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***THE DISTRIBUTION AND OWNERSHIP OF
ENGLISH CHAPBOOKS AND OTHER CHEAP
PRINT IN SOUTH WALES AND ITS BORDERS
1660 TO 1730:***

***DEVELOPMENTAL INFLUENCES ON
COMMERCE, RELIGION AND EDUCATION***

This Dissertation is being submitted in fulfilment of the
requirement of the University of Birmingham for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the distribution and ownership of English-language books in south Wales and the borders between 1660 and 1730, and will test the extent to which there was a direct correlation between the levels of literacy, the development of education, patterns of belief, and commerce. The focus within the book genre is on chapbooks and other types of cheap print. The historic counties under consideration are Brecon, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Pembroke and the border areas of Hereford and Gloucester. Until 1695, printing remained largely confined to London, so all books reaching south Wales had to travel that distance. An examination of how this distribution was facilitated, and what was the demand for different types of material, is instructive in building a picture of its readership and ownership. Towards the end of the century, the political climate changed in two ways critical to this scenario. First, the printing Act of 1662, which prevented provincial printing, expired in 1695, and secondly the government decided to raise revenue through an Act of 1697 which required hawkers and pedlars to purchase an annual licence. So, from the closing years of seventeenth century, there was a slow burgeoning of provincial printing. In western regions of Britain, there were presses in Bristol (1695), Cirencester (1720), Gloucester (1722) and Carmarthenshire (1721) and their output included small books and newspapers. This study will consider the appetite of the people of south Wales and borders for popular cheap printed material in the English language, and produce evidence as to its effect on religious and educational development.

CONTENTS

Abbreviations	ii
List of illustrations	iii
List of tables	iv
List of charts	iv
Introduction:	1
Chapter 1: Defining the Chapbook	26
Chapter 2: Religion, Literacy and Education	55
Chapter 3: The Book Trade	97
Chapter 4: Chapmen and Popular Print	136
Chapter 5: Robert Raikes and the Gloucester Chapbooks	196
Chapter 6: The Consumers and Owners of Cheap Print	241
Conclusion	287
Appendices	298
Bibliography	331

ABBREVIATIONS

BBTI	British Book Trade Index
CCL	Cardiff Central Library
Coll. 1	Collection 1. ¹
CUL	Cardiff University Library
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
f.p.	Final page
GAS	Glamorgan Archive Service, Cardiff
GIA	Gloucester Archives
GwA	Gwent Archives, Ebbw Vale
HPO	Hawkers and Pedlars Office, London
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
PAS	Pembroke Archive Service, Haverfordwest
s.l.	sine locus = no location
s.n.	sine nomen = no name
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
t.p.	Title page

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.	Distribution of registered chapmen in England and Wales 1697-8	2
Fig. 2.	A 'new model for the study of the history of the book' (1993)	3
Fig. 3.	Laurence Price, <i>The Witch of the Woodlands</i> (1680), t.p.	8
Fig. 4.	John Hart, <i>A Godly Sermon of Peter's Repentance</i> (1682), f.p.	14
Fig. 1.1.	Laurence Price, <i>The Witch of the Woodlands</i> (1680), f.p.	33
Fig. 1.2	Anon, <i>The Map of Merrie Conceits</i> (1656) p.1, inscribed	35
Fig. 1.3	<i>Guy Earl of Warwick</i> (1680), f.p.	46
Fig. 2.1	<i>An Act for the Better Propagation ... of the Gospel in Wales</i> 1650, t.p.	57
Fig. 2.2	Jeremy Taylor, <i>A Short Catechism</i> , (1652), t.p.	59
Fig. 2.3	Dorothy Leigh, <i>The Mothers Blessing</i> (1685), t.p.	73
Fig. 2.4	Anon, <i>The Husband's Gift to his Wife</i> (1725),t.p.	74
Fig. 2.5	Chaucer Junior, <i>Canterbury Tales</i> (1687), t.p.	76
Fig. 2.6	Map showing principal language zones in Wales c.1750	90
Fig. 3.1	Brass farthing issued by Dawkin Gove c. 1664	103
Fig. 3.2	Extract from <i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 10 th May 1725, p. 4	107
Fig. 3.3	Thomas Kitchin <i>The Small English Atlas</i> , (1749), p.3	114
Fig. 3.4	<i>The merchant and traders necessary companion</i> (1715), t.p.	117
Fig. 4.1	Map showing villages visited by Adam Stott, chapman of Hay-on-Wye	138
Fig. 4.2	Register of Hawkers' Licences for 1697-98, p.1	144
Fig. 4.3	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> 11 January 1725, p. 4	147
Fig. 4.4	<i>The Gallant History of ... Sir Bevis of Southampton</i> (1691), f.p.	157
Fig. 4.5	<i>The Pink Garland, Containing Four New Songs</i> (1725), t.p.	158
Fig. 4.6	<i>The Sorrowful Lamentation of The Pedlars and Petty Chapmen</i> (1685)	159
Fig. 4.7	<i>Sam Farley's Bristol Post-Man</i> , 28 January 1716, p. 1	165
Fig. 4.8	<i>Pascha</i> , c. 1720, t.p.	167
Fig. 4.9	Francis Cruys, <i>Ars Nova Natandi</i> , 1698, t.p.	173
Fig. 4.10	R. Standfast, <i>A Dialogue ... Blind-man and Death</i> (1729), t.p.	174
Fig. 4.11	<i>The Life and Death of Sheffery Morgan</i> (1700), t.p.	180
Fig. 4.12	Gibson, Edmund <i>An Admonition against Profane ... Swearing</i> (1725), t.p.	186
Fig. 4.13	<i>The Popes Down-fall at Abergavenny</i> (1679), t.p.	190
Fig. 4.14	Hugh Crompton, <i>The Distressed Welsh-man</i> (1688), t.p.	192
Fig. 4.15	<i>The Welch Man's Catechism</i> (1703), t.p.	194
Fig. 5.1	Gawen Hamilton, Group Portrait of the Raikes Family 1730-32	202
Fig. 5.2	Advertisement sheet for <i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 10 March 1722	206
Fig. 5.3	<i>Northampton Mercury</i> , 2 May 1720, p.1	207
Fig. 5.4	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 9 and 16 April 1722	208
Fig. 5.5	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 6 April 1724, p.1.	209
Fig. 5.6	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 10 May 1725, p.1.	211
Fig. 5.7	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 24 April 1725	213
Fig. 5.8	Map showing distribution areas for Gloucester and Bristol	214
Fig. 5.9	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 10 May 1725, p.4.	216
Fig. 5.10	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> , 22 November 1725, p.4	219
Fig. 5.11	Richard Cocks <i>A charge given to the Grand-jury</i> , (1723) t.p.	221

Fig. 5.12	John Blanch <i>The History of Great Britain ... Tower of Babel</i> (1723), t.p.	225
Fig. 5.13	Shaw, William <i>A Sermon preached at Reading</i> , (1723), t.p.	227
Fig. 5.14	Shaw, William <i>A Sermon preached at Reading</i> , (1723), f.p.	228
Fig. 5.15	<i>The Lives of Six Notorious Murderers ...</i> (1726), t.p.	229
Fig. 5.16	<i>The Beginning, Progress and End of Man</i> , (n.d.), cover	231
Fig. 5.17	<i>The Beginning, Progress and End of Man</i> , (n.d.), flaps closed	232
Fig. 5.18	<i>The Beginning, Progress and End of Man</i> , (n.d.), flaps open	233
Fig. 6.1	List of printed books in Fonmon Library, Glamorgan	245
Fig. 6.2	<i>Political Fables</i> (1721), t.p.	247
Fig. 6.3	<i>The Young Christian's Library</i> (1710), t.p.	251
Fig. 6.4	Commonplace book of John Gwin, Monmouthshire, (n.d.) p. 123	260
Fig. 6.5	<i>Daily Courant</i> 2 December 1703, part of p.2	262
Fig. 6.6	Register of Cowbridge Library, Glamorgan, (n.d.) p.1	265
Fig. 6.7	<i>Catalogue of the Cowbridge Library</i> , Glamorgan, (1794) p.11	267
Fig. 6.8	Bookplate of Landaff Parochial Library, Glamorgan	272
Fig. 6.9	Contents page of NLW Landaf 161-178	273
Fig. 6.10	Anon, <i>Methods used for Erecting Charity Schools</i> (1724), p. 43	275
Fig. 6.11	Tracts' collection, Cardiff Central Library, CWT 298, fly-leaf	279
Fig. 6.12	<i>Poor Robin's Almanack 1685</i> , t.p.	281
Fig. 6.13	Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan, Almanacks' collection c.1685, fly-leaf	283
Fig. 6.14	Anon, <i>Poor Robin's Almanack 1744</i> , blank	284
Fig. 6.15	Anon, <i>Poor Robin's Almanack 1744</i> , cover	286

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	A sample of chapbook sizes, ordered by actual height	45
Table 3.1	Coastal voyages recorded entering south Wales ports 1695 – 1704	125
Table 3.2	Cargoes containing books Gloucester to south Wales 1640 – 1730	128
Table 3.3	Ports of origin for incoming vessels to Pembrokeshire ports	129
Table 4.1	Fixed and moveable fairs 1690 and 1705	149
Table 5.1	Flap books 1650 – 1730	235
Table 6.1	Popular small books in south Wales 1700 – 1730	276

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart 2.1	Annual totals of book production based on ESTC titles 1475 – 1700	81
Chart 3.1	Occupational and geographic distribution of inventories 1650-1750	101
Chart 3.2	Distribution of traders selling books in their shops 1650 – 1730	101
Chart 3.3	People engaged in the book trade 1650 – 1750	112
Chart 4.1	Number of registered hawkers by county, 1697	146
Chart 4.1	Number of registered hawkers by county, 1698	146

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-seventeenth century, pedlars, hawkers, chapmen and other itinerant traders appeared to be proliferating in number throughout Britain. They sold, on doorsteps and at fairs, a variety of easily portable goods, including small books and pamphlets.¹ Although the government did not take any action to suppress this trade, their attention was drawn to a possible source of income through a licensing system. In 1697, the first act for licensing hawkers and pedlars was passed,² requiring all itinerant traders to register and purchase a license issued by the newly created government department, the Hawkers and Pedlars Office (HPO). The first two years of this register has, remarkably, survived.³ Thus there exists a record, at least in part, for those hawkers who were making a conscious decision to be legally compliant in the period immediately following the new legislation. The register contains the name and place of residence of each licensee, together with the fee paid, namely £4 for a hawker on foot, and £8 for a hawker with a pack animal. This data has been subject to analysis by Margaret Spufford who produced a map showing the distribution of licence holders across the whole of Great Britain (Fig.1). She then examined the wills and inventories of a number of these hawkers, thereby gaining significant insight into the goods they carried, and how they operated.⁴ None of her examples, however, were drawn from Wales, and no other scholar has further examined this Welsh material despite the fact that a geographical

¹ A petition was sent to the Stationers' Company complaining that their trade was being undermined. See Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories. Popular Fiction and its Readership in 17th Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 118.

² England and Wales, *William III, 1697-8: An Act for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars, for a Further Provision for Payment of the Interest of the Transport Debt for the Reduceing of Ireland. [Chapter Xxvii. Rot. Parl. 9 Gul. Iii. P. 5. N. 3.]* (London: Charles Bill, 1697).

³ TNA, AO 3/370. Register of Hawkers' Licences 1697 – 1698; TNA, AO 3/371. Register of Hawkers' Licences 1698– 1699.

⁴ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 121 – 128; also see Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984).

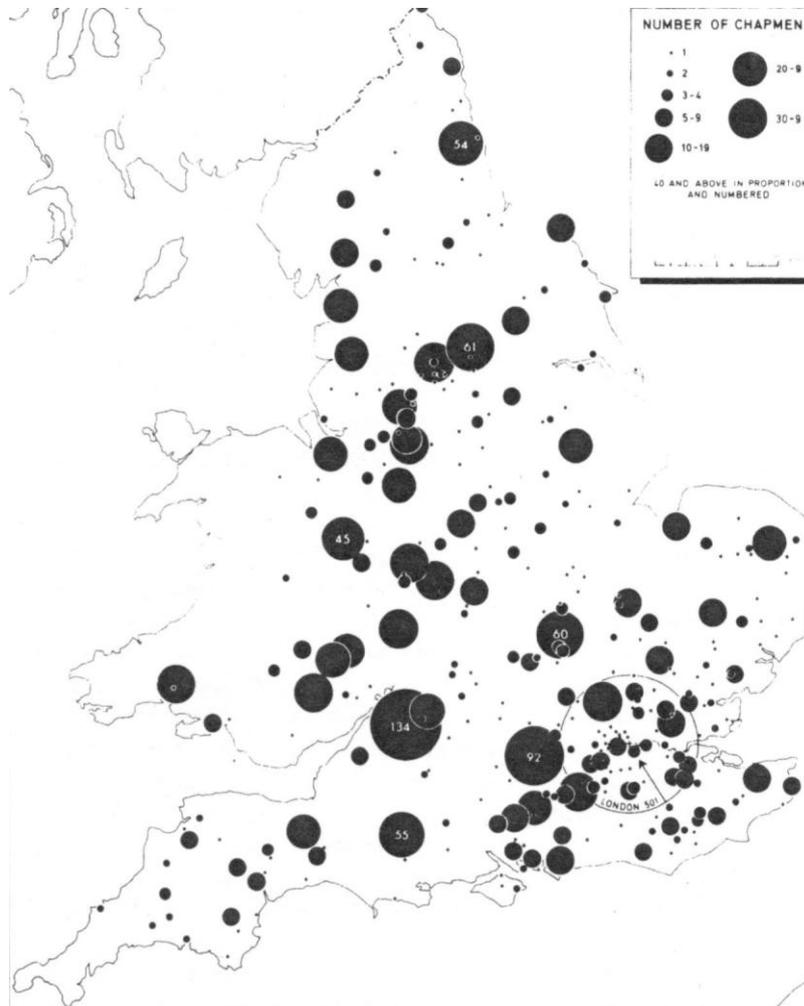


Fig. 1. Distribution of registered chapmen in England and Wales 1697 – 98.⁵

⁵ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 119.

analysis of the 2,880 individual entries for the first year of licensing, 1697 – 98, shows that 292 (10%) gave their residence as south Wales and the border regions.⁶ In Abergavenny alone, there were thirty individuals, and thirty-four in Carmarthen. What did these pedlars sell and to whom? How far afield did they travel? To what extent did they focus their business around markets and fairs, and did that business include the sale of small books? This study looks at these questions in order to contribute to scholarly knowledge by extending Spufford's work to include coverage of south Wales.

The methodology used throughout this study is derived from the conceptual framework of the relatively new discipline of the History of the Book. One of the earliest proponents of this was Robert Darnton who stated, in 1982, that it developed from the convergence of several disciplines on a common set of problems, all of which are concerned primarily with communication, and the understanding of the book as a force in history.⁷ Since that time, there has been extensive debate on whether Book History can stand alone as a discipline, with a distinctive methodology which, nevertheless, has borrowed from both English and History academic traditions. The most recent scholarly interpretation by James Raven does place it firmly as a discrete field of research.⁸ The approach used in this thesis, while owing much to the methodologies used by the bibliographers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,⁹ adopts the conceptual model first described by Nicolas Barker (see Fig. 2.) which modifies Darnton's model by putting the physical book at the centre. Thus, ,

⁶ For the purposes of this study, south Wales means the counties of Brecon, Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Monmouth and Pembroke. The border regions are the western areas of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.

⁷ Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', in Kenneth E. Carpenter (eds.) *Books and Society in History* (New York: Bowker, 1983). Darnton builds on the much earlier work by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin.

⁸ James Raven, *What is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018).

⁹ For example Alfred W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1926)

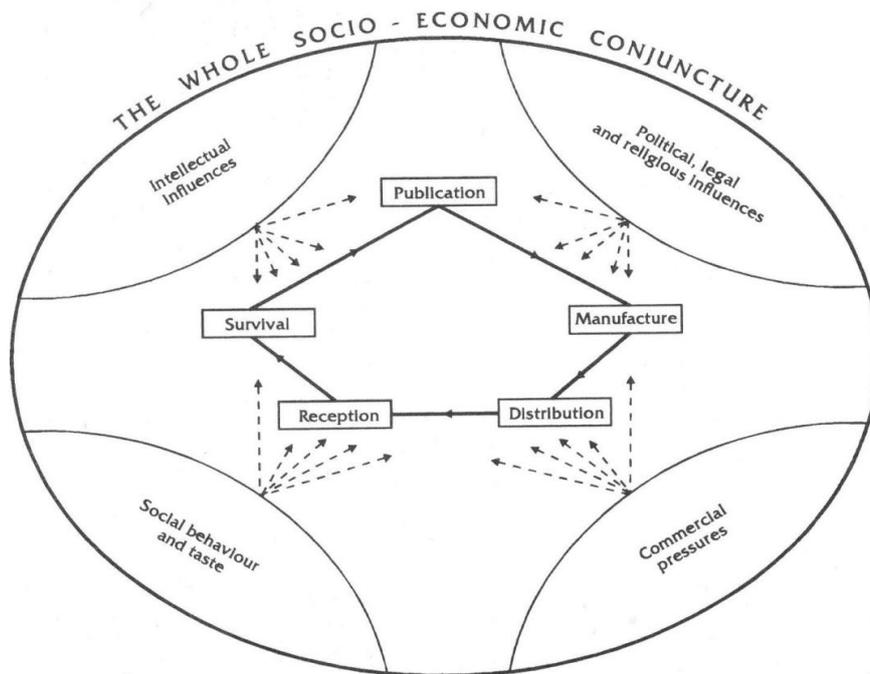


Fig. 2. A 'new model for the study of the history of the book'¹⁰

¹⁰ Nicolas Barker (eds.), *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures 1986-87* (London: British Library, 1993)

although the distribution of the chapbook initially loomed large as a topic in its own right, it was soon clear that only by considering its publication, manufacture, reception and survival together with other socio-economic influences in south Wales between 1660 and 1730, that a full understanding might be revealed.

Firstly, with regard to the distribution, the contents of a pedlar's pack in this period often remains elusive, but small books and newspapers were certainly sold through booksellers, mercers and other shopkeepers in south Wales, as this study will show.¹¹ Furthermore, small religious chapbooks were widely distributed, sometimes freely, by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) whose archives have been thoroughly researched by Mary Clement.¹² This study attempts to assess the availability of cheap print to the people of south Wales in this period, and to suggest the ways in which this enriched their lives by raising literacy levels, broadening horizons on the world beyond their own locality, increasing their knowledge of the Christian religion, and enhancing their enjoyment of leisure activities.

The examination of wills and inventories of these chapmen, booksellers and mercers has revealed evidence of their stock in trade. In order to build up a fuller picture of the book trade of this period, the activities of printers of cheap English language material have been described in terms of their choice of material and their methods of marketing.¹³ Further to that, and supplementing the outcome of the distribution studies, there is primary evidence of the creation of the very first parochial and diocesan libraries, often containing donations of

¹¹ Previous research, mainly focussing on the wider book trade, includes Eiluned Rees, *The Welsh Book Trade before 1820* (Aberystwyth National Library of Wales, 1988); Philip Henry Jones, 'Wales', in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds.) *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Paul Courtney, 'Towns, Markets and Commerce', in Madeleine Gray and Prys Morgan (eds.) *Gwent County History 3. The making of Monmouthshire 1536 - 1780* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009).

¹² Mary Clement (eds.), *Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K. Relating to Wales 1699 - 1740* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952).

¹³ See Chapter 4 synopsis below.

material from wealthy patrons or mission societies.¹⁴ The means of transport used to carry printed material from London and, later, from local printing centres, to fill the shelves of shops, libraries and schools, as well as the hawker's pack, yield further insights into the availability of cheap literature to the population at large. Likewise, the examination of the printing and dissemination of the earliest provincial newspapers and chapbooks from the press of Robert Raikes in Gloucester has demonstrated his reach into south Wales.¹⁵

The end date of this study, c.1730, has been selected as a watershed in terms of the many changing aspects of commercial and social life in Wales, as elsewhere, which set the scene for the early years of industrial development.¹⁶ After 1730 the picture becomes more complex and highly developed, in terms of the book trade, literacy and transport. The scale of all aspects of book trade activity significantly increased as the century progressed; many new newspaper titles, especially in the provinces, appeared, new genres of books (such as children's literature) were published, the periodical press started up in earnest, and the demand for an ever wider range of books grew to unprecedented levels.¹⁷ For example, an attempt at an analysis of book production produced a figure of 1,744 titles printed in 1723, rising to 6,801 in 1793.¹⁸ Similarly, the population of Wales, described by Geraint H. Jenkins

¹⁴ For example, the Cowbridge Diocesan Library founded in 1711 through the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.). The archives covering this area have been examined and published by Mary Clement. See Clement (ed.), *Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K.*

¹⁵ *Gloucester Journal*, 1722–1976.

¹⁶ Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales : Wales 1642 - 1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

¹⁷ Eiluned Rees, 'Developments in the Book-Trade in Eighteenth Century Wales', *Library* Series 5 - XXIV 1, (1969) 33 – 43; John Hinks and Maureen Bell, 'The Book Trade in English Provincial Towns, 1700 - 1849: An Evaluation of Evidence from the British Book Trade Index', *Publishing History*, 57 (2004) 53 – 111; Christine J. Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the Sale of Books in the Provinces', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.) *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1695 - 1830* 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) p.43; Matthew O. Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *Library*, 8 (2007), 277 – 303.

¹⁸ Michael F. Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701 – 1800', in Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1695 - 1830* V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 43.

as ‘one of the pace-setters of economic growth’, rose throughout the eighteenth century, from an estimate of 371,000 in 1670 to 587,000 at the time of the first census in 1801.¹⁹

The focus of this study is on chapbooks which, as shall be defined in detail, are usually small, short, illustrated and cheap (see Fig.3).²⁰ Their content covers several genres, notably religion, folk stories, and jest books.²¹ Extant examples are few, and difficult to identify because of the absence of an agreed definition amongst academics and, by association, cataloguers.²² This study addresses these issues, whilst acknowledging that grey areas, in the matter of definition, will always remain. The parameters of that definition will be stretched further to include horn books, almanacks, ABC’s and primers, since they share the same characteristics as chapbooks, and certainly appear regularly in the inventories. Margaret Spufford presents evidence to show that these little books were produced in large numbers by specialist chapbook publishers,²³ predominantly in London, and distributed from there to many parts of Great Britain by itinerant traders.²⁴ She does not consider in any depth the role of the bookseller and other shopkeepers in the distribution of printed matter, but this research will broaden the approach to include the context of Welsh language development, religious organisations and libraries. A number of other studies have looked in detail at the book trade

¹⁹ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, pp. 88, 257.

²⁰ The word ‘chapbook’ was not used in this period; its derivation will be examined in Chapter 1.

²¹ The only attempt to identify and catalogue a chapbook collection of this early period was carried out by Harvard University in 1905. The contents page of this volume contains twenty-three categories of subject. William Coolidge Lane, *Catalogue of English and American Chapbooks and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Library, 1905), p. iii. The coverage is seventeenth to nineteenth century, and many are undated. A catalogue has been produced by the National Art Library for their collection of later chapbooks. See Meriton, John, and Carlo Dumontet, *Small Books for the Common Man : A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library, 2010).

²² A seminar of book historians held in 2014 was unable to produce a working definition. See: John Hinks, ‘Report on the Chapbooks Workshop Held at Senate House, London on the 25th February 2014. Submitted to the Bibliographical Society Sub-Committee on 18th March 2014’(2014)

<http://bibsoc.org.uk/about/committees/chapbooks> [accessed 24 June 2016]

²³ For example, Charles Tias left a stock of around 90,000 small books at his death in 1664; Josiah Blare left around 31,000 in 1707. See Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 98–9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 111–26.



Fig. 3. Title page from Laurence Price *The Witch of the Woodlands* (London: W. Thackeray, 1680).

in Wales focussing only on the dissemination of Welsh language literature.²⁵ This current investigation examines the distribution and readership of small books in English, especially through the charity schools which, from 1699 to c.1730, received large number of English books donated by the SPCK with the intention of providing a strong Christian-based education to combat the 'great ignorance and atheism in Wales'.²⁶

Although nearly four hundred references to printed books and articles have been read and recorded during the early research period of this study, certain items stand out as key works. Regarding the definition of the chapbook, the meeting of academics in 2014 at the Bibliographical Society demonstrates current thinking.²⁷ Lori Humphrey Newcomb has considered the issue in some detail,²⁸ building on the earlier work of John Ashton.²⁹ The Harvard University Library produced a lengthy, annotated catalogue, in 1905, of its stock of chapbook material which necessitated a clear idea of what could, or could not, be included.³⁰ Following that, the work of Henry Weiss (1942),³¹ Victor Neuburg (1964),³² Roger Thompson (1976),³³ and, most importantly, Margaret Spufford (1984)³⁴ stand out as the major sources on this topic for the period. The National Art Library has produced a bibliography of

²⁵ Rees, *The Welsh Book Trade before 1820*; Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660 - 1730* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978); W. Eilir Evans, 'Welsh Publishing and Bookselling', *Library*, Series 1, VII (1895), 391 - 397; Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees, *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998).

²⁶ Mary Clement, *The S.P.C.K. and Wales, 1699 - 1740 : The History of the S.P.C.K. in Wales from its Foundation to the Early Years of the Welsh Methodist Movement* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954) p. xv.

²⁷ Hinks, 'Report on Chapbooks Workshop'.

²⁸ Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'What is a Chapbook?', in Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (eds.) *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

²⁹ John Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century* (Welwyn Garden City: Seven Dials Press, 1969).

³⁰ Lane, 'Harvard Catalogue'. <https://archive.org/details/catalogueofengli00harvrich/page/n6> [Accessed 2 April 2019]

³¹ Harry B. Weiss, *A Book About Chapbooks: The Peoples Literature of Bygone Times [Reprint of 1942 Edition]* (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1969).

³² Victor E. Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A Bibliography of References to English and American Chapbook Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Vine Press, 1964).

³³ Roger Thompson, *Samuel Pepys's Penny Merriments* (London: Constable, 1976).

³⁴ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*.

its chapbook collection,³⁵ as well as a useful definition on its web pages,³⁶ but these are all for a later period. There remains, however, no consensus, and the first chapter of this current study produces a practical solution combining the features of size, price and content. Important information on the physical construction of the book at this time is supplied by Philip Gaskell's standard bibliographical work.³⁷

Spufford, again, provides the main scholarship for examination of the social world of the seventeenth century chapman, supplemented by her later work going beyond the selling of small books to include pedlary ware in general.³⁸ In those areas where the hawker, often treated as a vagrant, has come up against state regulation, or broken the law, Donald McKenzie and Maureen Bell's calendar is an invaluable starting point for tracing relevant public documents which they have filtered down to those relevant to the book trade.³⁹ Other authors have mentioned these itinerant traders as passing references in the context of book trade or cultural histories until a recent study by Jeroen Salman,⁴⁰ comparing, in some detail, the distribution networks for cheap print in the Netherlands and Britain. In particular, he provides useful detail on the actual process of obtaining a licence for hawking, although it is not clear if that applied to the period 1697 – 99; and so this study is addressing that area, in particular the extent of non-compliance. As to the activities of the pedlar in south Wales and the borders, the works mentioned above include no coverage. The only scholar who has focussed on this is Richard Suggett, who has examined some court records concerning

³⁵ Meriton, *Small Books for the Common Man*.

³⁶ <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/n/national-art-library-chapbooks-collection> [Accessed 2 April 2019].

³⁷ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

³⁸ Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984).

³⁹ Donald F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641 - 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁰ Jeroen Salman, *Pedlars and the Popular Press : Itinerant Distribution Networks in England and the Netherlands, 1600 - 1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

vagrants.⁴¹ He concluded that the case for distribution of printed material by pedlars in rural Wales was ‘not proven’, although there was some evidence for urban distribution.⁴² This study is building on his work by examining a wider range of archival material, as well as looking at the texts of chapbooks and other contemporary published material.

The subject of religion in Wales, intertwined with that of literacy and education, has been extensively covered by many scholars, most notably by the numerous publications of Geraint H. Jenkins and, more recently, by Richard Suggett.⁴³ More general works on literacy and reading, which are necessary to examine for the wider context, are represented by the works of Lawrence Stone,⁴⁴ and David Cressy⁴⁵ as well as more recent titles such as that by Adam Fox,⁴⁶ although the more literary approach to this well-researched subject is less helpful to this thesis, compared to the more sociological approaches such as that of Margaret Spufford.⁴⁷ Published information on the presence of schools in south Wales, especially those teaching the basics of reading and writing, is amply supplied by the exhaustive work of Mary Clement, in transcribing and analysing the archives of the SPCK.⁴⁸ For the earlier period, covering the work of the Welsh Trust, there is a key work by Mary Jones,⁴⁹ as well as the works of Geraint H. Jenkins (see p. 9 above), although Jenkins focusses strongly on Welsh

⁴¹ Richard Suggett, 'Pedlars and Mercers as Distributers of Print in Early Modern Wales', in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds.) *The Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and its Impact* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 2000), 23 – 32.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴³ Richard Suggett and Eryn Mant White, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.) *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500 - 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002); Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*; Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*.

⁴⁴ Lawrence Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640 - 1900', *Past and Present*, 42 (1969), 69 – 139.

⁴⁵ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁴⁶ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁴⁷ Margaret Spufford, 'Women Teaching Reading to Poor Children in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Mary Hilton, Morag Styles, and Victor Watson (eds.) *Opening the Nursery Door : Reading, Writing, and Childhood, 1600 - 1900* (London: Routledge, 1997), 47 – 62.

⁴⁸ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*; Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*.

⁴⁹ M. G. Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 9 (1937), 71 – 80.

literature and Welsh language literacy. The book trade in the Welsh language is not the focus of this study since there were no chapbooks in Welsh published in this period; however, the areas of south Wales where English was widely spoken, notably south Pembrokeshire and Gower, will come under close scrutiny regarding the availability of English language material.

A critical area for investigation in this study is the means by which small books and other cheap print reached both urban and rural areas of south Wales. Information on transport networks can be found in Clement's works, and other key research includes that by John Chartres,⁵⁰ Peter Wakelin⁵¹ and Robert Weeks.⁵² One published transcription, *The Letter-Book of John Byrd*, gives a useful insight in the operation of the ports of Cardiff and Caerleon, being a contemporary account of the working life of a customs officer.⁵³ Research on the book trade in Wales has been carried out by a number of historians,⁵⁴ although the focus, without exception, is on printing in Wales and in the Welsh language. The first press on Welsh soil was established in 1718, although Welsh language material had been printed in small quantities in London from 1546 and in Shrewsbury from 1696.⁵⁵ This study, however, focusses on the distribution, across south Wales, of English language material printed, almost exclusively, in London, Bristol and Gloucester. Eiluned Rees' bibliographical work *Libri*

⁵⁰ J. A. Chartres, 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality', *Economic History Review*, 30 (1977), 73–94.

⁵¹ Alexander Peter Wakelin, 'Pre-Industrial Trade on the River Severn. A Computer-Aided Study of the Gloucester Port Books, 1640 - 1770' (Wolverhampton Polytechnic PhD thesis, 1991).

⁵² Robert Weeks, 'Transport and Communications', in Madeleine Gray and Prys Morgan (eds.) *Gwent County History III. The making of Monmouthshire 1536 - 1780* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 240–50.

⁵³ Stephen K. Roberts (eds.), *The Letter-Book of John Byrd, Customs Collector in South-East Wales 1648 - 80* (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1999).

⁵⁴ For example, Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*; Jones and Rees, *A Nation and its Books*; Rees, *The Welsh Book Trade before 1820*.

⁵⁵ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, pp. 34–5.

Walliae is the key source in this regard, as it includes some material on booksellers in Wales, as well as an essay on the book trade.⁵⁶

The ownership and readership of books in south Wales has been little researched, but Alan Withey's work examines the prevalence and use of medical texts,⁵⁷ whilst Jonathan Barry has produced similar data for Bristol in the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ The key text for information on libraries in this period is Michael Perkin's exhaustive *Directory of Parochial Libraries*⁵⁹ together with Maura Tallon's similar work on Diocesan Libraries.⁶⁰ Useful background material on the ownership of books, which itself is some indication of readership, can be found in the work of David Pearson, but only English gentry libraries are covered.⁶¹ Cyprian Blagden's seminal work on almanacks is an important source for production aspects of that genre of cheap print, but does not cover practical aspects of distribution or details of ownership, either in Wales or England.⁶²

Contemporary publications have much to reveal. The content and physical makeup of the chapbooks themselves indicate the market at which they were aimed; the advertisements sometimes found on the final pages provide information about many titles which have not survived (see Fig.4). Other books, such as an almanack produced specifically for chapmen, clearly responded to the need of travelling salesmen in providing a list of

⁵⁶ Eiluned Rees, *Libri Walliae: A Catalogue of Welsh Books and Books Printed in Wales 1546 - 1820* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1987).

⁵⁷ Alun Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

⁵⁸ Jonathan Barry, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century Bristol', in Barry Reay (eds.) *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 59 – 90.

⁵⁹ Michael Perkin (eds.), *Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2004).

⁶⁰ Maura Tallon, *Church in Wales Diocesan Libraries* (Athlone: Athlone Printing Works, 1962).

⁶¹ David Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', *Library*, 11 (2010), 139 – 167.

⁶² Cyprian Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 11 (1958), 107 – 116. Despite its title, this is a quantitative study which examines data for printing, sales (direct from printers) and cost of different almanack titles.

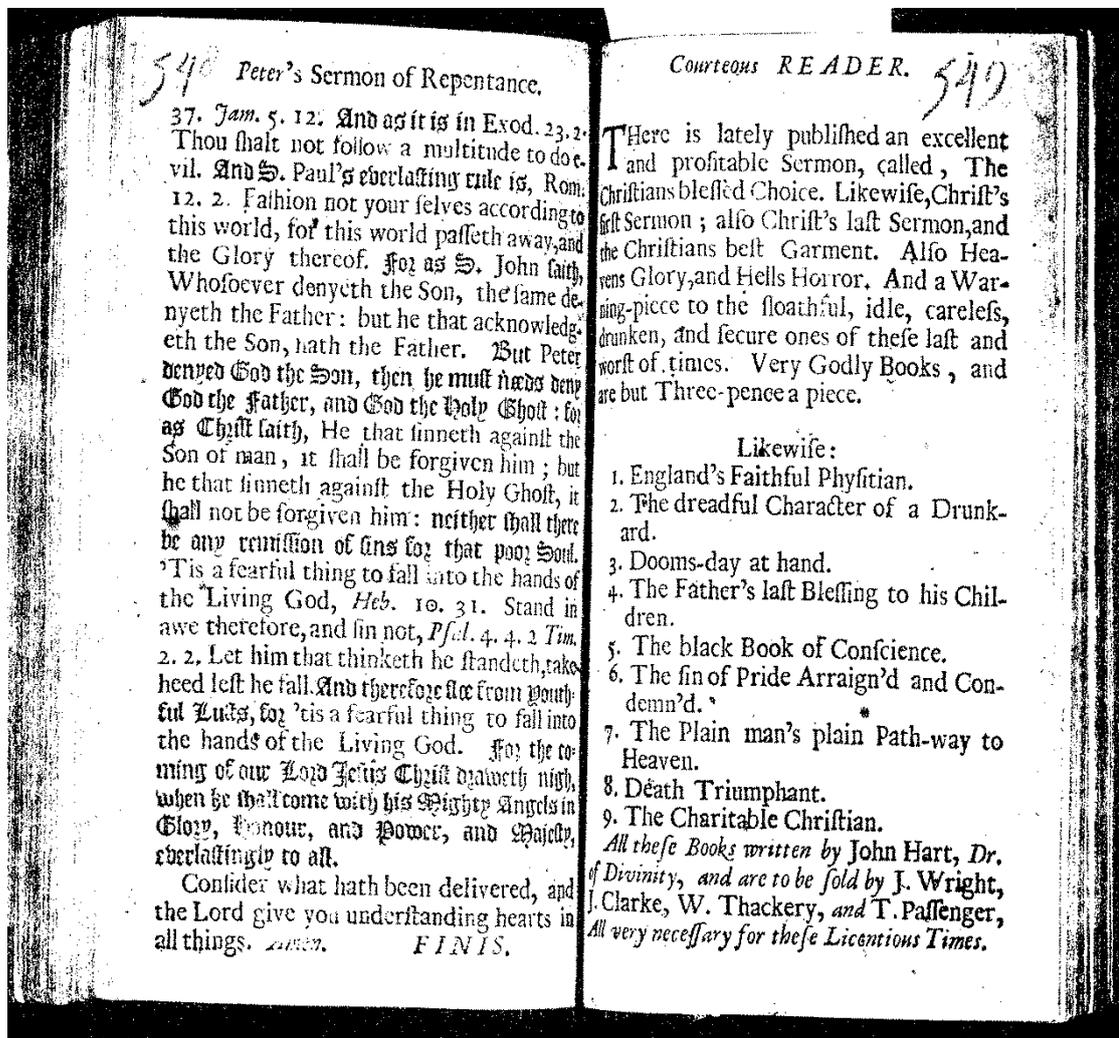


Fig. 4. The final page of John Hart, *A Godly Sermon of Peter's Repentance* (London: William Thackeray, 1682).

weekly market days and routes between market towns in all the counties of Wales.⁶³ The pages of contemporary newspapers, most notably the *Gloucester Journal*,⁶⁴ provide information on their distribution methods to south Wales, as well as advertisements for newly published chapbooks many of which are no longer extant. Only one scholar has previously looked at these pages in detail, but he mainly focuses on the founding of the press itself in 1722, and the early years of publication.⁶⁵ For this thesis, every page from 1722 to 1730 has been examined, as well as the few extant copies of early Bristol newspapers.

There are a number of archives that have been examined and analysed which throw light on the distribution of chapbooks in Wales. The most important is the Register of Hawkers' Licenses for the years 1697–8 and 1698–9, held at the National Archives.⁶⁶ Also important are the inventories to wills, held at the National Library of Wales, and searchable digitally. A few inventories for Welsh gentry are also found at the National Archives, as these gentlemen qualified for probate to be handled by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC).⁶⁷ Other court records, such as the Process Books of the Quarter Sessions of Monmouthshire,⁶⁸ are sometimes relevant because pedlars were widely regarded as vagrants trading illegally during some of the years under study. The transcription of the Gloucester Port Books, available electronically from the UK Data Service at the University of Essex, reveals detailed information regarding the passage of shipping to and from Gloucester

⁶³ Anon, *The City and Countrey Chapmans Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1690* (London: Thomas James, 1690).

⁶⁴ *Gloucester Journal*, 1922–1976.

⁶⁵ Roland Austin, 'Robert Raikes the Elder and the "Gloucester Journal"', *Library*, VI (1915), 1 – 24.

⁶⁶ TNA, AO 3/370. Register of Hawkers' Licences 1697–1698.

⁶⁷ The information given by the National Archives states that 'in more than one diocese or if they were valued at more than £5 (or £10 in London) then it was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury or York'. This does not, however, seem to be the case with many of the wills examined below in Chapter 4.

⁶⁸ Gwent Archives (GA), Q/PB/1.

between 1640 and 1770.⁶⁹ The data was transcribed from the archive E/190 at the National Archives by Peter Wakelin, as part of his doctoral research,⁷⁰ and although he carried out a detailed analysis of the information, including the content of many thousands of cargoes, his main objective was to provide the data for future scholars to mine and analyse. The electronic spreadsheets allow the word ‘book’, for example, to be easily picked out, resulting in a quantitative analysis of the importance of shipping for the transport of this item between coastal ports in the Bristol Channel. A similar study was undertaken by David Hussey, who examined the Bristol Port Books, and published the summary results.⁷¹ The level of detail provided by Hussey is insufficient to allow a detailed analysis of every item of cargo, and unfortunately the raw data is no longer electronically available, having suffered technical problems.⁷² Archives regarding provenance and ownership, especially those listing the contents of libraries, have been examined at the National Library of Wales, as well as the county archives of Carmarthenshire, Glamorganshire, Gwent, Pembrokeshire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. Similarly, printed books with marks of ownership have been found at some of these archives and, more importantly, in the Special Collections of Cardiff University and in Cardiff Central Library, both of which have received many donations of such items from people living in the area.

The key electronic database for this study is the *British Book Trade Index* (BBTI), which has individual entries for all people connected with the book trade, and can be searched using date, place and occupation parameters.⁷³ There are some limitations and caveats to using this source, the greatest of which is the accidental occurrence of repeated names, well

⁶⁹ UK Data Service, SN 3218. Gloucester Port Books, 1575–1765. See <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk> [accessed 6 October 2016].

⁷⁰ Wakelin, 'Pre-Industrial Trade on the River Severn' .

⁷¹ David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and its Region, 1680 - 1730* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000)

⁷² Personal communication from David Hussey (D.P.Hussey@wlv.ac.uk), 11 October 2016.

⁷³ <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 6 October 2016].

explained in the online information. Nevertheless, careful usage enabled the identification of 115 individuals in south Wales and the borders who were active in the trades of bookseller, chapman, bookbinder, pedlar, printer or stationer during the years 1660 to 1730. Further archival research on these names has formed the basis of this study in an attempt to create a picture of the production and distribution of cheap print.

Two other key research tools are *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO). EEBO claims to have ‘digital facsimile page images of virtually every work printed in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and British North America and works in English printed elsewhere from 1473–1700’,⁷⁴ although different editions are not always covered. ECCO,⁷⁵ on the other hand, whilst also offering digital images, is quite selective but still has impressive coverage. Furthermore, it is searchable by full-text, unlike EEBO, although the latter does offer full-text searching for around 50 per cent of the titles following input from the Text Creation Partnership (TCP). Underpinning both these databases is the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), hosted by the British Library and freely available.⁷⁶ This is based on previously published works, painstakingly recorded by early twentieth century bibliographers, and aims to be comprehensive for all known extant titles up to 1900. It offers full catalogue records for each item, and a list of locations. These three bibliographical databases are important for this study because, in combination, they make possible the identification of specific chapbooks. Many of the entries give the size and number of pages of the particular item, the publisher and an image, as well as supplementary information such as price. Thus, when a particular book title is listed, for

⁷⁴ www.eebo.chadwyck.com [accessed 24 June 2016].

⁷⁵ www.gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online [accessed 24 June 2016].

⁷⁶ www.estc.bl.uk [accessed 24 June 2016].

example in the SPCK records, it is then possible to readily identify whether or not it fits the chapbook category.

Another full-text freely available resource is *British History Online*,⁷⁷ which is highly selective in the material it covers, but especially useful for official documents such as the Calendars of State Papers in which itinerant traders who operate illegally may feature. Likewise, Medieval and Early Modern Sources online (MEMSO), a subscription database, provides full-text access to all the Calendars of State Papers.⁷⁸ Selected issues of early seventeenth century newspapers produced in the border areas, notably the *Gloucester Journal* and the *Worcester Journal* are available through the 17–18th Century Burney Collection.⁷⁹ Robin Alston's detailed database on the History of Libraries has also proved useful to this study, although it has yet to be transferred to a reliable host.⁸⁰ The same can be said of the *Reading Experience Database* which yields relevant evidence in terms of readership of chapbooks, although it is clearly a work in progress, and thus far from comprehensive.⁸¹ Ballads, which overlap with chapbooks in terms of content and readership, are partially covered by several electronic sources including the *Broadside Ballads Online*,⁸² the *English Broadside Ballad Archive*,⁸³ and, for Wales, *Welsh Ballads Online*⁸⁴ all of which provide full digital images.

The parameters of this study are the production, distribution and ownership of cheap print in south Wales and the border areas. Chapter One starts with an overview of historic

⁷⁷ www.british-history.ac.uk [accessed 24 June 2016].

⁷⁸ <http://tannerritchie.com/memso.php> [accessed 6 October 2016].

⁷⁹ <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/17th--18th-century-burney-collection-newspapers-.aspx> [accessed 7 November 2016].

⁸⁰ <http://web.archive.org/web/20060613040111/http://r-alston.co.uk:80/contents.htm> [accessed 20 January 2019].

⁸¹ <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED> [accessed 24 June 2016].

⁸² <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 20 January 2019].

⁸³ <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu> [accessed 20 January 2019]

⁸⁴ <https://www.library.wales/discover/nlw-resources/nlw-resources> [accessed January 2019].

definitions, the earliest yet found dating from 1765 in the ledgers of the publishing firm Clays of Daventry,⁸⁵ when it was used as a shorthand for chapmen's books. Thereafter, a succession of scholars have produced varying definitions based on size, format, cost and nature of text. Each of these contributions is examined, concluding with the outcome of a 2014 study seminar organised by the Chapbooks Working Group of the Bibliographical Society.⁸⁶ They failed to reach consensus on a definition, with one contributor, Giles Bergel (Oxford University), affirming that 'the term has been applied to books possessing a diversity of form and content that could not be reduced to any one formula'.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, this study, in examining the distribution, ownership and readership of chapbooks, needs a working definition in order to identify the texts to be examined. The next section of Chapter One draws up such a definition in terms of the criteria that should be present in order to include the item, so each historic criterion is critically examined and either accepted or rejected. The final working definition devised for this study is:

Any publication which is of small size (17 x 14 cm or less) formed from a single sheet, or sheet and a half stitched together, has 32 or less pages, contains at least one woodcut illustration or ornament, is cheap (6d or less) and in which the content is entertaining, informative or admonitory, reaching a wide, unspecified audience.

As well as chapbooks, other similar genres of contemporary printed material, namely almanacks, pamphlets, primers, ABC's (often with catechism), ballads and newspapers are included in this study, since, although none of them exhibit all four of the defining criteria, their methods of distribution, and nature of readership are similar to those of chapbooks. The final section of Chapter One examines the methodologies used to identify titles, relying on the

⁸⁵ Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 161.

⁸⁶ Hinks, 'Report on Chapbooks Workshop'.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

databases available for material of this period,⁸⁸ together with examination of physical copies. Further sources (especially when items are no longer extant) are contemporary advertisements, contemporary catalogues of libraries, such as the Cowbridge Diocesan Library founded in 1711, and other archival documents such as correspondence and inventories. Some of the difficulties of identifying titles are considered, as is the proposal by the Chapbook Working Group that a database might eventually be produced along similar lines to ‘Broadside Ballads Online’ managed by the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford.⁸⁹

Chapter Two sets the contextual scene for the whole thesis. A brief overview of the religious developments, including the role of both the established church and dissenters, is followed by its effect on the setting up of schools. The concept of literacy is discussed in some detail, and how it has been measured, although the research done in south Wales in this area is limited.⁹⁰ But an argument is made for a link between literacy levels and the teaching of reading. Furthermore, the teaching of reading, and the general education level of both children and adults may, in part, be related to the availability of books. Relying mostly on examination and consideration of published sources for the broader picture, there is an overview of catalogues of contemporary private and church libraries to discover the book titles held.⁹¹ Mary Clement’s transcriptions of SPCK. correspondence is also highly relevant, containing detailed accounts of the distribution of books and founding of charity schools;⁹² much of which has not been fully explored by the scholarly community. Attention will also be given to the language in which teaching took place. The Welsh Trust and the SPCK insisted on English medium only, but by the 1730s the circulating schools founded by Griffith Jones

⁸⁸ See p. 17 above.

⁸⁹ <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 5 September 2015].

⁹⁰ Suggett and White, *Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales*, p. 65.

⁹¹ For example: Thomas Morris, *Catalogue of Lending Library at Cowbridge* (Cowbridge: W. Routh, 1794). The only known copy is held at GA P/8/CW/82.

⁹² Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*.

had adopted a Welsh language policy.⁹³ The effects of teaching a generation of children in English is discussed.

Chapter Three focusses on the book trade in south Wales in the years 1650 to 1730 by examining the practical aspects of how goods, and particularly printed materials, were made available to the people of south Wales and the borders at this time. What did shops look like, and how well were they used? How did merchant networks operate? What was the cost, and the hazards, of bringing goods from large cities to a rural population? After considering the limitations of inventory information, a detailed analysis is made of 247 inventories of people in the relevant occupations living in south Wales and the border areas. Previous scholars have suggested that mercers and grocers of this period sometimes sold books,⁹⁴ so these occupations were included, and many examples of books, in amongst long lists of types of fabric and other mercery ware, have been found. From this, new information has emerged as to extent of bookselling in this period, to which is added further data drawn from non-inventory evidence such as newspaper advertisements, and within the books themselves.

Regarding the methods used to distribute books published in London, analysis of the large volume of Gloucester Port Book data for the period, as well as other sources such as the SPCK archives, reveals some relevant, new information regarding the carriage of printed material by sea.⁹⁵ Likewise, contemporary accounts reveal that carriage over land was also widely used. A detailed analysis of the contents of the *Gloucester Journal*, 1722–30 has been carried out, yielding much information, through its advertisement pages, regarding the publishing and distribution of previously unknown (and probably not now extant) chapbooks.

⁹³Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 80.

⁹⁴Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', 72.

⁹⁵ UK Data Service, SN 3218 Gloucester Port Books, 1575–1765. See <https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk> [accessed 6 October 2016].

The marketing of the newspaper itself into adjoining counties and south Wales is fully laid out in the *Gloucester Journal* on 24 April 1725,⁹⁶ and this study assesses the likelihood that chapbooks used the same routes and distribution points.

Chapter Four is a key chapter for the thesis, as it attempts to examine the life of the chapman. Records indicate that 125 chapmen/hawkers/ pedlars living, at least temporarily, in Wales and the borders applied for a license to trade in 1697–8,⁹⁷ and there were probably many more than that trading illegally. How did they actually operate? What did they sell as they travelled from house to house, and between markets and fairs? Who bought their goods? They are an elusive group of men and women, often living on the edges of society and not often leaving a will. Some were regarded as vagrants, thus coming up against various legal measures to restrict their movements, so a brief overview of the petitions and relevant acts will form part of this chapter, together with any court cases which shed light on the activities of chapmen in Wales. There are also examples, seen in probate inventories, where an individual is called a ‘chapman’, but has clearly set up permanent premises from which to trade, thus becoming a shopkeeper and having no need of a licence to operate as an itinerant trader.

To demonstrate further insight on the life of the chapman, the small books themselves are examined. They were produced and distributed in large numbers, exclusively in London until 1696, and thereafter spreading to the provinces (including Gloucester and Bristol). Possible reasons for the slow start to printing in Wales itself, including an analysis of apprenticeship records, are discussed. New information about distribution to south Wales has also been found in the pages of local newspapers and the extent of commercial and social

⁹⁶ This page is fully transcribed in R. M. Wiles, *Freshest Advices: Early Provincial Newspapers in England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965), Appendix A, p. 367.

⁹⁷ TNA, AO 3/370.

traffic across the Severn Estuary to Bristol is reviewed through contemporary documents and letters. There follows a review of the content of the small religious books sent into Wales by SPCK, and other religious communities, in order to establish whether they can be included under the definition of 'cheap print'. Finally, there is a brief examination of chapbooks which caricature Wales, the inhabitants and the culture of the Welsh, probably aimed at a non-Welsh audience.

Chapter Five focusses on the early career of Robert Raikes of Gloucester (1690 – 1757),⁹⁸ and has been allocated its own chapter, since it yields the strongest evidence for chapbook distribution to Wales. Raikes, who founded a newspaper with his partner William Dacey in Northampton, subsequently moved to Gloucester in 1722 to start up its first printing press. He started a newspaper, the *Gloucester Journal*, which was continuously published until 1975. Within its pages, all of which have been examined between 1722 and 1730, there were frequent listings of books that Raikes was publishing, usually accompanied by information to readers about where they could buy a copy. Robert Raikes was a very entrepreneurial and innovative businessman. His basic biographical details are known but little else, so this study explores further possible sources such as his will, and other documents or publications in the Gloucester Archives. A list of all his advertised titles, the majority of which are not extant, has been created for this investigation. They are mainly low-priced, and include a unique flap-book.⁹⁹ His output is fitted into the general picture of chapbook production in this period and will be used as a point of reference against findings of chapbook information from other sources. Also from the pages of the *Gloucester Journal*, it is clear that Raikes established a team of agents to carry his publications to a wide area, including south

⁹⁸ Not to be confused with his oldest son, Robert Raikes junior (1736 – 1811), who continued his father's publishing business but is better known for his campaign to establish Sunday Schools.

⁹⁹ Gloucester Archives holds the flap-book *The Beginning, End and Progress of Man* (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 172?), GIA D8277/2.

Wales. To broaden this picture, there is an overview of other printing in Gloucestershire before 1730, most notably in Bristol and Cirencester. These presses seem to have produced local newspapers, in the main, but a few book titles have also survived, particularly from the Bristol printer William Bonny. No evidence that they were distributed to south Wales has yet been found, but, given the regularity with which ships plied their trade across the Bristol Channel, and up the River Severn, it seems likely that this might have been the case.

The final chapter concerns the ownership and readership of cheap print which is, perhaps, the most challenging area of this current study, since evidence is scant. It can be demonstrated that a particular book was held in a private library, a bookshop or, more rarely, a pedlar's pack, but how can it be shown who actually purchased the book, and then read it? There is certainly some contemporary biographical evidence for reading practice,¹⁰⁰ but none has, so far, emerged for the areas of south Wales and the borders in this period. Although the content of chapbooks appears to be directed at those with basic reading skills, they were also collected and read by the more educated, most notably by Samuel Pepys who, with much benefit to posterity, catalogued and bound a large collection of little books which he probably purchased in the 1680s.¹⁰¹ So several library catalogues, auction catalogues and inventory listings have been examined in order to establish ownership of cheap print by south Welsh gentry, although these lists, as already mentioned, tend only to include longer more valuable books. Subscription lists, printed within published contemporary volumes printed in south Wales from 1718 onwards, also shed some light on the book-buying public. The provenance of a selection of small book titles has also been traced.

¹⁰⁰ For example, John Bunyan mentions specific chapbook titles in his autobiography (1666). See Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 6–7.

¹⁰¹ Pepys' collection was bound by him into *Penny Merriments* (3 vols), *Penny Goodliness's* (one volume) and *Vulgaria* (one volume, but not all chapbooks) and is held at the Pepys Library, University of Cambridge.

In terms of readership, evidence has been drawn from a variety of archives including common place books, such as that of John Gwin, yeoman of Llangwm in Monmouthshire, and letters from gentry such as Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire. A further important source is that of the earliest lending libraries, invariably religious but certainly including the small tracts distributed by SPCK. Together with some lists from charity school libraries, this provides evidence of readership from that section of the population in south Wales who probably could not afford to buy books, even the very cheap ones. The readership and uses of almanacks has been examined through inscription and notes in the extant copies found in the libraries of Cardiff.

The overall approach of this study is to reinterpret published material, to analyse original documents and to examine contemporary published material in order to reveal new insights into the world of the chapman, the distribution and readership of small cheap books and newspapers, and how they relate to and are affected by the religious, educational and economic developments in south Wales in the years following the mid-seventeenth century civil wars until the dawn of a new age of publishing in the mid-eighteenth century. This new assessment cannot be made, however, until an attempt at a clear definition of what the phrase 'small book' should comprise.

CHAPTER ONE

HOW CAN CHAPBOOKS AND OTHER CHEAP PRINT BE DEFINED AND IDENTIFIED?

There is currently no consensus amongst book historians regarding the definition of a chapbook. A commonly cited source for the earliest literary reference is by Thomas Dibdin, in 1824, in which he lists a number of book titles including:

The Delightful History of the Life and Death of St. Patricke. London, 1685, 12mo. It is a chap book printed in rather a neat black-letter, and embellished with several spirited and not ill-drawn wood cuts.¹

This example to which Dibdin refers is a 1685 biography of St Patrick which, although in small format, is eighty pages in length.² Nevertheless, Dibdin is cited (as above) by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, which then defines the term thus:

A modern name applied by book-collectors and others to specimens of the popular literature which was formerly circulated by itinerant dealer or chapmen, consisting chiefly of small pamphlets of popular tales, ballads, tracts etc.³

Shortly after this, the first edition of Webster's dictionary, published in 1828, defines a chapbook as 'a small book or pamphlet, carried about for sale by a hawker',⁴ and refers its derivation to the word 'chapman',⁵ which itself has a complex etymology dating back, at least, to the Venerable Bede. Subsequent research by Jan Fergus has found a reference to the word as early as 1765 in the ledgers of a publishing firm, Clays of Daventry.⁶ Fergus acknowledges that the 1747 use of the term 'Chap:Books' in the ledgers might be an

¹ Thomas F. Dibdin, *The Library Companion: Or, the Young Man's Guide, and the Old Man's Comfort, in the Choice of a Library* (London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1824) p. 238.

² Anon, *The Delightful History of the Life and Death of that Renowned & Famous St Patrick of Ireland*. London:Dorman Newman, 1685.

³ J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) [Accessed at www.oed.com 23 March 2019].

⁴ Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828)

⁵ The term 'chapman' was used to cover both men and women with that occupation.

⁶ See Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 161.

abbreviation of 'chapmen's books', but that this appears not to be the case with the use of the term in the ledgers for 1765 and 1773. The OED suggests the derivation of the word 'chap' is from the Old English 'ceap', thereby cheap. As such, a chapman sells cheap goods, and one category of these goods was books which became known as chapbooks. That, in itself, is too vague and all-encompassing to suffice for defining a bibliographical genre. Consequently, this has resulted in continuing academic debate, and it is useful to examine some of the differing definitions for the seventeenth and early eighteenth century chapbooks that have been proposed.

A more detailed in-depth source gives several old English meanings for 'ceap', the first of which is 'purchase or sale, bargain, business transaction',⁷ and 'ceap-mann' merits its only entry with a meaning given as 'merchant, trader, one who buys and sells', which clearly includes any sort of person engaged in trade. The examination of contemporary records, including a register of hawkers and chapmen,⁸ and the many wills and inventories which will be examined in this study, demonstrate that the occupation of chapman was common in the seventeenth century. There seems to be no contemporary evidence that indicates that the term was used exclusively for travelling or itinerant traders. On the contrary, a number of chapmen's inventories which will be examined have items listed from 'in the shoppe'. Thus it is possible to conclude that all chapmen were traders, but not all traders were chapmen, and it is the subject of speculation as to why and when the term was used for any particular tradesman. It could be that such men and women started off their working life as travelling pedlars and hawkers, and later graduated to stall-holders in markets and fairs, or actually built up sufficient wealth to establish themselves in permanent premises. Some evidence to support

⁷ Angus Cameron and others (eds.), *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online* (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2007).

⁸ *Register of Hawkers' Licences 1697-98*, The National Archives (TNA), AO 3/370.

this transition is presented by Margaret Spufford in her detailed examination of the chapman's lifecycle:

Shop keeping chapmen specialising in textiles sound very like the poorer mercers. Yet there was obviously no danger of these men being confused with the mercers who sometimes acted as their appraisers ... [they] could, perhaps accurately, be described as mercers for the poor.⁹

Further evidence of the chapman's place in the social hierarchy will be considered in later chapters.

The study of chapbooks, whether from the literary or from the social or cultural history context, has been slow to gain academic respectability, resulting in a paucity of early research.¹⁰ In 1882, John Ashton published a work on eighteenth century chapbooks,¹¹ which was reprinted in 1969, possibly as a result of the increasing importance of the study of this genre following Victor Neuburg's important work.¹² Ashton claims that there were very few chapbooks before 1700, and that view was echoed by other scholars up to the 1970s. Nevertheless, his definition of chapbooks as 'pennyworths, suitable to everyone's taste and within reach of everyone's purse',¹³ is broad enough to apply to any century. He amplified this by adding that these 'little books [were] carried in the packs of pedlars, or chapmen, to every village and every home', and were usually octavo (sixteen pages) or, later in the century, duodecimo at twenty-four pages. He then went on to list and transcribe 103 examples of titles which he had examined, and tried to create broad categories for the type of content.¹⁴

⁹Spufford, *The Great Recloning of Rural England*, p.58.

¹⁰ David Harrison gives an overview of the literature, stating that, even in the 1960s, 'the academic climate was often unsympathetic to the more ephemeral production of the early-modern press. See David J. Harrison, 'Ancestral Subject Catalogue of Chapbook Themes' (Roehampton Institute/University, PhD Thesis, 1996)

¹¹ Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*.

¹² See below p. 30.

¹³ Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, p.vi.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.x.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Charles Gerring devoted a chapter to the topic, stating that a chapbook was usually 2 ½ to 3 ½ inches by 3 to 5 inches in size, or small octavo, twenty-four or thirty-two pages long, on poor quality paper with variable printing quality and often anonymous.¹⁵ A few years later, Harvard University Library produced an annotated printed catalogue of their chapbook and ballad holdings, some 3,000 titles, many of which were bound into volumes by collectors, thus significantly improving their chances of survival. In the prefatory note there seemed to be no difficulty in defining the genre, described as little books generally of eight, twelve or sixteen pages, that could thus easily be carried in the packs of travelling chapmen. The content was also described:

Chap-books cover a wide range of subjects; they preserve a record of many details of manners and customs, superstitions and prejudices; they reflect the popular point of view in ways that might otherwise disappear; and they transmit to us a host of romances, songs, jests, and anecdotes in the form popular at the time of their production.¹⁶

Some twentieth century studies of chapbooks were even more inclusive. For example, Harry Weiss, writing in 1942, considered that his remit covered 'anything from a broadside to a good-sized book' that was carried for sale by a chapman into villages, and also on market stalls. He added that they were usually 5½ inches by 3½ inches, and of twenty-four pages in length, made from a single folded sheet, contained crude woodcuts, and were printed on poor quality paper using poor type. His time frame began around 1700, extended to the nineteenth century, and his work was based on the collection of 1,200 chapbooks in New York Public Library.¹⁷

¹⁵ Charles Gerring, *Notes on Printers and Booksellers with a Chapter on Chapbooks* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1900), p. 102.

¹⁶ Lane, 'Harvard Catalogue', p. vi.

¹⁷ Weiss, *A Book About Chapbooks*, p. 1.

A few years later, Percy Muir published his research on the history of children's literature,¹⁸ and revealed a lack of distinction, in the period up to 1740, between books read by children and those read by adults. He cited an essay in the *Tatler* magazine of 1709, in which Isaac Bickerstaffe (a pseudonym for the editor, Richard Steele) provided a list of suitable reading material for children, primarily composed of titles which fall within the chapbook genre.¹⁹ Muir then made the point that there should not be an assumption that these books were marketed specifically for children, although he does quote from a 1692 edition of Aesop's fables which, in its introduction, was said to be published with 'children in mind'.²⁰ He went on to speculate about how these books were obtained, and drew on another contemporary source entitled *A Little Book for Little Children* by Thomas White, published in 1702, which was moralistic and admonitory in tone, primarily aimed at parents and teachers.²¹ He quoted from White's denouncement that 'ballads and foolish books ... were the wares of the chapmen'.²² This was followed by Muir's own definition of a typical chapbook of this period as 'a sheet folded to make a booklet of 8 or 12 pages initially, developed to the familiar form of a miniature booklet with a paper cover and usually a picture.' He surmised that many of the texts found in chapbook form contained 'coarse' material, aimed at adults but probably also read by children, although he admitted to a lack of evidence on this point.²³

Following this, Victor Neuburg, produced a detailed compilation of chapbook titles, for which he offered a definitive description of what should be included, namely 'paper-covered books offered for sale by pedlars, hawkers and other itinerant merchants known as

¹⁸ Percy Muir, *English Children's Books 1600 - 1900* (London: Batsford, 1954).

¹⁹ *Tatler* 1709, no. 95 (15-17 Nov.) p. 2. Examples are 'Bevis of Southampton', 'Aesop's fables', 'Guy of Warwick', the 'Seven Champions', 'St. George of England'.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²¹ Thomas White, *A Little Book for Little Children* (Boston: T. Green, 1702). This title appeared in many editions published in Boston and in London.

²² Muir, *English Children's Books*, p. 26.

²³ Later research has shown examples of this, such as John Bunyan's reflections on his childhood reading which will be examined in Chapter 6.

chapmen'.²⁴ He added that they covered a wide variety of subjects, were produced from about 1700 onwards, usually octavo or duodecimo, illustrated with woodcuts and cost 1*d*. The basis of Neuburg's work is an eighteenth-century catalogue by the printers Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall, so his description, although useful as a point of reference, is largely applicable to mid-eighteenth century onwards.

The first serious study of the Samuel Pepys collection of chapbooks was attempted by Roger Thompson in 1976; he examined Pepys' personally bound volume of 'Penny Merriments', now housed in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. His analysis focussed on the content of each of the books, to the extent of providing individual commentary and selected facsimiles which, given the difficulty of accessing this material and the absence of electronic images, contributed significantly to the advancement of scholarship in this field. In his introduction, he does provide a loose definition of the genre:

The Merriments contain 115 small books, later known as chapbooks. The pages usually measure only 8.5 x 14 cm – a few are even smaller – and books in the first two volumes are sixteen or twenty-four pages long, that is, printed from a single sheet. The third volume contains longer 'histories' and 'romances'. The majority of the chapbooks are printed in black-letter type on very cheap paper, and many are illustrated with crude woodcuts.²⁵

Thompson speculates as to the readership, pointing out the paucity of research, to date, in this area. He postulates that the 'most likely audience is the middle classes', since it seemed to him improbable that poor, unskilled and barely literate workers would have the time, ability or motivation to read chapbooks.²⁶ Margaret Spufford's research a few years later (see below) was to provide a more thorough examination of this topic.²⁷

In 1978, there is a brief definition offered by Deborah Valenze in her study of prophecy, namely 'a small penny pamphlet sold by pedlars and in bookstalls, usually made up

²⁴ Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A Bibliography of References*, p. 1.

²⁵ Thompson, *Samuel Pepys's Penny Merriments*, p.11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁷ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*.

from one sheet and then folded and stitched ... simple and often illustrated',²⁸ but it was not until the landmark research by Margaret Spufford that the issue of definition is thoroughly and exhaustively covered. In her seminal work, Spufford looked at much earlier periods than her predecessors, and saw the development of the chapbook trade being a continuation of the tradition of ephemeral publishing started in the sixteenth century by a group of men known as the 'Ballad partners' – printer publishers who produced, in vast quantities, the ever-popular single sheet ballads of that time. She has shown how this group began to turn to producing chapbooks in the early seventeenth century, and they themselves, in their trade catalogues, listed 'small godly books, small merry books, double books and histories'.²⁹ Spufford does not, however, offer a precise bibliographical description of a chapbook because her study is based on the Pepys collection, beautifully bound, and catalogued into three categories of 'Penny Merriments', 'Penny Godlinesses' and 'Vulgaria' around 1690. Pepys did not, of course, use the term 'chapbook', and indeed some of these items are much longer, larger and thus more expensive than the 'penny' of his title implies. Spufford has chosen to omit these from her study, and, after admitting to difficulty in differentiation, finally chooses to consider just 193 titles (out of 430) for in-depth examination.³⁰ She justifies this by comparing Pepys' titles against a detailed examination of the output of the 'chapbook publishers', who frequently advertised their wares on the final pages of their books (see Fig. 1.1). She does, in fact, frequently move beyond this sample to look at other titles which are in quarto and longer than thirty-two pages,³¹ and finally concludes that 'I have, rightly or wrongly, taken the probable selling cost of the books as the decisive criterion in whether to include them'.³²

²⁸ Deborah M. Valenze, 'Prophecy and Popular Literature in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 29 (1978): 76.

²⁹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. xix.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³¹ For example, in the chapters on readership and distribution.

³² Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 131.

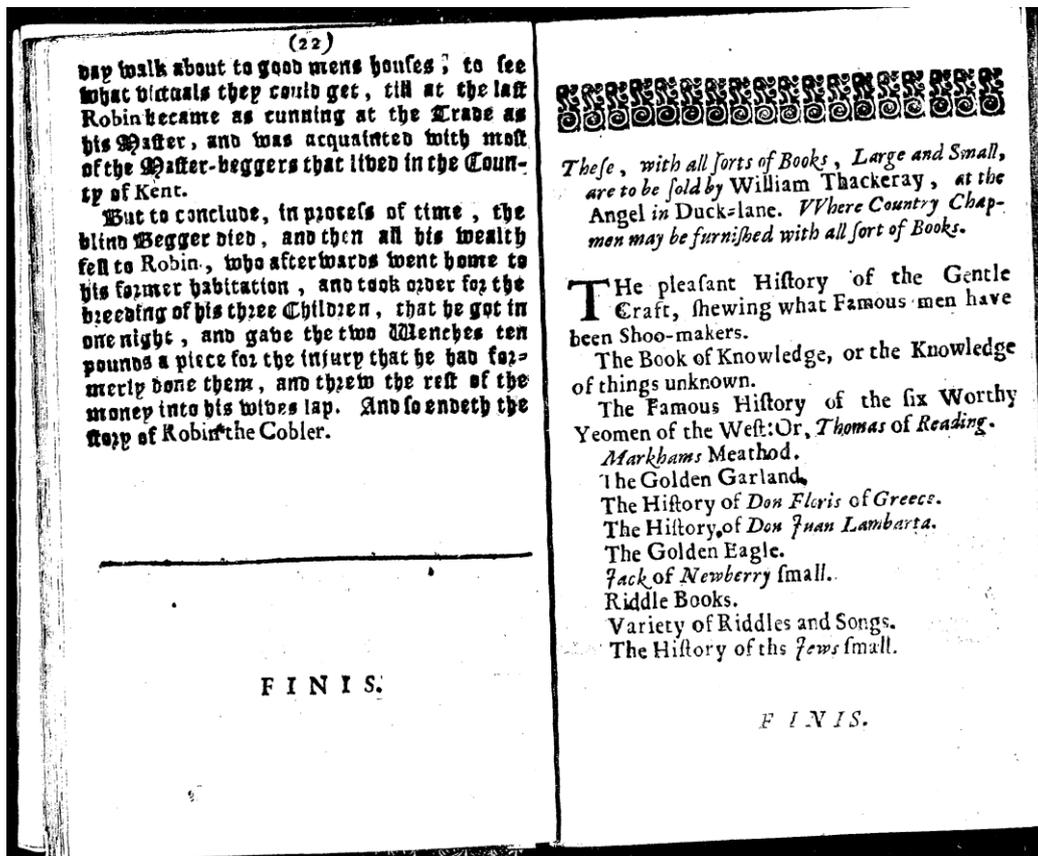


Fig. 1.1. Final page from Laurence Price *The Witch of the Woodlands* [London]: Thackeray, 1680.

Spufford's work was built on, and expanded into an earlier period, by Tessa Watt who focussed on broadside ballads, and their influence on the development of the chapbook genre.³³ Her definition of chapbooks relies mainly on content, and roughly parallel Pepys three categories mentioned above, although her main study examines only the 'godly' category. She adds that they were usually twenty-four page octavo in size, (later referred to as 'penny-sized') although quarto format was included in her remit.³⁴ Thus it is simply sufficient for Watt to consider these 'little books' as a re-working of the content found so widely in the popular, cheap print of the previous century, content which she broadly labels as 'marketplace theology'.³⁵

Another, quite different approach to the study of chapbook literature is taken by cultural historians. For example, Peter Burke's wide-ranging research touches on the chapbook tradition, defined as 'small booklets of a few pages sold all over Europe',³⁶ but his focus is on the cultural impact of popular literature. This is followed by the beginnings of an examination of reading, whilst consistently emphasising the many difficulties in establishing readership, and how assumptions can never be made about who might read the light, low-brow text of a typical chapbook, evidence being very hard to find. The publishers of chapbooks in the seventeenth century may have been aiming for the common semi-literate reader, yet members of the gentry, such as Pepys, Robert Burton and Anthony Wood,³⁷ clearly enjoyed collecting them, as did the well-born gentle lady Frances Wolfreton whose chapbooks, still bearing her hand-written name on the title-page, can be found in the British Library collections (see Fig. 1.2).³⁸

³³ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550 - 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296

³⁶ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Gower, 1988), p. 253.

³⁷ See Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, and Kiessling, Nicolas K., 'The Library of Anthony Wood 1681 to 1999', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16 (1999), 470 - 98.

³⁸ Morgan, Paul, 'Frances Wolfreton and "Hor Bouks": A Seventeenth Century Woman Book Collector', *The Library*, sixth series, XI (1989), 197 - 219.

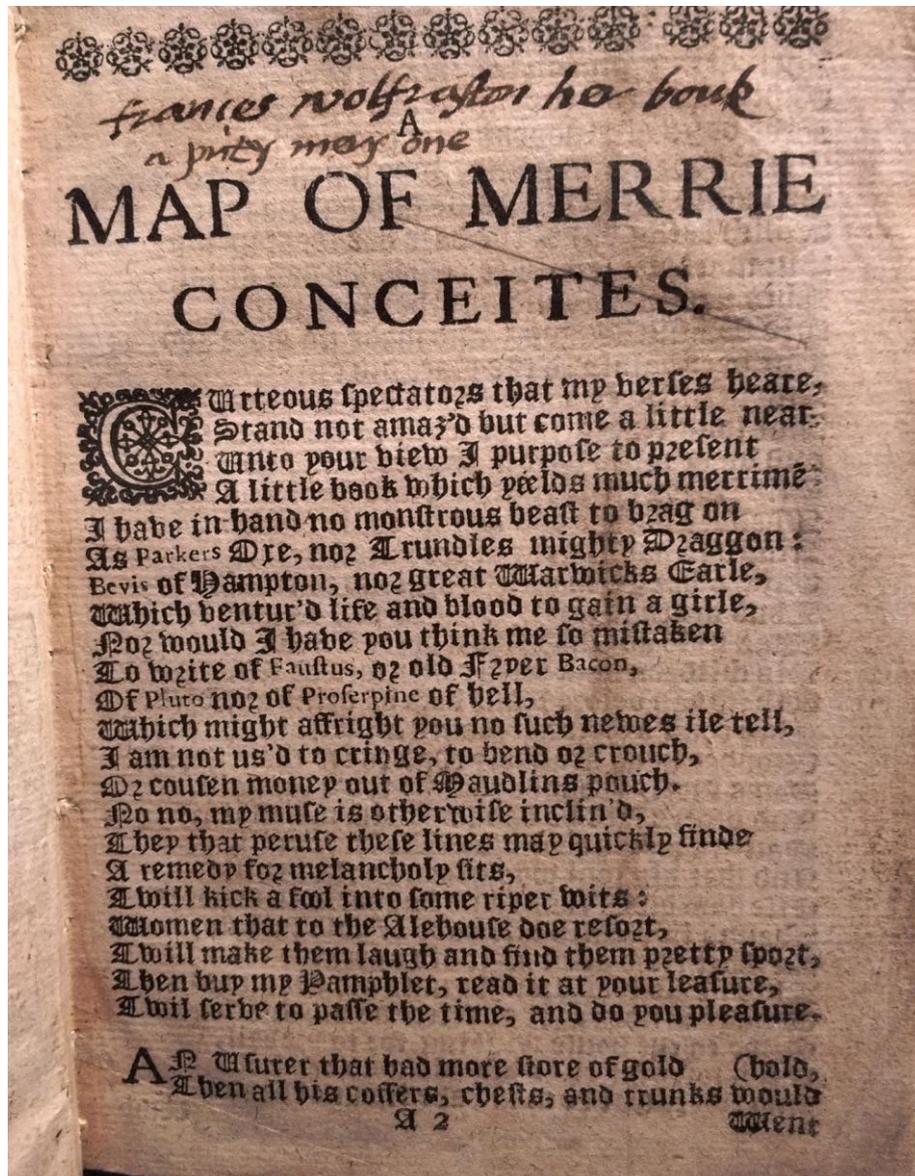


Fig 1.2. *The Map of Merrie Conceites* (1656) p.1, inscribed by Frances Wolfreston

Other cultural historians have focussed closely on the content of cheap print, trying to illuminate insights into the mental world of both peasant and gentry in the early modern period. Spufford devotes her final chapter to this, examining the non-political nature of the chapbooks in the Pepys collection.³⁹ Bernard Capp in a paper on popular literature provides a clear summary of this broad approach:

I have taken 'popular' to mean the short tracts that seem, by style and price, to have been aimed at the lowest levels of the literate ... The most important categories were ballads, chapbooks (short booklets sold by a petty chapman or pedlar), jest books and almanacs ... the apparent simplicity of the genre is deceptive, however, for works aimed primarily at the poor were not confined exclusively to them. .. By the term 'literature' I mean here any printed reading material; none of the main types listed above can be categorised rigidly – even as fiction or non-fiction – for adventure, love, religion, social comment and news were jumbled together; and the news was as likely to be fiction as fact.⁴⁰

Further evidence of book ownership in England can be found in the ongoing research of David Pearson, who has examined five book auction catalogues in the period between 1680 and 1698. Bearing in mind several caveats regarding unreliability, his list includes chapbook titles such as *The Noble Birth and Gallant Atchievements of that Remarkable Out-law Robin Hood* (1662) in the catalogue of one Stephen Charnock, a nonconformist clergyman.⁴¹ Pearson goes on to note that these catalogues often contained lists, right at the end, of lots such as 'pamphlets bound together' which usually represented a number of unstitched small items which the owner had collected and bound, as did Pepys. Among these items were possibly further chapbook titles, but Pearson notes that he has found very few survivors from his five catalogues. He adds, in a footnote, that there is a collection

³⁹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 219 – 257. This chapter bears the title 'Portraits of Society'.

⁴⁰ Bernard Capp, 'Popular Literature', in Barry Reay (eds.) *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 198.

⁴¹ Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', 156.

of stitched pamphlets in the surviving library of Thomas Plume in Essex,⁴² but the online catalogue does not enable a search for chapbooks. More recently, the readership of popular culture has been shown to have been less interesting to 'elite groups' during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,⁴³ thus stressing the importance of relating a definition to a particular era.⁴⁴ Continuing to follow the developments in defining the unique characteristics of the chapbook, David Harrison carried out unpublished research in the 1990s, looking in detail at the literary derivation of chapbook texts.⁴⁵ In order to define the parameters of his material, his long introduction states that 'the defining of the chapbook "type" is a complex business ... which must go beyond the physical construction of the book'.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he does attempt a description in these terms namely 'small books of 16 or 24 pages, octavo, stitched not bound', although points out that the price of a few pence was not a useful characteristic, since other, longer books were similarly priced. The focus of his research was 107 titles from Pepys' 'Penny Merriments' collection, analysed in terms of their contextual origins which draw strongly on the ballad and folksong traditions of the earlier centuries, and thus form a 'bibliographical resource for the study of chapbook literature'. The appendix includes a checklist of the Pepys' items but no indication of their physical size.

Ian Green, in his extensive study of popular religious publications in the seventeenth century offers the following definition: 'The typical chapbook was 24 pages long ... usually in black-letter type with an arresting title or eye-catching woodcut. It was easily portable ...

⁴² Ibid., p. 157. Thomas Plume's Library was founded in 1704 under the terms of the will of the Rev. Dr Thomas Plume, Vicar of Greenwich and Archdeacon of Rochester, who had been born in [Maldon](#) in 1630. He bequeathed to his native town his [collection of some 8,100 books and pamphlets](#), to be kept in the building which he had constructed from the ruins of the old St Peter's Church in the centre of the town. See <http://www.thomasplumeslibrary.co.uk> [accessed 29th March 2016].

⁴³ Anna Bayman, 'Printing, Learning and the Unlearned', in Joad Raymond (eds.) *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 79.

⁴⁴ Ownership and readership will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6 below.

⁴⁵ David J. Harrison, 'Ancestral Subject Catalogue of Chapbook Themes' (Roehampton Institute/University, PhD Thesis, 1996).

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

and sold at 1d or 2d'.⁴⁷ He draws on and extends Tessa Watt's work, and clearly agrees with her conclusion that the content of godly chapbooks was typically that of ballads of a century before. There are also examples of the text being a cut-down version of a much longer book, often also lacking a preface in order to conserve space. When these abridged versions are examined in more detail, however, they are sometimes found to be plagiarised by other authors in order to make them more marketable.⁴⁸ Green's approach follows the path taken by English literature scholars studying print culture, who tend to examine chapbooks through textual analysis of the content. One example of this is Pat Rogers' chapter examining the various abridgements and adaptations of seventeenth century classics by John Bunyan and Daniel Defoe, some of which fall under his definition of 'short simplified texts, crudely produced at a very low price'.⁴⁹ Deborah Valenze also carries out a detailed analysis of chapbooks containing prophecies by tracing some of the origins of the text, and demonstrating, as does Green, the changes made by chapbook editors to widen the appeal, although much of her research focusses on the later eighteenth century.⁵⁰

A thorough and more recent examination of what and what not to include under the term 'chapbook' has been undertaken by Lori Humphrey Newcomb, who devotes considerable time to the matter.⁵¹ She primarily considers the pre-1660 period, concluding that it was easier to define the genre in that era, but that few examples have survived. She examines many of the previous attempts at definition, finally concluding that certain recurring bibliographical features should be present, namely 'small bold print, woodcut

⁴⁷ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 472.

⁴⁸ One example is William Perkin's 'Death's knell' which had already reached its 10th edition by 1664. The author was a popular sixteenth century theologian who, in Green's estimation, probably never wrote this chapbook.

⁴⁹ Pat Rogers, 'Classics and Chapbooks', in Isabel Rivers (eds.) *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth Century England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), p. 31

⁵⁰ Valenze, 'Prophecy and Popular Literature'

⁵¹ Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'Chapbooks', in Joad Raymond (eds.) *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 471-490.

illustrations, tough paper,... portable, cheap and rewarding to a diverse readership'.⁵² She goes on to demonstrate that, by the eighteenth century, the genre had developed and changed in varying directions, thus making it harder to create boundaries of content and form. She also discusses the difficulties of differentiation from political and topical pamphlets which were prolific at times of unrest, such as the Civil War period. Some degree of some overlap between these two genres is inevitable.

Finally, it is possible to see the early chapbook as representing the beginnings of literature designed for children. Matthew Grenby's study describes four 'key strands' to identify a chapbook, namely that it is small in size, cheap, distributed by itinerants and has content carrying 'plebeian associations'.⁵³ He re-iterates the research that shows a wide readership in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including but not confined to children. Although not overtly stated, Grenby is only considering a sub-category of titles that are included in the chapbook genre, namely the 'Penny Merriments' typified by Pepys' collection. The transition to books specifically aimed at the children's market began in the 1740s with the texts produced by Newbury 'showing an overlap between chapbook and what would emerge as the new children's literature',⁵⁴ although one did not replace the other until after 1800. This view is re-inforced by Jan Fergus, who states that chapbooks were 'cheap little books originally sold by chapmen ... traditionally aimed at adult readers who were less affluent and less literate than other purchasers of print'.⁵⁵ She goes on to argue that pre-1740 chapbooks were read by adults and children alike.

This absence of consensus regarding the definition of a chapbook is clearly shown in a report from a 2014 study day on chapbooks attended by twenty-five academics and

⁵² Ibid., p. 471.

⁵³ M. O. Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library*, 8 3 (2007), p. 278.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 296

⁵⁵ Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* p. 161

librarians.⁵⁶ As well as delivering short papers, the intention of this gathering was to draw up an action plan to take forward the work of the Chapbooks Working Group under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society who set up a steering group in 2005, the primary purpose of which was to 'identify action and sources of funding needed to support and progress chapbooks scholarship'.⁵⁷ One of the key recommendations within the action plan was to devise a definition of 'chapbook', at the same time acknowledging the past difficulties. Although some of those present argued that a definition was not necessary, and unlikely to receive universal endorsement, there was a strong counter-argument that, if a bibliography of chapbooks was also to be one of the objectives, then, on purely practical grounds, some prescriptive statement was essential, in order for librarians and others to be able to list relevant titles. Even in the British Library catalogue, it is rare to see the word 'chapbook' assigned as a key subject term. It has been assigned to a mere 138 titles in English, with little sense as to what criteria have been used by the cataloguer, although the National Art Library collection of eighteenth and nineteenth century chapbooks has been catalogued with more systematic precision.⁵⁸ There was agreement, at the conclusion of the study day, that any definition should be as inclusive as possible, perhaps listing a set of characteristics which need to be present.

For the purposes of this study, some sort of working definition is needed, in order to create boundaries of what should, or should not, be included. Bearing in mind that the parameters of this piece of research are 1650 to 1730, the present working definition is any publication which is of small size (17 x 14 cm or less) formed from a single sheet, or sheet and a half stitched together, has 32 or less pages, usually contains at least one woodcut

⁵⁶ Hinks, 'Report on Chapbooks Workshop'[Accessed 6 February 2014]

⁵⁷ There was also a study Day in 2005, which raised many of the issues followed up by the 2014 event. See Carlo Dumontet, 'Report of a Chapbooks Study Day Held on 24 October 2005 at the Victoria & Albert Museum', *Library*, 7 1 (2006), 105-106.

⁵⁸ There are around 800 English chapbooks using that subject term. See <http://catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk/> [accessed 14th September 2015]

illustration or ornament, is cheap (6d or less) and in which the content is entertaining, informative or admonitory, reaching a wide, unspecified audience.

Looking at the criteria from previous scholars cited above, there are several that have been rejected for this study. Firstly, looking in detail at the quality and nature of the printing, paper or binding is not feasible because most chapbooks are only available to view electronically, so quality of paper is virtually impossible to ascertain.⁵⁹ Regarding the issue of binding, although it may well be the case that most, if not all, chapbooks were unstitched and paper bound, this is extremely hard to verify, especially as many of the extant copies have been collected and bound into volumes by their owners. The black-letter characteristic is by no means universal in the examples examined.⁶⁰ Secondly, the description of content as, exclusively, simplified versions of longer texts is too narrow; although a number of titles do conform to this criterion, for example Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, there are many chapbooks with original material i.e. not appearing in any other form in a longer version.⁶¹ Thirdly, 'books sold by itinerants', usually defined as chapmen, hawkers or pedlars, has been a commonly used criterion, but this has also been rejected because, as will be demonstrated, small books were often sold by grocers, mercers, booksellers and other shopkeepers who were sometimes still called chapmen in their wills and inventories. For example, Thomas Lewis of Carmarthen was described by his appraisers as a 'petty chapman', yet his inventory, drawn up in 1664, contained a long list of goods under the heading 'in the shop'.⁶² Furthermore, Pepys almost certainly obtained most of his chapbook collection from his favourite booksellers, so often visited.⁶³ Conversely, there is evidence that these travelling

⁵⁹ There is a deliberate policy in many academic libraries to encourage readers to use surrogates.

⁶⁰ For example, see *The famous history of Valentine and Orson* (1683) which is entirely in Roman typeface.

⁶¹ For example the many versions of the tales of Robin Hood and also the prophecies of Mother Shipton.

⁶² NLW SD 1664-25. Thomas Lewis of Carmarthen. Further similar examples can be found in Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England*, pp. 58-67.

⁶³ An entry from 1660 reads 'Hence home, and took home with me from the bookseller's Ogilby's AEsop, which he had bound for me, and indeed I am very much pleased with the book.' See Samuel Pepys, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by Henry B. Wheatley (London: George Bell, 2003), p.292.

salesmen sometimes sold other reading material; a much-cited example of this can be found in the writings of Richard Baxter,⁶⁴ who related, in 1630, that 'a poor pedlar came to the door that had ballads and some good books; and my father bought of him Dr. Sibb's *Bruised reed*'.⁶⁵ There are several extant editions of this work, all of which are in duodecimo, but at least 400 pages long; there is no knowing how the pedlar transported such a heavy item. There is also evidence that the ever-popular almanacks, invariably longer than twenty-four pages, could be purchased in likewise manner.⁶⁶

The fourth of the historic criteria mentioned above that has been rejected as part of this current definition, and perhaps the most persistent and controversial, is that of intended audience, which the 2014 workshop report proposed as the 'unsophisticated consumer'.⁶⁷ Spufford cites numerous examples of the diverse audiences catered for including yeomen, gentry, men in alehouses, women in the home, schoolchildren, rural labourers, courting couples and apprentices.⁶⁸ This changed in the mid-eighteenth century, but for the period being studied here the market for chapbooks was any member of the public who could read, or even an illiterate person attracted by the pictures and able to find someone to read aloud the text.

A fifth criterion, that chapbooks were a transitional genre which later developed into children's literature, is too narrow to be usefully employed in an overall survey. Whilst some of the children's tales, with which many generations of children are familiar down to present time,⁶⁹ appeared first as chapbooks, they were, as already mentioned, bought and read by adults. All the children's titles published before 1740 are either schoolbooks or those

⁶⁴ Richard Baxter (1615-1691) was an English Puritan church leader, theologian and prolific author.

⁶⁵ Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of His Life and Times Faithfully Publish'd from His Own Original Manuscript by Matthew Sylvester* (London: T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, F. Lawrence and F. Dunton 1696), pp. 2-3.

⁶⁶ Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500 - 1800* (London: Faber, 1978), pp. 59-60.

⁶⁷ Hinks, 'Report on Chapbooks Workshop', p. 9.

⁶⁸ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* pp. 45 – 82. Also p. 4 above

⁶⁹ Charles Welsh, 'The Children's Books That Have Lived', *Library*, 1 (1899), p. 316.

containing some form of religious or moralistic instruction. Some of these certainly qualify as chapbooks by other criteria, but were unlikely to have become the sort of texts actually aimed at a children's market, rather than that of their teachers or parents.⁷⁰

The single criterion used by all scholars cited above is that of "small size", in terms of both page length of text and dimensions of the physical item. The former is perhaps the least controversial. Most of the items examined for this study, and that others have recorded and reported as 'chapbooks', are thirty-two pages or less, so this fits well with the current definition, provided it is not used as the sole characteristic. The question of dimensions is somewhat more complex, especially since it is very rarely recorded, thus it becomes hard to include or exclude titles on this basis. A statement of format, commonly given in catalogues, in the case of chapbooks, as quarto, octavo or duodecimo, is merely a record of how a single sheet of paper is folded. The actual size of the folded item is, therefore, dependent on the size of the original single sheet placed on the forme of the press. Philip Gaskell's standard work on paper sizes lists seven different dimensions for the original sheet of a sixteen page octavo volume that was commonly used between 1674 and 1713.⁷¹ Added to that is the possibility that half-sheets were used, thus enabling the pressman to use two formes in one pressing to make either twenty-four pages (from a sheet and a half) or thirty-two pages (from two sheets). A further variation was the duodecimo volume in which twenty-four pages were produced from one sheet, but the pages were smaller. The overall limiting factor was the size of the press stone itself, although there was flexibility within this through the use of wedges and blocks.

The inclusion of a specific size in the definition at the beginning of this section is only a guideline. Of the scholars already cited, only Gerring, Weiss and Thompson actually give a dimension. Thompson's dimension (8.5 by 14 centimetres) is based solely on Pepys'

⁷⁰A good example of this, which ran to 12 editions, was Robert Russel, *A Little Book for Children, and Youth* (London: J. Blare, c. 1693).

⁷¹Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 73- 75.

'Penny Merriments', although this is not repeated by Spufford in her examination of the same collection. The phrase "small books" is often used, as it was in advertisements of the time,⁷² but such a description is open to wide interpretation. On examination of the actual size of twelve chapbooks (see Table 1.1) the variation seen is indicative of the difficulties of prescribing actual size, but does, at least, provide a maximum beyond which a volume will not be eligible.

Finally, looking at the criterion of pricing, a number of scholars, including Pepys himself, have used the term "penny" to define the books by a fixed cost. Whilst a useful phrase, there are numerous examples of chapbooks at *2d*, *3d* and *4d*, so a *1d* selection of titles would give a false picture. Although cataloguing details, such as found in the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC),⁷³ do not give prices, there is a rich source of information in trade-lists or advertisements often found in the final leaves of a book.⁷⁴ For example, a 1680 edition of the popular title *Guy Earl of Warwick* contains a short list on the final page, drawn up by the publisher, of books 'sold for *3d* a piece' (see Fig 1.3). Surprisingly few extant chapbooks have the price in the book itself.

Having established a working definition to be used to identify a chapbook for this study, other categories of cheap print are also included, mainly on the grounds that they, as will be shown, were produced in a similar way for the same audience, and probably sold by the same chapmen and other tradesmen. For example, almanacks which, as mentioned above, were distributed by extensive networks of chapmen as well as booksellers were usually sold at between *2d* and *4d* in this period, although it was possible to buy more expensive ones.⁷⁵ At this cheaper end of the almanack market, the content was likely to appeal to an even wider

⁷² See William Thackeray's trade-list of 1689, transcribed in the appendix of Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 262 – 267.

⁷³ Available online at <http://estc.bl.uk>.

⁷⁴ Peter Lindenbaum, 'Publishers' Booklists in Late Seventeenth-Century London', *Library*, 11 4, (2010), 382 – 404.

⁷⁵ Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500 – 1800*, p. 41.

Author	Title	Publisher	Date	Height cm.	Width cm.	Form-at	Pages
Anon	Famous history of Valentine & Orson	M. W.	1683	13	11	8	24
Hart, William	A Godly sermon of Peter's repentance.	Thackeray	1682	13	8	8	24
Leigh, Dorothy	The mothers blessing	Clarke	1675	13.2	8.4	8	24
Anon	Guide from cradle to grave	Midwinter	1731	13.2	7.8	12	16
Parker, Martin	True tale of Robin Hood	Thackeray	1686	13.5	8.5	12	21
Anon	Sheffery Morgan	Deacon	1700	15	n/a	8	24
Anon	Beginning progress and end of man	Raikes	17 ...	16	16	1	1
Shaw, William	A sermon preached at Reading ...	Raikes & Dicey	1723	16.5	10.5	8	20
Swynfen, Robert	Balaam's folly and intended disobedience ...	Raikes & Dicey	1723	16.5	9.5	8	24
Price, Lawrence	Bevis of Southampton	Deacon	1691	17	13.5	4	24
Anon	Adam Bell	Thackeray	1667	17.5	13.5	4	24
Blanch, John	The history of Great Britain from the tower of Babel	Raikes & Dicey	1722	17.5	14.5	4	24
Anon	Lives of six notorious murderers ...	Raikes	1726	17.5	11		24
Johnson, Richard	Seven champions of Christendom	Norris	1700	17.5	14.5	4	24

Table 1.1. A sample of chapbook sizes, ordered by height

words, he laid his fainting head on Phillis trembling breast, and dyed; when she saw his last Exit, she tore her Rich attire, and her lovely Hair, and beat her fair breasts like one distracted, and being conveyed home by her Servants, with the Body of her Lord; she refused any thing that might sustain life, and soon after dyed. The noise of Guys Death spreading abroad, the King and Queen came to Warwick, to see them Nobly Interred, much lamenting the loss of so good a Subject, and his Virtuous Lady: They caused the Castle to be hung in Mourning, and truly all England Mourned for the loss of their Champion, who, with his Lady, was buried with all the Solemnity that could be performed, on such an Occasion, and a Famous Monument Erected over them, by the most Curious Artists and Workmen as could be found, and the Trophies of his Victories was ordered to be kept in Warwick Castle, where some Remains of them are to be seen to this day.

These Books following, are lately Printed for, and sold by Charles Bates, at the Sun and Bible in Dye-Corner, and sold for 3d. a piece. Where any Person may be Furnished with all sorts of Historys, large or small.

THE Famous History of Valentine and Olyon, Sons to the Emperor of Constantinople, with the manner of Valentines Encountering his Brother Olyon, a Wild Man in the Wood, and taking him, and many other pleasant Adventures in Love and Arms.

The Famous History of Hercules of Greece, with the manner of his Encountering and Overcoming Serpents, Lyons, Monsters, Giants, Tyrants, and powerful Armies, his taking Cities, Towns, Kings, and Kingdoms, with many other Rare Adventures, also the manner of his Unfortunate Death.

The Famous History of the Three Destructions of Troy.

F I N I S.

Fig. 1.3. Final page from *Guy Earl of Warwick* (1680), with a short advertisement for books at 3d.

variety of consumers than chapbooks. Although invariably more than thirty-two pages, they will be included in this study. Likewise, primers or ABC's, often including the catechism, were distributed in many different ways during the establishment of Church Trust schools, and later SPCK schools, in south Wales,⁷⁶ and it is possible that the same networks were utilised for other material, such as chapbooks, thus justifying their inclusion.

Ballads are another major category of material which have been considered for inclusion in this study, and have already been mentioned several times earlier in this chapter. The Bodleian Libraries in Oxford have worked together for some years to produce the 'Broadside Ballads online' from their own stock of around 30,000 songs.⁷⁷ The searchable fields include the usual bibliographic data, together with tune and roud number,⁷⁸ as well as downloadable images of each item. On their web page, the following definition is used:

Broadside ballads, printed cheaply on one side of a sheet of paper from the earliest days of printing, contain song-lyrics, tunes and woodcut illustrations and bear news, prophecies, histories, moral advice, religious warnings, political arguments, satire, comedy and bawdy tales. Sold in large numbers on street-corners, in town-squares and at fairs by travelling ballad-singers and pinned on the walls of alehouses and other public places, they were sung, read and viewed with pleasure by a wide audience.

A second database, the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA), is searchable from the Bodleian index, but remains a discrete entity. Its entries, which number over 7,000 to date,⁷⁹ derive from a project at the University of California and its remit centres on an in-depth indexing of seventeenth century titles drawn from a number of different collections both in Britain and America. The data includes full images, recordings and transcription of the ballad text, often in black-letter font. Although no straightforward definition is offered on this website, there are a number of useful essays, one of which states:

⁷⁶ Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', and Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*

⁷⁷ <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 18 February 2020].

⁷⁸ An established folk song index

⁷⁹ <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu> [accessed 18 February 2020].

Broadside ballads are ballads that were printed on one side of a sheet of paper, sung and sold in the streets of London, or carried to towns throughout England by traveling salespeople called 'chapmen'. Though many of these ballads do address traditional topics ..., they also speak about current events, religious issues, wonders and 'monstrous' happenings (such as the birth of deformed children), and other timely topics.⁸⁰

In addition to these databases, and perhaps encouraged by them, are a wide range of scholarly articles and books on the topic of ballads published over a long period up to the present. There are examples of older studies in which these publications are considered together with chapbooks, as if they are the same genre,⁸¹ but more recent scholarship recognises the differences and affords them separate treatment. The broadside ballads in particular, with their format being always on a single sheet, are clearly different from chapbooks, and will not be included in this study. There are, however, many examples of ballads, or songs, which appear in small books, so attention will be paid to this physical form which has been largely neglected by scholars. How to define a ballad in this book format is also contentious, thus worthy of brief review. Cyprian Blagden's work, for example, only considers broadside ballads and, within that genre, focusses on traditional tales of romance and adventure.⁸² The ESTC includes all books of songs, whether called ballads, garlands or poems, but does not include more than a few broadsides. Similarly, Eiluned Rees in her exhaustive bibliography of Welsh material specifically excludes ballads which she defines as 'poems for which tunes are provided'.⁸³ Both Tessa Watt and Margaret Spufford have tended to focus only on the broadside, although they both point out the similarity of content between

⁸⁰ Eric Nebeker, 'The Heyday of the Broadside Ballad'(2007) <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/heyday-of-the-broadside-ballad>> [Accessed 4th May 2016].

⁸¹ For example Weiss, *A Book About Chapbooks*.

⁸² Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), p. 163.

⁸³ Rees, *Libri Walliae: A Catalogue of Welsh Books and Books Printed in Wales 1546 - 1820*.

ballads and chapbooks citing many cases of folk tales appearing in both genres.⁸⁴ A conference about ballads that took place in Swansea in 1996 took a very much broader view. The preface to the printed proceedings stated that the 'modern study of culture begins with the study of ballads', and goes on to mention songbooks and garlands as an inclusive part of that study, providing it is regarded as a 'narrative song' as opposed to a song which expresses emotions.⁸⁵ Collections of songs were again specifically excluded from the ballad research of Angela McShane-Jones,⁸⁶ although she examines political ballads as a neglected category. Subsequent scholars have readily admitted that there is an implicit understanding that the word 'ballad' means 'broadside ballad',⁸⁷ whilst others state that there is no acceptable definition, and that 'many things are called ballads'.⁸⁸ As far as Welsh ballads are concerned, and this is the focus for this study, they are usually to be found, in the early decades of the eighteenth century, to be printed in a distinctive form of an eight-page ballad pamphlet in the Welsh language.⁸⁹ Within those pages were two or three ballad verses, often undated but generally with the printers name. They were thus distinctive, easily recognisable and often had the word 'ballad' or 'poems' as part of the title.⁹⁰ Although music rarely accompanied these verses, or was even indicative, it was understood that the appropriate tunes were already known.⁹¹ A few examples did include woodcuts. English language ballads, however, were notably absent except from the press of Robert Raikes, in Gloucester. He not only produced a

⁸⁴ Robin Hood was a particular favourite. See Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 96 and Guy of Warwick stories were widespread in both forms. See Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550 - 1640*, p. 257.

⁸⁵ Tom Cheesman and Sigrid Rieuwerts (eds.), *Ballads into Books : The Legacies of Francis James Child Selected Papers from the 26th International Ballad Conference* (Bern: Bern : Peter Lang, 1997).

⁸⁶ Angela McShane Jones, 'Rime and Reason' – the Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640 – 1689' (University of Warwick, PhD Thesis, 2004).

⁸⁷ Paula McDowell, "'The Manufacture and Lingua-Facture of Ballad-Making ": Broadside Ballads in Long Eighteenth-Century Ballad Discourse', *The Eighteenth Century*, 47 2 (2006), p. 152.

⁸⁸ Mary Ellen Brown, 'Placed, Replaced, or Misplaced?: The Ballads' Progress', *The Eighteenth Century*, 47 2, (2006), p. 120.

⁸⁹ Tegwyn Jones, 'Welsh Ballads', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.) *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), p. 245.

⁹⁰ The collection of some 4,000 digitised Welsh ballads can be seen on the website of the NLW <https://www.library.wales/discover/nlw-resources/ballads> [accessed 22 March 2019].

⁹¹ John Humphreys Davies, *A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads Printed in the 18th Century* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1911), p. xix.

collection of songs but also a rare flap-book. This was printed on a single large sheet, folded to form an item similar in appearance to a chapbook.⁹² The production and distribution of this unusual ballad will be analysed in Chapter five.

This study will also include some analysis of the production and dissemination of early provincial newspapers (up to 1730), since, not only do they fall under the heading of 'cheap print', but there is evidence that their publishers used distribution channels which were also used for chapbooks. There were no Welsh newspapers at this time, but it is important to ascertain the circulation and influence of those produced just over the border in England. For example Robert Raikes, publisher of the *Gloucester Journal* from 1722, also published a number of chapbooks which he distributed through his network of newsmen.⁹³ Several newspapers were produced in Bristol, the earliest, the *Bristol Post-Boy*, being from the press of William Bonny in 1702.⁹⁴

Perhaps the most controversial category to deal with in deciding what to include in an analysis of seventeenth century cheap print is that of the pamphlet. This term was, and is, used freely and vaguely in many books and articles, and the dictionary definition as 'a short printed work of several pages fastened together without a hard cover; a booklet; a leaflet',⁹⁵ does little to help, although the secondary qualification of 'a work of a polemical or political nature issued in this form' is close to its most common usage in scholarly research on this subject. Joad Raymond devotes many pages to defining the genre, in terms of both its physical form and its content. For the former, he summarises that 'a pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets or between eight and ninety-

⁹² Anon, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. (Gloucester: Robert Raikes, c.1725). Earlier editions appeared in 1650, 1654, 1671, 1689.

⁹³ A list of distributors can be found in the *Gloucester Journal* 1 October 1722 p.6.

⁹⁴ This is a speculative date. The earliest extant issue is no. 91 dated 1704. See Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 383.

⁹⁵ Simpson and Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary* [Accessed online at <http://www.oed.com> 23 March 2019].

six pages in quarto',⁹⁶ and for the latter he broadly concurs with the dictionary definition above, although adding that 'pamphlets were closely associated with slander or scurrility', and that they became, by the end of the seventeenth century, 'part of the everyday practice of politics and influencing public opinion'.⁹⁷ There does seem to be some evidence that chapmen and pedlars did distribute this material. Indeed, Jason Peacey's study analysed the huge output of Civil War pamphlets and makes a strong case for this.⁹⁸ On the other hand Kate Peters concludes that Quaker pamphlets were distributed via their own network.⁹⁹ Most pamphlets, although often of twenty-four pages, do not contain woodcut ornaments, so they could be excluded from the chapbook genre on those grounds alone. Furthermore, the content is usually political, controversial and sometimes seditious, which thus fails to fit the definition drawn up for this study. The use of satire and parody was a very popular device, often anonymously authored and published as a biting invective against government policy. The finest, and perhaps best known collection of such publications from the seventeenth century is the Thomason tracts held by the British Library. These comprise some 22,000 items diligently collected by the London bookseller George Thomason between 1640 and 1660, and although they largely comprise items published during the civil war period, which accord with the definition above, they also include a few titles which fall into the chapbook category.¹⁰⁰ The use of humour brings some of these pamphlets within the scope of this study, although they invariably lack illustration. As with the distribution of newspapers and

⁹⁶ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁸ Jason Peacey, 'Wandering with Pamphlets': The Infrastructure of News Circulation in Civil War England', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroan Salman (eds.) *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500 - 1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁹⁹ Kate Peters, 'The Dissemination of Quaker Pamphlets in the 1650s', in Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, and Jeroan Salman (eds.) *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500 - 1820* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 213-228.

¹⁰⁰ The sub-title is cited here in full, as it illustrates well the intended audience: L.P. [Laurence Price], *A new dialogue between Dick of Kent, and Wat the Welch-man. Filled up with many pretty conceits, written and printed on purpose to make folks merry in time of sadnesse. / By Laurence Price. This new conceited book will move delights, and serve to passe away some dolesome dayes, also the tedious melancholy nights, for in the same is many a pretty phrase. No harm at all is in't but mirth and joy, then buy it first, then bear't with you away.* (London: John Andrews, 1654).

primers, there are certainly instances when the selling methods of pamphlet publishers will be relevant, especially regarding the legislation to curb this trade, and subsequent prosecutions of itinerant traders.¹⁰¹

As has been explained above, there is no comprehensive bibliography of chapbooks in this period, and a very limited use of 'chapbook' as a subject entry in catalogues. The most comprehensive and bibliographically detailed catalogue of early books is the ESTC, which covers material published between 1473 and 1800, mainly in Britain and North America, and in English.¹⁰² It is a union catalogue, building on several early twentieth century printed catalogues, and covers material from approximately 2,000 libraries. As explained on the website, it remains a work in progress, since new material is continuously discovered, and new libraries continue to be included. Most of the material on the ESTC is also available in full-text on Early English Books Online (EEBO),¹⁰³ and Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO),¹⁰⁴ and these prove invaluable to the scholar of early printed material. Not only do they have powerful and well-designed searching functionality, but the availability of full-text images of most items has transformed the study of material previously only available in libraries around the world, involving great cost and time to consult.

Bearing in mind the definition of chapbooks stated above, the most helpful source from which to identify chapbooks is a combination of these catalogues. Looking at one example, *Bevis of Southampton*, it can be seen from EEBO that there are five editions between 1689 and 1700 but the cataloguing details give only page numbers, not the actual size of book. The ESTC, for the same title, also gives five editions but adds that they are all 4^o, which, while not necessarily excluding them from this study, does give a indication of

¹⁰¹ Maureen Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues and Vagabonds', in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds.) *The Mighty Engine: The Printing Press and its Impact* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 2000), p. 92.

¹⁰² See <http://estc.bl.uk> [accessed 20 February 2020]. A small number of Welsh language titles are also included.

¹⁰³ Available via subscription at <https://search.proquest.com/eebo> [Accessed 20 February 2020].

¹⁰⁴ Available via subscription at <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online> [accessed 20 February 2020].

size. On the other hand, some of the images provided for selected titles on EEBO provide a ruler alongside the title page.¹⁰⁵ Occasionally, other sources provide specific dimensions for a specific title, but it is clear that this is not generally regarded as a critically important piece of information.¹⁰⁶

How to identify titles, even given the tight definition proposed above, is challenging. During the Study Day at the Bibliographical Society in 2014,¹⁰⁷ one of the key recommendations was to request ESTC 'to add a new genre category of chapbook' which provoked the comment from Mike Heaney, of the Bodleian Library, that 'a definition would be required for ESTC to accept this'. There was then agreement amongst the attendees that this recommendation be downgraded to be placed on a 'wish-list of longer-term aims'. In comparison, compiling a database of broadside ballads has already been achieved, thus demonstrating that identification can be readily made for that genre.¹⁰⁸

Book historians have struggled with definitions of the chapbook since Ashton first examined the genre in 1882, and there is still no clear outcome. Many of these attempts have not set their definition within a specific era, thus failing to acknowledge that the genre has significantly changed over time. It seems that only Spufford, in her exceptionally meticulous and analytical work on chapbooks in 1981,¹⁰⁹ has attempted identification of a selection of titles in a systematic way, but, even then, she was only considering a relatively small collection. Yet if a close analysis of chapbook distribution and readership in south Wales and the borders is to be made, the first step must be a clarity regarding the book titles to be considered under that term. This chapter has adopted a working definition to be used for this

¹⁰⁵ Mainly those from the Bodleian Library and certain American Libraries.

¹⁰⁶ For example, an exhibition catalogue: Brian Alderson and Felix de Marez Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: The Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650 - 1850* (London: British Library, 2006).

¹⁰⁷ Hinks, 'Report on Chapbooks Workshop' p.9.

¹⁰⁸ See p.47 above.

¹⁰⁹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*.

study, but before examination of these little books can be carried out, the cultural context in which they existed must be considered.

CHAPTER TWO

Literacy, education and religion in south Wales 1660 to 1730

In order to consider the demand for chapbooks, including their popularity in oral transmission, it is important to consider levels of literacy in south Wales at this time. This is a complex area, with limited evidence, and one in which religious developments play a crucial role, especially in the evangelising fervour, centred on understanding the Bible. Teaching Christian principles through the foundation of charity schools for young children became a key strategy adopted by evangelisers, especially in Wales which was seen as particularly fertile ground. With regard to the establishment of primary schools, previous scholars of this period are in no doubt that this took place 'within an ecclesiastical framework',¹ so can only be properly understood alongside the many religious upheavals of the Commonwealth and Restoration. In the Welsh context, due consideration will also be given to the language of teaching, and whether that language was the vernacular of the pupil.

Geraint H. Jenkins provides a vivid picture of this perception in the early years of the seventeenth century:

It [Wales] was seen as one of the dark corners of the land, a heathenish country riddled with the remnants of popery and paganism, and shot through with ignorance and profanity. The scandalous lack of preaching and the paucity of education facilities meant that there were many hungry sheep unfed by the Word. In rural areas ... a large proportion of society was still ignorant of basic Christian dogmas.²

Parliamentary attention, under pressure from puritanical influences, did eventually focus on Wales. In 1641, the government first proposed that public money should be directed towards education via a bill to abolish the Episcopacy, the revenues then raised to be 'employed to the

¹ E. T. Davies, Glanmor Williams, and Gomer Roberts, 'Religion and Education in Glamorgan 1660 - 1775', in Glanmor Williams (ed.) *Glamorgan County History. Vol. 4. Early Modern Glamorgan: From the Act of Union to the Early Industrial Revolution*. (Cardiff: Glamorgan County History Trust, 1974), p. 449.

² Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 43.

Advancement of Learning and Piety'.³ Following the outbreak of civil war in 1642, there was a growing movement within Parliament to 'see Wales as an ideal field for missionary experience',⁴ and a Committee was set up to question witnesses regarding scandalous clergymen, and to eject those so proven, and replace them with those considered more Godly and better educated. Between 1644 and 1649, 35 ministers were so replaced in Glamorgan, and 18 in Monmouthshire.⁵ Finally, in 1649, the Commonwealth Government were able to pass the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales (see Fig. 2.1),⁶ which named the appointment of 43 Commissioners for Wales, who were tasked to carry on this work of approving ministerial conduct. The key objectives of the Act were two-fold, namely to stimulate religious fervour in Wales and to establish schools in which 'children could be educated in a puritan atmosphere from an early age'.⁷

A sum of £20,000 (from the sequestered revenues of the established church) was allocated for the founding of sixty free schools, an undertaking which was conscientiously implemented between 1650 and 1653 in villages and towns throughout south Wales.⁸ At the same time, a further 196 ministers were ejected from their parishes, and were often replaced by itinerants and lay preachers who engaged in zealous preaching, whilst in the schools themselves the masters were directed to teach reading, writing and arithmetic as well as 'a

³ 'House of Commons Journal, Vol. 2: 15 June 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), p. 176. See *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/p176> [accessed 29 January 2017].

⁴ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶ England and Wales, *An Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Vvales, and Redress of Some Grievances. Die Veneris, 22. Februarii, 1649*. (London: Francis Tyton, for the use of the Commissioners of Wales, 1650).

⁷ Anthony M. Johnson, 'Politics and Religion in Glamorgan During the Interregnum 1649 - 1660', in Glanmor Williams (eds.) *Glamorgan County History. Vol.4, Early Modern Glamorgan : From the Act of Union to the Industrial Revolution*. (Cardiff: Glamorgan County History Trust, 1974), p. 284.

⁸ Thomas Richards, in his meticulously researched work, has produced tables with the location of each school, the name of the schoolmaster and his salary. See Thomas Richards, *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales* (London: National Eisteddfod Association, 1920), pp. 228 – 230.

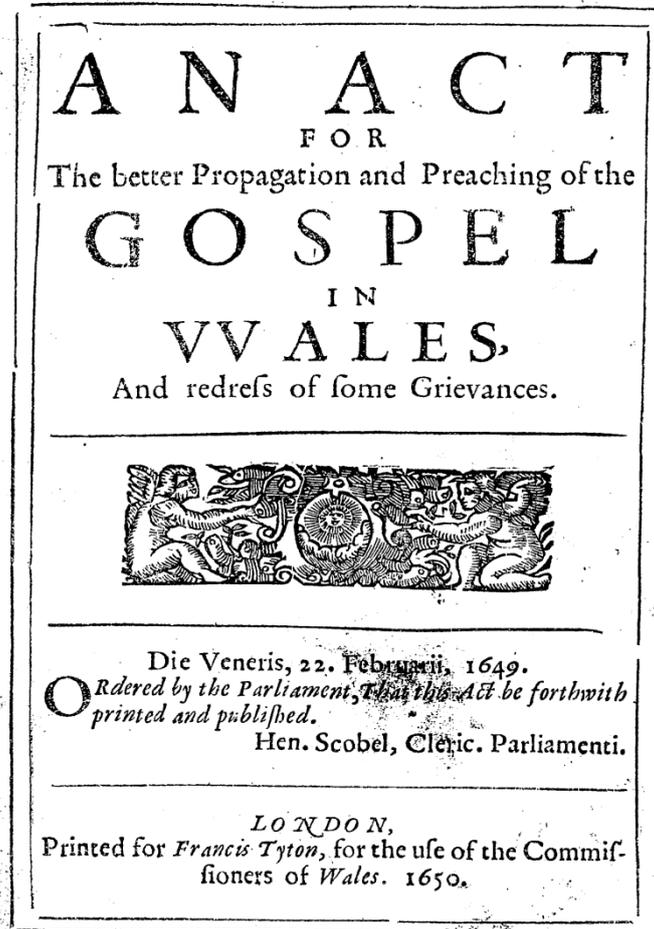


Fig. 2.1. *An Act for the Better Propagation and preaching of the Gospel in Wales.*
London, 22nd February 1649. Printed for Francis Tyton for the use of the
Commissioners of Wales, 1650

high standard of moral probity'.⁹ Thomas Richards concludes that it is impossible to know, from the surviving evidence, whether the vernacular was used in the classroom although Ebenezer Davies, in his study of Monmouthshire schools, asserts that the teaching was through English despite the fact that the county was 'predominantly Welsh in speech'.¹⁰ One surviving publication, a catechism especially written by Jeremy Taylor for use in south Wales in 1652, seems to indicate that English was used, and that the evangelistic mission was a serious one (see Fig. 2.2).

In 1653, the Commission was not renewed and this surge of evangelistic fervour in Wales began to fade through lack of support and finance,¹¹ so that 'the schools did not last long enough to have a distinctive history'¹². It seems likely that they did continue through the Commonwealth period, but following the Restoration, in 1660, the established church firmly re-asserted its influence and a Bishop's licence was required to open a school. Anthony Johnson claims that of the 33 schools established in the 1650s, only 7 remained after 1660.¹³ Outside the framework of the Commissioners' foundations, it is likely that many informal small village schools came and went in this period, but there is only patchy anecdotal evidence to support this. Walter Powell, a gentleman farmer living in Penrhos, Monmouthshire, sent his son Walter, aged 8 years, to school in Llandenny in 1649, yet there is no trace in the official records that a school had ever been established there.¹⁴ Young Walter then moved on, in 1653 aged 12, to the 'Arithmetique Schoole in Bergavenny', which

⁹ Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 51.

¹⁰ E. T. Davies, *Monmouthshire Schools and Education to 1870* (Newport: Starsons, 1957), p. 40.

¹¹ The Commission was set up by the Rump Parliament which was itself dissolved by Cromwell in the political turmoil of 1653.

¹² Richards, *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales*, p. 231.

¹³ Johnson, *Politics and Religion in Glamorgan During the Interregnum*, p. 294.

¹⁴ Joseph Alfred Bradney (eds.), *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Croseenny in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman. 1603 - 1654* (Bristol: John Wright, 1907), p. 39.

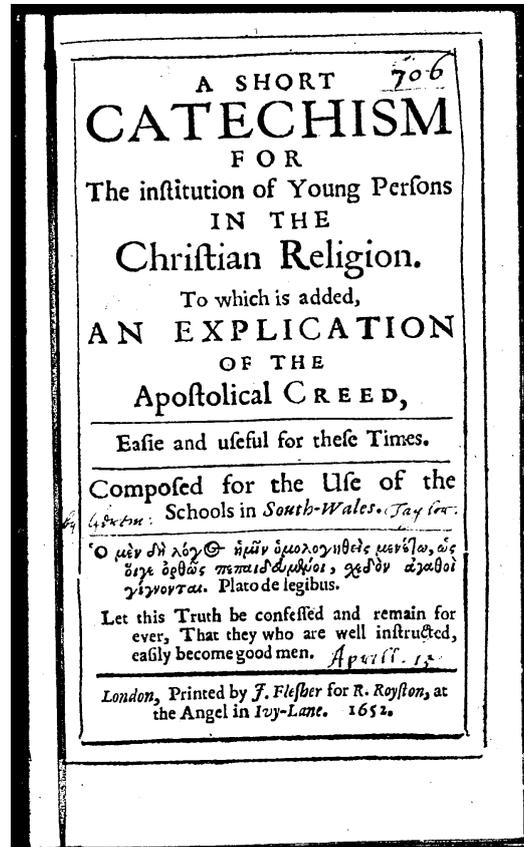


Fig. 2.2. Taylor, Jeremy *A short catechism for the institution of young persons in the Christian religion*. London: J. Fleisher, 1652.

was probably the grammar school (see below).¹⁵ In that same year, he records that he 'sent little Mathew to schoole in Lanarth',¹⁶ yet another undocumented school.

Before considering developments in the years following 1660, it is important to note that the efforts of the Commonwealth government towards improving education within a framework of religious teaching was independent of the operation of grammar schools in Wales. A number of such schools had already been set up, for example in Abergavenny (1543), Monmouth (1614) and Haverfordwest (1488), to serve the children of gentry, a section of the population which Jenkins asserts was very influential, English language dominated and often was absent from their Welsh estates.¹⁷ Thus, in 1627, Walter Powell, whose diary is entirely in English, sent his first three sons, aged 19, 15 and 12 years, to 'Monmouth Free Schoole'.¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, the medium of teaching in all grammar schools was English, and the curriculum was aimed at university entry; many of the grammar schools had been originally established through philanthropic endowments, but they were always fee-paying schools with high aspirations for their pupils. Clearly, they were tolerated by the Commonwealth government, as there were no ministerial ejections recorded,¹⁹ either then or in the later years.

In the period immediately following the Restoration, there is little evidence of the number and nature of early formal schooling. It was a turbulent time, as the established church sought to reimpose its authority. Dissenting ministers, such as Stephen Hughes of Meidrim, Carmarthenshire, still operated widely throughout Wales,²⁰ and it is likely that some schools continued without Episcopal approval. Nevertheless, these ministers and

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.46. Llanarth is near Abergavenny. Mathew was aged 10 years.

¹⁷ Geraint H. Jenkins (eds.), *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 78.

¹⁸ Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell*, p. 14.

¹⁹ Richards, *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales*, p. 223.

²⁰ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 187.

schoolteachers struggled to survive, especially following the Act of Uniformity of 1662 which required them to comply with the demands of the established church, or be ejected. A letter written by the Bishop of St. David's, William Lucy, in 1673 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, complained that many parishes had no clergy, but that 'private schooles' were still being run by 'women and other excommunicated persons' in Brecon, Carmarthen, Haverfordwest, Swansea and Cardigan.²¹

This picture changed in 1674 with the establishment of a charitable enterprise called the Welsh Trust, founded by Thomas Gouge, an ejected minister from London, who 'became so passionately interested in the spiritual welfare of benighted Welshmen that he adopted Wales as one of his special livings'.²² He created, in collaboration with a number of other ministers both dissenting and orthodox, a charity whose aims were to educate adults in Wales through the Welsh Bible and other religious works and also to establish free schools 'for teaching the poorest of the Welsh Children to read English, and the Boys to learn to Write and cast Accounts; whereby they will be enabled to read our English Bibles and Treatises, to be more serviceable to their Country, and to live more comfortably in the World'.²³ Gouge proved adept at raising large sums of money from wealthy philanthropists to found a remarkable number of schools and appoint teachers to work in them. Fortunately, the records of the Welsh Trust for 1675 and 1678 were meticulously maintained, and have been fully transcribed by Mary Jones, so that it is known exactly how many schools were established, their location and the number of scholars at each school. By the end of 1675, in the counties of south Wales,²⁴ an impressive fifty-five schools had been created, and 1,325 children had

²¹ Geraint H. Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales 1639 - 1689* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), p. 93.

²² Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 198.

²³ Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', p. 72.

²⁴ That is Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, Brecknockshire, Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire.

been enrolled.²⁵ The Trust depended, in part, on the generosity of local gentry who, in their turn, exerted some control over the management of their endowed school, as can be evidenced by a school set up in Monmouthshire in 1675 by Sir William Morgan of Tredegar House.

Twenty pounds per annum for a schoolmaster chosen by William Morgan in a schoolhouse erected for the parson in Basseleg churchyard. Should the Bishop of Llandaff not licence the schoolmaster, the twenty pounds to be applied in apprenticing two boys of Basseleg parish to some trade by William Morgan Esq.²⁶

In 1681, Thomas Gouge died, and the Welsh Trust, lacking his zealous leadership, was wound up. It was not only his death, but other factors that led to its demise. Stephen Hughes, a influential dissenter, spoke out strongly against the Trust's policy to teach only in English, and Welsh bishops were not supportive, suspecting possible puritanical influences.²⁷ The financial support from distant philanthropists was also diminishing for the same reason, along with doubts about the unlicensed teachers.²⁸ There is no data regarding the fate of the many Welsh Trust schools after 1681, so some may well have survived by applying for a licence, and finding a local benefactor, but it was twenty years before the next wave of charity schools were established through the offices of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK).

The SPCK was founded in 1699, and its most active period in Wales was between that year and the late 1730s. Again, there has been a fortuitous survival in the archives of the society, particularly the correspondence, which has been transcribed in full by Mary Clement.²⁹ The SPCK was initiated by a group of clergymen who already had much political influence, and it was thoroughly endorsed by the established church. The aim of the founders

²⁵ Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', p. 78 – 79.

²⁶ NLW MS Tredegar Estate Records, Schedule of Papers, AES 3/4. Inventory of deeds and papers in drawers in study, also of cupboards at Tredegar, October 1826.

²⁷ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 199.

²⁸ M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), p. 285.

²⁹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*.

was to 'rescue Welsh peasantry from the clutches of Rome and the thralldom of ignorance, superstition and magic. Education was to be the tool of conversion',³⁰ through the establishment of elementary schools and, above all, the provision of books which flowed from London to Wales in great numbers. The support of wealthy members of the gentry was of paramount importance in this mission, and one of the main driving forces in Wales, and a frequent correspondent, was the philanthropist Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, Pembrokeshire, who was responsible for setting up most of the thirty-one schools in that county between 1699 and 1740. A letter to his wife written in 1717 demonstrates his commitment to this cause:

Dearest love ... I will take the first opportunity to move the society for the books and beg of God so to direct the distributors and receivers of them that his glory and the good of souls may be greatly advanced thereby. The Trustees of the charity school there will have much to answer for one day if they are not very thankful for and very careful in laying out a great sum collected for the real advantage of those poor children.³¹

In all, over the period 1699 to 1737, a total of seventy-two schools in the counties of south Wales appear in the records as supported and, at least in part, managed by SPCK, although their intention was always that the school would be self-supporting in the long-term.³² Each county had at least one agent who was responsible for this. In Monmouthshire, Herbert Pye, Vicar of Monmouth, in 1706, collected subscriptions, set up schools and appointed teachers.³³ A number of the SPCK schools were in the same villages and towns as the Welsh Trust schools had been, so it is possible that they simply took them over, although little is known about the actual buildings used. The importance of having a generous benefactor, and the precarious nature of this type of endowment, is exemplified by the charity

³⁰ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 200.

³¹ NLW MS GB 0210 PICTLE Picton Castle Estate Records 1467. Letter from [Sir] J[ohn] Philipps, London to [Lady Mary Philipps] dated 21 September, 1717.

³² Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 12.

³³ Davies, *Monmouthshire Schools and Education to 1870*, p. 44.

school set up in 1705 close to Margam Abbey in Glamorganshire. The school appeared in the SPCK *Charity School Accounts*, and the agent was the curate William Lewis who received books from the Society. In correspondence with SPCK, Lewis refers to the death of the anonymous patron in 1709:

That the Private Person who according to ye Printed Account of Schools kept 12 poor Children at School is now dead and his Charity with him.³⁴

and two years later an abstract of his letter states:

To thank the Society for ye packet he had received. That ye person who kept 12 Children at School there, being dead, his Charity dy'd with him and only 3 or 4 are now kept to School which he thinks not worth mentioning in print.³⁵

Recruiting suitable local schoolmasters also proved challenging. Sir Humphrey Mackworth of Neath, a founder member of SPCK, wrote to the SPCK in 1719 that:

'there has been several overtures for a Schoolmaster at Neath. But they seem not altogether qualify'd especially to set up the first school. He therefore submits it to the Society's consideration whether it be proper to pitch upon one of the best Schoolmasters in London to begin the Setting up of Schools in Wales.'³⁶

Nevertheless, it appeared that many of the SPCK schools were thriving, as this report from the village of Glasbury in Breconshire attests in 1718:

They have 2 schools there for 20 boys and 27 girls; that the Schools erected last year in Brecknock for 14 girls is in a flourishing condition, the children being able to read well and sat their catechism in the Church readily and answer to most of Lewis' Exposition tho they could before speak but little or no English.³⁷

The final sentence of the extract serves to illustrate that the language of teaching in the south Wales SPCK charity schools was, again, predominantly English, still seen as the language of

³⁴ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42. The Rev. William Lewis was also Chaplain to Sir Edward Mansel of Margam House. Lewis was involved in establishing the diocesan library at Cowbridge, for which he received support from both SPCK and his employer.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³⁷ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 97.

advancement, but Clement concludes that the SPCK Committee did allow the use of Welsh in monoglot areas.³⁸ It is illuminating, in the matter of language, to look at a few examples from the letters from agents and teachers in Wales to SPCK in London. Thomas Collins of Swansea writes in 1710:

he is of the opinion the People in Wales ought not to be indulged with Welch Translations which already too much Abound in a Language that keeps Men in ignorance of many things touching their Religious and Civil life.³⁹

And John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire, in 1711, made reference to the fact that:

his [the Bishop of St. David's] opinion is that publishing of the book in Welsh will obstruct the English tongue which he will endeavour to propagate by erecting Charity Schools.⁴⁰

While Robert Powell in Wilton, Glamorganshire, commented:

As Welch is not understood in this parish, [he] desires, if they make him any present in future of such books, they may be in English.⁴¹

The SPCK had a second, and perhaps more lasting, objective of distributing Christian literature to adults in Wales. In this regard, the Society was more conscious of the need for Welsh language material, as further extracts of correspondence indicate. Thomas Pryce of Merthyr Tydfil noted in 1713:

To thank the Society for the packet he had received. That he is sorry to find no Welch books among them, being extremely wanted in the parts where he lives, where it is not to be imagined how grossly Ignorant the Generality of People are.⁴²

and Humphrey Jordan of Glasbury, Brecknockshire:

³⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

³⁹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 34.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 42. The book to which he was referring was Robert Nelson, *Companion for the festivals and fasts of the Church of England*. 6th ed. (London: William Bowyer, 1710).

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 142.

⁴² Ibid., p. 64.

To thank the Society for the Packet he had received, and particularly for the Welsh Books.⁴³

There are many other such examples, presenting a rather confused picture, and it unsurprising that the SPCK did not always send the books in the desired language. Nevertheless, there were clearly large consignments of Welsh Bibles distributed throughout Wales at this time, and a significant enthusiasm for devotional texts, catechism and prayer books. An examination of these titles, and whether any of them qualify for the definition of chapbook, will be examined in a later chapter. As with the Welsh Trust, the initial impetus of the SPCK in Wales did fade, so that after 1737 no new schools were set up. Jenkins attributes this primarily to the passing of the Schism Act in 1714, leading to controversy and withdrawal of patronage,⁴⁴ although many of the schools managed to survive with local funding. Jenkins also asserts that monoglot Welsh pupils, learning by rote in English, did not serve the purpose of providing a proper education. This matter was addressed, in 1738, by Thomas Griffiths who started up a system of circulating charity schools, teaching in Welsh to both children and adults, and using teachers who covered several schools. This proved a more successful strategy, and established what Davies describes as 'mass education' at primary level.⁴⁵

One further important aspect of SPCK's work was the establishment of Diocesan Libraries, such as the Cowbridge Library, set up in 1711 to serve the diocese of Llandaff, and Carmarthen library for the St David's diocese in 1708. Although these will be reviewed in more detail in Chapter Six, these lending libraries were, initially, for the benefit of the clergy and schoolteachers, to enable them to be better informed for the purpose of passing on such knowledge to their parishioners and pupils. There is a complete, published catalogue of the titles held in the Cowbridge Library, and this will be examined in detail. Even more relevant, perhaps, to the poorer section of the population was the establishment of parish libraries,

⁴³ Ibid., p. 41.

⁴⁴ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 202.

⁴⁵ Davies, *Monmouthshire Schools and Education to 1870*, p. 46.

which were usually open to any member of the community. These were established under the auspices of Thomas Bray, 'an Anglican cleric totally convinced of the huge benefits to be gained from the greater dissemination of the printed word'.⁴⁶ Bray was also a leading figure in the founding of the SPCK, and his energies were particularly directed towards the establishment of parish libraries, resulting, in 1709, in an Act of Parliament which lent much authority to his project.⁴⁷ The resulting Trust, known as the Bray Associates, set up a total of fifty-two parochial libraries, five of which were in south Wales,⁴⁸ between 1710 and 1713 and a register of the initial stock of seventy-two books still exists in the archives of the SPCK. Michael Perkin's exhaustive study of these libraries includes the list of book titles, which was comprised exclusively, and perhaps predictably, of devotional and improving works.⁴⁹ Whether they affected the literacy of the population is hard to say, but they certainly made more literature available to those who had a thirst for learning.

There is an interesting archival survival of the visitation of the Archdeacon of Carmarthen, Edward Tenison, in 1710, which has been transcribed by G. Milwyn Griffiths. The report on each parish within the diocese of Carmarthen included varied information, but it often states how many people can read. The entry for Merthyr reads 'About 60 communicants at Easter. 30 poor people can read Welsh'.⁵⁰ Not every parish visited quotes these literacy figures, and the population of that parish is only given in the vaguest of terms and probably was not usually known. Nevertheless, the level of literacy was clearly of interest to the Church. In some cases, such as Carmarthen itself, details of schools are given: 'Mr. Meyrick has built a house for a school for 20 boys, gives £10 a year for clothing them, and

⁴⁶ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 30.

⁴⁷ Britain Great, *An Act for the Better Preservation of Parochial Libraries in That Part of Great Britain Called England* (London: Charles Bill, 1708).

⁴⁸ Libraries were founded in Monmouth, Prendergast, Chepstow, Newport and Trevethin. These will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6 below.

⁴⁹ Perkin, *Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*.

⁵⁰ G. Milwyn Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 18 3, (1974), p. 297.

£10 a year to the school master for teaching them their catechism & to read & write'.⁵¹ This was probably one of the two schools established in Carmarthen under the SPCK. Further archival evidence has revealed that land had been charitably designated to set up a small library, valued at £50, in the town, and was to be overseen by Meyrick.⁵² Following his death in 1724, the library was handed over to be managed by the Corporation of Carmarthen, thus creating one of the earliest public libraries, although its subsequent fate is unknown.

The establishment of schools, in itself, is not evidence of actual literacy levels although it is an indication that the basics of reading was taught to at least some of the children in most parishes. Furthermore, charity and endowed schools, were not the only context in which early education took place and there is evidence that different forms of informal teaching played a significant part. The borderline between formal and informal is not a rigid one. A parish priest or curate took it upon himself to teach reading to a few children in his congregation, or could ask another person in the parish to do likewise. Their key objective, in that climate of religious fervour, would almost certainly have been to instil religious knowledge and principles; thus, once basic letters had been learned, their reading matter would have been exclusively devotional.⁵³ Many of the schoolmasters appointed to the Welsh Trust schools were, indeed, the parish clergy. In the year 1675, the vicar of Chepstow, Henry Allen, was in charge of a school for twenty pupils, and Charles Hutchins, vicar of Caerleon, ran a school for forty children.⁵⁴ But there is evidence from the Archdeacon's 1710 visitation in the village of Meidrim, Carmarthenshire, of a 'Charity School kept in the Church which was endowed with £8 a year for four poor children',⁵⁵ yet this

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 294.

⁵² George Eyre Evans, 'Meyrick's Library and School', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 2 (1905-06), p. 122.

⁵³ Margaret Spufford, 'The Importance of Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Margaret Spufford (eds.) *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520 - 1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 74.

⁵⁴ Davies, *Monmouthshire Schools and Education to 1870*, p. 121.

⁵⁵ Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', p. 298.

school is not named in the list of SPCK schools founded in that period.⁵⁶ Similarly, a charity school was set up in Cardiff in 1716 as a result of a bequest from Jane Herbert, of the Friars, Cardiff, who left £500 in trust 'to provide a free school for about fifteen boys, sons of poor parents in the town'.⁵⁷ In the border town of Hay-on-Wye, a William Pennoyre of Bristol and London, died in 1670 leaving a bequest of twelve pounds per annum for a school so that 'poor children of Hay whose parents cannot pay be taught there'.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the will stipulated that 'forty shillings more for books at the said school' would be provided. The distribution and monitoring of Pennoyre's charity was undertaken by the Almoners of Christ's Hospital, and they made regular inspections.⁵⁹

Regarding unendowed schools, Davies et al. claim that there were at least forty-five such schools in Glamorgan, run by the parish priest or informal teacher who made a charge to his pupils.⁶⁰ The SPCK correspondence cites a curate in Margam, in 1714, who wrote that there was scarcely a parish in the county 'where there is not a private school for teaching children to read, yet there are few or no Charity Schools'.⁶¹ Data from the visitation in Carmarthenshire (see above) shows that nearly every village records the number of 'poor people' that can read Welsh (varying from twenty to sixty), yet most of these villages had no endowed school.⁶² Earlier, in 1673, Bishop Lucy of St David's wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury objecting to James Picton of Carmarthen, an unlicensed Quaker teacher. He had been allowed to hold a school for at least seventy scholars.⁶³ A further interesting example can be found in the text of an advertisement at the back of a book held in Carmarthen

⁵⁶ Taken from a list of SPCK schools 1699-1737 at Appendix IV in Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 389.

⁵⁷ William Rees, *Cardiff, a History of the City* (Cardiff: Corporation of the City of Cardiff, 1962), p. 108.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey L. Fairs, *A History of the Hay: The Story of Hay-on-Wye* (London: Phillimore, 1972), p. 162.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 163. Fairs prints substantial transcribed sections of an inspection report by the Almoners in 1691.

⁶⁰ Davies, Williams, and Roberts, *Religion and Education in Glamorgan 1660 - 1775*, p. 450.

⁶¹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 63.

⁶² The rounding off of all the figures for reading ability does lend some scepticism as to their accuracy.

⁶³ Thomas Richards, *Wales under the Penal Code* (London: National Eisteddfod Association, 1925), p. 39; Richard C. Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales: From Resistance to Respectability* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 130.

diocesan lending library. The book, entitled *A New Catalogue of Books and Small Tracts*, was published by Joseph Downing in 1708 and reflects the motivation to teach reading to children who could not afford to pay for formal schooling:

A Proposal for Teaching Poor Children to Read, &c.

Whereas many parishes are so small that they can neither furnish a sufficient Number of Children, nor afford Subscriptions for *a Charity-School*: And whereas in some Places, and at particular Times in the Year, (especially in Harvest) the Parents of many Poor Children are unwilling to spare them in School Hours: To Remedy these and like Inconveniencies; and that such Children may not be wholly destitute of a *Christian Education*, but may at least be taught to *Read*, and to repeat the *Church-Catechism*; it is *Proposed*, That discreet and sober persons may be pitched upon in each Parish an Agreement made with them in manner following, *viz.*

That 2s. 6d shall be Paid for Instructing each Poor Child, so soon as it can Name and Distinguish all the Letters in the Alphabet; and the like Payment, when the Child can Spell well; and 5s more when such Child can Read well and distinctly, and Say the Church-Catechism. By which Means Poor Children may be Taught to Read for Ten Shillings; and the additional Charge for Books, will be very inconsiderable.

This way of Teaching, hath been already Practised with good Success ... in Hopes that *Pious* and *Charitable* Persons will take some such methods in other Places, where there seems any Difficulty of settling Schools; that so the Charitable and Useful Work of *Instructing Poor Children* in the Principles of our Holy Religion, may in some measure be carried on, in every Part of the Nation; to the Glory of God, the Good of Souls, and to the lasting benefit of the Publick ...⁶⁴

There is no indication as to who had offered to finance this initiative, but Downing published many books under commission from SPCK, so this may have offered an alternative, basic, flexible approach to teaching reading for the very poorest. There does not seem to be any record of whether this method was implemented in south Wales.

⁶⁴Joseph Downing, *A New Catalogue of Books and Small Tracts against Vice and Immorality; and for Promoting the Knowledge & Practice of the Christian Religion ...* 2 edn (London: Joseph Downing, 1708), p. 44-45.

The SPCK was not the only religious group providing education in south Wales at this time. The Society of Friends, as shown above in the reference to James Picton, was very active and growing, with schooling for their members' children featuring as a priority. The minutes of one of the Monmouthshire meetings, held in Pontymoile in 1719, records the 'lack of schooling' several times, although they note that 'one poor Friend's children are instructed by their mother'.⁶⁵ The absence of a school continued to be recorded for several years until finally, at a meeting in Castleton, they are able to report that 'care is taken for the education of Poor Friends children in learning', although no details are given as to how this had been achieved.⁶⁶ Likewise, the Pembrokeshire Friends, meeting in Haverfordwest in 1701, agreed to the appointment of a schoolmaster, paying twenty pounds for two years.⁶⁷ Their objective clearly was to educate their own, rather than send children of Quaker families to any other sort of school.

Adam Fox argues that estimates of school provision is not a helpful way of measuring literacy, since basic reading was often taught by mothers in the home.⁶⁸ Spufford presents evidence from records in Aldenham in 1690 that half the 6 year-olds entering school could already read, and postulates that they had probably been thus taught within the family.⁶⁹ Likewise, Kenneth Charlton, who has made a particular study of informal education in the early modern period, has been able to cite examples of mothers teaching reading although drawn primarily from the sixteenth century, and mainly from the gentry:

Lady Elizabeth Delavel (born c. 1649) indicated in her autobiographical meditations that it was her grandmother ... who taught her to read... Mrs Mary Bewley, wife of a London merchant, taught her only son, Thomas, to read, as did Elizabeth Walker, wife of clergyman Anthony Walker, her

⁶⁵ Glamorgan Archives, Monmouthshire Quarterly Meetings Minute Book, 26th April 1721; Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*, p. 130.

⁶⁶ Glamorgan Archives, Monmouthshire Minute Book, 2nd April 1725; *ibid.*, p.130.

⁶⁷ Glamorgan Archives, Pembrokeshire Meeting Book, 17th November 1701; *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁸ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, p. 408.

⁶⁹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p.51.

many children. The third Edmond Calumy (1671-1731) reported ..."my good mother I well remember took a great deal of pains with me in my infancy and childhood, as it was she chiefly that taught me to read".⁷⁰

This education would invariably have a strong religious content, and often be extended to the servants of the household. It was seen as part of the Christian duty of a wife and mother, especially a Protestant mother, to ensure that such standards were maintained,⁷¹ and this is spelt out in many of the books published at this time, such as *A chrystall glass for Christian Women* (1669), which was an exhortation to proper and correct behaviour by relating a biographical example of the life of Katherine Stubs, written by her husband after her death. Another similar, and very popular chapbook entitled *The mothers blessing* ...(1685)⁷² included a graphic woodcut showing the head of the household reading aloud to his family (see Fig. 2.3). Further examples of exemplary Christian living, especially for young brides, can be found in the many wedding sermons published in this period, such as *A husband's Gift to his Wife* (1725 see Fig.2.4), this particular edition being published by Robert Raikes in Gloucester and sold, as can be seen on the title page, in the surrounding market towns including at the shop of the Monmouth bookseller John Crofts.

Informal education, and the learning of reading, also took place in a variety of settings and ways for the adult who was motivated to understand the increasing amount of printed material that was becoming available. The extent of this, evidenced by the numbers of devotional works, primers, ABCs, chapbooks and horn books that were filtering through to south Wales during this time will be examined in detail in a later chapter. Spufford asserts

⁷⁰ Kenneth Charlton, 'Mothers as Educative Agents in Pre-Industrial England', *History of Education*, 23 (1994), p. 132.

⁷¹ Femke Molekamp, 'Popular Reading and Writing', in Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, and Abigail Shinn (eds.) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 61.

⁷² Leigh, Dorothy *The mothers blessing being several godly admonitions given by a mother unto her children upon her death-bed, a little before her departur* (London: I. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1685). There were at least 24 editions between 1616 and 1724 but only one of these, in 1685, was a chapbook version.

An Hundred Devout Admonitions
left by a Dying Mother
to her Children.

Being most Excellent Directions for a Religious
Christians Conversation!



AN

Fig. 2.3. Title page from Dorothy Leigh, *The mothers blessing ...*[London] Printed by I.M. for I. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger, 1685. p. 4.

4466
1-

THE
Husband's GIFT
TO HIS
WIFE:
OR, THE
Bride-Womans Counsellor.
95 BEING A
Wedding-Sermon,
Preach'd at the
Devizes in WILTS.

1 Cor. vii. 34. ——— *But she that is Married, Careth for the things of the World, how she may please her Husband.*

The Second Edition.

Gloucester: Printed by R. RAIKES; and Sold by
F. Godby at the Devizes; F. Wilson at Bristol; Will.
Wolley at Worcester; John and James Hunt in Here-
ford; F. Ballinger in Cirencester; and F. Crofts in
Monmouth. 1725. [Price Threepence.]

Fig. 2.4. Title page from *The husband's gift to his wife: or, the bride-womans counsellor. Being a wedding-sermon, preach'd at the Devizes in Wilts.* 2nd ed. Gloucester: Robert Raikes, 1725.

that 'England was saturated with the basic equipment for learning to read',⁷³ and, from her earlier work, cites many cases, such as this one regarding one Thomas Tyron who wrote his memoirs in 1705:

...now about Thirteen Years Old, I could not Read; then thinking of the vast usefulness of Reading, I bought me a Primer, and not now one, then another, to teach me to Spell, and so learn'd to Read imperfectly, my Teachers themselves not being ready Readers.⁷⁴

He was, at this time, a shepherd boy, and his 'teachers' were his fellow shepherds. An example from Wales is found in a book by Erasmus Saunders published in 1721, in which he offers a description of the state of religion in the St David's diocese:

to supply in some measure the want of a more regular Publick Service [of worship], there are many, even of the Common People, who gladly make the best use of what little Knowledge they have gained, and take the Pains privately by Reading or Discoursing to instruct one another in their houses. And it is not uncommon to see Servants and Shepherds, as they have an Opportunity, strive to do these good Offices to each other. It is by this Means that most or all of them do attain the Knowledge of reading and writing in their native Language ... for there being no Welsh schools, and but very rarely English ones, except it be in Market Towns.⁷⁵

Several scholars examining literacy and its meaning have emphasised the important of oral transmission. Fox asserts that reading aloud was done habitually in the literate environment of the seventeenth century, and that 'no-one lived very far away from someone who could read'.⁷⁶ Spufford cites an interesting example of a chapbook version of the *Canterbury Tales*, published in 1687, addressed to 'Bakers, Smiths and Millers' on its title page (see Fig. 2.5), and having a dedicatory epistle within which reads:

⁷³ Spufford, *Women Teaching Reading to Poor Children in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 29.

⁷⁵ Erasmus Saunders, *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's, About the Beginning of the 18th Century* (London: John Wyatt, 1721), p. 32.

⁷⁶ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, p. 36.

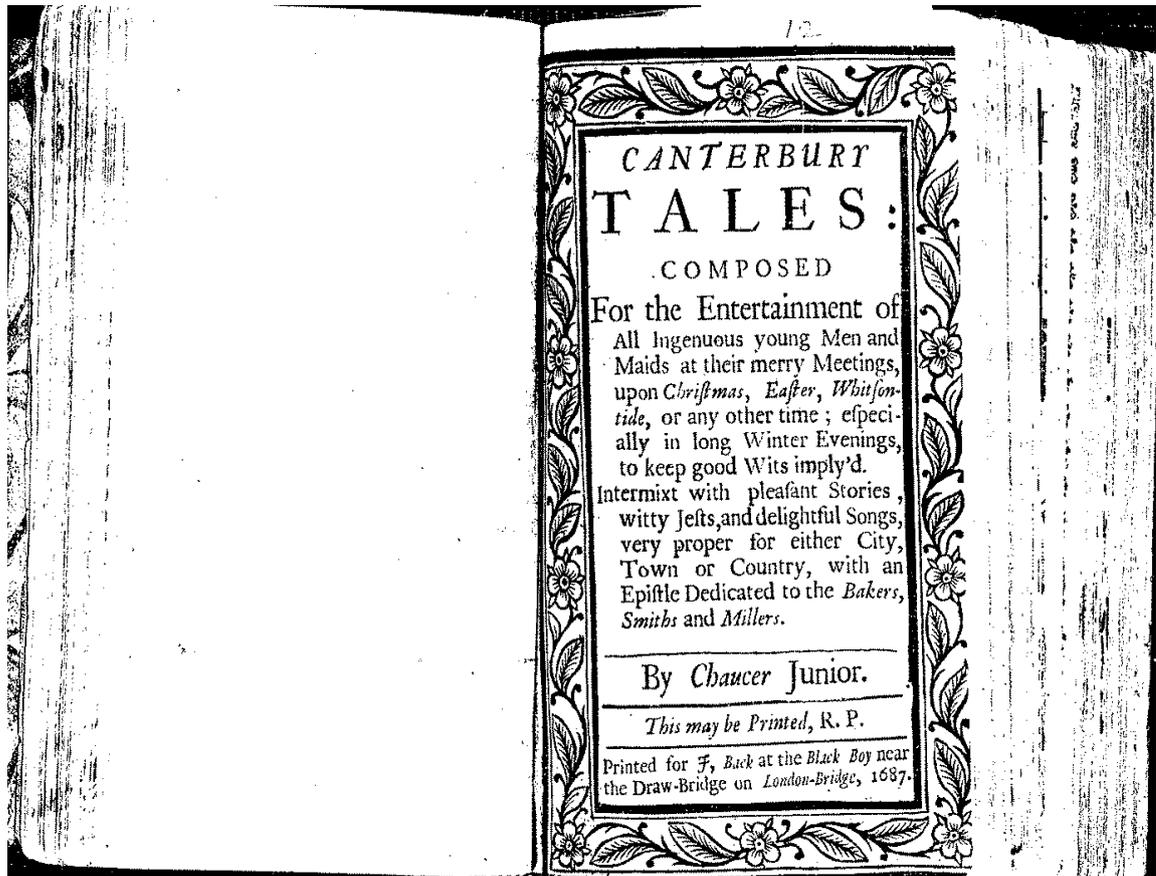


Fig. 2.5. Title page from Chaucer Junior *Canterbury tales composed for the entertainment of all ingenious young men at their merry meetings*. [London]: J. Back, 1687.

You are here presented with a Choice Banquet of delightful Tales, pleasant Stories, witty Jests, and merry Songs to divert young Men and Maids when they come to the Bake-house, Forge or Mill; by these you may increase your trade⁷⁷

A further anecdotal example is provided by Samuel Pepys, who was walking on Epsom Downs in 1667, and came across a shepherd whose little boy was reading the Bible aloud to him.⁷⁸ In the early eighteenth century, as provincial newspapers began to appear, the reading of news both in public places and the home was common.⁷⁹ Charles Leslie, who published an anti-Tory newspaper in 1704, wrote:

For the greatest Part of the People do not Read Books, most of them cannot Read at all. But they will Gather together about one that can Read, and Listen to an Observator or Review (as I have seen them in the streets) ...⁸⁰

Jonathan Barry, in his detailed study of popular culture in Bristol in the early modern period, explains how official proclamations by the Corporation were publicly announced from the High Cross in the city centre, although this practice was slowly replaced by the printing of leaflets and fliers for distribution amongst the town-dwellers.⁸¹ It is telling that the early output from the press of William Bonny, Bristol's first printer, included several single page sheets containing information from the 'Mayor and Aldermen' of the city. This example, he suggests, is itself one indication of the gradual change from oral to print culture, and to the ability of increasing numbers of people to read.

⁷⁷ Junior Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales Composed for the Entertainment of All Ingenious Young Men at Their Merry Meetings Upon Christmas, Easter, Whitsontide, or Any Other Time, Especially in Long Winter Evenings to Keep Good Wits Implied* (London: J. Back, 1687), unpaginated.

⁷⁸ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription* (London: Bell and Hyman, 1974), VIII (1667), p. 338.

⁷⁹ G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700 - 1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p.188.

⁸⁰ Charles Leslie, *A View of the Times, Their Principles and Practices in the First Volume of the Rehearsals by Philalethes* (London: Anon, 1708), preface, and cited in Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700 - 1760*, p. 189.

⁸¹ Barry, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, p. 69.

Barry Reay makes a convincing case for the continual overlap of orality and print by demonstrating that chapbooks, and similar cheap material, were often in verse form, and produced in a variety of fonts within one book, to indicate different types of 'readings'.⁸² How a chapbook is read, and the different reception and understanding of the text will be examined in a later chapter, but in the context of literacy, Reay cites some interesting evidence from the introduction to *The Cobler of Caunterbie*, published much earlier but appearing also in several editions in the seventeenth century. It was not a chapbook, by the definition used in this study, but its content, comprising jests, poems, ballads and stories, was very similar:

When the Farmer is set in his Chaire turning (in a winters evening) the crabbe in the fier, heere may hee heare how his sonne can reade, and when he hath done laugh while his belly akes. The olde wiues that wedded themselues to the profound histories of Robin hood, Clim of the Clough, and worthy syr Isenbras: may here learne a tale to tell amongst their Gossippes. Thus haue I sought to feed all mens Fancies ...⁸³

Adam Fox also makes the point that memories were probably a great deal better than today, so that Proclamations which were read aloud in cities and towns were readily absorbed by those crowding round to listen.⁸⁴ Likewise, the long sermons so typical of the time, were, in all likelihood, remembered better than now in people's minds although the very high number of such sermons that were published indicates that an aide memoir was helpful, as well as spreading the wisdom therein to those who were absent. An example of memory training was the widespread practise of catechising children. The Visitation of the Archdeacon of Carmarthen records, in almost every parish visited, whether children were catechised or not. In Llan Dyssyllo, 'Not a child has been catechized in seven years time',⁸⁵ whereas in Kyffig 'The children are catechiz'd every Sunday'.⁸⁶ The teaching of the standard catechism, a

⁸² Barry Reay, *Popular Culture in England 1550 - 1750* (London: Longman, 1998), p.54.

⁸³ Anon, *The Cobler of Caunterburie, or an Inuectiue against Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie* (London: Robert Robinson, 1590), p.4.

⁸⁴ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, p. 40.

⁸⁵ Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', p. 300.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

requirement of the established church,⁸⁷ was in the form of a question and answer between priest and child, the child being required to answer from memory. Even the shorter version, for use in south Wales, contained forty-one questions which must have required what would today be regarded as an exceptional feat of memory for a young child.⁸⁸

Both Fox and Keith Thomas give consideration to the mental world of the lower ranks in the seventeenth century, and postulate that reading and writing were generally not seen as useful in the context of work. The inability to read was not a barrier to many occupations, or to political and religious activism.⁸⁹ Fox gives many examples of different methods of counting using songs and rhymes and other mnemonics, methods which had been transmitted orally down the generations. Literacy was neither required nor demanded for their way of life and the issue of literacy was not seen a 'crucial divide',⁹⁰ as evidenced by the example of Samuel Pepys recording in his diary in 1662 that he was told a story of 'the Mayor of Bristolls reading a passe with the bottom upwards'.⁹¹ Thus, explains Thomas, it would be 'utterly wrong to think that illiterates lived in some sort of mental darkness, debarred from effective participation in the great events of their time.'⁹²

Another indication of literacy levels in a society is the volume and nature of printed material published. Roger Schofield argues that there is 'no necessary relationship between the volume of production [of printed material] and the size of the readership, because the number of readers per copy cannot be assumed to be constant either over time or between publications' and there are many other factors at play which affect that increased production,

⁸⁷ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Jeremy Taylor, *A Short Catechism for the Institution of Young Persons in the Christian religion. To Which is Added, an Explication of the Apostolical Creed, Easie and Useful for These Times. Composed for the Use of the Schools in South-Wales*. (London: J. Flesher, 1652).

⁸⁹ Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Gerd Baumann (eds.) *The Written Word* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 104.

⁹⁰ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, p. 409.

⁹¹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, III, p. 180.

⁹² Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', p.104.

such as technological advances.⁹³ Nevertheless, whilst a causative relationship cannot be established, yet it is still instructive to be aware of the parallel upward trend in both literacy rates and the availability of printed material, and to attempt to deduce whether there was any relationship at all between them. Indeed, any astute business-man or woman who invested capital and time in printing and publishing all forms and types of material would respond readily to the market demands, thus only producing items which would sell relatively well and turn a reasonable profit. Jenkins, considering the increase in literacy levels in Wales after 1740, uses the two criteria of number of primary schools, together with the annual number of books published, as key factors leading to 'the lower middling sorts [becoming] the pace-setters in the spiritual and literary life of Wales'.⁹⁴ One of the most detailed attempts to create data showing the number of published titles each year in this period in Britain can be found in statistical tables drawn up by John Barnard and Maureen Bell, in which they carry out a count of ESTC titles for the years 1475 to 1700.⁹⁵ This is not a straightforward exercise, since the catalogue contains multiple editions of items, different versions of the same title and some inaccuracies. The other important factor to bear in mind is that the ESTC only lists extant titles, and the survival rate of items, especially ephemeral literature such as chapbooks, is unknown, but thought to be low. The Stationers' Company records for the early 1660s show deliveries of upwards of 30,000 copies a year of *The ABC with the catechisme*,⁹⁶ yet not a single copy from those years has survived.⁹⁷ Similarly, in 1676/7, 84,000 copies of *The Primer and Catechisme* were produced, and of these only one single copy can now be

⁹³ R. S. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in Jack Goody (eds.) *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 314.

⁹⁴ Geraint H. Jenkins, 'The Eighteenth Century', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.) *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), p. 112.

⁹⁵ Barnard, John, and Maureen Bell, 'Appendix 1 Statistical Tables', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4: 1557–1695*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 779-93.

⁹⁶ Ian Green and Kate Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England 1640 - 1695', in John Barnard and Maureen Bell (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. 4, 1557 - 1695* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 78.

⁹⁷ It should be added that the only indication of extant titles is a listing in ESTC. The existence of a copy privately held and not notified to the ESTC editors can never be known.

traced.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the graph produced (see Chart 2.1) as a summary of their findings does give some sort of crude indication of the slow increase of numbers of titles, almost all of which were produced in London.⁹⁹ There are many peaks and troughs, the outpouring of political tracts during the civil war period being one of them, but the trend is slowly upward.

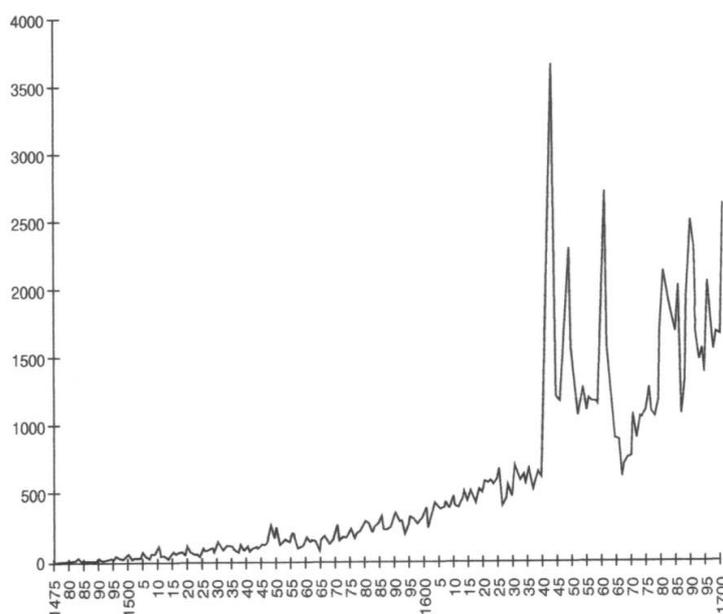


Chart 2.1 Annual totals of book production based on ESTC titles 1475 – 1700

Turning to the early part of the eighteenth century, the upward trend continues. Michael Suarez has produced statistics broken down into ten year periods and by place of publication which show that output figures were increasing from 1700 to 1730, but only slowly.¹⁰⁰ This may seem surprising in the context of the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, which then opened the door for printing in the provinces,¹⁰¹ and could, perhaps, be partly explained by the fluctuations of survival rates. A telling example can be found in the printing

⁹⁸ Held in the British library. See John Barnard, 'Bibliographical Note: The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, Abcs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationer's Stock, 1660 - 1700', *Library*, 21 (1999), 148 – 150.

⁹⁹ John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie (eds.), *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557 - 1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Appendix 1.

¹⁰⁰ This survey was based on sample years from ESTC, and showed the total figure of titles published for 1703 was 1,654, and for 1733 was 2,055. Suarez, *Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701 – 1800*, p. 50.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 3 for fuller treatment of the Licensing Act, and of the publishing trends.

output of Robert Raikes, through his advertisements in the *Gloucester Journal*. Between 1722 and 1730, seventy-two book titles are listed as available from his Gloucester print shop, but only thirty-six (50%) are now known to be extant i.e. found in ESTC.¹⁰² Suarez also points out that London contributed at least 70% of output during this period, explained by improving transport networks, and the great concentration of population.

Quantitative measurement of literacy in the seventeenth century has proved a challenging area for scholarly research. The first step is to define the term itself. John Adamson, in a talk to the Bibliographical Society in 1929, began as follows:

the word literacy is taken in the humblest sense as merely connoting the ability to read an English book ... We are so accustomed to the association of reading with writing and to regard the two arts as inseparable parts of elementary instruction, that we forget that in former times the number of readers greatly preponderated over the number of writers. When the modern English elementary school took shape, in the Charity School of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the two arts were very sharply divided, writing being treated as a stage so far in advance of reading that only a minority of the pupils would learn it.¹⁰³

Although Adamson is restricting himself to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, much of his examination of basic literacy has wider relevance, as he concludes that 'paucity of evidence of writing does not prove a like paucity of readers'.¹⁰⁴ On literacy in the context of the printed book, he cites an interesting example of a text-book which appears to have been popular over many years, namely Edmund Coote's *The English School-Maister*, first published in 1596. The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) reveals thirty-eight editions of this 100-page work, the last known record being in 1737, thus indicating an enduring popularity through the seventeenth century. It is both a guide for beginners, and a guide for instructors, its preface revealing much of its original purpose:

¹⁰² Supporting evidence will be found in Chapter 5.

¹⁰³ J. W. Adamson, 'The Extent of Literacy in England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Notes and Conjectures', *The Library*, Fourth series, X (1929), p. 163.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

I am now therefore to direct my speech to the unskilful, which desire to make use of it for their owne private benefit; and to such men and women of trade as Taylors, Weavers, Shoppe-keepers, Seamsters and such others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others... for if thou take diligent pains in it but four days, thou shalt learn very many profitable things that thou never knewest ... and thou mayest sit on thy shop-board, at thy loomes or at thy needle and never hinder thy worke to heare thy Schollers, after thou hast once made the little book familiar to thee.¹⁰⁵

Elsewhere in his preface, Coote includes children as his potential audience, but barely sees reason to differentiate between the two. It is this level of literacy which many subsequent researchers have attempted to measure.

In the 1960s and 1970s these attempts tended to focus, for the seventeenth century, on the ability of a person to sign their name on a document, using a variety of contemporary documents such as Protestation returns, Hearth Tax records, wills, marriage licenses and court depositions.¹⁰⁶ For example, Roger Schofield assesses all the different ways that historical literacy might be measured and concludes that 'there is one test of literary skill which satisfies almost all the requirements of a universal, standard and direct measure, and that is the ability to sign one's name'.¹⁰⁷ His results, using Protestation Returns in Essex, show a sixty-five per cent male illiteracy. Likewise, David Cressy admits that 'only one type of literacy is directly measurable, the ability or inability to write a signature, and that may be the least interesting and least significant'.¹⁰⁸ He goes on to produce data of levels of literacy using the signatures on depositions in Norwich, based on the assumption that 'people who could sign their names could probably read as well'.¹⁰⁹ He has made this assumption because the process of

¹⁰⁵ Edmund Coote, *The English School-Master Teaching All His Scholars, of What Age Soever, the Most Easy, Short, and Perfect Order of Distinct Reading and True Writing Our English Tongue ...* (London : I. Millet for the Company of Stationers, 1692), preface.

¹⁰⁶ The key sources for estimates of literacy pre- 1980 include Schofield, *The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England*; Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640 - 1900' 69 – 139; Margaret Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4 (1979), 407- 435.

¹⁰⁷ Schofield, *The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁸ David Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England 1530 - 1730', *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2

educational instruction implies a general familiarity with letters (and therefore a basic level of reading) before attempting to write. The resulting crude overall figure is 47% illiteracy, but this masks differences such as an 89% illiteracy for women, and, with regard to social group, 0% for clergy to 85% for labourers. His general conclusion, from a statistical analysis over time, is that there 'appears to have been no steady, cumulative progress in the reduction of illiteracy in the early modern period'.¹¹⁰ Margaret Spufford reinforces this outcome with her later wide-ranging evidence to demonstrate that early education began with reading, and graduated to writing after a year or two, thus leading to some children, who were withdrawn from school at an early age to support the family labour, never reaching the writing stage.¹¹¹ Cressy's assumption can, however, be challenged in the context of an adult who had received no formal education, and has simply practised how to form the letters of his name, but evidence has not emerged to support this. Barry Reay, in a later summary of quantitative evidence, concludes that the proportion of men in England who could write their signatures increased from 20% in the sixteenth century to 60% in the mid-eighteenth century, but emphasises there that this should probably be multiplied up by one and a half times to produce a figure for the different skill of reading.¹¹²

Later research into literacy has moved away from the attempt to produce quantitative data, and has rather examined the significance of literacy levels, whatever they might be. Adam Fox postulates that estimates of literacy levels are probably misleading, and concludes that:

it is sufficient to note that the once-accepted measure of literacy, ability to sign one's name, is no longer regarded as a reliable index of reading ability,

¹¹⁰ Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England 1530 - 1730', p. 9.

¹¹¹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 27.

¹¹² Reay, *Popular Culture in England 1550 - 1750*, p. 43.

much less of full literacy; conversely, those who could not write at all were sometimes able to read.¹¹³

He emphasises that, more importantly, the issue of reading ability was not a 'crucial divide' by the seventeenth century, owing to the strong oral culture that stood alongside all aspects of engaging with printed material.¹¹⁴ The pre-literate oral culture was by no means diminished by the advent of the printed word, but rather adapted and changed, remaining strong in many areas such as singing and telling of tales. Research by Keith Thomas focussed on how reading is carried out, producing evidence, for example, for the common practice of one person reading aloud to a group,¹¹⁵ which is also, as far as the illiterate listener is concerned, a perpetuation of orality.

Considering studies of literacy that focus on Wales, Geraint H. Jenkins has produced some quantitative data based on book subscription lists in the period between 1707 and 1731,¹¹⁶ from which he has shown the type of books and the type of reader for the book titles under examination. The books, however, are entirely in Welsh, thus seeming to indicate that those who could afford the more expensive items were Welsh speakers. It might be assumed that the gentry and the clergy (who make up the majority of these subscribers) would be bilingual, but no such evidence is actually provided by Jenkins. A more recent paper by Richard Suggett and Eryn White states that the basic work on literacy in Wales in the early modern period 'remains to be done'.¹¹⁷ They suggest that literacy was higher in Wales than England, (although no actual data is available) and almost certainly higher in urban than rural areas. This latter assertion was made in an earlier study by Lawrence Stone in his study of Protestation Returns from which he arrived at an average figure, in England, of 58% of the

¹¹³ Adam Fox and Daniel R Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500 - 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1580 - 1700*, p. 409.

¹¹⁵ Thomas, *The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England*.

¹¹⁶ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 257.

¹¹⁷ Suggett and White, *Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales*, p. 65.

population being literate in urban environments between 1640 and 1660, compared to 20-30% in rural areas, but with many regional differences.¹¹⁸ More recently, Carl Estabrook has demonstrated a clear urban/rural divide by looking at book ownership in a study of Bristol inventories, although the limitations of using extant probate information are also made clear.¹¹⁹ The only quantitative data for Wales relates to the year 1750, and indicates that 54% of men and 77% of women signed their names with a cross on marriage certificates, compared to 40% and 60% in England,¹²⁰ so, again, the figures need to be regarded in terms of trends rather than as entirely reliable data.

How does this research help to create a picture of literacy levels in Wales through this period? Alun Withey, drawing on other studies, has summarised that:

By the mid-seventeenth century, only around 15% to 20% of the Welsh population could read, compared to an estimated 30% in England. By the eighteenth century, although having risen to something in the order of between 30% and 45%, this was still lower than the English levels of between 40% and 60%.¹²¹

These are very broad estimates that lack any statistical evidence base, and mask wide variation of region, social group, age and gender. Indeed, Rheinalt Llwyd concludes that 'because of increasing and conflicting evidence, estimates of literacy in seventeenth century Wales differ considerably and the picture is further complicated by whether one is discussing the ability to read Welsh, English or Latin'.¹²² Turning to other types of evidence, the visitation returns, mentioned above, provide rounded figures for most of the villages and towns visited as well as for the number of people (not children) who could read, although it is

¹¹⁸ Stone, 'Literacy and Education in England 1640 - 1900', p. 100.

¹¹⁹ Carl B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces 1660 - 1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 166.

¹²⁰ David. W. Howell, *The Rural Poor in Eighteenth Century Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p. 138. The figures for England are drawn from Schofield's research (1972) and those for Wales from his personal sources.

¹²¹ Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750*, p.59. The figures for Wales are drawn from Rheinalt Llwyd, 'Printing and Publishing in the Seventeenth Century', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.) *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), p.93.

¹²² Llwyd, 'Printing and Publishing in the Seventeenth Century', p. 93.

usually stated that this is reading in Welsh. The data on school foundations is more certain, and these significantly increased over the period although teaching reading in English was likely to be a struggle for monoglot Welsh speaking children. As to the availability of printed material, that is much more dependent on an examination of book distribution than on book production, since there was no printing press in Wales itself until 1718, and even then a very low level of production. This will be examined in more detail in later chapters, but it is useful, in the context of literacy levels, to be aware that by 1678, the Welsh Trust had distributed 1,944 copies of religious works to 'the Poor People that could read Welsh',¹²³ that between 1699 and 1730, SPCK distributed multiple copies of eighty-two titles to some very remote parishes and schools in Wales,¹²⁴ that a number of Diocesan and parish libraries were established, and that Robert Raikes was making his publications, including his newspaper the *Gloucester Journal*, readily available throughout Monmouthshire and into Glamorgan. Evidence from 201 inventories between 1650 and 1740 in south Wales, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol shows that 23% of shopkeepers stocked books in their shops, and some of these were little books. Much harder to find is any evidence that chapmen, who lived in substantial numbers in south Wales, sold books door to door or at markets. It can only be concluded that, of 214 identified individuals, only thirty-six have extant inventories and a mere six of these mention books. Spufford, who examined 127 English inventories of chapmen, found examples of books included in the chapman's pack, although she is careful to spell out the limitation of this type of research, and reluctant to cite statistics, preferring to give examples.¹²⁵ It seems probable, in this study, that many of the chapmen (also termed hawkers) were very much at the lower end of the social scale, and thus unlikely to leave a will or inventory.

¹²³ Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', p. 79.

¹²⁴ All the titles are cited in the various correspondence between SPCK and their agents in Wales, transcribed in Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*.

¹²⁵ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 37.

The general picture of literacy in this period cannot be completed without consideration of the bilingual nature of the country. As already mentioned above, the charity schools taught exclusively in English to monoglot Welsh-speaking children, thus immediately throwing into doubt their effectiveness, compared to similar schools in England. Sir John Philipps, the Pembrokeshire philanthropist who strongly supported the SPCK schools, was 'mortified to find children in his locality who could recite the catechism perfectly but had simply mastered the sounds and echoes of words rather than their actual meaning'.¹²⁶ Likewise, Stephen Hughes, the influential clergyman who has taken up the cause of disseminating Welsh language religious literature, was 'clearly unhappy about the language policy of the Welsh Trust'.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, that language policy was formed from a perception that English was the language of advancement, and this was not ill-founded. The upper ranks of Welsh society were, at this time, using English in their writing and reading, and sending their sons to fee-paying grammar schools where they were taught English and Latin, in preparation for higher education or public office. Fluency in English had been required for any jobs connected with courts or other aspects of official life in Wales since the Act of Union in 1536, and, of course, to attain any sort of position in England. There were thirteen grammar schools in south Wales and the borders by 1700,¹²⁸ and their syllabus closely followed that of grammar schools in England. At Cowbridge School, for which there survives a large volume of correspondence from the headmaster, Daniel Durell (in post 1721-1763), the curriculum comprised the reading of Latin and Greek texts, arithmetic, French, geography, rhetoric, Hebrew scriptures, physics and astronomy.¹²⁹ Pupils were expected to

¹²⁶ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 203.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹²⁸ These were based in the larger towns of south Wales, namely Abergavenny, Monmouth, Usk, Llantilio Crossenny, Brecon, Carmarthen, Cowbridge, Haverfordwest, St David's and Swansea, and also, across the border, in Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol.

¹²⁹ Iolo Davies, '*A Certaine Schoole*': *A History of the Grammar School at Cowbridge, Glamorgan* (Cowbridge: D. Brown, 1967), p. 32.

already have acquired basic literacy, perhaps in the home from their families or tutors, but it is interesting to note that Durell complains that he was obliged to provide some English language classes for Welsh speakers. There was also, as expected, an established school library, for which Durell 'sent off for various books'.¹³⁰

Aside from the gentry, which comprised a very small percentage of the population, the picture of Welsh language speakers was a complex one. Jenkins has attempted to produce data, as far as possible, for the year 1750 which, although outside the period of this study, is unlikely to be very different from that of a century earlier.¹³¹ Seen in map form (Fig. 2.6), it immediately becomes clear, unsurprisingly, that people living in the border areas between Wales and England were bilingual. The anomalous feature appears to be the English dominance in Gower and the southern part of Pembrokeshire. Jenkins describes these areas as the 'well-established, well-defined and extremely robust Englishries whose inhabitants set little if any store by Welsh'.¹³² This seems to have derived from the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales in the eleventh century, following which some of the conquerors settled in the area close to their entry point of Milford and Pembroke, and their descendents continued to speak English and retain their English distinctiveness. This was probably reinforced in the late sixteenth century by an influx of Irish immigrants to the same areas, thus increasing the importance of using English for all communication. A striking description of the county written by George Owen in 1603 recounts the exactness of the division between the two areas, not only by language but by methods of husbandry, reluctance to inter-marry and even their staple diet:

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

¹³¹ Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett, and Eryn Mant White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', in Geraint H. Jenkins (eds.) *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 49.

¹³² Ibid., p.54.

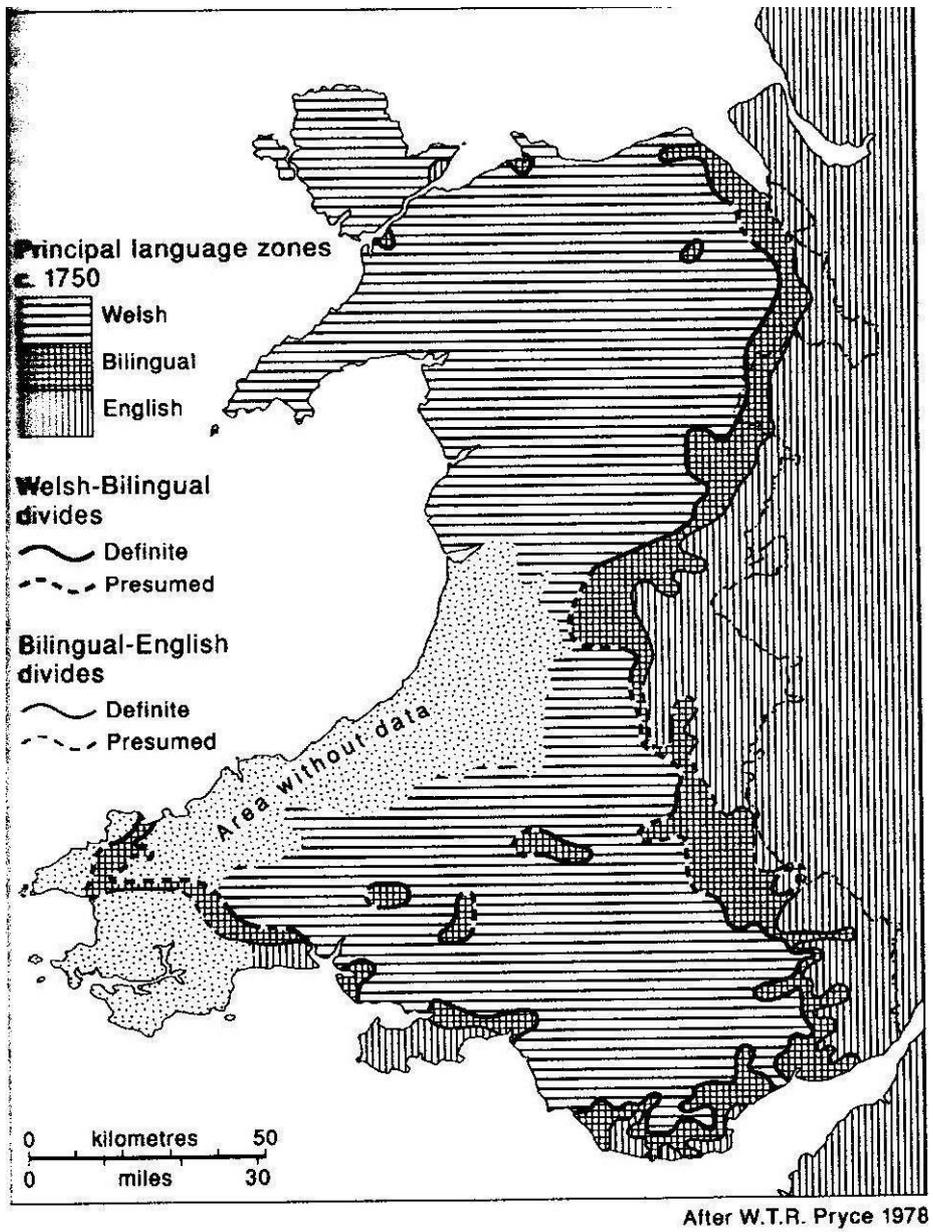


Fig. 2.6. Principal language zones in Wales, c. 1750

The shire is well near divided into two equal parts between the English speech and the Welsh, so that about seventy-four parishes are inhabited by Englishmen, and sixty-four parishes mere Welsh, and rest, being about six, speak both languages, being as it were the marches between both those nations.¹³³

Some evidence of this divide exists to the present day. Brian John has created maps showing the linguistic divide based on census results in 1931 and 1951.¹³⁴ He carried out field work which demonstrates that the distribution of place-names and church architectural typology closely follows the linguistic boundary, termed by twentieth century researchers as the Pembrokeshire landsker.¹³⁵ The border areas of Monmouthshire and Breconshire were also English-speaking, as indicated on the map in fig 2.6. In Hay-on-Wye, Geoffrey Fairs surmises that 'little Welsh has ever been spoken in the town' following the Anglo-Norman invasion although Welsh people remained on the surrounding higher ground. He cites an example in the seventeenth century of a Baptist minister in Hay who had to be transferred elsewhere because he could not speak English.¹³⁶ The architecture of the older buildings in the town follows the Herefordshire, rather than the Welsh tradition, and many Welsh names and words have been anglicised.¹³⁷

Research by Lloyd Bowen into the political culture of Wales in the early modern period has drawn on a wide variety of primary sources to establish the significance of the bilingual nature of Wales. A key premise made by Bowen is that 'a preponderantly monoglot Welsh population could not immediately access the increasing volume of English-language news, print and opinion'. His arguments rest on the importance of the oral transmission of

¹³³ George Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1994), p. 51.

¹³⁴ Brian S. John, 'The Linguistic Significance of the Pembrokeshire Landsker', *Pembrokeshire Historian*, 4 (1972), 7 – 29.

¹³⁵ The history of the use of this term has been examined by Gwenllian Awbrey. Despite its claim of being an ancient name of Norse origin, he establishes that it was used for the first time in an article written in 1939 by Margaret Davies. See: G. M. Awbery, 'The Term "Landsker" in Pembrokeshire', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire History Society*, 4 (1990/91), 32 – 44.

¹³⁶ Fairs, *A History of Hay*, p. 301.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 231, 301.

information, originating in English, through 'bilingual brokers', drawn mainly from the ranks of the gentry and the clergy, but also from those who crossed the border to carry out business, including pedlars and other itinerant traders.¹³⁸ His anecdotal evidence derives mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and more from the counties of north rather than south Wales. Public proclamations were often made in both English and Welsh, for example in Swansea market place in 1667 when announcing the outbreak of war against the United Provinces.¹³⁹ The use of translators in the English-language proceedings of courts seems to have been well established, whereas the business of the lower manorial courts was often carried out in Welsh. The effect of this cultural mediation through the elites resulted in interesting examples from the Civil War period, in which the Welsh-speaking population only heard what the English transmitters of news wanted them to hear, which was predominantly in favour of the Royalist cause.¹⁴⁰ Thus Bowen makes a strong case for the monoglot Welsh population mainly receiving their news and information through oral translation. His conclusion is particularly significant for this study since it is a strong indication that cheap print in English would have been purchased mainly by the small number of those who could read English, yet the content might reach a much wider audience through oral translation.

Further evidence of such oral transmission by English speakers can be found in the Commonplace book of John Gwin, a yeoman farmer living in Llangwm, in Monmouthshire in the mid-seventeenth century. A study of Gwin's recording of medical remedies and traditions by Alun Withey provides an illuminating insight into the early modern mind, as well as valuable information on the everyday life of a person of the 'middling sort' in south Wales.¹⁴¹ His commonplace book is handwritten in English, and quotes extensively from English

¹³⁸ Lloyd Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', *Past and Present*, 228 (2015), p. 127.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁴⁰ Bowen cites a pamphlet *Contemplations upon these Times* written in English in 1646 by John Lewis, a Welshman, as a counter to this misinformation.

¹⁴¹ Alun Withey, 'Medicine and Mortality in Early Modern Monmouthshire: The Commonplace Book of John Gwin', *Welsh History Review*, 23 (2008), 48 – 73.

medical books, which he must have owned or borrowed. He also, however, relies on oral transmission to and from family members, friends and medical practitioners for some of his remedies, and uses the Welsh language to describe certain ingredients. An example is cited of a medical remedy acquired from a practitioner which is then passed on to his 'landladies boy', almost certainly orally and in Welsh.¹⁴² Withey summarises:

Gwin was perfectly happy to share remedies with family, friends and employees, facilitating both the introduction of potentially exclusive medical knowledge into his rural home village, and, most likely, its further dissemination. Here again, his employees effectively gained access to the medical network of a prosperous yeoman farmer.¹⁴³

Perhaps one of most influential carriers and distributors of information across the language barrier at this time were the clergy. Often bilingual, and with a high degree of authority and respect, utterances from the pulpit in Welsh, some of which may have been paraphrased from the many English sermons then available in print, would have provided a weekly diet of instruction, admonition and encouragement to their congregations. The clergy were also directed by government officials to proclaim official pronouncements, presumably translating them as part of that process.¹⁴⁴ In certain areas, the Visitation records demonstrate a bilingual approach. In 1710, in the parish of Llanegwod, in Carmarthenshire, 'the Curate preaches every other Sunday, sometimes in English, sometimes in Welsh'.¹⁴⁵ One reason for this may have been a higher than average proportion of the common people speaking English or, on the other hand, some important members of the gentry who regularly attended the church.

A detailed examination of the ownership and distribution of cheap print in south Wales will be carried out in later chapters, but at this point it is useful to summarise that books in both languages seemed to be readily available, although Joad Raymond concludes

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁴³ Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750*, p. 92.

¹⁴⁴ Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', p. 133.

¹⁴⁵ Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', p. 293.

that 'the cheaper output of English language materials presumably penetrated less deeply into Welsh Society'.¹⁴⁶ As already shown, the SPCK libraries and schools held only English titles, yet the correspondence with their agents indicated that many Welsh language books were sent to ministers and agents for free distribution, thus acknowledging the needs of the adult population. Stephen Hughes, who was frustrated by the paucity of books being produced in the Welsh language, edited and assisted with the publication of many titles (all published in London) as well as appointing agents in Carmarthen, Swansea, Bridgend and Abergavenny to distribute them,¹⁴⁷ expressing his motivation in an introduction to his 1658 edition of the poems of Rees Prichard *The Welshman's Candle*:

Another consideration which impelled me to print these things is the great likelihood that this will stir many who are illiterate to learn to read Welsh. People are eager for new things, and these printed are new to our country, and possibly many (influenced alas by the aim of amusement rather than improving their souls) will set about learning to read¹⁴⁸

Regarding non-religious publications, Robert Raikes's agents penetrating in the south-east counties of Wales were selling titles exclusively in English. Further west, the shelves of the Dawkin Gove's bookshop in Carmarthen were stocked with large quantities of both English and Welsh books.¹⁴⁹

One telling example regarding cheap print in the Welsh language comes from the prolific publishing activities of Thomas Jones. As a Welshman in London, he set up his press in 1670, obtained a licence from the Stationer's Company to print almanacks in Welsh, and proceeded to do so on generous scale, as well as producing a number of English titles including at least one chapbook.¹⁵⁰ He used agents in Wales to market his Welsh books,¹⁵¹ and himself visited fairs in Brecon and Cardiff. He also made use of pedlars and chapmen,

¹⁴⁶ Joad Raymond, *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 23.

¹⁴⁷ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 247.

¹⁴⁸ Llwyd, *Printing and Publishing in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Dawkin Gove's inventory (NLW, SD 1692-17). This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰ Anon, *The Character of a Quack Doctor, or, The Abusive Practices of Impudent Illiterate Pretenders to Physick Exposed*. (London: Thomas Jones, 1676).

¹⁵¹ His main agent in south Wales was Samuel Rogers, an Abergavenny bookseller.

who would have been only too eager to sell almanacks which were exempt from the requirement to have a Hawkers' Licence,¹⁵² but Jones complained, in the introduction to his almanack of 1688, that they sold his books at twice the price.¹⁵³ When the Printing Act lapsed in 1695, he moved his business to Shrewsbury and continued to produce his very popular almanacks as well as ballads, a Welsh dictionary, a Welsh primer and other Welsh and English titles.¹⁵⁴ Jenkins' assessment of their impact is summarised as:

Welsh almanacs commanded a wide readership and were valuable stimulants to the growth of literacy. Cheap, lively and entertaining, they were deliberately tailored to the needs of the growing number of literate farmers, craftsmen and peasants who, according to Thomas Jones, were "too poor to enter the market of English and Latin to double their caps with learning". The almanac, in fact, was the first Welsh publication to provide humble readers with a happy blend of instruction and entertainment. In its many-sided role as diary, calendar, astrological guide, periodical, newspaper, primer and songbook, it helped to instil the reading habit among lower social groups.¹⁵⁵

There is no evidence that has so far come to light that the dominance of the English language in south Pembrokeshire and Gower has a particular effect on literacy levels, although it is probable that the children in the charity schools learnt more quickly and effectively in their native tongue. Since the measurement of literacy, in precise numeric terms, is unlikely to be feasible for this period, it would not be possible to directly compare England and Wales at the same point in time, although such an exercise would prove most interesting. It is valid, however, to surmise that the very fact of Wales being a two-language nation would be sufficient to at least slow down the rate at which the lower ranks of society acquired reading and writing skills, not helped by the limited availability of non-religious

¹⁵² See Chapter 4 below for further examination of the exemptions.

¹⁵³ Eiluned Rees, 'Wales and the London Book Trade before 1820', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550 - 1850* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas Jones wrote long introductions to his almanacks which contained much information about himself and his books. Since this is all in Welsh, the information therein has been derived from: Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales* and Jones, *Wales*, 719 – 734.

¹⁵⁵ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p.237.

Welsh language printed material until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Indeed, it is claimed that, even by 1700, 90% of the population were Welsh monoglot speakers.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, the significant efforts by dedicated ministers and philanthropists to save the souls of the Welsh, and lead them to direct contact with the Word of God in their own language, could not fail to have some impact on literacy, 'for the future of the Protestant faith depended on the growth of a Welsh reading public'.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, the importance of oral transmission, rather than through print, is summarised by Withey as a characteristic of Welsh popular culture:

As in many other European agrarian societies, Wales had a rich tradition of popular tales and legends which were continually reinforced and recycled through popular gatherings and public recitations and performances, as well as fireside tales and gossip. This verbal sharing of ideas was also reinforced through work patterns. Markets and fairs brought people into contact with those from other areas, and the normal conduct of business was interspersed with news and gossip.¹⁵⁸

It is against this image of the increasing prevalence of religious printed material, in both English and Welsh, contrasting with the paucity of evidence for more light-hearted cheap print, especially amongst the lower social orders, that this study will be examining in later chapters. This chapter has given an overview of the religious and educational landscape in south Wales and the borders in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. This has included an attempt to assess literacy levels amongst the lower orders, as well as the value of oral transmission. The next chapter will examine to what extent printed material penetrated to these geographic areas, and how this was achieved.

¹⁵⁶ Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁷ William P. Griffith, 'Humanist Learning, Education and the Welsh Language 1536 - 1660', in Geraint H. Jenkins (eds.) *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 296.

¹⁵⁸ Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750*, p.59.

CHAPTER THREE

THE BOOK TRADE IN SOUTH WALES 1650 TO 1730

The central theme of this study is the distribution and ownership of chapbooks and other cheap print in south Wales and the borders which itself depends on the establishment and effectiveness of its general book trade, defined as the production, buying and selling of books and other printed material, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Scholars examining this area have tended to focus on Welsh publishing, and the distribution, use and ownership of books in Welsh. Geraint H. Jenkins, introducing an overview of the printing and publishing trade in Wales, begins with an account of the difficulties in book production in the Welsh language, both before the lapse of the Printing Act in 1696, when most printing took place in London, and thereafter when early printers within Wales were slow to take up the challenge.¹ Likewise, the impressive bibliographical work of Eiluned Rees mainly includes Welsh language titles,² and her seminal work written with Philip Henry Jones exclusively covers, despite its broad title, books published in Welsh.³ These scholars seem to be at pains to make up for past deficiencies in scholarly research, and their tone is celebratory in emphasising the richness and eventual success of the Welsh language establishing itself in print. This study, on the other hand, focusses on the distribution and consumption of English language material within the geographical region of south Wales and its border areas, and will contend that, despite the dominance of Welsh speakers, there was a thriving and extensive book-trade in that type of material. Nevertheless, the research mentioned above remains relevant to the extent that booksellers and mercers sold material in both languages as will be demonstrated through inventories and other archival documents.

¹ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, pp. 230 – 254.

² Rees, *Libri Walliae: A Catalogue of Welsh Books and Books Printed in Wales 1546 - 1820*.

³ Jones and Rees, *A Nation and its Books*.

Before examining evidence from inventories, it is important to note its limitations. For the five historic counties of south Wales, namely Breconshire, Pembrokeshire, Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and Carmarthenshire, the National Library of Wales holds probate documents for 45,959 individuals for the years between 1650 and 1750. Mortality rates themselves fluctuated a great deal. There were twenty conspicuously poor harvests during these years, leaving the poor both hungry and susceptible to disease.⁴ Epidemics, such as smallpox, plague and unspecified fever were frequent. In 1722, seventy-one adults in Carmarthen died of smallpox in a nine month period, and in 1729, a particularly poor year for harvest, a general sickness 'raged mightily' in most of the Welsh counties.⁵ Surviving the first few years of life was, in itself, a challenge. In Swansea in 1685, 56 of the 119 burials were of infants, and the average life expectancy in the 1690s was around 35.⁶ Similarly in Abergavenny in 1670, 29 of the 70 burials were children, and in 1710 the figure was 24 out of 57.⁷

There is no way of knowing exactly what proportion is represented by the number of individuals with extant probate documents from amongst the total number of adult deaths, or even from amongst those who would have made wills in the first place, although Jonathan Barry makes an estimate that less than ten per cent of adult Bristolians are represented by extant documents between 1620 and 1769.⁸ Survival of probate documents, which had to be proved in the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese of residence,⁹ was subject to chance, as with any other type of archival evidence. In some cases, only a will remains, in others a bond, in others just the inventory and sometimes all three. Thus it must be borne in mind, regarding

⁴ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 135.

⁵ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 153.

⁶ Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, p. 91.

⁷ GwA D/Pa.42.1. Abergavenny Parish Registers, 1653-1677; GwA D/Pa.42.2. Abergavenny Parish registers, 1677-1719.

⁸ Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction', in E George and S George (eds.) *Bristol Probate Inventories Part 3: 1690 - 1804* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2008), p. viii.

⁹ If the individual owned land in more than one diocese, or died while travelling, the will was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

the evidence presented below, that this may or may not be typical or representative of the population of south Wales as a whole. Furthermore, it seems likely that wills and inventories were generally only made by and on behalf of those with goods to leave, although sometimes these seemed to be very few indeed. The inventory of Richard Price, a chapman of Canton (near Llandaff) who died in 1685, comprised a few items of furniture and kitchenware totalling £1.13.0., and David Richard, a pedlar of Llangadoc, Carmarthenshire, who died in 1729, left goods worth £2.12.02.¹⁰ The total value of an inventory should be regarded with caution, since not only is real estate generally omitted altogether, but debts owed were only occasionally listed. The inventory of William David, a pedlar of Llanedy in Carmarthenshire, listed goods to the value of £13.11.00, debts owed to him, 'whereof a great part is desperate', as £14.12.09 and debts owed by him to ten named people totalling £35.03.00.¹¹ Margaret Spufford, in the introduction to her study of 127 inventories of chapmen in England, points out that indebtedness at death is sometimes revealed in the will itself.¹² This is also the case for a relatively wealthy chapman, Robert Jordan, whose inventory of 1731 amounted to £197.18.00 including debts owed to him of £20, but whose will, also of 1731, stated:

I give and bequeath all and singular the residue of my goods chattels Debts Credits and personal estate which shall be and remain over and above the payment of my Debts and the discharge of my funeral expenses unto my brother David Jordan of the parish of Lanboidy in the county of Carmarthen shopkeeper

Furthermore, it is probable that some goods were removed by family members before the inventory was made, in an attempt to avoid legal complications although this is difficult to prove. Since the focus of this study is to identify the presence of books in inventories, a further caveat must be added that very small items, of little value, might often be omitted.

¹⁰ NLW LL/1685/82 Inventory of Richard Price; NLW SD/1729/212 Inventory of David Richard

¹¹ NLW SD/1698/71 Inventory of William David

¹² Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p.38

Barry, in his study of Bristol inventories, concludes that 'assessors were not interested in worthless, unbound items ... chapbooks and pamphlets were rarely mentioned'.¹³

The methodology employed in this current study was to examine inventories dated between 1650 and 1750 of people in the five counties of south Wales together with a more limited approach for the border regions within Herefordshire and Gloucestershire. For the Welsh counties, any person described as a chapman, pedlar, mercer, bookseller and shopkeeper was included,¹⁴ whereas for the English areas mercers and shopkeepers were excluded, owing to very high numbers, especially in Bristol where the impact on the south Wales book trade was marginal. An individual's occupation might be stated in their will or inventory, but other sources were also used to identify individuals, such as Dawkin Gove, the bookseller of Carmarthen (see below) in whose will and inventory no occupation is stated. These sources include the Register of Hawkers from 1697 and 1698, described more fully in Chapter Four, lease documents, databases, references in published research, references in contemporary books and newspapers, court cases and parish registers. For the south Wales counties, a total of 247 inventories have been examined, and forty-six of these specify books amongst the shop goods (see Appendix 1).¹⁵ The distribution by known occupation (see Chart 3.1) demonstrates that mercers far outnumber other occupational groups, and the pattern is repeated when only considering those inventories containing books amongst the shop goods (see Chart 3.2).

¹³ Barry, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, p. 66.

¹⁴The term 'shopkeeper' includes the occupations of chandler, victualler, malster, glover, cordwainer, blacksmith, tanner, ironmonger, and tailor in those inventories which list their goods under the heading of 'in the shop'.

¹⁵ It should be noted that this figure of forty-five includes a small sample of seven inventories from the counties of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire (including Bristol). These numbers are so low that they have been excluded from the graphs at Figs.1 and 2.

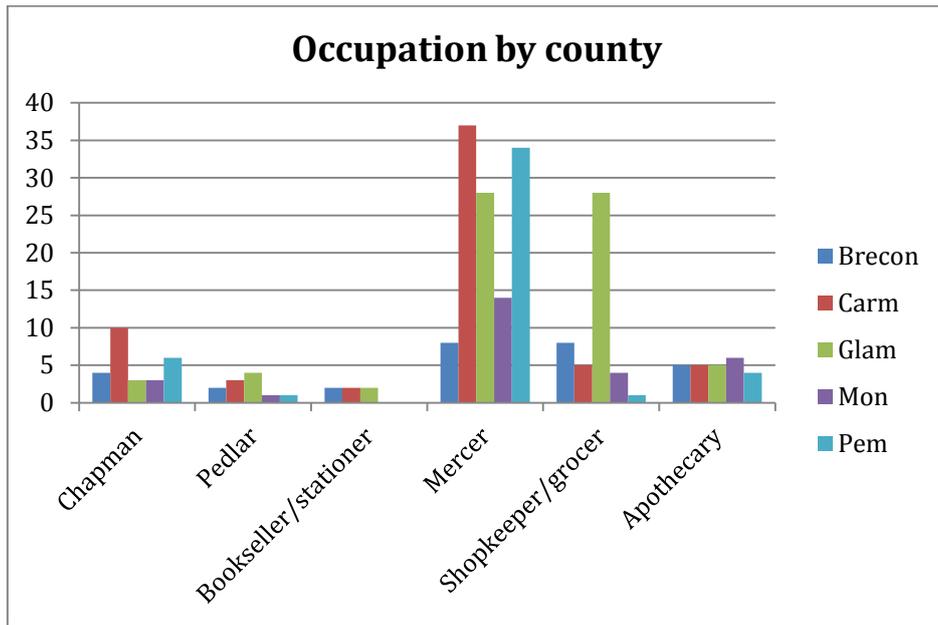


Chart 3.1. Occupational and geographic distribution of extant inventories in south Wales 1650 – 1750

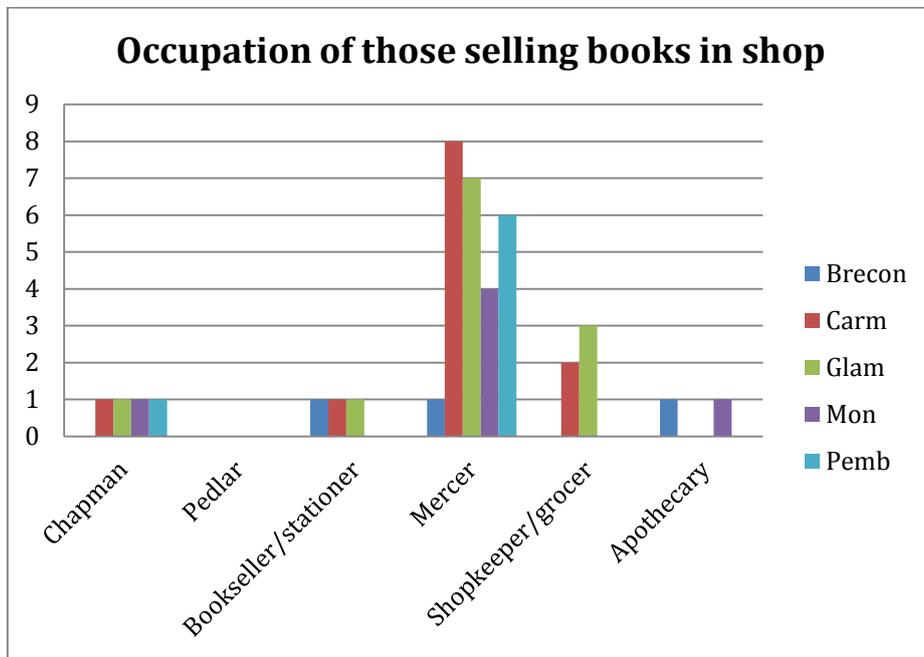


Chart 3.2 Occupational and geographic distribution of traders selling books in their shops found in extant inventories in south Wales 1650 – 1750

The way in which books were described in these forty-six inventories is varied. One of the most interesting and detailed lists is found in the 1692 inventory of Dawkin Gove, of Carmarthen.¹⁶ He was twice Mayor of that town, in 1649 and 1678,¹⁷ and he is named as a distributing agent by Stephen Hughes in his preface to a popular Welsh book of divine poems.¹⁸ He issued trade tokens in his own name during the currency shortages due to various crises between 1648 and 1672 which led to a short-term problems for everyday commercial transactions. As George Boone explains in his authoritative work on Welsh tokens, 'the true warrant for the vast municipal and private issues of 1648 – 72 lies in the dilatory character of official proceedings, both during the Usurpation and later'.¹⁹ The tokens had no legal legitimacy, but were widely issued and accepted within their own locality as a substitute for coin, and many examples are now held in museums.²⁰ Gove ensured that his brass farthing token clearly showed its origin, thus becoming a useful advertisement for his business (see Fig. 3.1). Although described as a mercer in contemporary records,²¹ his inventory, valued at £104.16.00, comprised a large book stock indicating that bookselling was his main, and clearly quite lucrative, business. Many of the books are listed by title which makes this inventory exceptionally informative. There are multiple copies of nine Welsh titles, amounting to 325 individual volumes, all of which are priced at 4*d.* or less. Following this are listed, in a seemingly arbitrary manner, 1,101 volumes of varying sizes and prices, mostly without specified titles. There are entries such as 'a parcell of old paper books and ballets', valued at 2/6, and '52 books in duodecimo at 1*d.*', both of which might have been chapbooks or schoolbooks. The few titles that are listed, namely *Soldier's*

¹⁶ NLW SD/1692/17. Inventory of Dawkin Gove. His name takes a number of forms in archival documents e.g. Goff, Goffe, Goch, Gough.

¹⁷ Carmarthen Archives CTC 1/12/1/1. Calendar of Mayors 1400 – 1732.

¹⁸ Rhys Prichard, *Y Drydded Rhan O Waith. The Third Part of the Works* (London: s.n., 1672), preface.

¹⁹ George C. Boon and National Museum of Wales, *Welsh Tokens of the Seventeenth Century* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1973), p. 18.

²⁰ Boon provided a catalogue of all extant examples. See *ibid.*

²¹ George Eyre Evans, 'Carmarthenshire Delinquents', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, 2 (1907), p. 221. Evans cites an entry from the Calendar of the Committee of Compoundings, 8th March 1648.



Figure 3.1. Brass farthing issued by Dawkin Gove of Carmarthen c.1664²²

²² Copyright National Museum of Wales. With thanks to Edward Besley for giving me access to the collection.

Companion, The life of Jesus and Hodder's Arithmetick, suggest English language text.²³

There are bibles, prayer books and dictionaries which command a slightly higher value, but the majority of titles are 4d or less, and many were unbound. It is possible that the appraisers simply counted the volumes on each shelf in Gove's shop, and listed them in that order. The estimated value of all these books was £30.07.11, thus there is little doubt that Dawkin Gove was a wealthy and prominent citizen of Carmarthen who ran a successful book selling business.²⁴

Information from the other forty-four inventories typically includes just one or two lines mentioning books amongst much longer lists of a variety of shop goods. Robert Smart, a mercer of Carmarthen, who died in 1692, left an inventory of his stock running to seven pages, most of which comprised lengths of a wide variety of fabrics, amongst which is also listed ' 2 Welsh testaments, 1 Welsh Bible, 5 Welsh books, 1 old Virgil, 1 old Ovidd's Metamorphosis, 3 grammars, 1 English Ovidd's Metamorphosis, an old psalter, 2 doz. ABCs'.²⁵ Edward Earle, a mercer in Newport who died in 1696, has an equally long list of general goods including '6 grammars, 2 new Bibles, 7 primers, 2 common prayer books and 9 books'.²⁶ The far more modest inventory of Richard Edwards, a mercer in Llantrisant, Glamorgan, comprised a single page, mentioning '3 little books' at two shillings and sixpence.²⁷ Mathew Jones, although described as a bookseller in Swansea in 1677, sold a wide variety of other goods such as grocery, ironmongery and chandlery as well as 'books and paper'.²⁸ On the other hand, in 1728 Theophilus Powell, a Brecon bookseller, limited his stock to '3 folio common prayers books, 1 folio Bible, 80 books of 4^o size, 360 books of

²³ These three titles were popular publications during the seventeenth century, and appeared in many editions.

²⁴ He was also a generous benefactor, being recorded in Town Council documents as giving, in 1648, "£40 for repairing three conduits, and 2 clocks with dyals, one in St. Peter's Church, and the other in the Guild Hall of this Corporation" and in 1674 he bestowed a pulpit cloth and cushion of purple velvet with suitable fringe and tassells". See Anon, 'Notes on Some Mayors of the County Borough of Carmarthen', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, 6 (1910), p. 42.

²⁵ NLW, SD/1692/23 Inventory of Robert Smart.

²⁶ NLW, LL/1696/153. Inventory of Edward Earle.

²⁷ NLW, SD/1726/85. Inventory of Richard Edwards.

²⁸ NLW, SD/1677/171. Inventory of Mathew Jones.

lesser size, 16 doz. primers, 4 doz horn books' and other related stationery goods such as paper, parchment, accmpt books and leather skins.²⁹ Three inventories list 'pockett bookes', in one case specifying that they are made from vellum,³⁰ which indicates that these were probably books with blank pages for writing, rather than printed, published items. Eleven of the forty-four inventories describe the books simply as 'small' or 'litttle', whereas nine mention primers, and eight list horn books.³¹ It seems likely that individual appraisers varied a great deal in how they treated these items, and how they valued them. Thus it is not possible to estimate the number or nature of the books for sale by Joseph Hibbs, a mercer of Swansea, whose 1708 inventory has, in one line, 'Bookes, buckles, knives, scissors and pins' with a total value of £4.³² One of the commonest phrases used is 'a parcel of small books' which may have been unbound chapbooks, but it seems to have been common practice at this time to sell all sorts of books with paper covers, leaving the purchaser with the responsibility to take them to be bound if he so wished.³³ This also resulted in lower carriage rates, since weight dictated the charges the shopkeeper would have to pay for the passage from the printing houses of London, either by land or sea. The inventory of Robert Callow, a bookbinder and stationer of Carmarthen, listed calfskins amongst his goods,³⁴ whilst the service offered by the bookbinder Crispianus Jones (for whom there are no extant probate documents) was advertised in a Welsh book published by Nicholas Thomas in Carmarthen in 1723.³⁵ Books are also listed amongst the drugs, glasses, bottles and distilling equipment in the inventories of Welsh apothecaries such as William Williams of Builth and Jacob James of Newport.³⁶

²⁹ NLW, BR/1728/15. Inventory of Theophilus Powell.

³⁰ NLW, LL 1724/26. Inventory of Florence Hiley, mercer of Cardiff.

³¹ See Appendix 1 for full break down.

³² NLW, SD/1708/210. Inventory of Joseph Hibbs.

³³ Eiluned Rees, 'Bookbinding in Eighteenth Century Wales', *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 12 (1983-84), 51 – 52.

³⁴ NLW, SD/1683/14. Inventory of Robert Callow.

³⁵ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 250.

³⁶ NLW, BR/1705/9. Inventory of William Williams; NLW LL/1696/154. Inventory of Jacob James.

It should also be noted in this context that drugs and 'apothecary ware' were often sold by booksellers. This association between two seemingly unrelated commodities was examined by John Alden, who wrote:

It is evident that by the second half of the seventeenth century it was a common practice for booksellers and stationers, and, occasionally printers, and even binders, to carry in stock one or more of the current panaceas prepared for popular consumption.³⁷

The probable explanation for this is simply convenience, especially in locations remote from major towns. Alden examines contemporary advertisements for a number of popular medicines, and one of these, on the final pages of a book about a cure for scurvy published in 1679, comprises a list of some eighty retailers throughout Britain from whom the medicine can be purchased,³⁸ twenty-five of which were booksellers or stationers. The inventories examined for this study have identified several similar examples, such as Rees Lloyd, a mercer of Llandeilo whose shop goods included both 'twenty small bookes' and 'apothecary drugges' in 1702,³⁹ and Ezra Sayes of Tenby, who died in 1679, who sold mithridate (a popular antidote to poisons) as well as 'Bibles and other books'.⁴⁰ Robert Raikes, who set up his press in Gloucester in 1722, advertised within his own newspaper, the *Gloucester Journal*, that various medicines were available from his printing shop, and also distributed by his agents in South Wales (see Fig. 3.2).

Amongst the mercers and booksellers who dominate these forty-six inventories are three men described as 'petty chapmen', and one as a 'hawker'. Examination of these documents reveals that, far from being itinerant sellers trekking the countryside with their

³⁷ John Alden, 'Pills and Publishing: Some Notes on the English Book Trade 1660 - 1715', *Library*, 7 (1952), p. 21.

³⁸ M. Bromfield, *A Brief Discovery of the Chief Causes, Signs, and Effects of That Most Reigning Disease, the Scurvy Together with the Causes, Symptoms, & Effects, of Several Other Dangerous Diseases Most Usually Afflicting Mankind. Whereunto is Added, a Short Account of Those Incomparable, and Most Highly Approved Pills*. (London: s.n., 1679), p. 16.

³⁹ NLW, SD/1702/71. Inventory of Rees Lloyd.

⁴⁰ NLW, SD/1697/217. Inventory of Ezra Sayes.

Sold at the Printing-Office in *Gloucester*, that at *Northampton*,
and by the Men that carry this News.



Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops; publish'd at the
Request of several Persons of distinction from both Universities
of this Kingdom, being nor to be parallel'd by any Medicine yet
experienc'd in the known World for the curing of the follow-
ing Distempers. Formerly Sold by him, at his House, for five
Shillings the Bottle; but now, for the Advantage of his Fellow
Creatures, expos'd thus in public and sold for him in most Cities
and celebrated Towns of *Great-Britain*, for One Shilling.

You are desired to observe that these Drops neither purge nor vomit; but are
the only Remedy which the best of Judges make use of to prevent both; likewise
for all Fluxes, Spitting of Blood, Consumptions, Agues, Small Pox, Measles, Colds,
Coughs, and Pains in the Limbs and Joints. It puts off the most violent Fever in the
World, if taken in time; gives present ease in the most racking torment of the Gout;
the same in all sorts of Colicks; cures the Rheumatism in Nine Days, without
Bleeding; it easeth After-pains, prevents Miscarriages, cures the Rickets in Children,
and is wonderful in the Stone and Gravel in the Kidneys, Bladder or Ureter; brings
away Slime, Gravel, and sometimes Stones of a great bigness, and is the very best of
Medicines for all Stoppages or Pains in the Stomach, Shortness of Breath, Straitness
of the Breast; and rekindles the almost extinguish'd natural Heat in diseas'd Bodies,
by which means it restores the Languishing to perfect Health; witness those crowds
of ingenious Gentlemen and Ladies that embrace all Opportunities in giving it its just
and due Praise.

That the Public may not be impos'd on, those that are not seal'd with the
Boar's Head, as in the Margin are Counterfeits.

These Drops are likewise sold by Mr. Rogers, Bookseller, in Ross, Mr. Wild
in Ludlow, Mr. Crofts in Monmouth, and at most Cities and celebrated Towns in
Great Britain.

Satur-

Fig. 3.2. Extract from p. 4 of the *Gloucester Journal*, 10th May 1725

packs, they were probably shopkeepers with substantial stock. The 1706 inventory of Peter Reeves, of Magor in Monmouthshire, lists two pages of different types of fabric, grocery goods and 'ironmongery ware' including '6 horn books' amounting to a total of £42.04.00.⁴¹ That of Thomas Lewis of Carmarthen, in 1664, comprised one page of mercery goods headed 'in the shop' and included a bag of small books,⁴² whilst John Boston of Martletwy in Pembrokeshire, who died in 1714, had a smaller stock of textiles and haberdashery with 'books' included with other items.⁴³ He owned two horses, and his estate amounted to £34.00.06. The one hawker, John Telfer of Swansea, had in his 1698 inventory a wide selection of fabrics, including a 'parcell of bookes', which certainly could have been carried in a pack.⁴⁴ He is the only example in this study of a person who was licensed under the 1697 Act to carry out itinerant trading, and also has an extant inventory mentioning books amongst his wares, but with an estate valued at £180.19.08 he was clearly quite wealthy, and hardly matches the image of an itinerant trader scraping a living.⁴⁵

Sources other than inventories provide further insights into the south Wales book trade. John Crofts of Monmouth and J. Oakey of Cardiff are advertised by Robert Raikes in his *Gloucester Journal* as booksellers from whom his newly published title *The Lives and Amours of Queens and Royal Mistresses* in 1726 was obtainable.⁴⁶ Another Welsh title, Rhys Prichard's *Divine Poems* (1672), includes an introduction by the evangelist preacher Stephen Hughes, in which he clearly listed the four booksellers from whom this volume could be purchased.⁴⁷ John Lewis' occupation of bookseller can be found amongst a long list of clergy and school teachers who were subscribers to Gambold's 'A Welsh Grammar', published in 1727 by Nicholas Thomas in Carmarthen. On the list of retailers printed on the final pages of

⁴¹ NLW, LL/1706/11. Inventory of Peter Reeves

⁴² NLW, SD/1664/25. Inventory of Thomas Lewis.

⁴³ NLW, SD/1714/148. Inventory of John Boston.

⁴⁴ NLW, SD/1698/136. Inventory of John Telfer.

⁴⁵ Further insights into Welsh chapmen's inventories can be found in Chapter 4.

⁴⁶ *Gloucester Journal*, 19 July 1726, p.4.

⁴⁷ Prichard, *Y Drydded Rhan O Waith. The Third Part of the Works*.

Bromfield's short book extolling the virtues of his cure for scurvy, mentioned above, can be found two names from Wales, Edward Bevan, a chandler in Monmouth and Evan Lloyd, a bookseller in Haverfordwest.⁴⁸ Also listed in the Welsh borders are Thomas Palmer, a stationer in Tewkesbury, and Richard Hunt, a bookseller in Hereford. The two earliest printers in Wales, Isaac Carter, in Trefhedyn, Cardiganshire, in 1718 and Nicholas Thomas in Carmarthen in 1723 both sold their own books, and perhaps others, from their printing houses. Carter, no doubt eager to sell his goods, printed the names of two local booksellers, Thomas Lewis and David Evans, on the title page of an early religious work in 1722.⁴⁹ Robert Raikes' marketing initiative for his newly published newspaper and books involved employing thirteen distributors to cover many towns and villages in the region around Gloucester. Four of these travelled into south Wales, and thus can legitimately be included amongst the number of those who were selling printed matter.⁵⁰

Another bookseller, Samuel Rogers of Abergavenny, is mentioned in several different contexts. He was an agent for Thomas Jones' almanack, printed in London in 1694.⁵¹ Shrewsbury became, initially through the establishment of Jones' press in 1696, an important printing centre for Wales, since the language of the almanacks was Welsh, and thus found a ready market over the border. Within the pages of each annual edition, he usually printed the names of his agents, and these were predominantly in north Wales. In 1694, Samuel Rogers was the only south Wales agent in a list of eight, whilst the 1710 almanack had a list of ten agents, all in north Wales. It is this focus on distribution in north Wales that

⁴⁸ Bromfield, *A Brief Discovery of the Chief Causes*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ William Melmoth, *Dwysfawr Rym Buchedd Grefyddol, Gwedi Ei Hystyried at Ba Un Yr Angwanegwyd Rhai Boreuol a Phrydnawnol Weddiau* (Trefhedyn: Isaac Carter, 1722).

⁵⁰ A list of the distributors was published by Raikes in the *Gloucester Journal*, 24th April 1725, p. 6. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

⁵¹ Thomas Jones, *Newyddion mawr oddiwrth y ser neu almanacc am y flwyddyn o oedran [brace] Y byd*, 5644. *Crist*, 1695, (London: Thomas Jones, 1695), p.48.

led to the exclusion of the printers and booksellers of Shrewsbury from this study.⁵² Rogers also stocked the 24-page pamphlet of Robert Swynfen's sermon *Balaam's Folly and Intended Disobedience Exemplify'd*, published by Robert Raikes in 1723,⁵³ and he supplied books to Howell Harris of Trefecca, including 'small books of use to children'.⁵⁴ Booksellers are occasionally identified from parish registers, one such example being William Miles of Cardiff whose son John was baptised in 1696.⁵⁵

Reflecting on this total number of 148 commercial book distributors in south Wales and the borders (but excluding Bristol), it can legitimately be concluded that printed matter was widely available to purchase in shops.⁵⁶ In about half these cases, there is only minimal information available in BBTI, and no inventory or other record of what specific type of printed material they sold. For those for which there is evidence of their stock, this is recorded in Appendix 1. Although it is interesting to note that, for example, seventeen tradesmen sold some sort of school book, and that nineteen stocked small books, including almanacks, yet it must be borne in mind that these figures are incomplete and rest entirely on the chance survival of documents and contemporary books. It seems likely that a shopkeeper such as Thomas Lewis of Carmarthen, for whom we only know for certain that he sold a single book title, in all probability sold other books. Given the spread of book types identified in Appendix 1, it is reasonable to surmise that any person identified as a bookseller, or allied trade, did stock some form of printed material regardless of it being listed in his inventory or elsewhere. The geographic spread of the 148 known tradesmen is wide, covering both urban and rural locations, yet this probably only represents the tip of the iceberg. No Welsh person

⁵² Anon, 'Thomas Jones, the Almanac Maker', *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 2 (1918), p. 101. Also Geraint H. Jenkins, 'The Sweating Astrologer: Thomas Jones the Almanacer', in R. R. Davies (eds.) *Welsh Society and Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), p. 174.

⁵³ *Gloucester Journal*, 29th July 1723 p. 6.

⁵⁴ Boyd Stanley Schlenker and Eryn Mant White, *Calendar of the Trevecka Letters* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 2003), p.8 & p. 12.

⁵⁵ Anon, *Parochial Records: Registers of St. John's, Cardiff, 1669-1751* (Cardiff: Cardiff Records Committee, 1901).

⁵⁶ The full list can be found in Appendix 2. Only 8 out of this total were itinerant sellers.

was very far from a mercer's shop, and some form of printed material was almost certainly available to them from this source.

Regarding itinerant sellers of books, including pedlars and chapman, the evidence from sources other than inventories is scant. Richard Suggett, in searching the criminal cases before the Court of Great Sessions, has found just a few examples of pedlars selling books in north Wales, and just one brief citation of a man, Rees Gouch, supplying books in Carmarthen.⁵⁷ Since there is no further information to be found for this person, it cannot be known the nature of his occupation. As already mentioned, these are men, and sometimes women, who leave very little trace in terms of documentation and probably were skilled at avoiding contact with officialdom lest they be hounded out of a locality as vagrants, particularly following the Act which required purchase of an annual license. This will be considered in a more detail in Chapter Four, but it seems they had only a very small part to play in the book trade activities of south Wales at this time.

In the border areas, including Bristol, a different picture emerges. The BBTI provides data for the cities of Bristol, Hereford and Gloucester, and these can be shown in graphic form (Chart 3.3) to demonstrate higher numbers of printers and booksellers than in the south Wales counties, even though the latter data includes the additional archival sources mentioned above.⁵⁸ All three, and especially Bristol, were well developed English metropolitan areas where a great deal of trade and commerce took place at this time. Evidence for distribution direct from Gloucester and Bristol printers will be considered in Chapter Four, but first it is important to consider transport networks more generally, in an attempt to understand how printed material, sometimes in large quantities, reached the shelves of booksellers and mercers in south Wales in this period.

⁵⁷ Suggett, *Pedlars and Mercers as Distributors of Print in Early Modern Wales*, p. 32, n.20.

⁵⁸ <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> [accessed 25th July 2017]

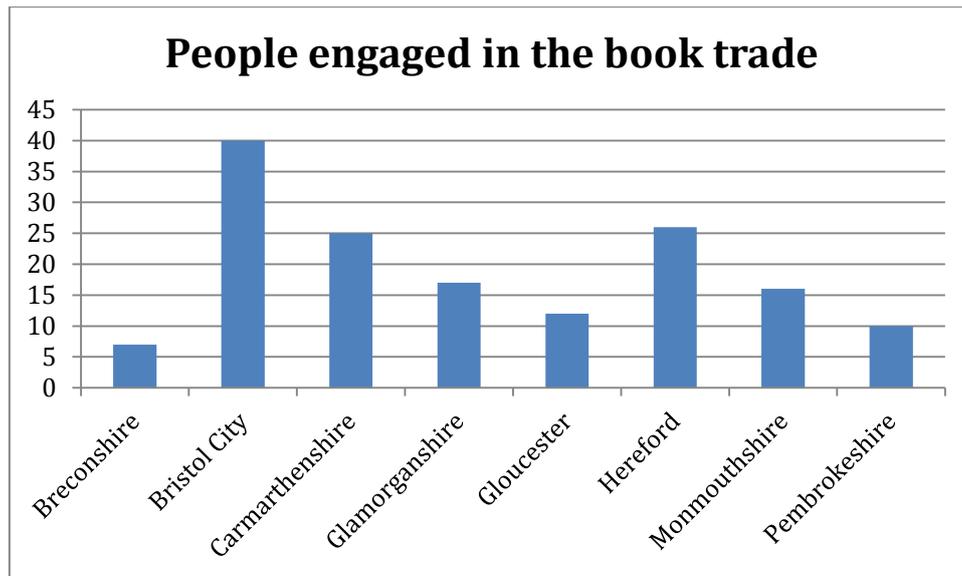


Chart 3.3 Numbers of people engaged in book trade between 1650 and 1750⁵⁹

Before 1695, the year in which Printing Act lapsed thus allowing freedom to print in the provinces, the majority of printed material was produced in London. From the capital there were two widely used routes to south Wales, namely the roads going west and the sea route round the south coast to the Bristol Channel. The road network, showing the main routes used by travellers was clearly illustrated and described in John Ogilby's published work *Britannia Depicta*, which first appeared in 1675 and ran to many editions thereafter.⁶⁰ It was financed by subscribers and widely advertised on broadsheets prior to publication with the words 'Proposals for the more speedy and better carrying on of his Britannia'. The atlas itself was published in three volumes, each of several hundred pages, with vertical maps for each section of the road. Not only did it run to further editions, but other authors produced variants, using Ogilby's name, well into the eighteenth century. Responding to this market for travel information, Thomas Kitchin published, in 1749, a road atlas with each county laid out in conventional form as well as an overall map of England and Wales showing the main roads

⁵⁹ This graph is based on data in Appendix 2

⁶⁰ John Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First, or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales ...* (London: The author, 1675).

and distances between principal towns (see Fig. 3.3). From this the route from London to south Wales can be clearly seen, going through Gloucester and then dividing, with the northern route extending to Carmarthen, and the southern route covering the coastal towns to St. Davids. The condition of these roads, which would dictate the nature of vehicle on which to travel, as well as time taken, is a matter of some scholarly debate. A contemporary account by Daniel Defoe of his travels to south Wales, published in 1724, reveals little information about the navigability of the major roads themselves, since he often sought out interesting byways to explore, and relate to his readers.⁶¹ He emphasises the importance of the road network:

the shopkeepers in Bristol, who in general are all wholesale men, have so great an inland trade among all the western counties that they maintain Carriers, just as the London tradesmen do, to all the principal countries and towns.⁶²

Also, he does not hesitate to extol the improvements being brought about by the gradual establishment of the turnpike trusts, bodies set up by parliament to allow the collection of tolls, thus financing road maintenance.⁶³ On travelling from Bristol to south Wales, however, he is very much less enthusiastic when faced with the vagaries of the ferry crossing of the River Severn, just north of Bristol:

After coasting the shore about 4 miles farther ... we came to the ferry called Ast ferry, or more properly Aust ferry or Aust Passage, from a little dirty village called Aust; near which you come to take boat.
This ferry lands you at Beachley in Monmouthshire, so that on the out-side it is called Aust Passage and on the other side it is called Beachley Passage. From when you go by Land for two little Miles to Chepstow, a large Port Town on the River Wye.
When we came to Aust, the hither-side of the Passage, the Sea was so broad, the Fame of the Bore of the Tide so formidable, the Wind also made the water so rough, and which was worse, the Boats to carry over both man and horse appeared so very mean that, in short, none of us cared to venture: so we came back, and resolved to keep on the road to Gloucester.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies. Vol. 2.* (London: G. Strahan, 1724).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 54 – 55.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 194 – 196.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59 – 60.



Fig. 3.3. Section of page three of Kitchin's *Small English atlas*⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Thomas Kitchin, *The Small English Atlas Being a New and Accurate Sett of Maps of All the Counties in England and Wales* (London: Kitchin & Jefferys 1749).

This ferry service, subsequently known as the Old Passage Ferry, covered a distance of just over a mile, and thus certainly provided a quick route into south Wales. The Duke of Beaufort, owner of Chepstow Castle, benefited from the tolls that were exacted from all ferry users as they passed through the town. Around 1718, a rival service, from Black Rock to New Passage, near Redwick (Gloucestershire), was started up despite depositions made, on the duke's behalf, that 'great numbers of Welsh cattle are ferried over to the English market by this ferry[from Aust]'.⁶⁶ The Victoria County History states that, 'in 1775, [the Old Passage] was said to be much frequented by travellers between Bristol and South Wales',⁶⁷ but a detailed account of the operation of this ferry, written in 1779, indicates that the service could only operate at certain states of the tide, and with the right wind conditions.⁶⁸ Given these perils and uncertainties, it seems likely that the main carrier route from London was through Gloucester, as demonstrated by Kitchen's map. Further help was provided for the traveller in the many editions of Ogilby's pocket books, which listed all the main south Wales towns and their distance from London.⁶⁹

In 1627, a small book was published entitled *The Carriers Cosmographie*, and therein could be found information about how, in practice, to send goods from London to the provinces. Only one place in south Wales is included, namely Monmouth, whose carriers to this town, and some other parts of Monmouthshire, 'do lodge at the Paul head in Carter Lane, they do come to London on Fridaies'⁷⁰. There are no known subsequent editions of this handy volume, but at the end of the seventeenth century there was a similar handbook, which now

⁶⁶ Courtney, *Towns, Markets and Commerce*, p. 265.

⁶⁷ Kathleen Morgan and Brian S. Smith, *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 10, Westbury and Whitstone Hundreds* (London: Victoria County History, 1972), *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol10/pp50-62> [accessed 11 August 2017].

⁶⁸ Samuel Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester: Samuel Rudder, 1779), p. 47.

⁶⁹ John Ogilby, *Mr. Ogilby's Pocket Book of Roads with the Computed & Measured Distances and the Distinction of Market and Post Townes* (London: Printed for the author and sold at his house, 1679).

⁷⁰ John Taylor, *Carriers Cosmographie* (London: Anne Griffin, 1627). Unpaginated.

exists as a damaged single copy lacking a title-page.⁷¹ Monmouth is till the only Welsh town mentioned as having a dedicated carrier, to be found at the Bell in Friday Street, operating on Saturdays. By 1715, another title was published which covered wagon and stage-coach services as well as carriers (Fig. 3.4).⁷² Again, the only Welsh inclusion was Monmouthshire, and there was no wagon or stage coach services, but the carrier, usually walking with a pack, or a pack-animal, was available from two London locations, and Caerleon, Chepstow and Newport were also listed. The exclusion of a wagon service indicates either a lack of demand or the difficulties that might be encountered by wheeled vehicles on poorly maintained roads. There were regular wagon and coach services from London to Gloucester which suggests a deterioration of westerly road conditions thereafter. Twelve years later there appears a longer and very detailed handbook which claimed to be 'the exactist Collection of Stage-coaches and Carriers that ever was made, with the days when they go out from London'.⁷³ Covering south Wales, a regular service to Carmarthen had been established which would have probably served many of the intervening towns on the road west from Monmouth but it was still a only a carrier service.⁷⁴

Scholars who have researched the topic of the condition of the roads in Britain at this time, and the importance of this to transport and trade, have failed to reach consensus. Richard Chartres, writing in 1977, summarises that there has been, to date, 'an inadequacy of texts and monographs on the subject'.⁷⁵ He attempts to make good this deficiency, examining the situation in the years 1637 to 1715 using contemporary sources to produce raw data regarding the number of services provided, especially focussing on wagon transport. His

⁷¹Anon, *An account of the days of the going out of all the carriers, waggoners, and stage-coaches, that come to London, Westminster and Southwark, from all parts of England and Wales also of fairs and roads*. (London: Conyers, 1690-1700).

⁷²Anon, *The Merchants and Traders Necessary Companion* (London: Hind, 1715).

⁷³ Charles Pickman, *The Tradesman's Guide; or the Chapman's and Traveller's, Best Companion* (London: R. Ware, 1727), p. 85.

⁷⁴ The carrier left from The Bell [Inn] every Friday to both Monmouth and Carmarthen. There is no information regarding the length of time to reach Carmarthen.

⁷⁵ Chartres, 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality', p. 73.

THE
Merchants and Traders
NECESSARY
COMPANION.
For the YEAR 1715.

Being a New and perfect ACCOUNT of all the *Stage-Coaches*,
Waggoners, and *Carriers*, that comes to *London*, *Westminster*,
and *Southwark*, from all Parts of *England* and *Wales*; The
Places they *run* at, and the Days of their Setting out: All
the Mistakes that were committed in the last, are Here care-
fully and Exactly Rectified. To which is Added, The Day
and Place where Goods may be sent by Water to the several
Parts of *England* and *Wales*.

As also The R A T E S for Hackney-Coaches, and Chairs,
according to Act of Parliament.



Note, That *mon.* stands for Monday, *tu.* for Tuesday,
wed. for Wednesday, *th.* for Thursday, *fri.* for Friday, and *sat.*
for Saturday; for Carrier, *car.* and for Waggon, *wag.* mind
ditto. signifies the same Inn, or Place.

L O N D O N:

Printed by *A. Hinde*, at the Bible in *Shog-Lane*,
near *Fleet-street*. 1715.

(Price two Pence.)

Fig. 3.4. Title page from *The merchant and traders necessary companion*. London, A. Hinde 1715.

general conclusion is that, over England as a whole, these increased significantly between 1680 and 1715, as did the quality and weight of goods carried; unfortunately, he did not include any data on the passage into Wales, which reinforces the view that the roads were not in good condition. Charles Wilson subsequently published a robust refutation of Chartres' conclusions, citing other contemporary historians which had not been considered.⁷⁶ He argued that the road maintenance was inadequate because of the 'precarious, ancient, parochial structure upon which the entire road system of England depended' until The Turnpike Act of 1662 (and subsequent similar legislation) did bring about a gradual improvement, initially apparent in roads nearest to London,⁷⁷ but his view, taking all evidence into account, was that roads in the provinces remained in very poor condition well into the eighteenth century.

Evidence for the condition of roads in Monmouthshire has been examined by Robert Weeks who cites a court case in which the wagon journey from Pontypool to Monmouth in 1718 took nine hours.⁷⁸ He explains the poor state of the infrastructure as being attributable to 'little enthusiasm for this at parish level as road building was expensive and time consuming ...if tolls were not being charged to users, then there was little compulsion to build roads'.⁷⁹ Two measures of 1555 and 1563 had put in place a system whereby the parish appointed two unpaid surveyors to organise road maintenance which would take place on just six designated days a year. The surveyors were responsible for summoning labour and equipment from local householders, all of whom were expected to contribute but many of whom probably did not.⁸⁰ Even by 1757 conditions remained bad as is evidenced by a petition to Parliament made by

⁷⁶ C. H. Wilson, 'Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century', *Economic History Review*, 33 (1980), 92 – 95.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁷⁸ A journey of some twenty miles. See Weeks, *Transport and Communications*, p. 241.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240 – 241.

⁸⁰ Ivor Waters, *Chepstow Parish Records* (Chepstow: Chepstow Society, 1955), p. 103.

Valentine Morris, owner of Piercefield House and estate in Monmouthshire, and others.

When examined by the Committee, he stated:

several roads described in the said Petition are in a very ruinous Condition, and in many Places narrow and incommodious ... and that the Post Road leading from the village of Ragland to the Town of Uske is in so ruinous a Condition that Carriages and Persons on Horseback cannot pass through the same without great Difficulty and Danger; and that the Laws in being are insufficient effectually to repair and amend the same.⁸¹

The Turnpike trust was subsequently established in Monmouthshire in 1758, but even then only the main routes fell under this jurisdiction.

A further source of contemporary evidence may be found in the correspondence of John Byrd, a Cardiff customs collector living in Caerleon during the years 1648 to 1680.⁸² His personal transactions with members of his family and close friends in London, and his prolific correspondence to the Customs Commissioners in London, indicate that he used a variety of land and sea transport routes. He sent his son Matthias a piece of flannel by carriage to Monmouth, and thence by the Monmouth carrier to London.⁸³ Likewise, he entrusted a 'newe salmon' in a pie to one of the Monmouth carriers for transport to his friend Thomas Pennant in London. He was anxious to know if it had been safely received, and refers to a previous occasion when he had sent a similar package which 'stunk' because the carrier had taken too long.⁸⁴ On the other hand, a chest being sent to his son in 1668 found passage in a boat to Bristol, and thence to London at a cost of £5.⁸⁵ The same route was used by his wife when she 'shipped aboard our boat 2 cheeses and a dolphyn' nailed in boxes and

⁸¹ Journal of the House of Commons 1757 vol. 28 p. 20 – 21.

⁸² Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 190, entry 418.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123, entry 259.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 176, entry 385.

sent by carrier from Bristol to London as 'a poor token from Wales' for his sister.⁸⁶ The journey by carrier from Wales was described as 'long and tedious, and so great was the danger from highwaymen that revenue [from customs collection] was never transmitted direct to Head Office, but sent by one of the market boats to Bristol'.⁸⁷ A detailed newspaper report in 1725 relates how the 'Post-boy was robbed of his Mail last Sunday Morning',⁸⁸ seemingly a regular occurrence, so it is not surprising that John Byrd regularly entrusted his cash and paperwork to a friend or relative for transmission to London, and often enquired as to its safe arrival.⁸⁹ There are numerous other examples using different combinations of land and water, perhaps depending on the type of goods and local conditions at that time.

Whilst there seems to have been a reasonably effective network of carriers who could have brought supplies of printed material to stock the shops of booksellers and mercers in south Wales, there is no direct evidence yet found to demonstrate this. As stated earlier in this chapter, there were seventeen Welsh shopkeepers known, through their inventories, to be selling books before 1695, and these were certain to have been printed in London. Of those selling books between 1695 and 1730, most of their stock would still have been printed in London, as provincial printing was slow to develop. As mentioned above, Samuel Rogers, bookseller of Abergavenny, supplied Howell Harris of Trefecca with a number English titles, such as *Parent's Gifts*, printed in London and probably ordered in.⁹⁰ Abergavenny was only a short distance from Monmouth, so the carrier service would have worked well for him. Likewise, Brecon was on the main route from Monmouth to Carmarthen, so the four shopkeepers known to have been trading books in this period may have utilised the

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 100, entry 209.

⁸⁷ James William Dawson, *Commerce and Customs: A History of the Ports of Newport and Caerleon* (Newport: R.H. Johns Ltd, 1932), p. 29. Also see Chapter 6 below.

⁸⁸ *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*, 2nd October 1725, p.4.

⁸⁹ Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*, p. 188.

⁹⁰ Schlenther and White, *Calendar of the Trevecka Letters*, pp. 8. This title was probably a shorthand for Fleetwood, William *The relative duties of parents and children*. 4th ed. London: J. Knapton et al., 1732, which was later re-titled as *The family New Year's gift*.

Monmouth carrier. In the case of Robert Raikes' newspaper, the Gloucester Journal, so keen was he to improve circulation that he appointed his own agents, 'the men that carry the news', to sell his newspapers and chapbooks in a wide area around Gloucester, including four agents who covered Monmouthshire and Glamorgan.⁹¹ They probably travelled on foot, or with a pack-horse, and also supplied shops. Roy Wiles, in his exhaustive study of provincial newspapers, presents evidence that, in some areas of Britain, the postal service was used for distribution.⁹² In south Wales, some sort of service was in operation in 1649 and used by John Byrd, the Caerleon customs collector:

I sende this by way of Bristoll, but nowe a post is settled in our partes whoe will be at the oulde post house in London, by whom I pray please to send hereafter and direct your letters to be left at the post house in Newport, with whom I will take order to sende them to me, wheresoever I shall be'.⁹³

Studies on postal services in this period show that, by 1702, salaried postmasters were based in most of the principal towns on the main routes through south Wales,⁹⁴ and by 1752 a post service from London to Swansea was well established, departing from the General Post-Office in Lombard Street.

The alternative form of transport for goods, especially for the coastal towns of south Wales, and possibly for some towns further inland, was by ship. In Carmarthen, the inventories of Dawkin Gove and Robert Smart indicated a substantial stock of books, all of which must have been sent from London, and there were at least fourteen other shopkeepers who were selling printed material of some sort, more than in any other Welsh town at this time.⁹⁵ In this period, Carmarthen was a thriving port and one of the largest towns in south Wales. Ogilby describes it thus in 1675:

⁹¹ All thirteen agents, and the towns and villages they covered are printed in the *Gloucester Journal* 24th April 1725, p. 4.

⁹² Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 117.

⁹³ Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*, p. 44, entry 92.

⁹⁴ M. S. Archer, *The Welsh Post Towns before 1840* (London: Phillimore, 1970), p.2.

⁹⁵ See table at Appendix 2

[Carmarthen] is a Shire-Town, large, well-built, and well inhabited; seated on the Navigable Towy over which it hath a large Stone Bridge, and a Key to which small vessels arrive to unlade their goods ... it is at present a town incorporate; enjoys ample Immunities, as keeping of Courts, Electing a Parliament Man, and being the Place where the Assizes are held.⁹⁶

A later publication by Herman Moll offers a similar description, adding 'a Place adorned with stately houses, and may be called the London of Wales'.⁹⁷ Defoe's travel book also points out that the River Towy is 'navigable up into the town for vessels of a moderate burthen',⁹⁸ and larger boats used to anchor three miles down river,⁹⁹ owing to the shifting sands and silting of the river bed, as well as the treacherous bar at the river entrance.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the relatively easy access to the open sea, as well as its central position to the counties of south-west Wales led to Carmarthen's commercial importance, and by 1700, there were fifty-seven vessels declaring the town as their 'home port'.¹⁰¹ Moelwyn Williams uncovered evidence from Carmarthen inventories that lighters or small flat-bottomed barges were commonly used to off-load goods from larger ships that could not reach the town quay,¹⁰² and that the numerous creeks and inlets of the River Towy were often used as landing points. He concludes that water carriage was important to the everyday life of the people of Carmarthenshire, as the 'roads [were] so bad and wheeled vehicles so scarce'.¹⁰³ In 1700, just over the border in Pembrokeshire, Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle gave

⁹⁶ Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First, or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales ...*, p. 168.

⁹⁷ Herman Moll, *A New Description of England and Wales, with the Adjacent Islands* (London: H.Moll et al., 1724), p. 258.

⁹⁸ Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, p. 84.

⁹⁹ In 1536, John Leland describes a 'place called Grene Castel wher that shippes use to ly at ancre'. See John Leland, *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or About the Years 1536-1539: Extracted from His Mss* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1906), p.60.

¹⁰⁰ See Terence James, 'Shipping and the River Towy', *Carmarthen Antiquary*, 22 (1986), p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Moelwyn Williams, 'Carmarthenshire's Maritime Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', *Carmarthen Antiquary*, 14 (1978), p. 65.

¹⁰² Williams cites the inventories of Francis Lloyd NLW SD/1642/53; Griffith Penry SD/1643/29; Nicholas Hobbes SD/1643/28; Marie Penry SD/1645/47. See *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

instructions to his steward to 'send books from Kilgetty by sea to London',¹⁰⁴ and his son Erasmus Philipps, certainly owned a boat which was listed in his probate inventory.¹⁰⁵ Passage by sea, however, was by no means reliable. In January 1724, Nathaniel Morgan, the agent of the recently deceased Bishop of St Davids, Adam Ottley, was trying to send some of the Bishop's goods to London for auction. He wrote to the Bishop's nephew (also Adam Ottley) that:

He acknowledges that he received the recipient's directions to send the books up by sea. All the ships in 'this River' [the Tywi] were freighted long before with oats and other commodities for London, and are still detained at Llanstephan by contrary winds¹⁰⁶

A letter written in June 1724 from a Richard Stert in London confirms that the books did finally arrive by sea and were duly delivered to a bookseller 'who has a mind to buy them'.¹⁰⁷ Given these developments, it is perhaps not surprising that Carmarthen became the first significant centre in Wales for printing. Isaac Carter, who in 1718 printed the very first books on Welsh soil from his home town of Trefedyn, later moved his press to Carmarthen where Nicholas Thomas had been producing a modest few titles since 1721.

There is a scarcity of archival evidence which might confirm the suggestion that sea transport from London or Bristol to Carmarthen was the route of choice for the books and the paraphernalia needed for setting up a printing-house. Analysis of the Welsh Port Books, used by customs officials to record imports and exports by coastal shipping (as well as overseas trade) have been carried out by Edward Lewis for the period before this study,¹⁰⁸ and by Moelwyn Williams, who also examined other relevant documentation for Glamorgan coastal

¹⁰⁴ NLW GB 0210 PICTLE Picton Castle Estate Records 1664. Instructions [by Sir John Philipps] concerning the books to be sent from Kilgetty to London, c.1700. On the other hand, in the same document, he ordered 'my Portmantle trunk [to be sent] by the next carrier.

¹⁰⁵ NLW GB 0210 PICTLE Picton Castle Estate Records 1899. Inventory of goods at Picton Castle belonging to Erasmus Philipps, 1743/4.

¹⁰⁶ NLW Ottley (Pitchford Hall) Correspondence/2825.

¹⁰⁷ NLW Ottley (Pitchford Hall) Correspondence/2916 and 2919.

¹⁰⁸ E. A. Lewis, *The Welsh Port Books (1550-1603) with an Analysis of the Customs Revenue Accounts of Wales for the Same Period* (London: London : issued by the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1927).

traffic covering the years 1666 to 1735.¹⁰⁹ He produced detailed tables of cargoes both in and out of the ports of Glamorgan, but there is no mention at all of books or other printed material. This is, perhaps, not surprising bearing in mind that the major towns of Glamorgan, namely Swansea and Cardiff, were relatively small commercial centres with few booksellers (see Appendix 1). Yet his analysis of Carmarthen imports, whilst reflecting many luxury goods, also did not list books.¹¹⁰ Williams emphasizes that there are many gaps in the records, especially regarding imports:

It should be noted that the object of the port books was to ensure, as far as possible, that the Crown received its full revenue from the customs. That is to say, they were not intended to furnish trade or shipping statistics, but rather operate as an instrument to prevent evasion of customs duty. For that reason, we must not expect to find in the Welsh port-books a details record of all goods shipped out of, or into, Welsh ports during any particular period ... the recording of out-shipments of certain goods would become somewhat irregular and eventually they be omitted altogether from the port-books.¹¹¹

He also notes that goods of 'low custom value' were probably not recorded at all,¹¹² and books may well have fallen into this category. The port books of Carmarthen, and of the Pembrokeshire ports of Milford and Pembroke, are to be found in the National Archives.¹¹³ They, along with the port books of many other coastal areas, are a remarkable survival of great size and complexity. Between the dates 1640 and 1730, there are fifty-nine catalogue entries for Carmarthen, each entry comprising an average of 6 folio volumes, but it is quite probable, given the deficiencies mentioned above, that the task of examining this data would not render much information regarding the import of books into Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire. There has been some further analysis of this material by David Hussey,

¹⁰⁹ Moelwyn Williams, 'A Contribution to the Commercial History of Glamorgan, 1666 - 1735', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 9 (1955), 188 – 215; Moelwyn Williams, 'A Contribution to the Commercial History of Glamorgan, 1666 - 1735', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 9 (1956) 334 – 353; Moelwyn Williams, 'A Further Contribution to the Commercial History of Glamorgan', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 11 4, (1960), 330 – 361.

¹¹⁰ Williams, 'Carmarthenshire's Maritime Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', p. 65.

¹¹¹ Williams, 'A Further Contribution to the Commercial History of Glamorgan', p. 331.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 332.

¹¹³ TNA E190 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Port Books.

who has published a work on the coastal trade of the Bristol Channel area, drawing on a number of port books for the years 1695 to 1704, which he describes as a 'more manageable ten-year period'.¹¹⁴ This very detailed study builds on the doctoral research by Peter Wakelin at Wolverhampton University (examined in more detail below) on the Gloucester Port Books, in particular an in depth analysis of one single sample year namely 1699.¹¹⁵

The material in Hussey's book that is specifically relevant to this study comprises data relating to voyages entering (as opposed to leaving) the ports of south Wales. In terms of volume of shipping, it is possible to extrapolate the number of these voyages (see Table 3.1) in the ten-year time period. A significant amount of data is missing from the archive of extant material for incoming voyages, thus rendering any general conclusions difficult. In the years for which data is present, the number of incoming ships seems variable. In analysing the

	1695	1696	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704
Milford	-	49	57	61	54	58	35	48	45	28
Carmarthen	53	28	-	8	44	32	33	37	30	46
Tenby	25	17	14	17	10	10	26	12	15	23
Llanelli	-	-	41	26	-	2	7	2	-	2
Swansea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Neath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cardiff	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chepstow					65	57	163	134	50	122

Table 3.1 Number of coastal voyages recorded entering south Wales ports 1695–1704¹¹⁶

cargoes on board these incoming vessels, Hussey has categorised them under broad headings, one of which is called 'crafts and manufactures', under which printed material might have

¹¹⁴ Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England*, p.18.

¹¹⁵ The Gloucester port books project was originally initiated by Peter Wakelin, and written up in his Ph.D. thesis: Wakelin, 'Pre-Industrial Trade on the River Severn'.

¹¹⁶ Data derived from Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England*, p. 19. This data is itself derived from the TNA E 190 series of port books in the National Archives. The blank entries indicate port books which have not survived.

been included. The only detailed list of commodities is derived from Bristol exports in the sample year 1699, and this does not mention books or printed material of any kind.¹¹⁷

Furthermore, with regard to voyages from London, Hussey explains that 'all voyages not associated with the Bristol Channel have been aggregated under "extra-regional shipments'.¹¹⁸ The raw data on which this study is based is no longer available in digital form,¹¹⁹ so, unlike Wakelin's research (see below), does not offer the potential to gain any insights into the question of how books, printed in London or Bristol, actually reached south west Wales. All that can be concluded is that there was a thriving trade across the Bristol Channel, that Bristol was a major distributor in that trade, and that the extant south Wales port records provide a great deal more data on outgoing cargoes than incoming. Although data is incomplete for the origin of these voyages, records do show that in 1699, at least thirty-four of the 108 vessels entering the Pembrokeshire ports of Milford, Carmarthen and Tenby had sailed directly from Bristol, whilst twenty-nine were from 'extra-regional ports'.¹²⁰

As mentioned above, Hussey's work drew, in part, on the earlier research of Peter Wakelin and his colleagues on the Gloucester port books. Wakelin only includes cargo which is mentioned more than twice in one year, citing 'books' as one of several commodities which are excluded from his summary tables as a specific item because of their relative rarity.¹²¹ Fortunately, however, the raw data that underpins his work, and is the result of input from the port books by a team of volunteers, is available in digital form,¹²² and thus facilitates a more

¹¹⁷ Hussey's doctoral thesis includes this further detailed data. See: David Hussey, 'Re-Investigating the Coastal Trade: The Ports of the Bristol Channel and the Severn Estuary, 1695 - 1704' (University of Wolverhampton, 1995) pp. 345 – 357.

¹¹⁸ Hussey, 'Re-Investigating the Coastal Trade', p. 74.

¹¹⁹ Personal communication from the author 11th October 2016

¹²⁰ Hussey, 'Re-Investigating the Coastal Trade', pp. 366 – 368.

¹²¹ Wakelin, 'Pre-Industrial Trade on the River Severn', p. 127.

¹²² This data, in the form of Excel spreadsheets, has been downloaded from the UK Data Archive, University of Essex, Colchester. M.D.G. Wanklyn et al., 'Gloucester Port Books, 1575-1765 [Computer File]. Colchester, Essex: Uk Data Archive [Distributor], March 1996. Sn: 3218', <http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-3218-1> [Accessed 2 January 2016]

detailed analysis of the approximately 3,000 different types of goods being carried in coastal vessels through Gloucester, a few of which were travelling to the ports of south Wales. Books are indeed listed as part of the cargo of 90 separate voyages in the years from 1640 to 1730, but, to keep this in perspective, the Gloucester port books record a total of 27,035 voyages in the same period. As can be seen in Table 3.2, there have been only seven voyages carrying books from Gloucester to south Wales. A further forty-one voyages are recorded as carrying books direct from Gloucester to Bristol, where their destination may, or may not, have been the city itself. Hussey presents plentiful evidence that some cargoes arriving at Bristol from the Severn River trade were transferred to more suitable vessels for onward passage, but there is no specific listing of books.¹²³ The cargoes listed in Table 3.2 may have been destined for the shopkeepers of the Newport and Chepstow areas but equally they could be part of personal baggage conveyed, for convenience, by ship rather than road. In the cargoes travelling from Gloucester to Bristol, there are several consignments listed as 'wearing apparel and books' which certainly suggests a box of household goods. Furthermore, these books could have been travelling with their owners. Williams emphasises that many unrecorded passengers travelled the Bristol Channel, as paying passengers wishing for easy transport to the Bristol markets.¹²⁴ There are also examples of individuals living near ports who travelled and sent goods on their own boats. The Caerleon customs collector John Byrd refers to goods being sent to Bristol on his own vessel,¹²⁵ and the 1708 inventory of Joseph Hibbs, a Swansea mercer who sold books, lists 'one small vessel or boat called Fancy'.¹²⁶ Furthermore, these books were cargoes from Gloucester, from where the land route to south Wales, at least to south eastern areas, was well used by carriers, as already shown, thus

¹²³ Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England*, p. 73.

¹²⁴ Williams, 'A Contribution to the Commercial History of Glamorgan, 1666 - 1735', p. 199.

¹²⁵ Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*, p. 100, entry 209.

¹²⁶ NLW SD/1708/210. Inventory of Joseph Hibbs.

making it even more probable that these particular recorded consignments were personal baggage.

Measure	Description	Date (1640-1730)	Boat name	Merchant	Master	From	To
1 TRUNK	BOOKS	16740413	JOSEPH	Joseph Powell	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport Cardiff, Swansea
1 CHEST	BOOKS	16740413	JOSEPH	Joseph Powell	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport Cardiff, Swansea
1 HOGSHEAD	BOOKS	16740413	JOSEPH	Joseph Powell	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport Cardiff, Swansea
1 CHEST	BOOKS	16801014	JOHN	James Harrison	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport Bristol
3 DESKS	BOOKS	16830814	MARY	John Hooper	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport Cardiff, Aberthaw
1 CHEST	BOOKS	16850506	PROVIDENCE	Joseph Powell	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport
1 TRUNK	BOOKS	16850506	PROVIDENCE	Joseph Powell	Joseph Powell	Gloucester	Newport
5 BOXES	BOOKS	17070730	PROVIDENCE	Thomas Jaxson	William James	Gloucester	Chepstow
1 PACK	BOOKS	17151008	GEORGE	George Harrison	Thomas Claroe	Gloucester	Chepstow
1 BOX	BOOKS	17151008	GEORGE	George Harrison	Thomas Claroe	Gloucester	Chepstow
1 PARCEL	BOOKS	17171005	GEORGE	Walter Harrison	Thomas Claroe	Gloucester	Chepstow

Table 3.2. Cargoes recorded as containing books in vessels travelling from Gloucester to south Wales between 1640 and 1730¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Extracted from TNA E/190. Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Port Books

Research has been carried out by Barbara George on the Pembrokeshire port books. She examined four sample years,¹²⁸ and again the extant archive for incoming voyages is far from comprehensive. The relevant data from her results showing ports of origin are shown in Table 3.3. It is interesting to note the steady increase in traffic from Bristol. Although George does consider types of cargo, only the 'more important commodities' are specified.¹²⁹

Port of origin	1662	1680	1698	1713
London		6	8	4
South Devon		1	4	
Cornwall		2	8	6
North Devon	1	7	8	1
Somerset		1	1	2
Bristol	3	20	24	39
Monmouthshire	1		4	6
Glamorgan		4	5	13
North Wales & Liverpool		5	13	9
Unknown	57			

Table 3.3 Ports of origin for incoming vessels to Pembrokeshire ports in sample years¹³⁰

Regarding 'miscellaneous imports' she adds:

The county relied on importing most of the necessities of life. The Port Books record large, mixed cargoes arriving in small trading vessels from Bristol, or less frequently from London and Barnstaple, and containing ... a bewildering variety of goods lumped together by the clerks as "grocery and saltery"; vinegar and brandy, butter, cheese, sugar and honey, beef and bacon, ginger, cinnamon and cider, hops, train oil, pitch and tar, with alum, madder and other dyestuffs, teasels, wool, flocks, hides and skins, leather, resin, tallow,

¹²⁸ Barbara J. George, 'Pembrokeshire Sea-Trading before 1900', *Field Studies Journal*, 2 (1964), 1 – 39.

¹²⁹ These comprise salt, wine, timber, cloth and iron. See *ibid.*, p. 26.

¹³⁰ This included Milford, Pembroke, Carmarthen, Tenby, Llanelly, Aberdovey and Cardigan, as well as the numerous small creeks, harbours and landing places of the river estuaries, over which official control was limited.

hemp, lead, cord and hair. Soap, candles, furniture, brass and pewter, tobacco pipes, earthenware, ironmongery, brushes, clothing, whale bones, haberdashery, mercery and drapery all had to come by sea if they were to come at all.¹³¹

There is no mention of books although many items on this list were to be found in the shops of Pembroke mercers such as John Lloyd of Haverfordwest, who, in 1713, also stocked four horn books and four dozen primers.¹³² Likewise, George Stoakes of Pembroke had listed 'grammars, psalters and construing books' amongst the fabrics and groceries on his shelves in 1715, and somewhat earlier in 1693, William Lloyd of Tenby sold apothecary drugs, all manner of mercery, inkhorns and 'school bookes'.¹³³ One further piece of research on the south Wales Port Books in this period was carried out by Edward Lewis, who examined a single year, 1688, including all the incoming cargoes from London to the ports of Milford, Tenby and Carmarthen.¹³⁴ The result is a very long list in which books are mentioned, although lacking any indication of quantity or type.¹³⁵

An important and quite different source of information on the transport of books from London to south Wales by sea or land can be derived from the records of SPCK. Mary Clement's transcriptions of the minutes and correspondence of the society between 1699 and 1740 provides very detailed information regarding the distribution of books to charity schools and parishes in Wales.¹³⁶ Strictly speaking, this information does not fall within the definition of 'book trade', since the SPCK distributed the material freely, or at very low cost, as a key strand in their evangelistic mission to improve and strengthen the religious education of both adults and children. Thus these books were usually sent direct to sponsors, teachers and

¹³¹ George, 'Pembrokeshire Sea-Trading before 1900', p. 30.

¹³² NLW MS SD/1713/37. Inventory of John Lloyd.

¹³³ NLW MS SD/1715/195. Inventory of George Stoakes; NLW MS SD/1693/208. Inventory of William Lloyd.

¹³⁴ E. A. Lewis, 'Maritime Trade of Wales in Stuart Times: A Glimpse at Welsh Commerce in 1688', *The Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*, 6th December, (1924), p. 28.

¹³⁵ The Port Books for Milford (which includes Carmarthen) 1660 to 1714 are held at the National Archives in the series E190. Unfortunately, at this time, the 118 volumes have mould damage, and are not available for viewing.

¹³⁶ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*.

ministers, without passing through the hands of shopkeepers, and without any commercial transaction taking place. The recipients, who had been officially appointed agents by the SPCK committee, were entrusted to distribute the material to charity schools in their areas and to adult members of their parish congregations. Closer examination of the documentation, however, reveals that the annual packets sent out from the Society between 1700 and 1703 were indeed free, but that by 1705, the 'packetts were frequently paid for'.¹³⁷ In 1710, for example, John Vaughan of Derllys wrote that 'he ow'd the Society 3s. 3d for books sent to him' and in 1718 Griffith Jones of Landowror 'subjoins a bill of £10.3.0 to pay for 3 doz. Welsh Bibles the Society are pleas'd to let him have at prime cost'.¹³⁸ During this period of intense activity, namely 1700 to 1730, many thousands of books were sent into south Wales by this method, thus inevitably undermining the capacity of local shopkeepers and booksellers to supply the same publications. A particularly bitter tirade by the Shrewsbury printer Thomas Jones can be found in his almanack of 1708 when he discovered that SPCK were undercutting his unauthorised edition of the Book of Common Prayer in Welsh. The Society were selling them for eighteen shilling per dozen, so Jones made a pitch that for his edition '[you] shall be welcome to buy one or more at a Reasonable Rate than they offer them by the hundred'.¹³⁹

One piece of evidence demonstrates, perhaps unusually, the fate of surplus stock. John Vaughan 'sends for 800 Welsh Monitors' in June 1700, yet the minutes of the SPCK in February 1705/6 record that 'here are several hundred of Christian Monitors in Welsh, to be sold at Mr. Nathaniel Morgans¹⁴⁰ in Carmarthenshire'.¹⁴¹ Carmarthen was a particularly

¹³⁷ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 26.

¹³⁸ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, pp. 32 and 106.

¹³⁹ Translated from the Welsh by Rees, *Wales and the London Book Trade before 1820*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Nathaniel Morgan is listed in BBTI as a bookseller in Carmarthen in 1706. He was mayor of that city in 1711, and was also deputy registrar of the Bishop of St. David's court 1701-15 and secretary to the cathedral chapter 1701-23, a post from which he departed under a cloud. A letter to the Bishop of 28 August 1723 relates 'I congratulate Your Grace on being rid of master Nathaniel Morgan who I have never liked'. NLW Ottley (Pitchford Hall) Correspondence/1879, B[rown] Willis at Whaddon Hall to the Bishop Of St Davids at Abergwilly 28 August 1723.

prolific recipient of the SPCK packets, owing to its zealous agents, and a proportion of this flood of material may possibly have found its way on to the shelves of the thirteen Carmarthenshire booksellers and mercers already identified earlier in this chapter. In Pembrokeshire, also well supplied by SPCK, co-operation with a local shopkeeper is again noted in this abstract of correspondence:

Thos Lloyd at Rosecrowther, Pembrokesh. 12 Janry. [1719] In answer to the Society's Circular Letter. Thanking them for the packet. That he shall return the Collecon of Psalms the first opportunity and should be glad the Society would favour him with a few of the following Books ... that they may be directed to him, to be left with Mr Wm. Rogwrs, Mercer, in Pembroke, as well as any other packets the Society shall send for the future to him.¹⁴²

Williams Rogers may have been merely acting as a holding place for mail, but there is certainly the possibility that a few copies of books from this packet may have found their way into his stock.

The SPCK used a wide variety of transport methods to convey their packages from London, and there is no reason to suppose that these same methods were not available for supplies of books ordered by the booksellers and mercers, or at least those of their number who had substantial stock on their shelves. In her commentary on her own archival research, Clement writes:

A mass of material such as the correspondence and minutes of the SPCK must necessarily throw much light on contemporary modes of life, among them being eighteenth-century means of transport. Parcels of books as well as complete libraries were sent by the Society by land and sea routes to most of the market-towns of Britain. The London wagon depots with the names of the carriers, and the wharves of certain ships with the names of their respective masters or captains are frequently given, together with details of the routes of which the Society approved. For South and West Wales, for instance, the Monmouth carrier took his goods as far as that town, and, after transferring parcels for the Vale of Glamorgan to the Cardiff carrier, went on himself to Carmarthen and Haverfordwest. Parcels were sometimes taken by land to Bristol, where they were shipped to Cardiff, Aberthaw, Swansea, Carmarthen and Haverfordwest, and at other

¹⁴¹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, pp. 7 & 258.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 101

times they were dispatched by sea directly from London to the same ports.¹⁴³

Clement goes on to cite evidence to show that cost of sending a parcel by sea was generally lower than land, but the latter was more regular and reliable, the vessels from London being subject to the vagaries of the weather. The journey from London to Carmarthen seemed to have taken approximately a fortnight for both methods of transport.¹⁴⁴ The destinations of vessels that sailed direct from London was exclusively the south-west Wales ports, leaving the south-east towns to use the land route through Gloucester, or via Bristol and a local ship. Unfortunately, there is no detail given in the correspondence regarding this last route, but these parcels must have been aboard some of the ships recorded by Hussey as travelling these routes during this same period.¹⁴⁵ There is no breakdown available of these cargoes, but it is probable that, as already stated, small consignments of books would not be recorded in the coastal port books. The border towns of Wales, especially those some distance from the coast, were much more likely to use land-based routes. In 1695, supplies of schools texts, including primers and grammars, for the Pennoyre charity school in Hay-on-Wye were supplied through the Hereford carrier.¹⁴⁶

One further important point can be gleaned from the archives of the SPCK. The commissioning of many hundreds of religious works to be translated into Welsh, and then published in large numbers, was exclusively carried out in London, primarily by the established print house of John Downing. In 1726, the Society's minutes record that it was 'agreed that Mr Downing be desir'd to send the 10000 Copies of the Bp of London's Family Devotion in Welch, to Mr Cholmley and that 500 Copies of them be cover'd with his first

¹⁴³ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, pp. 78 – 79.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁵ For example, in 1699 there were 29 voyages from Bristol to Cardiff, and 19 to Swansea. See Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁶ Fairs, *A History of Hay*, p. 164.

Convenience',¹⁴⁷ and, a few months later, it was 'agreed that Mr Downing cause an Impression of 2000 copies to be made of the Pastoral Letter in Welch'.¹⁴⁸ So, despite the establishment, several years earlier, of several printing presses in Shrewsbury producing Welsh language publications and, furthermore, the first press on Welsh soil likewise printing in Welsh from 1722, the SPCK, themselves based in London, chose to rely on a London printer. Up until 1695, there was very little printing outside London owing to the Printing Acts which, in effect, restricted the setting up of provincial presses. The London book trade had grown and become dominant over two centuries, so it was some years before provincial printers could reach their standards, both in terms of quality and quantity. It was clear that SPCK, using Welshmen living in London to provide translations, chose to grapple with the many problems, delays and costs of transporting books to Wales, rather than to use printers within, in some cases, a quite short distance from the destination of their parcels.

The concern of this chapter has been with the book trade in south Wales. The numbers and location of shops stocking books, and how those books reached the shelves, has been the main focus. The book-buying public of the area were able to obtain titles in a number of ways, for example by asking a friend, colleague or family member to purchase the item on their next trip to London. That will be examined in Chapter Six, which will look in more detail at the ownership of books. Likewise, the consumption of print through libraries and through free distribution via parish priests and school teachers will be reviewed, as these, too, sometimes by-passed the book trade altogether. Nor has the distribution of printed material from the presses of Gloucester and Bristol been considered, as this more properly belongs in Chapter Four below. Previous work on the book trade in Wales has tended to focus on printing, and to a lesser extent selling, in the Welsh language. This study has shown, in evidence drawn from inventories and other sources, that books in both languages could be

¹⁴⁷ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p.297.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

purchased easily and cheaply throughout south Wales, and even, in some cases, in the smaller towns and villages. In particular, it has demonstrated the extent to which mercers were involved in this trade, regarding books as just one commodity sharing space with a wide variety of other goods. A report written in 1675 by the Welsh Trust, a charity which set up some of the earliest schools, stated

Whereas it is Certified under the Hands of very many Mercers of the chief Towns in North and South Wales (who are the only Traders in Books there) that there are very few Divinity Books in the Welsh language to be sold there; And to the best of their knowledge not one Welsh Bible to be bought at any rate, although greatly desired by persons of all Ranks and Conditions.¹⁴⁹

The nature of the 'Certification' is unknown, but this statement aligns well with inventory evidence that most of the shopkeepers selling books at that time in south Wales were general traders. The inventories have also shown, however, that some mercers, such as Dawkin Gove of Carmarthen who started trading around 1670, stocked large numbers of books including Bibles in both languages, and other religious works nearly all of which were small and cheap (see page 102 above), so perhaps not the lengthy works of divinity that the evangelizing benefactors had in mind to improve the religious education of children and the poor in Wales.

Having examined the state of the general book trade in south Wales and the borders in this period, the next chapter looks more specifically at the key theme of this study, namely the distribution of small cheap books, almanacks and newspapers by itinerant traders.

¹⁴⁹ Mary Jones has transcribed two reports 'recently unearthed in the British Museum' see Jones, 'Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust 1675 and 1678', 71 – 80.

CHAPTER FOUR

Chapmen and Popular Print

Central to this study, but leaving little archival evidence, are the activities of itinerant traders, pedlars, hawkers and chapmen. As already briefly discussed, these traders often operated on the margins of society and were sometimes treated as vagrants.¹ On the other hand, there are examples of chapmen settling down and becoming shopkeepers.² It has been assumed by some scholars that chapmen must necessarily be sellers of chapbooks even though, as explained in Chapter One, the latter term did not emerge until the mid-eighteenth century. Margaret Spufford has examined a large number of inventories of chapmen, and just a few include books, but her study is confined to England.³ This study, in examining the chapmen living in south Wales and the borders, contends that there is no direct evidence that the itinerant trader or hawker, as opposed to the settled chapman or shopkeeper, was selling these little books.

Examination of wills and inventories, as seen in chapter three, has thrown little light on this aspect of the life of the itinerant. The database of extant probate documents in the National Library of Wales for the five south Wales counties of Pembroke, Brecon, Carmarthen, Glamorgan and Monmouth between 1650 and 1750 comprises 61,047 individuals of which forty-nine have the known occupation of chapman, hawker or pedlar. Of these, forty have inventories of their goods at their death.⁴ Although occupation was often not given, it seems reasonable to suggest that very few men of this occupation made wills, and that their ownership of goods or property was minimal. As already described, four of these

¹ See p. 2 above

² Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 58.

³ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 121.

⁴ The other nine leaving just a will or a bond, from which little information regarding their worldly goods can be found.

men listed books amongst the wide variety of goods left after their death,⁵ but it is worth considering whether any further insights into the life of a chapman operating in these areas can be gleaned from the total number found.

Spufford carried out some analysis on the value of the inventories of her sample, and also of the geographical spread of their creditors and debtors, sometimes noted in the inventory. From this, she was able to make some interesting assertions regarding the distance a chapman might travel to sell or buy his goods.⁶ In this study's sample, there are only two examples of a list of debtors which also names their parish. William Thomas of Llanblethian, Glamorgan, left goods which included 'pedlary and mercery ware', and listed seven debtors, all for small sums, who lived in villages not more than a few miles from his home, so clearly his area of trading was potentially small.⁷ Adam Stott from Hay, a licensed hawkker,⁸ died in 1708 leaving a small stock of fabrics followed by a list of 148 debtors' names, most of which were followed by some sort of location. There were a variety of customers including clergymen, shopkeepers and servants, all of whom owed small amounts.⁹ Some of the place names cannot now be identified, either because of idiosyncratic spelling or because they are the names of farms or houses. From those that have some sort of modern equivalent, it has been possible to draw a map (see Fig. 4.1) which demonstrates an impressive spread of business customers, as well as the expectation of credit.¹⁰ Adam Stott travelled considerable distances to sell his wares, including crossing the Welsh border into Herefordshire. The city of Hereford itself was a thriving commercial centre, with at least twenty-three identified booksellers shops over the 1660 to 1730 period. Adam Stott ventured as far as Bredwardine,

⁵ These four are analysed in detail in Chapter 3.

⁶ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 69.

⁷ NLW LL/1666/42, will and inventory of William Thomas.

⁸ See below for further analysis of Hawkers' Register.

⁹ NLW BR/1708/54, Bond and inventory of Adam Stott.

¹⁰ A recent study by N.J. Mayhew concludes that 'it is no exaggeration to say that credit was an essential feature of the [early modern] English economy'. See N. J. Mayhew, 'Prices in England, 1170–1750', *Past & Present*, 219 (2013), p. 11.

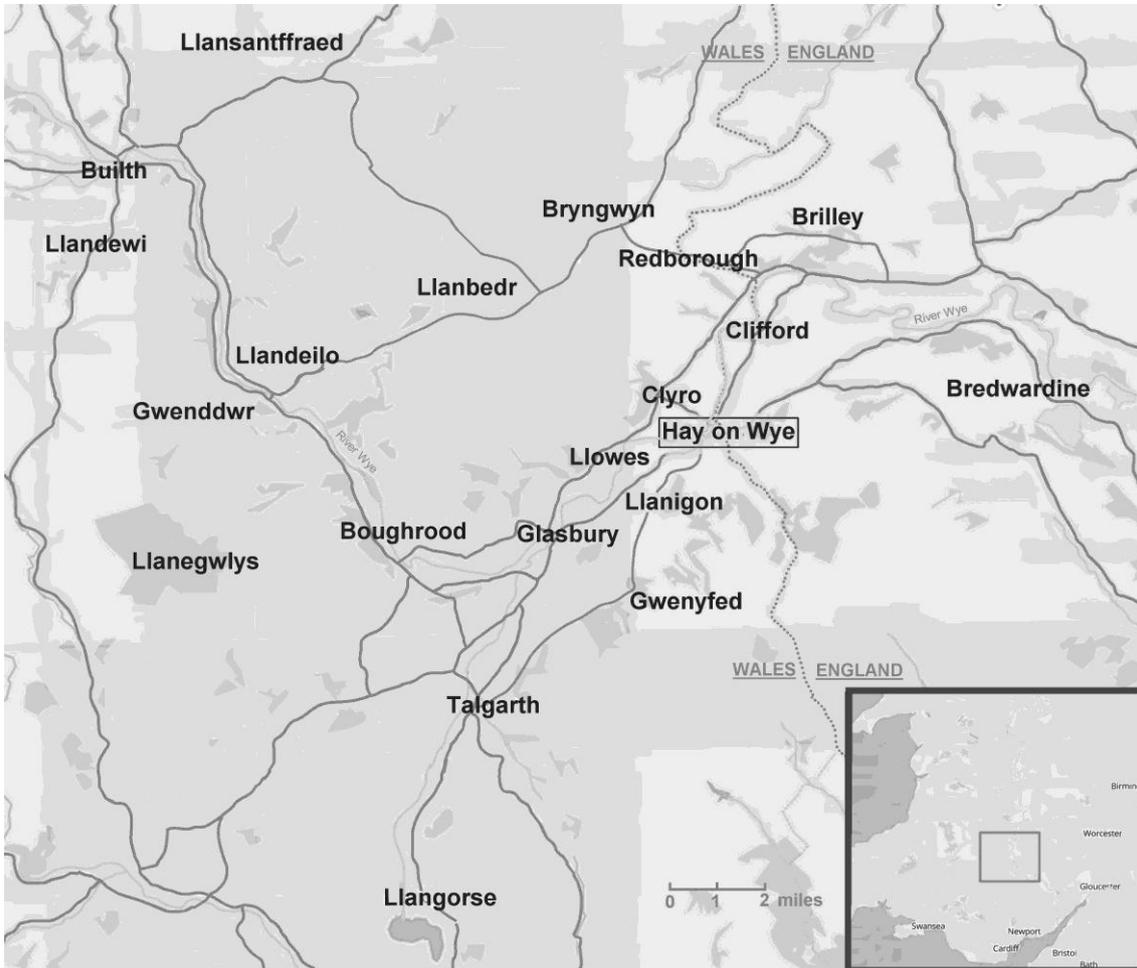


Fig. 4.1. Villages visited by Adam Stott, chapman of Hay-on-Wye¹¹

¹¹ Map created courtesy of Brian King

twelve miles from the county town, but no farther. Likewise, to the south-west, Talgarth, about nine miles from Hay, was his furthest destination on the road to the town of Brecon where a number of booksellers and other shops could be found. Builth Wells, on the other hand, although around eighteen miles away, had no representatives of the book trade, so was probably an eager market for his pedlary goods. He had also recorded several debtors within Hay itself, including shopkeepers.¹² He was on foot with his pack, since his annual licence of four pounds indicated that he had no horse. Two other hawkers with the same surname were registered in 1697, almost certainly from the same family. Not only did they all travel in the surrounding region, but it is likely that they also had a stall at the markets and fairs of Hay-on-Wye, which would have attracted people from that same wide area.¹³

A few debtors are also mentioned by name in the inventory of Hugh Blewis, a chapman also from Hay, but no places of residence are given.¹⁴ Almost universal amongst this sample is a general statement in the will (where present) that debts owed by the deceased should be paid off by the executor before the legacies are distributed. Another pointer to the itinerant nature of these tradesmen can be found in the will of Thomas Bell of Abergavenny, who appeared to have no family:

I give devise and bequeath unto my trusty and well-beloved friend Robert Smith whom I make my sole executor of all my said goods now lying in the city of Hereford or in any other place and all my book debts to be disposed of as followeth. Imprimis: I give unto my executor Robert Smith goods to the value of seventeen pounds six shillings as they shall be comprised by two honest men and all manner of charges that the said Robert Smith shall or may be at. Item: I give to James Graye, chapman, eight pounds ten shillings. Item: I ordain my executor to distribute all the remaining goods or money equally between the rest of my creditors in witness thereof I put my hand ...

¹² There are just two extant wills for mercers in Hay and no booksellers NLW BR/1721/64 Will of Henry Wellington and NLW BR/1698/38 Will of Matthew Parry.

¹³ At this time, Hay had only one fair a year (see Table 4.1 below) but a weekly market on Mondays.

¹⁴ NLW BR/1737/35, will and inventory of Hugh Blewis.

There seems to be no typical inventory amongst this small occupational sample, with values ranging from the Carmarthen pedlar David Richard's very simple five-lines totalling £2.12.2, and the lengthy five-page document of Walter Miles, chapman of Llanstephan, Brecon, amounting to £548.16.11. As Spufford has surmised, there are many different sorts of chapmen. Walter Miles had a shop in the small village of Llanstephan, but also had properties and goods in Monmouth, Hay and Hardwicke, just over the border into Herefordshire.¹⁵ He is described in his inventory as 'linen draper or chapman' as if the two terms were interchangeable. Peter Reeves, a petty chapman who died in 1706 in Magor, Monmouthshire had, as already mentioned, a long inventory comprising a wide variety of cloth as well as a range of foodstuffs and other mercery ware.¹⁶ The proximity of this village to a small landing place at Magor Pill on the Bristol Channel may have facilitated the import of such a wide variety of goods.¹⁷ In her research on mercer networks in this period, Helen Forshaw notes that Reeves' will is signed by two Caerleon mercers, thus indicating a close relationship despite the distance of ten miles between them.¹⁸ She speculates that 'links between mercers may have been maintained informally through the network of pedlars or chapman who operated in Monmouthshire'. This may have been so, but the evidence of Peter Reeves' large stock suggests he had a general store, and perhaps he fits well into Spufford's category of 'mercers for the poor',¹⁹ The line between mercer and chapman, however, was not a well-defined one, so it sometimes hard to tell whether these men were itinerant traders or settled shopkeepers. From the sample of forty-two inventories, eleven included the item 'pedlary ware' amongst the usually modest possessions, and all but one of these had a horse.

¹⁵ NLW SD/1729/212 David Richard, inventory; NLW BR/1741/91 Walter Miles, inventory.

¹⁶ NLW LL 1706-111 Peter Reeves, inventory. Also see Chapter 3.

¹⁷ Stephen Rippon, *The Gwent Levels : The Evolution of a Wetland Landscape* (York: York : Council for British Archaeology, 1996), p. 102.

¹⁸ Helen Forshaw, 'Early Modern Networking - Part 1: The Personal and Professional Relationships of Monmouthshire Mercers 1668 - 1738', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, XXIX (2013), p. 74.

¹⁹ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 58.

Some of the others may also have been travelling salesmen, although they could easily also have had small shops.

Turning to alternative archival sources, a rich vein of information can be found in the Register of Hawkers' Licences for 1697/8 and 1698/99 held at the National Archives.²⁰ Other, subsequent, documents survive regarding these licences, but there is no surviving register of the names of hawkers apart from these two years. In these two volumes can be found a record of every person who applied for the newly required licence following the Act passed in 1696, which introduced much stricter regulation of itinerant trading.²¹ Spufford, who comments that 'few figures in Restoration England are quite as elusive as the peripatetic pedlar',²² was the first scholar to analyse the 1697-98 register, thereby revealing the value of this manuscript.

This landmark measure was the culmination of many attempts to introduce effective legislation to control travelling salespersons. Although a suggestion to licence them had been made as early as 1571,²³ the pressure to do so seemed to build up in the mid-seventeenth century to the extent that by 1681 the anonymous author of *The trade of England revived* was complaining that 'the hawking trade doth utterly impair the wholesale trade in all cities and market towns'.²⁴ Hawkers were described therein as those who sell on their goods wholesale to shopkeepers, or to country chapmen at inns, 'the number of them being much augmented', and that shopkeepers 'would be heartily glad (as many of them have confessed) if there were

²⁰ TNA AO/370 Register of Hawkers' Licences 1697-98; TNA AO 3/371 Register of Hawkers' Licences 1698-99.

²¹ *An Act for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars for a further Provision of Interest for the Transport Debt for reduceing of Ireland*. Chapter XXVII. Rot. Parl. 9 Gul. III. p. 5. n. 3.

²² Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 113.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁴ Anon, *Trade of England Revived and the Abuses Thereof Rectified in Relation to Wooll and Woollen-Cloth, Silk and Silk-Weavers, Hawkers, Bankrupts, Stage-Coaches, Shop-Keepers, Companies, Markets, Linnen-Cloath : Also What Statutes in Force May Be Injurious to Trade and Tradesmen, with Several Proposals : Humbly Offered to This Present Parliament* (London: Dorman Newman, 1681), p. 22.

a law to suppress them'.²⁵ Following this, in 1684, a petition was made by booksellers to the Stationers' Company with similar complaints regarding the selling of books by hawkers in London and at country markets,²⁶ together with various documents presented to Parliament from other types of retailers.²⁷ Bills were presented to Parliament in 1675, 1678, 1680, 1685, and 1691 all of which were attempting to suppress or control hawkers and pedlars but none of which reached the statute book. Finally, a Bill, published in 1696 and passed in April 1697, became law in the above mentioned Act for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars.²⁸

The Act itself was not intended to suppress itinerant sellers, despite the petitions of groups representing the threatened trades. The aim of the Act was to, firstly, control and monitor those practising this type of door-to-door selling and, secondly, to raise money for the transport debt in Ireland. It was one of several sources that the government of Charles II used for this purpose, and the public statement of accounts shows that it raised £10,425.10.8 in its first year of operation.²⁹ In essence, this legislation required that

there shall be answered and paid to his Majesty his Heires & Successors by every Hawker Pedler Petty Chapman or any other trading Person or Persons going from Towne to Towne or to other Means Houses & travelling either on Foot or with Horse Horses or otherwise within the Kingdome of England Dominion of Wales or Towne of Berwick upon Tweed (except as herein after is excepted) carrying to sell or exposing to sale any Goods Wares or Merchandizes a Duty of Foure pounds and that every Person so travelling with a Horse Ass or Mule or other Beast bearing or drawing Burthen shall pay the Summ of Foure pounds from the said Foure & twentieth Day of June One thousand six hundred ninety seven to the Five & twentieth Day of June One thousand six hundred ninety eight for each Horse Ass or Mule or other Beast

²⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁶ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 118.

²⁷ For example, the anonymous broadsheet printed in 1685 entitled *Reasons humbly offered on behalf of the shop-keepers ... to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, for the passing of a bill for the supressing of hawkers, pedlers, and petty-chapmen* (London: s.n., 1685).

²⁸ The full details on the progress of this legislation as found in State Papers can be found in McKenzie and Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents*, passim.

²⁹ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 12: 15 December 1697', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 12, 1697-1699* (London:HMSO, 1803), pp. 9-10. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol12/pp9-10> [accessed 6 November 2017].

bearing or drawing Burthen hee or she shall so travel with over and above the said first mentioned Duty of Foure pounds.³⁰

This money was to be paid to appointed Commissioners, and recorded in the central Exchequer at the Hawkers and Pedlars Office (HPO), formed to handle the bureaucratic procedures ensuing on this new regulation. Twelve regional offices were set up, the one for south Wales being located at Carmarthen.³¹ Various penalties, in the form of hefty fines, were inserted into the Act for those found to be trading in this way without a licence, or with forged documents, and constables were urged to bring defaulters before the local magistrates. There were, however, exemptions for those hawkers, pedlars or chapmen selling 'any Acts of Parliament Forms of Prayer Proclamations Gazetts Licensed Almanacs or other printed Papers licenced by Authority'. An exemption was also included for any trader at a market or fair, since there were already local laws to cover this. For example, a Royal Charter granted to Newport, Monmouthshire, in 1623 by James I declared that 'no stranger or outsider, unless he be a freeman of the borough ... shall sell ... any goods or merchandise within the aforesaid borough ... unless it be in the time of the market' This also included two annual fairs, each of two days duration. The same Charter authorised the setting up of Piepowder Courts to deal with any abuse of these privileges such as failure to pay the various tolls and other charges required in order to trade in the borough.³² Thus began a system of licensing, which has been carried forward to present day in the Pedlars Act 1871 (requiring a certificate) and Street Trading Regulations enforced through local government legislation.

The 1697-98 register began on 27th May 1697, and comprised approximately 2,880 individual entries (see Fig. 4.2), whilst the register for the following year, 1698/9, only contained 1,589 entries. Apart from the basic information of date, name, place of abode and

³⁰ England and Wales, *William III, 1697-8: An Act for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars, for a Further Provision for Payment of the Interest of the Transport Debt for the Reducing of Ireland* [Chapter xxvii. Rot. Parl. 9 Gul. III. P. 5. N. 3.].

³¹ *London Gazette* 3 June 1686, p. 2.

³² See William Rees, *The Charters of the Borough of Newport in Gwynllwg* (Newport: Newport Public Libraries Committee, 1951), p. 45.

Register of Licences for the Year from 27 June 1697 to 27 June 1698

Mony Rec.

1697	Persons Licensed	Place of abode	County	Value of Licence	Year	Month	Day	Year
May 27	1 Thomas Colton	Tunham	Surry	4				
	2 William Colton	Idem	Idem	4				
	3 Patrick Orr	Town Moulton Kent		8				
	4 Archie Wattson	Idem	Idem	4				
	5 John Sloane	Idem	Idem	4				
	6 William Roman	Giles (Opposite) Midd ^x		16				
	7 Johanna Spiff	Whapping Midd ^x		4				
28 J	8 John Sapsford	Whitechapel Midd ^x		4				
	9 Alex. Roxbrough	Hamp Towne Surry		8	1816			
	10 John Smith	Henington Midd ^x		8	1805			
	11 William Gordon	Kilbourn Idem		8	1822			
	12 John Donnell	Hamp Towne Surry		8	194			
	13 Hugh Buchanan	Chertford Essex		8				
	14 John Buchanan	Idem Idem		4				
	15 Patrick Campbell	Godstone Surry		8				
	16 Robt Richardson	Idem Idem		4				
	17 George Martine	Bishopst London		8				
	18 Alex M ^r Connel	Idem Idem		4				
	19 William Daley	Godstone Surry		4				
	20 the Benty	Danworth Idem		4				
31 J	21 John Hood	Alton Southampton		4				
	22 John Hunter	St Albans Hertford		4				
	23 David Batey	Idem Idem		8				
	24 John Elfer	Idem Idem		8				
	25 Gilbert Ware	Blackmore Essex		4				
	26 Duncan Kuchelair	Brentwood Idem		4				
	27 Rich Hamilton	Idem Idem		4				
	28 James Lyon	Idem Idem		8				
	29 Robert Graham	Idem Idem		8				
	30 John Paruthers	Idem Idem		4				

149

Fig. 4.2. TNA, AO/379. The first page of the Register of Hawkers' Licences for 1697-98.

amount paid, there were numerous cross-references, annotations and corrections made by the clerk. Thus, in contrast to the impression gained from probate documents, there were at least eighty itinerant hawkers and chapmen operating in the four Welsh counties in just one year. The spelling of names is inconsistent, and sometimes hard to decipher but, bearing in mind these caveats, the distribution over the counties of south Wales and the borders can be represented statistically (Charts 4.1 and 4.2). Spufford produced data for the whole of England and Wales, translated into map form thereby giving a sense, graphically, of areas covered and, perhaps more importantly, areas in which very few licences were issued.³³ She suggests this is attributed to uneven, local, implementation of the new laws, and goes on to surmise that there were, in all likelihood, more, even as many as ten thousand, who managed to evade the licensing system.³⁴ This flouting of the regulations persisted for many years, to the extent that an advertisement was placed in three issues of the *Gloucester Journal* in 1725 offering a reward, as stipulated in the original Act, for information on unlicensed hawkers (see Fig. 4.3, lower left). In this case, they had been seen selling 'hair sieve bottoms' to the detriment of local traders, and needed to be stopped.³⁵ Yet another insight into the licensing system is apparent in an advertisement in the same newspaper in 1729:

Whereas a blank license for a Hawker or Pedler to Trade by (No. 113) was lost between the 13th and 31st July last. If any Person will bring or send the same (or an account thereof so as it may be had again) to Mr. Michael Claeke, at the Dog and Horseshoe, Lawford's Gate, Bristol ... shall have half a guinea Reward, it being of no Use to any Person.

N.B. It is suppos'd to be lost at Marlin-Hill, or Bristol Fair.³⁶

This suggests that, for the hawker who placed this advertisement, the fear of being fined up to £12 for trading without a licence was a real one.

³³ See above Fig. 1, p. 2.

³⁴ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 16.

³⁵ Hair sieve bottoms described the stiff woven fabric, often made of horsehair, at the base of a fine sieve. Clearly they were common place kitchen items, in some demand.

³⁶ *Gloucester Journal* 15 July 1729, p. 4.

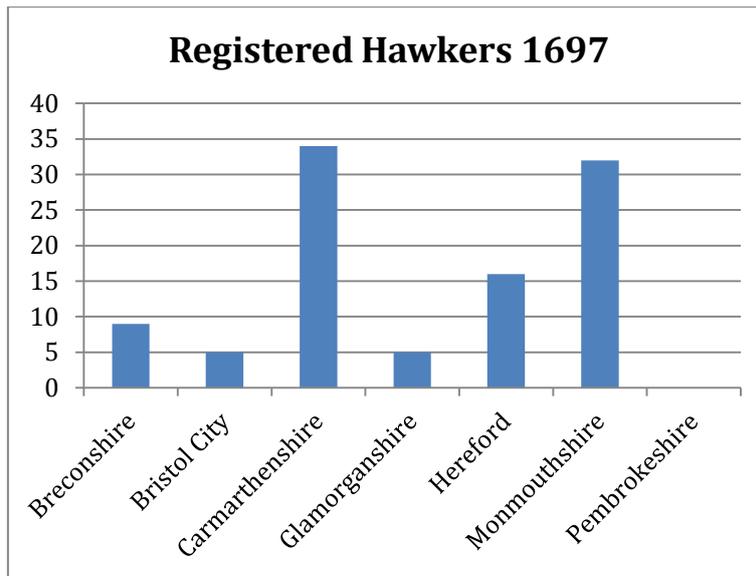


Chart 4.1. Number of registered hawkers by county, 1697

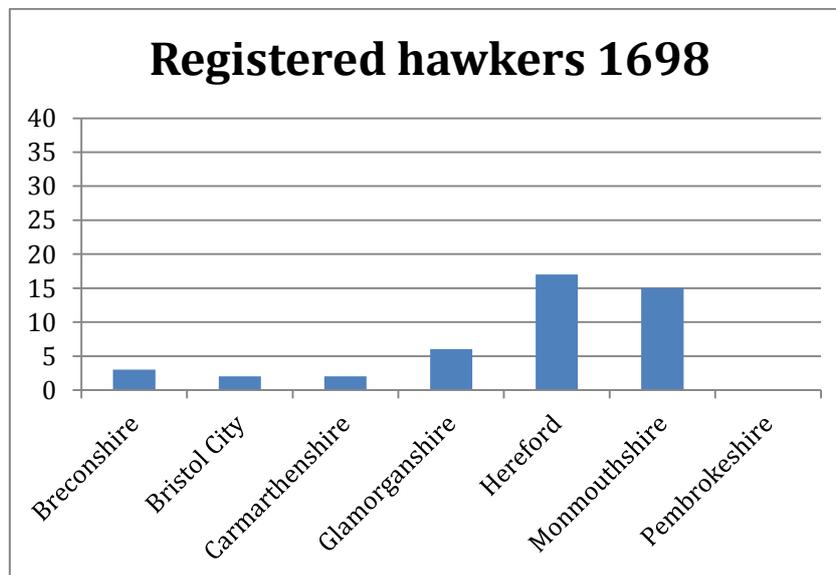


Chart 4.2. Number of registered hawkers by county, 1698

The Price of CORN, &c. at Bear-Key.

	s.	d.	to	s.	d.
Wheat per Quarter	28	00	to	33	00
New Wheat	27	08	to	29	00
Rye from	18	00	to	21	00
Barley from	19	00	to	23	00
Oats from	14	00	to	15	00
Malt from	20	00	to	28	00
Beans from	20	00	to	30	00
Pease from	18	00	to	31	10
Hops C. 3l.	00	00	to	27	00
Coals a Ch.	24	00	to		

Price of CORN at Gloucester.

	s.	d.	to	s.	d.
Wheat a Bushel	04	00	to	04	04
Barley	02	06	to	02	08
Oats	01	06	to	01	08
Beans	03	00	to	04	00
Malt	03	08	to	03	10
Coals per Tun	08	00	to	00	00

Advertisements.

To be LETT at Candlemas next,



Two Estates at Ivington, in the County of Hereford, called, CHIPPES and NORGRAVES, both belonging to Mr. John Lacon, the Houses and Buildings in good Repair: The Arable and Pasture

Part Tythe-free, each of the Yearly Value of 100 l. All Encouragement will be given to a Tenant. Enquire of Mr. Timothy Townson, Mr. John Stead, Attorney at Law in Leominster, or of Mr. John Baylis at Ivington aforesaid.

To be LETT or SOLD,



A very handsome new-built House well finish'd, Four Rooms on a Floor, with a pay'd Court behind it, and a new-built Stable for 3 Horses, near the said House, situate in Long

Smith-street, in the City of Gloucester. Also two Houses and Shops in the Mercer and Butcher Row in the said City, well Tenanted, to be Sold. Enquire of Mr. Edward James, Attorney at Law in Gloucester.

To be Lett or Sold at Midsummer next,



The New Inn, in Cheltenham, now in the occupation of John Hayes, with Brew House, Stables, Out-lett, and other Conveniences. Note, It stands in the Market place. Enquire of Alderman Ludlow of Gloucester, or Mr. William Wood in Cheltenham aforesaid.

Whereas several Hawkers and Pedlars, who travel about the Country without Licenses, do Harak and Sell Search and Hair Sieve-Bottoms to the Prejudice of all fair Traders: These are therefore to give Notice, That whoever will give Information thereof, (to William Johnson of Gloucester, or John Tucker of Ross in Herefordshire) so as they may be brought to Justice, shall have the Reward promis'd by Act of Parliament for such Discovery.

Whereas his Majesty's Letters Patents have been granted to Dr. ROBERT EATON, for vending his Balsamick Syppick, in regard of its General Usefulness for the Army, Navy, Publick Hospitals, Private Families, &c. An Account of its Efficacy is now published.

It cures all External Bleedings, and fresh Wounds, in a Superior Manner to other Syppicks; nor is it less Safe, but Speedy and Effectual in all Bleedings from inward Causes whatsoever, viz. Spitting and Vomiting Blood, Bleeding from the Nose, Bloody Flux, and other like Infirmities, and all other Causes of the Female Sex. It is a Cordial, it keeps in Virtue a long Time, &c.

The Act of Parliament passed last Session, April the 24th, in order for to secure the Author's Property and Secret, hath a special Clause which exempts this Medicine from the Jurisdiction of the College of Physicians, who are thereby empowered to Search and Censure other Drugs and Medicines.

N. B. It is of the same Efficacy against any Wounds or Bleeding Distempers in Brutes, whereby Country Farmers are in Danger to lose their Horses at Docking them, and their Cattle by Bloody Urine, &c.

Note, It is only prepared by the Author, and dispensed of at 7 s. 6 d. the large Bottle, 5 s. the Lesser, and 2 s. 6 d. the Least, with Directions for its outward or inward Use, by the Author, at present, in Coleman-street, London: For the more commodious dispensing the same, it is to be sold, by his Directions, at the Printing-Office in Gloucester, and by the Men that carry this News, and also by Mr. Wilde in Hereford, Mr. Ives in Oxford, Mr. Olding in Salisbury, Mr. Lund in Bristol, and Mr. Greenhill in Bath.

To be Sold at the Printing-Office in Gloucester, that at Northampton, and by the Men that carry this News,

Dr. Radcliffe's famous purging ELIXIR.



Being the only celebrated Cathartic offered in the World, which daily adds to the Character of this Good Man, whose Name shall live as long as the World shall endure, it is exceeding any Medicine ever yet experienced, in its Quality and Quantity, being one of the Nature of the sweetest Sops sold by This or That Name about the Kingdom, where the Sick are obliged to take 4 or 5 Ounces, or 6 nauseous Pills, which renders, Phytick so odorous, but thousands poke at the sight of either Vial or Pill-Bottle: But on the contrary, 'tis a fine Bitter, which is the most grateful to those who have made use of Physick, and 'tis reduced into so small a Quantity, that a Spoonfull proves a sufficient Dose in most Constitutions, requiring no Continuance, neither does it leave the Body hoarse, but gives two or three Stools the succeeding day, working so kindly, and by ways so familiar to Nature, that you would bless your self to see its wonderful Effects: Therefore if you pay any Family should be unacquainted with its Virtues, all Persons of Salt acquaintance in this one Point, that 'tis the very best of Purges in order to cleanse the Body of all gross and vicious Humours, concentered by hard Drinking, Surfeits, Cold, Measles, or the Small-Pox: It destroys all manner of Worms in Children and grown Persons, gives present Ease in the Cholick, and cures the Scurvy, Dropsy, Itch, and all old Sores and Blisters, whatsoever. 'Tis taken with great Success in the Black and Yellow Jaundice, King's Evil, Swelling of the Face or Gums, bad Breath, Distill'd urine, provided the Ear runneth. It cures the Green Sickness, Obstruction, Whites, Barrenness, the Head-ach, Vertigo and Nervo-hum, capill' Wind, help's digestion, dissipates Vapours and sudden Fainings, Difficulty of Breathing, and Morning Sweats, strengthening the Bowels and Nerves, and there 'tis a better Medicine in the World to prevent those Diseases that you commonly attend Persons at Sea, occasioned by bad Air, Dice &c. therefore none should undertake long Voyages ought to be without it, or omit taking it at Spring and Fall, the Price being, for the Advantage of the Poor, but twelve Pence, and tho' well worth twelve Shillings. Seald to prevent Counterfeits with the same Arms, as in the Margin of this Paper, and a Label pasted on each Vial with the Words, Dr. Radcliffe's famous purging ELIXIR.

Note, At the said Printing-Office in Gloucester may be had the following Books, viz.

- The Remarkable Life of the famous J. SHEPPARD. Price 2 d.
- 'Tis all a Cheat: Or, The Way of the World. Price 3 d.
- The Curious Spy: Or, A pleasant New-Year's-Gift for Jolly Lads and Handsome Ladies. Price 4 d.
- The Merry Traveller: Or, The Comical Pilgrimage of a Cynick Philosopher. Price 4 d.
- The Penman's Instructor: Or, A Complete Copy Book of all the Hands now in Use, to which is added, Corrected Copies of the Greek and Hebrew Alphabets. Price 6 d.

Gloucester: Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, in the Southgate-street; where Advertisements are taken in, and by the Men that carry this News; and also by J. Wilson, Bookseller, in Horse-street, Bristol. No Letters will be accepted unless Postage is paid.

Fig 4.3. Gloucester Journal 11 January 1725, p. 4.

Data drawn from the register of 1697 show that most of the hawkers in south Wales were based in market towns, most notable, over the two years, being Abergavenny with thirty-four and Carmarthen with thirty-five. Although the population of these towns is not known for this period, those numbers seem to indicate a remarkably strong presence amongst the traders and shopkeepers of those two towns which merits further examination. Carmarthen was probably the largest commercial centre in south Wales at this time,³⁷ although the same cannot be said of Abergavenny. Both towns had weekly markets, as did many towns and villages across the region, and also regular fairs, the latter being particularly important to hawkers and chapmen, who could set up stalls to sell their wares to the attending crowds. There is one example of this being noted in an inventory, that of the Llandaff pedlar Richard Lewis who died in 1684, leaving 'pedlary ware' together with 'logges towards the raysinge of smale Tilts in the faire, and three or fowre planks to the same use'.³⁸ The city of Bristol had two very large annual fairs at this time, St Paul's and St James', and the Vestry accounts of the latter refer to some of the around two hundred booths and stalls erected for the accommodation of chapmen.³⁹ Only seven chapmen had listed their place of abode as Bristol in the 1697 register, so it seems likely that most of these stall holders came in from the surrounding Gloucester countryside, and also, possibly, on the regular market boats from the south Wales ports.⁴⁰

Information on the frequency of fairs, both fixed and moveable, in the village and towns of south Wales is readily available in several contemporary publications, which provided handy guides for the itinerant trader to plan his or her work and travel. The data for the following table (Table 4.1) is drawn from *The City and Countrey Chapmans Almanack*

³⁷ See Chapter 3 above.

³⁸ NLW LL/1684/67. Richard Lewis, inventory.

³⁹ Joseph Bettey, *St James's Fair, Bristol 1137 - 1837* (Bristol: Avon Local History and Archaeology, 2014), p. 35.

⁴⁰ There were 238 hawkers registered in the county of Gloucestershire in 1697/8. The trading connections across the Bristol Channel are examined further later in this chapter.

Town/Village	Shire County	Number of Fairs 1690	Number of Fairs 1705
Brecon	Brecon	3	3
Llandysul (Cardiganshire)	Cardigan	3	3
Abergwili	Carmarthen	1	1
Carmarthen	Carmarthen	3	4
Kidwelly	Carmarthen		1
Llangadog (Carmarthenshire)	Carmarthen	1	2
Llanybydder	Carmarthen	5	5
Meidrim (Carms)	Carmarthen	1	1
Cardiff	Glamorgan	2	2
Cowbridge	Glamorgan	1	1
Llandaff	Glamorgan	1	2
Llangyfelach (Swansea)	Glamorgan	1	1
Llantrisant (Glamorganshire)	Glamorgan	2	2
Merthyr (Glamorganshire)	Glamorgan	2	1
Neath	Glamorgan	2	2
Swansea	Glamorgan		3
Bristol	Gloucester	3	2
Gloucester	Gloucester	1	1
Hay	Hereford	2	1
Hereford	Hereford	3	5
Ross	Hereford	1	1
Abergavenny	Monmouth	2	3
Caerleon	Monmouth	2	4
Chepstow	Monmouth	2	3
Llandogo	Monmouth		1
Magor	Monmouth		4
Monmouth	Monmouth	2	3
Newport (Monmouthshire)	Monmouth	2	3
Pontypool	Monmouth		1
Usk	Monmouth	2	2
Haverfordwest	Pembroke	1	1
Tenby	Pembroke	2	1
TOTAL		53	70

Table 4.1. Number of fixed and moveable fairs in 1690 and 1705 in south Wales and borders

(1690) and *The Traveller's and Chapman's Daily Instructor* (1705). There seems no particular reason, based on the location and frequency of fairs, for Abergavenny to have such a large number of resident chapmen. It is possible that the Exchequer Commissioners to whom the licence fee was paid used the town as a centre for registration. Spufford suggests that many of the chapman in her study did not necessarily live permanently in their declared 'place of abode', but may have been merely passing through for a season or two. To support this possibility, she analyses the names of the 134 chapmen registered in Tetbury, Gloucestershire,⁴¹ and finds that seventy of them are clearly Scottish names. Furthermore, she compares the names with registers of births, marriages and deaths and finds very few entries, reinforcing her conclusion that many of these itinerants did not settle in the town, and also that they came from distant places.⁴² Indeed, the 'Scotch chapman' or pedlar is frequently mentioned in public documents such as the petition presented by London tradesmen to Parliament in 1696 stating their opposition to the Bill to licence hawkers by stating that it will 'be greatly destructive to the Trade of all Corporations and Market-Towns in *England*; and tends to license a numerous Company of *Scotchmen*, and other wandering Persons, who no-ways contribute to the Support of the Government'.⁴³ Amongst the Welsh chapman in this study was Thomas Bell, the Scotch chapman, who died in Abergavenny in 1692, and whose will was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, probably because he was away from home.⁴⁴ A further example is found in William Black, a chapman also dying in Abergavenny, whose will of 1720 states 'the remainder of my effects be sold by my Executor, and that he return the said remainder to Scotland there to be equally divided betwixt all my brothers and

⁴¹ Tetbury was an import wool staple town at this time, which might account for the high number.

⁴² Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 27.

⁴³ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 11: 4 February 1696', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 11, 1693-1697* (London: HMSO, 1803), pp. 426-428. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol11/pp426-428> [accessed 7 November 2017]

⁴⁴ TNA PROB 11/408/215. Thomas Bell, will. Unfortunately, he left no inventory.

sisters now living'.⁴⁵ There were no bequests left to anyone in the locality, so it reasonable to assume he had no family at all there. Likewise, John Telfer, a chapman who died in 1698 near Swansea was described therein as being 'of the parish of Kirkcowbright in the county of Galloway within the Kingdom of Scotland'.⁴⁶

It is difficult to generalise on the status of chapmen at this time, or to understand how they fitted into the community and how they were regarded by others. Many of the inventories, as already seen, present a picture of a settled man with house, property and family but this sample is biased towards the person who would have made a will in the first place. The register of chapmen or hawkers described above comprises 125 names for south Wales and the borders in 1697-98, but extant wills, inventories or indeed any other sort of document, have been found for only two of these, John Telfer and Adam Stott. The man who has settled down invariably had a shop full of goods, so had either stopped selling door-to-door, or perhaps had never done so, but certainly had no need of a hawker's licence. Spufford has described these different types of chapmen based on examples from England, with variations in wealth from very poor to very comfortably off.⁴⁷ The register also records whether the chapman owned a pack animal, indicated by his payment of four or eight pounds for his annual licence. Combining the two years, and excluding repeated names, the 1697-99 registers list 148 hawkers in south Wales and borders, of which only sixteen (9%) had a 'Horse Ass or Mule or other Beast bearing or drawing Burthen'. Examination of the whole register for one year produces a similar proportion (16%).⁴⁸ On the other hand, the sample of probate documents of all Welsh and borders chapmen, found in other sources, indicate nineteen out of fifty eight (32%) include a horse (or more than one), perhaps lending further weight to the suggestion that the more wealthy individuals were more likely to make a will.

⁴⁵ NLW LL/1720/5. William Black, will. No inventory.

⁴⁶ NLW SD/1698/136. John Telfer, will and inventory.

⁴⁷ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, Chapter IV.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.18.

In seeking to establish whether these licensed chapmen sold small books, there is little direct evidence to be found. Just one man, John Telfer of Swansea, had a 'parcel of bookes' listed in his inventory of 1698.⁴⁹ Adam Stott of Hay, whose inventory contained a long list of debtors mentioned above, had just had a few modest lengths of cloth, a gold ring and some 'old silver' totalling £13.15.6.⁵⁰ So, although these documents provide an insight into the manner and extent of the life of the travelling salesman, they throw little further light on the selling of printed material. Bearing in mind that the poorer hawkers and pedlars were frequently regarded as vagrants, especially prior to the licensing system which, in a sense, legitimised their work, it seems likely that court records might reveal useful information. The propensity of a pedlar to criminality is asserted strongly in a contemporary anonymous book, in which the writer is lobbying for legislation to control their activities, and protect the shopkeepers' business:

And as the Shopkeepers are seldom guilty of any indirect dealings; so much less are they at any time guilty of felonious actions. But this cannot be said of the Pedlars who very often are arraigned at the Bar for breaking open into houses or such things as these are, having by reason of the selling of Wares, access to all mens houses, and so do know the weakest part of every mans house; and if they are not acting herein themselves, yet they are able to inform any other person who hath a mind to do it, which (doubtless) they do, as hath been acknowledged by some that have been arraigned for this thing and then they are the receivers of all the stolen Goods, both in the Town and Country.⁵¹

The laws against vagrants were many and confusing, although Augustus Beier has provided a clear account of these for the pre-1660 period.⁵² The main Vagrancy Acts of 1572 and 1597 treated pedlars as in 'illegal occupation' which resulted in a range of penalties. By 1660, the attitude had softened somewhat, and vagrants were simply removed to their place of origin.

⁴⁹ NLW SD/1698/136. John Telfer, will and inventory.

⁵⁰ NLW, BR/1708/54. Adam Stott, bond and inventory.

⁵¹ Anon, *Trade of England Revived*, p. 40.

⁵² A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560 - 1640* (London: Methuen, 1985).

By 1700, although still classified as 'itinerant poor', toleration had extended still further.⁵³ Records of prosecutions and punishments of vagrants can be found in Monmouthshire in 1634, but not in the post-1640 period being covered by this study.⁵⁴ Richard Suggett has examined the records of the Court of Great Sessions in Wales, with a view to finding examples of court cases in which pedlars or chapmen were distributing printed material. A few cases are cited for north Wales, but examples from south Wales are all drawn from the early part of the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ As he emphatically concludes, 'pedlars may have routinely carried small bundles of chapbooks, but documents rarely allow us to rummage retrospectively through a pedlar's pack'.⁵⁶

The seventeenth century itinerant trader is so indiscernible, it is legitimate to question whether they did distribute printed material in Wales. Spufford's inventory evidence, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, confirms the presence of small books in a few examples of chapmen's packs in England, but none in Wales. The strongest evidence of the chapman's role with regard to the selling of cheap print, however, is found within the chapbooks, school books, newspapers, almanacks and ballads themselves. The proliferation of chapbook titles in the seventeenth century is clear from the many advertisements which often appear in the back of the books, or even as separate documents. Chapbook production itself tended to be a specialist area of publishing, concentrated in the hands of quite a small number of London printers. One of these, William Thackeray, produced a broadsheet in 1689, listing all his titles then available, and divided up into sections.⁵⁷ This comprised forty-one titles of 'small godly books, sixty-four of 'small merry books', twenty-one 'double books' (twenty-four page quartos) and twenty-three 'histories'. Another chapbook publisher, Charles

⁵³ Ibid., p.172.

⁵⁴ For example, a reference to vagrants punished in Monmouth can be found in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Charles 1* (1634-35) p.442

⁵⁵ Suggett, *Pedlars and Mercers as Distributors of Print in Early Modern Wales*, 23 – 32.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁷ The trade list is reproduced as an appendix in Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* p. 262.

Tias, left a very detailed inventory in 1664 listing around 10,000 volumes, nearly all of which were priced at less than sixpence.⁵⁸ Ian Green, in his detailed study of religious publishing, estimates that print runs for best-sellers were about 2-3,000 copies in the first half of the seventeenth century, but this probably increased to 5-6,000 after 1660.⁵⁹ These numbers were even higher for the most popular little books such as the officially sanctioned *The ABC with Catechisme*,⁶⁰ a twenty-four page first reader, for which an average of 21,000 copies, in several editions, were printed each year between 1663 and 1705 year.⁶¹ It is a stark demonstration of survival rates that, before 1700, just ten English editions, are now recorded on the ESTC as extant.⁶² Furthermore there are only a total of thirteen actual copies in the participating libraries, although it is possible that unrecorded copies survive elsewhere. It was also translated into Welsh in London in 1633, in 1703 in Shrewsbury and 1727 in Carmarthen. Even greater loss rates are evident for other similar somewhat longer books such as *The Primer with Catechisme*, which represented the next stage for schoolchildren learning to read. It was published repeatedly during the seventeenth century, with a peak of 84,000 copies recorded in the Stationers Company ledgers for the single year of 1676,⁶³ and it now survives as one single copy in the British Library, dated 1652.⁶⁴

Almanacks fared rather better in terms of survival, with around 2,000 titles recorded in the ESTC between 1660 and 1730. Bernard Capp, in his comprehensive study of this very popular genre, estimates that, in the 1660s, around 400,000 copies were sold annually, 'a

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 92.

⁵⁹ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 177.

⁶⁰ Similar titles were produced by other publishers, most notably *Mayers catechism abridged: or the ABC enlarged ...* London: John Marriot, 1632. This was a more substantial volume of 64 pages, and ran to several editions.

⁶¹ John Barnard, 'Bibliographical Note: The Stationers' Stock 1663/4 to 1705/6: Psalms, Psalters, Primers and Abcs', *Library*, 21 (1999), 370 – 375.

⁶² These are for the years 1605, 1627, 1633, 1637, 1668, 1677, 1680, 1683, 1687 and 1698.

⁶³ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 184.

⁶⁴ Barnard, 'Bibliographical Note: The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, Abcs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationer's Stock, 1660 - 1700', 148 – 150.

figure which suggests that roughly one family in three bought an almanac'.⁶⁵ Within the pages of English almanacks could be found a variety of calendars, predictions, forecasts, jests and general information, as well as, often, long introductions, advertisements and poetry. One piece of verse in Fowle's almanack of 1693 leaves no doubt as to the role of the itinerant seller in distribution of his work:

But hold the Press hath overtook my Pen
The term's at hand, and I shall wander then.
My steed is ready (the grave Pedlar's Back);
My Harbinger (his Dog); my Inn (the Pack).
Ten Fairs and Markets I must duly keep,
And (on the Stall) make up the dirty heap
Of Penny-Ware; where the Disdainful Eye
Pores on me two long hours before I buy.⁶⁶

whilst another little rhyme in Tanner's almanack of 1658 is particularly revealing about the possible fate of this annual publication when the year was over:

And when the year is up, forbear to prate,
Although they throw thee by, as out of date;
Be patient, though at length thou'rt rent and torn,
And to the House of Office brought in scorn:
And though the good wife, under Pyes thee put.
Be thou not dare to call her dirty slut.
Or else perhaps good fellows may thee use
To light tobacco: do not them abuse;
For know what e're beginning had or birth,
Must at the last return unto the earth.
If everything must to its Center tend,
Surely poor *Almanacks* must have AN END.⁶⁷

The importance of chapmen, hawkers and pedlars in the distribution of cheap print in England (and potentially for Wales) can be seen in several examples from the seventeenth

⁶⁵ Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500 - 1800*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65 citing from Thomas Fowle, *Speculum Uranicum, or, An Almanack and Prognostication for the Year of Our Lord God 1693 Being the First from the Bissextile or Leap-year* (London R.E., 1692), p. 21.

⁶⁷ John Tanner, *Angelus Britannicus a Diary or Calendar Amplified with Astrological Predictions and Celestial Intelligence from the Superior Agent to the Inferior Patient* (London: John Streater, 1658), p. 25.

and early eighteenth century. *The Tale of Bevis of Southampton*,⁶⁸ one of the more enduring popular titles, contains an advertisement for fifteen small cheap books available at Jonah Deacon's printing house 'where all chapmen (may be furnished at reasonable rates) and others' (Figure 4.4). On the final page of, *The Strange and Wonderful History of Mother Shipton* (1686), packed with prophecies for the years ahead, the printer-publisher has a similar list, ending with the words 'At the above-mentioned place any chapman may be furnished with all sort of small books'.⁶⁹ Well into the eighteenth century, the printer-publisher Robert Raikes, initially based in Northampton, was making use of itinerant sellers for his collection of poetry, published with his partner William Dicey in 1725, and advertising its availability prominently on the title-page (Fig. 4.5). Perhaps the most vivid contemporary representation of the chapman can be found in a ballad of the 1680s in the Samuel Pepys collection (see Fig. 4.6). Each verse mentions different goods in the pedlars pack, including books in the penultimate verse:

We have choice of Songs, and merry books too, All Pleasant, & Witty, Delightful and New, Which Every young swain may Whistle at Plough And Every fair Milk-Maid may sing to her Cow Then Maidens and Men, Come see what you lack, And buy the fine toys that I have in my pack⁷⁰

Thus, as far as England is concerned, not only is there plentiful evidence from contemporary publications, but also chapmen's inventories have revealed examples of 'small books'.⁷¹ For Wales, however, it is harder to find. In 1652 Michael Sparke, writer and publisher of many anti-catholic pamphlets, wrote 'I am a Stationer and a wholesaler ... and have dealt in books above 40 years ... In my trading to divers parts, I found how all my Chapmen were

⁶⁸ Anon, *The Gallant History of the Life and Death of That Most Noble Knight, Sir Bevis of Southampton* (London: Deacon, c.1691).

⁶⁹ Anon, *The Strange and Wonderful History of Mother Shipton* (London: Conyers, 1686), p. 22.

⁷⁰ Anon, *The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Pedlars and Petty Chapmen, for the Hardness of the Times, and the Decay of Trade*. (London: Back, 1685-88). Text transcription courtesy of the English Broadside Ballad Archive, <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/> [accessed 21st November 2017].

⁷¹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, especially Chapter V.

BOOKS Printed for and Sold by J. Deacon, at the Angel in Giltspur-
street without Newgate. Where all Chapters (may be furnished at
Reasonable Rates) and others.

1. THE most Famous History of *Amadis of Greece*, Surnamed
the Knight of the *Horned Sword*, Price 1s. 4d.
2. *Accompany*, that Famous and expert Astrologician, to find the
fatal Day Constellation, and natural inclination of every Man-
Child, by his birth. Price 6d.
3. The Art of *Legerdemain*, with new Additions. Price 6d.
4. Sports and Pastimes for City and Country. Price 6d.
5. *Murkbas's* faithful *Patrier*, wherein the depth of his Skill is
laid open in all those Principal and Approved secrets of Horo-
scopie, in Octavo. Price 4d.
6. The Honour of the Cloath working Trade: or, the Pleasant
and Famous History of *Thomas of Reading*. Price 3d.
7. The Merchant Taylors Renown: or, the Famous and De-
lightful History of *Sir John Hawkwood* Knight. Price 3d.
8. The Famous History of the Learned Fryer *Bacon*. p. 3d.
9. The Famous Pleasant and Delightful History of *Ornatus* and
Alissa. Price 3d.
10. The Noble *Deeds* and Gallant Achievements of that Remark-
able out Law *Robin Hood*, together with a true Account of the many
Merry and Extravagant Exploits he play'd, in twelve several
Stories. Price 3d.
11. The Renowned History of the *Seven* Champions of Christ-
endom. Price 3d.
12. *Wiljoins* Cabinet Opened: or, the Famous History of the
Seven VVise Masters of *Rome*. Price 3d.
13. The History of the Life & Death of that most Noble Knight
Sir Bevis of Southampton. Price 3d.
14. No Jest like a true Jest, being merry Pranks, and mad Ex-
ploits of Captain *James Hind*. Price 1d.
15. The Pleasant History of the Unfortunate *Sau*. Price 1d.
16. The History of *Dr. Faustus*. Price 1d.
17. The second Part of *Mother Bunch of the West*. Price 1d.
18. The History of *Tom Tinker*, the merry *Tinker* of *Banbury*. 1d.
19. The Birth, Life, and Death of *John Frank*. price p. 1d.
20. *John* and his *Mistress*. Price 1d.
21. The whole Art of *Palmistry*, shewing the Hour of the Day,
by the figure of the Hand.
22. The Book of Riddles, with pictures to each Riddle. p. 1d.

Fig. 4.4. Final page from *The Gallant History of the Life and Death of that Most Noble Knight, Sir Bevis of Southampton*. London: J. Deacon, 1691, p. 24.

The P I N K
G A R L A N D,

Containing Four New S O N G S.

- I. Pinks and Lillies ; or, Phillis at a Nonplus.
- II. The Answer.
- III. Flora's Departure ; or, Summers Pride abated.
- IV. An Answer to the new Song in the Opera of Aftartus.



Northampton, Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey,
and Sold by S. Dagnell, Bookeller in Chesham ;
N. Ward in Sun Lane in Reading ; A. Thorp, at
the White-Swan in St. Albans : Where Chapmen
may be furnish'd with all Sorts of Broadheets and
Histories ; old and new Ballads cheaper and much
better done than in any other place.

Fig. 4.5. Title page from *The Pink Garland, Containing Four New Songs*.
Northampton: Raikes & Dicey, 1725.

The Sorrowful Lamentation of The Pedlars, and Petty Chapmen, for the hardness of the times, and the decay of Trade.

To the Tune of, My Life and my Death. This may be Printed, R. P.



The times are grown hard, more harder then flour,
And therefore the Pedlars may well make their moan,
In lament and complaint that trading is dead,
That all the former Golden fair Days now are fled,
Then Maidens and Men, Come see what you lack,
And buy the fine toys that I have in my pack.

Come hither and view, here's choice and here's fine,
Here's all things to please ye, what would you have more,
Here's Points for the Eyes, and Pins for the Hair,
Then Open your Purces and be not afraid:
Come Maidens, &c.

Let none at a lesser report of repine,
Come buy me your money and I'll make you fine,
Young Wives shall look as sweet as the Day,
And pretty sweet Beauty more since then May:
Then Maidens, &c.

To buy a new Licence, your money I crave,
As that which I want, and tis that which you have,
Exchange then a Quait, for some petty toy,
Come buy this fine Washle for your little boy,
Come Maidens and Men, come see what you lack,
Come buy my fine Toys that I have in my Pack.

Here's Sack for those, and Cotten for those,
and there's a Quilt Robbin which none would refuse:
This Robbin let John give, sweet Bitter's Jane,
And Egan of Cuckoo, so he shall not complain,
Come Maidens, &c.

Come buy this fine Coffe, this drinking of blood,
And let not your money come the drops of blood,
The Pedlar may well of rogues be compaign,
If he brings all his ware to the Sack in bairne,
Then Maidens, &c.

Here's Bandings for men, and there you have lace,
Behave face to show the face, let us see face,
What ever you like if you will be paid,
as soon as you please you may take it away:
Then Maidens, &c.

The World is so hard, that we find little trade,
Although we have all things to please every state,
Come petty fair Ladies then bid us adieu,
But give me your haire, and I'll take it away:
Come Maidens, &c.

Here's all things that's fine, and all things that's rare,
All modish and neat, and all in London Ware,
Clarinet here you shall see many a,
Then give me your Sashes, & we will agree:
Come Maidens, and Men, come see what ye lack,
Come buy the fine Toys that I have in my Pack.

Let none at a lesser report of repine,
Come buy me your money and I'll make you fine,
Young Wives shall look as sweet as the Day,
And pretty sweet Beauty more since then May:
Then Maidens, &c.

We have choice of Shengs and merry boys too,
All Pleasant, & witty, being in a Row,
which every young Lad may be glad to see,
And every fair Girl may like to see:
Then Maidens, &c.

Since Trading's so dead, we must needs complain,
And therefore pray let us have some little gain,
If you will be free, we will you supply
With what you do want, the more you come and buy,
The world is so hard, that although we take Pain,
When we look in our Purces, we had little gain.
Printed for L. Bask, at the Blackboy on Lond. m. 1788.

Fig. 4.6. *The Sorrowful Lamentation of The Pedlars, and Petty Chapmen, for the hardness of the times, and the decay of Trade.* London: I. Back, 1685-88.

addicted [to Popishe books] and dealing with some in Worcester ...',⁷² and John Feather, in his study on provincial printing, describes Sparke as having a 'bevy of chapmen who sold books in Bristol and along the Welsh border.'⁷³ The best examples of itinerant trading in Wales, however, are found in the pages of Welsh almanacks, especially those compiled and published by Thomas Jones.

Jones has been the subject of much attention by scholars of Welsh literature and the book trade.⁷⁴ Born in Corwen, Merioneth in 1648, he moved to London in 1666, first working as a tailor and then setting up his own business as a printer-publisher. He was an enterprising if rather abrasive person, but was successful in his venture, so clearly made astute decisions regarding the market for cheap printed material in both English and Welsh. In 1679, he paid the Stationers Company £1 for the sole rights to produce an almanack in Welsh, and £10 in 1684 for the rights to *The ABC and Catechism*.⁷⁵ He first produced the former in 1680, and it is assumed that he did translate and publish the latter but there are now no extant copies.⁷⁶ Fortunately for posterity, Jones wrote long introductions to many of his publications which has informed historians about the state of the book trade in Wales at this time. He established agents in Wales, mainly in north Wales but also Samuel Rogers, bookseller of Abergavenny.⁷⁷ In his 1691 almanack he complains of 'corrupt pedlars and shopkeepers like Evan Lloyd of Haverfordwest' who raised the price of his books, and reaped the profit.⁷⁸ He also, at least while living in London, went out in person to sell his books, describing how, in

⁷²Michael Sparke, *A second beacon fired by Scintilla*.(London: printed for the author, 1652), p.6.

⁷³ John Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 13.

⁷⁴ Much of this background information is drawn from Geraint H. Jenkins, *'The Sweating Astrologer': Thomas Jones the Almanacer*; Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*; Rees, *The Welsh Book Trade before 1820*; Anon, 'Thomas Jones, the Alamanacer', *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1915), 239-245.

⁷⁵ Barnard, 'Bibliographical Note: The Stationers' Stock 1663/4 to 1705/6: Psalms, Psalters, Primers and Abcs', p. 370.

⁷⁶ There is, however, a copy of this title in Welsh recorded in ESTC published in Shrewsbury in 1703, and this is very likely to be from Thomas Jones' press.

⁷⁷ Listed first in his 1685 almanac, and subsequently almost every year.

⁷⁸ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 231.

1693, he was 'riding through the cold to the towns of Abergavenny and Brecon',⁷⁹ most probably to attend the Brecon fair held annually on 6 November. The dates of all the fairs in Wales were always within his annual almanack. In 1695, as soon as the Printing Act had lapsed, Jones moved to Shrewsbury, the 'capital of mid-Wales', set up his printing press and continued to publish many works, including the annual Welsh almanack, until his death in 1713. By then, several others, most notably John Rhydderch of Shrewsbury, had learnt the trade from him, so continued the work. Although he had rivals in the almanack publishing business, since his sole rights had expired along with the Printing Act, he seemed to have been the most successful, and certainly the most ambitious, even trying to launch a local Shrewsbury newspaper, in English, in 1706, although this did not, in fact, ever appear.⁸⁰ Perhaps the most convincing evidence of his relationship with chapmen is found in his 1687 Welsh almanack, published in London, in which he prints the following tirade in English:

The several Books and Boxes of Oyntments aforementioned, will be Sold as followeth.

Although I have already mentioned that the Books and Boxes would be Sold by me, I do acquaint the Country Chapmen, that I have left off dealing into the Countrey, & do advise them not to write to me for any to their own disappointment. Those Country Chapmen that desire to have of my Books or Oyntments, if they please to write to their Correspondents in *London*, that furnish them with other Goods, & give them directions (in English) to send to my House (for the Books, &c.) which is by the End of *Long-Alley* in *Moor-Fields*, not a quarter of a Mile from the middle of the City; I shall use the *Londoners* so well, that the Countrey may have them always at very reasonable Rates.⁸¹

The question remains how would the chapmen, who were living and trading in south Wales, obtain a supply of little books. The extract cited above implies that they had correspondents in London who supplied them with goods. On the other hand, individuals may

⁷⁹ A loose translation from Thomas Jones, *Newyddion Mawr Oddiwrth y ser neu Almanacc* (London: s.n., 1693?), p. 2.

⁸⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 234.

⁸¹ Thomas Jones, *Almanac am y Flwyddyn o oedran Brace y Byd...1688* (London: Thomas Jones, 1687), p. 25. I am grateful to Jane Finucane for alerting me to this.

have travelled to London to stock up from one of the many chapbook publishers, and then carried the little volumes all the way back to south Wales. Bearing in mind that 89% of registered chapmen in south Wales in the 1697-98 register did not own a pack animal, this would have been a journey on foot of several weeks. They might, as did the booksellers and mercers, have requested the publishers to send goods by carrier, although this was expensive,⁸² and therefore unlikely to be used by an itinerant tradesman just scraping a living. Spufford concludes that 'it is extremely difficult to establish the relationship between chapmen and their London suppliers'.⁸³ Nevertheless, she presents evidence from various English counties that such a relationship did exist, and that some chapmen bought books on a sale or return basis. She cites a will of a Yorkshire chapman who left all his goods to his linen supplier in York,⁸⁴ so it is quite possible that bookselling chapmen may have likewise stocked up from booksellers in the various market towns which they regularly visited. Taken a step further, mercers such as Dawkin Gove who stocked large numbers of volumes might have been acting as a wholesaler, and only too willing to employ chapmen to distribute them far and wide into the Welsh countryside.⁸⁵

Towards the end of the period under study, provincial newspapers were just beginning to appear, and their methods of distribution, in their early days, merit some examination. The early printers within the south Welsh counties up to 1730 comprise only Isaac Carter of Trefhedyn and Nicholas Thomas of Carmarthen, and even then their businesses were very small, producing only a few poor quality books, in both Welsh and

⁸² Carriage costs varied, but SPCK records indicate about 4/2 for a box of 35 Bibles to Abergavenny (142 miles). Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 221. A small parcel up to 7 lbs. in weight might cost approximately 1/9. In 1692, an Act was passed to give Justices of the Peace powers to set rates of carriage within their area, and these were recorded in Court proceedings. See T. S. Willan, 'The Justices of the Peace and the Rates of Land Carriage', *Journal of Transport History*, 5 (1962), 197 – 204.

⁸³ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 79.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸⁵ For the extent of Gove's book stock, see Chapter 3 above.

English, in an 'amateurish way'.⁸⁶ The development of provincial printing in the context of Wales and the borders was slow, but as far as distribution of news is concerned, this was confined to the almanacks already discussed above, which did contain an overview of the past year's events, and the weekly newspapers of Gloucester and Bristol. The *Gloucester Journal*, printed by Robert Raikes, started production in April 1722. It contained, in its first few years, mainly national news, with a few items of local interest, and a number of advertisements which give a good indication of the readership of the paper, as well as listing other publications and apothecary items which Raikes was distributing into the surrounding area through a network of agents. An issue of the *Gloucester Journal* published in 1725 lists the names of thirteen men each covering a district comprising several villages and small towns, indicating a structured system of delivery.⁸⁷ There is no evidence as to how these 'men that carry the news' were employed, although it was common practice for early newspaper owners wanting to reach out to rural areas,⁸⁸ so it is quite possible that chapmen already serving these areas could have applied themselves to this work.

The first newspaper issued from Hereford, the *Hereford Journal*, started in 1739 thus falling outside the period of this study. There was an early newspaper produced in Ludlow by William Parkes in 1719. Entitled *The Ludlow Post-Boy*, it lasted just six months, possibly owing to difficulties of distribution, and Parkes moved on to found another newspaper in Reading.⁸⁹ Some of the early newspapers in Bristol, however, survived and prospered whilst other titles foundered. The first to appear was William Bonny's *Bristol Post-Boy* which was estimated to have started in 1702, thus becoming the second earliest

⁸⁶ Rees, *Wales and the London Book Trade before 1820*, p. 8.

⁸⁷ *Gloucester Journal*, 25th April 1725, p. 6. This will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5 below.

⁸⁸ Michael Harris, 'A Few Shillings for Small Books: The Experiences of a Flying Stationer in the Eighteenth Century', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550 - 1850* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p.86.

⁸⁹ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 122.

paper to appear outside London.⁹⁰ This title continued just to 1710 and was succeeded by the more successful *Sam Farley's Bristol Post-Man* which had started up in 1713 (see Fig. 4.7). The Farley family continued to print newspapers in both Bristol and Exeter until mid-eighteenth century, and in 1727, claimed to reach a circulation of 'above 50 miles around' the city, using a number of 'running footmen'.⁹¹ Another rival title published by Henry Greep, *The Bristol Weekly Mercury*, appeared in 1715, just two years after Farley's first paper, and continued until 1727 after which it disappeared. It is not surprising that the large and commercially vibrant city of Bristol proved fertile ground for newspaper production, but there is no indication, within the pages of extant copies of these same papers, of distribution to south Wales, either through advertisements or claims of towns and villages covered by the distributors. There is no mention of chapmen being involved in any way, rather it seems clear that the success of the urban papers was dependent on regular and reliable weekly delivery which would not have lent itself to the itinerant trading activities of a pedlar. These enterprising printers who set up in the years following the lapse of the Printing Act were drawn to local newspaper printing as a ready market for which the very well-established printing trade in London could not put up any realistic competition. But the printers of Hereford, Gloucester, Bristol, and even Carmarthen, did venture into book printing, with limited success. John Feather, who has carried out extensive research on provincial printing, points out that:

London was the only significant centre of book production in England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was also the centre of the intellectual and literary culture which produced and consumed books. As a production centre, it was largely unchallenged.⁹²

⁹⁰ The earliest was the *Norwich Post* in 1701.

⁹¹ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 122.

⁹² John Feather, 'The British Book Market 1600 - 1800', in Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (eds.) *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 240.

(12)
 Saturday, Jan. 21. *By this days Post we have receiv'd the following Advices.*

WE are daily amus'd with a great many Stories about the Affairs of the North, but now, according to the best Accounts we can get, there has not yet been any Engagement on that side. 'Tis now said, that the Frost is very great, and so much Snow fallen of late in that Country, that 'tis scarce possible either for Man or Horse to travel there; and that the Marquis of Huntly, with one Body of the Rebels, as some say, is at Elgin, or as others about his own House at Castle Gordon and Lockabers; and the Earl of Seaforth with another, about his own House of Braham in Ross-Shire; and that the Earl of Sutherland continues in Possession of the Town and Castle of Inverness and is in no Pain at the Approach of the Rebels; but it was said he design'd, if possible, to hinder their Junction, and endeavour to fall upon and attack the Latter before the Marquis comes up.

I hear that Robert Roy Mac Gregor commands the Body of the Rebels who are in and about Paulkland; but their Number is not so great as was formerly reported; and on Sunday Night last Sir Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie, Governor of the Castle of Bruntland, march'd thence with a strong Detachment of Switzers, to endeavour, if possible, to attack and disperse the Enemy; but 'tis thought they'll retire to Perth upon his Approach.

Colonel Cathcart is at Dummerling with a Body of 200 Horse and 400 Foot.

The Pretender has been at Perth, and is now said to be at Scoon, a Prisoner at Perth, who is come hither upon Bail, reports that he saw him make his publick Entry into that Place.

LONDON Jan. 19.

A Patent is passing the Seals, appointing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales Governor of the Charterhouse. George Bubb, Esq; Envoy Extraordinary at Madrid, is now appointed his Majesty's Plenipotentiary at that Court. This being the Birth-Day of Prince Fredrick, Son of the Prince of Wales, his Royal Highness is enter'd into the Tenth Year of his Age. This Day Two Oxen were roasted on the Thames. Last Friday Night, the Earl of London, one of the 16 Peers, arriv'd here from Scotland.



Sam. Farley's Bristol
Post Man:
 O R,
 Weekly Intelligence,
 From Holland, France, Spain, &c



With General Occurrences, Foreign and Domestic

Saturday, *January* the 28th, 1716. [N^o. 29.]

NOTE, This Paper will be constantly Publish'd every Saturday Morning, Two Hours after the London Post comes in; carefully Abstracted from the Gazette, Post-Man, Post-Boy, and Evening Post, with Dormer's and other Written Letters; free from all Party Cause, or Personal Reflections.

I shall always have by me ready Printed, Viz.

Blank Sheriffs Warrants, Ca-fa's, Out-laws, and Attachments. Justices Warrants and Summons's. Affidavits for Burying in Woollen. Poor Warrants, and Warrants of Removal. Also, Warrants against prophane Swearers; Poor Warrants, High-Ways, Windows, and Land-Tax. Blank Appearances for Attorneys.	All Druggists and Apothecaries may be Furnish'd with the Directions and Out side Papers for the Venice Treace. Elixer Salutis, Daffey's, or Boslock. Plain and Golden Spirits of Scarvey-Grass. Hungary Water Bills for Bottles. And Civit-Cat Papers for Hair-powder, White or Blew.
--	---

Printed at my House in St. Nicholas-street, near the Church; Deliver'd to any publick or private House in this City for Three Half-pence a Paper; and sea'd and deliver'd for the Country at Two Pence.

Fig 4.7. *Sam Farley's Bristol Post-Man*, no. 29, 28 January 1716, p. 1.

London's book printing, so well established for three centuries, and dominated and controlled by the Stationers' Company, accounted for the vast majority of all material produced, and it is not surprising that provincial printing was so slow to establish itself. As already seen in this chapter, Thomas Jones captured the market in Welsh almanacks in Shrewsbury. An examination of the book printing output of Carmarthen, Hereford, Gloucester and Bristol may well be a useful indication of where a chapman wanting to trade in small books might obtain local wares, rather than undertake the long journey to London.

The early Carmarthen printers, Isaac Carter and Nicholas Thomas, produced between them only two known titles in English namely *Choice Collections* (1726) and Gambold's *Welsh Grammar* (1727).⁹³ Both these books numbered several hundred pages, thus were unlikely to be carried in a chapman's pack. Hereford is the place of publication of just one book in this period, namely *Pascha* (see Fig. 4.8) printed in 1721 by William Parks,⁹⁴ who seemed to have moved briefly from Ludlow to Hereford and thence to Reading. It is hard to imagine that he sent up a press in Hereford to merely print one book, so there might have been others that have not survived, but he was certainly printing a newspaper in Reading by 1727.⁹⁵ As can be seen from the subtitle, this twenty page chapbook is a polemic on the different methods of finding the date of Easter, which places it firmly in the almanack genre, and one which itinerant sellers might well have distributed. There were twenty-eight registered hawkers in Hereford in 1697/98, and likely to have been a good number based there twenty years later. A survey of cheap print, and its availability and distribution in south

⁹³ Anon, *Choice Collections* (Carmarthen: Isaac Carter, 1726); Gambold, William, *A Welsh Grammar* (Carmarthen: Nicholas Thomas, 1727). Other titles may have been published, but are no longer extant or in the public domain. All titles cited above are found in ESTC or *Libri Walliae*.

⁹⁴ Anon, *Pascha*. (Hereford: William Parks, 1720).

⁹⁵ F. C. Morgan, 'Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 3, (1939 - 1941), p. 110.

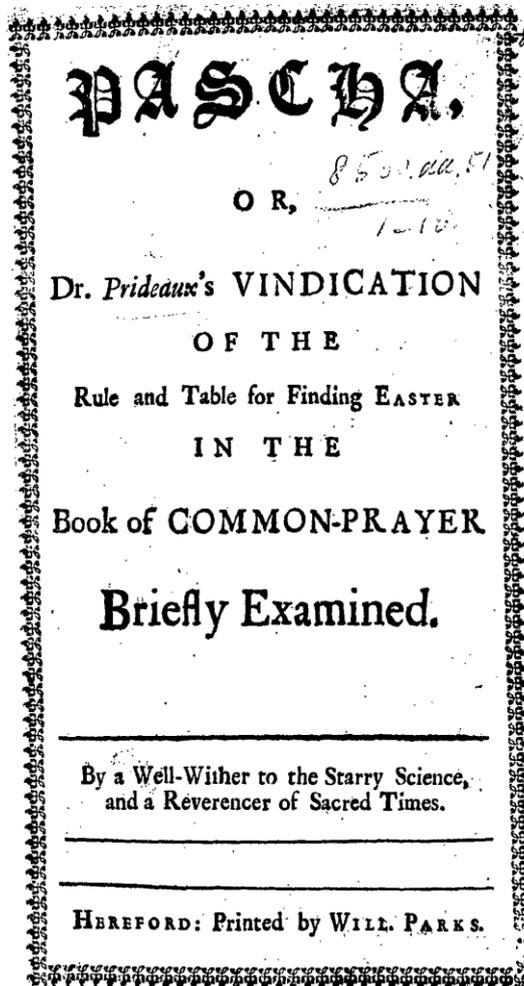


Fig. 4.8. Title page from *Pascha*. Hereford, Will Parks, c.1720.

Wales and the border areas cannot be complete without a consideration of ballads. There is a large volume of scholarly research on English language broadsheet ballads, especially examination of their content in the context of folk-song tradition and literary links. A very high volume of ballads was being produced in London throughout the seventeenth century. Angela McShane Jones gives an estimate of 5-10 million pamphlets and ballads in circulation between 1678 and 1681,⁹⁶ and Cyprian Blagden cites just one publisher advertising 301 titles in his trade-list of 1689.⁹⁷

There is, however, very little direct evidence of distribution methods although these scholars seem to agree that ballads and song-sheets were for sale at markets and fairs, and probably also by chapmen. Margaret Spufford was able to find just one example of a 1696 court case in Westmoreland in which a man was accused of stealing 200 ballads from a basket belonging to an itinerant trader.⁹⁸ As noted earlier in this chapter, the advertisements addressed to the country chapman found in the books themselves often include the phrase 'books and ballads'⁹⁹ Caution, however, is needed concerning what exactly is included in these various ballad studies. The different definitions through 300 years have already been examined,¹⁰⁰ and it is the contention of this study that a wide definition, to include anthologies, books of garlands and other types of ballad books will provide evidence of both English and Welsh language ballad production and distribution in south Wales and the borders in the early eighteenth century.

Tegwyn Jones argues that the advent of the printed ballad in Wales was far behind that of England because of 'general poverty and illiteracy, and the restrictions placed on

⁹⁶ See Angela McShane Jones, 'Rime and Reason – the Political World of the English Broadside Ballad, 1640 – 1689', (University of Warwick, PhD Thesis, 2004), p. 16.

⁹⁷ The publisher is William Thackeray, who also produced many chapbooks. See Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', p. 173.

⁹⁸ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 121.

⁹⁹ See Fig. 4.5 above.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 1 above.

printing to 1695'.¹⁰¹ Yet in 1692 the unusually detailed probate inventory of bookseller Dawkin Gove of Carmarthen has the entry 'Item a parcell of old paper Bookes and Balletts'.¹⁰² Whether they were in Welsh or English is unknown. Gove stocked many titles in both languages, and ballads in some shape or form were clearly among them. Whilst it might be argued that poems which appeared in the earliest Welsh almanacks, printed in London by Thomas Jones in the 1680s, were not, strictly speaking, ballads, an advertisement for a collection of ballads was issued from his press in Shrewsbury in 1699.¹⁰³ Geraint H. Jenkins has estimated that about ninety Welsh language ballads were produced between 1710 and 1730, and in one of these, printed by John Rhydderch of Shrewsbury, distribution agents in Brecon, Carmarthen and Pontypool were used. Rhydderch also produced an eight-page ballad in 1716 specifically for Walter Williams, a Carmarthen bookseller, and a further volume comprising sixteen-pages of ballads and songs (undated).¹⁰⁴ Isaac Carter, the first printer on Welsh soil in 1718, produced two ballads amongst his modest early output. This was shortly followed by two ballad books from the newly established press of Nicholas Thomas in Carmarthen in 1721.¹⁰⁵ E. Wyn James suggests that 'there are no Welsh broadsides printed until the [mid] eighteenth century, after which a substantial corpus did appear'.¹⁰⁶ The critical factor here is that the early ballads of Wales, those that appeared before 1730, were not broadside ballads but rather conformed to a standard publication format of eight page booklets containing, usually, three ballads. Nearly every title of this early date in J. H. Davies' exhaustive bibliography is printed in this book form which closely resembles many chapbook titles in terms of its length and size. This pattern is also reflected in the database of

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Welsh Ballads*, p. 245.

¹⁰² NLW MS SD/1692/17. Inventory of Dawkin Gove.

¹⁰³ This collection is no longer extant. See Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁴ Davies, *A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads Printed in the 18th Century*, pp. 73 and 232. John Rhydderch ceased printing in Shrewsbury in 1728.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁶ E. Wyn James, 'Ballad Implosions and Welsh Folk Stanzas', in Nicholae Constantinescu (eds.) *Ballad and Ballad Studies at the Turn of the Century* (Bucharest, Romania: Editura Deliana, 2001), 101 – 117.

around 4,000 full-text Welsh language ballads at the NLW, although many are undated.¹⁰⁷ This particular physical form seems rare in English language ballads collections, so can be seen as a specifically Welsh phenomenon of this early period. Perhaps these unillustrated little books, lacking any indication of accompanying tunes, fitted well within the Welsh cultural context. James suggests that the Welsh bardic tradition, lacking a narrative and non-existent in English, had some influence in the paucity of broadside ballad production.¹⁰⁸

Davies is careful to point out, in his introduction, that this earliest Welsh ballad production and distribution was largely in north Wales. He attributes the lower south Wales output to the possibility that fewer may have survived, but also to the 'direct influence of religious revivals' which took poetry in a different direction.¹⁰⁹ Jenkins cites the influential Pembrokeshire cleric Erasmus Saunders who stated in his 1701 *A Domestic Charge* 'lewd ungodly songs and ballads which for the devil's catechisms are industriously disseminated among all order of rich and poor'.¹¹⁰ Thus Jenkins surmises that 'many of the ballads of this period, although often light-hearted and gay affairs, were strongly tinged with a distinct moral flavour'.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, ballads, in the form of small pamphlets, were certainly present and circulating, if not actually sung, at this time in south Wales, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the many chapmen and hawkers registered in 1697 in Abergavenny, Swansea and Carmarthen played some part in their distribution. In contrast, there is no evidence that the broadside ballad, in any language, was available in south Wales before 1730, although Robert Raikes of Gloucester did print several books of English songs and poems which were sold through his agents in Monmouthshire.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ <https://www.library.wales/discover/nlw-resources/ballads> [Accessed 19 March 2019].

¹⁰⁸ James, *Ballad Implosions and Welsh Folk Stanzas*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁹ Davies, *A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads Printed in the 18th Century*, p. vi.

¹¹⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 162.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹¹² See Chapter 5 below.

In the context of distribution of cheap print to south Wales, it is important to consider whether the activities of printers, booksellers and itinerant traders in Bristol extended their activities across the Bristol Channel. As befits a large metropolitan area, the picture in Britain's second largest city was complex. William Bonny set up the first press in Bristol, having petitioned the Common Council to open a business there in 1695, with the proviso that he did not actually retail his publications. This measure, designed to protect Bristol booksellers from competition, proved ineffective, for by 1709 Bonny was advertising that 'Bibles, Common-Prayer-Books, Testaments, Psalters, Primmers, Shop-Books, Pocket-Books ... also a new map of South Britain' were all available to buy from his printing shop in Corn Street, Bristol.¹¹³ He had been apprenticed to the Draper's Company in London, and then turned to printing around 1683, so had built up considerable experience in that trade by the time he saw his opportunity in Bristol.¹¹⁴ A contemporary biographer, John Dunton, said of William Bonny that 'he had great losses in trade [in London] ... but, though good fortune seemed to forget him, he has now set up a press in Bristol'.¹¹⁵ One of the titles that Bonny printed in London for Dunton was *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching*, a book of 140 pages in 1684, but which was later produced, by another London printer, in shortened form as a chapbook.¹¹⁶ His output in Bristol was initially confined to jobbing printing, such as declarations for the corporation, but soon moved on to produce an eclectic mix of publications, no doubt with an astute eye on the local market, bearing in mind that London printed books still dominated the booksellers' shelves. Among the fifty-five recorded titles on ESTC between 1696 and 1715, there are seven broadsheets, one newspaper and twenty-six

¹¹³ *Bristol Post-Boy*, 7 September 1709, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ David Stoker, 'Bonny, William', in A. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online edition., 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70357> ,[accessed 25 March 2015].

¹¹⁵ J. Dunton and J. B. Nichols, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London: With the Lives and Characters of More Than a Thousand Contemporary Divines, and Other Persons of Literary Eminence. To Which Are Added, Dunton's Conversation in Ireland; Selections from His Other Genuine Works; and a Faithful Portrait of the Author* (London: J. Nichols, son, and Bentley, 1818), p. 247.

¹¹⁶ Alexander Montgomery, *The Pleasant Art of Money-Catching*. (London: s.n., c.1765).

chapbooks with Bonny's imprint (see Appendix 3). The small books he chose to produce included sermons preached in Bristol churches, popular godlies that had also been published in London, promotional pamphlets, jobbing printing (see a typical example in fig. 4.9) and some unique titles such as the anonymous poem *The Royal Conqueress*, celebrating one of Marlborough's victories in 1704. How he marketed these titles is not known, since they mostly lack any sort of advertisement in his newspaper, or promotion on the title page regarding availability.

There were three other Bristol printers at this time.¹¹⁷ Joseph Penn of Wine Street, who was also a bookseller, produced a small output although a number of them state, on the title-page, 'printed for Joseph Penn', thus created ambiguity as to whether they originated from his press, or from that of another unnamed printer. Among the books which do declare Penn as printer, there are just five titles, printed between 1720 and 1722, which qualify as chapbooks (see Appendix 3). Secondly, Henry Greep whose main product was a newspaper (see above) but who also printed, perhaps experimentally, two sermons and a broadside poem. Thirdly, Samuel Farley whose output up to 1730 included, as well as his newspaper, twenty-two books, nineteen of which may be counted as chapbooks, although most of these were sermons given in the Bristol area. The one exception was a popular 12-page title, *A Dialogue Between a Blind-man and Death ... Also, The Great Assize* (see Fig. 4.10) already published several times in London and once in Scotland, so perhaps here he was trying his luck in competing with the London trade.¹¹⁸ This brief examination of the extant output of cheap print in south Wales and the borders up to 1730, excepting Gloucester,¹¹⁹ does confirm John Feather's research that concludes:

¹¹⁷ Appendix 3 gives a listing of all known publications, less than 32 pages, which were printed in Bristol between 1696 and 1730.

¹¹⁸ Richard Standfast, *A Dialogue between a Blind-Man and Death*. (Bristol: Samuel Farley, 1729).

¹¹⁹ The printing house of Robert Raikes of Gloucester will be considered in Chapter 5 below.

These Girdles have been Experimented
in severall Waters, at Portsmouth
late by, & at Bristol publicly before
Thousands, by a Man weighing Six
Hundred & half, Bound Hand & Foot

Those that are desirous may see it
tryd in the Thames at Highwater
or any time, Ten or twelve persons
for a Guinea: giving Notice
beforehand to W. & J. Davis at the
Red Lyon Inn at Charing Cross.
Where further Satisfaction may be had

W. & J. Davis

Ars Nova Natandi,
OR,
New SWIMMING
GIRDLES;

That will safely support a Man from
DROWNING,
In any kind of Water, with many
other Conveniencies.

By FRANCIS CRUYS, Gent.
Sworn Servant in Ord. to his M^{ty}.

BRISTOL,
Printed by *Will. Bonny on the Back,* 1698.
3

Fig. 4.9. Title-page from Francis Cruys, *Ars Nova Natandi*. Bristol: William Bonny, 1698.

A
DIALOGUE,
BETWEEN A
Blind-Man and Death.

By *Rich. Standfast*, late Minister of *Christ-Church*,
in the City of *Bristol*.

Also, **The GREAT ASSIZE:** Or,
Christ's certain Appearance to Judgement: Being
Serious Considerations on the Four Last Things,
Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell. By *John*
Bunyan, Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.



Re-printed by **SAM. FARLEY**, in *Bristol*.

Fig. 4.10. Title page from *A Dialogue between a Blind-man and Death*. By *Rich. Standfast*. (Bristol: Samuel Farley), [1720].

Some provincial printers were major producers of chapbooks, ballads and similar popular books... it seems unlikely that the financial returns would have justified the capital costs of national advertising and distribution of such low-value items, which were, therefore, not attractive to London printers ... local production was both more efficient and more cost-effective.¹²⁰

He adds that newspapers and books of local interest dominated the output of provincial printers. No doubt these printer publishers hawked their little books around the local booksellers, of whom there were at least eight trading in Bristol between 1695 and 1715.¹²¹ The country chapman may also have purchased wholesale from them when they visited Bristol to stock up on their wares, especially at the time of the Bristol Fair in January and July each year. There were only seven chapman officially licensed in 1697-98 who gave their place of abode as Bristol, yet in the surrounding market towns numbers were far higher, the most striking example being Tetbury, an important wool-stapling centre, where 182 names are listed.¹²² Only one of these chapman, Archibald Browne, has an extant inventory, and that, although very short, does list 'a parcell of Romances and Scotch goodes in a pack'.¹²³ In view of the relatively short distance of thirty miles from Bristol, these items might well have been purchased there rather than London. It is more questionable as to whether the chapmen of Abergavenny, Cardiff or Newport travelled to Bristol, either by boat across the Bristol Channel or by land via Gloucester. There is no specific evidence to suggest they did, and the expense would have been considerable. Booksellers and mercers of south Wales, on the other hand, certainly seemed to have visited Bristol Fair for supplies and to carry out other business. In his will, Hector Howell, a shopkeeper in Newcastle Emlyn, bequeathed 20s to his mother 'to be paid her by his wife immediately after the next fair at Bristoll'.¹²⁴ Lewis Sheares, a mercer of Cardiff, left an inventory in 1687 which included 'other wares being all

¹²⁰ John Feather, 'The Country Trade in Books', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1550 - 1850* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1998), p. 166.

¹²¹ See Appendix 2

¹²² See page 10 above.

¹²³ GIA GDR/Inventories/1702/73 Inventory of Archibald Browne, Tetbury, 1702.

¹²⁴ NLW MSS SD/1695/30. Will of Hector Howell.

the goods that came home this last Bristoll faire'.¹²⁵ John Thomas, a shopkeeper from Laleston in Glamorgan, clearly did considerable business in Bristol since his inventory notes the following:

Item fresh goods bought at St. Pauls faire in Bristoll & not sold or disposed of at the time of the descendents death as appear'd by the Notes of his Several Correspondents at Bristoll amounted to the Sum of £94.01.01.¹²⁶

John Gwin of Llangwm, a member of the Monmouthshire gentry, records regular shopping trips to Bristol, and John Byrd of Caerleon corresponded with a number of Bristol business contacts to ensure safe passage of goods to London.¹²⁷

The main Bristol fairs occurred twice a year. Up to 1731, St Pauls Fair was on 25 January and St James Fair on 25 July, both in the vicinity of the churches whose names they bore. There are detailed documents still extant of the accounts of St James Fair, produced by the churchwardens of that church who made considerable profit from the event being held on church property. Joseph Bettey has examined some of these, and gives an interesting account of the variety of goods being sold at the fair, including books.¹²⁸ He also cites cases that demonstrate the importance of these twice yearly events 'for the transaction of business, making of contracts and the settlement of debts'.¹²⁹ The contemporary London bookseller and biographer, John Dunton, 'kept Bristol Fair' and mentions other London booksellers who did likewise.¹³⁰

These strong trade connections between south Wales and Bristol have been demonstrated by several scholars. Arthur John commented that:

¹²⁵ NLW LL 1687/181. Inventory of Lewis Sheares.

¹²⁶ NLW SD 1710/54. Inventory of John Thomas.

¹²⁷ GwA, D43/4216. *The Commonplace Book of John Gwin of Llangwm, 17th Century*; Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*. These will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6 below.

¹²⁸ Bettey, *St James's Fair, Bristol 1137 - 1837*, p. 27.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹³⁰ Dunton and Nichols, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, pp. 224 – 247.

The second pivot of the economic life of the area [of south Wales] was the September Fair at Bristol ... a large number of persons dealt directly with the Bristol traders, many through the medium of the captains of coasters, but as the fair was a time of settlement for itinerant Scotsmen and linen drapers, it was a call which in some measure affected most people in the region...Bristol was the great commercial centre, but both at Hereford and Gloucester much important legal work was done for those living in south Wales.¹³¹

His research was expanded by Walter Minchinton who drew on a variety of evidence to establish Bristol's position as the 'metropolis of the west' by the early eighteenth century.¹³² He attributes this to the geographical location on the Bristol Channel, creating a natural central point for the buying and selling and selling of agricultural produce. Boats from south-east Wales ports plied a weekly trade to supply the food markets situated on the 'Welsh back'. In 1694, the estate manager at Ruperra Castle, near Caerphilly, wrote to his employer Sir Charles Kemeys, then in London, 'I have sent a hundred bushels of wheat to the Newport boat that goes tomorrow for Bristoll', going on to explain that it would fetch six shillings per bushel there compared to only five shillings per bushel in Cardiff.¹³³ The Morgans of Tredegar House, Newport, perhaps perceiving a profitable opportunity, established a regular service from Newport to Bristol around 1700 using a 'smack' of forty tons named the 'Tredegar boat'.¹³⁴ James Scott provides a colourful account of a disaster which befell this boat during its passage to Bristol which illustrates the nature of the voyage:

On a cold and bitter morning, about the year 1722, and during the Christmas week, the Tredegar market boat, — Bowen, master, left this port for Bristol, heavily laden with corn and poultry, and having an unusual number of passengers on board — some bent on business, and many daring the chances of a wintry voyage, to spend the pleasant Christmas tide with their friends

¹³¹ Arthur Henry John, *The Industrial Development of South Wales, 1750 - 1850* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), p. 14. This is drawn from documentary evidence just after the change of date for the St. James Fair.

¹³² W. E. Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1954), pp. 68 – 89.

¹³³ NLW Kemeys-Tynte Estate Papers, C248. Letter from William Springett to Sir Charles Kemeys 17 April 1694.

¹³⁴ J. M. Scott, *The Ancient and Modern History of Newport, Monmouthshire* (Newport: J.M. Scott and D.D. Morris, 1847), p.57. Also published in the *Weekly Mail* newspaper 28 May 1887, p. 5.

across the channel ... When crossing the Tail of the Spit — a dangerous point near the mouth of the river — the vessel suddenly foundered, and amidst the horrors of that eventful moment, several respectable farmers from Bettws, Henllis, Santa Bride, and Peterstone, were drowned. The vessel did not go down in deep water — only her deck was covered; and when the captain and others had succeeded in getting the boat alongside the wreck, she was speedily filled with the terror-stricken passengers ... and the daughter of the farmer then residing at Henllis Court, who had set out on her voyage that morning, to buy furniture in Bristol against her approaching wedding, also sprung towards the boat ... [but] the unfortunate young woman — who had dreamed so sweet a dream of being a bride — sunk immediately, to rise no more.¹³⁵

A further incident occurred in 1730, when the *Gloucester Journal* briefly reported that the 'Newport boat was cast away' and that 'poor wretches perished but bodies not yet found'.¹³⁶

The boat was replaced, but met with further disaster in 1737, as related by Thomas Bryan, an agent for Sir William Morgan of Tredegar House in Newport:

Mr Phillips [i.e. Charles Phillips, another Tredegar agent] then shewed me several pieces of leaves of a book which he informed me were part of his second Chancery accounts of Tredegar rents and payments ... the other parts of the said account and the vouchers having been consumed in the Newport boat, burnt this day as I am very well assured'.¹³⁷

Drovers from west Wales regularly took cattle herds to the great twice-yearly Bristol fair by way of the Beachley-Aust ferry.¹³⁸ A chapbook entitled *The life and death of Sheffery Morgan*, published anonymously around 1700, gives an account, in mocking, satirical tone, of Sheffery's journey from Wales to London:

[Sheffery] then thinking on his present misery, that those vain pleasures had brought him to: And while he remained in this disconsolate humour, two of his Country-men overtook him with a great Drove of *Welsh* Cattel; to whom he said, Whether are you going; who answer'd We are Drovers going to *Smithfield*-Market, but we greatly want one to help us, then *Sheffery* asked them what they were to have for their pains? who answered a Shilling: he

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹³⁶ *Gloucester Journal* 1 December 1730, p.3.

¹³⁷ NLW Tredegar Estate Records L1/9. Memorandum by Thomas Bryan, 18 June 1737.

¹³⁸ Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', p. 75.

concluding that he was going to the same City, thought something better than nothing, so he joyn'd with them, and as they Travelled hard, at last they came to *Smithfield*, where the owner gave them a whole Shilling...¹³⁹

This passage benefits from a woodcut on the title page (fig. 4.11, top left image) depicting the stereotypical Welshmen with leeks in their hats. Furthermore, the carrier route to London was relatively fast, facilitating a regular flow of all manner of goods to supply the Bristol shops, whilst trading via the Severn river gave access to the Midlands. With a population of around 20,000 in 1700, Bristol was the second largest city in Britain (after London), thus its pre-eminence was undisputed. The capital and expertise accumulated by Bristol entrepreneurs led to their foundation, in 1717 in Swansea, of the first copper works followed later in the century by other industrial developments in south Wales. These were largely financed from England.¹⁴⁰ A further small piece of evidence can be supplied by examining the spread of Bristol municipal farthings, issued by licence in 1578, to compensate for the shortfall in small change. These small copper coins, whose production continued, with interruptions, to 1670 have been found in excavations in Caerleon, Raglan, Abergavenny, Usk and Cardiff.¹⁴¹

Although small numbers of English language chapbooks and other cheap print were published in the border areas between 1695 and 1730, none were produced in south Wales itself. As mentioned above, the establishment of printing presses in Wales was slow to emerge, and even then the quality of the Carmarthen output of Isaac Carter and, at least initially, of Nicholas Thomas, mainly in Welsh, was considered sub-standard, as Eiluned Rees describes:

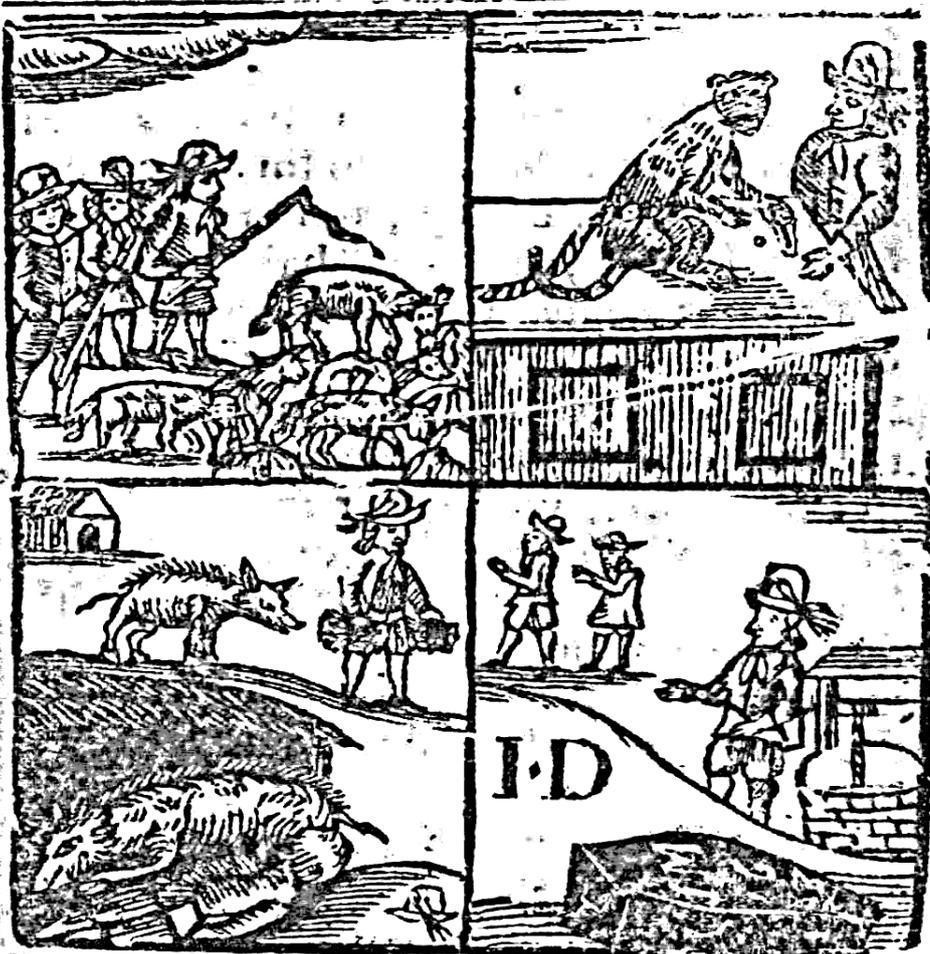
¹³⁹ Anon, *The Life and Death of Sheffery Morgan, Son of Shon Ap Morgan*. The First Part (London: C. Brown & S. Deacon, 1700). Chapter II [pages unnumbered].

¹⁴⁰ Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century', p. 83.

¹⁴¹ Boon and Wales, *Welsh Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 34.

The LIFE and DEATH
O F
SHEFFERT MORGAN,
SON OF
SHON ap MORGAN.

The first Part.



Printed by C. Brown, for S. Deacon, in Gilt-spur-street

Fig. 4.11. Title page from *The Life and Death of Sheffery Morgan, Son of Shon ap Morgan*. London: C. Brown and S. Deacon, c.1700.

Nicholas Thomas, who is believed to have served his apprenticeship at Shrewsbury, was by no means a prosperous printer: his founts of type were inferior at best and were used long after they should have been discarded. The paper he used was akin to blotting-paper and its appearance was not exactly enhanced by erratic inking. His ornaments would have done justice to gravestones, but in books they served only to distract attention from the type. Lack of experience in composing is evident in the incidence of offsetting and incorrect pagination.¹⁴²

The Bristol, Hereford, Shrewsbury and Gloucester printers in this period were all apprenticed in London, and gained experience of the printing and publishing trade there before establishing themselves in the provinces, whereas the Carmarthenshire printers had simply learnt their trade on the job in Shrewsbury. Thus it might be useful to question whether any young Welshmen were sent to London to be apprenticed to the Stationers Company and, if so, what might have been their background, and their ambition when finally obtaining freedom of that company and then able to set up their own businesses within the book trade. It is fortunate that detailed records exist for the apprenticeships to the Stationers Company for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴³ Bearing in mind that printing in the provinces was not permitted before 1695 (with exceptions of Oxford, Cambridge and York), any parent wishing their son to pursue a career in the book trade, be it stationer, printer, bookseller or binder, would have to send them to London to be bound for seven years to a freeman of the Guild. Fortunately for posterity, as Donald McKenzie points out,

the labour records of the printing and bookselling trades from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century probably represent the fullest account by far of any workforce in early modern England. They are not complete, but in the evidence they offer year by year of names, numbers,

¹⁴² Rees, 'Developments in the Book-Trade in Eighteenth Century Wales', p. 35.

¹⁴³ These have been transcribed and published as Donald F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641 - 1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974); Donald F. McKenzie (eds.), *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701 - 1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978).

probable ages, origins, family connections and the social status of some 17,000 individuals, they are certainly unparalleled.¹⁴⁴

It can, therefore, be asserted that between 1641 and 1730, thirty-one men from the five counties of south Wales were sent by their families to be apprenticed to the book trade in London (see Appendix 4). Only four of these were post-1700, since after that time the skills seem to have usually been learnt closer to home, especially in Shrewsbury at the printing house of Thomas Jones where less formal apprenticeships were required. It is hard to be certain, but it is likely that the Welsh printers Isaac Carter, Nicholas Thomas and John Rydderch all learnt their trade in this way.¹⁴⁵ An examination of the twenty-seven south Welshmen apprenticed in London between 1641 and 1700 reveals that they represent, unsurprisingly, a mere 0.7% of the total number of Stationers' Company apprenticeships during those years.¹⁴⁶ They originated from all over the region, although only two came from as far west as Pembrokeshire. The occupation of their father, when given, was dominated by yeomen and gentlemen who, no doubt, were able to afford the cost of the training, as well as appropriate secondary schooling, in order to establish their sons in a career.¹⁴⁷ They were bound over to London masters in a variety of trades within the Stationers Company, including printers, bookbinders, publishers and booksellers although thirteen of them (48%) did not appear to have completed their apprenticeship to become freemen of the Company. Although records are incomplete, the figure for the youths from south Wales reaching this end goal seems to be in line with the overall average of around fifty per cent, a figure which McKenzie explains was probably due to 'sickness and death, movement back to the

¹⁴⁴ Donald F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie (eds.) *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557 - 1695* IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 554.

¹⁴⁵ Rees, *Wales and the London Book Trade before 1820*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ All the overall figures presented here are a re-working of the tables compiled by Christine Ferdinand in Appendix 3 of Barnard and McKenzie, *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, 1557 - 1695*, VI.

¹⁴⁷ Keith Wrightson estimates that 'apprenticeship to a master craftsman cost between ten and fifty pounds in the capital'. See Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 291.

provinces, travel abroad, change of vocation or mere indifference'.¹⁴⁸ Ten of these twenty-seven men were recorded as working in the London book trade after their apprenticeship period, which itself varied from seven to ten years. To set themselves up in any sort of business in this period needed considerable financial capital,¹⁴⁹ as well as the right network of social contacts and membership of the guild. There is no evidence as to whether any of these young men returned to their homeland, but it seems likely that, once they had been living and working in the London, with its rich variety of opportunities, they may have not been drawn back to the provinces. Philip Henry Jones in a study of Stationers Company records concludes that there were 'very few instances of Welsh apprentices moving from London to set up business in Welsh border towns. Wales itself would have been a hopeless proposition at that time'.¹⁵⁰ Just one man, the bookseller Enoch Prosser from Caerleon, published at least one book in Welsh, namely a very long and popular volume of poetry by Rhys Prichard but the rest of the publishing output from his London printing house was in English. There were also a few small books to be found amongst the extant titles published by this group of south Welshmen, such as the twenty-eight page dissenter's defence written in 1698 by Zachary Taylor and published for John Jones, originally from Kidwelly in Carmarthenshire,¹⁵¹ and some of these volumes may well have been sent back home to friends and family.

As previously shown,¹⁵² SPCK sent many hundreds of books, large and small, into south Wales as one aspect of their evangelising mission in the early eighteenth century. A closer examination of the books themselves is now necessary in order to assess whether or

¹⁴⁸ McKenzie, *Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades*, p. 555.

¹⁴⁹ Wrightson has estimated around £100, although this would probably be more for a printing business which needed heavy equipment. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*, p. 291. See Chapter 5 below for further examination of these costs.

¹⁵⁰ Philip Henry Jones, 'Wales and the Stationers' Company', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550 - 1990* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 195.

¹⁵¹ Zachary Taylor, *Popery, superstition, ignorance and knavery very unjustly by a letter in the general pretended, but as far as was charg'd, very fully proved upon the dissenters that were concerned in the Surey imposture*. (London: John Jones. 1698).

¹⁵² See Chapter 3.

not they fit the working definition of chapbooks, albeit godly ones, or perhaps fit better in the rather broader category of 'cheap print'.¹⁵³ The correspondence and minutes of the SPCK, so ably transliterated and interpreted by Mary Clement, gives an extraordinarily detailed account of specific, contemporary interactions between the Society itself, and its many agents in south Wales. Requests for books, by title, are many, although not all of them can be easily identified now. For example, a request in 1711 from Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle for 12 copies of 'Lewis's catechism' is almost certainly the popular book by John Lewis called *The Church Catechism Explain'd*.¹⁵⁴ Other books referred to in correspondence are untraceable now. In 1719, Lady Philipps asked for a list of books, one of which was '*Great importance*', but this could be one of several publications with that phrase within its title. Equally, a number of books are not now extant such as that requested by John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire, in 1706, simply referred to as '*Lives of good men*' but no title with that phrase is found in the ESTC.¹⁵⁵ Bearing in mind these constraints, there are, in total, fifty-eight verifiable English language books mentioned by title within these letters and minutes. Of these, twenty-two have less than thirty-two pages, thus falling within at least one criterion of the working definition of chapbooks (see Appendix 5). Many of these are specifically referred to by the correspondents as tracts or pamphlets, especially Dr Woodward's output of little books of admonitions. Nearly all of them, however, although conforming in size, nature, length and cheapness to the chapbook genre, lack the presence of any sort of ornamentation or woodcut illustration. The only exception to this amongst the twenty-two titles is Edmund Gibson's *Admonition Against Profane and Common Swearing* (1725) which bears a modest initial letter decoration (see fig. 4.12).

¹⁵³ See chapter 1 for definitions.

¹⁵⁴ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 39.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

Although these SPCK titles are not strictly speaking chapbooks, it is legitimate to include them as further evidence that cheap print in the form of little books was widely available in south Wales in the early years of the eighteenth century. One caveat should be added regarding the pricing, namely that, in the cause of evangelising the supposedly ignorant Welsh people,¹⁵⁶ many books in the SPCK list were very cheap despite being of greater length. *The Husbandsman's Manual* (1707) by Edward Welchman was sixty pages long, but cost only 3d. Lewis's *The Church Catechism Explain'd* was ninety-six pages, but also priced at a modest, and heavily subsidised, 3d. That these books were sent to Wales in very large numbers is certainly not in doubt, as repeatedly recorded in correspondence. A request for fifty copies was commonplace, and sometimes far more, as for this unidentified work.

Mr Vaughan of Derllys, 17th July 1708, to Sir John Philipps desiring a small parcel of little books about confirmation to disperse in Carmarthenshire ... that 100 of ye little books before and 100 of those to be given after the Confirmation be sent to Mr Vaughan to be presented to the Lord Bishop of St. Davids.¹⁵⁷

Even greater numbers were requested, and supplied, for publications in Welsh to distribute to adults, as well as numerous requests for devotional works in English to be translated into Welsh, an undertaking fulfilled with much evangelistic zeal by SPCK in the years from 1700 to 1730.

Between 1650 and 1730, and beyond, there was another quite separate but equally prolific religious publishing operation namely that of the members of the Society of Friends. There has been an exceptional survival of these books, perhaps owing to the high value put on the written word by the Quaker faith. Kate Peters asserts that by 1655, hundreds of Quaker

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 2 above.

¹⁵⁷ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 12.

(3)



A Private
ADMONITION
Against Prophane and Common
SWEARING.

Neighbour,



I is out of a true Respect
I have for you, and a
heartly Concern for the
good of your Soul, that I
put into your Hands this
private Admonition against SWEARING;
since the *publick* Warnings you have
heard from the Pulpit, do not seem to
have had their effect upon you. If
you will think and consider, you can-
not but know that the custom of Vain-

A 2

Swear-

Fig. 4.12. Gibson, Edmund *An admonition against profane and common swearing*. 4th edition. London: J. Wyat, 1725. p. 1.

pamphlets were being produced and circulated throughout Britain.¹⁵⁸ These were often given out free by preachers, and also were available from booksellers with Quaker sympathies, and possibly occasionally carried by chapmen.¹⁵⁹ Evidence in this early period of Quakerism demonstrates that the distribution of pamphlets at Quaker meetings was integral to that process, as well as such publications being given out at markets and fairs.¹⁶⁰ Although much of the focus of scholarly research has been in a period earlier than this study, it is clear that Quaker publishing continued through the seventeenth century, despite the legal and political restrictions.¹⁶¹ The centre of production was London, even following the lapse of the Printing Act in 1696, but distribution was far and wide.¹⁶² There is, however, no evidence that literature, predominantly in English, was distributed in south Wales, even though, as Richard C. Allen has demonstrated, Quakerism itself was well established in its early period.¹⁶³ Regarding the early eighteenth century, Allen surmises that 'notwithstanding the remarkable vitality of Welsh literature during this period, and the constant requests for Welsh texts made at yearly meetings, the production of indigenous Quaker literature was meagre and infrequent'.¹⁶⁴ A Quaker meeting in Pembrokeshire in 1703, itself minuted in English, records that 'It is ordered by this meeting that 50s. be collected for towards the printing of Welsh books' and goes on to mention particular sums contributed by named individuals.¹⁶⁵ Despite such efforts, Welsh language output was low, and Allen concludes that 'for the most part,

¹⁵⁸ An examination of 623 bound volumes of Quaker literature indicates that a substantial proportion of titles are under 32 pages.

¹⁵⁹ Peters, *The Dissemination of Quaker Pamphlets in the 1650s*, p. 224.

¹⁶⁰ Maureen Bell, 'Mary Westwood, Quaker Publisher', *Publishing History*, 23 (1988), p. 7; Betty Hagglund, 'Quakers and the Printing Press', in Pink Dandelion and Stephen W. Angell (eds.) *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought: 1647 - 1723* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.32.

¹⁶¹ Hagglund, 'Quakers and the Printing Press', pp. 43 – 47.

¹⁶² An example of this is given by Bell in her study of Mary Westwood's publishing output. All her books and pamphlets were printed in London, but the geographic reach was considerable. See Bell, 'Mary Westwood, Quaker Publisher', p. 54.

¹⁶³ Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

¹⁶⁵ GAS DSF/364. Pembrokeshire Meeting Book 1700 – 1749, 20 June 1703.

Quakerism was an English movement which paid scant attention to the Welsh language'.¹⁶⁶ It thus seems probable that the Quaker meetings in Wales were not accompanied by the distribution of pamphlets to the extent seen in England. Furthermore, no examples of persecution of Quaker literature distributors, such as that in Winchester in 1656,¹⁶⁷ have come to light in similar accounts in south Wales.¹⁶⁸

There are further chapbooks which seem to have been published with a Welsh audience in mind, but for which there is no hard evidence that they were either sold, purchased or distributed in south Wales and the borders.¹⁶⁹ Their title and contents suggest they might have been popular in Wales, despite being in the English language. Following the Propagation Act of 1650, in which the Puritan inspired government of the interregnum established the first state elementary schools,¹⁷⁰ a schoolbook was published entitled *A Short Catechism for the Institution of Young Persons in the Christian Religion*, with the subtitle *Composed for the Use of Schools in South-Wales*.¹⁷¹ At fifty-seven pages long, this is not small, and its content appears no different from other catechisms published at the time. There are no concessions to children whose first language was probably Welsh, since the educational policy at this time was to teach all children through the medium of English. It is telling, however, that the colophon states 'Printed for Richard Royston, and are to be sold by William Ballard, bookseller in Corn Street in Bristol'.¹⁷² Also available in Bristol, from

¹⁶⁶ Allen, *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales*, p. 188.

¹⁶⁷ Bell, 'Mary Westwood, Quaker Publisher', p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ Joseph Besse, in his account of the sufferings of early Quakers in south Wales from 1655 to 1690, lists numerous cases of arrests and imprisonment, but none of these is in connection with the distribution of printed matter. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* (London: Luke Hinde, 1753).

¹⁶⁹ In Chapter 6, below, information about ownership (usually by members of the gentry) or access (through lending libraries) will be examined, and will demonstrate that certain little books were present in Wales in this period, although they may well have been purchased from booksellers or chapmen in London.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 2 above.

¹⁷¹ See Chapter 2, fig. 2.2.

¹⁷² Taylor, Jeremy, *A short catechism for the institution of young persons in the Christian religion. To which is added, an explication of the Apostolical Creed, easie and useful for these times. Composed for the use of the schools in South-Wales* (London: Flesher, 1652).

William Bonny's printing shop in Corn Street, was the 'Welch Common-Prayer book',¹⁷³ which suggests that the Welshmen and women who came to the Bristol market to sell their produce, or simply to shop, might have visited Bonny's premises, from where they could also purchase English newspapers and chapbooks.

Another small book which seems to address a Welsh as well as an English market is a five page pamphlet published in London in 1679 entitled *The Pope's Downfall in Abergavenny* (see fig. 4.13). It is a description of an elaborate parade through that town, with local people dressed up in costumes and bearing an effigy of the Pope, which was then burnt, along with Jesuit books from the local seminary, in an imitation of the Gunpowder plot celebrations customarily held in London and elsewhere. This took place at the height of the recusancy clamp-down following the Popish Plot, and in the certain knowledge that there were a significant number Roman Catholic recusants and priests in that area of Monmouthshire.¹⁷⁴ So this mocking event, intended as a comical public declaration by the town, was made even more universally known by being committed to print. It is hard to imagine that Samuel Rogers or John Vertue, booksellers of Abergavenny at this time, did not stock this title on their shelves. There are also a number of publications produced in London that sought to mock or satirise the Welsh people. Examples are the broadside ballads *The Honour of Welshmen or The Valiant Acts of St. Taffy of Wales* (1667), *The Welch Wedding* (c.1671), *The Welsh Fortune-Teller* (1689), *Shinkin's Misfortune* (1690), and *A Song to the Old Britons, on St. Taffy's Day* (1717). Also, slightly less popular, were a few chapbooks, such as *The Life and Death of Sheffery Morgan* (1700), and *The Pleasant History of Taffy's Progress to London* (1709). Earlier in the seventeenth century, there was a burst of such

¹⁷³*The Bristol Post Boy* (Bristol: William Bonny, 1704 – c.1715) , 7 September 1709, no. 287.

¹⁷⁴ A full account of the political machinations in Monmouthshire and the borders at this time is given in Tony Corten, 'A "Pope Burning" Procession at Abergavenny in 1679', *Gwent Local History*, 122, (2017), 7 – 14.

The Popes Down-fall, *

A T

ABERGAVENY,

O R

A true and perfect Relation
of his being carried through the
Fair in a solemn Procession with
very great Ceremony.

A L S O,

How he was Burnt, with several
Popish Books and Relicks lately taken out of
St. *Xaverius's* Colledge near that place.

T O G E T H E R W I T H

A perfect Account of the Inhumane Murder
committed by one *John Kirby* a Papist upon
the person of his own Father, being a Pro-
testant, immediately after the Ceremony was over.

With Allowance.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *T. C.* and *N. L.* 1679.

Fig. 4.13. Title page from *The Popes Down-fall at Abergavenny*. London: T.C. & N.L., 1679.

publications. Joad Raymond cites sixteen titles of ballads or pamphlets published between 1641 and 1643 ridiculing and stereotyping the Welshman. He suggests that, although racial caricature was the continuing of a tradition seen on the Elizabethan stage, this particular concentration was triggered by the 'mobilisation of Welsh soldiers ... [who] played a visible part in the Battle of Edgehill' in 1642.¹⁷⁵ Both the one sheet ballads and the small books were amply illustrated with woodcuts, providing entertainment for Londoners but, not, perhaps, so appealing to the Welsh themselves. A further title in the same vein, *The Distressed Welsh-Man Born in Trinity Lane* (1688) (see fig. 4.14) was published by William Thackeray, one of the London Ballad Partners,¹⁷⁶ and can be found in the first volume of Samuel Pepys' collection of Penny Merriments. A long narrative poem running to twenty-four pages, it recounts the various woes that befall a Welshman in London, thereby exemplifying this genre which primarily drew on the image of the stupid, uncultured, accident-prone person. Much of the verse is written in the dialect supposedly spoken by the Welsh, known as Wenglish, itself 'the mainstay of literary satire'.¹⁷⁷ This dialect is well demonstrated by a satirical sermon published in 1660, the title of which reads

*De Welchmans sermon as it was telivered pefore de Welch Hempassador at Hy-perry-parne, de 4th day of Abril, 1660. Py dat referent shentleman William ap Pew, ap Evan, ap Morgan, ap Shinkin Shon Parper, Pachilar in Tifinity.*¹⁷⁸

Examples can also be found where several small books have been bound together, often with a hand written list of the contents on the fly-leaf.¹⁷⁹ One such volume in Cardiff Central Library contains two slightly different editions of *The Welchman's Last Petition*

¹⁷⁵ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 221.

¹⁷⁶ A term used by Spufford and others to describe a very successful group of London publishers, who produced large numbers of ballads and chapbooks. See Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 83 et seq.

¹⁷⁷ Peter Lord, *Words with Pictures: Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press 1640 - 1860* (Aberystwyth: Planet, 1995), p. 34.

¹⁷⁸ *De Welchmans sermon as it was telivered pefore de VVelch Hempassador at Hy-perry-parne, de 4th day of Abril, 1660. Py dat referent shentleman William ap Pew, ap Evan, ap Morgan, ap Shinkin Shon Parper, Pachilar in Tifinity* (s.l., s.n., 1660).

¹⁷⁹ This is further discussed in Chapter 6.

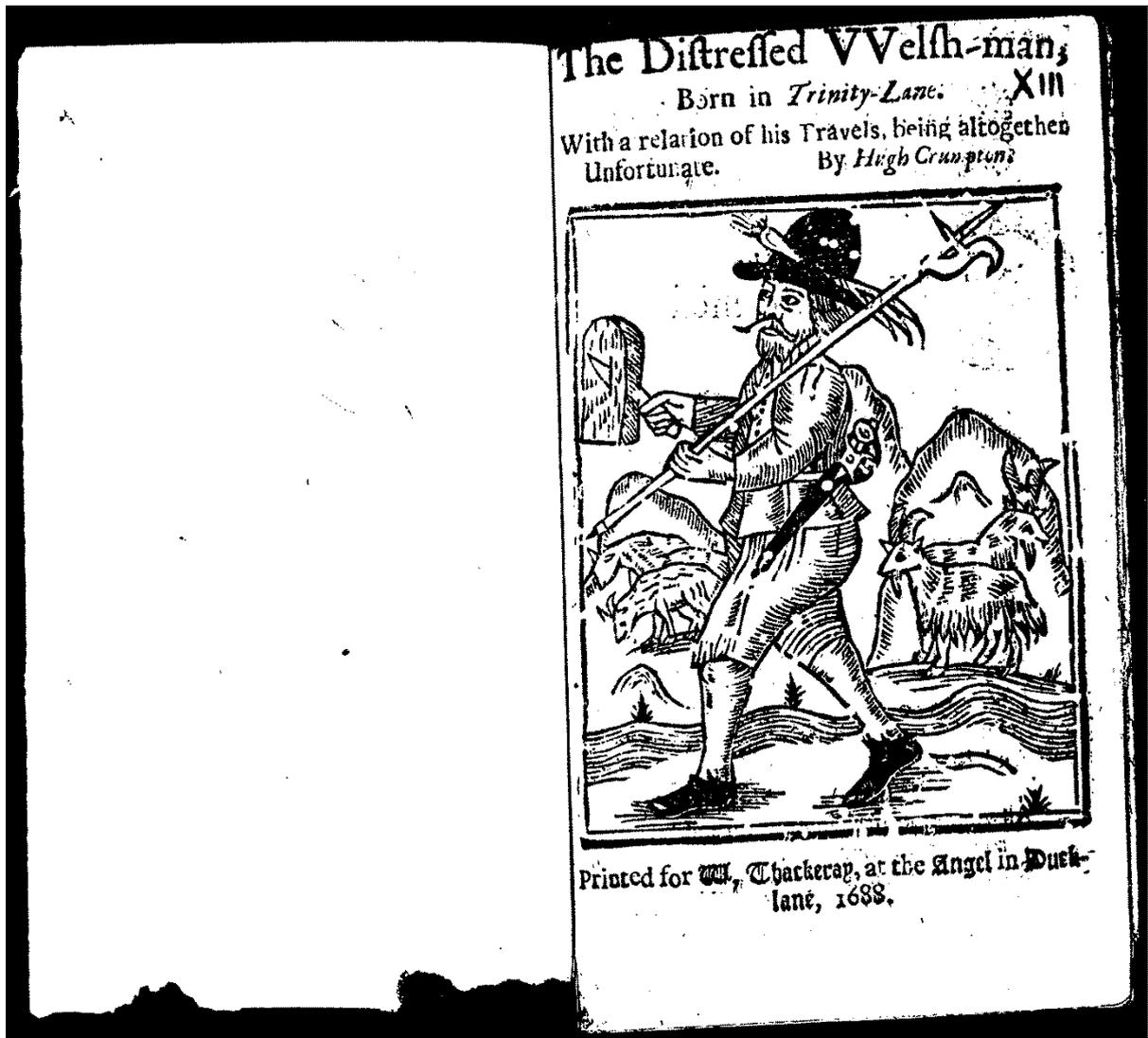


Fig. 4.14. Title page from *The Distressed Welsh-man*. London: William Thackeray, 1688.

(1642), bound in with four other titles on the same theme. One of these, *The Welch Man's Catechism*, is previously unrecorded (Fig.4.15). The contents are written in a catechical question and answer style but the text is an eight page political satire of Wales and the Welsh. In contrast, a much earlier political pamphlet entitled *Contemplations upon these times, or The Parliament Explained to Wales* was written by a Parliamentarian in 1646, and aimed directly at the Welsh people who, the author surmised, were ignorant of the mis-government of their monarch. This title was certainly present in Wales, as it was the subject of a court case in Aberystwyth in 1650, in which Oliver Lloyd of Cardiganshire was accused of publicly insulting the author, the puritan John Lewis of the same county, whose views he clearly strongly disagreed with.¹⁸⁰ Also published for political purposes, in 1689, was the one page broadsheet *The Case of their Majesties Subjects in the Principality of Wales, in respect of the Court held before the President and Council in the Marches of Wales: with their Grievances, and Reasons for taking away the said Court.* which followed the removal of this court, in place since Henry VIII's time, thus diminishing the autonomy of the border areas. This title appeared in several editions, and was countered, in the same year, by *A Welsh-Mans Answer to a Paper entitled, The Case of their Majesties Subjects.* This type of one sheet anonymous publication was probably intended for posting up in towns and villages for all to see and some to read out loud to others. Thus, although certainly printed in London, it probably found its way to the areas of the Marches to which it was most relevant.

Although it has been demonstrated that chapmen were present in south Wales and the borders between 1650 and 1730, and that little books and newspapers were both sent in by SPCK and produced in modest numbers by provincial printers, there is no conclusive evidence that the itinerant seller was instrumental in distributing them. The exception to this is the statement by Thomas Jones that he did, indeed, use 'Countrey chapman', but this was

¹⁸⁰ Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', p. 154.

THE
Welch Man's
Catechism:
OR,
Taffy's Instructions.



London: Printed in the Year. 1703.

Fig. 4.15. The Welch Man's Catechism. s.l.,s.n. 1703. Title-page

for his Welsh language almanack. Just one example of a chapman's will, that of John Telfer, contains mention of small books, but his other goods indicate he had settled down to run a shop. As Richard Suggett summarises 'Pedlars in Wales may well have carried printed material along with other consumer goods, but the case is at best non-proven'.¹⁸¹ Having considered the role of the chapman, the following chapter turns to the news agents, based in Gloucester, as distributors of both provincial newspapers and small books.

¹⁸¹ Suggett, *Pedlers and Mercers as Distributers of Print in Early Modern Wales*, p.30.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROBERT RAIKES, THE GLOUCESTER JOURNAL AND THE GLOUCESTER CHAPBOOKS.

The establishment of provincial presses in Britain has been well researched, most notably by John Feather in his seminal work *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England* which he has updated through further publications.¹ He re-iterates the centrality of the London printing business, dominated by the control of government and the Stationer's Company over three centuries, yet also points out that a great deal of book selling operated in the provinces during this time as well as through the itinerant and market trade.² The ending of the Printing Act controls in 1695, together with increasing levels of literacy, was the signal for the legal establishment of presses elsewhere, but these were quite slow to develop owing to the dominance and expertise of London. By 1723, there were around forty provincial houses,³ many of which needed to experiment in trying to compete within the book market. For example William Parkes seems to have printed just one title in Hereford in 1721 before moving on,⁴ and William Bonny in Bristol produced no volume above thirty-two pages in his nineteen years of printing in Bristol. As Feather has concluded, provincial printers found success in the specific areas of newspapers, jobbing work, chapbooks and ballads. Both newspapers and jobbing work were specifically local, needing rapid production and circulation within a small area. Chapbooks and ballads, which were certainly pitted against the extensive London production at this time, were very cheap to produce and could be distributed alongside the newspapers, and advertised within them.

¹ Feather, *The Provincial Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England*; Feather, *The British Book Market 1600 - 1800*; Feather, *The Country Trade in Books*.

² See chapter 4 above.

³ Salman, *Pedlars and the Popular Press : Itinerant Distribution Networks in England and the Netherlands, 1600 - 1850*, p. 99.

⁴ Morgan, 'Herefordshire Printers and Booksellers', p. 110.

The strongest evidence for the distribution of chapbooks in south Wales derives from the advertisements in the *Gloucester Journal*, which was founded in 1722 by Robert Raikes. Thus it is important to examine the background of this entrepreneurial printer, to suggest why he chose to set up the first printing press in Gloucester, and then carry out a detailed analysis of his output and its distribution up to 1730. In order to assess the market for newspapers and topical pamphlets in south Wales and borders, it is useful to consider the evidence of the demand for news between 1660 and 1695, when all news that did appear in print was produced in London, and was almost entirely London-based in its coverage. Roy Wiles, in his study of early British provincial newspapers, lists many London titles which attempted to appeal to the provincial reader such as the *City and Countrey Mercury* (1667) and *Country Gentleman's Courant* (1706).⁵ There is no direct evidence that these particular publications reached south Wales, but John Byrd of Caerleon writes, in January 1666, that 'the post comes through our town constantly, by whom we have the dyurnalls [i.e. daily papers] twice every weeke, but not a bill of mortality'.⁶ The *London Gazette* (then known as the *Oxford Gazette*) started publication the previous year, and was obtainable by subscription. It did, however, publish a brief Bill of Mortality, so is unlikely to be the paper to which Byrd was referring. Lloyd Bowen has carried out research demonstrating that newsletters of the Restoration period did penetrate into south Wales so that despite the problems of transport 'the gentry nevertheless were well integrated into the wider news culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.⁷ Bowen goes on to point out that most of the official news of this period, some of which arrived by sea, was transmitted to the Welsh population through official proclamations, often spoken in both English and Welsh.⁸

⁵ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 5.

⁶ Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*, p. 158.

⁷ The publications he cites are the *London Gazette*, the *Observer* and the *Flying Post*. Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', p. 132 – 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

The cost of setting up a press was no small matter and, like any new business, the risks were high. Philip Gaskell has estimated that the cost of equipping a small printing house in the mid-eighteenth century was around £350, that being the cost of two presses and the appropriate type.⁹ Skimping on the amount of type available for full production was common, resulting in books in which fonts chopped and changed between Roman and italic for no apparent reason.¹⁰ The greatest cost of production, however, was paper. Gaskell calculates that this represented about fifty per cent of total running costs, whilst the rest was made up of rent, overheads and wages for, perhaps, two journeymen to carry out the skilled manual work of typesetting, operating the press, gathering and other practical tasks. These costs resulted in the retail price of the publication being set at approximately five times the cost of production.¹¹ One commonly used device for offsetting these costs and easing cash flow problems was for a printer to advertise for subscribers to a particular planned title. Each potential subscriber would pay half the cost of the book up front, and the balance on delivery. This worked even better for publications produced in parts, as subscribers were usually keen to complete their set of a particular title and, if a work of fiction, to finish the story. London printers started this in the mid-seventeenth century, especially for large expensive projects. John Ogilby produced a single sheet advertisement in 1672 to gain some advance subscriptions for his atlas,¹² and published his first volume, comprising a hundred plates of maps, three years later.¹³ Provincial printers, probably on even tighter profit margins, also adopted this strategy. Nicholas Thomas, the first Carmarthen printer, gathered an impressive

⁹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 177.

¹⁰ In his undated edition of Stephen Duck's poetry (see bibliography) Robert Raikes makes lavish use of italics for quotations and emphasis within the text, but by the time he reached the two pages of advertisements at the end, he had to resort to upper case in different point sizes for proper names.

¹¹ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 179.

¹² John Ogilby, *An Advertisement Concerning the English Atlas, with the Proposals* (London: s.n., 1672).

¹³ Ogilby, *Britannia, Volume the First, or, an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales*.

list of 131 subscribers to Gambold's *A Welsh Grammar* of 1727, thus providing an interesting insight into the initial consumers of this volume.¹⁴

The matter of cost and profit was examined in great detail by Wiles who poses the question that 'one of the most puzzling things about early weekly newspapers is this: how could a newspaper selling for three halfpence a copy yield a livelihood to those who produced it and a profit to those whose investment and enterprise got it started?'¹⁵ He then considered evidence for the number of copies of each issue produced, which seems to have been highly variable and mostly unverifiable. For example, on 8 April 1723 the *Gloucester Journal* inserted an item stating that the publisher thanked his readers for enabling him 'in the Space of Twelve Months, to print some Hundreds (Weekly) more ... than the paper printed at Worcester'.¹⁶ Other aspects of generating income were explored by these early entrepreneurs, most notably advertising and the setting up of very extensive distribution networks, as well as diversifying into the production of books, other serial publications and selling all manner of stationery and apothecary items. All these aspects will be examined in the context of the *Gloucester Journal*, and other output from Robert Raikes' printing house, but Wiles never really satisfactorily answers his own question, and it is clear from his detailed register of all English provincial newspapers between 1701 and 1760 that many titles had short runs and were very sensitive to local competition. In the city of Bristol, the very first newspaper to be printed in 1702 was William Bonny's *Bristol Post-Boy*, which only ran until 1715. David Stoker suggests that it 'may ultimately have been a victim of the introduction of newspaper stamp duties in August 1712 or competition from *Sam Farley's Bristol Postman*, from 1713 onwards, which was printed in a format designed to avoid most of the duty'.¹⁷ Another title started up in 1715, the *Bristol Weekly Mercury* produced by Henry Greep, but Farley's

¹⁴ This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6 below.

¹⁵ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 95.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁷ Stoker, *Bonny, William*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70357> [accessed 25 March 2015].

newspaper, which changed its title in 1725 to *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*, outdid this competition and continued publication, under various titles, throughout the eighteenth century, whereas Greep's publication ceased in 1727.¹⁸

Raikes encountered no such competition within Gloucester itself. Bristol was the third-largest city in Britain, with an estimated population of 21,000 in 1700.¹⁹ In the often quoted words of Daniel Defoe, Bristol was 'the greatest, the richest, and the best Port of Trade in Great Britain, London only excepted',²⁰ and Pat Rogers, in his examination of Defoe's work, asserts that his description of Bristol can be verified by modern economists.²¹ Its large and relatively literate population, with many booksellers,²² would have provided a profitable and accessible market for a weekly newspaper. Gloucester, on the other hand, was described by Defoe as 'an antient middling city ... here is a large stone bridge over the Severn, the first next the Sea. And this, and the Cathedral, is all I see worth Recording of this Place'.²³ Rogers estimates a population of 5,000,²⁴ which may account for Raikes' considerable efforts in reaching out to the wider population of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Monmouthshire to sell both his newspaper and his chapbooks.

Before looking more closely at the printing business of Robert Raikes in Gloucester, and why it was set up in that city at that time, it is important to consider what is known of his background.²⁵ Born in 1690, his father was a Yorkshire clergyman who apprenticed his son,

¹⁸ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, pp. 383 – 386. See also Chapter 4 above for distribution of Bristol newspapers.

¹⁹ Barry, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century Bristol*, p. 59.

²⁰ Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, p. 157.

²¹ Pat Rogers, 'Defoe on Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester: Some Unexplored References in His Tour', *Notes and Queries*, 63 (2016), p. 75.

²² Barry estimates there were 1.55 people per 1,000 of population working in the Bristol book trade in the 1670s. See: Jonathan Barry, 'The Press and the Politics of Culture in Bristol 1660 - 1775', in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain 1660 - 1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 52.

²³ Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, p. 161.

²⁴ Rogers, 'Defoe on Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester', p. 78.

²⁵ The biographical material that follows derives from two sources: David Stoker, 'Raikes, Robert (Bap. 1690, D. 1755) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70911> [accessed 27 June 2016]; Austin, 'Robert Raikes the Elder and the "Gloucester Journal"', 1 – 24.

aged fifteen, to a John Barner, London printer, from whence he became a freeman of the Stationers Company in 1712.²⁶ After a brief but probably useful period working on the *Norwich Gazette*, he set up in St Ives, Northamptonshire producing, for a short run in 1718, the *St. Ives Post Boy*. At this time, he decided to form a partnership with a rival newspaper proprietor, William Dicey, and together they moved to the larger town of Northampton from where, in 1720, they jointly launched the *Northampton Mercury*, a title which thrived over several centuries.²⁷ They also published a number of ballads and chapbooks under their joint names, although generally undated.²⁸ With this experience behind them, they set up the press in Gloucester and jointly published from 1722 to 1725 the *Gloucester Journal*, although it was clear that William Dicey remained in Northampton, and Raikes moved to Gloucester to manage the business. After 1725, the partnership dissolved and Raikes continued alone to be succeeded by his son Robert on his death in 1757. The newspaper itself continued publication, adapting to meet the needs of a changing readership, until merging with the *Gloucester Citizen* in 1879.

There are no archival sources, such as correspondence, accounts or announcements, which help to understand the reasons that Robert Raikes chose Gloucester as the place in which a printing house might thrive. His mother came from Gloucester, so it is possible that he had family still there. There is a painting (see Fig. 5.1) by Gawen Hamilton, dated to 1730 – 32, of a conversation piece entitled 'Group portrait, probably of the Raikes family'.²⁹ The curatorial comment states that 'the seated man wearing black is probably Robert Raikes, a prosperous newspaper proprietor based in Gloucester'. From what is known from the limited documentary sources, Raikes was married to his second wife, Anne, at this time, and had a

²⁶ Entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company CLRO - ELJL/0300.

²⁷ The *Northampton Mercury* finally ceased publication in 2015.

²⁸ For example *Roger's Delight; or the West Coutry Christening and Gossiping* (Northampton: R. Raikes & W. Dicey, [1720]). This is a single sheet ballad with woodcut. See EBBA no. 31376. Robert Raikes output in Northampton is included in Appendix 6.

²⁹ The painting, and accompanying information, is in the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. [www.http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667422](http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667422) [accessed 11 May 2018].



Fig. 5.1. Gawen Hamilton *Group portrait, probably of the Raikes family. 1730 – 32.*

seven-year-old daughter, Sarah, who could be the child in the picture. The other members of his family mentioned in his will of 1755 are his sister Martha Clarke and brother-in-law William Curtis,³⁰ and either or both of these could be present in this painting. Biographical information on the artist relates that he was of Scottish origin, moving to London in the 1720s and remaining there, carrying out numerous commissions, including a number of family groups of wealthy and famous people such as the Earl of Strafford and the Earl of Oxford.³¹ Thus it might seem questionable whether the subject of this painting is the Raikes family, since that would have involved travel to Gloucester and a large fee. If it were possible to confirm this provenance it would be an interesting insight into both the wealth, status and self-regard of Robert Raikes.

Although a substantial city at the time, Gloucester was dwarfed in size and influence by Bristol where, as seen above, several newspapers were already being published. Raikes must have been well aware of this competition, especially since Bristol newspapers were available in Gloucester as indicated on the front page of Greep's *Bristol Weekly Mercury* which boasted in 1716 that 'Any person may have this paper, every Monday morning, at Mr John Palmer's Book-seller in Gloucester'.³² In similar manner, Raikes made certain that the *Gloucester Journal* was readily available in Bristol, initially from John Wilson at Horse Street, and later from William Evans on St James Back where advertisements were taken in.³³ Raikes was also aware of a potential rival in the *Worcester Journal*, which had started up around 1709, as he alluded to it in the early years of his paper.³⁴

Raikes had, for his first three years in Gloucester, the financial security of his partnership with Dicey and the seemingly firm establishment of the *Northampton Mercury*.

³⁰ G1A D3109/7/248/1 Will of Robert Raikes 1755.

³¹ Egerton, Judy *Gawen Hamilton ?1697 – 1737* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66569> [accessed 11 May 2018]

³² *Bristol Weekly Mercury*, 1 December 1716, p. 1.

³³ *Gloucester Journal* 25 April 1725, p. 6, 23 September 1729, p. 4.

³⁴ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p.199.

He may well have transported a press from Northampton or, at the very least, sets of types and other equipment suitable for newspaper printing. It is even possible that he brought a journeyman with him, as there was unlikely to be the required skilled labour available in Gloucester, and there is no record of a formal indenture for a printer's apprentice in the city until 1725, when Raikes, as a freeman of the Stationers' Company, took on apprentice Philip Wilcocks, who came from London, and was released from his bond in 1732.³⁵ Another advantage in the location of Gloucester was its proximity to the paper mills of the Wye Valley, which provided the good supply of fresh running water required to operate effectively. Evidence for the establishment of paper mills in this period is limited, owing to the frequent change of use from one type of mill to another.³⁶ Ruthlin paper mill in the hamlet of Rockfield on the River Monnow near Monmouth was in operation in 1722 when an apprentice started work there,³⁷ and there is a lease document which states that it was formerly a corn grist mill.³⁸ Paper mills in the early eighteenth century have also been traced at Redbrook, on the River Wye, and Postlip just east of Gloucester. The essential component of paper was large quantities of rags which Alan Davies surmises were brought up the Wye in barges from Chepstow.³⁹

In what was probably the first item to roll off his new press on 10 March 1722, Raikes announced to the local citizenry that he was about to publish the first issue of a newspaper entitled the *Gloucester Journal* (see Fig. 5.2). This printed single sheet also offered the services of the new printing house to anyone who might need 'Bills,

³⁵ McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701 - 1800*, p. 377.

³⁶ The information on Wye Valley mills is drawn from Alan Eirug Davies, *Papermaking in Wales 1658 - 2000* (Aberystwyth: Alan Eirug Davies, 2010), F. J. T. Harris, 'Paper and Board Mills', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 94 (1976), pp. 124 – 135 and Alfred H. Shorter, 'Papermills in Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 102 (1953), pp.83 – 88.

³⁷ Jeremiah Wyett was apprenticed to William Vaughan, papermaker of Rockfield, Monmouthshire on 3 November 1722. The cost of his indenture was £5.0.0. and the duty paid on that was 2/6. TNA IR1 Board of Stamps: Apprenticeship Books 1710-1811, fol. 191.

³⁸ Davies, *Papermaking in Wales*, p. 130.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

advertisements ... signs or any other ornaments'. The first issue duly appeared in the following month with an elaborate woodcut masthead and a clear explanation of its purpose and intention which, to some extent, drew on the model of the *Northampton Mercury* started two years earlier (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4). The content of these issues, as was the pattern for early provincial newspapers, was entirely sourced from the London newspapers that arrived regularly in Gloucester by post,⁴⁰ but small amounts of local news did start to appear later in that first year. The key marketing devices employed by Raikes at this stage were his promise to take in advertisements, together with the distribution by 'the men who carry the news'. The masthead was used for the first two years, then changed to an interesting woodcut visualisation of the city of Gloucester. In April 1725, when Robert Raikes started to be the sole publisher, a much plainer masthead was adopted, and this was to remain for many years (see Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).

The price of the *Gloucester Journal* in 1722 was 1½ *d*, and the six-page format was small enough to conform to the definition of a pamphlet, thus avoiding duty imposed by the 1712 Stamp Act. By 1725, however, the government, becoming increasingly aware of a missed opportunity to collect revenue, produced a new Stamp Act which resulted in duty of a halfpenny having to be paid on all newspapers. For technical reasons concerned with keeping that duty to the minimum, a larger format was adopted for the *Gloucester Journal*, and the price raised to two pence (see Fig. 5.6, with 'duty paid' stamp in the bottom right-hand corner).⁴¹

⁴⁰ These comprised the *London Gazette*, *Whitehall Evening Post*, *St. James Evening Post*, *Miller's Newsletter*, *Stanley's Newsletter* and *Wye's Newsletter*.

⁴¹ A detailed explanation of these changes is given in Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, pp. 49 et seq.

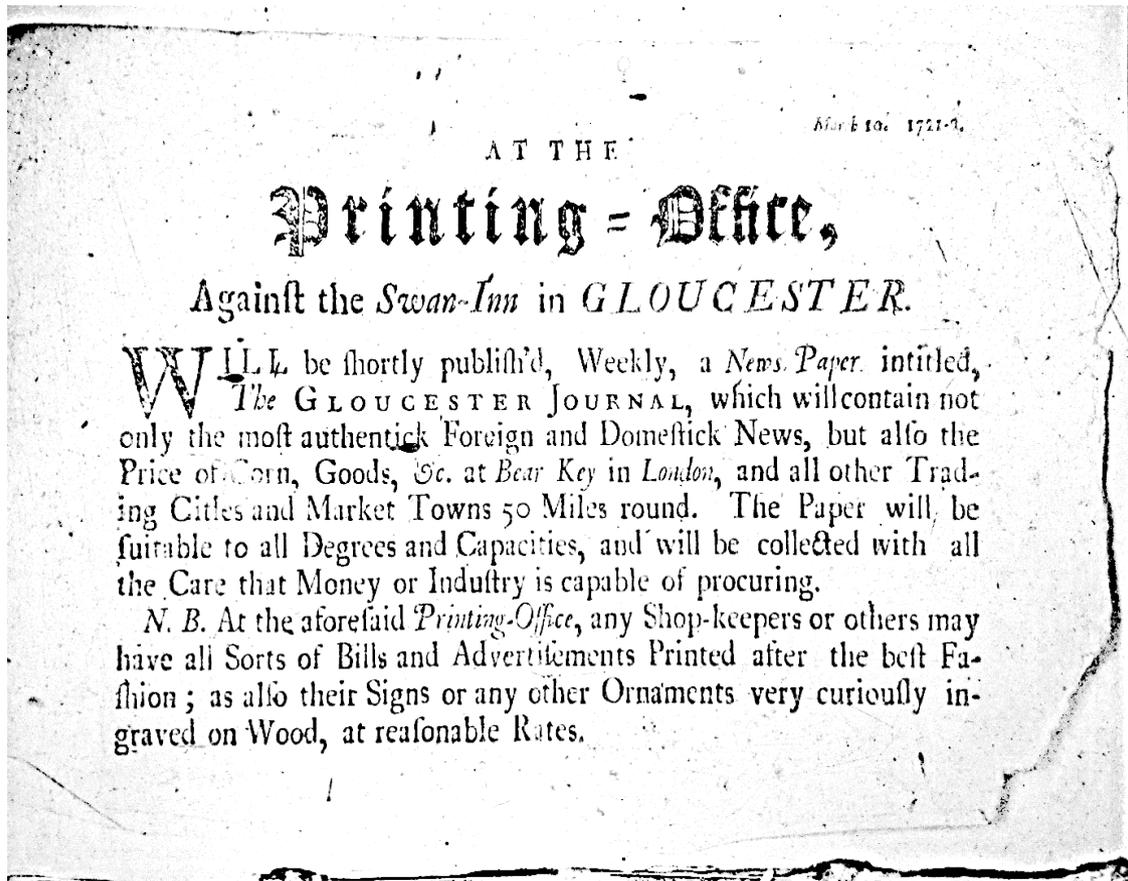


Fig. 5.2. Advertisement sheet for the first issue of the *Gloucester Journal*. 10 March 1722.

VOL. I.

NUMB. I.

Northampton Mercury,
OR THE
MONDAY'S POST.

BEING A
Collection of the most Material Occurrences,
Foreign & Domestic.

Together with
An Account of Trade.

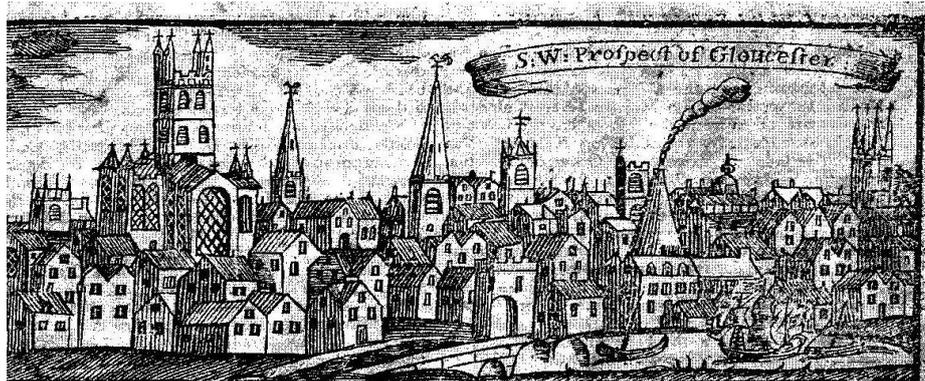
MONDAY, May 2, 1720. [*To be continued weekly.*]



NORTHAMPTON:

Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dacey, near All Saints Church; where
Advertisements and Letters of Correspondents are taken in, and all
manner of Books printed.

Fig. 5.3. *Northampton Mercury*, no.1, 2 May 1720, title-page.



The Gloucester Journal.

With the most Material N E W S, Foreign and Domestic.

MONDAY, April 6, 1724. [To be continued Weekly.]

The LONDON WEEKLY BILL of MORTALITY, From Tuesday March 17 to Tuesday March 24 1724.

A Bortive	2	Dropfic	26	Lunatick	0	Stillborn	12
Aged	53	Fiftula	0	Loofenets	1	Suddenly	1
Apoplexy	1	Fever	62	Meafles	3	Stoppage 2th' Stomach	7
Cancer	1	French Pox	1	Mortification	1	Teeth	26
Childbed	3	Griping in the Guts	10	Purples	0	Thrush	0
Cough	1	Hooping-Cough	0	Ruprure	0	Tifick	7
Golick	4	Headmouldflow	0	Rickets	2	Vomiting	0
Consumption	58	Jandies	1	Rafing of the Lights	4	Water in the Head	9
Convulſion	138	Leprotic	2	Small-Pox	12	Worms	1

CASUALTIES.

Kill'd 2, one by a Cart (buried at St. James at Garlickhyth) and one with a Sword at St. Mary at Newington. Exceſſive Drinking 1. Chriſtened 378. Buried 479. Increased in the Burials this Week 8.

BOOKS publiſh'd in LONDON ſince our laſt.

Popery Unmask'd, and ſet in a true Light, or Liberty of Peaceable or Religious Conſcience the Right of all Mankind, and Perſecution condemn'd, as inconſiſtent with Chriſtian Liberty and Rights of Engliſhmen.
A Guide to Gentlemen and Farmers for Brewing the beſt Malt Liquors, much better and cheaper than hitherto known. By a Country Gentleman. To this Fourth Edition is added, ſeveral Receipts for making Phyſical Ales, &c.
Impartial Reflections on Dr. Burnet's Poſthumous Hiſtory. By Philalethes.
Si ſeciſſe idem, cadaver ſub iudice morum. Juv. An Eſſay towards reſtoring Primitive Communion. In a Letter to a Friend. By S. H. "Our Diſputes are only about leſſer Matters, about Males and Forms, about Geſtures and Poſtures, and ſuch like, about which it ſhould grieve a wiſe Man ra quarrel. Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church."

THURSDAY'S POST.

From the London Gazette, March 31.
 Cambay, March 30. N. S.

In the 28th Inſtant at night arrived here a Courier from Vienna, with his Imperial Majeſty's full Powers, drawn up purſuant to the Form agreed to and ſetled here by the ſeveral Plenipotentiaries, and now all the Miniſters concerned in the Quadruple Alliance are furniſhed with their full Powers in the ſaid ſetled Form.
 Whitchall, March 30. A Representation having been made to his Majeſty of the State of the Churches

in the Plantations abroad, and it appearing that many of them are now plentifully endowed, and that an Allowance of 20 l. is given out of the Royal Bounty to each Miniſter who is ſent over to be Incumbent of any of thoſe Churches, to aſſiſt him in the Preparations for his Voyage, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to give Direction to the Lord Biſhop of London, that in ſending over Incumbents to thoſe Churches, he have ſpecial Regard to ſuch Perſons in the two Universities who ſhall be deſirous to ſettle in the Plantations abroad, not being Fellows of any College, and coming well recommended to him, as good Preachers, and Perſons of labor and virtuous Converſation, and of known Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.

F. 016

Fig. 5.5. Gloucester Journal, 6 April 1724, p. 1.

The Gloucester Journal.

With the most Material News Foreign and Domestic.

MONDAY May 10, 1725.

[To be continued Weekly.]

The London Weekly Bill of Mortality, May 4, 1725.

A Bortive	1	French Pox	1	Rising of the Lights	4
Aged	47	Gripping i'th'Guts	3	Rupture	0
Apoplexy	2	Headmouldthro	0	Small Pox	77
Althma	5	Hooping-Cough	0	Stilborn	10
Cancer	3	Jaundies	1	Stone	1
Childbed	3	Imposthume	0	Stoppage i'th'Stom.	2
Colick	5	Leprosie	0	Teeth	22
Consumption	55	Lunatick	1	Thrauh	1
Convulsion	109	Measles	3	Tiffick	7
Drople	29	Mortification	1	Vomiting	0
Fever	63	Plurifie	0	Water i'th' Head	3
Fistula	0	Ricketts	1	Worms	0

Casualties. Drowned 3. Executed 5. Hang'd himself 1. Kill'd by the Iron-horse of a Ship 1. Overlaid 2. Shot himself (being Lunatick) 1.

Christed 316. Buried 488. Increased in the Burials 77.

BOOKS Publish'd in LONDON.

A Second Discov'ry of the Errors published in the much commended Camden's Britannia, 1549.—The Fourth Edition of the Malqueraders.—A Review of Dr. Zachary Grey's Defence of our Ancient and Modern Historians.—A Collection of Sermons by Mr. Jeremy Collier.—The Cafe of Addressing Re-consider'd.—The three first Volumes of Mr. Pope's Odyssey.—A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Church of England in Opposition to that of the Church of Rome.—The Use and Intend of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World.—A True, Authentick and Impartial History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the Czar of Muscovy, from his Birth to his Death.—The Transformations of the several Countries in Europe in the Month of February.—A Critical Dissertation upon the Spleen.—Observations Introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath.

The Price of Corn at Gloucester.

Wheat	03	10	04	02	Beans	03	00	10	03	02
Barley	02	04	02	06	Malt	03	04	02	03	06
Oats	01	06	02	01	08	Coals ppr Tun	08	06		

Thursday's POST.

From the London Gazette, May 4. Whitehall, May 3.



IN the 30th past his Majesty received by an Express the important News that the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain was concluded and signed at Vienna. Count Starhenberg, the Imperial Ambassador, received that Evening by another Express, the same News. The next Day his Excellency had Audience of the King, and communicated to his Majesty a Copy of the said Treaty.

[Price Two Pence.]

From the Whitehall Evening Post, May 4.

Since our last arrived one Mail from Holland, and one from France.

Cartagena in New Spain, October 15. Letters from Lima dated the 5th of April and 8th of July say, that a French Ship called the two Crowns came into the Port of Arica on the 25th of February, but as soon as the Viceroy heard of it, he sent Orders not to admit the said Ship to Trade. Afterwards Messengers were sent from Lima through the whole Kingdom, as far as Potozy, with Directions to enquire whether she had traded any where; but it seems no Tidings have been had of her since May, when she sailed from Arica. The Governor of that Place took out of her and sold publicly 200 Tierce and Chests of Goods; but our Viceroy has order'd the said Goods to be brought hither and sold by publick Auction, or, as some say, burnt, pursuant to Directions from the Court of Madrid.

From the St. James's Evening Post, May 4.

Warsaw, April 25. The Senate make strong Instances to the Emperor to concern himself in the Affair of Thoria. 'Tis hop'd that the Imperial Troops which are expected on our Frontiers will act rather for our Defence than for our Oppression. The Republick seems resolv'd to maintain their Privileges to the last Extremity, and as to the Accommodation propos'd, if it does not cost us any thing, perhaps it will be agreed to. The Czariana does not seem so much dispos'd to meddle in the Affair as we were threatend. Altho' many Powers animate her to pursue the Designs of the late Emperor her Husband, we have Letters from Petersburg which say, that she will commit no Hostility, and that she ask'd the Great Chancellor and other Lords, whether after all her Fortresses are Garrison'd, it may't be proper to disband some of the Troops, the great Number of which is so expensive to maintain.

Utrecht, May 7. The 4th Instant being according to Old Stile, the Festival of St. George, the Patron of England, and the Name-day of Great Britain's King, the English Noblemen who are in this City celebrated it with great Splendor and Magnificence. They had a noble Repast at Night, with an excellent Consort of Musick, and at every Health there was a Discharge of several small pieces of Cannon. They went afterwards to serenade many of the principal Ladies of the City. Every thing was managed with great Decorum throughout the Entertainment, at which the Noble Guests signalized their Zeal for his Britannick Majesty, and his Government, and gave Proofs of their sumptuous way of living.

From Stanley's Letter, May 4.

By a Holland Mail just arrived we learn from Rome, that the Pope has open'd the Council de Latran in presence of 32 Cardinals and 57 Archbishops and Bishops, wherein several Regulations were made touching the Lives and Manners of the Clergy, the Catholick Faith, &c.

The French are fortifying and augmenting several Garrisons on the Frontiers of Spain, upon Advice that the Forces in Catalonia have received Orders to be ready to march.

The Preparations for War are also still continued on both sides on the Frontiers of Poland.



Week

Fig. 5.6. Gloucester Journal, 10 May 1725, p. 1.

The content, as noted above, was almost entirely foreign or national news and occasionally, but not in every issue, there were local items. Examples were an account of trials at the Gloucester quarter-sessions,⁴² the discovery of a covertly buried body in Worcester,⁴³ the hanging of a murderer in Cardiff,⁴⁴ and a report of money raised for repair of Gloucestershire highways.⁴⁵ The foreign news was varied, but often dominated by military campaigns, whereas the national news covered descriptions of events, especially involving royalty or aristocracy, the London weekly Bill of Mortality and statistics of casualties, important appointments, the price of corn (at Gloucester), a weekly list of bankrupts, sensationalist stories of adventure or crime and occasional pieces of poetry.⁴⁶ Raikes was dependent on the postal services to bring the news content, and these were subject to all sorts of delays en route. In January 1726, the *Gloucester Journal* printing was delayed to the extent that a notice was inserted to say that 'the Post Boy alleges, that he was nine hours in coming about a mile, occasioned by great Rains and sudden Frost'.⁴⁷ Another common hazard was highwaymen, as recounted in the very first issue of the *Northampton Mercury* in 1720 with the words 'The Bristol mail was again robb'd yesterday in the same place as on Friday, by one highwayman'.⁴⁸ This pattern regarding the nature of the content, was adopted, with local variations, by most provincial papers in this early period of their production,⁴⁹ but a particularly prominent feature of the *Gloucester Journal* which was not echoed by its Bristol or Worcester competitors was the emphasis on advertisements, especially advertisements for cheap books published by Raikes himself.

⁴² *Gloucester Journal*, 27 January 1724, p. 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 22 November 1725, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1726, p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 October 1727, p. 4.

⁴⁶ The output of Stephen Duck was especially favoured. See *Gloucester Journal*, 8 December 1730, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Gloucester Journal*, 4 January 1726, p.3.

⁴⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, 2 May 1720, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Wiles has carried out an exhaustive analysis of the content of all provincial newspapers in Britain. See Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, especially Chapter 5.

The manner in which Raikes distributed his newspaper merits more detailed examination, since the success of his enterprise, as for any serial of this type, critically depended on high circulation figures. It is fortunate for posterity that on page 5 of the issue of 24 April 1725, Raikes printed out a list of the thirteen agents that he used to sell the paper, together with the 120 towns and villages which they served (Fig. 5.7). A comparison of this list with the much shorter list of distribution points for *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*, printed on the title-page in 1726, indicates an overlap of only four towns.⁵⁰ Whether by agreement or calculation, the two newspapers proprietors were, in the main, covering different areas. The *Gloucester Journal*, in order to compensate for a smaller urban population, stretched its availability to a very wide area. This can be illustrated by the following sketch map (Fig. 5.8) showing the areas covered by each *Gloucester Journal* agent as well as the Bristol paper circulation area. It is particularly important for this research that three agents covered Monmouthshire and some eastern parts of Glamorgan, where no other provincial newspaper had yet reached. Three Welsh booksellers also stocked Raikes' publications, namely Samuel Rogers of Abergavenny, John Oakey of Cardiff and John Crofts of Monmouth.⁵¹ Later, in 1740, Raikes published one book in Welsh but does not seem to have done so in the early years owing, perhaps, to a lack of confidence in that market.⁵² His English-language chapbooks might have sold well in the border regions where that language was widely spoken.⁵³

The thirteen named agents, with the exception of the Bristol bookseller John Wilson who used his own team of distributors within the city, must have travelled between towns and

⁵⁰ That is Bristol, Bath, Devizes and Sherborne.

⁵¹ *Gloucester Journal* 29 July 1723, 19 July 1726 and 5 March 1727 respectively.

⁵² Edmund Gibson, *The Bishop of London's pastoral letter to the people of his diocese* (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1740).

⁵³ See pp. 88 – 94 above.



HENRY R. RAIKES and **W. DICEY** have with great Expence and Trouble Establish'd a **PRINTING-OFFICE** in this City, where they Publish a Weekly News-Paper Intitl'd, The **GLoucester JOURNAL**, every Monday. And as this Paper hath met with great Encouragement from the Publick, it being of far greater Advantage for Advertising any Business, than any other News-Paper on this side the County, by reason of the Number of Men employ'd to dispert them in the severall Counties hereafter mention'd, in order therefore to make the said Paper still more Useful and Advantageous to the Publick, the Printers here have admitted to the said Printing-Office, and dispatch'd as expeditiously as can be desired, next a List of the Mens Names who distribute the said *Gloucester Journal*, with the Names of the Cities, Principal Towns, &c. of each County, in their Divisions.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>First Division.
 John Chapman, Distributer to the City of Gloucester.</p> <p>Second Division.
 John Ellison, Bookseller, in Horse-street, Bristol, and his Agents, Distributers to the City of Bristol.</p> <p>Third Division.
 John Butler, Distributer, Stroudwater, Gloucestershire
 Tedbury, ditto
 Maimsbury, Wilts
 Chippenham, ditto
 Calb, ditto
 Devizes, ditto
 Road, ditto
 Bramham, ditto
 Stanton, ditto</p> <p>Fourth Division.
 John Young, Distributer, Marshfield, Gloucestershire
 Bath, Somersetshire
 Bradford, Wiltshire
 Trowbridge, ditto
 And severall Villages.</p> <p>Fifth Division.
 Charles Selms, Distributer, Hampton, Gloucestershire
 Cambridge Ino, ditto
 Edington, ditto
 Froter, ditto
 Cowley, ditto
 Camm, ditto
 Bursley, ditto
 Stinchcomb, ditto
 Newport, ditto
 North Nibley, ditto
 Wootton-under-edge, ditto
 Kingwood, Wiltshire
 Clavil, Gloucestershire
 Wickwar, ditto
 Chippen Suddury, ditto
 Yeat, ditto
 Nibley, ditto
 Farn, ditto
 Acton, ditto
 Lutteridge, ditto
 Thurnbury, ditto
 Oldbury, ditto
 Hill, ditto
 Bartley, ditto
 and other Towns and Villages.</p> | <p>Sixth Division.
 John Wood, Distributer, Newnham, Gloucestershire
 Liddney, ditto
 Chepstow, Monmouthshire
 Causton, ditto
 Newport, ditto
 Cardiff, Glamorganshire
 Landaff, ditto
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Seventh Division.
 Rice Price, Distributer, Litch Dean, Gloucestershire
 Speck House, ditto
 Coleford, ditto
 High Meadow, ditto
 Newland, ditto
 Redbrook, ditto
 Monmouth
 Rockfield, Monmouthshire
 Tavernack, ditto</p> <p>Eighth Division.
 Llandilo, ditto
 Llanabey, ditto
 Llandwyrhydych, ditto
 Abergavenny, ditto
 Llanellen, ditto
 Llanover, ditto
 Pam a Poole, ditto
 Oak, ditto
 Rhaglan, ditto
 Treglapp, ditto
 Abbey Winton, ditto
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Ninth Division.
 James Battell, Distributer, Huntley, Gloucestershire
 Mitchel Dean, ditto
 Ross, Herefordshire
 Llengarren, ditto
 Gutheridge, ditto
 Hereford
 Weobley, ditto
 Hey, Brecknockshire
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Tenth Division.
 William Erb, Distributer, Tewksbury, Gloucestershire
 Upton upon Severn, Worcestershire
 Evesham alias Eafon, ditto
 Parthure, ditto
 Worcester
 Droitwich, ditto
 Bromsgrove, ditto
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Eleventh Division.
 James Whitthorn, Distributer, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire
 Presbury, ditto
 Charlton Kings, ditto
 Upper Dowdeswel, ditto
 Lower Dowdeswel, ditto
 Winchcomb, ditto
 Stanway, ditto
 Stanton, ditto
 Broadway, ditto
 Crickerton, ditto
 Stratford upon Avon, Warwickshire
 Preston upon Stower, ditto
 Aldenminster, Worcestershire
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Twelfth Division.
 James Williams, Distributer, Purtil, Gloucestershire
 Withington, ditto
 Northleach, ditto
 Sherborne, ditto
 Bartford, Oxfordshire
 Rampton in Bark, ditto
 Clancheld, ditto
 Farringdon, Berkshire
 Spontord, ditto
 Wantage, ditto
 Lambourn, ditto
 Cricklade, Wilts
 besides Villages.</p> <p>Thirteenth Division.
 James Bennett, Distributer, Painwick, Gloucestershire
 Bilsley, ditto
 Cirencester, ditto
 Fairford, ditto
 Lechlade, ditto
 Highworth, Wilts
 Sanden, ditto
 Marlborough, ditto
 Woottonbacer, ditto</p> |
|---|---|

Note: Advertisements are taken in at the Printing-Office aforesaid, by *John Wilson*, Bookseller, in Bristol, and also by the Distributers of this Paper, where likewise Bookellers and others may have post of Divinity, History, &c. neatly Printed: Also Manus Books, Blanks of all Sorts, as Streets Warrants, Justices Warrants, Bonds, Indentures, &c. &c. &c.

Fig. 5.7. Gloucester Journal, 24 April 1725, p. 5

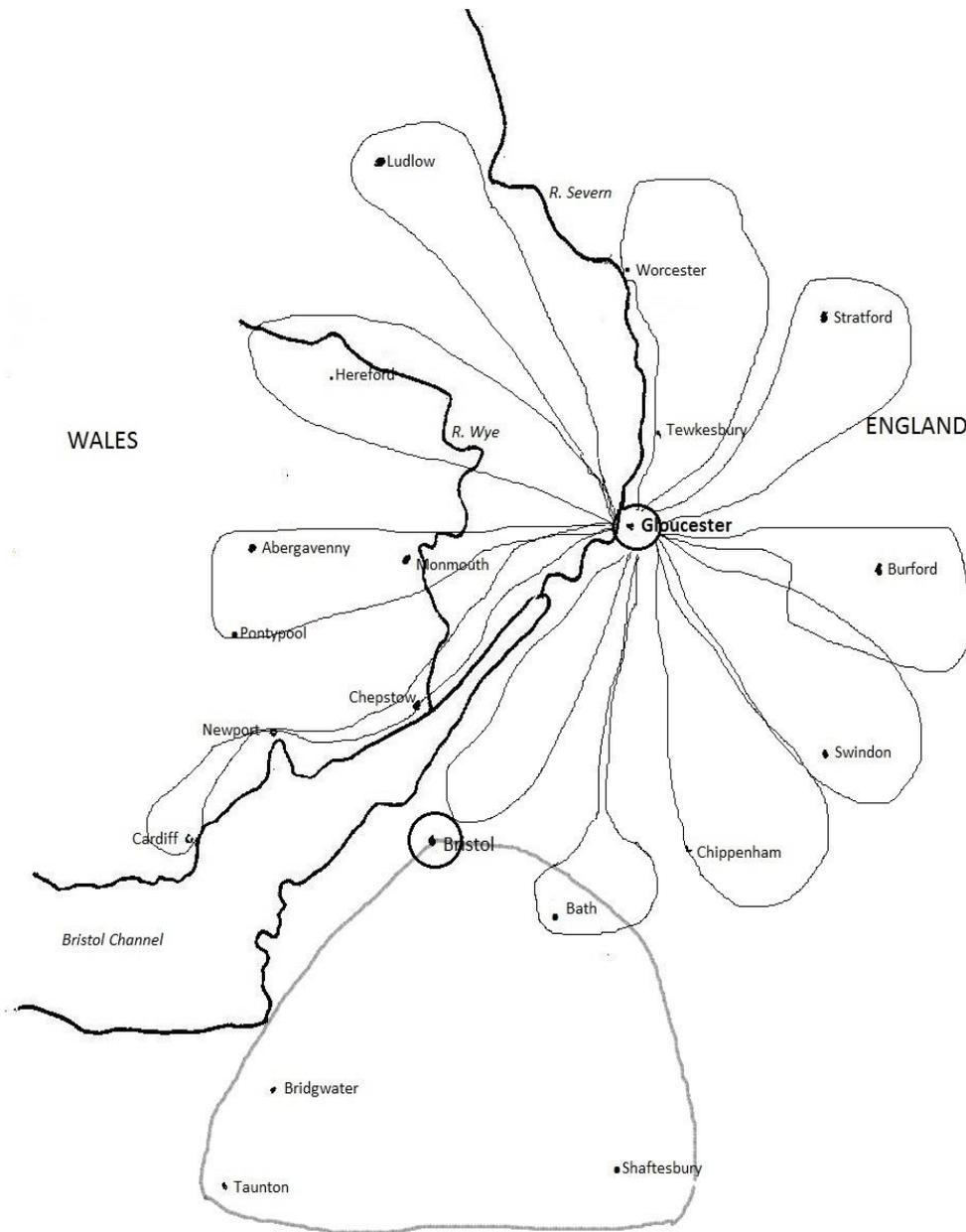


Fig. 5.8. Map showing distribution areas from Gloucester 1725 (for *Gloucester Journal*) and Bristol 1726 (for *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*)

villages during the week following publication of the *Gloucester Journal*. From 1722 to 1725 the paper appeared every Monday, a day chosen, possibly, as a marketing advantage, since the rival Bristol and Worcester newspapers appeared on Saturday and Friday respectively. The day of publication changed to Tuesdays on 31 November 1725, although no reason for this was given in the newspaper itself. A few weeks prior to that date, Raikes' partnership with William Dicey ended, so perhaps he was feeling the benefit of independent management.⁵⁴ On the other hand, there may have been a change in the postal or carrier arrangements which conveyed the London papers whose content formed the primary source of copy. The agents themselves were probably employed by Raikes, as reliability in this matter would have been important for those customers waiting for their weekly delivery. In his will, he states 'I give to each of my news carriers as shall be in my service at the time of my decease one guinea to be paid to them upon clearing their accounts with my Executors'.⁵⁵ The condition for this bequest indicates a man careful with his money, but one who values loyalty and trustworthiness.

The advertisements that members of the public inserted are another indicator of the reach of the *Gloucester Journal*. In April 1723, an advertisement appeared of a property to let in Abergavenny, in January 1724 land for sale in Herefordshire, in March 1729 there were rooms to let in Ross and, in the same year in September, a house for sale in Newport, Monmouthshire. In 1730, an auction in Monmouth was advertised and in October 1727, land was for sale in the Vale of Glamorgan. Long advertisements for medicines were a regular feature, supplied not only at the Gloucester printing office but at other booksellers and mercers in the area (see Fig. 5.9), so this seemed to be a profitable sideline during this period.

⁵⁴ The last issue to bear the statement 'Printed by R. Raikes and W. Dicey in the Southgate Street' at the bottom of the final page was 10 September 1725.

⁵⁵ GIA D3109/7/248/1 Will of Robert Raikes 1755.

Sold at the Printing-Office in *Gloucester*, that at *Northampton*,
and by the Men that carry this News.



Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops; publish'd at the
Request of several Persons of distinction from both Universities
of this Kingdom, being not to be parallel'd by any Medicine yet
experienc'd in the known World for the curing of the follow-
ing Distempers. Formerly Sold by him, at his House, for five
Shillings the Bottle; but now, for the Advantage of his Fellow
Creatures, expos'd thus in public and sold for him in most Cities
and celebrated Towns of *Great-Britain*, for One Shilling.

You are desired to observe that these Drops neither purge nor vomit; but are
the only Remedy which the best of Judges make use of to prevent both; likewise
for all Fluxes, Spitting of Blood, Consumptions, Agues, Small Pox, Measles, Colds,
Coughs, and Pains in the Limbs and Joints: It puts off the most violent Fever in the
World; if taken in time, gives present ease in the most racking torment of the Gout;
the same in all sorts of Colicks; cures the Rheumatism in Nine Days, without
Bleeding; it easeth After-pains, prevents Miscarriages, cures the Rickets in Children,
and is wonderful in the Stone and Gravel in the Kidneys, Bladder or Ureter; brings
away Slime, Gravel, and sometimes Stones of a great bigness, and is the very best of
Medicines for all Stoppages or Pains in the Stomach, Shortness of Breath, Straitness
of the Breast, and rekindles the almost extinguish'd natural Heat in diseas'd Bodies,
by which means it restores the Languishing to perfect Health; witness those crowds
of ingenious Gentlemen and Ladies that embrace all Opportunities in giving it its just
and due Praise.

That the Public may not be impos'd on, those that are not seal'd with the
Boar's Head, as in the Margin are Counterfeits.

Note: These Drops are likewise sold by Mr. Rogers, Bookseller, in Ross, Mr. Wild
in Ludlow, Mr. Crofts in Monmouth, and at most Cities and celebrated Towns in
Great Britain.

Satur:

Fig. 5.9. *Gloucester Journal* 10 May 1725, part of p. 4.

In the case of Dr. Bateman's pectoral drops, Raikes invested time and probably money in developing the patent and publishing promotional pamphlets, alongside former partner William Dicey and his new partner John Cluer.⁵⁶ There was no mention in the newspaper itself of the rates for advertising, but the *Taunton Journal* charged an average of 3s 6d in 1725,⁵⁷ and this had to cover the tax of 1s per advertisement imposed by the government following the Stamp Act of 1712.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, advertisements for books were a prominent and regular feature of the *Gloucester Journal* between 1722 and 1730, and most of these would have been financed by Raikes himself, since he was both publisher and bookseller of most of the titles. In contrast, the Bristol paper of this period, *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*, rarely printed book advertisements. The few that did appear were for books published in London but obtainable from local booksellers, including John Palmer in Gloucester, who also sold Raikes' publications.⁵⁹ Samuel Farley printed very few small books, rather focussing on his newspaper, jobbing printing and a few sermons.⁶⁰ Likewise, the *Weekly Worcester Journal*, published by Stephen Bryan, contained the occasional advertisement for a London published title but no mention, as far as can be known from extant copies, of his very modest book printing output.⁶¹ Christine Ferdinand has examined advertisements for books within a number of provincial newspapers of this period and concludes that 'the most important lesson the book and newspaper trade had learned was that periodical advertisements of any kind

⁵⁶ Benjamin Okell, *An Abstract of the Patent Granted by His Majesty King George, to Benj. Okell, the Inventor of a Medicine, Call'd, Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops, and to J. Cluer, R. Raikes and W. Dicey, the Persons Concerned with the Said Inventor, That They May Enjoy the Sole Benefit of the Said Medicine*. London: J. Cluer, 1726.

⁵⁷ Wiles, *Freshest Advices*, p. 164.

⁵⁸ 10 Anne c. 19.

⁵⁹ For example *Farley's Bristol Newspaper*, 29 June 1728, p. 4; *Gloucester Journal*, 28 August 1728, p. 4.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 4, Appendix 3.

⁶¹ For an example of a book advertisement see *Worcester Weekly Journal*, 3 March 1727, p. 3.

were profitable'.⁶² This might be questionable in the case of the *Gloucester Journal*, since the Stamp Act of 1712 imposed a tax of one shilling on every newspaper advertisement with the result that placing advertisement in one's own publication would incur this charge without any offsetting income.⁶³ This suggests that Raikes found that advertising his own wide range of books of all types and sizes resulted in a satisfactory rate of sale for these titles. He also advertised London published books, from which he would have derived some income.⁶⁴ The SPCK were interested in this form of promotion, as evidenced in the minutes of a meeting held on 10 December 1711.

The Committee considering of Mr Vaughan's Letters to Mr Nelson of the 3rd October last, concerning an Abstract of the Young Christian Library, are of the opinion that it may properly be publish'd in one or more of the Newspapers and that Mr Chamberlayne be desir'd to consult the Author of the Postman about the best manner of publishing it'.⁶⁵

Examination of the *Gloucester Journal* book advertisements between 1722 and 1730 reveals the publication of forty-four titles which fall within the definition of a chapbook. Twenty-three of these are not recorded in ESTC, and a further nine are recorded in slightly different forms or different editions. At Appendix 6 can be found a list of all the known chapbook titles printed by Raikes in this period, drawn from these advertisements together with items not advertised but seen at Gloucester Archives. It does not include items priced at over 6d,⁶⁶ or those which are clearly not published by Robert Raikes himself. The difficulty

⁶² Christine J. Ferdinand, 'Constructing the Frameworks of Desire: How Newspapers Sold Books in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Joad Raymond (eds.) *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 165.

⁶³ 10 Anne, c. 19. Known as the Stamp Act, but in fact had a long title starting *An Act for laying several Duties upon all Sope and Paper ... and upon certain printed Papers, Pamphlets and Advertisements ...*

⁶⁴ For example see *Gloucester Journal*, 7 October 1729, p. 4.

⁶⁵ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 316. The *Postman* was a weekly London newspaper. John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire, was one of the most committed agents of SPCK in Wales, and probably compiled this catalogue, published in 1710, which was a list of books thought suitable for the education of children in the charity schools then being set up by SPCK. See *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁶ The exceptions to the price limit are two plays *Hoops into Spinning Wheels* (1725) and *Swords into Anchors* (1725) which are included for the light nature of their content.

notice to prepare for his trial at the King's Bench Bar Westminster, the 30th Instant.

Deaths. On Wednesday last died the Rev. Mr. Ferdinando Smithies, Senior Fellow of Queen's College in Cambridge. He was born on the very day of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First, 1648. He gave much money to charitable uses in his Lifetime; particularly to Christ's Hospital 1500 l. Also to his own College 1500 l. to be appropriated to the use of three Bachelors of Arts, till the time of their taking the degree of Master.

On Friday last died at his Seat near Bamsstead in Surrey, John Fleetwood, Esq; Consul for the British Nation at Naples; Mr. Hammond being his Deputy now residing at that City. He is said to have died worth 60,000 l. the bulk whereof he has left to his Son, who is now at Naples.

On Monday, died, Mr. Weaver, one of the Clerks of the Treasury.

About the same time also died the Bishop of Chester.

Promotions. Mr. Selby is chosen Upper Master of the Grammar School at Christ's Hospital.

The Rev. Mr. Trig is presented to the Vicarage of Layston in Suffolk.

Mr. Calcot, an Officer of the Customs at Leith, is made Collector of the Customs at Liverpoole.

William Pulteney, Esq; is appointed Ranger of Enfield Chace.

Mr. Allen of Wood-street Compter, is made Deputy Keeper of Newgate in the room of Mr. Rowse, deceas'd.

The Rev. Mr. John Walker is made Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury,

Gloucester, Nov. 20. They write from Worcester, That last week as some workmen were digging in the yard in the Foregate-street, commonly called, *The Pound*, where now a handsome house is building, they found buried within eight inches of the surface, a man having on a callimancoe wastecoat, Holland shirt, Jersey stockings, and boots; but as soon as his apparel or flesh was touch'd, it fell to dust. His Corpse was taken thence and buried in St. Oswald's Hospital burying-place.

Advertisements.

This Day is Publish'd,
(Price 4 d.)

THE Midnight Revels: Or, Amorous Bugbears. Wherein the Humorous Delights of a Malquerade (of late so much in Fashion) are Unmask'd; the Nature of their Fantastical Dresses; their Love Intrigues discovered; the Gamesters, Mulick, Entertainment, and the whole Company, in all their Disguises, wittily expos'd: Together with Judicious Reflections upon the Whole, in Prose and Verse.

*In former Days, our bold unguarded Truth,
Intrigu'd barefac'd, and show'd the naked Truth,
But now, new vicious Projects we devise,
And make our wanton Cowships in Disguise,
That neither Sex their Quality need own,
But mutually indulge their Lusts unknown.*

Sold at the Printing-Office in Gloucester, and by the men that carry the News; J. Wilson in Horse-street, Bristol; W. Wolley in Worcester; James and John Hunt in Hereford; J. Ballinger in Cirencester, and J. Crofts in Monmouth.

Sold at the aforesaid Printing-Office, lately Publish'd.

1. A Divine Poem on the Origin, Fall and Redemption of Man: Likewise the Last General Conflagration, Resurrection and Judgment, briefly describ'd. Price 1 s.

2. The Ladies Diversion: Or a new Way of Fortune-Telling by Coffee-Grounds. pr. 2d.

3. The Town Spy: Or, A View of London and Westminster. Price 4 d.

4. The Penman's Instructor. Price 6 d.

5. A New Psalm-Book fitted for those that are learning to sing. Price 1 s. 2 d.

6. The Life of Jack Sheppard. Price 2 d.

7. The Life of Jonathan Wilde. Pr. 2 d.

8. The Merry Traveller; Or Cynic Philosopher. price 4d.

9. The History of Prospero, Duke of Milan, with the Loves of Hippollito and Dorinda. 3d.

10. Swords into Anchors, a Comedy. pr. 9d.

11. Hoops into Spining Wheels, a Tragic Comedy. pr. 6d.

12. The Beau Merchant. price 1 s.

13. KAINOE KATAKESIS, or an Essay in some Principles of Religion. price 2d.

14. 'Tis all a Cheat: Or, The Way of the World. Price 3 d.

Blank Warrants for Justices of the Peace.
Funeral Affidavits for Shopkeepers and Parish Clerks.

Monday's

of distinguishing between books published by 'the Printing Office in Gloucester', and books simply available to purchase from there is illustrated by a typical example of an advertisement from the back page of the *Gloucester Journal* in November 1725 (Fig. 5.10). The main advertisement on page four is for *The Midnight Revels*, a small book priced at 4d but no longer extant, at least in the collections represented in the ESTC. The phrase, frequently used by Raikes, 'This day is published' implies that it is his own printing house that has produced this book, and it is immediately for sale from there, so all such titles have been included in Appendix 6. The sub-title and short verse are copied from an anonymous book published in London in the same year,⁶⁷ leading to the conclusion that Raikes probably produced his own version of this with a different title. The description of the content in the advertisement is followed by a list of other booksellers in Bristol, Worcester, Hereford, Cirencester and Monmouth who also stocked the item,⁶⁸ as well as it being obtainable from 'the men that carry the news'. Following this, Raikes printed a complete backlist of titles, mostly 6d or less, which had all already appeared in previous advertisements, and comprised both titles published in Gloucester and in London.

A different sort of uncertainty can arise when examining physical copies of possible Raikes' output. Copies of a small book entitled *A charge given to the grand-jury of the county of Gloucester*, published in London in 1723,⁶⁹ can be found in both the British Library and, perhaps unsurprisingly, in Gloucester Archives.⁷⁰ The latter copy lacks any ownership marks but opposite the title page is written 'From the printer's devices it is clear that this charge was printed by Robert Raikes' (see Fig. 5.11). Yet examination of these printer's ornaments, and comparison with other ornaments in extant Raikes' titles have not demonstrated any

⁶⁷ E.W., *The amorous bugbears: or, the humours of a masquerade*. (London: s.n., 1725)

⁶⁸ The following year, this list was expanded to include booksellers in Calne, Devizes and Cardiff. See *Gloucester Journal*, 19 July 1726, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Cocks, Richard *A charge given to the grand-jury of the county of Gloucester at the midsummer-summer sessions 1723* (London: J & B Clark, 1723).

⁷⁰ Gloucester Archives, unusually for an county archive, have large holdings of published material which were donated in the mid-20th century from the County Library.

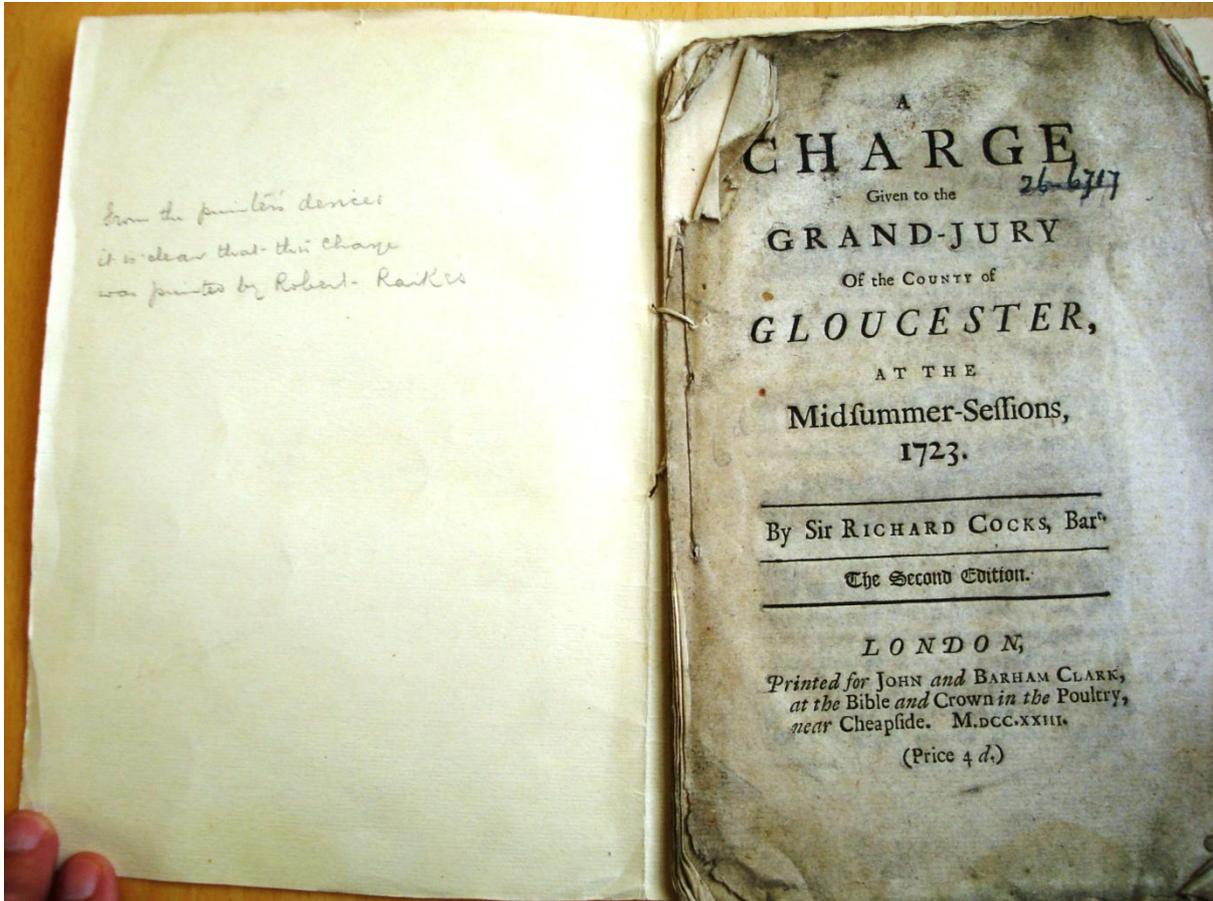


Fig. 5.11. Richard Cocks *A charge given to the grand-jury of the county of Gloucester ... 1723* (London: J & B Clark, 1723). Title page.

similarities. It is possible that the writer had access to other sources for his assumption, but if it was indeed published by Raikes then it is puzzling that he did not claim this on the book itself.

As supplementary information in Appendix 6 it has been noted that four of the titles are held in Gloucester Archives, but otherwise unrecorded. Raikes' publishing output and its promotion demonstrated, through the pages of his newspaper, a distinct trend over these early years and is an indication of how he was running his business and responding to the market. Up to 1726, he regularly printed short chapbooks which he distributed through his agents, and also made available at an increasing number of booksellers in the region. From 1726, there are fewer such titles advertised, but increasing numbers of slightly longer books published in London. At the same time, the number of booksellers had been cut down to just one seller in Bristol, as well as Raikes' own printing office in Gloucester. Also in the years 1726 to 1730 can be seen early manifestations of serialisation in parts, a marketing tool that hooks readers, and became increasingly popular by the mid-eighteenth century.⁷¹ *The Lives and Amours of Queens and Royal Mistresses* first appeared as 'Book 1' in 1726 with a promise that it was to be 'published in five Books, each Book containing a Life'.⁷² An advertisement for book two appeared the following year, stating that 'each Life cost 3d'.⁷³ A more ambitious undertaking seems to have been *The History of Executions* which appeared as part one in March 1730, and ending with part six in December, but in this case Raikes made it quite clear that it was published in London and could be readily purchased from his printing house. The text of the initial advertisement indicates the innovative nature of this type of publication:

⁷¹ Ferdinand, *Constructing the Frameworks of Desire*, p. 169.

⁷² *Gloucester Journal* 19 July 1726, p. 4.

⁷³ *Gloucester Journal* 29 August 1727, p. 4.

Just published, (Price four pence)

An account of the Life, Writings and Crimes of the unfortunate Mr. William Goodburn ... executed at Tyburn, Feb. 20, 1729-30 ...

Being Numb. 1. of an intended General History of Executions in England, To be continued, ... and in a Method preferable to any thing of the Kind yet done, so as to make a neat Pocket Volume at the Year's End, for which purpose a compleat Index will then be given Printed by R. Newton, at St. John's Gate, neat Hick's Hall, London.

N.B. Those who design to take these constantly for compleat Setts shall be serv'd duly with them at their first coming out, without further Trouble than sending proper Notice to the Printer.⁷⁴

It seems that Raikes was learning from experience that marketing the output of other printers was more profitable than printing the works himself, and that he sought to encourage customers either to purchase from his travelling newsmen or to come to his bookshop in Gloucester rather than others in the region. He may also have been charging the London publishers for inserting advertisements for their output rather than using valuable space for his own productions, thus generating no income. In 1730, only three new Gloucester titles appeared although back-lists indicated that the older titles were still available.⁷⁵ Several new titles, such as *Scotch gallantry display'd*, appeared in the pages of the *Gloucester Journal* as available from Raikes' shop.⁷⁶ This chapbook is now only extant in a London published copy but may have also been printed by Raikes. His name also started to appear more often on the title-page of popular titles such as *The English Instructor*, simply as a bookshop from where popular school-books might be purchased in Gloucester, but also demonstrating that he had a relationship with London printers.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Gloucester Journal*, 17 March 1730, p. 4.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 6.

⁷⁶ *Gloucester Journal* 31 March 1730, p. 4.

⁷⁷ Henry Dixon, *The English instructor: or, the Art of Spelling Improved. 7th ed. ... For the Use of Schools. Printed for J. Hazard; J. Leake. Bookseller at Bath; and J. Raikes, at Gloucester* (London: s.n., 1736). Sold at Robert Raikes' shop (J.Raikes in title above is a misprint). This was a popular school book, and this 7th edition,

Another indication of his market awareness might be the absence of broadside ballads. There are examples of the Dicey and Raikes partnership in Northampton producing these with woodcut illustration.⁷⁸ As far is known, not only did Raikes not print any broadside ballads, but he did not illustrate his chapbooks with the woodcuts which so often appeared in similar titles in London. There is one collection of poems *The Pink Garland, Containing Four New Songs* printed by both men in 1725 in Northampton (see Fig. 4.5 above), but it seems likely that this is mainly Dicey's work, since Raikes had been established in Gloucester for two years. There is also an advertised chapbook in 1729 which is 'adorn'd with cuts' but, like much of the Raikes output, this is not extant.⁷⁹ William Dicey continued a very successful career, in both Northampton and London, publishing illustrated chapbooks in large numbers but Raikes appears to have eschewed woodcuts. There may have been technical reasons for this in terms of his press, or the skilled journey-men available to him in Gloucester. On the other hand, he may have felt that the people of Gloucester and south Wales were not especially drawn to this type of publication. This inclination may also be evidenced by the elaborate banners first used in the *Gloucester Journal*, clearly requiring a skilled engraver, but then abandoned for a much plainer appearance (see Figs. 5.5 and 5.6 above).

The four extant items previously unrecorded in ESTC merit closer examination and illustration. The earliest title, *The History of Great Britain from the Tower of Babel* by John Blanch, M.P. for Gloucester, was the first book to come off the Gloucester press in 1722, (see Fig. 5.12) and has already been carefully described by Roland Austin in his 1915 biographical article.⁸⁰ Blanch announced with pride, in his introduction addressed to the

held in the National Library of Wales, is the earliest known copy. A later edition was available from his son's shop in 1796.

⁷⁸ See above n. 28.

⁷⁹ See Appendix 6.

⁸⁰ Austin, 'Robert Raikes the Elder and the "Gloucester Journal"', p. 18.

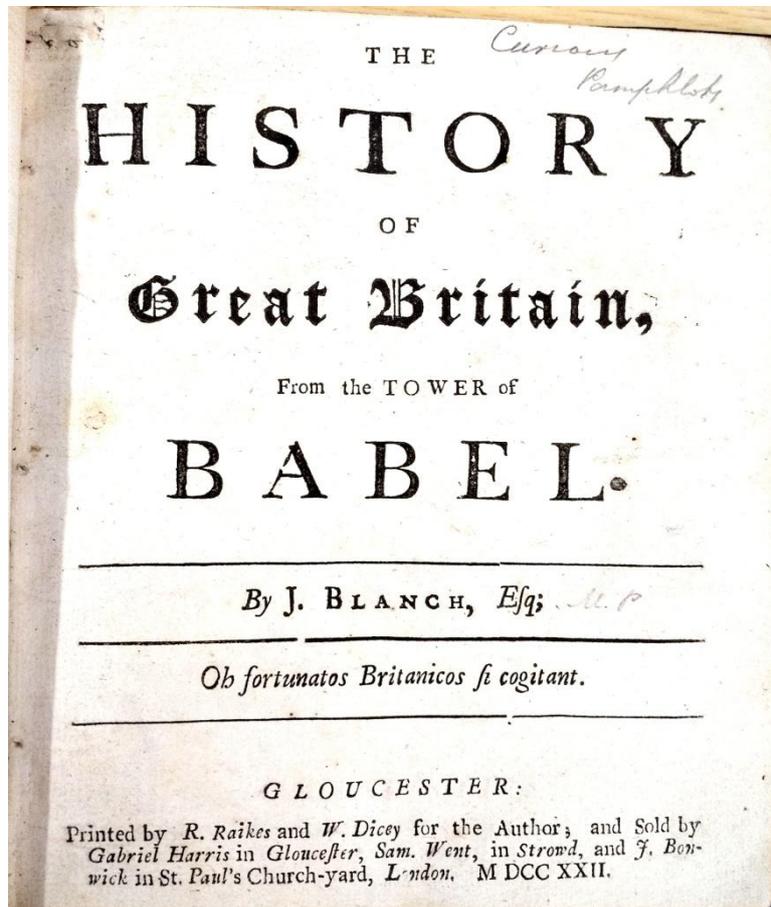


Fig. 5.12. John Blanch *The History of Great Britain from the Tower of Babel*. Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1722), title page.

Mayor and Aldermen of Gloucester, that '[I] am the first author from your new Printing-Press'. This civic recognition was a significant achievement for Raikes, starting up his business in the city. The book is twenty pages long and, in terms of its light and entertaining content, fits well into the category of a chapbook. It is likely to have owed its survival to the fact that it was bound into a volume with several other small books. It is interesting to note that copies were sent to the London bookseller James Bonwicke, a marketing strategy that was not ever repeated by Raikes. The second unrecorded item is *A Sermon Preached at Reading before the Lord Chief Baron Page ... at the Commission Special for trying the Waltham Blacks* by William Shaw, published in 1723 (see Fig. 5.13). Again, the content is typical chapbook material, in that it includes a sensationalist account of the notorious gang of criminals in Waltham in Hampshire, a subject to which Raikes would return many times in his choice of titles to print. On the final page, he did not miss the opportunity to advertise further titles newly available from his press (see Fig. 5.14). The third item examined, found in a box labelled 'Gloucestershire tracts', is entitled *The Lives of Six Notorious Murderers and Robbers who were Executed at Kingston for the Murder of Mr Thomas Bell*, published anonymously in 1726 (see Fig. 5.15). The theme of the lives of criminals was popular at this time, as evidenced by the list of 78 titles in this category in the Harvard catalogue of chapbooks, and they were often combined with accounts of executions and dying speeches.⁸¹

The final item to be considered is not only unique and previously unrecorded, but constitutes a rare and specialised genre known as a flap book.⁸² The physical properties of these seventeenth and early eighteenth century books are hard to explain in words, but the

⁸¹ Lane, *Harvard Catalogue*, pp. 127 – 133.

⁸² Other names have been used for this genre. 'Turn-up book' seems to be exactly equivalent to flap book. Other terms, however, include 'pop-up books', 'moveable books' and 'Harlequinades'. All of those categories include items which having moving parts, but not necessarily flaps.

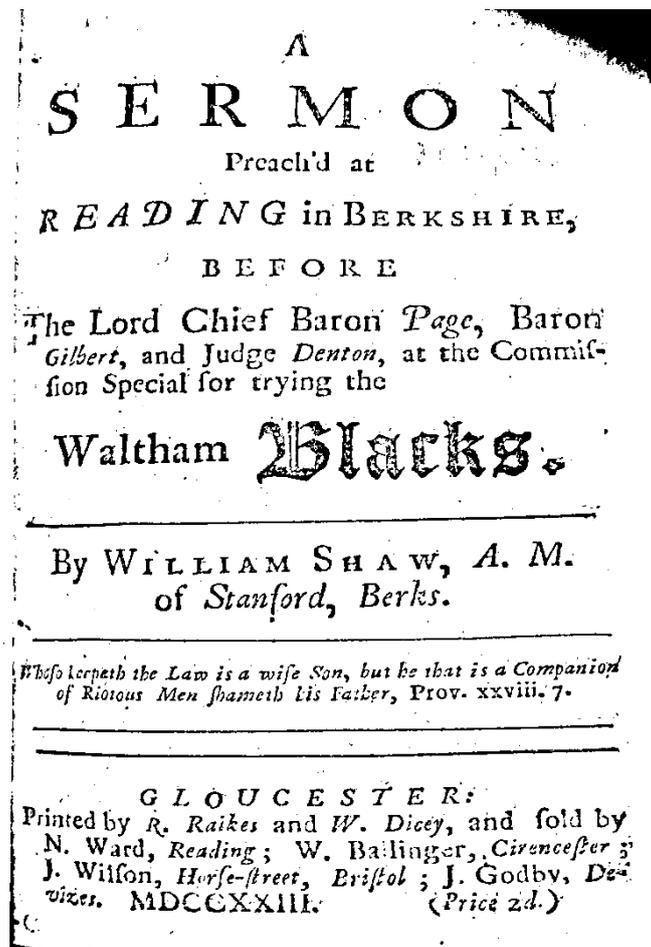


Fig. 5.13. William Shaw *A Sermon preached at Reading in Berkshire before the Lord Chief Baron Page, Baron Gilbert and Judge Denton at the Commission Special for trying the Walltham Blacks.* Gloucester: R. Raikes and W. Dicey, 1723. Title-page.

BOOKS lately publish'd by
R. Raikes and W. Dicey; and sold at the
Printing-Office in Gloucester.

The Second Edition of
Balaam's Folly and intended Disobedience
exemplify'd. A Sermon preached in
the Parish-Churches of Beverstone and
Kingscote, in the Diocese of Gloucester, on
Sunday February 24, 1722-23, being Qua-
dragesima, or the Sunday next before Lent.
By Robert Swynfen, A. B. and Curate of
the said Parish-Churches.-----And Balaam
rose up in the Morning, and saddied his Ass,
Numb. xxii. 21. Price 2 d.

A Collection of pleasant and profitable
Amusements to pass away the approaching
Winter-Nights. The whole being a Com-
pendium of delightful examples, and of the
choicest sayings of our ancientest and wisest
Authors. Interspersed with several curious
pieces of Poetry relating to each Subject.
Price 3 d.

The Second Part of the Collection of
pleasant and profitable Amusements: Con-
taining in particular, Whence Love arises,
the difference between Love and Gallantry.
Advice to young Lovers, &c. The whole being
very pleasant and profitable. Price 3 d.

Fig. 5.14. William Shaw *A Sermon preached at Reading in Berkshire before the Lord Chief Baron Page, Baron Gilbert and Judge Denton at the Commission Special for trying the Walltham Blacks*. Gloucester: R. Raikes and W. Dicey, 1723, final page.

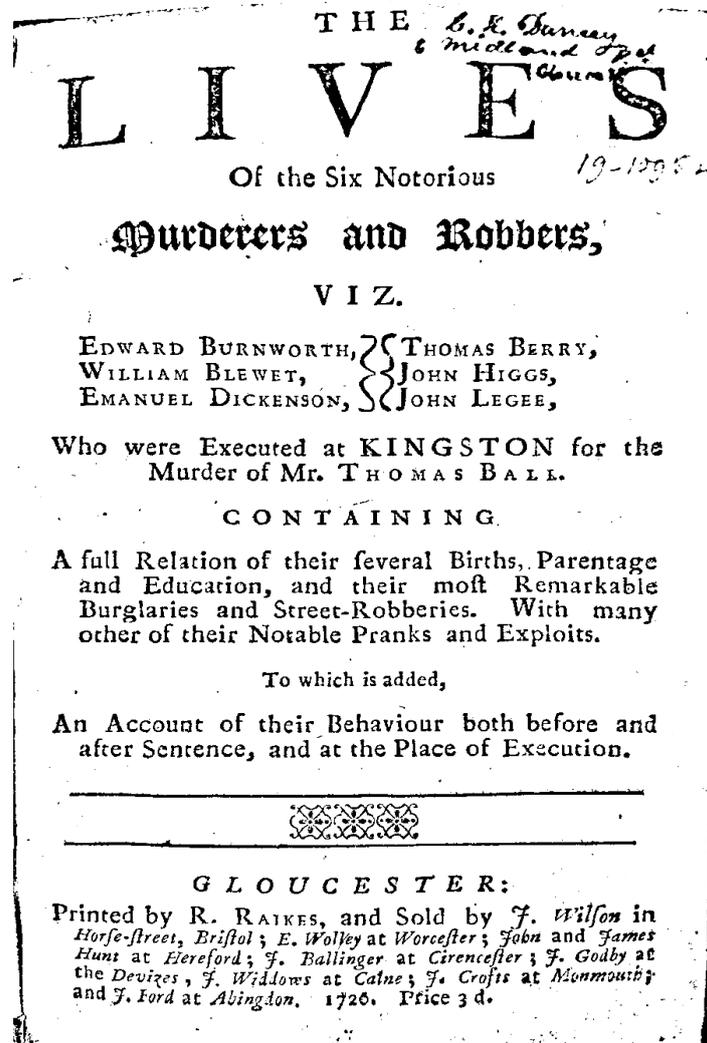


Fig. 5.15. *The Lives of Six Notorious Murders and Robbers... who were executed at Kingston for the Murder of Mr Thomas Ball.* Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1726. Title-page.

few existing specimens have been described by British Library cataloguers as 'One sheet intended to be folded from top and bottom. Illustrations printed across the opening to reveal altered images when unfolded.'⁸³ The example printed by Raikes is shown at Figs. 5.16, 5.17 and 5.18 although this does little to convey the moveable parts.⁸⁴ As can be seen from the image, there has been, at some time since publication, an attempt to conserve this delicate artefact which probably accounts for its survival. The original item has been mounted on to a sheet of stronger paper, and the vulnerable hinges have been taped. The cover, with its handwritten title, (Fig 5.16) was probably created at the same time, so that the whole is folded into three although this is unlikely to have been the original manifestation. The original title, imprint and price can be seen on the first three pages, so these were probably on display in the bookshop of John Wilson in Horse Street, Bristol. There is no date, and no advertisement has yet been found in the *Gloucester Journal* although this study will attempt to estimate a date of publication based on other evidence.

Scholarly research on flap books of this period is limited. An historical overview is provided by Lindsay McNiff and Michelle Kelly Schultz who, in introducing this topic, explain that 'while the exact construction of each flap may differ from one text to another, their function remains basically the same: flaps are designed to reveal things that are not immediately apparent on the page itself'.⁸⁵ They describe the use of flaps in academic texts on anatomy and geometry in the sixteenth century, followed by an account of the first children's flap books, called Harlequinades, printed by Robert Sayer in London in 1771, but no mention is made of the flap book genre in the period covered by this study. Sayer's moveable books, which he developed for the entertainment of children, are examined by

⁸³ Entry in online version of ESTC for Anon, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. (London: J. Deacon, 1688). See <http://estc.bl.uk> [accessed 29 May 2018].

⁸⁴ Anon, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. (Gloucester: Robert Raikes, 172?). This is held in Gloucester Archives at GLA D8277. "Moveable" or "flap book" entitled 'The Beginning, Progress and End of Man'.

⁸⁵ Lindsay McNiff and Michelle Kelly Schultz, 'Flaps', *Archbook: the Architecture of the Book*, (2012), provided at <http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/flaps.php> [Accessed 2 June 2018].

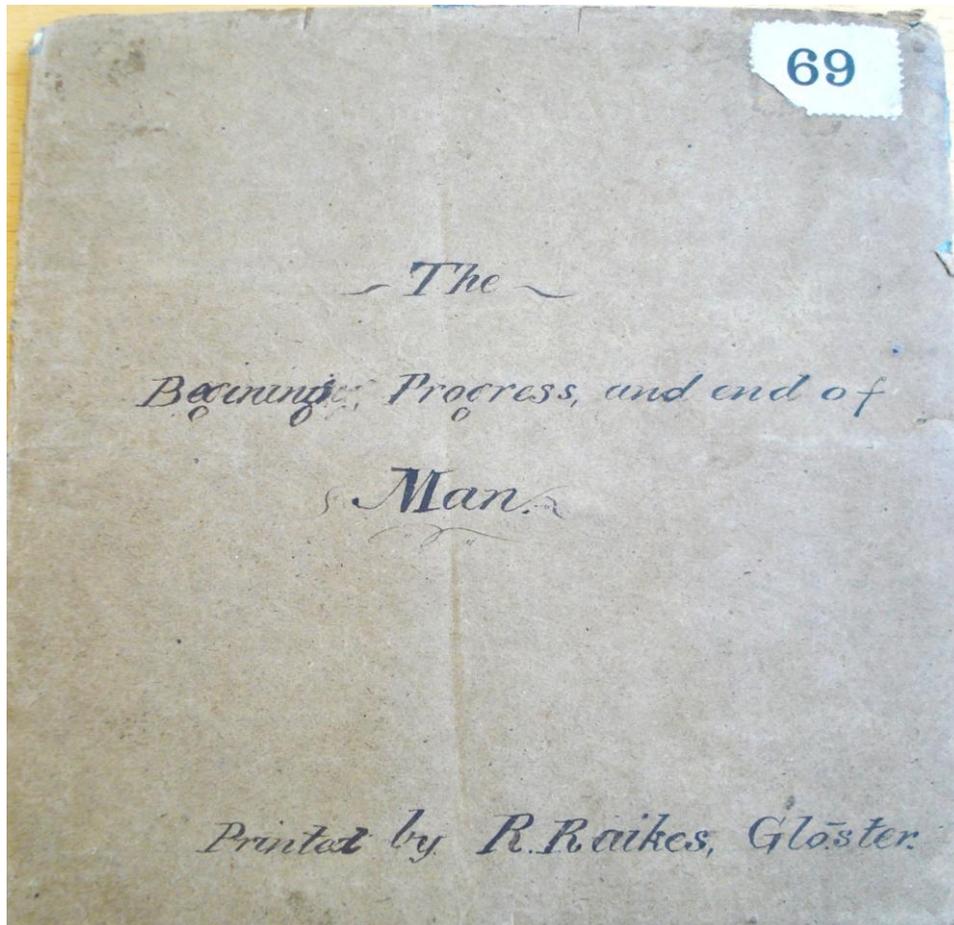


Fig. 5.16. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man.* Gloucester: Robert Raikes. n.d. (cover sheet)



Fig. 5.17. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. Gloucester: Robert Raikes. n.d (flaps closed)



Fig. 5.18. *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. Gloucester: Robert Raikes. n.d (flaps open)

several scholars in their research on children's literature.⁸⁶ In particular, Percy Muir makes the important point that the typical seventeenth chapbook, with its tales of daring exploits and folk heroes, may not have been written with children in mind. He also cites a manuscript example of a 'homemade' flap book in the Morgan Library in New York, dated to c.1698,⁸⁷ which also featured in an exhibition on children's books in 2006.⁸⁸ While Muir does not follow up this illustration with any further similar developments, this manuscript shares many similarities with the Raikes version and others of that period. The most comprehensive research on the flap book genre has been carried out by Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, and it is from her work that a clearer picture can be formed of these early works. As with the previous scholars, Reid-Walsh is examining moveable books in the context of children's literature, and in particular the sociological aspects of interactive play which results therefrom, and its importance to children's learning. In tracing the history of flap books, she readily concludes that 'seventeenth century texts were directed toward a wide audience in term of age, class and literacy levels'.⁸⁹ She then describes in some detail the three known printed examples of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* (London: 1650, 1654 and 1688), also known as metamorphic pictures, especially emphasising the pleasing element of surprise when different manifestations of the figures were revealed by the flaps. She mentions and illustrates a manuscript copy of the same title, homemade like the 1698 version, which was created in 1720 by a boy called John Sutton.⁹⁰

As far as is known therefore, all four examples of printed flap books between 1650 and 1730 are of the same title (see Table 5.1) and contain almost identical text and woodcuts

⁸⁶ Muir, *English Children's Books*; Peter Haining, *Movable Books : An Illustrated History* (London: New English Library, 1979).

⁸⁷ Muir, *English Children's Books*, p. 210.

⁸⁸ Alderson and Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: The Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650 - 1850*, p. 22.

⁸⁹ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, 'Activity and Agency in Historical "Playable Media": Early English Movable Books and Their Child Interactors', *Journal of Children and Media* 6(2012), p. 167.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

with flaps that all work in the same way. A further specimen, was found recently in Cambridge University Library but, dated to 1780, it is outside the scope of this study.⁹¹ There are minor variations between the four printed versions, but it is their similarity, spanning eighty years, that is remarkable. There is only one extant example of each, and no examples of any other title in this form, although these may still remain to be found. There are also no known examples of this particular text in a normal book form. It seems reasonable to suggest that each subsequent printer, following the earliest example in 1650, must have had access to a copy. Whilst the 1688 woodcuts display tiny variations from the two early examples, the Raikes version appears to use the same blocks.

Title of flap book /manuscript	Place	Publisher	Date	Size in cm. (unfolded)
<i>The beginning, progress and end of man</i>	London	B. Alsop	1650	19 x 30
<i>The beginning, progress and end of man</i>	London	E. Alsop	1654	
<i>The beginning, progress and end of man</i>	London	J. Deacon	c.1688	
<i>Adam first comes on stage</i>	England	MS	c.1698	32.8 x 40.1
<i>Here Adam first leads up the van</i>	England	MS	1720	
<i>The beginning, progress and end of man</i>	Gloucester	Raikes	c.1730	32 x 40

Table 5.1 Flap books 1650 to c. 1730

The reason for the unique combination of this particular text, illustrations and format may have been the desire for its first printer, Bernard Alsop, to promote the dominant religious values at the time of the establishment of the Protectorate in 1650. Alsop was a prolific London printer, active from 1616 to 1653, who published around four hundred books comprising an eclectic mix of political tracts, theological and liturgical texts, newspapers,

⁹¹ Anon *Divine Fancies: the Beginning, Prograce and End of Man* (Norton: J. Pile, [c. 1780]).

light-hearted chapbooks, school books, poetry, prophecy and moralistic tales appropriate to the climate of the time. The poetic text of his flap book, and those that followed, is described thus by Reid-Walsh:

Each version begins with Adam and Eve, then may depict Cain and Abel, each show a Griffin stealing a baby, the child now a young man becomes a miser, and at the end the rich man becomes ill and dies. If the narrative trajectory and directions to the reader built into the text are followed, a sequence of intended transformations occurs with the narrative changing from biblical story to myth to bestiary ending with a moral suitable to the Puritan aims.⁹²

The additional feature that the images portrayed in the woodcuts become transformed in a playful manner was perhaps an attempt to appeal to a wider audience whilst still conveying a serious message. Following Alsop's death in 1653, his wife Elizabeth continued to run the business, and published a further twenty-four titles until her death in 1679. One of those titles was a reprint of the flap book, probably indicating that it had been a successful venture.

The third version was also produced in London, probably in around 1688, by another specialist chapbook and ballad printer, Jonah Deacon. He sometimes included advertisements for his other publications at the back of his chapbooks,⁹³ but none of these lists include the flap book. Furthermore, although published at a time when Samuel Pepys was avidly collecting chapbooks and had purchased twenty-one titles published by Deacon,⁹⁴ the *Beginning, Progress and End of Man* does not appear in his many bound volumes now preserved in the Pepys Library at the University of Cambridge. The sole extant copy of this 1688 flap book is held by the Bodleian Library, and was in the collection of Anthony Wood, an Oxford academic who, like Pepys, was fascinated by the chapbook genre of his time.

⁹² Reid-Walsh, 'Activity and Agency in Historical "Playable Media"', p. 168.

⁹³ For example, see Anon, *The Gallant History of the Life and Death of That Most Noble Knight, Sir Bevis of Southampton* (London: J. Deacon, 1691).

⁹⁴ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 135.

Although probably produced around fifty years later than the previous version, it is likely that the Raikes' version of the flap book was aimed at the same type of wide, unspecified audience as his chapbooks. Very few books had been printed specifically for children before 1730, that market being confined to school texts and religious or moral instruction such as John Bunyan's *A Book for Boys and Girls* (1686) or Robert Russel's *Little Book for Children and Youth* (1693). It is generally agreed by scholars that, although children would certainly have read and enjoyed the many light-hearted chapbooks then available, it was not until around 1760s that the first titles appeared directed solely at the children's market from the London publishing house of John Newbery, and others rapidly followed.⁹⁵ Although Raikes had not published anything similar in content to the flap book, the title *A Divine Poem on the Origin, Fall and Redemption of Man* (1725), advertised in his newspaper but no longer extant,⁹⁶ may well have reflected the same moral message. Furthermore, in his early days of printing Raikes was drawn to satirical texts, especially those produced by John Blanch,⁹⁷ which may have influenced his decision to create the *Beginning, Progress and End of Man* after seeing a previous version of it.

Uncertainty remains over the dating of the Raikes' flap book. As can be seen from fig. 5.15 the imprint states 'Gloucester: printed by R. RAIKES and sold by J. Wilson, Horse-Street, Bristol.' On 27 September 1725, there appeared the first issue of the *Gloucester Journal* to bear Raikes' name alone at the bottom of page four. The first book to be published from the Gloucester press with Raikes' name only is dated 1724, although the other five titles produced in that year bore the imprint of Raikes and Dicey. In 1725, however, all the new

⁹⁵ Haining, *Movable Books: An Illustrated History*, p. 7.; Andrea Immel, 'Children's Books and School-Books', in Michael Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume V. 1695 - 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 741.

⁹⁶ *Gloucester Journal* 18 October 1725, p. 4. This title was advertised as comprising '3 books' and priced at one shilling, so it is not included in the list of chapbooks at Appendix 6.

⁹⁷ In particular, John Blanch *The History of Great Britain from the Tower of Babel* (Gloucester: Robert Raikes 1722).

titles were published by Raikes alone.⁹⁸ Thus it is reasonable to assume, as other scholars have, that the partnership between Robert Raikes and William Dicey of Northampton was dissolved sometime in 1725,⁹⁹ leading to the conclusion that the flap book was published after this date. Copies were for sale at the Bristol book shop of John Wilson, who Raikes had established as his main agent in Bristol. The *Gloucester Journal* was available from the same bookshop, and no other in that city, from 1725 onwards. Wilson also stocked all Raikes' chapbooks in the years 1725, 1726, 1727,¹⁰⁰ but in 1728 Raikes changed his Bristol agent to William Evans on St. James Back for both the newspaper and books, and also the place where 'advertisements are taken in',¹⁰¹ a business relationship which continued until at least 1745.¹⁰² In that year, the name of 'J. Wilson, Bristol' re-appears in the *Gloucester Journal* as a stockist of one London-published book, now no longer extant. A bookseller called John Wilson has been noted in other book imprints between 1732 and 1760,¹⁰³ although from 1736 he is stated as residing in Wine Street, Bristol; he also sold *Farley's Bath Journal* in 1756. Two other premises are mentioned on the 43 extant publications sold in Wilson's shop, namely Castle Street and St. Peter's street.¹⁰⁴ Jonathan Barry has suggested that Wilson had a 'series of shops', and asserts that he was a small scale bookseller, 'specialising in newspapers, serials and chapbooks'.¹⁰⁵ As far as his relationship with Robert Raikes is concerned, the evidence points to a cessation in 1727, for after that date no Raikes chapbook was advertised as available in Wilson's shops, and Raikes did not appear to sell any of the same titles that

⁹⁸ See Appendix 6.

⁹⁹ Austin, 'Robert Raikes the Elder and the "Gloucester Journal"', p. 8; David Stoker, 'Raikes, Robert (Bap. 1690, D. 1757)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁰ For example see the advertisement for *The Husband's Gift to his Wife* in the *Gloucester Journal*, 11 January 1726, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ *Gloucester Journal*, 22 October 1728 p. 4.

¹⁰² *Gloucester Journal*, 19 March 1745 p. 4.

¹⁰³ A few further items are noted in ESTC beyond this date, but the dating evidence is tentative

¹⁰⁴ Several imprints in the 1750s state 'sold in Bristol by J. Wilson in Vine Street and at the school-room in the Horse Fair'. These were Methodist publications written by John Wesley.

¹⁰⁵ Jonathan Barry, 'Methodism and the Press in Bristol 1737 - 1775', *Wesley Historical Society (Bristol Branch) Bulletin*, 64 (1992), p. 6.

Wilson was selling.¹⁰⁶ There is no probate or any other documentary source which can shed further light on John Wilson's activities, but the evidence given above seems sufficient to estimate that Raikes published his *Beginning, Progress and End of Man* at some point during the three years 1725 to 1727 when John Wilson was his sole agent in Bristol, promoted as such on the title-page of his chapbooks, and in the footnote of every issue of the *Gloucester Journal*.

In his long and detailed will, made in 1755 two years before his death, Robert Raikes comes across as a man very careful with his money, and one who cared deeply about the health and wealth of his young family from his third marriage. His 'store of paper, letters, tools, implements and utensils' were left to his wife until his son Robert had completed his apprenticeship. In 1757, Robert junior was twenty-one years old, and was 'freed by patrimony' just two months before his father died,¹⁰⁷ so was in a position to take over his father's business immediately. A generous annuity was left to his wife, Mary, and bequests to friends, servants and relatives. Money was set aside for the 'education and maintenance' of his five younger children, and money left to them under complex trust arrangements until they should reach adulthood. It is interesting that his third son, Thomas, was apprenticed to a London printer in 1757, and went on to become a prosperous merchant and banker. Although there is no inventory surviving, the large bequests made throughout his will, together with a number of properties, indicate that he died a wealthy man. Roland Austin, in his 1915 article on the life of Raikes, sums up his life thus:

Throughout the whole period of his ownership, the "Gloucester Journal" displays a vigour and intelligence of direction which prove Raikes to have been no ordinary journalist. The various changes effected in the paper, and his

¹⁰⁶ This evidence is based on information printed on the title-pages of the books themselves.

¹⁰⁷ McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701 - 1800*, p. 280.

addresses to his subscribers, indicate the pride and interest which he bestowed upon it.¹⁰⁸

Although this research has only examined his early years in Gloucester, this valediction is still appropriate. His known output of chapbooks from 1722 to 1730 is now increased from the twelve entries in ESTC to a new total of forty-two, significantly adding to scholarly awareness of this genre, as well as to the activities of a provincial printer. Raikes confined his book publishing activities to small, popular books, never attempting himself to produce longer and more serious works which were easily obtainable from London printers. As already mentioned, Raikes, unlike many of the London chapbook publishers, made little use of woodcuts. The one exception is the newly discovered flap book, generously illustrated and of an unusual physical form.¹⁰⁹ By distributing his small books through his travelling agents far and wide into Gloucestershire and south Wales, Raikes was tapping into a new market, and one which he hoped would be amused, entertained and fascinated by their content.

This chapter presents new evidence on the life, output and business methods of Robert Raikes, the first Gloucester printer, which itself throws light on the previously unknown reach of English popular print into south Wales and the borders. The following chapter examines not how these publications were printed and sold, but rather who might have bought them, borrowed them or read them, not only to themselves but to others.

¹⁰⁸ Austin, 'Robert Raikes the Elder and the "Gloucester Journal"', p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Before he moved to Gloucester, Raikes produced several illustrated ballads with his partner William Dicey in Northampton, and it seems likely that he may have done likewise in Gloucester.

CHAPTER SIX

Ownership and readership of cheap print

I walked upon [Epsom] Downes, where a flock of sheep was; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life – we find a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him; so I made the boy read to me, which he did, with the forced tone that children do usual read, that was mighty pretty, and then I did give him something, and went to the father, and talked with him;¹

This account by Samuel Pepys in 1667 of the humbler reader is a rarity. As seen in Chapter Two on literacy, there are a number of generalised examples of reading amongst the labouring classes, but very few specific ones. Yet no book history study would be complete without attempting to rise to the challenge of understanding, in line with Barker's model summarised in the introduction, the reception of books and reading practices. In the words of James Raven:

An investigation of reading contributes to our appreciation of how individuals in the past thought about and responded to the world around them ... Bibliographical research remains indispensable to understanding the origination, distribution and transformative potential of the material text, but ultimately book history counts for historians when it concerns the history of ways in which individuals read books, were affected by or acted upon their reading, or participated in practices and rituals involving books. By study of the reception of the various material forms of books and their texts, the history of the book is properly concerned with the recovery of past human memory, behaviour and experience.²

¹ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, p. 338.

² James Raven, *What is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), p. 115.

This chapter will illuminate further aspects of both ownership and readership of cheap print by examining the nature of gentry collections as well as the scant evidence relating to the lower orders down to poor school children.

Ownership of books in the period covered by this study can be demonstrated from contemporary catalogues of collections and libraries, from probate inventories, auction catalogues, subscription lists and from ownership marks within printed books themselves. Readership, however, does not necessarily follow. Thomas Birrell argues that the gentleman's library of the late seventeenth century was becoming a status symbol,³ thus implying that many of the volumes may not have been read. The same principle might apply to the very small number of lending libraries operating in this period. Their contents certainly indicate the presence and availability of certain titles, but no assumption can be made as to who borrowed them, or read them. Evidence of readership of cheap print is especially hard to come by, as so clearly stated by Margaret Spufford:

We can ... produce firm evidence of the fortunes made by the specialist ballad and chapbook publishers ... we can add evidence on the volume of these publications ... and the size of the distributive network [of country chapmen]. What we cannot do is to close the argument convincingly by showing the humble reader actually in possession of ... chapbooks.⁴

Several scholars have asserted, however, that readership of cheap print, whilst seemingly directed at the poor and semi-literate, crossed social divides.⁵ This is even more the case when using a wide definition of 'cheap print' to include almanacks, religious tracts and newspapers, and these areas will be covered later in this chapter.

³Thomas Anthony Birrell, 'Reading as Pastime: The Place of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen's Libraries of the 17th Century', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620 - 1920* (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991), p. 129.

⁴ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 45.

⁵ See especially Bayman, *Printing, Learning and the Unlearned*; David Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth-Century', *Library*, 13 (2012), pp. 379 – 99.

Examination of gentry libraries across Britain, usually manifesting as collections of books in country houses, has been carried out by several scholars, most recently by David Pearson who has compiled a database, using a wide variety of sources, of over one thousand names of book owners from the seventeenth century.⁶ In his introduction, he emphasises that very little research has been carried out in the area of provenance and book ownership compared to areas such as the book trade. In order to inform his project, he has examined not only private libraries, but annotations, book plates and marginalia within the books themselves. He asserts that 'the defining concept of book history is around understanding the social impact of books',⁷ a view which also forms the basis of Margaret Spufford's work. For the purposes of this study, Pearson's list is of limited value, since there are only three entries (out of around 1,200 names) from the counties of south Wales, and those, like most of the entries, are aristocrats, gentry or clergy. Further investigation on one of these entries, that for Sir Sackville Crow of Laugharne, Carmarthenshire has shown that it is based on a published book sale catalogue which only lists foreign language books of high value.⁸ This example demonstrates the particular challenge of ascribing ownership to cheap print, for very rarely was it considered worth listing in any sort of document or publication.

Nevertheless, research has been carried out for this study on book owners in south Wales in the hope of revealing further information. Two extant country house libraries have been examined, both of which contain significant numbers of titles collected by the present owners' direct ancestors in the seventeenth century.⁹ The largest of these, Fonmon Castle in the Vale of Glamorgan, has a published catalogue which has facilitated a thorough analysis of

⁶ The background to Pearson's dataset, and the previous research this has been built on, can be found in Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England', pp. 139 – 67. The database itself is available at <http://www.bibsoc.org.uk/content/english-book-owners-seventeenth-century> [Accessed 18 Sept. 2018].

⁷ Pearson, 'The English Private Library', p. 391.

⁸ P. Varenne, *A Catalogue of Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French Books, in All Faculties. Consisting Chiefly of the Library of the Late Sackville Crow, ... To Be Sold by Auction, by P. Varenne. ... On Monday the 15th of November, 1703.* ... (London: s.n., 1703).

⁹ The Library of Fonmon Castle, by kind permission of the owner Sir Brooke Boothby, and the Library designated in this thesis as *Coll.1* also by kind permission of its current owner.

titles held.¹⁰ Fourteen small books and one serial title from the period between 1649 and 1730 have been found in this library, and these are listed in Appendix 7. All the small books have been bound in with other items, some of which are much longer, and it is probably owing to this fact that they have survived in good condition. There is just one ownership mark in the volume containing *Pteryplegia; or the Art of Shooting-flying. A Poem*, that of William Asplin 1735, who was a writer and theologian living, at this time, in Gloucestershire.¹¹ In the introduction to her catalogue of the Fonmon Castle library, Margaret Evans states that 'the collection consists essentially of the library of Robert Jones III' and that most of the seventeenth and eighteenth volumes therein were probably inherited by him.¹² Fonmon Castle is a relatively rare example of a house that has remained in possession of the direct descendants of a seventeenth century owner, and that those descendants, right to the present day, have placed a high value on the care of the collection. There are several handwritten lists of the collection, one of which is a bound volume compiled in 1869, probably by Robert Oliver Jones, the other undated but in an older hand.¹³ Both lists are arranged in order of the books on the shelves, resulting in sections divided by size and location, as they usually were at this time.¹⁴ Although brief titles are given, and sometimes dates, the smaller books are generally grouped under headings such as 'tracts' or 'pamphlets' (see Fig. 6.1). Further archival evidence includes the long and detailed inventory of Robert Jones II which lists books 'in the study' valued at forty pounds.¹⁵ Thus, apart from the anomaly of William Asplin, whose volume may have been borrowed and never returned, it

¹⁰ Margaret Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library at Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan* (Cardiff: University College Library, 1969).

¹¹ This may have been an unreturned loan. See below p. 263 for further discussion.

¹² Evans, *A Catalogue of the Library at Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan*, p. 4.

¹³ GAS, DF/VOL/125, List of books in the library of Fonmon Castle, 1869; GAS, DF/F/195, List of printed books [in Fonmon Library], n.d.

¹⁴ Joad Raymond, in his study on pamphlets in the early seventeenth century, also makes this point. See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 6.

¹⁵ NLW, LL 1742/157. Will of Robert Jones of Fonmon Castle, 1742.

Books in Folio.

<i>Cicero's Speeches sibi. Agrarium.</i>	
<i>D. Anon's Abridgement of the Common Law 2 Vol.</i>	1725.
<i>Lewis's Reports 2 Vol.</i>	1702.
<i>Samuel's Britannia Vol. 1st</i>	1706.
<i>Münch's Dictionary</i>	1627.
<i>Cadellanus's Memoirs</i>	1720.
<i>Fleches's Dictionary</i>	
<i>Nicols's French Dictionary</i>	
<i>Alfredi Mag. Regis per Spelman</i>	1670.
<i>Pope's Works</i>	1717.
<i>Woods's Institutes</i>	1722.
<i>Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.</i>	1732.
<i>Observations on Casar's Commentaries by Comonds.</i>	1720.
<i>Prudens's Connection 2 Vol.</i>	1751.
<i>Clarendon's Miscell. Tracts.</i>	1751.
<i>Hooper's Works published by D. Hunt</i>	1707.

Quarto.

<i>Cicero's Opera per Gronovium</i>	1692.
<i>xHoratius Bentley</i>	1713.
<i>xHomeri Opera per Barnes 2 Vol.</i>	
<i>xAddison's Works 4 Vol.</i>	1721.
<i>Littleton's Dictionary</i>	1715.

Octavo.

<i>Cheselden's Anatomy.</i>	1700.
<i>Nillingflat on Separation</i>	
<i>Vol. of Pamphlets.</i>	
<i>Vol. of Tracts.</i>	
<i>Mumphreys on the Propag. of the Gospel in For² Parts.</i>	
<i>Maillet's Telliamed.</i>	
<i>xHorace Delphin.</i>	
<i>Sucretius, Creech.</i>	2.

Fig. 6.1. List of printed books [in Fonmon Library], n.d.

seems reasonable to assume that the other fourteen small books, and the periodical *The Examiner* were acquired by Robert Jones' ancestors.¹⁶ Furthermore, it was probably he who took the trouble to bind together certain short and fragile titles to ensure their longevity, and look attractive on the shelves of the large, elegant room in which they were (and still are) housed. None of the titles identified conforms to the strict definition of a chapbook, as outlined in Chapter One, but all of them can be considered to be within the broader category of cheap print.

The second country house collection, Coll.1, was the property of a seventeenth century gentleman residing in Monmouthshire. He regularly collected books and formed a small library which, expanded by later generations, is now in ownership of his direct descendants.¹⁷ His distinctive bookplate can be found on a volume still in the collection. Although no useable catalogue currently exists for this fine collection of around 2,800 volumes, a few titles have been identified as small books. As with those in Fonmon Castle, these have been bound in, at some later date, with other short items and given generalised spine titles such as *Pamphlets*. In at least two cases, a handwritten list of contents was then created on the fly-leaf (see Fig. 6.2), a feature which will be shown to be repeated in other collections of this period. A catalogue was created following the death of a descendant in 1861. It comprises a list of some 3,000 volumes with titles, arranged by size but without dates, and a closer examination and comparison with the present library would probably reveal a high degree of similarity.¹⁸

Although very few of the collections of seventeenth century south Wales gentry now survive intact, secondary sources indicate that there were many significant country house

¹⁶ Fonmon Castle was purchased in 1656 by Colonel Philip Jones, who fought with Parliament in the Civil War. in 1656. The house passed through the male line to Robert Jones III (1733-1793) who carried out major alterations, including the creation of the library/salon.

¹⁷ Please apply to author of this thesis for further information and sources.

¹⁸ The current owner has no knowledge of any previous book sales, so the collection is assumed to be more or less intact.

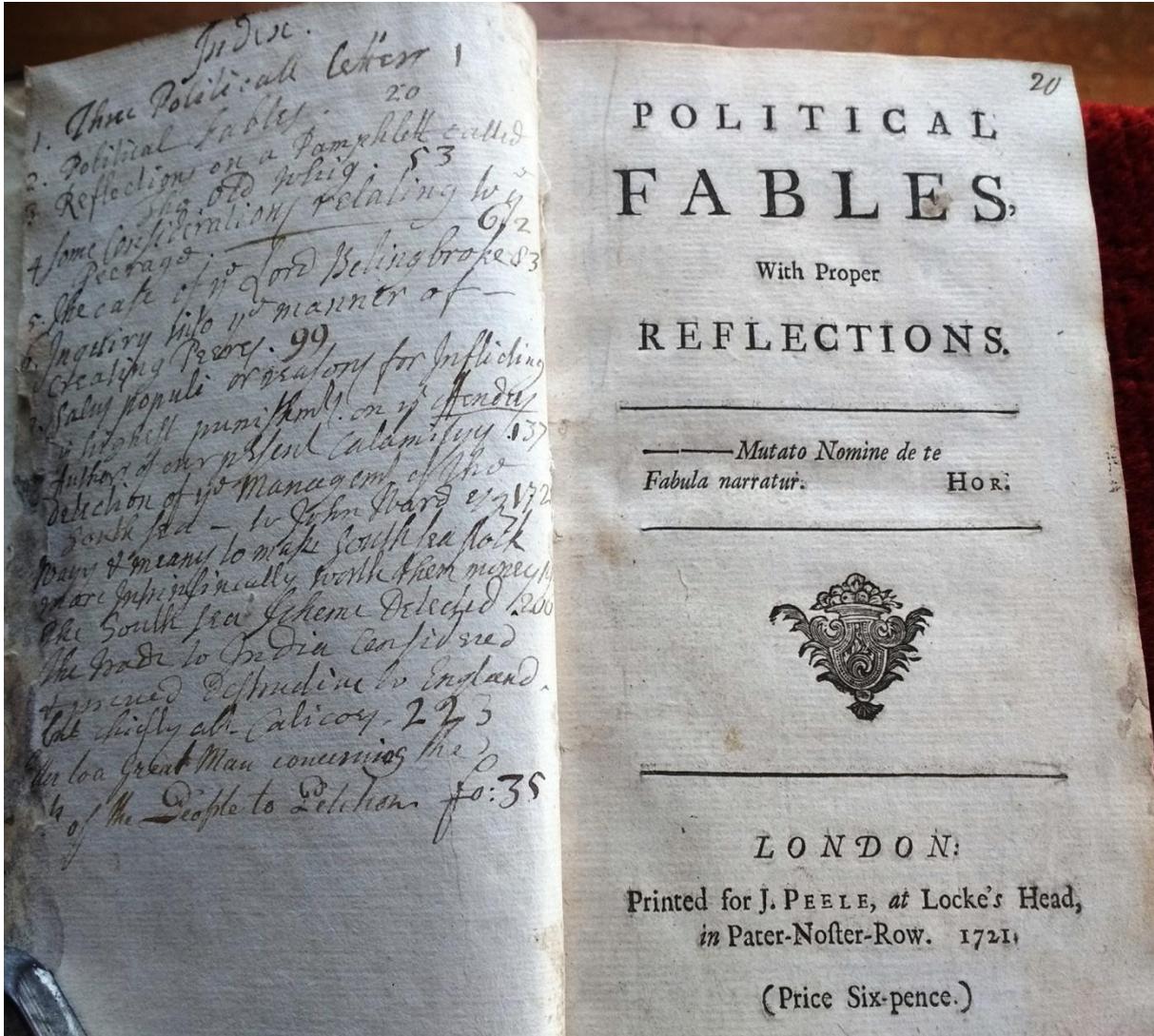


Fig. 6.2. Title page from *Political Fables with Proper Reflections* (London: J. Peele, 1721).¹⁹

¹⁹ This was bound in with thirteen other pamphlets of different dates and lengths.

libraries. These have been researched in some detail by Thomas Lloyd through the means of inventories, sale catalogues and advertisements, and through book plates, subscription lists, private letters, descriptions and tours.²⁰ In considering libraries that were known about but whose contents are now untraceable, he cites the great collection of the Stradlings at St. Donat's Castle in Glamorganshire.²¹ Other collections have been dispersed owing to the need for money, such as that of John Cole Nicholl of Merthyr Mawr, or because the last of a family line has died, such as that of Lord Mansel of Margam Abbey. Lloyd's study focuses on many such 'gentlemen book collectors' and even a few women.²² Similarly, Philip Jenkins has reviewed some of the archival evidence of ownership, asserting that:

Books were therefore numerous and accessible among Glamorgan gentry and they could be readily obtained from a number of sources inside and outside the country – for instance at Newport, Monmouth, Abergavenny, London, Bristol and Oxford ...²³

The question of how gentry purchased their books is certainly pertinent to this thesis. As already seen, Henry Howell of Trevecca used a bookseller in Abergavenny,²⁴ whereas John Gwin of Llangwm regularly visited the Bristol shops.²⁵ Nevertheless it is likely that many of the wealthy landowners of south Wales owned or stayed at London houses, and thus had ample opportunity to make use of the thriving and prolific London book trade. Both Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle and John Vaughan of Derllys attended frequent meetings of the SPCK committee held in London which clearly required a place to stay for several days.²⁶ Oxford was also a source of booksellers as befits a university town. In 1726, Mary Jones of Fonmon Castle writes to her student brother Robert 'I have received the three books of

²⁰ Thomas Lloyd, 'Country-House Libraries of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Philip Henry Jones and Eiluned Rees (eds.) *A Nation and its Books: A History of the Book in Wales* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998), pp. 135 – 146.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²² For example Anna Maria Owen (d. 1720) of Henlyss, Pembrokeshire. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²³ Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640 - 1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 231.

²⁴ See Chapter 3 above.

²⁵ See Chapter 3 above.

²⁶ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, pp. 247 et seq.

Country Dances and return you many thanks for buying them'.²⁷ Major John Hanbury, who built a grand house and library in Pontypool in 1685, leased a London home in Golden Square in 1704.²⁸ The previous scholars of gentry libraries mentioned above have mostly drawn their evidence from archives listing fine and expensive volumes. It is the intention of this study, using similar and in some cases the same resources, to reveal the possible ownership of cheap print within the collections.

Considering, firstly, extant catalogues or lists of private gentry collections, that of Margam House, in Glamorganshire, is one of the most impressive. In 1747, Bussy Mansel, the 4th and last Baron Mansel, commissioned an inventory of his books which comprised some 1,870 titles, mostly dated and valued, written in a legible hand over 38 foolscap pages.²⁹ In line with normal practice, these are divided into sections by size and also by type of binding and condition. Under the category 'Duodecimos with parchment covers all damaged', in which small books might be expected to be listed, there are 51 entries but none of these match the definition of cheap print in terms of page length or content for the period 1660 to 1730. There are a high number of foreign language titles, as there are throughout the whole of this inventory, and a high number of titles published before 1660. Under 'Duodecimos lettered' however, are listed several periodical titles including *Tatler* (1712), *Examiner* (1712), *Gazeteer* (1704), *Spectator* (1724), and *Guardian* (1734). There are also two bound volumes simply marked *Pamphlets* from 1709 and 1710. At the end of the list is a statement by the appraiser stating that the value he has assigned is ten per cent less than shop value, that damaged items are fifty per cent less than shop value and that items less than

²⁷ GAS, DF/F/49b. Letters of Mary Jones of Fonmon Castel to Robert Jones, 1726.

²⁸ Richard Hanbury Tenison, *The Hanburys of Monmouthshire* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1995), p. 55.

²⁹ NLW, Penrice and Margam Estate Records 2208. Catalogue of the books in Lord Mansel's library at Margam, with prices, as appraised by John Whiston, 1747.

6d. are not given any value. This principle was, possibly, extended to all items listed in inventories of this period, and is thus a useful one of which to be aware.

There is also an important catalogue of books for the library of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire.³⁰ The list was created by Erasmus Philipps, son of Sir John Philipps who was, as mentioned in Chapters Two and Four above, a generous benefactor, founder of charity schools and correspondent with SPCK. He was particularly interested in setting up libraries in his schools, and requested many titles from SPCK to fill their shelves. One of the letters from SPCK in 1725 is a list of titles requested by him not only for his charitable work, but for his own library.³¹ Sir John died in 1737, by which time he had created the collection at Picton Castle which was catalogued a few years later by his son. There are 577 items listed in order of size, with dates and an estimated valuation of £139.18.02. Amongst these items are found many examples of cheap pamphlets, all of serious religious or political nature. They are valued at under 6d, and some are described as 'unbound'. Whilst none of the individual titles conform to the page length of small books, there is at the end the expected bundles of 'Pamphlets etc.' with a token valuation.

Another member of the gentry who worked closely with Sir John in this charitable work was John Vaughan of Derllys, Carmarthenshire. He too was an SPCK correspondent who frequently requested books in both Welsh and English for distribution in the county. In 1709 he initiated a project to create a list of recommended titles for young people to read in their homes,³² and this was finally published anonymously by SPCK in 1710, carefully categorised and marked up with prices (Fig 6.3). The relevance of this catalogue to gentry book ownership is that John Vaughan, in order to draw up such a list, needed to be well

³⁰ NLW, GB 0210 PICTLE Picton Castle Estate Records 1740-43. Catalogues and valuation of books prints and maps belonging to Sir Erasmus Philipps, bart, 1744.

³¹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 223.

³² *Ibid.*, p.21

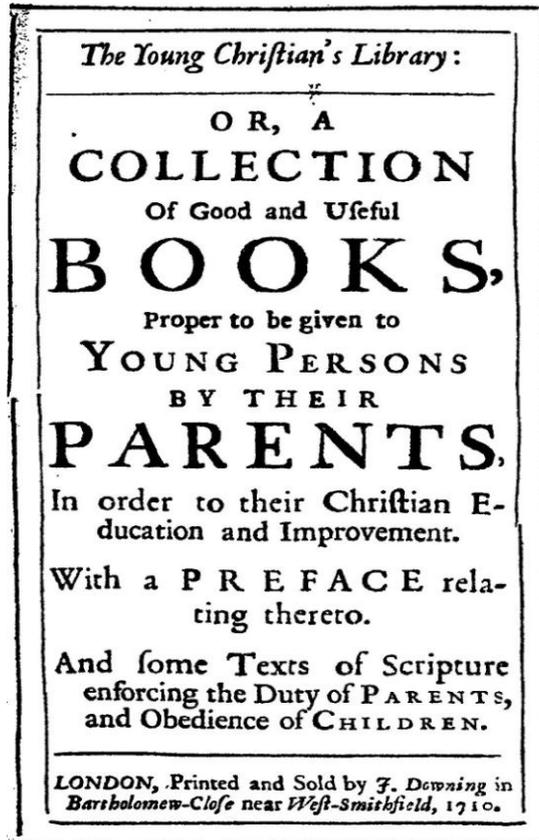


Fig. 6.3. *The Young Christian's Library*. London: Joseph Downing, 1710.

acquainted with all the recommended titles, and almost certainly possessed copies in his own collection. They included a number of cheap 'godly chapbooks', such as Josiah Woodward's *The Necessary Duty of Family Prayer* and *Earnest Persuasive to the Serious Observance of the Lord's Day*, and Ostervalds's *An Abridgment of the History of the Bible* (all priced at 1d.) as well as cheap catechisms and rather more expensive devotional items. How many young Christians, or their families, actually purchased these books is not possible to know.

Many of the gentry families in the great country houses of seventeenth century in south Wales have left papers in the archives of the National Library of Wales or the county archives, but very few of them list book titles. There are, for example, many extant documents relating to the contents of Tredegar House, the Monmouthshire home of the Morgans, including inventories, yet no mention of a 'library', or of books.³³ Coldbrook House, also in Monmouthshire, was the home of Charles Hanbury Williams who has been described as a writer and satirist. He was an MP, and published a number of pamphlets and ballads in the 1740s, so it is highly likely that he had a significant collection of books but a description of his home does not even mention a library room, although there is a study.³⁴

Auction catalogues are a further source of information regarding the contents of gentry collections. Research carried out by Michael Mendle provides plentiful evidence that auctioneers found pamphlets difficult to deal with, and they were usually bundled together under a general description.³⁵ Certain booksellers, on the other hand, became specialist pamphlet sellers so that by 1680 there was published *A Compleat Catalogue of all Stitch'd Books and Single Sheets &c. Printed the Last Two Years ...* comprising several thousand

³³ M.R. Apted, 'Social Conditions at Tredegar House, Newport, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 3 (1972), pp. 125 – 154.

³⁴ Frederick Hanbury, *Coldbrook Park. The Hanbury and Herbert Families, Etc.* (Newport: South Wales Argus, 1925), p. 12.

³⁵ Michael Mendle, 'Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth Century England', in Jennifer Lotte Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.) *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 204.

entries. Mendle concludes that, by that date, pamphlet collecting became 'a legitimate hobby for some and a business for others'.³⁶ The British Library contains an impressive number of published auction catalogues, but there are no entries for Wales in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.³⁷ This is hardly surprising, since there was unlikely to be a market for such a sale in south Wales, so any significant collection would be sent to the London auction rooms. Following the death, in 1723, of Adam Ottley, Bishop of St Davids, many of his goods were shipped to London, including books to be sold.³⁸ By May 1725, the auction, carried out by the bookseller Thomas Ballard, was complete, and had raised one hundred guineas,³⁹ although there is no record of a published sale catalogue, or a list of titles. Even if such a list did survive, it would probably comprise only volumes of high value thus excluding items of interest to this study.

Later auctions can also be relevant providing some sort of provenance can be established. Sir John Nicholl built Merthyr Mawr House, Glamorganshire in 1804, and left a library of 4,000 books, some of which were probably inherited from his ancestors.⁴⁰ His grandson, John Cole Nicholl, was a serious collector, and built up the library so that by 1860 the house was described as 'heaving with books'.⁴¹ Financial problems led to a sale of a substantial part of the collection at Sotheby's in May 1869, so a listing of titles in that catalogue could contain items purchased by Iltud John Nicholl, rector of Ham near Llantwit Major, whose probate inventory of 1696 mentioned 'all his bookes',⁴² but such evidence would be far from conclusive. Similarly, the 1921 Sothebys' sale catalogue of the 'valuable

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³⁷ A. N. L. Munby and Lenore Coral, *British Book Sale Catalogues 1676 - 1800: A Union List* (London: Mansell Information Publishing, 1977).

³⁸ See Chapter 3 above.

³⁹ NLW 2870. Ottley (Pitchford Hall) Correspondence. Charles Baldwyn at Lincolns Inn [London] to his cousin Adam Ottley at Pitchford, 1 May 1725.

⁴⁰ Murray McLaggan, 'The Library at Merthyr Mawr', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.) *Bibliophily* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p. 123.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁴² NLW LL 1696/127. Inventory of Iltud John Nicholl 1696.

printed books ... the property of Capt. A.W. Clifford of Chestal, Dursley, Glos.' lists a horn book, a primer',⁴³ both of which may have been passed down from this old Gloucestershire family from the seventeenth century. The same family donated a large part of their collection to Gloucester Public Library in 1956, and this included several chapbooks as well as a nearly complete run of the *Gloucester Journal*.⁴⁴

Inventories found in probate documents suffer from the same absence of detail regarding book titles. South Wales is fortunate in having a very large number of these documents for the period of this study, and information about the presence of books in the shops and packs of booksellers, mercers and chapmen has already been examined.⁴⁵ Since most of these inventories list the contents of each room, it is relatively straightforward to separate shop goods from items within the house itself. Regarding this latter category in the same sample of 247 inventories, there are 44 persons who have books of sufficient quantity within their homes to actually merit a one-line entry in the inventory taken after their death. This seems quite a low figure, but it is likely that the assessors would simply not bother to put a value on, for example, a Bible and just a few other volumes. Regarding these forty-four book owners, of whom the majority are mercers, the inventories give no further information as to number, size or nature of their collection. There is always a token value, often bracketed with other seemingly random items, but examination of the sums assigned gives the impression that they are lower than the purchasing cost, as affirmed by a statement at the end of Lord Margam's detailed inventory.⁴⁶ Individual items valued in Dawkin Gove's Carmarthen shop inventory, a rare example of partial title listing, are consistently low.⁴⁷ The picture in Bristol resulting from the research of Carl Estabrook is somewhat different. In the

⁴³GIA, Clifford/307. Catalogue of valuable printed books and a few illuminated and other manuscripts, 1921.

⁴⁴GIA, NF21.15 Inventory of books and other material deposited on permanent loan at the Gloucester City Libraries from the collection of the late Major A.W. Clifford, July 1956. See Chapter 5 above regarding the Raikes' chapbooks.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 3 above.

⁴⁶ See p. 249 above.

⁴⁷ For example, Welsh Prayer Books at 3*d.* each. See Chapter 3 above.

period 1660 to 1740, nearly 500 inventories were examined, and thirty-eight per cent of these noted the actual number of books in the household, with a corresponding value by the assessor. Thus he has been able to demonstrate several examples of 'small books' with low values, although no specific titles are listed.⁴⁸

Another quite different source to use when tracing book ownership is that of subscription lists. These can provide a detailed insight into the people that were prepared to put up money in order to secure their copy of a book, a scheme that was initiated by printers in order to finance their publishing expenses, especially that of paper. The subscribers were often printed at the beginning or end of the book, sometimes with their occupation and home town. William Gambold's *A Welsh Grammar*, published in 1724 by Nicholas Thomas of Carmarthen, named 133 subscribers, ranging from 'Mr Roderick Williams, Officer of Excise at Ruthin' to 'Lord Abergavenny'.⁴⁹ Clergymen, school teachers and 'esquires' dominated the lists. Geraint H. Jenkins carried out a detailed analysis of these lists for eighteen Welsh language books, published between 1716 and 1727, paying particular attention to the different social groups represented.⁵⁰ All of these titles were long, mostly religious works which were expensive to produce. As far as cheap printed pamphlets and chapbooks are concerned, however, subscription lists of this type were not needed or used. It is likely that for newspapers, such as the *Gloucester Journal*, there might have been some sort of list used by the distributors, to ensure reliable weekly delivery to those people as well as guaranteeing a steady income for the publisher, but of such lists there appears to be no trace.

Some evidence of book ownership, both by gentry and those of a 'middling sort' between 1660 and 1730 in south Wales, can be established from provenance within the books

⁴⁸ Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces 1660 - 1780*, p. 189, fn 35.

⁴⁹ William Gambold, *A Welsh Grammar* (Carmarthen: Nicholas Thomas, 1727).

⁵⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, pp. 255 – 304.

themselves although inscriptions are often undated, and sometimes numerous, indicating a succession of owners. Seventy-two small books have been examined for this study, and any ownership inscriptions, or other ownership evidence such as a note on the library catalogue, are recorded in Appendix 8. All these items, and many more, are currently held in south Wales libraries which, it is assumed, are more likely to have acquired them from Welsh sources.⁵¹ Forty of the publications reviewed do have evidence of a named owner, and most of those names are of untraceable people. The exceptions are Thomas Mansel Franklin, John Cole Nicholl, Frances Gwyn, Rice Rees and Samuel W. H. Ireland, although only one of these owners (Frances Gwyn) is contemporary with the dates of books themselves. Sometimes, there are dates under a name, and just three of these are within the years covered by this study. Of the undated and unknown names, it is not possible to know exactly when they owned the book, nor where they lived when it was in their possession.⁵² Although some research has been carried out on book provenance in order to throw light on book ownership, much of it covers rare and valuable books post-1730.⁵³ Cheap printed items, whether that is chapbooks, tracts, almanacks, schoolbooks, newspapers or political pamphlets were probably considered as throwaway items, as already demonstrated,⁵⁴ thus rarely merited an ownership inscription, or any similar record such as a catalogue entry. A rare exception to this is the collection of chapbooks owned by Frances Wolfreston, a gentle-woman living in

⁵¹ The libraries are the National Library of Wales, Cardiff Central Library and Cardiff University Library. Gloucester Archives is also a source for the border areas. These repositories have, at times, had vigorous acquisition policies to purchase antiquarian material from sales and dealers, as well as welcoming donations.

⁵² Cardiff Central Library pursued a policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of active purchasing of antiquarian books from sales and auctions in both Wales and England, as well as accepting many donations. A large collection passed to the University of Cardiff Library in 2010, and is known as 'Cardiff Rare Books', comprising around 14,000 volumes, around half of which have been catalogued at this time (October 2018). See: <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/special-collections/explore/collection/cardiff-rare-books> [Accessed 7 October 2018]

⁵³ See p. 246 above.

⁵⁴ See Chapter 4 above.

Staffordshire in the mid-seventeenth century, who boldly wrote her name on the title pages,⁵⁵ but no such evidence has been found in Wales.

The history of the reading of printed works, as opposed to owning them, has been much studied as a discipline in its own right. James Raven has carried out extensive research in this area but nonetheless admits that 'the most significant and challenging dimension of the history of books' is the understanding of their reading. What he means by this is 'not just who read and what they read, but when people read, where they read and, above all, how and why they read'.⁵⁶ This has been widely recognised since Robert Darnton's seminal work in 1982 explained the discipline of book history as based on the much quoted and adapted 'communications circuit', in which reader reception was a key element.⁵⁷ Raven suggests that the study of book reception, and the experiences of the individual reader, enriches our understanding of human memory, behaviour and experience, thus becoming an important part of social history. He adds that many of the current histories of books and book reading, especially those that use data on literacy coupled with book production and distribution, should be regarded with caution because they are often based on assumptions about readership.⁵⁸ Leah Price has shown, however, that some studies do differentiate between a book's implied audience, defined as that intended by the author or publisher, and an empirical audience, defined as the people who actually read it.⁵⁹ Her examples, like those of many other scholars, are drawn from later centuries than this study. Apart from a small number of intense studies on the reading experience of substantial scholarly works by members of English

⁵⁵ See Fig. 1.2 in Chapter 1 above.

⁵⁶ Raven, *What is the History of the Book?*, p. 115.

⁵⁷ Darnton, *What is the History of Books?* Also see p. 3 above.

⁵⁸ Raven, *What is the History of the Book?*, p. 120.

⁵⁹ Leah Price, 'Reading: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 7 (2004), p. 305.

gentry, evidence on the reading experience in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been largely absent.⁶⁰

Regarding the reader reception of chapbooks, Margaret Spufford readily admits that 'proof of readership is a very real problem', particularly of the 'humble reader'.⁶¹ Her examples of primary evidence in the time period of this study are drawn from autobiographical accounts in diaries or letters of gentry, or well-educated men, reflecting on their childhood reading such as John Bunyan in the 1660s, Frances Kirkman in 1673 and Samuel Johnson in 1720.⁶² Even the collectors of chapbooks in the seventeenth century, most notably Samuel Pepys and Anthony Wood, do not themselves write any account of their reading of them. Pepys' diary, which includes numerous references to his reading, covers the years 1660 – 1669 only, whereas he began his serious chapbook collecting in 1682.⁶³ A testament to the importance of gathering contemporary accounts of readership was the setting up of the Reading Experience Database in the 1990s, an ongoing project covering the years 1450 to 1945.⁶⁴ The coverage of 1660 to 1730 in Wales, however is poor, being restricted to just two entries for a schoolteacher reading sacred works. The paucity of evidence directly linking a reader to a specific title that can be defined as cheap print is well summarised by Jonathan Barry in his study of seventeenth century Bristol:

⁶⁰ Examples are found in W H Sherman, 'The Place of Reading in the English Renaissance: John Dee Revisited', in James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (eds.) *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 62 – 76; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Anthony T. Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990) pp. 30 – 78; Daniel R Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁶¹ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 46.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 72 – 75.

⁶³ Spufford has carried out a detailed analysis of Pepys' chapbook collection, using the dates of the books themselves an indication of when they were purchased. See *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ On its website <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED> is found the following description of the project: 'UK RED is an open-access database housed at The Open University containing over 30,000 easily searchable records documenting the history of reading in Britain from 1450 to 1945. Evidence of reading presented in UK RED is drawn from published and unpublished sources as diverse as diaries, commonplace books, memoirs, sociological surveys, and criminal court and prison records'. [Accessed 01/01/2019].

It has been common to regard sentiments found in such genres as ballads, chapbooks, almanacs and jest books and other cheap and ephemeral literature as a guide to popular values and opinions ... [but there is] almost no evidence as to who read this literature, thus no assumptions can be made.⁶⁵

Research into reading cheap print in south Wales has yielded a few examples. The Customs Officer John Byrd of Caerleon writes of having 'dyurnalls twice every week',⁶⁶ although these could have been the handwritten newsbooks popular at this time, rather than printed publications. More certain is the much later reference by John Philipps of Kilgetty, Pembrokeshire, in a letter dated 1731 to SPCK, that 'no more newspapers need be sent to him, he having them constantly from the Post office.'⁶⁷ John Gwin, a yeoman farmer of Llangwm in Monmouthshire, writing in his commonplace book in 1660s, paraphrased Nicholas Culpeper's *The English Physitian Enlarged* (1661).⁶⁸ Gwin also copied out passages from almanacks, poems by William Wroth and Richard Mathew's work *The Unlearned Alchymist* (1662) for which he gives bibliographical details (see Fig. 6.4).⁶⁹

One rare example of evidence of readership of newspapers can be found within a book entitled *The Storm* published anonymously by Daniel Defoe in 1704.⁷⁰ On 24 November 1703, there occurred in the south of Britain, including south Wales, a severe storm with very strong winds blowing for a whole week until it at last abated on 2 December. There were many deaths, especially at sea, and extensive destruction of buildings and loss of stock. Defoe, who had just been released from prison for publishing a satirical tract, grasped a

⁶⁵ Jonathan Barry, 'Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective.', in Tim Harris (eds.) *Popular Culture in England, 1500 - 1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 73 – 74.

⁶⁶ Roberts, *Letter-Book of John Byrd*, p. 158

⁶⁷ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 163.

⁶⁸ Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750*, p. 69.

⁶⁹ The two medical books were long, substantial volumes, but the poems could possibly have come from a chapbook, although the author William Wroth (died 1641) is not recorded on ESTC. He was a nonconformist minister of the parish of Llanvaches, close to John Gwin's home, and an associate of Gwin's cousin Walter Cradock. It seems possible, therefore, that Gwin had access to Wroth's manuscript poems.

⁷⁰ Daniel Defoe, *The Storm: Or, a Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters Which Happen'd in the Late Dreadful Tempest, Both by Sea and Land* (London: John Nutt, 1704).

journalistic opportunity to report on the disaster.⁷² Within hours of the storm's cessation, he had placed advertisements in the two leading newspapers of that time, namely the weekly *London Gazette* and the *Daily Courant*, requesting first-hand accounts to be sent to his publishers (see Fig. 6.5).⁷³ The response was clearly impressive, as around sixty letters were actually published but he explains that 'we have omitted ... an account of some unthinking wretches, who passed over this dreadful judgment with banter, scoffing and contempt'.⁷⁴ The final paragraph adds that 'there are several very remarkable cases come to our hands since the finish [of] this book'.⁷⁵ An indication that the book probably sold well is demonstrated by both the unusually high number of extant copies recorded by the ESTC,⁷⁶ and the publication of a second edition in 1713.⁷⁷ Amongst the letters published were first-hand accounts sent from Milford Haven, Swansea, Brecon, Cardiff, Chepstow and Monmouth thus demonstrating that named correspondents in south Wales had read Defoe's advertisement in at least one of the newspapers in which it appeared

A passing reference to popular readership is made by John Philipps of Kilgetty in his correspondence to SPCK in 1729:

He is very sensible of the corruption of youth is not a little owing to prophane Songs and Ballads, and wishes there could be a composition of wholesome and pious Authors in their room and if any member of the Society is engaged in an undertaking of that nature he shall readily subscribe for a quarter of a hundred to disperse occasionally.⁷⁸

⁷² A full account of this publishing venture can be found in Maximillian E. Novak, 'Writing History Sheet by Sheet': Defoe, the Review, and the Storm', in Maximillian E. Novak (eds.) *Daniel Defoe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 213 – 236.

⁷³ *London Gazette* 2–6 December 1703 p. 2; *Daily Courant* 2 Dec 1703 p. 2.

⁷⁴ Defoe, *The Storm*, p. 271.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁷⁶ Eighty-six copies in libraries around the world.

⁷⁷ Daniel Defoe, *A Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters, Which Happen'd in the Late Dreadful Tempest, Both by Sea and Land, on Friday the Twenty-Sixth of November, Seventeen Hundred and Three*. 2nd edn (London: George Sawbridge and J. Nutt, 1713). Despite its slightly different title, the text is identical to the 1704 edition.

⁷⁸ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 152.

THESSE are to give Notice, That to preserve the Remembrance of the Signal Judgment of God on this Nation in the late Dreadful Tempest, *and that Posterity may be surely inform'd of all the Terrible Effects of it,* an exact and faithful Collection is preparing of the most remarkable Disasters which have happen'd on that Occasion, with the Places where and Persons concern'd, *Woether at Sea or on Shore; together with some strange Accounts of the Miraculous Escapes of several Persons from the Dangers of this Calamity.*

For the Perfecting so Good a Work, 'tis humbly recommended by the Author to all Gentlemen of the Clergy or others, who have thought it worth their while to make any Observations of this Most Unheard of Accident, that they would be pleased to Transmit as Distinct an Account as possible of what they have observ'd to the Undertakers of the Collection. Directed to *John Nutt* near Stationers-Hall, *London.*

All Gentlemen that are pleas'd to send any such Accounts, are desir'd to send up no Particulars but

Fig. 6.5. *Daily Courant*, 2 December 1703, part of p. 2.

There seems to have been no follow up letters to his request, but perhaps he pursued his objective privately. He was the second son of SPCK stalwart Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle, and also probably involved, like his father, in the Carmarthen Branch of the Society for the Reformation of Manners.⁷⁹

Alun Withey, commenting on the book extracts written by John Gwin, makes the point that 'it is not clear whether Gwin actually owned these books, or whether he had merely seen and copied from them'.⁸⁰ Borrowing books, either from their owners or from libraries, took place in Wales, as elsewhere. Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle made a careful note of titles he had lent to a Mr. Waller in 1733.⁸¹ It is possible that the small book in Fonmon Castle library inscribed 'William Asplin 1735' was also a loan, never returned.⁸² Gathering data from library lending has been another focus for evidence on book reading. It is not direct proof of reading, because a book can readily be borrowed but not necessarily read. It can, however, give an indication as to what was available to read, especially amongst those who could not afford to buy even cheap print, and thus who do not feature in the data on book sales. Since the inception of libraries there have been many studies on library borrowing, but the earliest extant records derive from subscription libraries of the late eighteenth century and then, after 1848 in Britain, from the first public libraries.⁸³ There is, however, information on the books which were held in the very earliest parish and diocesan libraries, especially those in Wales.

The establishment of these libraries throughout Great Britain was the initiative of the SPCK which was, from 1699 onwards, actively evangelising in south Wales through the

⁷⁹ A Society set up in London in 1691, and subsequently forming a network of local branches. Mary Clement contends that the Carmarthen branch is one of the few of which there is a record. Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 8, n. 33.

⁸⁰ Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health, Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600 - 1750*, p. 69.

⁸¹ NLW Picton Castle Estate Records 1909 [18th century] List of books.

⁸² See above p. 244.

⁸³ James Raven gives a brief account of the limited data available from libraries in the early modern period Raven, *What is the History of the Book?*, p. 125.

establishment of charity schools and the distribution of Bibles and improving works to parishioners.⁸⁴ Mary Clement has written a detailed account of the development of the libraries, based on her meticulous examination of the correspondence between SPCK and their designated representatives in Wales.⁸⁵ She relates that the Society focussed on this cause during the years between 1703 and 1711 resulting, in south Wales, in two diocesan lending libraries in Carmarthen, for St Davids' diocese, and in Cowbridge for Llandaff diocese.⁸⁶ No reason is supplied for the apparent anomaly of neither of these libraries being located in the cathedral towns themselves. Possibly it was simply a matter of suitable accommodation. The Cowbridge library was finally set up in 1711, following repeated requests for the Bishop to name the Trustees.⁸⁷ It was reported to SPCK in November of that year that 'the Lending Library for Cowbridge to the value of £66.12s was delivered to the Bristol Carrier' and from thence would travel by ship to Aberthaw, and wagon to Cowbridge,⁸⁸ to be housed in the vestry room of Cowbridge Parish church. The content of the first diocesan libraries appeared at first to be reliant in part on donations, some of which were seen to be somewhat unsatisfactory,⁸⁹ so in 1708 the Society drew up a catalogue of recommended items although the actual titles were not recorded by Clement. It is fortunate, however, that both a manuscript and a printed catalogue for the Llandaff diocesan library, remain extant in Glamorgan Archives, and the former has been examined by Ewart Lewis in 1954 and Maura Tallon in 1962.⁹⁰ The manuscript catalogue was probably drawn up in 1745, and contains a

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2 above.

⁸⁵ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*. See Perkin, *Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*.

⁸⁶ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 43.

⁸⁷ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 204.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 276 and 38.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁹⁰ Ewart Lewis, 'The Cowbridge Diocesan Library 1711 - 1848', *Journal of the History Society of the Church in Wales*, 4 & 7 (1954), pp. 36 – 44, 80 - 91; Tallon, *Church in Wales Diocesan Libraries*.

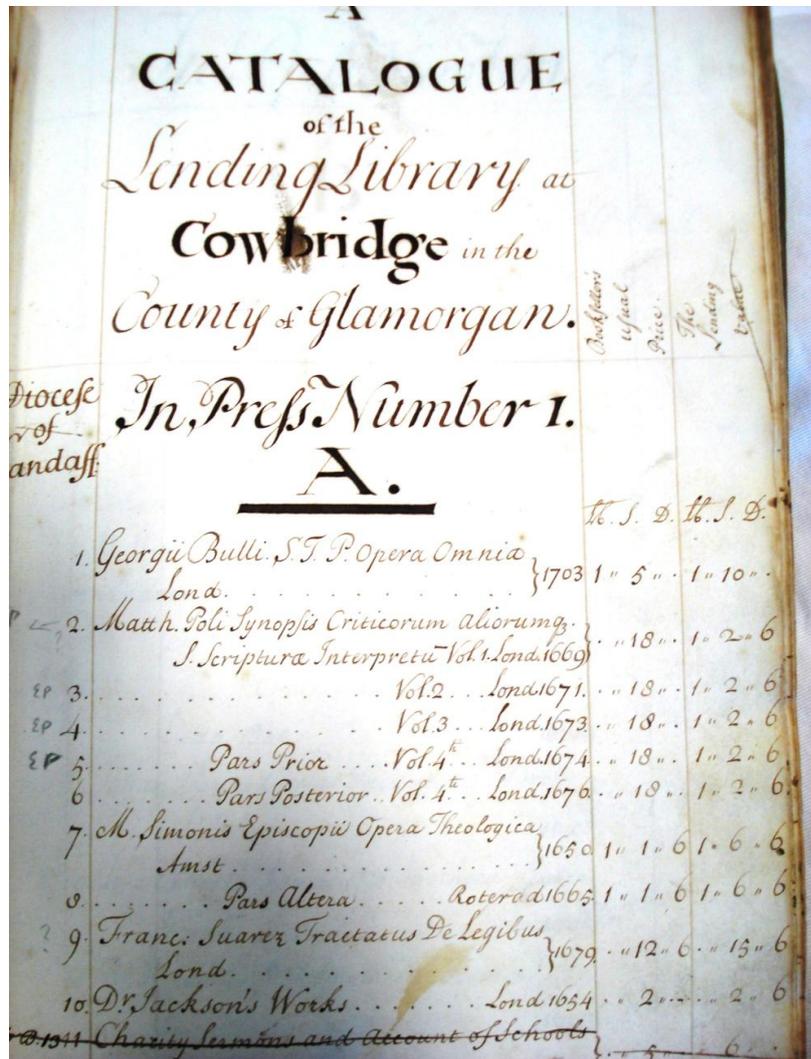


Fig. 6.6. Register belonging to the Lending Library in the Town of Cowbridge in the County of Glamorgan, n.d., p. 1.

list of the titles and locations of all books present at that time (Fig. 6.6).⁹¹ Following this, there is an 'account of the benefactions to the lending library', the money laid out for purchase of further works and other expenses, together with minutes of meetings of the Trustees, also named. Lewis lists a few of the titles in his article, and Tallon prints a long list, but in both cases they focus exclusively on lengthy valuable items. There are, however, a number of small pamphlets and tracts included in the original document.

The second catalogue is printed and dated 1793.⁹² There is a loose handwritten slip that records that Daniel Walters was paid the sum of 5s. for writing a catalogue of the books in 1786, and that 100 copies were printed in 1794. Although the catalogue of books comprises several thousand titles, it seems likely that the original volumes were still part of this collection. Dates are sometimes given, but most of the smaller items are bound together. (Fig. 6.7). A list of the titles in the catalogues that fall within this study's definition of cheap print can be found in Appendix 9. Many of the titles are verifiable, with dates, against the ESTC, and there is significant overlap with the titles that SPCK were distributing in Wales, as listed in Appendix 5.

There is also some evidence as to the location and content of the second diocesan library under consideration, namely that of Carmarthen in the diocese of St Davids. In 1708, John Philipps of Carmarthen wrote to SPCK acknowledging that Edmond Meyrick 'had given 2 houses in that Town for ye use of a Schoolmaster and the Publick Library for ever'.⁹³ Meyrick was a canon of St David's cathedral and a generous benefactor to the Society's work in Wales. This particular donation was supplemented by a feoffment between Meyrick, Sir

⁹¹ GAS, 2009/124. Register belonging to the Lending Library in the Town of Cowbridge in the County of Glamorgan. The original consignment sent in 1711 consisted of 100 volumes valued.

⁹² Morris, *Catalogue of Lending Library at Cowbridge*. The only known copy is held at Glamorgan Archives P/8/CW/82.

⁹³ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 15.

IN PRESS, No. IV.

	Bookseller's usual Price. £. s. d.	The lending Value. £. s. d.
17— <i>The following bound together :</i>		
A Pastoral Letter from a Minister to his Parishioners		
The Christian's Daily Devotion, by the same Author		
The Necessary Duty of Family Prayer, by Dr. Woodward		
An Exhortation to Housekeepers to worship God in their Families		
An Abridgement of the Hist. of the Bible		
The Church Catechism broke into short Questions		
Prayers for the Use of Charity-Schools		
A further Instruction to those who have learnt the Church Catechism		
Pastoral Advice to young Persons before confirmed		
An Exercise for the Charity Schools, explaining the Nature of Confirmation		
The Husbandman's Manual		
The Young Man's Monitor		
A Letter from a Minister to his Parishioners, concerning Information to the Magistrate	0 2 6	0 3 6
18— <i>The following bound together :</i>		
A kind Caution to prophane Swearers		
An earnest Persuasive to the Observance of the Lord's Day		

Fig. 6.7. Catalogue of the Lending Library at Cowbridge, 1794, p. 11.

John Philipps of Picton Castle and others for a small library to the value of £50 to be placed in a convenient house in Carmarthen.⁹⁴ By November 1708 the books, packed in four cases, had arrived in Bristol, and were to be shipped in the *Phillis* to be delivered into the custody of John Vaughan of Derllys who reported, in February 1709, that they had been safely received,⁹⁵ and that he had 'expended upon the Carmarthen librarie 12s. 6d. which he desires may be laid out in buying books'. There was some concern expressed by Vaughan in a letter to SPCK in 1711 that the Society should write to the Bishop of St Davids to request a letter to be sent to Meyrick asking him 'to finish his room in his Charity School and make it fit for the reception of the Library, long since sent down by ye Society'.⁹⁶ This request was repeated in 1712, and the books had been installed by 1716 when Vaughan wrote that 'the library in Carmarthen will turn out to good account, especially among the poor clergy who often borrow books from thence'.⁹⁷ Meyrick had died in 1713, following which a document authored by the Carmarthen Corporation stated that '£5 be laid out towards a place to be made to keep the library given to the them'.⁹⁸ The ownership of the library room, and the books within it, was called into question in a letter from Mr Bevan, recorder of Carmarthen, dated 1723 in which he had acknowledged receipt for the trust deeds of the Carmarthen library following the death of the Bishop of St David's, Adam Ottley.⁹⁹ After this date there is no further documentary evidence, and Tallon concludes that the fate of the 800 volumes therein remains unknown.¹⁰⁰ There is, however, a manuscript catalogue of the books in the Carmarthen Lending Library dated 1756 which lists around 220 titles, including a number of

⁹⁴ Evans, 'Meyrick's Library and School', p. 122.

⁹⁵ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, pp. 17, 18.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹⁸ Evans, 'Meyrick's Library and School', p. 122.

⁹⁹ NLW, Ottley (Pitchford Hall) 2028 Correspondence: Receipt from A. Bevan 1723.

¹⁰⁰ Tallon, *Church in Wales Diocesan Libraries*, p. 51.

small books, bound together.¹⁰¹ There is overlap with titles on the SPCK distribution list (Appendix 5) and with the Cowbridge Diocesan Library (Appendix 9).

Having established the range of books available at the two diocesan libraries in south Wales, it is important to explain who was permitted to borrow them. The rules set out in the Deed of Settlement in 1711 stated that the libraries was open on market days, and that only clergy and schoolmasters may borrow books.¹⁰² Even in the planning stage, this was seen as unnecessarily restrictive by John Vaughan of Derllys, who wrote to the Society in 1706 to say that he:

desired that the inhabitants of every parish may have the perusal of the books in Welsh libraries, as well as the Clergy and Schoolmasters, and more especially Housekeepers, they giving sufficient pledges to return all they might borrow without damage.¹⁰³

to which the SPCK firmly replied

that the General Lending Librarie is desgin'd for the Clergy for at least 10 miles round Carmarthen, that they may have benefit of it, and not a fixed parochial librarie as you seemed to expect.¹⁰⁴

There is no knowing to what extent the rules were relaxed in practice. There are no records of the borrowers, or which books were borrowed. In 1764, the Cowbridge library became a subscription library, perhaps due to insufficient funds, and it closed in 1848.¹⁰⁵ It was

¹⁰¹ NLW, 15089E Catalogue of books in Carmarthen Lending Library 1765.

¹⁰² Ewart Lewis, 'The Cowbridge Diocesan Library 1711 - 1848', p. 39.

¹⁰³ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 260.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁵ Tallon records that this library was still extant at the time of her writing in 1962, then comprising some 4,000 volumes and located in a private house in Cowbridge. See Maura Tallon, 'Llandaff Cathedral Library', *An leabharlann: The Irish Library*, 20 (1962), p. 126.

recorded in the Vestry minutes of the parish that the books were removed from the Lady Chapel of the church, but the destination was not stated.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, following pressure from SPCK, there was passed, in 1708-9, *An Act for the Better Preservation of Parochial Libraries*.¹⁰⁷ This led to the establishment of small parochial libraries and by 1714 there were fifty-four throughout Britain, of which five were in south Wales.¹⁰⁸ The man behind this initiative was Dr. Thomas Bray, so these libraries came to be known as the Bray Associates Libraries. In contrast to the Diocesan Lending Libraries, the rules laid down for these libraries stipulated that the books were for the sole usage of the parish priest. A list of seventy-two recommended titles, with values, was set by the Society, and dispatched by them to each incumbent, providing certain conditions had been met.¹⁰⁹ There is an extant manuscript for the Parochial Library of Trevethin in Monmouthshire which, although probably written in 1775, lists almost identical titles to those initially sent out 60 years before.¹¹⁰ All the items listed were standard theological works and sermons, and small cheap books were notably absent. The document also contains the rules as set out by the Society, including the statement that the 'incumbent do not, at any time, lend any book or books out of said library'.¹¹¹

Another parochial library was set up, at the later date of 1760, in Llandaff Cathedral, which was also a parish church. Tallon relates that about fifty volumes bearing the label 'This

¹⁰⁶ Lemuel John Hopkin-James, *Old Cowbridge: Borough, Church and School* (Cardiff: Educational Publishing Company, 1922), p. 173.

¹⁰⁷ 7 Anne c. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Perkin's comprehensive directory lists the locations as Monmouth (1710), Prendergast, Pembrokeshire (1710), Newport, Monmouthshire (1711), Trevethin, Monmouthshire (1711) and Chepstow, Monmouthshire (1711). A contemporary listing can be found in Anon, *A Letter from a Residing Member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London, to a Corresponding Member in the Country* 2nd edn (London: Downing, 1714), pp. 51 – 53.

¹⁰⁹ Perkin, *Directory of the Parochial Libraries of the Church of England and the Church in Wales*, pp. 49-50.

¹¹⁰ The parish church of Trevethin adjoined the estate of John Hanbury of Pontypool, and he provided the necessary assurance that the library would be established in 1711. See : Joseph Alfred Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire from the Coming of the Normans into Wales Down to the Present Time. [Vol.1], Part 2, the Hundred of Abergavenny* (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1906), p. 441.

¹¹¹ GwA, D/Pa 13.44 Catalogue of Trevethin Parochial Library 1775.

book was given by the Associates of late Dr Bray to the Clerical Lending Library at Llandaff eventually formed the core of the Cathedral Library, accommodated in the Chapter House in 1872.¹¹² There is no early catalogue extant for this parochial library, but a printed and annotated (by hand) catalogue of 1870 indicates a much augmented eclectic collection of books but still retaining some of the original seventy-two titles recommended by SPCK.¹¹³ As with the Trevethin parochial library, there are no small cheap titles although the entry of thirty-nine volumes of 'tracts on various subjects' may well have included such items. A quite different indication of the content of Llandaff Parochial Library is a small bound volume containing twenty small but separate books of varying dates, with a handwritten contents list (Figs 6.8 and 6.9).¹¹⁴ There is no overall date for this volume, but the latest date of the individual titles is 1731. An interesting feature of the bookplate is the insertion, by hand, of the word 'lending', giving the impression that this was not the original intention but that the rules were relaxed at some point to allow borrowing. The bookplate may well have been provided by SPCK for any of its parochial libraries to use.

All twenty of these books meet the definition of small cheap print, yet none of them appeared in the seventy-two original volumes sent out by SPCK in 1711, despite being of the same period. Nor did they appear in the catalogues of Trevethin or Llandaff parochial libraries. Furthermore, they provide evidence that the rules for these small parish collections intended exclusively for the education and edification of the parish priest were probably interpreted flexibly and no doubt changed over time. The diocesan libraries, however, were always intended to be lending libraries, even if their borrowers were limited to a small group of educated people.

¹¹² Tallon, 'Llandaff Cathedral Library', p. 129.

¹¹³ Llandaff Cathedral, *Catalogue of Books Belonging to Llandaff Cathedral Library* (s.l.: s.n., [1870]).

¹¹⁴ This is housed at NLW, but there is no overall catalogue record for the bound volume. Each individual titles has the reference Landaff [sic] 161 – 178. See Appendix 8.

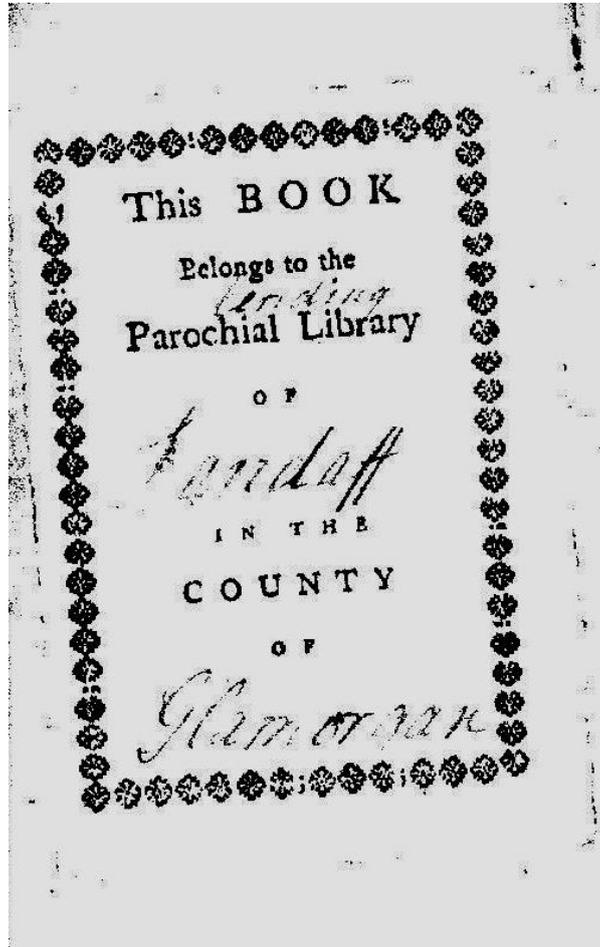


Fig. 6.8. Bookplate of Landaff Parochial Library on inside cover of bound volume of NLW Landaf 161-178.

Contents of this Vol. Vol. 7

Method for Erecting Charity Schools
 Sermon Exhortation to Parents of Ch.
 Children.
 Prayers for the use of Charity Schools,
 Prayers for Apprentices going into
 Charity Schools.
 The whole Duty of Manproof.
 Kind Caution to profane Swearers.
 Dips. joins from Inquiry & Subordination
 of the jury.
 D. Wells against Perjury.
 D. Woodcock ag. profane Language.
 ag. Bellarmine & Kneeling.
 ag. Jamies.
 ag. Trinitarians.
 ag. Unbelievers.
 Exercise ag. Lying.
 The publick Housekeepers Monitor.
 Arch. Bp. Tillotson's discourse ag.
 Transubstantiation.
 Short Reputation of Popery.
 Dialogue betwixt a Protest. Minister
 & a Romish Priest.
 Questions & Answers concerning the 2.
 Relig. that of Ch. of Eng. & of the

Fig. 6.9. Contents page of bound volume of NLW Landaf 161-178.

A final source for the readership of small books in south Wales lies in the schools, especially the charity schools which were so well served with books from SPCK.¹¹⁵ Some idea of the stock of books kept by the schools is found in a popular book, published by Joseph Downing,¹¹⁶ which explained the recommended rules and structures, the account of schools already set up and, in the appendix, a short list of recommended titles (Fig. 6.10). Although most of these titles do not fit the definition of small books, they would certainly have been cheap, or even free. There is no independent verification as to whether every charity schools owned them, but it can probably be assumed that at least some of these texts were available to the children, at least during their classes. In Carmarthen, Canon Edmund Meyrick not only established the diocesan lending library but also a charity school in the same building, and the first headmaster was responsible for both.¹¹⁷

Margaret Spufford, in considering the paucity of primary sources in the seventeenth century, suggests that because there is 'so little direct evidence of readership of the chapbooks, we are forced back on the indirect evidence of the contents of the chapbooks themselves'.¹¹⁸ The small books identified in this chapter that have repeatedly been found in the diocesan and parochial libraries of south Wales, as well as forming part the core of material sent out by SPCK for wider distribution to parishes and charity schools, are the writings of Josiah Woodward, published by Joseph Downing in London. These instructional and sometimes admonitory small religious books usually cost between 1*d.* and 3*d.*, and appeared in many editions. For example, *A Kind Caution to Prophane Swearers* is extant in twenty-one editions between 1701 and 1780, with slightly varying page lengths and content.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 2 above for an account of the setting up of the charity schools between 1699 and 1737 in south Wales.

¹¹⁶ Anon, *Methods Used for Erecting Charity-Schools, with the Rules and Orders by Which They Are Governed* 18th edn (London: Joseph Downing, 1724). The first edition, just 4 pages long, came out in 1701 and, with ever increasing page numbers, the 18th edition appeared in 1724.

¹¹⁷ Evans, 'Meyrick's Library and School', p. 122.

¹¹⁸ Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. 50.

B O O K S

Proper to be used in

CHARITY-SCHOOLS.

A Bible, Testament, and Common-Prayer-Book:
 The Church-Catechism.
 The Bishop of *Chester's* Christian Institutes.
 The Church-Catechism broke into short Questions.
Lewis's Exposition of the Church-Catechism.
Dr. Worthington's Scripture-Catechism.
 The first Principles of Practical Christianity.
Dr. Woodward's Short Catechism, with an Explanation of di-
 vers hard Words.
 New Method of Catechizing.
 Prayers for the Charity-Schools.
 The Christian Scholar.
 An Exercise for Charity-Schools upon Confirmation.
 Pastoral Advice before, and after Confirmation.
 The Whole Duty of Man, by way of Question and Answer.
 Abridgment of the History of the Bible, which may be well
 bound up at the Beginning of the Bible, or at the End.
 The Anatomy of Orthography: Or, a practical Introduction
 to the Art of Spelling and Reading *English*.
 The Duty of Publick Worship proved, &c.
 Lessons for Children, Historical and Practical, &c.

Fig. 6.10. *Methods Used for Erecting Charity-Schools* (16th ed. London: Downing, 1717), p. 43.

This group of Woodward/Downing titles listed in Table 6.1 have been found in at least three of the five sources used, namely the SPCK correspondence,¹¹⁹ the diocesan libraries of Carmarthen and Cowbridge, the charity schools list and the parochial library of Llandaff.

Title	Pages
<i>A Kind Caution to Prophane Swearers (1716)</i>	12
<i>A Disswasive from the Sin of Drunkenness (1711)</i>	24
<i>An Earnest Persuasive to the Observance of the Lord's Day (1703)</i>	16
<i>A Rebuke to the Odious Sin of Uncleaness (1725)</i>	24
<i>A Serious Reflection on the Grievous Scandal of Prophane Language (1708)</i>	24
<i>The Necessary Duty of Family Prayers (1704)</i>	24
<i>Prayers for the Use of Charity Schools (1716)</i>	12

Table 6.1. The most popular small books found in contemporary lists and archives in south Wales, 1700 – 1730.¹²⁰

It is not known how many copies of each edition of these titles were actually produced, but overall there must have been many thousands. Joseph Downing (1670 – 1734) came from a family of printers in London, and Henry Plomer surmises that he 'dealt almost exclusively in theological literature'.¹²¹ In a detailed analysis of the London book trade in 1709, John Dugas names Downing as one of the 'most prolific publishers' in that year by way of twenty-six extant titles.¹²² He had a close working relationship with SPCK, which,

¹¹⁹ A letter written to SPCK from their correspondent in Llantryhyd, Glamorgan in July 1716 requested fifty copies of the first three titles in Table 6.1. See Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 88.

¹²⁰ For full details of these titles, see bibliography. Actual editions cited may vary.

¹²¹ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 106.

¹²² Don-John Dugas, 'The London Book Trade in 1709 (Part One)', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 95 (2001), p. 47.

following his death, continued with his wife Martha, producing not only large numbers of religious works commissioned by them, including a number of Welsh translations,¹²³ but also various practical publications to support their work such as *Methods used for Erecting Charity Schools* (many editions) and *A New Catalogue of Books and Small Tracts* (1708). The latter item, which features forty-four pages of book titles from a variety of publishing houses of the time, has an interesting introduction which indicates both his own evangelistic, yet also commercial, turn of mind as well as giving due consideration to the practicalities of preserving small paper-bound pamphlets:

The following Catalogue of Books may be very Useful to all Pious and Charitable Persons (especially to such as live in the Country) who are Religiously disposed to give away any Number of them to their Friends, Dependants, or others ... the tracts are only stitch'd. And because Some Persons may be willing to stitch or bind up several of the small Tracts together; therefore the different sizes are mark'd [No. 1,2,3,4,5] signifying that each Tract will bind up with all others that have the like numbers. And 'tis hoped, That the Booksellers, in the next Edition of the small Tracts, will agree upon a certain size ...¹²⁴

Binding small tracts together seems to have been common practice at this time, and most of the examples found in the Carmarthen and Cowbridge Lending Libraries catalogues, and in Llandaff Parochial Library, are bound together although subsequent cataloguing does not necessarily indicate this physical form.¹²⁵ Downing even advertised a bound version of six of his most popular tracts at a price of 8d.¹²⁶ At Fonmon Castle Library, all the small books were bound in with others, often of varying size, and most of the items seen in other

¹²³ A typical exchange was recorded in the minutes of the Society in February 1726: 'Agreed that Mr Downing be desired to attend the Society ... next Thursday in Relation to the Proposal for Printing Mr Rees Pritchard's Divine Poems in Welsh'. When he attended, he 'acquainted the Society that he was willing to print 100 copies ...' See Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 295.

¹²⁴ Downing, *A New Catalogue of Books*, p. 2.

¹²⁵ The bound volume of the Landaff parochial library contains twenty separate titles catalogued individually at the NLW.

¹²⁶ Downing, *A New Catalogue of Books*, p. 43.

libraries had received the same treatment. In Cardiff Central Library, a small bound volume from the S.W.H. Ireland collection but confusingly listed as a Civil War Tract contains six small chapbooks.¹²⁷ The first two are indeed published at the time of the Civil War, but the other four are dated between 1690 and 1709. The person who bound them together, possibly because they have a common Welsh theme, also wrote the contents on the fly-leaf (Fig. 6.11).¹²⁸ These are the chapbooks and other small books that have survived.

Further light can be shed on the history of reading by considering different types and ways of the action of reading. For example, the reading of almanacks offers a method of reading which might be termed referral. As already noted, there are examples of almanacks for sale in mercers' shops in south Wales,¹²⁹ and Robert Raikes advertised English language almanacks available in his print shop in Gloucester in the closing months of each year.¹³⁰ It is likely, however, that the Welsh language almanacks, published in large numbers in London and then, from 1696, in Shrewsbury by Thomas Jones and his successors, were best sellers in the markets and shops of south Wales.¹³¹ The English language almanacks examined in Welsh libraries for this study provide some revealing examples. Appendix 8 lists several editions of a very popular almanack in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries entitled *Poor Robin*.¹³² Cyprian Blagden's detailed and complex analysis of the Stationers Company

¹²⁷ S.W.H Ireland was probably William Henry Ireland (1775-1835) a London-based book collector, writer and literary forger of Shakespearian documents. See: Paul Baines, 'Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835), Literary Forger and Writer', in David Cannadine (eds.) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011), [Accessed 29 February 2020].

¹²⁸ See also Chapter 4 above, Fig. 4.14.

¹²⁹ The language of almanacks listed in these inventories is never stated.

¹³⁰ For example *Gloucester Journal* 26 December 1727, p. 4.

¹³¹ There are no statistics available as to the number of Welsh language almanacks produced in these years, but the innovative and wide-reaching system of distributing agents established by Thomas Jones probably assured their success. See: Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 246.

¹³² Most of the editions of *Poor Robin* were produced anonymously, but subsequent scholarship has established the author as William Winstanley.

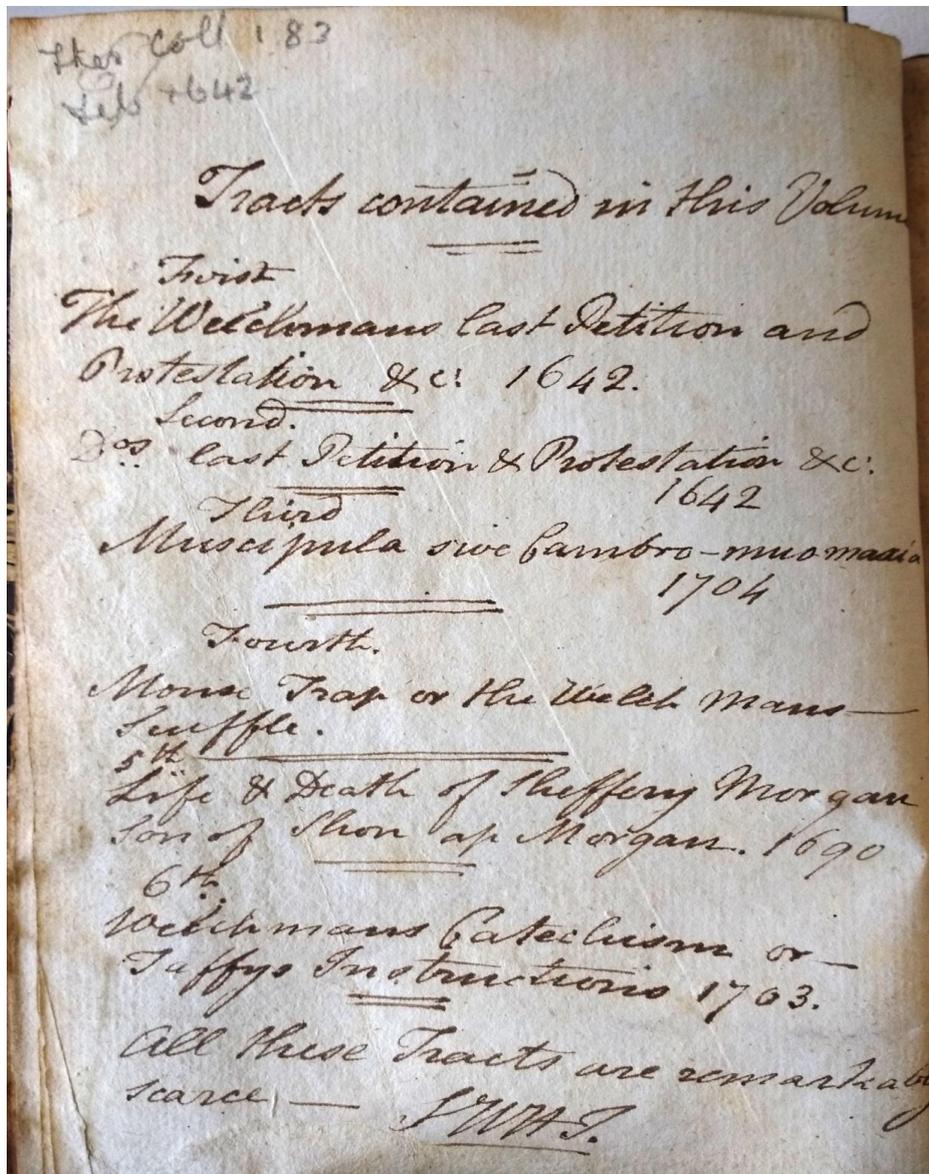


Fig. 6.11 Tracts collection (CCL, CWT 298). Fly-leaf.

records show an average of 21,000 copies printed each year between 1664 and 1687,¹³³ and there are extant copies for every year from 1664 to 1800, with only minor changes to content and format. Its enduring popularity may be owing to its particular format of useful information combined with rather bizarre prophecies, jokes and political satire (Fig. 6.12). A study by Benjamin Wardhaugh describes these *Poor Robins* as 'spoof astronomical almanacs' which 'provide a rare window on to popular perceptions of mathematics' in Restoration England.¹³⁴ He adds that one of the reasons for its success over so many years was 'the way it was able to feed on the status of genuine almanacs, being published by the same company as them and free to mimic their appearance'.¹³⁵

Two features from the examples seen for this study stand out and shed light on the nature of reading, although it cannot be assumed to have taken place in Wales, despite these copies currently being located in Welsh libraries. Firstly, three of the five *Poor Robin Almanacks* dated 1681, 1685 and 1729 are bound with other almanacks for the same year. That for 1681 is forty-six pages, and bound with nine other 1681 almanacks, the first and longest item being William Lilly's more serious *Merlini Anglici*. The final page contains an amusing 'Welsh prophecy', Royalist in tone. The 1729 copy is just 16 pages bound in the back of the John Tipper's *Ladies Diary or the Woman's Almanack*, another popular title throughout the eighteenth century. The copy for 1685 bears the contemporary name inscription of William Tayler and a handwritten list of contents, of which Lilly is again the first (Fig. 6.13). There are also, on other blank pages, names of the Tayler family, indicating its value to later generations. Yet why would this literate man purchase and bind ten almanacks for the same year? It can only be suggested that he was interested in comparing information, and perhaps gaining different entertainment from each one. Wardhaugh

¹³³ Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', p. 114. His tables are drawn from nine sample years within this date range.

¹³⁴ Benjamin Wardhaugh, 'Poor Robin and Merry Andrew: Mathematical Humour in Restoration England', *BSHM Bulletin: Journal of the British Society for the History of Mathematics*, 22 3, (2007), p. 151.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

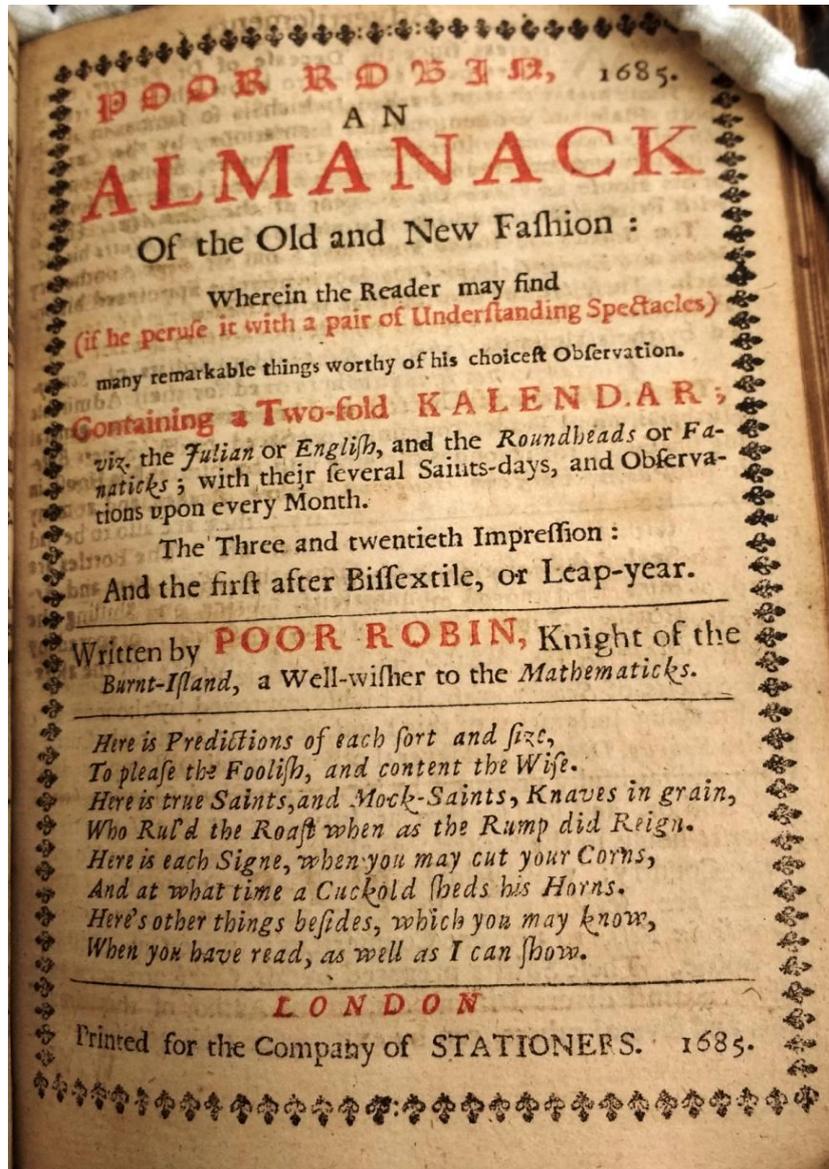


Fig. 6.12. Anon *Poor Robin's Almanack 1685*. London, s.n., 1685. Title-page.

comments that much of the data within the pages of any almanack of this period was unreliable and unverifiable, so it may have been of interest to the early modern reader to pick and choose.¹³⁶ Blagden makes the following comment on his analysis of the Stationers' Company figures:

The binding costs were high for single almanacks; but it is believed that many private customers used to have a dozen or more bound up together. The proportion of almanacks which survive in these bound sets is naturally large and may give a false picture of the numbers treated in this way.¹³⁷

One further example found in Fonmon Castle, and therefore almost certainly owned and read there in the seventeenth century, is that of Partridge's almanack of 1688. Entitled *Annus Mirabilis* (see Appendix 7), this copy is bound as the seventh item in a volume of thirteen items of varying length, including some chapbooks. The binding itself lacks any title on the spine, and there is no overall title page or list of contents. On closer examination, however, this small thirty-two page book is not an almanack, but rather a satire on that genre, using extracts from the almanack itself.

The second physical feature of note found in a stand-alone copy of a *Poor Robin's Almanack* of 1744 is the presence of a number of blank pages at the front and back (Fig. 6.14). Although this publication is later than the period of this study, Blagden has noted the commonality of such pages in many almanacks of the Restoration period, and also recorded the contemporary term 'blanks', as opposed to 'sorts' which simply had the normal fly-leaves.¹³⁸ This particular copy also has a fine binding with a protective closing flap (Fig. 6.15). The blank pages are well-filled with the name, repeatedly, of Henry Keen, together with other names and all manner of notes, sums and accounts. The strong impression given by this volume is that it has been used as a portable notebook, or daybook, as well as a handy

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 155.

¹³⁷ Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', p. 115.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 110.

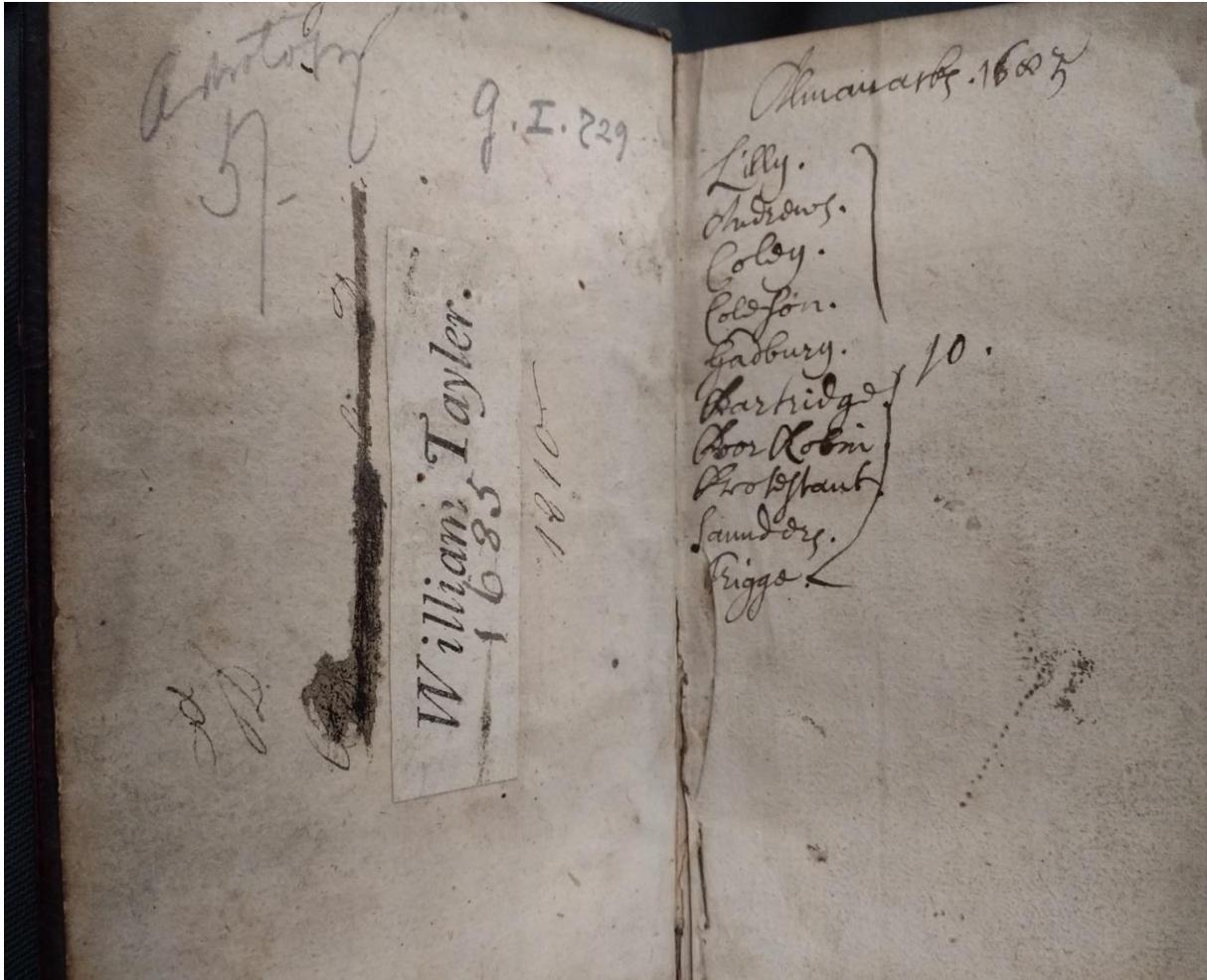


Fig. 6.13. Front fly-leaf of bound volume of ten almanacks of 1685, the first being William Lilly *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris*. (London: J. Macock, 1685).

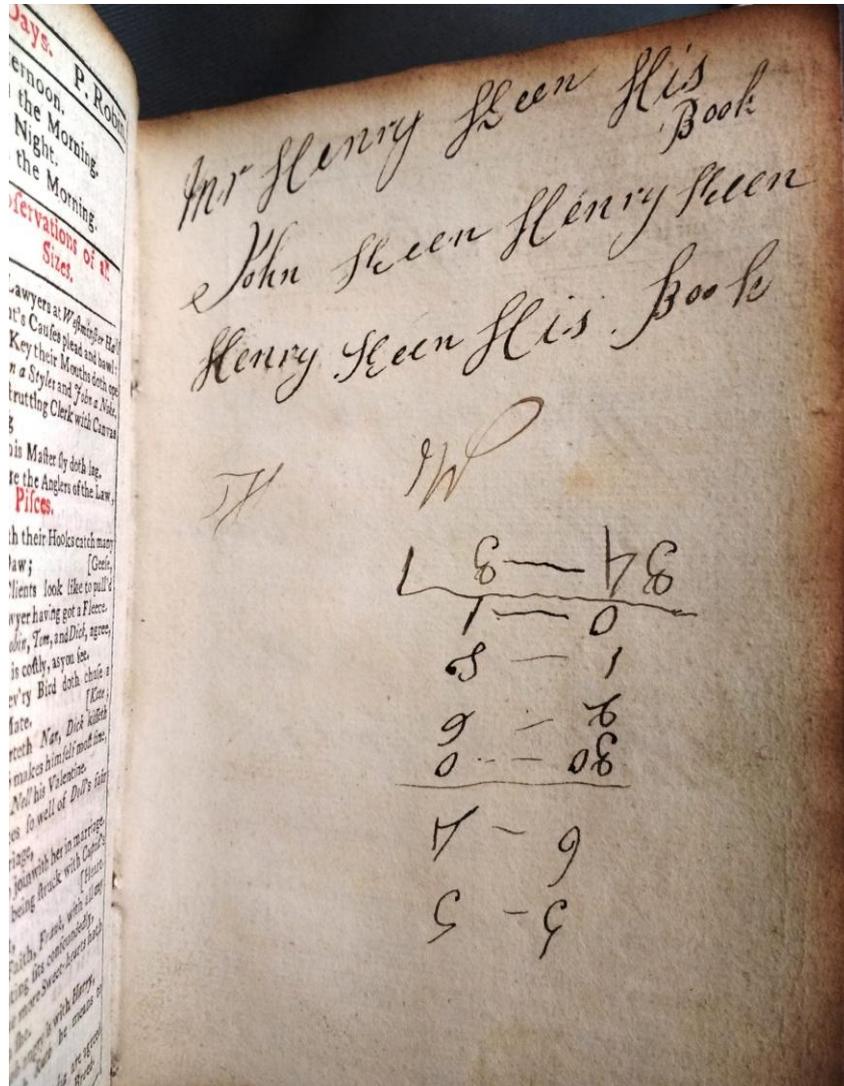


Fig 6.14. Blank page at the back of *Poor Robin's Almanack 1744* (London: s.n., 1744).

reference book, thus serving a different, or at least supplementary, purpose to that which is usually associated with the concept of reading.

In conclusion, evidence of ownership and readership of cheap print in terms of specific titles linked to named people, is confined to a few examples from amongst the gentry of south Wales. Cautious assumptions can be made, however, from evidence of such items in shops and libraries and distribution by SPCK to their agents and to charity schools, that English language godly chapbooks, almanacks, newspapers and basic school textbooks were widely available to all sections of population at this time. Evidence on literacy indicates that those who could not read, including those who could not read English, may have heard the content through reading aloud, especially in a group context,¹³⁹ but the dominance of monoglot Welsh speakers among the common people would be a significant barrier. Reading reception, however, in terms of how this material shaped the lives and behaviour of those who read them, remains an unknown quantity for this period.

¹³⁹ See Chapter 2 above.



Fig 6.15. Cover of *Poor Robin's Almanack 1744* (London: s.n., 1744).

CONCLUSION

The key research questions that have been examined by this thesis concern the extent of the availability, in south Wales and the border areas, of cheap print in the English language between 1660 and 1730. Other scholarly research has examined the development of Welsh language material in this period, often with a strong emphasis on the importance of this language development to the establishment of a strong Welsh cultural identity.¹ A survey of cheap print distribution in seventeenth-century England can be found in Margaret Spufford's seminal work on chapbooks,² but since its publication in 1981 there has only been minimal pursuit of this research topic, almost none of which focusses on Wales. The body of research in this thesis has now demonstrated that English language chapbooks, almanacks and newspapers were sold in Monmouthshire towns, but they had probably not penetrated in significant numbers to the rest of south Wales. Small religious tracts, however, together with basic school texts were widely distributed and read throughout the region. The former were invariably given out free by SPCK and the latter were widely available for a few pence from itinerant agents and mercer's shops, (found in even the smallest of communities) and at fairs and markets throughout the region.³

Conspicuous by its absence from the categories of cheap print listed above is the 'penny merriment' so avidly collected by Samuel Pepys and Anthony Wood in the period covered by this study. The term was used by Pepys, and inscribed on the spine of three small volumes which he bound together, comprising in total 115 small books.⁴ These include the many illustrated romances, histories and folk tales, such as *Guy Earl of Warwick*, *Bevis of*

¹ This research is summarised in Chapter One.

² Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*.

³ The considerable evidence for this can be found in Chapter Four.

⁴ This unique collection is held in the Pepys Library, University of Cambridge. A complete catalogue of the 3 volumes can be found in Thompson, *Samuel Pepys's Penny Merriments*.

Southampton and *The Delectable History of Robin Hood* which were produced in their hundreds of thousands, and many editions and versions, by London printers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵ Evidence on specific titles reaching the English provinces is scant, but it is there.⁶ No equivalent evidence for south Wales has emerged in the course of this study. It is widely acknowledged that this type of evidence will always be rare, owing to the ephemeral nature of the product as well as the tendency, in the letters, inventories, catalogues and accounts that have been examined for this study, for the ownership and reading of such ephemera to be thought not worth recording⁷.

In order to establish this paucity of the 'typical' chapbook (as opposed to other types of cheap popular print), examination was made for this study of titles in ESTC which related Welsh folk tales, and then seeking these specific items in Welsh libraries and collections to establish provenance.⁸ One Welsh folk hero that has been found in an illustrated chapbook, *The Life and Death of Sheffery Morgan*, produced in London in 1690, and again in 1700, was in fact more of a satire on the stereotypical Welshman. Although copies now exist in the NLW as well as Cardiff Central Library, the only known contemporary owner of a copy is Samuel Pepys. The tales of Twm Shon Catti, known as the Robin Hood of Wales, were finally published in English for the Welsh market by John Ross, of Carmarthen, in 1763.⁹ Eiluned Rees, commenting on the early output from the Welsh presses, states that the 'the visual arts had never been a vital part of Welsh culture' owing to the 'strong hold of Puritanism'.¹⁰ This is further endorsed by the complete absence of illustrations in the godly chapbooks sent in their hundreds to south Wales by SPCK between 1700 and 1730. The

⁵ Spufford cites the inventory of Charles Tias (1664) as listing a stock of around 10,000 chapbooks. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, Chapter 4.

⁶ For example Frances Wolfreton of Staffordshire had a collection of chapbooks which are now in the British Library (See Chapter 1).

⁷ See Chapter 6.

⁸ The full list of titles seen, and their current location, can be found in Appendix 8.

⁹ Anon, *The joker or, Merry companion, to which are added Tomshone Catty's tricks* (Carmarthen: J. Ross and R. Thomas, 1763).

¹⁰ Rees, 'Developments in the Book-Trade in Eighteenth Century Wales', p. 36.

visual aids so popular in certain titles such as *The mother's blessing* (1685) were not the ones chosen to send to south Wales. The puritanical flavour of these small books was well exemplified by a four-page pamphlet produced by Sir John Philipps, stalwart supporter of SPCK's mission in Pembrokeshire, entitled *A Short Account of the Impiety and Immorality of the Stage* (1704). The Society purchased 500 copies, although these were probably intended for circulation in London, as rural Wales would certainly not have been an obvious market.¹¹ As shown in Chapter Two, the SPCK committee, which met frequently in this period to discuss methods of furthering their cause in south Wales, tended to commission their own choice of publications, which were consistently severe and admonitory in tone.¹²

Not only did the Welsh culture militate against the appeal of illustrated, light-hearted little books. Perhaps even more important was the language barrier. This research has drawn on evidence from the SPCK archives and other contemporary accounts which support the suggestion that most of the lower orders in south Wales were monoglot Welsh speakers, excepting south Pembrokeshire and the border areas, for example in Hay-on-Wye where English was widely spoken and understood at this time¹³. As far as is known, no translations into Welsh were made of any 'typical' chapbooks in this period, although the Welsh language almanacks produced in Shrewsbury seemed to have sold very well¹⁴. Thus the English little books being read widely in English towns and villages were inaccessible to the majority of the population in south Wales.

It would seem unsurprising, therefore, that popular print, specifically in the ballad genre, developed only in the Welsh language, in the form of an eight page pamphlet, quite different from the typical English broadside product. It was not illustrated, and did not appear

¹¹ Clement, *Correspondence and Minutes*, p. 251.

¹² The full list of titles sent to south Wales can be seen in Appendix 5.

¹³ See Fairs, *A History of Hay*, and further evidence in Chapter 2.

¹⁴ Thomas Jones published the first Welsh language almanack, and professed great success over many years. See Chapter 3 above.

until the early eighteenth century. John Davies considers this point with regard to the Welsh language ballad tradition which was rarely found in south Wales until the mid-eighteenth century despite that genre being so popular in England since the sixteenth century:

If, however, the ballad singers of the South [Wales] came into the field at a later period, it may be confidently asserted that their productions were superior, both as regards fluency of expression and sense of humour, to those of their brethren in the North. It is difficult to give any satisfactory explanation for the lack of early [Welsh language] ballads in South Wales. The printing presses of Shrewsbury and Bristol were quite as accessible to South Wales as those of Shrewsbury and Chester to North Wales and, moreover a printing press was started in Carmarthen as early as 1721. It is possible, of course, that fewer South Wales ballads have survived, but the more likely explanation is that the South Wales bards were to a greater extent under the direct influence of the religious revivals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁵

Although written in 1911, little scholarship has emerged to change this position. Thus a combination of cultural and language factors served to discourage the market for this material, even though distribution of other sorts of cheap print, usually published in London, was readily achieved by both sea and land. As pointed out in Chapter Two, English language primers and other school-books were widely available. A spelling book of 1700 states on its first page that it contains 'all the different words, syllables, & letters in the old English character, of the three first usual school-books, (the Horn-Book, the A B C with the catechism, & the Primer) & more too'.¹⁶ The evidence presented in Appendix 1 shows fourteen stockists of horn books and primers from those south Welsh tradesmen who left inventories. This, together with the schoolbooks provided by SPCK in large quantities, indicate a strong contribution to literacy via the charity schools who strived to teach English

¹⁵Davies, *A Bibliography of Welsh Ballads Printed in the 18th Century*, p. vi.

¹⁶Anon, *The Best & plainest English spelling-book containing all the different words, syllables, & letters in the old English character, of the three first usual school-books, (the Horn-Book, the A B C with the catechism, & the Primer) & more too* (London: s.n., 1700), p.1.

to their Welsh-speaking pupils. Nevertheless, the overall numbers in those schools were low, and it was not until much later that bilingualism penetrated beyond the border areas.

The one exception to the low popularity of the English chapbook, as this research has now shown, was the chapbooks issuing from Robert Raikes' Gloucester press such as *History of the Remarkable Life of John Sheppard* (1724) or *'Tis all a Cheat or the Way of the World* (1723) which could be purchased from his agents travelling through English-speaking Monmouthshire, although there is no knowing how many were actually purchased.¹⁷ They lacked the woodcut illustrations of the London chapbooks, and the folk-tale tradition seemed largely absent from Raikes' selection. The single extant exception was his flap-book *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* (c. 1726). This appears to be a one-off product, part ballad part chapbook, generously illustrated and costing just one penny. It cannot be discounted that this was produced to entertain a young readership. The fact that it was seemingly only sold in Bristol, at the bookshop of John Wilson, indicates that it was perhaps somewhat experimental, testing the market in a large thriving commercial centre rather than the rather smaller city of Gloucester. It is the only extant Raikes publication with such an imprint and was not promoted through the pages of the *Gloucester Journal*.

In the course of conducting this study it has been possible to carry out the first analysis of the records of licenses issued to hawkers and pedlars between 1697 to 1699 resident in south Wales. This shows that they were just as numerous as in England and indicates that there was a strong appetite for the variety of small goods that they had to offer in their packs, especially in rural areas which necessitated long journeys to shops.¹⁸ The relationship between a chapman based, for example, in Abergavenny and the mercers and other shopkeepers of that town can only be guessed at. In some cases the chapman had his

¹⁷ See Chapter 5, which includes a full account of Robert Raikes' life, and Appendix 6 which is a complete list of his known publications between 1722 and 1730.

¹⁸ See Chapter 4 for full details of the inventory analysis.

own shop and perhaps just took to the road from time to time. In other cases, he may have purchased his goods from the mercers themselves, for resale in the surrounding villages and hill farms, sometimes covering a wide area and often offering credit. This thesis has demonstrated that the occupational definition of 'chapman' or 'petty chapman' was looser than was previously assumed by its association with the subsequent term 'chapbook'. The statute of 1697 requiring these itinerant traders to pay for an annual licence referred to them as 'Hawkers Pedlars and Petty Chapmen', yet it is clear from contemporary evidence in south Wales that the occupation of chapman was commonplace and could refer to a shopkeeper. Above all, he or she was perceived as a seller of cheap goods. Margaret Spufford, drawing on evidence from England, concludes that 'there was not much danger of chapmen being confused with mercers, despite the similarity of goods chapmen carried to the cheaper goods in mercers' shops; there was usually a very clear demarcation in the contemporary mind'.¹⁹ Evidence from inventories examined in Chapters Three and Four indicate a similar situation in south Wales.

Turning to the readers themselves, Geraint H. Jenkins surmises that the growing literacy of the 'middling sorts' created the main market for book buying in south Wales.²⁰ The gentry often purchased their literature in London, where they invariably had a second house, or requested items from friends and family to be sent to them direct. This study does demonstrate that it was the farmers, merchants and craftsmen, such as John Gwin, yeoman of Llangwm, Monmouthshire, that were the main local purchasers and readers of all the categories of cheap print, and perhaps sometimes more expensive publications.²¹ It was probably they who patronised the general stores, who were visited by itinerant chapmen, who sent their children to the charity schools and who, occasionally, visited Bristol or Gloucester

¹⁹ Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, p. 60.

²⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, p. 300.

²¹ Examination of John Gwin's Commonplace Book can be found in Chapter 6.

to seek out a wider range of goods. The only town in south Wales which could compare to an English metropolis was Carmarthen, where, between 1660 and 1730, there were at least nine booksellers/stationers, forty-two hawkers/chapmen, forty-one mercers and four apothecaries. The town's position, at the end of a difficult land journey but on a navigable river estuary, was critical to its prosperity, and certainly the book trade contributed to its thriving commercial life.

The challenges of studying chapbooks and other categories of popular published works of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century are twofold. Firstly, very few have survived. Examining several examples for this study, it has become clear that those items which have been subsequently bound are, in the main, the survivors. This has been especially apparent in the collection in Fonmon Castle Library, where a member of the Jones family had bound pamphlets together, and also in Cardiff Central Library, the British Library and Cardiff University Special Collections. The latter holds a few titles in paper covers, but this is a rarity. So it is the binding by subsequent collectors or libraries, usually unknown, that has, in a quite arbitrary fashion, enabled the present-day researcher to examine these little books. The most prominent example of this is the binding, in two large volumes, of the *Gloucester Journal* 1722 to 1731 which forms the only full set extant for the first important years of the newspaper.²² So, although ephemeral items such as almanacks, newspapers, chapbooks or political tracts were often considered too unimportant to list in contemporary catalogues or inventories, yet their value to posterity has been taken seriously enough for their owners, or possibly subsequent owners or collectors, to order and pay for a customised binding. In the

²² The bound volumes of the *Gloucester Journal* were donated to Gloucester Archives in 1956, having been passed down to John Clifford of Dursley by his ancestors. The collection was originally built up by John Delafield Phelps (1764 – 1842), a member of the Roxburghe Club antiquarian book society, so there is a high probability that it was he who arranged the binding of these early issues of this local newspaper.

case of the small pamphlets, this required the insertion of a considerable number of blank pages at the end in order to make binding possible for such small items.²³

The same may be said of evidence concerning the numbers of chapmen. Whilst the register of hawkers appears to be good quantitative evidence, yet there are numerous misspellings, repetitions, illegible entries, exemptions and omissions. Place of abode may simply have been an address of convenience, and evasion was probably commonplace. This study has, for the first time, analysed these two existing registers for 1697-8 and 1698-9 and found a surprisingly high number of registrations in south Wales. This in itself indicates that the itinerant trader was a common sight throughout south Wales at the end of the seventeenth century.²⁴ By matching the names of some 150 registered hawkers to extant inventories, only two were found which was a disappointing if predictable result, bearing in mind the low incomes of hawkers and pedlars. When, however, the inventories of mercers and shopkeepers were examined, this proved a more fruitful area, showing that around fifty shop inventories listed cheap books amongst the variety of wares. This led to the new key finding of this study, namely that popular print, mostly in the form of almanacks, school books or undefined 'little books' were for sale throughout the region.

Secondly, the problem of definition, as discussed in Chapter One above, remains. The boundaries are not clear, or agreed by book historians, with the result that the genre of chapbooks, pamphlets, and tracts will probably always remain fluid in terms of what should be included. Certain categories of cheap print, such as newspapers and almanacks, present no problem but there are many items, particularly traditional chapbooks, which probably lie in libraries and private collections unidentified and unknown to the scholarly community. A small number of previously unknown books have been found during the research for this

²³ See Appendices 7 and 8 for examples.

²⁴ The full analysis of the entries in the register for south Wales can be found in Chapter 4.

study.²⁵ The British Library cataloguers have sometimes included, within entries in the ESTC, a subject heading for chapbooks, but this has been idiosyncratic and inconsistent. For example, there are a mere 117 items which have been allocated this heading in the period 1660 to 1730, which certainly does not reflect the number of chapbooks in the database. There are just five recorded copies of the chapbook version of the popular *Bevis of Southampton* found in the ESTC, and ten short versions of *Guy of Warwick*, yet none of these have been assigned the subject heading 'chapbooks'.²⁶

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that scholarly research into the topic of cheap or popular print in Britain remains a challenge which few take up. It is generally agreed, as shown in Chapter Two, that revelations regarding the cultural and educational impact of reading on society at all levels serves as one entry into the mental world of the people of the period. Yet the difficulties of incompleteness, dependence on chance archival survivals, as for most research in this period, and the vagueness of the chapbook genre prevent a rigorous quantitative approach, as Margaret Spufford surmised.²⁷ Since the time of her groundbreaking research, quite dependent in the late 1970s on physical resources, the world of early print has been opened up to scholars through a range of impressive electronic databases combined with numerous digitisation projects in libraries throughout the world.²⁸ Although this has enabled them to dig deeply and widely as never before, it has also emphasised the partial knowledge thus obtained. This study has contributed to current scholarship in examining the availability and readership of cheap English language print in south Wales and the borders, not done before in any systematic way. Several key areas have revealed much

²⁵ For example, 32 new titles or editions from the Gloucester Press of Robert Raikes. See Chapter 5 and Appendix 6.

²⁶ <http://estc.bl.uk> [accessed 23 July 2019]

²⁷ Spufford's analysis rests mainly on the Pepys collection. The rationale for this is explained in her introduction. See Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p. xix.

²⁸ The key databases have been listed in Chapter 1. Digitisation projects have been carried out by many academic libraries to promote their most valuable or interesting holdings. In many cases this is a continuing process, as funding allows.

new evidence. Firstly, close analysis of the Hawkers' Licensing records between 1697 and 1699 has indicated high numbers of itinerant traders in south Wales.²⁹ Secondly, examination of all extant Welsh inventories in which books are listed as a commodity for sale has demonstrated the strong presence of printed material throughout the region at this time predominantly available through shops.³⁰ Further to this, examination of a wider group of sixty-one inventories of chapmen, hawkers and pedlars in south Wales (whether or not they had books listed or were licensed) shows diverse and interesting characteristics. Some had shops, most gave credit and overall there was a wide range of accumulated wealth at their death. Thirdly, a detailed examination of the *Gloucester Journal* from 1722 to 1730 has revealed the publication of thirty-two previously unknown chapbook titles, as well as a wealth of contextual information regarding the innovative marketing techniques of Robert Raikes.³¹ Added to that is the discovery of his rare flap-book, only the fourth known example of such a format, and unique to this period. This new evidence, combined with a re-interpretation of other scholarly outputs such as Mary Clement's transcriptions of SPCK archives, have led to convincing conclusions regarding the previously unknown levels of English language print distribution. Analysis of transport routes from contemporary accounts have shown that goods, including printed material, reached the furthest parts of rural Wales with surprising regularity.

There seems no doubt that a variety of publications were available to any who wanted them, but that the language barrier combined with the paucity of translated Welsh language material, served to limit its popularity. In the more English-speaking areas such as south Pembrokeshire, Monmouthshire and east Breconshire, English language newspapers,

²⁹ At least 80 licenses were issued for four counties of south Wales in one year – see Chapter 4.

³⁰ Detailed analysis of 247 inventories has been carried out – see Chapter 3.

³¹ Full analysis is to be found in Chapter 5.

school books and chapbooks were being sold cheaply through small retail shops,³² travelling salesmen and on market stalls, thereby improving literacy rates and extending the mental world of the provincial Welsh population through their encounters with the print world. This process was slow, as the Welsh language had a strong hold on the common people in most of the westerly areas. Thus was added a further degree of challenge and resistance to English language material which can be seen in the difficulties encountered by the early charity schools who, under the Welsh Trust and then SPCK, taught only in English.³³ This changed following the establishment of Griffiths Jones' circulating schools, in which Welsh was the medium of teaching both children and adults, resulting in significant improvements in literacy rates amongst the lower orders as the eighteenth century progressed.³⁴ The English language did, finally, become widely spoken, or at least understood, in most of south Wales, much boosted by the waves of English workers, and probably English cheap print, arriving in the Welsh valleys.³⁵ In the seventeenth century, however, the huge popularity of the illustrated 'little books' published in high quantity by London printers failed to enter the south Welsh market except in those areas closest to the border with England.

³² This is the term used by Spufford to describe the typical chapman's shop. See Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England*, p. 61.

³³ Contemporary evidence for the language used in primary education is recorded in Chapter 2.

³⁴ The first school was opened around 1736, and rapidly followed by many more throughout south Wales. See Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 22.

³⁵ The 'decay of Welsh', especially in eastern areas of south Wales, is described in Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales*, especially Chapter 10.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Types of book material (where known) sold by all distributors in south Wales and borders (excl. Bristol) 1650 – 1740

Surname	First names	Occupation	Books	Horn books	Primer s or ABCs	School books	Gram mars	Ballads	Small or little books	Prayer books	Psalt ers	Bibles	News paper s	Trad- ing date	Town
Boston	John	Petty chapman	x											1714	Martletwy
Bowen	Hugh	Mercer							x					1689	Pembroke
Chapman	John	Agent							x				x	1725	Gloucester
Carter	Isaac	Printer, bookseller	x					x						1718	Trefhedyn
Cooper	John II	Bookseller, stationer	x											1663	Hereford
Cooper	Mary	Bookseller, stationer	x											1662	Hereford
Crofts	John	Shopkeeper							x				x	1726	Monmouth
Dawkins	Jenkin	Mercer	x									x		1689	Swansea
Earle	Edward	Mercer	x		x		x			x		x		1696	Newport
Edwards	Richard	Mercer							x					1726	Llantrisant
Edwyn	Thomas	Mercer							x					1687	Llandeilo
Evans	David	Shopkeeper	x											1722	Trefhedyn
Godwin	William	Mercer	x											1734	Caerleon
Gove	Dawkin	Bookseller	x					x	x	x		x		1670	Carmarthen
Gouch	Rees	Pedlar	x											1650	Carmarthen
Griffithes	Thomas	Shopkeeper	x									x		1680	Llanelli
Harris	Gabriel	Bookseller							x				x	1728	Gloucester
Harris	James	Mercer							x					1692	Usk
Hibbs	Joseph	Mercer	x											1708	Swansea
Hiley	Florence	Mercer			x									1724	Cardiff

Surname	First names	Occupation	Books	Horn books	Prime rs or ABCs	School books	Gram mars	Ballads	Small or little books	Prayer books	Psalt ers	Bibles	News paper s	Trad- ing date	Town
Holland	John	Mercer					x				x	x		1667	Haverfordwest
Howell	John	Mercer				x								1684	Swansea
Hunt	Richard	Bookseller	x											1673	Hereford
James	Jacob	Apothecary	x											1696	Newport
Jenkins	Morgan	Victualler, Chandler	x											1737	Cardiff
Jones	David	Mercer			x		x				x			1681	Carmarthen
Jones	Mathew	Bookseller	x											1670	Swansea
Joseph	Thomas	Mercer	x											1672	Bridgend
Lewis	John	Bookseller					x							1727	Carmarthen
Lewis	Thomas	Shopkeeper	x											1722	Carmarthen
Lewis	Thomas	Petty chapman							x					1664	Carmarthen
Lloyd	Evan	Bookseller	x						x					1679	Haverfordwest
Lloyd	John	Mercer		x	x									1713	Haverfordwest
Lloyd	Rees	Mercer							x			x		1702	Llandeilo
Lloyd	William	Mercer				x								1693	Tenby
Morgan	Rees	Mercer							x					1736	Llandingad
Morgan	Lewis	Mercer		x	x		x				x			1678	Brecon
Morris	Thomas	Mercer	x											1688	Llanymddyfri
Nelme	Roger	Mercer	x											1713	Newent
Oakey	J.	Shopkeeper							x				x	1726	Cardiff
Phillipps	William	Taylor, shopkeeper	x											1694	Swansea
Powell	James	Agent							x				x	1726	Hay
Powell	Theophilus	Bookseller	x	x	x				x	x		x		1720	Brecon
Price	Rice	Agent							x				x	1726	Monmouth
Reeves	Peter	Petty chapman		x										1706	Magor

Surname	First names	Occupation	Books	Horn books	Prime rs or ABCs	School books	Gram mars	Ballads	Small or little books	Prayer books	Psalt ers	Bibles	News paper s	Trad- ing date	Town
Rogers	Charles	Mercer		x										1669	Usk
Rogers	Samuel	Bookseller	x						x				x	1723	Abergavenny
Sayes	Ezra	Mercer		x								x		1679	Tenby
Smart	Robert	Mercer	x		x		x			x	x	x		1692	Carmarthen
Stoakes	George	Mercer	x				x				x			1715	Pembroke
Telfer	John	Hawker	x											1697	Swansea
Thomas	John	Shopkeeper	x											1710	Laleston
Thomas	Nicholas	Printer, bookseller		x		x	x					x		1722	Carmarthen
Tottenham	Gideon	Mercer				x								1709	Carmarthen
Utting	Charles	Mercer		x	x									1718	Carmarthen
Vallence	John	Mercer	x											1750	Cowbridge
Virtue	John	Shopkeeper		x										1672	Abergavenny
Wilde	James I	Bookseller, stationer		x	x		x	x		x	x	x		1695	Hereford
Williams	Roger	Bookseller, stationer	x				x			x		x		1695	Hereford
Williams	Samuel	Mercer	x											1678	Swansea
Williams	William	Apothecary	x											1705	Builth
Wilson	John	Agent							x				x	1726	Bristol
Wood	John	Agent							x				x	1726	Chepstow

APPENDIX 2

All known book distributors in south Wales and border areas (inc. Bristol) 1640 - 1730

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Adey	Mr.	Bookseller	BBTI	1692		Bristol	Gloucester
Ainge	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1693	1697	Bristol	Gloucester
Alexander	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1682		Bristol	Gloucester
Allen	Charles	Bookseller	Will	1674	1682	Bristol	Gloucester
Ballard	William	Bookseller	BBTI	1651	1653	Bristol	Gloucester
Barker	Christopher III	Printer	BBTI	1643	1645	Bristol	Gloucester
Bill	John II	Printer	BBTI	1643	1645	Bristol	Gloucester
Bond	William	Bookseller	BBTI	1717		Gloucester	Gloucester
Bonny	William	Bookseller	Inventory	1686	1715	Bristol	Gloucester
Boston	John	Petty chapman	Inventory	1714		Martletwy	Pembroke
Bowen	Hugh	Mercer	Inventory	1689		Pembroke	Pembroke
Broade	Richard	Bookseller, stationer	Will	1700	1704	Hereford	Hereford
Bullock	Mr.	Bookseller	BBTI	1718	1720	Gloucester	Gloucester
Carter	Isaac	Printer, bookseller	BBTI	1725	1733	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Chapman	John	Distributor	Newspaper	1725		Gloucester	Gloucester
Clent	William	Bookseller	BBTI	1666	1668	Leominster	Hereford
Cobb	Thomas	Printer	BBTI	1713		Gloucester	Gloucester
Cooper	John II	Bookseller, stationer	Inventory	1663	1671	Hereford	Hereford
Cooper	Mary	Bookseller, stationer	Inventory	1662	1671	Hereford	Hereford
Cooper	John I	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1625	1662	Hereford	Hereford
Cosley	William	Bookseller	Newspaper	1725	1750	Bristol	Gloucester
Crofts	John	Bookseller	Newspaper	1723	1736	Monmouth	Monmouth

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Davies	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1706		Abergavenny	Monmouth
Dawkins	Jenkin	Mercer	Inventory	1689		Swansea	Glamorgan
Earle	Edward	Mercer	Inventory	1696		Newport	Monmouth
Edwards	Richard	Mercer	Inventory	1726		Llantrisant	Glamorgan
Edwyn	Thomas	Mercer	Inventory	1687		Llandeilo	Carmarthen
Evans	Dafydd	Bookseller	BBTI	1722		Trefedyn	Cardigan
Evans	William	Bookseller	BBTI	1728		Bristol	Gloucester
Farley	Edward I	Printer	BBTI	1718	1720	Bristol	Gloucester
Farley	Felix	Bookseller	Will	1718	1753	Bristol	Gloucester
Farley	Samuel I	Printer	Will	1712	1725	Bristol	Gloucester
Ferryman	J.	Bookseller, grocer	BBTI	1720		Bristol	Gloucester
Godwin	William	Mercer	Inventory	1734		Caerleon	Monmouth
Gouch	Rees	Bookseller	Court case	1650		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Gove	Dawkin	Bookseller	Inventory	1670	1692	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Gravett	Richard	Bookseller	Inventory	1688	1738	Bristol	Gloucester
Greef	H.	Bookseller	BBTI	1715		Bristol	Gloucester
Greep	Henry	Printer	BBTI	1705	1734	Bristol	Gloucester
Griffithes	Thomas	Shopkeeper	Inventory	1680		Llanelli	Carmarthen
Griffiths	Math	Bookseller	BBTI	1720		Cilfai	Glamorgan
Hancox	Edward	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1669	1680	Hereford	Hereford
Hancox	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1674	1696	Hereford	Hereford
Hancox	Penelope	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1685	1686	Hereford	Hereford
Hancox	Thomas I	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1665	1685	Hereford	Hereford
Hancox	Thomas II	Bookseller	BBTI	1685		Hereford	Hereford
Harries	James	Mercer	Inventory	1692		Usk	Monmouth
Harris	Gabriel I	Bookseller	BBTI	1693	1738	Gloucester	Gloucester

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Harris	Vavasour	Bookseller	BBTI	1702	1707	Bristol	Gloucester
Harsell	Richard	Bookseller	BBTI	1643		Bristol	Gloucester
Hibbs	Joseph	Mercer	Inventory	1708		Swansea	Glamorgan
Hiley	Florence	Mercer	Inventory	1724		Cardiff	Glamorgan
Holland	John	Mercer	Inventory	1667		Haverfordwest	Pembroke
Howell	John	Mercer	Inventory	1684		Swansea	Glamorgan
Hunt	Amolah	Bookseller	BBTI			Hereford	Hereford
Hunt	James	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1702	1730	Hereford	Hereford
Hunt	John	Bookseller, stationer	Will	1707	1760	Hereford	Hereford
Hunt	Richard I	Bookseller, stationer	Will	1673	1693	Hereford	Hereford
James	Jacob	Apothecary	Inventory		1696	Newport	Monmouth
Jenkins	Morgan	Victualler, Chandler	Inventory		1737	Cardiff	Glamorgan
John	David	Bookseller, shopkeeper	BBTI	1720		Newcastle Emlyn	Carmarthen
Jones	David	Mercer	Inventory	1681		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Jones	Crispianus	Bookseller, bookbinder	BBTI	1723	1731	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Jones	Mathew	Bookseller	Inventory	1670	1677	Swansea	Glamorgan
Jordan	Anna	Bookseller	BBTI	1680		Gloucester	Gloucester
Jordan	Tobias	Bookseller	BBTI	1644	1664	Gloucester	Gloucester
Joseph	Thomas	Bookseller, mercer	Inventory	1670	1672	Bridgend	Glamorgan
Knight	John	Bookseller	Will	1710		Bristol	Gloucester
Langford	Toby	Bookseller	BBTI	1646	1676	Gloucester	Gloucester
Lashley	Thomas	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1687	1695	Hereford	Hereford
Legg	Herbert	Bookseller	BBTI	1723		Bristol	Gloucester
Legg	Thomas	Bookseller	BBTI	1723		Bristol	Gloucester
Lewis	George	Bookseller	BBTI	1689		Brecon	Brecon
Lewis	Thomas	Petty chapman	Inventory	1664		Carmarthen	Carmarthen

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Lewis	John	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1719	1755	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Lewis	Mrs	Bookseller	BBTI	1711		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Lewis	Thomas	Bookseller, bookbinder	BBTI	1704	1723	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Lewis	George	Bookseller	Lease	1700	1703	Bristol	Gloucester
Lewis	Martha	Bookseller	BBTI	1727	1748	Bristol	Gloucester
Lewis	William	Printer	BBTI	1716		Bristol	Gloucester
Lewis	James	Bookseller	BBTI	1744		Haverfordwest	Pembroke
Lloyd	Evan	Bookseller	BBTI	1683		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Lloyd	John	Mercer	Inventory	1713		Haverfordwest	Pembroke
Lloyd	Evan	Bookseller, chemist	BBTI	1679		Haverfordwest	Pembroke
Lloyd	Rees	Mercer	Inventory	1702		Llandeilo	Carmarthen
Lloyd	William	Mercer	Inventory	1693		Tenby	Pembroke
Love	Mr.	Bookseller	BBTI	1684		Gloucester	Gloucester
Luggar	William	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1657	1662	Hereford	Hereford
Mickey	Thomas	Bookseller	BBTI	1715		Llandygwydd	Cardigan
Martin	Bridget	Bookseller	BBTI	1697		Bristol	Gloucester
Miles	William	Bookseller	Parish register	1696		Cardiff	Glamorgan
Minshul	R	Bookseller	Book	1708		Caerleon	Monmouth
Morgan	Lewis	Mercer	Inventory	1678		Brecon	Brecon
Moone	Richard	Bookseller	BBTI	1660	1663	Bristol	Gloucester
Moone	Susan	Bookseller	Will 1665	1667	1674	Bristol	Gloucester
Morgan	Nathaniel	Bookseller	BBTI	1706		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Morgan	Rees	Mercer	Inventory	1736		Llandingad	Carmarthen
Morris	Thomas William	Bookseller, mercer	BBTI	1688		Llandovery	Carmarthen
Morris	William	Bookseller	BBTI	1739		Llanwrtyd	Brecon
Morris	Thomas	Mercer	Inventory	1688		Llanymddyfri	Carmarthen

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Morys	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1719		Caio	Carmarthen
Munday	Thomas	Bookseller	BBTI	1698	1700	Laleston	Glamorgan
Nelme	Roger	Mercer	Inventory		1713	Newent	Gloucester
Oakey	J.	Bookseller	BBTI	1725		Cardiff	Glamorgan
Palmer	John	Bookseller	Will	1694	1723	Gloucester	Gloucester
Parks	William	Printer	BBTI	1721		Hereford	Hereford
Parry	Richard	Bookseller	BBTI	1719		Pontypool	Monmouth
Phillipps	William	Taylor shopkeeper	Inventory	1694		Swansea	Glamorgan
Penn	E	Bookseller	BBTI	1718	1725	Bristol	Gloucester
Penn	John	Bookseller	BBTI	1717		Bristol	Gloucester
Penn	Joseph	Printer	BBTI	1719	1722	Bristol	Gloucester
Powel	Ffransis	Bookseller	BBTI	1711		Brecon	Brecon
Powell	Theophilus	Bookseller	Inventory	1720	1728	Brecon	Brecon
Powell	Mrs	Bookseller	BBTI	1739		Newport	Monmouth
Powell	James	Distributer	Newspaper	1725		Not known	Brecon
Price	Rice	Distributer	Newspaper	1725		Not known	Monmouth
Raikes	Robert	Printer, bookseller	Will	1718	1753	Gloucester	Gloucester
Rees	Evan	Bookseller, chapman	BBTI	1683	1746	Llandysul	Cardigan
Reeves	Peter	Petty chapman	Inventory	1706		Magor	Monmouth
Rogers	Samuell	Bookseller	Newspaper	1684	1734	Abergavenny	Monmouth
Rogers	J.	Bookseller	BBTI	1718	1725	Ross	Hereford
Rogers	Charles	Mercer	Inventory	1669		Usk	Monmouth
Sayes	Ezra	Mercer	Inventory	1679		Tenby	Pembroke
Smart	Robert	Mercer	Inventory	1692		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Stoakes	George	Mercer	Inventory	1715		Pembroke	Pembroke
Stephens	Priscilla	Bookseller	BBTI	1672	1675	Bristol	Gloucester

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Telfer	John	Hawker	1697 Register	1697		Swansea	Glamorgan
Sweete	Joseph	Bookseller	Inventory		1690	Bristol	Gloucester
Teage		Bookseller	BBTI	1662	1663	Bristol	Gloucester
Thomas	Dafydd	Bookseller	BBTI	1719	1720	Aberystwyth	Cardigan
Thomas	Nicholas	Printer, bookseller	BBTI	1721	1741	Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Thomas	Simon	Printer	BBTI	1721	1746	Hereford	Hereford
Thomas	John	Shopkeeper	Inventory	1710		Laleston	Glamorgan
Thomas	Lewis	Bookseller	BBTI	1714	1745	Llangrannog	Cardigan
Thomas	Michael	Bookseller	BBTI	1664	1667	Bristol	Gloucester
Thomas	Thomas	Bookseller	BBTI	1654	1675	Bristol	Gloucester
Thomas	David	Bookseller	BBTI	1713		Not known	Pembroke
Tottenham	Gideon	Mercer	Inventory	1709		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Utting	Charles	Mercer	Inventory	1718		Carmarthen	Carmarthen
Vallence	John	Mercer	Inventory		1750	Cowbridge	Glamorgan
Vertue	John	Bookseller, shopkeeper	Will	1734		Abergavenny	Monmouth
Whittington	John	Stationer, bookseller	BBTI	1693	1695	Hereford	Hereford
Wall	Francis	Bookseller	BBTI	1721		Bristol	Gloucester
Wall	Thomas	Bookseller	Will	1660	1701	Bristol	Gloucester
Whitehead	Thomas	Printer, bookseller	BBTI	1709		Bristol	Gloucester
Whittington	Richard	Stationer, bookseller	Will	1683	1695	Hereford	Hereford
Wilde	James I	Bookseller, stationer	Inventory	1695	1738	Hereford	Hereford
Wilde	James II	Bookseller, stationer	Will	1711	1770	Hereford	Hereford
Wilde	John	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1726	1730	Hereford	Hereford
Wilde	Richard	Bookseller, stationer	BBTI	1730	1755	Hereford	Hereford
Williams	William	Apothecary	Inventory	1705		Builth	Brecon
Williams	Walter	Bookseller, publisher	BBTI	1715	1716	Carmarthen	Carmarthen

Surname	First names	Occupation	Source	Start date (trading)	End date (trading)	Town	Shire county
Williams	Roger	Bookseller, stationer	Court case	1695	1707	Hereford	Hereford
Williams	Samuel	Mercer	Inventory	1678		Swansea	Glamorgan
Wilson	John	Bookseller	Newspaper	1725	1785	Bristol	Gloucester
Wood	John	Distributor	Newspaper	1725		Not known	Monmouth

APPENDIX 3

Items under 34 pages published in Bristol 1696 to 1730

Author	Titles	Printer	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC	Price	Notes
Abbot, Henry	Unity, Friendship and Charity ...	Samuel Farley	1713	8	24	T174753		Sermon
Anon	England's complaint	William Bonny	1692	1/2	1	R227937		Broadside poem
Anon	The humble presentment of the grand inquest	William Bonny	1696	1/2	?	R178372		
Anon	Proposals for the better maintaining and employing the poor of the city of Bristol	William Bonny	1696	1/2	2	R182186		
Anon	The door of salvation opened ...	William Bonny	1701	8	8	T166049		
Anon	We the free-holders and burgesses of this city and county of Bristol ...	William Bonny	1701	1/2	?	T179438		
Anon	Phœnix moriendo revixit. 2nd ed.	William Bonny	1702	4	10	N34291		
Anon	A hymn to be sung on the thanksgiving day ...	William Bonny	1715	1/2	1	T36935		
Anon	December the 12th, 1718. Whereas John Vantoff ...	Samuel Farley	1718	1/4	?	N47998		
Anon	The celebrated beauties: being an heroick poem ...	Joseph Penn	1720	8	12	T125024	3d	
Anon	The great bill of mortality: or, the late dreadful plague at Marseilles ...	Samuel Farley	1721	8	16	N6656		
Anon	An Historical account of the cures done by the mineral-water at Holt ...	Samuel Farley	1723	8	16	T151961		
Anon	An unhappy memorable song, of the hunting in Chevy Chase ...	Henry Greep	1730	1/2	1	T227271		Broadside poem
Aston, Tony	The pleasures of the Bath ...	Samuel Farley	1721	1/2	1	T42499		
Beavon, Thomas	John Plimpton's ten charges against the people ...	William Bonny	1696	8	8	R172681		
Beavon, Thomas	Thomas Beaven's second part, in relation to the Quakers.	William Bonny	1707	4	24	T63138		
Bedford, Arthur	A second advertisement concerning the profaneness of the play-house.	William Bonny	1705	8	16	T66158		

Author	Titles	Printer	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC	Price	Notes
Bonny, William (ed)	The Bristol post boy	William Bonny	1702	2	2	P3295		Weekly newspaper
Brent, Charles	The good man's surpassing worth and glory	Joseph Penn	1721	8	18	T163760	3d	
Bristol	An exact list of the votes of the freeholders and freemen, of the City and County of Bristol,	Joseph Penn	1722	8	28	T33628		A poll list
Bristol Corporation	... Treasury ... send down for the benefit of this city ... one thousand weight of silver ...	William Bonny	1696	1	1/2	R224696		
Bristol Corporation	We the Mayor and Aldermen his Majesties justices of the peace ... for ... Bristol	William Bonny	1714	1/2	?	N39733		
Bristol Corporation	Whereas the dwelling-house of Richard Stevens ... in the city of Bristol ...	William Bonny	1714	1/2	?	N39735		
Burnett, Thomas	Love and unity, a necessary means of preserving our religion and liberties ...	Charles Bonny	1722	8	30	N6055		
C. S.	Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's ...	Samuel Farley	1718	8	14	N26407		Sermon
Church of England	Prayers appointed by the bishops, ... to be used after the prayer in time of war ...	Samuel Farley	1715	1/2	?	T196120		
Clergyman	A ... letter sent to the Bishop of Gloucester ..., giving an account of one Thomas Perks ...	William Bonny	1704	8	8	T17168		
Clergy-man	An account of the Late Princes Sophia ...	Samuel Farley	1714	4	12	T183470	2d	Letter
Cruys, Francis	Ars nova natandi, or, New swimming girdles	William Bonny	1698	8	16	R224846		
Farley, Samuel (ed.)	Samuel. Farley's Bristol post man ...	Samuel Farley	1715	4	?12	P3294	1½d	Weekly newspaper
Farley, Samuel (ed.)	Farley's Bristol Newspaper ...	Samuel Farley	1725	4	4	P3293	2d	Weekly newspaper
Frampton, Thomas	Piety and charity the best return for mercies ...	William Bonny	1712	8	24	N37573		
Gibb, John	The mutual duties of magistrates and people.	Samuel Farley	1721	4	28	T12015		Sermon
Goldwin, William	On the honourableness, usefulness, and duty of merchants ...	Henry Greep	1715	4	32	T12011		Sermon
Goldwin, William	God's judgments on a sinful people.	Joseph Penn	1722	8	20	T88988	3d	

Author	Titles	Printer	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC	Price	Notes
Greep, Henry (ed.)	Bristol Weekly Mercury	Henry Greep	1716		4	N/A	1½ <i>d</i>	Weekly newspaper.
Hancorne, Thomas	The right way to honour and happiness.	William Bonny	1710	8	16	T205534		Sermon
Hargrave, John	Riches rightly improved ...	Henry Greep	1721	8	16	T107899		Sermon
Hignell, Jeremiah	Jeremiah Hignell's loving and friendly advice and council ...	William Bonny	1698	1/2	2	R221602		
Hole, Matthew	The rise of errors and divisions in the Christian Church, ...	William Bonny	1708	8	16	T493572		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The true moderation describ'd, and the false moderation delected ...	William Bonny	1709	8	16	T81814		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The best merchandize ...	William Bonny	1710	8	16	N479049		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The devices of the crafty disappointed ...	William Bonny	1710	8	16	N49751		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The divine authority and commission of God's ministers	William Bonny	1710	8	16	T101330		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The fall of princes, the sin and punishment of the people.	William Bonny	1710	8	16	T139819		Sermon
Hole, Matthew	The true liberty described ...	William Bonny	1711	8	16	T139820		Sermon
Loyal Society (Bristol)	A few short and true reasons, why a late member was expell'd the Loyal Society	Samuel Farley	1714	1/2	?	T5947		
Michell, Charles	The necessity of obedience to ecclesiastical governours ...	William Bonny	1710	8	32	T54839		Sermon
Mills, Benjamin	Short and plain rudiments of the Latin tongue	Joseph Penn	1722	8	35	T217757	6 <i>d</i>	
N. B.	The royal conqueress, a poem ...	William Bonny	1704	4	12	T203264		
Perkins, Joseph	Elegia in obitum celsissimi ...	William Bonny	1701	4	8	T67728		
Perkins, Joseph	A poem both in English and Latin on [sic] the death of ... Thomas Kenn ...	William Bonny	1711	4	8	T124721		Sermon
Russel, Robert	A sermon preach'd on the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost ...	Samuel Farley	1720	8	16	T126806		Sermon
Sharpe, William	Jesus Christ a believer's life ...	Samuel Farley	1728	8	24	T188320	3 <i>d</i>	Sermon
Sharpe, William	Unity and peace...	Samuel Farley	1728	8	20	T194742		
Silvester, John	Astrological and theological observations and predictions for ... 1700	William Bonny	1699	4	20	R213384		

Author	Titles	Printer	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC	Price	Notes
Standen, Joseph	A poem on the death of the Reverend Mr. John Weekes ...	William Bonny	1699	4	16	R222416		
Standfast, Richard	A dialogue between a blind-man and death	Samuel Farley	1720	12	12	T101781		
T. D.	The enemies fall, by God's arising.	William Bonny	1696	4	32	R174484		Sermon
Thompson, Thomas	The country vicar's letters of serious admonition ...	Samuel Farley	1714	8	16	T193580		
Ward, Edward	A [lo]oking-glass for England ...	Samuel Farley	1720	1/2	1?	N33963		Ballad
Waring, Henry	The dark penitent's complaint ...	William Bonny	1712	4	14	T219452		
Warren, Nicholas	The last speech and confession of Nicholas Warren ...	William Bonny	1696	1/2	2	R232336		
White, Thomas	The subject-matter and scope of a discourse ...	Samuel Farley	1716	4	12	N35021		Quaker sermon
Woodward, Josiah	An earnest persuasive to the serious observance of the Lord's Day.	William Bonny	1702	8	16	N26499		

APPENDIX 4

Recorded apprentices from south Wales 1641 to 1730 (chronological order)

Surname	First name	Date bound over	Date freed	Town of origin	County	Name of father	Occupation of father	Name of master	Occupation of master	Fate of apprentice
Penroy	James	1654	1664	Llangammarch	Brecon	Rice Penroy	Gent.	Walter Powell	Not known	Not known
Wathin	Philip	1654	No	Llangarron	Hereford	Roger Wathin	Yeoman	John Marshall	Bookseller	Not known
Touch	John	1654	No	Llanstephan	Carmarthen	John Touch	Yeoman	Richard Wilford	Not known	Not known
Powell	William	1657	No	Brecon	Brecon	Thomas Powell	Husbandman	Roger Norton	King's printer	Not known
Parry	Richard	1659	No	Llandefaelog	Brecon	George Parry	Esquire	William Brampton	Not known	Not known
George	Walter	1661	1669	Llanfihangel	Monmouth	George Watkins	Gent.	Thomas Rhodes	Not known	Not known
Turner	Mathew	1663	1670	Monmouth	Monmouth	Thomas Turner	Yeoman	Theodore Sadler	Publisher	Publisher/Bookseller
Robinson	Titus	1668	1678	Newport	Monmouth	George Robinson	Clerk	Humphrey Robinson	Stationer/Bookseller	Publisher
Hopkins	Christopher	1669	No	Llandogo	Monmouth	William Hopkins	Blacksmith	William Warren	Not known	Not known
Thomas	Griffith	1669	No	Llangynderyn	Carmarthen	Edward Thomas	Yeoman	Henry Hills	King's printer	Not known
Prosser	Enoch	1670	1677	Caerleon	Monmouth	Walter Powell	Husbandman	Benjamin Harris	Publisher/Bookseller	Publisher/Bookseller
Weston	William	1670	No	Llangynderyn	Carmarthen	Ralph Weston	No	Thomas Rawe	Stationer	Printer Dublin & France
Jolliffe	John	1673	1680	Kidwelly	Carmarthen	Thomas Jolliffe	Gent.	Henry Hills	As above	Not known

Surname	First name	Date bound over	Date freed	Town of origin	County	Name of father	Occupation of father	Name of master	Occupation of master	Fate of apprentice
Holland	Richard	1673	No	Haverfordwest	Pembroke	Nicholas Holland	Gent.	James Cole	Not known	Not known
Jolliffe	Charles	1674	1681	Kidwelly	Carmarthen	Thomas Jolliffe	Gent.	Henry Hills	As above	Not known
Walter	Enoch	1674	No	Newport	Monmouth	Henry Walter	Gent.	Benjamin Harris	Bookseller	Not known
Edwards	Esra	1678	1688	Abergavenny	Monmouth	John Edwards	No	Thomas Milbourne	Printer	Not known
Bowen	John	1680	1689	Longalhin?	Carmarthen	Thomas Bowen	Yeoman	Richard Baldwin	Bookseller/ Printer	Not known
Jones	Rice	1680	No	Monmouth	Monmouth	Thomas Jones	Yeoman	John Hudgebut	Publisher	Not known
Rogers	Andrew	1681	No	Usk	Monmouth	Phineas Rogers	Clerk	John Barnes	Publisher	Not known
Thomas	Lewis	1683	1690	Llangadock	Carmarthen	Morris Thomas	Gent.	Henry Hills	As above	Assisted SPCK
Thomas	Hector	1683	1690	Treoencleoh?	Pembroke	JohnThomas	Gent.	Benjamin Mott	Printer	Not known
Jones	John	1685	1692	Kidwelly	Carmarthen	Richard Jolliffe	No	Thomas Newcomb	King's printer	Publisher
Bowen	Thomas	1686	1693	Llangathen	Carmarthen	Thomas Bowen	Gent.	Job King	Publisher	Not known
Arnold	David	1687	1694	Llangatock	Monmouth	Walter Arnold	Yeoman	Henry Kift	Stationer	Not known
Richards	Daniel	1691	No	Carmarthen	Carmarthen	Daniel Richards	Gent.	Richard Simpson	Bookseller	Not known
Davis	William	1699	1706	Lanfah?	Glamorgan	Thomas Davis	Yeoman	Edward Jones	Printer	Publisher/book seller
Philpot	Thomas	1703	1711	Llanover	Monmouth	Oliver Philpot	Yeoman	James Roberts	Bookseller/printer	Printer
Andrews	James	1703	1719	Monmouth	Monmouth	Thomas Andrews	Weaver	Henry Carter	Instrument maker	Instrument maker
Price	Samuel	1715	1723	Llanmartin	Monmouth	Samul Price	Clerk	James Roberts	As above	Printer
Hopkins	William	1719	No	Lantrissant	Glamorgan	William Hopkin	Gent.	George Mortlock	Publisher	Bookseller

APPENDIX 5

Titles (under 33 pages) in English distributed by SPCK in south Wales 1699 to 1730

Author	Titles	Place	Publisher	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC No.	Price
A minister	A pastoral letter from a Minister to his parishioners	London	J. Downing	1713	12	24	N40018	
Anon	The Christian's daily devotion	London	William Haws	1708	12	24	T27426	
Anon	Conditions of obtaining salvation by Jesus Christ	London	J. Downing	1730	12	36	T27379	
Anon	Directions for devout behaviour in the publick worship of God	London	J. Downing	1714	12	12	T85820	
Anon	Exhortation to parents of children educated in Charity Schools	London	J. Downing	1722	12	36	N67668	
Anon	The necessity of coming to church ... for the use of those absenters ...	London	J. Wyat	1708	12	24	T181231	2d
Anon	The oath of a constable ...	London	J. Downing	1702	4	3	N24484	
Anon	Prayers for the use of Charity Schools	London	J. Downing	1716	12	12	T175862	
Anon [SPCK]	The young Christian's library	London	J. Downing	1710	8	16	T176083	
Burnett, Thomas	The truth of the Christian religion ...	Oxford	Lichfield	1726	12	24	T182005	
Collier, Jeremy	Mr Collier's dissuasive from the play-house	London	Richard Sare	1703	8	16	T68327	
Gibson, Edmund	An admonition against profane and common swearing. 4th ed.	London	J. Wyat	1723	12	24	N42464	
Gibson, Edmund	Serious advice to persons who have been sick	London	J. Wyat	1723	12	24	T175852	
Ken, Tomas	Directions for prayer for the Diocese of Bath & Wells	London	Charles	1685	8	16	R217484	

Author	Titles	Place	Publisher	Date	Format	Pages	ESTC No.	Price
			Brome					
Lloyd, Richard	supplement to the verses, entitul'd, The duties of servants ...	Worcester	S.Bryan	1710	1	1	T192841	
Nelson, Robert	An earnest exhortation to housekeepers to set up the worship ...	London	J. Downing	1715	8	20	T75980	
Ostervald, Jean	An abridgment of the history of the Bible [translated from the French]	London	J. Downing	1715	12	24	T150442	1d
Philipps, Sir John	A short account of the impiety and immorality of the stage	London	s.n.	1703	2	4	T202834	
Tillotson, John	A persuasive to frequent communion in the holy sacrament ...	London	H. Hills	1709	8	16	T88568	
Wells, Edward	A letter to a friend, concerning the great sin of taking God's name ...	London	J. Knapton	1714	12	12	T27423	1d
Woodward, Josiah	Disswasive from the sin of drunkenness	London	J. Downing	1711	12	24	T61755	
Woodward, Josiah	An earnest perswasive to the serious observance of the Lord's day	London	J.Downing	1703	8	4	T189389	1d
Woodward, Josiah	A kind caution to prophane swearers	London	J. Downing	1716	12	12	T174494	1d
Woodward, Josiah	The necessary duty of family prayers	London	J. Downing	1704	12	24	T76136	1d
Woodward, Josiah	A rebuke to the odious sin of uncleanness	London	J. Downing	1701	12	24	T188041	1d

APPENDIX 6

All known titles (priced 6d or under) published by Robert Raikes between 1720 and 1730 (chronological order)

Author	Title (all books)	Place	Publisher	Date	Format	Size in cm.	Pages	ESTC/E BBA	ECC O	Glos. J. advert.	Price
Anon	Northampton Mercury	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720				P2111			
Anon	The force of nature; or the loves of Hippollito and Dorinda	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720				T40015	x		3d
Anon	Roger's delight; or, the west country christ'ning and gossiping	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720			1	31376			
Anon	John's Earnest Request	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720			1	35462			
Anon	The Virgins's complaint against young men's unkindness	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720			1	35448			
Anon	An excellent ballad of that most dreadful combate ...	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	?1720			1	T228513			
Anon	Tis all a cheat or the way of the world	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1720	2		22	T225265	x		
Perry, Joseph	The glory of Christ's visible Kingdom in this world	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1721			564	T104940	x		
Anon	A Collection of pleasant and profitable Amusements	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1722						Glos J. 08.10.1722	3d
Anon	A Collection of pleasant and profitable Amusements. Second part.	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1722						Glos J. 07.12.1722	3d
Raikes	At the Printing Office, against the Swan Inn in Gloucester, will shortly (be) published ...	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1722							
Raikes	Gloucester Journal	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1722	4	See text		P1700			

Author	Title (all books)	Place	Publisher	Date	For mat	Size in cm.	Pa ges	ESTC/E BBA	ECC O	Glos. J. advert.	Price
Blanch, John	The history of Great Britain from the tower of Babel	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1722	4	14.5 x 17.5	24				
Anon	An answer to Mr Foster's appendix to his essay on fundamentals ...	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8		20	N68686		Glos J. 27.05.1723	
Anon	The curious spy	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723						Glos J. 25.02.1723	4d
Anon	The penman's instructor	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723						Glos J. 09.12.1723	6d
Anon	Tis all a cheat or the way of the world. 2nd ed.	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8		22	T225265		Glos J. 09.12.1723	3d
Boldero, John	The nature and duty of justice, in relation the Chief Magistrate and the people	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8		30	T5048	x		
Garret, T.	The christian's great high-priest	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8		30	N51886			
Shaw, William	A sermon preached at Reading ...Waltham Blacks	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8	10.5 x 16.5	20			Glos J. 21.10.1723	2d
Swynfen, Robert	Balaam's folly and intended disobedience exemplify'd.	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1723	8	9.5 x 16.5	24	T188974	x	Glos J. 29.07.1723	3d
Anon	History of the remarkable life of Jack Sheppard	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1724				N66694		Glos. J. 9.11.1724	3d
Anon	The History of the English from the Tower of Babel	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1724						Glos J. 20.01.1724	
Anon	The merry traveller	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1724						Glos J. 20.1.1724	3d
Ashby, Richard	The relation of a visit to three malefactors	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1724				T63793		Glos. J. 11.05.1724	2d

Author	Title (all books)	Place	Publisher	Date	For mat	Size in cm.	Pa ges	ESTC/E BBA	ECC O	Glos. J. advert.	Price
Blanch, John	Swords into anchors. A comedy.	Gloucester	Raikes	1724	4	17.5 x 23	46	T6188	x	Glos J. 14.03.1724	9d
Brittain, John	God the portion of his people	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1724	8		36	T132023	x		
Okell, Benjamin	A short treatise of the virtues of Dr. Bateman's pectoral drops	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1724	8		40	T498347			
Sansum, Thomas	The divine right of Kings asserted; and obedience to his Majesty King George recommended	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1724	8		24	N55349		Glos J. 06.04.1724	3d
A foreigner	The town spy: or, a view of London and Westminster.	Gloucester	Raikes	1725	8		40	T111147		Glos. J. 31.05.1725	4d
Anon	An excellent ballad of that most dreadful combate, fought between Moore of Moore-hall, and the dragon of Wantley.	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1725			1	T228513			
Anon	The slighting lady's garland	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1725			8	T48454	x		
Anon	The fryer well-fitted	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1725			1	N1328			
Anon	The history of Prospero Duke of Milan	Gloucester	Raikes	1725	12		30	T200713		Glos. J. 31.01.1725	3d
Anon	The life and actions of the famous Mr. Jonathan Wilde	Gloucester	Raikes	1725	8		24	N33476		Glos. J. 07.06.1725	4d
Anon	The midnight revels: or the amorous bugbears	Gloucester	Raikes	1725				T68077		Glos. J. 22.11.1725	4d
Anon	The pink garland, Containing Four New Songs	Northampton	Raikes & Dicey	1725	8		8	T42304	x		
Blanch, John	Hoops into spinning-wheels	Gloucester	Raikes	1725	4	16.5 x 20.5	32	T4822	x	Glos J. 23.02 1725	1s

Author	Title (all books)	Place	Publisher	Date	For mat	Size in cm.	Pa ges	ESTC/E BBA	ECC O	Glos. J. advert.	Price
Anon	The ladies diversion: or, a new way of fortune-telling by coffee-grounds	Gloucester	Raikes	1725						Glos. J. 04.10.1725	2d
Anon	The husband's gift to his wife: or, the bride-womans counsellor	Gloucester	Raikes	1726	8		24	T99518	x	Glos. J. 11.01.1726	3d
Anon	The lives and amours of Queens and royal mistresses. Book 1.	Gloucester	Raikes	1726				N9906		Glos. J. 19.07.1726	3d
Anon	The lives of six notorious murderers and robbers who were executed at Kingston for the murder of Mr. Thomas Bull	Gloucester	Raikes	1726		11 x 17.5	24			Glos. J. 03.05.1726	3d
Anon	A poem on the much lamented death of John Snell, MP for city of Gloucester	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 15.11.1726	2d
Bath, J.	Love triumphant over duty	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 24.01.1727	6d
Anon	The life of Capt. Jayne of Bristol	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 14.06.1726	3d
Anon	The lives of Charles Terry and John Griffin	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 16.08.1726	2d
Anon	The Northern farrier, or the husbandman's jewel	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 08.03.1726	6d
Anon	The Virgin Mary: a dramattick poem. Written by a clergyman in Gloucestershire	Gloucester	Raikes	1726						Glos. J. 04.10.1726	9d
Cocks, Richard	Sir Richard Cocks's farewell charge given at Easter Sessions at Gloucester	Gloucester	Raikes & Dicey	1726				T48360		Glos. J. 17.05.1726	3d
Anon	A sermon preached at Haresfield in the county of Gloucester	Gloucester	Raikes	1727						Glos. J. 07.03.1727	3d
Anon	A brief narrative of the mineral water discovered by Mr. Gilbert Clarke ... 1726	Gloucester	Raikes	1727						Glos. J. 04.04.1727	2d
Anon	The life and actions of John Oneby	Gloucester	Raikes	1727				T139645		Glos. J. 25.07.1727	2d

Author	Title (all books)	Place	Publisher	Date	For mat	Size in cm.	Pa ges	ESTC/E BBA	ECC O	Glos. J. advert.	Price
T. H.	Youth's recreation	Gloucester	Raikes	1727						Glos. J. 21.11.1727	2d
Christophilus	A defence of Christ's divinity	Gloucester	Raikes	1727	8		32	N65513		Glos. J. 02.05.1727	3d
Anon	A choice collection of old songs	Gloucester	Raikes	1728						Glos. J. 29.10.1728	4d
Anon	The ladies miscellany. Being a collection of all the songs in the Beggar's Opera	Gloucester	Raikes	1728						Glos. J. 26.11.1728	2d
Anon	A new touch of the times, or the world turn'd upside-down.	Gloucester	Raikes	1729						Glos. J. 23.09.1729	3d
Anon	The Gospel according to Nicodemus	Gloucester	Raikes	1730	8		36	N505388		Glos. J. 27.01.1730	4d
Anon	Life of notorious highwayman John Everett	Gloucester	Raikes	1730				N18270		Glos. J. 10.03.1730	
Duck, Stephen	Poems on several subjects + the Campden wonder	Gloucester	Raikes	1730	12		36	T224287	x	Glos. J. 10.11.1730	3d
Anon	The beginning, progress and end of man	Gloucester	Raikes	17...	1	40 x 32	1				1d

APPENDIX 7

Chapbooks and other short works 1649 - 1730 in the Library at Fonmon Castle

Author	Titles	Place	Publisher	Date	Size cm	Pages	ESTC No.	Bound volume (Evans)
Addison, Joseph	The Examiner	London		1711-1713	8 x 13	2	P6387	356
Anon	King Charls [sic] his speech upon the scaffold ...	London		1649	14 x 18	14	R206021	432
Anon	The Parliament's plea ...	London	?	1659	14 x 18	24	R36627	432
Anon	The famous tragedie of King Charles I ..	London		1649	14 x 18	34	R3816	432
F. H.	An elogie, and epitaph ... Charles ... late King ...	London	?	1649	14 x 18	12	R2265	432
Lloyd, William	A seasonable discourse ... established religion ... 2nd ed.	London	Henry Brome	1673	14 x 18	36	R30996	432
Prynne, William	A brief memento to the present unparliamentary juncto ...	London	?	1649	14 x 18	16	R2940	432
Anon	Narrative of the most horrid ... Murder ... Of John Knight ... By Nathaniel Butler on August 6th 1657	London		1657	14 x 18	18	C/T	545
Anon	News from Tybourn: being an account of the confession and execution of the woman condemned for committing the horrid sin of buggery ...	London	J.C. In Duck Lane	1677	14 x 18	8	R490145	545
City of London	A declaration and vindication of the Lord Mayor ...	London	James Flesher	1660	14 x 18	26	R205475	545
Jones, Bassett	The copy of a petition ...against Colonel Philip Jones ...	London		1654	15 x 18	24	R207602	545
Maurice, Henry	The lawfulness of taking the new oaths asserted	London	J.Mills	1689		16	R16133	545
Partridge, John	Annus mirabilis; ... Gathered out of Mr. J. Partridge's Almanack 1688	London	Randall Taylor	1689	14 x 18	32	R6774	545
Vincent, W.	A further full and true relation of Gods most wonderful and remarkable judgment upon John Duncalf, who stole a Bible ...	London		1677	14 x 18	8	C/T	545
Markland, George	Pteryplegia; or the art of shooting-flying. A poem.	London	Stephen Austen	1727	12 x 19.5	36	T90265	966

APPENDIX 8

Some published small books 1650 - 1730 seen in south Wales repositories

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
Anon	A collection of ...poems against popery	1689	London	s.n.	24	R224341	Eliot Hodgkin 1881	PR1213.C6 1689	Bound with 2nd, 3rd & 4th collections	CUL
Anon	A letter from a gentleman in town ...	1727	London	Moore	32	T180927	None		Paper covers	CUL
Anon	A regular method of governing a family	1722	London	Downing	48	N56160	None		Paper covers	CUL
Anon	A serious exhortation to parents in relation to their children ...	1722	London	Downing	34	N67668	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 162	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Anon	A disswasive from the heinous sins of perjury	1731	London	Downing	40	T185144	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 166	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Anon	An exact relation of the late dreadful tempest ...	1704	London	Baldwin	27	T110547	?RDJ Halatis	QC 989	Bound in boards.	CUL
Anon	An exercise against lying for the use of charity schools	1715	London	Downing	12	T73777	None	BV 4647	Paper covers	CUL NLW
Anon	Appendix to a small parochial library	1710	?London	s.n.	8	T222776	None	Llanboidy 49	Bound with other items	NLW
Anon	Articles of high treason ...	1660	London	Thorowgood	8	R207998	None	W3 1356	Woodcut. Black letter.	CCL
Anon	City and countrey chapman's almanack 1687	1686	London	James	48	R27770	John Egan	AO 1590	Bound with 26 almanacks	NLW
Anon	De Welchmans sermon	1660	s.l.	s.n.	8	R186365	Thomas Goodman	W3 1322 CWT 297	Bound with R204 (1)	CCL

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
Anon	Grounds ... contained in shorter catechism	1692	London	Whitlock	24	R177659	None	BX 5139 G88	Bound	NLW
Anon	Pope's down-fall at Abergavenny	1679	London	s.n.	8	R22562	None	P 2931	Bound	NLW
Anon	Present state of England set forth in a dialogue ...	1681	London	Janeway	10	R2408	Frances Brooke & Mary		Paper covers	CUL
Anon	Remarks ... by Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend ...at the place of their execution	1696	London	Edw. Jones	8	R10504	None		Paper covers	CUL
Anon	The commoner, a poem	1710	London	Hills	14	T145	None	PR3519	Paper bound. Advert. on final 2 pages	CUL
Anon	The husband - a poem	1710	London	Hills	16	T36871	None	PR3291.A1 H88 1710	Paper covers	CUL
Anon	The ladies diary or the woman's almanack (with Poor Robin)	1729	London	Wilde	40	T58233	None		Leather bound	CUL
Anon	The life and death of Sheffery Morgan	?1700	London	Brown	24	R179714	John Cole Nicholl	W.S. 1700 (4)	Bound chapbook	NLW
Anon	The life and death of Sheffery Morgan	1690	London	Deacon	14	No	SWH Ireland	CWT 298	Bound with R234151	CCL
Anon	The methods used for erecting charity-schools. 18th ed.	1724	London	Downing	34	N11318	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 161	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Anon	The most delectable history of Reynard the fox ...	1701	London	Brewster	160	R35186	Roach Smith 1847	PN690.R5.R3	Several books with separate t.p. bound together	CUL
Anon	The tribe of Issachar ...	1691	London	s.n.	28	R1256	None	PR3291	Bound in	CUL

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
	a poem								boards	
Anon	The way of living in a method ...	?1725	London	Downing	28	T87660	None		Paper covers	CUL
Anon	The Welch Mans catechism	1703	London	s.n.	8	No	SWH Ireland	CWT 298	Bound with R234151	CCL
Anon	The Welchman's last petition ...	1642	London	s.n.	7	R234151	Thomas Goodman	W3 1322 CWT 297	Copy 1. Leather bound	CCL
Anon	The Welchman's last petition ...	1642	London	s.n.	7	R204	SWH Ireland	CWT 298	Copy 2. Leather bound with handwritten contents list	CCL
Anon	The Welchman's tales	1710	London	s.n.	8	T179609	None	DA496.d.10	In verse. Bound	NLW
Anon	Welchman's declaration	1643	London	s.n.	6	R1886	None	W157 39a	Woodcut. Paper binding	CCL
Anon	Yr ABC	1728	Carmarthen	Thomas	21	No	Thomas Edwards 1738	WG30 (1728)	Bound in back of NT commentary	CUL
Anon	Yr ABC [in Welsh]	?1727	Carmarthen	N. Thomas	16	No	Jenkins his book	WG30 (1721)	In Welsh. 13 x 7.5 cm. Leather bound	CUL
Bromfield, M.	A brief discovery of the true causes, symptoms and effects, of that most reigning disease, the scurvy.	1675	London	s.n.	16	R175607	Joseph Alfred Bradney	B 4884J	NLW only holding of this edition.	NLW
Browne, Joseph	The circus: or, British olympicks	1709	London	[Hills]	15	T30773	None	PR 3326	Paper covers, adverts	CUL

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
C.L.	St. Taffy's Day ...	1724	London	Warner	44	T48546	Francis Enys	OXA 1320	3 poems	NLW
Claridge, R.	Mercy covering the judgment seat	1700	London	Sowle	39	R12232	Peter Thompson 1709	BX 7615 A1	Bound with other items. Quaker	NLW
Cragge, John	The light of God's countenance	1654	London	J.G.	23	R215238	None	W3 1859	Card covers	CCL
Croft, Herbert	A sermon preached before the Lords ...	1674	London	Harper	36	R29286	Da. Powell 1761	W4.910	Bound with other sermons & tracts	CCL
Dawes, William	Religion the only happiness, a poem	1694	London	Speed	36	R12713	None		Leather bound, adverts	CUL
Defoe, Daniel	Hymn to the pillory	1703	London	s.n.	28	N12440	None	PR3404	Paper covers	CUL
Defoe, Daniel	The mock mourners	1702	London	s.n.	32	N4717	John Carter		Bound in boards	CUL
Defoe, Daniel	The true-born Englishman	1701	London	s.n.	32	N25546	R.Meseley	PR3404	Paper covers	CUL
E.P.	The dialogue betwixt Cit and Bumpkin	1680	London	s.n.	27	R471115	None	WG30 (1680)	Leather bound	CUL
Evans, Arise	Arise Evans the English prophet; or his wondrous [sic] prophesies and revelations revived	1672	London	P.L.	10	R234753	M. Gough 1778, H. Taylor 1810	OB 223	Bound with other tracts	NLW
Fitzgerald, R.	Salt-water sweetned ...	1683	London	Cademan	18	R7382	None	TD 479	Paper covers	CUL
Fowler, Edward	A vindication of a late undertaking .	1692	London	s.n.	22	R27990	None		Paper covers	CUL
Fuller, William	Truest account of Mr. Fuller's discovery ...	1696	London	s.n.	32	R13009	None		Paper covers	CUL
Halifax, Earl of	The hind and the panther	1687	London	Davis	28	R14177	None		Leather bound	CUL

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
H.G.	The Eagle and the Robin	1709	London	Hills	7	T32356	None		Inc. Taffey's Triumph	CUL
Holdsworth, Edward	Muscipula	1709	London	s.n.	8	N006124	SWH Ireland	CWT 298	Bound with R234151	CCL
Holdsworth, Edward	The mouse-trap - a poem	n.d.	s.l.	s.n.	8	No	SWH Ireland	CWT 298	Bound with R234151	CCL
Holdsworth, Edward	The Welsh mouse-trap	1709	London	s.n.	8	N25654	None		Bound with blanks	CUL
Holdsworth, Edward	Muscipula, sive Kambro-Myo-Maxia	1709	London	Hills	15	T60812	None		Bound with blanks	CUL
Holdsworth, Edward	Muscipula: or, the mouse-trap: a poem in Latin and English. 2nd ed.	1720	London	Curll	23	T65495	E. Salisbury		Bound	CUL
Horneck, Anthony	Questions and answers concerning the two religions	1725	London	Downing	36	N66452	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 177	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Johnson, Richard	The most illustrious history of the seven champions of Christendom	1683	London	?MW	24	R472741	Francis William Bourdillon	PR 1475 S4	Woodcut. Bound with 2 other items	NLW
Jones, Thomas	Almanac ... 1681 [in Welsh]	1681	London	Jones	48	R232373	Francis Gwyn 1698	WG34.1(1681)	Leather bound	CUL
Lewis, David	A narrative of the imprisonment ... David Lewis	1679	London	s.n.	12	R16096	Joseph Alfred Bradney	W.S. 1679 (4to)	Bound	NLW
Lewis, John	Contemplations upon these times	1646	London	R.W.	34	R201035	None	WG30 (1646)	In 3 parts	CUL
Lloyd, Owen	The panther-prophecy	1662	London	s.n.	8	R2416	Edward Breese	DA432.C2 1696	Boards	CUL
Lloyd, William	A sermon at the funeral ...	1678	London	Clark	43	R2759	Eleanor ?Bass	W3 8685	Paper covers	CCL

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
Lluelyn, Martin	An elegie on the death of Prince Henry	1660	Oxford	Hall	8	R207872	J. Knight	WG30 (1660)	Boards	CUL
Mackworth, Humphrey	The case of Sir Humphrey Mackworth	1705	London	s.n.	15	T197397	Thomas Mansel Franklen	W.S. 1705 (1b)		NLW
Oldmixon, John	A true copy of Nixon's Cheshire prophecy ...	n.d.	London	William Jones	12	No	None	WG30 (1715)	Woodcut on t.p.	CUL
Owen, James	Salvation improved ...	1696	London	s.n.	28	R181128	Witt: Boothby	BV 4253 S18	Sermon	NLW
Philanglus	A letter of advice to the freeholders ...	1722	London	Payne	40	N2860	None		Paper covers	CUL
Richards, Thomas	Choirochorographia: sive, Hoglandiæ descriptio [An answer to Muscipula]	1709	London	Hills	15	T123386	None		Mock-heroic poem	CUL
Richards, Thomas	Hog-land or a description of Hampshire	1728	London	Curll	29	T76309	Edward Hailstone	W.S. 1728(5)	Mock-heroic poem	NLW
Taylor, Jeremy	A short catechism ... For schools in South-Wales	1652	London	Flesher	52	R209080	None	W2 188	Leather bound	CCL
Thomas, John	A vindication of the true Christian religion ...	1679	London	Cleave	35	R30165	Tho. Trotter	W3 88	Leather bound	CCL
Thomas, John	The Welsh-man's letter ... treasonable plot	1683	London	s.n.	4	R7713	None	W.S 1683 Qto		NLW
Ussher, James	A short catechism	1702	London	Luntley	24	T224487	Rice Rees Llandoverly 1826	BX5201.B2	Bound with Baxter <i>Now or never (1702)</i>	CUL
Wells, Edward	A letter to a friend, concerning the great sin of taking God's name in	1725	London	Knapton	12	T170959	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 167	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW

Author	Title	Date	Place	Publisher	Pages	ESTC	Owner(s)	Ref.	Notes	Held
	vain									
Williams, William	The King and none under God ...	1660	London	Creake	8	R186711	None	W3 9836	Leather bound	CCL
Winstanley, William	Poor Robin [almanack]	1681	London	s.n.	46	R36997	None	AY751.L4 1681	Bound half-leather, with other almanacks	CUL
Winstanley, William	Poor Robin [almanack]	1685	London	s.n.	48	R37002	William Taylor 1685 Josiah Taylor 1808 J. Dumaresq 1810	AY751.L4 1685	Bound with other almanacks	CUL
Winstanley, William	Poor Robin [almanack]	1744	London	s.n.	48	T17626	Henry Keen	AY751.P6	Leather note-book style cover	CUL
Woodward, Josiah	The baseness and perniciousness of the sin of slandering and back-biting	1729	London	Downing	24	T73452	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 169	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Woodward, Josiah	A disswasive from gaming	1726	London	Downing	12	N8896	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 170	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Woodward, Josiah	A kind caution to prophane swearers	1728	London	Downing	12	N67666	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 165	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Woodward, Josiah	A rebuke to the sin of uncleanness	1725	London	Downing		T206866	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 166	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW
Woodward, Josiah	Serious reflection on the grievous scandal of prophane language	1707	London	Downing	24	T188043	Llandaff Parochial Library	Llandaf 168	Bound with Llandaf 161-178	NLW

APPENDIX 9

Titles of small books/pamphlets from a Catalogue of the Lending Library at Cowbridge, 1793

Author	Title	Place	Publisher	Date	Pages	ESTC No.	Price
Anon	A letter from a minister in Yorkshire to his parishioners			1700		C/T	
Anon	A second letter from a minister in Yorkshire to his parishioners			1704		C/T	
Anon	Morning and evening prayers for families			1709		C/T	
Anon	Art of cat			1706		C/T	
Francke, August	Pietas hallensis. In two parts.	London	Downing	1710	52	N504975	
Anon	A pastoral letter from a minister to his parishioners	London	Hawes	1700	16	R181510	
Anon	The Christian's daily devotion	London	Hawes	1707	24	N52118	
Anon	An abridgement of the history of the Bible					C/T	
Anon	The Church catechism broke into short questions	London	Downing	1709	36	T187992	2d
Anon	Prayers of the use of charity schools	London	Downing	1713	12	T228418	1d
Anon	A further instruction to those who have learnt the Church catechism					C/T	
Anon	An exercise for charity schools explaining the nature of confirmation	London	Churchill	1709	24	N62595	
Anon	A letter from a minister to his parishioners ... informations to the magistrate	London	Downing	1708	12	T188045	
Anon	Instructions to church-wardens	London	?	1710	16	N8704	
Anon	Instructions to constables					C/T	
Anon	A short and plain account of religion	London	Downing	1703	22	T175864	
Anon	The Christian's way to heaven	London	Downing	1703	24	T86222	
Anon	A present for servants	London	Downing	1710	96	N38821	
Arends, Wilhelm	Early piety recommended in the life of Christ (translated)	London	Downing	1708	88	T142888	

Author	Title	Place	Publisher	Date	Pages	ESTC No.	Price
Beveridge, William	Sins of infirmity and restitution					C/T	
Bochm	Account of pietism			1710		C/T	
Dorrington, Theophilus	A familiar guide to right and profitable receiving of the Lord's supper	London	Aylmer	1700	84	R9729	4d
Francke, August	A short introduction to the practice of Christian religion (translated)	London	Downing	1708	36	N36799	
Howard, John	The great duty and benefit of self denial	London	Downing	1710	108	T80311	
Jeanne, de la Nativité	Daily conversation with God ... holy life of Armelle Nicolas	London	Downing	1710	36	T221525	
Leighton, Robert	Three posthumous tracts, universal love	London	Downing	1708	48	T70891	
Lewis, John	The Church catechism explained	London	Downing	1710	96	T166249	
Lucas, Richard	The plain man's guide to heaven	London	Walford	1709	60	T180862	4d
Nelson, Robert	An earnest exhortation to housekeepers to worship God in their families	London	Downing	1702	24	T226980	
Stanley, William	The faith and practice of a Church of England man	London	Ketilby	1707	84	T101791	
Talbot, James	Christian equity	London	Downing	1706	48	T96609	
Wall, William	A conference between two men that had doubts about infant baptism	London	Downing	1708	96	T76536	
Welchman, Edward	The husbandman's manual	London	Downing	1706	52	T87636	
Woodward, Josiah	The necessary duty of family prayer	London	Downing	1704	24	T76136	1d
Woodward, Josiah	Pastoral advice to young persons in order to their being confirmed	London	Downing	1708	72	T222187	
Woodward, Josiah	The young man's monitor	London	Downing	1718	84	T212315	6d
Woodward, Josiah	A kind caution to prophane swearers	London	Downing	1707	12	T155178	
Woodward, Josiah	An earnest persuasive to the observance of the Lord's Day	Bristol	Bonny	1702	16	N26499	
Woodward, Josiah	A dissuasive from the sin of drunkenness	London	Downing	1711	24	T61755	
Woodward, Josiah	The grievous scandal of prophane language	London	Downing	1708	24	T188043	1d
Woodward, Josiah	The baseness of the sin of slandering	London	Downing	1706	24	T164376	2d
Wrench, Jonathan	A short view of the principal duties of religion	London	Knaption	1700	60	R42878	3d

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