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John Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette (1834-6), Francis Place, and the Pragmatics of the Unstamped Press

Edward Jacobs

Old Dominion University, ejacobs@odu.edu

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John Cleave's *Weekly Police Gazette* (1834–6),
Francis Place, and the Pragmatics of
the Unstamped Press

EDWARD JACOBS

JOHN Cleave (c.1790–c.1847) was the editor and publisher of, among other works, *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette* (1834–6; hereafter *WPG*), which was by most accounts the best-selling unstamped newspaper of the so-called “War of the Unstamped Press” in the 1830s, one of the first unstamped papers to adopt a broadsheet format like stamped papers, and one of the first to mix political news with coverage of non-political events like sensational crimes and strange occurrences.¹ As Joel Wiener and Patricia Hollis note, less is known about Cleave than about most of the other major figures in the unstamped movement, like William Carpenter, Henry Hetherington, and James Watson, but it seems he was probably Irish and had been a sailor before becoming active from the

1. The two major documentary histories of the unstamped press are Joel Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969) and Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). However, see also Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man 1830–1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963; rev. ed. Penguin, 1973): esp. 22, 112–13, 165–70; Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); and Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Edward Jacobs (2204 Sunvista Drive, Virginia Beach, VA 23455), Associate Professor of English at Old Dominion University, is the author of *Accidental Migrations: An Archaeology of the Gothic Romance* (2000) and articles on British literature, publishing, and the periodical press (including the unstamped newspaper *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*. He is coeditor of W. H. Ainsworth's novel *Jack Sheppard* (2007).

1820s in the radical and unstamped movements in London.² *WPG*, like most unstamped papers, was severely prosecuted, and until recently, only seventeen full issues were known to be extant, all but two of which date from 1836, the last of the three years it was published. However, recently I discovered that eleven additional numbers of the paper are held by Glasgow University Library. These are unique copies of these numbers, and they are not included among the other extant numbers listed in Wiener's *Finding List of Unstamped Newspapers* or in John North's *Waterloo Directory*.³ Because these eleven numbers at Glasgow date between 12 April 1834 (the paper's fifteenth weekly number) and 5 September 1835, the Glasgow holdings significantly broaden our knowledge about the paper over its three-year run between January 1834 and its final unstamped number of 3 September 1836. For instance, as I have argued elsewhere, the Glasgow holdings indicate that with the 14 March 1835 number, *WPG* greatly increased the amount and focus of its political news and moreover introduced layout practices that incited readers to interpret putatively nonpolitical items as illustrations of the radical principles and issues promoted by its newly enhanced political departments.⁴

This essay, however, focuses upon the import of two lines of ink handwriting on the 18 April 1835 number of *WPG* at Glasgow (Illus. 1), which read:

2. Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped*, 149; Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 309.

3. Joel Wiener, *A Descriptive Finding List of Unstamped British Periodicals, 1830–1836* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1970); John S. North, ed., *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals 1800–1900*, <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com>. The eleven issues at Glasgow, included in Spec Coll Mu60-a.27, from the collection of David Murray (1842–1928) are: 1.15 (12 April 1834), 1.27 (5 July 1834), 2.11 (14 March 1835), 2.16 (18 April 1835), 2.17 (25 April 1835), 2.20 (16 May 1835), 2.27 (4 July 1835), 2.28 (11 July 1835), 2.29 (18 July 1835), 2.31 (1 August 1835), 2.36 (5 September 1835). The last of these is the first extant number to add Cleave's name to the title. The imprints of these eleven issues are as follows: 1.15, 1.27 (Printed and published by J. CLEAVE, no. 1, Shoe lane [one door from Fleet-street]); 2.11, 2.16, 2.17, 2.20, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.31 (Printed and published by JOHN CLEAVE [late of No. 1, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street] at No. 1, Pearl row [facing the Magdalen], in Blackfriars-road, where all Cheap Publications are constantly on sale); 2.36 (J. CLEAVE, 1, Pearl Lane, Blackfriars road [late of 1, Shoe-lane, Fleet street,] and all Booksellers and Newsmen). Throughout this essay I cite specific items in *WPG* and other newspapers not only by the date of the issue, but also by page and column number.

4. Edward Jacobs, "The Politicization of Everyday Life in *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41 (2008): 225–47.

NB Cleave the publisher of this paper was prosecuted before the Lord Mayor and this increased the sale to about 20,000.

He was prosecuted in the Exchequer is now in the Kings Bench under sentence and the sale ascends upwards of 36,000.

As section one of this essay argues, this annotation is almost certainly in the hand of Francis Place (1771–1854), the radical politician and collector, and it corroborates the statement of Edward Bulwer-Lytton before Parliament that the circulation of *WPG* reached to between 30,000 and 40,000.⁵ The attribution of the annotation to Place adds to other evidence (discussed below) that he supported unstamped papers not only politically but also practically — perhaps even editorially.

Section two of this essay on the other hand investigates and interprets the fact that the two legal actions against Cleave mentioned in the annotation are not among those previously known to have occurred. In their histories of the unstamped press, both Hollis and Wiener cite a letter in the Francis Place Papers (hereafter FPP) that Place wrote to Joseph Hume on 12 May 1835, saying “I cannot be with you tomorrow morning, wednesday, as I must be at Kings Bench Prison to help Cleave with his Gazette,” a statement that corroborates the second statement in the annotation that Cleave “is now [i.e., 18 April 1835, the date of the annotated *WPG*] in the Kings Bench under sentence.”⁶ However, despite citing this letter, neither Hollis nor Wiener, amidst their extensive accounts of prosecutions against the unstamped press, addresses why Cleave was in King’s Bench Prison in the spring of 1835, and neither discusses any previous or subsequent prosecution of Cleave “before the Lord Mayor.” Nor have I been able to find details about the two actions in extant runs of radical/unstamped papers of the time, including the newspaper clippings from the unstamped period in the Francis Place Collection (hereafter FPC).⁷

5. Hansard, House of Commons (18 August 1834) 3.30.624, cited in Malcolm Chase’s entry on Cleave in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), hereafter cited as *ODNB*.

6. Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 78–9, 124, n. 2, and Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped*, 177, n. 131. The Francis Place Papers, British Library, Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a. Hereafter I abbreviate this FPP and cite them parenthetically in the text. A microfilm edition of FPP, subtitled “Politics and the Working Man in England,” is available from Harvester Press (Brighton: 1979).

7. The Francis Place Collection, British Library, which I hereafter abbreviate FPC and cite parenthetically in the text. Sets 65 and 70 of FPC are mainly clippings



Illus. 1: Annotation on the Copy of Cleave's *Weekly Police Gazette* (18 April 1835) at Glasgow University Library (Mu60-a.27). Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

The absence of comment on these two actions in nineteenth-century sources is curious, since radical/unstamped papers give extensive accounts of other known prosecutions of Cleave for *WPG*, and since both FPP and FPC for the period are dominated by clippings and correspondence about the unstamped press and its legal/political struggles against the stamp laws. Although research into legal records at the National Archives of the United Kingdom and the London Metropolitan Archives has yielded no further information about the prosecution “before the Lord Mayor” mentioned in the annotation, the King’s Bench Prison Committal Books (National Archives PRIS 4/44, fol. 174) do confirm that Cleave was indeed “under sentence” there (as the annotation says) from 11 November 1834 until 5 December 1835.⁸ Details about the actual

and correspondence from the unstamped period. A microfilm edition, subtitled “Radical Politics and the Working Man in England,” is available from Harvester Press (Brighton: 1981–2).

8. I employed Norma Gunaratne [normaresearch@yahoo.co.uk], an independent researcher specializing in legal and criminal records of the period, to conduct this research based upon questions and contexts I had compiled. I am much indebted to her for the shrewdness and thoroughness with which she pursued my queries through often very complicated records. The specific records she searched at the National Archives (Public Records Office) were HO 16, HO 23, HO 26, HO 27, HO 62, HO 64, HO 75; PRIS 4, PRIS 7–8, PRIS 10–11; HCA 1; MEPO 1, MEPO 19; CRIM 1–6; PCOM 2; KB 10–11, KB 15–16, KB 19–20, KB 27–29, KB 37, KB 39, KB 101, KB 107, KB 122, KB 145, KB 168; C 13/557/46, C 13, C 31, C 33, C 41, C 38, C 78–9, C 117; indexes to some of the above series (IND 1); E 61, E 107, E 112, E 123–8, E 130–31, E 133–4, E 144, E 159, E 161–5, E 167–8, E 170–71 E 185, E 194, E 199, E 202, E 204, E 217, E 219, E 221. At the London Metropolitan Archives, she searched these records: CLA/047/LJ/03/391–406 (except for some not available due to state of repair), CLA/025/WS/02/001–002, CLA/025/WS/03–04, CLA/047/LJ/10/4, CLA/4/4/3, CLA/047/LJ/21/045 & 015, CLA/047/LJ/07/016–017, CLA/047/LJ/08/021, CLA/047/LJ/10/006, CLA/047/LJ/14, CLA/047/LR/06/023, CLA/047/LSJ/01, CLA/047/LJ/03, CLA/046/01/020, CLA/046/02/018, CLA/046/03/009, CLA/046/04/026.

prosecution that sent him there do not appear to have survived. However, as the second section of this essays argues, the discovery that Cleave was a prisoner in King's Bench for nearly a third of the three-year run of *WPG* (from January 1834 until its last unstamped number of 3 September 1836) explains why Cleave changed his official imprint address for *WPG* from 1 Shoe Lane (near Fleet Street) to 1 Pearl Row, Blackfriars, sometime between 19 July 1834 and 14 March 1835.⁹ This discovery also suggests that Cleave exploited the necessary splitting of his business between those two addresses as a way to foil prosecutions of *WPG*.

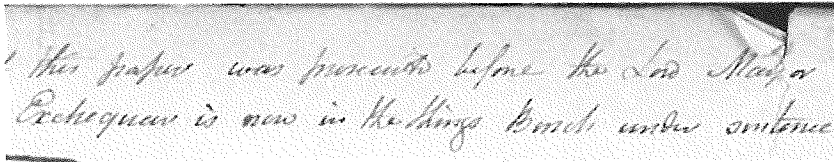
I

David Murray (1842–1928) was a Glasgow lawyer and antiquary, whose collection (largely bequeathed to Glasgow University Library in 1927) centers on the history of Glasgow and western Scotland and on law, but also contains substantial collections of “Scottish newspapers, directories and periodicals” and “printed ephemera” such as “broadsides, street literature, chapbooks, advertisements and...newspaper cuttings.”¹⁰ Special Collections Mu60-a.27, which contains the *WPG* numbers, also contains many other newspapers (mostly nineteenth-century), many but not all of which are Scottish, and which span a variety of political and class affiliations.

9. Dating Cleave's move precisely is complicated by the fact that the last extant number of *WPG* with an imprint at 1 Shoe Lane is 19 July 1834, while the first extant number with an imprint at 1 Pearl Row is 14 March 1835. The latter of these is one of the numbers at Glasgow. The former is the latest of eight also previously-unknown numbers of *WPG* — all of which are distinct from the numbers at Glasgow — that my researches into the annotation on the 18 April 1835 number at Glasgow have discovered to be extant at the National Archives (E 163/22/3/21), as evidence in the Exchequer against John Cunningham and Morris Salmon, who were Cleave's printers for *WPG* from its start until around 26 July 1834, when they severed ties with him because of legal action against them for having let their presses to Cleave for the printing of *WPG* (FPC set 70, fol. 198–9). For reasons of space, the significance of these other previously unknown numbers (and the circumstances that led to them being preserved as evidence in Exchequer records) are detailed in “The Pursuit of an Unstamped Newspaper: Interactions between Prosecution and the Evolving Form, Politics, and Business Practices of John Cleave's *Weekly Police Gazette* (1834–36),” *Publishing History* 65 (2009): 41–69.

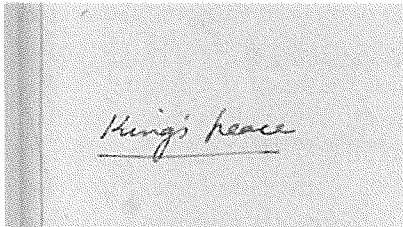
10. Glasgow University Library's webpage on the collection, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/collection/murray.html>. See also the *ODNB* entry on Murray for further biographical details.

As other items in this file illustrate, Murray frequently annotated his collection. However, it seems virtually impossible that David Murray wrote the annotations on the 18 April 1835 number of *WPG*, judging by a comparison of the word “King’s” and the letter combination “He” and the initial capital letters “B” and “E” in the annotation (Illus. 1–2) and in Murray’s *Glasgow Collections*, Vol. 1 (MS Murray 561), a collection of manuscript notations and annotated clippings on Glasgow that was chosen as a random sample (Illus. 3–4). All of the samples in Murray are from a section written in ink with a fine-nibbed pen, as was used for the annotation to *WPG*. In Murray the word “King’s” appears both on 45 and 293 (Illus. 3), looking essentially identical in both instances, but not matching “King’s” in *WPG*. Most notably, in Murray the left leg of the “K” is never touched by the bent leg, whereas in *WPG* the bottom of the initial leg makes a small loop to the left and then crosses diagonally upwards to make the bent leg, which is only minimally bent, so that the letter in fact looks very much like an “H.” Aside from differences in contact between the legs of “K,” in Murray the dot of the “i” is well over the “n” of “King’s” and is acute in inclination, whereas in *WPG* the dot is directly above the “i” and grave in inclination. Similarly, the “He” combination in Murray and the annotation differ significantly in contact between the legs of the capital “H” and in the continuity of the motion used to make the letter. In Murray’s “Hesliot[*f?* or *k?*]e” (286; not included in illustrations here), the left leg is a distinct downward stroke, with a minimal spur at the bottom; the second leg is a separate downward stroke, which then rises back on a left diagonal only about one third of the way toward the left leg, before crossing horizontally to the right to make a ligature with the “e.” By contrast, in *WPG*, the “H” is made without lifting the pen: a down stroke makes the initial leg of the “H,” whose foot has a small leftward loop, which then crosses upward diagonally to loop leftward at the head of the right leg, which is then formed by a straight down stroke, from the foot of which the stroke rises diagonally to make a ligature with the “e” (making the “H” very similar, as noted above, to the “K” in “King’s”). In Murray the initial capital “E” on “Eugene” and “Elphinstown” (290; Illus. 4) has a very minimal inward curve in the middle with no loop, whereas in *WPG* the “E” in “Exchequer” is much more rounded with a distinct loop between the two globes. Finally, in Murray the “B” in “Betw.” and “Bailie” (290; Illus. 4) starts about halfway between the foot and head of the letter, with a short



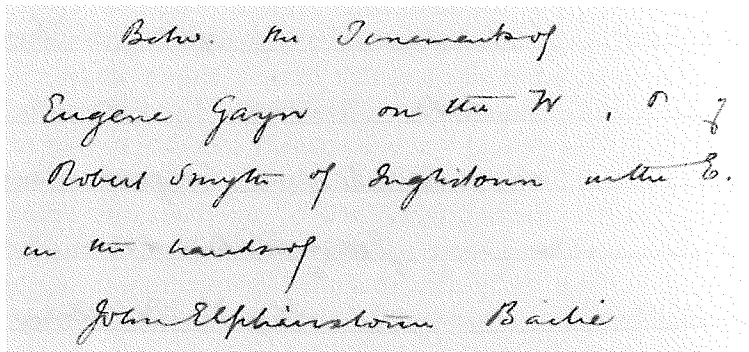
This paper was presented before the Lord Mayor
Exchequer is now in the Kings Bench under sentence

Illus. 2: Annotation on the Copy of Cleave's *Weekly Police Gazette* (18 April 1835) at Glasgow University Library (Mu60-a.27). Detail: "Exchequer," "Lord Mayor," and "Kings Bench." Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.



King's peace

Illus. 3: Glasgow University Library, MS Murray 561, page 293. Detail: "King's Peace." Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.



Betw. the Instruments of
Eugene Gayon on the W. D. of
Robert Smythe of Inghinstown with Co.
in the hands of
John Elphinstown Bailie

Illus. 4: Glasgow University Library, MS Murray 561, page 290. Detail: "Eugene," "Elphinstown," "Betw.," and "Bailie." Reproduced by permission of Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections.

down stroke that loops leftwards into the upstroke that leads to the two globes, with a slight leftward loop at the foot of the lower globe leading to the ligature with the following vowel. In *WPG*, on the other hand, the “B” begins at the head of the letter, with a downstroke and returning upstroke (showing almost no loop at the foot), which midway up veers slightly to the right into the two globes, from the lower of which there is no ligature to the subsequent “e.”

By contrast to these differences between Murray’s hand and the annotation, Francis Place’s hand — as represented by samples (Illus. 5–7) from the table of contents to FPC, set 70 and from the 12 May 1835 letter in which Place mentions Cleave being in King’s Bench Prison (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a) — is virtually identical to that in the annotation, judging by comparison of the same letter combinations that show contrasts with Murray, as well as of some related full words and phrases. All three instances of the word “Exchequer” in the FPC table of contents (Illus. 5) are identical to that in the annotation. Similarly, in the 12 May 1835 letter to Hume (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a; Illus. 6), the phrase “Kings Bench” is identical to that in the annotation (Illus. 2), down both to the absence of a possessive apostrophe before the final letter of “Kings” and to the peculiar formation of the majuscule “K” (so that it looks much like an “H”) that was noted above. The words “Cleave” or “Cleave’s” occur a total of twenty-four times in FPC and “Cleave” occurs once in FPP (Illus. 6–7). All of these occurrences are identical to “Cleave” in the annotation, with the single but consistent exception that in the annotation the “a” is unclosed and minimally formed as a curve, while in Place that letter is almost always closed, well-rounded, and distinctly formed. The phrase “Lord Mayor” occurs once in FPC (Illus. 7), and it too is virtually identical to that in the annotation, except for the “r” in “Lord.” In the annotation, “r” begins with a ligature from the top right of the “o,” and then, after a minimal spur for the nose of the “r,” descends to a very light ligature into the “d.” By contrast, in Place, the “r” after its similar ligature from the top right of the “o” descends and then rises to form the nose of the “r,” which therefore looks much like a “v,” and which has no visible ligature to the “d.” Otherwise, however, the letters in the phrase are indistinguishable. The combination “He” in Place (not illustrated here) also closely matches the annotation, except that in a few (minority) instances of the combination in Place, there is little or no ligature from the capital to the



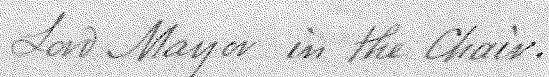
Proposition of Chancellor of the Exchequer to reduce the duty to one

Illus. 5: Table of Contents to *Francis Place Collection* (British Library), set 70, page four. Detail: "Exchequer." Copyright British Library Board. All Rights Reserved.



The Kings Bench Prison to help Cleave

Illus. 6: *Francis Place Papers*, British Library Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49. Detail: "Kings Bench Prison to help Cleave." Copyright British Library Board. All Rights Reserved.



Lord Mayor in the Chair

Illus. 7: Table of Contents to *Francis Place Collection* (British Library), set 70, page four. Detail: "Lord Mayor." Copyright British Library Board. All Rights Reserved.

“e,” as there is in the annotation. There is also a very close and consistent match between “in,” “of,” and “the” in Place and in the annotation. The only notable difference is that the long rightwards cross of the “t,” in “the,” which in both cases reaches to above the e, is slightly lower in the annotation (Illus. 2) than in Place (Illus. 5–7), just touching the hump of the curve in the “h.”

Because the annotation provides such a small sample, it would be premature to declare absolutely that the annotation in *WPG* of 18 April 1835 is by Place. But given that most of the relatively minor differences between Place’s hand and the annotation are in ligatures between letters — which often result from different speeds and conditions of writing — rather than in the formation of letters, it seems justified to attribute this annotation, if tentatively, to Place, especially given the contextual evidence of his interactions with Cleave and his papers (e.g., his 12 May 1835 letter to Hume in FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a). The significant differences in letter formation and stroke patterns between Murray’s hand and the annotation, by contrast, make it very unlikely that he made the annotation.

How the *WPG* copies that include the one arguably annotated by Place ended up in Murray’s collection at Glasgow is something of a mystery. Despite the fact that *ODNB* says that Murray “started collecting books when he was eight,” there is no evidence that Place was ever in Glasgow or that the two men ever met, and Murray was only twelve when Place died in 1854. The most likely explanation is that the *WPG* numbers reached Glasgow in some relation to the aspiringly nationwide Association for the Abolition of the Stamp Duty on Newspapers that Place and Dr. James Robert Black founded in April 1835, the very month of the annotated *WPG* number at Glasgow. As both Hollis and Wiener note,¹¹ in the same 12 April 1835 letter to Hume in which Place mentions Cleave being in King’s Bench Prison (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a), he also claims that “Birmingham, Coventry Glasgow Manchester are organizing on our model” for the Association. Although both Hollis and Wiener also note that there is no evidence that any such organization produced functioning branches in any of those northern metropolises, it may be that Place sent the *WPG* numbers that Murray (later) collected to someone in the radical press/movement in Glasgow as part of the organizing effort for the Association. This provenance can only be a

11. Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 77–8; Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped*, 98, 108.

hypothesis, but if Place did send the *WPG* numbers to Glasgow for inspirational purposes, the annotation's pointed linkage of prosecution to increase in sales would have been most apposite.

II

Whether or not Place in fact wrote the annotation on the copy of the 18 April 1835 *WPG* at Glasgow, research into the two legal actions mentioned in the annotation reveal significant new facts about Cleave and *WPG*, especially about the ways that Cleave responded to prosecutions against *WPG*.

As noted above, the first statement in the annotation, that Cleave “was prosecuted before the Lord Mayor,” remains mysterious. The Lord Mayor heard criminal cases at Mansion House (his official residence) and at the London and Middlesex Sessions of the Peace.¹² However, research in the U.K. National Archives and London Metropolitan Archives has yielded no records that Cleave indeed “was prosecuted before the Lord Mayor” in either venue during the January 1834–September 1836 run of *WPG*. The past tense of the statement implies that Cleave was prosecuted “before the Lord Mayor” prior to the 18 April 1835 date of the annotated number, as does the fact that the second statement says that he “is now” in King’s Bench Prison, presumably as a consequence of having been previously “prosecuted in the Exchequer.” Because the annotation says that the prosecution “before the Lord Mayor...increased the sale to about 20.000” and then says that after being “prosecuted in the Exchequer,” Cleave “is now in the Kings Bench under sentence and the sale ascends upwards of 36.000,” it moreover implies that the prosecution “before the Lord Mayor” was among the earliest of legal actions against Cleave for *WPG*. It is thus possible that the prosecution “before the Lord Mayor” mentioned by the annotation is a garbled reference to the first two known prosecutions of Cleave, in April and May of 1834. As discussed below, these prosecutions occurred at Guildhall (the seat of the City of London government, where aldermen heard criminal cases) before Sir Peter Laurie, who had been Lord Mayor for the 1832–3 term. However, if the annotation is, as I argue above, by Francis Place — who

12. *WPG* and other newspapers of the time regularly report criminal cases heard by the Lord Mayor at Mansion House. See Old Bailey Session Papers (<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>) on the Lord Mayor presiding at London and Middlesex Sessions.

knew city politics and institutions very well — it seems odd that he would confuse one Lord Mayor with another or Guildhall with Mansion House. Hence more likely the prosecution “before the Lord Mayor” mentioned in the annotation was a separate prosecution, records of which do not survive, or which my research has somehow missed.

As also noted above, the second statement in the annotation, that Cleave “is now” in King’s Bench Prison, is corroborated not only by Place’s 12 May 1835 letter to Hume (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a), but also — and more definitively — by the Commitment Books of King’s Bench Prison (National Archives PRIS 4/44, fol. 174). The latter indicate that Cleave was in fact “in the Kings Bench under sentence” (as the annotation says) from 11 November 1834 until 5 December 1835, on a debt of £39:

1036

John Cleave Remd 11th Nov 1834 in discharge of his bail at John Hunter Morgan and Charles Morgan Oath thirty nine pounds. And was, therefore, committed by J. Littledale

Disch 4 Dec 1835.¹³

Unfortunately, no records of the prosecution that resulted in this debt and committal appear to survive. But whatever offence and adjudication resulted in the £39 debt that sent Cleave to King’s Bench, that debt and committal almost certainly did not result from the three known prosecutions of Cleave under stamp laws that preceded the date of his committal, since neither the justice, witnesses, or debt that sent Cleave to King’s Bench relates to those previous prosecutions, with the possible exception (discussed below) of a link to the last of those known prosecutions. Sir Joseph Littledale (1767–1842) was a justice in the Court of

13. PRIS 7/53/1 (King’s Bench Prison Discharges 1834–5) corroborates that Cleave was discharged on 5 December 1835 and that John Hunter and Charles Morgan were plaintiffs in the cause that sent him there. The order reads:

In the Kings Bench

Between John Hunter Morgan and Charles Morgan — Plaintiffs
and

John Cleave — Defendant.

Discharge the Defendant out of your custody as to this Action and this shall be your sufficient Authority for so doing. Dated the 4th day of December 1835.

To the Marshal of the Kings Bench Prison or whom else it may concern —

John Harman
Plaintiffs Attorney
5 Bennett Street
Blackfriars Road.

King's Bench from 30 April 1824 until 31 January 1841, when he resigned due to failing health (*ODNB*). However, according to contemporary newspaper accounts and legal records, Littledale was not involved in the three prosecutions of Cleave prior to 11 November 1834. Littledale also sat at the Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery courts for the City of London and the County of Middlesex from 16 September 1824 until 11 December 1837,¹⁴ but Cleave is not among the prisoners delivered for these sessions, none of which corresponds in date to Cleave's 11 November 1834 committal to King's Bench Prison, the closest being the session commencing on 15 May 1834. Most likely Littledale committed Cleave on 11 November as an independent justice, although my research has found no evidence or details of such an action. "John Hunter Morgan and Charles Morgan," on whose oath Littledale committed Cleave to King's Bench, also shed little light onto the legal action that resulted in that committal. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, no one with the surname of Morgan is among the witnesses who appeared during the three known prosecutions of Cleave before his committal on 11 November, and I can find no other evidence directly linking either a John Hunter Morgan or a Charles Morgan to Cleave, *WPG*, or even to the unstamped press generally. Finally, the £39 debt for which Cleave was committed could not have been related to the fines imposed by the three known prosecutions against him before he was sent to King's Bench. In late April of 1834, Cleave was fined five pounds under 60 Geo. 3, c. 9 for publishing *WPG* without a stamp, but that fine was paid (anonymously and to Cleave's outrage) by the radical philanthropist Julian Hibbert, so that Cleave did not go to prison in default of the fine.¹⁵ On

14. See the National Archive's online Proceedings of the Old Bailey, <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>.

15. The *True Sun* of 25 April 1834 (3.3–4) and the *Weekly True Sun* of 27 April 1834 (6.4–7.1) give (identical) detailed accounts of the trial. Curiously, their first sentences speak of "Mr. John Cleave, the publisher and proprietor of this Paper," implying that they are reproducing accounts from *WPG*. However, the only extant account of this trial in *WPG* appears in the 26 April 1834 (1.1–2) number (only preserved in HO 64/15). And this account — like that in the *True Sun* of 23 April 1834 (3.4) — describes the first hearing of the case, at which Cleave successfully argued for deferral of the trial because the magistrate, Sir Peter Laurie, could not find another magistrate at Guildhall to sit the case, as the law required. The 24 April 1834 *True Sun* (4.5) also contains a brief notice of the second hearing. The 28 April 1834 *True Sun* (1.4) recounts Cleave appearing for committal but finding the fine paid, according to Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 309, by the radical philanthropist Julian Hibbert.

14 May 1834, Cleave was sentenced to three months in Giltspur Street Compter in default of another five-pound penalty under 60 Geo. 3, c. 9, although in this case for selling rather than publishing *WPG*. However, despite his insistence at the trial on going to prison as a martyr, according to a discharge notice in the Corporation of London Archives (CLA/047/LJ/03/95), he was released about a month later, on 19 June, presumably after having paid the five-pound fine.¹⁶ Between then and 22 June 1834, Cleave was fined £200 (£100 per offence) in the Court of Exchequer under 38 Geo. 3, c. 78. This fine was not for “publishing and selling” an unstamped newspaper, but instead for “publishing and selling” a newspaper (stamped or not) without having filed an affidavit at the Stamp Office identifying and locating the publishers and printers, as sections i–ii and vii of the law required.¹⁷ However, according to the 15 August 1835 *WPG* (FPC set 70, fol. 262), on 10 August 1835, Thomas Spring Rice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (while justifying the seizure of Cleave’s presses between 30 July and 1 August 1835) told the Commons that the June 1834 fines of £200 were only executed on 30 July 1835, owing to difficulties in locating property of Cleave that was liable to seizure under the conviction.¹⁸

As suggested above, an unrecorded extension of this last conviction to other sections of 38 Geo. 3, c. 78 might account for the debt that sent

For details of these trial reports (and of accounts of Cleave’s other trials), together with briefs of the four laws (16 Geo 2, c. 26 [1742]; 38 Geo 3, c. 78 [1798]; 39 Geo 3, c. 79 [1799]; 60 Geo 3, c. 9 [1819]) used against Cleave, *WPG*, and other unstamped papers during the 1830s, see Edward Jacobs, “Contemporary Accounts of Prosecutions against John Cleave’s *Weekly Police Gazette* 1834–36” and “Briefs of Laws Used against John Cleave’s *Weekly Police Gazette* 1834–36,” at <http://www.odu.edu/~ejacobs/publications.shtml>.

16. *True Sun* 14 May 1834 (1.4). See Jacobs, “Contemporary Accounts...” and “Briefs of Laws...” for details.

17. *Weekly True Sun* 22 June 1834 (3.4–5). See Jacobs, “Contemporary Accounts...” and “Briefs of Laws...” for details.

18. By this account Spring Rice told the Commons: “The prosecutions were commenced in May, 1834, and the actions were tried and the verdict of Juries obtained. Executions were taken out, and the costs were taxed. There was great difficulty in levying the execution, but information was at last obtained that were [i.e., where] the papers were printed there was property to be found. The executions were regularly placed in the hands of the Sheriff, and his officers went to Mr. Cleave’s.”

Cleave to King's Bench Prison on 11 November 1834. On 30 July 1835, Cleave redeemed his presses from seizure under the 22 June 1834 judgement by paying the full fine (which according to Exchequer records amounted with costs to just over £212)¹⁹ on the spot in gold. However, two "memorials" that John Cunningham and Morris Salmon sent to the Commissioner of Stamps (FPC set 70, fol. 198) after receiving a summons and then bill against them for printing the eight *WPG* numbers preserved at the National Archives (E 163/22/3/21) raise the possibility that the government extended the purview of Cleave's 22 June 1834 conviction to include debts owed under two other sections of 38 Geo. 3, c. 78 than the one (vii) under which Cleave was officially convicted. As noted above, at the June 1834 trial, Cleave was fined £200 not for publishing and selling an unstamped paper, but rather for publishing and selling a newspaper without having filed an affidavit at the Stamp Office naming and locating the publishers and printers. However, two other sections of the law set penalties for printing or publishing unstamped papers, beyond the affidavit requirement: section xviii says that anyone who "shall knowingly and willfully print or publish" an unstamped paper "shall forfeit and pay, over and above all other Penalties recoverable by Law, the sum of twenty Pounds for every such Newspaper, or other Paper as aforesaid, so printed upon Paper not duly stamped," while section xxvii says that anyone "printing or publishing...any Newspaper or other such Paper as aforesaid, upon Paper not stamped, or not stamped as by Law required, shall be deemed and taken to owe his Majesty such Sums as would have accrued to his Majesty in case the same had been printed upon Paper duly stamped." Significantly, Cunningham and Salmon's first memorial says that on 26 July 1834 they received a letter from the Stamp Commissioner requesting an account of the number of copies of *WPG* they had printed; more significantly, in stating this request they closely paraphrase (evidently from the letter they received) section xxvii of 38 Geo. 3, c. 78, as quoted above. In their defense they say that they only let their press to Cleave and could not know whether

19. Records of Costs to the Crown for the Exchequer prosecution of Cleave for Michaelmas Terms (October–December) 1834 (E 167/73) indicate that the Exchequer by the end of the year had "taxed off" £12 5s 6d of its £114 3s 2d costs, so Cleave's fine was £212 5s 6d. See *WPG* 15 August 1835 (FPC set 70, fol. 261–2 and 231) on Cleave's paying the fine on the spot in gold. The 30 July–1 August seizure actions are briefly discussed in the last two paragraphs of this essay, but see also n. 18 and (for more details) Jacobs, "Contemporary Accounts...."

or not what they printed was legal, that they have severed ties with Cleave, and that they are willing to publish a statement warning other printers against falling into similar circumstances. Despite this plea (and offer), according to their second memorial, they received a bill from the Attorney General demanding the same information, evidently sometime between 26 July and 20 October 1834, when their Solicitor wrote Francis Place requesting his help in getting “the Commissioners of Stamps...to accept the terms offered by the Memorial, and forego any further proceedings in the prosecution which has been instituted” (FPC set 70, fol. 199). The Exchequer file (E 163/22/3/21) in which the eight numbers of *WPG* printed “by” Cunningham and Salmon are preserved contains no evidence that the Attorney General’s bill was ever prosecuted, and my research finds no other records of such a prosecution. It thus seems that Place’s requested “influence” (together with the two memorials) indeed convinced the Stamp Office to drop the case against Cunningham and Salmon. Possibly the Attorney-General did so precisely because the government had decided instead to pursue the additional fines against Cleave based on his June 1834 conviction under 38 Geo. 3, c. 78. Again, my research finds no records of such extension of the June 1834 conviction, but since Cleave had already been convicted under one section (vii) of 38 Geo. 3, c. 78, the government may have seen no need for additional prosecution. If Cleave was fined £39 only under section xxvii, for the sum owed if actionable copies of *WPG* “had been printed upon Paper duly stamped,” then nine hundred seventy five copies would have been required to produce the £39 King’s Bench debt, since the stamp duty was four pence per sheet and each number of *WPG* consisted of two sheets. If Cleave was fined £39 under both sections, then that sum would have resulted from £20 under section xviii, plus £19 under section xxvii, for the sum due if 475 copies of *WPG* “had been printed upon Paper duly stamped.” In the absence of further evidence, however, the possibility that the £39 debt which sent Cleave to King’s Bench Prison on 11 November 1834 resulted from such extension of crown claims under the June 1834 conviction must remain a conjecture.

Another possible explanation for Cleave’s committal to King’s Bench Prison — and one that moreover explains the silence in nineteenth-century sources close to Cleave about what sent him there — is that he was committed to King’s Bench for a debt unrelated to the stamp laws. There is some evidence to support this explanation, although it is not

conclusive. As just noted, the known prosecutions of Cleave before his 11 November 1834 committal to King's Bench Prison could not have been related to the £39 debt that sent him that prison on that date. However, this fine might have stemmed from prosecution pursuant to a bill filed against him in the Court of Chancery (C13/557/46) on 3 November 1834 by the Stationers' Company for copyright infringement. In this bill, "The Master and Keepers and Commonality of the Mystery or Art of Stationers of the City of London" testify to "Henry Buxton Brougham," the "Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain," that the Company "have for many years past caused to be annually compiled printed and published at their own expense a certain Almanack which is commonly called or known by the name of 'Moore's Almanack' and which hath from time to time been intitled 'Vox Stellarum or a Loyal Almanack.'" They submit that "the 'Copyright in the said Work is vested solely in your Orators and is their exclusive property,' it having 'for a long time past been annually printed by persons employed by your Orators and... annually published and sold by George Greenhill at the Hall of your Orators in Ludgate Street,' although they 'have continued to cause the same to be printed and published under the name of the said Francis Moore for the purpose of identifying their said Almanack,' since 'Francis Moore was the name of the person originally employed by your Orators to compose compile Edite and superintend the publication of the said Almanack,' which originated in 1701.²⁰ The Stationers then "further shew that John Cleave of No. 1 Shoe Lane Fleet Street... and George Purkess of Compton Street Soho... have recently published and sold a certain other Almanack which was printed by William Johnston of Lovell's Court Saint Pauls²¹... intitled 'Vox Stellarum or a Royal Almanack'... purporting

20. See the *British Book Trade Index* (<http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk/>; hereafter BBTI) and WorldCat on "Vox Stellarum, or a Loyal Almanack." Moore (1657–1714) was a physician who edited the first number in 1701 "for the Company of Stationers." According to BBTI, George Greenhill (granted freedom of the Stationers' Company 1770 and died 1850), was the younger son of Thomas Greenhill, Senior Treasurer of the Stationers, 1797–1812, whose family had been members of the Stationers Company since 1702, one year after Francis Moore first compiled *Vox Stellarum / Moore's Almanack* for the Stationers. It thus seems likely that after Moore died in 1712, the Greenhill family had succeeded him as the publishers, sellers, and editors of *Vox Stellarum*.

21. BBTI gives only "60 Dean St, Soho" for Purkess but confirms the bill's location of Johnston at 4–6 Lovell's Court. Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 128, identifies

to have been composed and compiled by Francis More Physician," the title page of which "appears for the most part to be an imitation and a copy of the usual title page of your Orators said Almanack with some colourable alterations only" (e.g., "Royal" versus "Loyal" and "More" versus "Moore"). The Stationers further charge that the "Work so printed and published by the Defendants as aforesaid is in many other respects not only on its title page but in the body thereof of such size and form and contains matter of such a nature and so arranged and printed (although such matter is in substance very inferior to that in your orators said work)²² as to be calculated to mislead the public and so induce purchasers of Almanack to buy the said work. . . instead of your Orators" and "that the said Defendants have in fact already anticipated and forestalled your Orators in the market by the printing and publishing selling and exposing to sale of their said Almanack before the issuing of the forthcoming number of your Orators said Almanack for the ensuing year." Although the charges complain that the plagiarism is "to the diminution of the sale of your Orators said Work and to their pecuniary injury," the concluding plea in the bill does not request compensation, but instead a writ of injunction against the defendants and a subpoena for them to appear and answer the charges "on a certain pain":

May it please your Lordship the premises considered to grant unto your Orators not only His Majesty's most gracious Writ or Writs of Injunction issuing out of and under the Seal of this Honourable Court to restrain John Cleave George Purkess and William Johnston from printing publishing selling or exposing for sale any more copies of the said Almanack so printed and published by them. . . but

Purkess as one of the "less prominent" booksellers/publishers of the unstamped period, also saying that he was one of "a few of the publishers who were on the fringe radical journalism" (191). However, she also notes that Purkess received subscriptions for the Victims Fund for vendors of unstamped papers in both in 1832 (200) and in April 1834 (201). James, *Fiction for the Working Man* (22) locates Purkess in Soho, and also notes that in the 1840s he "dealt largely in cheap fiction." Johnston was the printer of Cleave's *Slap at the Church* (21 Jan 1832), which was continued as the *Church Examiner* (19 May–1 November 1832), as Hollis notes (*The Pauper Press*, 127, 326), but otherwise little is known of his involvement in the unstamped press. Ironically, during 1833 he was the printer ("for H. Buckler. . . and published at G. Herbert's Library, No. 88, Cheapside"), of the Old Bailey Sessions Papers. See the Old Bailey Sessions <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>, record f18331128-1.

22. This parenthetical statement is a superscript insert, with a claret after the preceding "printed."

also His Majesty's most gracious Writ or Writs of Subpoena...commanding them and every of them at a certain day and under a certain pain therein to be limited personally to be and appear before your Lordship...[and] then and there upon their several and respective corporal oaths full true direct and perfect answers make to all and singular the premises. And further to stand to perform and abide such further order direction and decree as to your Lordship shall seem meet.

The bill is signed George Jeremy, who was presumably a solicitor, since BBTI does not record a member of the Stationers Company (or other print trade worker) by that name in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is possible that Charles and John Hunter Morgan — whose oath sent Cleave to King's Bench Prison on 11 November 1834 — were somehow involved in this 3 November 1834 Chancery bill against Cleave by the Stationers, although the evidence for this link is far from conclusive.²³

My research into legal documents (which include Chancery records at the National Archives, as above noted), have found no documentation that Cleave was in fact prosecuted as a result of this bill filed in Chancery. However, if he in fact was convicted as a result of the bill, then the penalty might well have been equivalent to the £39 debt that put him in King's Bench. For by the Copyright Act of 1710 (8 Anne, c. 19), still in force in 1834, "Infringement of the Act was to involve forfeiture of the offending books and a fine of 1d. a sheet for all fraudulent copies found, half of the fine being payable to the Crown and the rest to

23. Neither John Hunter nor Charles Morgan has any imprint or other evidentiary connection to *Vox Stellarum*, although both were probably members of the Stationers' Company, which filed the Chancery bill against Cleave. According to BBTI, Charles Morgan, of 20 Coburg Street, Clerkenwell, was a printer and member of the Stationers by the 1830s. More interestingly, according to the National Archives catalogue, a Charles Morgan — address unknown — was a plaintiff in two Chancery cases against other members of the Stationers' Company, in 1829 against Button (C 13/2034) and in 1834 against Pownceby (C 13/2048). I have been unable to look at the records themselves, but according to BBTI and WorldCat there are no trade links between Cleave and either Button or Pownceby. If the Charles Morgan who sued Button and Pownceby in Chancery is the same Charles Morgan who was a printer at 20 Coburg Street, and is moreover the same Charles Morgan who gave oath against Cleave on 11 November 1834, then Morgan was quite a litigious man, having also prosecuted one "EDWARD SPATE...for stealing, on the 18th of May 1833, 1 watch, value 20s.; 1 watch-ribbon, value 1d.; 1 seal, value 2s. 6d.; 1 key, value 6d.; and 1 composing-stick, value 6s." (<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>, record t18350615-1406). Morgan's wife in testimony says "my husband is reader to a printer, and he does some printing himself," but there is nothing to tie this unnamed printer for whom Morgan was a copy-reader to

the injured party.”²⁴ The fact that neither BBTI, WorldCat, nor other bibliographies records any extant copies of “*Vox Stellarum* or a Royal Almanack” but do record the Stationers’ Company almanack suggests that all or most copies of the almanack produced by Cleave, Purkess, and Johnston were seized as a result of this bill, although again Chancery and other documents do not confirm this possibility. Hence, in the absence of further evidence, both that the Chancery bill was prosecuted and that it was the origin of the £39 debt which sent Cleave to King’s Bench Prison on 11 November 1834 must (again) remain hypotheses.

Whatever might have been the offence and adjudication that put Cleave in King’s Bench Prison on 11 November 1834, and despite the confirmation in the King’s Bench Committal Books (PRIS 4/44, fol. 174) that he was, as the annotation says, “under sentence” there from 11 November 1834 until 5 December 1835, almost certainly he was not physically in the prison for this entire time. Indeed, he may have spent relatively little time within its walls. For by paying a fine well below the £39 for which he was committed — about five guineas (i.e., five pounds, five shillings) — Cleave could have the liberty of King’s Bench Prison rules, which allowed him to live within a three-mile radius of the prison while under sentence to it.²⁵ Given that Place wrote to Hume on 12 May 1835

Greenhill or anyone else connected with *Vox Stellarum*. If the John Hunter Morgan whose oath with Charles Morgan sent Cleave to King’s Bench on 11 November 1834 was in fact connected via the Stationer’s Company to the 3 November 1834 Chancery bill against Cleave, he is probably the John Minter Morgan (apprenticed 1796, died 1854), who was a member of the Stationers and stationer/rag merchant at 2 Fleet Market and other addresses from 1820. This John Minter Morgan was partner with George Larrance (1808–50), who was a printer/stationer at 31 Fetter Lane; 81 Dorset Street, Salisbury Square; and 6 Dyer’s Buildings, Holborn Hill. In the absence of further evidence, the possibility that the Morgans were connected to the 3 November 1834 Chancery bill against Cleave must remain only a possibility.

24. Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 2nd ed., revised (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), 118.

25. For legal background on the King’s Bench Prison rules, see William Tidd, *The Practice of the Courts of King’s Bench and Commons Pleas* (London: for Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1828), 1:371–96. Tidd does not specify the fee for liberty of the rules in 1828, but Thomas Allen’s *History of the Counties of Surrey and Sussex*, vol. 1, bk. 2 (London: Hinton and Holdworth and Ball, 1829), 298–9 says: “These rules are usually purchasable after the following rate, by the prisoners: five guineas for small debts; eight guineas for the first hundred pounds of debt, and about half

that “I cannot be with you tomorrow morning, wednesday, as I must be at Kings Bench Prison to help Cleave with his Gazette, which cannot be delayed” (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a), it seems that for Easter term (April–May) 1835 — and perhaps for some of the other five legal terms spanning his imprisonment²⁶ — Cleave bought the three allowed day rules per term rather than full liberty, which choice would have been significantly cheaper, although much less convenient. That he for some terms bought day rules rather than full rules is also suggested by contradictory accounts (discussed below) as to whether he was in King’s Bench Prison or present in his shop during the actions to seize his presses between 30 July and 1 August 1835. At any rate, Cleave’s committal to King’s Bench Prison explains why, sometime between 19 July 1834 and 14 March 1835, he moved his official imprint address for *WPG* from 1 Shoe Lane, near Fleet Street, to 1 Pearl Row, in Blackfriars. For the latter address was across the Thames from the prison and within the three-mile circumference of its rules.²⁷ From there — especially if and when he bought full liberty of the rules — Cleave would have been able to continue publishing *WPG* with minimal interference. And during any

that sum for every subsequent hundred pounds. Day-rules, of which three may be obtained in every term, may also be purchased for 4s. 2d. for the first day, and 3s. 10d. for the others. Every description of purchasers must give good security to the governor, or, as he is called, marshall. Those who buy the first-mentioned may take up their residence anywhere within the precincts described; but the day-rules only authorised for the prisons to go out on those days for which they are bought.” On the geography of the rules, see *Smith's New Map of London* (London: Charles Smith, c.1828), which is available at <http://archivemaps.com/mapco/smith/smith.htm> in a high-resolution, zoomable format with the rules of King’s Bench and Fleet prisons color-bordered in orange.

26. The British legal year ran (and runs) from Michaelmas term (October–December) through Hilary term (January–April), Easter term (April–May), and Trinity term (June–July). Cleave was hence committed about halfway into Michaelmas term 1834 and remained under sentence almost to the end of Michaelmas term 1835.

27. See above, n. 9, on the difficulty on dating Cleave’s move precisely. Neither the committal order (PRIS 4/44, fol. 174) nor the discharge order (PRIS 7/53/1) from King’s Bench Prison gives Cleave’s address. However, the fact that he moved to 1 Pearl Row in order to access the King’s Bench rules is supported by the fact that he was back at 1 Shoe Lane by 1839, according to *Pigot and Co.'s Royal and National Commercial Directory and Topography...to which is Added, a Classified Directory of London and its Suburbs* (London: J. Pigot and Company, 1839), 188.

terms for which he bought only the three day-rules, Place's help (FPP Add. Mss. 35150, fol. 49a) would surely have been facilitated by the relatively close proximity of the *WPG* operation to King's Bench Prison.

Whenever Cleave bought whatever kind of King's Bench rules, evidence strongly suggests that he continued to use the 1 Shoe Lane shop after moving to 1 Pearl Row, and that he moreover exploited the (obligatory) split location of his business as foil against prosecution, and particularly against the government actions that led to seizure of his presses between 30 July and 1 August 1834. As noted above, on 10 August 1835, while justifying the seizure of Cleave's presses to the Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the June 1834 judgment against Cleave for £200 was only executed on 30 July 1835 because the government had difficulty in finding property liable to seizure. Probably at least part of this difficulty resulted from Cleave's operating at two different addresses after his 11 November 1834 committal to King's Bench Prison, especially given the fact that the versions of the 1835 seizures given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by *WPG* differ tendentially about where and at how many places those seizures happened.²⁸ In the first place, Spring Rice says that the 30 July attempt to seize Cleave's presses — which Cleave aborted by paying the £200 June 1834 fine in gold on the spot — occurred at Cleave's premises, whereas *WPG* insists that the attempted seizure happened at the shop of Cleave's (strategically unnamed) printer. In the second place, Spring Rice says that, upon redeeming his presses, Cleave moved them to another place, where they were seized on 1 August under 39 Geo. 3, c. 79, but *WPG* insists that both the attempted and actual seizure happened at the premises of his printer. Space does not allow for a full discussion here of the likelihood and ways that Cleave exploited the dual locations necessitated by his sentence to King's Bench Prison. For the evidence that he did so is further complicated by (among other things) contradictory accounts issued in his name about whether he was in fact present or in King's Bench Prison when the 30 July 1835 attempted seizure happened

28. Both versions appear in the same 15 August 1835 number of *WPG*, extant (partially) only in FPC set 70, fol. 260–5. The Chancellor's version appears in *WPG*'s regular section of reportage from the "Imperial Parliament" (fol. 262–3; cf. fol. 231). Cleave's version appears in the preceding (and also regular) "Weekly Police Gazette" editorial section (fol. 260–1), and it explicitly undertakes to correct the "lies" that the Chancellor told the Commons.

(wherever it did),²⁹ and by details of press registries, imprints, and advertisements which suggest that, upon moving to 1 Pearl Row because of the King's Bench Prison rules, Cleave used "T. Wakelin" as either a deputy or pseudonymic front for his continuing activities at 1 Shoe Lane.³⁰ Still, as I have argued here, Cleave's sentence to King's Bench Prison does explain why he moved his official imprint address for *WPG* from 1 Shoe Lane to 1 Pearl Row, a move that has not been previously explained. And this explanation for that move, together with the evidence — summarized above and detailed elsewhere — that Cleave used this necessity to foil prosecutions of *WPG* indicates that he was an even sharper practitioner of resistance to the stamp laws — and of the pragmatics of periodical publishing — than we previously knew him to be.³¹

29. The *True Sun* of Friday 31 July 1835 (which is also quoted verbatim in Cleave's 1 August "An Address to the Readers of Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette," FPC, set 70, fol. 243–50, esp. fol. 245) says Cleave was in King's Bench Prison during the attempted seizure on 30 July. However, the 11 August 1835 *True Sun* says Cleave was present, as do both the 15 August 1835 *WPG* (FPC set 70, fol. 260–65, esp. fol. 262, 261) and an unidentified newspaper in FPC set 70, fol. 231. The various contradictions and agreements (both substantive and bibliographical) among these accounts are too complex and lengthy to include here, but see the last two paragraphs of this essay and above, n. 18 for a brief discussion of the 30 July–1 August 1835 seizure actions. For more details, see Jacobs, "Contemporary Accounts...."

30. See Hollis, *The Pauper Press*, 130, and Wiener, *The War of the Unstamped*, 158, n. 68 for a summary of some of the mysteries about the Cleave-Wakelin relation. For a sample of how imprints and advertisements link Wakelin and Cleave, see Wakelin's advertisements in *WPG* of 14 March 1835 (4.5), 5 September 1835 (4.6), and 26 December 1835 (1.1, 1.6, 4.5).

31. Jacobs, "Pursuit of an Unstamped Newspaper."