佛光人文社會學報 · 第八期
2026 年 1 月 118-165 頁
佛光大學人文暨社會科學學院

早期印刷史解謎—
英國十八世紀印刷商約翰・懷特現存木雕版與相關印刷品

宋美瑩 [32]

摘要

約翰・懷特（John White, 1689–1769）是十八世紀英格蘭北部極具代表性的出版商與印刷商，其事業以新堡（Newcastle-upon-Tyne）為中心，印製與發行內容涵蓋民謠傳單、通俗小書（chapbooks）及兒童讀物等類型。更具研究意義的是，懷特工坊所使用的大量原始印刷木刻版（printing woodblocks）至今仍保存於世，主要分藏於美國洛杉磯杭廷頓圖書館與加拿大麥吉爾大學圖書館。本文旨在對這批極具歷史意義的物質遺產進行系統性研究，核心問題包括：這些木刻印版的真實性與流傳脈絡為何？它們在懷特的出版策略與視覺傳播中扮演了何種角色？懷特木刻版有何重要性？早期文獻中木雕版製作知識的缺口，為本研究重新檢視木雕版實物與其工藝角色提供重要切入點。本研究透過實地考察杭廷頓圖書館、大英圖書館與新堡市立圖書館，結合歷史考證與實物比對的方法，深入分析懷特印刷品與其對應木刻版之間的關聯。研究旨在凸顯實體文物（artefacts）於歷史學實證研究中的不可替代價值；特別是在數位虛擬資訊氾濫、真偽辨識日益困難的當下，物質性研究的實證意義更需被重新評估與重視。本文亦為國家科學及技術委員會多年期研究計畫的重要成果之一。

關鍵詞：約翰・懷特、新堡、印刷木刻版、民謠傳單、通俗小書

---

[32] 佛光大學歷史系副教授。
(民國 114 年 11 月 12 日收件，民國 114 年 12 月 29 日修改，民國 114 年 12 月 30 日接受)

壹、前言

約翰．懷特（John White, 1689–1769）是十八世紀英格蘭早期印刷史上極具代表性的出版商與印刷商，其事業以新堡（Newcastle-upon-Tyne）為中心，出版範圍涵蓋民謠傳單、通俗小書（chapbooks）與兒童讀物等多樣印刷品，可謂當時英格蘭東北地區出版業的典型代表。懷特以大量運用木刻版畫的印刷風格著稱，其在推動地方出版與普及閱讀文化上的貢獻，已在書籍史研究中獲得一定評價。然而，近年針對懷特及其出版網絡的專門研究卻相當罕見，原因主要在於年代久遠與文獻、實物資料的散佚與不足。

本研究的起點源自筆者於洛杉磯杭廷頓圖書館進行「阿姆斯壯印刷木刻版」（Armstrong Printing Woodblocks）編目工作時的意外發現。該館藏共約四千件木刻印版，其核心部分經比對確認，正是十八世紀約翰．懷特工坊所使用的原始印刷版。這批木刻版入藏近百年卻長期未被研究，也未正式編入館藏目錄。筆者於 2006 年在館內進行其他版畫印版研究時，偶然注意到它們的存在，遂開啟長期的考證與追蹤。然而，這批長期缺乏記錄與研究的木刻印版，是否確為懷特工坊原版？其流傳脈絡與保存機制為何？又為何能在眾多早期印刷版中脫穎而出，成為收藏家與拍賣市場所重視的對象？為釐清這些問題，筆者歷時十餘年，結合歷史文獻比對、印刷實物分析與館藏檔案研究，逐步還原懷特木刻印版的使用與流傳脈絡，並透過與其傳人出版品的比對，重新確立懷特在十八世紀英格蘭出版史上的重要地位。

一、研究目的

本文旨在深入探討十八世紀早期英國重要印刷出版者約翰·懷特（John White），並自洛杉磯杭廷頓圖書館館藏中，辨識與考證其曾使用的木雕版，釐清相關版材的真偽與流傳情況。研究透過木雕版與懷特印刷品的對照分析，檢視其印刷品質與用色特徵，並從版面形式與內容出發，探討其出版品的視覺取向與經營策略；同時結合懷特與其事業相關人物、同期出版商，以及當代倫敦出版品之比較，進一步揭示其出版特色及其對後世印刷文化的影響。藉由這一個案，本文亦試圖重新理解十八世紀英國北方鄉鎮的出版活動與印刷業發展脈絡。

此外，本研究亦著重於早期印刷木雕版作為實體文物的研究價值，藉由分析其物質特性與製作痕跡，揭示其所蘊含的歷史實證，補充紙本出版品未能呈現的印刷工藝資訊，並為印刷史與歷史學研究提供具可驗證性的物證基礎。

本文之研究貢獻可歸納如下：

(1) 針對杭廷頓圖書館典藏之印刷木雕版，建立較為完整之記錄與基礎資料整理。
(2) 透過懷特印刷品與木雕版之對照分析，提出其使用關係與相關考證成果。
(3) 比較懷特與其傳人的印刷品，觀察其相對優勢。

(4) 以具體物證補充印刷史研究，提供可檢證之歷史實證。
(5) 凸顯印刷木雕版作為歷史文物之研究價值與其在印刷史中的地位。
(6) 補充既有印刷史文獻中對製作工藝與材料層面著墨不足之處。

二、文獻探討

英國印刷史的研究多集中於十九世紀，尤其是湯瑪斯．畢維克（Thomas Bewick, 1753–1828）等木雕版畫大師的作品，對約翰．懷特的研究相對較少。現有文獻中，Welford（1895）紀錄了懷特及其新堡地區的印刷業，而 Gardner（2008）則關注懷特家族的歷史背景，但兩者對懷特的印刷作品本身缺乏深入的分析。對於其印刷品的評價，多流於表面評論，缺乏系統的物證支持與實證分析。

筆者基於杭廷頓圖書館與大英圖書館的原始木雕版與印刷品，經過十餘年的研究與資料收集，已於數次研討會上發表過相關成果，並於 2025 年 7 月出版《重構轉瞬即逝的遺產：阿姆斯壯木刻版畫收藏品（1600-1910 年代）之歷史與材質分析》（Reconfiguring Ephemeral Heritage: A Historical And Material Analysis Of The Armstrong Woodblock Collection (1600-1910s)），著重在這套近四千塊木雕版的收藏史與材質歷史的演進。本研究則聚焦於其中約一百件約翰．懷特的木雕版與印刷品，旨在對其出版品進行溯源、辨識與詮釋，再進一步就木雕版本身的形制推測其製作方式。

關於木雕版的形式與製作方法，十九世紀之前並無相關文獻，形成技術空缺的現象，木版印刷的材質與技術手冊、百科全書皆止於雕刻、印刷的工具與方法，如法國十八世紀的百科全書 *Encyclopédie* (Diderot et al., 1751–1765) 中印刷相關行業的描繪。該書雖以系統性呈現手工技藝著稱，並收錄「木刻（*gravure en bois*）」、「印刷（*imprimerie*）」等條目及大量圖版，然其關注重心多集中於雕刻刀具、操作姿勢與印刷流程，木雕版在圖像中始終以已可直接使用的完成狀態出現，顯示木版本身的製作與使用前的處理並未被視為需要說明的工藝環節。

進一步觀察可知，與木版製作相關的材料處理技術，僅能零散見於「木工（*menuiserie*）」、「細木工（*ebenisterie*）」等其他工藝條目之中，涉及原木鋸解、木板整平與表面處理等一般性技術，卻未被明確連結至木刻或印刷實務。此一敘述結構反映十八世紀工藝知識的分工方式：木版作為圖像印刷的物質基礎，被視為既定前提而非研究對象，其材料性與勞動過程遂在文本與圖像中趨於隱沒。相較之下，十九世紀以後木刻技術手冊開始系統性討論木版材質與製作條件，正突顯早期文獻中木雕版製作知識的缺席，亦為本研究重新檢視木雕版實物與其工藝角色提供重要切入點。

相較於十八世紀 *Encyclopédie* 對木雕版製作的沉默，十九世紀英國木刻文獻雖逐漸意識到木版材質在圖像再現中的重要性，然其關注仍多止於使用層面，而非製作流程

本身。如 John Jackson 與 William A. Chatto 合著的 *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*（1839）已明確區分側木與端木的使用，並強調黃楊木木口對細線雕刻的優勢，但相關討論主要集中於材料性質與刻版效果，並未系統說明木塊自原木鋸解、整形至可刻狀態的製作過程。其後如 Thomas Gilks 的 *The Art of Wood Engraving*（1866）則進一步反映木刻工藝的專業分工化，木版被視為可直接取得的既成材料，製作工序幾乎完全未被觸及；至於 W. J. Linton 的 *The Masters of Wood-Engraving*（1889），更將重心轉向版畫風格、作者與作品評述，使木版的物質生成在藝術史敘事中趨於隱沒。整體而言，十九世紀文獻雖補充了對木版材質與切面特性的理解，卻仍延續將木雕版本身視為技術前提而非研究對象的書寫傳統，顯示木版製作知識在長時段中持續處於文本化與圖像化的邊緣。

綜合上述文獻可見，無論十八世紀的百科全書體系，或十九世紀英國木刻技術與藝術史著作，對木雕版的關注多止於其作為圖像再現媒介的功能與使用條件，而木版本身的製作過程、材料處理與使用則長期未被系統性書寫乃至理解。此一文獻缺席使木雕版在歷史敘事中往往被視為理所當然的技術前提，而非具有自身物質特性與工藝歷史的研究對象。基於此，本論文主張有必要回到保存至今的木雕版實物，透過其尺寸、切面、磨損與製作痕跡，補充文獻所未能揭示的工藝層面，並藉此重新理解木版印刷中被忽略的材料知識與勞動結構，作為重構早期印刷技術史的重要基礎。

三、研究方法

由於杭廷頓圖書館藏木雕版長期未經編目，且前收藏者阿姆斯壯（James Tarbotton Armstrong）所提供的簡略目錄不足以作為可信資料，筆者在無現有資料支持的情況下，採用了多種研究方法來進行資料的辨識與比對。研究的主要方法採移地研究實物觀察，整合散落各處的文物資料，做紮實精細的歷史溯源與考證工作。筆者走訪了大英圖書館、新堡市立圖書館、大英博物館等多個機構，並將這些機構的印刷品與杭廷頓圖書館的木雕版進行細緻的比對。研究重點放在木雕版與印刷品的特徵，如木版尺寸、材質印記、磨損痕跡，紙張的印刷墨色、質地與版面等，並從物證學角度考察早期印刷技術、排版與編輯方法。

此外，研究還採用了版面圖像比對與圖文主題閱讀法，通過分析懷特印刷品的設計趨向與內容特徵，對其出版策略進行了歸納，並將懷特的作品與當時新堡、倫敦等地區的出版品進行比較，探討當時出版界的競爭與相互影響的現象。

在辨識木雕版與印刷品之間的真實關聯時，研究首先從版面圖像的主題入手，然後對木雕版正面與印製版的尺寸進行比對，最終通過木雕版上的破損痕跡與印刷版的匹配來確認其真實性。這一過程排除了仿作的可能，因為仿製的木雕版無法精確複製原版的缺陷。基於這些辨識結果，本研究進一步探討了懷特出版品的主題、風格與特色，並分析了懷特與其傳承者之間的關係。

最後，研究還將探討早期印刷木雕版的收藏與價值問題，並在此過程中闡述其作為文物的歷史意義。

貳、約翰・懷特的印刷木雕版

一、約翰・懷特的家族事業

約翰·懷特（John White, 1689-1769）出身於印刷世家，其父親老約翰·懷特（John White Senior, 1680-1716）在英格蘭北部城市約克（York）創立了自己的印刷事業。父親曾於 1688 年光榮革命前夕為未來的威廉與瑪麗（William and Mary）雙王印製《告全國人民書》（*Treatise to the Nation*），並在詹姆士二世（James II）統治期間因反叛行為被囚禁於赫爾城堡（Hull Castle）。雙王即位後，老約翰·懷特被封為「國王的北方五郡印刷商」（"Their Majesties Printer for the Five Northern Counties”）(Gardner 2008)。

小約翰·懷特繼承了父親的事業，於 1708 年 19 歲時從約克搬至新堡（Newcastle-upon-Tyne），並營運了近 60 年的《新堡報》（*Newcastle Courant*）與《約克報》（*York Courant*）。其中，《新堡報》自 1720 年起成為英國東北部最具影響力的地方報紙，報導範圍涵蓋了諸如諾森伯蘭郡（Northumberland）、威斯特摩蘭郡（Westmorland）、坎伯蘭郡（Cumberland）等地，並沿著蘇格蘭邊界一直擴展至約克郡及蘭開郡等地。1719 年，懷特與家人（繼母 Grace 與侄子 Charles）創辦了《約克精神報》（*York Mercury*），進一步將報業勢力擴展至南部，成為當時最具影響力的印刷商之一。直到 1739 年，《新堡期刊》（*Newcastle Journal*）的出現，才打破了懷特獨占市場的局面。除報紙外，懷特的事業還涉及各類印刷品的出版，從昂貴的訂製書籍到廉價的傳單（broadside）、小書（chapbook）和小冊子（pamphlet）等，幾乎無所不包。

懷特的印刷事業在他去世後由其夥伴繼承轉手，傳人持續使用他所創立的木雕版印刷。即使這些木雕版因年久失修而不再被用於印刷，它們仍奇跡般地得以保留下來。本文將探討懷特的印刷品及木雕版如何在後世得到重視，並得以保存至今。這一現象的根本原因，在於十九至二十世紀的藏書家、出版商及版畫愛好者的懷舊情感，以及由木雕大師湯瑪斯·畢維克（Thomas Bewick）所引領的木雕復興（Wood Engraving Revival）潮流。這不僅是商業木刻版畫的保存，更代表了手工木刻版畫從商業印刷轉變為藝術形式的歷史過程。

二、杭廷頓圖書館藏木雕版

本研究始於對美國加州杭廷頓圖書館所藏三千至四千件印刷木雕版的調查。這批木雕版最初由前任收藏家詹姆斯·塔博頓·阿姆斯壯（James Tarbotton Armstrong, 1848-

1933）收集。阿姆斯壯原為來自英國的移民，在 1917 年將其收藏售予亨利·愛德華·杭廷頓（Henry Edwards Huntington, 1850-1927），在後者創辦的杭廷頓圖書館、藝術博物館及植物園中，命名為「阿姆斯壯木雕版系列」（Armstrong Woodblock Collection）。

根據現存的交易書信，阿姆斯壯與杭廷頓之間的木雕版交易顯示出一場典型的商業利益博弈。信中，阿姆斯壯表現出對交易的極度渴望，並在推銷這些木雕版時誇大其詞，這些行為無疑反映了其商業操作中的不誠實與過度誇張的傾向。這也解釋了為何儘管杭廷頓最終購得這些木雕版，但該館在百年來從未對其進行過正式編目。這些木雕版因此長期被擱置，直到近年才被重新關注。[33]

阿姆斯壯曾編撰一份粗略的兩卷本目錄，該目錄的卷一首頁寫道：

> 「這些古樸奇特的原始木刻版，選用梨木、松木及其他木材，並以普通刀具雕刻而成。其風格特徵與『朱利安·伯納斯』（Julian Berners）、《下棋》（Ye Plays of ye Chesse）等版畫作品相近，屬於同一時代的產物。這些木版可能曾在英國多個早期印刷工坊流傳，直到被新堡書商威廉·多德（William Dodd）先生發現。這位聲望卓著的長者在其所編《新堡印刷品集》（四開本，僅印百冊）中提到：這些木刻版出自『約翰·懷特印刷室——此人曾是新堡、約克、愛丁堡等北方四大城鎮的國王御用印刷商』。據稱，約翰·懷特於 1780 年從約克將這些木刻版帶回，然而，這些木版的年代遠早於他所屬的時代。這些獨特且極具古風的英格蘭木刻遺珍，將成為揭示書籍史新篇章的寶貴媒介。」[34]

儘管阿姆斯壯的許多說法流於誇張與誤導，這段陳述卻意外地具有某些真實性。筆者當時雖持半信半疑的態度，但經過多年考證，最終確認杭廷頓圖書館所藏的阿姆斯壯木雕版中，約有一百多塊確實屬於約翰·懷特，這些木雕版構成了阿姆斯壯收藏的核心，並且主要出現在其目錄的前半部分。

這些木雕版最初於 1895 年通過蘇富比拍賣會進行拍賣。拍賣會目錄由印刷商及版畫愛好者艾德溫·皮爾森（Edwin Pearson）編寫[35]。皮爾森是英國藏書界一位具有爭議的

---

[33] 杭廷頓圖書館藏木雕版的收藏史，詳見筆者研究 Sung(2025 July)。

[34] 收藏於杭廷頓圖書館的打字手稿：‘Ancient and quaint original blocks in pear-tree, deal and other woods, cut with a common knife, characteristic of and contemporary with the cuts of “Julian Berners[”,] “Ye Plays of ye Chesse” etc., and have probably passed through many of the earliest printing offices in Great Britain, till they were discovered in the stock of the Newcastle bookseller, worthy old William Dodd, who leaves on record in his guinea volume of Impressions there from (“100 copies only printed” in 4to.) that the ancient relics came from “John White Printing Office, he being ye King’s Printer for the four great Northern Town, Newcastle (John White’s Decdt.) York, Edinburgh etc. John White brought them from York in 1780, but the blocks are of a much earlier time than when he lived./ Very rare and exceedingly quaint relics of old English wood-engraving. These blocks will be the means of discovering much (fresh) history about books.’

[35] *Catalogue of an extraordinary assemblage of many thousands of engraved wood-blocks : forming the most extensive collection ever brought together of the original engravings on box-wood by Thomas and John Bewick,*

人物，雖然他在推廣木雕版畫方面有其貢獻，但他卻將所有類似的作品，不論是否與畢維克相關，均歸為畢維克的創作。可以說，阿姆斯壯是皮爾森這一思潮的繼承者。這種混亂的歸類導致十九與二十世紀之交的英國印刷版畫史成為一團難以解開的迷霧，考證工作因此漫長且費時，至今仍有許多作品難以定論。

事實上，1895 年蘇富比拍賣會確實出售了約翰·懷特的部分木雕版，阿姆斯壯得以搶購其中的一部分。這些木雕版擁有悠久的收藏歷史，可追溯至阿姆斯壯之前的多位收藏家[36]，包括約翰·懷特在約克的夥伴湯瑪斯·根特（Thomas Gent）、小約翰·懷特在新堡的夥伴湯瑪斯·聖（Thomas Saint，1738-1788）、新堡印刷商安格斯家族（George Angus, Thomas Angus, Margret Angus）等，安格斯在 1774-1825 年間是畢維克的出版商。此外，還有被稱為「畢維克迷」的藏書家，包括艾德溫·皮爾森（Edwin Pearson）、艾默生·查恩利（Emerson Charnley）、威廉·多德（William Dodd）以及出版了《畢維克收藏家》（*The Bewick Collector*, 1866-68）、《畢維克的木版畫》(*Bewick's woodcuts*, 1870)的湯馬斯·雨果（Thomas Hugo）[37]等。

這些收藏者大多是印刷商或出版商，他們曾將木雕版用於自己的出版品中。當前可知的懷特木雕版收藏地點包括杭廷頓圖書館（約有一百多塊）、大英博物館（五塊）、以及加拿大麥吉爾大學圖書館（約有一百多塊）。其餘的木雕版已流落至私人收藏或無法確定去向。本文將聚焦於杭廷頓圖書館和大英博物館所藏的木雕版與其印刷品進行分析。

其中，新堡出版商艾默生·查恩利的兒子，於 1858 年將父親生前收藏的 730 塊木刻版印製出版了《早期木刻版畫樣本集》（*Specimens of Early Wood Engraving*）。隨後，威廉·多德在查恩利版本的基礎上增補至 806 塊，並於 1862 年重新發行該樣本集。在這本樣本集中，多德在序言中提到這些木刻版畫「很可能最初是由新堡的約翰·懷特所彙

---

consisting of sets of blocks to Bewick's Select Fables, Newcastle, 1784 and 1820; Gay's Fables; Dance of Death; Tommy Tripp; Thornton's Herbal, and other important works; with some hundreds of old English toy book blocks, &c; ... also original and curious blocks by ... other contemporary artists, formerly in the Hugo Jupp, Pearson and other collections. Together with the original blocks, stereotype-plates, and publishing rights of Bewick's Select Fables. (Longmans' edition 1878.) Which will be sold by auction, by order of the trustees under a deed of gift, by Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, ... 13, Wellington Street, Strand, W.C. on Friday, the 19th of April, 1895, and following day, ..., Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge.

[36] 麥吉爾大學圖書館網站上有一篇關於館藏木雕版的文章，提供一張約翰．懷特木雕版的傳承圖，但因考證不足，錯漏甚多，僅供參考：見 Constantin (2013).

[37] Thomas Hugo, *Bewick's woodcuts : impressions of upwards of two thousand wood-blocks, engraved, for the most part, by Thomas & John Bewick ... including illustrations of various kinds for books, pamphlets, and broadsides ... with an introduction, a descriptive catalogue of the blocks, and a list of the books and pamphlets illustrated* (London : L. Reeve & Co., 5, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, 1870)，此書插圖可知雨果也有約翰．懷特的木雕版，附圖前幾頁重複印製多德《樣本集》裡多幅版畫，可能是雨果從多德購得。1895 年蘇富比拍賣目錄 Thomas Hugo 也是編者之一，其中包含他自己的收藏。

編」。這兩本樣本集成為筆者考證的根據。經過多年搜尋和比對，結果顯示，樣本集中的大多數木雕版確實出現在由約翰·懷特出版的紙本印刷品上。

筆者根據各時期的擁有者及印刷活動，推測約翰·懷特木雕版的傳承時間表如下：表 1[圖 108, 109]

時間範圍	擁有者與印刷商	備註
1708-1769	約翰·懷特（John White）	主要在新堡執業
1769-1788	托馬斯·聖（Thomas Saint，1738-1788）	懷特的夥伴
1788-1825	安格斯家族（M. Angus & Son, G. Angus）	畢維克的出版商，使用懷特木雕版印刷
1825?-1858	艾默生·查恩利（Emerson Charnley，1781–1845）	重要的藏書家與出版商，畢維克的出版商
1858-1862	威廉·多德（William Dodd）	增補並再版樣本集
1862?-1870	湯馬斯·雨果（Thomas Hugo，1820-1876）	《畢維克收藏家》的出版者，書中有懷特木版畫
1870?-1895	埃德溫·皮爾森（Edwin Pearson）	版畫愛好者與推廣者，1895 年拍賣懷特木雕版
1895-1907	詹姆士·塔博頓·阿姆斯壯（James Tarbotton Armstrong）	蒐集木雕版轉售給杭廷頓圖書館
1907 至今	亨利·愛德華·杭廷頓（Henry Edward Huntington）	現藏於杭廷頓圖書館

由上表可見，懷特木雕版的收藏脈絡，與木版畫家湯瑪斯·畢維克（Thomas Bewick）在英國木刻史中的重要性具有高度關聯。由於畢維克出身新堡，收藏者在關注其藝術與技術背景的同時，亦逐步將研究與收藏範圍延伸至新堡早期印刷業，包含懷特所使用之木雕版。相關論述，筆者已於其他文獻闡述，本文重點將回歸懷特作品本身。

以下將就約翰．懷特現存木雕版與筆者考證得知的印刷品做初步比對與分類，藉以瞭解懷特的出版主題，重點在於觀察木雕版的形制，由實體推斷得出文獻中缺乏的工藝資訊；同時也從紙本觀察懷特出版品的印刷特色。

参、約翰．懷特印刷品主題與對應木雕版

一、市井歌謠傳單（Broadside Ballad）與小書（Chapbook）

約翰·懷特使用木刻版畫的印刷品，主要包括歌謠傳單和小書。這兩種印刷品形式在十六世紀至十九世紀的英國廣泛流通，是當時大眾文化、資訊傳播和娛樂的重要媒介。作為平民百姓日常生活的一部分，它們不僅有助於普及娛樂，還反映了當時社會的各個層面。

歌謠傳單和小書通常由行走小販攜帶，穿行於鄉村小鎮並沿途叫賣。這些印刷品價格低廉，便於攜帶，內容包羅萬象，涵蓋從當時的熱點事件（如謀殺案、海難等）到新創作的歌曲、民間故事、傳說等。它們以大眾為主要受眾，尤其是平民百姓，並且常常反映了當時的社會生活、道德觀念及娛樂需求。

形式上，歌謠傳單通常是單面印刷的大型紙張，而小書則是小型、廉價且簡單裝訂的書籍。小書通常由數頁單張對折後釘在一起，名稱「chapbook」源自其販售者——巡迴小販（chapmen）。相比歌謠傳單，小書的內容更為多樣，除了傳統的民間故事、童話、騎士傳奇，還包括幽默故事、占星術、預言書、實用指南（如醫藥偏方）以及縮寫版的古典文學等。這些小書是當時許多普通民眾接觸到的唯一讀物，對平民文化的發展以及識字率的提高具有深遠影響。

關於歌謠傳單與小書，學界已有許多研究面向，包括歷史學、文學研究、圖書史、社會學和文化研究等，學者將這些印刷品視為理解英國平民生活、識字文化以及資訊流通方式的寶貴史料。[38] 回顧文獻，歌謠傳單與小書的研究趨勢已從單純的文獻整理，轉向更全面的社會文化分析，本研究則選擇從較少人關注的材質問題切入。至於主題內容更深入的詮釋解讀，除已有文獻研究外，懷特出版品的專題深究則有待他日，非本論文

---

[38] Broadside 與 chapbook 的研究橫跨多個學術領域，早期的研究文獻主要致力於文獻的編目和收藏。如 Robert W. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England 1700-1780* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1981)大量引用 broadside 民謠來重建 18 世紀的社會生活，特別是底層勞工的文化與心態。20 世紀中葉後，學者們開始深入探討這些印刷品的 內容、生產與流通。Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London : Methuen, 1981)詳細分析 chapbook 的內容和其讀者群，闡明了 17 世紀識字文化在不同社會階層中的普及程度。她認為 chapbook 提供的娛樂和知識，遠比當時主流精英文化所認為的更為複雜和有意義。近代學術研究則更聚焦於 broadside 和 chapbook 的物質性、社會功能和文化影響。學者不再僅僅將它們視為「低俗」或「通俗」的讀物，而是將其視為理解社會動態的關鍵。David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* （Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA : Polity, 2000）探討識字率的發展，並將 broadside 和 chapbook 視為大眾媒體興起的前身。Lesley A. Hall, *The Chapbook of the Eighteenth Century: A History of an Unlikely Success* 從出版商和販賣者的角度，探討這些小型印刷品的商業模式和文化經濟。Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)則深入研究了宗教改革時期，這些印刷品在傳播新教思想和塑造平民信仰方面的作用。近年來，學界對英國民謠傳單的研究，逐漸由書目與文本分析，擴展至圖文關係與通俗視覺文化的探討。Sheila O'Connell 於《*The Popular Print in England 1550–1850*》（1999）中，系統性地梳理民謠傳單在通俗印刷文化中的圖像使用，指出木刻圖像在吸引讀者與形塑敘事理解上的關鍵功能。Fumerton 與 Guerrini 編《*Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*》（2010），以及《*Huntington Library Quarterly*》2016 年專號〈*Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550–1750*〉，則進一步從跨學科角度探討民謠傳單的生產、流通與接受情境，強調圖文配置在社會溝通中的角色。延續此一研究脈絡，Kate Bates（2013）聚焦十九世紀犯罪民謠傳單，透過大量樣本分析其道德敘事與社會功能，凸顯民謠傳單作為通俗文化媒介的歷史意義。整體而言，相關研究已充分揭示民謠傳單在文本、圖像與社會語境層面的重要性，然對其背後所倚賴之印刷版材與工藝條件，仍相對缺乏深入的物質層面探討。

討論範圍。

本文將探索約翰·懷特及其傳人在英格蘭北部新堡一帶出版的歌謠傳單與小書，特別是那些使用木刻版畫的作品。十八、十九世紀新堡是倫敦以外第二大民謠傳單的出版地區，因此懷特出版品有高度代表性(O'Connell, 1999)。根據查恩利和多德編著的《早期木刻版畫樣本集》(以下簡稱《樣本集》)與現存懷特出版品中的木刻版畫，懷特的插畫題材可概括為以下幾類：

(1) 裝飾與象徵物：如書首和書末的裝飾、畫框、紋章等。
(2) 人物形象：肖像、情侶、騎士、商人、運動員、旅人、神話或傳說人物、宗教人物等。
(3) 故事類題材：歷史故事、寓言故事、愛情故事、聖經故事、民間傳說、傳奇故事，甚至魯賓遜漂流記、拇指湯姆等經典故事。
(4) 生死主題：自殺、葬禮、臨終、棺木、處決、謀殺等。
(5) 勞工圖像：如學徒、鞋匠等。
(6) 船隻與旅行：包括海上航行、旅行冒險等題材。

這些題材不僅反映了當時的社會關注點，還展示了木刻版畫在通俗讀物中的獨特地位與功能。它們大致符合大英博物館版畫部門館員O' Connell所列英格蘭1550-1850年間的民間流行版畫常見主題：宗教與道德、愛國主義、犯罪與處決、自然奇觀與怪物、婚姻與女性、飲酒與友誼等(O' Connell, 1999)所需圖像。以下挑選幾件具代表性的現存木雕版與印刷品為例說明，敘述採目錄式寫法，意在為每件作品做詳實記錄。

（一）裝飾與象徵物：章首裝飾圖(Headpieces)、章末裝飾圖(Tailpieces)、畫框、紋章等

章首與章末的裝飾圖案位於書籍章節的開始與結束處，通常位於每章的第一頁上端（章首）或最末一頁下方（章末）。這些圖案的主要功能是標示章節的開端與結束，並為書頁增添視覺美感。由於這些裝飾圖案不具特定的象徵意義，通常只是純粹的裝飾性元素，因此同一木雕版常被反覆使用，並出現在不同的書籍中，其使用頻率通常高於其他類型的木刻版。

這類裝飾圖案的形式多樣，包括人物、動物、植物等，並且沒有固定的規範。其目的是為了增強書籍的視覺吸引力，並在內容的呈現上帶來節奏感。

章首裝飾：頭像圖案

在《樣本集》頭幾頁，多德與查恩利收錄了若干書籍版面頂端的裝飾圖，其中首

幅插圖展示了一個圓形的圖框，中央為捲髮青年頭像，左右兩側分別繪有以「兩個朋友與熊」為主題的寓言故事。這類頭像圖案常見於歌謠傳單和小書的章首裝飾中，作為一種視覺引導。[圖1]

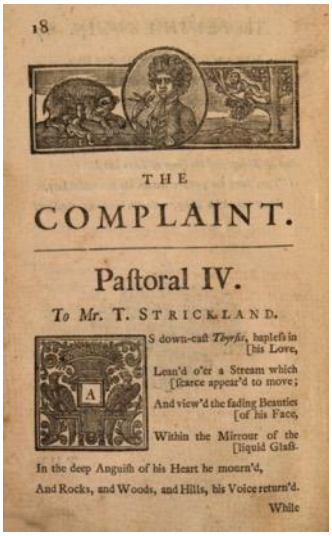
杭廷頓圖書館所藏的阿姆斯壯木刻版第89號[圖2]，經過仔細分析木雕版與印製圖像的尺寸（紙張在濕度變化下會略微縮小），並結合木版右邊緣與左下角的破損情況（反向印刷使得紙本顯示為左邊緣和右下角），可證明該木刻版即為多德書中這幅插圖的印刷版。

該木刻版似乎由兩塊不同厚度與大小的木頭黏合而成，木版的上部較為寬闊，底部則較為狹窄。這種特徵可見於許多同時期製作的版畫用木版，推斷是為了適應印刷機的印台空間而設計。

這幅木刻版圖案首次出現在艾薩克·湯普森（Isaac Thompson）所著《詩集：偶作數題》（*A Collection of Poems, Occasionally Writ on Several Subjects*）一書中，該書由約翰·懷特於 1731 年在新堡出版。這一木刻版畫在該書中重複出現，分別位於第 18、35、93 及 99 頁。[圖 3]

[圖 1] Dodd 1:1

[圖 2] Armstrong woodblock 89, 31(26)×81×23 (5+18) mm



18

THE

COMPLAINT.

Paſtoral IV.

To Mr. T. STRICKLAND.

AS down-caſt *Thyrſis*, hapleſs in [his Love,
Lean'd o'er a Stream which [ſcarce appear'd to move;
And view'd the fading Beauties [of his Face,
Within the Mirrour of the [liquid Glaſs.
In the deep Anguiſh of his Heart he mourn'd,
And Rocks, and Woods, and Hills, his Voice return'd.
While

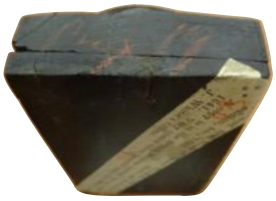
[圖 3] Isaac Thompson, *A collection of poems, occasionally writ on several subjects*, published in Newcastle upon Tyne by John White, 1731, p. 18.

（二）人物：政治人物肖像、夫妻、騎士、商人、運動員、旅人、神話或傳說人物、宗教人物

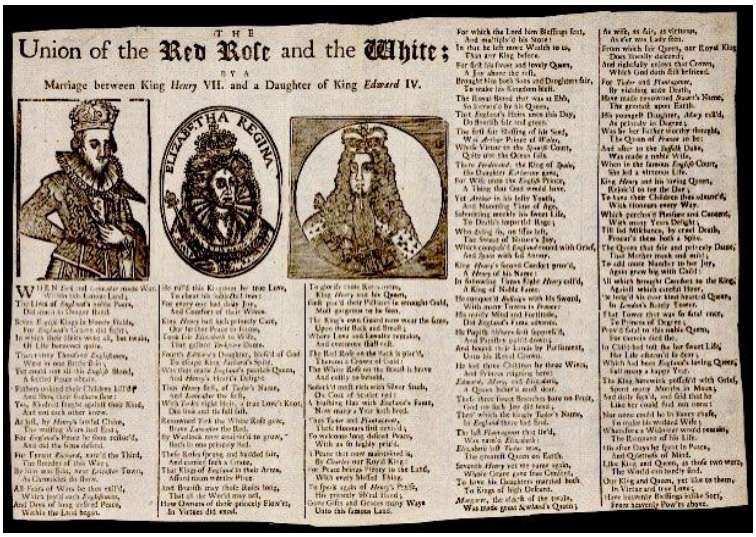
伊莉莎白女王頭像

在查恩利與多德編纂的《樣本集》標題頁上印有伊莉莎白一世女王的半身像[圖4]，這幅畫作展示了女王身著華服、頭戴王冠，手持權杖，肖像置於一個橢圓形的畫框中，並鐫刻有「ELIZABETH A REGINA」（伊莉莎白女王）的字樣。這幅版畫不僅出現在查恩利1858年版《樣本集》第59:8頁和多德1862年版第65:6頁，還出現在懷特出版的《最負盛名的伊莉莎白女王及其寵臣埃塞克斯伯爵傳：浪漫史詩》(*The History of the most renowned Queen Elizabeth, and her great favourite, the Earl of Essex. In two parts. A romance,* Newcastle: J. White, 1765）一書的標題頁中[圖8]。此外，這幅女王肖像還出現在較早的民謠傳單《紅玫瑰與白玫瑰的結合；亨利七世與愛德華四世之女聯姻》頁首（*The Union of the Red Rose and the White; by a Marriage between King Henry VII. and a Daughter of King Edward IV*，1750年？）[圖7]。由於圖上附加文字，限制了這塊木雕版只能用於與伊莉莎白女王相關歷史故事或傳說的印刷品。

此圖原版為阿姆斯壯第80號木雕版，該木雕版是由兩塊不同厚度的木板合併而成[圖5, 6]，其中較薄的木片使用釘子固定在較厚的木板上，並且在背面斜貼有印刷標籤，標籤上記載了如下文字：「伊莉莎白女王古樸橢圓版畫，用於首版四開本。大英博物館藏有此版畫複本，用於1641年版本。極其古雅的遺物，首版複刻頁，出自J.懷特工作室。」這段文字推測是由阿姆斯壯所附。另外，木板底部以紅粉筆標註「第19頁」，這也顯示出該版畫作為印刷品的使用記錄。木板的邊框左側（即印刷品右側）幾乎被切除，而頂部中央「ELIZABETH」字母中的A、B、E、T處的斷裂痕跡，紙本與木版相符，進一步證實這塊木雕版是實際用於印刷的原版。



[圖 4]Dodd 65:6　　[圖 5, 6] Armstrong woodblock 80, 82×57×23 mm



[圖 7] (左) Broadside Ballad: "THE / Union of the Red Rose and the White; / BY A / Marriage between King Henry VII. and a Daughter of King Edward IV." (1750?)(Huntington Library) EBBA 32506

[圖 8] (右) *The History of the most renowned Queen Elizabeth, and her great favourite, the Earl of Essex. In two parts. A romance*, Newcastle: J. White, 1765.

貴族青年

多德在《樣本集》第46頁的第1幅插圖[圖9]中，描繪了一位貴族青年站立於室內，姿勢端正，一手插腰，一手持杖，身穿十七世紀貴族服裝。由於這位青年並無特定身份或背景，因此這幅木刻版畫常被重複使用，並且出現在多部不同的歌謠傳單和小書中，其中包括以下兩篇民謠：

- 《薩福克奇蹟》（*The Suffolk Miracle*）[圖12]：故事講述一位年輕人在死後顯靈，顯現給他心愛的女子，並背著她行走四十英里，僅花了兩個小時。此後，他再也未現身，唯見其長眠於墓中。此歌謠由約翰·懷特於新堡出版。[39]
- 《尊貴領主的殘酷》（*The Noble Lord's Cruelty*）[圖13]：這篇故事講述了一位美麗的淑女與一位彬彬有禮的騎士之間的真愛，被殘酷父親拆散的故事。該民謠也由約翰·懷特印刷並販售。[40]

此圖是由阿姆斯壯木刻版第31號所製作[圖10, 11]，該木刻版由兩塊厚度和大小不一的木片組合而成。刻有圖案的上方木片較薄，且右側有破損，這些破損反映在印刷紙本的左側框線上。下方的木塊較厚，且質地較粗糙，這種木材處理方式推測是為了用較佳材料雕刻圖像，佐以其他木材墊底的製版考量。

[39] https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32464/image
[40] https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31118/image

[圖 9]Dodd 46:1

[圖 10, 11] Armstrong Woodblock 31, 73×73×20 mm

The *SUFFOLK* MIRACLE;

OR,

The Relation of a young Man, who after his Death appeared to his Sweet-heart, and carryed her behind him Forty Miles, in two Hours Time, and was never seen after, but in the Grave.

To the Tune of, *My Bleeding Heart, &c.*

A Wonder strange as e'er was known,
Then what I now shall treat upon,
In Suffolk there did lately dwell,
A Farmer rich, and known full well.

He had a Daughter fair and bright,
On whom he plac'd his chief Delight,
Her Beauty was beyond compare,
She was both virtuous and fair.

A young Man there was living by,
Who was to charmed with her Eye,
That he could never be at rest,
He was with Love so much possest.

He made Addresses to her and she
Did gain him Love immediately,
Which when her Father came to hear,
He parted her, and her poor Dear.

Forty Miles distant was the one,
Unto his Brother with intent,
That she should there so long remain,
Till she had changed her mind again,

Hereat this young Man sadly grieved,
But knew not how to be relieved,
He sighed, and sobd continually,
That his true Love he could not see.

She by no Means could to him send,
Who was her Heart's opposed Friend,
He sigh'd, he grieved, but all in vain,
For the confined must still remain.

He mourn'd so much that Doctor's Art
Could give no Ease unto his Heart,
Who was so strangly terrify'd,
That in short time for Love he dy'd.

She that from him was then away,
Knew nothing of his dying Day,
But continue still the did remain,
To Love the Dead was then in vain.

After he had in Grave been laid,
A Month or more, unto this Maid
He comes about midnight the Night,
Who joy'd to see her Heart's Delight.

Her Father's Horse which well she knew,
To be her Mother's Safeguard too,
He brought with him to visitie,
Her Parent's Order he came by.

Which when her Uncle understood,
He hop'd it might be for her Good,
And gave content to her straight way,
That with him she should come away.

When she was gon her Love behind,
They pass'd as swift as any Wind,
That in two Hours, or little more
He brought her to her Father's Door.

But as they did this great hasle make,
He did complain his Head did ache,
Her Handkerchief he then took on,
And ty'd the same his Head about.

And unto him she thus did say,
Then art as cold as any Clay,
When we come home a Fire we'll have,
But little dream's he went to Grave.

Soon were they at her Father's Door,
And after he never for him more,
I'll let the Horse go then, he said,
And there he left this harmless Maid.

She knocks and straight a maid, he cry'd,
Who's there? 'tis I, the then replyd:
Who wonder'd much her Voice to hear,
And was pallid with dread and fear.

Her Father she did tell, and then,
He star'd like an affrighted Man.
Down Stairs he ran and when he for her,
Cry'd out, my Child, how cam'st thou here?

Pray Sir, did you not send for me,
By such a Messenger, said she,
Which made his Heir flare on his Head,
As knowing well that he was dead.

Where is he then, to her, he said,
He's the Stable, quoth the Maid,
Go to bid he, and go to Bed,
I'll to the House well assured.

He star'd about and there could he,
No shape of any Mankind see,
But found his Horse all in a sweat,
Which made him in a deadly fret.

His Daughter he did nothing to,
Nor no one else, though well they knew,
That he was dead a Month before,
For fear of giving her soul sore.

Her Father to his Father went,
(Who was decrep'd) with this Intent,
To tell him what his Daughter said,
So both came back unto this Maid.

They ask'd her and the maid did say,
Twas he that then brought her away,
Which when they heard they were amaz'd,
And on each other strangely gaz'd.

A Handkerchief, he said, the cry'd,
About his Head, and that they try'd,
The Sexton they did speak unto,
That he the Grave would then undoe.

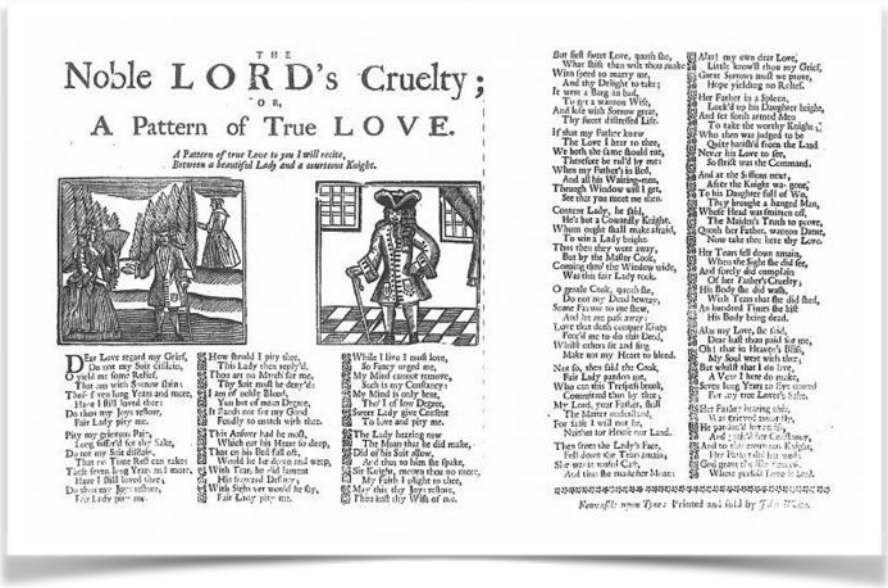
Affrighted then they did behold,
His Body turning into mould,
And tho' he had a month been dead,
This Handkerchief was about his Head.

This thing unto her then they told,
And the whole truth they did unfold,
She was thereat so terrified
And griev'd, she quickly after dyed.

Part not true Love, you rich Men then,
But if they be right honest Men,
Your Daughter's Love give them their way
For none oft breeds their Life's decay.

Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by *JOHN WHITE.*

[圖 12] The SUFFOLK MIRACLE; / OR, / The Relation of a young Man, who after his Death appeared to his / Sweet-heart, and carryed her behind him Forty Miles, in two Hours Time, and / was never seen after, but in the Grave. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by JOHN WHITE. 1725-1769? (Huntington Library HEH 289741) EBBA 32464



THE

Noble LORD's Cruelty;

OR,

A Pattern of True LOVE.

A Pattern of true Love to you I will recite,
Between a beautiful Lady and a courteous Knight.

DEar Love regard my Grief,
Do not my Suit distaste,
O yield me some Relief.
That am with Sorrow thine
Thus I ten long Years and more,
Have I still loved thee:
Do thou my Joys selfsow,
Fair Lady pity me.

Pity my grievous Pain,
Long suff'rd for thy Sake,
Do not my Suit distain,
That ten Time Reft can take:
Thus seven long Years and more,
Have I still loved thee,
Do thou my Joys selfsow,
Fair Lady pity me.

How should I pity thee,
This Lady then replyd.
There are no Marsh for me,
Thy Suit must be denyd:
I am of noble Blood,
You but of mean Degree,
It Parts not for my Good
Fondly to match with thee.

This Answer had he mad,
Which cut his Heart to deep,
That on his Bed fell off,
Would he for down and weep,
With Tears he did lament
His forward Destiny,
With Sighs wer would he say,
Fair Lady pity me.

While I live I must love,
So Fancy urged me,
My Mind cannot remove,
Such is my Constancy:
My Mind is only bent,
Tho' I of low Degree,
Sweet Lady give Content
To Love and pity me.

The Lady hearing now
The Moan that he did make,
Did of his Suit allow,
And thus to him he spake,
Sir Knight, mourn thou no more,
My Faith I plight to thee,
May this thy Joys restore,
Thou kill thy Wife of me.

But fiel sweet Love, quoth he,
What shift thou wilt thou make
Wilt seed to marry me,
And thy Delight to take;
It were a Barg an bad,
To get a wanton Wife,
And hide with Sorrow great,
Thy sweet distressed Life.

If that my Father knew
The Love I bear to thee,
We both the same should rue,
Therefore he rul'd by me:
When my Father's to bed,
And all his Waiting-men,
Through Window will I get,
See that you meet me then.

Content Lady, he said,
He's but a Cowardly Knight,
Whom ought shall make afraid,
To win a Lady bright.
Thus then they went away,
But by the Master Cook,
Coming thro' the Window wide,
Was this fair Lady took.

O gentle Cook, quoth she,
Do not my Dead bewray,
Some Favour to me show,
And let me pass away:
Love that doth conquer Kings
Fend me to do this Deed,
Whilst others sit and sing
Make not my Heart to bleed.

Nor so, then did the Cook,
Fair Lady pardon me,
Who can this Treason brook,
Concealed thus by thee,
My Lord, your Father, shall
The Matter understand,
For this I will not let,
Neither for House nor Land.

Then from the Lady's Face,
Fell down the Tears amain,
She was in woful Case,
And thus the maiden Moan:

Alas! my own dear Love,
Little know'st thou my Grief,
Great Sorrow shall we prove,
Hope yielding no Relief.

Her Father in a Spleen,
Look'd up his Daughter bright,
And for fault armed Men
To take the worthy Knight;
Who then was judged to be
Quite hardhed from the Land
Never his Love to see,
So strict was the Command.

And at the Sessions next,
After the Knight was gone,
To his Daughter full of Wo,
They brought a hanged Man,
Whose Head was stricken off,
The Maiden's Truth to prove,
Quoth her Father, wanton Dame,
Now take thee here thy Love.

Her Tears fell down amain,
When she sight the did see,
And sorely did complain
Of her Father's Cruelty;
His Body she did wash,
With Tears that she did shed,
As hundred Times the kist
His Body being dead.

Alas my Love, he said,
Dear hadst thou paid for me,
Oh! that to Heaven's Bliss,
My Soul were with thee;
But whilst that I do live,
A Vow I here do make,
Seven long Years to Eyes covered
For any true Lover's Sake.

Her Father hearing this,
Was grieved most sore,
He pardon'd her Love,
And joyed for Confidence,
And to the courteous Knight,
Her Father did her wed:
God grant to the Young,
Where perfect Love is bred.

Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by *John White.*

[圖 13] THE / Noble LORD's Cruelty; / OR, / A Pattern of True LOVE. / A Pattern of true Love to you I will recite, / Between a beautiful Lady and a courteous Knight, Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and sold by John White. 1725-1762? (British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.9.426-427) EBBA 31118

夫妻

多德的《樣本集》第 61 頁展示了一幅雙人肖像[圖 14]，畫中是一對戀人，兩人置於圓形構圖內，並由一個方形畫框環繞。此插圖來自於阿姆斯壯木刻版塊 719 號[圖 15, 16]，現藏於杭廷頓圖書館。這塊木版非常特殊，它沿中線被水平剖開為兩片，並由兩小木片在背面固定，以保持完整。木版背面中央有一個圓形孔洞，孔洞的用途目前尚不清楚。

這塊木雕版由四部分拼湊而成，這使得木版具有可拆卸與重組的特性，這種設計可能是為了提高雕刻與印刷的效率，是機械時代之前的一種早期工法。在那個時代，這樣的工藝方式顯示了印刷行業在追求速度與效率方面的一些創新。

阿姆斯壯在其目錄中將這幅插圖命名為「頭頂有丘比特之淑女與紳士」與「奧蘭治的威廉與英格蘭的瑪麗」，顯示這塊木刻版既可以用於政治宣傳，也適用於婚姻與愛情主題的插畫。它不僅能夠描繪浪漫愛情故事，還能在雙王制時期作為政治象徵，表達對君主的敬意或支持。

筆者查證發現，這塊版畫曾用於新堡小書《宮廷侍從，或新式愛情》（*The Courtier, or A New School of Love*）[圖 17]以及《波妮佩姬的歌曲集》（*Bonny Peggy's Garland*，新堡，約 1760 年）[圖 18]的標題頁。這些書籍的內容或圍繞戀愛、婚姻或宮廷生活，這塊木刻版畫的使用恰如其分地配合了書中的主題。木版與紙本中央的橫向切割線，證明兩者的確切關係。

[圖 14] Dodd 61:2　　[圖 15, 16] Armstrong woodblock 719, Huntington Library, 74×74×23 mm

The Accomplish'd
COURTIER;
OR.
A new SCHOOL of LOVE.
Being the rarest and most exact Art of wooing Maid or Widow by way of a Dialogue and complimental Expressions; with passionate Love Letters and courtly Sentences, to express the Elegancy of Love.
To which is added
a choice COLLECTION of the newest and best Songs sung at Court and City, set to the choicest Tunes by the best wits of the Age.
Newcastle: Printed in this Present Year

Bonny Peggy's GARLAND;
Containing several curious
New Songs.
I. Amintas's Complaint to his pretty Peggy.
II. Peggy's Answer to Amintas's Complaint.
III. The Charms of lovely Peggy.
IV. The Woman's Lamentation for her Sweetheart going to the Wars.
V. The Maid's Reproach of her unkind Sweetheart.
Licensed and enter'd according to Order

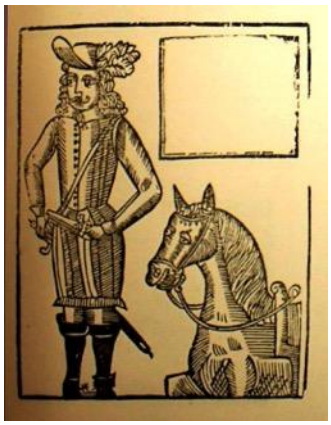
[圖 17] *The Courtier, or A new School of Love*, Newcastle　[圖 18] *Bonny Peggy's Garland*

紳士肖像

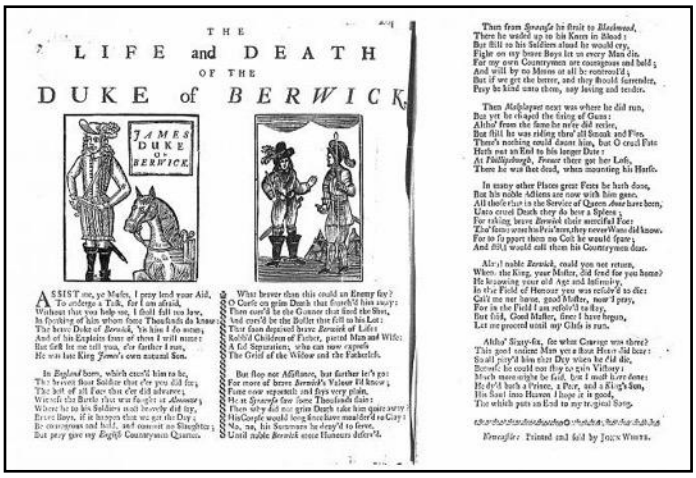
在多德的《樣本集》第 8 頁左下角，展示了一幅描繪一位戴帽、持槍與劍的紳士佇立於馬旁的圖像[圖 19]。此木刻版現藏於大英博物館。該木版的左上角留有空白窗格，可供嵌入不同文字，這一設計讓它可以根據不同的印刷需求，靈活運用於各種作品中。[圖 20]

這幅木刻版曾出現在約翰·懷特的民謠傳單《貝里克公爵之生與死》（*The Life and Death of The Duke of Berwick*）[圖 21]，以及安格斯母子出版的小書《英格蘭大盜詹姆斯·欣德船長的歡愉人生與瘋狂壯舉》（*The Merry Life and Mad Exploits of Capt. James Hind, the Great Robber of England*）[圖 22]的標題頁上。

這塊木刻版經歷了長時間的使用，並顯示出漸進式的損毀，不同版本的印刷品反映出木刻版的損壞情況。約翰·懷特版本的木刻框架保持完整，而在安格斯版本以及多德的《樣本集》中，版畫的右側已經出現斷裂。這種破損狀態在大英博物館藏的木雕版上可以清楚地看到，證明了該木刻版在多次使用中逐漸老化。



[圖 19] Dodd 8:4 [圖 20] British Museum 2000,0723.10, 90×71 mm



[圖 21] (左) *The Life and Death of The Duke of Berwick, Newcastle: Printed and sold by John White.* EBBA 31056

[圖 22] (右) *The merry life and mad exploits of Capt. James Hind, the great robber of England.* (Newcastle: Printed by and for M. Angus & Son, in the Side [s.a.])

商人圖像

在多德的《樣本集》中的第 11 頁（11:1），我們可以看到一幅描繪商隊的圖像[圖 23]。這幅插圖來自於湯瑪斯·德洛尼（Thomas Deloney）所作的《雷丁托馬斯的故事》（*The History of Thomas of Reading*），一本發表於約 1600 年的英國早期小說，該書結合了歷史、傳奇與道德教訓，主要講述英國早期羊毛業興起的故事。約翰·懷特約 1711 年印製的版本標題頁使用了這張插畫[圖 26]。

《雷丁托馬斯的故事》講述的是托馬斯，一位來自雷丁一地的羊毛織布商人。他是一位富有且勤奮的中產階級商人，與幾位來自不同城市的布商共同組成一個忠誠且互助的兄弟會。這本書展示了英國早期工匠精神的興起及中產階級的崛起。托馬斯的故事中也充滿了悲劇，他因愛上一位美麗的女子而招致旅館老闆娘的忌妒，最終遭受謀害，成為一個悲劇性人物。

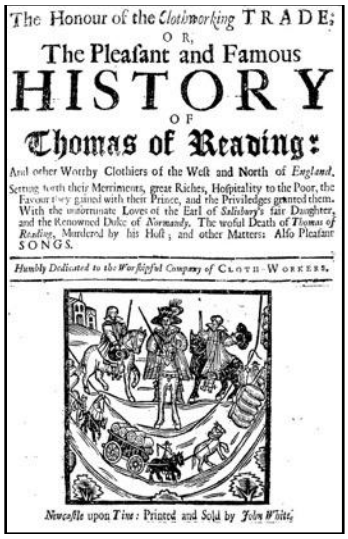
這幅商隊插圖，作為《雷丁托馬斯的故事》中的標題頁插圖，具有獨特的構圖。圖中主要人物是三名騎馬的商旅，畫面中心是主角托馬斯，他正騎在馬上，並以正面角度呈現。托馬斯的左右分別是兩位騎著黑白馬的商人，他們脫帽向托馬斯致敬。下方是環狀的道路，商隊列隊行走，運送著貨物，明確地表現出商隊的主題。

這幅圖的原始木刻版是由阿姆斯壯的第 23 號木雕版印製[圖 24, 25]。木板背面附有一塊薄木片，目的是增高木板的厚度，顯示了早期的製作工藝。該木刻版的上下邊框已有明顯的缺損，顯示木刻版在長時間使用後的磨損。儘管如此，根據查恩利與多德的《樣本集》，這幅插圖的版本在十九世紀仍保持相對完整，可見木雕版在十九到二十世

紀期間有持續破損的狀況。這說明這些木刻版曾被反覆使用，並且在每次印刷後會出現破損，尤其是木板的邊緣。

這幅描繪商隊的圖像不僅是一個商業故事的插圖，更是對當時中產階級興起的象徵。圖中的商人騎馬、行進於道路上的畫面，體現了當時社會中商業活動的普及和重要性。在藝術成就上，看似粗糙的圖像卻運用了經典圖像的對稱與前縮技法，不可小覷。

[圖 23] Dodd 11:1　　[圖 24, 25] Armstrong woodblock 23, Huntington Library, 78×80×22 mm



The Honour of the *Clothworking* TRADE;
OR,
The Pleasant and Famous
HISTORY
OF
Thomas of Reading:
And other Worthy Clothiers of the West and North of *England*.
Serving with their Merriments, great Riches, Hospitality to the Poor, the Favour they gained with their Prince, and the Priviledges granted them. With the unfortunate Loves of the Earl of *Salisbury's* fair Daughter, and the Renowned Duke of *Normandy*. The woful Death of *Thomas of Reading*, Murdered by his Host; and other Matters: Also Pleasant SONGS.
Humbly Dedicated to the Worshipful Company of CLOTH-WORKERS.
Newcastle upon Tine: Printed and Sold by *John White*.

[圖 26] Deloney, Thomas (1543?-1600), *The honour of the clothworking trade; or, the pleasant and famous history of Thomas of Reading*, Newcastle upon Tine: printed and sold by John White, [1715?].

旅人圖像

多德的《樣本集》第 10 頁（10:4）有一幅描繪旅人的圖像[圖 27]：畫面中，一位戴帽拄杖的男子站立於原野之上，身穿十七至十八世紀典型的旅行者裝束。這幅插圖的形象並沒有特定的身份背景，而是呈現了一位典型的旅行者或流浪者，這樣的圖像在當時的文化中是常見的。反映了當時人們對旅行者、流浪者以及其象徵意義的關注。這些人物通常被視為跨越社會階層和地域的存在，無固定身份，象徵著流動、冒險和不確定性。

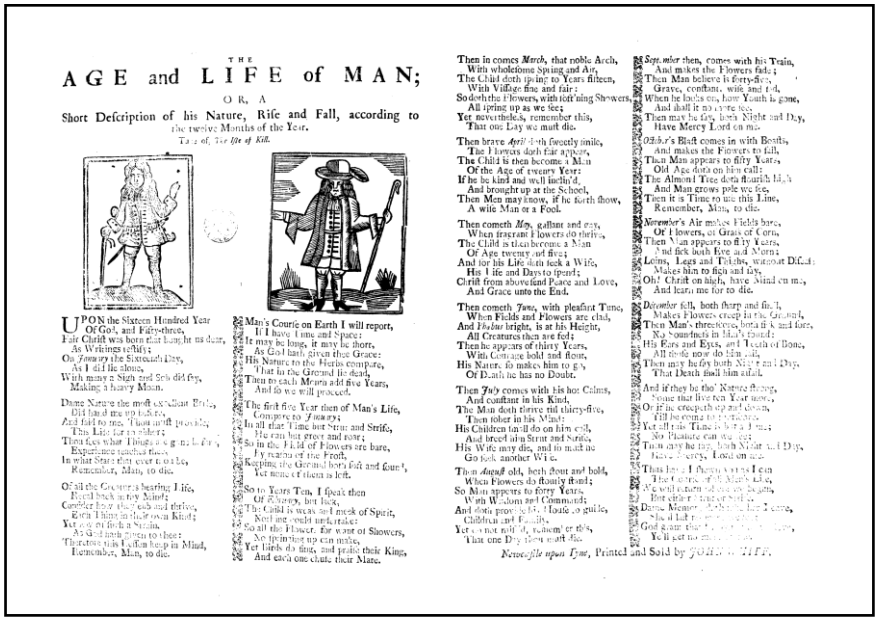
此圖的印製原版來自阿姆斯壯的第 34 號木雕版[圖 28, 29, 30]，根據阿姆斯壯的目錄記錄，圖中人物穿著十七世紀的服裝，這可能表明該圖是從老約翰·懷特工作室的圖像中繼承而來。木刻版的左側畫框已經被切斷，並且木版的背面右緣呈斜切狀，頂部與底部均顯示出多處裂紋，這些細節表明該木版已經經過多次使用，並且隨著時間的推移，經歷了相當程度的損耗。

這幅圖不僅出現在多德的《樣本集》中，還見於約翰·懷特在新堡出版的多個出版品中。這些出版品包括歌謠傳單《人類的年歲與生命》（*The age and life of man*）[圖 31]以及小書《新歌曲集：包括無名之輩等》（*A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. Nobody, ...*）[圖 32]。由於這幅圖中的人物並無明確的身份設定，它可以適用於多種不同的文字內容，無論是關於「人類的生命週期」還是描述「無名小卒」的故事。

這些情境反映了當時木刻版在商業印刷中的靈活性和普遍性。沒有特定身份的旅人形象使得這幅圖可以被廣泛應用於多種文本和主題中，從道德故事到歌謠和社會描述。但正因如此，木刻版的頻繁使用也導致了顯著的損耗。

[圖 27] Dodd 10:4

[圖 28, 29, 30] Armstrong woodblock 34, 68×58×22 mm



THE
AGE and LIFE of MAN;
OR, A
Short Description of his Nature, Rise and Fall, according to the twelve Months of the Year.

UPON the Sixteen Hundred Year
Of God, and Fifty-three,
Fair Christ was born that Day, for us dear,
As Writings testify;
On *January* the Sixteenth Day,
As I did lie alone,
With many a Sigh and Sob did pray,
Making a heavy Moan.

Dame Nature the most excellent Style,
Did lend me to behold,
And bid to me, Thou art provide,
This List for to other;
Then see what Things are ordained for,
Experience teacheth thee,
In what State that ever thou be,
Remember, Man, to die.

Of all the Creatures bearing Life,
First look in my Mind;
Consider how they each and thrive,
Each Thing in their own Kind;
Yet cometh forth a Sentence,
As God hath given to those:
Therefore this Lesson keep in Mind,
Remember, Man, to die.

Man's Course on Earth I will report,
If I have Time and Space:
It may be long, it may be short,
As God hath given that Grace:
His Nature to the Herbs compare,
That in the Ground lie dead,
Then to each Month add five Years,
And so we will proceed.

The first five Year then of Man's Life,
Compare to *January*;
In all that Time he's Sent and Strife,
He can but greet and cry;
So in the Field of Flowers are bare,
By means of the Frost,
Keeping the Ground hard fast and sure,
Yet none of them is lost.

So to Years Ten, I speak then
Of *February*, but lack,
The Child is weak and peak of Spirit,
Not any could wish make:
So all the Flower, for want of Showers,
No springtime up can make,
Yet birds do sing, and praise their King,
And each one chuse their Mate.

Then in comes *March*, that noble Arch,
With wholesome Spring and Air,
The Child doth spring to Years fifteen,
With Visage fine and fair;
So doth the Flowers, with tot'ning Showers,
All spring up as we see;
Yet nevertheless, remember this,
That our Lay we must die.

Then brave *April* doth sweetly smile,
The Flowers doth fair appear,
The Child is then become a Man
Of the Age of twenty Year:
If he be kind and well inclin'd,
And brought up at the School,
Then Men may know, if he doth show,
A wise Man or a Fool.

Then cometh *May*, gallant and gay,
When fragrant Flowers do thrive,
The Child is then become a Man
Of Age twenty and five;
And for his Life doth seek a Wife,
His Life and Days to spend,
Christ from above send Peace and Love,
And Grace unto the End.

Then cometh *June*, with pleasant Tune,
When Fields and Flowers are clad,
And *Phebus* bright, is at his Height,
All Creatures then are fed;
Then he appears of thirty Years,
With Courage bold and stout,
His Nature, so makes him to go,
Of Death he has no Doubt.

Then *July* comes with his hot Calms,
And constant in his Kind,
The Man doth thrive till thirty-five,
Then toiler in his Mind:
His Children tim'rous do on him call,
And bread of a Strut and Satisfy,
His Wife may die, and to mate he
Go look another Wife.

Then *August* old, both stout and bold,
When Flowers do flourish fresh;
So Man appears to forty Years,
With Wisdom and Commands;
And doth prove to his Hostes so guile,
Children and Family,
Yet cannot tell it, redeem' or this,
That one Day then must die.

September then, comes with his Train,
And makes the Flowers fade;
Then Man believes is forty-five,
Grave, constant, wise and staid,
When he looks on, how Youth is gone,
And shall it no more see,
Then may he say, here's Night and Day,
Have Mercy Lord on me.

October's Blast comes in with Beasts,
And makes the Flowers to fall,
Then Man appears to fifty Years,
Old Age doth on him call:
The Almond Tree doth flourish bright,
And Man grows pale we see,
Then it is Time to use this Line,
Remember, Man, to die.

November's Air makes Fields bare,
Of Flowers, or Grass of Corn,
Then Man appears to fifty Years,
And sick both Eve and Morn:
Loins, Legs and Tokens, want out Dead:
Makes him to sigh and say,
Oh! Christ on high, have Mind on me,
And learn me for to die.

December fell, both sharp and fell,
Makes Flowers creep in the Ground,
Then Man's threescore, but if he and fare,
No Soundness in his Sound:
His Ears and Eyes, and Teeth of Bone,
Then may he say both Night and Day,
That Death shall him afall.

And if they be tho' Nature strong,
Some that live ten Year more,
Or if he creepeth up and down,
Till he come to threescore,
Yet all this Time is but a Dream,
No Pleasure can we see:
Then may he say, both Night and Day,
Have Mercy, Lord on me.

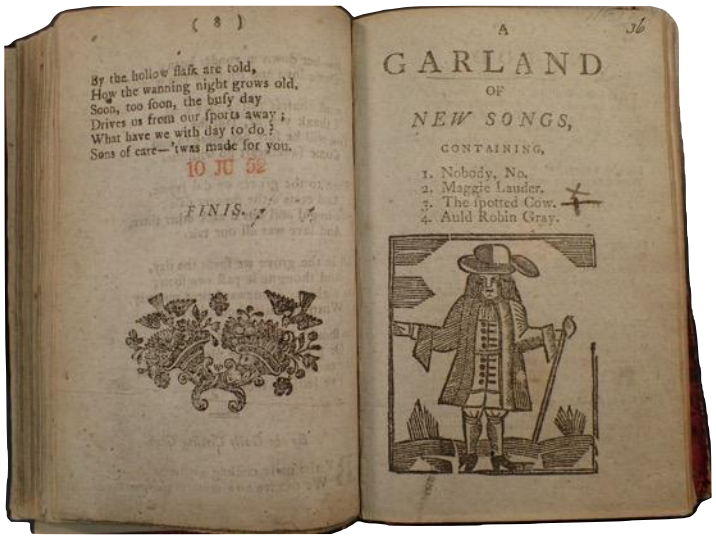
Thus here I Poem sets my Lean
The Course of the Man's Life,
We will return to our Sights,
Not other Time of Strife.
Dame Nature Mother to the Flowers,
Shall bid me remember,
God grant that I, [illegible]
Yet just to die.

Newcastle upon Tyne, Printed and Sold by *JOHN WHITE*.

[圖 31]

The age and life of man; or, A short description of his nature,

rise and fall, according to the twelve months of the year, Newcastle upon Tyne, Printed and Sold by John White. (British Library L.R.31.b.19.(27))



[圖 32] *A Garland of New Songs, containing 1. Nobody, …* Newcastle, 1790? (British Library 11621.a.3.(36.))

（三）故事類題材：歷史故事、寓言故事、愛情故事、聖經故事、民間傳說、傳奇故事，《魯賓遜漂流記》、拇指湯姆等經典故事。

歷史故事—埃莉諾王后 (Queen Eleanor)與珍·蕭爾(Jane Shore)

多德《樣本集》30:2 頁的插圖描繪了三名身著宮廷服飾的貴族人物，站立於三個拱門下[圖 33]。此圖的原版來自阿姆斯壯第 158 號木雕版[圖 34, 35]，並與多德所印的版本相符。該木刻版的左、右框線均已斷裂，與紙本相符，證實為原版，也反映了其經歷多次使用和損壞。這幅圖出現在多個故事中，主要涉及兩位歷史人物：十三世紀的埃莉諾王后與十五世紀的珍·蕭爾。這兩位人物均在民間傳說中被戲劇化，且經過虛構化和道德化的處理。

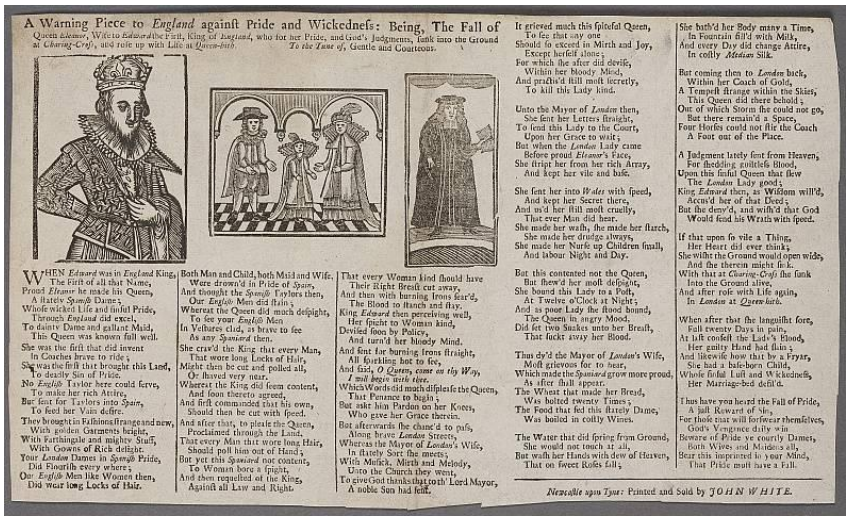
[圖 33] Dodd 30:2　　[圖 34, 35]Armstrong woodblock 158, 59×71×23 mm

埃莉諾王后—驕傲與懲罰的警示

埃莉諾王后的故事出現於約翰·懷特在新堡出版的民謠傳單《對英格蘭驕傲與邪惡的警示篇》(*A Warning Piece to England against Pride and Wickedness*）[圖 36][41]中，該故事將埃莉諾王后描繪為一個因驕傲和邪惡而受上帝懲罰的反面教材。故事內容並非歷史事實，而是基於對王后形象的戲劇化塑造，目的在於警告英格蘭人民避免驕傲與惡行。

根據該民謠，埃莉諾王后因為其驕傲而受到神的審判，在查令十字（Charing Cross）地點被吞噬，沉入地下。隨後，她又在女王碼頭（Queenhithe）處重生，這一事件被解釋為神蹟般的救贖。儘管此傳說與歷史無關，但它利用超自然的元素吸引民眾，並通過這一故事反映了當時社會對權力、道德和女性角色的看法。(Ashton, 1882)

埃莉諾王后是西班牙的卡斯蒂爾（Castile）王國出身，這一背景可能使她在當時的英格蘭社會中處於一種文化和民族的邊緣地位。民間的排外情緒可能促成了對她的貶低，並使她的形象遭污名化。此外，這一傳說可能也反映了十八世紀人們對當權者的批評，特別是那些與當時社會結構有所衝突的統治者。


A Warning Piece to *England* against Pride and Wickedness: Being, The Fall of Queen *Eleanor*, Wife to *Edward* the First, King of *England*, who for her Pride, and God's Judgments, sunk into the Ground at *Charing-Cross*, and rose up with Life at *Queen-hith*. *To the Tune of*, Gentle and Courteous.

WHEN *Edward* was in *England* King,
The First of all that Name,
Proud *Eleanor* he made his Queen,
A lately *Spanish* Dame;
Whose wicked Life and lustful Pride,
Through *England* did excel,
To dainty Dame and gallant Maid,
This Queen was known full well.
She was the first that did invent
In Coaches brave to ride;
She was the first that brought this Land,
To deadly Sin of Pride.
No *English* Taylor here could serve,
To make her rich Attire,
But sent for Taylors into *Spain*,
To feed her Vain desire.
They brought in Fashions strange and new,
With golden Garments bright,
With Farthingale and mighty Staff,
With Gowns of Rich delight.
Your *London* Dames in *Spanish* Pride,
Did flourish every where;
Our *English* Men like Women then,
Did wear long Locks of Hair.

Both Man and Child, both Maid and Wife,
Were drown'd in Pride of *Spain*,
And thought the *Spanish* Taylors then,
Our *English* Men did flain;
Whereat the Queen did much despight,
To see your *English* Men
In Vehures clad, as brave to see
As any *Spaniard* then.
She crav'd the King that every Man,
That wore long Locks of Hair,
Might then be cut and polled all,
Or shaved very near.
Whereat the King did seem content,
And soon thereto agreed,
And first commanded that his own,
Should then be cut with speed.
And after that, to please the Queen,
Proclaimed through the Land,
That every Man that wore long Hair,
Should poll him out of Hand;
But yet this *Spaniard* not content,
To Woman bore a spight,
And then repelled of the King,
Against all Law and Right.

That every Woman kind should have
Their Right Breast cut away,
And then with burning Irons fear'd,
The Blood to stanch and stay.
King *Edward* then perceiving well,
Her spight to Woman kind,
Devised soon by Policy,
And turn'd her Bloody Mind.
And sent for burning Irons straight,
All sparkling hot to see,
And said, *O Queen, come on thy Way,*
I will begin unto thee.
Which Words did much displease the Queen,
That Penance to begin;
But askt him Pardon on her Knees,
Who gave her Grace therein.
But afterwards she chang'd to pass,
Along brave *London* Streets,
Whereas the Mayor of *London*'s Wife,
In stately Sort she meets;
With Musick, Mirth and Melody,
Unto the Church they went,
To give God thanks that to th' Lord Mayor,
A noble Son had sent.

It grieved much this spiteful Queen,
To see that any one
Should to exceed in Mirth and Joy,
Except herself alone;
For which she after did devise,
Within her bloody Mind,
And practis'd still most secretly,
To kill this Lady kind.

Unto the Mayor of *London* then,
She sent her Letters straight,
To send this Lady to the Court,
Upon her Grace to wait;
But when the *London* Lady came
Before proud *Eleanor*'s Face,
She strript her from her rich Array,
And kept her vile and base.

She sent her into *Wales* with speed,
And kept her Secret there,
And us'd her still most cruelly,
That ever Man did hear.
She made her wash, she made her starch,
She made her drudge always,
She made her Nurse up Children small,
And labour Night and Day.

But this contented not the Queen,
But shew'd her most despight,
She bound this Lady to a Post,
At Twelve o'Clock at Night;
And as poor Lady she stood bound,
The Queen in angry Mood.
Did set two Snakes unto her Breast,
That suckt away her Blood.

Thus dy'd the Mayor of *London*'s Wife,
Most grievous for to hear,
Which made the *Spaniard* grow more proud,
As after shall appear.
The Wheat that made her Bread,
Was bolted twenty Times;
The Food that fed this Stately Dame,
Was boiled in costly Wines.

The Water that did spring from Ground,
She would not touch at all,
But with her Hands with dew of Heaven,
That on sweet Roses fall;

She bath'd her Body many a Time,
In Fountain fill'd with Milk,
And every Day did change Attire,
In costly *Median* Silk.

But coming then to *London* back,
Within her Coach of Gold,
A Tempest strange within the Skies,
This Queen did there behold;
Out of which Storm she could not go,
But there remain'd a Space,
Four Horses could not stir the Coach
A Foot out of the Place.

A Judgment lately sent from Heaven,
For shedding guiltless Blood,
Upon this sinful Queen that slew
The *London* Lady good;
King *Edward* then, as Wisdom will'd,
Accus'd her of that Deed;
But she deny'd, and wish'd that God
Would send his Wrath with speed.

If that upon so vile a Thing,
Her Heart did ever think;
She wish'd the Ground would open wide,
And she therein might sink.
With that at *Charing-Cross* she sunk
Into the Ground alive,
And after rose with Life again,
In *London* at *Queen-hith*.

When after that the languishst sore,
Full twenty Days in pain,
At last confess'd the Lady's Blood,
Her guilty Hand had slain;
And likewise how that be a Fryar,
She had a base-born Child,
Whole sinful Lust and Wickedness,
Her Marriage-bed defil'd.

Thus have you heard the Fall of Pride,
A just Reward of Sin,
For those that will forbear themselves,
God's Vengeance daily win
Beware of Pride ye courtly Dames,
Both Wives and Maidens all,
Bear this imprinted in your Mind,
That Pride must have a Fall.

Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by *JOHN WHITE*.

[圖 36]

A Warning Piece to England against Pride and Wickedness: Being, The Fall of / Queen Eleanor, Wife to Edward the First, King of England, who for her Pride, and God's Judgments, sunk into the Ground / at Charing-Cross, and rose up with Life at Queen-hith. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by JOHN WHITE.

(Huntington Library)

EBBA 32510

珍·蕭爾的故事—愛情與悲劇

這幅插圖重覆出現在約翰·懷特及其後繼者安格斯家族出版的民謠小書《珍·蕭爾傳：愛德華四世王妃之生平》中（*The History of Jane Shore, concubine to King Edward IV*）[圖 37, 38]。該書講述珍·蕭爾的出身與家庭背景，及其與倫敦金匠馬修·蕭爾的婚姻，並記錄了她如何離棄丈夫，投身於英格蘭國王愛德華四世的懷抱。故事中，她在王宮中享

[41] https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32510/image

受奢華，然而，當愛德華四世去世後，理查三世即位將她視為道德敗壞的象徵。她被迫遊街懺悔，最終在寒冷與飢餓中死去，遺體被丟棄於倫敦貧民窟的臭水溝，這一地點後來被稱為「蕭爾溝」（Shoreditch）。

該故事雖廣為流傳，實則並非歷史事實。珍·蕭爾在史實中並未像傳說所言悲慘結局，而是再婚並安享晚年。民謠中的版本極可能是都鐸時期為醜化理查三世形象所創作的虛構故事，旨在抹黑其統治形象，並透過誇大其手段以達到道德警示的效果。(Ashton 1882, 393-95)

THE
HISTORY
OF
JANE SHORE,
Concubine to King Edward IV.
GIVING
An account of her Birth, Parentage, her Marriage with Mr *Matthew Shore*, a Goldsmith, in *Lombard-street, London*. How she left her Husband's Bed to live with King Edward IV. And of the miserable End she made at her Death.
Newcastle: Printed in this present Year.

THE
HISTORY
OF
JANE SHORE,
Concubine to King Edward IV.
GIVING
An Account of her Birth, Parentage, her Marriage with Mr Matthew Shore, a Goldsmith, in Lombard-Street, London. How she left her Husband's Bed to live with King Edward IV. And of the miserable End she made at her Death.

[圖 37] *The History of Jane Shore, concubine to King Edward IV*, Newcastle, 1785?

[圖 38] *The History of Jane Shore, concubine to King Edward IV*, Newcastle: George Angus

這幅木雕版圖像顯然與《珍·蕭爾傳》或《埃莉諾王后》故事的具體內容並不完全吻合。從這點可以推測，約翰·懷特在使用這些插畫裝飾印刷品時，常非根據故事內容量身定制插圖，而是經常回收並重複使用手頭已有的舊版畫。這些版畫主要考慮的是提供一個粗略的宮廷背景，而人物形象則留給讀者自由解釋。這種方式無需過多關注細節，重點在於為讀者提供視覺上吸引人的元素，以迎合當時普羅大眾對於娛樂性、簡單而直觀的內容需求。

此外，木雕版的損毀過程也反映了這一時期的版畫使用狀況。從早期懷特出版的民謠傳單中可以看到，最初的木刻版畫外框完整，而隨著時間推移，特別是在 1785 年左右由懷特的繼承人湯瑪斯·聖所出版的小書中，版畫的左右下角開始顯現破損，直到安格斯家族繼續出版同主題的小書時，版畫的損壞情況更為嚴重，這一變化與查恩利和多德的《樣本集》紙本及木雕版現狀相符，顯示出版畫在長期使用中的磨損及時間的痕跡。

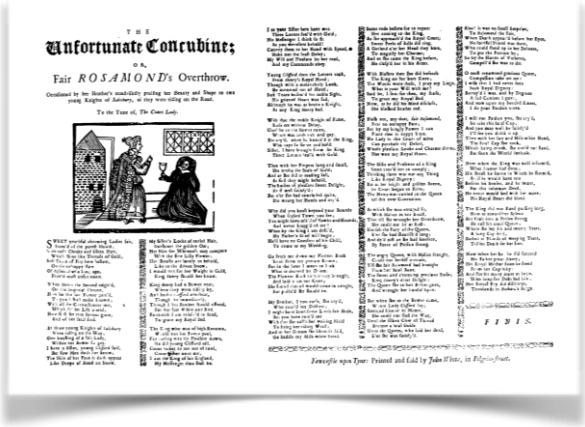
多德《樣本集》24:1 收錄的插畫同樣描繪了埃莉諾王后的故事[圖 39]。約翰·懷特將它用於其民謠傳單《埃莉諾王后的自白》（*Queen ELEANOR's Confession*) [圖 41]，該傳單講述了埃莉諾王后在臨終前因悔過而召來法國修士，但亨利二世國王懷疑後假扮

修士來聽她的告解。她在告解中揭露自己有私生子，並且曾毒死國王的情婦「美貌羅莎蒙」(Fair Rosamund)。這一故事情節也成為另一張懷特出版的民謠《不幸的妾室；或，美麗的羅莎蒙的覆滅》(*The unfortunate concubine; or, Fair Rosamond's overthrow*)[圖 42]的主題，並搭配了相同的插畫。

這幅圖的印刷原版是阿姆斯壯第 50 號木雕版[圖 40, 41]，畫面中刻畫了王后命令妾室喝下毒酒的情節。該木版由兩塊木片疊合而成，上方的木塊較厚，下方附加了一塊薄木片。版畫的使用痕跡顯示出其高頻率的使用，木版的左側、右上角、頂部和右側均有裂痕，並且頂部曾以釘子修補過，但這些修補反而造成了新的裂痕。此外，頂框、底框和左框均有缺損，這些損壞情況反映了這塊木雕版的長期使用與頻繁的印刷需求，也顯示這個故事受歡迎的程度。

[圖 39] Dodd 24:1

[圖 40, 41] Armstrong woodblock 50, 72×96×23 mm



[圖 42] (左) *Queen ELEANOR's Confession*, Newcastle upon Tyne: printed and sold by John White. (British Library)

[圖 43] （右）*The unfortunate concubine; or, Fair Rosamond's overthrow*, Newcastle upon Tyne: printed and sold by John White, in Pilgrim Street. (British Library)

民間故事

在約翰·懷特出版的小書中，許多屬於英國民間流行的傳說故事被廣泛收錄，這些故事往往具有強烈的地方色彩和娛樂性，並且在當時的社會中口耳相傳，深受普通百姓的喜愛。這些故事多以口語化的形式流傳，並且往往伴隨插畫，用以吸引讀者的注意力。以下是其中一些經典的民間故事：

- 傑克與巨人 (Jack and the Giants)：這是一個描述年輕的傑克如何戰勝巨人的故事，包含勇氣與智慧的傳奇元素。
- 湯姆·特蘭姆的瘋狂惡作劇 (Tom Tram's Mad Pranks)：一個關於湯姆·特蘭姆和他瘋狂惡作劇的幽默故事，展示了英國民間對無厘頭幽默的熱愛。
- 魯濱遜漂流記 (Robinson Crusoe)：這個故事講述了主人公魯濱遜在荒島上的孤獨生活與生存奮鬥，雖源自丹尼爾·笛福的小說，但經常以民間流傳版本出現。
- 樹林中的兩個孩子 (Two Children in the Wood)：這是一個悲劇性的故事，講述了兩個孩子被親戚陷害後，最終在森林中死亡的故事，充滿了道德教訓。
- 傻西蒙的不幸事件 (Simple Simon's Misfortunes)：這個故事描述了一個憨厚的男孩西蒙，他在生活中總是陷入一連串的麻煩與不幸。
- 貝茨曼的悲劇 (Batesman's Tragedy)：一個關於失落與背叛的悲劇故事，描述貝茨曼的命運如何因家庭或愛情的悲劇而改變。
- 希普頓婆婆 (Mother Shipton)：這個故事圍繞著英國傳說中的女預言家希普頓婆婆，她預言未來並揭示許多關於命運與人類行為的智慧。

這些故事大多具有豐富的象徵意義，往往以英雄或反英雄的形象來傳達某些道德或社會價值，不僅是娛樂性質的文本，也反映了當時社會的價值觀和世界觀。由於這些故事充滿娛樂性和富有教育意義，它們在當時成為了非常受歡迎的閱讀材料，並且通過小書和民謠傳單的形式普及化。

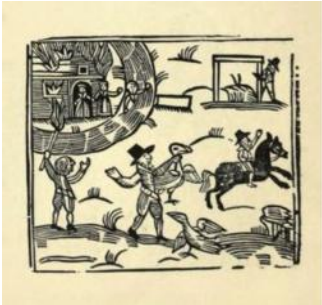
湯姆·崔姆的瘋狂惡作劇 （*Mad Pranks of Tom Tram*）

《湯姆·崔姆的瘋狂惡作劇》是約翰·懷特出版的一本充滿幽默和諷刺的民間故事，故事通過湯姆·崔姆這一角色展示了各種無厘頭的惡作劇和滑稽行為。

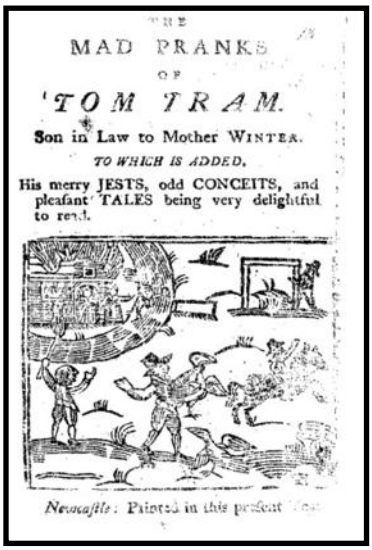
多德《樣本集》中的 41:4 插圖專門描繪了湯姆·崔姆的這些惡作劇[圖 44]，這幅插畫出現在上述懷特在新堡出版的小書標題頁[圖 47]。插圖生動展現了湯姆製造混亂的場景，從左側的放火燒屋，到右上角暗示他在糧倉或磨坊中偷吃或惡作劇，再到下方他抓著火雞的畫面，並描繪了其他人對湯姆的行為感到驚訝的場面。整體畫面充滿了動感，場面混亂且充滿歡樂的氛圍，顯示出湯姆崔姆的幽默本質與他挑戰社會規範的行為。

這幅插畫的印刷原版是阿姆斯壯第 15 號木雕版[圖 45, 46]，這塊木板呈深色且已有些陳舊，背面固定著兩塊小木片，左上框架有明顯的破損，下方框架和背面則有裂痕，顯示出這塊木雕版經過多次使用。這些細節也揭示了懷特出版物的流行性和長期的市場需求。

這個故事不僅是純粹的娛樂，也在某種程度上對社會秩序進行了隱晦的反思。湯姆·崔姆作為一個顛覆常規的角色，通過其瘋狂的惡作劇和詼諧的情節，對當時的道德、行為規範以及權威進行了戲謔與挑戰，這樣的故事風格反映了十八世紀民間文化中的幽默感與對權威的懷疑。



[圖 44] Dodd 41:4　　[圖 45, 46] Armstrong woodblock 15, Huntington Library, 69×80×22 mm


THE
MAD PRANKS
OF
TOM TRAM.
Son in Law to Mother WINTER.
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
His merry JESTS, odd CONCEITS, and pleasant TALES being very delightful to read.
Newcastle: Printed in this present

[圖 47] The mad pranks of Tom Tram. Son in law to Mother Winter. To which is added, his merry jests, odd conceits, and pleasant tales being very delightful to read.　Newcastle : printed in this present year, [1775?].

魯賓遜漂流記 (Robinson Crusoe)

在多德的《樣本集》第 13 與 14 頁[圖 48, 49]中，展示了新堡安格斯家族出版的丹尼爾·笛福著作《魯賓遜漂流記》（*The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*，由 M. Angus & Son 出版，約 1800 年）的插圖[圖 50, 51]。

[圖 48, 49] Dodd13, 14

這些插圖的原版是阿姆斯壯木雕版系列之一，其中五塊木雕版專門用於該書的插圖。編號為 161 的木雕版[圖 51]特別用於書籍的扉頁或卷首插圖[圖 52]。這塊木雕版具有顯著的損壞跡象，左側呈現一道大裂紋，橫跨木板的中央，右側則有兩道裂痕，其中一道裂痕位於底部。這些裂痕在安格斯（約 1800 年）和多德（1862 年）所印製的紙本版本中可見，且木雕版的狀況隨著時間的流逝已逐漸惡化，裂紋擴大，並且木板呈現彎曲。這些損壞反映了木雕版在長期使用過程中的磨損情況，且顯示出該插圖在各時期的重複印刷過程中遭遇的物理損傷。

阿姆斯壯第 162 至 165 號木雕版[圖 53-56]的印刷作品分別出現在上述書中第 20、9、17 與 4 頁（其中第 162 號版印於多德《樣本集》56:1）。各插圖皆為近正方形，外框採雙層設計，尺寸大致一致。第 163 號版背面另貼有三片薄木板以增厚。

《魯濱遜漂流記》在十八世紀的英國至少出版了數百個版本，包括正規、改編及非官方版本，是當時最暢銷、重印次數最多的書籍之一。以兒童為主要讀者的改編小書更是數量繁多。新堡版本中的多數插畫，實為倫敦版本的翻刻版，反映了城鄉文化的傳播與呼應。

由左至右：[圖 50] Dodd13:1；[圖 51] Armstrong woodblock 161, Huntington Library, 130×78×21 mm；[圖 52] *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, M. Angus & Son, 1800?

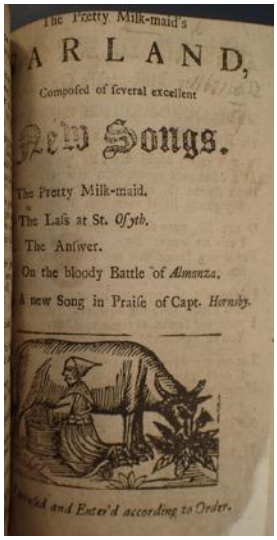
[圖 53-56] Armstrong woodblocks 162, 163, 164, 165, 大致為 63 × 70 × 22 mm

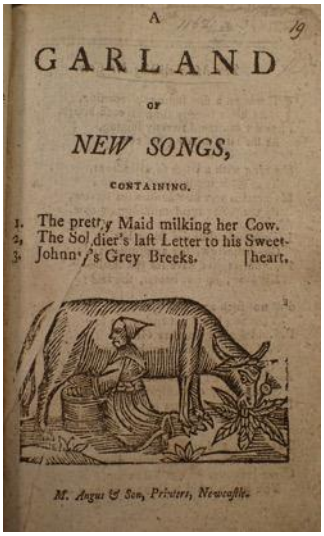
拇指湯姆 (Tom Thumb)

拇指湯姆是十七世紀以來英國民間流傳的童話故事，描寫一名身形極小的男孩歷經各種奇異遭遇、磨難與英勇行為，兼具教育與娛樂功能，為兒童常讀之作。多德《樣本集》中有三張與此故事相關的插畫（25:3、25:4、49:7）[圖 57, 62, 64]，皆出自新堡安格斯母子印刷店所出版的小書《美麗的擠奶女工歌曲集》(*The Pretty Milk-maid's Garland, composed of several excellent New Songs*, Newcastle) [圖 60]及《新歌曲集》(*A Garland of New Songs*, M. Angus & Son, Printers, Newcastle) [圖 61]。其中，25:4 同時出現在兩種小書的標題頁，畫面描繪湯姆的母親正在擠牛奶，暗示故事中湯姆被吃草的牛吞入腹中的情節；25:3 刻畫湯姆在母親做飯時跌入湯碗的片段；49:7 則描繪湯姆被烏鴉叼走的場面。

這三幅插畫的印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 85、83 與 84 號木雕版[圖 58, 59, 63, 65]。版身老舊，由兩層木板黏合而成，表面可見多處崩裂與蟲蛀痕跡。

[圖 57] Dodd 25:4　　[圖 58, 59] Armstrong woodblock 85, Huntington Library, 59×67×22 mm


The Pretty Milk-maid's
ARLAND,
Composed of several excellent
New Songs.
The Pretty Milk-maid.
The Lass at St. Osyth.
The Answer.
On the bloody Battle of Almanza.
A new Song in Praise of Capt. Hornby.
and Enter'd according to Order.


A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS,
CONTAINING.
1. The pretty Maid milking her Cow.
2. The Soldier's last Letter to his Sweet-heart.
3. Johnny's Grey Breeks.
M. Angus & Son, Printers, Newcastle.

[圖 60] (左）*The Pretty Milk-maid's Garland, composed of several excellent New Song…*, Newcastle.

[圖 61]（右） *A Garland of New Songs* (M. Angus & Son, Printers, Newcastle

[圖 62] Dodd 25:3　　[圖 63] Armstrong woodblock 83, Huntington Library, 43×74×22 mm

[圖 64] Dodd 49:7　　[圖 65]Armstrong woodblock 84, Huntington Library, 43×73×20 mm

聖經多比傳民謠 (Ballad of Tobias)

多德《樣本集》21:1 [圖 66]為一張聖經敘事圖，描繪《多比傳》（*Book of Tobit*，或譯〈多俾亞傳〉）的故事。該故事出自天主教與東正教所採納的《舊約聖經》，但未

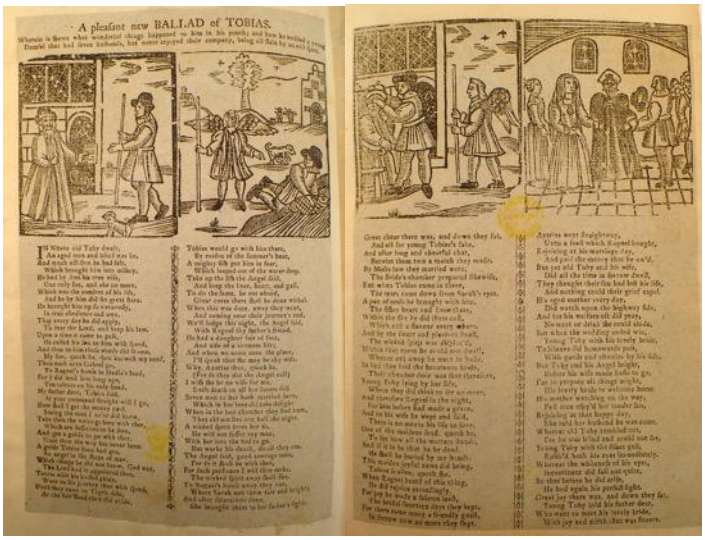
收入新教聖經，因此在英國新教政府統治下，衍生成為民間傳說版本。其內容講述一個被放逐至亞述的以色列家族父子的經歷。版畫場景呈現多比向父親辭行，準備外出為父討回公道，並在旅途中獲得天使的協助。畫中，多比頭戴帽、手執行杖，身旁隨行一犬，面對門前著長袍、蓄鬍的父親，正欲啟程告別。門上刻有「A Guy」字樣，可能為雕工署名，以有別於倫敦版本。

此圖由阿姆斯壯第 18 號木雕版印製[圖 67, 68]。木板在印刷初期即有蟲蛀痕跡，於現存紙本與木雕版上清晰可見，顯示懷特使用的板材相當老舊，可能為其父老約翰·懷特（John White Senior）所遺留。木板上緣嵌有一枚三角形木片，以四枚釘子固定於主體，反映出懷特在製版時常以手邊邊角料拼湊再利用的習慣。目前木雕版的上緣與左側皆有裂痕，背面亦可見裂紋。

此木雕版即為新堡約翰·懷特出版之民謠傳單《多比歡樂小調》(*A Pleasant Ballad of Tobias*) [圖 69] 的印刷原版。該傳單依據十七世紀倫敦版本翻刻而成[圖 69]。雖新堡版本工藝不及都會精緻，然整體品質仍相當接近原作，反映出新堡印刷文化的優秀程度與倫敦相去不遠。

[圖 66] Dodd 21:1

[圖 67, 68] Armstrong woodblock 18, Huntington Library, 87×79×23 mm



[圖 69] A pleasant New BALLAD of TOBIAS: / Wherein is shewed what wonderful Things happen'd to him in his Youth; and how he wedded / young Damsel that had seven husbands, but never enjoyed their Company, being

all slain by an evil Spirit. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold JOHN WHITE. 1725-1769 ? (British Library - Roxburghe C.20.f.9.514-515)

[圖 70]
倫敦較早版本
A pleasant new Ballad of Tobias: wherin is shewed the wonderfull things / which chanced to him in his youth; and how he wedded a young Damsell that had had / seven husbands and never enjoyed their company: who were / all slaine by a wicked spirit.
Printed at London for F. Coules dwelling in the Old-Baily. 1624-1680 ?
(British Library - Roxburghe C.20.f.7.420-421) EBBA 30287

（四）生死主題：死亡、謀殺、處決、自殺、葬禮、臨終、棺木

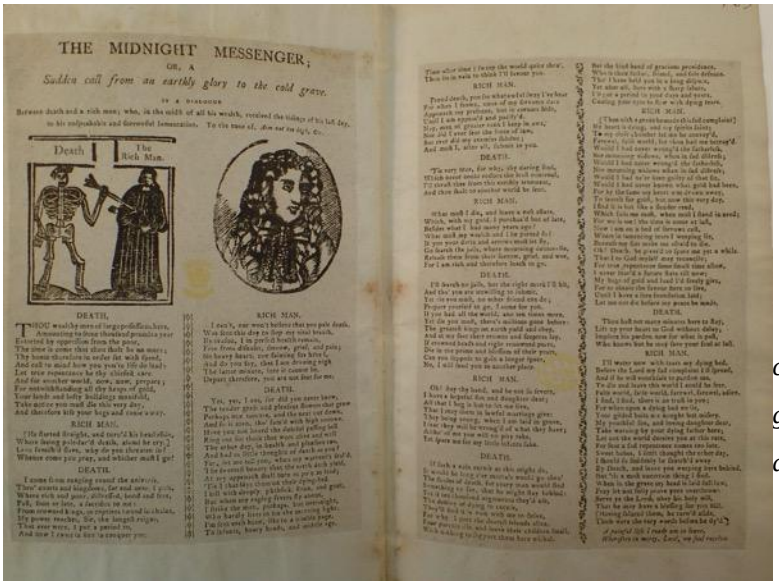
死亡

多德《樣本集》86–89頁所收的木刻版畫皆以「死亡」為主題。86:2 [圖71] 為一幅由骷髏化身的死神以箭刺穿男子胸膛的圖像，屬於「死亡之舞」的視覺傳統，象徵凡人終將一死的哲理。此圖出現於一張民謠傳單《午夜使者》(*The Midnight Messenger*) [圖74]，內容描述一位富翁在享盡榮華之時，忽然接獲死神降臨的警訊，悲痛悔恨，哀號不止，藉此警惕世人塵世榮耀終將歸於墳墓。圖像上方附有文字，標示人物身份為「死神」(Death)與「富翁」(The Rich Man)。此民謠約出版於1775年，印製者應為新堡的托馬斯·聖。

此圖的印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第60號木雕版[圖72, 73]。該木板由兩塊厚度與形狀不一的木料釘合而成，上層薄木刻有圖案，置於較厚的基座木塊之上。基座質地粗糙，不宜雕刻，但上緣向外凸出，並額外鑿出三段延伸木條，形成類似祭壇畫的結構。此構造在印刷紙本上並不明顯，使該木雕版具備特殊的歷史價值。唯有同時觀察紙本與木雕版，方能理解這三段木條間的留白空間乃為嵌入文字版所設計，體現了工業革命前機器印

刷尚未普及時期，早期活字印刷的巧思與技術智慧。

[圖 71] Dodd 86:2　　[圖 72, 73] Armstrong woodblock 60, 72 (63 圖像) ×65×22 (8+14) mm



[圖 74]

The Midnight Messenger; or, a sudden call from an earthly glory to the cold grave, in a dialogue between death and a rich man… (British Library)

謀殺

多德《樣本集》87:1[圖 75] 描繪一樁發生於森林中的謀殺案，這類駭人事件是民間通俗讀物中常見的題材。其印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 47 號木雕版[圖 76, 77]，版面可見嚴重破損與缺口，顯示其使用頻繁。

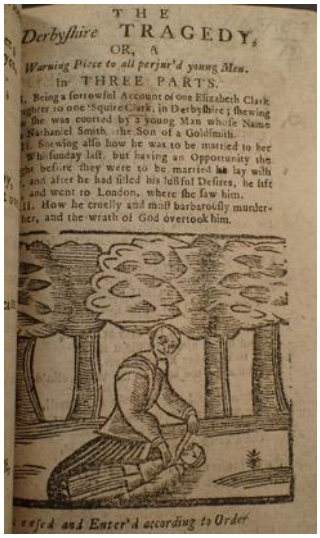
此圖出現在多種民謠傳單與小書中，包括一份未具名但應由約翰·懷特出版的民謠《不孝之子與殘暴之夫》(*The Disobedient Son and Cruel Husband*) [圖 78]，內容講述一名出身富裕的男子約翰·瓊斯因揮霍無度而家道中落，最終弒妻殺子，甚至親手吊死母親，並在自家門前伏法，其結局被視為對違逆親道與喪德之人的警示。

此外，該圖亦見於小書《德比郡悲劇》(*The Derbyshire Tragedy*) [圖 79]，故事以伊莉莎白·克拉克等人的悲慘遭遇為例，揭示背信棄義的男子如何導致他人與自身的滅亡，藉以警戒輕諾失信之人。

另一本收錄此圖的小書為《血腥園丁歌曲集》(*The Bloody Gardener's Garland*) [圖 80]，約 1800 年由安格斯母子印刷店出版，其中包括幾首警世歌曲，描寫一名園丁因愛生恨而釀成命案，並配以警世的情節與歌詞，延續民間歌謠警惕情慾與暴行的傳統。

該木雕版極為老舊，很可能屬於約翰·懷特最早期的印刷版之一，甚至可能傳承自其父老約翰·懷特在約克時期所製。版身由上下兩層木料黏合而成，上層薄木左右邊緣有大片缺損，且隨著印刷次數增多，損壞情況愈加明顯。木板現況脆弱，保存堪憂；筆者希望透過此處之文字與影像記錄，能為其殘存形貌留下一份文獻見證。

[圖 75] Dodd 87:1　　[圖 76, 77] Armstrong woodblock 47, 80×69×22 mm



由左至右：

[圖 78] *The Disobedient Son and Cruel Husband*, EBBA 31485

[圖 79] *The Derbyshire Tragedy*

[圖 80] *The Bloody Gardener's Garland*

處決

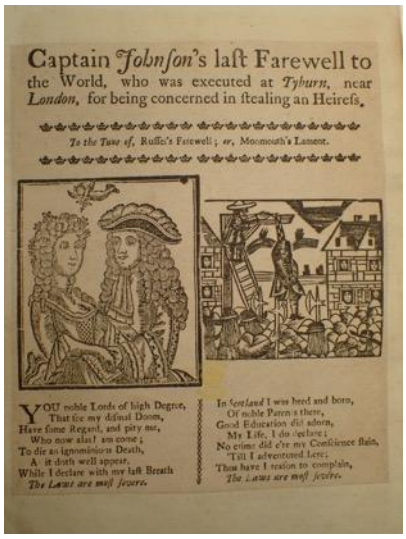
若謀殺題材旨在以聳動情節吸引讀者的好奇心，那麼它往往也伴隨著教化與警示的意圖，藉以滿足庶民對「善惡有報」的心理期待，並呼應社會管理階層的道德訓誡。因此，相較於謀殺題材，處決場面的圖像在十八世紀民間出版物中更為常見。

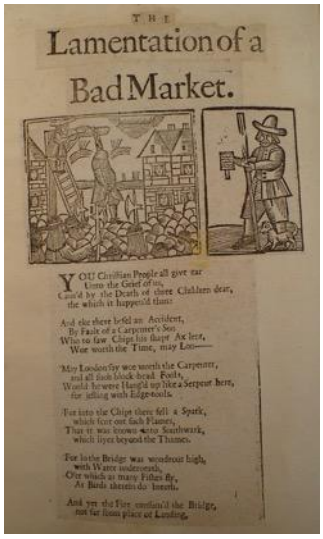
多德《樣本集》87:2 [圖 81]描繪十八世紀以前典型的公眾市場行刑場景：絞刑台中央矗立，四周民眾圍觀，士兵手執武器維持秩序，周邊房舍的窗戶中亦有旁觀者注視行刑。使用此圖版的出版物除前述關於約翰·瓊斯的民謠《不孝之子與殘暴之夫》外，尚包括多種由新堡約翰·懷特出版的民謠傳單與小書。其一為《強生船長最後的絕筆》(*Captain Johnson's Last Farewell to the World*) [圖 84]，敘述強生船長因綁架女繼承人而在倫敦泰伯恩刑場被處決的事件，內容以其臨刑前的懺悔與告誡世人為主題。另一份為《惡市哀歌》(*The Lamentation of a Bad Market*) [圖 85]，藉由商業失敗與道德墮落的悲劇故事，警示貪婪與不義之報應。此外還有小書《威廉·史蒂文森的懺悔與臨終遺言》(*A Song, on the Confession and Dying Words of William Stevenson*) [圖 86]也使用此圖，故事記錄一名年輕商人因謀殺女子瑪麗·福登而在杜倫被絞死的事件，並以第一人稱口吻描述他行刑前夜的懺悔。

同一圖像後來亦被安格斯家族印刷店重製，用於兒童小書《給不聽話孩子的恐怖警告》(*A Dreadful Warning to Disobedient Children*) [圖 87]，以懲惡勸善的敘事形式教化孩童，延續木刻圖像在十八至十九世紀的道德教誨功能。

此圖的印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 1685 號木雕版[圖 82, 83]。木板由上下兩層木料黏合而成，上層較薄，下層較厚，整體厚度約 18 公釐，略薄於一般木雕版的 22 公釐。木板右上角及背面底部附近可見裂痕，但整體保存狀況良好。阿姆斯壯對此版極為重視，特別為其與其他具代表性的木雕版製作了專屬精緻收藏盒，以資保存。

[圖 81] Dodd 87:2　　[圖 82, 83] Armstrong woodblock 1685, 8×79×18 mm





[圖 84]（左）Captain Johnson's Last Farewell to / the World, who was executed at Tyburn, near / London for being concerned in stealing an Heirress. （British Library - Roxburghe C.20.f.9.786-787）

[圖 85]（右）The Lamentation of a Bad Market. （British Library）

[圖 86]（左）A Song, on the Confession and Dying / Words of William Stevenson, Merchant, late of North-Allerton, in the County of York, / aged 27 Years, who was executed at Durham on Saturday the 26th of August, 1727, for / the barbarous Murder of Mary Fawden, near Hartlepool in the Bishoprick of Durham; taken / from his own Mouth the Night before his Execution, by a Person that went to visit him while / in Goal.

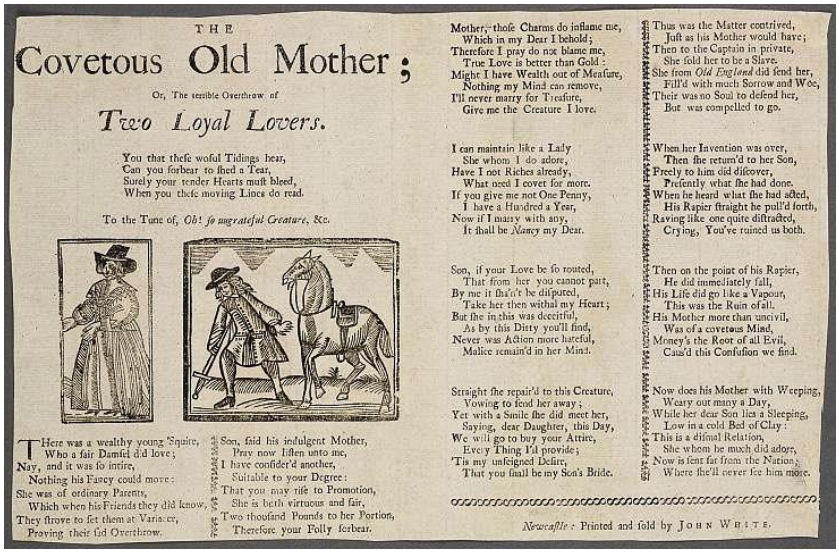
[圖 87]（右）*A Dreadful Warning to Disobedient Children*

自殺

多德《樣本集》24:7[圖 88] 描繪一名年輕男子立於馬旁，舉劍準備自盡的場景。此圖見於新堡約翰·懷特出版的民謠傳單《貪婪老母；或，兩位忠貞戀人的慘烈覆滅》(*The Covetous Old Mother; or, The Terrible Overthrow of Two Loyal Lovers*) [圖 92]。內容講述一對深情戀人因男子之母貪慕財富、嫌貧棄義，將女子賣作海外奴隸，男子悲痛欲絕，最終以劍自刎，以死殉情。作品以哀婉筆調揭示貪婪與階級偏見所釀成的悲劇。

此圖的印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 717 號木雕版[圖 89-91]。版身由上下兩塊厚薄不一的木材黏合而成，上薄下厚、上大下小，總厚度僅 15 公釐，較一般標準木雕版（約 22 公釐）為薄。背面原似另附一片加固木料，現已佚失。

[圖 88] Dodd 24:7　　[圖 89-91] Armstrong woodblock 717, 73×88×15mm 正面、側面、反面



THE

Covetous Old Mother;

Or, The terrible Overthrow of

Two Loyal Lovers.

You that these woful Tidings hear,
Can you forbear to shed a Tear,
Surely your tender Hearts must bleed,
When you these moving Lines do read.

To the Tune of, *Oh! so ungrateful Creature*, &c.

THere was a wealthy young Squire,
Who a fair Damsel did love;
Nay, and it was so intire,
Nothing his Fancy could move:
She was of ordinary Parents,
Which when his Friends they did know,
They strove to set them at Variance,
Proving their sad Overthrow.

Son, said his indulgent Mother,
Pray now listen unto me,
I have consider'd another,
Suitable to your Degree:
That you may rise to Promotion,
She is both virtuous and fair,
Two thousand Pounds to her Portion,
Therefore your Folly forbear.

Mother, those Charms do inflame me,
Which in my Dear I behold;
Therefore I pray do not blame me,
True Love is better than Gold:
Might I have Wealth out of Measure,
Nothing my Mind can remove,
I'll never marry for Treasure,
Give me the Creature I love.

I can maintain like a Lady
She whom I do adore,
Have I not Riches already,
What need I covet for more.
If you give me not One Penny,
I have a Hundred a Year,
Now if I marry with any,
It shall be *Nancy* my Dear.

Son, if your Love be so routed,
That from her you cannot part,
By me it shan't be disputed,
Take her then withal my Heart;
But she in this was deceitful,
As by this Ditty you'll find,
Never was Action more hateful,
Malice remain'd in her Mind.

Straight she repair'd to this Creature,
Vowing to send her away;
Yet with a Smile she did meet her,
Saying, dear Daughter, this Day,
We will go to buy your Attire,
Every Thing I'll provide;
'Tis my unfeigned Desire,
That you shall be my Son's Bride.

Thus was the Matter contrived,
Just as his Mother would have;
Then to the Captain in private,
She sold her to be a Slave.
She from *Old England* did send her,
Fill'd with much Sorrow and Woe,
Their was no Soul to defend her,
But was compelled to go.

When her Invention was over,
Then she return'd to her Son,
Freely to him did discover,
Presently what she had done.
When he heard what she had acted,
His Rapier straight he pull'd forth,
Raving like one quite distracted,
Crying, You've ruined us both.

Then on the point of his Rapier,
He did immediately fall,
His Life did go like a Vapour,
This was the Ruin of all.
His Mother more than uncivil,
Was of a covetous Mind,
Money's the Root of all Evil,
Caus'd this Confusion we find.

Now does his Mother with Weeping,
Weary out many a Day,
While her dear Son lies a Sleeping,
Low in a cold Bed of Clay:
This is a dismal Relation,
She whom he much did adore,
Now is sent far from the Nation,
Where she'll never see him more.

Newcastle: Printed and sold by JOHN WHITE.

[圖 92]

THE / Covetous Old Mother; / Or, The terrible Overthrow of / Two Loyal Lovers. / You that these woful Tidings hear, / Can you forbear to shed a Tear, / Surely your tender Hearts must bleed, / When you these moving Lines do read. Newcastle: Printed and sold by JOHN WHITE. (Huntington Library)[42] EBBA 32491

[42] Huntington Library Miscellaneous 289759 http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/32491/image

臨終

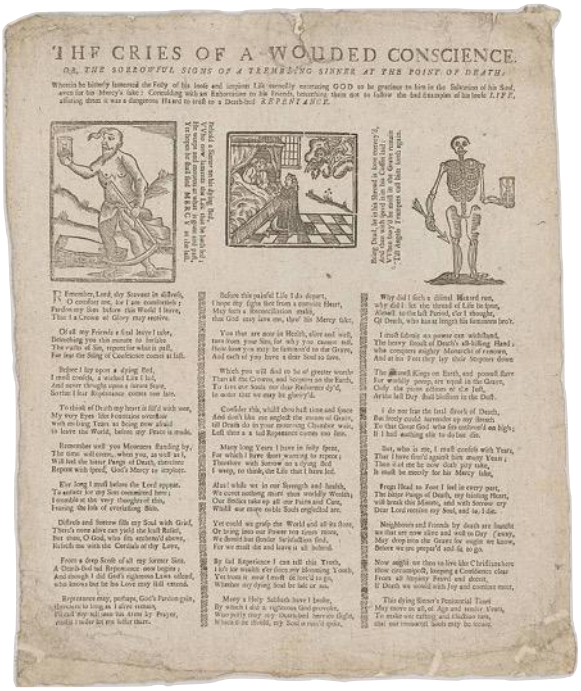
阿姆斯壯收藏的木雕版中，有一件特別有趣的「母子版」例子：一塊小木片嵌入較大的木版中央，印刷時可依故事內容更換不同的小木片。多德《樣本集》85:6 為其中之一[圖 93]，主題為「臨終床邊，天使與魔鬼爭奪靈魂」。此類場景常見於以「死亡警示」、「悔改」或「臨終訓誡」為題材的民謠傳單與教化性小書中，如“The Death-bed Repentance”或“A Dreadful Warning to All Sinners”。畫面描繪一名男子病臥床上，神父跪於床前，手持聖經為其祈禱；左上方（紙本右上角）有天使自空中飛降，嵌入的小方塊則刻出惡魔將男子拖往地獄的情景，顯示或許另有一版相對應的圖像，描繪靈魂被天使接引升天的版本。

此圖見於一張未具名、可能為十七世紀老約翰·懷特出版的民謠傳單《良心受創的哀鳴》(*The Cries of a Wounded Conscience*) [圖 96] [43] 。內容描述一位臨終的罪人悔悟過往放蕩與褻瀆之行，懇求上帝寬恕並警戒友人勿蹈其覆轍，強調臨終懺悔乃危險之舉。

此木雕版印刷原版保存於杭廷頓圖書館[圖 94, 95]，後來於版面上挖空嵌入小木片，應為後期增補設計。版身年代久遠但保存良好，阿姆斯壯特別為之訂製木盒收藏，可見其珍視程度。

[圖 93] Dodd 85:6　　[圖 94, 95] Armstrong woodblock 29, 69×78×22mm

[43] https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37912/image


THE CRIES OF A WOUDED CONSCIENCE.
OR, THE SORROWFUL SIGHS OF A TREMBLING SINNER AT THE POINT OF DEATH:

[圖 96] THE CRIES OF A WOUDED CONSCIENCE. / OR, THE SORROWFUL SIGHS OF A TREMBLING SINNER AT THE POINT OF DEATH: / Wherein he bitterly lamented the Folly of his loose and impious Life earnestly entreating GOD to be gracious to him in the Salvation of his Soul, / even for his Mercy's sake: Conculding with an Exhortation to his Friends, beseeching them not to follow the bad Examples of his loose LIFE, / assuring them it was a dangerous Haard to trust to a Death-bed REPENTANCE. 1650-1750 （The Morgan Library & Museum）EBBA 37912

（細部放大）

（五）勞工圖像

《勇敢的倫敦學徒》(*History of the Valiant London Prentice*)

多德《樣本集》7:3 所見為一幅取材自流行民間傳奇的插畫[圖97]。木刻圖像分為三段式構圖：上方左邊描繪比武大會，右邊是一名男子喚醒沉睡者，下方則為主角徒手將雙拳塞入兩頭獅子口中的場景。此圖原用於約翰·雪萊（John Shirley）所作《勇士傳奇：倫敦學徒》(*The Famous History of the Valiant London Prentice*) [圖100]，由新堡約翰·懷特於1711年印行。故事講述一位出身富裕的青年，選擇赴倫敦當學徒，嚮往冒險與行俠仗義。他歷經一連串英勇事蹟——懲治惡徒、扶助弱小、遠航歷險、斬除巨人與野獸、解救公主——最終以勇氣與美德贏得愛情與成功。這個故事將中世紀的騎士理想轉化為市民階層的勞動倫理，向年輕學徒傳達一種啟蒙訊息：平凡的出身亦能憑藉勇氣與勤勉，成就榮耀與幸福。

其印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 17 號木雕版[圖 98, 99]，版身色澤暗沉、木質陳舊。底部與背面可見三塊以小釘固定的補片，右側邊緣與補片處均出現明顯裂痕與裂縫。整體雖有磨損痕跡，仍保存了十八世紀早期民間木刻的質樸風貌。

[圖 97] Dodd 7:3

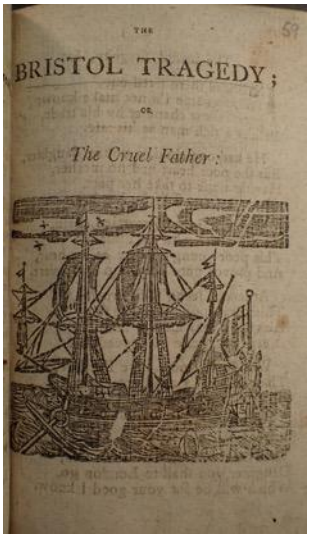
[圖 98, 99]　Armstrong woodblock 17, Huntington Library, 73×114×23 mm

[圖 100]　Title-page to John Shirley, *The Famous History of the Valiant London Prentice*, Newcastle: Printed and sold by J. White, 1711.

（六）船隻、旅行

多德《樣本集》56 頁收錄各種船隻圖案，這些圖像用途廣泛，凡故事內容涉及海外或旅行情節皆可使用。56:2 [圖 101]出現在多種出版物中，包括小書《布里斯托悲劇》(*The Bristol Tragedy*) [圖 103]，描述一個悲劇性家庭事件與旅行或冒險相關的經歷；《忠貞愛人歌曲集：三部曲》(*The Loyal Lover's Garland: in Three Parts, [A Ballad.]*)，講述戀人跨越距離與艱難完成愛情承諾的故事；以及《安森勳爵歌曲集》(*Lord Anson's Garland*)標題頁，呈現與海洋探險與航海冒險相關的題材。此外，此圖亦見於新堡約翰·懷特印刷發行的民謠傳單《善良少女》(*The Kind-Hearted Damsel; or, Her Courtship to a Jolly Sailor*)，描述少女追求快樂水手的故事，展現海上生活與戀愛的結合。

該圖的印刷原版為阿姆斯壯第 1065 號木雕版[圖 102]。版身雖有若干與紙本對應的裂痕，正面下半部船身中間曾有缺口，目前已以小木片修補。整體保存狀況良好，仍清楚呈現十八世紀民間木刻船隻圖像的細節與工藝特色。



由左至右：

[圖 101] Dodd 56:2

[圖 102] Armstrong woodblock 1065, 69×76×21 mm

[圖 103] *The Bristol Tragedy; or, the Cruel father. [A ballad.]*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Angus, 1785? (British Library 11606.aa.24.(59.))

肆、約翰・懷特的印刷策略與風格

一、約翰·懷特的出版策略與木刻版畫的物質性

基於以上所舉木雕版實例與證據，已可證明杭廷頓圖書館藏的阿姆斯壯木雕版至少有部分確實為約翰・懷特使用的原版。據此並綜合前述對約翰·懷特出版品及其所用木刻版的觀察，可歸納出其獨特的出版策略與技術特徵。在版面呈現上，懷特十分重視視覺效果：印刷品往往排版整齊、美觀，字體與行距舒朗、墨色分明，並善於利用插圖吸引讀者注意力。這應該就是新堡之所以在傳單與小書市場上，能與倫敦分庭抗禮的原因。

在版畫的使用方面，懷特的印刷品呈現明顯的商業考量。許多木刻版被回收重複使用，導致圖文關係相對靈活；尤其是一些挖空鑲嵌式木版（plugged and inlaid blocks），顯示木版被視為可適用於多種文本的通用插圖資源。從物質技術層面觀察，懷特所用木雕版常由多塊小木塊黏合或釘合而成，此現象可能反映十八世紀初英國地方印刷業在木版製造技術上尚未完全成熟，呈現出機器制式與大量製造的工業時代來臨前，手工製作的簡易粗糙卻能審度變化的靈動工法。

這些木刻版的整體厚度大致保持在 22 公厘，明確證實當時木版製作需嚴格配合印刷機印台高度，以確保印刷流程的穩定與效率。由此可見，懷特出版品在兼顧商業利益與技術實用性的同時，也呈現出十八世紀地方印刷業對圖像與物質工藝的精細掌握。

這些資訊皆未見於歷史文獻當中，顯示了它們未能受到應有的重視，也說明木雕版作為印刷史原始文物的研究價值與保存的必要性。

在出版策略上，懷特引進倫敦的流行話題，複製若干都會傳單，也增添許多新堡當地的新聞題材，如關於謀殺、犯罪案件的題材。Bates（2013）認為地方性傳單透過反覆呈現犯罪、懲罰與悔罪敘事，強化了社群共享的道德價值，而非僅僅施加威嚇或紀律。她的論文引用許多新堡的傳單，將犯罪傳單定位為一種重要的通俗文化與社會史材料，強調其在理解英國底層社會道德心態、情感結構與刑罰文化中的關鍵價值。[44] 由此可見，懷特作為新堡地方的印刷商，雖然大半動機出於市場的商業考量，仍對反映地方社會與疏導民情有著相當的重要性。

二、懷特與其傳人的印刷風格

約翰·懷特及其在新堡的印刷傳承者，在印刷風格上呈現從樸實高效到追求藝術復興的演變。懷特早期的出版策略傾向模仿舊版，或復刻倫敦都會版本的暢銷內容，例如他所印製的《多比傳》民謠傳單與《魯賓遜漂流記》小書，旨在確保市場接受度。其版面風格以樸實舒朗、排版清晰見長，兼具可讀性與商業實用性。

承襲懷特事業的托馬斯·聖亦保持了這種清晰、整齊的印刷風格。然而，這種風格在後來的傳人中出現變化。安格斯家族雖然繼承了懷特遺留的大量珍貴木雕版，對保存與推廣這些歷史木版畫功不可沒，但其出版品的版面印刷水準未能完全延續懷特的優勢，在美觀度與清晰度上退步許多。

這種印刷風格的演變，一方面反映了十八世紀市場對內容而非版面品質的優先需求，另一方面也揭示了地方印刷作坊在傳承過程中，印刷技術與藝術審美標準可能存在波動。由此可見，懷特時期的印刷風格不僅兼具實用與觀賞價值，其傳承與變化亦反映出地方印刷業的經營策略與美學取向。

懷特當代相關印刷商如下：

（一）托馬斯·根特(Thomas Gent, 1693-1778)

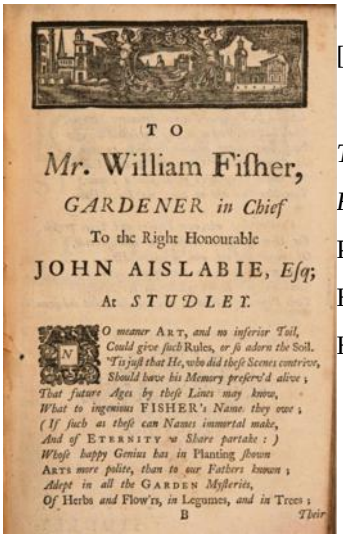
根特為來自愛爾蘭的作家與印刷商，憑藉姻親關係承接老約翰·懷特在約克的印刷業。小約翰·懷特認為根特挪用了老懷特遺留的印刷器具，因此兩人在生意上形成競爭關係，關係不睦。

---

[44] Bates, 「大眾道德：犯罪與懲罰的社會意義，英國街頭傳單中的懲罰論述 1800-1850」(Morality for the masses: The social significance of crime and punishment discourse in British broadsides, 1800-1850) 討論的雖是十九世紀的傳單，仍可適用於十八世紀的同類主題。

根特所出版的書籍多以歷史書與地方誌為主，對地方史研究貢獻良多。其印刷版面典雅大氣，墨色分明、排版舒朗，可見老懷特風格的影子。然而，這種較為嚴謹與書籍化的風格並不迎合商業市場需求，最終因財務困難而歇業。（Gent 1832）

根特手中曾持有部分老懷特的木刻版畫，也自行刻版。雖然其出版品[圖 104]在圖文豐富性上不及小懷特，但在印刷品質上更顯精緻，並因曾在倫敦執業，對正式書籍的裝幀與版面講究格外嚴謹，呈現出十八世紀地方印刷業中對品質與工藝的追求。


TO
Mr. William Fisher,
GARDENER in Chief
To the Right Honourable
JOHN AISLABIE, Esq;
At STUDLEY.

NO meaner ART, and no inferior Toil,
Could give such Rules, or so adorn the Soil.
'Tis just that He, who did these Scenes contrive,
Should have his Memory preserv'd alive;
That future Ages by these Lines may know,
What to ingenious FISHER's Name they owe;
(If such as these can Names immortal make,
And of ETERNITY to Share partake:)
Whose happy Genius has in Planting shown
ARTS more polite, than to our Fathers known;
Adept in all the GARDEN Mysteries,
Of Herbs and Flow'rs, in Legumes, and in Trees;
B Their

[圖 104]

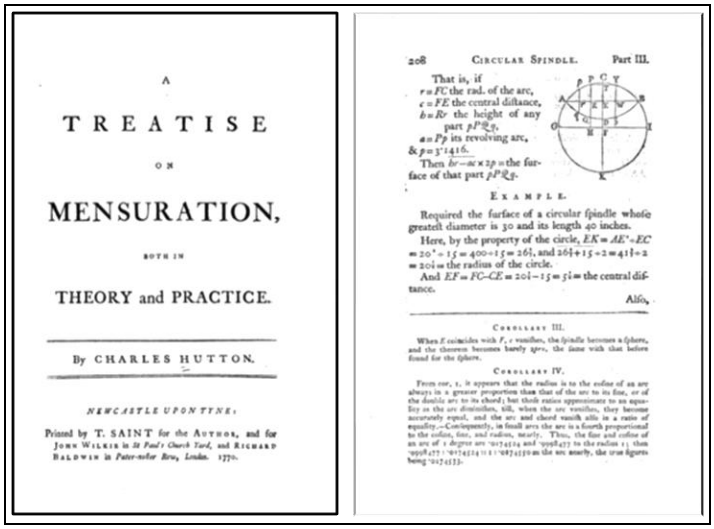
《里彭皇家城鎮的古今歷史…》*The Antient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon: ... Besides are Added, Travels Into Other Parts of Yorkshire ... Faithfully and Painfully Collected by Tho. Gent*, ... printed, and sold at the Printing-Office [of T. Gent], over-against the Star in Stone-Gate; as also by T. Hammond, Likewise by E. Routh, Rippon; J. Ross, Knaresborough; G. Ferraby, Hull; A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, London, 1733

（二）托馬斯·聖(Thomas Saint, 1738-1788)

托馬斯·聖於 1761 至 1788 年間在新堡朝聖街（Pilgrim St.）執業，並曾與約翰·懷特合作。1761 至 1763 年間，他們的商號為「懷特公司」(J. White & Co.)；1763 至 1769 年（懷特過世前）為「J. White & Thomas Saint」；1769 至 1788 年則由托馬斯·聖單獨經營，商號為「T. Saint」。

托馬斯·聖印製出版了木雕大師畢維克早期作品，例如 1776 年版的《伊索寓言》。他的印刷風格承襲約翰·懷特，出版多種民間流行讀物，包括民謠、小書、年鑑、童書與教科書等。其版面設計以插圖為視覺重點，文字字體雖較小，但墨色清晰、版面舒朗且美觀。[圖 105]

1769 至 1788 年間，托馬斯·聖所出版的木雕版多數為約翰·懷特所遺留的傳承版。托馬斯·聖過世後，印刷店由霍爾與艾略特（Hall & Elliot）接手，延續其出版事業。然而，霍爾與艾略特的出版品並未使用懷特的木雕版，而以純文字印刷為主；這些木雕版很可能已轉售給新堡印刷商安格斯家族，繼續在地方出版流行讀物中發揮作用。



A

TREATISE

ON

MENSURATION,

BOTH IN

THEORY and PRACTICE.

By CHARLES HUTTON.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

Printed by T. SAINT for the AUTHOR, and for JOHN WILKIE in St Paul's Church Yard, and RICHARD BALDWIN in Pater-noster Row, London. 1770.

208 CIRCULAR SPINDLE. Part III.

That is, if
$r = FC$ the rad. of the arc,
$c = FE$ the central distance,
$h = Rr$ the height of any part $pPQq$,
$a = Pp$ its revolving arc,
& $p = 3{\cdot}1416$.
Then $hr - ac \times 2p =$ the surface of that part $pPQq$.

EXAMPLE.

Required the surface of a circular spindle whose greatest diameter is 30 and its length 40 inches.

Here, by the property of the circle, $EK = AE^2 \div EC = 20^2 \div 15 = 400 \div 15 = 26\frac{2}{3}$, and $26\frac{2}{3} + 15 \div 2 = 41\frac{2}{3} \div 2 = 20\frac{1}{6} =$ the radius of the circle.

And $EF = FC - CE = 20\frac{1}{6} - 15 = 5\frac{1}{6} =$ the central distance.

Also,

COROLLARY III.

When E coincides with F, c vanishes, the spindle becomes a sphere, and the theorem becomes barely $4pr$, the same with that before found for the sphere.

COROLLARY IV.

From cor. 1, it appears that the radius is to the cosine of an arc always in a greater proportion than that of the arc to its sine, or of the double arc to its chord; but those ratios approximate to an equality as the arc diminishes, till, when the arc vanishes, they become accurately equal, and the arc and chord vanish alike in a ratio of equality.—Consequently, in small arcs the arc is a fourth proportional to the cosine, sine, and radius, nearly. Thus, the sine and cosine of an arc of 1 degree are ·0174524 and ·9998477 to the radius 1; then ·9998477 : ·0174524 :: 1 : ·0174550 as the arc nearly, the true figures being ·0174533.

[圖 105] Charles Hutton, *A treatise on mensuration, both in theory and practice*, Newcastle upon Tyne, printed by T. Saint for the author and for John Wilkie and Richard Baldwin, 1770

（三）**安格斯家族**：托馬斯·安格斯(Thomas Angus)、瑪格麗特·安格斯(Margret Angus)、喬治·安格斯(George Angus)

安格斯家族的印刷事業始於托馬斯·安格斯，他於 1774 年在新堡開設印刷店，主要出版小書。年輕的木刻師畢維克曾在 1774 至 1776 年間於其工作室當學徒。托馬斯於 1784 年過世，其遺孀瑪格麗特接手事業；1800 至 1808 年間，她與長子小托馬斯合作，商號改為「M. Angus & Son」。小托馬斯於 1808 年去世，次子喬治接手經營；瑪格麗特於 1812 年退休後，喬治將印刷店改稱「G. Angus」，直至 1825 年以破產收場。

安格斯家族的出版品中使用了不少約翰·懷特的木雕版畫，這些木版很可能是小托馬斯從繼承托馬斯·聖的印刷商霍爾與艾略特手中購得。觀察 1788 至 1825 年間的出版品可見，多數木雕版為懷特古版。雖然安格斯出版品中仍保留懷特與畢維克的木刻插圖，但印刷品質與紙質均不及約翰·懷特與托馬斯·聖時期：墨色不夠清晰，版面擁擠，紙質粗糙，這些因素均影響了出版品的視覺效果與整體精緻度。[圖 106, 107]

[圖 106, 107] *Love's True Oracle, or, a New and Curious Fortune Book*, *The History of Valentine and Orson*, Newcastle: Angus.

比較托馬斯·聖與安格斯出版的《珍·肖爾傳——愛德華四世之側妃》版本[圖 108, 109]，可觀察到安格斯的較晚版本中，所使用的木雕版顯現出更多破損痕跡。此外，安格斯版本的圖文排版顯得擁擠，紙張品質明顯較廉價，整體印刷效果與視覺精緻度遠不及托馬斯·聖的版本，兩者優劣立見。

[圖 108, 109] *The History of Jane Shore*, *Concubine to King Edward IV*, Thomas Saint(?), 1785? (British Library)(左)/ George Angus, 1790?（右）

三、懷特木刻版畫的藝術成就與敘事策略

對約翰·懷特通俗木刻版畫的分析顯示，其藝術成就超越了單純的功能性。懷特旗下雕工版畫的刀法質樸而有力，使圖像主題清晰明確、易於辨識，完全符合大眾傳播與閱讀需求。更值得注意的是，這些版畫在構圖與視覺表達上展現出顯著的創新意識：例如阿姆斯壯 23 號版中雷丁·托馬斯的圖像，使用了馬匹的前縮法（foreshortening）；而 15 號描繪湯姆·崔姆的故事，以及 158 號珍·肖爾的敘事圖，則運用了平面分割、時空並置與透視法（perspective，尤其在地板部分）的處理。這些例子表明，即使身處地方印刷工坊的邊緣，工匠們仍積極探索並挪用主流藝術的視覺元素。

此外，部分圖像（如 34 號版）的構圖策略刻意強調普世性而非特異性，使其可廣泛適用於多種文本情境——無論是騎士、夫妻、貴族，或一般旅人的故事皆可配合。這不僅出於商業效率的考量，也體現了圖像敘事普適化的成功策略，使單一視覺符號能在不同敘事語境中持續發揮作用。

四、木雕版的史料價值與技術史意涵

這些新堡木刻版畫不僅是視覺藝術的遺存，更具備重要的史料價值與技術史意涵。從物質層面觀之，木雕版本身的完損狀況、印刷痕跡以及紙本印記，皆可作為年代鑑定的重要依據。更深一層地，對木雕版的分析——尤其是其製版方式，如多塊木材的釘合或黏合結構——提供了理解十七至十八世紀英國地方印刷工坊技術發展的珍貴線索，反映了當時木版製作的工藝標準、工具運用以及專業化程度的過渡階段。比較阿姆斯壯收藏的其他後期木雕版，這些早期作品雖顯得古舊粗糙，卻更具樸實的手工特色。

因此，這些實物不僅是圖像的載體，也是印刷史上技術實踐與演變的直接見證，呈現了地方印刷業在藝術表現與工藝製作之間的密切互動。

伍、結論：約翰．懷特出版品、木雕版的實證價值與其歷史意義

本文以十八世紀早期英國重要印刷出版者約翰．懷特（John White）為研究對象，透過其使用之印刷木雕版，重新檢視地方印刷活動、出版策略與實際生產之間的關係。藉由辨識與考證洛杉磯杭廷頓圖書館所藏木雕版，並與大英圖書館及新堡市立圖書館之相關印刷品進行對照，本文釐清部分木雕版與懷特出版活動之關聯，進一步說明其真實性與流傳情形。研究結果顯示，這些木雕版不僅能概略歸屬於某一時期或地區，更可透過實物比對與歷史考證，回溯至具體的印刷商及其出版網絡。

在研究方法上，本文透過木雕版與印刷品的對照分析，檢視其印刷品質、用色特徵與版面安排，進而理解懷特如何實際運用這些版材進行印刷生產。研究發現，木雕版在懷特的出版活動中具有高度實用性，不僅可重複使用，也能因應不同文本內容進行調整，反映地方印刷工坊在成本與效率上的實際考量。此一結果有助於補充過往印刷史多

以文本或書目資料為主的研究取向，使出版策略得以從具體的製作與操作層面加以理解。

進一步從出版品的主題與版面形式來看，懷特的作品多以通俗敘事、時事與犯罪題材為主，顯示其出版取向與地方讀者需求之間的密切關聯。與同時期出版商及倫敦出版品的比較，懷特並非單純複製都會出版模式，而是依據地方市場條件與印刷資源，對既有題材與視覺形式進行取捨與調整。此一現象顯示，十八世紀英國北方鄉鎮的出版活動並非被動接受都會中心影響，而是具有一定程度的彈性與自主性。

從更整體的角度來看，本文藉由懷特的個案，補充了以倫敦為中心的印刷史敘事，呈現地方印刷商在通俗出版體系中的實際運作情形。懷特的出版活動不僅反映北英格蘭地方社會的閱讀需求，也為理解十八世紀地方印刷業的發展提供具體例證。

最後，本文特別強調印刷木雕版作為實體文物在歷史研究中的重要性。由於早期印刷技術文獻對木雕版製作與使用的記載相對有限，相關工藝長期未受到充分重視。本研究透過對木雕版物質特性、製作痕跡與使用痕跡的分析，指出此類文物能補充紙本出版品無法呈現的資訊，並為印刷史研究提供可檢證的實證基礎。在當代數位影像大量流通、文物真偽辨識日益困難的情況下，回到實體木雕版本身，對於深化早期印刷工藝與出版活動的理解，仍具有不可取代的研究價值。

總結而言，本文透過約翰．懷特及其木雕版的研究，示範如何從具體文物出發，重新理解十八世紀地方出版活動與印刷生產的實際樣貌。此一研究不僅為博物館與圖書館典藏之印刷木雕版建立基礎記錄與考證成果，也為未來相關研究提供可延伸的研究方向與方法參考。

研究展望

本文以杭廷頓圖書館藏懷特木雕版為研究核心，初步勾勒其出版網絡與技術脈絡。未來若能進一步結合麥吉爾大學及其他收藏單位之資料[45]，對木版來源、使用頻率與修補痕跡進行比對，將有助於更全面地重構十八世紀地方印刷工坊的運作模式與文化脈絡。

致謝：本文感謝國家科學及技術委員會補助專題研究計畫「洛杉磯杭庭頓圖書館藏版畫木版之編目與研究」、「十八世紀英國印刷商約翰懷特研究」。

[45] 見 De Freitas (2020).

參考文獻

一、書籍

Ashton, John. 1882. *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*. London: Chatto & Windus; Skoob Books.

Bates, Kate. 2013. *Morality for the Masses: The Social Significance of Crime and Punishment Discourse in British Broadsides, 1800–1850*. PhD diss., Keele University.

Chatto, William Andrew, and John Jackson. 1839. *A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical*. London: Charles Knight & Co.

Diderot, Denis, and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. 1751–1765. *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris.

Fumerton, Patricia, Anita Guerrini & Kris McAbee. 2010. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Fumerton, Patricia & M. E. Palmer (ed.). 2016. 'Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550-1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture', *Huntington Library Quarterly* V. 79, No. 2.

Gent, Thomas. 1832. *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York*. London: Thomas Thorpe.

Gilks, Thomas. 1866. *The Art of Wood Engraving: A Practical Handbook*. London: Winsor & Newton.

Hunt, Christopher John. 1975. *Book Trade in Northumberland and Durham to 1860*. Newcastle: Thornes Bookshop.

Linton, William James. 1889. *The Masters of Wood-Engraving*. London: B. F. Stevens.

O'Connell, Sheila. 1999. *The Popular Print in England*. London: British Museum Press.

Plomer, Henry Robert, et al. 1922. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stenner, Rachel, Kaley Kramer, and Adam James Smith, eds. 2022. *Print Culture, Agency, and Regionality in the Hand Press Period*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tattersfield, Nigel. 2011. *Thomas Bewick: The Complete Illustrative Work*. 3 vols. London: Oak Knoll Press; The British Library.

Tattersfield, Nigel. 2020. *Dealing in Deceit: Edwin Pearson of "The Bewick Repository" Bookshop, 1838–1901*. Newcastle upon Tyne: The Bewick Society.

Welford, Richard. 1895. *Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cail.

二、書籍章節

De Freitas, Leo John, 2020. "Newcastle Chapbooks, Broadsides, and Garlands: A Study of the Collection of Woodblocks in McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections",

in *Printers, Pedlars, Sailors, Nuns*: *Aspects of Street Literature*, edited by David Atkinson and Steve Roud, London: The Ballad Partners.
Gardner, Victoria. 2008. "John White and the Development of Print Culture in the North East of England, 1711–1769." In *Book Trade Connections from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, edited by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong, 71–92. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library.
Welford, Richard. 1907. "Early Newcastle Typography: 1639–1800." *Archaeologia Aeliana: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 3rd ser., 3: 1–134.

三、編輯書籍

Meriton, John, ed., and Carlo Dumontet. 2010. *Small Books for the Common Man: A Descriptive Bibliography*. London; Newcastle: The British Library; Oak Knoll Press.

四、期刊

Sung, Mei-Ying. 2025. "Reconfiguring Ephemeral Heritage: A Historical and Material Analysis of The Armstrong Woodblock Collection (1600–1910s)." *Journal of Arts & Humanities Studies* 1 (3): 45–62.

五、網路

Constantin, Léa. 2013. "A Collection of Woodblocks." McGill University Library.
https://www.mcgill.ca/libraries/sites/libraries/files/2025-06/woodblock_collection-description-public_final.pdf
English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). Early Modern Center, Department of English, University of California, Santa Barbara.
https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/
Internet Archive.
https://archive.org/

Solving the Mysteries of Early Printing History--Surviving woodblocks and their print of the 18th-century British printer John White

Mei-Ying Sung [1]

Abstract

John White (1689–1769) was a highly representative publisher and printer in northern England during the eighteenth century, operating primarily from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. His enterprise encompassed the printing and distribution of broadsides, chapbooks, and children's books. Of particular significance is the survival of a large number of original printing woodblocks from White's workshop, now primarily preserved at the Huntington Library (Los Angeles, USA) and McGill University Library (Canada). This paper conducts a systematic study of this substantial body of material heritage, addressing key questions such as: What is the provenance and authenticity of these woodblocks? What roles did they play in White's publishing strategy and visual culture? Why have later collectors shown such intense interest and value appreciation toward these woodblocks, which appear "crude" in craftsmanship? Based on field research conducted at the Huntington Library, the British Library, and Newcastle City Library, this study employs historical verification and comparative analysis of material to examine the relationship between White's printed works and their corresponding woodblocks. It argues for the irreplaceable value of physical artefacts in empirical historical research—especially in an age dominated by digital information, where questions of authenticity have become increasingly complex. This study constitutes a significant outcome of a multi-year research project funded by the National Science and Technology Council.

Keywords: John White, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, printing woodblock, broadside ballad, chapbook

---

1 History Department, FoGuang University, Taiwan.

2 No.160, Linwei Rd., Jiaosi, Yilan County 262307, Taiwan (R.O.C.).

*Corresponding author (E-mail): maysung70@gmail.com

(Received 11/12, 2025; Revised 12/29, 2025; Accepted 12/30, 2026)