servant Ra. Argill.
P. S. I hope you'll excuse,
My unpolite muse :
Did Bacchus my fancy inspire,
Address you I wou'd,
In verses as good,
As any of Pope or of Prior.

3

4 Figure 1. A begging Epistle

5

6 The earliest poem attributed to him, is written as aabbccdd in an
7 immature hand, and published in *London Magazine*, September, 1732, *A*
8 *begging Epistle in Rhime from a poor Poet*.¹⁴ The poem also appeared in *The*
9 *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1732, as *A Poor Poet's Begging Epistle*
10 (Figure 3). Stylistic reasons for the attribution are discussed in detail
11 elsewhere, but he conveys "Without any hope of an Easter, I've sent to
12 my betters, circular letters"; with a clue in the line, "A smelt, a george,
13 or a teaster", which puns, and reverses, his Tobias George Smollett
14 initials. Another draws from his work for an apothecary, a mention of
15 "Ra. Argill".¹⁵ Smollett often left similar subtle clues to his literary
16 presence, which aid in attributions.

17

14. D. Shelton, *London Magazine*, 310; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1024.

15. D. Shelton, *Smollett - Pseudonyms & Literary Collections*

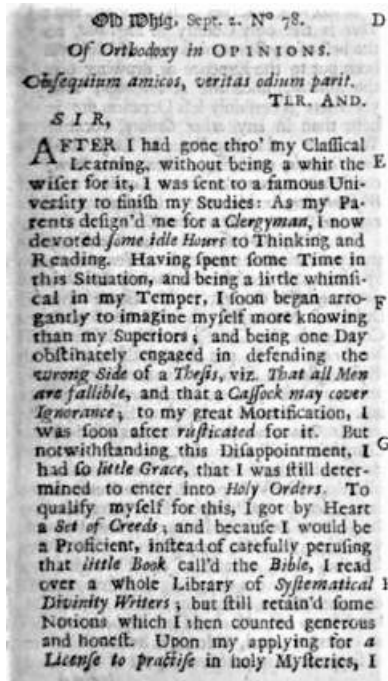


Figure 2. Old Whig part 1

found that I must solemnly subscribe to a great many Things; which, notwithstanding my great Fund of Knowledge, I could not in the least understand; and was told, I must be damn'd if I refused. I objected, that some of the Things required, appeared to me unintelligible, and others even shocking to my Reason; but was informed that very Reason should oblige me to believe them, and would render my Faith highly meritorious. However I absolutely refused to comply. Now I began to feel what it was to be damn'd. For some Years I wanted Bread, and was well-nigh Starving. Since that I have turned my Thoughts to Physick: But alas! now I see and lament my Folly. And to atone for former Mistakes as far as I can, I would humbly recommend to the World a Scheme for the Establishment of *Physical Orthodoxy*; and propose the great Advantages of believing and subscribing, whatever our Superiors require, without Reluctance or Exception; and would hope that, with the Patronage of some Great Men, my Scheme may take Place, as it will be attended with many good Effects.

Figure 3. Old Whig part 2

In 1733, from age 12, Smollett studied Divinity at Glasgow University, but was rusticated after two years study. The explanation emerges in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1736.¹⁶ A letter he had written to *The Old Whig* is reprinted, and clearly autobiographical. It conveys

16. D. Shelton, "Smollett, Vol. 6, 1736, *The Gentleman's Magazine*", 523: *The Old Whig*; Or, *The Consistent Protestant*

1 the Smollett family intention: "my Parents design'd me for a Clergyman
 2 .." but, "being one Day obstinately engaged in defending the wrong
 3 Side of a Thesis, viz. That all Men are fallible, and that a Cassock may
 4 cover Ignorance; to my great Mortification, I was soon after rusticated
 5 for it". Then, "I was still determined to enter into Holy Orders" and "I
 6 read over a whole Library of Sytematical Writers." However, "Since that
 7 I have turned my thoughts to Physick. But alas! Now I see and lament
 8 my Folly." (Figures 4,5). He thus opted to pursue a literary career of
 9 poetry, religious writing, and learning Hebrew, before widening his
 10 polemic themes. The one pseudonym Smollett did thence use on
 11 multiple occasions, as a polemic badge of religious defiance, was
 12 Rusticus. Smollett was familiar with the term "rusticated", as two poets
 13 he admired suffered the same penalty. John Milton (1609-74) was
 14 rusticated from Christ's College, Cambridge in 1626 for quarrelling with
 15 his tutor and John Dryden (1631-1700), was rusticated from Trinity
 16 College, Cambridge for exchanging insults with his college vice-master.

17 Whilst studying Smollett had assisted at an apothecary. He then
 18 became an apprentice after he was rusticated; Knapp includes a poem
 19 headed, "Tobie Smalet to Jo. Armstrong both prentice in ye Dyspensitory
 20 Nov'r 24, 1735."¹⁷ He then changed to a surgical apprenticeship in May
 21 1736, with many anonymous pieces, especially poems, published in
 22 *London Magazine* and *The Gentleman's Magazine*. At the latter, Smollett
 23 was a major contributor, developing a literary relationship with
 24 publisher, Edward Cave. In 1736, Cave fired his literary editor, Jacob
 25 Ilive, who wrote as Sylvanus Urban. This coincided with Smollett
 26 seeking a position as a journalist. In January 1737, *The Gentleman's*
 27 *Magazine*, p. 28, reprinted a letter Smollett, as Simeon Oddity, had
 28 addressed to Henry Stonecastle, editor of the *Universal Spectator* in late
 29 1736. In part it reads;

30
 31 Mr Stonecastle, I am of Mr D'anvers's Opinion, that News-Writers (See
 32 Vol. VI. p. 735) deserve Esteem from the Generality of Mankind; the
 33 Dignities they confer, the Marriages they make and unmake, the Fortunes
 34 they give, the Characters they bestow, the Lives or Deaths which are in
 35 their Command, are evident Proofs of what Importance they are to the
 36 Publick. I pay so much Regard to a Collector of Intelligence, that I have
 37 long had an Ambition to enter myself into that Class, and have prepar'd
 38 some Intelligences to open with, as follows Please to accept them as a

17. L. Knapp, L. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett, Doctor of Men and Manners*, (Princeton: PUP, 1949). 11.

Specimen of my Capacity. *Your indefatigable Brother of the Quill*, Simeon Oddity.¹⁸

The letter offers nine proposed specimens of Smollett's journalism. By early 1737 Smollett had resigned his surgical apprenticeship and was in London, to replace Ilive and assume the mantle of Sylvanus Urban. The importance of Smollett's editorial role is implied by Ilive who, on being fired in 1736, claimed he was, "the same hand who first rais'd; and for near five years compiled and conducted *The Gentleman's Magazine*."¹⁹

Smollett wrote for periodicals such as *Universal Spectator*, *Daily Gazetteer*, and *Common Sense*, and published many a/p works; initially with T. Cooper, C. Corbett, and J. Roberts; but also via a range of spurious imprints. In 1739 Smollett initiated the founding of *Scots Magazine*. In October 1740 he sailed on HMS Chichester to Cartagena, returning on HMS Cruizer on 18 June 1741, when he resumed his editorial position at *The Gentleman's Magazine*, where Samuel Johnson had covered for him on a temporary basis.²⁰

The majority of Smollett's poems are in aabbccdd rhyme, with many reprinted in published collections. He also supplied satiric verses for political prints, and wrote numerous ballads set to popular tunes, often *Derry Down*, or *The Abbott of Canterbury*. Smollett sought to establish relationships with literary figures of the day but, if rebuffed or ignored, as he was by Pope, he retaliated with satiric attacks.²¹ Rebuffs also came from Fielding, Hogarth, Colley Cibber, and Samuel Johnson.

Many Smollett satires, poems, letters, essays, and pamphlets were published under pseudonyms involving his initials. Excluding real authors with T__ S__ initials, the analyses reveal a range of T_ S__ pseudonyms used by Smollett (or against him by Fielding). Almost all are satirical pieces, and include: Tim Shallow, Timothy Scribble (not Ashley Cowper), Tom Smirk, Thomas Stupidius, Tom Smart, Tom Sober, Thos. Sparrow, Tom Saltway, Tom a Stiles, Thomas Stiles, Thomas Styles, Thomas Simes, T. Stead, Tom Shorto, Timothy

18. D. Shelton, Smollett, Vol. 7, 1737, *The Gentleman's Magazine* - The Lost ...

19. D. Foxon, *The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-51*, (London, Gregg, 1966), Introduction.

20. D. Shelton, Smollett, Cartagena, and Admiral Vernon - 1740-43

21. D. Shelton, Smollett & Pope - I - anti-Pope Attacks - 1737-40; Smollett & Pope - II - 1741-43; Smollett & Pope - III - Anti-Pope prints and Tom-Tit - 1740-45; Smollett & Pope - IV - The Dunciad - 1742-44; V - Ayre, Translations and Memoirs of Alexander Pope; Smollett & Pope - VI - Later Pope Material 1744-51

Soundbottom, Timothy Silence, Tom Skipton, T. Single, Tom Simple, Timothy Squeal, and T.S., also later instances of Tim Scrubb, and two Hogarth prints depicting Smollett wearing a Tam o'Shanter; *The Enraged Musician* and *The Gate of Calais*.²² Less common are S__ T__ pseudonyms, the best example attributable to Smollett being a series of letters on London theatre in *Scots Magazine* for 1739-40 signed S. Toupee.

The notional Smollett template revealed similar recurring patterns and combinations of style; chronology, imprint, content, language, word usage, theme, polemics, satire, and cross-links. His favoured themes varied over time, but re-emerged at intervals; he was supportive of Scotland and Ireland against England, but loyal to the Crown; he was pro-navy, anti-Jacobite, anti-French, and anti-papist, but chided the cost of European wars. He wrote seriously on religion, politics, medicine, and theatre, but also many social satires, some on heiress-hunting, and multiple satires of a prurient, salacious, or scatological nature.²³ His many polemic works reveal an over use of terms such as “nay”, “in short”, or “in a word”. He drew on a “stable” of formats for prefaces, openings, dialogues, as with “a letter to ... from ...”. Other Smollett characteristics include many “guttled” names, multiple “pleas to publish”, and numerous contributions closing, “your constant reader”.

Curll and Defoe as Models for Smollett

As evidence of Smollett's literary style became more distinctive, it was seen in works published over both genuine and spurious imprints. Repeated themes, tone, and language increased confidence in the attributions, some following the style of Pope, Defoe, and Swift. Many were polemic in nature, Smollett avidly following Defoe; in arguing both sides of any argument via competing pamphlets, in seeking to create an impression of vigorous literary debate amid many authors; in order to excite public interest, and generate more sales.

Smollett styled his publishing on Defoe and Edmund Curll, in authoring, editing, and publishing a wide range of material.²⁴ In 1737-45 Curll was semi-retired, but a burst of titles suggests he employed

22. D. Shelton, Smollett - Pseudonyms & Literary Collections

23. D. Shelton, Smollett, Merryland, A Voyage to Lethe, Cupid & Hymen ...

24. D. Shelton, Smollett and Edmund Curll Imprints

1 Smollett as an editorial assistant, thereby educating him in publishing
 2 ruses. Curll mainly used real booksellers, although sometimes "For the
 3 Author", or "Printed in the Year of Grace". While Defoe authored the
 4 works in his canon, that of Curll includes items written by others, and
 5 published under his umbrella. In contrast, Smollett concealed his
 6 identity behind layers of spurious imprints. He was self-opinionated,
 7 arrogant, and convinced of his superior intellect, writing with an
 8 implied challenge to his literary peers; "I am anonymous, but smarter
 9 than you, so catch me if you can". Strongly influencing Smollett's a/p
 10 preference and his spurious imprints, was a desire to avoid the fate
 11 Defoe had described for himself, in *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*:

12

13 This brings me again to that other oppression which, as I said, I suffer
 14 under, and which, I think, is of a kind that no man ever suffered under so
 15 much as myself; and this is to have every libel, every pamphlet, be it ever
 16 so foolish, so malicious, so unmannerly, or so dangerous, be laid at my
 17 door, and be called publicly by my name. It has been in vain for me to
 18 struggle with this injury; it has been in vain for me to protest, to declare
 19 solemnly, nay, if I would have sworn that I had no hand in such a book or
 20 paper, never saw it, never read it, and the like, it was the same thing.

21 My name has been hackneyed about the street by the hawkers, and about
 22 the coffeehouses by the politicians, at such a rate as no patience could
 23 bear. One man will swear to the style; another to this or that expression;
 24 another to the way of printing; and all so positive that it is to no purpose
 25 to oppose it.

26 I published once, to stop this way of using me, that I would print nothing
 27 but what I set my name to, and held it for a year or two; but it was all one;
 28 I had the same treatment. I now have resolved for some time to write
 29 nothing at all, and yet I find it the same thing; two books lately published
 30 being called mine, for no other reason that I know of than that at the
 31 request of the printer, I revised two sheets of them at the press, and that
 32 they seemed to be written in favour of a certain person; which person,
 33 also, as I have been assured, had no hand in them, or any knowledge of
 34 them, till they were published in print. This is a flail which I have no fence
 35 against, but to complain of the injustice of it, and that is but the shortest
 36 way to be treated with more injustice.²⁵

37

38 Smollett plagiarised Defoe's fear in Chapter II of *Roderick Random*,
 39 but his arrogance still shows through;

40

25. D. Defoe, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice*, (London, J. Baker, 1715).

1 The contempt which my appearance naturally produced in all who saw
 2 me, the continual wants to which I was exposed, and my own haughty
 3 disposition, impatient of affronts, involved me in a thousand troublesome
 4 adventures, by which I was at length inured to adversity, and
 5 emboldened to undertakings far above my years. I was often inhumanly
 6 scourged for crimes I did not commit, because, having the character of a
 7 vagabond in the village, every piece of mischief whose author lay
 8 unknown was charged upon me, I have been found guilty of robbing
 9 orchards I never entered, of killing cats I never hurted, of stealing
 10 gingerbread I never touched, and of abusing old women I never saw.
 11 In short, whether I was guilty or unfortunate, the correction and
 12 sympathy of this arbitrary pedagogue were the same. Far from being
 13 subdued by this infernal usage, my indignation triumphed over that
 14 slavish awe which had hitherto enforced my obedience; and the more my
 15 years and knowledge increased, the more I perceived the injustice and
 16 barbarity of his behaviour. By the help of an uncommon genius, and the
 17 advice and direction of our usher, who had served my father in his
 18 travels, I made a surprizing progress in the classicks, writing, and
 19 arithmetic; so that before I was twelve years old, I was allowed by every
 20 body to be the best scholar in the school.²⁶

21
 22 The pressure of writing was echoed by Smollett, in a private letter
 23 to John Harvie of 10 December, 1759:

24
 25 If I go on writing as I have proceeded for some years, my hand will be
 26 paralytic, and my brain dried to a snuff. I would not wish my greatest
 27 enemy a greater curse than the occupation of an author, in which capacity
 28 I have toiled myself into habitual asthma, and been baited like a bear by
 29 all the hounds of Grub-street. Some people have flourished by imputed
 30 wit; I have suffered by imputed dulness. I have been abused, reviled, and
 31 calumniated, for satires I never saw; I have been censured for absurdities
 32 of which I could not possibly be guilty.²⁷

33
 34 Smollett's 1759 comment challenges conventional wisdom which, in
 35 1759, claims his published works as three novels, a translation of *Don*
 36 *Quixote*, several short pamphlets, and the *Critical Review*. In conflict
 37 with his assertion, "If I go on writing as I have proceeded for some
 38 years, my hand will be paralytic, and my brain dried to a snuff." If his
 39 canon was as modest as is claimed, why was Smollett, "baited like a

26. T. Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, (London: Osborn, 1748), Ch. II.

27. L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 85.

bear by all the hounds of Grub-street", and, "abused, reviled, and calumniated, for satires I never saw"? A more logical view is supported by Smollett's depictions in Hogarth's prints of 1741-51: Smollett was far deeper in the London literary scene and authored more a/p works, than conventional wisdom has hitherto conceded. J. R. Moore proposed 546 works for Defoe, of which Furbank and Owens disputed 252.²⁸ Paul Baines expects Curll may reach 1000 titles. Thus, for Smollett to be attributed with many a/p works in 1730-70 is distinctly possible.

The Lady's Curiosity as Example of Cross-linked Attribution

As an example of connected threads aiding attributions; the phrase "been baited like a bear" was plagiarised from Defoe's 1727 *Conjugal Lewdness*, by Smollett, in *The Lady's Curiosity*, by Nestor Druid, London, C. Sympson, 1752, "Whether I have been a bear or no, I have been baited like a bear; that's true enough." Sympson was a spurious imprint, and Nestor David a Smollett pseudonym; *The Lady's Curiosity* was a short-lived periodical, issues I-XX, with material therein attributable to Smollett; it being one of multiple Smollett attempts to launch his own magazine. He opens *The Lady's Curiosity* with reference to his preference for anonymity, and trails before readers a typical red-herring, pointing at Wales rather than his home of Scotland:

No sooner does an Author make an Offer of obliging the Publick with his Lucubrations, but his Person, Family, Principles, Capacity, Age, Profession, and a numberless Et-cætera, are immediately the Subjects of Enquiry. And, strange as it is! a Reader seldom peruses a Book with any Satisfaction, till he knows what Party the Writer is listed in. To gratify this natural Curiosity of Mankind, Nestor Druid declares, once for all, That he is arrived to that Age, when the Judgment of Things is usually pretty well settled; that tho' his Family is as antient as any in Wales [i.e. Scotland], yet he does not value himself upon that so much as on his long Experience and a general Knowledge of Mankind ..., as he is of no Profession, but that which he apprehends he was born to; namely, to be as serviceable to those of his own Species, as his best Abilities will enable him.²⁹

28. J. Moore, *A Checklist of the Writings of Daniel Defoe*, (Hamden: Archon, 1971); P. Furbank, *Defoe De-attributions*, (London: Hambledon, 1994).

29. T. Smollett, *The Lady's Curiosity: Or Weekly Apollo*, (London: Sympson, 1752), 2.

More clues connect to Smollett. In discussing *The Lady's Curiosity*, although without awareness of the connections, Iona Italia draws attention to themes repeated elsewhere by Smollett; the ancients, female readers, divinity, and Newton; in sermon-like polemics, learned during his divinity studies:

Nestor Druid, for example, recommends Homer to his women readers for 'his piety ... and strict morality' (*Lady's Curiosity* 9), and includes a description of Newtonian physics in the form of 'Sir Isaac Newtons' Creed' (*Lady's Curiosity* 11).³⁰

The items cross-link to Smollett's satiric interference in a 1734-41 mathematical controversy, concerning Sir Isaac Newton and fluxions, as discussed in open access research notes.³¹ The weaving of like threads, into a sturdy network, across numerous periodicals and publications, helps reinforce Smollett attributions.

Book-Trade Research

London book-trade research is aimed at compiling accurate lists of genuine publishers, printers, and booksellers.³² The process includes a focus on the attribution of title-page ornaments to printers; with the identities of authors, whether named or a/p of little significance, and spurious imprints largely irrelevant. That book-trade research aids in accurate lists of imprints for genuine publishers, e.g. T. Cooper, M. Cooper, and W. Owen. But, in contemplating author attributions, a complication is that lists for such publishers contain a mix of works by named and a/p authors. Thus the lists are of limited assistance as a basis for proposing a methodical and robust means of identifying individual a/p authors.

This was illustrated in a 2014 study by Patricia Gael, *Poetry, Drama, and Fiction in the London Marketplace, 1737-1749*. Whilst Gael's paper is useful background to the publishing industry, it lacks any study of spurious imprints, nor does it discuss author attributions, Gael cautioning, "I do not provide new readings of major works - all of

30. I. Italia, *The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 203.

31. D. Shelton, Smollett, Philalethes Cantabrigiensis, and Tar-water- 1734-46

32. I. Maxted, *Exeter Working Papers in Book History: London 1735-1775*

1 which already have benefited from critical attention - nor do I argue for
 2 the incorporation of new works into the canon.”³³ Thus, despite using
 3 the terms, fictitious/false/spurious, 30 times, and anon/anonymous,
 4 over 400 times, the paper avoids discussion or analysis of those subjects.

5 Listings of works extracted from ESTC require caution, as ESTC
 6 does not differentiate between genuine and spurious imprints, and it
 7 includes erroneous attributions. Gael remarks;

8
 9 Tracking reprints through the ESTC with any precision is impossible.
 10 Entries might represent a new edition, but they might also represent the
 11 same edition, catalogued inconsistently from library to library, or textual
 12 variants of the same edition, or false editions marked by new title pages
 13 but sharing the same text and print run. Titles to works change, which
 14 makes searching for works in the catalogue difficult. Attributions are
 15 similarly inconsistent, even for the same title, so even in cases in which an
 16 author is known or commonly associated with a work it might not show
 17 up as part of his or her output.³⁴

18
 19 To make progress in attributing a/p works, it was apparent a
 20 different source was needed. Although based on ESTC, a more user
 21 friendly resource, and one freely available online, is Shakeosphere, as
 22 maintained by the University of Iowa.³⁵ Shakeosphere was designed for
 23 node analysis. That is not relevant to this project, but Shakeosphere does
 24 provides extracts of imprint detail held within ESTC. However,
 25 Shakeosphere does require some caution, as files for several publishers,
 26 such as J. Roberts, are corrupted; this appearing to occur where the base
 27 file is adjusted to combine name variants for node analysis; resulting in
 28 J. Roberts titles being under-stated. However, there appears to be only a
 29 handful of publishers affected by this flaw.

30 31 32 **Anonymous and Pseudonymous Works in 1730-70**

33
 34 Research into author attribution often seeks to use computer aided
 35 language analysis. But the method has difficulty with authors who

33. P. Gael, *Poetry, Drama, and Fiction in the London Marketplace, 1737-1749*, (Penn. State University, 2014), xiii.

34. P. Gael, *Poetry, Drama, and Fiction in the London Marketplace, 1737-1749*, (Penn. State University, 2014), 149.

35. University of Iowa, Shakeosphere - The University of Iowa

1 write in markedly varying styles, on multiple themes, with changes
 2 over time, and differing types of literature, e.g. polemics, reviews,
 3 politics, prose, poems, plays, satire, and biography.

4 There are various ways of estimating the relevant a/p corpus in
 5 1730-70. As one conservative estimation, Foxon's *London Magazine 1732-*
 6 *66 Monthly Catalogues* lists some 20,000 works for 1732-66, about half of
 7 which appear a/p; around 10,000 titles, or say 300 per year.³⁶ Such a/p
 8 titles can bear genuine or spurious imprints. London was a small city, so
 9 applying the Pareto 80/20 Principle to 10,000 a/p works, implies 8000
 10 published a/p works were written by 20% of a/p authors: with the most
 11 prolific of that 20% as a bare handful of authors, and to date Smollett
 12 viewed as the only obvious a/p candidate. (During research, no other
 13 author has shown an indication of being a major contributor to the
 14 10,000 a/p works, but suggestions are welcome.)

15 It was clear the notional Smollett template showed potential for a
 16 broader 1730-70 analysis, focused on separately published a/p works.
 17 The challenge was to determine how best to apply the template to an
 18 estimated a/p corpus of 10,000 works published in 1730-70; where the
 19 split is estimated as 8000 a/p works bearing genuine imprints, and the
 20 other 2000 a/p works bearing spurious imprints.

21 22 23 **Smollett and Spurious Imprints** 24

25 Titles with spurious imprints are not relevant in book-trade
 26 research, as they do not qualify for inclusion in lists of genuine printers,
 27 publishers, or booksellers. There are varying shades of genuine and
 28 spurious imprints but, for the purpose of this paper, a genuine imprint
 29 is defined as a work bearing a real publisher on the title-page, in
 30 essence matching lists prepared as part of book-trade research.

31 Spurious imprints are intended to conceal the identities of both
 32 author and publisher; via a spurious name, or no publisher, or
 33 published "for the author", or "sold by booksellers of ...", or etc. It is
 34 judged unlikely that multiple independent a/p authors would unite
 35 under a common spurious imprint. It is therefore believed a list of a/p
 36 works sharing a spurious imprint, represents a focused target in
 37 considering author attributions; based upon a presumption, that works

36. D. Foxon, *The Monthly Catalogues from the London Magazine 1732-66*, (London: Gregg, 1966).

1 sharing that imprint, were likely by a single a/p author.

2 It is estimated more than 2000 a/p works in 1730-70 were published
3 with spurious imprints, but such works do not qualify for inclusion in
4 book-trade lists. Smollett made extensive use of spurious imprints, so
5 this paper commences with spurious imprints, as a more focused target.
6 The pool of 2000 works available for comparison against the Smollett
7 template making it easier to determine attributions.

8 Seeking an even more focused target, the most obvious spurious
9 imprint to consider was that of W. Webb, who is absent from Plomer's
10 *Dictionary*³⁷ and from Maxted's London book trade lists.³⁸ W. Webb and
11 its variants are noted as fictitious by D. Foxon, "Mrs Lois Morrison has
12 suggested this is a fictitious imprint, like A. Moore"; Foxon also notes;
13 Mr Webb, A. Webb, J. Webb, and W. Webb, junior, adding of the last, "if
14 W. Webb is a fictitious imprint, clearly this is also".³⁹ For the purpose of
15 this paper, the Webb spurious imprint and its related variants, are
16 deemed a "clan", and thus become a Webb clan.

17 Net of reprints, there were about 180 Webb works in 1737-65; poetry,
18 ballads, politics, polemics, satire, and other prose. The mix was thus an
19 excellent sample to test the theory that works with a Webb imprint were
20 authored by Smollett. A focus on the how, what, which, when, where,
21 and why, of each Webb work, should then aid in confirming the
22 template; for style, content, language, theme, polemics, and cross-linked
23 works.

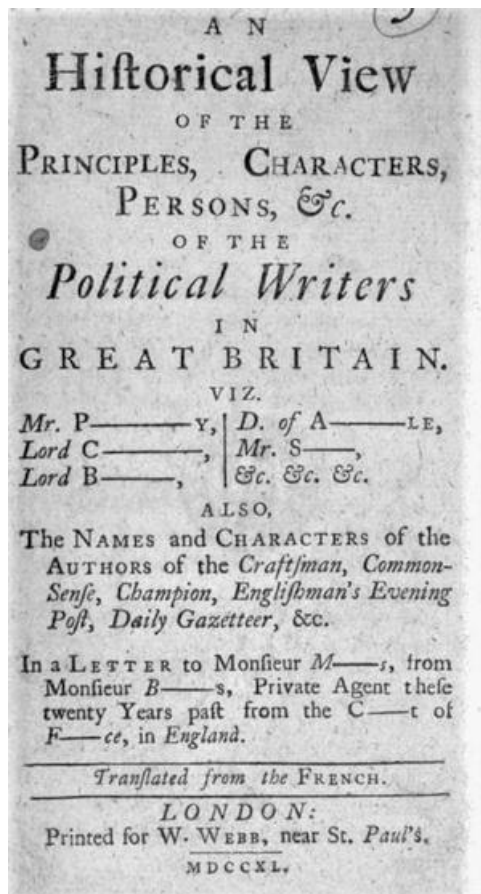
24 Review of each of the 180 works with a Webb imprint, was found to
25 match the notional Smollett template, and gave increased confidence of
26 its validity in making attributions. It was even possible to deduce that
27 occasional Webb imprints on reprints of seventeenth century titles, were
28 as Smollett sponsored reprints. Many Webb titles involve British and
29 European politics. Smollett's distant cousin, Sir Andrew Mitchell was
30 under-secretary for Scotland in 1742-46; in 1747-54, MP for Aberdeenshire
31 and 1755-71 MP for Elgin Burghs. He negotiated with Austria and the
32 Netherlands in 1752-55 and was envoy to Prussia in 1756-65. Hence
33 Smollett wrote on politics in Scotland, England, and Europe. The
34 process resulted in a more robust template, and attributed Smollett as

37. H. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers ... 1726-75*, (Mansfield: Martino, 2008).

38. I. Maxted, *Exeter Working Papers in Book History: London 1735-1775*

39. D. Foxon, *English Verse 1701-1750*, Vol. 2, (London: The British Library, 2003), 182.

1 author of the works within the Webb clan.⁴⁰



2
3 **Figure 4.** *Historical View*

4
5 A key Webb pamphlet of 1740 is, *An Historical View of the Principles,*
6 *Characters ..*, which Smollett signed as Marforio, and claimed to have
7 translated from the French.⁴¹ The work purports to be a report on
8 political writers in Britain (Figure 6). Much is accurate, but Smollett
9 slips in deliberately misleading red-herrings. One relating to Fielding
10 was intended to antagonise him, with the references to William King,
11 William Guthrie, and Raphael/Ralph Courteville each intended to lay
12 false trails away from material actually authored by Smollett.⁴²

13 The Smollett template was next stress-tested against works bearing
14 other spurious imprints. The H. Carpenter imprint and its variants
15 comprise about 80 a/p works, with Foxon noting of the T. Carpenter

40. D. Shelton, Smollett and W. Webb, *Spurious Imprints*

41. T. Smollett, *An Historical View of the Principles, Characters, Persons, &c ...*, (London: W. Webb, 1740).

42. D. Shelton, Smollett, Lilliput Debates, and *An Historical View* – 1740

variant, “possibly pseudonymous”.⁴³ The notional template continued as valid for Carpenter works, and became even more robust after application against other spurious imprints; such as J. Freeman. Plomer's *Dictionary* notes of H. Carpenter, “the name has not been found in any book of importance”, and he remarks of J. Freeman; “Probably a fictitious imprint.” Another spurious clan tested against the template was J. Warcus.⁴⁴

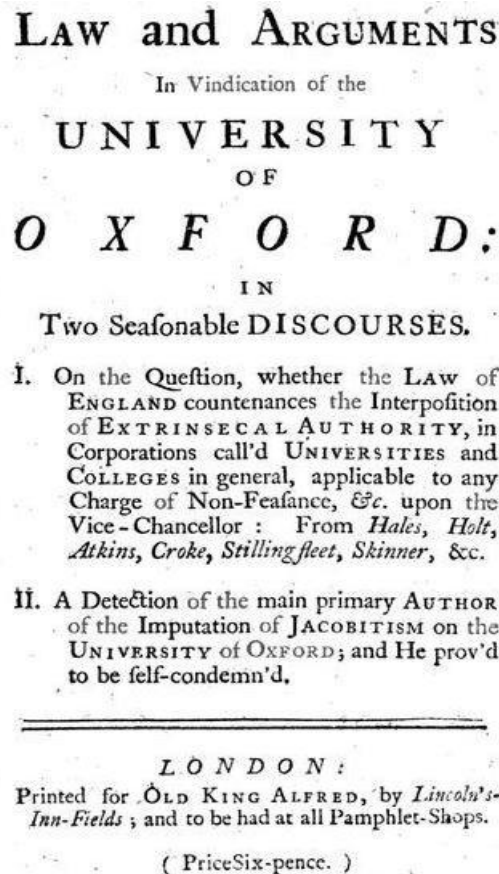


Figure 5. *Law and Arguments*

The Smollett template was also tested against imprints with one or two titles, e.g. *Law and arguments in vindication of the university of Oxford* ... printed for Old King Alfred, by Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, London, [1749] (Figure 7). Sometimes attributed to John Henley, but the imprint is spurious, and the style typical of Smollett's anti-Jacobite polemics.⁴⁵

43. D. Shelton, Smollett and H. Carpenter, Spurious Imprints; Smollett and J Freeman Spurious Imprints

44. D. Shelton, Smollett and J Warcus, Spurious Imprints

45. T. Smollett, *Law and arguments in vindication of the university of Oxford* ...

Another was, *Some proceedings in the last Parliament, impartially considered; in a dialogue between Sir Briton Old Mode, and Sir Townly Careless*, London, sold at all the pamphlet-shops of the Royal-Exchange, Temple-Bar and Charing-Cross, [1747] (Figure 8). The style proved to fit the Smollett template, and he did publish several other similar satiric dialogues.

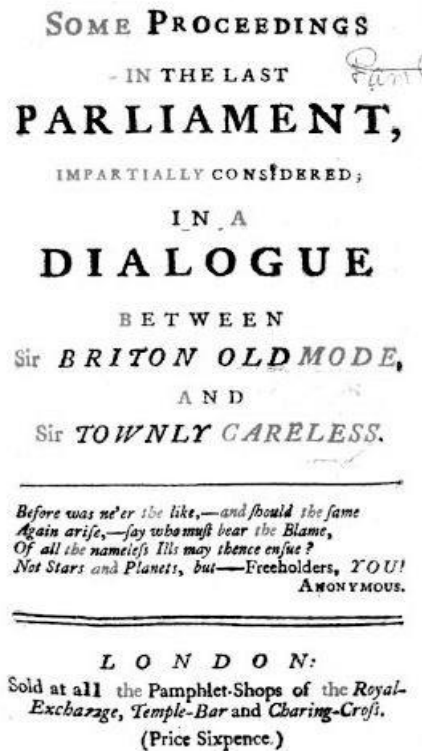


Figure 6. *Some Proceedings*

Smollett and "jun" Imprints

In April 1747 Cave was examined by the House of Commons, with a later account of the hearing reporting;

Cave was then asked how long he had been the publisher of *The Gentleman's Magazine*: he said that "it was about sixteen years since it was first published; that he was concerned in it at first with his nephew, and since the death of his nephew he had done it entirely himself." This nephew; as I have already remarked, had existed only in imagination, and he was still as much alive as ever, as the name of "E. Cave, jun." was

(London: Old King Alfred, [1749]); *Some proceedings in the last Parliament, impartially considered* ... (London: all the pamphlet-shops, [1747])

continued on the title-page throughout 1747 and down to 1752.⁴⁶



Figure 7. GM June 1738, E. Cave jun



Figure 8. GM May 1738, E. Cave

46. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, Volume 202, (London: Henry, 1857), 155.

1 In fact the first reference to “E. Cave, jun” was long before 1747: the
 2 imprint for *The Gentleman’s Magazine* shows “Printed by E. Cave” in
 3 May 1738, but the imprint for June 1738 changes to “Printed by E. Cave,
 4 jun” (Figures 9, 10). The circumstances imply the nephew who “existed
 5 only in imagination” was Smollett, who used his position to add “jun”
 6 to the imprint from June, 1738; in pretending he was Cave's nephew,
 7 and to add authority to his literary editor role, which he continued to
 8 occupy “throughout 1747 and down to 1752”. In January 1747, the
 9 name “R. Baldwin, jun” replaced T. Astley as publisher of *London*
 10 *Magazine*. The addition of “jun” to R. Baldwin at *London Magazine* was
 11 likely also Smollett's choice, one more puff for his ego, as literary editor
 12 at both *The Gentleman’s Magazine* and *London Magazine*.

13 It was rare for “jun” to appear on genuine imprints, but this seemed
 14 inspiration for Smollett to add “jun.” to several spurious imprints in
 15 c.1747-49, which thus aid in his attributions. A significant example of
 16 “jun” is a two line Latin poem in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1749, p.38,
 17 signed “Pamela B, jun”. The Latin [and a rough translation] is: Scire
 18 hominum mores varins, bene scribere, si vis: Perlege Clarissam; mente
 19 feutare tuä. Pamela B jun. [Know the manners of men of divers colours,
 20 if you want to write well: Read *Clarissa*; to enlighten your mind.] The
 21 choice of “Pamela B, jun” aids a view of this researcher, that *Remarks on*
 22 *Clarissa*, usually attributed to Sarah Fielding, was instead written by
 23 Smollett.⁴⁷

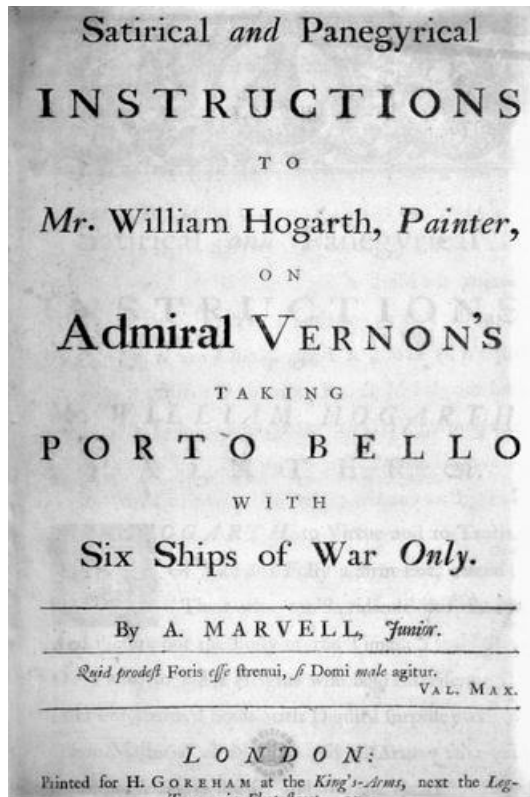
24 Similar attribution analyses apply to “W. Webb jun”; with, *A Defence*
 25 *of the Character of a noble Lord from the scandalous aspersions contained in a*
 26 *Malicious Apology*, London, W. Webb Jun., 1748, 46pp. Another is; *The*
 27 *speech of Dick Green in the Lower House of the Gentlemen of the Cloth*,
 28 London, W. Webb Junior, 1748, 1 page. The piece is a Smollett satire on
 29 appointing the assizes at Buckingham. Also, *Rupert to Maria. An heroic*
 30 *epistle. With Maria’s genuine answer*, London, W. Webb Junior, 1748,
 31 14pp. This is usually attributed to Robert Morris (1701-54), but W. Webb
 32 Junior points at Smollett. Other Smollett “jun” imprints include; “A.
 33 Marvell, jun”, “R. Freeman, jun”, “Swift junior” (Foxon N 232), “A.
 34 Price, jun” (Foxon T 31), and “Tom Andrew, jun” (Foxon P 702) (Figures
 35 11, 12).^{48,49} In *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for 1749, are three poems signed

47. D. Shelton, [Smollett, Vol. 19, 1749, The Gentleman's Magazine](#) also, Smollett, Vol. 11, 1749, *The Scots Magazine*

48. T. Smollett, *Satirical and panegyric instructions to Mr. William Hogarth, painter, on Admiral Vernon’s taking Porto Bello with six ships of war only. By A. Marvell, junior,*

1 "Random, Jun", on pages 422, 465, and 565, drawing on *Roderick*
 2 *Random*, and attributed to Smollett.

3



4

5

6

Figure 9. A. Marvell, Junior

(London: Goreham, 1740); *A Letter to the Right Honourable the E---l of T---q---r*, (London: R. Freeman, jun. 1746).

49. T. Smollett, *A new system of rural politicks; or, the crafty farmer's falsehood fitted: being a fresh and curious method to make a Lord-Mayor: ...* By Swift, junior, (London: G. Griffith, 1747). *A tale of two tubs or, the B----rs in Querpo ..* (London: A Price, jun, 1749); *A Poetical Epistle to Miss C—h—y ...* (London: Tom Andrew, Jun, 1749).

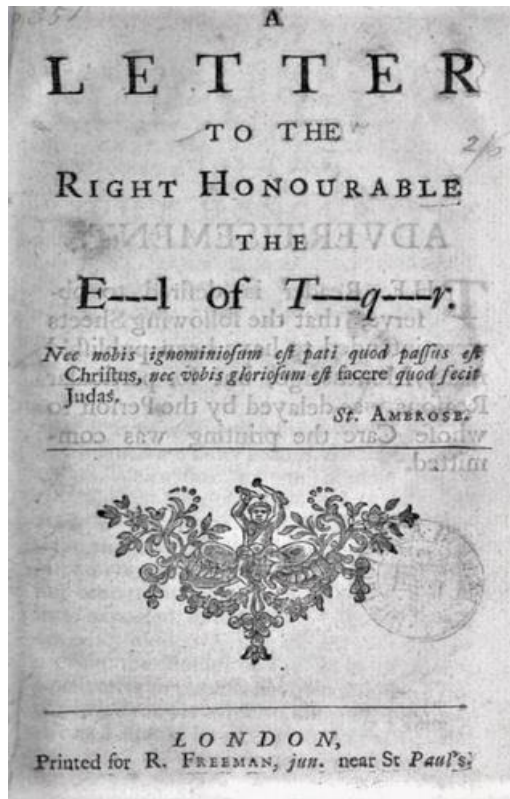


Figure 10. R. Freeman, jun

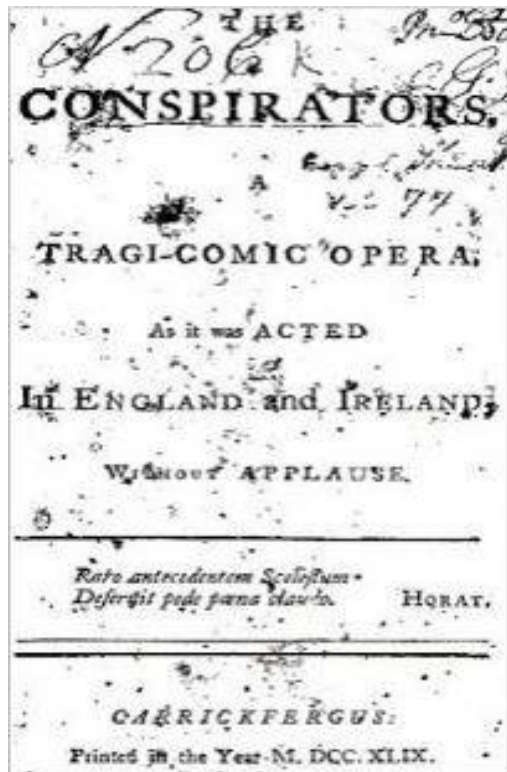
Smollett and Spurious Locations

Two examples of spurious locations used by Smollett show neither an author, nor a publisher. In 1749 he wrote a play alluding to his courtship of Anne Lassells; never performed, but among new books in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for September/October, 1749. The play was written in response to Lyttleton's rejection of *The Regicide*; and advice he should instead write a comedy. Smollett wrote to Carlyle on 7 June 1748: "I will also impart another piece of News ... after having perused the *Revenge* I have taken on the Playhouse Managers in *Roderick Random*. In short, I have planned a comedy which will be finished by next winter." The play was, *The Conspirators, a Tragi-Comic Opera, as it was Acted in England and Ireland* [i.e. Scotland] *Without Applause*, Carrickfergus, no author, 1749. (Figure 13). The play includes a person named Roderick Random, and Smollett as Dick Prettyman: a separate paper discusses the background.⁵⁰ The choice of Carrickfergus being

⁵⁰ D. Shelton, *A Satire not a Sermon, The Gate of Calais and the Young Pretender*, (ATINER: under peer-review).

1 where William of Orange landed in 1690 on his way to defeat the Irish
2 Jacobites.

3



4

5 **Figure 11.** Carrickfergus

6

7 A second example of a Smollett spurious location is the Isle-of-Man,
8 used for three related pamphlets, one being, *The Hibernian Politicians;*
9 *An Epistle from a Gentleman in the Country, to His Friend in Town.* Isle-of-
10 Man, 1740 (Figure 14). The Isle of Man was chosen as a spurious
11 location by Smollett as a pun on the Isle of Wight, close to where he was
12 aboard HMS Chichester, preparing to sail for the West Indies. The
13 Hibernian series was written by Smollett onboard ship, and sent to
14 London for publishing, as discussed separately.⁵¹

15

51.D. Shelton, Smollett & Pope - I - anti-Pope Attacks - 1737-40

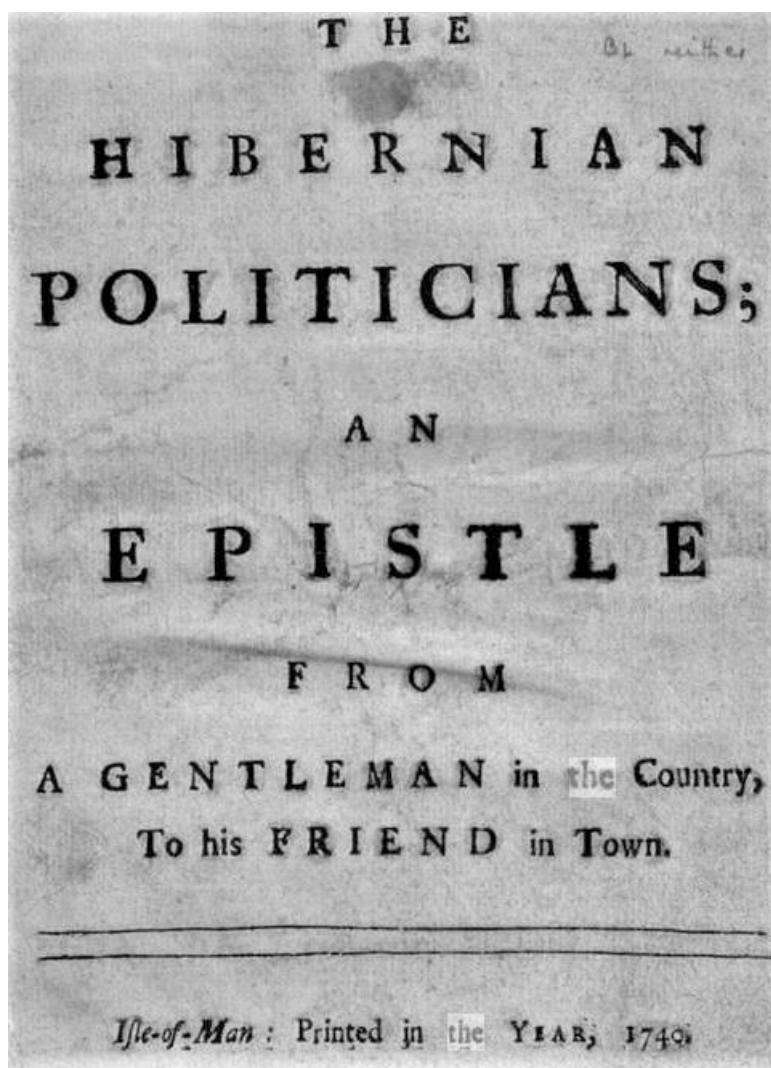


Figure 12. *Isle-of-Man*

Genuine Imprints

With a robust template for Smollett works published with Webb, Carpenter, Freeman, and other spurious imprints, the next step was to apply the template to a/p works published over genuine imprints. The application of the Smollett template to genuine booksellers is ongoing, being applied to works published in 1730-70, with T. Cooper, M. Cooper, W. Owen, and others, and enabling further a/p attributions to Smollett.⁵²

52. D. Shelton, Smollett and Thomas Cooper Imprints; Smollett and Thomas Cooper Imprints continued; Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints - I; Smollett and M. Cooper

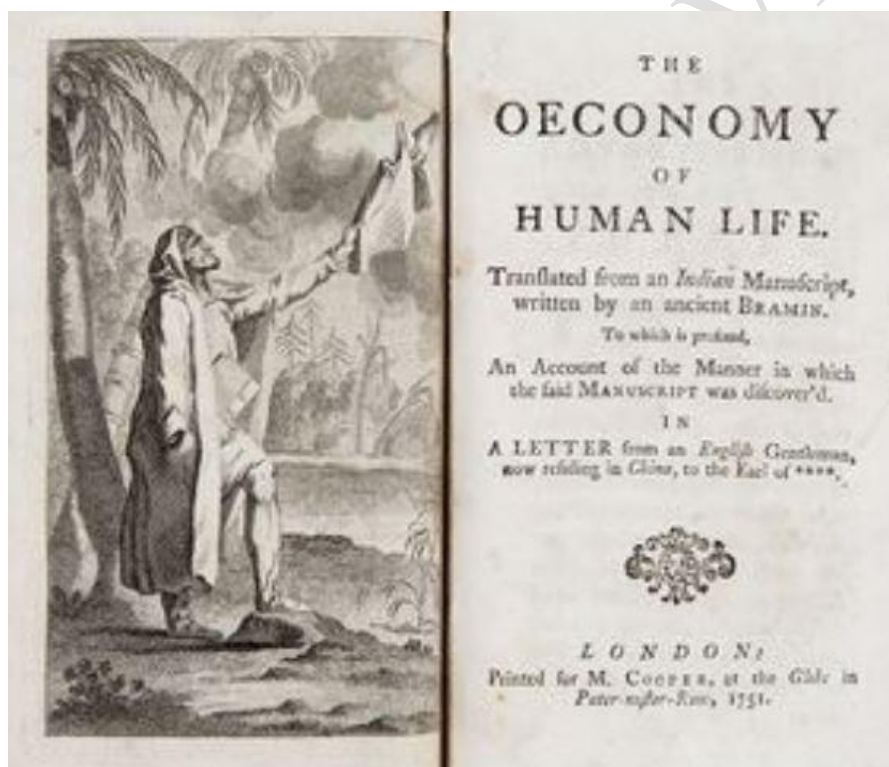
1 The process acknowledged that Smollett, as an a/p author, likely
 2 had works in both categories, some published with a genuine imprint,
 3 and others with a Webb imprint. Occasional hints pointed towards T.
 4 Cooper and M. Cooper; for example an odd inconsistency, as where a
 5 New Book list recorded Cooper as publisher, but the actual imprint
 6 showed Webb, or vice versa. These errors indicated that Smollett, as
 7 literary editor for *The Gentleman's Magazine*, was able to puff a title in
 8 advance of it being published, rather than after sighting the pamphlet.
 9 Although bearing Webb imprints, other clues revealed many works
 10 were printed and distributed for Smollett by T. Cooper and M. Cooper.
 11 Webb works with a Pater-Noster-Row address were almost certainly
 12 published for Smollett by Thomas Cooper, whose works give Pater-
 13 Noster-Row as an address in 1733-43, and his widow Mary Cooper who
 14 used the same address, 1743-61.

15 T. Cooper and M. Cooper also published many works for Smollett
 16 over their own imprints. A pause for reflection, raised the question as to
 17 why would the Coopers agree to act for W. Webb? Hints implying
 18 genuine publishers accommodated Smollett, in printing and
 19 distributing his spurious imprints, merit comment. For a genuine
 20 publisher, to publish a spurious imprint represented a lost opportunity
 21 to advertise his business on the imprint. So why agree to
 22 print/distribute a spurious imprint? For several reasons; if the publisher
 23 saw risk of libel, or of a financial loss, and so declined to purchase the
 24 copyright, but did see a profit in printing and distribution. Or perhaps
 25 did not wish to risk tarnishing his name, or antagonising
 26 contemporaries, by publishing salacious works, or works attacking the
 27 government, or other public figures.

28 For Smollett as an a/p author, the ruse of multiple spurious
 29 imprints had benefits; to reduce a potential risk of libel; to
 30 anonymously attack rivals, other individuals, or politicians; and to
 31 publish salacious or pornographic works. Via a polemic mix of genuine
 32 imprints and spurious imprints, arguing from both sides of any theme
 33 as if a game of ping-pong, Smollett was able to project a false
 34 impression of vigorous polemic debate. Also, to appear fresh and
 35 interesting, and reduce a risk of becoming known as a boring, biased,
 36 and predictable author.

37 Instances occur of a Smollett first edition published over a genuine
 38 or spurious imprint; being noticed by a different publisher who saw

1 opportunity for a second edition, and published it with a different
 2 genuine imprint. An unwelcome outcome of this is that, in some
 3 instances, the name of the subsequent publisher has become
 4 confabulated with that of the author. An example is, *The Oeconomy of*
 5 *Human Life* ... London: M. Cooper, 1751 (Figure 15).⁵³ Later editions
 6 were published over Robert Dodsley's imprint (Figure 16). The work is
 7 a moral treatise, written as if by an eastern philosopher, and supposedly
 8 obtained from the Grand Lama of Tibet. It appeared anonymously in
 9 1751, and was attributed to Lord Chesterfield; which suited Dodsley as
 10 it aided sales. By the seventh edition Dodsley was regarded as the
 11 author, but it is believed Smollett was the actual author; he often
 12 mocked Chesterfield, frequently used the literary device of, "a letter
 13 from ... to ...", and for several works, claimed the discovery of a cache
 14 of old letters or documents.⁵⁴
 15



16
 17 **Figure 13.** *Oeconomy Cooper*
 18
 19

53. T. Smollett, *The Oeconomy of Human Life. Translated from an Indian Manuscript written by an Ancient Bramin. ... In a letter from an English Gentleman, now residing in China to the Earl of ****, (London: M. Cooper, 1751).

54. D. Shelton, Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints - II - continued

THE
OECONOMY
OF
HUMAN LIFE.

Translated from an *Indian Manuscript*
written by an ancient BRAMIN.

To which is prefixed,
An Account of the Manner in which
the said MANUSCRIPT was discover'd.

IN
A LETTER from an *English Gentleman*
now residing in *China*, to the Earl of ***.

The SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N :

Printed for R. DODSLEY in *Pall-mall*, and
sold by M. COOPER, in *Pater-noster*
Row, 1751.

(Price One Shilling.)

Figure 14. *Oeconomy Dodsley*

For separately published works, including proposed collections, Smollett pitched manuscripts to publishers; selling the copyright wherever he could. If a publisher, such as the Coopers, believed a work had potential, they purchased the copyright, and placed their name on the imprint. That provided cash for Smollett, and avoided risks of printing and distribution. Where a Smollett work was published over a spurious imprint, it is likely he had to pay part or all of the cost. He was extremely self-opinionated and, in modern terms, many of the a/p works Smollett published over spurious imprints would classify as vanity publishing.

He could have made money by retaining selected copyrights, but was a poor businessman. As a prolific publisher of spurious works, any money he received from genuine or spurious works, was less than his share of the costs incurred in publishing the works. Hence he was perpetually short of money, despite remittances from his wife's Jamaican estate, and they periodically sold a Jamaican slave to meet expenses. So short that even after his successes with *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, in c.1751-52 he wrote a begging letter to his friend and fellow Scot, the man-midwife, William Hunter;

I have been hedging and lurching these Six weeks in expectation of that cursed ship from Jamaica, which is at last arrived without Letter or Remittance. I do not know whether God will have it that you should

1 endure the Persecution of my wants without flinching, or that I should at
 2 length tire you out, and be shaken off at once, but, certain as it is, I am at
 3 present, in consequence of little Demands which I have put off to the last
 4 day of Procrastination, in absolute necessity of eight, or ten, pieces
 5 [guineas], without which I can no longer answer the Occasions of my
 6 Family. This Declaration is by God himself! like wormwood and
 7 Brimstone to me, and were myself alone concerned, I would rather perish
 8 than have Recourse to such beggarly Solicitation. For heaven's sake, do
 9 not look upon me as one of those Sneaking Rascals who can stoop to
 10 subsist upon what they can borrow without shame, Remorse, or purpose
 11 of Repayment. I am an unfortunate Dog whose Pride Providence thinks
 12 proper to punish wit the Tortures of incessant Mortification; and I resent
 13 my Lot accordingly. But in the midst of those miserable Littlenesses to
 14 which my Destiny drives me, I am still with a due Sense of the
 15 Predicament in which I stand.⁵⁵

16 17 18 **Progress with Attributions** 19

20 The analyses of spurious imprints are extensive, with many
 21 displaying Smollett's hand, as already do significant numbers of works
 22 with genuine imprints. The combined analysis has, to date, enabled
 23 attribution of hundreds of titles to Smollett, perhaps with potential to
 24 approach a combined published corpus of around 2000 works, plus his
 25 contributions to daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals. The summaries
 26 of Smollett's contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, *London Magazine*,
 27 and *Scots Magazine*, together with notes supporting the analyses of
 28 individual works are all accessible as open-access research notes, and so
 29 available for critical review. At varying stages Smollett had assistants,
 30 who may have authored works published under his supervisory
 31 umbrella, but the Smollett style is so distinctive, they stand as part of
 32 his corpus.

33 London was a compact city in the middle eighteenth century, and
 34 there were few recognised authors. The titles of the many works
 35 published in 1730-70 by authors such as Pope, Swift, Defoe, Fielding,
 36 Richardson, Cibber, Haywood, Hill, Goldsmith, etc. are generally
 37 accepted as part of their respective canons. But for 1730-70 that leaves
 38 an estimate of 10,000 a/p works, comprising 8000 a/p works with

55. L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 17; Smollett and Polemic Medicine - 1745-55

genuine imprints, and 2000 a/p works with spurious imprints. Smollett's active period was nearly 40 years, with many works in close succession. Excluding contributions in periodicals, they range from single sheets to several hundred pages. For the purpose of illustration an average is assumed as in the range of 24-30 pages, excluding novels. An estimate from the works so far attributed in this project, suggests he published three to four pamphlets per month, more in 1740-60, and less outside that era. On 7 June 1748 he wrote of *Roderick Random*;

I am tempted to discover that, the whole was begun and finished in the compass of eight months, during which time, several intervals happened of one, two, three, and four weeks, wherein I did not set pen to paper, so that a little Incorrectness may be excused.⁵⁶

Net of intervals, that is about 1,000 words, or 3 pages per day, above other writing and editing responsibilities. For the purpose of illustration, it is assumed he averaged novel writing at a rate of one per year, published pamphlets of prose or poetry at four per month, and contributed to periodicals at five per week. Thus, above supervisory editing, his annual workload might be: a novel of 300 pages; four pamphlets a month of 30 pages, to equal 1440 pages; five contributions a week of 1 page, equals 250 pages; total 1990 pages. Or put another way: 7 pages a day, for 300 days equates to 2100 pages a year, not an impossible workload, and is supported by his earlier mentioned private comment to John Harvie of 10 December, 1759:

If I go on writing as I have proceeded for some years, my hand will be paralytic, and my brain dried to a snuff. I would not wish my greatest enemy a greater curse than the occupation of an author, in which capacity I have toiled myself into habitual asthma, and been baited like a bear by all the hounds of Grub-street. Some people have flourished by imputed wit; I have suffered by imputed dulness. I have been abused, reviled, and calumniated, for satires I never saw; I have been censured for absurdities of which I could not possibly be guilty.⁵⁷

Applying that calculation to Smollett's 40 year career, supports a potential corpus of 2000 published works. Time will tell how reasonable that estimate is, but it does imply a large unidentified corpus. A

56. L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 8.

57. L. Knapp, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 85.

potential of 2000 published works in 1730-70, implies he averaged publishing one work a week for forty years. The numbers are startling, and imply two in every ten a/p works; i.e. 2000 out of the estimated 10,000 a/p works, were from his pen. Within that, indications are the majority of a/p works bearing spurious imprints will be attributable to Smollett. In the absence of other prolific known potential a/p authors, that is very possible. The following link to details of ongoing research notes for 1730-70 a/p works; as spurious or genuine imprints

<u>Smollett - Genuine and Spurious Imprints</u>	<u>Smollett - J Bouquet and J Payne Imprints</u>
	<u>Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints I</u>
	<u>Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints - II</u>
<u>Smollett and W. Webb, Spurious Imprints</u>	<u>Smollett and M. Cooper Imprints - III</u>
<u>Smollett and H. Carpenter, Spurious Imprints</u>	<u>Smollett and Thomas Cooper Imprints</u>
<u>Smollett and J Freeman Spurious Imprints</u>	<u>Smollett and Thomas Cooper Imprints continued</u>
<u>Smollett and J Warcus, Spurious Imprints</u>	<u>Smollett and Charles Corbett Imprints</u>
	<u>Smollett and Jacob Robinson Imprints</u>
	<u>Smollett and William Owen Imprints</u>
	<u>Smollett and Genuine Imprints A to E</u>
<u>Smollett and Spurious Imprints A to E</u>	<u>Smollett and Genuine Imprints F to M</u>
<u>Smollett and Spurious Imprints F to M</u>	<u>Smollett and Genuine Imprints N to S</u>
<u>Smollett and Spurious Imprints N to S</u>	<u>Smollett and Genuine Imprints T to Z</u>
<u>Smollett and Spurious Imprints T to Z</u>	

Conclusion

Past literary criticism associated with Tobias Smollett has a tendency to be limited to discussion of the works long attributed to him by conventional wisdom. In contrast, the Smollett Project has identified and made many new attributions. Smollett's modus operandi has been identified; an obsession for anonymity, and an insatiable need to write and publish poetry and prose, fiction and non-fiction, but an unsuccessful playwright. Many works have a salacious or scatological tone. Smollett was rusticated from Glasgow for challenging church

1 dogma, but to avoid any association with Glasgow, he would interpose
 2 Oxford as a red-herring. He had a polemic bent, and a penchant to puff
 3 his works at every opportunity. His interest in politics was strong, as
 4 was his attention to the navy and to European affairs. Smollett was a
 5 champion for Scotland, and a royalist, while strongly anti-Jacobite, anti-
 6 Papist, and anti-French. Smollett made use of a wide range of spurious
 7 and genuine imprints; plus hundreds of contributions to daily, weekly,
 8 and monthly periodicals. The mix of characteristics conveys Smollett's
 9 *modus operandi*, not as a single style, but with a distinctive pattern of
 10 over-lapping themes, style, and language, and which gives confidence
 11 in making the many attributions. But, remaining for other scholars is
 12 the question; Which other prolific authors can be attributed with
 13 writing substantial numbers of the still outstanding, anonymous and
 14 pseudonymous, works published in 1730-70?
 15

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- Many footnotes link, as URL, to detailed, open access, research notes at www.tobias-smollett.blogspot.com. Research is ongoing, and minor inconsistencies may occur as a result of new information coming to hand.
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