## *Contextualising Title Pages by Material Culture: Typography & List of Rarities A Case Study Don Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogues, 1729 – 1795.*

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contextualises the catalogue's title pages through a change over time examination of the typography and then listed of rarities through strategies from material culture
A Case Study Don Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogues, 1729 – 1795.

## Material Abstract

Using *A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof* - published in London, England between 1729 and 1795, this case study contextualises the catalogue's title pages through a change over time examination of the typography and then listed of rarities through strategies from material culture to understand better the intersecting identities floating around the public sphere. What was reflected were characteristics of religion, nationhood, and gender. Don Saltero's rarities catalogues were a topic of discussion for patrons of Don Saltero's coffeehouse in London. Catalogues analysed in this research existed in the coffee house environment, private homes, and wherever these catalogues ended up. The catalogues added legitimacy to the collections they accompanied and did so by placing objects within various Enlightenment discussions and tying the listed objects to contemporary cultural knowledge. Additionally, the object's descriptions allowed spectators and readers to interact with the 'science' of the emerging field of natural history. They presented catalogues in a way that emulated emerging scientific works within the academic sphere of the natural world. The sources used here gained further fame and legitimacy through the connection to well-known naturalist Sir Hans Sloane, a physician to the royal family, president of the Royal Society, and founder of the British Museum. Owning rarity collections was often an elite enterprise, but a collection's stories were deliberately pitched to a much broader audience offering access to the collections and the ideas they represented. Thus, these catalogues add significance to their collections by expanding public discourse on objects known as rarities.

Keywords: History of Science, James Salter, Sir Hons Slone, collections, coffeehouses, rarities, curiosities, Don Saltero's, typography, and design history.

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## A Case Study of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogues, 1729 - 1795.

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## Acknowledgements and Dedication –

Acknowledgements:

I did not make it to this arena by having more courage or exceedingly more amounts of grit than other people. However, I will claim that I am fortunate to have received an excellent opportunity to earn a world-class education. This privilege is not lost on me. I am sincerely grateful and very aware that I did not achieve this goal on my own. I have many people to thank for teaching me, guiding me, and being a friend along this path. I do stand on the shoulders of giants: 1st - Dr Barbara Crosbie, my advisor. Thank you for pushing me and always demanding more from me. You have become one of my greatest teachers of history and life. Dr Nicole Reinhardt, Dr Hannah Greig, and Dr Thomas Stammers, your feedback and time, helped me grow, thank you. You three have been very generous. 2nd - The Institutions; Durham University History Department for giving me an opportunity to learn and providing this experience; St Aidan's College; University College, especially, Dr Wendy Powers, Thank you! 3rd - St Aidan's College SCR Exec. 2019-2020 Harry Cross, Vani Jain, Andy Niu. 2020-2021 Laura Sadler and Akvile Jadzgeviciute. 4th -A tremendous amount of love and gratitude for my friends who have either left me alone as I wrote or bugged me to get back to writing, Megan Thomas, Vani Jain, Austin Collins, Marlo Avidon, Marnie Bell-Ferguson, Brant Rawls-McQuillan, Andy Niu, Katherine Chambers, and Angi Smith for investing your time and love with me. 5th - Laura Sadler, Vani Jain, Akvile Jadzgeviciute, and Sam Armstrong, you four have been 'my sisters' and 'work wives' – Y'all have the courage of lionesses! Thank you for letting me 'see you' and giving me feedback. 6th - The smartest women I know: my sister, April and my mother, Jeanette. You two have sacrificed over and over for me to be here. I hope to make you proud. Thank you for making me laugh, loving and teaching me. 7th - My loving and sweet Swedish-in-laws. All of you, I am blessed to call you family! Thank you for being patient with me. 8th – The best men I know: Austin Collins, Andy Niu, Harry Cross and Taylor Davis, Thanks for doing the 'guy' stuff with me. Also, to Emory and Cass, my charming and beloved framly.

Dedication:
I dedicated this thesis, to my darling, my love, my wife, my partner, and most importantly, my friend, Mathilde – our love reflects our best and truest selves! May the best version of me continue to grow in us. Your unconditional love gives me permission to love myself. You are my greatest gift. Jag älskar dig!

# Thesis Introduction

## *i) curiosities and the culture of collecting*

A petrified peach; an acorn from Turkey; an alligator's egg; the skeleton of a child found in a tree; a leopard; a midwife's chair; the guts of a man; the head of a wolf; an American bean; the skin of a woman prepared like leather; the bladder of a dog; remnants of a miscarriage at six weeks: these are but a small selection of the listings of 'rarities' found in catalogues of the rarities that drifted around early modern Northern European society. Publications of these catalogues flourished for over one hundred years. By the latter half of the seventeenth century the publishing market for such catalogues was in full swing throughout northwest Europe.

Housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London is Queen Victoria's substantial collection of curiosities from around the world. Outside of the United Kingdom, but still in Northern Europe, Uppsala University in Sweden houses one of the world's most intact cabinets of curiosities from the Early Modern period at the Museum Gustavianum. There, is a cabinet of curiosities gifted by the city of Augsburg to King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in 1632. The Augsburg Art Cabinet was built by Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647) and is an example of a collection that would have inspired the substantial collection of curiosities held by Queen Victoria. In *The Origins of Museums,* Oliver Impey states that these initial, extraordinary collections in the cabinets of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, in fact, the first modern museums.[1] These early museums held the objects and the documentary support that put the objects in context.[2] The Augsburg Art Cabinet was manufactured in Augsburg. This cabinet is the only surviving and fully intact of Hainhofer's cabinets and is wonderful example of what inspired Northern Europe elite to begin collecting curiosities. An elitist movement tied to the revival of natural histories rooted in Renaissance courts and championed by the Bolognese naturalist Ulises Aldrovandi (1522-1605).[3] Another example that leads us towards these vast collections is Flemish physician Samuel Quicchelberg (1529-1567): Quicchelberg was one of the few contemporaries who had a straightforward vision of what the *Wunderkammer* could become, and authored an article on the ideal museum, in which they organised the museum as 'a universal theatre'.[4] The cabinets, the museum, and the objects were held together in spheres that blurred the boundaries between art and nature. In this cabinet, objects were categorised according to their connections to art; thus, they could be viewed as art imitating nature, or nature imitating art. Still more, another poignant example of this duality is Frederick Ruysch's museum, which displayed body parts and preserved organs alongside exotic birds, butterflies, and plants.[5] This kind of collecting, considering, and displaying items was a manifestation of a world trying to understand itself, a world which needs to understand the natural world, and is led by curious individuals along a path towards a deeper understanding through these collections.

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[1] Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Europe* (House of Stratus, 2001), pp. 1-7.
[2] Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (1998), pp. 1-4.
[3] Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord, and E. C. Spary (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 57.
[4] Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, pp. 20-62.
[5] Ibid., pp. 63-65.

The most well-known collection in London was the Leverian Museum, located within Leicester House in Leicester Square, City of Westminster, London, housed the extensive collection of Sir Ashton Lever. Sir Ashton was well-known for his interest in Pacific ethnography and natural history. The Holophusicon, a term referring to the comprehensive exhibition of 'natural curiosities' within Leicester House, highlighted Sir Ashton Lever's personal collection, featuring numerous objects gathered by Captain James Cook during his voyages. The museum opened its doors in 1775, garnering significant popularity, and even attracted visitors such as King George III. Despite its fame, the Leverian Museum's collection was exhibited in London for only three decades before being dismantled and sold at an auction in 1806.[6]

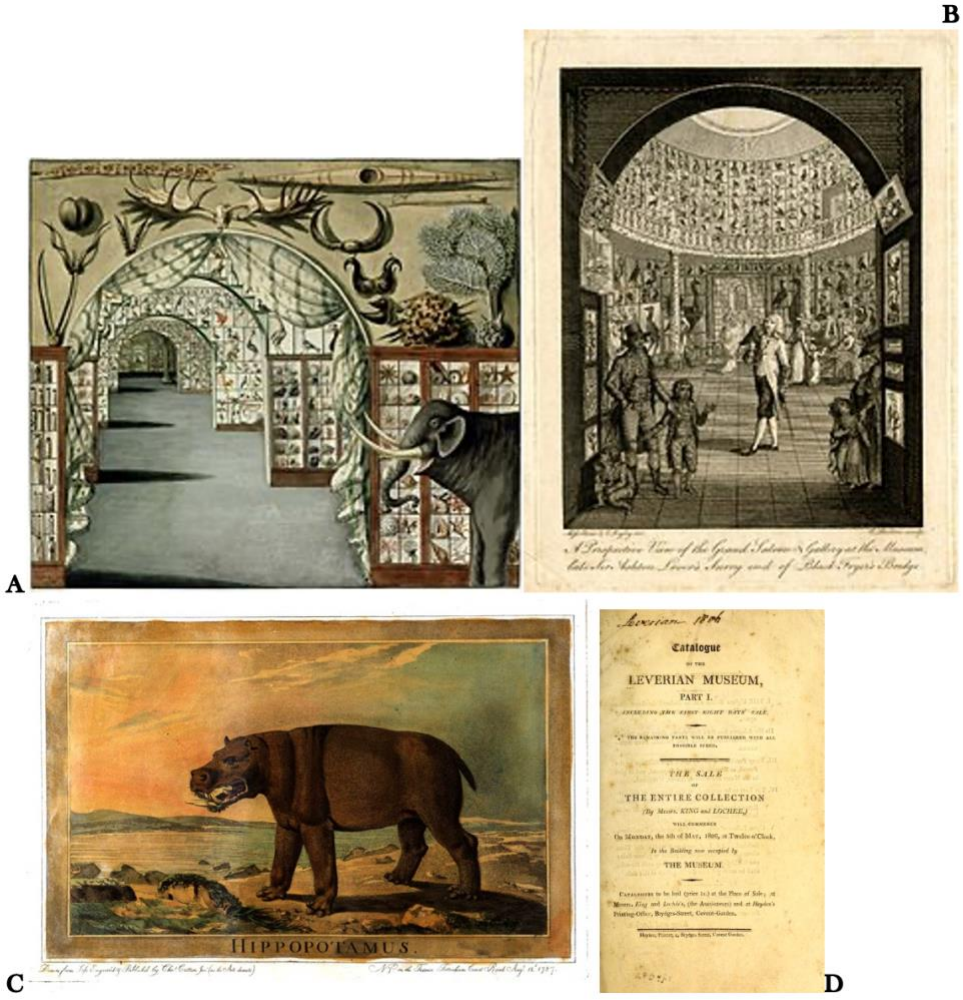


*Figure 1 A) Sarah Stone painted and exhibited this picture in 1786. B) Display of the Leverian Museum collection at the Surrey Rotunda; Engraving by William Skelton after Charles Reuben Ryley, British Museum; Aquatint of exhibit of a stuffed hippopotamus from Charles Catton's Animals,* Catton, Charles (1788). Animals drawn from Nature and engraved in aqua-tinta (1st ed.). I. & J. Taylor. p. 72; D) *Catalogue of the Leverian Museum : part I[-VI] ... the sale of the entire collection by Messrs. King and Lochee will commence on Monday, the 5th of May, 1806 at twelve o'clock; https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org.*

The Leverian Museum might have been the most popular which could do with its location, but it certainly was not the first and as nor did it paved the way for the modern museum concept through its approach to collecting and organising knowledge as did Sir Hans Sloane collection whose collection was found at *Don Saltero's Coffee House.* As seen in the figure above, the

[6] J.C.H. King, "New evidence for the contents of the Leverian Museum", *Journal of the History of Collections* 1996, vol. 8(2): pp.167-186.

Leverian Museum came years after Don Saltero's and in some ways could be seen as capitalising on Don Saltero's success through its prime location. (Don Saltero's was out of the way in Chelsea) James Delbourgo's book, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum*, explores the life of Sir Hans Sloane the influential physician, naturalist, and collector, whose vast collection of artifacts, specimens, and curiosities laid the foundation for the British Museum. Delbourgo's main arguments start with the role of Hans Sloane as a collector by making connections between collecting and empire, then argues Sloane's approach to collecting and organising knowledge paved the way for the modern museum concept. Finally, Delbourgo asks us to critically examine the history and legacy of such collections and consider the implications of this history for museums today by questioning the ethics of collecting and the origins of many museum collections.[7]

In this thesis I will be exploring the title page of one of these catalogues. The catalogue I selected is attached to a coffeehouse collection found in London, *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse, and was published between the years of 1729 to 1795. This history of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse catalogue of rarities is a material culture study of the title pages as a study of change over time. This thesis attempts to provide some understanding of the changes that occurred. For this study to understand the changes by putting them in a broader cultural context, the historical methodology from material culture studies is used, more specifically literary studies and typography.[8] This thesis examines a collection of all the surviving title pages from twenty-one different catalogues of curiosity from Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in Chelsea, London from the 18th century, at the height of the collecting and curiosities craze happening across Europe. Currently, the catalogues are stored in university libraries (Oxford, Cambridge, Durham), the British Museum and the British Library, and a few are located on Google Books but without much archival information. The title pages of these catalogues encapsulate historical developments in print culture, public sphere and the rise of literary discourse, and the early years of British celebrity culture taking place during the 18th British century, a time fuelled by Europe's preoccupation with collecting and displaying curious and rare artefacts. What is more, language often used to describe curiosities or rarities in colonising frameworks, ultimately haunt the material culture collections of imperial possessions of their authentic home.[9] Title pages were investigated for their role, cultural affiliation and significance in a bottom-up approach, with a persistent view of the historical context as well as the object's material evidence to the agency of the coffeehouse owners who were navigating a transforming landscape of print culture and constraints that come with a world believing less and less in magic. This research is a

[7] James Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Belknap Harvard, 2019).

[8] Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, The Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (London ; New York: Routledge, 2009).; R. Chartier, The order of books: Readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th centuries. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.; Darnton, R. (1982). The literary underground of the Old Regime. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.; Gilmartin, K. (2004). Print politics: The press and radical opposition in early nineteenth-century England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; Goodman, D. (2012). The material culture of print in eighteenth-century Britain. New York: Routledge.; Myers, R., & Harris, M. (2004). The book in the British Isles: A historical survey from the Middle Ages to the 21st century. University of Delaware Press.

[9] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, eds., *Writing Material Culture History*, Writing History (London: Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2015).

demonstration of how these title pages materialise entangled identities of those floating around the public sphere from print culture, collectors and their collections and museums, and how interdisciplinary research provides us with a durable context for a mostly ignored history of title pages found on catalogues of rarities that are attached to Don Saltero's Coffeehouse; a time lost London establishment located on banks of the Thames River in Chelsea.

### *ii) scope and method*

This research has a narrow scope and is a case study of material culture and the materiality of the Don Saltero's Coffeehouse title pages. This research focuses on a specific aspect of a broader topic of cultural identities found in the culture of collecting and printing as observed in the coffeehouse and of coffeehouse culture in 18th century London. More specifically, this case study examines focuses on the title pages of each surviving catalogue that came with the viewing experience of a world of wonders which existed between the years of 1729 and 1795, west of London in the neighbourhood of Chelsea, at Don Saltero's Coffeehouse. This coffeehouse was a place where the public could view a vast assortment of rarities and positioned alongside this collection was a fancy new publication explaining what their eyes where seeing. A front row seat could be sold to anyone enthusiastic enough to learn and ruminate upon the emergent science and philosophy of the English Enlightenment thought floating all around through printed text.

The study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the material culture of the catalogues. Existing accounts of Don Saltero's catalogues are limited, and this study aims to fill the gap by examining how the culture expressed in these texts defines identities of those floating around the public sphere that come into contact with these title pages. Unlike previous research that only considers a single issue, this study analyses the title pages of all surviving editions of the catalogues. Catalogues of rarities are chosen as they provide significant data with which to work. While a more robust and systematic study of catalogues of rarities over a longer period is not possible for a master's thesis, this study acknowledges the need for such a study and suggests future research that includes more samples of the text to expand potential analytical avenues. The study uses qualitative and quantitative methods to analyse Don Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogue's title pages. The analysis involves a close reading of the pages, focusing on specific elements. It is noted that case study analysis has been criticized for lack of systematic procedures but methodological systems have been developed to overcome the main critique of a sole case study analysis and its limited generalizability.

The research question being asked here is: *What does studying the material history of the Don Saltero's title pages convey about 18th century English coffeehouse culture and what does it add further to our knowledge of the coffeehouse?*

This question is asked with the intention to use material culture studies and materiality methods to achieve a closer gaze into the material culture history of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse and the materiality of its title pages. Both provide us with a glimpse into the world of coffeehouse culture and the culture of collecting rarities and curiosities. By using the methodologies of semiotic analysis, typography, literary criticism and the linguistic turn to compare the layouts of title pages,

the hope here is that the results add value to our understanding of coffeehouse culture where some sensibilities and identities of those floating around the public sphere that came in contact with these title pages are found, thus enhancing the remit of the scholarly conversation.

Understanding these title pages is signific for understanding 18th century English culture: by doing so could reveal changing social and cultural values in 18th century England. For example, title pages may feature designs that provided insights into contemporary attitudes towards art, science, and culture. Additionally, these title page's material history could shed light on the role of women in the publishing industry in 18th century England and provide evidence of the growing participation of women in literary and intellectual life. A material history of Don Saltero's title pages could give deeper insights into 18th century English culture by revealing the ways in which printed text were produced, designed, and consumed as material objects. Overall, it may provide a window into the diverse and complex cultural landscape of 18th century England, thus revealing the ways in which this text may have been produced, designed, and consumed as material objects reflect and shaped contemporary social and cultural values. My analysis benefits the existing histories in two ways: by expanding the historiography of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse whilst cultivating a greater understanding of identities of those floating around the public sphere that came in contact with these title pages; and enhances book studies by augmenting our understanding and contextualisation of both found on title pages.

Eighteenth-century English catalogues of rarities have not been fully investigated, and this is particularly true of the catalogues from *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse.[10] As argued by Arthur MacGregor, "[g]iven such importance in its day, *Don Saltero's* and its proprietor seem to have received little attention from historians of natural history. Saltero is not found in the indexes of Archives of natural history and its antecedent. [nor is it] In the volume summarising the importance of Hans Sloane's collections."[11] The study examined various aspects of London's coffeehouse culture in the 18th century, including print culture, typography, collecting, early museums, curiosities, objects, colonialism, and their influence on British identity. Don Saltero's Coffeehouse and its catalogues have received little attention from scholars, with no studies on its typography and title page. This research aims to fill this gap by focusing on the material culture of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogue's title pages from 1729-1795 London. Specifically, the study analyses the typography of the title page and the people involved in its design, as well as the objects listed and their cultural significance. The research aims to shed light on the coffeehouse and collecting culture of the time, and how it influenced the design and content of the catalogues. There are a handful of records of legal action involving Don Saltero's Coffeehouse, but the bulk of information is found in court and fire records, as well as incidents of well-known names publicly associating themselves with the coffeehouse. The completion of this study has required gathering a diverse assortment of source material, much of which has never been referenced regarding the Don Saltero's Coffeehouse. The information collected in these pages has been assembled to provide a more complete picture of the material culture found on the title page of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in London during the 18th century, those involved, and the factors contributed. Data has also been collected from a variety of 18th century English print such as the *Dan Saltero's Coffeehouse Catalogues of Rarities*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, and Sun Fire's

[10] Present historians, such as Arthur MacGregor, Marjorie Swann, Chrystal B. Lake, and Angela Todd, have narrowly written solely on the catalogues of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse.
[11] MacGregor, *Sir Hans Sloane*, pp. 240.

insurance records held by London Metropolitan Archives, and even James Salter's will found in London's Lives, as well as local histories of Chelsea, biographies, autobiographies, and the diaries of Samual Pepys and Benjamin Franklin located in Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century birth records and wills helped fill gaps regarding the Salter/Hall family discussed and to illustrate James's relationship to his daughter May Hall. A wide range of English governmental records have been searched, including the fire insurance records and tax records regarding the coffeehouse, as well as names searches of those whose names appaired on the fire insurance records and tax records, and government reports. Court records, proceedings, deeds, and other government archives have been analysed. Court cases in England regarding the coffeehouse and those names have been tied to the coffeehouse have been studied, as have any other mention of this coffeehouse. Letters written by noblemen are referenced, along with contemporary political yet playful essays, to illustrate societal views on coffee house and collection culture. The evidence used here include but is not limited to the surviving catalogue's title pages from the Don Saltero's were compiled from using the Boden Library, Oxford, Google Books Collection of scanned material, The Palace Green Library at Durham University, The British Library, and Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. All have been an invaluable resource, James Delbourgo book, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum,* is the cornerstone for this project as has the two articles written about Don Saltero's Coffeehouse by Crystal Lake and Angela Todd. A handbook for material culture by Karen Harvey and Paul Gutjahr and Megan Benton's book on Typography and Literary Interpretation guided me greatly. The extensive material on book studies by James Raven is exemplified in his many books and articles written about 18th century book history, as has the work of Katheryn Shevelow and Paula McDowell on their work on women in print culture. Work on British coffeehouses written by Markman Ellis and Brian Cowan provided wonderful overviews of coffeehouse culture and the industry as a whole with both providing several specific examples of coffeehouse in London and Britain. And finally, Hannah Greig's work on sensibilities and the public sphere along with Jurgen Habermas, all of which helped me shape this thesis.

### *iii) current research and key concepts*

The following is an overview of the existing literature on this multifaceted topic which highlights the key debates, theories, and methodologies shaping the field of study. It then demonstrates how the thesis is situated within a wider intellectual context and illuminates how the research will build upon existing scholarship. All of which provides this research, 'a way in', and does so through approaches of book studies built by James Raven. Raven's philosophy of 'book studies,' investigates more deeply and establishes the approach as an interdisciplinary research method and combines both the 'history of the book' and 'book history' while acknowledging that combining the two will be helpful to escape the defined boundaries of both.[12] The first of these, 'history of the book', involves analysing how stylistic, iconographic, and technical 'patterns' of causation have shaped book development.[13] I adopt this approach in chapter two, particularly by

[12] Raven, *What is the History of the Book?,* pp. 3–8.
[13] Ibid., p. 8.

examining the texts as material objects, and using typographical methods to draw out meanings embedded within these catalogues. Such a method provides access to the previously unexplored aspects of the technical and symbolic patterns locked within these texts. Additionally, 'book history' is used through its adoptions of social, cultural, and historical methods which can guide research to a unique understanding of individuals and societies. Thus, in this part of the research, 'book history' is a vehicle with which to access evidence of past human activity and supports the use of the linguistic turn which is defined as the link between language (text) and historical reality (context) as a theoretical approach, and is what James Raven refers to as "tangible evidence" in, *What is the History of the Book?*.[14] In this study, book studies, allows me the lens to explore the link between text and context and the use of typography. Additionally, by pairing book studies with cultural history, it not only grants me a way in to study the historiographies of print and print culture, but this coupling allows me access to the cultural context so I may observe the relationship between the expressed identities of those floating around the public sphere that came in contact with these title pages through text.

Elizabeth Eisenstein's classic work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* supplies a natural starting point by suggesting that printing was instrumental in motivating religious and societal change. Eisenstein's engagement with the Enlightenment, however, seems narrow.[15] The focus of her work is on the insertion of an 'uncorrupted' print of a single text, diagram, or map by describing how many different people have analysed, compared, critiqued, and updated these texts. Subsequently, in her book *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Eisenstein clings to binary examinations that reinforce specific facts, narrowly framing her work and effectively tethering it to a quest for a singular truth.[16] Eisenstein's approach lacks a nuanced understanding of the texts she studied, leading us to an only nominal understanding of past identities. Eisenstein characterisation of print as an instrument of revolution, and while this vision significantly contributes to the development of the idea of objectivity within print culture, it only ends-up serving as a tool to cultivate doubt. Eisenstein's assertive portrayal of print as an instrument of revolution is spot on and intend to use her idea that cultivating doubt is sufficient in building knowledge, but I have reservations with Eisenstein's 'uncorrupted' singular truth notions and will push back on them. Finally, Eisenstein's theorisations motivated years of scholarly work. However, her work must be, at the very least, questioned and, at most, entirely deconstructed.

To aid in the pursuit of pushing back on Eisenstein's 'uncorrupted' singular truth this study turns to more nuanced understanding of print culture. One study challenging longstanding truths within the field is Paula McDowell's *The Women of Grub Street*. Here McDowell challenges the traditional view of marginalized women writers in eighteenth-century London by arguing women significantly contributed to the literary marketplace as writers, printers, booksellers, and patrons. McDowell highlights their crucial roles in shaping professional reputations, influencing literary taste, and navigating the changing political and cultural

[14] Raven, *What is the History of the Book?,* p. 8.
[15] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 15–45.
[16] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 36–139.

landscape.[17] Then to reinforce McDowell's work, I considered Kathryn Shevelow's book, *Women and Print Culture,* which examines the relationship between gender and print culture in the eighteenth century. Shevelow argues that women's magazines significantly impacted the construction of femininity and contends that these magazines served both as a space for women's expression but also as tools of social control. Which paradoxically reinforced traditional roles while also encouraging self-improvement. Shevelow highlights that men also read women's magazines to shape women's desires and expectations. Additionally, she emphasizes the role of female writers and editors in producing these magazines, noting that they were often limited by gendered expectations. Ultimately, Shevelow demonstrates the puzzling nature of women's magazines in reinforcing traditional gender roles while simultaneously fostering a space for women's writing that laid the groundwork for the feminist movement.

Then this study builds on McDowell and Shevelow nuanced but paradoxical understanding occurring in 18th-century British print culture by layering in Michael Hunter's understanding found in his book, *The Decline of Magic: Britain in the Enlightenment*. Here Hunter explores the changing attitudes and the social, cultural, and intellectual factors that contributed to the decline of magic and superstition in 17th and 18th-century England. His main argument is that the rise of science and rationality, along with religious and political change, print culture, and the influence of elite culture, all played a role in this transformation of beliefs and attitudes. What is more, the themes explored in Hunter's work are relevant and contribute to our understanding of the culture of collecting, the public discussions occurring in coffee houses and these catalogues. Situated transversely from Hunter's work is Alan W. Bates's *Emblematic Monsters*, a study of the history of what makes the identity of the 'monsters' which looks at the cultural meeting point of myth and/or science to explain the unexplainable.[18] The way Alan W. Bates's work uses identity to consider the 'monsters' inspired my work's consideration of curiosities identities of those floating around the public sphere that came in contact with these title pages and their relationship to religion, nationhood, and gender. And did so by the way in which Bates examines categorises of identities by considering their social and personal significance through symbolism and print by drawing attention to the abnormal. While perhaps obvious, this has been a considerable influence and a critical first step in understanding these catalogues.[19] Bates provides detail connections to religion, particularly Christian iconography, and their relationship to the natural world, which is extremely helpful to this case study. *Emblematic Monsters* carefully provides nuanced explanations of the differences between Protestant and Catholic understandings of these symbols. Bates blend of historical and medical perspectives emphasises the significance of catalogues of rarities to early modern European medical historians, historians of religion, intellectual historians, and cultural medical experts by using over 200 original descriptions and observations of what was considered curious and monstrous in the early modern period. The first part of the literature review built the backdrop to understand how the study will access these catalogues and then places the catalogues are situates in a broader history.

The next section of the literature review builds the particular to the case at hand focusing on a narrower history including coffeehouse culture, collecting culture, curiosity's connection to

[17] Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678-1730* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998).
[18] A. W Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Rodopi, 2005), pp. 72–75.
[19] Bates, *Emblematic Monsters*, pp. 5–68.

science and as objects and Don Saltero's Coffeehouse. First, Brian Cowan's book, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* is a historical exploration of the rise and influence of coffeehouses in Britain during the 17th and 18th centuries. In *The Social Life of Coffee*, Cowan notes that Don Saltero's was one of the most distinctive coffeehouses in London during the 18th century, thanks to its collection of natural history specimens and curiosities. Cowan describes the coffeehouse as a "cabinet of curiosities", and notes that its collection was designed to impress and entertain patrons, rather than to promote any particular field of study or scientific inquiry. Cowan also notes that Don Saltero's was one of many coffeehouses in London that catered to specialized groups of patrons, such as artists, writers, and scientists. The coffeehouse was particularly popular with the Chelsea artists' colony, which included such luminaries as William Hogarth and Thomas Gainsborough. Overall, Cowan's discussion of Don Saltero's in *The Social Life of Coffee* emphasizes the unique character and atmosphere of the coffeehouse, and its role as a gathering place for artists, intellectuals, and other patrons interested in the natural world and the curiosities of the day. This is echoed by Clayton's book, Don Saltero's was a popular gathering place for both locals and visitors to London, and it was known for its unique atmosphere and decor. The coffeehouse is also said to have hosted a number of notable patrons, including the poet Alexander Pope and the painter William Hogarth. Overall, while Clayton's book does not make any specific arguments about Don Saltero's Coffee House, it does highlight the coffeehouse as an interesting and significant part of London's coffeehouse culture during the 18th century.

In Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and the Eighteenth-Century Collector*, this source selection is supported by providing a way to demonstrate that *Don Saltero's* catalogues are substantially more complicated than just a two-dimensional tourist attraction worthy of admittance. But rather, these catalogues are a marvel of wit that provided a rich fabric of truth and should be added to the discourse of cultural history as well as the history of science. The latter can be found in *The Cambridge History of Science* edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers. These approaches include the Chronological approach, Biographical approach, Social and cultural approach, Institutional approach, Philosophical approach, Comparative approach, and last, Interdisciplinary approach. The approach combines methods and insights from multiple fields, such as history, sociology, anthropology, and philosophy, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the history of science which James E. McClellan and Harold Dorn discussed in their 1990 book, *Science and Technology in World History.* The history of science is intricately connected to curiosities, as many scientific discoveries and innovations have been driven by a curiosity to understand the natural world and solve mysteries. The connection between the history of science and curiosities was found in *Curiosity: How Science Became Interested in Everything* by Philip Ball. This book examines the history of curiosity and its role in scientific discovery, from the Renaissance to the present day. Then a collection of essays edited by Alistair Sponsel, Daniel J. Steward, and Bryan L. Sykes, highlights the ongoing fascination with the natural world and the diversity of human cultures and experiences in *The Natural History of Curiosity.* As a collection of essays, this book explores the many ways in which curiosity has shaped the history of science, from the curiosity of early naturalists to the curiosity of modern researchers. The book, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* by Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, examines the role of wonders, or unusual and unexplained phenomena, in the history of science and natural philosophy from the medieval

period to the Enlightenment. Sharon Macdonald article, "Science Museums and Curiosity: Exploring the Links" examines the role of science museums in promoting curiosity and interest in science and explores how exhibits and displays can engage visitors and inspire curiosity. Curiosities also play a role in science education and outreach, as they can help to engage and inspire people's curiosity and interest in science. Science museums, for example, often feature exhibits and displays that highlight unusual or fascinating scientific phenomena, such as optical illusions, sound waves, or the behaviour of varied materials. The history of the Royal Society is explored in "The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge: From Curiosity to Identity" by Pauline Barmby, and here we learn about one of the world's oldest scientific organizations, and its role in promoting scientific curiosity and discovery. Overall, the history of science and curiosities are closely intertwined, as both are driven by a fascination with the natural world and a desire to understand it better. At the same time, the collecting and display of curiosities and exotic objects was also driven by a sense of fascination and curiosity about the natural world and the peoples and cultures of the world. In Frank Trentmann book, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First*, he examines the history of consumer culture and the global trade in goods, from the age of exploration to the present day, and explores the ways in which ideas of exoticism and otherness have shaped the consumption of material goods. This interest in the exotic and unfamiliar was a product of the Enlightenment, which saw the rise of scientific curiosity and the exploration of the natural world as a way of expanding human knowledge and understanding. Then in a collection of essays edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, explores the history and politics of museum displays and examines the ways in which curiosities and exotic objects have been collected and displayed in museums as part of broader projects of imperialism and colonization. However, the collecting and display of curiosities also had darker implications, as it was often accompanied by the exploitation and subjugation of colonized peoples and the erasure of their cultural traditions and knowledge. An argument supported by Arjun Appadurai's article, "The Other in the Mirror: A Tale of Two Museums". Here Appadurai explores the ways in which curiosities and exotic objects in museums are displayed and ask if these methods can perpetuate ideas of otherness by reinforcing systems of power and oppression. As such, the connection between curiosities, exoticism, and imperial otherness is complex and fraught, reflecting the complex and often violent history of European expansion and colonization. Topics that are explored in Mary Louise Pratt's book, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* Here Pratt examines the history of travel writing and explores the ways in which ideas of otherness and exoticism have been used to justify imperialism and colonization, as well as the ways in which travel writing has been used to challenge and subvert these ideas. *Curiosities*, *identities*, *otherness*, and the *public sphere* are interconnected across the phenomenon of a culture of collecting through texts.

Tying these ideas together, Marjorie Swann's work has proved a considerable influence on this research and has provided a foundation from which to develop this work. In a series of case studies, Swann notes how members from distinct classes/ranks took part in collecting. She describes how aristocrats and non-elite men both filled their homes with curious physical objects.[20] Swann's discussion then addresses the collections of objects by demonstrating how they, too, were

[20] Swann, *Curiosities and Texts,* pp. 16-54.

central to early modern English print and social culture. Swann argues the significance of these collections is in their form of cultural capital, and they can be considered through their role in constructing new social identities and forms of social bias. Swann's ultimate point is how literary texts are themselves material objects, a consideration which is central to this research. In particular, Swann emphasises how illustrations contributed to the practice of conveying the cultural significance of collectors and collecting. In doing so, Swann's work shows us that material culture has a unique relationship to social authority, and personal identity. Shifting focus from a macro understanding of periodicals to a micro consideration of a single copy of *Don Saltero's* catalogue, Crystal B. Lake recently authored a full-length article on Don Saltero's collection, published in the Autumn of 2017. Lake is one of two authors who have recently written on Don Saltero's, the other being Angela Todd. Lake's work inspects Don Saltero's catalogues through the medium of the cultural gaze. This argument is interesting, in that it evinces a sympathetic yet complex connection between material objects and the Enlightenment. Lake argues that "Saltero's artefacts could provoke politically factious interpretations of their performances of the past" and "offer opportunities to reassess artefacts as aesthetic agents of textual forms".[21] Lake's research influenced my thesis by reinforcing what Swann's research suggests. In tandem, these two works will help this examination address what has so far been overlooked in these catalogues. Next to Lake's work is the research of Angela Todd. *'Your Humble Servant Shows Himself: Don Saltero and Public Coffeehouse Space'* (2005), focuses on eighteenth-century masculinity and the establishment of a scientific domain which gained authority over religious thought. Todd's article primarily focused on the culture surrounding the collection: together with the development of the public sphere came new opportunities to observe people from distinct parts of life and their behaviours, such as those of the 'bourgeois' and the 'counter-public,' observations which often manifested satirically in written texts. Todd's particularly focus was a deliberation of gender, a viewpoint that constitutes a valuable consideration of how gender influenced the relationship of the collections to scientific objects within the sphere of British political history.[22] However, this work stops short of a deeper investigation of the catalogues made possible by considering the texts as material objects. By doing so, Todd missed the fact that women engaged in the catalogues' production, leaving avenues for other historians to explore. When considering what studies have included Don Saltero's, much of this scholarly work pays little attention to the context of the cultural settings of the collection. However, in *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*, Marjorie Swann describes how a collection trend occurred in England over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[23] It is here that the newfound public sphere and the culture of collecting collide. By building on the work of Swann, this study examines whether the authors of *Don Saltero's* catalogues attempted to create an environment where all participants of the *Don Saltero's* experience included by disregarding status and creating a domain of common concern. Such communication with one another would be based on a culture of inclusivity in which everyone had to participate.[24] And so, this idea of inclusivity opens up the idea brought by

[21] Crystal B. Lake, 'Ten Thousand Gimcracks: Artifacts and Materialism's Political History at Don Saltero's', *Word & Image* 33 (2017), pp. 267–78.
[22] Angela Todd, 'Your Humble Servant Shows Himself', pp. 118-135.
[23] Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) pp. 16-54.
[24] Angela Todd, 'Your Humble Servant Shows Himself: Don Saltero and Public Coffeehouse Space.', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005), pp. 119–35.

Edward Said's influential book, *Orientalism.* Said examines the ways in which Western knowledge and culture have been shaped by the idea of the "Orient" as a mysterious and exotic Other and explores the ways in which this idea has been used to justify imperialism and colonialism. These objects, which were often seen as exotic or curious, became symbols of the exotic "Other" that European powers sought to conquer and control.

This research uses public sphere to understand the information and problems of common concern freely exchanged as the growing literacy rates, accessibility to literature, and a new critical journalism become available. Jürgen Habermas defines the public sphere as, 'coextensive with public authority' and the new public sphere traversed equally across public and private spaces. In addition, 'through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society'.[25] From this perspective, Habermas claimed society came to view the public sphere as a guiding institution contrary to the influence of the state. Habermas' historical work attempts to supply an account of the formation of a 'bourgeois' public sphere and then specified that a new civil society had appeared in the eighteenth century and that coffeehouses helped usher in this phenomenon.[26] However, as inclusive, and progressive as this sphere sounds, the work of Nancy Fraser balances out these ideals with the reality of public spheres by acknowledging marginalised groups who were excluded from this collective space. Thus, to claim that one group would be inclusive for all was not possible. Fraser claims that marginalised groups formed individual public spheres, which she terms a 'counterpublic'. [27] These counter-public spheres existed alongside the innovative English public sphere of the 1700s which was comprised of mostly elite, Whig men, and both offered the development of social guidelines. But it is historian Hannah Greig's work on sensibilities teases out the nuances of sensibility by moving us closer to a more complex and multi-layered understanding identity through sensibilities. Greig's work helps this research analyse the title pages but also helps to build the arguments necessary to challenge Dror Wahrman's 'big idea' of gender relating the female experience to bees and Amazons, reducing the female experience to a two-dimensional metaphor.[28] This research roots out Wahrman's binary understanding of identities by moving this research understanding toward Greig's understanding of identities. Although, Greig's book, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London,* demonstrates that females and males were held to different principles and the "theoretically fluid boundaries" of the elite sphere was rigorously scrutinised and gendered, Greig's explanation surpasses the former by exploring the social and cultural world of fashionable society in the late 18th century through a particular emphasis on the concept of sensibility.[29] Greig's key arguments on sensibility describe it as a complex and multi-layered concept, expressing identity through a range of intellectual and emotional qualities considered desirable. Sensibility played a vital role in constructing individual and group identity, expressed through cultural and social expression, including literature, art, fashion, and social behaviour. Sensibility referred to refinement and elegance, vulnerability and sensitivity, and moral and ethical awareness, associated with specific social groups and used as a means of expressing cultural and

[25] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, pp.10.

[64] Ibid., pp. 10–12.

[27] Nancy Fraser, *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere* (Wiley, 2014), p. 5.

[28] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2006), p. 4.

[29] Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2013.

social status. Sensibility was both a social and cultural phenomenon expressed in the sentimental novels, poetry, and art of the late 18th century.

By pushing back on Wahrman's explanation of gender and the female experience to "bees and Amazons" by using Greig's more nuanced understanding of identities through sensibilities, this research is then able to convey a more interesting idea of *shared identities.* And does so by questioning power through blurring the established power structures that create a paradox of a since of belonging as a means of negotiating individual identity though established power structures. Greig's understanding of identities through sensibility is one lens used to analyse the title pages and by doing so this project is able to connect to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities,* generally his arguments, members of a particular nation have a self-understanding or feeling of disorder (a feeling that can develop rapidly) and can move into a strongly bounded sense of groupness; this is likely to be contingent not on relational connectedness, but on a strongly imagined and powerfully felt commonality.[30] A nation can be considered a community because it implies a profound *horizontal comradeship* that knits together all citizens regardless of their class, colour, or race. According to Anderson, the crucial defining feature of this type of comradeship is the willingness on the part of its adherents to die for their community. An example of a manifestation of relational connectedness in early eighteenth-century English culture is a London-centric notion rooted in an alliance to a region, or what manifested later in the eighteenth-century as a widely held, strongly imagined, and powerfully felt commonality of Britishness or nationality. *Imagined Communities* prompts us to examine the relationship between identities, their interactions, and variations. For instance, identities were not binary or fixed as a person could leave their home and slip into the many unique identities found in the public sphere. A patron of the coffee shop, for example, could in a serious public voice use wit to mock the status quo, thus allowing the 'polite' person a space to participate in publicly speaking their truth to those in power. However, it is important to note that, in a culture centred around politeness, speaking out publicly in contradiction of those in power would be considered ill-mannered by some. As Greig suggests, sensibility was a contested concept that was subject to criticism and debate. Some critics saw sensibility as frivolous, sentimental, or even dangerous, while others argued that it was a valuable and essential part of human nature. This debate over the value of sensibility reflects the broader cultural and social debates about identity that were taking place in the late 18th century differs from Dror Wahrman's depiction of the early eighteenth century as the epoch of 'free floating' gender was an era when gender was not controlled by divine law, nor was gender fastened to sex.[31] Wahrman's assertion is, the years from 1700–1780 are marked by gender vagueness, and attitudes were accepting towards gender crossing which changed abruptly during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. A revolution understood by what Wahrman refers to as a 'gender panic' which was a movement that quickly replaced the flexibility between sex and gender with a more ridge understanding where gender parallels sex.[32]

[30] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2016), pp. 1-7.
[31] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, 42.
[32] Ibid., pp. 44–45.

The study includes a discussion of the key themes and concepts that the thesis will explore. Throughout this thesis *material culture* emphasise the ways in which material objects reflect and shape social and cultural practices and beliefs. Material culture is concerned with the study of objects and their cultural significance across a range of contexts, including both past and present. It draws on a range of disciplinary approaches and methods to understand the ways in which objects are used and valued in different social and cultural contexts, and how they reflect and shape cultural values and beliefs. For instance, as European explorers and colonisers collected and displayed objects from other cultures as a way of asserting dominance and claiming ownership of the lands and peoples they encountered. This fascination with the exotic was driven by scientific curiosity and the exploration of the natural world, but it also had darker implications as it often involved the exploitation and subjugation of colonised peoples and the erasure of their cultural traditions and knowledge. The connection between curiosities, exoticism, and imperial otherness is complex and reflects the violent history of European expansion and colonisation. *Travel writing* has been used to both perpetuate and challenge these ideas, and museum displays have been examined as sites that can reinforce systems of power and oppression. The idea of *otherness* is closely tied to social identities and power. In the context of *imperialism* and *colonialism*, objects and phenomena that are considered exotic or unusual by a particular culture or society, known as curiosities, are often associated with ideas of otherness and difference. Overall, the fascination with the natural world and the diversity of human cultures and experiences is intertwined with the ways in which ideas about difference and otherness have been used to justify and perpetuate systems of power and oppression.

Within material culture is the scholarly consideration of object called *material culture studies* uses many methods for analysis. The sources used here to provide information on historical research methods and methodologies from a variety of perspectives and can serve as a starting point for further research on this topic. Title pages of the surviving catalogues are used as sources to provide insights into the various methods used in material history research and can serve as a starting point for further exploration of this topic. The use of typography, literary criticism, and the linguistic turn in this case study is a practical way to gain new insights into identities of those floating around the public sphere that came in contact with these title pages of the catalogue's title pages.[33] Interdisciplinary approaches from anthropology, sociology, or art history, are also employed in this research. Methodological frameworks in material culture and

[33] D. Flynn and C.L. Murphy, *Austerity and Irish Women's Writing and Culture, 1980–2020*, Routledge Studies in Irish Literature (Taylor & Francis, 2022), pp. 149–68; P.H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, Perspectives on Gender (Taylor & Francis, 2002); A.Y. Davis, *Women, Race & Class*, Penguin Modern Classics (Penguin Books Limited, 2019); K. McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, E-Libro (University of Minnesota Press, 2006); David McKitterick, 'Judging Appearances by Modern Standards', in *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 147–67; R. Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies (Duke University Press, 2012),; Gill Plain and Susan Sellers, eds., *A History of Feminist Literary Criticism*, 1st pbk. ed (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Paul Goring, *Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, Introductions to British Literature and Culture Series (London ; New York: Continuum, 2008); Barbara M. Benedict, 'Saying Things: Collecting Conflicts in Eighteenth-Century Object Literatures', *Literature Compass* 3, no. 4 (2006): pp. 689–719; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Mary Eagleton, ed., *Feminist Literary Theory: A Reader*, 3rd ed (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

history vary across the chapters depending on the specific research questions being asked and the types of materials being studied.[34] What is more, both qualitative and quantitative methodologies are used to analyse the title pages by a 'close reading' across all the catalogues' title pages, to perform repeated readings with each repetition focusing on the exact text, patterns, limitations, and characters that become observable. Interdisciplinary methodologies found in book studies add the use of *typography*, and by doing so, this study can then access the relationship between a text's typography and its literary interpretation. Material culture practice of *literary criticism* and the *linguistic turn* rooted in *literary studies* and are used to emphasize that language is the reason for historical relativity and this relativity of a historical depiction. Literary criticism and the linguistic turn are two distinct approaches to studying language and literature. Literary criticism involves analysing and interpreting literary works to understand their meaning and significance, while the linguistic turn emphasizes the role of language in shaping our understanding of the world. Both approaches have contributed to the study of language and literature but differ in focus, methods, and objectives. Close reading and the linguistic turn share some similarities, but the linguistic turn is a broader philosophical and interdisciplinary perspective, while close reading focuses on the formal elements of a particular text. Methodological frameworks of historical research using material culture which is an interdisciplinary field using a range of methods to study the material objects and artifacts created and used by humans in the past and draws on the academic disciplines of history, history of science and thought, history of graphic design and typography, and literary studies. This study uses these methodological frameworks and range of methods as a way of surveying all available editions printed over the years the coffeehouse issued publications, 1729–1795. [35]

One of which is the use *materiality* uses physical properties of the typography from title page as an object to understand wider movements of social and cultural meanings attached to objects. So archival research is practical and involves examining historical documents, photographs, and other records to understand the social and cultural contexts in which the title page as an object was created and used. By examining the materiality of objects in historical and archaeological contexts, scholars can gain a deeper understanding of the social, economic, and cultural contexts in which they were produced and used and how they have changed over time. Archival research helps identify patterns found in the materiality of object and the trends in material culture and understand the meanings and values attached to objects by different individuals and groups. This research design examines historical documents, such as newspapers, diaries, wills, and fire insurance records, to further contextualize the objects and materials under study. By integrating multiple sources of evidence, this research develops a more comprehensive understanding of the material culture of 18th-century London and print culture and how it shaped and was shaped by historical events and social practices. Another way methods of material culture

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[34] Victor Buchli, Gavin Lucas, and Margaret Cox, *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001); D. Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, Consumption and Space (University of Chicago Press, 1998), Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties*, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005); M.B. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record*, Me-Int (University of Utah Press, 1996); Susan M. Pearce, ed., *Objects of Knowledge*, New Research in Museum Studies 1 (London ; Atlantic Highlands: Athlone Press, 1990), pp. 191–210; A. Gell and 1960- Nicholas Thomas, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory (Clarendon Press, 1998),; Alex Faulkner, Bettina Lange, and Christopher Lawless, 'Introduction: Material Worlds: Intersections of Law, Science, Technology, and Society', *Journal of Law and Society* 39, no. 1 (March 2012): pp. 1–19.

[35] Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 113.

allow this study to approach the title pages is through *semiotic analysis* in both Chapters 2 and Chapters 3.

Semiotic analysis involves analysing the signs and symbols in communication to understand their cultural significance by analysing how objects convey meaning and reflect social norms and values. Grounded in the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, Semiotic analysis sheds light on the process of signification. Then, Poststructural theories such as Roland Barthes challenged Saussure. Barthes' argued Saussure's claim that once a signifier and a signified came together to form a sign, the sign had a fixed meaning. However, many Poststructuralists semiotics, like Barthes, argue that signifiers are separable from what is signified. Moreover, poststructuralists continued their argument by asserting that meanings are never fixed instead are constantly open to interpretation. Barthes built on Saussure's ideas by applying semiotic analysis beyond language to various objects. Roland Barthes' understanding of semiotics connects to social semiotics because both approaches seek to understand how meaning is created and communicated through signs and symbols within social and cultural contexts. As outlined in his influential work Elements of Semiology, Barthes' semiotics studies signs and how they convey meaning. Barthes argued that signs are composed of two parts: the signifier (the physical form of the sign) and the signified (the meaning that the sign conveys). He also introduced the concept of connotation, which refers to the cultural or social meanings a sign can carry beyond its literal meaning. The approach of *social semiotics* emphasizes the social and cultural contexts in which signs are used and interpreted. Social semioticians argue that the meanings of signs are not fixed or universal but rather are shaped by the cultural and historical contexts in which they are used. They also emphasize the role of power and ideology in shaping how signs are used and interpreted in different social contexts. Despite these differences, Barthes' understanding of semiotics has been influential in developing social semiotics. Both approaches are interested in understanding how signs are used to create meaning, and both recognize the importance of social and cultural contexts in shaping how signs are interpreted. In this sense, Barthes' semiotics is a foundation for developing social semiotics as a distinct field of inquiry. [36] Theo Van Leeuwen's work builds off Barthes' work on semiotics, and Barthes' work is intern, built off Saussure. His work further demonstrates how typography can be identified as a semiotic resource. Social semiotics is extending its general framework beyond its origins in linguistics to account for the growing importance of sound and visual images and how modes of communication are combined in both traditional and digital media, thus approaching semiotics of culture.[37] In summary, through semiotics typography and developing a detailed 'grammar' of this semiotic mode, it is possible to understand a broader application of social semiotics to other typography and communication

[36] (Barthes, R. (1964). Elements of Semiology. Hill and Wang. This is one of Barthes' most influential works on semiotics, in which he lays out his understanding of signs and their meanings.); (van Leeuwen, T. (2005). Introducing Social Semiotics. Routledge. This book introduces social semiotics, including its historical development and key concepts.) ; (Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning. University Park Press. This book is a classic text in social semiotics and provides a detailed exploration of how language is used to create meaning in social contexts.) (Kress, G., & van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* Routledge. This book applies social semiotics to the analysis of visual design and demonstrates how the meanings of visual signs are shaped by social and cultural contexts.); (Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method. Sage. This book provides an overview of discourse analysis as a method for studying social and cultural contexts and includes a discussion of how semiotics can be used to analyse discourse.)

[37] foot note this article Towards a Semiotics of Typography (2006), (Randviir 2004).

design instances. Therefore, these visual research methods framework gives us a platform to work. This research accesses semiotic analysis that includes the visual turn and social semiotics, which is applied in chapter two of this thesis and is where the analysis results from the discussion occur.[38]

Chapter 1 – Don Saltero's Coffeehouse is divided up into three sections; i) Development and significance of London's coffee house culture, ii) Don Saltero's coffee house from establishment to decline, iii) The culture of print, catalogues and circulation to gain a deeper understanding and explore Don Saltero's Coffee House and its catalogues in the context in which they existed. Chapter 2 - Title pages: Typography deconstructs Don Saltero's title page's typography in three sections; i) Changing Typefaces, ii) Layout and formatting, iii) A national typeface? Chapter 3 – Title pages: Lists of Rarities examine the rarities that are privileged for inclusion on the title page in three sections; i) The 1737 edition, ii) Continuity and Change after 1737, and iii) Conclusion. Together, these three chapters allow a closer examination into the continuity and change of the cultural identities often surrounded by myths and tells of magic helping create the novelty of rarities.

[38] Van Leeuwen, T. (2005). *Introducing Social Semiotics*: Routledge. Van Leeuwen, T. (2006). Towards a Semiotics of Typography. *Information Design Journal and Document Journal, 14*(2), 139-155.

# Chapter 1- Don Saltero's Coffeehouse

## *i) Development and significance of London's coffee house culture*

Coffee has been both celebrated and vilified for its effects on individuals and society, with concerns raised about its potential to cause addiction and disrupt social order. In Brian Cowan's *The Social Life of Coffee*, he explains coffee has played a significant role in shaping social and cultural practices throughout history, including the emergence of coffeehouses in the Middle East and Europe as social and intellectual hubs. Cowan draws on a wide range of sources, including early travelogues, diaries, pamphlets, newspapers, and literary works, to trace the social and cultural significance of coffee from its origins in the Middle East to its spread throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The first coffeehouse in England opened in Oxford 1652.[39] Later that same year, a Greek described as eccentric, Pasqua Roseé, opened London's the first coffeehouse opened at St Michael's Alley, Cornhill.[40] Ten years later, there were over eighty coffeehouses in the London environs, and by 1700 there was between 2,000 and 3,000.[41] The social life of coffee, Cowan argues, reflects broader social and cultural dynamics and is an important lens through which to understand the ways in which individuals and societies have engaged with and been shaped by this ubiquitous beverage. The culture of coffeehouse life was unique of coffeehouses in London, including the types of people who frequented them, the social rituals and customs associated with coffeehouse life, and the various forms of entertainment and activities that took place in these spaces. Each coffeehouse was decorated to provide a unique setting, including *Don Saltero's* coffee house whose walls draped with taxidermy 'monsters,' including crocodiles, turtles and rattlesnakes.[42] They were frequented by writers, politicians, and other influential figures who used them as a forum for debate and discussion. The new coffeehouses became popular places for, mostly, the bourgeoisie to meet, conduct business, gossip, exchange ideas and debate the news of the day. Coffee houses were seen as a place where people from all walks of life could gather to discuss politics, literature, and current events. Markman Ellis' book, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*, explores the social and cultural impact of coffee houses in Britain during the 17th and then 18th century in his, *Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture,* in these books Ellis shows not all coffeehouses catered to an exclusive clientele. Some coffeehouses were hangouts for pimps and crooks and because any social class could visit coffeehouses, they became associated with equality and republicanism.[43] So much so that, in 1675, Charles II attempted to ban coffeehouses. However, due to the visceral public outcry this measure was rescinded and could be where the concerns raised about its potential to cause disrupt social order came from. [44]

Coffeehouses played a crucial role in the exchange of ideas and information in London, particularly in the fields of politics, literature, and science and in shaping the political and

[39] Antony Clayton, *London's Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story* (London: Historical Publications, 2003), 10.
[40] Clayton, 10.
[41] Ibid., pp. 16–18.
[42] Swann, Curiosities and Texts, p. 2–4.
[43] Markman Ellis, *Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture, Vol. 1* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), pp. 1–3.
[44] Ibid., pp. 116–117.

intellectual culture of the time. Ellis suggest coffee played a role shaping culture its influence on literature, fashion, and social norms. For example, through the ways in which coffee consumption became a marker of social status. But coffeehouse social impact must not be overlooked, they had a significant role in the development of the London stock market, with many coffeehouses serving as informal trading posts for stocks and shares. So much so, part of the legacy of coffee houses on British culture, including their role in shaping the development of journalism, the stock market, and other key institutions. Businesses with familiar names today had their start in these coffeehouses and include the great auction houses of Sotheby's and Christies, the London Stock Exchange (at Jonathan's Coffee House in 1698), and Lloyd's of London (at Lloyds Coffee House on Lombard Street in 1686).[45] Ellis argues the factors that led to the decline of coffee houses in Britain during the 18th century, include the rise of private clubs and the changing political and social climate. The production and consumption of coffee have been intimately tied to systems of power, including colonialism and globalisation, which have shaped the ways in which coffee is grown, traded, and consumed. The social and cultural significance of coffee continues to evolve in contemporary society, with the emergence of new coffee cultures and trends, as well as ongoing debates about the ethical and environmental implications of coffee production and trade.

To really understand the coffeehouse culture this case study considerers, it is useful to contextualise how coffeehouses played a crucial role in the exchange of ideas and information in London, particularly in the intellectual culture of the time. To do so, this study understands the history of science is natural history, rooted in the Renaissance, however the understanding from the early years of the Renaissance would not necessarily be recognisable to natural historians of the eighteenth-century. This is because natural history books of the Renaissance were flooded with metaphors, fables and folklore, and animal symbolism. This technique is evident in one of the most widely read natural history works of the period, the Zurich published, four volume, *Historia animalium* by Conrad Gesner (1516-65). Natural historians from the Renaissance created such works with the tools of a bibliographic scholar using authors of antiquity rather than observational science. Paula Findlen argues, in *Courting Nature*, that natural history was tactile and visual and required no specialised knowledge; due to these conditions, the mobile elite participated widely in collecting and the highly privileged world of private museums.[46] In addition, court naturalists were known to have cultivated their literary and artistic skills so well that they were often called upon to arrange objects in the private museums. What started as court virtuosi soon spread to patricians of the travelling urban elites of seventeenth century Paris and early eighteenth-century London coffeehouse culture. Daston and Park's teach us scientists and scholars have been intrigued by unusual or unexplained phenomena and have sought to understand them through observation, experimentation, and analysis. For example, the study of fossils and ancient life forms led to the development of the theory of evolution, while the investigation of strange properties of electricity and magnetism led to the development of the field of electromagnetism. Many of the greatest scientific discoveries have been the result of unexpected observations or curious questions, such as Galileo's observations of the moons of

[45] Melton, The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe, pp. 229–234.
[46] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. (United Kingdom: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 57–71.

Jupiter, which challenged the traditional view of the universe, or Alexander Fleming's accidental discovery of penicillin, which revolutionized medicine.

In addition, court naturalists were known to have cultivated their literary and artistic skills so well that they were often called upon to arrange objects in the private museums. What started as court virtuosi soon spread to patricians of the travelling urban elites of seventeenth century Paris and early eighteenth-century London coffeehouse culture. All of these practices adhered to what Pliny's encyclopaedic work described: natural history as everything in the world worthy of memory. It was among the display of these curious objects the collectors determined the museum to be an ideal setting within which to converse on an endless array of topics.[47] These brilliant thinkers and writers (Aristotle and Pliny the Elder) had a tremendous influence on Sir Francis Bacon. Bacon was an English philosopher and state leader who was not only the Attorney General, but also the Lord Chancellor of England. Bacon is widely considered to have developed the scientific method. Developing what is termed the Baconian process, Bacon's approach is explained in his book *Novum Organum* (1620), meaning 'New Method'.[48] Bacon wanted this alternative method to replace the plans presented by Aristotle in Organon.[49] The Baconian method was not only significant in the development of the scientific method, but also the early modern dismissal of medieval Aristotelianism. Although deploying the process of induction from *Naturalis Historia* (The Natural History) of Pliny the Elder, the significance of 'induction' for Bacon and his devotees was more complicated than making generalisations from observations.[50] When using induction, Bacon demanded rigorous application because he believed such thoroughness would produce accurate results. Bacon suggested that this logic should not be difficult to apply, and that this analytical approach could be used to examine any collection of examples.[51] An approach known as 'Plinian', Bacon's consideration of evidence required a fuller survey to form a foundation upon which to build research.[52] Thus, the cabinet of curiosities illustrate a Plinian approach, advancing from a position of wonderment to the confrontation of science. In Bacon's work *Sylva Sylvarum*, where he explained much of his new methodology he suggested a more extensive, systematic collection of data in search of primary explanations, and called upon "physicists" to study the great laws of evidence that investigated the confluence and interweaving of all physical forces.[53] Bacon wrote about his methodology as "trials of experience" and applied it to what he classed together as natural and civil history, whereby arguing that both are rooted in the faculty of memory. From this point, natural history came to mean an account of nature based upon information gained by enquiry through observation.[54] Developing Bacon's "trials of experience" further, units of enquiry or experiments would become what Sir Hans Slone wrote as a "matter of facts".[55] Well into the eighteenth century, British *virtuosi* were applying Bacon's theory to curiosities, by reflecting on the close connections from the 'tables of natural

[47] Jardine, Secord, and Spary, *Cultures of Natural History.*, p. 68.
[48] Ibid., p. 253.
[49] Klein, Jürgen and Guido Giglioni, "Francis Bacon", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/francis-bacon/>.
[50] Gay, The Enlightenment, an Interpretation, p. 597.
[51] Ibid., pp. 56–100.
[52] Ibid., pp. 128.
[53] Ibid., pp. 659-661.
[54] Jardine, Secord, and Spary, *Cultures of Natural History*, pp. 99–100.
[55] Ibid., p. 100.

history' and "commonly engaging in both antiquities and specimens from the three kingdoms"— this methodology would be the new method of constructing knowledge.[56] Bacon's ideas on 'natural history' had a far-reaching effect on British intellectuals and writers, particularly those in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, and many of those within the Royal Society.[57]

Moving past Bacon to Carl Linnaeus's *Systema Naturæ* from 1737. Linnaeus used Aristotle's non-religious concept of higher and lower organisms to form the basis of his version of Scala Naturae (The Great Chain of Being). The 'great chain of being' was stationary and comprised of a 'stage series' that had its roots in classical thought.[58] The 'great chain of being' has influenced works associated with cyclic models and those that incorporated ideas of decline with those of progress.[59] However, it was the three-fold separation of the chain below humans that help to shape the work of Carl Linnaeus's *Systema Naturæ*. Here, in Linnaeus' scala, he endorsed the classification of beings and divided the physical aspects of the world into three groupings: minerals, plants, and animals.[60] These established a new base for cataloguing, which resulted in a defined place for every mineral, plant, and animal. Although the publishing of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturæ* took place in the early years of the period considered in this study, his works were so well known and seminal, that mentioning it here adds to the contextual understanding of eighteenth century thought and provides an essential backdrop to our understanding of *Don Saltero's* catalogues of curiosities. These ideas naturally are connected to collecting culture which James Delbourgo's book *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum,* argues that Sloane was one of the most influential figures in the history of collecting and the development of museums. Sloane's curiosity-driven collecting habits and his desire to document and categorize the natural world were instrumental in shaping the early modern scientific culture.[61]

Connected to the backdrop of the thinkers and their ideas described previous pages, the researched connects and describes thinking of the 'savage', the 'state of nature' and Stadial theory. These rhizomatic theorisations were built upon one another and led public society towards a biological classification system that imposed the hierarchical nature of the relationships between species, viewing species as fixed according to a divine plan. These ideas are manifest in the catalogues used in this study. Turning to consider how these ideas influence the cultures of natural history, it is important to recognise that the idea of stages of society, on its own, was nothing new. Public discourse itself was shifting across early modern Europe, specifically around the idea of 'civil society'. When we break down 'civil society' to its constituent parts, we are left with 'civility' and 'society'. Each of these words had a substantial influence on the understanding the 'self' in England in the years leading up to the publication of the *Don Saltero's* catalogues. It was the English poet, literary critic, translator, and playwright John Dryden who, while contemplating these topics, defined the concept of the *Noble Savage* in reaction to what was considered a 'civil

[56] Ibid., p. 201.; Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, 1755, virtuoso is defined as; *A man skilled in antique or natural curiosities; a man studious of painting, statuary, or architecture.*
[57] Ibid., pp. 610–621.
[58] Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being, p. 3.
[59] Ibid., p. 59.
[60] Carl Linnaeus, *Systema Naturæ*, 1735 (Encyclopædia Britannica).
[61] Delbourgo, *Collecting The World*, p. 311.

society'.[62] A literary trope, the noble savage represents the model of the indigene, outsider, the 'other', a wild human who has not been 'corrupted' by civilisation, and therefore symbolises humanity's innate goodness.[63] In English, the noble savage first appeared in John Dryden's play, *The Conquest of Granada* in 1672.[64] Here, Dryden used the term in relation to a newly fashioned idea of man. It is important to note that, during this time, the word 'savage' could mean 'wild beast' or 'wild man'.[65] It is decades later that we credit the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury with giving credence to the idea of innate goodness in *Inquiry Concerning Virtue* (1699).[66] Shaftesbury had suggested that ethical awareness in humans is a natural characteristic based on feelings. An idea that departs from the notion that human morality results from religious teachings. Here, Shaftesbury was countering Thomas Hobbes's analysis of an absolutist central state in his *Leviathan* (1651), particularly 'Chapter XIII'.[67] It was in *Leviathan* that Hobbes notably embraced the idea that the 'state of nature' is a 'war of all against all' in which human lives are 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'.[68] Hobbes argues that American Indians were an example of an existing people living in such a state.[69] That said, Hobbes' term, 'State of Nature', was the concept that provided the foundation for Dryden, and then Shaftesbury, to develop the concept of the 'noble savage'.[70] These works romanticise a character who embodies the outsider or wild human, presenting an 'other' as a figure uncorrupted by civilisation and who embodies humanity's fundamental virtuousness. Thus, a progression from where the idea of the savage developed is evident. Early Enlightenment thought viewed history as "stadial," a theorisation based on the assumption that societies were initially primitive and subsequently progressed through stages; it is the jurist Samuel Pufendorf who is credited with developing this model of stadial theory.[71]

Thinkers supporting this theory expected humanity to show 'increasing development' and thus sought what they determined to be 'progress' in human history.[72] Theorists like Pufendorf justified othering cultures and humans by using stadial theory to argue their superiority and to justify colonialism. A system that viewed colonisers as more evolved and the people colonised as less developed. This prevalent Western understanding of cultures and societies was believed to be the catalyst stoking a steady "progress" of modern civilisation, supposedly saving them from savagery. Both ideas that reflect stadial theory and those of noble savage surface in these catalogues throughout their publication. All the above-described thinking is built upon one another and was heading headlong towards a biologic categorisation system that was meant to standardise and classify each species' connections to all other species by anchoring itself to a divine plan. A system that once again brings us back to Carl Linnaeus work from 1735.

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[62] David Allen Harvey, The French Enlightenment and Its Others: The Mandarin, the Savage, and the Invention of the Human Sciences (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 11-40.
[63] Harvey, The French Enlightenment and Its Others, pp. 1–10.
[64] Wilbur Applebaum (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution: From Copernicus to Newton (Routledge, 2008), p. 110.
[65] Harvey, The French Enlightenment and Its Others, pp. 69–96.
[66] Applebaum, Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution, pp. 57–62.
[67] Ernst Cassirer, Fritz C. A. Koelln, and James P. Pettegrove, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 182–90.
[68] Gay, The Enlightenment, an Interpretation, pp. 319–96.
[69] Cassirer, Fritz C. A. Koelln, and James P. Pettegrove, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment,* p. 137.
[70] Harvey, The French Enlightenment and Its Others, pp. 69–96.
[71] *Martin Fitzpatrick; Peter Jones; Christa Knellwolf; Iain McCalman, Enlightenment World, (Routledge* 2006*), pp. 258–9.*
[72] Cassirer, Fritz C. A. Koelln, and James P. Pettegrove, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* pp. 253–274.

This genre emerged from the backdrop of the waning Dutch Golden Years, as the Dutch Empire was conceding to the British Empire. The British domination of world trade and the Scientific Revolution contributed to the dissemination of innovative technologies to aid London in a time a tremendous growth. The creation of new roads, rivers, and canals were built to support making transport of goods and travel to London more accessible, thus facilitating in cheaper travel to the city.[73] Within the world of print, modern technologies of early eighteenth-century London printers took advantage of the innovations in typography and did so through finely printed materials. These technological advancements were used as embellishments to attract new business by displaying new founts and ornaments of trademarks and the die-stamp that founders sent out to printers.[74] In turn, these printers used specimen sheets to display to potential customers the new type available. The innovations in typography were not only for the conveyance of information but were widely seen as a status symbols used by expanding businesses. In addition, both forces of change were working in tandem to help usher in the Enlightenment. Within this new phase of British authority, British works, writers, artists, culture, and ways of life spread across the globe.[75] Accompanying the new era of geopolitical British strength, writers working from the Isles offered unique writing style which deployed vivid and colourful language. Alongside this innovative writing style was the cultivation of innovative ideas, themes, and techniques for questioning the world. New and mysterious treasures enhanced the allure of far-flung places in the minds of western trading companies.[76]

Objects from 'mysterious' lands constituted a portion of the bounty gained in empire building, some of which were gathered by scholars, physicians, lawyers, and merchants and placed into collections. Such collections provided viewers the opportunity to peek through this 'window' to the world. Such a vision had been, until then, only accessible to elites, as only wealthy people could afford to travel for pleasure. However, increasing mobility enabled a social event to be built around stories brought back from extraordinary lands and 'mysterious' people. High-profile collectors often put their objects into famous cabinets of curiosities or early museums to 'shock visitors with wonder'.[77] These items would first be part of private home collections, although when these collections were sold, some objects would fill the pages of the catalogues of rarities after finding a home on the shelves of newly established museums. Similarly, the subcultures of collections and collectors became a social group which transcended all stations of society. Thus, these catalogues fit within the context of a rapidly shifting world and reflected and incorporated the booming business of global trade.[78] Ways of standardised communication, merchants, and the bankers who financed voyages established global relations; this global trade brought back seafarers with items from unknown lands that added to the ecosystem of public discourse and

[73] Thomas J. Misa, *Leonardo to the Internet: Technology & Culture from the Renaissance to the Present*, 2nd ed, Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 63.
[74] James Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England*, People, Markets, Goods: Economies and Societies in History, volume 3 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 53.
[75] Adam Budd, *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources* (Routledge, 2009), pp. 106–117.
[76] Miles Ogborn, 'Writing Travels: Power, Knowledge and Ritual on the English East India Company's Early Voyages', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, no. 2 (2002), pp. 155–71.
[77] Stephen Bann, 'Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500–1800', *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 4 (1991), pp. 688.
[78] John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (Macmillan, 1991), pp. 236-237.

access to knowledge for more people than ever before.[79] Stories of travel, along with objects from abroad, assisted in the changing culture of an eighteenth-century Britain that was increasingly open to social, political and intellectual change. Among these rapid changes were new ways of thinking, although to keep up with the latest intellectual trends, the popularity of reading and books dramatically increased, as did discussing ideas helping to shape a different public sphere.[80] There was no better place to experience this convergence than at *Don Saltero's Coffee House*, which in 1729 started supplying a rarity catalogue to accompany its collection of curiosities.

### *ii) Don Saltero's coffee house from establishment to decline*

When trying to understand the historical context of these collections of curiosities, such as that held at *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse, curious onlookers in Britain do not need go extremely far to see one of the best-preserved examples. As James Delbourgo's book argues that Sloane's collection played a crucial role in the foundation of the British Museum. When Sloane bequeathed his collection to the nation upon his death in 1753, he stipulated that it should be preserved and made accessible to the public. This led to the establishment of the British Museum in 1759, which became the first national public museum in the world. Delbourgo suggests that Sloane's approach to collecting and organizing knowledge paved the way for the modern museum concept. Sloane's emphasis on the classification and arrangement of objects, as well as his insistence on public access to his collection, foreshadowed the development of modern museums as institutions dedicated to the preservation and dissemination of knowledge.[81] Collections and Coffeehouses were at the centre of intellectual thought and debate, and *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse took full advantage of this embryonic market by making what was written in the catalogues both accessible and hidden to readers depending on their cultural knowledge and ability to making wider connections that took place during a period of rapid change.[82] Society was moving from ideas once based on Aristotelian scholasticism coupled with Christian dogma, to ideas that developed independently of the church.[83] Encouraged by life outside the influence of the church, a new discipline coined 'natural history' emerged, and it is in this context *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse should be seen.[84] This coffee house held a collection of natural history objects that offered the public a place to gather, observe, and discuss. By situating this coffee house alongside the swiftly altering philosophies that were spinning headlong towards the development of modern natural philosophy, *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse was not only successful but also lucky because the original owner of Don Saltero's, James Salter, was an ex-barber and servant of Sir Hans Sloane.[85] Sloane was the physician of the King, who owned one of the world's most important cabinets of curiosities and which was regularly supplied through his travels.

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[79] Ibid., pp. 236-237.
[80] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.
[81] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, pp. 270-307.
[82] Crystal B. Lake, 'Ten Thousand Gimcracks: Artifacts and Materialism's Political History at Don Saltero's', *Word & Image* 33, no. 3 (2017), pp. 267-78.
[83] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*.
[84] Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (University of Chicago Press, 2001).
[85] Angela Todd, 'Your Humble Servant Shows Himself: Don Saltero and Public Coffeehouse Space', *Journal of International Women's Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005), 119– 135.

Particularly interesting is that Sloane gifted the curiosities that became the 'high culture' seed collection of the British Museum.[86] More interesting, perhaps, is that Sloane's collection held duplicates that he gifted to Salter, and allegedly these curiosities that became part of the 'low culture' of a Chelsea coffeehouse.[87]

Don Saltero's Coffeehouse was in Chelsea, an affluent suburb of London, and was popular among both locals and visitors to the area. The coffeehouse was known for its eclectic collection of natural specimens, which included taxidermy animals, fossils, shells, and minerals, among other things. Ellis describes how Don Saltero's Coffeehouse became a hub for intellectual and cultural exchange.[88] The natural specimens on display at the coffeehouse served as a catalyst for discussions about science, philosophy, and the natural world. Customers at the coffeehouse would often engage in lively debates and share their own knowledge and ideas. Overall, Ellis portrays Don Saltero's Coffeehouse as a unique and important institution in the cultural life of 18th century London. It was a place where people from all walks of life could come together, share ideas, and engage in meaningful discussions. Antony Clayton's book *London's Coffee Houses* does not specifically argue anything about Don Saltero's Coffee House. However, the book does mention Don Saltero's Coffee House as one of the notable coffeehouses in London during the 18th century. According to the book *London's Coffee Houses* by Antony Clayton, Don Saltero's was known for its collection of natural history specimens and curiosities, which were displayed throughout the coffeehouse. The coffeehouse was also known for its unique decor, then quotes Gentleman's Magazine by adding the coffeehouse is "the oddest and most fantastic coffee house that ever was seen." A quote that is attributed to a description of Don Saltero's Coffee House that was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1732.


*Figure 2. "Cheyne Walk looking East" – image copyright of Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea http://www.rbkc.gov.uk.*

The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a popular monthly magazine in 18th-century England that covered a wide range of topics, including literature, history, and politics. The specific reference to Don Saltero's in the *Gentleman's Magazine* reads as follows:

[86] Ibid., 119- 135.
[87] Arthur MacGregor, *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum* (British Museum Press, 1994). Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
[88] Markman Ellis, Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture, Vol. 1 (Taylor & Francis, 2017).

*"The collection of rarities and curiosities of all sorts and kinds, which is to be seen there, is absolutely beyond imagination; and the ornaments and embellishments of the coffee-room make it the oddest and most fantastic coffee-house that ever was seen."*

This description gives us a sense of the unique and eccentric character of Don Saltero's during its time as a coffeehouse in 18th-century London. Don Saltero's was located in Chelsea and was known for its collection of natural history specimens and curiosities. The original owner of the coffeehouse was owned James Salter, who had previously been a servant to Sir Hans Sloane, a physician and naturalist whose collections from around the world help in the establishment of the British Museum. While Salter worked for Sloane, he acquired a collection of oddities and curiosities and capitalised on the experience by displayed these items in the coffeehouse as a way to attract patrons. His coffeehouse moves around a couple but finally found its home at number 18 Cheyne Walk for the greater part of a century. His collection became the home of a famous curious museum and coffee house, and then a tavern known as Don Saltero's Coffee House and Tavern in its final years.

What is certain is the coffee house became a popular gathering place for artists, scientists, and other intellectuals of the time. The coffee house changed hands several times over the years, and today it is owned by the Victoria and Albert Museum, which uses it as a store for its ceramics collection.[89] Irregularities were located in primary and secondary source material of when the precise moment the coffee house was established. One the one hand, historian Antony Clayton discusses in *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History*, Don Saltero's Coffeehouse as one of the many unique and fascinating coffeehouses that existed during this time and that Don Saltero's Coffeehouse was established in 1695 by James Salter, a collector of curiosities and oddities.[90] Then on the other, there is the account of Samuel Pepys who was a 17th-century English diarist, and his diary is a fascinating primary source that provides a wealth of information about daily life in Restoration-era London. Regarding Don Saltero's Coffee House, there are several mentions of it in Pepys's diary. In his entry for April 11, 1668, he writes about visiting the coffee house and being shown a collection of curiosities that were on display there, including "the King of Poland's sword, and Pickering the great man's staffe." Pepys was impressed by the collection and noted that "the room hath been the Archbishop of Canterbury's." In another entry from September 26, 1668, Pepys mentions going to Don Saltero's with his friend William Hewer, where they drank coffee and "had a good cake and other fine things to it"; he also notes that the coffee house was "filled with people and much discourse".[91] So, it seems that Don Saltero's Coffee House was a popular gathering spot in Pepys's time, known for its collection of curiosities and tasty food and drink. Pepys' entries are about twenty years before any other primary sources verified Don Saltero's Coffee House existence. What could explain this inconstancy is the development of fire

[89] "Don Saltero's Coffee House" by V&A Museum: https://www.vam.ac.uk/collections/don-salteros-coffee-house; "Don Saltero's Coffee House", Historic England: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1080778; "London's Historic Coffee Houses", Historic UK: https://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/Londons-Historic-Coffee-Houses/; "Don Saltero's Coffee House", London Remembers: https:/ /www.londonremembers.com/ memorials/don-saltero-s-coffee-house.

[90] Clayton, The Coffee-House: A Cultural History, pp. 223–260.

[91] Pepys, Samuel. The Diary of Samuel Pepys. Online edition, edited by Phil Gyford, 1660-1669; The British Library. *Don Saltero's Coffee House;* Andrew Burnette, "London Coffee Houses: A Brief History." History Today, vol. 55, no. 11, November 2005, pp. 30-37. Cowan, Brian. "Coffee and Curiosities: The Origins of the British Museum", History Today, vol. 65, no. 5, May 2015, pp. 38-43.

insurance in London which can be traced back to the Great Fire of London in 1666. After the fire, several insurance companies were established to offer protection against the risk of fire. The first fire insurance company in London was the Hand in Hand Fire & Life Insurance Society, which was founded in 1696. Other early fire insurance companies in London include the Sun Fire Office, which was founded in 1710, and the Royal Exchange Assurance, which was founded in 1720. These companies played a key role in the development of modern insurance practices and helped to establish London as a leading centre for insurance and finance. It is in these records where the owners of the coffee house are listed.[92]

Other records found useful on the *London Lives* website tie Salter to Chelsea are the baptisms of his children—first his daughter May in 1682, and then his son John in 1687. In 1684, Salter's name appears in the rate-lists of payers as the occupant of a small house in Lombard Street, the southern portion of which was destroyed at the time of the construction of Embankment. From 1695 to 1707, Salter appears with Edward Hatfield in Church Row. The first reference to the coffeehouse emerged in a letter written by Anthony Cope, who lived at Church Place and Church Lane. Cope was writing to Moses Goodyear from Venice, in a letter dated 1697, and says: "[f]orget me not at Salter's in the next bowl" (it was common at the time to drink coffee from a bowl).[93] Such a letter reveals that Salter was in business at the corner house in Church Row or Prospect Place, where Lawrence Street meets Cheyne Walk. In 1708 Salter moved to a corner house on Danvers Street. In the years following Salter's move to Danvers Street, his business began to appear in print. One such article appeared as an autobiography titled the 'Museum Coffee House' and published in the *British Apollo*, II (4 May 1709).[94]

Salter affectionately calls the collection 'Chelsea Knacketory' although Richard Steele provided another description in *The Tatler*, No. 34 (28 June 1709). Steele notes that his 'Eye was diverted by Ten Thousand Gimcracks round the Room and on the Sieling'.[95] In 1715, during his residence in Danvers Street, the owner of the coffeehouse is described as "James Salter, the coffeeman".[96] The corner house in Danvers Street is where the coffee house remained until the end of 1717, and it was the beginning of 1718 when the coffee house moves to its iconic location, No 18 Cheyne Walk. The neighbourhoods around Cheyne Walk witnessed the ultimate formation of 'Don Saltero's' reputation. Many intellectuals patronised Salter's coffeehouse over the years, including Sir Hans Sloane, who bought the adjacent property, Manor House, in 1718; Richard Mead; Edward Chamberlayne; Nathaniel Oldham; Sir John Cope; Narcissus Luttrell of

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[92] The development of fire insurance in London after the Great Fire of London is a well-documented historical event, and there are many sources that discuss it. Sources: *The National Fire Protection Association (NFPA) provides a brief history of fire insurance, which includes information on the development of fire insurance in London after the Great Fire*: https://www.nfpa.org/News-and-Research/Resources/Fire-statistics-and-reports/Fire-statistics/Fire-causes/Fire-history-and-archives/A-brief-history-of-fire-insurance; *The London Fire Brigade website provides a detailed history of the Great Fire of London and its aftermath, including the development of fire insurance*: https://www.london-fire.gov.uk/about-us/our-history/great-fire-of-london/ ; *The website for the Hand in Hand Fire & Life Insurance Society, which was the first fire insurance company in London, provides a history of the company and its founding*: https://www.handinhand.co.uk/about-us/our-history/; *The Royal Exchange Assurance website provides a history of the company and its founding, which includes information on the development of fire insurance in London*: https://www.rsagroup.com/about-us/our-history/royal-exchange-assurance/.

[93] Clayton., pp. 223–260.

[94] Philip H. Highfill et al., *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660 - 1800. Vol. 13: Roach to H. Siddons* (Carbondale, Ill., 1991), pp. 191–193.

[95] Richard Steele, (1987). *The Tatler*. (Vol. 1). D. F. Bond (Ed.). (Oxford: Oxford University Press. Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2014). pp. 253–254.

[96] Highfill et al., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London*, pp.191–93.

Little Chelsea; Vice-Admiral Munden; and Benjamin Franklin.[97] A multitude of other well-known figures mixed with Salter's Chelsea friends. Furthermore, Salter's shop delivered many services, including: a place to mix socially while enjoying a mixer of punch, and a place for a shave, a bleed, or to have teeth pulled.


*Figure 3. Don Saltero's Coffee House, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, 1723, (1840). The exterior of Don Saltero's Coffee House and Curiosity Museum by the River Thames, with signatures of its founder James Salter, that of Sir Hans Sloane, and some others.*

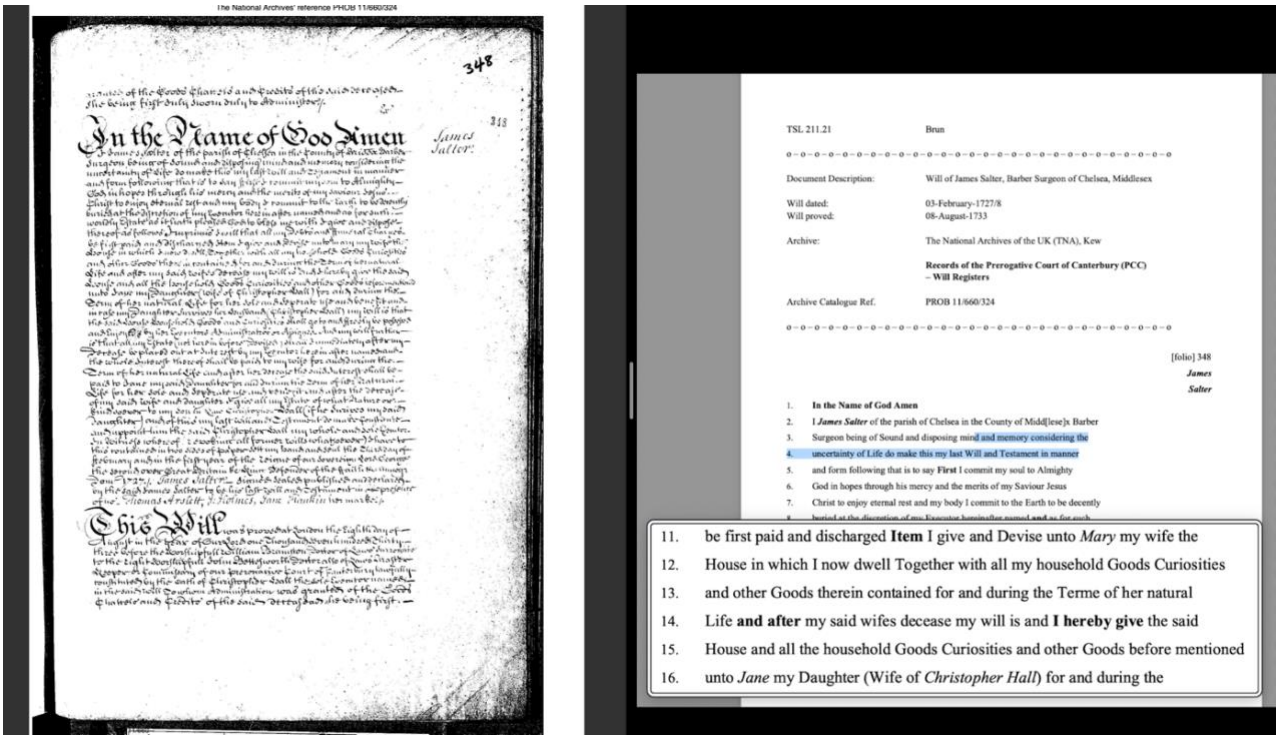
James Salter was not only a barber-surgeon, but he also surprised guests by playing the fiddle.[98] Every year, Salter added stranger oddities to his museum, signalling what an amusement is must have been for his visitors. Customers and friends alike offered strange curiosities to the self-proclaimed "gimcrack whim collector", making this tiny Chelsea coffeehouse a favourite meeting place for people searching to embody their own version of the virtuoso.[99] Such an existence allowed them to indulge their interest in science and antiquities, but, as a group, they also developed a collective identity and a place to belong.[100] The surviving catalogues from Don Saltero's Coffee House bought by their customers to read as they perused the collection and are in effect an early museum guide. The catalogues numerically listed the content of the collection, and each object is presented with a brief description. These objects did not seem to be placed in any sort of sophisticated order throughout the catalogues. Additionally, the listings are only updated through a catalogue's republishing and no logical ordering ever seemed to develop.

[97] Faulkner, *An Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea, and Its Environs,* pp. 223–260. Benjamin Franklin, *Works of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin: consisting of his life written by himself, together with essays, humorous, moral & literary, chiefly in the manner of The spectator. In two volumes*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1. London: printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.
[98] Ibid., pp. 223–260.
[99] Bond (ed.), *The Spectator. Vol. 5.*; The OED defines *virtuoso* as: virtuoso, n. and adj.; **a.** A learned person; a scholar; *esp.* a scientist, a natural philosopher. Also: *spec.* a member of the Royal Society. **b.** A person who has a special interest in, or taste for, the fine arts; a student or collector of antiques, natural curiosities, rarities, etc.; a connoisseur; *esp.* one who pursues such interests in the manner of a dabbler or dilettante.; "virtuoso, n. and adj.". OED Online. March 2023. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/.
[100] Lake, 'Ten Thousand Gimcracks'.

However, what seem clear is the catalogue's publishing frequency was very much tied to a devoted owner.

Unfortunately for this London neighbourhood, Salter died in 1728, and was buried in Chelsea on September 11th of that year.[101] Markman Ellis' work states that after James Salter's death the ownership of the coffee house passed to his wife, Sarah Salter and this research found the evidence to support this claim but as Mary Salter.[102] However, this research also uncovered something else interesting in James Salter's will. His son, John, whose baptisms records were found from 1687 is not mentioned in his will. James Salter's will and the rate books and other written sources seem to point to James Salter's daughter, May Hall as the one who ran the business.

**A** **B**



TSL 211.21 Brun

Document Description: Will of James Salter, Barber Surgeon of Chelsea, Middlesex

Will dated: 03-February-1727/8
Will proved: 08-August-1733

Archive: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew

**Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) – Will Registers**

Archive Catalogue Ref. PROB 11/660/324

[folio] 348
*James Salter*

1. **In the Name of God Amen**
2. I ***James Salter*** of the parish of Chelsea in the County of Midd[lese]x Barber
3. Surgeon being of Sound and disposing mind and memory considering the
4. uncertainty of Life do make this my last Will and Testament in manner
5. and form following that is to say **First** I commit my soul to Almighty
6. God in hopes through his mercy and the merits of my Saviour Jesus
7. Christ to enjoy eternal rest and my body I commit to the Earth to be decently

11. be first paid and discharged **Item** I give and Devise unto *Mary* my wife the
12. House in which I now dwell Together with all my household Goods Curiosities
13. and other Goods therein contained for and during the Terme of her natural
14. Life **and after** my said wifes decease my will is and **I hereby give** the said
15. House and all the household Goods Curiosities and other Goods before mentioned
16. unto *Jane* my Daughter (Wife of *Christopher Hall*) for and during the

*Figure 4. a) James Salter's will from British Archives; b) James Salter's transcribed will.*

James Salter entire holdings was willed his to his wife, Mary and on her death, their daughter, Jane, or May Hall, would then own the business. After James Salter's death, Christopher Hall was named in the rate books but never Mary or May Hall. Mary Salter having widow status and not being named in the rate books is highly irregular for coffeehouse-women in the situation as Mary Salter during this period. Thus, another reason why this research believes May Hall was the person vested in running the coffeehouse. The research only found James' will but nothing else including zero secondary source material to support an argument that James Salter's wife was ever seriously involved. However, May Hall's involvement is well documented and it indicates that she maintained the coffeehouse far longer than any other proprietor, which was a little over thirty years, from 1728–1760; of those years, ten catalogues survived. This research believes the younger May Hall took over the coffeehouse as this study noticed a rate of

[101] Faulkner, *An Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea, and Its Environs*, pp. 223–260.
[102] Markman Ellis, Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture, Vol. 1 (Taylor & Francis, 2017).

change on the title page layout that becomes fluent, with a design feature holding constant. Which is an indication of somebody being very in touch with the current trends of collecting and print culture. The 1st edition of *Don Saltero's* catalogues the following year. These catalogues seemed to be a labour of love created by James's daughter, May Hall. Newspaper articles from contemporary sources claimed that Christopher Hall (May's husband) owned the coffee-house, however, newer academic work argues that May Hall was the proprietor, even if English law had not caught up with this notion.[103] Rate Books' records show that the Halls sold the business in 1760. Catalogues published under the Halls' ownership must have been prolific because many survived from this period as the surviving ten out of the nineteen catalogues were uncovered in the archives during this study.

At the end of One other publication mentions Don Saltero's in the early years of the coffee house, even before May Hall's time as proprietor, this publication was Richard Steele and Joseph Addison's *The lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq* first in 1710, then in 1723, and 1728 (the year Salter died) and not again until 1749. Other contemporary print mentioned the coffee house by name included; 1744's *Les badinages, de Monsieur Wynter, feu medecin, aux bains chauds. Or Wynter's whims, with an addresse, preface, postscript, and notes extreamly odd, and uncommon. To which is annex'd his last will and testament* by John Wynter; 1745's *A natural history of Nevis, And the rest of the English Leeward Charibee Islands in America* , by William Smith; 1754's The *History of Lucy Wellers*, written by a Lady i.e. *Miss - Smythies*; 1752's Bonnell Thornton's *Have at you all: or, the Drury-Lane journal, By Madam Roxana Termagant*; 1759's *Philosophia Britannica,* by Benjamin Martin.[104] In the early eighteenth century, literature introduced main characters as ordinary people in common settings, belonging to the working and middle classes. Although authors like Henry Fielding and Samuel Richardson aimed for "improbable but possible" scenarios, many novels, especially those by female writers, had different objectives. Fictional works often claimed to be "histories" or "adventures" of individuals, resembling actual biographies and memoirs. This gave them an air of authenticity and hinted at potential revelations about high society scandals. Within these novels, authors might assert that their stories were true accounts or adapted from real memoirs or letters - an example of this is the 1763 *Terræ-filius*, by James Scott and George Colman, which is a satirical essay on education and occurred as the second owner of the coffeehouse is revealed in the rate books as James Emblem, owner from 1760–1781.[105]

From those twenty years, only two catalogues survived, and little information exists about his ownership. Primary sources name him in the Rate Books as owner from 1760 to 1781 is James Emblem.[106] Only two surviving catalogues are found from these years, which were published in 1778 and 1781. This scarcity led me to wonder why only two issues survived from this era of ownership, although it seems likely that fewer were printed by this new owner and, thus, fewer survived. However, during this period thirty-five printed text mentioned Don Saltero's by name and many of them were written by both or either James Scott or George Colman. A

[103] Tim Hitchcock *et al.*, *London Lives*.
[104] Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
[105] Scott, James, and George Colman. *Terræ-filius*. Vol. 1. London, England: printed for T. Becket, and P.A. De Hondt, at Tully's Head, in the Strand, [1763]. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.
[106] Walter H. Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk: No. 17 and Don Saltero's Coffee House (No. 18)," in *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I*, (London: London County Council, 1909), 61–64. *British History Online*, accessed August 5, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol2/pt1/pp61-64.

shift from the catalogue's' being connected to some curious women as travellers and writers is notice here to the coffeehouse's catalogues being connected to male focused literary text of curious knowledge seekers (additionally by newspapers and authors such as Johnathan Swift and Benjamin Franklin) where before, there were women writers and women's interest being connected to Don Saltero's. Then when women were finally at the helm as writers, the Don Saltero's catalogue is connecting women to a den of charlatanism depicted in Fanny Burney's Evelina: or a Young's Lady's Entrance into the World. A book printed in London for T. Lowndes in 1778, it is this text wherein the Branghton girls mention Don Saltero's as a destination for a pleasure outing, a sign of their irremediable vulgarity.[107] Unfortunately, little additional information is available regarding the life of James Emblem and only a few secondary sources outside the literary references noted above were located in the years of his ownership.[108] One such source located was the meetings of the Battersea Bridge Proprietors. The Battersea Bridge Proprietors meetings took place between 16 May 1771 and 7 December 1775 (Minute book, 'No. 1') and 28 March 1776 and 28 September 1796 (Minute book, 'No. 2') when James Emblem and then the Jacobs owned the coffeehouse.[109] The other coffeehouses listed for Battersea Bridge Proprietors meetings is at the Somerset Coffee House in the Strand, at the White Horse, Mrs Anderson's, all in Chelsea, and at the Rainbow Coffee House, Cornhill, the Salopian Coffee House, Charing Cross, and frequently on the site at the Ferry House in Battersea. Which puts owners Emblem and the Jacobs and Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in this network coffeehouses.

The third owner of the coffeehouse was Mary Jacob, from the years 1781–1799, after which the coffeehouse was sold to become a tavern (although the Don Saltero's sign would hang over the door for many years to come) and its contents sold at auction. The third owner is discovered in the rate books from in 1782: on 1 January one 'Stephen J. Jacob' (Fire Insurance Policy Register) and Rate Books (1782-1789) name James Jacob as the owner.[110] In 1784, Stephen Jacob died and from then on Mary Jacobs was listed as owner and 'coffee woman' in the rate books.[111] A change in rate books came with new ownership going from Stephen Jacob to his wife, Mary Jacob, who had just became a widow but is newly named in the Rate Books as owner from 1790 to 1799.[112] What is more, a shift from male focused printed text like we observed during Emblem's proprietorship becomes more balanced mentions of Don Saltero's between travel catalogues of London, other topics include comedy, adventures, satire, history, catalogues of London printed text, the Freemason's Grand Lodge printed a calendar in 1790 listing St Luke's

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[107] Ibid., pp. 105–113.

[108] Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Sharon Howard, and Jamie McLaughlin, *et al., London Lives, 1690-1800* (www.londonlives.org, version 1.1, 24 April 2012). Walter H Godfrey. "Cheyne Walk: No. 17 and Don Saltero's Coffee House (No. 18)," in *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I*, (London: London County Council, 1909), 61-64. *British History Online*, accessed August 5, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol2/pt1/, pp. 61-64.

[109] London Metropolitan Archives Battersea Bridge Proprietors Reference Description Dates Corporate records B/PBB/001 Minute book, 'No. 1' With (at front of vol): List of subscribers 1771; Copy of circular letter to Proprietors relating to execution of deeds, and first meeting (1771)16 May 1771 -7 Dec 1775B/PBB/002 Minute book 'No. 2' 28 Mar 1776 -28 Sep 1796.

[110] Tim Hitchcock *et al., London Lives.*

[111] Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk: No. 17", 61–64.

[112] Godfrey, *Survey of London.*

Lodge at Don Saltero's Coffee house, and then of course, Richard Steele and Joseph Addison's *The Tatler*.[113]

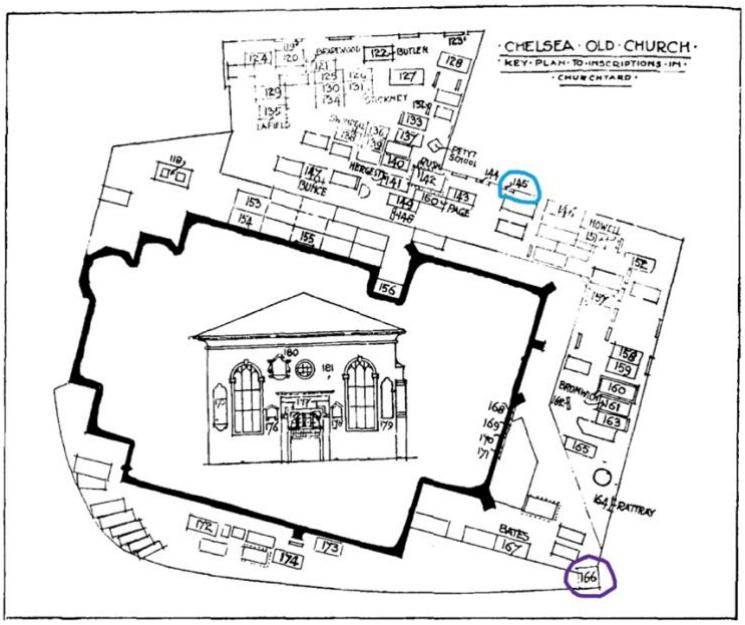


*Figure 5. "Chelsea Old Church: Monuments in the churchyard," in Survey of London: Volume 7, Chelsea, Part III: the Old Church, ed. Walter H Godfrey (London: London County Council, 1921), 62-83. British History Online.*

Information about the Jacobs' was located a map of the Chelsea Old Churchyard monument in the cemetery where the couple was buried. The *Survey of London* archive holds a record indicating a plot number and reads, "145. On a flat stone, now located against the wall beside that of Cade and to the east of the Rush table monument" and then Stephen Jacob's headstone reads *"CITIZEN* and *VINTNER* of *LONDON"* (a wine merchant), died at the age of 37 years old on October 28th, 1784.[114] The monument in Chelsea Old Churchyard reveals Mary Jacob was not laid to rest beside her husband until 1821, and no month or day is given on the monument for her death. The map of Chelsea Old Church (Figure 1) and its yard, highlighted in blue (145) is the Jacob's monument. Highlighted in purple (166) is where Sir Hans Sloane, physician to the King and whose travelling collection founded the British Museum and *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse, is also buried. Sir Hans Sloane monument reads *"Here lies interred Elizabeth Lady Sloane wife of Sir Hans Sloane Bar*t *who departed this life in the year of our Lord 1724 and the 67 of her age."* On the south face: "To the memory of SIR HANS SLOANE, BAR T., President of the Royal Society, and of the College of Physicians, who in the year of our Lord 1753, the 92 d of his age without the least pain of body and with a conscious serenity of mind ended a virtuous and beneficent life. This monument was erected by his two daughters Eliza Cadogan and Sarah Stanley." In addition, between the 44th edition (1790) and the 46th edition (1793), the catalogue's title page shows that in addition to a coffeehouse, *Don Saltero's* became a

[113] Freemasons. Grand Lodge. The free-mason's calendar, for the year 1790, Being the second year after bissextile, or leap-year: containing, besides the usual matter in other almanacs, a great variety of articles concerning masonry. Published for the benefit of the charity fund. Under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England. London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, and sold by Robert Horsfield, at their Hall, in Ludgate-Street, and by most of booksellers in town and country, [1790]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[114] "Chelsea Old Church: Monuments in the churchyard," in *Survey of London: Volume 7, Chelsea, Part III: the Old Church*, ed. Walter H Godfrey (London: London County Council, 1921), 62-83. *British History Online*.

tavern.[115] Additional information found in a secondary source, *Old Chelsea A Summer-Day's Stroll* (1889), by Benjamin Ellis Martin has a foot note on page 125 that reads:

> *"This house was kept, in 1790, by a Mrs. Mary Jacob, a New England woman, and I have seen a letter from her to her brother in America, in which she says, in her old-fashioned spelling: "I keap a Coffe Hous, which I can Scarcely macke a bit of Bred for myself, but it Ennabels me to keep a home for my Sons." This letter is prized as a relic by the family, none of whom have any notion of how "Polly Cummings"—her maiden name in New England—found her way to Chelsea and to Don Saltero's!"*

Information found in this secondary source adds to this deeper mystery. In his Survey of London Godfrey wrote: 'In 1799 the house changed hands, the collection was sold by auction, and the coffee-house was converted into a public house, where we are told a room was kept for the friendly conferences of 'men of literature and science'. Finally, in 1795, the last surviving publication of the catalogue was issued and a few years later, on January 7 of 1799, the house and its contents were sold at auction for £50, according to a *Gentleman's Magazine* article from 1799.[116] The coffee-house was then converted into a public house, keeping one room for the friendly conference of "men of literature and science."[117] The house closed in 1867 and was converted into a private residence.[118] These changes in ownership, created other noticeable changes in design of the title page which is the primary focus in the following chapters.

[115] 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof.' (London, England, 1790&93), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.
[116] 'The Gentleman's Magazine'. (United Kingdom), E. Cave, 1799, p. 302.
[117] Walter H. Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk: No. 17 and Don Saltero's Coffee House (No. 18)," in *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I*, (London: London County Council, 1909), p. 64. *British History Online*, accessed August 5, 2020, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol2/pt1/, pp. 61-64.
[118] Ibid. 61–64.

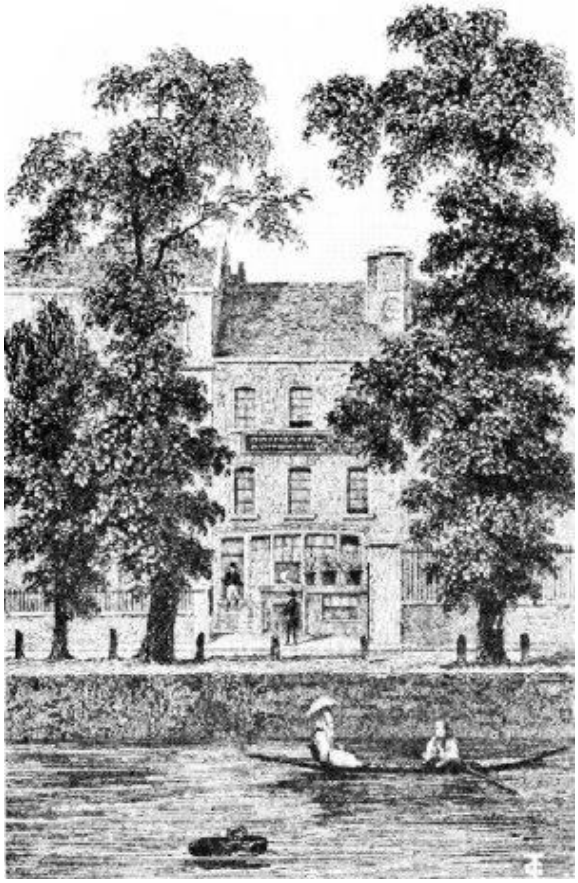

*Figure 6. "Don Saltero's (No. 18 Cheyne Walk) As A Tavern"* [119]

### *iii) The culture of print, catalogues and circulation*

As tempting as it may be to be lured into a wormhole of the wider picture of Enlightenment thought within England, this section can only consider how Enlightenment thought and print culture collided in one coffeehouse in London. According to Jürgen Habermas, London in the mid-1700s was an industrial society that presented opportunities for people to take part in practical analytical activities which included reading and taking part in public debates.[120] Habermas thought these activities encouraged the subsequent development of an autonomous political culture and notably claims that coffeehouses significantly contributed to the growth of a distinct 'bourgeois public sphere' in England.[121] Habermas anchors his argument to the fact that the 'bourgeois public sphere' was (primarily) found in places with the possibility to freely read about current events and discuss controversial questions.[122] Closer investigation of the history of publishing in London serves to illustrate how coffeehouse readers would be presented with a

[119] Walter H Godfrey. "Plate 81: Don Saltero's as a tavern," in *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I*, (London: London County Council, 1909), 81. *British History Online*, accessed March 17, 2023, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol2/pt1/plate-81.

[120] Jurgen Habermas, The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

[121] Ibid., pp. 14–19.

[122] Ibid., pp. 43–56.

fantastic choice of reading material but also a social space trafficked in a distinctive way as illustrated by Hannah Greig in her work on pleasure gardens. Here she argues:

> *"Social spaces could be trafficked in distinctive ways by distinctive groups acting to confirm and consolidate divisions. In this regard, public excursions could involve the parading of exclusivity. The pleasure garden as a melting pot was a powerful metaphor deployed by satirists, but there are few traces of social mobility and vibrant social mingling in the accounts of those who went there. Indeed, the titled made few concessions to the new cast of bourgeoisies. The appearance of public togetherness disguised a reality wherein the titled lady dismissed the wife of a city merchant and a wealthy Yorkshire gentleman rarely conversed with a lord."*[123]

Habermas used the coffee house as a preeminent example of the public sphere, making his work significantly relevant to this case study but especially, after close consideration is given to Hannah Greig's counterargument which calls for studies considering the occurrence of a more nuance public sphere of that Habermas' work describes. Between 1688 and 1725, approximately one thousand publishers and booksellers were active in London.[124] Examples of popular literature during this time included chapbooks, ballads, sermons, poems and plays. The most original form of literature to emerge in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century was the periodical.[125] A periodical was a new type of journalism. One element of this new print form was its weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly issues. Publishing houses issued approximately seven hundred periodicals in Britain between 1641 and 1700, and in the years between 1691 and 1697 seventy-four periodical publications were printed in England. Many of the publications before 1695 were government-controlled and thronged with topics of international and domestic news, an of this is weekly periodical the *London Gazette*.[126]

In 1695, the lapse of the *Licensing Acts* in England ended pre-publication censorship, henceforth stimulating the growth of newspapers and other publications. Many publications opened and failed after the lapse of the *Licensing Acts.*[127] Some successful publications from the eighteenth century were, *The Tatler* (1709 to 1711), *The Spectator* (Addison, Joseph, 1672-1719; Steele, Richard, Sir, 1672-1729; Chalmers, Alexander, 1759-1834), *Vetusta Monumenta* (1718 and 1906), *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1907), *The London Magazine* (1732–1785), *The Bee* (1733–1735), *Lloyd's List* (1734–). What is more, without the renewal of the *Licensing Act*, the long-lasting relationship (through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) between the State and the Company of Stationers (trade guild) ended.[128] A severed relationship breaking the trade guild's monopoly throughout the print business. Along with this severed relationship and without the reinstatement of the *Licensing Act* arose uncertainty as to whether copyright was a binding legal concept without the legislation. Such insecurity affected the print markets across Britain as economic chaos set-in. The attributions argued by Ronan Deazley to cause such pandemonium was that the Company of Stationers could not enforce any monopoly, coupled with tiny print

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[123] Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, Ca. 1740–1800." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.
[124] Paula McDowell, The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace, 1678-1730, (United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 128–79.
[125] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe. United Kingdom*:(Cambridge University Press), 2001, pp. 92–103.
[126] Melton, The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe. United Kingdom, pp. 92–103.
[127] Robert C. Hauhart, *"The Origin and Development of the British and American Patent and Copyright Laws"*. Whittier Law Review (1983). Whittier Law School. 5 (1), p. 547.
[128] Ibid., p. 547.

houses started opening across London, and printing presses outside the city starting producing cheaper books than London booksellers.[129] As these cheaper printed text flowed into London, the overall selection available was being made better, but also, this flow created steep competition for those eager to get into printing their own or others materials. This market disturbance aided in opportunities but also a plethora of failing periodicals, as publishing became risky business as many ventures rapidly demised.

As listed above, there were a few notable exceptions of success, and the *Don Saltero's* catalogues found its way to success. Among the print markets success was the demand for enthusiastic publishers to take on newer periodical projects to provide information for merchants and tradespeople. Titles of such specialist periodicals include *John Houghton's Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, and the *City Mercury*, which was published (complimentary) every Monday. These episodic collections became popular forms of entertainment. The *Gentleman's Journal*, for example, was a collection of poetry, music, and prose.[130] A combination of the above examples illustrates that over time, print culture was not only increasing but also diversifying, and it is in this new diversified print culture the *Don Saltero's* coffeehouse catalogues found its place. As print culture was diversifying, so too was the public sphere and the coffeehouse located within this sphere. Each catalogue entry begins with a numeric declaration of the position of the objects listed in the catalogue, often followed (almost always) by the articles 'a', 'an' or 'the' and a brief description of the item. Item descriptions may include adjectives denoting amounts, size, gender, geographic location, material, and colour. Some items' descriptors connect the items to well-known historical, biblical, or popular characters, while others may use one of the listed adjectives along with the word 'curious'. The connotation attached to 'curious' is not fixed and seems positive and, at other times, negative.

The authors of *Don Saltero's* catalogues moved from the private world where their catalogues were designed to a public sphere, starting in the coffeehouse. The consequence of this meant that these authors (knowingly or not) created an identity for *Don Saltero's* Coffeehouse which attracted curious people to a physical space that created a sense of belonging from a shared experience. In building and displaying such a strategic identity and place of belonging, the authors of these catalogues provided a place to exhibit the latest clothing fashion or to have a conversation about current Enlightenment thought. To this Hannah Greig argued,

> *"The metropolitan social tactics of the nobility have been comparatively understudied and underweighted within a literature that focuses instead on the middling and below. Yet referring too readily to a broadly inclusive public audience at social venues such as the pleasure garden, and stressing their facilitation of something vaguely referenced as "mingling," risks obscuring the potential complexities of that social experience. Revisiting London's renowned venues from the perspective of the socially privileged suggests some subtle qualifications to our longstanding presumptions. Although mixed company of different social groups may have shared a space, elite accounts demonstrate that this by no means ensured a comparable experience."*[131]

The agenda of the catalogues' authors was not only to display that their knowledge of what was in vogue, but also to demonstrate their well-considered opinions, written in these catalogues, to be

[129] Ronan Deazley, *On the origin of the right to copy: charting the movement of copyright law in eighteenth-century Britain (1695-1775)* (Oxford, United Kingdom; Portland, Ore, 2004), p. 24.
[130] Melton, The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe. United Kingdom, p. 85.
[131] Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, Ca. 1740–1800." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.

read by the public. A change in the behaviour of consumption and reading in eighteenth century Britain is customarily attributed to the middling class, who constituted a new consumer who could afford to go to the theatre, purchase the latest fashions, and had leisure time to relax at a coffeehouse.[132] The middling class were those who had access to this additional money, educated to comprehend and discuss Enlightenment thought, were able to connect these ideas of cultural knowledge to catalogues, and had enough leisure time for both. The catalogues' authors, along with the coffeehouse's clients, constructed individual and shared identities in tandem, using this coffeehouse catalogue. Catalogues of rarities like those from *Don Saltero's* were indubitably used as entertainment tools and attached to collections held in this London coffeehouse, in what Habermas theorised to be a newly created public sphere.[133] Habermas contextualised his understanding of the public sphere, within the spoken word where the periodical press was part of the conversation.[134] Debates moved between texts and the spoken word in shared locales of bourgeois sociability, and so, these spaces interweaved texts with the life of club and coffee houses making the two conjoined. What is more, when pivoting back to the work of Hannah Greig, "All Together and All Distinct", this research understands her call for a more nuanced understanding of Habermas' work on public sphere. Greig argues:

> *"The coining of the new label "beau monde" to encapsulate the emergent elite culture suggests that a fundamental reconfiguration of that elite world was under way. This was a new metropolitan order played out in "public" that involved both the participation of additional social groups and the additional infrastructure of press reports and contemporary visual and textual commentary. The sheer regularity of elite attendance at Vauxhall and Ranelagh tells its own story, testifying to the critical importance of those spaces to titled sociability and to their sociocultural and (by extension, potentially their political) power and identity."*[135]

Due to this, this study uses these catalogues of rarities' title page to supply insights into existing culture and the "*fundamental reconfiguration of that elite world"*, a world more complex than Habermas contextualised, a world Greig argues is, *"mixed company of different social groups may have shared a space, elite accounts demonstrate that this by no means ensured a comparable experience*". A world built on "*the critical importance of those spaces to titled sociability … and power and identity"* and the culture of "*regularity of elite attendance"* of local and national newfound identities. A new awareness of 'self' is being understood in separate ways from those sharing this public space. For instance, the middling sort and below experience of being othered, and then reading or being read the othered through representations of otherness from the text's title pages which reinforces Greig's argument, "*Although mixed company of different social groups may have shared a space, elite accounts demonstrate that this by no means ensured a comparable experience.*[136]

The catalogue's listed object descriptions were attached to greater ideas, and at times, these listed object descriptions and their greater ideas satirically questioned and rebelled against

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[132] Hannah Greig, *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 50.
[133] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.
[134] John Thompson (ed.), *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory* (Polity Press, 2004), pp. 3–97.
[135] Hannah Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, Ca. 1740–1800." *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (2012): 50–75.
[136] Greig, "'All Together and All Distinct': Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, Ca. 1740–1800".

established power structures and social norms. This observation reinforces what Geoff Eley highlights, which is that the relationship between the bourgeois public sphere producing a type of academic critic (conjectural critics) and broader social movements producing miscellanists (collection of various pieces of writing by different authors often aiming at a popular audience and profit driven) and the two were in conflict.[137] Adding to Eley's observation, during the time of the *Don Saltero's* publications (1729-1795), Isaac Disraeli argued conjectural critics which he called "Pedants" projected their tastes onto others through which Pedants judged, deeds alienating readers. Disraeli wrote, "...Pedants will be read by Pedants, and Miscellanists by the tasteful, the volatile and the amiable."[138] This obvious cultural rivalry between people of learning and people who lived by their wit was often addressed by Samuel Johnson in *The Rambler*, "Novelty was the darling of Wit, and Antiquity of Learning" and although the public had a "veneration for Learning" it was over taken by a "greater Kindness for Wit". [139] These rivals, the binary of Learning and Wit, occupied the public sphere and both aimed to covey useful knowledge to the public. [140] The difference being the Miscellanists or Wit (linked to satire mocking the status-quo) sought to "open the mind" of readers by appealing to their curiosities rather than arrogant social aspirations. Miscellanists (often classily trained and associated with Grub Street) were writers who wrote in a miscellaneous fragmented style – appealing to the public's love of amusement.[141] Miscellanists expected their readers to read their text carefully in a logical and thoughtful approach but these readers frequently had no choice to do so because these texts lacked guidance and the hints of useful knowledge left by the authors were unevenly scattered throughout the text.[142] While men of taste or (Learning), (who were also known as conjectural critics, or Pedants) sought to unite different readers by having everyone admire a single text that were often long analytical surveys. A design proven not to spark the average readers curiosity making it a bad business model. In these catalogues the clever tactics of the miscellanists were employed. Supporting such a claim, and this study does so via revealing paradoxes within society through considering the use of language within the text: how and where. By highlighting such language, for example, a breakdown of the wit is evident from the title of the catalogues. One, 'Don' is an elite title in Spain, and then two, the changing of Salter to Saltero is an exemplification of Orientalism. The two emit an ambiguous, yet spirited attitudes culturally held between the British and Spanish Empire at this time because the Spanish dominance declined after the War of the Spanish Succession which made space for the increased British influence and explains the political link and cultural spirited attitude between Spain and Britain.[143]

### *iv) Conclusion: Don Saltero's Coffeehouse*

[137] Colin Nicholson, *Writing and the Rise of Finance: Capital Satires of the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[138] Eve Tavor Bannet, Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone Atlantic World (Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 172.
[139] Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading*, p. 172.
[140] Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading,* pp. 171–224.
[141] Ibid., p. 173.
[142] Ibid., p. 173.
[143] *A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea,* (1737).

Coffee has long been a source of praise and criticism due to its effects on individuals and society, including concerns about addiction and social disruption. Brian Cowan's The Social Life of Coffee explores the role of coffee in shaping social and cultural practices throughout history, focusing on the development of coffeehouses as centres of social interaction and intellectual exchange. England's first coffeehouse opened in Oxford in 1652, with London's first appearing later that same year. By 1700, London had between 2,000 and 3,000 coffeehouses. These establishments became important venues for exchanging ideas and information, shaping the intellectual and political culture of the era. In his books The Coffee House: A Cultural History and Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture, Markman Ellis examines the social and cultural impacts of British coffeehouses during the 17th and 18th centuries. Coffeehouses catered to diverse clienteles, with some even frequented by criminals. Their accessibility made them symbols of equality and republicanism. Coffeehouses greatly influenced the development of the London stock market and contributed to the formation of journalism and other key institutions. Renowned businesses like Sotheby's, Christie's, the London Stock Exchange, and Lloyd's of London can trace their roots back to these venues. Ellis attributes the decline of coffeehouses in the 18th century to factors such as the rise of private clubs and changing political and social climates. The production and consumption of coffee have been intertwined with power structures, such as colonialism and globalization. Today, coffee's social and cultural significance continues to evolve, with new coffee cultures, trends, and ongoing debates about the ethical and environmental implications of coffee production and trade.

Coffeehouses in London played a pivotal role in the exchange of ideas and information during the intellectual culture of the time. Natural history in the Renaissance, filled with metaphors and folklore, evolved with the influence of thinkers like Aristotle, Pliny the Elder, and Sir Francis Bacon. Bacon's method contributed to the development of the scientific method and the dismissal of medieval Aristotelianism. Cabinets of curiosities, inspired by Pliny, provided a setting for conversations on several topics. In the eighteenth century, British virtuosi applied Bacon's theory to curiosities, leading to new knowledge. This influenced British intellectuals, writers, and the Royal Society. Carl Linnaeus's classification system built on this foundation. The concept of the 'noble savage' and the 'state of nature' led to a hierarchical classification system based on a divine plan. These ideas justified colonialism and the belief in Western superiority. The British domination of world trade and the Scientific Revolution facilitated London's growth, the spread of innovative technologies, and the Enlightenment. Collections of objects from exotic lands filled cabinets of curiosities or early museums, reflecting the booming business of global trade. This contributed to a changing culture in eighteenth-century Britain, which was increasingly open to social, political, and intellectual change. Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in 1729 began supplying a rarity catalogue to accompany its collection of curiosities, reflecting this convergence of ideas and cultures.

The Early Years of Don Saltero’s Coffeehouse explores the origins of this unique establishment in Chelsea, London, and its connection to James Salter and his daughter, May Hall. The coffeehouse became famous for its collection of natural history specimens and curiosities, attracting artists, scientists, and intellectuals. May Hall and her husband, Christopher Hall, played crucial roles in the coffeehouse's growth, with May potentially being the true proprietor. The Halls' tenure saw the publication of many catalogues documenting the coffeehouse's collection, which served as early museum guides. James Emblem's Proprietorship delves into the period

from 1760 to 1781 when James Emblem owned the coffeehouse. The scarcity of surviving catalogues from this era raises questions about the possible reasons behind this. The chapter also investigates the shift in the coffeehouse's connection from curious women travellers and writers to male-focused literary texts during Emblem's ownership. Mary Jacob and the Final Years of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse examines the Jacob's proprietorship from 1781 to 1799, as well as her husband Stephen Jacob's role. The chapter highlights the shift back to a more balanced representation of Don Saltero's in printed texts, encompassing several topics such as travel, comedy, adventures, satire, history, and Freemasonry. The transformation of Don Saltero's from a coffeehouse to a tavern during Mary Jacob's proprietorship is also discussed. The End of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse and Its Legacy covers the auction of the house and its contents in 1799, the conversion of the coffeehouse into a public house, and its eventual closure in 1867. The chapter also discusses the legacy of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse, its connections to men of literature and science, and its importance within the network of coffeehouses in London during the 18th century. This research highlights the key findings regarding the ownership, clientele, and cultural significance of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse over the years. The various changes in proprietorship and their influence on the establishment's identity and connections to literature, science, and society are emphasized. The enduring legacy of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse is illustrated, highlighting its place in the historical narrative of London's coffeehouses.

The last section of this chapter examines the intersection of Enlightenment thought, print culture, and the role of a specific London coffeehouse. Jürgen Habermas asserts that coffeehouses were crucial to the development of the 'bourgeois public sphere' in England. He emphasizes the importance of spaces where people could freely read and discuss current events. The history of publishing in London demonstrates the variety of reading material available in coffeehouses. In the late 17th and 18th centuries, periodicals emerged as a new form of journalism. The lapse of the Printing Act in 1695 led to the growth of newspapers and other publications. Some successful publications include The Tatler, The Spectator, and The Gentleman's Magazine. This diversification of print culture allowed the Don Saltero's coffeehouse catalogues to find their place. Hannah Greig's work on pleasure gardens suggests a more nuanced view of the public sphere. Her analysis of elite accounts reveals that while different social groups may have shared a space, they did not necessarily share a comparable experience. The catalogues of rarities in Don Saltero's coffeehouse served as entertainment tools and were connected to the public sphere theorized by Habermas. The rivalry between conjectural critics (Pedants) and miscellanists highlights the tension between learning and wit in the public sphere. Miscellanists sought to appeal to readers' curiosities, while conjectural critics aimed to unite readers through admiration of a single text. The clever tactics of the miscellanists are evident in the catalogues of Don Saltero's coffeehouse, which employed wit and satire to engage readers and question established norms. The last part of this chapter investigates the intersection of Enlightenment thought, print culture, and the role of a London coffeehouse. It considers Hannah Greig's call for a more nuanced understanding of Habermas' public sphere and explores the rivalry between conjectural critics and miscellanists. The catalogues of rarities in Don Saltero's coffeehouse offer insights into existing culture and the complexities of the public sphere during this period.

## Chapter 2: Title pages: Typography

Theo Van Leeuwen's use of social semiotics is used Chapter 2 – Title pages: Typography and is permitted through material culture studies as historical analysis offers a range of methods to study material objects and artefacts. The title pages are analyses using techniques such as object analysis which involves closely examining an object to understand its physical characteristics, and typographical techniques. Typography to use object analysis to examine the title pages in detail to identify the physical properties of the page, such as printing method used, the presence of decorative elements such as illustrations, the layout and typography of the text. Object analysis can provide insights into the catalogue's publishers and designers' production methods and aesthetic values. Through this analysis, the hope is to gain insight into the materials used to produce the title pages and the techniques employed by the printers and gain a deeper understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which these title pages were produced and used. In this context, materiality is also understood as a process of meaning-making. The physical properties of an object are not static but are constantly being interpreted and reinterpreted by different individuals and communities. The meanings and values attributed to a material object can change over time and across cultures as new social, political, and economic contexts emerge.[144]

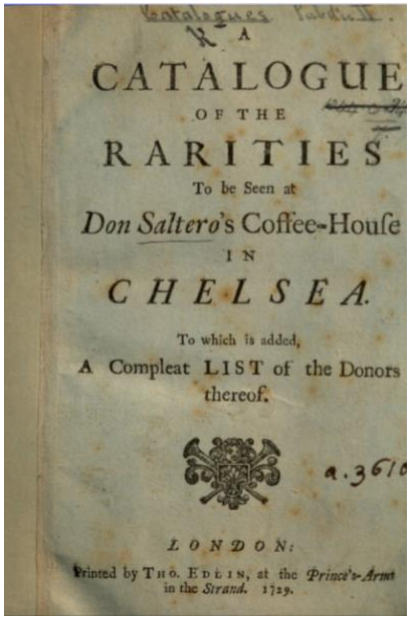

A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
RARITIES
To be Seen at
*Don Saltero*'s Coffee-Houſe
IN
*CHELSEA.*
To which is added,
A Compleat LIST of the Donors
thereof.
a.361
*LONDON:*
Printed by THO. EDLIN, at the *Prince's-Arms*
in the *Strand.* 1729.

*Figure 7. An example of divergent levels of legibility on the catalogue's title page. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof'. (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth-Century Collections Online.*

The starting point of the title page of *Don Saltero's* 1729 catalogue, is the base edition against which all other catalogue editions are measured. Both visual vocabulary and cultural knowledge are useful for fully deconstructing these title pages. The design presentation of the catalogue's title page, for instance, depends on the reassurance of cultural knowledge from within the text which

[144] R. Wiegman, *Object Lessons*, Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies (Duke University Press, 2012); Graham Harman, *Object-Oriented Ontology: A New Theory of Everything*, 2018; Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, published by University Press of New England, 1997).

are dependent on an accepted, albeit limited, visual vocabulary (in other words, knowing how to read and interpret certain symbols). One such example is a title page which includes words in italics indicating certain geographic locations. Another understanding of cultural knowledge is the material practice of culturally familiar objects common within society, such as these catalogues, and how those interactions emphasise the agency of the object. The catalogue's title page, for instance, like many title pages in this context, were designed so they could be ripped off and used as flyers or put up as posters. The exchange between person and object is based on a structured behaviour that often agrees with the values of that society. The following section then explores if banal acts nationhood can be detected through uniform function of type from considering the title page's legibility and readability. The title page's legibility is determined by observing the typeface design's characteristics. Those characteristics include shape, height, width, stroke contrast, and counter size. Readability refers to how the type is set or arranged. Aspects important to readability include point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment, also known as page formatting.

### *i) Changing typefaces*

To fully comprehend the typographical significance of Don Saltero's title page, it is crucial to first grasp the fundamentals of typography, including its historical context and defining elements. This section will aim to deconstruct and clarify the obscure vocabulary found on the title page by locating these typographic essentials in their historical context. By doing so, we hope to uncover the relationship between emerging modern Britain and the standardised aesthetic of competing typefaces. At the core of understanding typography is recognizing that type serves as an expression of print. A piece of type is a tangible object that, when combined with ink, creates a printed page. It is worth noting that several types are used in print production, and each plays a unique role in achieving the final product (see Figure 2).

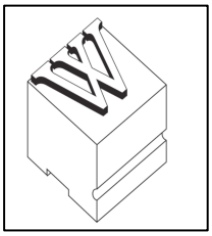


*Figure 8. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

A sort is a collection of the same type (all the individual As or Es or Os in a font, for instance). In this example, everything highlighted in yellow is an example of a sort of **A**s. But one **A** or an individual sort is another way of saying a piece of type.[145]

[145] Lupton, *Thinking*, p. 12.

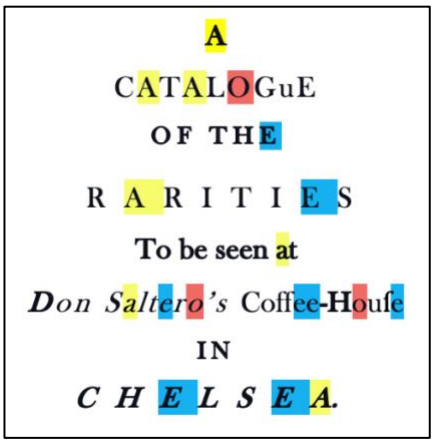



*Figure 9a. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof'. (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

Although the words in the following sets are closely related, their meanings are not identical, and thus each set of words cannot be used interchangeably.

The difference between *Font vs Typeface;* Typeface refers to the style or design of a set of characters (such as the Caslon, Baskerville, or Times Roman typefaces). Font, instead, refers to the technology or method used to replicate or set the typeface. In the eighteenth century, font referred to every character included in a single size of a particular typeface. For instance, 8-, 10-, and 12-point are all considered different fonts. Printers select typefaces for their work but then use fonts to create the actual document or design (see Figure 4).

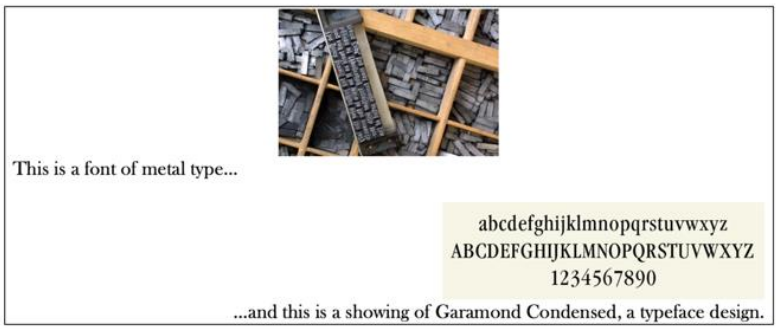



*Figure 9b. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

*Typeface Classifications;* Most typefaces fall within two typographical systems: serif or sans serif. A serif is a small line or stroke regularly attached to the end of a more significant stroke in a letter or symbol (see Figure 5). A typeface that uses serif is called a serif or serifed typeface.[146] *Don Saltero's* catalogue uses primarily serif typefaces. Serif fonts are classified into one of four subgroups (old style, transitional, Didone and slab serif), although this study is concerned only with two: Old-style and, in later issues, Transitional.

[146] Simon Loxley, *Type: The Secret History of Letters* (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 26.


*Figure 10. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

Old-style typefaces followed the achievement of Johannes Gutenberg's movable type printing press.[147] Printers in Venice generated typefaces that were more erect than later, italic typefaces that diverged from Gutenberg's blackletter printing. Inspired by Renaissance calligraphy, Venetian typefaces provided excellent readability on rough book paper. This helped Old-style serif fonts grow in popularity.[148]

In the early days of European printing, Latin was the primary language of print text and was set with locally made typefaces. During this time, these typefaces and local printing developments would often be exported. The history of Western typography understands this period as a time of exchange, with the comingled influences of masters from different countries. This mixing of type cultures dates back to the sixteenth century in Venice, Italy, where Aldus Manutius registered his narrow and cost-effective Italic typeface. European exchange in typographic inspiration was a standard practice by the seventeenth century when the virtuosities of type design were first published in the Encyclopaedias. The popularity of printing then brought about the typeface design *Romain du Roi* by the French commission Bignon (1693–1718) and the first official typeface cut for the *Imprimerie Royale*. The *Imprimerie Royale* brought with it a transformative new grid system for typeface, (see Figure 6). That system spread across Europe and became standard practice for most type designers, including typeface designers in England. What had once been a French typographical process now aided in building a "British national identity", better said, aesthetic choices for specific typefaces are linked to their alleged capacity to express national character.[149] *Romain du Roi* was central in the evolution of typography because the letterforms echoed a transformation in how typefaces were designed. But before French designed reined, the Dutch system of typeface design and cut estimating by sight was customary in England Which is what John Fell did when designing and cutting his typefaces in England, a typeface seen in the 1729 edition of *Don Saltero's* catalogues.[150]

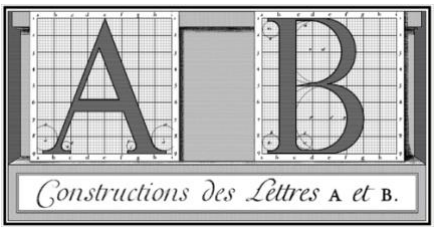



*Figure 11. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

[147] Ibid., p. 18.
[148] Douglas C McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing and Bookmaking* (London, Bracken Books, 1989), p. 378.
[149] Paul Shaw and Jonathan Hoefler, *Revival type: digital typefaces inspired by the past* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2017), p. 85.
[150] Ibid., pp. 85–6.

Rational design in typefaces (letterforms mapped onto grids before being cut into metal) then facilitated the move of typeface designs in Britain to the modern letterforms mapped onto the French grid system. This would be used to design, for instance, the Caslon and Baskerville types. This break from traditional hand-cut letters to the use of letterforms mapped onto grids can also be observed in *Don Saltero's* catalogues. This change is especially observable when the typeface used in the title pages of *Don Saltero's* catalogue changed from Fell to Caslon between the 1750 edition and the 1754 edition. Letterforms mapped onto grids standardised modern typeface design just as the use of modern typefaces formalised the aesthetics of print. Both of these letterforms and typefaces existed in larger movements of print culture in which this catalogue existed, and over time, uniform typeface is argued by Alexander Maxwell to build a mostly cultural and intellectual, but not political, sense of nationhood.[151] Paradoxically, printed texts enabled the international transfer of ideas and information more quickly than the physical object those ideas would produce.

As Renaissance artists sought standards of proportion in the idealised human body, this grid-defined system became increasingly widespread. One such notion originated with French designer and typographer Geoffroy Tory (1480 -1533), who published a series of diagrams in 1529 linking the anatomy of letters to that of man.[152] Following this, in late-seventeenth-century France and then again in eighteenth-century England, Tory's work influenced new styles of typography that used his designs of the human body to design new typefaces. One such design was produced by English printer William Caslon in the 1720s.

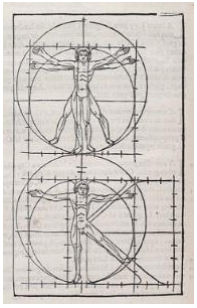


*Figure 12. Geoffroy Tory series of diagrams in 1529 that linked the anatomy of letters to the anatomy of man. Collection numérique: Fonds régional: Centre-Val de Loire, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES-V-516.*

Although the typeface is inevitably diverse, print culture in eighteenth-century Britain facilitated some consolidation of this mixed typeface text into standardised versions of typeface through mechanical reproduction and dissemination.[153] Despite typefaces becoming increasingly standardised in the literary sphere, publishers in the early eighteenth century did not automatically publish different editions of a given work in the same typeface. This left their readers with unfamiliar typefaces, making later editions even less recognisable to large portions of their audience.[154] Typefaces that standardised the British literary world from the middle half of the eighteenth century included the Dutch-influenced Fell Type (mid-to-late sixteenth century),

[151] Alexander Maxwell, Contemporary Hungarian Rune-Writing Ideological Linguistic Nationalism within a Homogenous Nation, Anthropos, Bd. 99, H. 1. (2004), p. 175.
[152] Ibid., p. 132.
[153] Simon Loxley, *Type: the secret history of letters* (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 97.
[154] Paul C. Gutjahr and Megan Benton, *Illuminating letters: typography and literary interpretation* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), pp. 117-118.

Caslon (mid-to-late 1730s), and Baskerville (mid-1750s). *Don Saltero's* catalogues use all three of these typefaces.

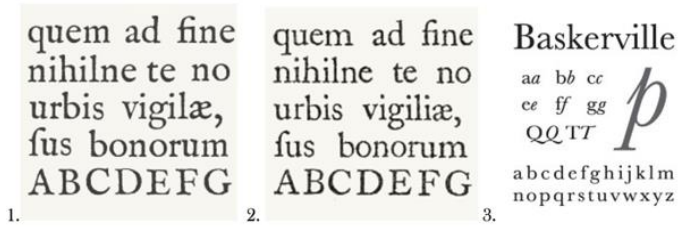



*Figure 13. 1) Fell type in the mid to late 1600s. 2) Caslon type dated 1734 but issued from 1738 onwards. 3) Baskerville type design mid-1750s but not used wider until later.*

These Fell types would become the first standardised typefaces from Oxford. The forms of these typefaces lay somewhere between English and Dutch on the spectrum typeface classification.[155] This section begins by acknowledging the overlap between the English and Dutch range of print formality and considers readers throughout the British Empire (along with Europeans who read in English) that were all sharing a standard typeface. The immense scope and reach of the Empire, together with the standardisation of English typefaces – first Fell type, then Caslon, and finally Baskerville – was an essential display of nationhood, particularly for those outside Britain, because of the authoritative optics they produced.

*Typefaces for the Masses* - After the blackletter, printing in Serif typefaces became the standard across Europe while different typeface styles also developed locally.[156] Some of these typefaces were based on early, handwritten scripts and retained the appearance of brush lines (serifs) on the entry and exit of a stroke. Such typefaces appeared between the 1460s and 1470s, and although the typographical movement of serif fonts known as either Humanist or Venetian became the standard across Europe, they were often developed locally.[157] The characteristics of these typefaces include angled crossbars on the letter e and sharp contrast transmitting how scribes hold their pen. After Humanist came a typeface known as Old-Style or Garalde retrospectively from the 1500s into the early 1700s and included these typefaces: Garamond, Fell type, and Caslon.[158]


*Figure 14. Garamond is an example of a Serif font Old Style typeface. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

[155] Harry Carter, *The Fell Types: What Has Been Done in and about them* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 14-15.
[156] S. H. Steinberg and Beatrice Warde, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Mineola, NY, Dover Publications, 2017), pp. 29–37.
[157] Lawson, *Anatomy,* pp. 13-34.
[158] Ibid., pp. 110-119.

*Don Saltero's* 1729 catalogues are printed using Fell type, which is classified as Old-Style. Typographers experimented with their type with typefaces designs that were then carved to form printable fonts rather than mimic existing scripts. From this 1730s onwards, fonts such as Fell type and Caslon (one of the last remaining "Old-style" typefaces) are characterised by a move towards upright letters and straighter crossbars than previous Humanist serifs. They also included more significant variation between thick and thin strokes.[159]

The typeface of *Don Saltero's* title page first changed between the 1750 and the 1754 editions, from Fell type to Caslon, one Old-Style typeface to another. It changed again from Caslon in the 1778 edition to Baskerville in the 1780 edition Both May Hall and James Emblem, the first and second owners of the coffeehouse, made these changes in the years immediately preceding their sales of the establishment making it seem this change was deliberate. However, it is possible it simply that printers followed fashion and had changed their material. A more thorough consideration of these title pages than has been previously undertaken reveals larger typeface movements which shifted from Old-Style serif fonts in the early 1750s to Transitional serif fonts, also known as realist.[160] Transitional typefaces exhibited sharp contrast and vertical stresses a difference making the letters more upright than their Old-Style predecessors. That *Don Saltero's* catalogue fell slightly behind the times during the Transitional epoch (1754 to 1779) corresponds to the rational approach developing in Enlightenment thought. It also points to a change in the usage of nation-specific typeface to Transitional typeface design prominent in European print which leveraged the grid-based system.[161] This distinct shift in style was primarily influenced by newer versions of the French Old-Style serif font, *Romain du Roi*.

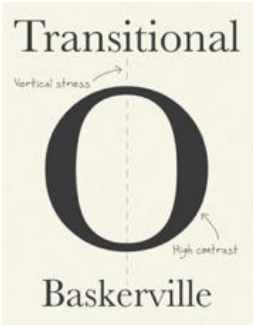
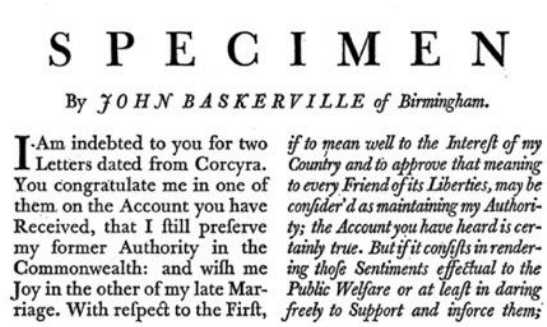



*Figure 15. Baskerville is an example of a Serif font Transitional typeface. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

Transitional typeface design demonstrates a clear shift in style by increasing the emphasis on the uprightness of given typefaces as well as the amplified difference between thick and thin elements (see Figure 10).[162] Two of the most influential Transitional typeface designers to come out of Europe were French designer Pierre Simon Fournier and English designer John Baskerville. Romain du Roi influenced both these designers, and although it was used less in England, Baskerville was more widely used in the Americas, Scotland and on the continent of Europe.[163] James Raven notes "Alexander Wilson's first Edinburgh specimen book, not issued until 1772,

[159] Ibid., pp. 169-183.
[160] Wyatt and DeVoss, *Type matters*, pp. 3-4.
[161] Lawson, *Anatomy, p. 184.*
[162] Lupton, *Thinking with type,* p. 46.
[163] James Raven, *Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral: The Effectiveness of Innovative Print in the Eighteenth Century*, The Yearbook of English Studies, Vol. 45, The History of the Book (2015), pp. 56- 73.

included large types heavily modelled on Baskerville."[164] The title page of *Don Saltero's* 1780 edition was the first to demonstrate a shift from Old-Style to Transitional serif fonts.



SPECIMEN

By JOHN BASKERVILLE of Birmingham.

I Am indebted to you for two Letters dated from Corcyra. You congratulate me in one of them on the Account you have Received, that I ſtill preſerve my former Authority in the Commonwealth: and wiſh me Joy in the other of my late Marriage. With reſpect to the Firſt, *if to mean well to the Intereſt of my Country and to approve that meaning to every Friend of its Liberties, may be conſider'd as maintaining my Authority; the Account you have heard is certainly true. But if it conſiſts in rendering thoſe Sentiments effectual to the Public Welfare or at leaſt in daring freely to Support and inforce them;*

*Figure 16. A typeface specimen of Baskerville's early type, including an italic version.*

The creation of John Baskerville's Transitional typefaces in 1757 presented letterforms that were noticeably more distinct than Caslon. Baskerville also made improvements to type, ink, and printing presses, all of which made his typeface darker than those of his contemporaries. The thickness of the strokes in his design also drew significant criticism.[165] One of those critics even went so far as to claim that his typeface would be "responsible for blinding the nation".[166] The typeface was often seen as a commercial failure in Britain even though it was used in the Cambridge Prayer Books as well as by Benjamin Franklin in America. The revival of the Baskerville typeface in the twentieth century led to John Baskerville being acknowledged as "the greatest printer England ever produced".[167] Hinting to cultural doubts surrounding the Cambridge Prayer Books, America, and Baskerville from contemporaries but hindsight cleared up misgivings. The evolution of typeface trends then moved from Transitional to Modern serifs during the early nineteenth century. This includes the fonts Didot and Bodoni. Modern serifs display an extreme contrast between strokes and there are no brackets on their serifs.[168] Sans serif fonts, which were developed gradually in the late-eighteenth century, were not used commercially until 1816, when William Caslon IV created a typeface commissioned by a client: it was known as Two Lines English Egyptian.[169]

So, is Britain becoming a nation of the Englishmen's printing methods? The following section ties together a contextual framework of a broader Protestant cultural movement towards typographic nationalism through the Fell typeface produced by Dr John Fell of Oxford University. The 1729 edition used Fell Type which is one of the competing typefaces used on *Don Saltero's* title page catalogue. The discussion of Fell types usually falls into two categories: the ones he purchased abroad and the punches he had made at Oxford in his 'workhouse'.[170] The connection between nationhood, type, and culture is not straightforward. Nevertheless, it becomes stronger in the second half of the seventeenth century, as the Protestant movement

[164] Ibid., p. 62.
[165] Lawson, *Anatomy*, pp. 185-188.
[166] K. Clair and C. Busic-Snyder, *A Typographic Workbook: A Primer to History, Techniques, and Artistry* (New Jersey, Wiley, 2005), p. 260.
[167] F. E. Pardoe, *John Baskerville of Birmingham: letter-founder and printer* (London, F. Muller, 1975), p. 6.
[168] Clair and Busic-Snyder, *A Typographic Workbook*, p. 181.
[169] Stanley Morison, *John Fell, the University Press, and the 'Fell' types* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 5.
[170] Carter, *The Fell Types,* p. 16.

developed in England print Bibles in Arabic for them to be distributed to the Empire's trading partners. Within this Protestant movement developed in England, Protestant Evangelicals moved into key posts at Oxford and Cambridge playing a crucial role in expanding Arabic studies and typography, a direct result of the Protestant concern to unlock the "true meaning" of the Hebrew Bible.[171] Protestant ecclesiastical schisms as well as broader controversies stemming from the Reformation and counter-Reformation abetted the quick rise in demand for printing, especially the need for new types outside the text previously printed in Greek Latin, and western languages.[172] Typeface designers were inevitably caught up in this movement. The Bishop of Oxford, Dr John Fell (1625–1686), also the Dean of Christ Church College, aspired to be a "publisher" that printed text in the Arabic language, Philosophy, philology, classical texts, and Christian documents such as an Oxford edition of the Bible.[173] As of 1668, he spent the remainder of his life creating a "learned press" on donated equipment. Fell honed his craft and set a high standard for the future of publishing, founding both the University Press and Fell Types.[174]

 tanley Morison (the S used here is an example of Morison's iconic lettering design) began his 1951 book *The Roman Italic & Black Letter* with the following description of Fell: "[...] He spent his inherited means and his income largely for university, public and charitable purposes and lived frugall."[175] Through his tireless work, he developed types in his personal workhouse. He made Peter de Walpergen, a Protestant refugee from Antwerp who gave him connections to the "Protestant concern", a typefounder in the workhouse.[176] De Walpergen was a German-born, Dutch-East-India-Company-trained typefounder and printer. Fell also collected types from his travels seeking out outstanding artists, an endeavour which came through in the designs of Fell typeface and was also considered exceptional. His travels allowed him to procure a collection of types only available in foreign markets in north-western mainland Europe, France, Holland, and Germany.[177] Fell type is well-crafted although if measured against Caslon or Baskerville, the Fell type would disclose having an inconsistent x-height and sloppy baseline, and no two serifs are the same. Despite this, however, these types are not the careless work of unskilled craftsmen. Rather, they exhibit a distinctive and fundamental balance between the flow from one character to the next, thus rendering the typeface more efficient than Caslon or Baskerville. Likewise, this flow makes Fell type more comfortable for the reader despite characteristics which typically make them more difficult to read.

[171] Nile Green and Mary Searle-Chatterjee, eds., *Religion, language and power* (London, Routledge, 2008), pp. 1–11.
[172] Ibid., pp. 12–15.
[173] Stanley Morison, *John Fell, the University Press, and the 'Fell' types* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 20.
[174] Carter, *The Fell Types*, pp. 8–9.
[175] Stanley Morison, *The Roman, Italic & Black Letter Bequeathed to the University of Oxford by Dr. John Fell*, N.Y. Typophiles (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951) p.1.
[176] Carter, *The Fell Types,* p. 16.
[177] Carter, *The Fell Types*, p. 18.

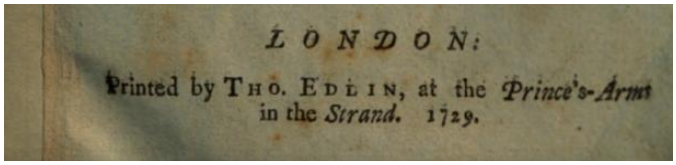

LONDON:
Printed by THO. EDLIN, at the *Prince's-Arms* in the *Strand*. 1729.

*Figure 17. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof.' (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The Fell types cut in England were narrowly richer in their vertical strokes, giving the type a slightly darker colour on the page and a picket-fence expression which conveyed a pleasantry of order to readers. This marked a significant shift from Fell's earlier, more European style to something more obviously from Oxford. The typographer Harry Carter wrote the following about the de Walpergen typeface cut while working with Stanley Morris on John Fell's work, "The style of type that is apt to come in mind when 'Fell' is mentioned is that of the Romans, and Italics made for him at Oxford, from Great Primer upwards. They have a peculiar character, distinguishing work done in them and giving it an unmistakable Oxford flavour."[178]

Carter's observation of the Fell's typeface from the late-seventeenth century quoted above, convey a local-centric print culture mirroring one of many understandings of a local identity or what it meant to be British.[179] Carter's description of the Fell typeface reproduces the imagined community of those who identified with Oxford and is only one experience of nationhood, but could be easily confused as British for those on the outside looking in. The Fell types exhibit a version of English identity as one that was Oxford-educated and built on the Protestant values of hard work, thrift, and efficiency. In 1686, when John Fell died, he left his complete collection to the University of Oxford. [180] Afterwards, Mr de Walpergen continued working for Oxford University Press until his death in 1703. In the years after Fell's death, and up until de Walpergen's death in 1703, the university honoured Fell's accomplishments in printing and publishing as well as all his types in the university's specimen catalogue.[181] Although his legacy appeared to fade as Fell Type became obsolete, around 1864, there was a renewed interest in Fell Type because of style interest. A new cast was then made from the original matrices so that a set of typefaces could be fabricated. Luckily for current day typographers, these reproductions are the only surviving set to exist.[182]

The catalogues use the Caslon typeface as the second competing typeface starting 1754 (after Fell type and before Baskerville). The Englishman William Caslon (1692–1766) designed the typeface bearing his name that was used on the title pages of these catalogues, starting with *Don Saltero's* 1754 edition. Caslon was one of Britain's most celebrated typefounders, and between 1754 and 1780 the title page of the *Don Saltero's* catalogues used the typeface design that bears his name. Caslon's work assisted in transforming printed text into a material object recognisable throughout the British Empire. His typeface designs established the first English national typographic style, which then affected standardisation in England. The Caslon typefaces, like the Fell types, were inspired by the Dutch Baroque types. They became the most

[178] Ibid., 20–21.
[179] Carter, *The Fell Types*, p. 6.
[180] Ibid., p. 6.
[181] Ibid., p. 9.
[182] Ibid., pp. 6–7.

recognisable typeface in England, ensuring that by the mid-1760s, and British typographic methods became dominant in the Western World.[183]

William Caslon was born in Cradley, Worcestershire in either 1692 or 1693 and trained as a gun engraver in nearby Birmingham. By 1716, Caslon established a business in London engraving first gun locks and barrels, and then ultimately working as a bookbinder's tool cutter.[184] Through his contact with printers, he was persuaded to cut type with the encouragement of a friend, William Bowyer. Caslon's first typeface was a typeface made for printing in Arabic which was (14pt), commissioned by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge before 1725, followed by a Hebrew typeface created for William Bowyer in 1726, and one in Coptic for the Cambridge professor of Arabic David Wilkins in 1731.[185]

The first cut of Caslon's Latin typefaces was in 1726, which was then followed by Caslon's italic cut in the pica size (12pt). This is the typeface which is today referred to as Caslon.[186] His skill was fully realised by others after the publication of his specimen sheet in 1734 which exhibited his roman and italic types in fourteen assorted sizes. Fame rapidly followed the appearance of the *A Specimen* (see Figure 13). To this day, designers often repeat the phrase "when in doubt use Caslon".[187]


A SPECIMEN
By WILLIAM CASLON, Letter-Founder, in Chiswell-Street, LONDON.

*Figure 18. Left: Caslon's "A Specimen" as seen in Daniel Berkeley Updike's book Printing Types.*

Caslon typefaces are described in advertising "combined delicate modelling with a typically Anglo-Saxon vigour", a description which gained him immediate popularity. [188] As a result of this widespread recognition, he received sufficient loans which enabled him to trade and establish a complete type foundry. Caslon typefaces became the prevailing choice for design in Britain during the eighteenth century and, from the 1730s to 1780s, few books were printed in England that did not use type from his foundry.[189] The Caslon font has three styles: roman, italic, and swash. The italic form of Caslon does not include italic numerals. Instead, numerals are written 0123456789 in standard text. The sheet seen in Figure 13 above was included as an insert

[183] Douglas C McMurtrie, *The Book: the story of printing and bookmaking* (London, Hippocrene Books, 1989), pp. 327-328.
[184] Loxley, *Type*, 28-34.
[185] Green, Nile. "The development of Arabic-script typography in Georgian Britain." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 (2009): p. 979.
[186] Lawson, *Anatomy,* p. 171.
[187] Updike, 1922, Vol. II, p. 151
[188] Grieser, WilliamCaslon-Caslon-1720-1726, Poster, 2014.
[189] Raven, *Publishing Business in Eighteenth-Century England*, pp. 51-53.

plate in the second edition of Ephraim Chambers' Cyclopædia in 1738. The notice read, "The above were all cast in the foundery of Mr. W. Caslon, a person who, though not bred to the art of letter-founding, has, by dint of genius, arrived at an excellency in it unknown hitherto in England, and which even surpasses anything of the kind done in Holland or elsewhere."[190] This widespread use of the Caslon typeface proved (as we read in the quote above) source of pride. The italic typefaces used in the 1729 title page, vary by comparison to the other title pages. A comparison of the D in the word London and the P in Prince (see *Figure* 14 below) does not match the italics on *Caslon's Specimen Sheet (see Figure 13 above).* I discuss the change from Fell to Caslon below.

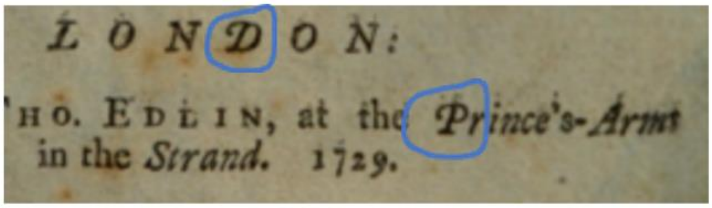
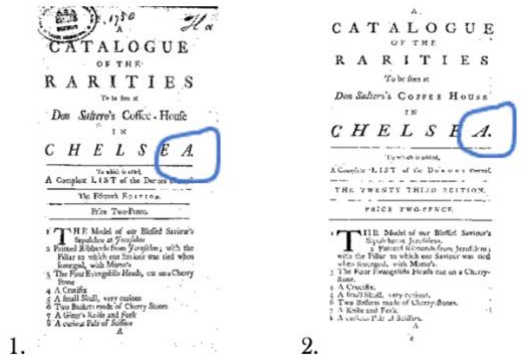



*Figure 19. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof'. (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

Unlike the printed text of the Renaissance, which was primarily set in local typefaces, printed text in Britain from the early-1750s overwhelmingly used Caslon. These catalogues were no exception to that rule. They changed from Fell to Caslon Typeface at some point between the 1750 and 1754 editions, when the coffeehouse was still in May Hall's possession.



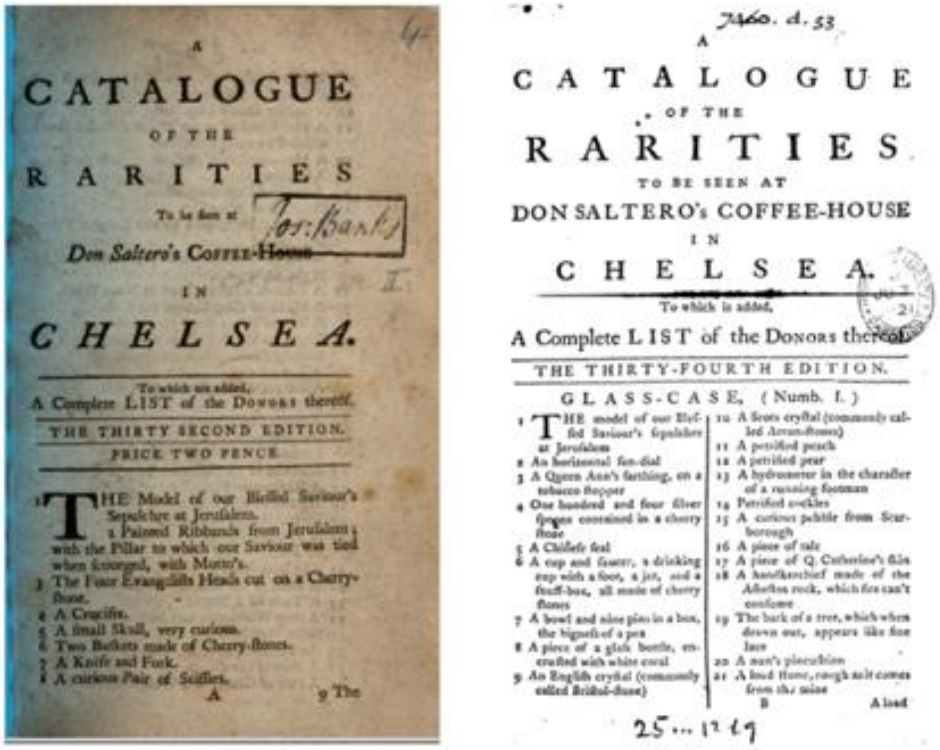

1. 2.

*Figure 15. Don Saltero's Catalogue (1) 1750, (2) 1754 editions, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

As seen in Figure 15, the letterforms of Caslon's typeface demonstrate unique identifiers. These include an A with a "concave hollow" at the top left and a G "without a downwards-pointing spur at the bottom right" and "the sides of the M are straight, the W has three terminals at the top, and the b has a minor, thinning stroke ending at the bottom left."[191] Ascenders and descenders are short which is what signals the typeface used is Caslon italic used in the word *CHELSEA,* and particularly the letter A. Along with the letters V and W, Caslon Italic have an irregular rhythm created by capitals which slant at different angles, giving these three letters a pronounced slant that can be seen above in example number two of Figure 15, the 1754 edition. The catalogue's use of Caslon presented here is only one example of the wider spread of Caslon typeface. The use of a single typeface (Caslon) might have initially appeared as the new fad within

[190]Lawson, *Anatomy*, p. 169.
[191] Philip Meggs and Rob Carter, eds., *Typographic specimens: The great typefaces* (New York, Wiley 1993), p. 81.

British culture, but society produces conflicting intentions and Caslon became used as the national typeface and using it in this way creates the appearance of unity erases difference and is a strategy of the state would borrow to use in "official nationalism" in years to come.[192]



A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
RARITIES
To be seen at
Don Saltero's Coffee-House
IN
CHELSEA.
To which are added,
A Complete LIST of the Donors thereof.
THE THIRTY SECOND EDITION.
PRICE TWO PENCE.

1 THE Model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem.
2 Painted Ribbands from Jeruſalem; with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged, with Motto's.
3 The Four Evangeliſts Heads cut on a Cherry-ſtone.
4 A Crucifix.
5 A ſmall Skull, very curious.
6 Two Buſkets made of Cherry-ſtones.
7 A Knife and Fork.
8 A curious Pair of Sciſſers.

A 9 The

3460. d. 53

A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
RARITIES
TO BE SEEN AT
DON SALTERO's COFFEE-HOUSE
IN
CHELSEA.
To which is added,
A Complete LIST of the Donors thereof.
THE THIRTY-FOURTH EDITION.
GLASS-CASE, (Numb. 1.)

1 THE model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem
2 An horizontal ſun-dial
3 A Queen Anne's farthing, on a tobacco ſtopper
4 One hundred and four ſilver ſixpences contained in a cherry ſtone
5 A Chilleſe foal
6 A cup and ſaucer, a drinking cup with a foot, a jar, and a ſnuff-box, all made of cherry ſtones
7 A bowl and nine pins in a box, the bigneſs of a pea
8 A piece of a glaſs bottle, encruſted with white coral
9 An Engliſh cryſtal (commonly called Briſtol-ſtone)
10 A Scots cryſtal (commonly called Arran-ſtones)
11 A petrified peach
12 A petrified pear
13 A hydrometer in the character of a running footman
14 Petrified cockles
15 A curious pebble from Scarborough
16 A piece of talc
17 A piece of Q. Catherine's ſkin
18 A handkerchief made of the Aſbeſtos rock, which fire can't conſume
19 The bark of a tree, which when drawn out, appears like fine lace
20 A man's pincushion
21 A lead Horſe, rough as it comes from the mine

B A lead

25 .. 12 19

*Figure 20. A catalogue of the rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's coffee-house in Chelsea. To which is added, a Compleat list of the donors thereof, 1778-1780, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

At the end of Emblem's ownership, and after years of contributing to the standardisation of type, Emblem broke away from the cultural standard by changing the catalogues typeface from Caslon to Baskerville in the years between the 1778 and the 1780 editions (see Figure 16). The changes in Emblem's design may have been intentional and perhaps motivated by Baskerville's death in 1775 because such a practice was not unheard of in print culture. This suggests Emblem's awareness of important contributions and movements within contemporary print culture. The changing typeface transpired as broader swathes of nationalism were building across Northern Europe. Regardless of the reason for these alterations, changes in typeface disrupt and distance the Don Saltero coffeehouse brand from the status quo of contemporary British typeface norms, which largely used Caslon.

The Baskerville typeface was considered by printmakers in the mid 1700s England to be regressive because it yielded a lower contrast, well-demonstrated bracketed serifs, and long stems. Contemporary views of Baskerville's roman design were deemed to be modern for sharing elegance with strength, and design was especially rococo-influenced.[193] Baskerville's typeface designs were original and did not exceedingly reproduce the structures of earlier typefaces. Baskerville's experience as a script master influenced his design style, and honing his craft to such

[192] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London, Verso, 2016), p. 85.
[193] McMurtrie, *The Book*, 1989, 183.

a high degree of precision in all areas of printmaking is credited to the amount of patience his mature age provided. The combination of his previous skills and experience, allowed him to produce a fresh typeface that Britain would not appreciate until its revival in the following century.

James Emblem changed truly little typography on the title page until immediately before selling the coffeehouse. This change in typeface, from one British master of typography, Caslon, to another, Baskerville, may signal a pivotal turning point in the competing typefaces and uniform function of type used on these title pages. An additional change observed in this instance is that James Emblem disappears from the rate books as the name Stephen Jacob appears in 1781.

Character vs Glyph is a **character** is a symbol representing a letter. A **glyph** is the specific shape, design, or representation of a character. Characters are symbols of letters from different glyphs sets used in different typefaces. See the example below in Figure 19. A single character, such as a lowercase a, can be expressed in several glyphs.[194] Below in Figure 18 are examples of various kinds of glyphs.

*Figure 21. A collection of glyphs representing the character a. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

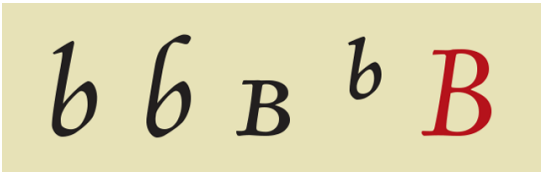


*Figure 22. (left) The lowercase b character is represented by four glyphs in Jenson italic: (from left to right) the standard b, an alternative, a small-cap, and the superscript. (right) Capital B is a distinctive character. Type Anatomy, Ellen Lupton, Thinking with Type: A Critical Guide for Designers, Writers, Editors, & Students.*

Publishers and printers chose print designs with wide appeal, a choice demonstrating published works drove print capitalism, but one that also contributed to the slow synchronised standardisation of print throughout the eighteenth century. Selecting one typeface creates a typographical norm: for instance, the British printing most text in Caslon, especially between the 1730s and the 1770s. Using characters and the same glyph in typefaces reflects through type similarities and the impending centralisation and expanding authority. In an extreme version of these policies, nations used centralising and expanding their authority through controlling everything in the name of normalising one kind of experience. This case study is not an example of an extreme version of such policies but does lay on the continuum of that will lead to centralising and expanding authority and does so through normalising one kind of experience.

*Ligatures & the long s* in English printing style was recognisable using mishmash of competing type forms, and type size, which is used on the early Don Saltero catalogues, and was typical for British print in the early eighteenth century. By the end of the century, however, readers

[194] Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, *Design Writing Research: Writing on Graphic Design* (New York, Kiosk, 1996), pp. 53–61.

encountered a more consistently printed text. British text standardised into having fewer instances of italic, more cautious use of capitalisation, and less frequent employment of small caps (sometimes called caps and small caps).

In typography, ligatures are special characters in a font that combine two or more characters to form a single glyph. For instance, in serifed text faces, the lowercase f often collides with the lowercase i and l. The special characters, or ligatures, fix this by combining the fi or fl into a single glyph. The use of ligature characters occurs when letters succeed one another, share components, or divide an additional broad class of formations called contextual forms. This is when the shape of a letter depends on its context or presence at the end of a line. The use of ligatures varied from English society to French society, so understating this nuance helps us to determine what typeface we are looking at and where the typeface's design occurred. The title has no use of ligatures after the 12th edition (1741), but the object descriptions use ligatures until the final or 48th edition (1795).

*Figure 23. Cut by Peter de Walpergen. Acquisition in 1684 (Roman & Small Caps) and 1687 (Italic). To be printed at 17 points to match the original size. Horace Hart: "Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press Oxford, 1693-1794," Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1970.*

Thomas Dyche's bestselling A Guide to the English Tongue (first published in 1709, or 1707 according to some, and reprinted countless times over the century) following list of rules for the long s is not exhaustive, and it applies only to books printed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, along with other English-speaking countries.[195] A round **s** is used at the end of a word ending in the letter **s**. For instance, "his", "complains", and "succeſs". Then, before an apostrophe that indicates an omitted letter, a round **s** is used: "us'd" and "clos'd". Then, after an **f**, a round **s** is used: "offset", "fatisfaction".[196] As seen on the 1729 title page, a long s is used in the word coffee-houſe.

The use of the long s all but disappeared from the title pages of *Don Saltero's* catalogues after the 1735 edition but are continued to be used inside the catalogues throughout the entirety of its printing. *Don Saltero's* 1729 catalogue not only follows the rules for the long s, which not only illustrates the importance and knowledge of contemporary grammarian to May Hall and her printer, but also reveals that they used the long s consistently, implying that conveying awareness of current grammatical trends in the publication of Don Saltero's. Figure 21provides an example of the long s (occurring in the word house) and the use of ligatures (combining two or more characters) in the word coffee.

[195] Andrew West, "The rules for long s", *TUGboat* 32.1, 2011, pp. 47–55.
[196] The Spectator, No. 377, 13th May 1712, *Harrison's British Classicks* (United Kingdom: Harrison and Company, 1786), p. 760.

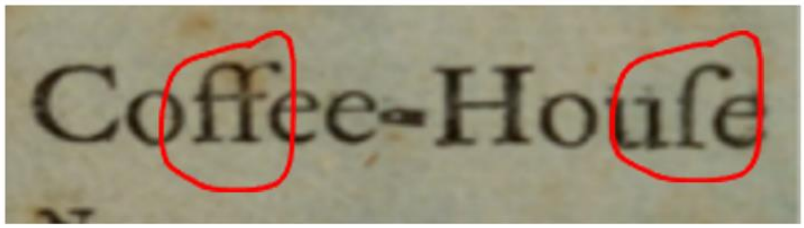



*Figure 24. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof.' (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The long s is used on the title pages of the early catalogues, but by the 1790s it had disappeared. Richard Wendorf has suggested that the demise of the long s originated because of the desire to reduce the number of type pieces used on text.[197] Wendorf's work was influenced by prevalent publisher John Bell (1745-1831), who had a great disdain for the inconsistent use of the long s.[198] Bell is credited with the death of the long s in the final years of the eighteenth century.[199] Wendorf further argues that changes in English typographical understanding in the eighteenth century links attempts to reorganising typographical techniques to use type as a channel of cultural communication.[200]

James Mosley's work on the long s explains the nuanced reason for the demise of the long s and denies a version claiming the English closely monitoring French print in the 1770s and 80s, but claims "English imitated the French because the Spaniards abandoned the long s earlier than the French", and refers, "to three years later (in 1788) to an edition of Shakespeare produced by John Bell" this an edition that was followed by a new newspaper called *The World*, nether using the long s or ligatures.[201] Within just a few years of these events, every major English newspaper abandoned the long s apart from *The Times*, a typical conservative stalwart. The catalogue's title page, however, did not completely discard either the long s or the ligature, making *Don Saltero's* more like *The Times* than other English printed text.[202]

The second reason suggestion for its demise is that using ligatures equals more pieces of type in the case; thus, to condense the printer's case, it was decided that ligatures were unnecessary. Mosley argues that because designers stretched out the spacing of the letters in a sentence or within a word, a technique used by typesetters to loosen their type, they were able to improve the text's reliability.[203] By the 1790s, British print culture began encountering 'modern English page', and the use of excessive use of capitals, small caps, and italics disappeared along with the long s and ligatures.[204] In this instance, *Don Saltero's* title page do reflect these changes.

The truth of the long s and ligatures cannot be reduced to a single incident, and instead lives somewhere between and over time as Mosely's two arguments laid out above. Although history has pinned down this change to have started at a specific moment beginning with John

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[197] Richard Wendorf, *The scholar-librarian: books, libraries, and the visual arts* (Boston, Oak Knoll Press, 2005), p. 184.
[198] Lawson, *Anatomy*, pp. 218-220.
[199] Michael Felix Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, *The Oxford companion to the book* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 516.
[200] Wendorf, *The Scholar-Librarian: Books, Libraries, and the Visual Arts*, p. 189.
[201] Steven Tuohy, James Mosley, Librarian, St Bride Printing Library, London: A Checklist of the Published Writings 1958-95, (Cambridge: Rampant Lions Press), 1995, pp. 20 -22.
[202] Tuohy, Mosley, Librarian, St Bride Printing Library, London, pp. 20 -22.
[203] Ibid., pp. 20 -22.
[204] Ibid., pp. 20 -22.

Bell's edition of Shakespeare in 1785, but Mosely's alternative account teaches us those typesetters also evolved with the times.

Printer's *Ornaments on the* catalogue's title pages display decorative stamps, or what were known to us as printers' ornaments. The 1729 title page displays an assortment of typography, one of which is a printer's ornaments. These visual aspects found on the catalogues title page provides an opportunity to query if the mismatched typeface was more commonplace for minor print publishers and their publications. The work of Bertrand Bronson and Patrick Spedding answers this question by addressing the use of assorted sizes of type and printer's ornaments on the title pages and denotes the era of "garish typographical splendour" as "Printing as an Index to Taste in the Eighteenth Century England".[205]

*Figure 25. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof.' (London, England, 1729), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

Spedding also argues that "many printers' ornaments are very similar, making it difficult to distinguish similar designs; printers sometimes shared printing work, making it difficult to identify the printer who owned an individual ornament that appears within each book; and printers occasionally let others use their ornaments, sold, or passed them on to others, making it difficult to distinguish occasional use from ownership".[206] Spedding argues that the stamp does little more than teach us about current typographical trends in page design. If Spedding is correct in claiming that the use of this ornamental stamp reveals "current typographical trends" then these displays are an attempt by those designing the title page to legitimise the catalogue's relevancy to readers.

Regardless, this study considers the title page as an object of cultural capital. Printers' ornaments commonly appeared on title pages in 1729, and the popularity was persistent even as print emerged from a decline in the eighteenth century, when title pages were described as "crowded title pages, illustrations with little regard for effect, poor paper, and indifferent type were the rule rather than the exception".[207] This is when the study notices, the title pages of the 1730s display a taste for rococo style, which demonstrates that title pages were not immune to popular culture movements. (See figure 23 below) Which makes this study doubt if the aesthetics of these title pages was as important as or even more important than the quality of the creation. The excessive use of ornamentation and decoration disappeared from the title pages by the end of the eighteenth century, characterising the design as simple.

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[205] Bertrand Bronson, "Printing as an Index to Taste in the Eighteenth Century England," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 62 (August 1958), 373-387, p. 443.
[206] Patrick Spedding, Script & Print 39:2, *Thomas Gardner's Ornament Stock: A Checklist*, (2015), p. 71.
[207] Mary M. Shaver, *Syllabus for the Study of History of Books and Printing*, (New York, School of Library Science, 1939), p. 42.

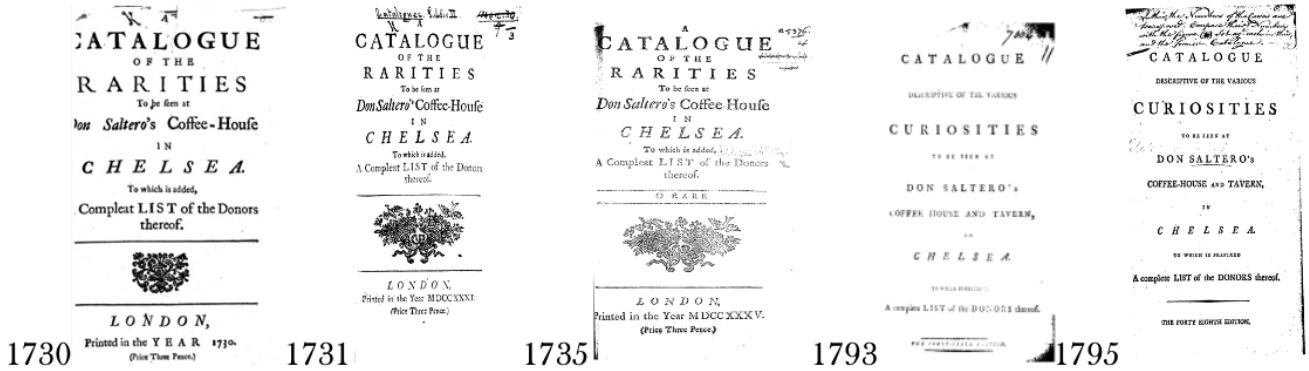


*Figure 26. Don Saltero's Catalogue, editions, 1730, 1731, 1735, 1793, 1795.*

## *ii) Legibility & Readability*

This section explores the uniform function of type by observing the title page's legibility and readability for patterns of typographical nationalism through variables of banal nationalism. The aim here is to build off the framework erected earlier in this chapter, and then seeks to answer the questions: what is the relationship between the emergence of the idea modern Britain and the aesthetic standardisation of the uniform function of type, and what can this tell us about the catalogues? As the eighteenth century progresses typography becomes more standardise so considering legibility and readability may be helpful to understand these catalogues. Together, both legibility and readability are associated with the comfortability of reading a text. The legibility of *Don Saltero's* title pages from 1729 to 1795 (typeface design) is explored here by considering the shape (italics) of typeface elements. Legibility refers specifically to how easy it is to distinguish and recognize individual letters and characters in the text, or about the ease of recognizing individual letters and characters. Legibility is influenced by factors such as the typeface or font used, the size and spacing of letters and words, the contrast between the text and its background, and the overall quality of the printing or display. A text that is highly legible is easy to read briefly, while a text that is poorly legible may require more effort and strain on the eyes. Readability, on the other hand, refers to how easy it is to read and understand the text. It is influenced by factors such as the choice of words, the length and complexity of sentences, the organization of ideas, and the overall design and layout of the text. A text that is highly readable is easy to comprehend and engages the reader, whereas a text that is poorly readable may be difficult to follow and may cause the reader to lose interest. The readability (arrangement of the typeface) is studied here by considering point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment, and comparing how the formatting different from the 1729 title page. In summary, legibility and readability are both key factors in typography, but they refer to various aspects of the ease with which text can be understood. The title pages' legibility and readability must be better understood to better grasp how the catalogue's title pages are a tiny sliver in the larger relationship between the emergence of modern Britain and the aesthetic standardisation of the uniform function of type. This section is built off the work of James Raven conducted on jobbing which emphasised

information networks and printing practices were changing but also held to certain conventional.[208] The *Don Saltero's* title pages where part of the jobbing Raven describes.

*Legibility* is the characteristics of the shape of the typeface design determine the legibility of a typeface. This includes the shape, height, width, stroke contrast, the size of the counters. Each adds to the ease of differentiating one letter from another. This study considers the shape by considering the italics use on the title pages of the 1729,1730, 1731, 1735, 1793, 1797 editions.


*Figure 27. An example of divergent levels of legibility on the catalogue's title page. Don Saltero's (London, England, 1729, 1730, 1731,1735, 1793, 1795), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The characteristics of italics aid in the overall ease of the legibility of a text and typeface, and like language, these characteristics creates imagined communities through building 'particular solidarities.'[209] The cohesion that creates community is like the cohesion needed in legibility of text which then means legibility of print vital. For instance, what makes "the newspaper as cultural product" distinctive but also the strangeness in putting news worldwide on the same page and argues these stories end up there because of two imagined linkages.[210] The first is that the stories have happened simultaneously. Second, people read the newspaper in a given city, at the same time, on the same day when it is published or, in the case of these catalogues, the coffeehouse's shared experience. Printed text could seem alarmingly available and was the first actual autonomous commodity commercialised under industrial capitalism.[211] Newspapers and other ephemera when read daily by the British public (such as *Don Saltero's* catalogues) and when considered in the entirety as a body of work generate "community of confidence" which is what Anderson claims is the "hallmark of modern nations".[212] The legibility of a typeface's characteristics, such as its shape or italics, not only provides insight into these catalogues through a deeper understanding by considering if the use of italics is part of banal nationalism but also questions if it materialise in these text and discloses the ways in which the text's legibility fosters a place for a "secret life of type" to exist. With more research, considering multiple newspapers and other ephemera, supportive results would be bolstering to Benedict Anderson's argument pertaining to imagined communities.[213]

[208] Raven, Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral, p. 72.
[209] Anderson, *Imagined communities,* p. 45.
[210] Ibid., 45.
[211] Ibid., 65.
[212] Ibid., 36.
[213] R. Wendorf, *The Scholar-librarian: Books, Libraries, and the Visual Arts* (2005), p. 188.

*Italics* - The use of italics on the title page from 1729 makes the front covers stand out as hints to the listed fields above. But the ways in which italics were used manipulates the meaning of the text. Additionally, in the early part of the 1700s printed text that use italics illustrates the influences of authors and printers who worked on each text. The two often work in tandem, authenticating their manuscript's design, shaping its depiction, and infusing authority into the text's moral message, in how and what they choose to emphasise.[214] An example of this is the title page of the 1729 catalogue. Under May Hall's ownership italics are used to emphasises the place, *Don Saltero's*, *CHELSEA*, *LONDON*, *Prince's Arms in the Strand* connecting the italicised words to secular society and the field of science. Which remains true in the 1730, 1731, and 1735, editions as seen in figure 30 below.


*Figure 28. An example of divergent levels of legibility on the catalogue's title page. Don Saltero's, (London, England, 1729, 1730, 1731,1735), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

However, the *Don Saltero's* catalogues title pages on the 1793 and 1795 editions this pattern changes to only italicising the word Chelsea (the word London no longer appears on cover) and then the edition number on the 1793 edition.


*Figure 29. An example of divergent levels of legibility on the catalogue's title page. Don Saltero's, (London, England, 1793, 1795), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The 1793 edition presents both continuity and change by illustrating no emphasises on London and a focused emphasises on Chelsea. Which could be a broader acknowledgement from the catalogue's author Mary Jacobs showing support for localism. Especially if we consider that most of the donors listed in the catalogues were local Chelsea families of English nobility. This is because the English local self-government was based upon the freedom of local government to undertake a wide variety of public services and is a tradition of legal localism.

Italic fonts are important for this research to acknowledge essential meaning because the use of italic fonts in early printed text of the 1500s and 1600s was once seen as a meaningless

[214] Gutjahr and Benton, *Illuminating Letters,* p. 135.

typographer's marks and was thus often dismissed by contemporary readers.[215] Still, the shape of the typeface (italics) influences its legibility of the type and influencing meaning or importance of a word. Using italics in any standardised manner was advanced for 1729, which indicates that the printer or author were aware of grammatical styles and applied them to their print and is a common thread of the printmakers and authors the who first to use italics in the way they found helpful did not ask for permission to do so which displayed a brave willingness to progress.[216] Luckily for the readers of printed text in Britain, and authors who wanted to be taken seriously in the mid-eighteenth century, the use of italics veered towards a more standardised and controlled use.[217] Along with the italic letter, increasingly standardised grammar was beginning to be used. Italicised letters were used more sparingly, a change argued by Megan Benton and Paul Gutiar. The pair discuss how the changing cues are related to the reader's sense of evolving confidence. Their opinion is that those texts are implicitly coded in ways that signal subtly how the creators wished their texts to be approached.[218] It was common, however, to use random italics during this period to emphasise meaning without establishing a set pattern. Such arbitrary usage of italics showed up in the handwritten word and printed text.[219] Creating a cluttered page, random italics made the text visually difficult to look at as excessive thin strokes strained readers' eyes.[220] Those who welcomed inconsistent italics were younger and knowing young adults who enjoyed how such usage would cue readers to the author's lack of introspection or self-restraint.[221] This breakdown questioned a gentry assured cultural authority and illuminated the possibility of a life not bounded at every point and overwatched by those 'carriers' of local self-government rules and powers.[222]

*Readability* refers to how the type is set or arranged. Aspects important to readability include point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment. The formatting of a text creates an experience for the reader and helps make meaning by the way a text develops links between the readability and visual knowledge of a culture in which the text exists. The design details of the catalogue's formatting and readability involved choices made by the author and the printer, and the reading material was influenced by the culture in which they lived. Formatting of a text effects the texts readability and a text's formatting tells the reader what to expect from a text and are specific to cultural contexts, for instance, religious texts or scientific texts. The formatting of the catalogue's 1729 title page presents unusual visual quirks. This formatting in turn affects the readability of the text. As we see below, simple adjustments to the text's arrangement of the typeface affects the printed text's readability.

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[215] Gutjahr and Benton, *Illuminating Letters,* p. 19.
[216] Illuminating Letters, p.126
[217] Ibid., p.126.
[218] Ibid., pp 126–27.
[219] Richard Wendorf, *The Scholar-Librarian: Books, Libraries, and the Visual Arts*, p. 187.
[220] Illuminating Letters, p.127.
[221] Ibid.,p. 128.
[222] E. P. Thompson, "Class Struggle without Class?", *Social History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (May 1978), pp. 133-165.

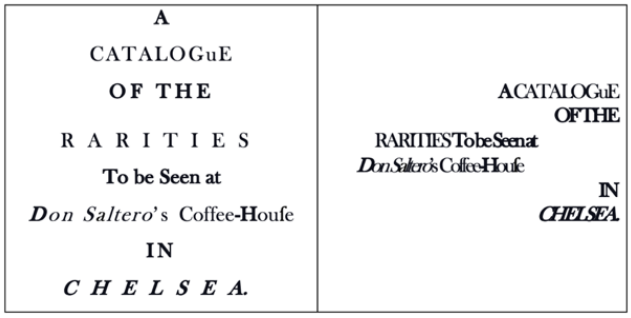


*Figure 30. (left) A very legible typeface used on the title page is made less readable (right) by merely changing how the type is set.*

All the words are centre aligned and the spacing between lines is even. The fifth word in the catalogue's title, RARITIES signals to the reader what content exists within the pages of the catalogue and was a popular word in the eighteenth century. The font size is irregular on all editions, but more so on the earliest editions. The font size is similar in the words being emphasised, for instance CATALOGUE, RARITIES, and *CHELSEA,* but these words are emphasised again by the shape of the letters and the weight of the font. Then under owner Mary Jacobs in 1793, 1797 editions the word RARITIES, changes to CURIOSITIES because the title of the catalogue change to:


*Figure 31. (left) The 1729 is less legible because of the formatting of a text effects the texts readability, the 1793 more used readable (right) formatting on the title page by merely changing how the type is set.*

Under May Hall ownership, the typeface on the title pages is set in Fell Type for the 1729, 1730, 1731, 1735 editions. These early editions are less legible compared to later editions printed in 1793 and 1795 because the changing formatting of the page's effected the texts readability. Revealing the art of graphic design is in its early years understood less about how to create readable text. It could be that May Hall's design was intended to be quirky to reflect to the environment of the coffee house. What is known for sure is the early readability of title pages were affected by our new understand of typography and page design.

Under Mary Jacobs ownership the 1793 and 1795 editions of the catalogue's title pages were set in Baskerville typeface and the formatting on the title page is more readable through purely by changing how the type is set which tells us as the understanding of graphic design evolved so did the readers expectation of a certain standard or readability. These elements contribute to the larger movement within typography occurring in Northern European print culture where prints from varying nations were becoming unique to their national location.[223]

[223] Gutjahr and Benton, *Illuminating Letters,* p.4.

Readability in Jessica Helfand's work explores how formatting aids our understanding of decoding a text by prompting us to focus on what typography brings to printed text (a distinctive feature of our written communications) by arguing through printed text "we all 'sound' alike" as we all write in systems of fonts.[224] She uses the following example:

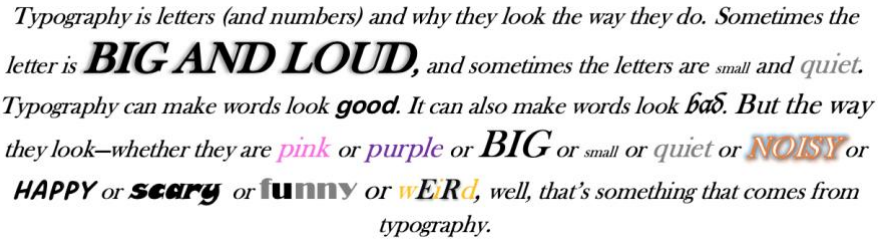


*Figure 32. J. Helfand and J. Maeda, Screen: Essays on Graphic Design, New Media, and Visual Culture*

However, this study questions the possibility of "we all 'sound' alike" through printed text because without any standardised understanding of meaning reader can project any meaning they want on to the use of typefaces. Like how emojis work today, yes, an entire subtext exists around the meanings behind each emoji but those in the know are the minority of users of emojis. Meaning it is doubtful that the ways in which fonts are used (like emojis) hold the same meaning for all who read them. However, by using Helfand's technique, this study compares the 1729 edition to the 1793 edition in hopes to gain a better understand how it shapes a reader understanding.

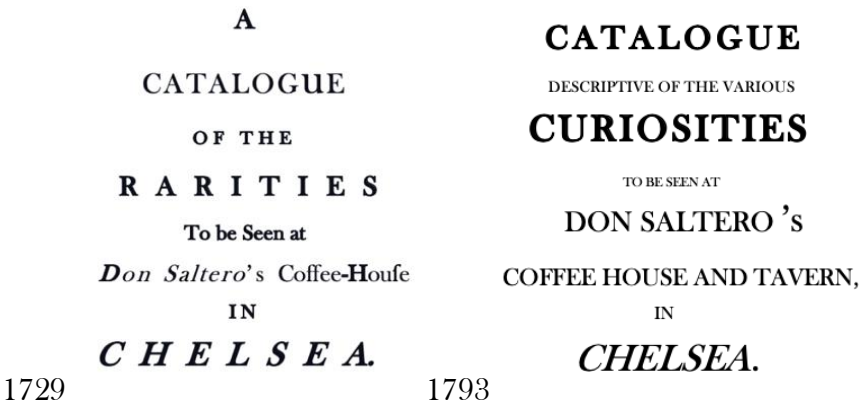


*Figure 33. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, (London, England, 1729, 1793), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

When using Helfand's framework both title pages come across mostly as big and loud, so this study understand her simple conclusion. But this study argues a text's readability so more granulated than what Helfand suggest and show us the opposite of the "we all 'sound' alike" argument. Which is based on the following logic; if how a text is formatted aids our understanding of decoding a text, then typography brings more than tone, it can also bring meaning through point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment. However, this can only hold true once a broad understanding of grammar rules is understood in a context, but the rules aid in helping to create meaning through point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment. For instance, centre alignment, according to Helfand

[224] J. Helfand and J. Maeda, *Screen: Essays on Graphic Design, New Media, and Visual Culture* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), p. 165.

can be interpreted as noisy, like a group of people walking down the street, unless it the standard way of formatting. Then centre alignment is just that, centre alignment. centre alignment

However, because the early years of the *Don Saltero's* title pages are less encumbered by standardised grammar rules or graphic designed rules then what meaning can be extracted by centre alignment or ununiformed point size is much broader. For example, under May Hall's ownership the title pages from 1729, 1730, 1731, and 1735 use of Fell Type irregularly making the words appear odd compared with the rest of the title page's design which could mean many things to many readers. But by Mary Jacobs ownership when she used Baskerville typeface and a regular use of point size points to the standardisation of print and design.

This design style of the title pages, especially, in the early years (even if it appears disorganised and overcrowded) served three purposes: to protect the book, to inform the reader, or to be torn off and pasted separately as an advertisement.[225] The third purpose is particularly interesting because all editions very much appear as they could be torn off and pasted separately as an advertisement, but the 1730, 1731, 1735, editions seem more eye-catching as a flyer that the 1793, and 1795. (See figure 29 below)

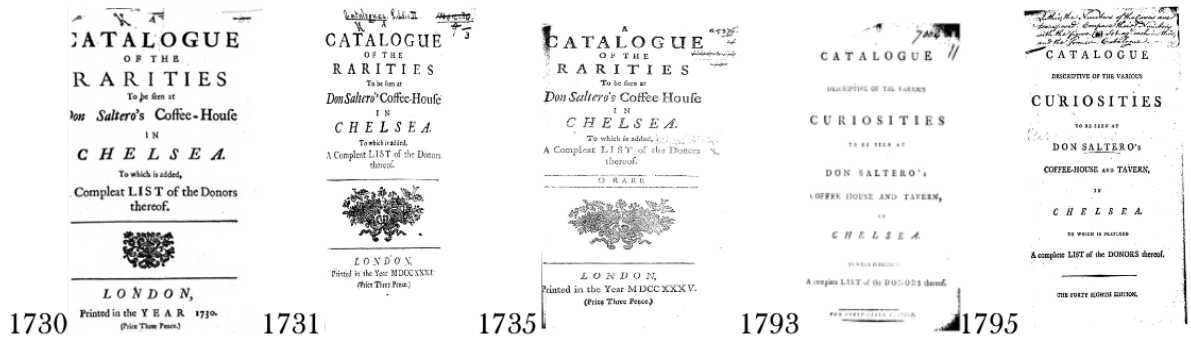


*Figure 34. Don Saltero's Coffee-house, (London, England, 1730, 1731, 1735, 1793, 1795), Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

The readability of *Don Saltero's* catalogues changed over time through how the type was arranged on the title, the aspects important to readability of *Don Saltero's* catalogues include point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment. By considering the aspects listed above, this is what this section on readability thought us about these catalogues title page: *Don Saltero's* catalogues use of mishmash competing type forms and type sizes. Additionally, when comparing the readability Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, British readers would encounter a more consistently printed text with fewer excursions, for instance, like the inconsistent use of the italic. However, the *Don Saltero's* catalogue title pages consistently used italics.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the readability of British print was less crowded and more standardised which is consistent with the title pages. Bibliophiles and newfound readers alike discovered the uniform function of type to be more refined and rationalised. In theory, at least, English printers and grammarians knew what they were doing: for instance, the use of italics was grounded in rules, however lax or debated these rules appeared to be.[226] It is therefore

[225] Garold Cole, "The Historical Development of the Title Page", *The Journal of Library History* (1966-1972), Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct. 1971), 303-316.
[226] Ibid., 126–27.

unsurprising that English printers produced thousands and thousands of printed texts containing an unusual mélange of typographical elements in practice.[227] The inclination for italics which led to the motley English text at the turn of the eighteenth century was grounded in a practical system based on hierarchy and subordination.[228]

### *iii) Conclusion: Title pages: Typography*

The typographical significance of Don Saltero's title page can be better understood by examining the history and elements of typography. Typefaces express print and are designed with unique styles, such as serif or sans serif. Typeface classifications include Old-style and Transitional, both used in Don Saltero's catalogues. In the early days of European printing, Latin was the primary language, and typeface designs were exchanged among countries, leading to a mix of typographic cultures. The Imprimerie Royale introduced a new grid system for typeface design, which spread across Europe and became standard practice. The Dutch system of typeface design, exemplified by John Fell, was customary in England before the French grid system's adoption. The change from hand-cut letters to grid-based designs can be observed in the Don Saltero catalogues. Standardized typefaces in 18th-century Britain included Fell Type, Caslon, and Baskerville, all used in Don Saltero's catalogues. This standardization created a sense of nationhood and facilitated the international transfer of ideas and information.

Serif typefaces became the standard in Europe after blackletter, with local developments in style. Early typefaces from the 1460s-1470s retained brush-like serifs, leading to Humanist or Venetian fonts. Old-Style typefaces like Garamond, Fell type, and Caslon emerged from the 1500s to early 1700s. Fell type, an Old-Style font, was used in Don Saltero's 1729 catalogues. From the 1730s, typefaces like Fell type and Caslon evolved to have more upright letters and straighter crossbars. In the 1750s, Transitional serif fonts, with more contrast and uprightness, became popular. Influential Transitional typeface designers included Pierre Simon Fournier and John Baskerville. Don Saltero's title page changed from Fell type to Caslon between 1750 and 1754 and then to Baskerville in 1780. Baskerville's typeface was initially criticized for its thick strokes but later celebrated as innovative. Typeface trends moved from Transitional to Modern serifs in the early 19th century, including Didot and Bodoni. Sans serif fonts emerged commercially in 1816 with William Caslon IV's Two Lines English Egyptian. Fell type, used in the 1729 edition of Don Saltero's catalogue, was created by Dr John Fell, a key figure in the Protestant cultural movement toward typographic nationalism. Fell aspired to print texts in Arabic and other languages, leading to the development of Fell Types. Despite imperfections, Fell type had a distinct balance and efficient flow between characters, making it comfortable for readers. The Fell types, developed in England, had a distinct style with richer vertical strokes, giving the type a darker appearance and a sense of order. This typeface represented a version of English identity centred around Oxford and Protestant values. In 1686, Fell's collection was left to the University of Oxford, and the typeface was later revived in 1864.Caslon typeface, designed by William Caslon, became the dominant typeface in England during the 18th century. It established the first English national typographic style and was inspired by Dutch Baroque types. Caslon typefaces have three styles: roman, italic, and swash, and are known for their unique identifiers.

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[227] Ibid., 135.
[228] Ibid., 126–27. Wendorf, *The scholar-librarian: books, libraries, and the visual arts*, p. 197.

The Don Saltero's catalogues used Fell typeface initially, but between 1750 and 1754, they switched to the Caslon typeface, which was becoming the national standard. However, near the end of Emblem's ownership, the catalogues switched from Caslon to Baskerville typeface, a change that distanced the brand from the contemporary British typeface norms. In summary, characters are symbols representing letters, while glyphs are the specific shapes, designs, or representations of characters. Print capitalism led to the standardisation of print throughout the eighteenth century, and selecting a typeface helped create a typographical norm. Ligatures are special characters that combine two or more characters into a single glyph, and their use varied between English and French societies. The long s was used in British print in the early eighteenth century but disappeared by the end of the century, partly due to the desire to reduce the number of type pieces and improve text reliability. Printer's ornaments were decorative stamps used on title pages, and their use can reveal information about typographical trends at the time. The design of title pages changed over time, reflecting popular culture movements and evolving tastes. By the end of the eighteenth century, title pages became simpler and less ornate.

Section two examines the legibility and readability of Don Saltero's catalogues from 1729 to 1795, focusing on the use of italics and typeface design. The legibility of a text, determined by the shape of the typeface, impacts the ease of reading individual letters and characters. Italics contribute to legibility and can create imagined communities through visual cohesion. The readability of a text is influenced by factors such as point size, line spacing, and page alignment, which affect the reader's overall understanding and engagement. The use of italics in these catalogues changed over time, with earlier editions emphasizing location and secular connections, while later editions focused on localism. This could be related to evolving attitudes towards local self-government and the role of English nobility. The standardization of italics and grammar in the mid-eighteenth century signalled a shift towards clearer communication and improved legibility. The legibility and readability of the catalogues' title pages provide insights into the relationship between the emergence of modern Britain and the aesthetic standardization of type. Analysing these factors can help uncover the connections between typography, nationalism, and the catalogues' role in fostering imagined communities. Readability refers to the arrangement of text and its influence on reader experience. Factors like point size, line spacing, letter spacing, word spacing, line length, and page alignment impact readability. Catalogue formatting and readability are influenced by cultural context and author and printer choices. Don Saltero's catalogues from the 18th century had unusual formatting that affected readability, with centre-aligned text and inconsistent font sizes. Early editions used Fell Type, while later editions under Mary Jacobs used Baskerville typeface, which improved readability. Typography plays a crucial role in understanding and decoding text, as seen in Jessica Helfand's work. The study of Don Saltero's catalogues reveals that readability is more complex than Helfand suggests, and that a broad understanding of grammar and design rules is needed for text arrangement to convey meaning. The catalogues' title pages served multiple purposes, including protection, informing readers, and advertising. Over time, the readability of Don Saltero's catalogues improved with more standardized typography and text arrangements, reflecting the evolution of print and design standards in the 18th century.

# Chapter 3 – Title pages: List of Rarities

*"The limits of my language are the limits of my world"* [229]

- *Ludwig Wittgenstein*

This chapter examines the rarities favoured for inclusion on the title page. To outline the cultural relevance of the objects listed on the title pages of the catalogues, first, in, *i) The 1737 edition*, the chapter puts each object description within a broader historical context and network of meanings through exploring how the objects and their relationship to the constructions of identities might have interpreted by contemporaries. Second, this chapter considers constructions of identities and how they changed through time in, *ii) Continuity and change after 1737* and finally, *iii) conclusion* synthesises the two sections into the broader cultural context. Material culture methods are used to reveal evidence connecting larger cultural movement found in eighteenth century Britain to the language used on the title pages. The aim in this chapter is to uncover some of the different meanings found on the title page's listed objects and does so through adopting methods from material culture by combining extrinsic approaches from cultural history and intrinsic approaches drawing on literary studies in two distinct approaches: literary criticism and linguistic turn. Literary criticism focuses on the evaluation, interpretation, and analysis of literature, including its form, structure, style, and does so by considering the title page's materiality which can communicate different messages and evoke different emotions in the viewer or reader especially when centring identities of gender, religion, and nationhood. The linguistic turn is a philosophical movement that emphasizes the role of language in shaping our understanding of the world. One of which is the relationship between print culture, sensibility and identities and then this chapter uses eighteenth-century theory of things for object analyses to draw from literary studies use of intersectionality. A process commonly used to analyse social relationships and power dynamics between two people, but used here as an approach to analyse these social relationships and the power dynamics between a person and an object.[230] The idea is rooted in the early formation of British celebrity culture and is a form of 18th century British identity understood through "people become objects" and the "visual identities though things", created by attaching notable person's fame to objects gifted or collected by the nation.[231] Here, the object's intersectionality allows this study to consider how personhoods is injected into molds of objects, like those listed on these title pages, and how both may change on the title pages over time.[232] These methodologies allow the research a way of considering the title pages as objects, and by doing suggest wider cultural movements are more accessible through title pages thus linking this study to the development of book history as a discipline and interdisciplinary studies in the humanities.

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[229] Ludwig Wittgenstein and C. K. Ogden, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (Mineola, N Y: Dover Publications, 1999), 11.

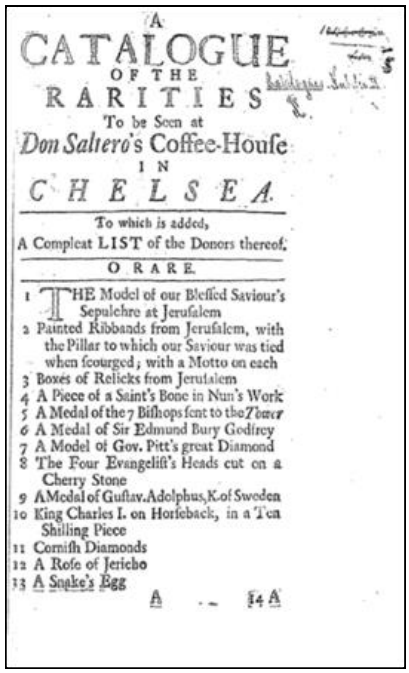
[230] Mark Blackwell (Editor), The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-narratives in Eighteenth-century England. (United State, Bucknell University Press, 2007), pp. 152-53.

[231] Ileana Baird, Christina Ionescu (Editors), *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context: From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture*, (United Kingdom, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), p. 56.

[232] Kevin Bourque, "Cultural Currency: Chrysal, or The Adventures of a Guinea, and the Material Shape of Eighteenth-Century Celebrity", *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context: From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture*, (United Kingdom, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), pp. 49 – 68.

## *i) The 1737 edition*

In this first section, chapter three examines the objects included on the front cover of the 1737 edition of the *Don Saltero's* catalogue to create a baseline for further historical analysis later in this chapter. The process of creating a baseline involves looking at each object in turn the using material culture studies to help analyse the title object entries. By considering the title pages of the 1737 catalogue in this light, it allows this chapter to carefully interweave wider political and intellectual developments, with religious and historical contexts, and cultural changes in attitudes towards of nationhood and gender, to establish a baseline for further historical analysis. Considering the cultural context of the object occurs before thinking about can say about its broader meaning in relation to religion, gender, and nationhood.



A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
RARITIES
To be Seen at
*Don Saltero's* Coffee-Houſe
IN
CHELSEA.

To which is added,
A Compleat LIST of the Donors thereof.

O RARE.

1 THE Model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem
2 Painted Ribbands from Jeruſalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged; with a Motto on each
3 Boxes of Relicks from Jeruſalem
4 A Piece of a Saint's Bone in Nun's Work
5 A Medal of the 7 Biſhops ſent to the Tower
6 A Medal of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey
7 A Model of Gov. Pitt's great Diamond
8 The Four Evangeliſt's Heads cut on a Cherry Stone
9 A Medal of Guſtav. Adolphus, K. of Sweden
10 King Charles I. on Horſeback, in a Tea Shilling Piece
11 Corniſh Diamonds
12 A Roſe of Jericho
13 A Snake's Egg

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*Figure 35. Don Saltero's Coffeehouse, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof', (London, England, 1737), 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

There are thirteen objects listed on the front page of the 1737 edition of the catalogue. Of these thirteen objects, ten are linked to concepts of religion, nationhood, and/or gender, which equates to 77% of the total objects. It is important to note that the daughter of James Salter, May Hall, also produced the four earlier editions of the catalogue in 1729, 1730, 1731, and 1735. These first four editions have an ornate cover page with no objects listed on their front pages. As was noted in Chapter 2, the decision to include items on the front cover in subsequent editions was possibly based simply on frugality, as both printing and paper were expensive. The more objects that could be added to the catalogues, the less space was wasted on the paper, making May Hall's decision logical and efficient. The listing of objects on the cover page only began in 1737, and it was a practice continued most all the catalogue's title pages printed thereafter except two editions in the 1790s. Religion is an especially important aspect of the objects on the front page, and the Christian culture of Britain in the eighteenth century is represented by objects used in religious rituals and practices. The religious objects listed include the model of a church in

Jerusalem which was used by Christians to display the religious practice of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This shared experience and common aspirations creates a culturally rooted sense of belonging among the readers of the catalogue's front pages, which helps them understand both the war-heroes' willingness to die for their "imagined community" and reinforces concepts of the nation.

The work in this chapter raises interesting and possibly important questions about how commonplace some of these 'rare' items were but then how 'curious' objects were not that rare at all but possibly part of a very established cultural landscape. The first step in answering the questions posed above is deciding if the thirteen objects that are listed on the front page of the 1737 Don Saltero catalogue do or do not appear in any other catalogues of curiosity and if they are in the collection Sir Hans Sloane donated. After researching the Sir Hans Sloane collection through the British Museum online and then ECCO online database, this research has determined that the thirteen objects listed on the front page of the 1737 Don Saltero catalogue do not appear in any other catalogues of curiosity at the time and were not located in the collection Sir Hans Sloane donated. To gain a deeper understanding this chapter now tries to understand what makes the title page important.


*Figure 36. Title pages published in London before, in the same year, and a few years after the 1737 Don Saltero's issue.*

Early modern readers frequently encountered images like title pages or frontispieces when opening a book. The popularity of illustrated gateways grew with the printing press, evolving in appearance and function. They served various purposes, including guiding readers' expectations and shaping collective memory. Today, a bibliographical distinction is made

between title pages and frontispieces, with the latter being illustrated pages placed before the title page. The systematic examination of these elements is a recent development, with research expanding in recent years. Nevertheless, questions remain about the relationship between text and image, the roles they play in books, and the production processes involved. Don Saltero's catalogues were certainly not the first British printed text to list items on its cover. After looking through ECCO's collection, it appears this catalogue was novel by being one of the only publications using Hindi-Arabic numerals on its title page (see Figure 7). By locating a sample of printed text that listed items on their title page from the years leading up to, the year of, and then, a few years after the 1737 catalogue publication, this research determined the catalogue's design might be rarer than the list of object descriptions on its cover. This design choice proved reviling but now this chapter must dig into understanding what else can the title pages tell us though the used. But it must be made clear the work in this chapter is predicated on the assumption that we are all inevitably conditioned by the language we use, based on the work of Hayden White, where he argues how important texts are in relation to their meanings by emphasising the countless ways of reading a text.[233] To learn how the words 'rare' or 'rarity' and 'curiosity' were defined and used at the time the catalogue was published.

The first English dictionaries, Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall: Conteyning and Teaching the True Writing, and Understanding of Hard Usuall English Wordes*, appeared in 1604, the in 1721 Nathan Bailey's, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, appeared, and the second, *Dictionarium Britannicum*, followed nine years later. It was not until 1755 that Samual J Johnson's Dictionary arrived and it is a common misconception it was the first. How did eighteenth-century dictionaries define 'rarity' as and 'curiosity'. The word rarity constantly appaired on the title page until the 1793 edition when the word was replaced with curiosity. In 1726, elven years before the 1737 catalogue was publish, Nathan Bailey's *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* defines ***rarity***, "*a rare thing; curiosity; also a rareness, uncommonness, scarcity.*" Then in 1737, Bailey's definitions changed the meaning of ***rarity***, " *a rare thing, a thing that is extraordinary for beauty or workmanship."*[234]

[233] Hayden White, 'The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory', HT 23, no. 1 (1984), p. 68.
[234] N. Bailey et al., *Dictionarium Britannicum: Or a More Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary Than Any Extant ...* (T. Cox, 1730), https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=CoRZAAAAcAAJ.

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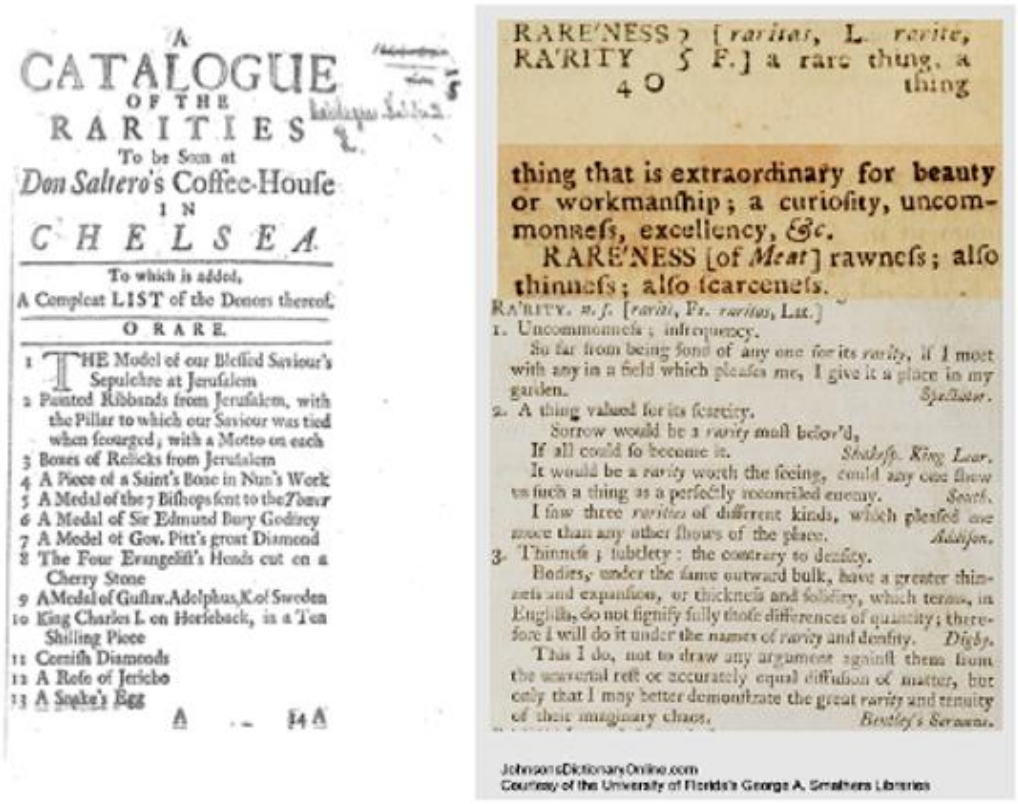

A CATALOGUE OF THE RARITIES To be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House IN CHELSEA

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RARE'NESS, RA'RITY } [*raritas*, L. *rarité*, F.] a rare thing, a thing that is extraordinary for beauty or workmanſhip; a curioſity, uncommonneſs, excellency, &c.

RARE'NESS [of *Meat*] rawneſs; alſo thinneſs; alſo ſcarceneſs.

RA'RITY. *n. ſ.* [*rarité*, Fr. *raritas*, Lat.]

1. Uncommonneſs; infrequency.
   So far from being fond of any one for its *rarity*, if I meet with any in a field which pleaſes me, I give it a place in my garden. *Spectator.*
2. A thing valued for its ſcarcity.
   Sorrow would be a *rarity* moſt belov'd,
   If all could ſo become it. *Shakeſp. King Lear.*
   It would be a *rarity* worth the ſeeing, could any one ſhow us ſuch a thing as a perfectly reconciled enemy. *South.*
   I ſaw three *rarities* of different kinds, which pleaſed me more than any other ſhows of the place. *Addiſon.*
3. Thinneſs; ſubtlety: the contrary to denſity.
   Bodies, under the ſame outward bulk, have a greater thinneſs and expanſion, or thickneſs and ſolidity, which terms, in Engliſh, do not ſignify fully thoſe differences of quantity; therefore I will do it under the names of *rarity* and denſity. *Digby.*
   This I do, not to draw any argument againſt them from the univerſal reſt or accurately equal diffuſion of matter, but only that I may better demonſtrate the great *rarity* and tenuity of their imaginary chaos. *Bentley's Sermons.*

JohnsonsDictionaryOnline.com
Courtesy of the University of Florida's George A. Smathers Libraries

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*Figure 37. A) Don Saltero's 1737 catalogue title page; B) Samual J Johnson's Dictionary, Dictionarium Britannicum; C) Nathan Bailey's An Universal Etymological English Dictionary.*

The OED provides us with the following information about the word **rarity, n. –** *Forms:* late Middle English raryte, late Middle English–1600s rarite, 1500s raritee, 1500s rarytye, 1500s–1600s raritye, 1500s–1700s raritie, 1500s– rarety, 1500s– rarity, 1600s raretie; *Scottish* pre-1700 raritie, pre-1700 1700s– rarity. *Etymology:* < (i) Middle French *rarité*, *rareté* (French *rareté*) looseness of texture, porosity (1314 in Old French), rarity of occurrence, infrequency (15th cent.), object of rare beauty (1544), (of an object) quality of being uncommon (1553), rare object (1559). **1) Relative fewness in number; the fact of occurring rarely or in few instances, infrequency;** 1672, R. Boyle Ess. *Origine & Virtues Gems* ii. 113, The Rarity of transparent Gems,..and the great Value, which their Scarceness and mens Folly sets upon them. 1712, J. Addison *Spectator* No. 477. 1; I am so far from being fond of any particular one, by reason of its Rarity [etc.]; **2) Unusual or exceptional character, esp. in respect of excellence;** 1695, W. W. *Novum Lumen Chirurgicum Extinctum* 30, His Method of Cure. Which hath several Pieces of Rarity in it; 1710, D. Manley *Mem. Europe* I. i. 81, As fine a Set as had ever been seen, of Gold Plate for her Toilet and Chamber, especially recommended by the Rarity of the Workmanship; **3. As a count noun: an unusual or uncommon thing or occurrence, *esp.* one valued for being so;**1673 J. Ray *Observ. Journey Low-countries* 27, A Museum well stored with natural and artificial Rarities; 1713 J. Swift *Jrnl. to Stella* 12 Mar. (1948) II. 636, It was a fine day; wch is a

rarity with us.[235] The above established how contemporaries understood these key words which helps the research in its analysis throughout the rest of the chapter.

Entries One, Two, Three, and Four: Religious identities - The first entry on the list describes a material object of an architectural model of the Holy Sepulchre relates to a space and a time in Christian history. The Holy Sepulchre is in Jerusalem and contains the two holiest sites in Christianity, which are the site where Jesus was crucified and Jesus's empty tomb.[236] There is an understanding between religious communities dating to 1757 that applies to the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre called the "status quo" stemmed from a decree of Ottoman sultan Osman III, which preserved the division of ownership and responsibilities of various Christian holy places.[237] Models of the Holy Sepulchre were most likely made in Bethlehem under Franciscan supervision as souvenirs and mementoes for pilgrims and grand tourists, and as gifts to rulers from the Franciscans. These models were on display around London in the mid 1600s at a time when the Dutch trading empire was passing its world trading power to Britain's expanding in power and influence and it is culturally connected to the Crusades.[238]

Together the objects related to the Crusades illustrate how objects were important to religious practice at this time but then subverting these objects by making the familiar odd by listing religious objects as curiosities.[239] The significance, here, is that many travellers brought religious models back with them, particularly objects from the Holy Land, and many of these were placed into royal and aristocratic collections. The founder of the Royal Society, Christopher Wren, wrote about the significance of travel objects, noting that "the small Models of Wood, garnished with Mother of Pearl, of the holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem [were] usually made for Sale to Pilgrims and Foreigners".[240] However, Rosie Weetch makes a compelling argument that these models were well-known objects in Britain at the time and not just rare objects, only available to the richest in society.[241] These models demonstrate how religious objects were used by the pious as symbolic representations of their expanding power.

However, religious objects could also have had more secular purposes. During James Salter's lifetime, one Model of our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem could be found at St John's Gate, in Clerkenwell, Middlesex. This well-known building was the former headquarters of the Order of St John in England and a former monastery. By the eighteenth century, however, the building had acquired many other historical associations and, of particular interest for this research, it was the original printing-house for Edward Cave's monthly, *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[242] Additionally, it was the sometime workstation of Samuel Johnson (when he was in London) and the childhood home of the painter William Hogarth (1701 to 1709), whose father,

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[235] "rarity, n.". OED Online. January 2023. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com.
[236] Raymond Cohen, Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine, (United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), p.11.
[237] *G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: History and Future", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 119, 2; (1987), 187–207.*
[238] Lisa Jardine, 'Going Dutch. How England plundered Holland's glory', London 2008, pp. 356-358.
[239] G. Freeman-Grenville, 429-432.
[240] Wren, 1942, 'Tracts on Architecture' in Wren Society pp. 19.
[241] Rosie Weetch, "Ineffable power: Pierced coins and belief in the Latin East. Material Religion", (2019). pp 1-13.
[242] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading material in early modern England: print, gender, and literacy* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York, 2005) pp. 1-16.

Richard Hogarth, opened Hogarth's Coffee House there, in 1703. This was a well-known establishment offering an engaging environment, where one might enjoy Latin lessons and coffee. Eventually, the shop became a tavern.[243] By making such a well-known model, famously housed at St John's Gate, the very first entry, *Don Saltero's* catalogues were not only being connected to broader cultural contexts, but were also being legitimised within the literary world through their associations with *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the newly moved to London Samuel Johnson, and Hogarth's Coffee House.[244] Together, these links suggest a pattern of possible influences indicating *who* and *what* stirred the authors of these catalogues, adding to the layers of possible shared meaning that go beyond simple religious connections.

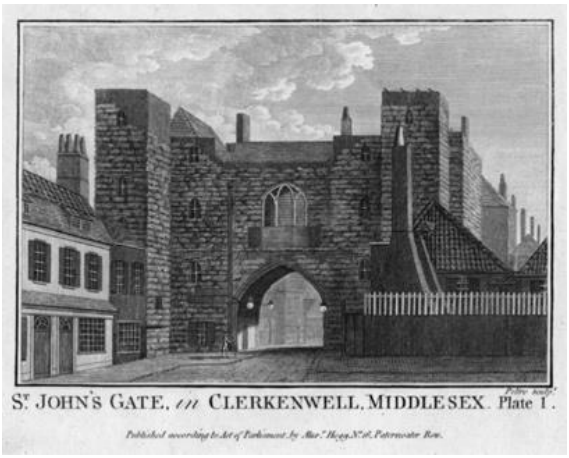


*Figure 38. A copper-engraved view from Boswell's Antiquities published in London by Alexander Hogg, 1786.*

The object descriptions after the first entry, continue to use representations of Christian belief. Entries two, three, and four ("2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with a Motto on each", "3 Boxes of Relicks from Jerusalem", and "4 A Piece of a Saint's Bone in Nun's Work") suggest that we must consider whether May Hall was questioning the authority of religious powers that shaped English identities. Why 'relics', normally connotated as Catholic, are used in a Protestant majority context? By continually draping the frontpages with Christian artefacts, this could have been an attempt to turn the curious gaze of the reader towards the status quo of the Christian narrative told in English society. The second entry ("2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with a Motto on each") appears to represent an event at the centre of Christianity, Jesus dying on the cross, and is an object validating another event recorded in the Bible. For those interested in it and unable to experience a Christian pilgrimage, this object may have been used to make the Holy Land seem closer. This entry is also mentioned in *The Golden cabinet of true treasure containing the summe of morall philosophie,* written by John Crosley in 1612.[245] May Hall was likely aware of other such writings on rarities and was a good judge as to what would be familiar with the public, and, as outlined in Chapter Two, she often used satire in her works – the use of the name "O' Rare". By including religious objects as curiosities (as opposed to sacred objects), using thing theory an interpretation adding irony to the object in an attempt to insert an

[243] Clayton, *London's Coffee Houses: A stimulating story*.
[244] Clayton.
[245] William Jewell, *The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure* (London: John Crosley, 1612; Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership, 2011), 8, p.167.

opinion into the wider public conversation that was exposing a weakness in the Church's authority by questioning its role in society.[246]

It is noteworthy that every surviving catalogue starts with the same religious object: "1 The Model of our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem".[247] The first entry could be interpreted as May Hall advocating for what Foucault termed pastoral power by using a well-known object to represent the Church, and the fact that this object was listed first supports the idea that religious concepts were important in eighteenth-century Britain.[248] Said more simply, religious object descriptions dominate the title pages. The model of the church in Jerusalem remains first on the list of objects, throughout the catalogue's publication from 1729 through 1795, which is discussed more in chapter three part II. During this period, many Britons, especially young adults, explored the concept of individual religious power by questioning what kind of Christian they should be – out of the various religious sects in Britain at the time, between the two choices between Catholic and Anglican, some of the Anglicans were exploring Methodist ideas.[249] One of the driving forces of the Anglican-Methodist split was a conflict around where religious worship should take place, and this can be seen as a conflict between the right to worship as an individual, as opposed to the need to worship within a church and the pastoral power this represented; for Anglicans, religious worship had to take place in a church conducted by a priest, whereas Methodists placed less importance on this. Barbara Crosbie notes that many conversion narratives from Anglican to Methodist were printed and Methodism could be a source of conflict between parents and their children. In some cases, these religious disagreements resulted in children being asked to leave the family home and, according to Crosbie, these were not isolated cases.[250] Additionally, Felicita Tramontana contextualises religious objects with travel writing where she argues, "In a moment in which Catholicism in England was identified with the efforts to overthrow the King, their close contact with the friars made it more important for the travellers to testify to their loyalty to Anglicanism and the English crown. Consequently, they were always at pains, especially when acknowledging good behaviour on the part of the friars, not to appear too close to the Franciscans not least in the eyes of their own readers. In this perspective anti-Catholicism became necessary to dispel any suspicion of susceptibility to Catholic doctrine and rituals. The travellers' distance from the friars and their beliefs is constantly reaffirmed through criticism of the Catholic".[251] Both Crosbie and Tramontana demonstrate the importance of a person's loyalty to Anglicanism and the English crown. This important social stance found within wider British culture is reflected on the title pages and is discuss further in the second part of chapter three when dealing with change over time.

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[246] Mark Blackwell (Editor), The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-narratives in Eighteenth-century England. (United State, Bucknell University Press, 2007), pp. 69-88.

[247] Don Saltero's Coffeehouse, 'A Catalogue of the Rarities to Be Seen at Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in Chelsea. To Which Is Added, a Compleat List of the Donors Thereof.' (London, England, 1737), 1, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

[248] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', Critical Inquiry, 8 (July 1982), 777–795.
A shift partially driven by merging the idea of 'self' a growing awareness in eighteenth-century English public spheres. Christian identity in the English context is progressing away from pastoral power that linked to The Church or papal institutionalisation.

[249] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707 - 1837*, 2. ed (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Nota Bene, 2005), 11–54.

[250] Crosbie, Age relations and cultural change in eighteenth-century England, pp. 138 - 139.

[251] Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c. 1480–1650): Theology, Travel, and Territoriality, (Netherlands: Brill, 2019), chap 3., pp. 93-95.

The work of Emma Major also highlights the importance of both pastoral power and the principle of personal sovereignty.[252] Her emphasis on both when considering British culture in the eighteenth century influences this research. Major suggests that these two competing ideologies (pastoral power and the principle of personal sovereignty) are both useful in presenting a nuanced description of British identity at this time, but that, for them to be useful, we must understand the difference between the principle of pastoral power and the principle of personal sovereignty. For Foucault, the power of the Church, or pastoral power, stemmed from the belief that the Church could ensure the salvation of the individual and their place in the afterlife.[253] A form of power influenced and motivated by and for the Church. But the concept of personal sovereignty, the individual gains salvation in the next world from their own actions, without needing the Church. The concepts of pastoral power and personal sovereignty both offer a Christian identity within the broader Christian community, however, for adherents to either of these religious ideas, only one could be considered as the 'truth', which impart adds to the disagreements occurring in Christian theology in eighteenth century Britain.

At the start of the eighteenth century, Christian theology and the principle of personal sovereignty were seen especially in the sermons of John Wesley. Wesley used Lockean methodology to promote individual Methodist or "reasonable enthusiast", a phenomenon of eighteenth-century British Methodism.[254] The sovereignty Locke described was legitimately found in the people and could not be alienated from them. Which evolved from an idea Jean Bodin's (1576) Six Livres de la Republique (Six Books of the Commonwealth), who is widely agreed to be 'the first systematic discussion of the nature of sovereignty'[255] The rationalisation for the individuality and independence of sovereign authority rested at least in part on divine, moral, and juridical duties and notions of reciprocal obligations between ruler and subject, or the social contract. Bodin argues, "All the princes of the earth are subject to them and cannot contravene them without treason and rebellion against God.... The absolute power of princes and sovereign lords does not extend to the laws of God and nature"[256]

Then in the 17th century, Thomas Hobbes developed a secular defence of absolute rule in *Leviathan*, (1651), where he argued against the possibility of limits on absolute rule and progressed the idea of a social contract by asserting people agree to escape the insecurity and brutality of the state of nature and to enter civil society by submitting to the 'artificial man' that is the sovereign state.[257] Ideas of sovereignty were the at the heart of the American and French revolutionaries whose justifications placed liberty and equality of individuals. One identity that was influenced (and made more complicated) by new distributions and organisations of individualised power, resulting in complex and layered individual identities. And because of this layering, new political and philosophical ideas that emerged around this time also became part of the religious identity. This is highlighted by Major, who outlines the case of the seventeenth-century elite religious culture that was popularised during the eighteenth-century. Major further

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[252] Emma Major, *Madam Britannia: women, church, and nation, 1712-1812* (Oxford [England]; New York, 2012).
[253] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power', Critical Inquiry 8, no. 4 (1 July 1982), 777-795.
[254] Anderson, Imagining Methodism in 18th-Century Britain, pp. 35-36.
[255] Merriam, Charles Edward. 1900. History of the theory of sovereignty since Rousseau, by C.E. Merriam, Jr. New York: Macmillan, p. 13.
[256] Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, trans. Tooley MJ. (1955 Oxford: Basil Blackwell), pp. I:viii.
[257] JH Burns, "The idea of absolutism". In: John Miller (ed.) *Absolutism in Seventeenth Century Europe*, (1990, London: Macmillan), pp. 39-40.

develops her argument about the pervasiveness and importance of religion in constructing social, as well as personal, identities, by linking her work to Linda Colley's important research on the growth of British national identity following the 1707 Act of Union – where she (Major) examines the role of Britannia as a symbol of unity.[258] However, Major notes that before the Union, from 1688, Britannia was a particularly powerful figure of Protestant patriotism and that the symbolism of Britannia changes through time, becoming an increasingly important symbol within the theme of unification. As a result, for Major, the versions of the self are shaped by Britain's mixture of religious and national identities and are messier, and more difficult to define, than the versions the public often use in current discussions of eighteenth-century culture.[259]

Major's explanation of the plural identities of the self in eighteenth-century Britain, may provide a suggestion as to how May Hall identified herself as a writer, the key role of the Church in this construction, and the fluidity in the meanings attached to objects in the lists. The church listed on the front page of the 1737 catalogue, has a deeper significance, and it appears that most forms of Christianity use this church as a symbol for an archetypal truth in their account of religious values. The church exists in the Christian Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem and contains the two holiest sites in Christianity. The first, is the site where Jesus of Nazareth was crucified - the Calvary or Golgotha –, and the second, is Jesus's empty tomb - the grounds where Jesus is supposed to have been buried and then resurrected.[260] These catalogues are, therefore, drenched in a Christian tone from the very beginning, fitting well with the culture of an eighteenth-century England consumed by Christian thought. As no singular section of Christianity possesses perpetual authority over the archetypal 'true' accounts of a singular Christian experience, this first entry is extremely versatile and one able to appeal to multiple audiences.

Such flexibility is especially useful when trying to capture the attention of a broad number of readers in the all-encompassing Christian culture that existed in Britain in the eighteenth century. At the very least, the first entry reveals the cultural importance of Christianity as a subject in Britain at this time. Nevertheless, the vagueness in the meaning of the object, potentially entices a range of individuals with different identities to pick up the catalogue. Such vagueness could capture the curiosity of a number of different individuals - ranging from those who embraced social norms, to those who rejected them, and including those in between who moved between multiple, shared, identities. The readers did not only have the words on the paper, but a potential discussion with other people, which cradled the vagueness and created empty spaces that were naturally filled by other participants' assumptions. In this way, the first entry on the list created a sense of a mutual experience, a form of communal glue, a sense of belonging.

While May Hall was owner, the title page appears cognisant of how engaging the first entry would be to those picking-up the catalogues, since it remains unchanged throughout the entirety of the catalogue's publication. But what other reasons could May have had in making this choice? One possibility seems to be a way of engaging potential readers by appealing to a broad range of publishers. Booksellers were often reluctant to help an unknown writer publish, but, according to John Brewer, a good way to overcome this, was to appeal to the "personal interests

[258] Major, *Madam Britannia*, p. 7.
[259] Ibid., p. 9.
[260] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 15–16.

and sympathies of the publisher."[261] Many disaffected authors portrayed booksellers as "corrupt monsters and ruthless profit-seeking entrepreneurs", holding some topics and causes more favourable than others; for example, some publishers admired conservative works on politics and religion, while others specialized in children's literature, and others poetry.[262] Brewer's argument also seems to be the case for authors who wanted to publish controversial texts. For potentially controversial texts, knowing a publisher who had a personal interest in the subject, or who had published such texts before, could be important. For instance, publisher John Millan delighted in publishing documents on British antiquities, whereas a radical bookseller, like Joseph Johnson, published pieces that others believed too controversial. May Hall's decision to place the Jerusalem church as the first entry on the list, might, therefore, have been driven by a desire to encourage booksellers to stock the book, knowing that it would appeal to a wide audience.

Although the first entry reflects the importance of Christianity within eighteenth-century English culture, the author specifically speaks directly to those practising Christianity by putting symbols of the dominant religion on these front pages. Perhaps, by doing this, those involved during May Hall's ownership used these object lists as a tool to provoke questions about religious dominance by attaching well known public figures or debates to the objects and then calling them rarities or curios in attempt to mock the larger public conversation. The subversion of an idea or topic demonstrates how culturally important this topic is and, in this case, how culturally defiant questioning the Church would be and would further emphasises the importance of religion to those reading the catalogues. Therefore, through the prism of thing theory new understanding into the nuances of different religious identities help us further examine the relationship between identity and belonging within eighteenth-century English culture.

Building upon the notions of Christian duty, highlighted above, this section outlines how language *speaks* gender into existence. Judith Butler's 'performative' considers that gender is an unstable and socially constructed concept – this approach to gender is concerned with what is being communicated towards (and about) men and women, or girls and boys.[263] In this research, I have utilised Butler's approach to investigate the construction of gender stereotypes, though gendered language, in the object's entries from the front page of the 1737 catalogue. By clearly unpacking how language was used to construct ideas around gender in these texts, it will enable me to consider how gender was viewed and constructed in eighteenth-century England. Gender is a complicated and multifaceted concept, however, in this chapter, Butler and Crenshaw's methods will help me focus on how language speaks gender into existence (manifestation) rather than merely describing it.[264]

Representations of gender as an identity can also be seen in the list of objects in the 1737 catalogue, and these representations reveal a, largely, binary understanding of men and/or masculinity, women and/or femininity, and/or both. Most objects in the 1737 edition, portray a specifically male identity, with eight out of thirteen entries being about men (62 %) and only two of thirteen (15%) representing a female identity. The gender expressions and gender norms found

[261] Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century*, p. 156.
[262] Ibid., p. 156.
[263] Judith Butler, *Undoing gender* (New York; London, 2004), pp 75-101.
[264] Crenshaw explains how race, class, gender, and other individual characteristics 'intersect' with one another and overlap within the context of the law of the United States of America.

in the catalogues seem to suggest that eighteenth-century England considered gender in a binary way. This is not to say that only binary gender identities existed during this period, but, rather, that the expressions about gender expressed in language reflected society's dualistic way of thinking about gender; in short, through language we can understand how society constructed gender.[265] These gender constructs permeated throughout print of all kinds as Crosbie, rightfully, argues that this process starts in childhood, indicating that children's literature promoted gender distinctions.[266] By understanding the classifications of what is female or male within this era of British culture our awareness grows as to how people were being categorised as female or male.[267] For the purposes of this research, the central question in relation to the catalogues is therefore: what are the stereotypes associated with men, women, or both? The answers to this question can give us a more complex understanding of gender identities in this period. When considering how language speaks things into existence, it is possible to move away from seeing the language of gender as being a description of a social reality, and towards it being a tool that was used to build an identity of the self.

Gender as an identity, as viewed through the lenses of *intersectionality* and *performativity*, can be examined in the catalogue for its use of the word "Saviour" in both entry one ("1 Model of our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem") and entry two ("2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with a Motto on each"). In both cases, the entries use abstract insinuations connecting men to the word "Saviour" and although is common language within Christianity, this insinuation fulfils a double purpose. Within the Christian-dominated culture of eighteenth-century England, the links between concepts of the 'Saviour' and of men in general are strong, and, at the same time, the word "Saviour" speaks into existence acts of masculinity, which in this case are those of being a saviour. This stereotype, of the man-Saviour, is also strongly linked to the Christian obligation for men to serve their country and The Model of our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem, thereby providing a clear link between identities of religion, gender, and nation in both cases. Using the performative approach outlined by Butler and Crenshaw, the abstract implication attached to the word "Saviour" can imply that true Christian male identity can only be gained through suffering. An identity that ties back to Barthes' semiotics, "myth", and results in shared identities that allows the experience of horizontal comradeship to be built around both religion and national culture using the *linguist turn*.

Although entry three ("3 Boxes of Relicks from Jerusalem") is vague, it emphasises the pilgrimages to the Holy Land and links the relics to Jerusalem, suggesting a feeling of being closer to God, as well as reinforcing the fact that Jerusalem is a tangible destination for a pilgrim. The first three entries in the 1737 catalogue, represent Christian Holy places, events, and objects listed in the Bible. However, objects like models of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (entry one) are subverted by May Hall (she made the familiar rare) because many models of this church were built in Europe after Jerusalem came under Muslim control in 1099. Nevertheless, even if May Hall is ironically mocking these objects, by satirically questioning the experiences of visiting the Holy Land, entry three conveys the cultural importance of the Holy Land to English culture. May Hall's constant reminders of the Christian Holy Land in the object descriptions, make Jerusalem

[265] Butler, *Bodies that matter,* pp. 27-55.
[266] Crosbie, *Age relations and cultural change in eighteenth-century England*, pp. 26-27.
[267] Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 232.

and the Christian pilgrimage seem more real to those reading the catalogues, further building a Christian identity. This poses the question as to the role of the object descriptions in the catalogues and whether they were written for the reader's imagination, as a performative manifestation for May Hall to build a sense of self, or both?

Entry number four ("4 A Piece of a Saint's Bone in Nun's Work") also seems vague, until it is considered in the light of the work of art historian, Paul Koudounaris. His book *Empire of Death* provides a detailed account of a nuns' work and provides context to help understand entry four.[268] This entry, most likely, describes an object referring to catacomb saints, which were Catholic holy objects regarded, in the 16th and 17th century, as embodiments of the "glory of the afterlife".[269] In the context of these catalogues, the Nuns, and occasionally monks, who had trained as expert clothmakers, would prepare the catacomb saints skeleton for public view. As part of this preparation, nuns would spin a fine-mesh gauze to delicately wrap each bone, taking up to three years to finish, depending on the number of nuns working on the project. However, these holy figures became extremely desirable possessions within Catholic communities, with even the smallest churches wanting at least one catacomb saint. As Koudounaris explains, these skeletons made a "lavish statement" by displaying church wealth; it was also commonplace for affluent families to acquire catacomb saints for their private chapels.[270] Nevertheless, northern Europe, and especially Germany, where anti-Catholic sentiment tended to be most zealous, was at the epicentre of "the battleground against the Protestants" and many Catholic churches experienced plundering and vandalism during the Protestant Reformation.[271]

By considering entry four through the lenses of language and gender, it is possible to show how words and their meanings can capture social attitudes and senses of identity. Entry four is also linked to concepts of Christian duty and suggests that there was a layered and nuanced identity for women. While there are, and were, many distinct types of Christian identity, it is possible to see, through the description of entry four, that there is an abstract insinuation that females are to serve males within Christianity; this entry suggests that religious femininity is achieved through service to men – it should be remembered that that the Church and the Saviour are both expressions of maleness and masculinity. The argument, here, is that to be in the service of God, or in service of the Church, is to be in the service of a male-dominated world, and this service can be expressed in three connected ways: through a women's body (virginity), through her time (by dedicating her life to the service of a male God) and through the giving of her extraordinary talents as a master seamstress. By using a tool from the intersectional performative approach of social constructivism, we can understand that gender identity is active. To say this in a separate way, gender is something you do, rather than, something that happens to you. So far, by considering these objects through language this research has described indirect connections presented through gender identity and in the next chapter will show how it changes and evolves as society does. More research is needed on this aspect.

Emma Major's argument that "women were important in defining the Church of England, and especially in exemplifying its practice", raises questions about the role of women as figures

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[268] Paul Koudounaris, *Heavenly Bodies: Cult Treasures & Spectacular Saints from the Catacombs* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013).
[269] Ibid., pp. 11–14.
[270] Koudounaris, *Heavenly bodies,* pp. 1-22.
[271] Douglas James Davies, *Emotion, identity, and religion: hope, reciprocity, and otherness* (Oxford ; New York, 2011) p. 77.

of motherhood within the Church.[272] Nuns, for example, were keepers of the church's rules and women also reproduced the Church's customs through being writers and mothers. These shared identities emerge through textual analysis of the documents and suggest connections between identity and belonging. Female writers, who were shaping coffeehouse culture and the reader's experience also had similar experiences. If we are to assume May Hall was the author, Hall like the nuns, could be seen as the motherly keeper of the rules of the coffeehouse. However, unlike the nuns, who used religious objects to uphold the culture of the Church, it could be said that May Hall used religious objects to stoke public debates around question the culture around the church's power; and at time satire which is seen using "O' Rare" as the author of the catalogue.

Entries Five and Six: Complex histories and anti-Catholic sentiment - Outlining the historical meaning attached to entry number five ("5 A Medal of the 7 Bishops sent to the Tower") is central to understanding possible cultural understanding a person reading these catalogues in 1737. Like the other entries, entry number five possesses the discussed archetype of male identity: masculine Protestant heroism was linked to anti-Catholic sentiments (connecting Barthes' semiotics, "myth", to the interdisciplinary methodology of cultural history and the *linguistic turn*). Although this object stems from an incident in June 1688, the roots go back to April 1688 when King James ordered bishops to read the Declaration of Indulgence aloud in every church in England.[273]

The Church of England perceived the Declaration of Indulgence as a threat to their political power and most Anglicans in England greatly opposed the Act on both religious and constitutional grounds. This has wide reached repercussions as it placed the 7 Bishops in direct opposition to the will of the King, as demonstrated by arguing Royal powers relied on a broad interpretation of the law and that the Declaration had already been declared illegal by Parliament. In May of 1688, supported by the archbishop, the Seven Bishops petitioned for an exemption by arguing Royal powers relied on a broad interpretation of the law and that the Declaration had already been declared illegal by Parliament. However, after the petition was printed and publicly distributed, the Seven Bishops were charged with seditious libel and placed in the Tower of London until their trial.[274] The King would soon regret prosecuting the bishops as it became a political disaster for the Government.

[272] Major, *Madam Britannia*, 311.
[273] Tim Harris, *Revolution: the great crisis of the British monarchy, 1685-1720* (London; New York, 2006) p. 203.
[274] The names of these seven were Henry Compton, Francis Turner, Thomas White, Thomas Ken, John Lake, Jonathan Trelawny, and William Lloyd. *Seditious libel* was a law forbidding acts of criticism of public persons, the government, or the King, and was a criminal offence under English common law. John Beckett, 'The Glorious Revolution, Parliament, and the Making of the First Industrial Nation', *Parliamentary History* 33, no. 1 (2014): 36–53.

*Figure 39. The Seven Bishops Committed to the Tower in 1688, by Unknown artist.*[275]

On June 30, the bishops were found not guilty, and the acquittal caused wild celebrations throughout London, sparking anti-Catholic riots, shattering James' political authority, and convinced a broad section of the ruling class to send an 'invitation' to William of Orange, requesting that he secure the English throne for his wife, Mary. Following the transfer of power to William and Mary, the Act of Toleration received royal approval in May 1689.[276] This law granted the freedom of worship to nonconformists, providing that they agreed to the oaths that rejected transubstantiation. The law also permitted nonconformists to have their own places of worship and to function as schoolteachers, although there were limits to this. Nevertheless, this Act intentionally did not apply to Roman Catholics, nontrinitarians, and atheists.[277]

This ultimately reveal this law reinforced social and political disadvantages for dissenters - including the prohibition of holding political offices and establishing universities - as one of the requirements stated that dissenters must register their meeting houses, therefore, forbidding them from meeting in private homes. Every dissenting preacher was to be licensed. The philosophical foundation of the Act of Toleration was John Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, which advocated religious toleration, written in 1685 but not published until 1689.[278] Locke, who was known as the Father of Liberalism, supported the coexistence between the Church of England and dissenting Protestant denominations, and he argued for the acceptance of Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, but paradoxically excluded Catholics from any proposed relaxation in the religious laws; these were the same ideas presented in the decree.[279]

The actions of King James encouraged the resistance from the Seven Bishops, whose trial, at least to some extent, brought about the Glorious Revolution. Ending a century of political clashes, by confirming the predominance of Parliament over the Crown, through the establishment of the Bill of Rights of 1689.[280] The Glorious Revolution, while swift, the pro-Stuart

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[275] John Ingamells and National Portrait Gallery, eds., *Later Stuart Portraits, 1685 - 1714: National Portrait Gallery* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2009), 354.

[276] "House of Lords Journal Volume 14: 24 May 1689", in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 14, 1685-1691*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1767-1830), pp. 217-218.

[277] Bromley, John Selwyn (1970). The new Cambridge modern history. Cambridge University Press. p. 210.

[278] John J. Patrick and Gerald P. Long, eds., *Constitutional Debates on Freedom of Religion: A Documentary History*, Primary Documents in American History and Contemporary Issues (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999).

[279] Ibid.

[280] Stephen Quinn, "The Glorious Revolution of 1688". EH.Net Encyclopedia, edited by Robert Whaples. April 17, 2003.

uprisings in Scotland and Ireland saw significant casualties for those in power.[281] However, the restrictions put in place on Catholics in the English and Scottish Test Acts, enacted in 1678 and 1681, remained in force until 1828. The acts of King James and the reaction of the Seven Bishops, named in entry five, led to cultural and social change in Britain. Those reading these catalogues in 1737, were living with the results and would have been aware of the anti-Catholic nature and historical background to this item.

Entry six, which reads "6 A Medal of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey", is an interesting listing for two reasons. The first is that Godfrey received a knighthood, in September 1666, for staying in his post as justice of the peace in Westminster during the Great Plague of 1665.[282] The second reason is that Godfrey was jailed for a few days, in 1669, after having the King's physician, Sir Alexander Fraizer, detained for a debt.[283] Godfrey's public drama, which was captured in Samuel Pepys' diary entry dated 26 May 1669, continued as he went on hunger strike because the Judge's decision was overruled by King Charles II.[284] The English magistrate ruling over the Godfrey case became well-known to the public after rumours connected him to Titus Oates' fabricated Popish Plot, which utilised the mysterious death of Godfrey to instigate an anti-Catholic movement. However, Titus Oates manipulated the circumstances around Godfrey death to serve his anti-Catholic agenda by spreading rumours that Godfrey was assassinated by Catholic plotters. To anti-Catholics, Godfrey became a martyr, and he was commemorated by the issuing of daggers and medals, as well as the production of sermons and pamphlets about the period long remembered as 'Godfrey's Autumn'.[285] Therefore, an anti-Catholic theme appears when using both the "myth", and the *linguistic turn,* when analysing entries five and six ideologies through observations presenting culturally rooted established truths, systems, and binary configurations. An analysis that explicitly shows shared identities allows the experience of horizontal comradeship to be built around both religion and national culture through text. Below is the medal described above displaying anti-Catholic sentiment.

*Figure 40. Silver medal. (obverse) A bust of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, looking right, hair long, in falling lace collar, doublet buttoned, and mantle over shoulders; two hands strangling him with his cravat. (reverse) The Pope's head and the Devil's head joined in one face.*

Entry Seven: Pitt's Great Diamond and 'Horizontal Comradeship' - The next entry is "7 A Model of Gov. Pitt's great Diamond" (also known as the Regent Diamond), which had its own cultural impact representing a moral lesson of empathy in English folklore. According to the legend, Thomas Pitt was the Governor of Fort St. George, India, when, in 1701, he wrote to his representative in London about a giant diamond that he had obtained from the renowned Indian

[281] Tim Harris, *Revolution: the great crisis of the British monarchy, 1685-1720* (London; New York, 2006), p. 144.
[282] Walter H. Godfrey, *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I. London: London County Council 1909.* (London, 1909), Volume 2, pp. 61-64.
[283] Godfrey, *Survey of London: Volume 2*, pp. 61-64.
[284] Ibid., pp. 61–64.
[285] Ibid., pp. 61–64.

diamond dealer, Jamchund.[286] Pitt mailed the diamond to London, concealed in the sole of his son's shoe, which was placed on-board the East Indian ship, *Loyal Cooke*.[287] The Pitt Diamond was cut in London between the years 1704 and 1706, and it frequently featured in the news; some even believed the popular myth that any person possessing the diamond would be cursed because misfortune seemed to befall those who had it in their possession.[288] Thomas Pitt was the second cousin of poet Rev. Christopher Pitt, a good friend of the prominent satirist Alexander Pope.[289] Rumours of how Pitt had falsely obtained the diamond were rife around the Empire, and, in 1733, Pope wrote "Of the Use of Riches" as part of his Moral Essays. Addressed to Allen, Lord Bathurst, and intended as a critique of abuses of wealth, the work ended the last line with "and was rich as Pitt." [290] The dubious circumstance by which Pitt came into possession of the diamond are highlighted in the lines:

*Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,*
*An honest factor stole a gem away;*
*He pledg'd it to the knight: the knight had wit,*
*So kept the diamond, and the rogue was bit.*[291]

Through his writings, especially, 'The Rape of the Lock', Pope also had a close relationship to the religious culture of the time. During the era this poem was published, the *Test Acts* operated in English law, which meant that all denominations except Anglicanism faced legal oppression and heavy fines.[292] As Pope was from an aristocratic Catholic family and refused to attend Anglican services, he can be seen as someone who represents a rebellion against authority. This object, then, can be linked to wider cultural knowledge in eighteenth-century England, from Thomas and Christopher Pitt to popular writer Alexander Pope. The description of Pitt's Diamond was used in folklore to symbolise notions of how civilisation's quest for wealth and global importance had corrupted Thomas Pitt. This can be seen as a critique of the State, which, by extension, had appointed Pitt Governor of Fort St. George. Considering that Pope became known for his grotto and its extravagant decorations in Cornish diamonds (to which I will return below), this critique seems somewhat ironic. The historical descriptions that I have given here, although not written in the catalogue, formed an important part of the listing of objects in the 1737 catalogue. The shared cultural knowledge of these objects helped those who discussed the catalogues to experience a form of 'horizontal comradeship' built around a national culture through text.

Entry eight: Protestant and *virtuosi* cultures – "8 The Four Evangelist's Heads cut on a Cherry Stone". This entry has two parts and to unpack its cultural meaning, each of these needs to be examined. I will, first explore the cultural meaning of "the Four Evangelist's Heads" and its links to the *Gospel harmony* movement and then use the British national culture of the *virtuosi* to

[286] Edward Pearce, *Pitt the Elder: Man of War*, 2010, p 6.
[287] Ibid., p 6.
[288] Colin Nicholson, Writing and the Rise of Finance: Capital Satires of the Early Eighteenth Century, Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Literature and Thought 21 (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.149.
[289] E. Cave, *The Gentleman's Magazine*. United Kingdom, 1775.
[290] Nicholson, Writing and the Rise of Finance: Capital Satires of the Early Eighteenth Century, p. 149.
[291] Anthony Beckles Willson, 'Alexander Pope's Grotto in Twickenham', *Garden History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 31–59, https://doi.org/10.2307/1587234.
[292] S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

consider the cultural meaning of the phrase 'cut on a Cherry Stone'. The final part of this section will explore the deeper significance of the Four Evangelist's Heads relationship to the cherry stones. The four evangelists carved on the cherry stones represent Christianity and are taken from the first four books of the Bible's New Testament, known as the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The term 'evangelist(s)' means 'people who proclaim good news' and the aim of the evangelists is to proclaim the Good News or Gospel of Jesus.[293] The Gospels provide four different accounts of the life of Jesus and his resurrection. Each of the Gospels starts with an account of Jesus's Street Ministry, where he teaches and performs miracles (such as healing the sick), and concludes with Jesus confronting the Pharisees, dying on the cross, and his resurrection.[294] The carving of the four evangelists together on the cherry stone, represents a Gospel harmony, which is an attempt to compile the four Gospel accounts into a single story most people from Christian communities in the early eighteenth century would be familiar.[295]

Gospel harmonies are documented as early as the second century, with adaptations continuing to appear from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, and they are still being produced today.[296] This study focuses on the culture of Gospel harmonies starting in the 16th century, a century that saw the widespread introduction of Gospel harmonies to English society as well as the parallel column structure. The parallel column structure is where two or more passages of text are printed side by side, for reading and its purpose is emphasizing the similarity or difference between them.[297] During this period, "pictorial gospel harmonies"[298] - visual representations of Gospel harmonies – became increasingly popular, and the object from the catalogue is an example of this. A similar pictorial Gospel harmony (in terms of its subject matter and material) to the catalogue object was produced by Dutch artist Lieven de Witte in 1537. De Witte's woodcut Gospel harmony depicts the *life of Christ* and around 200 were produced in total.[299] Although De Witte was the first Dutch craftsman whose works is connected to entry eight in the catalogue, he was not the last, and many other examples of pictorial Gospel harmonies can be found in Christian cultures of northern Europe during the early modern period. Dutch craftsmen were known in British culture, especially in Protestant culture, and because of familiarity it is argued this is one way this object might have been seen. But De Witte is not the entries only connection to Dutch artists.

Renowned Dutch artist, Gerhard Mercator, was another figure well-known in British culture for his pictorial Gospel harmony from 1569, and he was also a famed maker of globes

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[293] "The good news of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Mark 1:1

[294] Thompson, *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory*, 183.

[295] Steven L Cox et al., *Harmony of the Gospels* (Nashville, Tenn.: Holman Bible Pub., 2007), 3–4.

[296] David E. Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric*, 1st ed (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 190; Robert F. Shedinger, *Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures: A Textual and Philological Analysis of the Old Testament Citations in Tatian's Diatessaron*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium ; Subsidia, v. 591. t. 109 (Lovanii [Louvain, Belgium]: Peeters, 2001), 28–32.

[297] Cox et al., *Harmony of the Gospels*, 6–8.

[298] Judith F. Dolkart, David Morgan, and Amy Sitar, *James Tissot: The Life of Christ: The Complete Set of 350 Watercolors* (Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum in association with Merrell Publishers, 2009), 70–71; Paul Corby Finney, ed., *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1999), 398.

[299] Celeste Brusati, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Walter S. Melion, eds., *The authority of the word: reflecting on image and text in northern Europe, 1400-1700* (Leiden; Boston, 2012), pp. 2–6; Finney, ed., *Seeing beyond the word*, p. 398.

and scientific instruments, as well as an accomplished engraver and calligrapher.[300] Which starts to build a pattern connecting Dutch artist to entry eight of this catalogue that reflects the long history of interconnectedness within protestant communities and, in this case, the visual representations of the Gospels can be said to have built horizontal comradeship through a shared cultural understanding. However, this shared understanding would only be accessible to readers who were aware of the cultural significance of the Gospel harmonies. The inclusion of this Gospel harmony in the catalogue, suggests that May Hall was aware of these cultural connections, and this indicates that she was well-versed in politics and religion, and, perhaps, came from a Protestant background. At the very least, the lists she writes demonstrate that she had a deep understanding of Protestant culture and the interconnected nature of the objects which comprise it. For May Hall, writing about these objects was both an opportunity to display her cultural awareness and to create a position of cultural relevance within London's developing public sphere in the early eighteenth century.

As indicated above, thing theory links entry eight to cultural knowledge found in Protestant religious identities. For example, through Dutch woodcarvers, which also links the object to the national *virtuosi* culture through another Anglo-Dutch woodcarver; the well-known Grinling Gibbons, who was widely considered to be the finest woodcarver working in England in the early 1700s. Gibbons' work is known mostly for decorative garlands made up of life-size inanimate objects, made to frame mirrors or to decorate the walls of churches and palaces.[301] Born to English parents in the Netherlands, Gibbons' work can be seen in Windsor Castle, Hampton Court Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral (amongst other London churches), Petworth House, and both Trinity College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge.[302] Gibbons was famous for his publicly displayed carvings, which included pictorial Gospel harmonies, and, later in life, his connections to Oxford elites and his intricate craftsmanship meant that he was also well known as part of a *virtuosi* culture. Such an intricate craftsmanship would be needed to carve on the face of a cherry stone, and both would aid in building horizontal comradeship through visual representations.

Understanding the significance of cherry stones is also important when deciphering the cultural meaning of 'cut on a Cherry Stone'. For those identifying as *virtuosi*, within the culture of curiosities, 'minute carving', especially on fruit stones, was heavily prized. The 'minute carving' of the cherry stone, listed in the catalogue, provides a clear link to the wider national *virtuosi* culture around curiosities, as seen in the Tradescant collection, and the cultural knowledge of this would have helped to construct a sense of horizontal comradeship through visual representation for the catalogue's readers. Thus, making it possible for contemporaries that carved cherry stones would have been expected to appear in any such collection/catalogue.

Writings about carvings on a small cherry stone can be found in *Musaeum Tradescantianum, or, A collection of rarities preserved at South-Lambeth neer London* by John Tradescant, published in 1656, which includes a section dedicated to "Mechanick artificial Works in Carvings".[303] The book is named after the first museum opened to the public in England, the Musaeum Tradescantianum, located in South Lambeth, London. Also known as

[300] John Sandys-Wunsch, *What Have They Done to the Bible? A History of Modern Biblical Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2005), 35; Cox et al., *Harmony of the Gospels*, 6–8.
[301] W. Herbert, pp. 389-495.
[302] Jonathan Ashley-Smith, (October 1998). *"The Cosimo Panel"*. V&A Conservation Journal (29): pp. 4–6.
[303] Jennifer Potter, *Strange Blooms The Curious Lives and Adventures of the John Tradescants*, 2014, 36–41.

'The Ark', and housing a botanical collection, the museum opened in 1634.[304] This museum housed the most famous collection of curiosities in England and was assembled by John Tradescant the elder and his son, information culturally relevant to the wider thread in this chapter. After both Tradescants died, the collection passed into the hands of the wealthy collector, Elias Ashmole, and upon his death, in 1691, the collection was given to Oxford University and became the core of the newly established Ashmolean Museum.[305] The family home, Turret House, was demolished in 1881 and the estate was redeveloped; the house stood on the present-day site of Tradescant Road and Walberswick Street, off South Lambeth Road.[306] The Tradescant collection is the earliest major English cabinet of curiosities and the most well-known collection of rarities.

To understand the deeper cultural meaning of the object, it is necessary to consider both these aspects – the interconnected nature of Protestant communities, linked by visual culture, shared cultural knowledge, and passed on by Dutch craftsmen; and how the national *virtuosi* culture aided in creating a horizontal comradeship. May Hall uses this shared cultural knowledge to create a connection between different identities attached to national institutes of learning (Oxford and Cambridge), famous collections (Musaeum Tradescantianum), and Christianity (Gospel harmonies). By carving a well-known, publicly displayed, Gospel harmony on a small cherry stone, this object created and intersection between national identity through *virtuosi* culture, religious identities through Christian culture, and male gender identity through the representation of the four evangelists, the three wood carvers, the Tradescants, and Elias Ashmole. The only female representation connected to the object in entry eight is the author, May Hall. However, taken together, all the identities aid in the construction of horizontal comradeship through visual representations and text.

Entries Nine and Ten: Two Kings and Protestantism – Entries nine ("9 Medal of Gustavus Adolphus, K. of Sweden") and ten ("10 King Charles I. on Horseback, in a Ten Shilling Piece"), may, initially, seem not to be connected to each other, however, the histories associated to each object suggest that there are common cultural links connecting the two objects. The Swedish king, represented in the object for entry nine, was a devout Protestant and this provides a link to England and its culture during this seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, reigned from 30 October 1611 to 6 November 1632, and is remembered for developing Sweden into a great European power.[307] This rapid development of Swedish fortunes saw Gustavus Adolphus given the title of "the father of modern warfare".[308] During the Thirty Years' War, he was widely considered to be the chief protector of the Protestant cause in Europe, and he required his soldiers to act as a Christian army, adhering to strict moral codes.[309] At the Battle of Breitenfeld, Gustavus Adolphus and the Protestant side obtained their first major victory

[304] Ibid., p. 351.
[305] Ibid., pp. 351-372.
[306] Ibid., pp. 351-372.
[307] Edmund Wright, *A Dictionary of World History* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
[308] Anne Kerr and Edmund Wright, *Breitenfeld, Battles of* (2015), p. 73.
[309] These codes included a prohibition on soldiers committing rape, brutalising prisoners of war, or plundering conquered lands, and they remained in place in the Swedish military until Gustavus Adolphus' death. Wright, *A Dictionary of World History*.

of the Thirty Years' War.[310] Known as the protector of the Protestant princes whose entry into the war changed things around for the Protestant side, especially after he got support from Catholic France, this victory encouraged many Protestant German states to join Sweden against the German Catholic League.[311] This knowledge helps us understand the potential links between the objects in this catalogue and the relationship between Gustavus Adolphus, the bibliophile and polite mastermind of war, and England's King Charles I.


*Figure 2 The abbreviated declaration front icon reads 'Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland' and the abbreviated reverse-side provides the declaration 'The religion of the Protestants, the Laws of England, the Liberty of Parliament'. Lastly, the outer reverse icon reads 'Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered'.*

Entry number ten ("10 King Charles I. on Horseback, in a Ten Shilling Piece") is a coin that commemorates the State Entrance made by King Charles I into Oxford on 29 October 1642, after the Battle of Edgehill, a battle considered as a stalemate. However, you may have thought otherwise by King Charles' State Entrance when moving his capital from London to the Royalist Universities in the City of Oxford. The Battle of Edgehill was a pitched battle (a battle in which both sides choose the fighting location and time) and fighters on both sides were extremely new to war.[312] However, despite this, both sides employed a few but key troops who had gained experience by fighting for the Dutch or Swedish during the Thirty Years' War. This was a war where many Protestants soldiers from English and Scottish officers played prominent roles in the armies of two Protestant leaders, Prince Maurice and Gustavus Adolphus. This was the case for Sir William Balfour, a professional Scottish soldier, who led the Parliamentarians' cavalry regiments and had served under Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War.[313]

On the Royalist side, this was also the case for professional English soldier Sir Arthur Aston, who was also commissioned by Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years' War. When the English Civil War began, Charles I originally declined to employ Aston because he was a Catholic, but upon the encouragement of Prince Rupert of the Rhine, he agreed.[314] Prince Rupert also utilised Swedish war strategies and was reinforced by Patrick Ruthven, who had also served in the Swedish army.[315] As this demonstrates, King Gustavus Adolphus had a great influence on English culture and especially on military operations during the Civil War, and this influence is significance in the medals being placed next to each other in the catalogue's frontpages. This significance is strongly connected to religion and especially the role of the Kings as leaders of Protestant armies.[316]

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[310] Partel Piirimae, "Just War in Theory and Practice: The Legitimation of Swedish Intervention in the Thirty Years War." *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (09, 2002): 499-523.
[311] Kerr and Wright, *Breitenfeld, Battles of* (2015), p. 73.
[312] R Young, Edgehill, 1642: The Campaign and the Battle (Moreton-in-Marsh, 1995), pp. 64-66.
[313] Aaron Graham, 'The Earl of Essex and Parliament's Army at the Battle of Edgehill: A Reassessment', *War in History*, 17 (2010), 276–293.
[314] Ibid., 276–293.
[315] Ibid., 276–293.
[316] Ibid., 276–293.

The appearance of the coins next to each other can also be attributed to the wider cultural context in England in the 1730s, and to an increased interest in the Swedish monarchy. This was in part promoted by the works of François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778) better known as Voltaire.[317] In 1731, Voltaire wrote the *History of Charles XII, King of Sweden* while living in England. The book was first translated into English in 1734, but its appearance, in an abridged form, as a chapbook, popularised the King to English readers and gave him a hero's status.[318] Voltaire's work has a cultural connection to the medal and would have been understood by the readers of the catalogue and maybe made it a more popular item.

Entries Eleven, Twelve, and Thirteen: National Culture and Christian narratives – Entry eleven reads "11 Cornish Diamonds", which were either quartz or crystals from Cornwall and is a seemingly simple entry. At first glance, this item seemed different to the others that I had analysed, and that May Hall had included in the catalogue. However, despite its seemingly simple appearance, this object, too, could be placed within the wider culture of eighteenth-century England. While Pope was well known as a writer, satirist, and poet – especially for his works 'The Rape of the Lock', *The Dunciad*, and *An Essay on Criticism* -, in the years after 1720 he would become even more well known for building Pope's Villa, a grotto lavishly decorated with Cornish Diamonds.[319] The shared cultural knowledge of the reading public in eighteenth-century England, would have been well aware of this fact and May Hall's use of the term "Cornish Diamonds" is, most likely, a deliberate allusion to Pope.

'The Rape of the Lock' is a (high) burlesque (parody), utilising 'rape' in in its Latin sense (*rapere*) meaning to 'snatch', 'grab', or 'carry off'.[320] In this poem, Pope satirises religious identities by comparing a mundane event told to him by friend to the gods' epic realm. This relationship between mundane and heroic can act as a metaphor for the relationship between Pope's grotto, his pretend stories (his work), and how they connect to religion on the catalogues' front pages.[321] These connections demonstrate the extent to which May Hall was influenced by Pope's work.

The links between Pope's grotto and object eleven also demonstrates how the concepts of nation, gender, and religion intersect. At the time of the publication of May Hall's catalogue, Pope was nationally known for designing his own gardens and building a grotto on his property in Twickenham. News stories stated that Pope's cottage was separated from his main garden by a throughfare and, in 1720, he began to connect the two by carving out a tunnel under the road, which started as a passageway running out of his cottage's basement into the would-be tunnel.[322] Pope wrote about his effort in a letter to a friend, explaining that the new tunnel would also be luxuriously decorated. These decorations included two 'joints' of basalt from the Giant's Causeway, Northern Ireland (a representation of the Ascendancy), given to him by Sir Hans Sloane.[323] In the years afterward 1720 Pope developed an interest in geology and mining, and he began decorating his grotto so that it resembled a mine. This included decorating it with rocks,

[317] B. W. Wells, "The Age of Voltaire". *The Sewanee Review* 3, no. 2 (1895): pp. 129-56.
[318] Ibid., pp.129-56.
[319] Anthony Beckles Willson, "Alexander Pope's Grotto in Twickenham", *Garden History* 26, no. 1 (1998): pp. 31-59.
[320] Willson, 'Alexander Pope's Grotto in Twickenham'. pp. 31-59.
[321] Ibid., pp. 31-59.
[322] Ibid., pp. 31-59.
[323] Ibid., pp. 31-59.

spars, stalactites, crystals and Cornish Diamonds, marbles and sponge stone, all of which were sent to him by Dr William Borlase (1696–1772) from Cornwall.[324] While it is unclear if the Cornish Diamond in May Hall's catalogue represented Pope directly, it is clear that his work was culturally relevant at the time and that the allusion to it in the catalogue could have helped construct a sense of horizontal comradeship with catalogue readers.

The 'Cornish Diamonds' in entry eleven, demonstrate an experience of horizontal comradeship with a national culture and can also be read as an allegory; in this case, it is a not a moral allegory, but one that represents the concept of civilization and progress being within natural laws (exceptionalism) and characterises how civilisation corrupts. In addition, news reports emerging from Cornwall about wrecked East Indian Company ships containing expensive cargos,[325] and the wealth to be gained from the Chancewater copper mine, described as 'the richest square mile on Earth'[326] would have been familiar to interested coffeehouse readers. This shared national cultural knowledge, which would have been understood by eighteenth century readers, provides context for the object. It also suggests that the objects had a wider cultural meaning, which would have helped to construct horizontal comradeship for readers.

The two remaining entries, twelve ("12 A Rose of Jericho") and thirteen ("13 A Snake's Egg") both have a subtle relationship with one another and religion. In eighteenth-century England, Christian communities often associated the Rose of Jericho with the life of Christ.[327] The Rose of Jericho is also known as the "Resurrection flower" – as it was believed the rose shrank and died like Christ, before coming back to life, representing Christ's resurrection - and they were sold to pilgrims as souvenirs by the Bedouin.[328] (This entry seems to relate back to the Church of Holy Sepulchre) The collecting culture of the eighteenth-century, as noted above, overlapped with the religious culture of the pilgrimage; treasuring souvenirs, especially natural objects with a spiritual meaning, became an essential part of pilgrim culture.[329]

In the early modern period, the Rose of Jericho had a connection to childbirth, and it was used in both folk beliefs and Catholic dogma, particularly as a birthing aid during ceremonies and rituals.[330] In this way, the Rose of Jericho can be tied to concepts of gender and especially to notions of motherhood which forms an integral part of Christian narratives. The Rose of Jericho represented two ideas, outlined above, the concept of the Saviour and everlasting life, and the construction of gender through its links to childbirth.[331] This connection to childbirth during the early modern period, could be linked to the Christian duty of women to have babies as a core aspect of femininity. An entry that reinforces the idea of constructing gender identities at the

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[324] Ibid., pp. 31-59.

[325] Philip D. Curtin, review of *Review of The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, by K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 506–8.

[326] A. W. Smith and William Blake, '"And Did Those Feet...?": The "Legend" of Christ's Visit to Britain', *Folklore* 100, no. 1 (1989): 63–83.

[327] Suzy Knight, 'Devotion, Popular Belief and Sympathetic Magic among Renaissance Italian Women: The Rose of Jericho as Birthing Aid', *Studies in Church History* 46 (2010): 134–43, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400000553.

[328] For Ludolph von Suchem's description, see his 'Description of the Holy Land', in Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, ed. Aubrey Steward and C. R. Conder, 14 vols (London, 1887-97), 12: 91, cited in Crowfoot and Baldensperger, Cedar to Hyssop, p. 123.

[329] Knight, 'Devotion, Popular Belief and Sympathetic Magic among Renaissance Italian Women: The Rose of Jericho as Birthing Aid'.

[330] Diana Webb, Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West (London, 1999), pp 124-32.

[331] Knight, 'Devotion, Popular Belief and Sympathetic Magic among Renaissance Italian Women: The Rose of Jericho as Birthing Aid'.

intersection of gender and religion by perpetuating the narrative of a woman's duty within Christianity.

The final entry in the 1737 catalogues is '13 A Snake's Egg'. In Christian ideology, snakes represent the devil.[332] Isaiah 59:5 states, "They hatch cockatrice' eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper."[333] This figurative expression is designed to reinforce from the Bible's book of Isaiah chapter 59 verse 2 message: sin separates us from God and to show the evil nature and tendency of the wicked character and plans of sinners from the book of Isaiah chapter 59 verse 5.[334] It also serves as a metaphoric warning not to nourish the eggs of a venomous serpent whose plans are as pernicious, loathsome, and hateful as the poisonous serpents that spread death, ruin, and alarm everywhere. In this manner, the snake's egg, can be considered as a symbol acting as a warning that Satan's offspring will infect the earth with evil. For Christians, and those with Christian knowledge in the eighteenth century, it can also be tied to the Rose of Jericho – the 'Resurrection flower -, (representing the rebirth of Christ) or through its use as a birthing aid at ceremonies and rituals (symbolising the protection at the birth from the spawn of Satan having evil plans).[335] These metaphoric warnings written by May Hall and placed on the front pages of this catalogue would be tantalising to curious readers. As I have shown, by deconstructing each object on the front page of the 1737 catalogue to create a baseline for further study, May Hall was able to construct meaning by attaching cultural contexts, familiar to an eighteenth-century audience, through her descriptive writings. Such meanings were created in interconnected ways and were intimately connected to concepts of religion, nation building and constructing gender identities – in the case of these objects, largely a male identity.

### *ii) Continuity and change after 1737*

Using thing theory this section of chapter three considers how the title page's object descriptions are attached identities and then changed through time. This is achieved by examining the objects included on the title page of the remaining editions of *Don Saltero's* catalogue. *Continuity and change after 1737* examines the big trends and possible turning points followed by a discussion with detailed examples from the title pages. Frist, from the editions owned by May Hall (1738 ,1739, 1741, 1750, 1754, 1756) and second, editions owned by James Emblem (1778, 1780, 1781) and subsequently the Jacobs (1782, 1784, 1785, 1788, 1790). Thing theory is used here to understand the possible wider cultural context of the object's prominence by illuminating it through the written text's cultural relevance. By analysing the continuity and/or change of the object descriptions on the catalogue's title page and then highlighting webs of meanings. The questions asked: Does the language used to describe the object on the title pages continue to push against binary understanding? Do the title pages continue to illustrate that placing these objects

[332] Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation: Or, The Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (S.I.: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005).
[333] *The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: newly translated out of the originall tongues & with the former translations diligently compared and revised,* (Place of publication not identified, 2000).
[334] *Ibid.*.
[335] Knight, 'Devotion, Popular Belief and Sympathetic Magic among Renaissance Italian Women: The Rose of Jericho as Birthing Aid'.

into simple identity categories of religion, gender, or nationhood, is impossible? The study selected, counted, and sorted the religious object descriptions on the title pages during May Hall's ownership and found that sacred objects were reduced from ten in 1737 to four in 1756. Along with the shift in number of religious objects on the title page, the total number of objects also grew smaller. In the 1737 edition, ten of the thirteen object descriptions listed on the title page were religious, which equates to 77% of the objects. The totals for the other six editions are listed below:

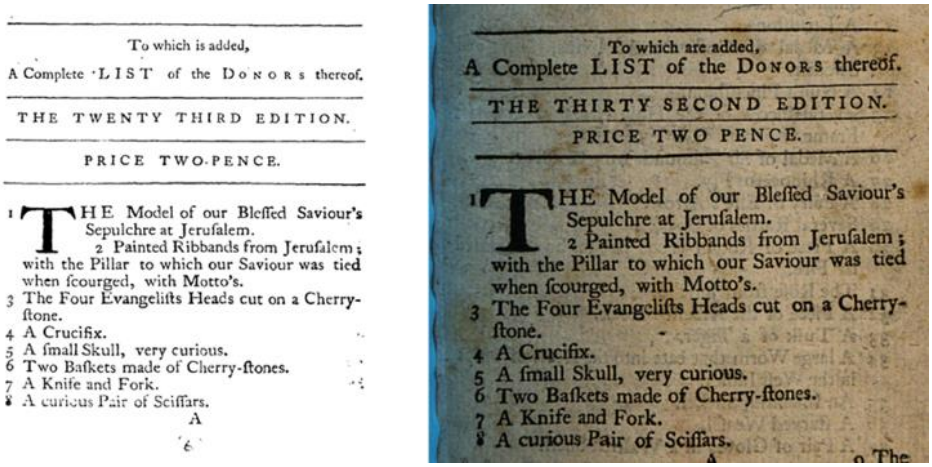
- 1738 edition, ten out of fourteen object descriptions (71%) are religious.
- 1739 edition, eight out of nine object descriptions (89%) are religious.
- 1741 edition, four out of nine object descriptions (44%) are religious.
- 1750 edition, five out of eight object descriptions (63%) are religious.
- 1754 edition, four out of eight object descriptions (50%.) are religious.
- 1756 edition, four out of seven object descriptions (57%) are religious.

By assessing the sources from a perspective centring on religion, this study uncovers a turning point within the period of May Hall's ownership. For example, the 1739 edition presents the highest percentage of religious object descriptions found on title pages in the entire catalogue and then demonstrate a sudden and clear change, dropping from 89% in 1739 to 44% in 1741. In the 1750 edition a 19% growth in religious object descriptions, and then from 1754 to 1756 the religious object descriptions from the title pages decline from 63% in 1750, ultimately levelling out to 57% in the 1754 and 1756 editions. The catalogue's title page changed drastically in terms of the object descriptions between the 1739 and the 1741 editions. In the 1739 edition, 89% of object descriptions were religious, while this was the case for only 44% of objects in the 1741 edition. This means that the inclusion of objects that are religious in nature dropped by over 50%. Changes include all object descriptions except the following entries: '1 The Model of our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem' and '2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with a Motto on each'. These remain the same but the other descriptions are either moved to distinct positions or removed from the title pages altogether. A brief explanation for such drastic changes could be that the meaning of these objects had altered for the British public because, over time, the context of what these objects meant to the mostly Protestant society in Britain in the late 1730s and early 1740 had also changed. Objects representing the Christian plight and pilgrimages to the Holy Land still hold some cultural relevancy because items one and two are kept on the title page. But the general decline in the volume of religious objects might represent a change in the British public's relationship with Christianity, nationhood, and identity, as observed amid the Evangelical Revival.

After the 1741 turning point edition, three editions (1750, 1754, 1756) survive under May Hall's ownership. Sacred objects listed on the title page drop from 63% in 1750 to 50% in 1754 and rise slightly to 57% in 1756. A slight change in object description number two is noted on the title page of the 1750 edition. In 1741, number two reads: '2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with a Motto on each'. In 1750, number two reads: '2 Painted Ribbands from Jerusalem, with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when scourged; with Motto', dropping the 'on each'. What is more, the emphasis on the word Jerusalem disappears from the title page in the 1778 edition, and entry two is abandoned entirely in the thirty-fourth edition in 1780.

As the catalogues evolved through the 1700s, the object descriptions began to reflect a decentring of religion. The title pages from 1760 to 1795 reveal religion's diminished relationship to nationhood and gender. From 1760 to 1781, the rate books list James Emblem as 'coffee-man' and owner of Don Saltero's.[336] It seems as if only six editions of the catalogue from this period were printed and only three surviving editions can be located. What is more, even though Emblem was the owner for 21 years, I had difficulty in locating information about his life or business dealings; however, three out of six editions published during his ownership survived: the thirty-second edition from 1778, the thirty-fourth edition from 1780 and the thirty-fifth edition from 1781. The three surviving catalogues from James Emblem's stint as 'coffee-man' yielded title pages with object descriptions, while one edition (1780) had many changes.

The first point of note is the similarity between the 1778 edition's title page and that from 1754 (Figure 2). The 1778 edition was a recycled version of the 1754 edition. There are indications that reaffirm that the second owner was less committed to the annual updates to the catalogues, as made by May Hall. The change of typeface from Caslon in 1778 to Baskerville in the 1780 edition has already been addressed in Chapter Two. The object descriptions on the title pages between 1778 and 1780 changed in every entry except the first. The object descriptions listed on the title page increased from eight in 1778 to twenty-one in 1780 and, at the same time, religious object descriptions dropped from 50% in 1778 to 10% in 1780 and 1781.



To which is added,
A Complete LIST of the DONORS thereof.

THE TWENTY THIRD EDITION.

PRICE TWO-PENCE.

1 THE Model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem.
2 Painted Ribbands from Jeruſalem; with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged, with Motto's.
3 The Four Evangeliſts Heads cut on a Cherry-ſtone.
4 A Crucifix.
5 A ſmall Skull, very curious.
6 Two Baſkets made of Cherry-ſtones.
7 A Knife and Fork.
8 A curious Pair of Sciſſars.

A

To which are added,
A Complete LIST of the DONORS thereof.

THE THIRTY SECOND EDITION.

PRICE TWO PENCE.

1 THE Model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem.
2 Painted Ribbands from Jeruſalem; with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged, with Motto's.
3 The Four Evangeliſts Heads cut on a Cherry-ſtone.
4 A Crucifix.
5 A ſmall Skull, very curious.
6 Two Baſkets made of Cherry-ſtones.
7 A Knife and Fork.
8 A curious Pair of Sciſſars.

*Figure 42. Don Saltero's Catalogue of the Rarities. The 1754 edition (left) and the 1778 edition (right).*

Below is the breakdown of all three surviving title pages listing object descriptions from the era of James Emblem's ownership.

- 1778 edition, four out of eight object descriptions (50%) are religious.
- 1780 and 1781 edition, two out of twenty-one (10%) object descriptions are religious.

Emblem sold the coffeehouse in 1781 but the Survey of London (2, Chelsea, Pt I) chronicles that he continued to live in Chelsea at No. 15 Cheyne Walk from 1780 to 1783.[337] The rate books reveal that the coffeehouse's last owners were Steven and Mary Jacobs from 1782–99.[338] After they became owners, a slight change occurred in the 1782 edition of the catalogue, which added

[336] Walter H. Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk: No. 17 and Don Saltero's Coffee House (No. 18)", in *Survey of London: Volume 2, Chelsea, Pt I* (London, 1909), 61–64.
[337] Godfrey, "Cheyne Walk: No. 15", in *Survey of London,* 50–53.
[338] Godfrey, 'Cheyne Walk: No. 17," 61-64.

three object descriptions. These were number '22 A sliver tooth-pick and ear-picker worn by the Indians', '23 A Small padlock made of red coral, and a key', and '24 A curious sword set with polished Steel, presented by the king of Lilliput to capt. Gulliver'. This was a small final change to the catalogue's object descriptions, which remained the same until the coffeehouse was auctioned off in 1799, as the data below suggest.

The 1782 edition's title page is the only edition to reference Gulliver's Travels directly by name, in object description number 24. The next surviving edition from 1784 lists this object description as '24 A curious sword set with polished steel', as do the 1785, 1788, and 1790 editions, which suggests that implying or hinting to satirical work of predecessors was clever and part of the catalogues' charm but that a direct reference was not.

- 1782, 1784, 1785, 1788 and 1790 editions, two out of twenty-four object descriptions (8%) are religious.

The other owners, object descriptions, display religion's dwindling relationship to nationhood and gender -Up to the 1780 edition, the object descriptions on the title page centred on religion, but this changed when object descriptions began to focus on characteristics of nationhood. From 1780 onwards, only two items were religious in nature: '1 The model of our Blessed Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem' and '20 A nun's pincushion'. If the nation of origin of these object descriptions is considered first, however, before a consideration of religion and gender, these object descriptions might be interpreted as being 'British' in origin with a greater degree of caution. This notion is particularly revealing when considering '20 A nun's pincushion'.

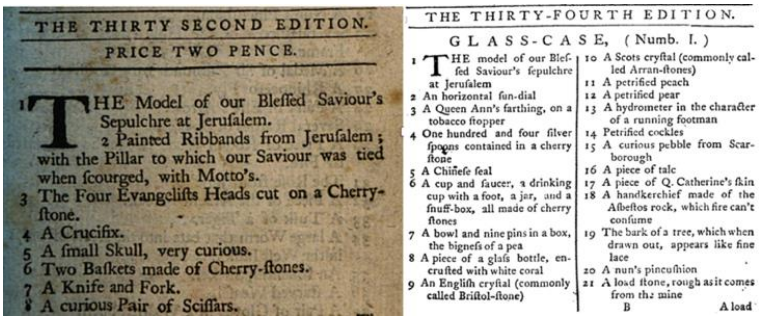
In the eighteenth century, pincushions were sometimes a gift for mothers in an era when a baby's garments and/or cloth nappies were held together by straight pins. Pincushions were handy, as pins were always in demand.[339] What is more, some pincushions functioned as a birth announcement when draped on a door after the birth of a baby. Thus, for a contemporary reader to understand this entry, '20 A nun's pincushion' as a birth gift or birth announcement by a nun would be exceedingly rare indeed. Tonya Moutray, however, offers another understanding of the object description through the lens of nationhood.[340] Moutray explains that a striking literary shift took place, as British writers championed the cause of nuns and praised their socially significant work, addressing the allure of the convent for British women triggered by ongoing politico-religious crises that would lead to the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. This objects description on these catalogues' title pages, acknowledges the much broader anti-Catholic rhetoric floating around London when James Emblems was owner of these catalogues.

This entry sheds light on how writers shaped the British perception of nuns and convents at a critical time for their survival. Early in the eighteenth century, it was commonplace in British literature to depict negative exchanges with those of the Catholic faith, particularly in relation to priests, nuns, and convents.[341] Margaret Mason argues that the propensity to objectify nuns through concentrating on the secret aspects of convent life as a way of sexualizing nuns was a significant piece of eighteenth-century British literary culture and was often actualized through

[339] *Gertrude Whiting, Old-Time Tools & Toys of Needlework (Courier Dover Publications, New York, 1971), p. 153.*
[340] Tonya J. Moutray, Refugee Nuns, the French Revolution, and British Literature and Culture. (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2016).
[341] Ibid., 145.

printed novels, poems, or travel literature.[342] Mason uses examples from Cornelius Cayley, who wrote in 1772 that 'A Nun's dress is a very becoming one', while Philip Thicknesse, writing as he witnessed a clothing ceremony at a convent in Paris, thought that a nun's dress was 'quite white, and no ways unbecoming [...] [it] did not render her in my eyes, a whit less proper for the affections of the world'.[343]

Similarly, Moutray argues that the way in which print represented Catholic nuns during the 1780s and 1790s improved by becoming more nuanced about the issues encountered by nuns, which helped the British public's acceptance of Catholics as practical strategists who resisted authorities.[344] Then, as nuns arrived in England from France to resettle, written depictions of their journeys as refugees changed their relationship with supporters and locals,[345] as did the legal status of 'English' nuns and convents in England, which included the right to work. Some sold items such as pincushions, but most worked in education.[346] It is the catalogue's use of the object description '20 A nun's pincushion' as a rarity in the 1780 edition that illuminates Mason's argument regarding the stereotyping of nuns, making them comparable to notions of 'otherness'. These same othering ideas are applied to aspects of European culture thought of as exotic. Anti-Catholic travel literature used this othering ideology to create a space for a nation of British Protestants in which to unite. The ideological stance of anti-Catholicism in Britain, as depicted in travel literature, claimed that encounters with Catholicism by British travellers in France 'excited fear or unease [...] and, at times, humour, or ridicule'.[347] Encounters with continental convents culminated in negative descriptions of rituals, relics, and enclosed spaces. Convents were depicted as habitually oppressive because of their hierarchy and silent culture, which directly opposed the stereotypes of sociability found in Enlightenment thought and which defined sophisticated society. These stereotypes caused British Protestants to find aspects of convent culture perplexing. It is telling that the author of these catalogues thought of 'A nun's pincushion' as a rarity, because in their eyes, a nun's way of life rendered them either blameless and oppressed or complicit and corrupt.[348]


THE THIRTY SECOND EDITION.

PRICE TWO PENCE.

1 THE Model of our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre at Jeruſalem.
2 Painted Ribbands from Jeruſalem; with the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged, with Motto's.
3 The Four Evangeliſts Heads cut on a Cherry-ſtone.
4 A Crucifix.
5 A ſmall Skull, very curious.
6 Two Baſkets made of Cherry-ſtones.
7 A Knife and Fork.
8 A curious Pair of Sciſſars.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH EDITION.

GLASS-CASE, (Numb. I.)

1 THE model of our Bleſſed Saviour's ſepulchre at Jeruſalem
2 An horizontal ſun-dial
3 A Queen Ann's farthing, on a tobacco ſtopper
4 One hundred and four ſilver ſpoons contained in a cherry ſtone
5 A Chineſe ſeal
6 A cup and ſaucer, a drinking cup with a foot, a jar, and a ſnuff-box, all made of cherry ſtones
7 A bowl and nine pins in a box, the bigneſs of a pea
8 A piece of a glaſs bottle, encruſted with white coral
9 An Engliſh cryſtal (commonly called Briſtol-ſtone)
10 A Scots cryſtal (commonly called Arran-ſtones)
11 A petrified peach
12 A petrified pear
13 A hydrometer in the character of a running footman
14 Petrified cockles
15 A curious pebble from Scarborough
16 A piece of talc
17 A piece of Q. Catherine's ſkin
18 A handkerchief made of the Aſbeſtos rock, which fire can't conſume
19 The bark of a tree, which when drawn out, appears like fine lace
20 A nun's pincuſhion
21 A load ſtone, rough as it comes from the mine

B A load

*Figure 43. Don Saltero's Catalogue of the Rarities. The 1778 edition (left) and the 1780 edition (right).*

[342] Margaret Mason, "Nuns of the Jerningham Letters: Elizabeth Jerningham (1727–1807) and Frances Henrietta Jerningham (1745–1824), Augustinian Canonesses of Bruges," *Recusant History* 22, no 3 (1995), 350–69.
[343] Ibid., 350–69.
[344] Moutray, *Refugee Nuns*, p. 145.
[345] Ibid. p.,145.
[346] Ibid. p.,145.
[347] Mason, "Nuns of the Jerningham Letters", 350–69.
[348] Ibid., 350–69.

A few of these new entries describe petrified objects as 'rare', like items number '11 A petrified peach', '12 A petrified pear', '14 Petrified cockles'. Such object descriptions point again to the work of Geneviève d'Arconville. At the age of 22, d'Arconville suffered from a case of smallpox that left her badly scarred, an experience that caused her to withdraw from society and spend her time studying and establishing a research laboratory.[349] She studied how plant and animal matter rots, in the process known as putrefaction, and for ten years, she recorded the results of experiments involving rotting food under various conditions to see if putrefaction could be delayed.[350] She found that protecting matter from air and exposing it to copper, camphor, and cinchona could delay rotting. She published her 'Essay on the History of Putrefaction' in 1766, which included details of over 300 experiments she had meticulously conducted.[351] The authors of these catalogues understood readers were influence by and interested in the French Enlightenment, and so these catalogue title pages permeate d'Arconville's work. Interestingly at a time when identities constructed around nationhood were widespread. British identity in the late eighteenth century could include French Enlightenment thinking; however, placing these objects on the catalogues' title pages could indicate that such identities were rare.

This shift in perspective warrants a closer consideration of these object descriptions, but for the sake of space, and because women are specifically mentioned, only the following two objects will be closely considered: item number three and number seventeen. This decision was made for two reasons. The first is space, and the second is that both object descriptions centre on ideas of nationhood by othering the actions of women in power. Analysing the catalogues in this way yields interesting results. Entry number three, '3 A Queen Ann's farthing, on a tobacco stopper' (tool for pressing down the tobacco in a pipe), could point readers to incidents of overproduction during the reign of Queen Anne (farthings and tobacco). The spelling changes from 'Queen Ann' in 1780 to 'Queen Anne' in 1781. The significs of the change in spelling from Ann to Anne could be understood to emasculate her as a ruler, which is exactly what pointing out the overproduction of farthings and tobacco did, but what does this teach us about the catalogues?

First, the British farthing is a coin that was worth a quarter of an old penny or 1⁄960 of a pound sterling. Only pattern farthings were struck under Queen Anne because of excess farthings from previous reigns (a 'pattern' is produced to evaluate a suggested design but a coin has not been approved for release)[352]. The minting of farthings was not necessary during most of the reign of Queen Anne (1701–14) because of the surplus of leftover English farthings that remained in circulation. This changed in the beginning of 1713, when a lack of halfpennies and farthings was noted. Thus, the Royal Mint scheduled the issue of farthings in 1714; however, their release was abandoned owing to the queen's death. Nevertheless, some of Queen Anne's pattern farthings leaked into circulation. The rarity of leaked Queen Anne farthings boosted a tenacious, but incorrect, lore that these coins were of enormous value.[353] Nonetheless, the Queen Anne coins

[349] Karen B. Reichard, "Marie-Geneviève Thiroux D'Arconville (1720-1805)". In Spencer, Samia I. (ed.). Writers of the French Enlightenment. Vol. II. (Detroit: Thomson Gale 2005), pp. 181–185.
[350] Julie Candler Hayes, "From Anonymity to Autobiography: Mme D'Arconville's Self Fashionings". Romanic Review. 103 (3/4): 381–397.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Rogers Ruding, Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain, and Its Dependencies: From the Earliest Period of Authentic History to the Reign of Victoria (London: John Hearne, 1840).
[353] G. Dyer, and G.P. Gaspar, "Reform, the New Technology and Tower Hill", in A New History of the Royal Mint, ed. C.E. Challis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 398–606.

held cultural value in Britain. Isaac Newton, a contemporary, expressed that the Queen Anne farthings displayed progress in minting through greater consistency in striking than seen in the coins of William III.[354] More recently, numismatic research has argued that Britannia bears the likeness of the Queen Anne farthings: 'it was at this point that the blending of the female personification of Britain with the image of the reigning Queen takes firm hold'[355] The Queen Anne farthing features a right-facing head with the inscription BRITANNIA imprinted on the coin, along with the date.


*Figure 44. Queen Anne farthing, 1714 in mint state. A tiny coin, of which 960 were required to make one pound sterling. This work created by the United Kingdom Government is in the public domain.*

The second connection to this object description was the overproduction of tobacco in the Virginia colony. Prices for tobacco were stable for many years until the outbreak of Queen Anne's War (1702–13). At the same time, the Virginia colony overproduced tobacco crops, causing prices to plunge. An overproduction of Virginia tobacco caused the 1704 shipment of several thousand hogsheads of tobacco sent to England to yield no returns.[356] In 1705, prices continued to fall; however, tobacco farmers remained unconvinced to scale down production. In 1709, 29 million pounds of tobacco were produced in the colonies (all-time highest).[357]

As the economic and political conditions in England improved in the latter part of the seventeenth century, however, the tobacco field's source of free labour started shrinking.[358] A different source of slave labour emerged. Africans (enslaved for life) were brought to Virginia's tobacco fields.[359] By 1700, for the first time, African slaves in the Virginia colony outnumbered white indentured servants because, even though the market price for a hogshead of tobacco was forever changing, it remained sufficiently high in relation to labour cost. A hefty profit could still be made. Virginia colony planters, along with the monarch, used this economic variable to justify their support of and their profit from free labour from indentured servants and African slaves.[360] Queen Anne inherited these labour practices and upheld them during her reign. This object description connects farthings and tobacco to Queen Anne and reminds the reader that to be 'British' is to be aware of the perils of overproduction. It also places British females in a position of power as 'rare'. The idea of a woman expressing her power so openly may have been rare and

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[354] G. Dyer, "Thomas Graham's copper survey of 1857", *British Numismatic Journal*, ed. 66, (1996), 60–66.
[355] Kerry Rodgers, "Rule Britannia, Part 2: Stuart Restoration", *Coin News*, (February 2017), 41–44.
[356] Salmon, Emily, and John Salmon. "Tobacco in Colonial Virginia", *Encyclopedia Virginia.* Virginia Humanities, (05 Feb. 2021). A hogshead of tobacco was an enormous wooden barrel used for transporting and storing *tobacco* in British American colonial times. James H. Soltow, *The Economic Role of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: University Press of Virginia, Charlottesvile, 1965), 47, Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library.
[357] *Verner W Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," The American Historical Review, 24 (3, April): 379–95.*
[358] Stacy L. Lorenz, "'To Do Justice to His Majesty, the Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Virginia Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108 (2000): 345–92.
[359] John C. Rainbolt, "The Case of the Poor Planters in Virginia for Inspecting and Burning Tobacco," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79 (1971): 314–321.
[360] Verner W. Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War." The American Historical Review, vol. 24, no. 3, 1919, 379–95.

went against the narrative of male Britishness and the Protestant warrior. This, however, was not the entire female experience, as seen in the next object description considered.

This next object, '17 A piece of Q Catherine's skin', could be interpreted in several ways. By focusing on the inference of the skin in entry '17 A piece of Q Catherine's skin', in the early part of the 1700s many written suggestions concerning skin were made through associations or as a symbol. Both the writings and skins use as a metaphoric symbol significantly expanded in the eighteenth century. As seen in William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (1753) contains the following description of human skin:

> *"It is well known, the fair young girl, the brown old man, and the negro; nay, all mankind, have the same appearance, and are alike disagreeable to the eye, when the upper skin is taken away: now to conceal so disagreeable an object, and to produce that variety of complexions seen in the world, nature hath contrived a transparent skin, called the cuticula, with a lining to it of a very extraordinary kind, called the cutis; both which are so thin any little scald will make them blister and peel off."*[361]

Here this object description '17 A piece of Q Catherine's skin', is connected to a wider culture of written work and public conversations of skin. It is Hogarth work that begins with, 'it is well known,' which denotes to common knowledge of the written text in circulation by the mid-eighteenth century. Such works included, William Cowper and Daniel Turner, *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies* (1698) and *De Morbis Cutaneis* (1714), here Hogarth connects skin to being vulnerable to blisters and peeling and then associates his work to medicinal text.[362] Connecting this to Catherine the great early years as Queen in Russia could be seen as her being seen as vulnerable. Here own diaries support a self-understanding of her relationship to power and self-worth may have been obvious to others. She noted that her first visit to Moscow, "I was obliged to remain in my room during my first stay in Moscow because of the excessive number of pimples that had broken out on my face; I was scared to death of being scarred".[363] The Queen's concern with her skin and through later self-reflection reflected the wider culture which brings us to the work of Roy Porter. Porter's transverses work from eighteenth century that produced a crossover of self-reflection with the relationship between medical and fiction writing, especially the microscope and as these ideas spread through the novel, ideas of contagion become more understood. Consequently, the porous body became an object of increasing fear because as sickness left one vulnerable and it opened others around them to sickness. If we consider, '17 A piece of Q Catherine's skin', as part of the literary movement pointing to the porous body becoming an object of increasing fear, then Deborah Needleman's work becomes relevant by taking our understanding of these title pages back to Swift. Needleman argues that by the 1720s the microscope was a popular tool, (and sometimes a toy) used by both men and women.[364] The wide use of microscopes was satirised by Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels*. Gulliver hates bodily using the microscope on the body. Here Swift, creates a relationship with magnified skin and the triggering of disgust releases through violent misogyny which is supported by Laura

[361] William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p .88.
[362] Hogarth references Cowper 'the famous anatomist' in *The Analysis of Beauty* on p.53.
[363] Catherine II, Empress of Russia, *Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II*, (Translator: Aleksandr Herzen, Russia, 1744), p. 66.
[364] Deborah Needleman, 'The Sexual Politics of Microscopy in Brobdingnag', *Studies in English Literature*, Volume 7, Number 3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century, (Summer, 2007), p.624.

Brown's argument in, 'Reading Race and Gender: Jonathan Swift' and states, misogyny drives the 'dynamic of aversion and identification' that informs Gulliver's reactions to female bodies.[365]

Another understanding ties this object description to a famous 1762 painting depicting Catherine the Great showing only a tiny part of her skin in a uniform traditionally donned by male guards (Figure 5). When the painting was made collecting souvenirs from travels abroad was commonplace for travellers of the time as miniature portraits.

*Figure 45. This 1762 painting depicts Catherine the Great in the same traditionally male guard uniform that Elizabeth had worn. Catherine triumphantly donned it following her coup.*

A deeper look at this painting invokes Voltaire, Diderot, Enlightenment thought and the 1767 publication of Nakaz (Instruction of Catherine the Great), and uniform reforms. The Nakaz was Catherine's means to join forces with Voltaire by proposing a profoundly new, liberal, humanitarian approach to political philosophy.[366] Catherine made a remark in a conversation with Denis Diderot, that '[w]hile you write on unfeeling paper, I write on human skin, which is sensitive to the slightest touch.[367] By that, Catherine meant writing with passion. It is here that the Russian Empress shares her unpredicted but important espousals of realism and humanism. The Nakaz was inspired by ideas of the Enlightenment, and the text proposed a new code of laws and reforms, including the abolition of capital punishment, torture, and serfdom with the aim to modernize Russia, but also strengthen the monarchy.[368] Thus, the rarity of '17 A piece of Q Catherine's skin' could be understood as being as rare as the passion that Catherine showed publicly. What makes this object rare at the time? It would be Catherine's use of dress being injected into the object and used as a symbolic structure of rational change to endorse and apply social changes. By regulating the social and the visual simultaneously, she tried to shape the political and cultural imaginary. Catherine explains her reformative agenda in a letter to Voltaire (written on 29 May [9 June n.s.] 1767), which references a coat that might suit the diverse population of Russia:

> *"Here I am in Asia; I wanted to see it for myself. There are in this city twenty different people, who bear absolutely no resemblance to each other. However, I have to make them a coat which will fit them all. It is not hard to find general principles; but what about the details? And what*

[365] Laura Brown, 'Reading Race and Gender: Jonathan Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Volume 23, Number 4, (Summer, 1990), p. 434.
[366] Inna Gorbatov, "Voltaire and Russia in the Age of Enlightenment," *Orbis Litterarum* 62.5 (2007), 381–93.
[367] A. Lentin, "Catherine the Great and Denis Diderot," *History Today* (May 1972), 313–32.
[368] Colum Leckey, "Patronage and public culture in the Russian Free Economic Society, 1765–1796," *Slavic Review* (2005) 64, 2: 355–379.

*details! I might say there is almost a whole world to be created, united, preserved. I may never be able to complete it; there are far too many different customs here".*[369]

The Decree of 24 October 1782 attempted to incorporate both men and women into a state system through clothing policies that encouraged both men and women to wear regional uniforms in public places. In visits to court and for certain court celebrations, only those ladies who had received the Order of St Catherine would be required to wear uniform dresses of their Order.[370] Catherine the Great used cross-dressing to legitimise herself and wore traditionally male dress to claim and celebrate her power. These decisions took on special significance in eighteenth-century Russia because this period was ruled by females looking to assert their authority and doing so through symbols of masculinity.[371] As Catherine's Russia failed to adopt all her ideas of realism and humanism, such ambition reminds us of the limits placed on even the most enlightened and energetic ruler. Such an understanding places the object description into its cultural context, while the catalogues' authors, Emblem and Jacobs, could be read as favouring the Queen's ambitions or at the very least acknowledging her and her ambitions as rare.

The object description '22 A sliver tooth-pick and ear-picker worn by the Indians' references an object representing trading with the Banjara community, who wore silver toothpicks and ear-pickers as amulets during the Anglo-Mughal Wars.[372] The Banjara were originally nomadic traders in India but under Mughal rule they migrated to the northern state of Rajasthan where this community has a long tradition of street ear cleaning.[373] Ear cleaners are known in India as kaan saaf wallahs. The caste system regulates traditional occupations such as ear cleaning, as well as marriage, status, and social interaction.[374]

*Figure 46. Eighteenth-century silver toothpick and ear-picker worn as amulets by the Banjara community.*

During Mughal rule, in eighteenth-century India, when the British East India Company brought war to the Indian subcontinent, kaan saaf wallahs were popular. The object's connection to the Banjara community and this community's relationship to the Mughal Empire aids the

[369] Anthony Lentin (trans. and ed.), *Voltaire and Catherine the Great: Selected Correspondence* (Cambridge: Oriental Research Partners,1974), p. 48.
[370] Viktoria Ivleva, 'Catherine II: uniform dresses and regional uniforms.', *Costume: the journal of the Costume Society.*, 53 (2, 2019), 207 - 212.
[371] Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great,* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2015), pp. 57-58.
[372] Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, *Complete Book of Amulets & Talismans.* Sourcebook Series, (St. Paul, MN: Lewellyn Publications, 1991), p. 1. An amulet, also known as a good luck charm, is an object believed to confer protection upon its possessor. The word 'amulet' comes from the Latin word 'amuletum'. Pliny's *Natural History* describes it as 'an object that protects a person from trouble', Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2007.
[373] J. W. Frembgen, "Itinerary ear-cleaners: Notes on a marginal profession in urban Muslim Punjab," *Anthropos* 106, no. 1 (2011), 180–84.
[374] D. Wang, "The idle and the busy: Teahouses and public life in early twentieth-century Chengdu," *Journal of Urban* 26, no. 4, (2000), 411–37.

argument made here, by indicating that this object represents English monopolies that have incited many Anglo-Indian wars, leading to the establishment of British colonial rule in India.[375] The first of these wars was the Anglo-Mughal war (1686–90); there were ten other Anglo-Indian wars during the time of the catalogue's publication. [376] The English East India Company had been given a monopoly by the Crown, endorsed by the local governors, and maintained many fortified bases on the western and south-eastern coasts of Mughal India.[377] The armada of the East India Company obstructed several Mughal ports on the western coast of India, which led to skirmishes with the Mughal army. The blockade affected major cities and Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707) intervened by taking over all of the East India Company's factories and arresting members of its army.[378] Eventually, the East India Company capitulated to the Mughal Empire, and it was fined and asked to apologise.[379] After both conditions were met, trading privileges were reinstated by Emperor Aurangzeb.[380]

When object description '22 A sliver tooth-pick and ear-picker worn by the Indians' is placed within the cultural context of eighteenth-century Britain, it could be connected to the popular contemporary ideas and writings of Adam Smith and, in particular, his 'invisible hand' theory found in The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) and An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776). In these writings, Adam Smith opposed the East India Company's territorial expansion in India but refrained from endorsing the nationalisation of the Company's possessions. In the early modern era (c.1550s – c.1750s), European nations embraced mercantilist policies resulting in colonial expansion, and governments backed Dutch, French, and British East India Companies. Their policies were intended to achieve a favourable balance of trade and bring gold and silver into the European region. British mercantilist policies attempted to do this through encouraging the import of cheap raw materials and the export of finished, manufactured goods. The British would then force their colonies to purchase these goods and in so doing enforced a trade monopoly.[381] Item '22 A sliver tooth-pick and ear-picker worn by the Indians', however, would represent the opposite of this policy, hence making it rare.

Viewing this object as a representation of the wider debate pertaining to the East India Company's territorial expansion in India is only one interpretation. Nonetheless, this argument highlights a web of meanings and suggests a possible reading of this object description by a contemporary audience. Cultural intersectionality is illustrated here by notions of British mercantilist policies that are tied to Smith's 'invisible hand' argument, suggesting that divine wisdom or the hand of God is working to make individuals act in their own self-interest.[382]

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[375] Farhat Hasan, "Conflict and Cooperation in Anglo-Mughal Trade Relations during the Reign of Aurangzeb," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 34, no. 4 (1991), 351–60.

[376] John Keay, *India: A History* (New York, NY: Grove Atlantic, 2011).
The wars are: The First Carnatic War (1746–48), Second Carnatic War (1749–54), Third Carnatic War (1756–63), Bengal War (1756–65), Gangetic Campaign of the Sikhs (1766–68), First Anglo-Mysore War (1766–69), Gohad Campaign of the Sikhs (1766–72), First Anglo-Maratha War (1775–82), Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780–84), Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790–92).

[377] Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600–1757 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 193.*

[378] *Phanindranath Chakrabarty, Anglo-Mughal Commercial Relations, 1583–1717 (O.P.S. Publishers University of California, California 1983), p. 257.*

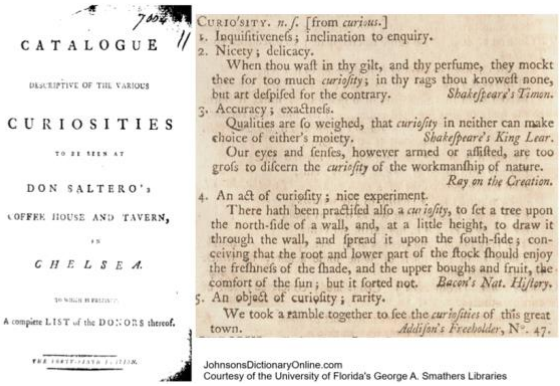
[379] Atul Kohli, *Imperialism, and the Developing World: How Britain and the United States Shaped the Global Periphery,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 42–44.

[380] Erikson*, Between Monopoly and Free Trade,* p. 193.

[381] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

[382] Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, (1759), pp. 184–85.

The last change to consider is the 1793 title page, changes the word 'rarity' to 'curiosities'. To understand the change, the research turned to the 1755, Samual Johnson's Dictionary the first of its kind, by being more than just a collection of witty definitions. Johnson's Dictionary was a serious scholarly work on English vocabulary, building upon earlier dictionaries. This dictionary stood out due to its comprehensive coverage of standard written English and its approach to defining words. Unlike previous lexicographers, Johnson tackled polysemous words by providing discrete meanings, numbered senses, and an extensive use of quotations to illustrate word usage. Although not perfect, Johnson's Dictionary significantly advanced the field of English lexicography and remains an influential work in the study of language.


CATALOGUE

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE VARIOUS

CURIOSITIES

TO BE SEEN AT

DON SALTERO's

COFFEE HOUSE AND TAVERN,

IN

CHELSEA.

A compleat LIST of the DONORS thereof.

CURIO'SITY. *n. ſ.* [from *curious.*]

1. Inquiſitiveneſs; inclination to enquiry.
2. Nicety; delicacy.
   When thou waſt in thy gilt, and thy perfume, they mockt thee for too much *curioſity*; in thy rags thou knoweſt none, but art deſpiſed for the contrary. *Shakeſpeare's Timon.*
3. Accuracy; exactneſs.
   Qualities are ſo weighed, that *curioſity* in neither can make choice of either's moiety. *Shakeſpeare's King Lear.*
   Our eyes and ſenſes, however armed or aſſiſted, are too groſs to diſcern the *curioſity* of the workmanſhip of nature. *Ray on the Creation.*
4. An act of curioſity; nice experiment.
   There hath been practiſed alſo a *curioſity*, to ſet a tree upon the north-ſide of a wall, and, at a little height, to draw it through the wall, and ſpread it upon the ſouth-ſide; conceiving that the root and lower part of the ſtock ſhould enjoy the freſhneſs of the ſhade, and the upper boughs and fruit, the comfort of the ſun; but it ſorted not. *Bacon's Nat. Hiſtory.*
5. An object of curioſity; rarity.
   We took a ramble together to ſee the *curioſities* of this great town. *Addiſon's Freeholder*, N°. 47.

JohnsonsDictionaryOnline.com
Courtesy of the University of Florida's George A. Smathers Libraries

*Figure 47. Don Saltero's 1793 catalogue title page; B) Samual J Johnson's Dictionary, Dictionarium Britannicum.*

The OED provides us with the following information about the word ***curiosity, n.*** – Forms: Middle English coryouste, curiouste, Middle English curyouste(e, curyoste, coriouste, curiowstee, ( curyste); also Middle English–1500s curiosite, Middle English cury-, curiosite(e, curiosyte(e, curiosytye, 1500s curiositye, ( kewriosyte), 1500s–1600s curiositie, 1500s– curiosity. I. As a personal attribute. Desire to know or learn: *1. Inquisitiveness in reference to trifles or matters which do not concern one.* - 1603 P. Holland tr. Plutarch *Morals* 134; *Curiositie, which I take to be a desire to know the faults and imperfections in other men.: 2. Scientific or artistic interest; the quality of a curioso or virtuoso; connoisseurship. Obsolete.* 1781, S. Johnson *Addison* in *Pref. Wks. Eng. Poets* V. 65; *Mr. Locker..was eminent for curiosity and literature.: 3. A desire to make trial or experience of anything novel; trifling interest or desire; a fancy, a whim. Obsolete.* - a1718 W. Penn *Tracts* in *Wks.* (1726) I. 499; *He wholly denied his Wife the Curiosity of changing of but one Piece of foreign Gold;* II. As a quality of things: 1. The quality of being curious or interesting from novelty or strangeness; curiousness. 1774, T. Jefferson *Autobiogr.* in *Wks.* (1859) I. App. 124; *The distance between these, and the instructions actually adopted, is of some curiosity;* III. A matter or thing that has this quality: *1. collective* = Curious things. *Obsolete.* – 1786, W. Gilpin *Observ. Picturesque Beauty* I. p. xxii; *The bowels of the earth, containing such amazing stores of curiosity.; 2. A curious detail, feature, or trait. Obsolete.* – 1747, W. Gould *Acct. Eng. Ants* 17; *Pliny informs us that the Ants of his Country are wont to bury their Dead, which is a Curiosity not imitated by ours in England.; 3. An object of interest; any object valued as curious, rare, or strange.* – 1771, T. S. Kuckahn in *Philos. Trans. 1770* (Royal Soc.) 60 302; *Collecting natural curiosities of the insect, bird, and beast kinds.*[383]

[383] "curiosity, n.". OED Online. February 2023. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/.

The word *curiosity* as defined above provides context for many of the objects contextualised here, for many trying to make sense of the quickly changing world around them including ideas and objects, and at times ideas or people injected to objects. Delbourgo's book highlights the relationship between Sloane's collecting practices and the British Empire and is useful here, Sloane amassed his collection during a period of rapid colonial expansion, and his collection reflects the imperial reach of Britain during the time. Delbourgo emphasises that Sloane's collection was both a product and an instrument of imperial power and knowledge, as it contributed to the understanding of the wider world by Europeans and legitimised their colonial enterprises.

### *iii) Conclusion: Title pages: List of Rarities*

Chapter three of this study analysed how descriptions of rare objects on title pages can provide insights into cultural identities. The analysis used approaches from material culture and literary studies to explore these objects' historical context and cultural meanings. By understanding objects as forms, functions, and meanings within their social contexts, this chapter argued that language ties interpretation back to culture. The argument draws on the work of Hayden White, who emphasised the importance of texts concerning their meanings and the several ways text can read. Moreover, this chapter utilised thing theory to explore how an object's intersectionality allows us to consider how personhood is injected into moulds of objects or "people become objects" through visual identities attached to famous individuals. The book, *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects*, and *It-narratives in Eighteenth-century England* was used to analyse power dynamics between people and objects. By connecting broader cultural movements to the contextualisation of title page object descriptions, this chapter argued against the idea of a singular truth and produced a more accessible understanding of cultural identities. This study examined title pages by analysing them within a broader cultural context encompassing the history of knowledge, social and cultural factors influencing text publication, and literary and intellectual trends. A comparative analysis was conducted to identify similarities and differences between title pages from the same period or genre. This analysis provided valuable insights into the historical and cultural contexts of print production and reception and how books were designed and used as physical objects. This chapter argued that meaning is located through non-fixed and defined values, increasing our standard of truths by implicitly or explicitly assuming one or more assumptions implicitly or explicitly. The world structure is built on many assumptions regarding one or more regularities continuously evolving with perspectives, just as the world changes. The use of material culture, the chapter demonstrated that intersectionality makes it impossible to categorise the identities connected to objects by single categories such as religion, gender, or nationhood. Instead, these identities create a shared experience and cultural understanding, known as "horizontal comradeship", by Benedict Anderson.[384] The relationship between text and objects listed on the title pages and the role it played in this text was considered. The study uncovers the Don Saltero's title pages seem to be one of the first to used Hindi-Arabic numerals to number on its title pages, in this way making the publication rare. What is also rare is thirteen objects that are listed on the title page of the 1737 Don Saltero catalogue do not appear in any

[384] Anderson, Imagined Communities, pp. 4–6.

other catalogues of curiosity. At the same time, these objects are also not located in the collection donated by Hans Sloane that would become the British Museum and this is rather curious.

The study of continuity and change in object descriptions was investigated through material culture and literary analyses of title pages in Don Saltero's catalogues. This research centred on the role of nationhood in relation to gender and religion. The material history of these title pages reveals the influence of British imperialism and its policies, offering insights into how past empire-building contributes to modern tensions in the Americas, India, and the Middle East. The title pages of the early catalogues centre on religious identities and are intertwined with concepts of nationhood and gender. If one entry, '5 A Small Skull, very curious', is read in a certain way, it can be seen as placing gender at the centre by using natural law theory. Such a reading, by people who understood the theory of the laws of nature, considered above human politics and natural rights, could be disputed only by proving natural inequalities, as was the case with the skull debate. Put into its cultural context, the 'Small Skull' could represent the eighteenth-century denial of civil rights to women, which was being justified by liberal thought with its feminization of feelings and masculinization of reason, thus creating a cultural divide that was replicated in specific divisions of labour and power in society.[385] A turning point between the 1739 edition and the 1741 edition reveals a shift that is in some ways inclusive of Anglicans. The patterns showing to a well-informed reader what these objects might be connected to were changing. For instance, 'Boxes of Relicks from Jerusalem' unify objects representing Christianity and, thus, can unify Christians, especially when those who identify as Christians are at war with those identifying as Muslims. Wars intending to 'recover' Jerusalem and its surrounding area from Islamic rule are intentionally positioned as entry one in every edition of the catalogue to remind readers. Another example of an object representing Christianity as a unifying power is the 'A Piece of Saint's Bone in a Nun's Work', which hints at the Thirty Years War.

In addition, these three intertwined identities help explain the title pages' emphasis on 'Don' in *Don Saltero's* because of how it ties these catalogues to eighteenth-century Europe's struggle for a balance of power after the death of the King of Spain. Charles II died in 1700 leaving no heir, which precipitated a war between France and Austria over who would sit on the Spanish throne.[386] This sets the stage for many public debates pertaining to the Spanish throne, which could be occupied by an elite person known in Spanish as a 'Don'. Other countries quickly joined in and Great Britain and Prussia both sided with Austria, while Spain allied with France.[387] The War of the Spanish Succession lasted from 1701 to 1714 and was finally settled by the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden, where Great Britain won some territories and a valuable contract to supply slaves to Spain, called an Asiento, according to which various British merchants held the right to provide African slaves to colonies in the Spanish Americas.[388] The effects of this treaty transcend British culture by finding their way into these title pages through the debates on the presence of British merchants in strategic ports throughout America, who traded in significant

[385] Schiebinger, "Skeletons," 42–82.
[386] Blanning, The Eighteenth Century, p. 192.
[387] Ibid., 192- 193.
[388] V.G. Sorsby, "British Trade with Spanish America Under the Asiento 1713-1740" (PhD diss., University of London, 1975).

quantities of contraband slaves and merchandise, in addition to the South Sea Company trade.[389] The South Sea Company finally stopped trading at the beginning of the War of Jenkins' Ear, mainly because of declining returns and a new political environment in England.[390] These are some of the facts that make the object descriptions culturally relevant. Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century, British Jamaica had become one of the largest slave societies of the region, as demonstrated on the title pages under May Hall's ownership, mainly through the object '9 The Bark of a Tree, which when drawn out appears like fine Lace'. The political contracts and policies that built Britain as a nation seem to be in direct conflict with the cultural ideas of the Enlightenment, a tension explored on the title pages of these catalogues. This was a sentiment shared by Adam Smith, who argued that in Enlightened countries the treatment of slaves and the chance of liberation were the poorest.[391] Religious factors within British society during this time included the previously mentioned Evangelical Revival. In England, the movement's major leaders were three Anglican priests, the brothers John and Charles Wesley and their friend George Whitefield. They were the founders of Methodism.[392]

In 1781, the catalogue's title page had an almost total reconfiguration that seemed to recentre religion since nation under James Emblem's ownership. It also, however, reflected females in positions of power, while one asserted her authority through symbols of masculinity. The structure of future nationalist identities was starting to take shape through optimistic humanism fusing with Calvinist ethics (hard work, thrift, and efficiency). As the catalogues evolved through the latter part of the 1700s, from 1760 to 1795, the object descriptions on the title pages started to reflect a decentring of religion. The title pages reveal religion's dwindling relationship to nationhood and gender identity and the influence of the French Enlightenment, which incorporated the work of a French female scientist and writer, d'Arconville. Her work paradoxically influenced these catalogues' title pages at a time when personal identities were being constructed into ideas of nationhood. This reveals a national British identity in the late eighteenth century, which in London could certainly include French Enlightenment thinking.

Placing these notions of objects as people with characteristics of national British identities on the title pages does not make them rare. Considering the title pages under the other two owners, Emblem and the Jacobs, this study notices often contradictory but nuanced ideas of identity. On the one hand, Enlightenment ideas of equality are at odds with British martialism. For instance, object '22 A sliver tooth-pick and ear-picker worn by the Indians' could represent the British merchant whose nature conflicted with popular contemporary ideas, like the writings of Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' theory. Smith argues that a divine wisdom or the hand of God works to make individuals act in their own self-interest.[393] Which when using thing theory is an example of injecting a person (the British merchants) into a thing (an item the East Indian company may bring back.) On the other hand, contradictions between ideas of 'otherness' connecting Queen Anne and Catherine the Great as representations of females in positions of

[389] Anne-Charlotte Martineau, "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of International Commercial Arbitration: The Slave Trade's Dispute Settlement System," Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
[390] Sorsby, "British Trade".
[391] John Salter, "Adam Smith On Slavery," *History of Economic Ideas* 4, no. 1/2 (1996): 225–51.
[392] All three friends went to Oxford University, where they were members of a religious society that was shaped on the collegia pietatis (cell groups) and was named the Holy Club. Its members were known as 'Methodists' owing to their methodical piety and strictness to prayer, Bible study, and accountability.
[393] Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, pp.184–85.

power to the 'myth' there are only male white elite rulers, as seen in this thesis through satire.

Another example, Schiebinger effectively highlights the paradox in the debate surrounding female skeletons, which was initially intended to demonstrate male superiority.[394] However the approach was intended, it led to demonstrations of male superiority ultimately steering scientific research on sex differences, which contributing to a better understanding of the biological distinctions between men and women, but also fostered the concept of female identity separate from male identity. Another instance of a dualistic view can be seen in the 1782 edition's title page, where there is a direct reference to Gulliver's Travels in the description of object number, "24 A curious sword set with polished steel", suggests that while the catalogues appreciated the wit of other satirical works, directly naming these works or authors was not considered part of their appeal. Material culture studies present a new interpretation that explicitly shows shared identities, allowing the experience of horizontal comradeship built around religion, nationhood, and gender through text.[395] Object descriptions on the title page change from overwhelmingly Christian references to representations of the British Empire in American colonies, Jamaica, India, and Jerusalem, reflecting Enlightenment thought, local policies and political opinions. This historical analysis contradicts Wahrman's claim that modern selfhood did not emerge until later in the eighteenth century, by suggesting that it was present earlier in the century.[396] All of which bring us to what Delbourgo calls the *ethical dimensions of collecting*.[397] The book raises questions about the ethics of collecting and the origins of many museum collections, as it shows that Sloane's collection was often acquired through colonial exploitation, slavery, and forced labour as seen on the title pages of the catalogues. Which forces us to critically examine the history and legacy of such collections and consider the implications of this history for museums today.

[394] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p. 4.
[395] Barthes, Mythologies, trans. Lavers, pp. 109- 121.
[396] Wahrman, *The Making of The Modern Self.*
[397] Delbourgo, *Collecting the World*, pp. 340–41.

## Thesis Conclusion

"History is the art of making an argument about the past by telling a story accountable to evidence."
Jill Lepore[398]

In chapter one we learned coffeehouses have played a significant role in shaping social and cultural practices throughout history, becoming centres of social interaction and intellectual exchange.[399] London coffeehouses contributed to the development of institutions like the stock market, journalism, and businesses such as Sotheby's and Lloyd's of London.[400] Collections of curiosities in coffeehouses influenced intellectuals, writers, connected to the Royal Society, leading to the development of classification systems and although it was not their aim, justifying colonialism and Western superiority. Don Saltero's Coffeehouse in London became famous for its collection of natural history specimens and curiosities, attracting various clientele. The coffeehouse's catalogues served as early museum guides and reflected the booming business of global trade. The legacy of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse highlights its importance within London's coffeehouse network during the 18th century. The public sphere was shaped by coffeehouses, print culture, and Enlightenment thought. The diversification of print culture allowed catalogues of rarities in coffeehouses like Don Saltero's to find their place. The rivalry between conjectural critics and miscellanists emphasised the tension between learning and wit in the public sphere. Catalogues of rarities engaged readers and questioned established norms, providing insights into the complexities of the public sphere during this period. Chapter two considered the typographical significance of Don Saltero's catalogues and by doing so, a newer history of the catalogues was produced which included elements of typography, and typeface classifications, and then evolving styles became evident. The catalogues used Fell Type, Caslon, and Baskerville, reflecting standardized typefaces in 18th-century Britain. This standardization contributed to a sense of nationhood and facilitated international exchange of ideas. Serif typefaces evolved from early brush-like serifs to Old-Style typefaces like Garamond and Fell Type, followed by Transitional serif fonts in the 1750s. Don Saltero's title page switched from Fell Type to Caslon and later to Baskerville, reflecting the evolution of typeface trends. Characters symbolise letters, while glyphs represent characters' specific shapes or designs. Print capitalism led to print standardization and the selection of typefaces that created typographical norms. Legibility, determined by typeface shape, and readability, influenced by factors like point size and line spacing, affected reader experience. Don Saltero's catalogues' readability evolved over time, reflecting developments in typography, nationalism, and their role in fostering imagined communities. Examining vast amounts of typographical evidence on the title pages of Don Saltero's catalogue, allows us to better understand their significance in print history. This understanding is achieved by observing everyday actions like design choices, which can either support or challenge the status quo, and noting how these actions evolve over time. Consequently, Don Saltero's catalogues hold historical importance within eighteenth-century British print culture, which played a crucial role in shaping Britain's complex and multifaceted national identity. This study found that the identities of the three owners of the catalogues were closely

[398] Jill Lepore, *The Story of America: Essays on Origins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 14.
[399] Ellis, 'Eighteenth-Century Coffee-House Culture, Vol 1'.
[400] Brian William Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2005).

interwoven, providing insights into each other's experiences. This interconnection was particularly evident during May Hall's ownership, but it diminished as the relationships of later owners with the catalogued objects evolved. A notable shift occurred in the final year of James Emblem's ownership, as seen on the 1782 title page. Then in chapter three, this thesis explored the significance of the object descriptions on the title pages of Don Saltero's catalogues which included understanding the continuity and change of British print culture that found items connecting to nationhood, gender, and religion in the eighteenth century. The material history of these title pages reflects British imperialism and its policies, providing insight into the formation of a pending British national identity. Chapter three highlights the intertwined identities of the three owners of the catalogues and their shifting emphasis on religion and nationhood. It also discusses the tension between British mercantilist policies, Enlightenment ideas of equality and freedom, and enslavement and horrendous treatment of other humans. The chapter suggests the idea of modern selfhood may have been presented earlier in the eighteenth century than previously alleged by Wahrman and that French Enlightenment thinking influenced the British urban identities as illustrated through writers like Alexander Pope and Johnathan Swift in the mid to late eighteenth-century London. The object descriptions on the title pages reflect nuanced ideas that helped build the urban identity, including contradictions between Enlightenment ideas of equality and British martialism, through satire and humour. Overall, chapter three contributes to our understanding of the role of print culture in shaping local identities.

This study fills a knowledge gap concerning *Don Saltero's* catalogues by building on Marjorie Swann and Angela Todd's work examining whether the authors of the catalogues attempted to create an environment where all participants experience were included by disregarding status and by creating a domain of common concern.[401] Moreover, this research adds to an understanding of the cultural relevance of *Don Saltero's* catalogues by answering James Raven's call to consider jobbing works. Jobbing works are smaller pieces of printed works that help sustain a printer's business. Although these catalogues are only one example of jobbing works, they are part of a larger body of jobbing works that influence our understanding of eighteenth-century print culture. By considering these jobbing texts and the language used on the title pages, as well as the cultural context in which they were created, observations of language illustrated patterns connecting the objects to deeper meanings of cultural knowledge. May Hall's ownership displayed a period of engagement with her audience that is observed through the use local and national events, most of which either have a religious ideology, nationhood, and/or a gender context. For instance, during her time as owner, a change to the Catholic holy object from a Catacomb saint to the crucifix, which is an important object shared among Catholic, Moravian, Anglican, Lutheran and Protestant sections of Christianity. Barbara Crosbie's work noted that many conversion narratives from Anglican to Methodist were printed and that Methodism could be a source of conflict between parents and their children, with some of these disagreements resulting in children being asked to leave the family home. According to Crosbie, these were not isolated cases.[402] What is more, this study particularly challenged Eisenstein's problematic idea of a singular truth, while Eisenstein's determination and demand for a 'uncorrupted' singular truth seem two-dimensional and unnuanced, querying the possible consequences of printing presents

[401] Swann, *Curiosities and Texts,* 16–54; Todd, "Your Humble Servant Shows Himself: Don Saltero and Public Coffeehouse Space,", 119–35.
[402] Crosbie, Age Relations and Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century England, pp.138–39.

a problematic and paradoxical paradigm because on the one hand neutrality is admirable in research, however, neutrality falls short of expanding the conversation which aids in our understanding.[403] Eisenstein's problematic model leads us to an entry point for this study rooted in the idea of the 'consequences of printing.' However, diverging from Eisenstein's ideologies and, thus, arguing against a singular truth, this study shifts from considerations of the causes and effects of printing, towards a consideration of the relationship between book studies, cultural history, and identities.[404] To say this more directly, this research finds more nuanced and complex links between language (text) and historical reality (context) and does so by taking into consideration the cultural context and then observes the cultural context's relationship to the expressed identities found on these title pages. And so, by defining this study as 'book studies', this research sidesteps a longstanding historical debate around the 'consequences of printing' and by doing so provides a firmer foundation from which to work when considering identities of those floating around the public sphere. The first method considers the text's typography, while the second focuses on the relationship between material culture, philosophy, and language. By pairing these two tactics in one study, this thesis exposes Don Saltero's Coffee House and its catalogue's title pages, as a rich place of wonder that provided this study a glimpse into the intellectual milieu of London's Enlightenment society. These approaches offered a place to foster thoughtful understanding into how new identities grew while fostering a sense of belonging and were resiled though ideas of sensibilities. It was in these philosophies, that those who were often at the centre of these conversations were then pushed to the margins of what was acceptable behaviour. To analyse the title pages, a deep understanding of the intellectual advancements of the 18th century was understood to far surpassed what was inherited from 17th century thinkers. Such a realisation and deep consideration of the past was necessary to appreciate how intellectual thought influenced all parts of society and how lingering material culture provides us with access to consider the relationship between sensibilities, and identity and belonging. Overall, such a precise consideration seen in this case study enabled this thesis to respond to what the material history of the Don Saltero's title pages convey about 18th century English coffee house culture through examining the philosophical and cultural roots of the ideas popular during the time.

We learned that the importance of understanding natural history was to understand the culture and the precise context of Don Saltero's catalogues of curiosities title pages. By teasing out historiographies and defining terms, this thesis established linguistic and philosophical agreements to build a rich foundation for the arguments created in this study to be placed upon. While some scholars deploy problematic etymology that reinforces a dualistic understanding of identities, this research moved beyond such firm boundaries by considering neglected perspectives on the relationship between identity and belonging, doing so by using methods from two different areas to add to the historiography of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse. In the end, this thesis established a foundation for further study permitting further examination in to how and what presented on the title pages, like those of Don Saltero's catalogues, to then considered how title pages changed throughout the eighteenth century. By considering the material culture of these catalogues' title pages, this thesis added to our understanding of coffeehouses by considering literary texts as material objects, and then by emphasising how design contributes to the delivery of cultural significance. Material culture develops a unique relationship towards shared power,

[403] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, pp. 15–45.
[404] Ibid., pp. 36–139.

and personal identity in the past. So, by using literary criticism, we learn the title pages appear as 'rare' but then became 'curious' over time because the ideas attached to them slowly shift over the eighteenth-century becoming part of a very established cultural landscape. Subsequently, through using the linguistic turn, the object description's display a shift in understanding towards "modern thought" revealed throughout many parts of society and not just on the catalogues title pages or within the walls of Don Saltero's Coffeehouse at No. 18 Cheyne Walk in Chelsea, London, but also throughout the British Empire.

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*Don Saltero's Coffee House*, London Remembers: https://www.londonremembers.com/

*The National Fire Protection Association (NFPA)* provides a brief history of fire insurance, which includes information on the development of fire insurance in London after the Great Fire: https://www.nfpa.org/News-and-Research/Resources/Fire-statistics-and-reports/Fire-statistics/Fire-causes/Fire-history-and-archives/A-brief-history-of-fire-insurance.

*The London Fire Brigade* website provides a detailed history of the Great Fire of London and its aftermath, including the development of fire insurance: https://www.london-fire.gov.uk/about-us/our-history/great-fire-of-london/.

*The Hand in Hand Fire & Life Insurance Society* website which was the first fire insurance company in London, provides a history of the company and its founding: https://www.handinhand.co.uk/about-us/our-history/.

*The Royal Exchange Assurance* website *provides a history of the company and its founding, which includes information on the development of fire insurance in London*: https://www.rsagroup.com/about-us/our-history/royal-exchange-assurance/.

*Review of Collecting the World by James Delbourgo Preston*, D. (2017, June 9). Collecting the World by James Delbourgo review – the man who created the British Museum. The Spectator. Retrieved from https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/collecting-the-world-by-james-delbourgo-review-the-man-who-created-the-british-museum.