

The Clergy and Print in Eighteenth-Century England, c. 1714-1750

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In much of the historiography surrounding print culture and the book trade, the worldliness of print remains a point of common emphasis. Indeed, many influential studies either assume or actively present the history of print as part of a broader ‘secularization thesis’. Recently, however, historians have challenged these narratives, recognizing the central role of religious print as a driver of growth within the book trade and discussion within the nascent ‘public sphere’. Yet the scholarship into ‘religion and the book’ remains fragmentary, focused on individual genres or persons, with no unified monograph or standard reference work yet to emerge. This dissertation addresses some of the barriers to synopsis by investigating the long-term print output of the largest social and professional group engaged in evangelizing Christianity to the public: the clergy of the Church of England.

By focusing on the clergy, this dissertation evades the usual narrow focus on genre. In the past, book-historical and bibliographic studies have relied heavily on *a priori* classification schemes to study the market for print. While sufficient in the context of relatively well-defined genre categories, such as printed sermons, the validity of these classification schemes breaks down at the wider level, for example, under the conceptual burden of defining the highly fluid and wide-ranging category of ‘religious works’. This dissertation begins to remedy such problems by modelling the print output of a large population of authors who had the strongest stake in evangelizing Christianity to the public through print. It utilizes the latest techniques in the field of digital humanities and bibliometrics to create a representative sample of the print output of the Anglican clergy over the ‘long’ eighteenth-century (here 1660-1800). Based on statistical trends, the thesis identifies a crucial period in the history of clerical print culture, the first four decades of the Hanoverian regime. The period is explored in detail through three subsequent case studies. By combining both traditional and digital methods, therefore, the dissertation explores clerical publishing as a phenomenon subject to evolution and change at both the macro and micro level.

The first chapter provides an overarching statistical study of clerical publishing between 1660 and 1800. By combining data from two bibliographical datasets, *The English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC), and the prosopographical resource, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED), I extract and analyse a dataset of clerical works consisting of almost 35,000 bibliographic records. The remaining chapters approach the thesis topic through primary research-based case studies using both print and manuscript sources. The case studies were selected from the period identified in the preceding statistical analysis as a crucial transitional moment in the history of clerical publishing culture, c.1714 to 1750. These case studies form chapters 2, 3, and 4, each of which explore a different aspect of a network of authors who worked under the direction of the bishop of London, Edmund Gibson (1723-1748), during the era of Whig hegemony under Sir Robert Walpole. Finally, an appendix outlines the methodology used in chapter 1 to extract the sample of clerical printed works from the ESTC.

Overall, the thesis demonstrates the profound influence of the clergy on the development of English print in the hand-press period. It thus forms both a historiographic intervention against the secularization thesis still implicit in discussions of print culture and the book trade, as well as providing a cautionary critique of the revisionism which has shaped recent investigations into the Church of England.

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface or specified in the text.

Signed: JAMIE LATHAM

Date: 27/09/17

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being currently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

Signed: JAMIE LATHAM

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Statement of Length

This dissertation does not exceed the prescribed word limit of 80,000 set by the Degree Committee of the History Faculty.

Signed: JAMIE LATHAM

Date: 27/09/17

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
CCED	<i>The Clergy of the Church of England Database</i>
CHBB IV	John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie (eds.), <i>The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. 4, 1557- 1695</i> (Cambridge, 2002).
CHBB V	Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (eds.), <i>The Cambridge history of the book in Britain. Vol. 5, 1695-1830</i> (Cambridge, 2009).
ECCO	<i>Eighteenth-Century Collections Online</i>
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
ESTC	<i>The English Short-Title Catalogue</i>
LCSH	Library of Congress Subject Headings
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
MALLET	Machine Learning for Language Toolkit
ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Waterland Papers	Magdalene College, Cambridge, ‘Unofficial’ Archives C/DW, Waterland Papers.

Note on Transliteration and Sources

All quotes retain the original spelling, italicization, and capitalization.

Dates are given in the 'old style' Julian calendar, but the new year is taken to begin on 1 January, rather than 25 March as was customary.

All web URLs referenced in the text were accessible and reflect the information cited as of September 2017.

Introduction

In much of the historiography surrounding print culture and the book trade, the worldliness of print remains a point of common emphasis. Many influential studies either assume or actively present the history of print as part of a broader teleological narrative about secularization. The attitude is neatly summarized in the argument of Elizabeth L. Eisenstein that ‘the pulpit was ultimately displaced by the press’, and that in the face of a new thirst for news and novelty, ‘efforts by Catholic moralists and Protestant evangelicals... proved of little avail.’¹ This secularizing character of print traces its roots to the classic conception of the ‘public sphere’ by Jürgen Habermas, who argued that the growth of print media was inimical to the interests of a hegemonic ‘old order’, and opened the way to new modes of understanding which challenged traditional beliefs.² His influence is evident in a diverse range of eighteenth-century historiography, from the growth of an ‘out of doors’ political culture to the emergence of new associational venues such as the coffeehouse, where ‘polite’ and ‘Enlightened’ ideas and cultural practices are argued to have taken hold.³ Implicit here is the idea that religion moved away from the public and the institutional into the private sphere, where it was moderated by more enlightened cultural and political convictions such as tolerance, rationalism, and liberty of conscience. In Habermas’s scheme, the public sphere of print was crucial to the creation of a more open, participatory, and proto-democratic society where the institutions of Church and State could no longer monopolise power and knowledge.⁴

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 2005), pp. 104-105.

² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Oxford, 1989); introductory surveys include John Brewer, ‘This, That and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (eds.), *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter, 1995), pp. 1-21; T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 1-25; Craig Calhoun, ‘Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere’, in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (London, 1992), pp. 1-9.

³ For the impact of Habermas on Anglo-American historical scholarship, see the introductory discussion to Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England’, *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006), pp. 270-92; Dena Goodman, ‘Introduction: The Public and the Nation’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29 (1995), pp. 1-4.

⁴ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, pp. 36-37, 266, n. 62.

Within this secularization process, print occupied an important position as a facilitator of opinion, criticism, and dialogue. New forms, such as pamphlets, news-sheets, newspapers, and periodicals, fostered a ferment of opinion, while new forms of culture found expression outside of traditional belief structures. Novels and other forms of ‘imaginative literature’ gained increasing traction, while an ‘Enlightened’ culture of letters, essays, encyclopaedias, and other belles lettres, gave prominence to new, perhaps even ‘secular’, modes of thought and understanding. Changes to print culture were complemented by equally seismic transformations in the scale of print production and the role and status of the author. Print became a commodity traded at the provincial, metropolitan, and global level. Historians of the book argue that the author became an independent and professionalized figure, while booksellers emerged to new status as intellectual and commercial brokers.⁵ In sum, the eighteenth century has been depicted as the moment which saw the creation of a new kind of literary, intellectual, and political modernity in which the growth of print played a central role, and readers cultivated ‘increasingly secular tastes’.⁶

In recent years, historians have done much to challenge this teleological narrative. Among the critiques of Habermas’s original formulation of the public sphere, scholars criticize his presentation of news media as eighteenth-century innovations; such forms can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, periodicals, held up by Habermas as an emblem of a more open discursive culture, were often prescriptive and censorious of such forms of discussion. Crucially, historians have observed that this new discursive space was far from secular, as it included a wide variety of discussion about religious ideas, both new and old.⁷ Such criticisms have been central to the broader arguments of revisionists,

⁵ On the ‘professionalization’ of the author: Brean Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing in England, 1670-1740* (Oxford 1997); Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (London, 1993); Clifford Siskin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain, 1700-1830* (Baltimore, 1998).

⁶ The quote is from Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London, 1957), pp. 50; see also: John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997); Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century’ *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002), pp. 869-98.

⁷ Joad Raymond, ‘The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century’, *Prose Studies* 21 (1998), pp. 113-117; Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’

especially J.C.D. Clark, who has asserted the continued centrality of traditional religious institutions in eighteenth-century life, particularly the Church of England.⁸

Moreover, scholarly focus on a new ‘canon’ of literary works fails to align with much of the historical record, nor does it consider what was most often consumed by eighteenth-century readers. Recent scholarship has shown the continuing prominence, even predominance, of religious texts in the market place. Several bibliographic surveys have concluded that ‘religion’ was one of the largest categories of works published.⁹ Similarly, Margaret Ezell and Dustin Griffin have argued that the concern to trace the rise of the so-called ‘professional’ author ignores the realities faced by many who wrote and published for non-commercial reasons.¹⁰ The clergy are an obvious case in point here. Additionally, a number of historians of the book have come to recognize the important and dynamic connections between eighteenth-century religious and print culture. They have described, for instance, a ‘golden age’ of practical piety during the Restoration, the emergence of the printed sermon as a staple genre produced by the parish clergy, the codification of canon law in authoritative texts, and the translation of religious works, notably the Bible, into dozens of languages.¹¹ Added to this, intellectual and political historians have

Eighteenth-Century Studies 37 (2004), pp. 360-361; Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59 (1997), pp. 47-50; Tony Claydon, ‘The Sermon, the “Public Sphere” and the Political Culture of Late Seventeenth-Century England’, in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter E. McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History, 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2001); Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, (Woodbridge, 2013); Lake and Pincus, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere’, p. 291.

⁸ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 1st edn., 1985); J. C. D. Clark, ‘England’s Ancien Regime as a Confessional State’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 21 (1989), pp. 450-74; J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 2000); J. C. D. Clark, ‘Secularization and Modernization: The Failure of a “Grand Narrative”’ *The Historical Journal* 55 (March 2012), pp. 161-94.

⁹ Jeremy Gregory, ‘The Church of England’, in H.T. Dickinson (ed.), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2002), p. 227; Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 171-172; Michael F. Suarez, ‘Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record, 1701-1800’, in *CHBB V*, p. 46.

¹⁰ Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore, 1999), p. 17; Dustin Griffin, ‘The Rise of the Professional Author?’, in *CHBB V*, pp. 132-145.

¹¹ Arnold Hunt, Patrick Collinson, and Alexandra Walsham, ‘Religious Publishing in England 1557-1640’, in *CHBB IV*, pp. 29-66; Ian M. Green and Kate Peters, ‘Religious Publishing in England c. 1640-1695’, in *CHBB IV*, pp. 67-93; Isabel Rivers, ‘Religious Publishing’, in *CHBB V*, pp. 579-600.

uncovered the religious dimensions of debates within the ‘public sphere’.¹² They describe the continued polemical struggles over the religious and political settlement that followed the civil wars, Restoration, and Revolution of 1688.¹³ Furthermore, historians have debated the conflicts over the growth of an increasingly speculative, sometimes heterodox, form of divinity,¹⁴ and growing awareness of Britain’s ancient religious past through the examination of material remains and newly uncovered manuscript sources, as part of a so-called ‘English Enlightenment’.¹⁵

Yet, amidst this recovery of a rich religious culture of print and publishing, there is much that remains poorly understood. Especially problematic is the fragmented nature of scholarship about ‘religion and the book’, with many individual genre studies but no unified monograph or standard reference work. Perhaps the most important factor preventing this is ambiguity over what exactly defined a ‘religious work’ in a period when religion touched almost all aspects of understanding and belief. While statistical bibliographic surveys highlight the continued prominence of ‘religious’ works in the eighteenth-century book market, such studies depend on highly subjective classification schemes. Some scholars have attempted to resolve these issues by devising their own schemes to help analyse and subdivide religious works. Isabel Rivers, for instance, proposes categorizing religious works into three

¹² Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2005); Mark Knights (ed.), ‘Faction Displayed: Reconsidering the Impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell’, *Parliamentary History* 31 (2012).

¹³ William J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and Its Empire, 1648-1715* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-13; Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church in the Age of Reason, 1648-1789* (Middlesex, 1960), pp. 50-80; John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, 1991).

¹⁴ J. A. I. Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge, 1992); Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester, 2003); Roger D. Lund, *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1995); John Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion: The Age of Enlightenment in England, 1660-1750* (London, 1976); Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England, 1660-1780, Volume II: Shaftesbury to Hume* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 7-49; B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England: Theological Debate from Locke to Burke* (Oxford, 1998).

¹⁵ D. B. Haycock, ‘“The Long-Lost Truth”: Sir Isaac Newton and the Newtonian Pursuit of Ancient Knowledge’, *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 35 (2004), pp. 605-23; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England, 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 96-99; Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary* (London, revised edn., 1985); Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004).

forms: speculative/doctrinal (concerned with establishing doctrinal truths), controversial (concerned with refuting the claims of denominational opponents), and practical (concerned with helping individuals to practice a Christian life).¹⁶

An accumulation of new studies in recent years, however, has muddied the conceptual clarity of her tripartite scheme. The recent revival of interest in the sermon as an oral and printed genre,¹⁷ for instance, poses something of a quandary for Rivers' blueprint: the sermon was a highly flexible form which could encompass all or none of her subject-based categories. Should sermons thus be subdivided into separate genres according to subject-matter? Or should they be kept in a distinctive category of their own? These questions of bibliography might seem arcane, but without even a basic vocabulary to describe what a 'religious work' is, let alone disentangle the evolution of publication patterns and trends, it is little wonder that historians have been unable to produce a treatment of 'Religion and the Book' akin to the wide-ranging studies currently available for subjects such as 'the Enlightenment' and 'the Novel'.¹⁸

While it is outside the remit of this PhD to produce this type of comprehensive treatment, addressing these barriers to synopsis and long-term analysis has shaped both its framing and execution. This thesis explores the evolving relationship between the clergy and print culture in long eighteenth-century England, with special focus on the period c. 1714 to 1750. Instead of addressing religion and print as a problem of genre, this dissertation focuses on the print output of a social and professional group whose vocation was centred on articulating, defending, and evangelizing Christianity

¹⁶ Isabel Rivers, 'Dissenting and Methodist Books of Practical Divinity', in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England* (Leicester, 1982), p. 127; Isabel Rivers, 'Religion and Literature', in John J. Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660-1780* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 445-470; Rivers, 'Religious Publishing', *CHBB V*, pp. 577-600.

¹⁷ Claydon, 'The Sermon, the "Public Sphere"'; Jennifer Farooq, 'The Politicising Influence of Print: The Responses of Hearers and Readers to the Sermons of Gilbert Burnet and Henry Sacheverell', in Geoff Baker and Ann McGruer (eds.), *Readers, Audiences and Coteries in Early Modern England* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2006), pp. 28-46; Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, pp. 216-219; Keith A. Francis, William Gibson, John Morgan-Guy, Bob Tennant, and Robert H. Ellison (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689-1901* (Oxford, 2012).

¹⁸ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004); Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (London, 2006).

to the public: the clergy of the Church of England. cursory examination of the holdings of any UK research library will reveal the abundance of now overlooked religious works produced by the Anglican clergy. From cheap devotional tracts and sermons to large prestigious books of scholarship, religious print was produced by clergymen from up and down the ranks of the Church of England, including the bishops, the university clergy, the parish clergy, and even unbeneficed lecturers and curates.

The clergy influenced both the content and economics of print culture. Their publishing activity bolstered the commercialization of the post-Restoration book trade. Initially clerical works fed the development of the London book market and England's university presses, while later in the eighteenth century, the clergy capitalized on the development of the provincial press and an increasingly global market. In the context of rising literacy rates, print was seen as evermore central to the Church's long-standing efforts to Christianize and Protestantize the laity, and the clergy were often highly strategic in deploying it to those ends. Sermons are a prominent example of how the clergy fostered a culture of print communication which connected local concerns to national, political, and religious developments. In intellectual terms, the endeavours of the university clergy in print helped to give the English Enlightenment its peculiarly religious and 'orthodox' character, part of a vibrant controversial culture of public religious debate in a nascent public sphere.¹⁹ Of course, not all religious works were written by clergymen, nor did every clergyman seek to publish. But the Anglican clergy were by far the largest group of professional evangelists in English society throughout the long eighteenth century. Their performance in the print market is thus suggestive of the broader role and status of religion within a developing culture of print. My focus on the clergy is thus designed to complement a growing range of new scholarship which is repositioning religion as central to the development of the British book trade during the 'long' eighteenth century, c. 1660-1832.

¹⁹ William J. Bulman, 'Enlightenment for the Culture Wars', in William J. Bulman and Robert G. Ingram (eds.), *God in the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2016).

Focusing on the clergy connects, moreover, to another set of historiographic questions specifically about the status and vitality of the Church during the long eighteenth century. There have been many signs of a historiographic comeback for the Church of England in recent years, with a large body of revisionist scholarship emerging to challenge an older idea that the Church of England was a dysfunctional, complacent institution in dire need of reform.²⁰ Much of this work has been shaped by the ideas of J.C.D. Clark, who offered a picture in which continuity, not change, characterized the period 1660 to 1832. Clark presented a view of the eighteenth century as profoundly shaped by religious institutions and beliefs, in which the established Church of England exercised wide-ranging influence and authority. This *ancien régime* lasted until 1832, when the legal and political structures which married ecclesiastical to political authority in a ‘confessional state’ began to be dismantled in an era of reform.

Another area in which religion has played a major role is long-standing debates about a so-called ‘English Enlightenment’. In a review of one of the more recent (of many) iterations of Enlightenment-themed historical scholarship, Thomas Munck observed that ‘making sense of the Enlightenment as a whole is now more difficult than ever’.²¹ The revisionist assertion of religious continuity clearly problematizes the classic depiction of the Enlightenment as a secularizing process. Key twentieth-century thinkers and historians, including Habermas, Isaiah Berlin, and Peter Gay, and more recently Jonathan Israel, Anthony Pagden, among others, have all presented Enlightenment, to different degrees, as a homogeneous, largely francophone entity. In this version of Enlightenment, intellectuals broke with the past to create new modes of understanding in the name of secularism, tolerance, liberty, and other ‘modern’ values. Within this framework, it makes little sense to discuss either the

²⁰ The standby text, though starting to feel its age, is John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993). Important newer works include Robert G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Woodbridge, 2007) and Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven, 2014).

²¹ Thomas Munck, ‘Review Article: The Enlightenment World; Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752; Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe’, *The English Historical Review* 500 (2008), p. 222.

Enlightenment's 'English' or 'clerical' context.

More compatible with the revisionist stress on religious continuity, however, is a school of thought following J.G.A. Pocock, who pluralised the concept and created space for historians to emphasize the specificity of the Enlightenment in different regional and cultural circumstances. His long-standing contention is that the English Enlightenment consisted of debates about the most desirable means of creating social and political stability following the religious wars of the mid-seventeenth century. In this context, it is possible to reconstruct both an 'orthodox' and a 'heterodox', and a lay and a clerical Enlightenment, manifest in a range of social, intellectual, and cultural practices, forms of media, and of belief. If historians are to speak of an 'Enlightenment', this is surely the most intellectually defensible and practical construction. Most, if not all, of the historians who I cite in this dissertation: Clark, Champion, Gascoigne, Ingram, Klein, Lund, Porter, Redwood, Rivers, Tyacke, Young, and more recently Bulman, arguably fall within the Pocockian camp. There is still a considerable diversity of opinion among these scholars, but the general trend in recent years has been towards a consensus that the Enlightenment had a significant English context, which was characterized by extensive debates about the doctrinal and institutional *status quo*, including its defence.

The force of the revisionist position, however, particularly as presented by Clark, should not be overstated. The Church faced moments of real uncertainty and crisis after the Restoration in 1660 and more especially after the Revolution of 1688. Its denominational opponents grew and became established components of the religious landscape. These forms of dissent, both old and new, directly challenged the Church's claims to universal status and put pressure on its pastoral territories. Pluralism would only increase from the mid-eighteenth century onward, as a new set of revivalist evangelical movements capitalized on the Church's failures to adapt its ancient medieval infrastructure to the requirements of an expanding and increasingly mobile population. Finally, in intellectual terms the Church faced a sustained challenge to its doctrine and ecclesiology from a diverse set of heterodox and anti-institutional thinkers.

More compelling than the *ancien régime* model, therefore, is what Jonathan Barry and others have called the Church's 'Long Reformation' agenda.²² In the face of a set of evolving challenges, the Church constantly sought to adapt and reshape its enduring mission to Christianize the laity in the Protestant faith, and secure religious and social uniformity within the community of the parish and the nation at large. Churchmen were convinced of the need to engender consensus about what Protestantism was and maintain that vision against all others. By the eighteenth century, print was becoming a central tool of the Long Reformation project for several reasons. First, the reproducibility of print gave the Church a means of standardizing belief and practice through the dissemination of prescribed texts, such as the King James Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, meaning that every conforming community experienced the same forms of ritual and worship, seen as key to forging uniformity in belief and practice.²³ Second, print led to a more effective administrative culture, giving bishops an efficient medium for carrying out diocesan returns and disseminating internal notices, letters, questionnaires, and instructions. Print thus helped to make the Church a more effective institution and allowed the senior clergy to exert greater influence over the parish clergy.

Third, and most importantly, print allowed for the dissemination of religious knowledge to a wider range of readers. As discussed in Chapter 1, the expansion of the reading public created a broad market for religious writings by clergymen. General literacy rose over the course of the eighteenth century, improving faster among men, who were more likely to receive education outside the home, than women. Literacy was highest among the laity in urban areas and among certain social groups, notably the gentry. Those with limited incomes could still access print,

²² Lucy Bates, 'The Limits of Possibility in England's Long Reformation'. *The Historical Journal* 53 (2010), p. 1051; Jonathan Barry, 'Bristol as a "Reformation City" c.1640-1780', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp. 261-84; Jeremy Gregory, 'The Making of a Protestant Nation: "Success" and "Failure" in England's Long Reformation', in Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, pp. 313-317; Robert G. Ingram, *Reformation Without End: Religion, Politics and the Past in Post-Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2018).

²³ Jeremy Gregory, "'For All Sorts and Conditions of Men": The Social Life of the Book of Common Prayer during the Long Eighteenth Century: Or, Bringing the History of Religion and Social History Together', *Social History* 34 (2009), pp. 29-54.

especially in urban areas, due to its availability in public spaces, such as churches, coffeehouses, and taverns, and through the dissemination of heavily subsidised or free works by charitable foundations. The expansion of published titles between 1700 and 1800 closely correlates to scholarly estimates of the growth of a ‘reading public’, extrapolated from studies into literacy rates and population growth. Though such statistics come with significant caveats, they strongly suggest that the growth in the book trade was a direct response to an appetite for reading among an increasingly literate population.

Print and publishing thus presented a growing opportunity for the clergy to augment and enhance their traditional activities. Religious print was often touted by commentators as reinforcing the lessons heard through oral instruction, such as church sermons or the catechism. The benefit of print was that it permitted private reflection and self-paced instruction. In doing so, the clergy did not simply write for lay audiences. Increased educational requirements for the clerical profession, and more regular oversight from diocesan authorities, placed increased pressure on the clergy to seek access to books that would enhance their understanding of the religion which it was their duty to propagate.²⁴ Over the course of the eighteenth century, new forms of voluntary and commercial activity on the part of booksellers and senior clergymen emerged to give the lower clergy access to a wider range of print material. This came with the foundation of hundreds of institutional and parochial libraries, established by cathedrals and charitable institutions, across the country. Increasing numbers of books were also available to the clergy to purchase through provincial networks of distribution emanating from the capital.

The most notable organization to pioneer this philanthropic and commercial model of book distribution was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Established in 1698, the SPCK positioned itself during the eighteenth century as the foremost distributor of religious literature in Britain and its empire. By the early

²⁴ Jeremy Gregory, ‘Standards for Admission to the Ministry of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century’, *Nederlands Archief Voor Kerkgeschiedenis* (Dutch Review of Church History) 83 (2003), pp. 283-95; W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford, 2007); Rosemary O’Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979).

nineteenth century, the society supplied print to nearly 15,000 members in Britain, South Asia, and North America. In 1821, it distributed 230,000 book-length works, and, in 1830, over 1.7 million short texts.²⁵ Thus, through writing and publishing, the aims of the Long Reformation to proselytize the faith could be dramatically fulfilled and realised by clergymen at a local, national, and even international level with the production of a successful work. Finally, print gave religious thinkers a much wider stage on which to demonstrate and debate points of religion with their denominational and intellectual opponents. Vindication of traditional orthodoxies before an expanded public was believed to be crucial in bolstering and reaffirming the status and authority of the established faith.

As we are beginning to see, the clergy thus turned to print for many reasons. Those with preferments often had stable incomes and leisure, which meant they could devote the majority of their time to writing. For some, making ‘Books their Diversion’ was an improving pastime, informally encouraged by bishops to their clergy as a ‘useful Improvement’ to help them escape the boredom and isolation of rural life.²⁶ But for many, print was integral to both their evangelical vocation and their chances of professional advancement. Some clergymen secured meteoric rises from poverty and obscurity to achieve lucrative preferments, even bishoprics, while others authored celebrated works of piety and scholarship which were republished for decades to come. These were, however, a privileged few. Others saw their careers imperilled if they garnered reputations for holding ‘unorthodox’ beliefs, while many endured significant hardships in their pursuit of a life of an author. For an unfortunate few, print and publishing could serve as a vital lifeline of subsistence when the Church failed to provide adequate livings.

The central aim of this thesis is to assess how the Church responded to shifting communicative practices in eighteenth-century society, and to assess how the clergy

²⁵ Scott Mandelbrote, ‘The Publishing and Distribution of Religious Books by Voluntary Associations: From the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the British and Foreign Bible Society’, in *CCHB V*, pp. 613-30; W. K. Lowther Clarke, *A History of the S.P.C.K. with an Epilogue by F.N. Davey*, (London, 1959).

²⁶ Edmund Gibson to Philip Morant, 3 June 1729, British Library Add. MS 37221 (hereafter BL), vol. VI, fol. 5.

took advantage of the new opportunities afforded to them by an expanding readership. It is an objective which presents numerous methodological challenges given the scale and diversity of the clergy's contribution to print culture. One of the central challenges of the project was to trace the broad evolution of clerical publishing over the long term without losing a sense of the personalities and motivations of those individuals who shaped the clergy's distinctive culture of print. My solution is two-pronged. First, the project involves an analysis of long-term trends in clerical publishing from the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century. This analysis deployed both descriptive statistical and quantitative analyses of trends in bibliographic data, the so-called discipline of 'bibliometrics'. Second, it pursues a related set of focused qualitative case studies over a short time span, circa 1715 to 1750, chosen to highlight a key period in the history of clerical publishing. The two dimensions are designed to be mutually reinforcing, so as to produce a more holistic account of the relationship between the clergy and print in eighteenth-century England.

The first chapter provides an overarching statistical study of clerical publishing between 1660 and 1800. It uses the latest methods and resources available, as of 2017, in the burgeoning field of the 'digital humanities'. By combining data from a bibliographical dataset, *The English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC), and the prosopographical resource, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED), this foundational chapter analyses a comprehensive bibliographical sample of clerical publishing created from these two pre-existing sources. The bibliographic sample of clerical works was published between 1660 and 1800, a period which covers almost the entire 'long' eighteenth century. It consists of almost 35,000 bibliographic records of print works by Anglican clergymen, extracted from the ESTC using a specially-designed set of data processing algorithms. Long term quantitative analysis of clerical publishing presents a unique opportunity to test contrasting depictions of the eighteenth century as an age of religious continuity and of secularization. In exploring the long-term dynamics of the relationship between the clergy and print, the analysis reveals a more nuanced picture, challenging the notion that the public sphere was a secularizing force at its inception, while observing long term structural shifts in the book trade, and cultural shifts in clerical publishing, that tended to diminish the influence of the clergy in print over time. My conclusions are also meant as

something of a challenge to literary scholars and historians of the book who tend only to focus on individual genres, such as sermons or practical literature. Though these forms were very important, I want to trace a more holistic picture of the composition of clerical publishing and emphasize the many new and innovative ways that the clergy began to use print.

The remaining chapters further develop the above arguments through the more conventional model of case studies, based both on printed and manuscript primary sources. These form an interconnected set of episodes that explore a productive network of authors who operated during the first four decades of the Hanoverian regime. This period was chosen for closer study because patterns in the bibliographic analysis reveal it as a key era of change. The period was marked by recent memories of the extreme politico-religious partisanship which had engulfed the Church during the post-Revolution and ‘Rage of Party’ era, roughly 1688 to 1717. It saw the crescendo of a culture of polemical pamphleteering and fervid politico-religious controversy at a level not seen since the mid-seventeenth century civil wars. It brought with it unprecedented levels of clerical participation in print, but also a mode of hyper-partisan discourse many saw as damaging to the authority and unity of the Church. After about 1720, this older style of polemical divinity came into rivalry with a new set of ideas about the role and function of the clerical author, a development which ushered in new styles of religious writing that prioritised irenicism, new styles of morality, and making religion accessible to a wider range of readers. These new styles were often utilized by authors among the university and parish clergy, who favoured printed sermons, works of speculative divinity, expository and practical texts, and new and diverse forms of belles lettres and even non-religious literature.

The tight periodization of the case studies meant this cultural and stylistic shift could be identified among authors who were active at the same time, knew one another, and in some cases worked as close collaborators. Importantly, these authors did not differ substantially in terms of belief. Traditional demarcations, such as ‘High Church’ and ‘Low Church’, or even ‘Tory’ and ‘Whig’, do not appear to have shaped the adoption of the new style. Instead, circles of familiars who all identified as ‘orthodox’ writers are shown to have creatively adopted new genres, such as periodicals and encyclopaedias, while adapting older genres, notably pamphlets, to

reach a diverse lay readership, improve standards of clerical education, and combat the scepticism of deists and ‘freethinkers’. The case studies thus illuminate the interpersonal relationships among such authors, their shared goals, and the differences which led each to adopt distinct genres of writing.

Specifically, the case studies focus on a religiously ‘orthodox’ but politically Whig network of clerical authors surrounding Edmund Gibson, bishop of London from 1723 until 1748, a figure who is best known today as ecclesiastical advisor to Sir Robert Walpole’s ministry.²⁷ Gibson was a well-connected figure within the Church who exercised considerable influence over this shift in the culture of clerical publishing. Gibson’s activities as a writer, patron, and organizer of the religious press are explored in turn. Chapter 2 examines the role of institutional networks and the culture of print controversy. It explores Gibson’s collaboration with Daniel Waterland, the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, to manage the university clergy’s pamphlet campaigns against heterodox clergy and ‘freethinkers’, a loose term which described a set of dissident anti-clerical writers. The chapter considers the organizational strategies used by churchmen to confront a multiplicity of voices hostile to the Church in the public sphere, exposing the inner workings of learned networks of clerical writers, and the institutional ties between church and university in the eighteenth century.

Gibson further encouraged the exploration and development of a range of genres: most well-known are his *Pastoral Letters* series, covered in chapter 3. The *Pastoral Letters* sought to translate Anglican orthodoxy into a practical religion intended for wide consumption. The chapter highlights, however, the difficulties of such a project, as clerical authors could never control the response of readers, who might simply ignore or ridicule the Church’s pious exhortations against ‘profaneness and impiety’. Gibson also acted as patron to several important and, in many ways, highly novel serial productions, including encyclopaedic guides authored by the clergyman Thomas Stackhouse, and a polite but pious periodical entitled *The Weekly*

²⁷ Norman Sykes, *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748* (London, 1926), pp. 83-91; Stephen Taylor, “‘Dr. Codex’ and the Whig ‘Pope’”, in Richard W. Davis (ed.), *Lords of Parliament Studies, 1714-1914* (Stanford, CA, 1995) p. 12; Clark, *English society 1688-1832* (1985), pp. 137-139.

Miscellany. Chapter 4 focuses on *The Weekly Miscellany*, produced under the direction of Gibson and Daniel Waterland by the clerical authors William Webster and Richard Venn. Popular among clergymen, the ‘pious’ educated gentry and urban middling sorts, the *Miscellany* combined a strand of high orthodoxy with a ‘polite’ cultural and literary sensibility. Crucially, Webster and his anonymous essayists set this polite orthodoxy against the more heated polemical tone typical of religious writings. This model of polite religion starkly contrasted with the more conventional ‘polemical divinity’ of the era, resulting in a high-stakes print controversy between Webster and the prominent clerical controversialist, William Warburton. At its heart, the conflict centred on conflicting ideas about the role and function of the clerical author in society, and brought into focus the broader shifts which would reshape clerical publishing in the decades to come.

In all the above, there are unmistakable echoes of J.H. Plumb, who first popularized the ‘growth of stability’, which has since been the subject of widespread debate in British historiography.²⁸ The role of the Church of England in this process, however, has not received sufficient attention. For Plumb, stability was only achieved as the result of purely political and social forces centred around the figure of Robert Walpole. Under Walpole, pre-eminent from 1721, England was argued to have seen the advancement of propertied interests, the narrowing of the electorate, and an expansion of executive powers resulting in an ‘adamantine’ oligarchy. This depiction of Walpole as the prime architect of British stability has been enhanced in recent years by the historiographical turn to print culture. Michael Harris and Simon Targett, for instance, have demonstrated Walpole’s effective cultivation of the press as a vehicle to propagate government ideology and quash opposition.²⁹ Yet the use of equivalent

²⁸ J.H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (London, 1967); D.W. Hayton (ed.), *The House of Commons, 1690-1715 (History of Parliament), Vol. 1: Introductory Survey* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 28-35; Jeremy Black, ‘Introduction: An Age of Political Stability?’, in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (London, 1984), pp. 1-22; Clayton Roberts, ‘The Growth of Political Stability Reconsidered’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 25 (1993), pp. 237-56.

²⁹ The arguments against Plumb are summarized by Roberts, ‘The Growth of Political Stability Reconsidered’, pp. 238-240; on Walpole and the press see: Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Rutherford, 1987); Simon Targett, ‘Government and Ideology during the Age of Whig Supremacy: The Political Argument of Sir Robert Walpole’s Newspaper Propagandists’, *Historical Journal* 37 (1994), pp. 289-317.

strategies by his ecclesiastical counterpart, Edmund Gibson, who himself drew upon a much older tradition of seeking a stable politico-religious settlement, must prompt a reconsideration of how innovative such techniques truly were. Gibson's cultivation of print to de-escalate partisanship reminds us that the search for 'stability' was not simply a political objective pursued by the State.

To the contrary, recent scholarship has shown the fundamental importance of stability to the objectives of the Long Reformation, in which reformers since the sixteenth century had sought a comprehensive model for the established Church.³⁰ It was a concern which gained fresh impetus in response to the tumultuous years of the civil wars. From the mid-seventeenth century onward, Anglican churchmen had participated in wide-ranging debates over the most desirable form of social, political, and religious organization conducive to lasting peace. As discussed above, such debates have been widely discussed by intellectual historians as part of the 'English Enlightenment'.³¹ Despite these efforts, volatility within the religious settlement continued, something powerfully exposed by the politico-religious turbulence which followed the Revolution of 1688.³² The resolution of this crisis depended not only on forms of political management but also on the ability of churchmen to adapt the aims of the Long Reformation and find new solutions to the problem of religious difference. The Church's ability to control print, or rather its inability to do so, would again be central to exacerbating further crises over the status and authority of traditional doctrine.

The nature of this challenge posed by the post-Revolution crisis, and the

³⁰ See p. 9, n. 22.

³¹ See p. 4, n. 13 and 14.

³² G. V. Bennett, *Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975), p. 10; Brian Cowan, 'The Spin Doctor: Sacheverell's Trial Speech and Political Performance in the Divided Society' in *Parliamentary History* 31 (2012), pp. 28-46; Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London, 1767); Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Dr. Sacheverell* (London, 1973); Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*; Mark Knights, 'History and Literature in the Age of Defoe and Swift' *History Compass* 3 (2005); Mark Knights, 'Introduction: The View from 1710.' *Parliamentary History* 31 (2012), pp. 1-15; W.A. Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* (London, 1977); W.A. Speck, 'The Current State of Sacheverell Scholarship', *Parliamentary History* 31 (2012), pp. 16-27; Andrew Starkie, *The Church of England and the Bangorian Controversy, 1716-1721* (Woodbridge, 2007).

crucial role of Gibson and his allies in resolving it, will be explored in subsequent chapters. In brief, the final and permanent lapse of the Licensing Acts in 1695, the principle instruments of censorship, created uncertainty over the best means for the Church to propagate its teaching while combating denominational and intellectual opposition. It resulted in deep divides over how to respond to the proliferation of opposition, particularly in the form of heterodoxy, spurring a wide-ranging disciplinary crisis within the Church itself.³³ Gibson and his allies were the public face of an alliance between political Wiggery and theological ‘orthodoxy’. It meant they had two audiences in mind when undertaking their press campaigns. The first was a large body of disgruntled Toryish lower clergy who had provided the political animus to the High Church reaction during the ‘Rage of Party’ years. Gibson wanted to assure them that the Whigs could be trusted as custodians of religion and the Church. Additionally, he sought to enhance their knowledge of religion to aid in their performance of parish duties. The second audience targeted in Gibson’s press campaigns were the broader laity: general readers and consumers of print in the growing public sphere. During the 1720s and 1730s, this readership was mostly located in urban areas, most of all in London. The many tropes about London life in popular print culture depict the city as an arena in which the full gambit of social vice and religious sin were on display: drunkenness, sexual promiscuity, avarice, dissimulation, and status-seeking, to name just a few. The overriding concern among Churchman was the perception that large sectors of the population were generally ignorant of religion. Gibson and his allies sought to refashion the print output of the Church to combat social dissipation and ally orthodox religious belief to the new moral axes of urban culture. In engineering these shifts, however, Gibson and his circle were participating in, and shaping, a much broader set of transformations that would profoundly change the nature, function, and place of the clerical author in English society. As such, this thesis begins with a much longer-term discussion about ‘the clergy and print’ told through statistical analysis of bibliographic data. It is only by understanding this broader narrative that we can begin to contextualize and

³³ Alex Barber, “‘Why Don’t Those Lazy Priests Answer the Book?’ Matthew Tindal, Censorship, Freedom of the Press and Religious Debate in Early Eighteenth-Century England” *History* 98 (2013), pp. 680-707; Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, pp. 245-276; Brent S. Sirota, ‘The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State: Religious Controversy and the Making of the Post-Revolutionary Church of England, 1687-1702’, *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013), pp. 26-54.

understand the significance of this mid-eighteenth century moment.

The remainder of this introduction reviews the role of the clergy in print culture from the beginnings of print to the rise of Walpole. It provides essential context for understanding the relationship between the clergy and print in the long eighteenth century, illustrating how clerical publishing culture connects to broader questions in print, religious, and intellectual history. The first section assesses the impact of print on the Church of England, focusing on ecclesiastical attitudes and responses to the medium. The use of print is assessed through the lens of the Church's enduring aims as part of a Long Reformation, the rise of a public sphere, and a tumultuous post-1688 crisis over the lapse of pre-publication censorship. This helps to explain the importance of print media to Edmund Gibson. The second section introduces Gibson, his networks, and policies.

From Early Print to Whig Supremacy

Some of the earliest printed works produced in England were reproductions of manuscript texts by English clergymen. In 1496, for example, Wynkyn de Worde published a print edition of William Lyndwood's work of canon law, *Constitutiones Provinciales Ecclesiae Anglicanae*.³⁴ Many early clerical productions passed through the hands of key figures in early English printing, including Wynkyn de Worde, William Caxton, and Richard Pynson, who sought to tap the market for conservative and traditional religious content.³⁵ This early material tended to reprint older works or provide accounts of contemporary events printed at the behest of pious lay men and women. In 1509/1510, for instance, Worde published a transcription of a sermon preached before Henry VII and his court by the bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, printed at the request of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby and mother of the king.³⁶ It is perhaps the earliest English-language printed sermon, though it is framed as a transcription taken by an observer rather than being published directly from a preacher's text or his notes, as would later be the norm. The early success of clerical works is evident from the 1520s onwards in the increasing numbers of clerical publications which appear in the ESTC, with genres such as sermons, speeches, devotional works, and hagiographies, proving popular.

The importance of print was consolidated and enhanced by the Reformation. Print permitted both standardization and the easier reproduction of texts essential to reformers' efforts to unify religious belief and practice around a single national institution.³⁷ Within this enduring project print served both as an instrument of learned religious culture and as a tool of proselytization. At the centre of this textual culture

³⁴ William Lyndwood, *Constitutiones provinciales ecclesie anglica[n]e. per. do. wiihelmu[m] [sic] Lyndewode vtriusq[ue] iuris doctorem edite. Incipiunt feolciter [sic]* (Westminster, 1496).

³⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (London, 1992), pp. 77-87.

³⁶ John Fisher, *This sermon folowyng was compyled [and] sayd in the cathedrall chyrche of saynt Poule within [the] cyte of London by the ryght reuerende fader in god Iohn bysshop of Rochester, the body beyng present of the moost famouse prynce kynge Henry the. vij. the. x. day of Maye, the yere of our lorde god. M.CCCC.ix. whiche sermon was enprynted at the specyall request of [the] ryght excellent pryncesse Margarete moder vnto the sayd noble prynce and Countesse of Rychemonde and Derby* (London, 1509/1510).

³⁷ Bates, 'The Limits of Possibility in England's Long Reformation', p. 1051.

was the English Bible, the study of which was facilitated by a range of interpretive aids such as commentaries, concordances, and other types of scholarly reference works. Alongside the Bible stood two additional official texts of Anglicanism, the Book of Common Prayer, which laid out an annual pattern of worship and ritual, and the Thirty-Nine Articles, containing the prescribed doctrines and practices of the Church of England. There were also works that served other purposes, such as manuals of devotion, used in spiritual exercises or worship; and different still were a wide variety of improving, expository, reflective, or inspiring works designed as aids to the practice of Christian life, of which the largest category was undoubtedly sermons. The final major category was controversy, where authors articulated their vision of Protestantism and sought to defend it against opposing denominations or belief systems. From the Reformation to the Civil War period, this Anglican print culture was dominated by the episcopacy and learned clergy who largely controlled the production of official publications.³⁸ A university education was the most decisive factor determining whether a clergyman would seek to use print, and clerical authors tended to be active in areas where literacy was highest, such as in towns and within learned institutions such as the universities and cathedrals.

In addition to this official culture of print, the late sixteenth century was a formative period in the development of a 'public sphere'. The break with Rome had opened wide religious, political, and intellectual divisions over what a new national Church should look like, from its theology and practice to its structural organization and relationship with the State. Those early divisions between conservatives and evangelicals would form the kernel of denominational conflicts for generations to come.³⁹ Opposition to a coalescing Elizabethan orthodoxy began to be played out before wider audiences through new forms of short print media, notably pamphlets, which were both cheap and quick to produce. Confrontations between the Protestant establishment and Catholic dissenters hostile to the Elizabethan regime, including the Marprelate tract controversies and the Edmund Campion affair, demonstrated the potential of cheap print as a vehicle for mobilizing popular opinion.⁴⁰

³⁸ Green and Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England c. 1640-1695', p. 67.

³⁹ Ingram, *Reformation Without End*.

⁴⁰ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 11-

The association between print and political mobilization in the late Tudor and early Stuart periods meant that senior ecclesiastics placed great emphasis on controlling and censoring published output. The Star Chamber decree of 1586 made press licensing the formal responsibility of the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury, giving the episcopacy a wide range of formal and informal channels of influence over the licensing system.⁴¹ Mary Morrissey has shown that licensing became an integral part of the Bishop of London's chaplain's duties, an arrangement which culminated in a significant concentration of clerical control over press censorship under Archbishop Laud, who employed specialist clergymen to work closely with the Stationers' Company.⁴²

These structures of censorship dramatically collapsed during the civil wars, producing transformative effects. The lapse of censorship created the conditions for a massive increase and diversification of printed output, and an unprecedented availability of radical theological print.⁴³ Peter Lake and Steven Pincus have argued that the explosion of religious controversy in this period laid the ground for a regular public sphere to emerge after the Restoration.⁴⁴ The Printing Act of 1662 restored formal controls to the Stationers' Company, the archbishops and the bishops of London, and chancellors or vice-chancellors of the universities.⁴⁵ Print, however, was changing in ways that increasingly subverted traditional controls over the press. While the official output of the English presses resumed after 1660, these older forms had increasingly to co-exist with a much wider range of material. In practice, the re-imposition of licensing did little to stem the outflow of heterodox material which had

12; Peter Lake and Michael C. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000), pp. 587-627.

⁴¹ Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp.625-51.

⁴² Mary Morrissey, 'Episcopal Chaplains and Control of the Media, 1586-1642' in Gillian Wright, Tom Lockwood, Hugh Adlington, *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 64-82.

⁴³ Nigel Smith, 'Non-Conformist Voices and Books', in *CHBB IV*, pp. 410-30.

⁴⁴ Lake and Pincus. 'Rethinking the Public Sphere', pp. 281-282.

⁴⁵ Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2005), p. 59.

begun in the civil wars. Ecclesiastical policy towards the press appears to have shifted in the face of an unmanageable administrative burden, with the number of works carrying the imprimatur of a licensing chaplain in persistent decline after 1660.⁴⁶

Amid these legal and structural shifts, the content of print also changed from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards. Religious controversy, which had largely been confined to university-based oral disputations before the civil war period, started to be conducted before a wider public in print. Controversy was, in essence, a culture of trial by combat. In controversy, the truth of a school or set of beliefs would stand or fall according to the tests of ‘reason’, usually one’s ability to marshal the evidence of revelation as found in scripture, history, and the traditions of the early Church and the Fathers. Public religious controversy gained traction within a fractured religious landscape that had led to violence and civil conflict. Participants in such debates believed that print polemic offered the means to claim lasting victory over their intellectual and denominational opponents before a wide audience. The presence within the Church of a broad spectrum of belief meant a high value was placed on controversy and disputation in determining religious truth and correcting error. It was through such methods that an idealised ‘*via media*’ or ‘middle way’ could be found. Somewhat paradoxically, therefore, it was believed that print could be put to work in service of the Church’s ‘reformation agenda’ because it would lead to the resolution of religious difference and engender uniformity.

Despite contemporary beliefs about the function of controversy as a path to religious consensus, both older and newer scholarship has emphasised its role in fostering a sense of crisis within the Restoration and post-Revolution Church of England.⁴⁷ Increasingly, questioning traditional doctrine, particularly the formulation of the Trinity, became an intellectual target for writers who opposed the punitive civil power of the restored Church. The Trinity, as laid out in the Thirty-Nine articles and the Three Creeds, is the doctrine that one God is made known as three persons: The Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Problematically, the doctrine is not explicitly mentioned

⁴⁶ Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p. 226.

⁴⁷ Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, pp. 61-62; Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability*, p. 26; Bennett, *Tory Crisis in Church and State*, pp. 10-12; Speck, *Stability and Strife*, pp. 91-92.

in the Old or New Testaments, but was defined out of continuous exploration of its texts, beginning with the early Church Fathers.⁴⁸ It was crucial that theologians understand the nature of Christ and his relationship with the Father if the Church was to avoid falling into a number of heresies. Broadly speaking, thinkers could veer between tritheism on the one hand (three distinct gods), and deism on the other, with only one God and Christ, his son, a much less important or even human figure (also called Socinianism and Arianism, named after Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604) and Arius (A.D. 256-336) to whom these beliefs were anachronistically attributed. Also known as Unitarianism).⁴⁹ A wide variety of texts in scripture had to be reconciled and formulated into a single doctrinal formula that avoided the these various pitfalls.⁵⁰

From the late seventeenth century onward, increased numbers of lay and clerical intellectuals grew frustrated with the restrictive view of the Trinity taken by the Church authorities. Some wished to explore more speculatively the original texts upon which the medieval creeds had been formulated, while others sought to reconcile such teachings with the new knowledge of nature illuminated by Newton. Intellectual opposition to orthodox doctrine also took on a political dimension, as thinkers questioned the authority and legitimacy of a state church to regulate public discussion through print regulation.⁵¹ Both unorthodox lay and clerical thinkers chafed at the power of the State to sanction and repress dissident opinion through laws of blasphemy, seditious libel, and above all, the Licensing Acts. The issue was thus connected with a broader range of grievances frequently aired by oppositional writers, who condemned the Church's prescriptive tendencies as dogmatic and self-serving.⁵² Even if not regularly or evenly enforced, this coercive power created the perception that the Church was either unable or unwilling to provide an account of its doctrine, and instead was reliant on the punitive powers of the State to guarantee its supremacy.

⁴⁸ W. R. F. Browning, 'Trinity' in *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Oxford, 2nd edn., 2009).

⁴⁹ Isabel Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, vol. II, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion*, pp. 155-156; Robert T. Holtby, *Daniel Waterland, 1683-1740: A Study in Eighteenth Century Orthodoxy*, (Carlisle, 1966), pp. 12-17.

⁵¹ J. A. I. Champion, "'Religion's Safe, with Priestcraft Is the War": Augustan Anticlericalism and the Legacy of the English Revolution, 1660-1720', *The European Legacy* 5 (2000), p. 548.

⁵² Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken*, pp. 1-2; Rivers, *Reason, grace and sentiment*, vol. II, p. 8.

The sense of frustration was expressed by one anonymous pamphleteer as late as 1731, who accused the Church of ‘clapping Padlocks upon Men’s Intellects, and perpetually crying out to the civil Power to restrain the Press, and to persecute whomsoever they shall point out to them, that will convince the World they desire pure Christianity should take Place.’⁵³ The anonymous pamphleteer echoed the conclusions of the influential earlier freethinker Anthony Ashley Cooper, who wrote that the clergy ‘Having enter’d the Lists and agreed to the fair Laws of Combat by Wit and Argument, they have no sooner prov’d their Weapon, than you hear ‘em crying aloud for help, and delivering over to the *Secular Arm*.’⁵⁴ For Shaftesbury, the veracity of religion depended on its being subject to free and open discourse, which he accused the post-Revolution Church of being unwilling to sanction.⁵⁵

Like their heterodox opponents, orthodox churchmen also viewed the theological struggles over the restored religious settlement through the lens of the civil disruptions and wars of the mid-seventeenth century. The orthodox position, by contrast, was to avoid at all costs a return to those chaotic years by securing, enforcing, and defending a religious settlement to which all were expected to adhere. In the immediate aftermath of restoration, the problem of religious difference was felt most acutely over the failure to forge a comprehensive settlement which could accommodate both Arminian and Calvinist wings of the Anglican church, and the creation of a decidedly royalist and high-Anglican legislative settlement under Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. With so much attention paid to the question of emerging non-conformist and dissenting groups, the Church appears to have been taken off guard by the revival and rebranding of ancient Trinitarian heterodoxies such as Socinianism, Arianism, and other forms of ‘freethinking’ which found new currency as a language of politico-intellectual opposition.

⁵³ *The abuses of Christianity* (London, 1731), pp. 21-22.

⁵⁴ Anthony Ashley Cooper, ‘Sensus Communis, or an Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour’ in *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, vol. I, part II (London, 1711), p. 66; Rivers, *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment*, vol. II, p. 33.

⁵⁵ Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 160.

While the problem of heterodoxy has largely been discussed in the context of an ‘English Enlightenment’, for the reasons discussed above it had crucial political consequences as well.⁵⁶ The problem of heterodoxy was not simply a theological and ecclesiological problem for the Church, but it also raised fundamental questions about the role of the Church as regulator and censor. From the Restoration onwards, heterodox thinkers increasingly challenged the Church’s traditional political role in the censorship and press regulation system. Such issues became a focal point of partisanship, not just between Anglicans and their denominational opponents but at times between different factions of the Church itself. The Revolution of 1688 greatly intensified these intra-clerical conflicts, fuelled by a broader crisis in political culture and by the resilience of a combative culture of print in an expanding public sphere. Thus, as print came to occupy an increasingly central role in the communicative culture of later Stuart and early Hanoverian England, the question of the Church’s role in this expanding domain became evermore pressing and contested.

The Revolution of 1688 pushed the issue of Church, print regulation, and heterodoxy to the forefront of ecclesiastical and clerical politics, though not for the reasons usually discussed by historians. Conventional accounts of both print and Church history portray the aftermath of the Revolution settlement, in which the Licensing Acts were allowed finally and permanently to lapse in 1695, as foregrounding a decisive shift in the culture of the Church of England, which had to ‘persuade’ rather than seek to discipline its opponents. As discussed above, the Church had been in full retreat for some time from its traditional role in the licensing system, and successive civil administrations had proved unwilling to leverage State-power against heresy.⁵⁷ The lapse of the system in 1695 was a tacit recognition of the impracticalities of enforcing a model of censorship designed in an era when published titles per annum measured in the tens and hundreds, not thousands. Instead, the

⁵⁶ Sirota, ‘The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State’, p. 29.

⁵⁷ Champion, ‘Religion’s Safe, with Priestcraft Is the War’, p. 548; Mark Goldie, ‘The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England’, in Jonathan Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 331-368.

importance of the lapse of licensing was in its political and rhetorical value to those within the Church who believed the higher clergy were not acting sufficiently aggressively against the circulation of dissident and heterodox material.

Yet in the aftermath of the Revolution, all attempts within Church to exert greater pressure on their heterodox opponents were, in essence, failures. The first group to try was the post-Revolution episcopate, who adopted a direct, combative approach to the problem. Senior bishops, including Edward Stillingfleet, Simon Patrick, Gilbert Burnet, and even Archbishop Tillotson, published widely against anti-Trinitarian thinkers, an effort which Brent Sirota has described as ‘a novel attempt to govern the church by polemic’.⁵⁸ This uncoordinated anti-heterodox campaign by the supposed defenders of the Church rapidly degenerated, with the bishops themselves soon accusing each other of heresy. Tillotson’s successor Thomas Tenison adopted a very different, but similarly ineffective approach. Alex Barber has detailed Tenison’s paralysed response to the sensational work by Matthew Tindal, *The Rights of the Christian Church* (1706). It was a strongly anti-clerical work that sought to dismantle High Church claims of co-existent and equal spheres of civil and religious authority, or, in Tindal’s words ‘the Doctrine of Two Independent Governments, one belonging to the Clergy by Divine, the other to the King and Parliament by Human Right’.⁵⁹ Tenison did nothing amid calls to suppress the work, fearing that prosecution would simply provide Tindal with greater publicity.⁶⁰ Perhaps mindful of the chaotic spectacle caused by his predecessors, Tenison also refused to produce or sponsor any official rebuttal, believing that Tindal’s pamphlet had been sufficiently answered by clergymen who had already volunteered works ‘of our side of the Convoc[atio]n controversy’.⁶¹ In the context of a toxic politico-religious climate –the ‘Rage of Party’– this *laissez-faire* approach proved to be the catalyst for the emergence of a zealous brand of High Churchmanship.

⁵⁸ Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, pp. 264-266.

⁵⁹ Barber, ‘Why Don’t Those Lazy Priests Answer the Book?’, p. 689.

⁶⁰ Barber, ‘Why Don’t Those Lazy Priests Answer the Book?’, pp. 695-701.

⁶¹ Barber, ‘Why Don’t Those Lazy Priests Answer the Book?’, p. 700.

A reaction against the ineffectual upper clergy had begun in the 1680s and 1690s, with deprivations of office and the suppression of radical publications in both universities. Most notably, dramatic book-burnings were undertaken in the Schools quadrangle of the University of Oxford.⁶² During the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), charismatic figures such as the bishop of Rochester, Frances Atterbury, led calls to reinstate disciplinary structures in the form of a sitting Convocation. He wished to use the ancient assembly as a vehicle to root out and suppress heterodoxy. Other figures, such as the notorious preacher Henry Sacheverell led calls to dismantle the post-Revolution settlement which provided toleration to Dissenters. In an episode which has received a great deal of historiographical attention, Sacheverell was put on trial in 1710 for attacking ‘Revolution principles’ in a sermon, *The Perils of False Brethren*.⁶³ The trial triggered riots in London,⁶⁴ and the affair ended with Sacheverell’s impeachment, along with public burnings of his printed sermons.⁶⁵ F. F. Madan’s *Critical Bibliography of Dr. Henry Sacheverell* lists above 1000 items published relating to controversy, with the sermon itself being subject to extraordinarily large print runs.⁶⁶ This antagonistic campaign reached its peak after the landslide Tory victory of 1710, but the results for the High Church party were minimal. Deadlocked by procedural inertia, the Convocation of Canterbury failed to act on the anti-heterodox agenda which had propelled its revival, and only stimulated greater conflict between the Whiggish episcopate and Tory lower clergy. Members of the lower house finally overstepped the mark in 1717 when they moved to censure the bishop of Bangor, Benjamin Hoadly, who had triggered further furore over his sermon *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ*.⁶⁷ In contrast to High Church

⁶² Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p. 261; Brian Young, ‘Theological Books from The Naked Gospel to Nemesis of Faith’, in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London, 2001), pp. 79-82.

⁶³ Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren, Both in Church and State* (London, 1710).

⁶⁴ Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*; Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow, 1993), p. 350; Knights, ‘Introduction: The View from 1710’, p.1.

⁶⁵ Geoff Kemp, ‘The “End of Censorship” and the Politics of Toleration, from Locke to Sacheverell’, *Parliamentary History* 31 (2012), p. 47

⁶⁶ Knights, ‘The View from 1710’, p. 9.

⁶⁷ Benjamin Hoadly, *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ: A Sermon Preach'd before the King, at the Royal Chapel at St. James's...* (London, 1717).

principles, Hoadly espoused a minimalist ‘latitudinarian’ position. Civil encouragement of a particular set of doctrines, he put forward, discouraged sincere belief. The Whig government prorogued the Convocation in 1717, stripping the lower clergy of their principle forum to organize and agitate.⁶⁸

The suppression of Convocation and the subsequent emergence of Whig oligarchy under Walpole usually marks the end of studies of the ‘Rage of Party’ and post-Revolution era. Yet in the decades following Hoadly’s sermon, print controversies over divinity did not disappear. There were, however, fewer episodes of agitation such as those that had surrounded Sacheverell or Hoadly, which had either caused or threatened civil strife. These years were no more ‘rational’ or ‘enlightened’ than previous decades, but now the public discussion of religion took place within a more irenic climate. This was, in part, the product of a new political alliance forged between senior Whigs in Church and State with the goal to create greater stability. Allied to the administration of Robert Walpole, Edmund Gibson was installed as bishop of London in 1723 with the express aim ‘to bring ye body of ye Clergy and ye two Universities, at least to be easy under a Whig administration’.⁶⁹ It was for this role that he was remembered after his death by Richard Smalbroke, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield in 1749:

Having given some Account of Bishop *Gibson’s* learned and pious Works, I shall now add a few Observations on the more Active and practical Part of his Life... For it is well known that he had a very particular Genius for the right Management of Business, which he happily transacted by means of a most exact *Method* that he used on all Occasions. This is a Talent that rarely falls to the Share of Men of great Learning, who are generally suited to matters of a Speculative than Practical Nature.... And indeed the Ministry in the last Reign were so sensible of his great Abilities in transacting business, that there was committed to him a Sort of *Ecclesiastical* Ministry for several years... when almost every thing [sic] that concerned the Church was in great measure left to the Care of the Bishop of London.⁷⁰

Gibson is best known to historians for this political role. He is frequently cited in

⁶⁸ Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 219; Starkie, *Bangorian Controversy*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁹ Edmund Gibson, ‘My Case in Relation to the Ministry and the Whigs’, n.d., Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5219, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁷⁰ Richard Smalbroke, *Some account of the Right Reverend Dr Edmund Gibson, Late Lord Bishop of London* (London, 1749), pp. 16-17.

survey works of eighteenth-century British history as crucial to the formation of an alliance between the Whig political establishment and the episcopacy, a relationship which set the tone of Church-State relations until the reforms of the early nineteenth century.⁷¹

The focus on Edmund Gibson's political role within the Walpolean administration, however, fails to capture the broader significance of the bishop to both religious and print culture. His political activities were only one part of a broader set of activities designed to help the Church regain its composure and authority. While clerical participation in print had been growing since the Restoration, and had peaked during the 'Rage of Party' era, it is arguable that much of this new material meant little to 'ordinary readers'. It was often highly polemical, framing debates about Church and State and orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy as part of a broader set of conflicts about the legacy of the Revolution settlement. In every year between 1710 and 1720, an average of 150 clerical authors were active writing and publishing printed works, a hitherto unprecedented level of clerical activity in the press. Despite this growth in participation, however, there was a marked decline in the publication of traditional forms of practical literature, perhaps a sign of diminished concern for a wider readership. Gibson sought to consolidate and stabilize this new enthusiasm for publication among the clergy, but he instead encouraged the clergy to engage with print as a medium for broader religious communication and scholarship. He also sought to discourage the damaging and myopic partisanship which had prevailed in the post-Revolution era. He made his aim explicit in an undated memorandum from the 1720s to the prime minister Robert Walpole:

The thing to be chiefly aim'd at, is the preventing [of] a Competition among ye Clergy - This would raise ye old spirit of zeal and jealousy among ye Clergy all over ye Nation, and put an end to ye Calm w[hi]ch we have enjoy'd for some years past.⁷²

⁷¹ Stephen Taylor, 'Sir Robert Walpole, The Church of England, and the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736', *Historical Journal* 28 (1985), pp. 51-77; Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (1985), pp. 137, 139, 274; Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London, 1997), pp. 164-66; Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, pp. 40-43.

⁷² Edmund Gibson, 'Notes on Various Ecclesiastical Matters', n.d., Cholmondeley Ch(H) Papers 78.54, Cambridge University Library.

In a different context, Gibson later echoed the same sentiments but with explicit reference to clerical activity in print. In a letter to the Colchester clergyman and antiquarian Philip Morant dated June 3 1729, Gibson responded to a plan by Morant to produce a new English translation of Cicero's speeches and dialogues. Gibson wrote, 'I am always well pleased, when I find that Clergymen make Books their Diversion; which keeps them from seeking it elsewhere, and at the same time is an [sic] useful Improvement to themselves.'⁷³ In a later letter in the same series, Gibson strongly encouraged Morant's local antiquarian studies, this time into the history of Colchester, as 'distinct and regular', so long as they were pursued 'at vacant hours' in order not to interfere with his regular clerical duties.⁷⁴

In addressing Walpole, Gibson expressed his intent to maintain peace between recently warring factions of the upper and lower clergy. In the case of Morant, a well-connected but nevertheless junior parish clergyman, Gibson recognized and encouraged the benefits of writing as an improving pastime for the lower clergy, but he encouraged non-partisan forms of casual scholarly activity, such as local antiquarian studies or works of translation and editorship. In all these cases, a strongly irenic tone emerges, with especial focus on minimizing conflict among clergymen of the Church of England. As will be explored in a series of case studies from the 1720s and 1730s, Gibson's objectives culminated in a sustained push for the clergy to diversify their efforts and find new readers for the Church's teaching. His print campaigns involved both his own writing and that of a series of clients. He was anxious to produce reading matter appropriate for literate but non-learned people. His aim was bridge the gaps between the learned culture of the universities, the clergy at large, and the wider reading public. Before progressing to the case studies, however, these developments must be set in a larger context to understand their lasting significance for the culture of clerical publishing. The opening chapter of this PhD, therefore, provides a long term statistical outline of the emergence and consolidation of clerical publishing culture between 1660 and 1800.

⁷³ Edmund Gibson to Philip Morant, 3 June 1729, BL Add. MS 37221. Vol. VI, fol. 5.

⁷⁴ Edmund Gibson to Philip Morant, 22 Dec. 1739, BL Add. MS 37221. Vol. VI, fol. 59.

Chapter 1. A Statistical Analysis of Clerical Publishing in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1660-1800

By all measures available, the output of the English press rose dramatically over the course of the long eighteenth century. The average number of annually published titles increased more than seven-fold between 1660 and 1800, a statistic even more remarkable considering that the technology of print remained broadly unchanged across the period; the adoption of the steam-press only began to gain momentum in the 1830s. The reasons behind print expansion thus had little to do with technological innovation, and were instead the result of changes to commercial practices, developing infrastructure, and the growth of a domestic reading public.

The purpose of this chapter is to establish, through quantitative analysis of bibliographic records, the clergy's response to the expansion of the reading public. This is desirable as currently scholars lack basic statistical information about the clergy's published output during a crucial period in the development and expansion of the hand press book trade. It is no simple task to quantify clerical output: the clergy were a very diverse group who produced many genres, none of which were exclusive to them. Anglican clergy wrote sermons, but so did Dissenters and Catholics. They also wrote histories and antiquarian works, as did many of the laity. Simple search queries in bibliographic catalogues, therefore, are ineffective at separating out clerical works from all the rest.

This is perhaps one reason why the clergy, and religion more generally, remain an understudied aspect of eighteenth-century print culture. No simple labels exist in bibliographic databases that so easily demarcate 'religious' or clerical works from 'secular' or lay texts. In other cases, the procedure is far more straightforward. Newspapers and periodicals are uniformly labelled in the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) and are thus easily quantified. For this reason, it is relatively straightforward to perform statistical analyses charting the rise of newspaper and periodical titles, lending weight to the argument that these were key forms of media in the developing public sphere. Scholars who make the argument for the central status of religion in the eighteenth-century book market, however, have little recourse to such compelling statistics which would add weight to their case.

This chapter, therefore, has four objectives. The first is to provide basic statistical information about clerical publishing in the long eighteenth century. It utilizes the practice of title counting to achieve this. Title counting is a well-established statistical measure in the field of bibliometrics, used as an indirect measure of print output. Second, it establishes the clergy as an important and distinctive population of authors in the book market. It does this by comparing a large and comprehensive corpus of clerical texts with a randomly selected control sample of an equivalent number of lay authors. Third, the chapter reports the results of a largely successful, if experimental, attempt to uncover the composition of clerical print output by genre. The purpose here is to provide a more integrated analysis of the evolution of specific religious (and non-religious) print genres produced by the clergy over the entire course of the long eighteenth century. The analysis was experimental because it relied on relatively recent methods in the field of natural language processing and machine learning. These methods permit genres to be ‘uncovered’ from the language used in the records themselves and grouped accordingly. The approach contrasts with the conventional bibliographic practice whereby printed works are ordered within pre-determined (and often anachronistic) classification schemes. Finally, undertaking the above forms of quantitative analysis has served as a crucial tool in narrowing the focus of the broader thesis to the first four decades of the Hanoverian regime. For reasons outlined in this chapter, the period c. 1714-1750 was a key period in the history of clerical publishing, and the results reported here underpinned the selection and framing of the case studies discussed in subsequent chapters.

The chapter is structured as follows. First it draws on existing scholarship to lay out the factors which drove the expansion of print over the long eighteenth century. These contextual factors point towards the reasons print became such an attractive medium of communication for the clergy to adopt and master. It then addresses several printed sources which suggest contemporary awareness of the mutually beneficial relationship between members of the clergy and the book trade. Despite the existence of some anecdotal evidence, there is in general a shortage of surviving material which provides insight about clergy-bookseller relations. Such sources would provide valuable insight into the commercial and religious motivations that fostered such a vibrant and diverse clerical culture of print, and the probable

reasons for this shortage are considered. It foregrounds a discussion of the consequent search for an alternative means to investigate clerical print culture. The search resulted in the adoption of digital techniques to create a bibliographic corpus of clerical works using two pre-existing sources. A brief overview of the resulting methodology is provided, which entailed cross-querying bibliographic and prosopographical datasets to create a large bibliographic sample of clerical works for statistical analysis. Detailed discussion of the results follows, to be read in conjunction with the graphs and charts supplied at the end of this chapter and on the DVD-ROM included in the back of the thesis. The chapter concludes by bringing the analysis together and summarizing the overall findings which point to the themes discussed in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Print and Literacy in the Long Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, literacy, measured by the ability of individuals to sign their names in marriage registers, was restricted to about half of men and a quarter of women, with significant variations according to region and social and occupational status.¹ Children were most often educated at home, but also in charity schools and by religious groups such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which operated 1,329 schools in England by 1723. General literacy rose over the course of the eighteenth century, improving faster among men than women, as men were more likely to receive education outside the home. Improvements in fundamental education were not complemented by advances in secondary education, the provision of which in fact worsened over the period. After significant gains in the seventeenth century, the student populations at Oxford and Cambridge became smaller and less diverse in the eighteenth. The period was marked by rising costs which put pressure on poorer students, and among the elite, less value came to be placed on a period spent at university.² One interesting counter-trend was at work within the Church: with the increasing value of clerical estates from the Restoration onward, the sons of clergymen comprised an ever-increasing proportion of student populations at Oxford

¹ The following account relies on Suarez, 'Introduction', in *CHBB V*, pp. 1-35.

² Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1909' in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society*, vol. I (2 vols, London, 1975), p. 43.

and Cambridge.³ Degrees became an essential prerequisite to the clerical profession; in turn, the universities took on an increasingly clerical and religious character.⁴ Indeed, the rise of clerical authorship in the post-Restoration period must surely have been related to this expansion of secondary education among the clergy. The high numbers of clergy at the English universities was a marked contrast to the Scottish universities, which offered much more developed curricula in areas such as law and medicine to a predominantly lay studentship.⁵

Despite limited access to university education among the general population, basic literacy rates appear to have been maintained and even improved despite rapid population growth, driving significant growth in demand for printed materials. Extrapolating the size of a 'reading public' from literacy rates is a highly speculative exercise, but the results are suggestive of its potential expansion. Drawing on studies by Cressy, Schofield, Stone, and Wrigley, Michael Suarez has estimated that the literate population of England in 1700 was roughly 1.25 million, 1.8 million in 1750, and 4.2 million in 1800, a 3.36-fold increase in the estimated number of readers over the course of a century.⁶ It is worth calculating this increase to such a precise figure because it so closely correlates with the expansion of printed titles over the same period. According to Suarez's data, over the same period the number of available titles experienced a 3.54-fold increase, from 1,916 unique imprints in 1703 to 6,801 in 1793. Too much should not be read into these statistics, as title counting surviving works gives no indication of either loss rates or print-run sizes. Nevertheless, this close correlation is a strong indicator that authors, printers, and booksellers grew their output in proportion to the demand created by an expanding population of readers.

Several key factors made this expansion possible. Print could be transported with greater speed and reliability as better transportation and distribution networks developed, facilitated by road improvements, the development of turnpike trusts, and

³ Stone, 'The size and composition of the Oxford student body 1580-1909', pp. 38-39.

⁴ Rosemary O'Day, *Professions in early modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 64-72.

⁵ Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment*, p. 11.

⁶ Michael F. Suarez, 'Introduction', in *CHBB V*, p. 11.

the Post Office. Booksellers became much more active in cultivating distribution networks within the expanding towns and urban centres of provincial England, while British imperial expansion extended these networks and created export markets to colonies. Distribution networks were expanded, as pedlars, hawkers, and chapmen largely confined to London at the beginning of the period began to extend their reach into the provinces and abroad. The risks associated with such expansion, moreover, were offset by the development of banking which ensured access to more reliable streams of credit.

The risk and cost of expanding the print market was more than offset by the rewards of new markets in areas which saw substantial urban growth. E. A. Wrigley has estimated that England alone accounted for 57% of net gain in urban population for all of Western Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century, and 70% for the second half.⁷ Within the growing towns new social institutions, particularly coffeehouses, became important venues that fostered a culture of regular print consumption. In such spaces, print became entwined with an urban culture of out-of-doors political, moral, and religious debate. It was a culture that booksellers cannily exploited, using the popular forms of print consumed in these associational venues, notably newspapers, as vehicles for disseminating information about new publications through advertisements. The growth of a reading public was, therefore, stimulated by the intersection of rising literacy, population growth, urbanization, and new habits of consumption associated with an ‘industrious revolution’.⁸

⁷ E. A. Wrigley, *Poverty, Progress, and Population* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 90.

⁸ Jan de Vries ‘The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution’, *Journal of Economic History* 54 (1994), pp. 249-70; Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008).

The Clergy and the Book Trade

Far from absenting itself from such developments, the Church, alongside a host of voluntary religious groups, most notably the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), strove to capitalize on the growth of the reading public. Literary scholars, such as Isabel Rivers, Rosemary Dixon, and Tessa Whitehouse, have all highlighted the importance of overlapping ‘pious’ and commercial interests that drew religious authors and booksellers together.⁹ The phenomenon was highlighted by an anonymous letter writer to the *Weekly Miscellany* in 1734, a source we shall study in detail in chapter 4. The letter, claiming to be from a London bookseller, stressed that English booksellers loved religion:

for its own Sake; but it is not, I trust, the less excellent and amiable for being profitable... if we take a View of our Stock, more than three Parts in four consist of such Books as relate immediately, or remotely, to it. If we examine our most valuable Copies, the Computation will turn out as much in its Favour; If we examine our Accounts, we shall find ourselves indebted to Religion for so great a Proportion of our Income.¹⁰

Religion was important to the book trade because the subject encompassed such a broad variety of popular genres:

Not to mention Bibles, Common-prayer Books, Expositions on the Catechism, Treatises on the Sacrament, Manuals of Devotion &c. which are a staple source of profit; let us come to larger Articles; the infinite Number of Sermons, which have been an estate to the proprietors, such as your *Barrow's*, your *Beveridge's*, your *Tillotson's*, with many more of high Eminence and Credit; the great Variety of Books written for and against *Christianity*; the Controversies among the several Communion and Sects of *Christians*; the Disputes among those of the same Communion upon particular Points; practical and speculative Divinity; Ecclesiastical Historians; Schoolmen, Fathers, Commentaries, and various other Books, subservient to the Study of the Scriptures.¹¹

In the context of a discussion about the supposed rise of ‘Infidelity’ and atheism, the essayist concluded with an expression of concern that ‘if *Religion* falls, *we* may shut up Shop’.

⁹ Rosemary Dixon, ‘The Publishing of John Tillotson’s Collected Works, 1695–1757’, *The Library* 8 (2007), pp. 154–81; Tessa Whitehouse, ‘The Family Expositor, the Doddridge Circle and the Booksellers’, *The Library* 11 (2010), pp. 321–344; for Rivers see p. 5, n. 16.

¹⁰ William Webster (ed.), *The Weekly Miscellany* (London, May 18 1734).

¹¹ *The Weekly Miscellany* (May 18 1734).

This representation of religion and the book trade is interesting for a number of reasons. It was probably not written by a real bookseller. The *Miscellany*, as will later be discussed, was widely known as a ‘clergyman’s paper’, written by circles of London and Cambridge clergymen who were prone to inventing personas which they knew would play to the tastes, fears, and aspirations of their clerical readers. Nevertheless, the author’s observations ring true on several fronts, such as the significance of the Bible and official print to the trade, and the lucrative status of prominent sermon writers to the powerful publishing ‘congers’ of the early eighteenth century. Congers were syndicates of booksellers who purchased shares in the copyright of a book to finance its printing. It became a common means of financing expensive copyright purchases in the early century, and some of the larger syndicates came to exert significant control over the trade. As our commentator observed, the most lucrative bodies of work sought by the new congers were the celebrated sermons of famous latitudinarian bishops such as John Tillotson, whose works were rarely out of print for the entire century.¹² Also noted by the letter writer was the strong polemical dimension of religious publishing, which further produced vibrant sales for booksellers. This is illustrated in the correspondence between William Warburton, later bishop of Gloucester, and his bookseller Fletcher Gyles in 1739. In a letter to Thomas Birch, secretary to the Royal Society, Warburton wrote that Gyles had strongly encouraged him to continue a pamphlet controversy against the *Weekly Miscellany*’s principal editor, William Webster. Bemused, Warburton conceded to Gyles’s demand, and furthermore allowed him to publish a collection of all his pamphlets against Webster until that date.¹³

While anecdotal evidence can help to illustrate the commercial dimensions of the relationships between clergymen and their booksellers, such evidence is surprisingly sparse in both print and manuscript sources. In part, this is due to the poor survival of the business records and correspondence of eighteenth-century

¹² Dixon, ‘The Publishing of John Tillotson’s Collected Works’, pp. 154-81.

¹³ William Warburton to Thomas Birch, Dec 13, 1739, BL Add Ms 4320, Vol. XXI, fol. 160.

booksellers in general.¹⁴ Some of the most significant publishers of the period who handled key religious texts, such as the Knaptons in St. Pauls Churchyard and later Paternoster Row, the Crownfields (father and son), who operated both in London and Cambridge, and John Wilmot in Oxford, are today only known through their published imprints, their short handwritten copyright entries into the Stationers' Register, and through transcriptions of their letters in later antiquarian works such as John Nichols's account of the learned printer, William Bowyer.¹⁵

One of the best, though rarest, sources of correspondence by booksellers can be found in the archival collections of the authors with whom booksellers had business relationships. Such records only exist, however, in cases where authors and booksellers had to transact their business via written correspondence. Some of the most regularly cited relationships in the history of the book are only known due to this accident of physical separation, such as that between the bookseller Andrew Millar (in London) and the author David Hume (Edinburgh).¹⁶ Not so happy, however, is the fact that authors and booksellers who were able to conduct business face-to-face often did so, apparently with little more than a verbal agreement and an entry of copyright in the Stationers' Register, meaning little or no records of these interactions survive. This is often the case for clerical writers and their booksellers, as both groups tended to cluster within the urban centres of the 'golden triangle' of the English publishing business: London, Oxford, and Cambridge. In cases where clergymen did write to their booksellers, their correspondence is often frustratingly oblique, little more than notes requesting future meetings in person, or offering token statements of thanks for a previous engagement. One of the very reasons that the clergy were so important and reliable a source of copy for the book trade, their close proximity and ready availability to booksellers in the course of day-to-day business, is thus ironically the

¹⁴ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (London, 2007), pp. 364.

¹⁵ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century: Comprizing [sic] Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, printer, F.S.A. and many of his Learned Friends; an Incidental View of the Progress and Advancement of Literature in this Kingdom during the Last Century* (6 vols, London, 1812).

¹⁶ Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, 2007), p. 36.

reason that they are so undervalued as a group of authors in current historiography due to a lack of written records.

Digital Approaches to ‘Bibliometrics’

In order to reconstruct the role of the clergy in the book trade, therefore, the problem must be approached from a different direction. In contrast to the lack of manuscript sources is an almost overwhelming quantity of surviving print material that testifies to the clergy’s status as popular authors on the book market. The *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC) contains records of many thousands of titles published by clergymen currently held in research libraries and institutions across Europe and North America. The question that presented itself, therefore, is what can be inferred about the clergy’s role in the book trade from this large corpus of bibliographic metadata? The problem was thus one of ‘bibliometrics’, or the statistical study of bibliography, rather than of traditional archival work with primary records. What follows, therefore, traces the role of the clergy in the book market through the analysis of a large sample of clerical works extracted from the ESTC. By analysing this corpus of bibliographic data, we can infer much about the clergy’s engagement with print culture that cannot be uncovered through traditional forms of archival research.

This approach depends on applying digital methods to the history of the book and bibliography. Scholars have been applying computing methods to problems in the humanities for decades, so it is important not to overstate the novelty of the ‘digital humanities’. The first journals and academic monographs in the field appeared in the 1960s.¹⁷ In that first phase of digital humanities research, scholars prioritized the conversion of analogue materials into digital ones. These early initiatives created repositories of machine-readable information still in use today, such as the London Stage Information Bank and later the ESTC itself, which began work in 1977 and continues to this day. Alain Veylit claimed in 1994 that the ESTC was the most expensive humanities research project ever undertaken.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Computers and the Humanities: A Newsletter* (New York, 1966-2004); Jacob Leed, *The Computer and Literary Style* (Ohio, 1966).

¹⁸ Ben Ross Schneider, *Travels in Computerland: Or, Incompatibilities and Interfaces: A Full and True Account of the Implementation of the London Stage Information Bank* (Reading, MA, 1974); Alain Veylit, ‘A Statistical Survey and Evaluation of the “Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue”’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, Riverside (1994), p. 71.

One early digital humanities publication called for scholars to take ‘a more serious look at the position of the humanistic scholar in the world of data processing’.¹⁹ The question is perhaps even more pressing today than it was then, given the unavoidable role of digital tools to all forms of modern humanities research. The incentive to fund and develop such projects has, of course, dramatically increased with the development of the World Wide Web. Scholars today can access a vast array of resources, from databases such as the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674-1913*, to fully searchable images of print and newspaper material, including *Early British Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and the *Burney Newspaper Collection*. The prevalence of online resources, however, has given rise to new concerns about access and control over information. A prominent recent example was *Authors Guild v. Google Inc.* (2015) which concerned the digital reproduction of copyright material in the now dormant ‘Google Books’ project.²⁰ In other areas, highly commercial models of publication have arisen to limit strictly how online resources, ranging from academic journals to digitized historical newspapers and print material, are used and accessed. In the past, such publishing models severely limited scholarly access to underlying data, but this has eased in certain areas with the adoption of ‘open-data’ standards by research libraries such as the British Library.²¹

While this development is still far from ideal, it is a salutary reminder of progress to consider that during one early research project into the ESTC, undertaken by Alain Veylit in the 1990s, the author was forced to design bespoke computer tools to circumvent the closed system which served ESTC data to scholars at that time. By contrast, this dissertation was based on nearly complete access to the underlying ESTC dataset for the years between 1660 and 1800, including supplementary cataloguing notes which contain valuable bibliographic information. More importantly, the data was provided in a plain-text format, meaning easy access, manipulation, and analysis. Additionally, recent years have seen many technical

¹⁹ Louis T. Milic, ‘The Next Step’, in *Computers and the Humanities: A Newsletter* 1 (New York, 1966), p. 3.

²⁰ James Somers, ‘Torching the Modern-Day Library of Alexandria’, *The Atlantic* (Boston, MA, Apr. 20 2017), <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/04/the-tragedy-of-google-books/523320/>

²¹ See: <https://data.bl.uk/>

barriers to such research lowered, with the development of mature and highly flexible statistical computing environments. The analysis in this dissertation was performed using R, a modern open-source implementation of the programming language S first developed at Bell Laboratories, California, in 1976.²² All together, these developments, involving digitization, open-data requirements, and (not to be taken for granted) the general accessibility and ubiquity of computing, mean that digital methods are now squarely within the mainstream of scholarly research agendas.

A key contribution of this chapter, therefore, is to demonstrate one application of digital humanities methods in my investigation of the clergy and print culture. My objective was to combine two pre-existing data sources to create a new bibliographic dataset, or subset, suited to studying the problem. The result was the development of a specially-created set of data processing algorithms, designed to parse the language of ESTC book titles for signs of clerical authorship, and then cross-reference those records against the prosopographical resource, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED). Various methods borrowed from the field of data science and statistics were used to analyse this bibliography to uncover long-term trends in clerical publishing. These include basic measures of local regression (LOESS) to measure general trends in publishing frequencies, and controlled sampling of non-clerical works to compare clerical performance in the book market against a representative group of ‘typical’ lay authors. As described in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis also deployed newer experimental methods to uncover ‘genres’ within the dataset of clerical works. Topic modelling, a procedure within the field of machine learning and artificial intelligence, was used to generate and classify the bibliographic corpus of clerical works into ‘topics’ based on the lexical frequencies and co-associations of words in book titles.

The chapter proceeds with a description of the sources and an outline of the current field of ‘bibliometrics’ and the ESTC. I then provide a brief outline of the methodological approach used to extract clerical publications from the ESTC and reflect on the strengths and limitations of my approach. As alluded to above, the

²² R Core Team, *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical* (Vienna, 2013), <http://www.R-project.org/>.

sample was extracted from the ESTC using a set of algorithms which identified clerical authors based on keyword phrases in book titles, and a name-matching process which cross-referenced ESTC records with the CCED. Readers should look to the appendix for detailed documentation of this methodology. The main body of this chapter is devoted to reporting the major findings, qualitative results and trends which emerge from a statistical analysis of this dataset. My analysis is grounded in established methods in bibliometrics, but it also demonstrates the application of new tools, particularly topic modelling, to bibliographic analysis. The findings are then summarized in a final analysis which comments on the broader historiographical significance of the study.

Creating a Bibliography of Clerical Printed Works, 1660-1800

The English Short Title Catalogue is a comprehensive union catalogue of existing printed books, serials, newspapers and ephemera printed before 1801. Its coverage extends to items issued in Britain, Ireland, overseas territories under British colonial rule, and the United States. Also included is material printed elsewhere which contains significant text in English, Welsh, Irish or Gaelic, as well as any book falsely claiming to have been printed in Britain or its territories. It does not include foreign language texts published by British authors outside of English-speaking territories (for example, Latin, Greek, or Hebrew texts published in the Netherlands, France, and Germany). It is important to emphasize that only material currently in existence is included. The ESTC project was established as the *Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* at the British Library in 1977. Its aim was to create a machine-readable index of English-language works printed between 1701 to 1800 as a supplement to A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue* which covered the period 1475 to 1640 and Donald Wing's catalogue for 1641 to 1700.²³ In 1987 the database was extended to incorporate the earlier periods, extending the coverage from the beginning of print c. 1472 through 1801. Its name was thus changed to the *English*

²³ Alfred W. Pollard *et. al.*, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (2nd edn, London, 1976); Donald Goddard Wing, Alfred W. Pollard and Paul Guerrant Morrison, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700* (New York, 1945).

Short Title Catalogue.

In historiographic terms, my cue is taken from three previous statistical investigations into the ESTC's holdings. The first by Alain Veylit (1994), the second by Michael F. Suarez (2009), and the third by Leo Lahti, Niko Ilomäki, and Mikko Tolonen (2015).²⁴ Veylit was the first to conduct substantial empirical research into the ESTC when the initial body of digitization work was approaching completion. In 2009, Michael Suarez updated Veylit's findings using data manually collected from the catalogue between 2002 and 2004. Suarez affirmed Veylit's basic findings based on an assiduous manual analysis of the dataset. Importantly, Suarez's study confirmed that manual analysis did not significantly improve upon results gathered by automated methods.²⁵ Together, Veylit's and Suarez's studies form the basis of the frequent assertion of book historians that there was a dramatic expansion in press output in Britain between 1701 and 1800, especially in the final three decades of the century. They also provided empirical evidence to support the thesis that print expansion was closely related to the growth of new genres and printed forms, and the growth of new publishing centres outside of London. The latest analyses of the ESTC have built on this broad view by delving deeper into specific areas of the catalogue. Lahti *et al.* examined the development of one genre, history, focusing on the personnel involved in the genre's publication, its publishing frequencies, and locations. This study builds on the aims of Lahti *et al.* to explore deeper trends within the catalogue, so as to evaluate the ways that clergymen used print over the long term.

The principal methodological challenge was to devise a method of reliably extracting records authored by clergymen from the ESTC. Echoing the stance of Lahti *et al.*, I wanted the solution to be automated and reproducible in case of future additions to the datasets in use.²⁶ Though ESTC cataloguers do not record when new additions are made to the catalogue, the system does record when modifications are

²⁴ Veylit, 'A Statistical Survey'; Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis', pp.39-65; Leo Lahti, Niko Ilomäki, and Mikko Tolonen. 'A Quantitative Study of History in the English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC), 1470-1800' *Liber Quarterly* 25 (2015), pp. 87-116.

²⁵ Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis', p. 39.

²⁶ Lahti *et al.*, 'A Quantitative Study', pp. 90-91.

made to records. For example, correspondence with ESTC cataloguers revealed that between August 2006 and April 2017, 14,869 alterations to bibliographic metadata occurred within the file, a proportion of which were presumably new additions.²⁷ By developing an automated, reproducible system, my approach will allow for later updates to the analysis.

Clerical works were identified based on internal bibliographic evidence within ESTC (<http://estc.bl.uk/>) data, before being cross-referenced against biographical records in the CCED (<http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>). The CCED contains career information on clergymen of the Church of England from 1540 to 1835. It was created to provide an ‘understanding of the dynamics of the clerical profession, both in terms of individual careers and of fluctuations in the profession’s overall size, distribution, and character’.²⁸ By September 2014, the database recorded the ‘career events’ of over 150,490 individuals, including information about appointments, subscriptions, and ordinations.

The process adopted in this study began by parsing every book title in ESTC published between 1660 and 1800, using a function designed to look for word-patterns in titles that signalled clerical authorship. This analysis depended on the highly formulaic titling conventions used by authors and booksellers during the hand-press era. Paratextual information in early printed works is highly descriptive and organized according to formulaic conventions. Authors were frequently described on the titles of their works, often with information about their name, profession, location or origin, because this strategy of self-promotion helped with professional advancement. These author-statements frequently conformed to the following set pattern:

(title of work), **by** (name), (**professional position**) **of** (place)

For example:

*The clergy’s right of maintenance. Vindicated from scripture and reason. **By**
William Webster, M.A. **Curate of St. Dunstan’s in the West.***

²⁷ Email correspondence with Virginia Schilling (Centre for Bibliographic Studies & Research, University of California at Riverside), 11 May 2017.

²⁸ ‘About | CCed’, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/about/>.

The search algorithms were developed to query professional positions unique to the Church of England within these authorial self-descriptions: statements of authorship involving terms such as ‘bishop’, ‘vicar’, ‘rector’, ‘curate’, but excluding generic or non-Anglican denominational terms such as ‘minister’ or ‘pastor’. In practice author-statements alone were not sufficient or reliable indicators of clerical authorship. One problem was that apparent ‘author-statements’ could be something else entirely, such as forms of address. This printed petition from 1665 illustrates the problem:

*Mr. Sadler, saddled [sic], in the vindication of Mr. R. Cranmer of London merchant: and confutation, of the abominable untruths, and falsehoods of Anthony Sadler of Mitcham, Clark; contained in a letter and petition **directed to the Right Reverend Father in God George, Lord Bishop of Winchester** and afterwards published to the world in print. **By a true lover of truth and justice.***

High-status clergymen such as bishops were frequently addressed by name and position in petitions, polemics, and other political works by lay authors. To avoid manually checking many thousands of texts to ensure the appropriate context of author-statement phrases, ESTC records were submitted to an additional phase of cross-referencing against CCED data.

The name of each potential clerical author was checked against the biographical listings in the CCED. This excluded most non-clerical works which produced an initial match. In the petition above, for example, the anonymous author is listed in the ESTC as a ‘True Lover of Truth and Justice.’ By checking this name against the CCED, which contains real names only, the work could be automatically disqualified. All ESTC records associated with all authors who passed the two-step algorithm were included in the final clerical sample, before a process of manual checking was performed to eliminate the greatest sources of error. The process evolved over time as it was tested and refined to introduce greater accuracy, and I have only provided an overview of it here. Much time had to be invested, for example, in curating a comprehensive list of professional positions exclusive to the clergy of the Church of England, in addition to ensuring that the ESTC and CCED were compatible for cross-matching purposes. The ESTC contains English forenames while the CCED preserves the Latinized name-forms found in the original administrative records of the Church of England. It involved creating a method to

translate several hundred forenames from Latin to English.²⁹ The entire process is outlined in the appendix, and readers should look there for a detailed, step-by-step discussion of the method.

The process was not error-free due to limitations imposed by the datasets themselves. The CCED contained many individuals with shared names and little further information to distinguish unique individuals. The ESTC and CCED, moreover, record very different types of biographical information from one another. The ESTC records the birth and death dates of authors, while the CCED lists the dates for specific ‘career events’ of individual clergymen, such as their subscription and ordination. It thus proved impossible to make strong 1:1 connections between persons in the ESTC and the CCED. Moreover, the greater number of works associated with an author, the greater the chance that one of their published titles met the conditions of the context-based search terms in error due to some rare coincidence. For example, a lay author having a clerical namesake, and his works, by coincidence, being subject to editorship by another clergyman.

The problem is best illustrated through an example. The famous lay poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744) left the custody of his literary output to the bishop of Gloucester, William Warburton. Due to Warburton’s editorship, the bishop’s name and his position within the Church is stated in a few titles of Pope’s posthumous output, for example this 1787 edition of *an Essay on Man*:

Alexander Pope, *An Essay On Man. By Alexander Pope, Esq. Enlarged and Improved by the Author. With the notes of William, Lord **Bishop of Gloucester***
(London, 1787)

According to the rules of the title-matching procedure outlined above, this work produced an initial match as the title contained a valid clerical author-statement. In most cases, the work would have been excluded during the secondary stage of name cross-referencing, where each author was checked against records in the CCED. In this case, however, the famous poet had a lesser-known namesake who was a seventeenth-century Hampshire clergyman. His career is recorded in the CCED as

²⁹ See supplementary Table 2 in the appendix for the full list.

Alexander Pope (1621-1661). Thus, according to the rules of the title-querying and cross-referencing procedure, this record passed the criteria for inclusion and all works by any author named 'Alexander Pope' were included in the final dataset. As discussed in the appendix chapter to this dissertation, the ESTC and CCED do not contain comparable life date information which could have helped to prevent this type of erroneous inclusion.

Such cases were rare, but the chances of a person meeting the criteria in error increased proportionally to the size of his print output. This was evident when manually checking the 350 most productive authors against their entries: 18% of the top 175 authors had to be removed for such reasons after manual checking, but for authors 176 through 350, the error rate dropped to 5%. All authors manually removed are shown in supplementary table 1 in the appendix chapter at the end of this thesis. The original rate of erroneous author-inclusion in the resulting dataset was calculated at 14%. Adjusted to reflect the manual removal of the top 49 problem authors, this was reduced to 12.5%. The top 350 most productive authors in the dataset were manually verified by examining a selection of their published titles and checked against *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* where necessary. Authors were kept or removed according to the following criteria:

- All ordained clergy of the Church of England were included, so long as they published at least one item during their time as an Anglican minister.
- Perhaps controversially, ordained authors were included regardless of whether they later left the Church, became nonconformists after the Great Ejection of 1662, or refused oaths of allegiance at the Revolution of 1688 to be Nonjurors. The inclusion of these authors means that the error-rate in the dataset will be marginally higher than the figure quoted above, though precise figures are difficult to establish. In any case, it is not likely to be a statistically significant number of records.
- Church of Ireland clergymen were included, given the porous boundary between the Anglican and Irish churches.
- Likewise, clergy of the episcopal Church in the American colonies were included. American clergy of other denominations were excluded.

- The process yielded a significant minority of lay fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, who had to be excluded manually. This was a product of the close lexical similarity between professional terms used to describe lay and clerical positions in the universities (e.g. lecturer, master, doctor, chancellor).
- A small number of English nonconformists were excluded.
- Clergy of the Scottish Presbyterian church were excluded.

As these various cases show, the list of search terms used to determine clerical authorship had to be meticulously curated and carefully thought through. Other anomalies also had to be accounted for, particularly some notable errors of omission within the CCED itself. Both Jonathan Swift and, unusually, John Wesley were missing (as of July 2017) from the CCED. Wesley was an ordained clergyman of the Church of England,³⁰ so his omission is likely to be a simple, but glaring, error on the part of CCED catalogers. The case of Swift is more complex. The CCED chose to exclude the Church of Ireland clergymen from their database, based on its constitutional distinctness from the Church of England and on its poor record survival. There was nevertheless a high degree of permeability between the English and Irish churches. Swift, for example, spent considerable time in England, commented extensively on English affairs and published in the English book market. Both Swift and Wesley were manually reincluded in my clerical bibliography as correctives to these omissions on the part of CCED cataloguers.

The final ‘author’ for manual inclusion was the body of official texts of the Church of England, including the different editions of Bibles, Psalters and the Book of Common Prayer among others. These were catalogued in the ESTC under the name ‘Church of England’. Following bibliographic standards laid down by the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., the ESTC uses descriptors, such as ‘Church of England’, ‘Houses of Parliament’, or ‘United States Congress’ where a document forms part of the official output of an institution. Thus, the prescribed texts of the Anglican Church, such as Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and Psalters, which

³⁰ Wesley was ordained deacon in 1725 and elected fellow of Lincoln College on 17 March 1726. He was further ordained priest in 1728. Wesley is also recorded as matriculating in 1720 from Corpus Christi, Oxford, in Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886* (Oxford, 1888), one of the key printed sources used in the construction of the CCED.

represent the collective work of successive generations of clerical authors, compilers, editors, and translators, are catalogued under this form of institutional authorship.

Overall, querying author-statements in ESTC titles in combination with name-based checking against the CCED, along with some final manual adjustments, proved to be an effective strategy for isolating clerical works with a tolerable rate of error. The prioritisation of accuracy over comprehensiveness meant the final dataset is likely to conservatively estimate the total number of clerical publications. The final dataset of clerical works contained 34,502 ESTC records associated with 3085 unique author IDs (the full name of the author combined with their birth and death dates). I estimate 87.5% of records within this dataset can be attributed to Anglican clergymen with a high degree of confidence. There may be a slightly higher rate of error due to the inclusion of works by authors who left the Church at some point in their career. This dataset is analysed using a series of statistical charts and tables which are described below.

Analysis of Results

1. Frequency

Fig. 1.1 All records in ESTC, 1660-1800.

This ‘curve’ represents the number of ESTC titles published per year between the years 1660 and 1800. Unless otherwise noted, in all the graphs presented here each marked point represents a single year of publishing activity. A ‘title’ is counted as a printed work produced under a single impression. Different editions and new imprints are therefore counted separately. No entries or years have been removed, as in some studies to exclude clustering effects, especially around decade years. This is sometimes done because works with no date are approximated by cataloguers, usually to the nearest year ending in 0 or 5.³¹ For such reasons, it is usually best to study general trends in title counting data, rather than analysing numbers in detail. After all, the number of titles published per year is itself an indirect measure of the total output

³¹ Suarez, ‘Toward a bibliometric analysis’, pp. 41-42.

of the press, as it does not incorporate print runs or take account of loss-rates. Therefore, I have applied trend-lines to each chart, fitted using the default local weighted scatterplot smoothing (LOESS) procedure included in the R package, *ggplot2*.³²

Smoothing helps to bring out an underlying pattern obscured by many small and irregular fluctuations in publishing rates from year to year. The procedure picks the most ‘average’ or ‘middling’ path between all the points on the graph. In addition to identifying the general trend, it brings the added benefit of highlighting unusual years or periods when publishing rates deviated significantly from the established pattern. These deviations might be meaningful, perhaps triggered by moments of crisis and uncertainty that caused the press to change its activity on a short-term basis. Trendlines can also help to identify underlying problems with the data itself. For instance, in this chart we can clearly see regular deviations from the trendline, caused by large spikes in publishing rates, in each year ending in 0. These deviations from the trendline help to signal that something is amiss in the way the data has been collected and recorded. Here it is the case that cataloguers approximate the dating of texts whose provenance is uncertain. Thus, trendlines help to illustrate the general overall trend in the relationship between two variables and they help to isolate unusual patterns, which either need to be explained as the result of a historical cause or set of causes, or to be investigated as an idiosyncrasy in the structure or makeup of a dataset.

This chart, or some variant of it, has become a standard device by which historians have understood the expansion of the English-language book market over the long eighteenth century. As discussed by Veylit and Suarez, but also by James Raven, the chart shows steady growth to 1710, a plateau until c. 1750, and a marked upward curve in the number of titles after c. 1750.³³ From the Restoration in 1660 until the mid-point of the eighteenth century, the number of titles published per year steadily expanded from an average of c. 1000 titles to c. 2500. After 1750 publishing

³² Hadley Wickham, *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis* (R package, New York, 2009), <http://ggplot2.org/>.

³³ Raven, *The Business of Books*, pp. 7-8.

began an exponential expansion, rising rapidly to an average of above 7500 titles in 1800. This corresponds to a 7.5-fold increase in the average number of titles produced per annum in the 140-year period between 1660 and 1800.

This publishing curve has been central to scholarly understandings of the expansion of publishing in the hand-press era, but some questions have been raised about what it represents and its statistical reliability. Such caveats apply to all statistical studies of the ESTC, so it is worth briefly reporting the current state of scholarly opinion on the practice of title counting. The first question is whether an expanding number of titles can be taken to indicate an expansion of press capacity more broadly. Title counting gives no indication of the relative size of print runs of each title, which could vary significantly.³⁴ The second question concerns the data's statistical reliability. The ESTC only records printed works currently in existence and survival rates are far better for the later period, potentially exaggerating the rate of growth in the latter portion of the dataset. Additionally, we have already indicated that approximate dating of material by bibliographers causes anomalous spikes at the beginning and middle points of decades. Finally, there is also a certain amount of error in the dataset arising from the duplication of records. Michael Suarez, who manually combed the dataset in each year ending in 3 between 1701 and 1800, excluded 14% of the entries he examined based due to the above problems.

Despite these caveats, there is general scholarly consensus that title counting can be taken as a valid measure of press expansion. While it is true that loss rates are substantial for the very early history of print, the difference in loss rates between the years 1600 and 1800 is far less significant. Additionally, while such figures do not incorporate print run sizes and thus are not 'true' measures of press output, the number of titles is at least an indirect measure of that statistic. Fortunately, the ESTC does include subsequent imprints and editions as separate records, meaning the data does contain at least one quantifiable metric of a title's 'popularity'. Thus, while title counts should not be interpreted as 'hard numbers', they should be taken as illustrative of general trends within the print industry. Ultimately, the simplest

³⁴ Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 7.

explanation is that the growing number of titles was a direct result of an overall increase in the productive capacity of the hand-press print industry. Those who suggest that title counting should be performed manually to reduce double-counting and reject erroneous records, furthermore, should look to the differences between studies which have attempted to manually ‘correct’ the dataset and those which have performed no alterations: the difference is not substantial and, most importantly, the data trends remain consistent across both methodologies.

Fig. 1.2 Clerical records in ESTC, 1660-1800.

This chart presents the number of titles published per year within the clerical sample for the period 1660 to 1800. It provides a good indication of long-term trends within clerical publishing. The history unfolds in roughly three phases which will be described in detail: growth, stabilization, and further growth. Data prior to 1660 was unavailable for this study, so interpreting trends at the beginning of the sample is somewhat speculative. The years 1660 to 1663 appear to form the tail end of a larger decline in clerical publishing. There are two possible reasons for this decline. First, this decline matches a broader depression in the book market during the 1660s, as seen in fig.1.1, created by uncertainty following the Restoration and the re-imposition of the old licensing system. Uncertainty would have been particularly acute among clergymen, many of whom had conformed to the Cromwellian regime and rightly feared the Restoration of a high royalist episcopal regime in the Church of England. The period following the Great Ejection of 1662 saw the lowest number of titles by published clergymen in the entire period under study, with less than 100 works published each year between 1664 and 1669. The Great Fire, which destroyed much of London’s publishing district, also exerted a depressing influence, as 1666 and 1667 were the worst years of all. Fewer than 60 titles by clergymen appeared in those years.

The first significant growth phase began after 1668 and lasted until c. 1717. Initial steady growth occurred between 1668 and 1688. During this period, annual clerical output trebled from 82 to 255 titles per year. This growth briefly plateaued in the 1690s at around 200 publications per year, before dramatically resuming after 1700 under the auspices of the ‘Rage of Party’. Barring only a single year, the period between 1704 and 1717 saw publishing activity above 300 titles per annum. Three

exceptional years in this period saw much larger numbers that coincide with key moments of heightened political and religious animus. In 1710, the year of Sacheverell's impeachment by parliament, 467 clerical titles were published. It was the largest single year for clerical publication during the entire long eighteenth century. 1716 and 1717 also saw the clergymen publish above 400 titles, with 415 and 427 respectively. This coincides with another moment of extreme partisan religious feeling, second only to the Sacheverell affair, the publication of the Bishop of Bangor, Benjamin Hoadly's *The Nature of the Kingdom, or Church, of Christ*. Both were key incidents discussed in the introduction.

After 1717 publishing activity lessened and somewhat stabilized, though it had a certain volatility within a narrow range. Between 1717 and 1734 the number of titles produced annually dropped from 427 to 171. This drop restored clerical publication rates to similar levels seen in the 1690s. In one sense, the period between c. 1730 and c. 1780 represents a stabilization of clerical output, as published titles kept within a range of 200 and 350 titles per year. On the other hand, publication rates were volatile within that range, and the period is marked by an unusual oscillating trend of upward and downward movement which is hard to explain.

Growth staggered in the mid-1770s, before beginning the final growth phase in the 1780s. In the space of 20 years, the number of works by clergy per annum doubled once again from c. 200 to above 400 titles by the end of the century. Overall, the periods in which the largest number of clerical works appeared were the 1710s and the 1790s, while the period of least activity was the 1660s.

Fig. 1.3 Decade-by-decade percentage change in number of clerical titles.

A helpful way to quantify these phases of publishing activity is to measure decade-on-decade percentage differences in the number of clerical titles published. This bar chart quantifies the differences between the number of works published per decade, expressed as a percentage change from the previous decade using the decade 1660-1669 as a baseline. For example, it shows that during 1670-1679, 20% more titles were published than in 1660-1669. During 1680-1689, 66% more titles were produced than in 1670-1679, and so on. This differential view of the data confirms trends noted

above. Clerical publishing rates accelerated dramatically in the post-Restoration period, especially between 1680-1689, when publishing rates grew by two-thirds on the previous decade's output. This was followed by a minor lull in 1690-1699 with a 10% drop off. Growth resumed once more in the period 1700-1709 and in 1710-1719, with 41% and 27% growth respectively.

The cumulative effect of growth between 1670 and 1720 established the Anglican clergy in a position of dominance in the overall print market. This dominance, however, proved unsustainable as publication rates dropped by 32% in 1720-1729, and then by a further 7% in 1730-1739. Clerical publishing did not recover its earlier strong growth but instead remained broadly stable in the mid-eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1789, clerical publishing only saw positive or negative growth outside of 10% in a single decade (1740-1749).

The last decade of the eighteenth century saw the resumption of growth at a rate not seen for over a century, with a 55% up-tick in publications for 1790-1799. This growth followed broader trends in the print market. As established in the next graph, however, this growth in the wider market far outpaced the productive capacity of the clergy.

Fig. 1.4 Clerical records as percentage of all ESTC titles, 1660-1800.

These trends are put into broader perspective when we consider how the 'market share' of the clergy changed over time, i.e. the number of clerical titles expressed as a proportion of all titles published per annum. The entire clerical sample represents 8.4% of all titles in the ESTC for the whole period 1660-1800. This summary statistic obscures the fact that the clergy's position in the book market changed considerably over time. In 1660, clerical titles made up 7.4% of total titles published that year. This share grew throughout the later seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth. For the period 1700 and 1720, the clergy produced 12.5% of total titles published the period. The clergy were most dominant within the print market in the year 1717. Almost one in five (19.5%) titles published that year were written by Anglican clergymen. After 1720, the clergy's market share steadily and consistently contracted. By 1800, clerical works composed just 3.5% of total titles.

This decline poses several questions about the clergy as an authorial population. As we have seen in fig. 1.2 and 1.3, the clergy's print output grew significantly in the later part of the eighteenth century. Yet, as an overall proportion of titles produced, this growth did nothing to stem a terminal contraction of market share after 1720. Understanding what caused this decline is crucial to an overall picture of the clerical relationship to print culture.

2. Comparisons

It is necessary to put clerical publishing statistics into comparative context to separate general trends from those unique to the clergy. We must also exclude the possibility that there is no significant relationship between an author's clerical profession and the way he engaged with print, the so-called 'null hypothesis'. There are currently no data sources which would allow for comparison of the clergy against counterpart groups of authors in the book market, such as lawyers, physicians, professional authors, journalists, or 'hack' jobbing writers. A practical solution to this problem was to artificially create an equivalent population of non-clerical authors randomly drawn from the pool of records left after extracting the clerical sample. This control sample of 'non-clerical authors' consisted of a corpus of works written by an equal number of authors to the clerical group (determined by unique ID strings of author name + life dates). The control sample contained the output of 3085 lay authors associated with 14,404 works.

Comparisons targeted a number of parameters: the average number of works per author, the rate of entry by new authors into the book market, overall authorial activity over time, anonymous publication, and self-publication rates. Throughout the comparisons, the clerical sample is represented in the colour red with triangular points, while the control sample is represented in blue with circular points. The purpose of these analyses was to benchmark the clergy's performance against a set of 'typical' authors representative of the wider market, and then to establish reasons for differences between these groups. For instance, did the clergy tend to produce more works per year than their lay counterparts? Did the clergy publish a greater number of

works over the course of a lifetime? Did the population of clerical authors expand or contract at different times compared to their lay equivalents? What differentiated the way that clergymen and laymen responded to contemporary events and periods of greater public discussion? Did clergymen use publishing strategies such as self-publishing, or rhetorical and paratextual strategies such as anonymity, to a greater or lesser extent than their lay counterparts? All these metrics help to build a picture of the ways that the clergy were both similar to and distinctive from the ‘average’ author who published during the long eighteenth century.

Fig. 2.1 Clerical records (red) vs. a control of non-clerical authors (blue).

This graph plots the number of titles per year published by the clerical sample (replicated from fig. 1.2) against the same statistic for the control sample. The differences in output are both quantitative and qualitative. First, the clergy produced, by a significant margin, a greater number of titles than their lay peers in the control sample, especially between the period c. 1670 and c. 1780. At either end of the period (1660-1670 and 1780-1800) the gap is much narrower. Trends in clerical and lay output are also qualitatively distinct. Trends in the control group follow a similar pattern of growth outlined in fig. 1.1 (the whole ESTC): largely steady between 1660-1750, except for a peak in 1710 (which mirrors trends among the clergy), followed by upward growth post-1750. Clerical publishing closely matches non-clerical publishing during the 1660s, but diverges after 1670 with strong growth until the 1720s. The peaks of the ‘Rage of Party’ period (1700-1720) are far higher and more sustained than seen in the control group. The pattern of decline c. 1720-1735, followed by the erratic peaks and troughs of the c.1735-1770 period are also distinctive. After c.1780, clerical publishing trends once again begin to track closely with the control group.

Fig. 2.2 Average number of works per author: clergy (red) vs. control (blue)

This chart compares trends in the average (mean) number of works produced by authors in the clergy and control groups. For example, it shows that on average, clergymen who published in 1660 produced c. 2 works in that year, while authors in the control group produced c. 4. For the most part, authors in both the clerical and control groups produced an average of 2 publications per year, though the control group was significantly more productive towards the beginning of the period, while

clergy had a marginally higher productivity than their lay counterparts after 1700, with a small bump around 1710. Authors in the control group were markedly more productive between 1660 and 1685, though this varied significantly year-on-year and was generally declining throughout the period. During this period, productivity in the control group dropped from 4 to 2 publications per year, while clerical productivity tightly clustered at just under 2 titles per year. The second notable trend is the intermittent peaks in clerical productivity during the 1680s, between 1700-1720, in the years surrounding 1740, followed by smaller up-ticks in the 1760s and 1770s. These periods all correspond to moments of religious controversy and political upheaval. Overall, the average annual output of authors in both groups was broadly similar. The question why the clerical group produced so many more printed works than the control group is not, therefore, the result of higher annual productivity among the clergy. We must investigate other potential reasons for this difference in overall output.

Fig. 2.3 New authors per year (by first publication): clergy (red) vs. control (blue) 1665-1800.

One other potential factor shaping differences in print output between the two groups is the timing and rate of entry of new authors into the book market. This chart tracks the number of authors appearing in print for the first time for the period 1665-1800. Each point on the chart marks the number of authors making their first appearance in the data for that year. The years 1660-1664 were excluded due to the lack of pre-1660 data, meaning that all authors appear as ‘new’ even if they had published prior to 1660. The initial years in the dataset were therefore taken as a baseline and excluded from the analysis to mitigate the effects of this artificial start date.

The clerical and control groups follow distinctive trajectories over the course of the long eighteenth century. New clerical authors entered the market place at a slowly fluctuating but steady rate between 10 to 30 new authors per year, and new clerical entries are slightly weighted toward the first half of the time series (c. 1665-1725). There are a few individual high points for clerical entry into print: 1680-1685, 1710-1715, 1745-1746. Trends within the control group follow a different pattern. Entry to print is strongly weighted toward the final decades of the dataset (after 1745,

greatly accelerating post-1775). Between 1665 and 1750, authors in the control group entered print at a slower rate than their clerical counterparts, though the control group trend-line (blue) crosses above the clergy to a marginally higher position in the decade 1725-1735. The second intersection between the trend lines in the early 1750s is the key point of divergence. From c. 1745 onwards, the non-clerical authors in the control group enter print in numbers which far outstrip clerical entrants. This is an important factor when considering patterns in overall authorial activity.

Fig. 2.4 Number of active authors per year: clergy (red) vs. control (blue).

This graph charts the number of authors who published one or more works per year of the dataset. It is a general measure of overall 'authorial activity'. The chart confirms a developing picture that the clergy were a growing, active population of authors from about 1670 to 1720. This activity lessened slightly but remained generally stable between 1720 to 1780, before growing again after 1780. The control group offers a different picture of very steady growth at a much lower rate of publication pre-1750. Post-1750, non-clerical authorial activity begins to catch up with the clergy and rapidly accelerates, though it never exceeds clerical publishing activity post-1780. Fig. 2.3 suggests, however, that factors driving this post-1780s growth for each group were different. Among the control group, the number of non-clerical authors publishing for the first time grew significantly in the later eighteenth century. Here growing authorial activity appears to have been driven by an influx of new lay authors into the marketplace.

The growth in authorial activity among the clergy in the late eighteenth century is more ambiguous. We have seen that the average number of works produced per author was only marginally higher among the clerical group, and that the population of authors was added to at a broadly constant rate. The expansion of titles among the clergy cannot, therefore, have been driven by an influx of new clerical authors into print. The most logical explanation is that the driving factor behind growing clerical publishing activity was a redoubling of efforts among already established authors. Clerical authors appear to have sought to maximize their output during a period of exponential growth in the broader market that was, as highlighted in fig. 1.4, swamping their overall market share. It is interesting that, despite an

apparent awareness that they were losing ground, fig. 2.3 demonstrates that the Church was not drawing on a wider pool of potential talent and expanding the population of clerical authors.

Fig. 2.5 Proportion of titles published anonymously, clergy (red) vs. control (blue).

This graph tracks the rate of anonymous publication among the clergy and control groups. Anonymity was determined based on keywords in supplementary cataloguing notes for ESTC records. Levels of anonymity were expected to track closely to moments of heightened political and religious conflict, as anonymity was a key rhetorical device which allowed authors to represent themselves as disinterested commentators: by shielding one's name from the public, readers were assured that an author sought only to advance his case and not his own position or status. Anonymity also served to protect authors in cases where their publications could negatively impact their career, especially if that work questioned the religious norms or traditions of the Church, or in certain cases of political controversy expose them to charges of seditious libel. For the clergy, ribald or *ad hominem* polemic, especially if directed at fellow churchmen, could end prospects of preferment or elevation within the Church.

A higher proportion of clerical titles were published anonymously when compared to their lay counterparts in the control sample, but only just. For both the clergy and control group, trends in anonymity are erratic and noisy, in part due to the low number of titles published in this way. Anonymity grew marginally for both groups between 1660 to 1730, but became a somewhat more consistent feature of clerical publishing from the 1730s to the 1770s, declining thereafter. Clerical anonymity experienced a small peak during the 1680s during the reign of James II, Surprisingly, anonymity rates actually declined during the Rage of Party era, and reached a stable plateau between the 1730s and 1780s. During this period, it stabilized between 10-15% of all clerical titles, before declining in line with broader market trends toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Fig 2.6 Proportion of titles self-published by authors: clergy (red) vs. control (blue).

Here the proportion of all clerical titles self-published by the author is compared to the proportion of self-publications in the control group. Self-publication was the

practice of an author, rather than a bookseller or publisher, paying for the expenses of printing and distribution. The practice was expensive and has long been associated with negative stereotypes, such as ‘vanity publishing’. Records were determined to be self-published if either the words ‘author’, ‘authors’, or the surname of the author appeared within the publisher’s imprint. Overall 1486 of 34,502 works in the clerical sample were self-published, corresponding to 4.3% of total clerical output.

For the most part, self-publishing was not a common practice among either the clergy or the control group. Between 1660 and 1760, clerical self-publication rates were slowly rising, but remained below 5%. In the last three decades of the eighteenth-century, there was a pronounced upward trend in self-publishing among the clergy, in some years rising to nearly 15%. As noted above, the clergy were pushing hard to expand their output towards the end of the century. It appears that this expansion of clerical titles outstripped demand, leading to higher rates of self-publication by clergymen. This contrasts with the earlier period when self-publishing was more common in the control group, especially in the years between 1660 to 1720.

3. Tables

The following tables provide general information about the contents of the clerical sample, such as the ‘top’ authors in the dataset, and the principle locations and languages of clerical publication.

Fig. 3.1 Top 50 clerical authors

This table ranks in descending order the clerical authors (including the Church of England, represented as a single ‘author’) with the largest number of associated records in the sample. The counts include reprints and subsequent editions. Notably, the top ‘author’ is the ‘Church of England’ itself. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, this is a result of the use of Library of Congress bibliographic standards in the ESTC, and here represents the cumulative official output of the Church of England, covering works such as Bibles and Books of Common Prayer. The single individual with the largest number of associated publications is John Wesley. The number of titles associated with his name almost rivals the entire output of official texts produced by the Church of England. This productivity is due to Wesley’s

extensive activity as editor rather than author, reproducing popular titles of devotional and practical works which ran to many editions.³⁵ Next in the list is Jonathan Swift, and going down the list there are other high-ranking authors of literary works, including Laurence Sterne and Edward Young. Aside from these well-known figures, the most successful clerical authors were not by and large ‘canonical’ figures. Most of the remaining individuals fall into two categories: authors of various forms of devotional or practical works (such as Richard Allestree, James Hervey, William Law) and authors who were highly productive controversialists (Edmund Gibson, Benjamin Hoadly, Samuel Clarke, Thomas Sherlock).

Fig. 3.2 Countries of publication

As to be expected, England was by far the dominant country of publication for the clergy. Nearly 88% of all clerical titles were published in England. Most of the remainder was taken up by the Irish, Scottish, and North American reprint trade.

Fig 3.3: Top 50 cities of publication

Breaking down publication by place, again it is unsurprising that London was dominant (73% of clerical titles). The next most common places of clerical publication in England were Oxford (4.5%), Cambridge (2.3%), and Bristol (1.3%). Outside of England, Dublin was the most common place of publication (5.5%), followed by Edinburgh (1.7%).

Fig. 3.4 Languages

English was also the overwhelming language used by clerical writers. The clerical sample contains a small number of works published in the minority languages of the British Isles. The largest of these languages is Welsh, followed by Manx, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish Gaelic. These works were predominantly of a practical or liturgical nature. Most of the Welsh-language titles were official texts produced by the Church of England (56 titles). The clergyman Rhys Prichard (c. 1573-9-1644/5), was the most widely published Welsh clergyman. He was a poet born in Llandovery,

³⁵ Isabel Rivers, ‘Wesley as Editor and Publisher’, in Jason E. Vickers and Randy L. Maddox (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley*, (Cambridge, 2010) pp. 144-59.

Carmarthenshire, who published the first Welsh printed catechism separate from the Prayer Book.³⁶ Other Welsh-language works tended to be translations from popular English-language clerical authors, such as (in descending order by number of titles published) William Beveridge, Daniel Rowland, John Rawlet, William Richards, Richard Allestree, John Wesley, Edward Welchman, George Whitefield, and others. The small number of Manx publications included four editions of the Book of Common Prayer, along with an edition of John Wesley's hymns, and a practical work entitled *The Principles and Duties of Christianity* (1761) by Thomas Wilson. It should be noted that all ancient languages are likely to be significantly under-represented in this sample due to the policy of ESTC cataloguers to include only works published in the British Isles and the British Empire and English-language works published abroad. That framework excluded foreign-language works published abroad by British authors. This means that ancient language works, more often published in European centres of learning and printing in the eighteenth century, are not represented in the ESTC.

4. Genres

This final section addresses the particularly challenging problem of classifying clerical publications into genre categories, so to assess shifts in the popularity of different types of works over time. This presents both conceptual and methodological problems. Genre classification begins with the assumption that textual works can be classed as part of larger groups according to their format and content. The practice assumes that these broad categories are discrete, but the reality is often messier as authors can utilize the conventions of multiple textual and literary traditions in a single text. Bibliographers are well-aware of this resistance to neat classification, and they approach genre classification not as a strict science but a guideline to help end-users, usually of library catalogues, to find the material they need. This provenance makes pre-existing genre labels in catalogues generally unsuitable for the purposes of statistical analysis. The problem can be illustrated with the case of the ESTC, which adopts the widely used indexing standards established in the Library of Congress

³⁶ Nesta Lloyd, 'Prichard, Rhys (c.1573x9-1644/5)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22777>.

Subject Headings (LCSH).³⁷ The subject headings combine descriptive information (such as personal names, corporate headings, geographical information, etc.) alongside more conventional genre classes and sub-classes to create descriptive, keyword-driven finding aids (e.g. History—British History). In practice, single works in the ESTC often have overlapping subject classifications, many of which are irregularly formatted and full of extraneous information. For example, take this anonymous work from 1679 which has multiple subject headings spread across two bibliographic fields:

An ansvver to old Doctor Wild's new poem, to his old friend, upon the new Parliament. By Grand-Syre Gray-beard, the Younger

Person as Subject: 'Wild, Robert, 1609-1679. Dr Wild's poem. In nova fert animus, &c. -- Controversial literature -- Early works to 1800.'

Corporate Subjects: 'England and Wales. Parliament -- Poetry -- Early works to 1800.' & 'Political poetry, English -- Early works to 1800.'

While these classifications are useful finding aids in the context of a searchable electronic index, they are far too complex and unstructured for practical topic extraction. Moreover, given that these genres are formulated to aid modern readers, the original authors would likely not have recognized the labels used to classify their works. Many ESTC records, furthermore, have incomplete, incorrect, or missing subject data. It was thus desirable to find a classification solution which relied on data contained within the original texts themselves, rather than creating a complex (and undoubtedly error-prone) function to parse genre categories out of the semi-structured topic entries. The absence of actual text-data for each work in the dataset (such as is found in ECCO or EEBO) meant the next best solution was to use book titles as a resource for genre classification. This was an acceptable solution given hand-press era book titles often contain detailed descriptive information.

The challenge also presented an opportunity to apply new digital techniques to genre classification problems. Computational linguistics have made possible the analysis of large digital text corpora. Such techniques have gained most attention in

³⁷ See the LC Subject Headings dataset on the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., website, <http://id.loc.gov/index.html>.

the scholarly community and among the wider public through studies attributing new authorship to canonical literary texts: for example, the widely reported attribution of Christopher Marlowe as co-author of Shakespeare's historical plays, the three parts of *Henry VI* in the *New Oxford Shakespeare*.³⁸ Beneath the apparent novelty of the series' 'big data' approach to text analytics, however, the study relied on tried-and-tested natural language processing (NLP) methods. In linguistics, a natural language is defined as language which has evolved through use and repetition without conscious premeditation. In other words, the term distinguishes 'ordinary' languages from the constructed languages used by computers. The *New Oxford Shakespeare* editors used several variations of a so-called 'bag-of-words' NLP procedure to compare word counts of the disputed text against the works of contender authors, calculating the degree of difference between common, middling, and rare word-use frequencies. Using this method, the author who had the least difference between his undisputed works and the disputed text based on word frequencies alone was attributed as the most likely author.³⁹

In truth, the bag-of-words model (which dates to the mid-1970s) has largely been supplanted by more modern techniques. One serious shortcoming of the older procedure is that it calculates the differences between two texts based on word frequencies alone, taking no account of word order or other lexical behaviours that, in this case, could be more precise markers of authorial style (thus the term, a 'bag-of-words'). It is a shortcoming that recent methods have sought to address, among them generative probabilistic methods which investigate the relationship between words and documents, known as 'topic modelling'. Topic modelling is not the only means to perform such analyses, as another measure of co-occurrence sensitive to frequency and word-distance is *pointwise mutual information* (PMI). Applied over large historical textual corpora, such techniques can meaningfully trace the diachronic shifts in lexical behaviour that imply changes in the meaning of words, concepts, or

³⁸ Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (eds.), *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford, 2016); Dalya Alberge, 'Christopher Marlowe credited as one of Shakespeare's co-writers', *The Guardian* (Manchester, 23 Oct. 2016); Daniel Pollack-Pelzner, 'The Radical Argument of the New Oxford Shakespeare', *The New Yorker* (New York, 19 Feb. 2017).

³⁹ John Burrows and Hugh Craig, 'The Joker in the Pack? Marlowe, Kyd, and the Co-authorship of *Henry VI, Part 3*', in Gary Taylor and Gabriel Egan (eds.), *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 194-217.

‘topics’.⁴⁰ These methods thus have much wider applications beyond author attribution tasks.

The key set of advances which these methods take advantage of is within the field of machine learning. Machine learning is a subfield of computer science concerned with giving ‘computers the ability to learn without being explicitly programmed’, a definition attributed to the field’s founder, Arthur Samuel (1901-1990). In this context, the term ‘learning’ is used as a shorthand to describe the way computer programs can be constructed to change the way they process information based on external variables. This learning can occur in various forms and with different levels of autonomy. For example, creating a program that learns by example, analogy, or discovery. A key distinction is between ‘supervised’ and ‘unsupervised’ forms of learning. Supervised learning occurs when a model is ‘trained’ to recognize the distinguishing features of a class of data and instructed to find each instance where the data conforms to said class. ‘Unsupervised’ learning occurs when a program is constructed around a generalized method to ‘discover’ classes within the data without explicit training, and then to classify the data into the discovered groups.⁴¹

To summarize, machine learning is concerned with building systems that ‘learn’ from experience, and NLP is concerned with systems that can understand human language. Together, machine learning and NLP techniques have been combined to create systems that ‘learn’ how to understand human language, and have a wide variety of applications from classifying text corpora to tracing shifting lexical patterns in word usage. Currently these techniques have received very little use by scholars. As noted above, despite recent publicity surrounding the ‘digital humanities’, many such studies have relied on decades-old procedures. My concern here is to deploy some of the newer and more flexible methods, using one type of unsupervised classification

⁴⁰ G. Recchia and P. Nulty , ‘Improving a fundamental measure of lexical association’, in G. Gunzelmann, A. Howes, T. Tenbrink, and E. Davelaar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 39th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society* (Austin, TX, 2017); P. de Bolla, E. Jones, P. Nulty, G. Recchia, & J. Regan, ‘Distributional Concept Analysis’ (forthcoming).

⁴¹ John Daintith and Edmund Wright, ‘Machine Learning’ in *A Dictionary of Computing* (Oxford, 2008).

procedure called ‘topic modelling’ to help solve a long-standing problem of bibliography: genre classification.

Topic modelling is a machine learning and NLP approach: it is a type of statistical model for discovering abstract ‘topics’ that occur in a collection of documents. Ted Underwood has described it as ‘a way of extrapolating backward from a collection of documents to infer the discourses (‘topics’) that could have generated them’.⁴² The procedure assumes that a piece of text has been composed in a meaningful way to reflect an idea or concept (a topic). Each topic is thus associated with a distinctive collection of words that tend to reflect this concept, with documents assigned probability rankings of belonging to each topic based on the words they contain. The following analysis uses a method of probabilistic topic modelling as deployed in the Machine Learning for Language Toolkit, or MALLET, which is a widely-used software implementation of the latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) topic modelling procedure.⁴³ The procedure begins by the user defining the number of topics to be ‘discovered’. Each document in the corpus is then randomly assigned to one of these empty ‘topics’. By chance, it is highly likely that a proportion of the documents in each randomly assigned topic will have some shared linguistic features. Many will not, however, but might share linguistic features in common with a set of documents in one of the other groups. The relevant documents are reassigned into the more appropriate category, and the procedure begins again. Over many iterations, the groups become increasingly distinctive as documents are assigned to the evolving topics. Eventually, the process settles on the most probable distribution of documents into topics.⁴⁴ The most common words in each category can be used to infer the general content of documents in each topic. While LDA has been criticised for being a rather opaque procedure, it is nonetheless remarkably effective as a means of classifying bibliographic records into ‘topics’ with little explicit programming. The

⁴² Ted Underwood, ‘Topic Modelling Made Just Simple Enough’, *The Stone and the Shell* (website, 7 April 2012), <https://tedunderwood.com/2012/04/07/topic-modeling-made-just-simple-enough/>.

⁴³ Andrew McCallum, ‘MALLET: A Machine Learning for Language Tool kit’ (2002), <http://mallet.cs.umass.edu>; David M. Blei, Andrew Y. Ng, Michael I. Jordan, and John Lafferty. “Latent Dirichlet Allocation.” *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3 (2003), pp. 993-1022.

⁴⁴ Shawn Graham, Scott Weingard, and Ian Milligan, ‘Getting Started with Topic Modelling and MALLET’, *The Programming Historian* (website, 2012), <http://programminghistorian.org/lessons/topic-modeling-and-mallet>.

method allows for the automatic discovery and classification of many thousands of bibliographic texts into topics that are both intelligible and meaningful as genre categories.

MALLET was used to generate a topic model from the corpus of clerical titles in the dataset. Experimentation proved that eleven topics produced the most meaningful set of results. Pre-defining too few topics to discover (for instance, six) tended to produce categories that were based on words which were too generic, despite common ‘stop-words’ being removed from the corpus. Too many topics (for instance, twenty) produced very granular results with overlapping topics. As stated above, the efficacy of MALLET was surprising: even those documents with the lowest probabilities of belonging to generated topics (usually due to short titles) were still classified into apparently appropriate categories. Moreover, MALLET proved highly effective at classifying reprints (which usually have minor word variations from the original title) into the same topics as the original works.

Nevertheless, topic modelling does have its shortcomings. It is a ‘black box’ solution for which there is very little accessible literature for researchers without a strong grounding in mathematics or statistics. This contrasts with other more transparent techniques, such as *pointwise mutual information* (PMI), a similar procedure, used for measuring lexical co-associations *within* (but not between) documents.⁴⁵ Most serious of all, however, is that LDA-based topic modelling is not a reproducible process. Running the same analysis multiple times will produce slightly different results each time. The solution adopted here was to run the same analysis ten times and pick a model which represented the most frequent outcome.⁴⁶ Tweaking the model parameters was also necessary in order to find the best fit for the dataset, for example, by changing the number of topics or the number of iterations or by customizing the stop-word list, or the so-called ‘hyper-optimization’ parameters. This process of tuning the model to the dataset helps to produce more consistent results,

⁴⁵ See p. 65, n. 40.

⁴⁶ Informal discussions with Gabriel Reccia and Ewan Jones, investigators on the ‘Concept Lab’ project at CRASSH in July 2017, confirmed this is currently the best course of action available. See: <http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/programmes/the-concept-lab-cambridge-centre-for-digital-knowledge>

but the solution is never perfectly reproducible and what constitutes the ‘best fit’ is a matter of judgement. The inputs for this model which produced the results below were: 11 topics, 10 hyper-parameter optimizations every 50 iterations, and 1000 overall iterations. The basic English-language stop-word list provided within MALLET was customized to exclude proper names (John, James, etc.).

Fig. 4.1 MALLET: top words in each topic

This table shows the top ten words associated with each of the eleven topics generated in the topic model. The topics are named below according to the top five words in each topic. The ‘weights’ column shows the number of documents where the word appeared in the context of the topic. As stated above, in the final analysis each record was assigned to its single most probable topic. This table represents the raw output of the model, so the counts are not yet mutually exclusive across different topics. These weightings represent the maximum number of documents where a word pattern might indicate its belonging to a topic.

I have included a random sample of actual titles classified into these topics (fig. 4.4), which helped to devising the following scheme for interpreting the topics:

- Topic 1 ‘sermon preached church preach’d rector’. Sermons preached by the parish clergy; note the presence of words such as ‘parish’ and ‘Sunday’.
- Topic 2 ‘lord bishop sermon reverend preached’. Largely sermons by or preached before the senior clergy, mainly bishops.
- Topic 3 ‘church letter England answer late’. Controversial works.
- Topic 4 ‘church book prayer common administration’. Official and administrative texts of the Church of England, such as the Book of Common Prayer.
- Topic 5 ‘pra cum qua words habita’. Foreign language works, mainly in Latin. Though it includes English-language texts with many abbreviated words.
- Topic 6 ‘christian religion nature late christ’. Works of theology and divinity.
- Topic 7 ‘fellow oxford college late cambridge’. Works by fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges.
- Topic 8 ‘death life Christ god added’. Works of piety and devotion.

- Topic 9 ‘prayers holy lord’s prayer bishop’. Prescriptive or instructional texts, often by the episcopacy, concerning religious practice.
- Topic 10 ‘history account English volumes letters’. Belles lettres, scholarly, and miscellaneous texts related by their focus on non-religious topics, such as histories, antiquarian works, miscellanies, grammars, essays, plays, etc.
- Topic 11 ‘day sermon god appointed thanksgiving’. Largely sermons preached on political occasions or memorial days. Often preached before corporations, societies, or the court in London.

Examining the randomly sampled titles from each category highlights the fact that these categorizations are not perfect, and that there remain some erroneously included texts in the corpus. Nevertheless, the topics which MALLET has uncovered reflect clear and distinct types of literary works. In some areas, the algorithm has identified genres which have long been subject to historiographical discussion. For example, the topics ‘christian religion nature late christ’, ‘church letter England answer late’, and ‘death life Christ god added’, conform to Isabel Rivers’ categorizations of religious works into three types: doctrinal/speculative, controversial, and practical.⁴⁷ Additionally, the category ‘sermon preached church preach’d rector’ most closely aligns with the genre of the printed sermon, which has been the subject of recent interest.

The model, however, has also classified works into topics based not only on their content but also according to the type of individual authoring the work. Sermons have been classified into two groups corresponding to the status of their author. The largest is sermons by the lower clergy. The words ‘rector’, ‘parish’, and ‘sunday’ are prominent within this category (topic 1). Episcopal works are divided into two categories, one covering sermons (topic 2) and the other covering instructional manuals and other kinds of prescriptive texts (topic 9). The intermediate professional status of ‘chaplain’ is reflected in its presence in topics 1 and 2, perhaps reflecting a mixed vocabulary used by chaplains that sometimes echoed the language used by lower parish clergy, and other times emulated lexical patterns used by senior

⁴⁷ Rivers, ‘Dissenting and Methodist Books’, p. 127.

churchmen. The university clergy also occupy their own category ('fellow oxford college late cambridge'). The remaining topics are more straightforward reflections of content. Words such as 'book', 'prayer', and 'common' reflect the prominence of the Book of Common Prayer in topic 4, while 'administration', 'sacraments', 'psalter', 'psalms', and 'ceremonies' reinforce this category's official and liturgical character.

The next step was to classify each document into its most probable genre. For each document in the dataset, MALLET determined the probability of the document belonging to each of the topics uncovered. Each document was classified into the topic to which it had the highest probability of belonging, meaning that every record in the dataset was now associated with a single topic.

Fig. 4.2 MALLET: topic model of clerical titles (genre categories)

This chart gives an overview of the distribution of documents into topics in the entire clerical sample for the period 1660-1800. The top six topics have a roughly even distribution, and correspond (in descending order) to the following genres: sermons, controversial works, works by the university clergy, non-religious writing, episcopal works, and works of divinity and theology. In ranking sermons as the 'top' category, this analysis would seem to reinforce the prioritisation of the genre by historians and literary scholars in recent years. Perhaps more notable, however, is the fact that sermons only have the lead by a small margin. Indeed, there is relatively little difference between the top six categories in terms of the number of works in each genre, suggesting that sermons were part of a broader range of popular clerical genres, all with roughly equivalent status.

Fig. 4.3 MALLET topics as a proportion of total clerical output, by decade.

This graph tracks changes in the distribution of topics over time. Each bar represents a decade of clerical print output, with internal divisions showing the proportion of total output occupied by each topic. The graph shows shifting patterns in the clergy's use of different print genres over the course of the long eighteenth century. Trends for each topic are described here going from the bottom to the top of the graph. The following vocabulary is used to help describe trends in the data: a minor genre is less than or equal to 5%; a staple genre is greater than 5% but less than 15%; a major

genre is 15% and above.

- Topic 1 (yellow) ‘sermon preached church preach’d rector’. Sermons by lower clergy.
 - Sermons by parish clergymen grew from a minor genre (4% of total output in 1660-1669) to a staple genre by the beginning of the eighteenth century. They remained at least a staple genre above 10% for the rest of the century, and in two decades (1710-1719, 1790-1799) rose to the status of a major genre (16% in both decades).
- Topic 9 (purple) ‘prayers holy lord’s prayer bishop’. Prescriptive or instructional texts concerning religious practice.
 - A staple though declining genre in all but the last decade of the century. It was most popular between 1670 and 1689 (13%).
- Topic 5 (lilac) ‘pra cum qua words habita’. Mostly foreign language works, mainly in Latin. The LDA modelling algorithm has bracketed together works with Latin words, words which include letters not in the Latin alphabet, and certain abbreviated English word forms.
 - Almost always a minor genre, though as noted above (fig. 3.4) these are likely under-represented due to the absence of foreign language texts published abroad in the ESTC. The general trend is towards increasingly marginal status over the course of the long eighteenth century.
- Topic 2 (red) ‘lord bishop sermon reverend preached’. Largely works by or concerning the senior clergy, mainly sermons preached by the episcopacy.
 - This topic shows a dramatic decrease over the period. It is the second most popular genre at the beginning of the period, and remained a major genre until the 1720s. After 1720, it moved between staple and minor genre status, and then declined until becoming the joint sixth lowest genre (along with thanksgiving sermons and practical works) by the end of the eighteenth century. Notably this was the top genre in 1690-1699 (23%), possibly reflecting the entry of the episcopacy into the divisive trinitarian conflicts of the period.
- Topic 10 (light orange) ‘history account English volumes letters’. Non-

religious writing, including belles lettres, scholarly, and miscellaneous texts related by their focus on non-religious topics, such as histories, miscellanies, grammars, collections of letters, poems, theatrical works, etc.

- Like topic 2, topic 10 experienced a transformation over the course of the eighteenth century, but in the other direction. At the beginning of the period non-religious texts were a minor genre, but grew into a major one and was the second largest category by 1790-1799.
- The strongest driver of growth in this genre appears to have been the growing popularity of antiquarianism as a subject of clerical writing. In addition, there may have been relaxation of what was considered appropriate for clergymen to write (leading to more theatrical, literary, and poetical works).
- The growth in this form of writing is a strong indicator of a shift in clerical authorial culture away from traditional forms of religious writing.
- Topic 7 (dark orange) ‘fellow oxford college late cambridge’. This category encompasses a wide variety of different works unified by their use of words signifying an association with Oxford and Cambridge colleges (‘fellow’, ‘college’, ‘oxford’, ‘cambridge’ etc.), in addition to other terms denoting learned status or qualification (i.e. ‘dr.’, ‘b.d.’, ‘m.a’, ‘d.d.’).
 - Topic 7 follows a similar trajectory to topic 10, beginning as a minor genre but growing dramatically after 1740 to become a major form. It was the top form of clerical writing by the end of the period.
 - Clerical publishing was becoming increasingly ‘academic’, or at least the clergy were becoming increasingly concerned to associate themselves and their writings with the status of their learning, through stating their collegiate positions in Oxford and Cambridge and through making explicit their qualifications.
- Topic 8 (pink) ‘death life Christ god added’. Practical works of piety and devotion.
 - Mirroring the rise of new genres is the decline of older forms. Practical works were a major genre of the c. 1660-1679 period. The statistics here reinforce the conclusions of book historians that the period after

the Restoration was a ‘golden age’ for the genre. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it had become a staple genre. Though it never became a minor genre, it also never recovered its past status.

- Topic 11 (dark green) ‘day sermon god appointed thanksgiving’. Largely sermons preached on political occasions or memorial days. Often preached before corporations, societies, or the court in London.
 - A minor/staple genre that exhibits some interesting trends. Thanksgiving and memorialising works often had partisan associations, recalling the martyrdom of Charles I on the one hand, or the ‘double deliverance’ of November 5 (the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot and William of Orange’s landing at Torbay), on the other.
 - The genre was at its strongest during periods of politico-religious turbulence. Most notably during 1660-1669 (following the Restoration of the monarchy) and 1690-1699 (the decade following the Revolution of 1688). Thanksgiving sermons rose to 12% of all works in 1700-1709 and 1710-1719 (the period covering the ‘Rage of Party’, Hanoverian succession, the ‘15 Jacobite Rebellion) and rose again in 1740-1749 (the ‘45 Jacobite Rebellion).
 - While it was never a major genre, spikes in publication rates for this topic tended to co-occur with rises in the next topic, religious controversy, adding to the general sense of fervid political and religious debate.
- Topic 3 (light green) ‘church letter England answer late’. Controversy.
 - This topic, composed of works of religious controversy and polemic, was also responsive to periods of political and religious upheaval.
 - The genre achieved ‘major genre’ status in six decades, mostly in the first half of the period (c. 1660-1739). This reflects the lasting potency of divisions over the religious settlement which had emerged after the civil wars, and the emergence of new threats to the established Church such as freethinking and deism into the 1730s.

- It was at its height in the decade 1680-1689 (27%), reflecting the widespread opposition of the Church of England to James II's catholicising policies.
- After 1740, the genre sank to 'staple' status and did not recover its past prominence. By the end of the century, it constituted just 8% of total output.
- Topic 4 (dark blue) 'church book prayer common administration'. Official and administrative texts of the church of England, such as the Book of Common Prayer.
 - A 'minor' genre based on title counts, but it should be noted that the official output of the Anglican church was characterized by the publication of few titles in very large print runs. Title counting, therefore, clearly under-represents the prominence of this genre.
- Topic 6 (light blue) 'christian religion nature late christ'. Works of theology and divinity.
 - The final topic encompasses works of divinity and theology. It grew from minor to staple status over the later Stuart period, and was a major genre in the first decades of the Hanoverian regime, especially in the decade 1730-39, the result of the cumulative effort of the anti-deist campaigns of the period.

Conclusion

In some basic ways, clerical publishing was shaped by trends in the broader print market. As in the rest of the ESTC, the clergy overwhelmingly published in the English language and their publications were handled within the main centres of the print industry in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The largest centres of clerical publishing outside these areas were Bristol, York, Newcastle, Bath, and Birmingham, with above 100 titles each. Publications outside of England were mostly produced in Dublin, but also to a lesser extent in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as the cities of North America, most of all Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.

When compared to a randomly-selected control group of non-clerical authors, clerical publishing followed a trajectory that was distinctive from the

publishing patterns in the wider book market. The control group exhibits, on a smaller scale, trends which have been described by Veylit and Suarez for the whole book market. Among the control group the pattern is of steady output followed by exponential growth after 1750. This pattern has been explained as the result of economic and social changes occurring over the course of the eighteenth century. By contrast, clerical publishing does not hold to the patterns of print output as determined by those social and economic forces.

After the Restoration, there was significant uncertainty over the newly re-established Church's doctrine and the position of those clergy who had conformed to the Cromwellian regime. This contributed to very low levels of clerical publishing activity. The works published at that time had a strong practical and devotional character. Episcopal sermons were another major genre until the end of the seventeenth century. This fits with depictions of post-Restoration divinity as a 'golden age' of practical religious writing, but also as an authoritarian culture of divinity, focused on the Church's episcopal and divinely appointed character. During the later Stuart period until the Revolution of 1688, there was strong growth in the number of titles produced by the clergy. The strongest growth occurred in the decade 1680-1689, when clerical output increased by 66% on the previous decade. Clerical publishing was expanding much faster than the average in the wider print market. The largest driver of this growth came from an outflow of controversial works due to widespread clerical opposition to James II's catholicising policies. In the wake of the Revolution of 1688 clerical publishing activity declined by 10%, once again caused by uncertainty over the religious settlement. Sermons by the episcopacy were published with renewed vigour, becoming the largest genre in the final decade of the seventeenth century, perhaps reflecting the desire of the Church authorities to assert control at a time of great uncertainty, and the participation of the Williamite bishops in the Trinitarian controversies of that decade.

During the early eighteenth century, the growth of clerical publishing culminated in an intensive period of activity between 1700 and 1717 driven by the partisan conflicts of the 'Rage of Party' era. These two decades saw a level of output not seen again until the end of the eighteenth century. Unlike in the later period, however, the clergy occupied an unprecedented position of dominance within the

book market during this time, with nearly a fifth of all printed works produced by clergymen in 1717. Works of controversy were a major genre, comprising 20% of total output in the decade 1710-1719. Other areas of publishing echoed this partisan trend. For instance, politicised works of thanksgiving and memorialization were at their strongest during this period. The early eighteenth century also saw the emergence of the 'parish sermon', usually authored by clergymen lower down the professional scale, as a staple genre. This growth in clerical publishing 'from the bottom' reflected a post-Revolution shift towards greater pastoral initiative and voluntarism in religious culture. This proved to be a lasting shift, as the parish sermon remained a constant feature of clerical publishing culture until the end of the century.

During the mid-eighteenth century, clerical publishing activity saw a marked decline, with a 32% drop in output after 1720. Thereafter, clerical activity recovered slightly and remained within a range of c. 200-350 publications per year. The clergy began to publish more anonymous works than in previous decades (between 10% and 20% of all titles). In an era when the episcopacy sought to move away from the extreme partisanship of the early century, those who continued to publish controversial works may have looked to anonymity as a device to ward off public censure or exposure. After 1720, the language of religious discourse also seems to have begun to change. Titles containing words such as 'answer', 'vindication', or 'reply', implying a direct, combative tone were in decline. By contrast, titles containing words such as 'nature', 'christ', 'scripture', and 'discourse', the lexicon of a more abstract and perhaps less polemical form of divinity, were on the rise. After 1720 these works of divinity became a staple genre, and the format's best decade was 1730-1739. From 1720 there also began a significant growth in works whose titles reflect a more 'academic' terminology, particularly with words referring to positions in the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. Perhaps reflecting this shift at a broader level was the sustained growth of non-religious works, encompassing scholarly works such as grammars, antiquarian histories, natural philosophy, correspondence collections, and miscellanies. These areas drove a resurgence in clerical publishing from the mid-1780s until the end of the eighteenth century, with c. 400 titles per annum by the 1790s, a 52% increase in publishing activity on the previous decade. These new titles were more frequently self-published by clergymen than in previous decades (at a rate of 10% and above in the 1780s).

Throughout the long eighteenth century, the clergy were a minority authorial group. Their annual output can be measured on a scale of hundreds, while the overall output of the English press must be measured in the order of thousands. But the clergy tended to ‘punch above their weight’, and the key to their success was consistency. Once a clergyman entered print, he tended to remain an active author, producing more titles year-after-year over the course of a lifetime (and beyond) compared to his average lay counterpart. Despite this, the population of clerical authors remained stable and small. While clerical authors tended to be highly productive over their career, the initial barrier to becoming a published author appears to have been high, sufficient to replenish the population over generations, but not to expand it significantly. This is notable because it goes against the wider trend in the book market, where the number of lay authors expanded rapidly towards the end of the eighteenth century.

There are several possible reasons for this lack of expansion. First, as a group widely distributed across England, only clergymen in London, Oxford, or Cambridge would have had easy access to the most important publishing centres. Provincial printing did grow toward the end of our period, but the ‘golden triangle’ remained dominant. Without regular contacts among booksellers and other clerical authors, clergymen in remote areas would have faced significant barriers to publishing. Publishing, moreover, was not necessarily a useful activity within many communities. In small compact communities with regular face-to-face contact, oral sermons and pastoral initiative continued to be the most practical way for a clergyman to fulfil his professional duties. The book market, moreover, could only absorb a certain number of new authors per year, and the well-established circles of clerical authors appear to have met the demand for Anglican works. Indeed, the growth of new religious groups outside the established church in the eighteenth century meant that authors from other denominational groups were supplying print to the market as well. The cumulative effect may have been ‘market saturation’, and it is telling that during the period of the book trade’s greatest expansion, the late eighteenth century, the clergy failed to expand their base of authors.

Fig. 1.1
All records in ESTC, 1600-1800

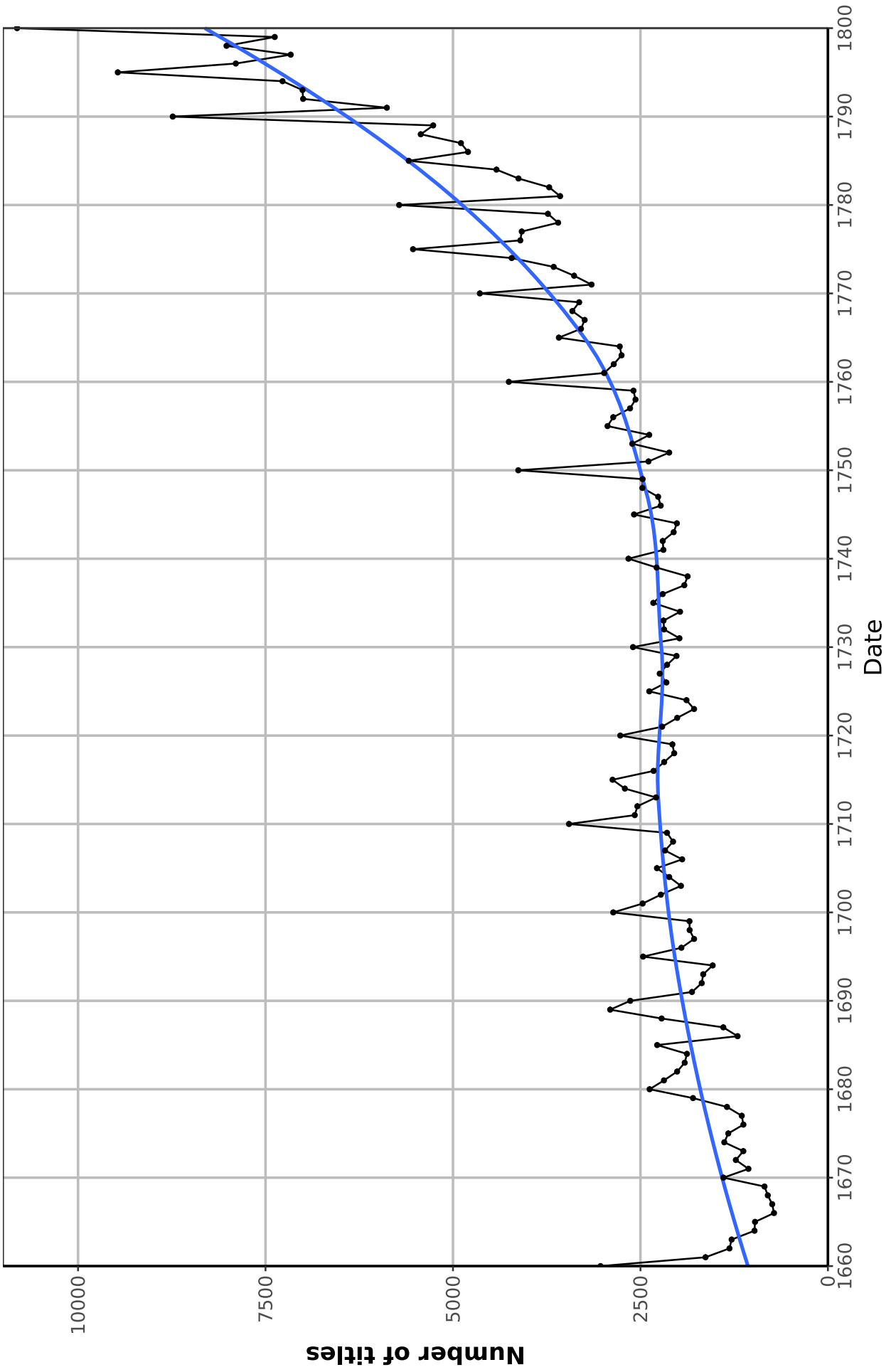


Fig. 1.2
Clerical records in ESTC, 1600-1800

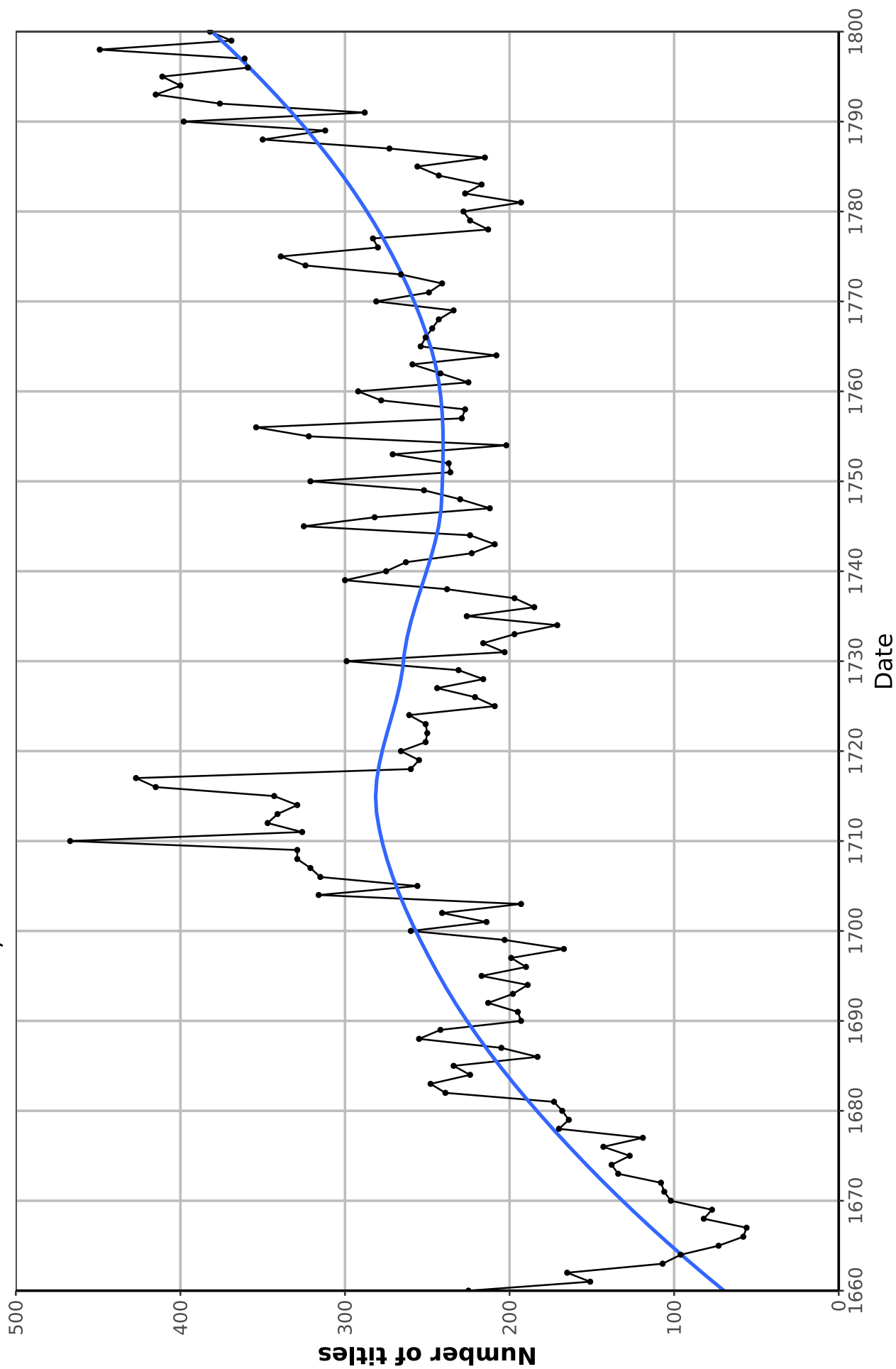
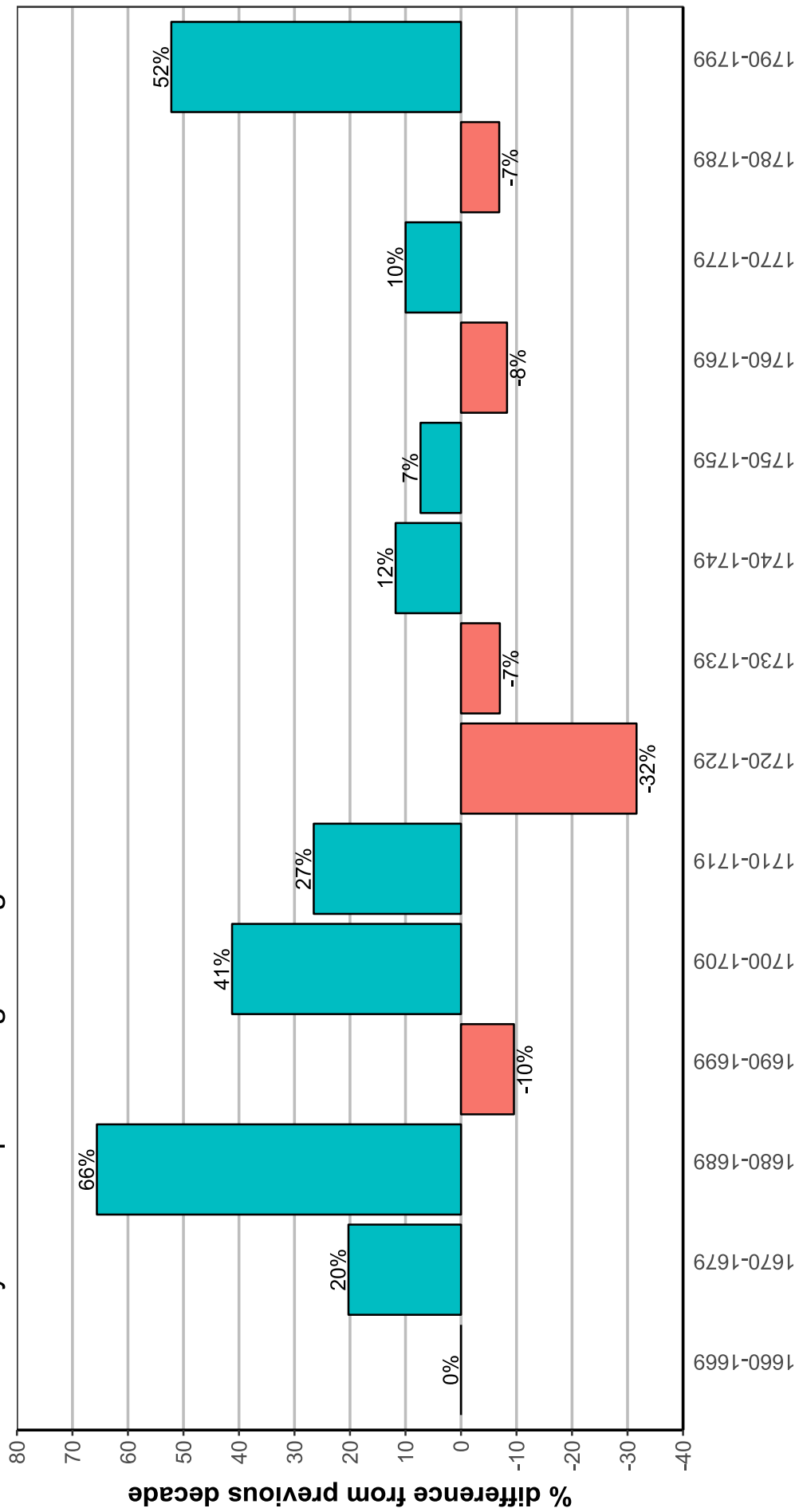


Fig. 1.3
Decade-by-decade percentage change in number of clerical titles



The bars represent the decade-over-decade percentage change in the total number of published clerical titles, with 1660-1669 taken as a baseline.

For example, the chart shows that between 1670-1679, 20% more titles were produced than in the period 1660-1669. From 1680-1689, 66% more titles were produced than in 1670-1679, and so on.

The data was grouped into decades to better see the cumulative changes over time.

Fig. 1.4 Clerical records as percentage of all ESTC titles, 1600-1800

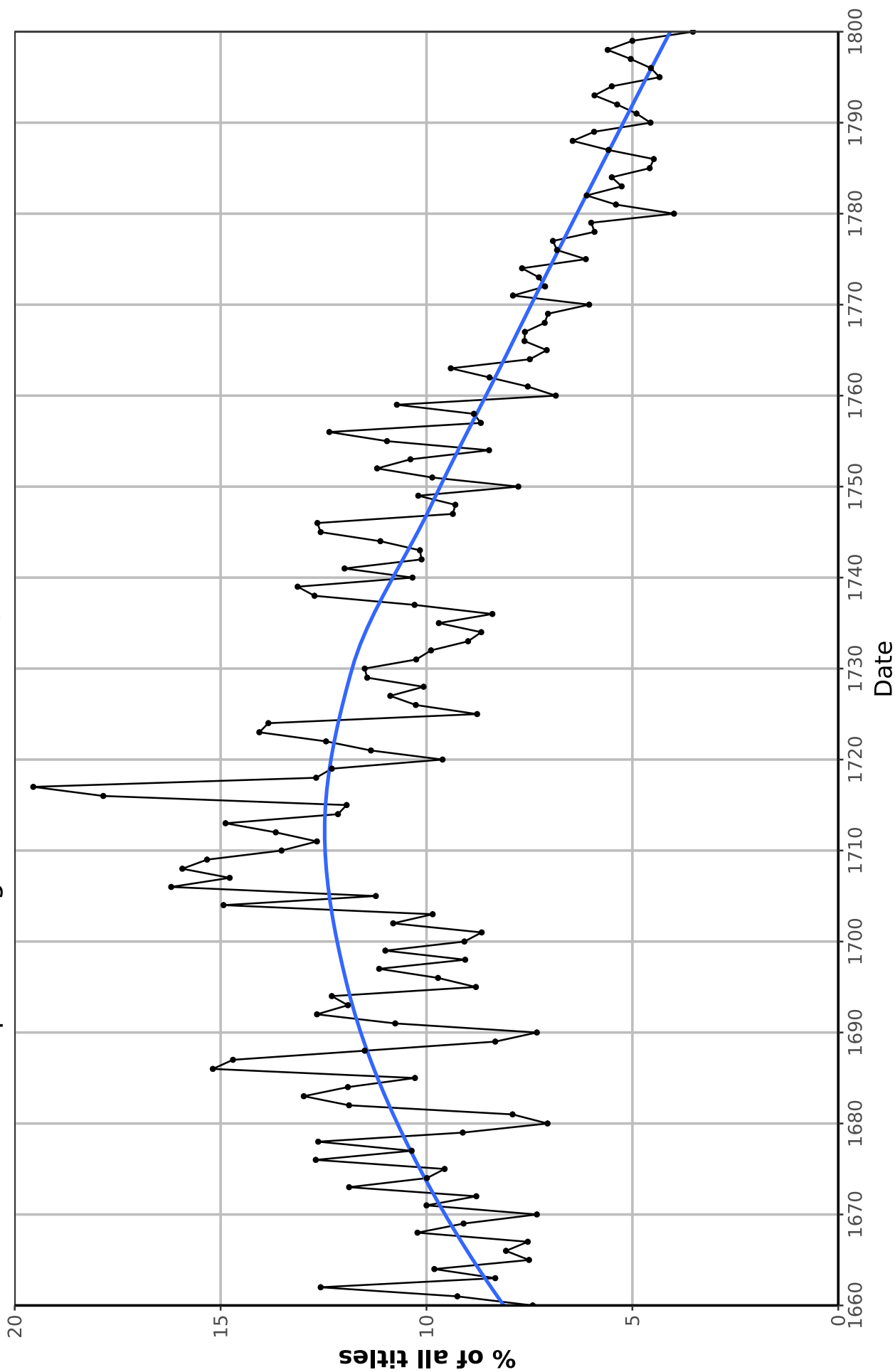


Fig. 1.4

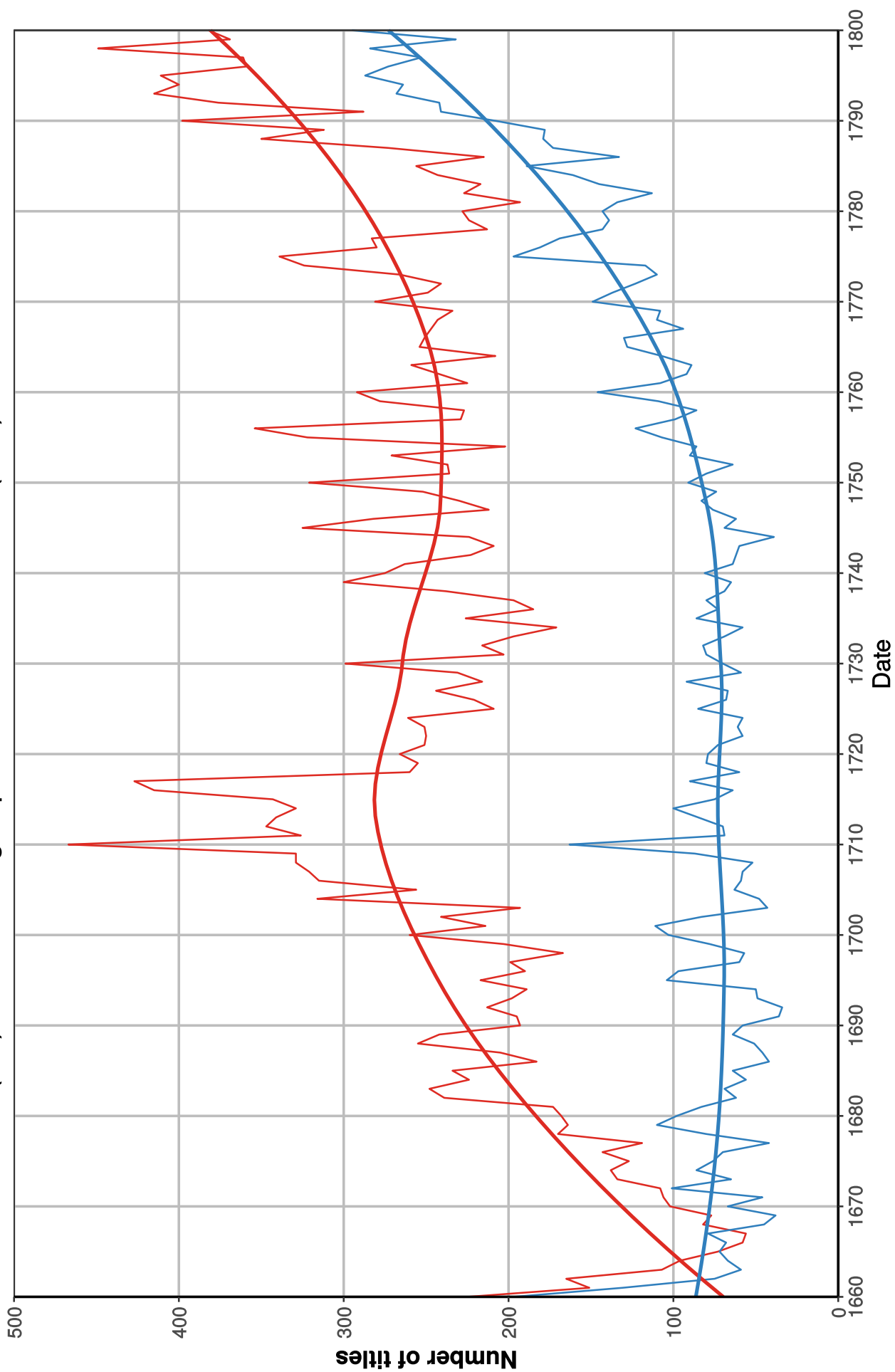
Fig. 2.1
Clerical records (red) vs. a control group of non-clerical authors (blue)

Fig. 2.2 Average number of works per author: clergy (red) vs control (blue)

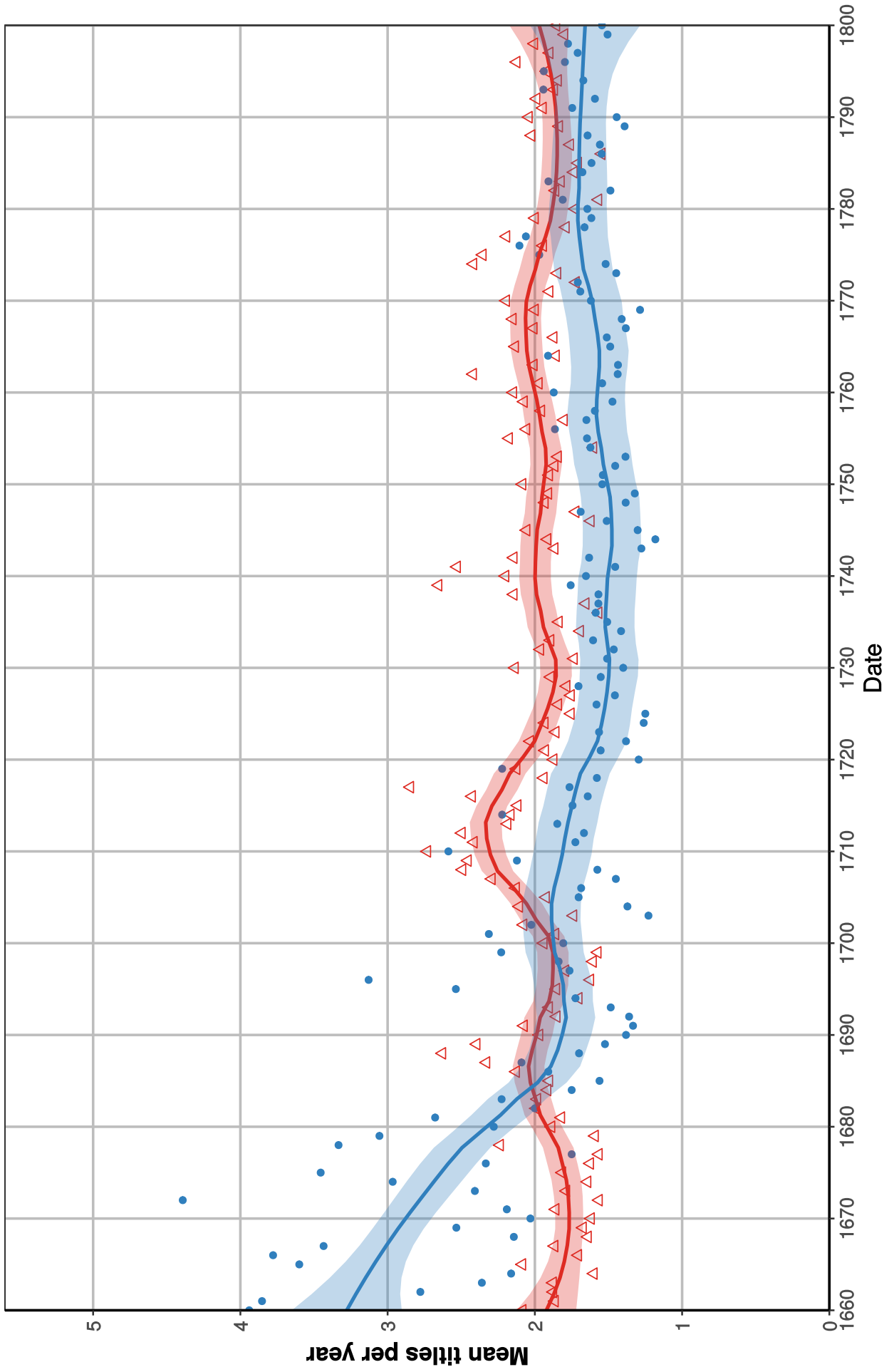


Fig. 2.3 New authors per year (by first publication) clergy (red) vs control (blue), 1665-1800

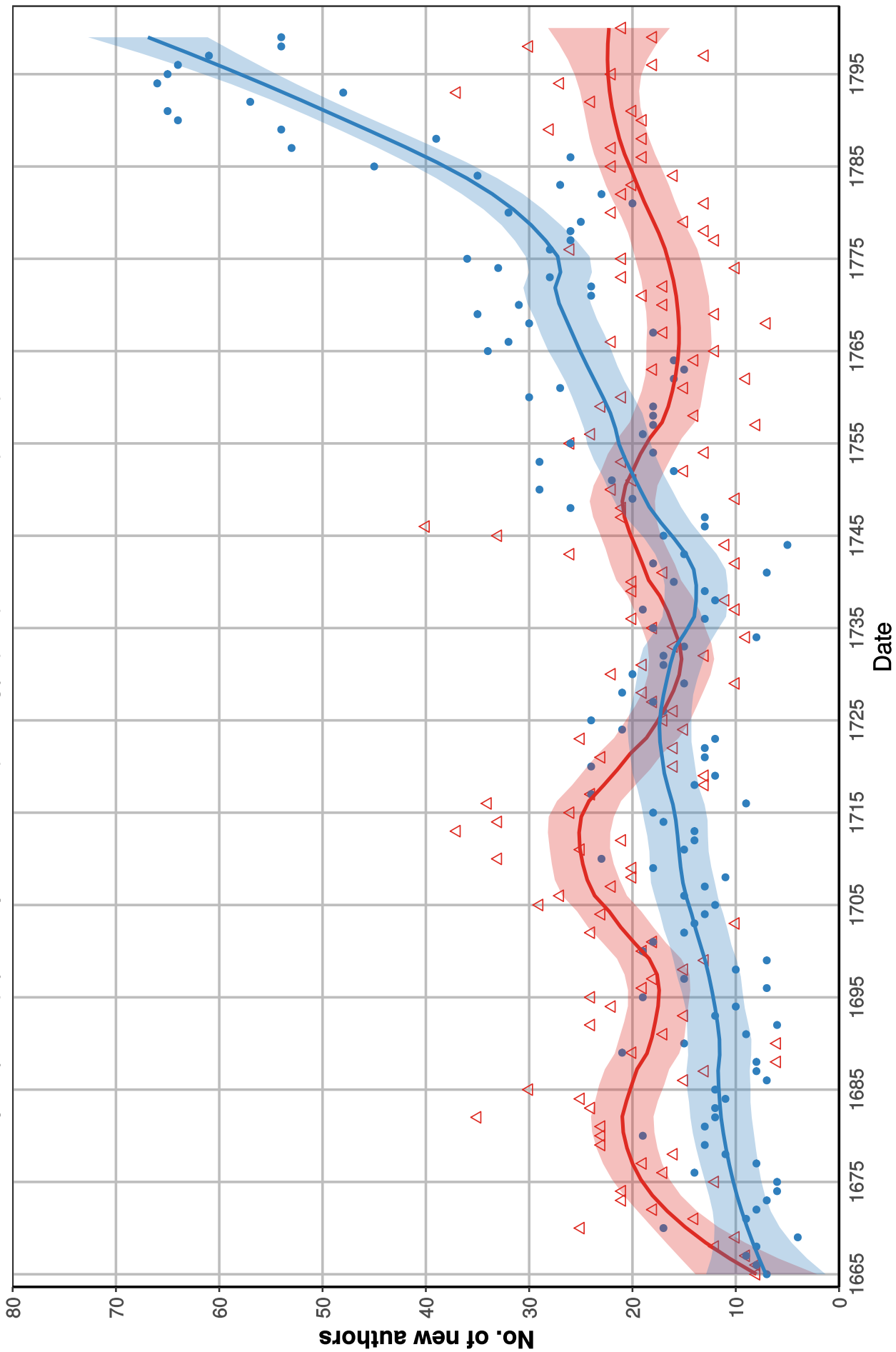
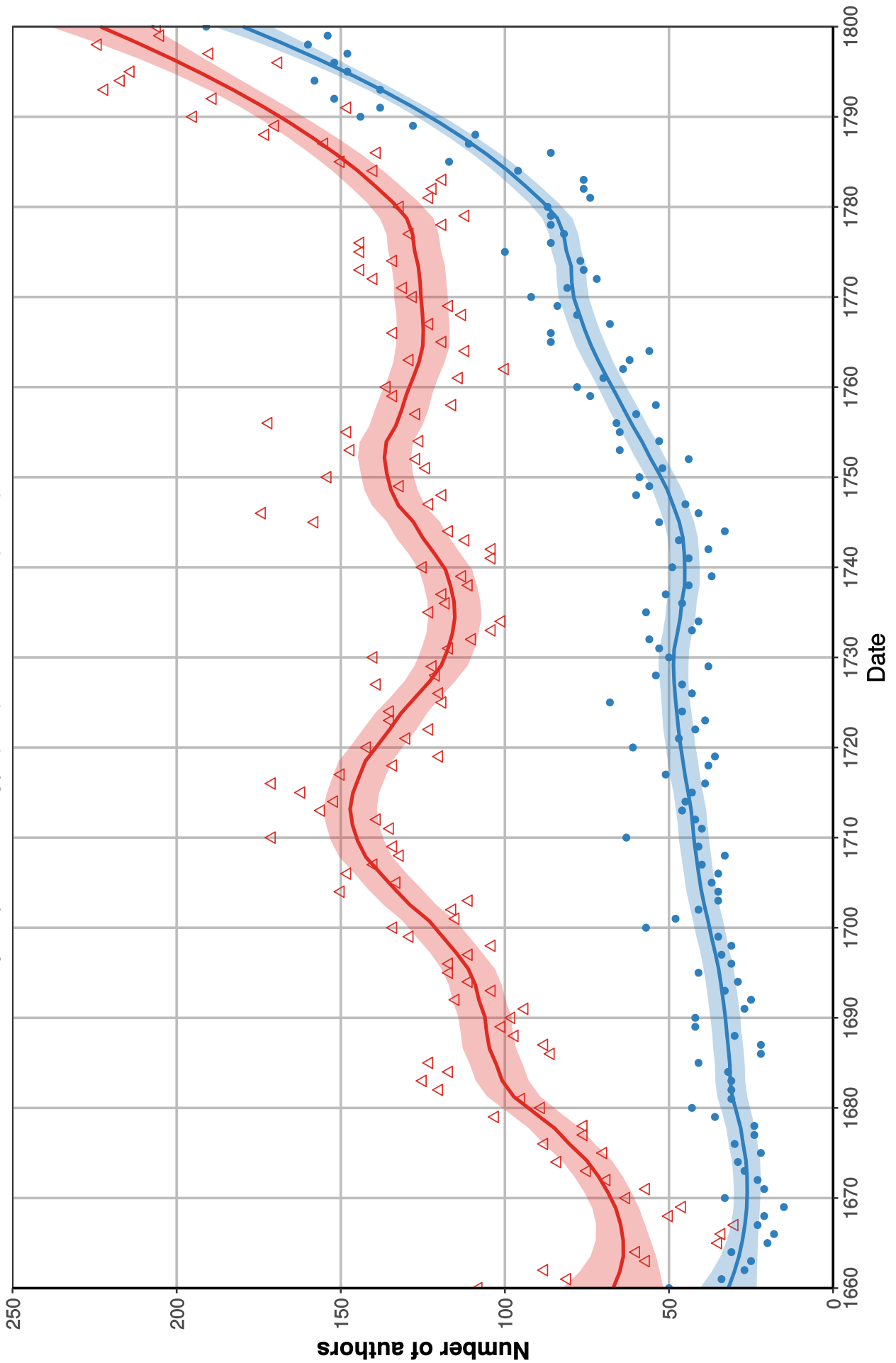


Fig. 2.4 Number of active authors per year: clergy (red) vs control (blue)



Proportion of titles published anonymously: clergy (red) vs control (blue)

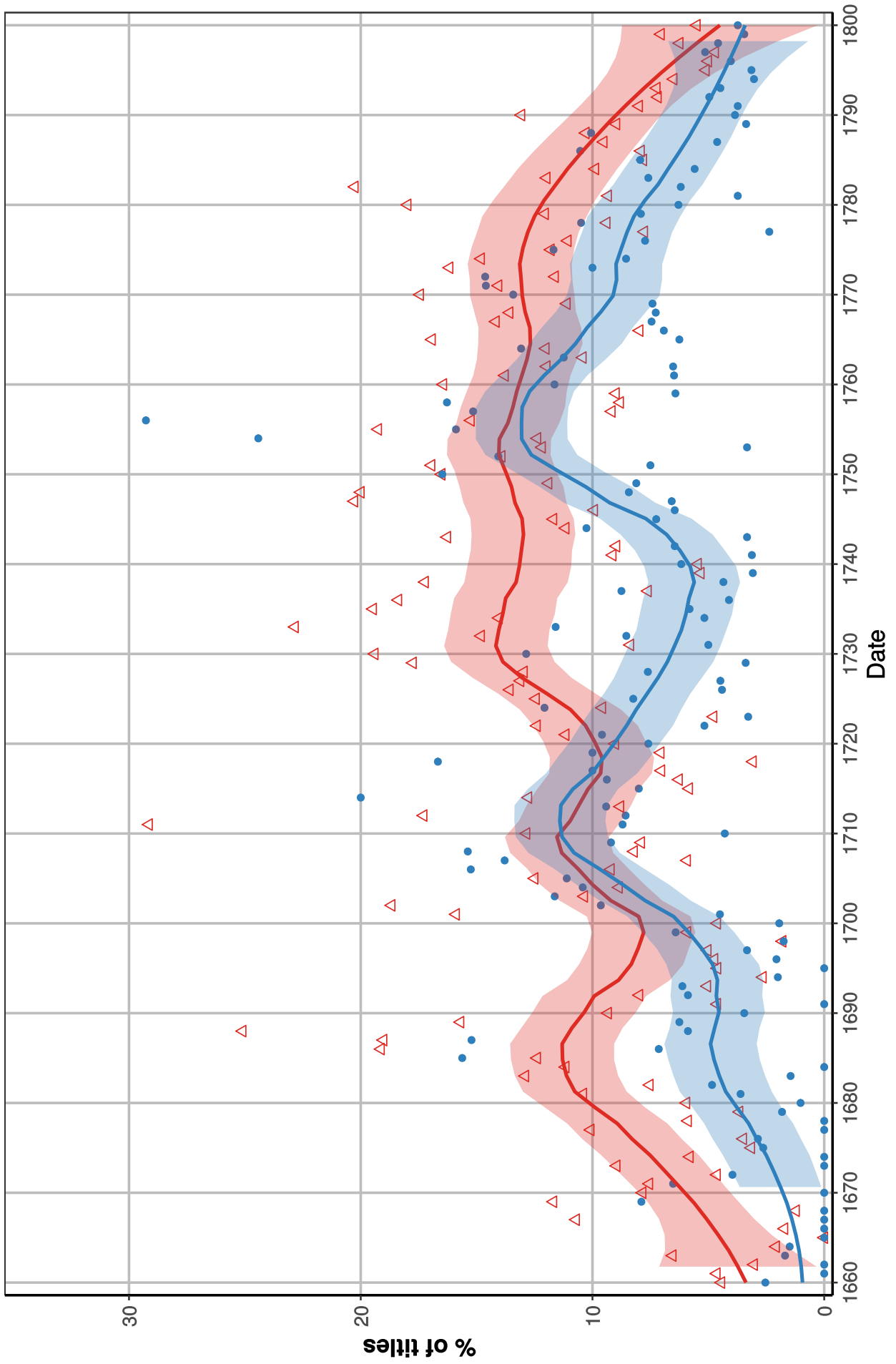


Fig. 2.5

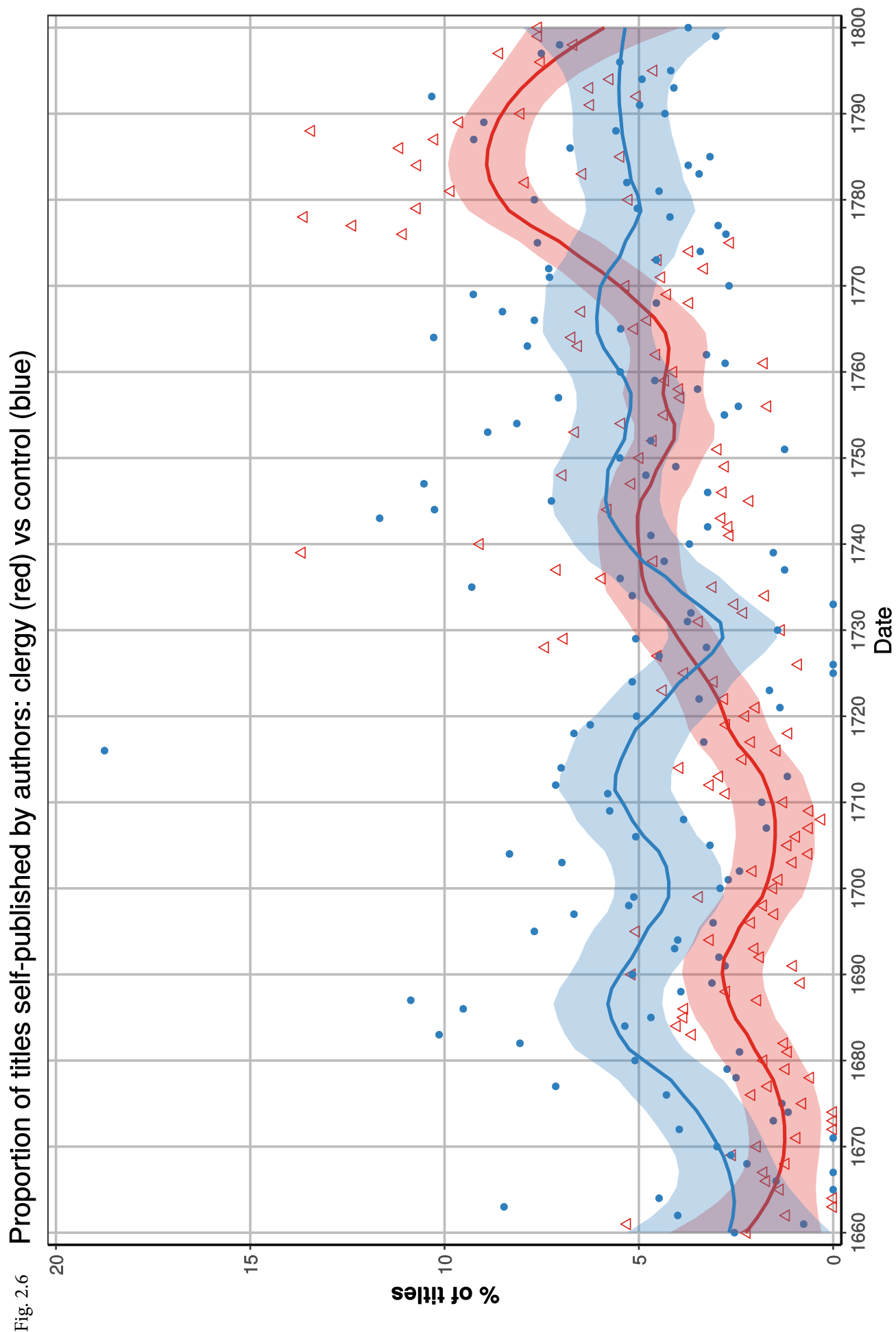


Fig. 3.1

Top 50 clerical authors

Name	Freq
church of england	1870
wesley, john	1192
swift, jonathan	750
young, edward	487
whitefield, george	455
burnet, gilbert	420
sterne, laurence	335
allestree, richard	302
hervey, james	276
tillotson, john	272
synge, edward	263
gibson, edmund	235
woodward, josiah	228
hoadly, benjamin	225
patrick, simon	209
beveridge, william	206
law, william	206
owen, john	178
watson, richard	168
clarke, samuel	163
sherlock, thomas	163
taylor, jeremy	162
stillingfleet, edward	156
whiston, william	145
fleetwood, william	143
dodd, william	140
romaine, william	138
atterbury, francis	133
trapp, joseph	131
sharp, john	129
kennett, white	128
morell, thomas	126
fletcher, john	122
mason, william	122
newton, john	117
wilson, thomas	116
stebbing, henry	113
wells, edward	113
wake, william	112
hare, francis	110
wesley, charles	110
ken, thomas	105
norris, john	103
comber, thomas	102
lowth, robert	101
berkeley, george	100
wright, s. samuel	99
horneck, anthony	97
ray, john	96
stanhope, george	94

Fig. 3.2

Countries of publication

Country	Freq	percent
england	30231	87.68
ireland	2026	5.876
united states	1043	3.025
scotland	927	2.689
netherlands	73	0.212
wales	52	0.151
france	39	0.113
germany	36	0.104
canada	16	0.046
switzerland	9	0.026
austria	7	0.02
india	7	0.02
jamaica	6	0.017
barbados	2	0.006
belgium	2	0.006
sweden	2	0.006
anguilla	1	0.003
jersey (channel islands)	1	0.003

Fig. 3.3

Top 50 cities of publication

Place	Freq	percent
London	25139	73.04
Dublin	1910	5.549
Oxford	1574	4.573
Cambridge	821	2.385
Edinburgh	578	1.679
Bristol	454	1.319
Philadelphia Pa	315	0.915
Boston Ma	297	0.863
Glasgow	274	0.796
York	218	0.633
Newcastle	150	0.436
Bath	146	0.424
New York NY	141	0.41
Birmingham	102	0.296
Shrewsbury	90	0.261
Exeter	84	0.244
Norwich	77	0.224
Manchester	64	0.186
Gloucester	61	0.177
Salisbury	55	0.16
Canterbury	49	0.142
Cork	47	0.137
Leeds	47	0.137
Belfast	45	0.131
Reading	44	0.128
Worcester	44	0.128
Amsterdam	43	0.125
Ipswich	42	0.122
Liverpool	39	0.113
Nottingham	39	0.113
Chester	33	0.096
Paris	33	0.096
Aberdeen	30	0.087
Plymouth	29	0.084
Winchester	27	0.078
Durham	26	0.076
Northampton	26	0.076
Colchester	24	0.07
Newark	23	0.067
Lincoln	22	0.064
Hereford	21	0.061
Macclesfield	20	0.058
Sheffield	19	0.055
Warrington	19	0.055
Rochester	18	0.052
Eton	17	0.049
Kings Lynn	17	0.049
Caerfyrddin	16	0.046
Coventry	16	0.046
Hull	16	0.046

Fig. 3.4

Languages

Language	Freq	percent
English	33358	96.7
Latin	736	2.134
French	161	0.467
Welsh	156	0.452
German	35	0.101
Greek, Ancient (to 1453)	10	0.029
Manx	8	0.023
Dutch	5	0.014
Italian	5	0.014
Arabic	3	0.009
Gaelic	3	0.009
Irish	3	0.009
Mohawk	3	0.009
Portuguese	3	0.009
French, Middle (ca.1400-1600)	1	0.003
Greek, Modern (1453-)	1	0.003
Hebrew	1	0.003
Nepal Bhasa	1	0.003
Spanish	1	0.003
Swedish	1	0.003

Fig. 4.1

MALLET: top words in each topic

topic_1	weights_1	topic_2	weights_2	topic_3	weights_3	topic_4	weights_4
sermon	4928	lord	3603	church	2027	church	1282
preached	3171	bishop	2747	letter	1740	book	940
church	2194	sermon	2411	england	1390	prayer	864
preach'd	1719	reverend	2093	answer	1006	common	858
rector	1624	preached	1559	late	951	administration	837
request	1434	god	1508	present	605	sacraments	821
published	1154	chaplain	1219	religion	533	psalter	810
chaplain	1101	father	1175	vindication	470	england	702
parish	1098	d.d	1144	bishop	468	psalms	648
sunday	1035	preach'd	1127	author	465	ceremonies	637

topic_5	weights_5	topic_6	weights_6	topic_7	weights_7	topic_8	weights_8
prā	153	christian	1069	fellow	2125	death	753
cum	124	religion	1049	oxford	2057	life	741
quā	123	nature	665	college	2044	christ	568
words	112	late	581	late	1577	god	463
habita	104	christ	558	cambridge	1570	added	374
authore	104	scripture	553	university	1215	late	355
sive	100	christianity	552	sermons	722	great	355
s.t.p	92	holy	544	rev	573	minister	323
ecclesiā	84	discourse	544	m.a	513	man	303
usum	80	rector	504	sermon	439	gospel	296

topic_9	weights_9	topic_10	weights_10	topic_11	weights_11
prayers	691	history	868	day	1715
holy	678	account	744	sermon	1345
lord's	614	english	690	god	863
prayer	530	volumes	632	appointed	851
bishop	486	letters	628	thanksgiving	799
supper	475	life	545	majesty	765
lord	473	edition	541	preached	744
sacrament	471	added	529	westminster	700
duty	459	rev	492	lord	700
late	455	late	481	general	687

Fig 4.2 Topic model of Clerical titles (genre categories)

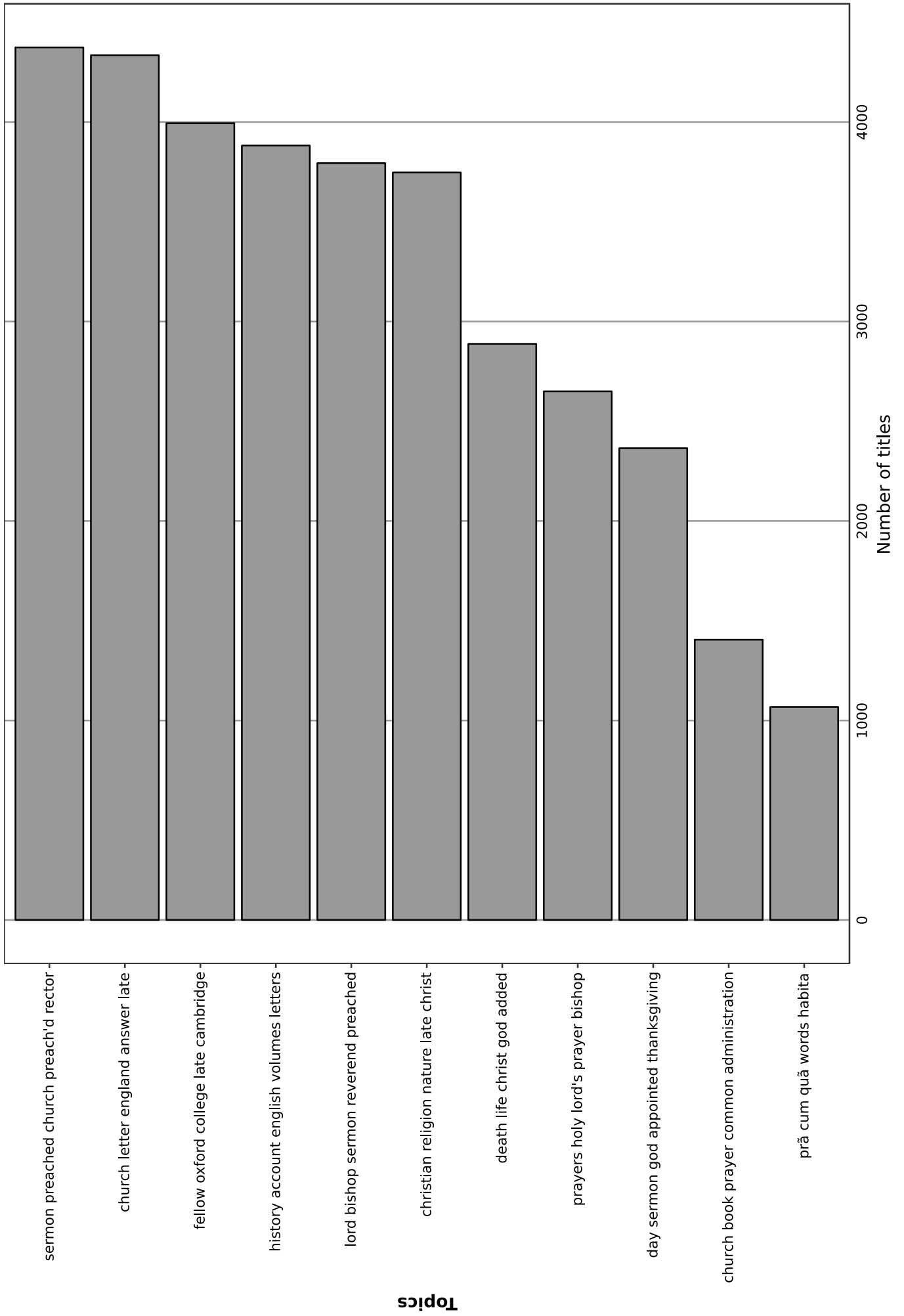


Fig 4.2

Topics

Fig. 4.3

MALLET topics as a proportion of total clerical output, by decade

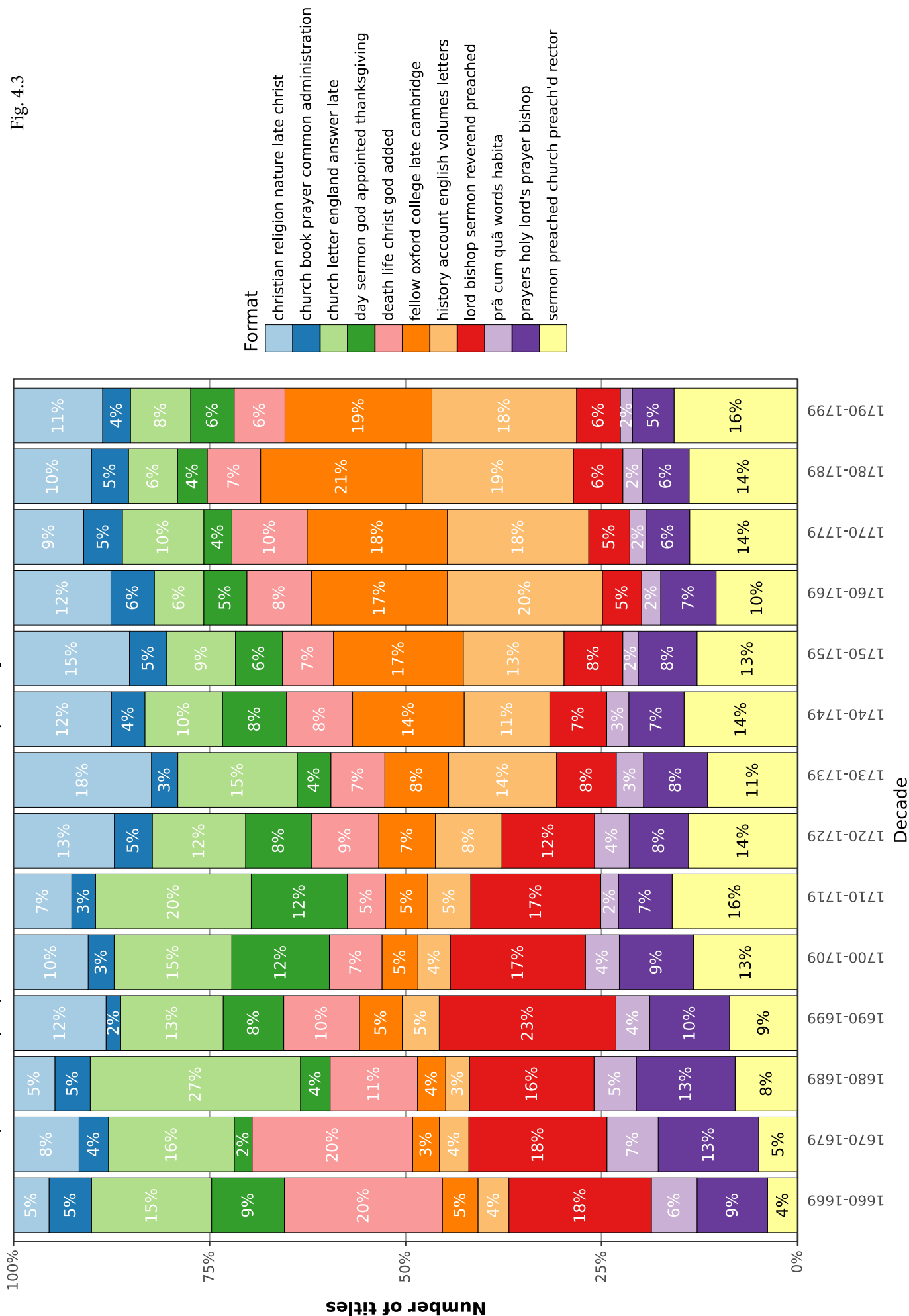


Fig. 4.4

MALLET: 4 sample titles from each topic

genre	title	topics.labels
1	the true liberty described : and the false pretences to liberty discovered. shewing the nature, use, and abuse of christian liberty. in a sermon, preach'd in the parish-church of st. peter's in bristol, july 29th, 1711. by matthew hole, b. d. and vicar of stokegursy, in somersetshire	sermon preached church preach'd rector
1	a sermon preached before the sons of the clergy : in the cathedral church of st. paul, on thursday the 10th day of may, 1759. by stotherd abdy, m. a. late of st. john's college, cambridge; and rector of theydon-garnon, in essex. to which is annexed, a list of the annual amount of the collection for this charity, from the year 1721	sermon preached church preach'd rector
1	love and unity, a necessary means of preserving our religion and liberties : a sermon preach'd at the cathedral church at sarum, june 3. 1722. being the second sunday after trinity. by thomas burnett, d.d. prebendary of the said church. published at the request of the honourable brigadier general grove, the honourable colonel cadogan, and other officers of his majesty's forces incamp'd near sarum, and also several other gentlemen that made a part of the audience	sermon preached church preach'd rector
1	a sermon delivered in christ-church : philadelphia, on the 21st day of june, 1786, at the opening of the convention of the protestant episcopal church, in the states of new york, new-jersey, pennsylvania, delaware, maryland, virginia, and south-carolina. by the right reverend father in god, william white, d. d. (then rector of christ-church and st. peter's,) now bishop of pennsylvania	sermon preached church preach'd rector
2	dr. bates his congratulatory speech to the king, in the name of the dissenting ministers in and about london, nov. 22. 1697	lord bishop sermon reverend preached
2	the life of the reverend anthony horneck, d.d : late preacher at the savoy. by richard lord bishop of bath and wells	lord bishop sermon reverend preached
2	some animadversions upon a book intituled the theory of the earth : by the right reverend father in god, herbert lord bishop of hereford	lord bishop sermon reverend preached
2	a sermon preach'd in the cathedral church of st. paul; at the funeral of mr. tho. bennet : aug. 30. mdccvi. by francis atterbury, d. d. dean of carlisle, and chaplain in ordinary to her majesty	lord bishop sermon reverend preached
3	dangerous positions and proceedings : published and practised within this island of britain, under pretence of reformation, and for the presbyterial discipline. collected and set forth by richard bancroft, doctor in divinity, then lord bishop of london, and afterwards lord archbishop of canterbury	church letter england answer late
3	a justification of the tenets of the roman catholic religion : and a refutation of the charges brought against its clrgy [sic], by the . . . bishop of cloyne. by dr. james butler. from the dublin edition, with permission of the author	church letter england answer late
3	a just defence of the royal martyr k. charles i : from the many false and malicious aspersions in ludlow's memoirs, and some other virulent libels of that kind	church letter england answer late
3	an answer to a letter to dr. burnet, occasioned by his letter to mr. lowth	church letter england answer late
4	a speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the charters of the colony of massachusetts's bay	church book prayer common administration

genre	title	topics.labels
4	the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the protestant episcopal church in the united states of america; together with the psalter, or psalms of david	church book prayer common administration
4	the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments : and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of england, together with the psalter or psalms of david, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches	church book prayer common administration
4	the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, ... together with the psalter	church book prayer common administration
5	grammatica rationis, sive institutiones logicæ	prâ cum quâ words habita
5	joannis raii historiæ plantarum tomus secundus : cum duplici indice; generali altero nominum & synonymorum præcipuorum; altero affectuum & remediorum: accessit nomenclator botanicus anglo-latinus	prâ cum quâ words habita
5	tractatus brevisculus, in quo præmonstratæ ordinis episcopalis auctoritate divinæ ostensum est patribus primitivis, et vetustioribus ecclesiæ christianæ ... auctore thomæ gregorio	prâ cum quâ words habita
5	a sermon preached before the lord bishop of chichester : at lewes, at his first visitation there. by timothy parker rector of east-hothley in sussex. imprimatur, 27. april 1676. georg. hooper reverend. dom. archiep. cant. sacris domesticis	prâ cum quâ words habita
6	religious perfection : or a third part of the inquiry after happiness. by the author of practical christianity	christian religion nature late christ
6	an enquiry into the measures of submission to the supreme authority : and of the grounds upon which it may be lawful, or necessary for subjects, to defend their religion lives and liberties	christian religion nature late christ
6	the true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of mahomet : by humphrey prideaux, d. d. dean of norwich	christian religion nature late christ
6	the son's equality with the father prov'd from his being the object of religious worship. in a discourse on hebrews, 1.6. by g. burnett, m.a	christian religion nature late christ
7	ethicks; or, the doctrine of moral agency, as described by the philosophers : with the scholastick definitions and distinctions, useful to young gentlemen designed for the bar. translated chiefly from the latin of dr. langbaine, with some alterations and additions for the purpose aforesaid. by b. d. free, student in the civil law of alban hall in oxford, and a member of the hon. society of lincoln's-inn	fellow oxford college late cambridge
7	two exercitations : the first attempting to demonstrate that the jews till after the return from the captivity of babylon, were not allowed the publick and promiscuous use of the canonical books of the old testament. the second concerning the true pronounciation of the tetragrammaton, or four lettered name of god among the jews; as also concerning the pythagorick tetractys and other philological matters that have a connexion with it. being the second and last part of the digression, in the additions to the sermon before sir p.w. by john turner, late fellow of christ's college in cambridge	fellow oxford college late cambridge

genre	title	topics.labels
7	diocesan episcopacy proved from holy scripture: with a letter to mr. edmund calamy, in the room of a dedicatory epistle. by thomas edwards, m. a. of st. john's college in cambridge, and late chaplain of christ's-church in oxford	fellow oxford college late cambridge
7	miscellanies: or essays literary, political, and moral. by the reverend dr. jonathan swift, d. s. p. d	fellow oxford college late cambridge
8	the ladies calling in two parts. by the author of the whole duty of man, &c. the eighth impression	death life christ god added
8	the four last things : viz. death, judgment, heaven, hell, practically considered and applyed, in several discourses. by william bates, d.d	death life christ god added
8	a funeral hymn : composed by that eminent servant of the most high god, the late reverend and renowned george whitefield, chaplain to the right hon. the countess of huntingdon, &c. &c. who departed this life in full assurance of a better, on lord's day, the thirtieth of september, 1770, at 6 o'clock in the morning, of a sudden fit of the asthma, at newbury-port.—this hymn was designed to have been sung over his corpse, by the orphans belonging to his tabernacle in london, had this truly great, pious, and learned man died there	death life christ god added
8	a letter from the reverend mr. venn, a.m., late vicar of huddersfield . . . to the people there, to whom his ministry and pious labours in the gospel have been remarkably owned and blest	death life christ god added
9	an explanation of the office for the public baptism of infants; and of the order for the confirmation of those who are come to years of discretion. in the catechetical form, for the use of teachers, in schools and families, when preparing young persons to be confirmed by the bishop. by mrs. trimmer	prayers holy lord's prayer bishop
9	christianity in short : or, the way to be a good christian, recommended to the use of such as want either time or capacity for reading longer and learned discourses. consider seriously. learn industriously. pray devoutly. believe firmly. repent sincerely. love unfeignedly. resolve deliberately. practice constantly. hope patiently. receive thankfully. and enjoy eternally. by c. ellis, author of the gentile-sinner	prayers holy lord's prayer bishop
9	the necessary duty of family prayer : and the deplorable condition of prayerless families consider'd; in a letter from a minister to his parishioners	prayers holy lord's prayer bishop
9	the sacra privata : or, private meditations and prayers, of bishop wilson; accomodated to general use	prayers holy lord's prayer bishop
10	miscellanies : the fifth and sixth volumes. by dr. swift and others	history account english volumes letters
10	a description of a transit circle, for determining the place of celestial objects as they pass the meridian : by the rev. francis wollaston, ll. b. and f.r.s. from the philosophical transactions	history account english volumes letters

genre	title	topics.labels
10	an introduction to the making of latin : comprising, after an easy, compendious method, the substance of the latin syntax, with proper english examples, most of them translations from the classic authors, in one column, and the latin words in another. to which is subjoined, in the same method, a succinct account of the affairs of ancient greece and rome, intended at once to bring boys acquainted with history, and the idiom of the latin tongue. with rules for the gender of nouns. by john clarke, late master of the public grammar-school in hull	history account english volumes letters
10	volume xix. of the author's works : containing letters written by the late dr. jonathan swift, dean of st. patrick's, dublin, and several of his friends. from the year 1700 to 1742. published from the originals; collected and revised by deane swift, esq. . . . to which is added, some originals, never before published; and illustrated with historical and explanatory notes, by the publisher	history account english volumes letters
11	a sermon preached at the parish-church of blechingley in survey, on tuesday april 25th, 1749 : being the day appointed by his majesty for a general thanksgiving, on account of the peace. by john thomas, l.l.d. rector of blechingley, and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty	day sermon god appointed thanksgiving
11	a sermon preached before the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts : at the parish-church of st. mary-le-bow, on friday the 16th of february, 1727. being the day of their anniversary meeting. by the right reverend father in god, richard, lord bishop of lincoln	day sermon god appointed thanksgiving
11	the dangers of a relapse : a sermon preach'd at the royal chapel at st. james's, on may 29. 1713. being the day of thanksgiving to almighty god, for having put an end to the great rebellion, by the restitution of the king, the royal family, and of the government. by tho. brett lld. rector of betteshanger, in kent. published by her majesty's special command	day sermon god appointed thanksgiving
11	the divine original and the supreme dignity of kings, no defensative against death : a sermon, preached the 22. february 1684/5. s.v. before the right worshipful the fellowship of merchants adventurers of england, resideing at dordrecht, upon occasion of the decease of ou late most gracious sovereign charles iiÂ · of ever blessed memorie. by aug. frezer, master of arts of st. edmunds hall in oxford, and preacher to the said society	day sermon god appointed thanksgiving

Chapter 2. Pamphlet Controversy

In early 1733, the clergyman Isaac Maddox was struggling to write a book. His aim was to issue a corrective to Congregationalist author Daniel Neal's *A History of the Puritans*.¹ Neal's *History* gave an account of puritan persecution at the hands of the established Church. It was a call to action, issued against the backdrop of Dissenting calls for the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts which denied civic rights to Protestant minorities. As an up-and-coming Anglican clergyman, Maddox had set out to defend the established Church from Neal's claims, especially the implication that the Church was a crypto-popish power. Maddox published his reply as *A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship, of the Church of England*.² This was his first attempt at publication, intended to announce his entry into the world of polemical divinity. The results, however, were not as he had hoped.

Neal, who was outraged, issued a charged reply to Maddox, in which he vigorously defended the authority of his manuscript sources and claimed that 'Mr. *N* is not the *Defender of the Government, Doctrine and Worship of the Puritans*, but only their Historian'.³ More seriously, he also charged Maddox with misrepresenting his sources: 'This Writer often complains of Mr. *N*'s imperfect Quotations, and is sometimes pleased to dictate in very sovereign Manner, what he should have added, or left out. But Mr. *N* might here, and in many other Places, return him his Compliment.' Giving substance to his rebuke, the remainder of Neal's 87-page pamphlet consisted of a line-by-line refutation of Maddox's tendentious use of partial quotations.

The recriminations for Maddox began shortly thereafter. His failure was not

¹ Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-Conformists, from the Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth...* (London, 1732).

² Isaac Maddox, *A Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship, of the Church of England* (London, 1733); Robert G. Ingram, 'Representing and Misrepresenting the History of Puritanism in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studies in Church History* 49 (2013), pp. 212-213.

³ Daniel Neal, *A Review of the Principal Facts Objected to the First Volume of The History of the Puritans, by the Author of the Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship, of the Church of England, Established in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1734), p. 7.

only a black mark on his own reputation, but it was also perceived to have given encouragement to the established Church's denominational rivals. Later in life he issued this rather unconvincing defence of his actions in a private letter to an anonymous recipient, and recalled what happened next:

I never intended a direct Answer to Neale; the Bishops, & other Clergy whom I talked with, were against an Altercation of that Sort; but what was propos'd was, that when a 2^d Edit. of my Book comes out, some Strictures might be added to those few Places to which he made any Objections⁴

The effort was orchestrated by the well-connected bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, who was also Maddox's patron. Gibson, mirroring his own relationship to the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, frequently cultivated young scholars from modest backgrounds for careers in the Church. Maddox was one such scholar, who under Gibson's patronage had received rapid elevation from humble beginnings.⁵ Gibson was now forced to intercede in order that his client Maddox might save face.

Shortly after the initial publication of the *Vindication*, a review had appeared on the front page of *The Weekly Miscellany*. In a full-page spread the review recommended 'the Usefulness of the Design' as a corrective to Mr. Neal's 'injurious Misrepresentations', but it correctly anticipated that the *Vindication*'s reception would be divisive. In the present climate, the essayist noted, stirring up feeling over the issue of Dissent would be perceived by the public as the negative action of a 'Party Writer'.⁶ Despite his paper's note of caution, however, the editor Webster would himself soon be implicated in the widening controversy, as he was charged by Bishop Gibson with coordinating the salvage mission.

Apparently at Webster's recommendation, Gibson accepted an offer of assistance from the Cambridge clergyman Zachary Grey. As discussed by Robert Ingram, Grey was an experienced polemicist and historical writer and also a protégé

⁴ Maddox to anon, 18 June 1739, Cole Mss., BL Add MS. 5831, fol. 163.

⁵ Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society* (London, 1982), p. 91.

⁶ *The Weekly Miscellany* (May 26 1733).

of another of Gibson's allies, Daniel Waterland, the master of Magdalene College, Cambridge.⁷ Webster's correspondence with Grey reveals that Grey undertook an extensive reworking of the text. He provided his critique of the book and gave Maddox copious additional material from printed sources and his own manuscript collections. The reworked manuscript was returned to Maddox, now ready for a second revised edition, via Webster, who reported to Grey that:

My Lord [Gibson] & Dr. Maddox are truly sensible how much your accurate Remarks contributed towards the Perfection & Credit of his Reply; & unless you suffer the 2^d. Vol [of Neil's *History*]; to have the same Advantage, I am sure it will not have the same success.⁸

Having given Maddox a helping hand into print, Gibson's displeasure with Maddox was made evident by subsequently shifting the task of controversy into the hands of the more experienced Grey, who debated Neal in a string of pamphlets published throughout the 1730s. Maddox, however, would publish no further on the issue.

This incident involving Maddox, Gibson, Webster, and Grey introduces several key individuals and themes which will be central to the remaining three chapters of this dissertation. Each of these chapters explores the contrasting responses within a small network of clerical authors to a set of problems facing the established Church. As we have just seen, one problem was how the Church should handle opposition from nonconformist groups without upsetting the delicate post-Revolution settlement. As we shall see, another was the enduring issue of freethinking and heterodoxy, which threatened to erode the epistemological foundations of an often ill-defined Anglican 'orthodoxy'.

The Anglican Church in the eighteenth century had a contradictory character which made it subject to criticism from numerous angles: it was apostolic, but not Roman Catholic or 'popish'; it was founded by the State and derived its ultimate authority from the monarch, yet it claimed a divine authority separate from the civil power. Complicating this picture was the delicate alliance which had developed between the new scientific modes of understanding and the traditional scriptural

⁷ Ingram, 'Representing... the History of Puritanism', pp. 205-218.

⁸ William Webster to Zachary Grey, n.d., Cole Mss., BL Add MS. 5831, fol. 207.

beliefs from the late seventeenth century onwards. The Church embraced a Newtonian worldview, affirming a God who had inscribed universal laws in his creation while he remained personally and substantially distinct from it. Human intellect could discern him through observation and reason, but never know or share in his being.⁹ This ‘religion of Nature’ sat uneasily with the dictates of Revelation as laid down in scripture, especially given that historical investigation of the sacred texts cast doubt over their veracity and integrity through the ages. Orthodox apologists were faced with the question: why not look to Nature in order to know God, it being the direct artefact of his creation, rather than a set of texts evidently of human origin, imperfect, inconsistent, and likely corrupted as they are?

A second set of challenges emerged from the evolving urban culture: the Town, with its social venues both new and old, such as coffeehouses, pleasure gardens, concert halls, and theatres. These venues not only rivalled churches as sites of public assembly and sociability, but had their own distinct moral axes (or reference points) which were becoming removed from the Church and its teachings. It was a culture reflected in and shaped by new commercial and consuming activities: literature, arts, theatrical performance (and a culture of ‘celebrity’), fashion, news, and new forms of food and drink (notably coffee, tea, and spices). As one anonymous clergyman observed in the context of the book trade, the allegiances of commercial society to traditional religion were contingent on consumer demand and profit:

I cannot help relating to you a remarkable Case that happened to myself. A Bookseller, of a sober modest and inoffensive Character, ask’d my Opinion of a M.S. which was offered to him for Publication. I perus’d it, and found it to be a Piece of downright *Atheism*. I told him my Opinion of the Performance, and of the Person who should undertake to Publish it. He went directly to the Author, purchas’d it, and Publish’d it. As soon as I was informed of it; I went and expostulated with him. His Answer was very ready, and very concise; *We must Publish Such Things as will Sell*.¹⁰

Ironically, and as the bookseller well-knew, the clergy themselves were in part responsible for the proliferation of fervid religious controversy. Clergymen of both

⁹ J.G.A. Pocock, “Within the Margins: Definitions of Orthodoxy”, in Roger D. Lund, *The Margins of Orthodoxy: Heterodox Writing and Cultural Response, 1660-1750* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 42-43.

¹⁰ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Mar. 4 1737)

orthodox and heterodox stripes were apparently always ready to part with a portion of their incomes to revel in the latest outrages and scandals.

A second aspect to the culture of ‘getting and spending’ was an important new social and cultural idiom, ‘politeness’, which emphasised ‘attentiveness to form, sociability, improvement, worldliness, and gentility’.¹¹ Much as the proponents of ‘natural religion’ were not inherently opposed to religion itself, or ‘secular’ in their worldview, nor were the practitioners of politeness. Yet, as contemporaries often observed, politeness appeared to offer a moral system that rivalled or undermined traditional religious teachings:

Instead of making *right Reason* and *true Religion* the *Rule* of our Behaviour, and *Politeness* only (as it ought to be) the *Ornament* of it, we quite invert the Nature of Things: Instead of examining whether this, or that Action *should* be done, we only inquire whether it *be* done, especially by People whom we weakly think *Polite*, because they live in places that *should* be so; or because they wear the external Appendages that commonly belong to Men of that Character.¹²

To these main challenges to the Church’s authority – denominational opposition, intellectual heterodoxy, and polite morality – we might add a further set of problematic social groups and venues. One was the Court. Though of diminished significance in comparison to the Restoration period, the Hanoverian Court continued to hold special significance for the clergy as a source of patronage. However, problematically, in the 1720s and 1730s, a number of prominent members of the Court sympathised with and patronised heterodox clergymen. The most notable was Queen Caroline, patron of the Cambridge clergyman Samuel Clarke, while another was the anti-clerical Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls. Jekyll was patron to the ejected cleric William Whiston and his circle, which controversially included the heterodox Dissenter Thomas Emlyn and the lay freethinker Thomas Chubb. Beginning in the late 1720s, furthermore, a new set of concerns emerged surrounding religious ‘enthusiasm’ in the new form of a Methodist evangelical revival, which added to long-standing anxieties about activities of old Dissenting groups.

¹¹ Klein, ‘Politeness and the Interpretation’, p. 869.

¹² *The Weekly Miscellany* (May 5, 1733).

One neat overview of how these various threats intersected can be found in a charge to the clergy delivered by Fifield Allen, the Archdeacon of Middlesex, in 1749. It is of especial significance as Allen recalls Gibson's central role in coordinating the Church's response during that time:

What more nearly concerns us, is to turn our Thoughts to... his Advancement to the See of *London*. To this eminent Station he was advanced at a Time when the *Established Church*, the Cause of *Virtue* and *Religion* in general, and of *Christianity* itself in particular stood most in need of such an Advocate: At a Time when a Looseness of Manners as well as Principles had deeply infected this unhappy Nation, and a boundless *Freedom of Thinking*, i.e. a Liberty of treating the most sacred Things with Scorn and Ridicule, was become the Fashion of the Age: When the Powers of *Reason* were above Measure exalted, in order to supersede the Necessity or Want of *Revelation*; when the *Mysteries* of our *holy Faith* were openly vilified; the *Prophecies* of the *Old Testament* misapplied or misinterpreted; the *Miracles* of the *New* either denied, or, which is the same in Effect, refined into mere Allegory; when, in short, *Christianity* itself was scoffed at as a Forgery, and the Author and Finisher of our Faith, *God blessed for ever*, treated as an *Imposter*.¹³

This often bewildering array of threats, emerging from a changing cultural, moral, and intellectual landscape, posed important questions about the best way to revivify and reconstitute the Church's enduring 'Reformation' agenda. Complicating this agenda were the challenges of operating without the traditional pre-Revolution resources of censorship and with limited help from the State, which was increasingly reluctant to serve as the strong arm of ecclesiastical authority. The aim of the case studies that form the remainder of this dissertation is to provide a more detailed explanation of the macro-level trends observed in the preceding statistical analysis, contextualizing and explaining the clergy's shifting communicative practices as a response to the complex challenges described here.

In part, these shifts entailed significant changes to the rhetorical culture of religious communication, as the clergy were forced to adopt new styles and new genres in the post-1714 environment. But more than this, such changes were the

¹³ Fifield Allen, *A Charge to the Clergy Belonging to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, Delivered at St. Clement's - Danes, April 20; Ware, Hertfordshire, May 17; Dunmow, in Essex, May 18; Halsted, in Essex, May 19... Wherein is Given Some Account of the Life, &C. Of the Late Lord Bishop of London. By F. Allen, D. D. Archdeacon of Middlesex* (London, 1749), pp. 2-3.

product of important behind-the-scenes activities involving patronage, social and intellectual networks, and new publishing strategies. These various factors which reshaped clerical engagement with print are explored through the case of Edmund Gibson and his circles, an important but understudied group that girded itself for battle in the public sphere. In his charge to the clergy, Fifield Allen recalled that Gibson, ‘not content with the Exertion of his own Abilities, the Good Prelate singled out and engaged the most able Writers of the Age in Defence of our great *Lord and Master*’.¹⁴ In addition to Gibson himself, the following chapters focus in the main on two such writers, who were all connected in some way to the Maddox affair, Daniel Waterland and William Webster. From their private correspondence and published works, it is evident that Gibson, Waterland, and Webster were aware of the multiple and complex challenges which the Church faced at this time, but each responded in distinctive ways that illustrate the experimental and adaptable quality of clerical publishing culture at this time.

The Gibsonian Project

The Maddox incident forms a good starting point to draw attention to this evolving Hanoverian religious print culture. In the first instance, the response of Webster’s clerical periodical, *The Weekly Miscellany*, alerts us to the general desire among influential voices within the Church to keep intra-Protestant conflicts to a minimum at this time. During the ‘Rage of Party’ era, anti-Dissenting polemic had formed a cornerstone to the High Church reaction against the post-Revolution settlement, something which Gibson and his allies in the Walpolian administration sought to consolidate and defend. Gibson’s negative response to Maddox’s actions reinforce his stated position to the prime minister Robert Walpole that a key aim of his episcopate was ‘to support the Protestant Succession, and to maintain a good understanding between ye Church and ye Dissenters’.¹⁵ One of the ways Gibson sought to achieve this aim was through close management and organization of clerical activity in the press. In this case, Gibson chose to bolster Maddox’s efforts against Neal to save the

¹⁴ Allen, *A Charge to the Clergy*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ Edmund Gibson, ‘My Case in Relation to the Ministry and the Whigs’, n.d., Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5219, St. Andrews, Scotland.

Church from further embarrassment, but as we shall see, it was his general policy to prevent such ill-disciplined forms of clerical polemic during the 1720s and 1730s.

A key figure in Gibson's project to exert greater control over the content and form of clerical controversial activity was Daniel Waterland, the master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who is the main subject of this chapter. Waterland was a trusted ally in Gibson's efforts to restrict topics of controversial discussion to 'expert' university clergymen and limit the participation of the lower clergy in persecutory press campaigns against freethinkers, heterodox clergymen, and Dissenters. By closely managing the activity of clerical writers, Gibson sought to limit the potential of controversialists, especially among the Tory lower clergy, to reawaken partisan feeling. This was one of the most important changes to the clerical culture of print during this period, and starkly contrasts with the chaotic years of the post-Revolution crisis and 'Rage of Party'. Gibson acted in this way to achieve his central religious and political goal: 'stability'. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, stability was not simply a political objective pursued by the State, but a central objective of a Long Reformation project to create consensus in an often turbulent religious landscape.

Importantly, while Gibson and his allies sought to take control of the sphere of religious print controversy, they did not seek to end controversy. As we shall see, the Bishop recognized that the Church needed to vindicate doctrinal orthodoxy and demolish its enemies for political as much as theological reasons. This political objective was rooted in what Brent Sirota has called a post-Revolution disciplinary crisis concerning the Church's response to heterodoxy.¹⁶ For the High Church reaction was not simply a revolt against the newly legitimated status of Dissent. The revolt had also turned on the perception among the lower clergy that the bishops secretly sympathised with the aims of heterodox thinkers who sought a more permissive and less dogmatic approach to fundamental doctrines.

This chapter explores the crucial backdrop to forging greater consensus.

¹⁶ Sirota, 'The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State'.

Redirecting the energies of the lower clergy away from partisan writing was evidently helpful in creating a more stable religious climate. This alone, however, did not solve the issues which had driven post-Revolution religious turbulence. To make peace within the Church durable, Gibson understood that the senior clergy needed to demonstrate strong resolve against heterodoxy and doctrinal ‘latitude’. This anti-heterodox agenda was vital if Gibson was to achieve his second aim, stated in the introduction, ‘to bring ye body of ye Clergy and ye two Universities, at least to be easy under a Whig administration’.

To that end, Gibson encouraged the clergy to combat heterodoxy and its associated ills. He sought to prevent further splintering of intellectual consensus over key theological and ecclesiological issues, particularly the nature of the Trinity and the validity of the Church’s institutional and established status. At the heart of his project were England’s universities and his crucial relationship with Daniel Waterland. At Gibson’s behest, Waterland embarked on polemical pamphlet campaigns against a heterodox group of lay freethinkers and clergy associated with Samuel Clarke and William Whiston. This chapter explores the scholastic, managerial, and publishing strategies used by churchmen to mount persuasive anti-heterodox campaigns in the public sphere, and so end divisions between the upper and lower clergy which had riven the Church in the post-Revolution years.

Waterland, born in 1683, was fourteen years Gibson’s junior. He graduated B.A. from Magdalene College in 1703, and was a student there during the early years of the Convocation controversy which had brought Gibson to prominence as a defender of episcopal and Whig interests.¹⁷ Waterland progressed at a meteoric rate through the university, from a fellowship (1704), to M.A. (1707), to master of Magdalene College (1714) before serving a year as the Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1715. His appointment to a senior position in the University came at a crucial moment of political turbulence there. While Cambridge was more immediately receptive to the post-Revolution settlement than its sister university Oxford, its

¹⁷ Bennett, *Tory Crisis in Church and State*, pp. 44-62.

politics had nonetheless been shaped by the High Church climate which had prevailed since the Restoration. Through a combination of key appointments and gifts, such as the donation the library of John Moore, the Bishop of Ely (still the core of the modern university library), leading bishops and Hanoverian Tory aristocrats under Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham (1647-1730), had begun to effect a political metamorphosis within the University. A crucial test of this new loyalty to the Revolutionary settlement, however, came in 1714-1715, with the Hanoverian succession and the subsequent Jacobite uprising. The newly appointed Waterland, along with Richard Bentley, master of Trinity College, agitated to secure support for Hanover and the Whigs against a still powerful Tory fellowship. They secured the passage of a university grace in 1716 congratulating the King on suppressing the uprising, with Bentley commenting that ‘the fury of the whole disaffected and Jacobite party here against me and Mr Waterland is inexpressible.’¹⁸

Waterland and Gibson shared strong political and theological convictions. Both were committed to the religious settlement brought in after the Revolution of 1688 and were firmly aligned with the Hanoverian and Whig interest. By the 1720s both were establishment figures who had risen to prominence for their scholarly writings during the ‘Rage of Party’, Gibson for his legalist and antiquarian works, and Waterland for his theological and polemical texts. It may have been through Bentley that Gibson and Waterland came into contact. In 1702, during the height of the Convocation crisis, Bentley had tried to obtain for William Nicholson, White Kennett and Edmund Gibson doctorates of divinity as expressions of the University of Cambridge’s loyalty and rejection of the High Church position which all three were engaged in refuting. All three Oxford clerics had been denied D.D. degrees by their *alma mater* because of their opposition to the favoured bishop of Rochester, Francis Atterbury, in debates over Convocation.

Both Gibson and Waterland also moved in similar circles of Whig churchmen and politicians. Both corresponded with the key member of the Kit-Kat Club and Walpole administration, Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State for the

¹⁸ John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 71-92.

North (1721-1730). Waterland corresponded with Townshend in 1715 over the gift of Bishop Moore's library to the University. Townshend was also Gibson's closest ally within the Walpolian ministry during the 1720s, and they worked closely together to push for Gibson's various efforts at reform.¹⁹

Fourteen letters survive in Lambeth Palace Library which Waterland wrote to Gibson between 1730 and 1735: their tone suggests a familiar and long-standing relationship. The substance of Waterland's letters is diverse, from the introduction of the Athanasian Creed in European churches, to an extensive set of discussions reporting the latest developments in his controversies with Whiston and Clarke's allies. From these and other letters, Waterland's importance to Gibson in managing tight-knit circles of clerical writers in anti-heterodox print campaigns is made abundantly clear, and the letters provide unrivalled insight into the strategies developed by churchmen to ensure orthodox success. The following case study focuses on the networks of relationships and publishing strategies surrounding Waterland. It is organized into three sections which track the unfolding processes of controversy. I address, first, the role of advance preparation and intelligence, second, the recruitment of authors within a university setting, and third, the management and incentives provided to writers by senior churchmen. Waterland's engagement with print culture was undoubtedly part of the 'old style' of polemical divinity identified in the topic model of the preceding chapter, in vogue from the Restoration but starting to decline from the 1720s through the 1740s. Thereafter, it was only ever a minor genre of the clergy's print output. The titles of Waterland's works are laden with lexical markers of this older controversial style: 'answer', 'remark', 'reply', and 'vindication'. This case study, therefore, is intended to illustrate some of the reasons that this controversial mode of pamphleteering, embodied in Waterland's career, started to lose traction in Hanoverian print culture.

¹⁹ Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 91-92; Sykes, *Gibson*, pp. 83-122.

Daniel Waterland and the Social Networks of Polemical Divinity

Littering the correspondence of eighteenth-century churchmen are fragmentary references to print: a suggested pamphlet or book, a critique of a manuscript intended for the press, or a request for citations and scholarly material. Senior churchmen wondered aloud to subordinates in their correspondence: who will answer the latest *scurrilous* pamphlets in the press? These comments might appear insignificant at first glance, but they were the transactions of important organizational networks. Print controversy depended on the activity of skilful brokers who could navigate scholarly, pedagogical, and political networks. These practitioners cultivated extensive ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ties: interpersonal networks which connected the efforts of separate individuals into a coherent whole.²⁰ One of the most prominent clerical organizers of the press in this period was Daniel Waterland.

From his study in Magdalene, or his rectory at Twickenham, Daniel Waterland lived in a social world of print. He was a voracious consumer of printed matter. The sale catalogue of his private library runs to well over 1000 items, mainly of bound pamphlet collections and octavo works.²¹ He had a taste, moreover, for acquiring scholarly rarities even at exorbitant rates. The nonjuring diarist Thomas Hearne noted that Waterland paid John Wilmot, an Oxford bookseller, two guineas for his book *Acta Apostolorum*.²² This was, apparently, four times the original price when it was published the decade before.²³ Waterland also took an interest in newspapers and

²⁰ Mark S. Granovetter, ‘The Strength of Weak Ties’, *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1973), p. 1376; Barry Wellman, ‘Network Analysis: Some Basic Principles’, *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983), pp. 155-180; Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Milton Keynes, 1987); John Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity’, *Systems Practice* 5 (1992), pp. 379-93.

²¹ *A Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Learned Daniel Waterland, D.D. ... Consisting of a Choice Collection of Useful and Valuable Books, in Sacred Philology, Lexicons, Classics, and the Best Modern Writers in Divinity, &c. with a Compleat [sic] Collection of the Benedictine Editions of the Fathers. Also above One Hundred Volumes of Pamphlets in All Sciences. Many of the Books Are Much Improved by the Curious Mss Remarks Which the Doctor Has Made in the Perusal* (London, 1742).

²² Thomas Hearne, *acta apostolorum græco-latine, litteris majusculis. e codice laudiano, characteribus uncialibus exarato, & in bibliotheca bodlejana adservato, descripsit ediditque tho. hearnius, a. m. oxoniensis, qui & symbolum apostolorum ex eodem codice subjunxit*, (Oxford, 1715).

²³ Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. 8 (11 vols., Oxford, 1885), Dec. 19, 1724, p. 308.

periodicals. He subscribed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* in its early years.²⁴ He also helped to establish William Webster's *Weekly Miscellany*, discussed in chapter 4. Waterland's involvement in print stemmed from his position as a prominent teacher, scholar, and polemicist.

He read widely in contemporary learning. As a fellow and then master of Magdalene, he taught pupils Newtonian science and mathematics as well as Lockean philosophy. His correspondence is littered with references to prominent 'moderates' and latitudinarian divines: William Chillingworth, Edward Stillingfleet, John Wilkins and Gilbert Burnet. Yet as Eamon Duffy has pointed out, Waterland 'hardly qualifies in any straight forward sense as a "latitudinarian"'. He had a contemporary reputation as a stout defender of the Anglican Church in a mode which fused scriptural tradition and reason, akin to Richard Hooker.²⁵ His commitment to this stubborn brand of self-styled orthodoxy is colourfully illustrated in a recollection of Alexander Pope. Pope reported that in later life, Waterland was once mistaken by an apothecary for the author of *The Divine Legation of Moses* (in fact written by William Warburton) which sent Waterland 'into a violent fit of passion [and he] called the poor fellow a puppy and a blockhead'.²⁶ The reason for Waterland's pique, and the wider hostility to Warburton in Gibson's circles, will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. It is sufficient to say here that Warburton's *Divine Legation* constituted a highly novel refutation of freethinking which Waterland, Gibson, and their clients perceived as overly-clever and showy.

By contrast, Waterland rose to prominence through a series of long standing and prominent controversies with eminent heterodox divines and lay freethinkers with a style that appealed to the traditionalist clergy.

²⁴ *Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Learned Daniel Waterland*, p. 33.

²⁵ Peter Cunich, David Hoyle, Eamon Duffy, and Ronald Hyam, *A History of Magdalene College Cambridge 1428-1988* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 159-162.

²⁶ Holtby, *Daniel Waterland*, pp. 204-205.

One episode occurred between 1729 and 1732. Waterland had risen to prominence in the 1710s and 1720s in a long-running series of print debates over the nature of the Trinity with Samuel Clarke, a leading exponent of Newtonian physico-theology at Cambridge.²⁷ Yet with Clarke's death in 1729, his allies rallied around the figure of William Whiston, a radical cleric who had been dramatically ejected from the university in 1710 accused of spreading the Arian heresy. The followers of Whiston and Clarke hoped to continue debating Waterland and defend the legacy of their late mentor. In his correspondence, Waterland called this group the 'Clubb'.²⁸ Whiston's club were united in their defense of Clark's prioritization of moral over positive religious obligations as theorized in his final work *An Exposition of the Church-Catechism*.²⁹ Waterland's controversy with Whiston's club, however, unfolded just as a highly sensational work by the freethinker Matthew Tindal, entitled *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, was published in late 1730.³⁰ Tindal's work contained the provocative assertion that the truths of Christianity could be arrived at through the exercise of human reason alone, unaided by scriptural revelation. There had been no prior indication that Tindal was about to produce such a work, so it sent a shock through orthodox circles. Waterland's letters from this time reveal his efforts to manage the response to Tindal while maintaining his dialogue against Whiston's club.

The culture of pamphleteering and bookselling meant that pamphlet writers had to work quickly and economically to be effective. Waterland illustrates how the best clerical polemicists managed both human and material resources to make the most persuasive case in favour of the establishment. As we shall see, the case of Waterland also demonstrates that even the most effective writers could not meet the demands of the pamphlet market without extensive collaboration, and even then success was not guaranteed. Regular epistolary exchange allowed Waterland to coordinate collective action in the public sphere: gaining advance notice of his

²⁷ Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 117-119; Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment* II, pp. 15-16; Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion*, pp. 167-168.

²⁸ Hereafter referred to as 'Whiston's club'.

²⁹ Samuel Clarke, *An Exposition of the Church-Catechism* (London, 1729).

³⁰ Matthew Tindal, *Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel, a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (London, 1730).

opponents' intentions, assembling pre-prepared responses, accruing additional scholarly material, and recruiting authors to assist him in his public controversies.

Purely textual treatments of the English Enlightenment largely overlook how every detail of a pamphlet's publication could be, and frequently was, meticulously planned to achieve maximum persuasive effect in the reader's mind. The importance of such planning only becomes apparent when we consider how these pamphlets were marketed and sold to readers, something which scholars have only recently begun to investigate.³¹ It was not uncommon for booksellers to juxtapose works from both sides of a debate in prominent displays, and thus showcase the dialogue between writers of opposed beliefs. For example, William Bulman has recently discussed how the Restoration stationer William Crooke (c. 1639-1694) employed this strategy to great effect in his bookshop 'the Green Dragon' on the Strand to attract both heterodox and orthodox readers. Crooke was well-known since the Restoration as a key supplier of Hobbes' manuscript works and the print works of the deist Charles Blount, yet he also carried orthodox defenses of the Church of England by the orientalist scholar Lancelot Addison. He continued to present contrasting political and religious material into the 1680s, when he carried English translations of popular anti-clerical works from the Continent, such as Paolo Sarpi's *Trattato delle Materie Beneficarie* (London, 1680), in addition to works of orthodox divinity by Tory clergymen such as Thomas Manningham, Edward Lane, and Edward Pelling.³² The physical presentation of opposing printed works to customers was designed to encourage browsing and discussion. This form of sociability was so crucial to the booksellers' commercial model that James Raven has even argued that bookshops rivalled coffeehouses as venues for information exchange and discussion.³³

Pamphlet writers appear to have been keenly aware of the commercial and social milieu in which their works were sold, and adopted several strategies designed to add persuasive weight to their case. The two most important were their ability to

³¹ William J. Bulman, 'Hobbes's Publisher and the Political Business of Enlightenment', *The Historical Journal* 59 (2016).

³² Bulman, 'Hobbes's Publisher', pp. 343-346.

³³ Raven, *The Business of Books*, pp. 113-114.

publish new works at speed while always anticipating the substance of opponents' positions. Bearing in mind that opposing pamphlets were presented next to one another in physical displays, the intended effect of anticipating and outpacing an opponent was to impress upon clientele the ease and mastery with which churchmen demolished the claims of their opponents. If the bookseller, moreover, could produce a series of answers and replies in quick succession, this would stimulate continued interest in the controversy and help to drive wider awareness of the issues at hand.

It was in this context that Waterland developed a series of sophisticated protocols for behind-the-scenes collaboration, designed to associate the orthodox cause with confident and critical scholarship in the minds of consumers. It should not be forgotten, furthermore, that many of the lower clergy whom Gibson, Waterland, and their clerical allies were trying to impress were the ordinary clerical clientele of the bookshops of London and the universities. St. Paul's, for example, was located at the heart of the London bookselling district just south of Paternoster Row. Bookshops, therefore, were a key battleground in the upper clergy's fight to assuage the anger among the Toryish lower clergy, many of whom believed the Whig episcopacy secretly sympathized with the Church's heterodox opponents.

In the spring of 1730 Waterland had published a response to Clarke's *Exposition*, and was anticipating a response in the press. His contact reported that 'there is a pamphlet a drawing up by the Clubb, that is, by Emlyn, Sykes Jackson &c. under the direction, and correction of the able divine, the Master of the Rolls.'³⁴ These were the members of Whiston's club: Thomas Emlyn was a Unitarian non-conformist, while Arthur Ashley Sykes and John Jackson were Cambridge clergymen and disciples of Clarke. According to his intelligence, these different elements were working together in a temporary alliance under Sir Joseph Jekyll, an influential anti-clerical minister in the Walpolian administration. With knowledge of his opponent's movements in hand, Waterland moved to gather material resources for his pamphlet.

³⁴ Waterland to Bishop, 28 Feb. 1730, Waterland Papers, 'Unofficial' Archives C/DW, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Waterland sought material directly from fellow scholars. Addressing the Ipswich clergyman, Thomas Bishop, Waterland wrote that ‘[y]ou may have some [collections] which have escaped Bingham, Berriman, Mangey, and me, as I have some that escaped others. I should be glad to see yours and to compare’.³⁵ Clerical writers frequently kept itemized commonplaces of quotations, references and commentary. Zachary Grey kept such a text.³⁶ Waterland’s was sold at auction in 1742 and appears not to have survived.³⁷ Edmund Gibson kept a very large commonplace book which survives today and is a striking example of the expertise amassed by these clerical authors.³⁸ All its 360 pages are full to overflowing with references, indexed under approximately 700 different subject headings, which range from theology to history and philosophy. The text is layered throughout, where Gibson has returned to cite and annotate his lists, often crowding the margins with notes. Commonplacing was a resource of thought: an aid to the compiler who sought to master rhetoric and argument in public contexts. These evolving texts had immense practical value, providing a framework for the rapid production of printed works by the compiler. The extensive sharing of commonplace material by the clergy resonates with the network theorist John Law’s observation that ‘knowledge’ is the social product of ordered material forms: the collective output of various actors positioned within a network.³⁹ It was Waterland’s task to solicit this material from his allies, draw upon his own research, and to order these scattered materials into a text for publication.

In fact, Waterland created multiple texts, drafting several counter-responses to his opponent’s forthcoming pamphlet. Along with his preparation for a defense of the Anglican liturgy, Waterland wrote that ‘I do design a particular dissertation upon the subject of *positive and moral duties*, and the *true use and value of the Sacraments*.’ In

³⁵ Waterland to Bishop, 28 Feb. 1730, Waterland Papers.

³⁶ Zachary Grey, *Commonplace Book*, n.d., Ee VI 42-46, Cambridge University Library.

³⁷ It sold for 14 shillings, *A Catalogue of the Entire Library of the Learned Daniel Waterland*, p. 20.

³⁸ Edmund Gibson, ‘Repertorium Religiosum Modernum’, *Commonplace Book*, 1725, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5319, St. Andrews, Scotland.

³⁹ Law, ‘Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network’, p. 2.

this manner, Waterland hedged against the unexpected, and readied himself for what he termed, using martial language, ‘the open Field of Paper-War’.⁴⁰ When his opponent’s response emerged, the most relevant pre-prepared essay would be quickly molded into a finished product for publication. In the final printed edition, none of this background collaboration was apparent to readers: the paratext attributed authorship to Waterland alone. By sharing intelligence and scholarship, the orthodox clergy dramatically sped up the production of pamphlet replies. By appearing to act alone, however, Waterland aligned his cause with an image of confident and sure-footed scholarship. With the first iteration of controversy over, Waterland now prepared for the situation to escalate. Having drawn on the material aspects of his scholarly networks, he now moved to call its human elements into action. Soon many agents of the Church would be working together, scribbling for the press under his direction.

Pamphlet controversy could quickly become too demanding for one author, especially if his opponents launched a coordinated counter-response. Waterland wrote to Thomas Bishop in early 1730 that ‘if they pour in upon me from several quarters... I must desire my friends to take off some of them’.⁴¹ As controversy unfolded over the summer of 1730, other members of Whiston’s club stepped in to the debate. In that year alone, Waterland published *Remarks upon Doctor Clarke’s Exposition of the Church Catechism*, and Arthur Ashley Sykes countered with *An Answer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke’s Exposition of the Church Catechism*. Waterland responded with *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments* which was met by Sykes’s *A Defense to the Answer*. This was further followed by Waterland’s *A Supplement to the Treatise* and Sykes’s final work for the year, *The True Foundations of Natural and Reveal’d Religion Asserted*. Much as opposing pamphlets could be positioned against one another in a single bookshop, opposing sides of a debate were sold through rival bookshops operating in close proximity, giving controversy an additional edge of commercial rivalry. This was the case with Waterland and Sykes, who both chose to sell their pamphlets in rival bookshops in St. Paul’s Churchyard,

⁴⁰ Waterland to Bishop, 11 Dec. 1733, Waterland Papers.

⁴¹ Waterland to Bishop, 31 Jan. 1730, Waterland Papers.

the principal site of clerical association in the capital. In addition to selling the pamphlets in Cambridge, Waterland sold all his works in London through John Crownfield at The Rising Sun, while Sykes sold his pamphlets through James and John Knapton at The Crown.

At the same time that Sykes was busy debating Waterland, other members of Whiston's club entered the debate, working together to surround Waterland with hostile criticism. Thomas Emlyn published *A Letter to the Revd. Dr Waterland* and Thomas Chubb contributed *The Comparative Excellence and Obligation of Moral and Positive Duties*. Also in 1730, the close companion of Sykes and fellow Cambridge clergyman, John Jackson, published a double attack on Waterland's *Remarks* and Edmund Gibson's second number in his *Pastoral Letters* series, discussed in the next chapter. These secondary pamphlets in the controversy were published in more peripheral areas of the bookselling district away from St. Paul's Churchyard. Emlyn's pamphlet was sold by J. Noon who operated to the east of St. Paul's on the commercial thoroughfare of Cheapside, while Chubb and Jackson preferred J. Roberts to the west on Warwick Lane. It is interesting to note, furthermore, that all pamphlets by the Anglican clergymen in the debate, Waterland, Sykes, and Jackson, went at least to second and third editions, while neither of the pamphlets by Emlyn (a proto-Unitarian nonconformist) and Chubb (a self-educated lay freethinker), had more than a single run. The pamphlets which went to the greatest number of editions were those by the Anglican clergy who sold their works in the central area of St. Paul's Churchyard, Waterland and Sykes. This strongly suggests a predominantly clerical audience interested in reading and discussing either side of the debate while browsing the bookshops that encircled the cathedral's square.

Though Emlyn, Chubb, and Jackson were secondary figures in the debate, Waterland could not leave their contributions unanswered. He moved to counter, this time enlisting a range of junior clergymen, or 'seconds', to take up his defense in public. In this manner, over the summer of 1730 the confrontation of two individuals evolved into the confrontation of two groups. Waterland was deeply embedded within the broader social and pedagogical world of the university; it was to these connections

that he turned to recruit seconds.⁴²

Strong Ties: The Universities

As a prominent educator in the university, Waterland was connected to a wide range of fellows and former students who could defend him in print. He was known as a ‘pupil-monger’, monopolizing teaching at his college. Between 1708 and 1717 Magdalene admitted 74 students; Waterland was responsible for teaching 64 of them.⁴³ Undergraduate education schooled students in a form of rhetoric and logic which readily transferred to the model of printed debate. Teaching regimens provided a grounding for a career in the Church, as laid out, for example, in works such as Waterland’s *Advice to a Young Student*.⁴⁴ The three-year course of reading laid out a schedule of study in natural and moral philosophy and the classics, the necessary pre-requisites to a fourth year M.A. in divinity, leading to a career in the Church.⁴⁵

The universities, however, did not just provide a formal education. They were also social and intellectual venues that celebrated and promoted a mode of humanist erudition integral to the culture of controversy. Famously, Thomas Hobbes believed that the disputatious culture of England’s universities was a principle cause of the disastrous civil wars. Modern historians have not disagreed with his assessment.⁴⁶ The model of education encouraged the application of logic and rhetoric to controversial subjects, crucial preparation for young scholars who sought fame on the wider stage of pamphlet controversy. This culture was most prominently displayed in set-piece public events such as formal disputations. While John Gascoigne has argued that, by the early eighteenth century, disputations were of declining importance as a

⁴² Starkie, *The Bangorian Controversy*, pp. 51-54.

⁴³ Cunich *et. al.*, *History of Magdalene College*, p. 160.

⁴⁴ Daniel Waterland, *Advice to a Young Student. With a Method of Study for the First Four Years* (Cambridge, 1730).

⁴⁵ Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, vol. 2, pp. 195-196; William Van Reyk, ‘Educating Christian Men in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Public-School and Oxbridge Ideals’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (2009), pp. 427-428.

⁴⁶ Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*, pp. 30-31.

pedagogical tool,⁴⁷ these events nonetheless continued to be an important way that the university showcased its talent at important events in the academic calendar. For instance, Waterland's early career experienced a significant boost after a celebrated performance at the university commencement in 1714. He opposed Thomas Sherlock on the question of Arian subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles.⁴⁸

Another source testifying to the continued importance of disputations can be found in Edmund Gibson's commonplace book. Under the heading 'controversie', Gibson cited a key passage from Richard Hooker's *Law of Ecclesiastical Politie* (1597) entitled 'Their calling for Tryal by Disputation'. Hooker painted a colourful picture, evidently of interest to Gibson, of these events and their significance in the universities during the sixteenth century:

If the thing ye crave, be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those Matters that are in question, the Schools in Universities (for anything I know) are open unto you. They have their Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations, both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein several parts of our own Ecclesiastical Discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of Examination. The learnedst [sic] of you have been of late Years, noted seldom or never absent from thence, at the time of those great Assemblies... If your suit have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the Laws that already are, should sleep and have no power over you; till in the hearing of thousands, ye all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your Cause⁴⁹

The continued attraction of disputations for the university clergy appears to have been the very public nature in which religious truth and error could be exposed, as Hooker put it, before 'the hearing of thousands'. Just as in the sixteenth century, when Hooker wrote, many among the eighteenth-century clergy continued to believe that such forms of public argument would lead to the final resolution of error and a return to consensus. This logic underpinned the extension of traditional forms of scholarly

⁴⁷ Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of Enlightenment*, pp. 7-8

⁴⁸ B. W. Young, 'Waterland, Daniel (1683-1740)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28815>.

⁴⁹ The 1705 edition published by Richard Chiswell matches the pagination of Gibson's commonplace reference. Richard Hooker, *The Works of That Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr. Richard Hooker, in Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Completed [sic] out of His Own Manuscripts. Dedicated to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, Charles II... There Is Also Prefix'd before the Book, The Life of the Author, Sometime Written by Isaac Walton* (London, 1705), preface, p. 54.

disputation into the media of print, which offered public exposure beyond the colleges, lecture halls, and local assemblies of the universities.⁵⁰

After graduation, students who sought to enter the world of polemical divinity had to slowly accrue reputation and status among their peers and superiors. Often the first step was to provide assistance to more senior figures. At Magdalene, for example, Waterland was assisted by a junior fellow of the college, the future classical and moral philosopher Thomas Johnson. Waterland's correspondence with Zachary Grey suggests that Johnson sent notes to Waterland on pamphlets which he did not have time to read. Later, in early 1735, Waterland thanked Grey for keeping him informed of his intention to republish an earlier work, *The Spirit of Infidelity, Detected* (London, 1723), a reply to an English translation of *The Spirit of the Ecclesiastics of All Sects and Ages* (London, 1722) by the French jurist Jean Barbeyrac. Waterland commented that he had not seen Barbeyrac's work, but that 'Mr. Johnson of our College sent me up some Account of the Manner & Contents of it'. The implicit patron-client relationship between Waterland and Johnson is evident later in the same letter. In preparing a Latin abridgement of Pufendorf's *De Officio Hominis et Civis* (London, 1737), Johnson offered to insert a defense of Waterland in the preface: 'He ask'd me, if I would have him take any notice of what concern'd me; & I sent him Word, He might spend a Page of his Preface that way, if he saw proper.' Waterland's relationship with Grey, on the other hand, appears to have been on a more equal footing. Responding to Grey's report of his intention to republish, Waterland offered to read the manuscript, genially noting 'if I am capable of observing any Thing upon them, that may be useful, & to the Purpose, I shall readily do it; only I shall be under a Disadvantage at Twickenham where I have no Books to consult'.⁵¹

In this way, clients were regularly called upon to publish in support of their patrons, while scholars of more equal status benefited from reciprocal exchanges of scholarly material and commentary. Waterland, for example, drew on his connections with former pupils to assist in the effort against Whiston's club. He enrolled John

⁵⁰ Joshua Rodda, *Public Religious Disputation in England 1558-1626* (Surrey, 2014).

⁵¹ Waterland to Zachary Grey, 5 Feb. 1735, Cole Mss., BL Add MS 538, fols. 171-172.

Brown, a Norfolk clergyman and former Gonville and Caius student, to publish in his defense. He instructed Thomas Johnson to do the same, now reporting to Edmund Gibson in London that ‘A gentleman of my Acquaintance, is putting a little piece to the press, intituled [sic], An essay upon moral obligation. It is in answer both to Dr Sykes and mr Chubb, so far as concerns the grounds of moral obligation’.⁵² Waterland wrote, however, that Johnson ‘will do it well... only, He’ll be slow. Which is some disadvantage to us, while the Adversaries are so fierce and forward.’ To prevent engagements losing focus, Waterland closely managed the work of these seconds, exercising close editorial control over their work. He further commented to Gibson of John Brown’s pamphlet that ‘A few things I disliked, which I desired Him to Strike out... which I doubt no[t], he will do’.⁵³ Johnson was subject to this kind of oversight too. Waterland asked him ‘to insert a paragraph in confutation of the two Aspersion cast upon my pieces’.⁵⁴ Through close supervision of subordinates, Waterland ensured a comprehensive response to all the members of Whiston’s club.

Despite the aid secured by enlisting junior writers, Waterland was in a difficult position by January 1731. His controversy with Whiston’s club came just at the moment when another work, Matthew Tindal’s *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, had sparked outrage among the clergy. Waterland had stepped up to the defense with *Scripture Vindicated, Part I*, but the work was far from comprehensive as it only covered Tindal’s treatment of the book of Genesis.⁵⁵ To relieve some of the pressure on himself, Waterland needed help from an established figure, better known than the junior clergymen immediately beneath him who were already hard at work countering members of Whiston’s club. To make this connection, Waterland reached out to his own patron, Edmund Gibson, to whom he had been reporting since the summer of 1730.

⁵² Waterland to Gibson, 29 Dec. 1730, Gibson Papers, MS 1741, Lambeth Palace Library, London (hereafter LPL), fols. 78-79.

⁵³ Waterland to Gibson, 10 Dec. 1730, MS 1741, fols. 74-5.

⁵⁴ Waterland to Gibson, 29 Dec. 1730, LPL MS 1741, fols. 78-9.

⁵⁵ Daniel Waterland, *Scripture Vindicated; in Answer to a Book Intituled, Christianity as Old as The Creation. Part I*. (London, 1730), B.

‘Weak’ Ties: The Church

Edmund Gibson was Daniel Waterland’s channel to a wider world of academic scholarship beyond his college and university. The Church was a national institution, composed of different domains of clerical and scholarly life. Bishops such as Gibson were prominent figures who oversaw these different pockets of clerical activity. Gibson had a deep knowledge of the London and university clergy, keeping meticulous records of the incumbents, lecturers and curates of each of the parishes in his London diocese, as well as the masters and prominent fellows of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges.⁵⁶ In response to Waterland’s request, Gibson commissioned a work from John Conybeare, a tutor at Exeter College in Oxford. The connection between Gibson and Conybeare is worth exploring more fully, as it highlights Gibson’s unique approach to cultivating extensive social ties among the university clergy.

Early in his career, Conybeare benefitted from a scheme set up by Gibson to appoint college fellows as preachers to the Royal Chapel in Whitehall. Each year, a number of fellows were chosen by Gibson to rotate on a monthly basis. He displayed the most promising young scholars at court, thereby hoping to introduce greater meritocracy to the patronage system, which depended heavily on connections to elite lay patrons.⁵⁷ Richard Smalbroke later recalled the system in his account of Gibson’s life:

Another Instance that deserves to be recollected, was the employing his Interest with Persons of the highest Rank and Quality, in procuring an ample Endowment from the Crown for the regular Performance of Divine Service in the *Royal Chapel at Whitehall*. . . by a Succession of Ministers, I say, selected out of both our Universities. . . who thereby were enabled to do much Good to Others, as well as to recommend themselves by their Probational Exercises there to higher Preferments, and by this Advantage of the publick Specimens given of their Abilities to the World, to entitle them to the Favour of some worthy Patrons, if not of the Crown itself.⁵⁸

In providing this valuable access, Gibson acted as a gateway between the universities and court society. Conybeare, for example, was given a court preachership by Gibson

⁵⁶ Edmund Gibson, ‘Episcopal Reference Book of Edmund Gibson’, n.d., LPL MS 2168.

⁵⁷ Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 92-94.

⁵⁸ Smalbroke, *Some Account of the Right Reverend Dr Edmund Gibson*, p. 16

in 1724, which led to an Oxford rectorship given by Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.⁵⁹ The effect was to generate a significant sense of allegiance to the Bishop among young and ambitious scholars. Goodwill, however, did not always translate into effective help. Conybeare, for instance, appears to have responded enthusiastically to Gibson's request to write, but misunderstood the nature and urgency of the Bishop's request. Conybeare set out to assemble a pamphlet, eventually entitled *A Defence of Reveal'd Religion*. Seemingly wishing to impress his patron, Conybeare was slow and meticulous in his task, and when it was eventually published in 1732, the work had become a sprawling 480-page octavo book.⁶⁰ Waterland's letters are filled with exhortations for Gibson to hurry him along. Waterland even wrote to Conybeare himself at one stage, hoping 'to hasten Him a little the more'.⁶¹ His appeals, however, fell on deaf ears.

This failure of collaboration reveals the limited circumstances under which Waterland's model of managed print controversy was effective. At Cambridge, Waterland operated in a position of clear seniority to enlisted seconds, who were always close at hand. In the case of Conybeare, Waterland lacked a direct line of communication to a writer who worked only as a favour to an intermediary, Gibson. Waterland's regular strategies of collaboration thus proved to be ineffective. As we shall see, this breakdown opened the way to a fragmentation of orthodox efforts in print over the course of 1731.

Localized collaboration enabled clergymen to produce public defenses of orthodoxy against an array of competing voices. Collaboration took many forms, from the flow of rumor and gossip through social networks which gave forewarning of the intentions of rivals, to the sharing of commonplace material that allowed the rapid production of pamphlets, and the recruitment of seconds to ensure a comprehensive response. Together these strategies were intended to enable a comprehensive,

⁵⁹ Leslie Stephen, 'Conybeare, John (1692-1755)', rev. William Gibson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004).

⁶⁰ John Conybeare, *A Defence of Reveal'd Religion Against the Exceptions of a Late Writer, in his Book, Intituled, Christianity as Old as the Creation* (London, 1732).

⁶¹ Waterland to Gibson, 21 Jan. 1731, LPL MS 1741, fols. 76-7.

seamless, and speedy exchange of replies and answers, projecting an image of competence and control. If controversy flared up, churchmen could draw upon their pedagogical networks to enlist seconds, over whose works they retained editorial control. Nevertheless, local collaborations had inherent weaknesses. The first was an over-reliance on a largely clerical, university-based social scene for intelligence. Matthew Tindal, for example, was not a clergyman; nor did he operate in a university setting. His publication thus came as a complete surprise to orthodox churchmen. Without forewarning, Waterland had to scramble to produce a response in the press. In the meanwhile, he left a vacuum into which other writers could step. As Waterland's efforts began to founder, competing authors began to converge on Tindal's work, each seeking to claim for themselves a stake in the controversy. The Baptist author James Foster, for example, capitalized on Waterland's lack of preparedness and published *The Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency of the Christian Religion* (London, 1731). Foster sought to occupy the vacuum left by Waterland and ally the cause of 'orthodoxy' to his own denominational beliefs. From Waterland's perspective, Foster represented a destabilizing and subversive threat to his print campaign.⁶² 'They pretend to be for us', wrote Waterland, 'and in the mean while betray us':

They will own the Authority of Scriptures in the general: But in particular places, they will think the Sacred penman might mistake, ignorantly, or by following false memoirs. Such defenders of Religion, I conceive, will do us no Service. They are the men I am most afraid of.⁶³

In an attempt to remedy the situation, Waterland was forced to reach outside his immediate circles. His 'weak tie' to a well-respected writer through Gibson seemed promising; an intervention by Conybeare offered the possibility of bolstering Waterland's public position in the controversy. The weak tie, however, also proved to be a brittle one: unlike his immediate subordinates, Waterland had no leverage with Conybeare, and could do little more than encourage him to publish quickly. Regardless of his influence and extensive connections, figures such as Waterland could never anticipate or counteract every dissenting voice. There were moments of

⁶² James Foster, *The Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency of The Christian Revelation Defended Against the Objections Contain'd in a Late Book, Intitled [sic], Christianity As Old as The Creation* (London, 1731).

⁶³ Waterland to Gibson, 29 Dec. 1730, LPL MS 1741, fol. 78.

leveling, when orthodox strategies were rendered ineffective. During these moments, unexpected actors such as James Foster entered public discussion, subverting Waterland's claims to authority with his own claims to 'orthodoxy'.

Conclusion

The rise of a regular printed public sphere was cause for optimism and anxiety in equal measure for the senior and learned clergy. Print offered a new means of communicating religion and fulfilling the aims of an enduring reformation project, but it also created conditions for open criticism of traditional institutions and beliefs. In the aftermath of the lapse of the licensing system in 1695, the threatening aspects of the public sphere were amplified by a growing challenge of heterodoxy. The early response was divided and muddled: the Williamite bishops appeared indecisive and trusted in the State to protect the Church, while a politicised lower clergy attempted to reinstate independent structures of censorship and discipline.

Installed as bishop of London in 1723, Edmund Gibson and his allies sought to resolve these tensions. By collaborating with key university figures such as Daniel Waterland, Gibson sought to demonstrate the upper clergy's resolve to do battle in the public sphere. He encouraged and aided masterful controversialists, such as Waterland, to make a show of their polemical attacks on heterodox thinkers. This comforted and pleased the lower clergy, many of whom still suspected that Whig ecclesiastics and politicians secretly sympathized with the Church's critics. Gibson commented on the progress he had made in a letter to Robert Walpole from 1727 on the subject of dispensing deaneries. After listing suitable personnel to fill the positions he wrote that going forward, 'As ye body of ye Clergy have been growing into a better disposition within these 7 or 8 years, there will be a larger Choice'.⁶⁴ Quietly, however, Gibson sought to exert much tighter controls over the nature and extent of polemic action in the public sphere; behind the scenes he strongly discouraged the clergy from calling into question the Revolution settlement and stoking conflict with

⁶⁴ Edmund Gibson, Draft Letter to Robert Walpole, Oct. 1727, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5202, St. Andrews, Scotland.

Dissenters. Gibson and his allies, notably Daniel Waterland, developed a range of strategies to make the public case for orthodoxy as persuasive and effective as possible. Their tactics were designed to help the Church regain a sense of mastery in this new sphere of public discussion, while also preventing further unrest among the clergy over the issue of heterodoxy. In light of these developments, it might be tempting to conclude that, after a shaky start, the Church firmly stamped its authority over English intellectual life.

There are elements of this line of thinking to be found in B.W. Young's important treatment of the subject, though it is nuanced and critical of revisionists such as J.C.D. Clark. Clark has offered the most full throated endorsement of this model of Church hegemony over social, intellectual, and political life.⁶⁵ Yet the results of the Gibsonian project would suggest caution here, as the strategies pursued by controversialists had clear limitations. Waterland's model of managed print controversy, for example, failed to produce effective partnerships between clergymen at Oxford and Cambridge. The surprise publication of Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation* thus tested the limits of the Church's orthodox champions, who proved unable to coordinate an effective response. The mixed results of Waterland's ventures into print instead reinforce Jeremy Gregory's observation, that while churchmen may have aspired to the kind of hegemony which Clark described, in reality they exercised less control.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the work of Gibson and his allies had a clear legacy. The first impact was to reshape the internal arrangements of the Church surrounding the practice of public theological debate. Clear echoes of Gibson and Waterland's approach can be seen in the activities of later churchmen, notably Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1758 to 1768. Like Gibson, Secker sought to cultivate clerical scholars in the universities in the ongoing battles against heterodoxy. Continuing the orthodox prioritization of revelation over natural reason, Secker

⁶⁵ Young, *Religion and Enlightenment*, p. 112; for Clark's major works refer to p. 10, n. 8 of this dissertation.

⁶⁶ Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation, and Reform, 1660-1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 3-4.

channeled his efforts into organizing for a new translation of the Authorized Version of the Bible. He acted as chief patron to Benjamin Kennicott, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Kennicott embarked on an ambitious project in 1757 to collate the known manuscript copies of the Hebrew Bible. The intention was to correct the errors of the King James edition, and so bolster the authority of scriptural revelation against those who questioned the text's accuracy and authenticity. Secker also cultivated a circle of orthodox biblical scholars at Hertford College, Oxford, who followed in Kennicott's steps in their quest to minimize scriptural errors in the Authorized Version. Finally, Secker recruited clerical followers of John Hutchinson's writings, called Hutchinsonians, to provide a fusillade of orthodox polemic against the anti-Trinitarian thinkers Edmund Law, Francis Blackburne, and Peter Peckard. Much as Gibson and Waterland, Secker appears to have exerted final editorial control over the contents of their works.⁶⁷

The second strand of influence was on print culture, and was felt immediately. The traditional mode of polemical pamphleteering, read largely by a learned and clerical readership, continued, albeit under the close supervision and control of key brokers in the episcopate and universities. Waterland remained, until his death in 1740, a key practitioner of this type of polemical divinity and pamphlet controversy. Gibson, on the other hand, appears to have been less and less convinced of the format's value, especially when it was pursued without a complementary range of explanatory or practical literature. He invested far greater time into writing and patronizing a range of innovative printed forms designed to reach a much wider readership, to which we shall now shift our attention. In the next chapter, we shall see how Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* series sought to translate the outcomes of these polemical engagements into an accessible and practical religion for a wider reading public. The *Pastoral Letters* saw multiple editions printed until the end of the century, and their influence spawned a new genre in the English-language print market. This genre came to be frequently used by English, Irish, and North American divines as a medium of communication to the clergy and the broader public.

⁶⁷ Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity*, p. 71-113.

Chapter 3. Addressing the Public

On 21 November 1728, George Caldecott, parish clergyman of the village of Weeley in Essex, sent Edmund Gibson, the bishop of London, a letter congratulating him on his recently published *Pastoral Letter to the People of his Diocese*. Weeley was situated within the diocese of London, an extensive area which ranged far beyond the cities of London and Westminster to include Essex, Middlesex, and a large portion of Hertfordshire.¹ Caldecott noted that Gibson's first *Pastoral Letter* had been sent 'into every parish in [the] Diocese'. This made Caldecott one of around two-thousand parish clergymen to receive the pamphlet. The *Pastoral Letters* were a series of five works published by Gibson between 1728 and 1745; each contained simplified overviews of key debates within contemporary Christianity alongside practical instruction for non-specialist readers. Fulfilling the Bishop's desire that his letter be made available to 'the generality of the people', Caldecott duly informed the Bishop that he had 'caused it to be read in every House in my parish'.²

A note from the minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) records that a fortnight later, the senior members had 'Agreed that it be recommended to the Society to admit the [*Pastoral Letter*] to be dispers'd occasionally; and also to buy a number sufficient to furnish each Member with a copy.'³ The general committee requested that the bookseller Joseph Downing order '600 copies... for the societies store'. Downing instead ordered 'a Thousand Copies in Quires or stich'd in the ordinary way at 8d a piece', keeping the remaining 400 for sale in his bookshop at Amen Corner in Little Britain. The total price came to a sizable 33*l.* 7*s.* A circular letter was sent out to SPCK members, and soon the orders began to come in. Before the end of the month, 50 copies had been sent to

¹ Viviane Barrie-Curien, 'The Clergy in the Diocese of London in the Eighteenth Century', in Haydon, Walsh, and Taylor, *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*, pp. 87.

² Edmund Gibson, *The Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter to the People of His Diocese; Particularly, to Those of the Two Great Cities of London and Westminster. Occasion'd by Some Late Writings in Favour of Infidelity* (London, 1728), p. 4; Letter from George Caldecott to Edmund Gibson, 21 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5245, St. Andrews, Scotland.

³ 'General Meeting, 1698-1937', 3 Dec. 1728, SPCK Archives, Cambridge University, fol. 14.

‘Archdeacon Denne’, 20 to a ‘Mr. St. John’, and 5 to a ‘Mr. Philips’. In January 1729, another 50 were sent to ‘Mr. May at Jamaica’, and a dozen each to ‘Rowland Cotton Esq., Mr. Mackworth, Dr. Knight’, ‘Mr. Tho. Cotton’ and ‘Mr. Daubrie of Wolverhampton’. The records of the SPCK reported that, by early February, the bookseller Downing had informed the general committee that ‘833 Copies of the Pastoral Letter had been dispers’d upon the Society’s late advertisement about them’.⁴ The minutes further recorded that the committee, who assembled each week at St. Dunstan’s coffeehouse in London, requested that Downing purchase another thousand copies on the same terms for distribution.⁵ The printer of the *Pastoral Letters*, Edward Owen, later recollected that the print runs for each letter were 30,000 copies of the first, 27,000 of the second, 17,000 of the third, and 3,000 of the collected octavo volume published in 1732.⁶

Owen’s figures make the *Pastoral Letters* clear ‘bestsellers’ by the standards of the day. The typical print run of a bestselling London printed work was roughly 1500 copies per edition.⁷ Though Owen’s note about the total print run is attached to a letter dated 5 December 1728, his inclusion of the print run for the collected edition of 1732 places the note at least four years later. He does not mention the fourth letter of 1739, placing the date of the note in a seven year window between those two dates. Eighteen editions of the first *Pastoral Letter* are recorded in the ESTC from its first publication in 1728 until 1739. 30,000 copies over 18 editions for the first *Letter* gives an average print run of 1667 copies per run, closely corresponding to the ‘London average’ for a bestselling work as stated above. Lending credibility to these numbers are the conclusions of bibliographers who state that, in general, each ESTC entry for a particular work is a reliable representation of a distinct edition.⁸ For the *Pastoral Letters* series, the ESTC records 18 editions of the first *Letter*, 10 for the second, 8 for

⁴ ‘General Meeting, 1698-1937’, 5 Dec. - 6 Feb. 1728-1729, SPCK Archives, Cambridge University Library, fols. 17-35.

⁵ ‘General Meeting, 1698-1937’, 18 Feb. 1729, SPCK Archives, Cambridge University Library, fol. 35.

⁶ Undated note attached to a Letter from John Holland to Edmund Gibson, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5249, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, p. 80.

⁸ Stephen Tabor, ‘ESTC and the Bibliographical Community’, *The Library* 8 (2007), p. 369.

the third, 5 for the collected octavo volume of the first, second, and third, 24 editions of the fourth letter (which was published in two parts), 16 of the fifth, and 4 editions of the duodecimo collection of all five. According to Owen's figures, this equates to print run sizes exceeding 2000 for the second and third *Letters*, and smaller runs of 600 for the collected octavo edition. Most of these orders appear to have been placed through the SPCK, whose archives record multiple orders of the *Pastoral Letters* between 200 and 2000 copies per order.⁹ The sizes and intervals between these orders suggest that the SPCK was selling the first and second *Pastoral Letters* at a rate of about 300 copies per month over the course of 1728 and 1729, the equivalent of an entire print edition every five months.

All these numbers suggest, of course, that Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* were highly successful and widely distributed works. Yet impressive though they are, numbers alone tell us little about who was reading these works and what impact they had. Anecdotal evidence too, such as the letter from George Caldecott, is similarly opaque on the issue of reception. Caldecott appears to have used the *Pastoral Letter* as a tool of instruction, perhaps circulated among households of his parishioners for contemplative reading. This was the method that Gibson himself recommended within the *Pastoral Letter*, 'being not spoken, but written, you will have better Opportunity to peruse, consider, and apply it, with such Care and Deliberation as the Importance of the Matter deserves.'¹⁰ Other clergy, catering to non-literate members of their communities, adapted the contents of the *Pastoral Letter* into an oral form. This was the case with another Essex clergyman, Thomas Bernard of Little Bardfield, who reported to Gibson that:

I thought it my Duty to ye Church as well as to your Lords[hi]p, to make your Instructions as public as I could, & knowing no better way, I imparted those in yr first Letter (as I intend to do those in yr 2d) to my people, by way of sermon, vouching ye authority of ye Composition, that it might have ye more force & efficacy.¹¹

⁹ The records of purchases made through the SPCK's bookseller Joseph Downing record 600 copies of the first letter ordered on 5 Dec. 1728, another 1000 ordered on 18 Feb 1729, while 2000 copies of the second letter were ordered on 12 May 1729, and another 200 on 22 Dec 1729.

¹⁰ Gibson, *The Bishop of London's [First] Pastoral Letter*, p. 2.

¹¹ Letter from Thomas Bernard to Edmund Gibson, 7 April 1730, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5257, St. Andrews, Scotland.

The use of the *Pastoral Letters* as instruments of parochial instruction raises questions about their reception. How did the residents of these small Essex communities relate to the words of a senior ecclesiastic, whose pamphlets sought to remedy the social and intellectual ills of the nation's capital? Neither letter writer includes any information about the impact of the Bishop's letter among their parishioners. As is widely discussed in the historiography of reading and confirmed here, sources which attest to the reading and reception of texts often generate more questions than they answer. Historians are confronted not only by challenging source material, but also the conceptual challenge of determining 'readership' itself.

In recent years, a range of scholarship has emerged to describe the forms and content and financing of religious print in the book market. This work has come in the form of key genre studies. For example, the works by Tony Claydon, Rosemary Dixon, Jennifer Farooq, Jeremy Gregory, Scott Mandelbrote, Isabel Rivers, Tessa Whitehouse, and B.W. Young, cited in the introduction to this dissertation.¹² Such scholarship, especially the recent articles by Whitehouse and Dixon, have emphasized the religious and commercial imperatives which brought religious texts to market.

As I have suggested, however, less work has been done to consider the readership and reception of such works. Here, numerical data about editions, print runs, and purchases must be combined with qualitative forms of evidence. This chapter adds to the existing scholarship by considering aspects of the readership of the *Pastoral Letters* series. Despite their influence, the *Pastoral Letters* have not been subject to any detailed scholarly treatment, new or old, aside from an outline of their contents provided in Norman Sykes's biography of Edmund Gibson, published in 1926.¹³

Given the highly individual and often creative act of interpretation and response, and the different circumstances and practices of both individuals and groups of readers, historians have faced major challenges in creating generalized frameworks

¹² See notes 16, 17, 23, and 25 in the introduction.

¹³ Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 249-254.

for assessing readership. Roger Chartier, for example, posed the question of whether it is possible ‘to organize this indistinguishable plurality of individual acts according to shared regularities’.¹⁴ One solution which recent histories have applied is to reconstruct the responses of readers who shared denominational commitments, political values, or social class. This approach to reconstructing ‘interpretive’ communities or ‘reading constituencies’, relies on extra-textual sources which describe the experiences, thoughts, and practices of readers, such as diaries, letters and other written accounts.¹⁵ Yet, as the examples of Caldecott and Bernard show, many of these sources offer information which is far from ideal: the accounts of parish clergymen report second-hand information in a cursory manner about the reading of the *Pastoral Letters* in their communities. Nor do these sources represent a broad spectrum of different types of readers. While many letters to Gibson about his works survive, the overwhelming majority of these are from clergymen. This might enable a reconstruction of an ‘interpretative community’ of clerical readers for the *Pastoral Letters*, but information about a broader readership is sparse. The *Pastoral Letters* were widely distributed and frequently reprinted texts in the eighteenth century, and surely reached a much broader reading constituency than the clergy. This chapter, therefore, looks to reconstruct this broader readership using a wider variety of evidence.

By focusing on the discursive, material, and financial aspects of print culture, it is possible to reconstruct the collective readership, or, using William St. Clair’s terminology, the ‘reading constituencies’ of a printed work.¹⁶ These forms of evidence can enhance anecdotal records of reader’s responses. The first form of evidence is internal to the texts themselves. The framing and staging of a printed work, along with factors such as the manner and extent of its distribution, played a key role in shaping a text’s collective readership. Texts are both discursive and material artefacts, and these characteristics shape their relationship to readers. Isabel Rivers notes, for example,

¹⁴ Roger Chartier, ‘Texts, Printing, Readings’, in Lynn Hunt (ed.), *New Cultural History* (London, 1989), p. 156.

¹⁵ James Raven, Naomi Tadmor, and Helen Small (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 3.

¹⁶ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 235-267.

that an author's use of rhetoric and language may be designed to appeal to, accommodate, or exclude a certain type or group of readers.¹⁷ The presentation of the text to the reader is also crucial, with paratextual information conveying whether a text was intended for a general readership or whether it had a specific audience in mind. Authors and booksellers did not hesitate to group readers regularly into these different 'constituencies'. The titles of printed works were particularly important vehicles to reach specific audiences. Take the following examples found in the clerical sample of ESTC records analysed in chapter 1:

- By social status: John Clayton, *Friendly Advice to the Poor; Written and Publish'd at the Request of the Late and Present Officers of the Town of Manchester* (Manchester, 1755) and *A Sequel [sic] to the Friendly Advice to the Poor* (1756).
- By age: Thomas Burnet [Burnett], *A Christian guide for children* (London, 1752) and Richard Peers, *A Companion for the Aged* (London, 1722).
- By health: William Dodwell, *The Sick Man's Companion* (London, 1758) and Joseph Townsend, *A Guide to Health: Being Cautions and Directions in the Treatment of Diseases. Designed Chiefly for the use of Students* (London, 1795).
- By level of education: Daniel Waterland, *Advice to a Young Student* (1730) and Edward Synge, *Plain Instructions for the Young and Ignorant: Comprised in a Short and Easie [sic] Exposition of the Church-Catechism. Adapted to the Understanding and Memory of those of the Meanest Capacity. By the Author of the Answer to all the Excuses and Pretences which Men Usually Make, for Their Not Coming to the Holy Sacrament* (London, 1726).
- By involvement in specific forms of labour and domestic occupations:
 - Servants: Thomas Seaton, *The Conduct of Servants in Great Families* (1720) and Thomas Broughton, *A Serious and Affectionate Warning to Servants* (1746).

¹⁷ Isabel Rivers, *Books and Their Readers*, pp. 1-2.

- Agricultural workers: Edward Welchman, *The Husbandman's Manual* (London, 1707).
- Soldiers: Thomas Broughton, *The Christian Soldier, or, The Duties of a Religious Life Recommended to the Army* (London, 1738).
- By sex: Robert Bolton, *A Letter to a Lady, on Card-Playing on the Lord's Day* (London, 1748); Edward Synge, *A Gentleman's Religion: With the Grounds and Reasons of it* (London, 1693).

Yet readership was not wholly inscribed within the paratext. Those with the disposable income had the greatest freedom to read. Gentry readers read widely, including texts which were aimed at those with less capital, such as the clergy (who might own a dozen or so books), and those of the 'meaner sort'. Ian Green and Kate Peters, for example, observed that the gentry collected religious works designed for them, such as Richard Allestree's *The Gentleman's Calling*, but also his works intended for a non-specialist audience, such as *The Whole Duty of Man*, alongside cheaper 'godly' ballads and chapbooks.¹⁸ While wealthy consumers could read extensively, groups with less disposable income tended to own fewer works printed more cheaply. Jan Fergus, for example, used booksellers' records to determine the reading habits of fifty provincial servants in Daventry, Rugby, Lutterworth and Warwick in the late eighteenth century. She determined that just over one-fifth of total purchases by servants from the Clay bookselling family were religious titles, noting a preference for official texts, such as Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, and catechisms, as well as shorter devotional and practical tracts. These texts tended to be purchased as part-issues or on the second-hand market. Decisions about the material form of a printed text, such as the size, the binding (or lack thereof), the cut of the pages, the quality of the impression, the type of paper, the use of images and other enhancements, shaped its availability and appeal to potential readers. A 'William Brown', for example, purchased a copy of 'Willoughby's Bible' in 42 parts, which would have been issued over the course of weeks or months in the 1770s.¹⁹ This is not

¹⁸ Green and Peters, 'Religious Publishing in England c. 1640-1695', pp. 85-86.

¹⁹ Jan S. Fergus, 'Provincial Servants' Reading in the Late Eighteenth Century', in Small, Tadmor, and Raven (eds.), *Practice and Representation of Reading*, table 2, p. 213 and table 3, pp. 218-219; Francis Willoughby, *A Practical Family Bible; on a Plan Entirely New. Containing the Sacred Text of the Old*

to forget other significant forms of semi- or non-commercial forms of distribution, such as gift-giving, lending or charity. As we have already seen, Gibson paid for the distribution of over 2000 copies of the first *Pastoral Letter* as gifts to the clergy in his London diocese.

Beyond providing an understanding of the religious scene, the *Pastoral Letters* were also a publishing sensation. The wide circulation of the *Letters* in England and abroad was facilitated by direct investment from the Bishop himself, but they also received financing from philanthropic societies such as the SPCK, and from the *Letter's* publishers, the London bookseller Samuel Buckley, the printer Edward Owen, and in the late eighteenth century, the Rivington publishing family. The involvement of the SPCK in the dissemination of the *Letters* meant regular new editions of the works (particularly the fourth and fifth *Letters*) were produced throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The publication of the *Pastoral Letters*, therefore, exemplifies how 'pious' and commercial interests allied to bring religious texts to market. The continued presence of the *Pastoral Letters* in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book market, moreover, signals the growing importance of voluntary groups, notably the SPCK, as distributors of religious print. It was through the large-scale purchasing of works such as the *Pastoral Letters* that the Society positioned itself as the *de facto* body tasked with the distribution of religious works in England from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. The emergence of the SPCK had a profound impact on the Anglican print culture of religion: by repeated reissue of a select number of religious works, the SPCK curated a 'canon' of Anglican practical literature, drawn largely from late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century print, which it reproduced and disseminated *en masse* into the nineteenth century. Tracking the publication history of the *Pastoral Letters* across the eighteenth century, therefore, also gives insight into the emergence of the SPCK as a dominant force in religious publishing.

and New Testament; also the Apocrypha; Accompanied with Notes... By the Hon. And Rev. Francis Willoughby... (London, 1772-73).

The chapter proceeds as follows. First, I provide an overview of the *Pastoral Letters* series, and address the context in which they were written. The rhetorical targets of the *Pastoral Letters* are discussed, showing Gibson's attentiveness to print stereotypes about London as a place of social vice and sin. The second section addresses the circumstances of the *Letters*' production, including the first uses of the 'pastoral letter' genre in England, and Gibson's efforts to ensure that his *Letters* achieved wide circulation among different types of readers. The third and final section deals with the reception of the *Letters* in both private correspondence and broader print culture, focusing on the debated status and utility of didactic religious works by senior ecclesiastical authors within a culture which was increasingly plural, potentially heterodox, and perceived as indifferent to matters of religion. Crucial here is a reading of *The Harlot's Progress* by the painter and print maker William Hogarth. Hogarth used the *Pastoral Letters* as a visual reference point to satirize the earnest and overbearing attempts by the clergy to effect moral and religious reform within society. Despite criticism, however, a range of evidence suggests that the *Pastoral Letters* were received broadly positively among clergy as instruments of pastoral instruction. While it is easy to delineate this privileged status in the book market, it is far more challenging to assess the impact of the *Pastoral Letters* on readers themselves. Using a range of internal and external evidence, however, this chapter recovers some aspects of the readership and reception of the *Pastoral Letters* in eighteenth-century England.

Content and Context

The *Pastoral Letters* were a series of five pamphlets published by Edmund Gibson between 1728 and 1745. The first three, published in 1728, 1730, and 1731, were connected thematically, addressing the social and intellectual ills of 'profaneness and impiety' (that is, irreverence towards religion and disbelief) which many perceived as growing threats both to the religious and social order. What prompted the *Letters* was concern over the viability of the Church's Long Reformation agenda, especially the apparent scepticism and indifference to religion among the gentry and urban 'middling sort', as well as the perceived ignorance among the urban poor about Christianity. The *Letters* echoed long-standing concerns about the effects of urban life

on lay morality and religiosity, and thus were a continuation of efforts since the late seventeenth century to institute a ‘reformation of manners’. The *Pastoral Letters*, however, put a new spin on such efforts by connecting themes of moral and spiritual degeneration to contemporary concerns over heterodoxy and ‘freethinking’. The *Letters*, therefore, introduced a novel controversial element to practical literature, rebutting prominent arguments levelled against the established Church by two notorious figures. Both had brought heterodox ideas to wide spread public attention. The first was the physician Bernard Mandeville and the second was a rogue cleric, Thomas Woolston; we will discuss these figures shortly.

The final two *Pastoral Letters*, published in 1739 and 1745, stand separate from the original three as well as from each other. The 1739 letter addressed the issue of ‘lukewarmness’ on the one hand and ‘enthusiasm’ on the other; its target was the nascent evangelical revival. While retaining the thematic focus on indifference to religion, it situated the issue in opposition to a new phenomenon, the religious ‘enthusiasm’ of Methodists, with a rebuttal of the works of George Whitefield. The fifth and final *Pastoral Letter* was written in response to the Jacobite rebellion of 1745; amid the unrest it called on individuals to effect a national reformation of manners.

Gibson’s purpose in general was to frame critically these varied religious, social, and political developments before a much wider readership than traditional modes of controversial publishing allowed, drawing general practical rather than detailed theological lessons about the nature of ‘orthodox’ faith as it should be practised by ‘the generality of People’.²⁰ He sought to communicate the ‘proper and genuine light’ of the evidences of Christianity using a plain and accessible style. It was an aim which he summarized in the opening of the first *Letter* as follows:

Many excellent Books have been publish’d in defence of the Christian Religion, against those Writings in favour of Infidelity...But because these Writings are too large and too learned, to be read and examin’d by the generality of People; and consist of such a chain of Reasoning, as Persons of common Capacity cannot easily follow and comprehend; who, as they have less Leisure as well as Ability to enter into particular Examinations, are more liable to be impos’d

²⁰ Gibson, *The Bishop of London’s [First] Pastoral Letter*, p. 4.

upon, and more likely to be attack'd by the Enemies of Christianity: For this reason, I have thought it incumbent upon me, to draw up for your use some few Rule and Cautions, which are short and easy, and which being frequently perus'd and duly attended to... [shall] preserve sincere and unprejudic'd Christians from these dangerous Infections.²¹

In this way, the publication of the *Pastoral Letters* was an attempt to bridge the gap between two separate spheres of activity within the Church: the intellectual activity of a university-based clerical elite engaged in theological controversy, and the pastoral efforts of the lower parish clergy in local communities.

The first three *Letters* were intended as direct rebuttals to the arguments of two prominent writers, Bernard Mandeville and Thomas Woolston. Concern about moral degeneration was not new to the 1720s. The issue, however, came to be the subject of renewed public attention through Mandeville's controversial writings. Mandeville, a Dutch physician resident in London from the 1690s, had become famous in 1723 on the republication of his earlier work *The Fable of the Bees* (1714, 2nd edn., 1723). E. J. Hundert has summarized the *Fable's* argument as follows: 'that contemporary society is an aggregation of self-interested individuals... bound to one another neither by their shared civic commitments nor their moral rectitude, but, paradoxically, by the tenuous bonds of envy, competition and exploitation'.²² The *Fable* made Mandeville a figure of national celebrity and scandal as a defender of social vice. Its republication was followed by a failed attempt at prosecution as a public nuisance; his *Fable* was presented to the Grand Jury of Middlesex in July 1724 as designed 'to run down Religion and Virtue as prejudicial to society... and to recommend Luxury, Avarice, Pride, and all vices, as being necessary to *Public Welfare*'.²³ 'In some late Writings', Gibson wrote in the first *Pastoral Letter*, '*Publick Stews* have been openly vindicated, and *Publick Vices* recommended to the Protection of the Government, as *Public Benefits*'.²⁴ Gibson's reference to '*Public Stews*' referred to Mandeville's follow up to the *Fable*, *A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*

²¹ Gibson, *The Bishop of London's [First] Pastoral Letter*, pp. 4-5.

²² E. J. Hundert, *The Enlightenment's Fable: Bernard Mandeville and the Discovery of Society* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 1.

²³ Hundert, *Enlightenment's Fable*, p. 3.

²⁴ Gibson, *The Bishop of London's [First] Pastoral Letter*, p. 2.

(1724), in which he advocated a scheme to create public houses of prostitution.

The second crucial backdrop to the publication of the *Pastoral Letters* was yet another trial of an author accused of heterodoxy. Edmund Gibson's first *Pastoral Letter* was published in late October 1728 as tension mounted over the figure of Thomas Woolston, a clergyman arrested and awaiting trial for blasphemy. Woolston had been ejected from Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1721 for publishing a series of texts defending a strictly allegorical interpretation of scripture.²⁵ Between his ejection and trial in March 1729, Woolston became a figure of notoriety, gaining the attention of 'most Degrees of Men' for a string of even more inflammatory works than those which got him ejected from the university.²⁶ Woolston had a 'distracted' nature by his own admission, a characteristic which led to rumours of his suffering a 'disorder of the mind'.²⁷ Whether true or not, his personality traits, provocative beliefs, and increasingly sensational literary style made him a figure of celebrity. His increasing provocations of the Church establishment culminated in the publication of the *Six Discourses* between 1727 and 1729, each ironically dedicated to leading bishops of the day, with the first dedicated to Gibson himself.

Edmund Gibson's correspondence provides ample evidence of his keen sensitivity to public insults directed against the clergy, especially bishops. In one such incident, the Bishop sent Philip Yorke, Baron (future 1st Earl of) Hardwick and Lord Chancellor a newspaper clipping from Nathaniel Mist's *Weekly Journal* of 25 September 1725. The enclosed article, heavily outlined in red wax pastel so as not to be ambiguous, mockingly reported that during an ordination ceremony the Archbishop of York had commented approvingly upon the 'length and stiffness' of a young clergyman's collar, but had been displeased at the shortness of his gown, 'and

²⁵ James A. Herrick, *The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680-1750* (Columbia S.C., 1997), p. 77. Thomas Stackhouse, *The Life of Mr. Woolston, with an Impartial Account of His Writings* (London, 1733), p. 22.

²⁶ Stackhouse, *The Life of Mr. Woolston*, p. 1.

²⁷ William H. Trapnell, 'Woolston, Thomas (bap. 1668, d. 1733)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29963>.

desired they might be alter'd'.²⁸ Gibson deemed it a 'spiteful and unworthy reflection upon the Archbishop of York', and called on Hardwicke to take 'some proper method... to convince Mist and his Brethren, that they are not allow'd to put the King's friends upon the Bench, at their pleasure, in such ridiculous dresses, and to make their Tory-friends merry at our expense'.²⁹ What Gibson meant by a 'proper method' is not made explicit, but his referral of the paper to the most senior member of the administration in charge of the judicial system is a clear indication that the Bishop believed that those who insulted the clergy should at least be subject to the threat of civil prosecution.

In light of Gibson's sensitivity, Woolston's personal dedication of a heterodox work to Gibson himself appears to have been a provocation too far. In the late spring of 1728 Gibson together with Richard Smalbroke, the bishop of St. David's and another dedicatee of Woolston's *Discourses*, brought blasphemy charges against Woolston. In May of that year he was arrested, charged with 'Insinuating, That the Miracles done by *Jesus Christ*, might be done by the Power of Magick Art... bringing into Contempt, the Life and Doctrines of our Lord'.³⁰ With apparent satisfaction, Gibson noted in his first *Pastoral Letter* the recent 'seasonable Care of the Civil Administration' in checking such vice.

To orthodox churchmen, Mandeville and Woolston represented the two distinct but interrelated threats to religion and the social order. On the one hand, Mandeville's ideas represented an attempt to legitimize a range of practices commonly identified by the clergy as signs of an increasingly irreligious society: unbridled private interest, social vice and permissiveness, casual blasphemy, and ignorance of religion. On the other, Woolston stood for the splintering of consensus

²⁸ Nathaniel Mist, *Mist's Weekly Journal* (25 Sept. 1725), The Hardwicke Papers, BL MS. 35585, fol. 25.

²⁹ Edmund Gibson to Philip Hardwicke, October 7 1725, The Hardwicke Papers, BL MS. 35585, fol. 24.

³⁰ Thomas Woolston, *An Account of the Trial of Thomas Woolston, B.D. Sometime Fellow of Sidney College, in Cambridge, on Tuesday the Fourth of March, 1729, at the Court of King's-Bench, in Guildhall, on Four Several Informations [sic], for Writing, Printing, Publishing Four Blasphemous Books, on the Miracles of Our Saviour; with the Observations of the Council Thereupon* (London, 1729), p. 1; Herrick, *Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists*, p. 96.

among the learned over fundamental questions concerning the faith and the legitimacy of the religious establishment. It seemed increasingly common for both lay and clerical thinkers to advance fundamental critiques of Christianity itself: its scriptural traditions, the legitimacy of its worldly structures, its epistemological and methodological assumptions, and its reliance on revelation over ‘natural’ reason. This dual threat of irreligion and scepticism, commonly referred to as ‘profaneness and impiety’, dominated orthodox discourses of religion, and was the cause of many attempts (both lay and clerical) to effect a ‘reformation of manners’ throughout the eighteenth century. The *Pastoral Letters* thus had a hybrid quality, combining an intellectual rebuttal of those the orthodox brandished ‘freethinkers’, with a broader programme to revivify the social underpinnings of religion in urban life. As such, the *Pastoral Letters* adopted a strong didactic tone, incorporating a range of devices used in practical literature to guide and instruct the reader in matters of religious faith and practice. The *Letters*, therefore, invoked a range of familiar and accessible tropes about urban life in the capital drawn from contemporary print culture.

London: A Geography of Sin

The clearest indication of Gibson’s intended readership is given in the subtitle to the first three *Letters*, which was addressed to ‘*the People of his Diocese; Particularly, to those of the two great Cities of London and Westminster*’. Eighteenth-century London was an amorphous urban region consisting of a series of neighbourhoods extending five miles along the north bank of the Thames. ‘London’ did not exist as a legal entity until the late nineteenth century; it was instead a collection of contiguous bodies which included the City of London, Westminster, and an increasing number of surrounding parishes.³¹ Gibson had sent the *Pastoral Letters* into every parish of this extended area. Rhetorically, however, by addressing the inhabitants of the Cities of London and Westminster directly in the title, Gibson was able to deploy a range of common stereotypes associated with those heavily urbanized central areas to achieve maximum persuasive effect. By referring to the ‘Variety of Temptations or the Powerful Influence of bad Examples’ which had prompted him to write the *Letter*, he

³¹ Leonard Schwarz, ‘London 1700-1840’, in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 645-48.

alluded to tropes frequently found in popular pamphlets that gave suburban and provincial readers a sensational glimpse into the culture of the capital.

Once such text, *A View of London and Westminster: or, The Town Spy, &c.* from 1725, toured through the capital's neighbourhoods, stressing the unique social make-up of each parish to produce a view of the metropolis as a tapestry of social vice, poverty, criminality, and religious indifference. The anonymous author begins at St. Margaret's in Westminster, moving up to St. James's, and then east across the City of London to St. Giles Cripplegate and Little Britain. Each region permits discussion of the social groups associated with an area, starting with the fashionable and wealthy population of St. Margaret's and St. James's. At St. James's, with its 'large share of the nobility and gentry... a Person of indifferent Rank, may find a convenient Seat in the Church on a Sabbath'³², while nearby at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 'the fair Penitents pray in their Patches, sue for Pardon in their Paint, and see their Heaven in Man.'³³ Moving north, we are then given a view of the 'Pedlars, Fish Women, News-cryers, and Corn-cutters' of St. Giles, where, we are told, 'the Societies for the Reformation of Manners' have been heavily active among the population of Drury, spending at a level that 'would have fitted out a Force sufficient to have conquer'd the Spanish West-Indies.'³⁴

Near the boundary between the cities of Westminster and London, the author introduces us to the many lawyers in St. Dunstan's in the West, and the 'Night Scene' of 'Ram-Alley, one of the *Temple Avenues*', where pox is rife and an 'abundance of dirty Love is hung out to Sale *ready made*, and at reasonable Rates'.³⁵ Continuing his survey of the professions, we move eastward along the river to 'St. Anne Black-Fryers and St. Andrews Wardrobe... 'tis from this quarter issues *Mist's Journal* and *Applebee's Journal*, the *British Journal*, the *Daily Journal*, and the *Daily Post*, *cum multis aliis*. And I have been inform'd, that one half of the Parishioners are wholly

³² *A View of London and Westminster: Or, The Town Spy... The third edition corrected, with large additions.* (London, 1725), p. 5.

³³ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 11.

³⁴ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 12.

³⁵ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 27.

employ'd in collecting Furniture for these *Papers*, as *Births, Marriages, Deaths* and *Miscarriages*, etc.' Along with the 'Proprietors and Managers of these Papers, [who] live in the utmost Contempt and Envy of one another', Blackfriars was notable for its population of 'wretched' journeymen tailors in desperate need of employment.³⁶

Moving closer to St. Paul's and the commercial heart of the City of London, we are introduced to St. Martin, Ludgate: 'The great resort of Ladies... who every Saturday, while their Houses are cleaning, take a Tour to this Parish... [to] swim into the Shops by Shoals.'³⁷ Among the bookshops and coffeehouses of Paternoster Row, we are told the story of Joseph, 'an impertinent coffee-boy', to highlight the indifference of the place-seeking London clergy:

This political Apprentice was acquainted with more History Sacred and Prophan[e] [sic], than many Noblemen, and was as well known to the Lower House of Convocation, as Whiston, or Toland; he by his constant Attendance upon Clergymen and Clergy-women, knew the Value of every Living in Great Britain to a single Groat; for whenever a Dispute of this Nature has arisen between two Reverend Grey-heads, Joe has been call'd upon, and his Opinion has been a final Determination.³⁸

In this area, we are treated to the parishioners of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and their supposed Jacobite sympathies. Along with St. Saviours and St. Pancras, St. Giles is notable too for several 'late *Resurrections*' from the church yard: 'The Corporation of *Corpse-stealers*, I am told, support themselves and their Families very comfortably'.³⁹ At his destination, St. Anne at Aldersgate, the author paints a picture of regular sabbath breaking. Any given Sunday sees 'the Taverns loaded with Whetters and Dumpling Eaters', while 'The Ladies according to the Mode at the other end of the Town, politely [read]... Plays and Novels... and if they vouchface to visit the Church in an afternoon, it is to see Company, publish their Persons and Dress, and to demand adoration instead of paying it.'⁴⁰

³⁶ *A View of London and Westminster*, pp. 30-32.

³⁷ *A View of London and Westminster*, pp. 32-33.

³⁸ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 41.

³⁹ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 46.

The anonymous author of *A View of London and Westminster* offered well-worn tropes on the social and moral evils of urban living; the anecdotes themselves were continually recycled from similar material. A later work from 1728, similarly titled *A Trip Through London* and probably by the same author, copied several passages word-for-word from the earlier text.⁴¹ Readers, therefore, need never have visited the capital to be familiar with the forms of social vice and religious indifference referenced by Gibson's *Pastoral Letters*. The moral state of this relatively small, central area of the capital, moreover, was perceived to be of much wider importance in the nation due to another pervasive interpretation of London as the dominant source of cultural norms and ideas.⁴² London was believed to exert a powerful influence over the nation at large, a form of top-down cultural transmission which took on a strong religious and moral dimension in reformist religious literature. The 'corrupt Principles and Practices which first spring up here, [make for] the quick and easy Propagation of them from hence into all parts of the Kingdom; which makes the checking and suppressing 'em here as much as possible, to be truly a *National* concern.'⁴³

In the *Pastoral Letters* Gibson deployed a number of key terms which gave focus to his campaign. Most notable was the expression 'profaneness and impiety', two words with closely related meanings, that suggested ignorance, disregard, or irreverence towards religious things. Yet, each word had specific connotations within the genre of practical religious literature. 'Profaneness' denoted the practice of speaking or acting in a way designed to ridicule religion. Gibson noted in his commonplace book a definition from John Scott's popular work *The Christian Life* (1681) where profaneness was the 'custom of ridiculing serious things, on ground of atheism.'⁴⁴ As Scott's definition made clear, action proceeded from belief, which was the realm of 'infidelity'. Gibson noted John Tillotson's definition of infidelity as 'the

⁴¹ Compare, for instance, the identical passages relating to booksellers and censorship in *A View of London and Westminster*, p. 31 and *A Trip through London... The seventh edition, corrected* (London, 1728), p. 8.

⁴² Peter Borsay, 'The London Connection: Cultural Diffusion and the Eighteenth-Century Provincial Town', *London Journal* 19 (1994), pp. 21-35.

⁴³ Gibson, *The Bishop of London's* [First] *Pastoral Letter*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Gibson, 'Repertorium Religiosum Modernum', entry: 'profaneness'.

sin of unbelief'. 'Profaneness and impiety' were thus part of a broader lexicon used by religious writers to delineate specific forms of speech, action, belief, and practice in opposition to the Church's religious and moral teachings. This is evident in the index to his commonplace book, where Gibson listed associated subjects next to individual entries. For the subject 'Infidelity', Gibson listed the associated entries of 'apostasy', 'atheism', 'deism' and 'scoffers', which once again draws out the association between acts of profane speech and heterodoxy.⁴⁵

For orthodox thinkers, the theorized connection between irreligious practice and belief provided a neat explanation for a range of social and intellectual forces which were perceived to be unravelling the religious fabric of English society. The 'public sphere', as manifested in print culture and urban associational life, was dominated by attitudes which prized wit, insincerity, and ridicule.⁴⁶ The dour black-frocked clergy, so curmudgeonly, moralizing, and sincere, were thus obvious targets. Connected to this general irreverence towards the Church and its representatives, the clergy were alarmed to confront a set of more specific, hostile criticisms of institutional religion and its doctrine emerging from a broad spectrum of thinkers. In his first *Pastoral Letter* Gibson warned of authors undermining religion and promoting 'atheism and infidelity' under 'specious Colours and Pretences of several kinds', all designed to ensnare 'the unwary Protestant Reader', whom he sought to guide and protect.⁴⁷

The central portion of the first *Pastoral Letter* was composed of a series of rules intended to help readers avoid the snares of 'profaneness and infidelity' in all their forms. These can be summarized as follows: be sincere in your desire to know and comply with God's wishes, and part with 'Lusts and Pleasures and worldly interests'; use all the tools available to you in this pursuit; read Scriptures, memorise and compare important passages, pray regularly, consult with 'Persons of Piety and Learning' in cases of difficulty; attend to the lives of those around you, and look to the

⁴⁵ Gibson, 'Repertorium Religiosum Modernum', front index.

⁴⁶ Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule, and Religion*, pp. 172-195;

⁴⁷ Edmund Gibson, *The Bishop of London's [First] Pastoral Letter*, pp. 2-3.

character of unbelievers (are they given to a disputatious nature in general? do they delight in wrangling ‘and opposing the general sentiments of mankind?’); be especially sceptical ‘when you meet with any Book upon the Subject of Religion, that is written in a ludicrous or unserious Manner’; do not be persuaded that reason alone, without revelation, is a sufficient guide in human life because the use of man’s natural faculties without God’s guidance is a sure path towards ‘endless and irreconcilable differences’.⁴⁸

Publication and Distribution

In addition to the contents of the *Pastoral Letters*, Gibson’s creative use of the relatively niche genre of the ‘pastoral letter’ is of interest here too, as well as the strategies he used to ensure its wide distribution. *Lettres pastorales* were an invention of French divines, used as a device to communicate to the clergy after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The genre first appeared in England between 1686 and 1688, when Charles II’s printer Henry Hills published a series of these letters in translation, which he sold from his printing house on Blackfriars.⁴⁹ They were highly inflammatory for their anti-Protestant tone, soliciting a series of responses from Anglican controversialists including William Clagett, Henry More, William Sherlock, and William Wake.⁵⁰ Soon after the Revolution, English clergymen began to appropriate

⁴⁸ Gibson, *The Bishop of London’s [First] Pastoral Letter*, pp. 5-9

⁴⁹ Hills published two ‘pastoral letters’ along with an anonymous response to a different ‘pastoral letter’ authored by a French protestant minister. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *A Pastoral Letter from the Lord Bishop of Meaux, to the New Catholics of his Diocess, Exhorting them to Keep their Easter, and Giving them Necessary Advertisements Against the False Pastoral Letters of their Ministers. With Reflections Upon the Pretended Persecution. Translated Out of French, And Publish’d with Allowance* (London, 1686); *The Ansver of the New Converts of France, to a Pastoral Letter From a Protestant Minister. Done out of the French Copy Publish’d there with Permission* (London, 1686); John Leyburn, Bonveture Giffard, Philip Ellis, and James Smith, *A Pastoral Letter From the Four Catholic Bishops to the Lay-Catholics of England* (London, 1688). The imprint of this final letter notes that it was ‘to be sold at his printing-house on the ditch-side in Black-Friers’.

⁵⁰ William Clagett, *A Discourse Concerning the Worship of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints... In Answer to M. De Meaux’s Appeal to the Fourth Age, in his Exposition and Pastoral Letter* (London, 1686); Henry More, *A Brief Discourse of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist: Wherein the Witty Artifices of the Bishop Of Meaux and of Monsieur Maimbourg are Obviated, Whereby they Would Draw in the Protestants to Imbrace [sic] the Doctrine of Transubstantiation* (London, 1686); William Sherlock, *An Answer to a Discourse Intituled, Papists Protesting Against Protestant-Popery; Being a Vindication of Papists Not Misrepresented by*

‘pastoral letters’ for their own purposes. The earliest English uses of the genre offered a modified form of the visitation lectures given by bishops to their diocesan clergy.⁵¹ By contrast, Gibson adapted the genre into a serialized form, and used it as a tool to address ‘the People of his Diocese’ directly.

Gibson’s bookseller, Samuel Buckley, was charged with the task of ensuring wide dissemination. Buckley targeted different readers by presenting and selling the *Pastoral Letters* in a variety of formats. Under Buckley’s stewardship in the 1720s and 1730s, the *Pastoral Letters* were sold as individual pamphlets at 1s as well as in an octavo edition of the first three *Pastoral Letters* at 2s. 6d. For the first *Letter*, Buckley took out a series of advertisements in newspapers in which he had directly invested. The most prominent vehicle for advertising Gibson’s works was *The Daily Courant*. The paper, which Buckley owned, embarked on a three-month advertising campaign on behalf of the first *Pastoral Letter* from the time of its initial publication until the end of January 1729. During the same period, advertisements for the *Letter* appeared in the biweekly *London Gazette* which Buckley printed. In addition to his own papers, advertisements also appeared in *The Daily Journal* and the tri-weekly *London Evening Post*. Advertisements for both the second and third *Pastoral Letters* followed a similar pattern, with concurrent short runs of advertisements published in *The Daily Courant*, *Daily Journal*, and *London Gazette* immediately following publication. This type of advertising was intended to reach buyers who wanted immediate access to the latest publications, who could afford the going rate for a typical pamphlet, and were not concerned by presentational issues such as potential printing errors, uncut pages, or the lack of an appealing binding.

The publication of a collected octavo edition of the first three *Letters* in 1732, however, required a different approach. Buckley chose to place advertisements in the

Protestants: And Containing a Particular Examination of Monsieur De Meaux... (London, 1686); William Wake, *A Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church Of England, Against the Exceptions of Monsieur De Meaux* (London, 1686).

⁵¹ Gilbert Burnet, *A Pastoral Letter Writ by the Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the Clergy of his Diocess [sic], Concerning the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to K. William and Q. Mary* (London, 1689); Thomas Bray, *An Introductory Discourse to Catechetical Instruction... In a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of Maryland. With a Preface. To the Reverend the Parochial Clergy and School-Masters in this Kingdom* (London, 1704).

more expensive weekly periodical *The Universal Spectator*, alongside those in cheaper daily papers such as the *Daily Post* and *London Gazette*.⁵² The language of the advertisements for the octavo collection differed from those placed for the unbound pamphlets. In the place of a simple notification of publication, the advertisement emphasised the material qualities of the book as ‘beautifully and correctly printed in a neat Pocket Volume’. In contrast to single-issue quarto pamphlets, a bound octavo collection was durable and convenient for regular reading and study. Enhancing the collection’s appeal was Buckley’s claim about the *Letters*’ ‘correct’ printing, with any earlier presentational issues remedied and the overall typographic design of the text improved. He thus assured buyers that the outlay of two-shillings and six-pence was worth the additional cost. In addition to the deployment of the descriptors ‘beautiful’, ‘correct’, and ‘neat’, which emphasised the aesthetic and convenient qualities of the book, the placement of advertisements in noted periodicals signalled Buckley’s intentions to reach readers with greater disposable income. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Ian Green and Kate Peters have argued that much practical literature cut across social divisions.⁵³ The octavo collection, therefore, was a direct appeal to the ‘polite’ tastes of the more genteel readers who could purchase these handsome, collectable, ‘definitive’ editions.

The final means of commercial distribution was wholesale via the SPCK for charitable lending and gift-giving. Members of the SPCK were permitted to purchase copies at a discounted rate. A printed circular letter to members noted that ‘the Society have agreed to disperse [the first *Pastoral Letter*] among their Books; and have given Directions that the same be allowed to their Members, for the Use of the Poor, at *Nine Pence* a piece with the usual Abatement.’⁵⁴ This amounted to a 3*d.* discount on the regular price, secured by the Society on condition of a prohibition of resale. As indicated in the introduction, these various forms of distribution, through gift-giving by Gibson, commercial sale on the open market, and charitable distribution by SPCK members, made the *Pastoral Letters* bestsellers. The final part of this chapter moves

⁵² See advertisements in *The Universal Spectator & Weekly Journal* (London, Dec 4, 11, 1731); *Daily Post* (London, Nov 25, 30, 1731); *London Gazette* (London, Nov 27-30, Dec 14-18, 18-21, 1731).

⁵³ Green and Peters, ‘Religious Publishing in England c. 1640-1695’, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Henry Newman to Edmund Gibson, 27 Dec 1728, St. Andrews, msBX5199.G6/ms5252.

to discuss direct evidence of reception among readers, before drawing conclusions on the overall effectiveness of Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* series.

Reception, Ridicule, and the Cultural Style of Religious Moralism

Gibson kept many of the letters sent to him by admirers of the *Pastoral Letters*. These give wide ranging insight into their reception, especially among the clergy. In his biography of the Bishop, Norman Sykes dismissed these sources as 'laudatory epistles' which 'may be put aside as the conventional courtesies of the Bench'.⁵⁵ It is true that many of the letters which Gibson received were from fellow bishops. Nevertheless, Sykes glossed over the considerable diversity of those who wrote to Gibson, many of whom were not entirely positive or uncritical. In addition to the bishops, Gibson also received letters from numerous lower clergy, Dissenters, members of various voluntary groups such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and the SPCK, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, as well as several lay individuals. By far the majority of letter-writers were from ordinary Anglican churchmen, on whom this section will primarily focus.

Gibson's clerical admirers fall into three groups. The first were bishops who had received copies of the *Letters* from Gibson as gifts; the second were junior clergy who had received copies to assist them in their pastoral duties; and the final were letters from clergymen at Oxford and Cambridge, whom Gibson had quizzed in his correspondence about the reception of the *Letters* in the universities.

The first set of clerical correspondents, the bishops, tended to focus on Gibson's use of language in the *Letters*, specifically how his rhetoric and mode of address were both persuasive and appealing to a wide variety of readers. White

⁵⁵ Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 253-254.

Kennett, bishop of Peterborough believed it contained ‘very sound Sense and agreeable Language’⁵⁶, while William Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury, hoped that they would ‘put some stop to the endeavours of the wicked, & unbelievers’.⁵⁷ Stephen Weston, bishop of Exeter, wrote of the first *Letter* that ‘It will, I Hope and am Confident, be of Service in All our Dioceses, in consequence of that Plainness and Strength you have Chosen’.⁵⁸

The second set of clerical correspondents, the lower clergy, often echoed the sentiments of Gibson’s fellow bishops. Titus Wendy, rector of Reeds, Hertfordshire, extolled Gibson’s ‘wholesome, plain but Nervous rules & cautions’ that ‘wd [sic] Soon prove a Panacea against those poysonous [sic] & malignant tenants every day Scatter’d with Impunity about this Nation’.⁵⁹ Robert Rumney, a vicar in St. Albans in Hertfordshire went farther, and heaped lavish praise on the first and second *Letters*. Their value, wrote Rumney, lay in their use of unadorned, accessible language which retained all the hallmarks of fine writing. These characteristics gave the texts a universal quality: ‘with that plainness of speech, yet Elegance of Stile, as renders yr Treatise polite as well as profitable; Exceedingly delightful & Entertaining to men of Letters, Intelligible & Informative to ye meanest Capacities’.⁶⁰ Nor were such sentiments confined to the clergy. In 1739, the editor of *The Daily Gazetteer* observed that it ‘has not only the Advantage of coming from a *proper Hand*, but it is written with such truly *pastoral Calmness*, and Temper, and discovers so much of the Humility necessary to rectify *Mistakes of Judgement*, that I apprehend it cannot be made too publick’.⁶¹

⁵⁶ White Kennett to Edmund Gibson, 2 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5236, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁵⁷ William Wake to Edmund Gibson, 29 August 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5234, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁵⁸ Stephen Weston to Edmund Gibson, 2 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5237, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁵⁹ Titus Wendy to Edmund Gibson, 15 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5243, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶⁰ Letter from Robert Rumney to Edmund Gibson, 21 April 1730, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5262, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶¹ *The Daily Gazetteer* (London, Aug 11, 1739).

The final set of clerical correspondents were from the universities. John Gibson, the provost of Edmund Gibson's former Oxford college, Queen's, apologised for his delay in answering the Bishops' letter concerning its reception, for: 'I had been but little in Company.' He continued: 'I can now tell your Lordship that it has been approved in a particular manner as far as my knowledge reaches, and that I have not heard of one exception against any part of it'.⁶² Robert Clavering, also resident in Oxford, was more forthcoming, writing that 'I am obligd [sic] to inform your Lordship that your Pastoral Letter does not only meet with my approbation but has the applause of the whole University'.⁶³ Finally, the future bishop of Sodor and Man, and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mark Hidesley, wrote:

Suffer me... to acquaint you, my Ld with the what Universal Voice it has been pronounced in this place and neighbourhood a most exceedingly valuable, and at this time Seasonable piece: For tho' I well Conceive your Lordship's measured judgement and Satisfaction of your own mind are as much above the Applauses of men, as their Censures are beneath your notice; yet to be Inform'd continually of the happy effects of any undertaking for God's Glory and the good of mankind! This my Ld, I presume may be supposed to admit a Reasonable Pleasure not unworthy of the [...] and Best of Bishops to Rejoice in.

Not all, however, were so impressed. One rural clergyman appeared confused as to the practical value of Gibson's proclamations against urban sinfulness in the context of a small rural community of believers. Thomas Bernard, rector of Little Bardfield, Essex, who was discussed in the introduction of this chapter, praised the first *Letter* as 'reasonable & excellent', yet he nonetheless gave the impression that he was unsure what to do with it:

and tho' we have few here, who read those mischievous books, which like a watchful Pastor, your Lordship guards your people against, yet have we none, that may be profited by your Instructions, wch [sic] I shall endeavour to apply as usefully as I can; & shall allways [sic] thankfully receive yr Lordships superior assistance & Commands in ye great work of ye Ministry.⁶⁴

Bernard's reservations were mirrored in the opinions of letter writers who questioned

⁶² John Gibson to Edmund Gibson, 18 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5244, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶³ Robert Clavering to Edmund Gibson, 8 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5240, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶⁴ Thomas Bernard to Edmund Gibson, 7 April 1730.

whether heterodox and irreligious persons could ever be convinced to change their beliefs and practices. Robert Clavering, bishop of Llandaff, wrote that ‘I think it can’t fail of success thus far at least that if it does not convince the Gainsayers (wch [sic] perhaps is impossible) yet it will Secure great numbers of people in the true Xtian Fiath’.⁶⁵ Similar too was the opinion of Josiah Hort, bishop of Kilmore, Ireland: ‘I fear it is hard to Convince direct Infidels, because they rarely read books on the other side of the Question, with Candor [sic] and a sincere intention to know, and yield to the truth, but the perspicuity of your Reasoning is such, that every man of Common Sense must take the force of it’.⁶⁶ Among the various letters addressed to Gibson, therefore, the general clerical consensus was as follows: the letters would be beneficial in areas where ‘profaneness and impiety’ was common among the population, not as a means to dissuade ‘infidels’, but rather as a means to bolster the resolve of those who remained loyal to the Church. This limited appeal appears to have had a rather dispiriting effect on the Archbishop of Canterbury, who concluded his letter by pessimistically noting that even the clergy themselves were turning towards heterodoxy: ‘Revelation seems so little Regarded by others among our Own selves... What can we expect but Quire and Confusion: *from which God deliver us!*’⁶⁷

Beyond the clergy, another critical voice, and perhaps the most well-known response to the *Pastoral Letters*, can be found in a visual satire, *The Harlot’s Progress* by William Hogarth. The images, which were published as prints in April 1732, depict the rise and fall of a fictional prostitute called ‘Moll Hackabout’, from her arrival in London to her untimely death in prison by venereal disease. The five plates track Moll’s induction into the sexual sub-culture of the metropolis, her new situation as a mistress of a Jewish merchant, her arrest in her Drury Lane boudoir, imprisonment in Bridewell, and her decline into sickness and death. Key here is the third plate which depicts the moment Justice John Gorson, a real-life London magistrate notorious for his prosecution of prostitutes, bursts into Moll’s rooms as she is being served tea by

⁶⁵ Robert Clavering to Edmund Gibson, 4 November 1728, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5238, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶⁶ Josiah Hort to Edmund Gibson, 9 May 1730, Papers of Edmund Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5269, St. Andrews, Scotland.

⁶⁷ Wake to Gibson, msBX5199.G6/ms5234.

an older maid. On the tea-table before the two women are a tea-cup, a butter-knife, a small loaf of bread and some butter wrapped in a piece of paper with the words ‘Pastoral Letter’ written on the heading. Visually, the *Letter* is positioned to form the bottom point of a triangle created by the three central figures in the image. This positioning makes it one of the first features other than Moll and her maidservant brought to the viewer’s attention. Its purpose, firstly, is to draw attention to the indifference of Moll to the attempts of her social superiors to issue moral and spiritual correction. The humorous effect would have been further enhanced because surplus print was frequently sold by booksellers to tradesmen who would use it as wrapping for perishable goods, especially in times of war or economic downturn. Later, in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the bookseller James Lackington recalled that ‘the old long winded folio divines were unmercifully sacrificed, along with Greek and Latin fathers, saints, schoolmen, physicians, &[c]’.⁶⁸ The depiction of the *Pastoral Letters* as good for little more than butter paper, therefore, was a commentary on their ephemeral and disposable nature suggesting that they had little impact on their intended targets. Ironically, in some cases the disposal of print in this manner acted as an unintended means of distributing texts to the very poorest readers. The Regency writer and bookseller William Hone, for instance, came across a seventeenth-century account of the regicide John Lilburne, used as a piece of wrapping by a cheesemonger, which sparked his initial interest in becoming a writer.⁶⁹

Hogarth’s depiction of the *Pastoral Letter*, however, was not designed to illustrate the serendipitous ways that print reached readers. It was intended to satirize, and it did so in a way that connected to broader themes expressed both in the *Harlot’s Progress* and his wider body of work. The contrast between the discarded *Letter* and the impending wrath of the magistrate, depicted about to arrest Moll, echoed a wider criticism that the Church relied on the civil power rather than persuasion to enforce morality. It is her arrest and imprisonment, rather than her reform in the face of pious persuasion, that serves to end Moll’s prostitution. This reading is not entirely unambiguous, however, as the placement of the *Pastoral Letter* forms part of a

⁶⁸ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁹ St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 27.

broader moral tale told throughout the *Harlot's Progress* about Moll's own culpability in her final fate. The *Pastoral Letter* is situated among, and contrasts with, an array of symbols decorating Moll's rooms. A variety of romantic figures adorn the bedroom. To her left on the wall are pin-ups of the highwayman Captain Macheath from *The Beggar's Opera* and the clergyman William Sacheverell. As Ronald Paulson observed, both were guilty figures who yet were reprieved and rewarded. In the play, Macheath was spared the gallows at the last minute, while in real life Sacheverell was impeached for his attack on Revolution principles yet was celebrated as a Tory hero, and given lucrative livings.⁷⁰ In Paulson's reading of the *Progress*, the contrast between Moll's ill-chosen figures of emulation and her indifference to things which held out the prospect of true redemption signals Hogarth's intention to paint a morality tale about 'the perils of emulation and the importance of moral choice'.⁷¹ In this way Hogarth's message actually mirrors that of Gibson.

While there may be echoes between Hogarth and Gibson's morality, Hogarth's approach was starkly different because it accentuated humour and eroticism. Mark Hallett suggests Moll was 'an emblem of metropolitan corruption' frequently dramatized in both textual and visual media as both a moralizing and erotic figure. This interplay within the *Progress* was an aspect which contemporaries observed as enhancing its moral dimensions. John Bancks, for instance, wrote in 1738 that 'Thy Harlot pleas'd, and warn'd us too/What will not gay instruction do?'⁷² It was a sentiment also echoed in the comments of Henry Fielding:

I esteem the ingenious Mr. Hogarth as one of the most useful Satyrists any Age hath produced. In his excellent Works you see the delusive Scene expos'd with all the Force of Humour, and on casting your Eyes on another Picture, you behold the dreadful and fatal Consequence. I almost dare affirm that those two Works of his, which he calls the Rake's and the Harlot's Progress, are calculated more to serve the Cause of Virtue, and for the Preservation of Mankind, than all the Folio's of Morality which have been ever written, and a sober Family should no more be without them, than without the Whole Duty of Man in their House.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* (London, 1989), p. 81.

⁷¹ Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (London, 1999), p. 100.

⁷² Quoted in Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference*, p. 100.

⁷³ *The Champion* (London, June 10, 1740), reproduced in W. B. Coley (ed.), *The Wesleyan Edition of the Works of Henry Fielding: Contributions to The Champion, and Related Writings* (Oxford

Implicit in Hogarth's relegation of the *Pastoral Letter* to the status of butter paper, therefore, is a comment about the inefficacy of clerical instruction. Humourless, authoritarian and ineffective, the indictment of the *Pastoral Letters* stands for a much broader critique of the clergy which runs through many of Hogarth's prints and paintings: the hypocrisy of the drunk lascivious clergyman in plate 5 of the *Harlot's Progress*, the boorish parson squinting through his looking glass at the text of the sermon in *The Sleeping Congregation*, and the cleric of 'The Hervey Conversation Piece', who poses with a telescope to demonstrate his modern learning, not noticing that he is about to topple head-first into a river.⁷⁴

Conclusion

Altogether, *The Pastoral Letters* serve as an excellent example of the complex task of writing persuasive religious literature. The *Letters* were extraordinary successes in terms of the level of distribution they achieved. This success was not simply due to Gibson's timely and accessible intervention in public debates about freethinking, which neatly tied intellectual trends to the broad social and moral state of the nation, particularly its capital. It was also due to the near universal support which the *Letters* received among the upper and lower clergy, the booksellers, and most of all, voluntary societies such as the SPCK, that provided the means to achieve high-volume print distribution for religious works.

The continuing importance of the *Letters* to eighteenth-century print culture is most clearly signalled in their near constant reissue after first publication. The individual most responsible for their longevity was Edward Owen, Samuel Buckley's original printer who received the patent rights after Buckley's death. The first printing of a *Pastoral Letter* by Owen was in 1746, and the rights to Gibson's pamphlet works came completely under Owen's charge shortly after the Bishop's

University Press, 2003), pp. 365-66.

⁷⁴ William Hogarth, *The Hervey Conversation Piece* (London, 1738-1740), oil on canvas, disp. Ickworth, Suffolk, <http://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-hervey-conversation-piece-the-holland-house-group-172003#.V8BgGredIc>.

death in 1749.⁷⁵ Without the prospect of further works by Gibson, Owen's tack was to consolidate, issuing a steady stream of the *Letters* which continued to have religious and political relevance. He did this alongside putting out collected editions of all five letters periodically, to cater to collectors and the upper end of the market. The *Letters* he selected for frequent reissue were the fourth letter (in two parts) which consisted of a strident critique of 'enthusiasm' and thus resonated with the growing importance of evangelical movements in the later century. The fifth letter, which consisted of a call for national reformation in the face of the Jacobite rebellion, also found fresh relevance in the revolutionary climate of the late eighteenth century. The Rivingtons, one of the most notable and longstanding Anglican publishing houses, acquired the rights to the letters sometime in the 1770s, and brought out a fresh stream of reissues beginning in 1778. Evidently the Rivingtons concurred with Owen's strategy, and continued to issue the fourth and fifth *Letters* in light of the political and social upheavals of the period, when evangelical fervour and political radicalism were frequently connected in domestic political discourse.⁷⁶

Perhaps the largest reading constituency for the *Letters* were clergymen of all types, from the upper clergy and university clergy to the lower parish clergy in England and abroad in British colonial territories. This wide scale distribution was facilitated not only by Gibson's gift of the *Letters* to the incumbents of his London diocese, but also by the wholesale distribution of the texts to a much wider clerical readership in the provinces and abroad. This form of wholesale distribution also meant the *Letters* had a greater audience among the laity, as clergymen who purchased copies from the SPCK were required to redistribute them for charitable purposes as per the rules of the Society's membership. It is hard to gauge what impact this had among the laity who received these texts, or were read their contents as part of a sermon, as clergymen who wrote to Gibson did not reflect on the impact of the *Letters* among their parishioners. It is likely in urban areas at least, that Gibson's *Letters* were met, as attested to in Hogarth's depiction of the *Letter's* as ephemeral and disposable, with a

⁷⁵ 'Letter from Edward Owen, printer, concerning a proposed edition of Edmund Gibson's works, a list of which is enclosed', 1749, Bodleian, Oxford, MS. Eng. c. 3191, fols. 62-5.

⁷⁶ Alan D. Gilbert, 'Religion and Political Stability in Early Industrial England', in Patrick O'Brien, Roland E. Quinault, *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 86.

shrug of indifference among the ‘profane and impious’ sort whom the Bishop directly targeted.

Hogarth’s depiction was satirical, but it was nonetheless grounded in a truth that clergymen themselves were keenly sensitive of. Anecdotal evidence about the religiosity of the laity is difficult to interpret. Historians of the Church are keen to observe that complaints about lay piety, or lack thereof, are an ever-present feature of clerical rhetoric throughout the ages. Nevertheless, the clamour of such complaints is difficult to ignore in this period, especially when contemporaries were so pointed and self-conscious in their comparisons between the present and the past. For example, Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford, made the point clear in an address to his clergy in 1738:

Men have always complained of their own Times... But though it is natural, to think those Evils the greatest, which we feel ourselves; and therefore Mistakes are easily made, in comparing one Age with another: yet this we cannot be mistaken in, that an open and professed Disregard to Religion is become... the distinguishing Character of the present Age... many are grown prejudiced against Religion; many more, indifferent and unacquainted with it.⁷⁷

Hogarth’s contrasting use of humour and eroticism as a vehicle to entice but also instruct was thus a sore point for the clergy, the most aware of whom were anxious about the efficacy of traditional modes of moral instruction.

Hogarth was not the only observer to depict the cultural style of the Church’s moralism in a strongly negative light. He echoed both the sentiments of heterodox thinkers that the Church was overly reliant on the civil power, and also a range of cultural commentators who observed increasing distance between lay and clerical styles of morality. Take this passage from the 1702 work *The English Theophrastus* by Abel Boyer:

Some, with a Supercilious Gravity, have magisterially inveigh’d against the Vices of Mankind; whilst others, by nipping the Strokes of a Side-wind Satyr, have endeavour’d to tickle Men out of their Follies. The former have generally been abandon’d to the ill-bred Teachers of Musty Morals in Schools, or to the

⁷⁷ Thomas Secker, *The Charge of Thomas Lord Bishop of Oxford to the Clergy of his Diocese, in his Primary Visitation* (London, 1738), pp. 3-5.

sour Pulpit-Orators; whereas the latter have been admitted to the Cabinet of Princes, the Toilets of the Fair Sex, the Conversation of the Polite, and in short, have been Carest [sic] and Admir'd by those very People they most abus'd.⁷⁸

Gibson's strategy to bridge the gap between a learned and general readership by popularising the previously niche genre of the 'pastoral letter' was thus not suitably adapted to the tastes and attitudes of those who identified as participants in a largely urban culture of 'politeness'. Authors such as Boyer identified persuasiveness as most effective in a social setting of conversation among equals, as contrasted with settings in which traditional power-differentials were at play, such as a teacher and his student, or a clergyman and his congregation, which were 'musty' and 'sour'. Gibson's mode of moralising fit well within Boyer's 'supercilious' and 'magisterial' mode of public address which people, to Thomas Secker's alarm, were increasingly willing to disregard and ignore. In the next chapter we will look at another figure in Gibson and Waterland's circles who attempted to address these problems directly, and adapt the clerical mode of persuasion to the tastes of an urban readership with which the Church was failing to connect.

⁷⁸ Abel Boyer, *The English Theophrastus* (London, 1702), preface.

Chapter 4: Periodicals and Politeness

The Publick is beholden to the Dimensions and Shape of ‘Squire BICKERSTAFF’s-Countenance, to a Dream of his Mother concerning his Birth, to the Particularities of his Temper, the circumstances of his Infancy and Education, for several easy and agreeable Strokes of humorous Wit.

The Miscellany, no. 1, December 16, 1732

William Webster, the clerical editor of the weekly periodical *The Miscellany*, in his first edition of December 16, 1732, opened his paper with this recollection of a persona associated with the early periodical press. Isaac Bickerstaff, the pseudonym of Jonathan Swift’s creation, was famously used by Richard Steele as the editor of *The Tatler* in 1709, a publication which formed the first point of reference for Webster’s (*Weekly*)¹ *Miscellany* in 1732. *The Weekly Miscellany* was one of the earliest long-running religious periodicals in England. It ran between 1732 and 1741 and was edited by the London clergyman William Webster, but was created by Daniel Waterland and co-sponsored by Edmund Gibson. Almost a quarter-century after Addison and Steele’s first productions, *The Weekly Miscellany* advanced a similar programme, first expressed in Steele’s *Tatler*, ‘to expose the false Arts of Life, to pull off the Disguises of Cunning, Vanity, and Affectation, to recommend a general Simplicity in our Dress, our Discourse, and our Behaviour’.² Unusually, however, Webster’s periodical would reframe such concepts within a self-consciously orthodox religious framework.

The relationship between religion and the concept of politeness is often situated in the context of a tolerationist latitudinarian project. Pocock called it ‘part of the [Restoration] latitudinarian campaign to replace prophetic by sociable religion’, while Nicholas Phillipson has remarked that ‘in the Addisonian city, commerce was to be a vehicle of politeness and latitudinarian theology’.³ The *Weekly Miscellany* both

¹ The paper began life as *The Miscellany*, but quickly changed to the *Weekly Miscellany* in its third number, which it remained until it finished its run in 1741.

² Richard Steele, *The Tatler*, Donald F. Bond (ed.), issue 1, 12 April 1709 (Oxford, 3 vols, 1987), p. 8.

³ J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 236; Nicholas Phillipson, ‘Politeness and politics in the

complicates and challenges this representation of polite culture. Throughout its near decade-long run, the paper fought a sustained press campaign to show that ‘traditionalist’, orthodox religious beliefs were compatible with the ideas and practices of politeness. It was virulently anti-freethinking, sometimes critical of Dissenters, and always pro-Anglican and pro-episcopal. Yet despite its strong orthodox and often polemical identity, the editor and his essayists were preoccupied with the concept of politeness and its importance to Anglican religious culture. Webster’s paper regularly took letters from readers, typically city, university, and country clergymen, but also from lay readers too. Many of these letters contain reflections to this programme of polite orthodoxy, and thus form a valuable resource to study the response of readers to contemporary cultural spaces, events, and discourses perceived as ‘polite’.

The Weekly Miscellany thus helps to uncover how literate, largely urban, religious readers, many of whom were clergymen, understood and responded to the intersecting strands of England’s Enlightenment. One strand, captured by the concept of politeness, was urban and sociable, engaged with a culture of letters and new literary forms, and centred on institutions such as the coffeehouse. The other strand was overtly religious, characterised by intellectual conflicts which saw the emergence of a syncretic orthodoxy fusing traditional beliefs with the new learning of Newton.⁴ As we saw in Chapter 2, this was an ecclesiastical and university-based culture concerned, in the public realm through print, to conduct a type of formalized academic disputation. In the same way that Edmund Gibson attempted to translate these heady disputes into a practical religion for ordinary readers, the *Miscellany* sought to make such ideas both accessible and, more importantly, palatable for a self-consciously polite readership. These different stands of ‘Enlightened’ culture have often been studied as discrete phenomena. Contrast, for instance, the view of a scholarly ‘clerical’ Enlightenment offered in treatments by B.W. Young, John Gascoigne, John Redwood, and more recently by William Bulman,⁵ with the more

reigns of Anne and the early Hanoverians’, in J. G. A. Pocock (ed.), *Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 226.

⁴ See p. 4, n. 15.

⁵ Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England*; Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment*; Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule and Religion*; Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment*.

‘polite’, worldly model of Enlightenment thought and sociability which centred on new social institutions, particularly the coffeehouse, offered in treatments by scholars such as Lawrence E. Klein, Stephen Pincus, Brian Cowen, and Philip Carter.⁶ The *Weekly Miscellany* shows how these apparently oppositional trends, worldly politeness and religious orthodoxy, overlapped.

The *Miscellany* is also interesting on account of the periodical’s nine-year run, remarkable given the volatile nature of the periodical market in the early eighteenth century, where runs of three to four years were considered a success.⁷ In its early years, the paper turned a profit and it was regularly taken at prominent coffeehouses in London, the university towns, and provincial towns of England in addition to the homes of private subscribers. Essays from its later editions were regularly extracted into publications with wider audiences, such as *The Gentlemen’s Magazine*, while certain numbers of the periodical were charitably distributed by organizations such as the SPCK. In addition to a discussion of politeness and orthodox religion, therefore, this chapter also explores the reasons behind the paper’s success and longevity, including the background to its creation and Webster’s important connections to personnel both in the Church and the London book trade.

Despite its success, the *Weekly Miscellany* has only been subject to passing attention from modern scholars, who have misunderstood its purpose and contents. The survey of eighteenth-century Church history offered by Haydon, Walsh, and Taylor, for example, pointed to the *Miscellany* as a ‘lively mouthpiece’ for older High Church ideals which ‘poured out defiant jeremiads against the spirit of the age’, while Robert Ingram has recently called it ‘hyper-orthodox’.⁸ The *Miscellany* was not a holdover from a bygone era of ‘Church and King’ Tory religiosity, nor did it espouse a

⁶ Klein, ‘Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714; Steven Pincus, “Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), pp. 807-834; Brian Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (London, 2005); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660-1800* (Longman, 2001).

⁷ Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, pp. 20-21, 99-100.

⁸ Haydon, Walsh, and Taylor, *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833*, p. 33; Ingram, ‘Representing... the History of Puritanism’, p. 212.

reactionary programme.⁹ The paper was both engaged with, and responsive too, the religious and cultural climate of its moment. As we shall see, Webster's periodical was intimately connected with the Gibsonian project to create a forward-looking Anglican programme that made better use of new types of media and culture. To understand how it achieved this goal, this chapter begins with an outline of its publication history and the personnel involved in its production, along with a discussion of its readership. It then examines how the paper sought to incorporate the culture of politeness with 'Gibsonian' religious orthodoxy. The final part of the chapter outlines a key episode of controversy between the paper's editor, William Webster, and the 'polemic divine' William Warburton over the publication of Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated* (London, 1738-1741). The issues at stake within this episode serve to highlight fundamental differences which had begun to emerge toward the middle of the eighteenth century about the role and function of the clerical author as religious communicator and apologist.

William Webster and Clerical Journalism

Clerical journalism was not in itself a new phenomenon in the 1730s. Clergymen had been involved in the production of political news-sheets since at least the time of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis in the 1670s and 1680s.¹⁰ This tradition of clerical political engagement continued after the Revolution and into the early eighteenth century with the non-juror Charles Leslie's crypto-Jacobite bi-weekly *The Rehearsal* (1704-1709), and Jonathan Swift's *The Examiner* (1710-1714), a Tory paper that had regular contributions from Swift and other clergymen, notably Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester.¹¹ The first periodical to engage with issues of theology and personal devotion instead of politics was John Dunton's *Athenian Mercury* (1690-1697), to which Samuel Wesley (father of John and Charles Wesley) was a regular

⁹ Haydon, Walsh, and Taylor, *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ Samuel J. Rogal, 'Religious Periodicals in England During the Restoration and Eighteenth Century', *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 35 (2012), p. 28.

¹¹ There were a host of other short-lived productions by clergymen, including the anonymous *Mercurius theologicus, or, The Monthly Instructor... By a Divine of the Church of England* (1700-01), *The High German Doctor* (1714-1715) by the Whig clergyman Philip Horneck and a ferocious High-Church production called *The Scourge* (1717) by Thomas Lewis.

contributor.¹² *The Weekly Miscellany* was also cast in the mould of an ostensibly non-political paper, instead favouring devotional and theological content, ‘polite literature’, and descriptive news. There is no evidence to suggest that Webster was aware of, or in any way indebted to, these past publications. His touchstone was instead the pervasively influential periodicals of Addison and Steele, *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. *The Weekly Miscellany* was one of many publications of the period which drew on the legacy of those papers and helped to imbue the figure of Addison with a quasi-religious cultural significance.¹³ Though not nearly so influential, Webster’s periodical would exert its own influence on the history of periodical publishing. It is notable, for instance, that the publication run of the periodical immediately preceded a wave of mid-century evangelical theological journals and ‘miscellanies’ devoted to religious content such as *The Library* (1761-1762), *The Gospel Magazine; or Spiritual Library* (1766-1773), and *The Theological Repository* (1766-1770), all Calvinist productions. The trend reached its peak in the 1770s and 1780s with a host of further evangelical magazines, notably John Wesley’s *The Arminian Magazine* (1778-1797). Indeed, in his study of the religious press in Britain, Joseph Altholz argued that *The Weekly Miscellany* formed a direct model for later evangelical publications.¹⁴

The figure behind this seminal religious paper was the enigmatic and somewhat contradictory clergyman William Webster (1689-1758). Webster came from a moderately well-off and well-connected East Anglian clerical family. He was born in Suffolk to Richard Webster (d. 1722), a nonjuring clergyman, while his mother, Jane, was daughter of Anthony Sparrow (1612-1685), bishop of Norwich. Webster matriculated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, aged 16 in 1707/8 as a pensioner, graduating B.A. 1711/12 and M.A., 1716. After graduating, he held two long curacies in prominent City of London churches, first St. Dunstan-in-the-West, Fleet Street (1716-1731), then St. Clement’s, Eastcheap (1732-41), which he held in

¹² Helen Berry, ‘An Early Coffeehouse Periodical and Its Readers: The Athenian Mercury, 1691-1697’, *The London Journal* 25 (2000), p.17.

¹³ Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Addisonian Afterlives: Joseph Addison in Eighteenth-Century Culture’. *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2012), pp. 101-18.

¹⁴ Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (New York, 1989), p. 8.

plurality with the rectorship of Depden in Suffolk (1732-c. 1740).

Compared to other figures discussed in this thesis, little survives of Webster beyond what he published in print. There are only two letters of his original correspondence.¹⁵ Fragments of his letters to Zachary Grey exist in later transcriptions taken by the antiquarian clergyman William Cole and the bookseller John Nichols, though these allude to the *Miscellany* only in passing. Most information about the *Miscellany*'s background and Webster's personal motivations come from within the *Miscellany* itself and other print material which he published. One pamphlet, entitled *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, gives the best insight into the context of the periodical's founding. The pamphlet appears to have been written partly as a retrospective on his career, but also as a 'Narrative of Complaints' against those he charged with reducing him to a state of rural poverty in later life.¹⁶ It begins with an account of his first introduction to Edmund Gibson in about 1731 by Henry Temple, 1st Viscount Palmerston, who was a parishioner of his church at St. Dunstan-in-the-West.¹⁷ Webster had sought an introduction on hopes of securing a new curacy, as the rector of St. Dunstan's had died, leaving him in sole charge of the Church on a meagre salary. The request during 'a Turn at St. Pauls', however, met with 'a flat Denial' from the Bishop. As these anecdotes show, Webster was certainly well-connected, but he also appears to have found it difficult to turn these connections to his advantage and secure profitable livings that would support a comfortable existence as a writer. He

¹⁵ The first is a short note written to William Cole (1714-1782) requesting that some materials relating to the Daniel Neal controversy be 'put into Some historical method for the press'. Webster was a close associate of Zachary Grey, who was Neal's implacable opponent (see introduction to chapter 2). William Webster to William Cole, Nov 21, 1734, Letters to the Revd. W. Cole, Vol. II, BL Add. MS 6401, ff. 187/177; the second is a letter to Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, 15 March 1752, Home Correspondence, Add MS 32726, ff. 272/274.

¹⁶ William Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts, Or, the Author's Case Fairly and Candidly Stated, by Way of Appeal to the Publick. By W. Webster; D.D. London: printed for J. Noon, at the White Hart, in the Poultry, near Cheapside* (London, 1758).

¹⁷ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, p. 4.

attributed this to actions in his earlier life ‘which shewed [sic] what a *violent hot* Man I was, and what imprudent Things Zeal without Judgement will produce’.¹⁸ Despite his constant defence of his ecclesiastical superiors in print, his temper apparently did little to ingratiate himself to them and thus limited his advancement.

Nevertheless, in 1732 his fortunes changed after securing a doctorate of divinity which led to a more comfortable plurality, holding positions between London and Suffolk, all secured through family connections.¹⁹ ‘About this Time’, Webster recalled, ‘there was a Scheme form’d by several eminent Divines, for a *weekly* Paper, in Support of *Religion* and *Virtue*, the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, and all useful Literature, and I was thought a proper Person to be put at the Head of it’.²⁰ In the final edition of the *Weekly Miscellany* in 1741 he named Daniel Waterland as the originator of the plan. Webster may well have been taught by the prodigious ‘pupil-monger’ as a student: later in 1728, he worked under Waterland’s direction to complete an unfinished translation of Louis Maimbourg’s *History of Arianism*.²¹

In considering the offer, Webster sought the advice of Thomas Sherlock, then bishop of Bangor, who encouraged him with the opinion that such a paper was ‘*a most excellent Design... the Thing that we have wanted these Fifty Years.*’²² The enthusiasm of the higher clergy to establish a pro-Church periodical in 1732 was stimulated by the appearance of several works which had also adopted novel strategies of serial publication. As discussed in the previous chapter, Edmund Gibson had published in serial form the *Pastoral Letters*, the first three printed between 1728 and 1731 just prior to the inauguration of the *Miscellany*. In addition, around this time Gibson had sponsored several serial works, most notably by Thomas Stackhouse, an

¹⁸ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, p. 6.

¹⁹ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, p. 5.

²⁰ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, pp. 5-6.

²¹ Louis Maimbourg, *History of Arianism: By M. Maimbourg; Shewing [sic] its Influence upon Civil Affairs: And the Causes of the Dissolution of the Roman Empire. To Which Are Added, Two Introductory Discourses ... with an Appendix*, William Webster (ed.), (London, 1728).

²² Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, p. 6.

author of highly successful serial encyclopaedias on theological and scriptural subjects.

Thomas Stackhouse and the Rise of Serial Publication

There are strong similarities between Stackhouse and Webster, though Stackhouse was even less fortunate than Webster in his search for elevation within the Church through a career as an author. Stackhouse was a talented compiler, who digested a wide variety of practical, historical, and theological information gathered ‘from the best and most polite authors’ into concise vernacular summaries for a largely clerical readership. Stackhouse’s works explicitly took up Gibson’s aim in the first *Pastoral Letter*, expressed in his 1729 work, *A Complete Body of Divinity*, to make Christian learning available in ‘a plain Method, easy Stile, and clear Diction’ as a check against the growth of heterodoxy.²³ Stackhouse’s next work, *A New History of the Holy Bible* published in 1733, shifted focus from divinity to sacred history in order to ‘methodize, explain, and illustrate the *Historical* part of the Holy Bible, as to remove the *Difficulties* in Reading it, which some have asserted, and others complained of’.²⁴ In the dedication Stackhouse acknowledged his ‘Obligations’ to Gibson, to whom ‘I owe the present comfortable Leisure I have for Study, and the Generous Encouragement your Lordship has always been pleased to give to... my labours’. Stackhouse had been appointed to a vicarage in Beenham Valance in Berkshire with Gibson’s patronage, ending his lengthy period of uncertainty and poverty as an unbeneficed curate in Richmond.²⁵ Stackhouse further reinforced the connections of

²³ Thomas Stackhouse, *A Complete Body of Divinity: Consisting of Five Parts: ... the Whole Extracted from the Best Ancient and Modern Writers...* (London, 1729), introduction.

²⁴ Stackhouse, *A New History of The Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World, to the Establishment of Christianity. ... To Which are Added, Notes ... The Whole Illustrated with Proper Maps And Sculptures...* (London, 1733), dedication.

²⁵ Scott Mandelbrote, ‘Stackhouse, Thomas (1681/2–1752)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26197>.

his own scholarly labours to those of his patron, by acknowledging the ‘most excellent *Pastoral Letters*’ which served as his inspiration.²⁶

The success of Stackhouse’s works was enhanced by the novel strategies which he and his booksellers employed to make larger works more affordable for clergymen with modest incomes. Both the *New History of the Holy Bible* and the *Complete Body of Divinity* were broken up and sold piecemeal as weekly or monthly unbound part-issues, called fascicules or ‘numbers’. Numbers were composed of small batches of printed sheets, folded, collated, stitched, and covered with blue sugar paper. This basic presentation cut the cost of printing to a minimum, while issuing the book in many parts enabled buyers to spread the cost of otherwise expensive single works.²⁷ Stackhouse’s works were some of the first texts to be printed in this manner, but serial printing soon became an extremely popular means of selling large texts at affordable prices. Recalling Jan Fergus’s study into the reading habits of late eighteenth-century servants, her findings show that those in lower wage occupations most often purchased Bibles in this manner.²⁸

Another advantage of serial publication was that it eased the burden of reading an intimidating amount of material. The result, Stackhouse hoped, would enable the reader to ‘be better acquainted with the Series of sacred History, but, in some measure, [also be] able to give a Reason for the Faith, that is in him, and to stop the Mouths of Gain-sayers, who lie in wait to ensnare the Ignorant’.²⁹ The complete collection of numbers, once finished, could be bound and thus protected according to the personal tastes of the buyer, who would be left with a large and prestigious folio work. Works by Stackhouse were frequently reprinted in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin throughout the eighteenth century, and were translated into both French and German.³⁰

²⁶ Stackhouse, *A New History of the Holy Bible*, dedication.

²⁷ R. M. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England Before 1750* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 1-9.

²⁸ See p. 135, n. 19.

²⁹ Stackhouse, *A Complete Body of Divinity*, introduction.

³⁰ Scott Mandelbrote, ‘Stackhouse, Thomas (1681/2-1752)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26197>.

Stackhouse was not the only author of expository works produced under Gibson's patronage. Others dedicated to the Bishop include an anonymous work, *The Country Parson's Companion: or, Young Clergyman's Lawyer* (London, 1725) which provided a focused commentary on the laws and canons of the Church, John Vaneer's *A New Exposition on the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1727), and Edward Yardley's *The Rational Communicant: or, a Practical Exposition on the Communion Service of the Church Of England* (London, 1728). In the prefaces to these works each author addresses Gibson directly as their patron, but unlike Stackhouse, it is not clear how these individuals were connected to Gibson.

Webster's *Weekly Miscellany* mirrored Stackhouse's productions in several ways, from the rhetorical use of politeness, the use of serial publication, and his intended clerical readership. Both rhetoric and published form were designed to appeal to a self-improving clerical audience, and served as a device to simplify and make accessible learned orthodoxy. Through the *Miscellany* Webster also sought to expand upon Gibson's project to refute the idea that Christian apologetic was too complex a subject for the average reader. Many essays in the paper dwelled explicitly on the simplicity of the proofs for Christian religion, especially the themes of revelation and the divine inspiration of scripture. For Webster, as with Gibson and Stackhouse, making Christianity accessible depended on providing plain historical proofs and precedents for adhering to the traditional articles and creeds. The resounding success of past works was clear encouragement to figures such as Waterland to establish a more permanent and regular vehicle for the propagation of orthodoxy through print. A weekly periodical paper clearly presented a printed format with potential for wide circulation and readership, both clerical and lay.

Composition and Authorship

The format of the *Miscellany* was typical of periodicals, printed on a single folded folio page which gave it four sides of copy. The front page was topped with a header giving the title, number and date as so:

The Weekly Miscellany;

Giving an Account of the
Religion, Morality, and Learning of the Present Times.
With Occurrences Foreign and Domestick.
By Richard Hooker, of the Temple, Esq.

The front page was composed of three columns containing one or more essays or letters to the editor. These typically continued onto the second page and were followed by further letters and then news, foreign then domestic. Over the course of the run this pattern changed little, though in later years several numbers experimented with a tabular 'Q&A' style format, juxtaposing questions or assertions against responses. In the early years, the front page essay was followed by a literary review, typically covering three or more books recently published on the Continent. From 1734, however, this section was dropped in favour of providing a short letter from a reader, usually on a literary or religious subject. The foreign and domestic news were reported interspersed with short pieces of poetry, epigrams and a list of books, pamphlets, and sermons published the week before. The domestic news also listed preferments, stock prices, and notable deaths in the previous week. Webster prided himself on the consistency and quality of the news, boasting in the first edition of 'the Extensiveness of our Correspondence [and] the Earliness of our Intelligence'.³¹ He worried in later years, however, that readers tended to see the paper as a useful '*Journal of News*, without any Regard to the *Letter*'.³² The back page was taken up with advertisements which reflected the subjects covered in the paper itself: religion, literature and belles lettres, alongside notices of publication for other newspapers such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Journal*.

Periodical papers regularly failed due to the difficulty which editors faced securing a regular stable group of contributors. It was a problem which Webster also faced, but the longevity of the *Miscellany* was certainly helped by his connections among the senior clergy in London and Cambridge. A major collaborator was Richard Venn (1691-1739), a London High Churchman, a collector of Stuart reliquary, and a another bullish controversialist in Gibson's London circles, which also included the

³¹*The Miscellany* (London, Dec. 16 1732)

³² William Webster, 'It is with very great Respect that I address myself to your LORDSHIP', June 1738, LPL, Pamphlets 43.E.1.12.a.

writers Henry Stebbing and William Berriman.³³ The extent of Venn's involvement was such that William Warburton, in a letter to Thomas Birch, secretary to the Royal Society, identified Venn and Webster as equally responsible for the paper.³⁴ Indeed, many of Venn's contributions were posthumously published and identified as essays written for the paper.³⁵ Because most essays to the paper were written anonymously and as Webster was partial to inventing correspondents under different pseudonyms to stimulate reader discussion, most notably by taking the moniker 'Richard Hooker', after the sixteenth century Anglican apologist, it is quite challenging to identify contributors with certainty. It is only in cases such as Venn's, when authors chose to publish their contributions later as part of collected essays, that authors can be identified.

By examining published collections where authorship was later claimed by essayists, it is clear that Webster's connections to the university clergy, particularly Daniel Waterland at Cambridge, acted as a crucial source for securing contributions. Of the twelve contributors besides Venn who can be identified with reasonable certainty, the majority were either graduates or fellows of the universities, and all except one were clergymen. Seven were from Cambridge, John Mawer (1702/3-1763) of Trinity contributed a devotional 'meditation in solitude' which appeared on June 23, 1733.³⁶ Another was Laurence Jackson (1691-1772), a fellow of Sidney Sussex, who contributed essays on providence and fame.³⁷ From Oxford were Josiah Tucker (1713-1799), Thomas Church (1707-1756)³⁸, and the poet Robert Luck(e) (1692-

³³ Richard Sharp, 'Venn, Richard (1691-1739)', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28189>.

³⁴ William Warburton to Thomas Birch, reproduced in John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century: Comprizing Biographical Memoirs of William Bowyer, printer, F.S.A. and many of his Learned Friends; an Incidental View of the Progress and Advancement of Literature in this Kingdom during the Last Century*, vol. 5 (6 vols, London, 1812), p. 167.

³⁵ Richard Venn, *Tracts and Sermons on Several Occasions. By the Reverend Richard Venn, A. M. Late Rector of St. Antholin's, London* (London, 1740).

³⁶ John Mawer, *Miscellaneous Essays in Verse and Prose. With Translations from the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish Poets* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1743), pp. 140-142.

³⁷ William Webster, *Tracts Consisting of Sermons, Discourses, and Letters. By the Reverend William Webster, D. D. Vicar of Ware and Thundridge in Hertfordshire* (London, 1745), xv.

³⁸ Thomas Church, *An Explanation and Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of England Concerning Regeneration, Works before Grace, and Some Other Points Relating Thereto... To which is Added, A Letter Printed in The Weekly Miscellany of Last Sept. 15. and 22d. To Prove, That the Life of God in the*

1749).³⁹ Additionally a fellow of Eton, John Burton, contributed an essay on Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*.⁴⁰

Webster may have issued circular letters to solicit contributions to the paper from the junior clergymen and students at the universities. In a letter to Zachary Grey, Webster enigmatically asked Grey if he had 'communicated my letters to the 'squires?' and further asked Grey to 'Desire Mr. Burrough to give me a letter as soon as he knows what to say to me'.⁴¹ It was a tactic he used elsewhere to secure support for the paper among the senior clergy, and printed circular letters of this type survive in the pamphlet collection of Edmund Gibson in Lambeth Library. Webster issued two printed circular letters, one was an open letter which served as an advertisement for the *Miscellany* while another addressed the bishops directly for their support.⁴² Some of the contributors were certainly students at the time of their contributions. James Townley, later a clergyman and playwright, contributed an essay aged 20 whilst still a student at Oxford.⁴³ Townley's letter concerned the rules of behaviour at Church, drawing parallels between the stage and the pulpit, suggesting that many who talk and act inappropriately at Church would never do so at the theatre or a concert. Townley would later produce a number of successful stage productions, and moved in David Garrick's circle. Not all the contributors were clergymen, however, with the printer William Bowyer, also an investor, contributing an essay on the publication of *Stephen's Thesaurus* to an early edition.⁴⁴ John A. Dussinger has noted the similarity

Soul of Man is Absolutely Against the Late Proceedings of Mr. Whitefield and the Methodists: With some Corrections and Improvements (London, 1739).

³⁹ Robert Luck(e), *A Miscellany of New Poems, on Several Occasions. By R. Luck, ... Containing Also, the Loves of Hero and Leander, Translated from the Greek of Musæus. To Which Are Added, Poemata Quædam Latina. Auctore R. Luck* (London, 1736), p. 102.

⁴⁰ John Burton, *The Genuineness of Ld. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion Printed at Oxford Vindicated. Mr. Oldmixon's Slander Confuted. The True State of the Case Represented. By John Burton B. D. Fellow of Eton College* (Oxford, 1744), p. 1.

⁴¹ William Webster to Zachary Grey, 15 July 1738, in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 5, p. 170, 174.

⁴² William Webster, Printed Circular Advertisement for *The Weekly Miscellany*, June, 1738, LPL, pamphlets 43.E.1.12.a. and Webster, 'It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP'.

⁴³ L. Lynnette Eckersley, 'Townley, James (1714-1778)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27606>.

⁴⁴ William Bowyer, *Miscellaneous Tracts* (London, 1785), p. 89; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 2, p. 36.

between the language and themes of the *Weekly Miscellany* and the prose of Samuel Richardson, who was an investor and printer for the paper in its early years.⁴⁵ There is, however, no direct evidence to confirm that Richardson wrote for the periodical, though he and Webster were on familiar terms. Webster referred to him as ‘the best, and most amiable man, that I know in the world’, and Richardson waived a significant debt that Webster had incurred during the papers early years.⁴⁶

Webster focused his efforts on building support for the paper through print advertisements. In a printed letter written to Edmund Gibson from 1738, Webster claimed to have taken out ‘so many Thousand Advertisements to make the Design known’ in the six years since the paper began its run.⁴⁷ An additional important means of bolstering circulation was through word of mouth recommendations. In addressing the Bishop, Webster sought to cultivate episcopal support for the project, believing the bishops could exert the greatest influence over the parish clergy who were the largest body of readers and subscribers.

Though some of the anonymous essayists can be identified, the vast majority cannot. As discussed in chapter 1, anonymity was more common among clerical than lay authors.⁴⁸ The example of *The Weekly Miscellany* helps to explain why. Anonymity was vital in the papers positioning of itself as a legitimate voice within public discourse. Webster and his regular contributors used pseudonyms to establish themselves as disinterested authors, whose motives to promote ‘Religion and Virtue’ were free from the suspicions of private gain and priestly intrigue, or ‘priestcraft’. One essayist noted that ‘the Writings of *Clergymen* always labour under the Disadvantage of that *impertinent* Cavil, that *Religion* is their *Trade* and their *Interest*’.⁴⁹ Furthermore, anonymity helped to create a level playing field for discussion, especially criticism, of the clergy, thus fostering openness as contributors

⁴⁵ John A. Dussinger, ‘Richardson, Samuel (*bp.* 1689, *d.* 1761)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23582>.

⁴⁶ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, ii.

⁴⁷ Webster, ‘It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP’.

⁴⁸ See fig. 2.5, p. 59 and 87.

⁴⁹ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Aug. 24 1734).

could write without fear of reprisals. The compromised position of the clergy was set, by Webster, in the context of a much broader inability of large sections of the Church to address the difficult new realities created by the post-Revolution settlement. The Church could no longer enforce the now ‘obsolete Law’ that required ‘the good people of England to go to *some* Place of Public Worship’:

All His Majesty’s *free-born* Subjects, any *old* Law notwithstanding, are in full possession of the Liberty of being *Infidels*, without having any further Means of Conviction impertinently obtruded upon them. Well-Meaning Divines may write Books in Defence of Christianity, and some well-meaning Christians will read them. Sermons are still publicly preached, and (in Spight [sic] of all the honest Endeavours of humane Infidels, to prevent the Continuance of such a Grievance) they have still their Hearers. But all this Time, tho’ Believers read Books of Infidelity, Unbelievers are so happy as not to be compelled, either by Books or Sermons, to inform themselves, and they are so wise as not to do it of their own Accord. Such is the present flourishing State of Religious Freedom in England.⁵⁰

For these reasons, Webster thought it ‘proper to *rescue*... Religious Truths, and the deluded People, out of *their* [the clergy’s] Hands’. In much the same way as *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* before it, crucial too was the paper’s repeated claims to stand above politics and partisanship.

Circulation and Readership

The paper was published on Saturdays, but at some point, this was moved to a Friday to achieve maximum circulation, as it was ‘a Day when there are no other *journals* to interfere with it’.⁵¹ In a letter to Zachary Grey during a year of financial difficulty for the paper in 1735, Webster wrote that he would not be ‘able to support the paper, unless I can get 3 or 400 fixed customers, I have therefore opened a subscription, and have met with encouragement ; several subscribing for six papers every week’.⁵² These numbers permit very rough estimates of the papers weekly circulation. If Webster met his low target of 300 customers, and these customers divided into equal groups that took between one and six copies each (the highest number he reported

⁵⁰ *The Miscellany* (Dec.16 1732).

⁵¹ Webster, ‘It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP’.

⁵² William Webster to Zachary Grey, Sept. 18 1735, in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, p. 169.

customers taking), 1050 copies would have circulated each week. If Webster achieved his target of 400 customers, this number would have risen to 1400 copies per week. Of course, this would have varied over the course of the papers run. The periodical appears to have been significantly more successful in its early than its later years, and there were clearly years of difficulty. For example, the incident which prompted Webster's comment about circulation in 1735 was the news that 'the proprietors of the *Miscellany* are quite discouraged, and last week resigned their shares'. As discussed later in this chapter, among the early investors to the *Miscellany* were leading figures in the London book trade, including Samuel Richardson and William Bowyer. When Richardson withdrew support he waved a significant debt that Webster had incurred in the periodical's early years, another sign of its tenuous financial position. Nevertheless, the fact that the periodical continued its run for six years after Webster reported difficulties suggests he did achieve his target for circulation.

Much more concrete evidence exists to suggest the people and places where copies of the *Miscellany* were read and discussed. The author of a letter to the periodical in December 1734 described how 'I often, of a Saturday Morning, surprize [sic] some of my gay Acquaintance, and receive a little of their Raillery, when they look over my Shoulder at the Coffee-house, and see your Name at the Top of My Paper' (28 Dec. 1734). The letter, signed by James Townley (1714-1778), coincides with his time as an undergraduate at St. John's College, Oxford, suggesting it was available in coffeehouses there.⁵³ It also circulated at Cambridge. A letter dated 15 October 1735 from an author who signed himself 'Verus Cantabrigiensis', related how he 'had lately taken Occasions of recommending it in the several Colleges' and often read it in local coffeehouses.⁵⁴ It further circulated in the capital, as George Whitefield noted in his published journals that a copy of the paper 'came to my Hands from *London* friends'.⁵⁵ A regular contributor, 'Britannicus', wrote in 1737 that

⁵³ The letter concerns the rules of behaviour at Church, drawing parallels between the stage and the pulpit, suggesting that many who talk and act inappropriately at Church would never do so at the theatre or a concert. Townley would later produce a number of successful stage productions, and moved in circles with David Garrick. L. Lynette Eckersley, 'Townley, James (1714-1778)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27606>.

⁵⁴ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Oct. 25 1735).

⁵⁵ George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from His Arrival at London, to His Departure from Thence on His Way to Georgia* (London, 3rd edn., 1739), p. 27.

‘freethinkers’ were attempting to keep the *Miscellany* ‘out of Places of publick Resort’ in London, and had taken to threatening coffeehouses ‘that they will never come thither if they offer to take in the *Miscellany*’. Worryingly, however, ‘many of them have actually refused, even to *accept* it, not daring to give Offence to their *Infidel* Customers, by letting it lie on the Table’ (6 Oct. 1737). The *Miscellany* was also available to customers directly, who could have the paper sent to them in the country. Provincial readers were encouraged to have their friends in the town send them the paper during the Parliamentary season, or otherwise have the periodical sent to a local establishment that took in papers: ‘to be left at the house of the person who takes it in, this being the Method of sending News-papers all over the Kingdom to Coffeehouses, &c.’⁵⁶ In a letter to Zachary Grey, Webster indicated that subscribers also paid to ‘give them away at Public-houses’.⁵⁷ Finally, on at least one occasion a number concerning the activities of the SPCK was reprinted at the request of the society, packaged with other materials such as advertisements, published letters, and sermons, and sent out to the Society’s members. The SPCK reported that 500 copies ‘containing the Account of Receipts and Disbursements for the *Saltzburgers*’ were distributed by the Society.⁵⁸

The Weekly Miscellany’s predominantly clerical, urban, and gentry readership was further indicated by readers who were encouraged to send post-paid letters to the editor via various booksellers, inns and coffeehouses in London. James Townley suggested that the paper would be best aimed at those with a degree of leisure and learning, especially the clergy:

The ignorant, the heedless, and the *over-busy* Part of Mankind are out of the Question... I would speak of those whose Circumstances give them Leisure, whose Education gives them Ability, whose Station, perhaps, lays them under particular Obligations, to examine particularly, and consider frequently, the

⁵⁶ Webster, Printed Circular Advertisement for *The Weekly Miscellany*.

⁵⁷ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 5, p. 169.

⁵⁸ *A Sermon Preached at St. Sepulchre’s Church; April the 17th, 1735. (the First Thursday after Easter-Week) Being the Time of the Yearly Meeting of the Children Educated in the Charity-Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster. By Z. Pearce, D. D. Vicar of St. Martin’s in the Fields, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. Publish’d at the Request of the Gentlemen Concerned in the Said Charity. To Which Is Annexed, an Account of the Origin and Designs of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London, 1735), pp. 47-49.

Grounds and Importance of Religion ; and let us try to resolve *their* Behaviour into its proper Principle (21 July 1733)

The paper was often satirically referred to as ‘a Parson’s paper’ by essayists, and sale catalogues confirm idea that the clergy were its most significant audience.⁵⁹ Yet other letters reported a broader readership: ‘your Paper circulates chiefly amongst Clergymen, Gentlemen of a liberal Education, and such serious Persons as employ Part of their Time in reading’. This essayist further believed the *Miscellany* was a valuable tool to expose coffeehouse readers to religious literature, ‘for *political* Readers seldom go beyond a *Journal*, or at most a *Pamphlet*’.⁶⁰ Letters to the *Miscellany* give a sense of the varied responses to the paper in these associational venues. In 1735, one letter reported that during a meeting of ‘a Club of Gentlemen... Discourse turn’d, amongst other things, on the *Miscellany*’ and concluded amicably with the decision that ‘the Design was truly excellent and noble’. The group resolved to write in and voice their support.⁶¹ Another letter writer, however, reported that he had been confronted in a Cambridge coffeehouse by a young clergyman, who ‘fixing his Eye steadfastly on *me*, replied, with a very audible Voice, *It is the very worst Paper I ever read, I would not give a Farthing for it*’.⁶²

There were readers in the provinces too. In a letter to the paper dated 22 March 1734 from Scarborough, ‘Robert North’ described himself as a ‘constant reader’ who had given directions to a ‘Mr. Ward, Bookseller in Fleet-Street, to disperse some of your Papers weekly at my Expense in such parts of the Town, as yourself shall think most convenient’. Furthermore, the author related that two other families in the Scarborough area ‘have your *Miscellany* transmitted to them weekly by the Post, and after the Perusal of them, send them to two Publick Houses in the Place where they

⁵⁹ Many sale catalogues of clerical libraries list the *Miscellany* among their lists. For example see: *A Catalogue of Books the Library of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Sheridan...* (Dublin, 1739), p. 41; *A Catalogue of Curious and Valuable Books... of the Late Revd. Dr R. Phillips of Shrewsbury...* (Birmingham, 1739), p. 23; *A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of the Late Rev. and Learned Mr. John Lewis, of Mergate, [sic] in Kent...* (London, 1748), p. 7; *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend Mr. Sampson Estwick, ... and of Thomas West...* (London, 1739), p. 141 *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Rev. Mr. Batty, Rector of St. John’s Clerkenwell. And of a Person of Quality...* (London, 1738), p. 122.

⁶⁰ *The Weekly Miscellany* (June 1 1734).

⁶¹ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Oct. 25 1735).

⁶² *The Weekly Miscellany* (June 1 1734).

live for the Benefit of the Town' (13 April 1734). Another letter writer who signed 'Stamfordiensis', presumably from Lincolnshire, commented that the *Miscellany* was 'every Day growing more and more into Favour with Persons of Distinction. Your initial Letter tends to the Reformation of Manners, and to make Men what they ought to be; and your Impartiality in the Narration of *publick Events* cannot fail of having its Admirers' (12 Oct 1734). Other types of evidence indicate that the paper had readers amongst the gentry. A published letter written by Webster as an advertisement for the paper assumed this readership: 'In Parliament Time Persons in the Country may have it *frank'd* by their Friends in Town; and when *Members* are in the Country, it cannot be difficult to obtain leave to have the *Miscellany* directed to one of them.'⁶³ In a private letter to Zachery Grey, Webster noted that Thomas, 2nd Baron Trevor, of Bedfordshire, 'has the *Miscellany* every week, and is a hearty friend to it.'⁶⁴

Politeness and Religion

Essays in the *Miscellany* tended to explore one of three main themes: religion, current affairs, and 'polite' letters. Each of these topics was examined from an 'orthodox' Anglican perspective. Above all, the *Miscellany's* contributors took their cue from Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* series. The paper was anti-freethinking then later anti-Methodist.

Yet the prominence of controversial essays was a point of tension between the editor Webster and his regular essayists. In editorial commentaries, he balked at the number of submissions he received from clergymen who only wished to demolish vehemently the claims of the Church's enemies. Instead Webster wanted the paper to be a forum for cultural debate and religious improvement, especially amongst the clergy. 'Controversialists are too apt to consider themselves as Prize fighters', wrote one essayist in 1734. In the writings of divines, 'Logick gives Place to a new-fashioned Rhetorick', and 'Whosoever has had the ill Fortune to misemploy his Time in reading some of our modern Controversies, must have seen a great deal of

⁶³ Webster, Printed Circular Advertisement for *The Weekly Miscellany*.

⁶⁴ William Webster to Zachary Grey, undated letter in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 5, p. 175.

Bitterness and Rancour in Books that in other Respects shew [sic] a good deal of Ingenuity and Learning' (16 Feb 1734).

Even more damning was a regular essayist who wrote under the pseudonym 'Rusticus', in 1737 he wrote:

What can be the Reason of the small Success of our Polemical Writers, and the Fewness of their Conversions? They go on Writing Controversies, and the World goes on thinking and acting much as it did before. In my humble Opinion, 'tis owing in a great measure to this, they establish their Point by proper Evidence, and leave it there without concerning themselves with those low and popular Prejudices, which, every body [sic] sees, bear in the World a greater Sway, form the Principles, and govern the Lives of Men more than the Truth and Evidence of Things (3 Sept. 1737)

A prominent idea in the paper was that custom and example served to mould behaviour and belief (or disbelief) more than rational persuasion ever could. This idea posed several questions that formed the basis of regular discussion in the paper: What types of prevailing beliefs and practices led people to reject, ridicule, and ignore religious teaching? What types of people and places were most responsible for shaping these beliefs? How could the clergy change the way they engaged with the laity to overturn these practices and assumptions?

In a running exchange of letters over several months in 1733 on the causes of 'the present growth of infidelity', various essayists debated the reasons why '*unbelief* is the *fashionable* Crime of this Age'. Contributors posited a range of commonplace explanations, such as 'the *Wickedness* of the Heart' and 'the *Reigning Luxury* of the Present Age', but one essay from May 5, 1733 added 'a new Source of our present Calamity... I would remark the *bad Taste*, the *wrong Delicacy* and the *false Politeness*, that direct the Sentiments and influence the Conduct, of our People'. The author expanded on this definition:

Instead of making *right Reason* and *true Religion* the *Rule* of our Behaviour, and *Politeness* only (as it ought to be) the *Ornament* of it, we quite invert the Nature of Things: Instead of examining whether this, or that Action *should* be done, we only inquire whether it *be* done, especially by People whom we weakly think *Polite*, because they live in places that *should* be so; or because

they wear the external Appendages that commonly belong to Men of that Character.⁶⁵

‘False politeness’ as defined by essayists in the *Weekly Miscellany* was associated with excess refinement and a superficial commitment to the fashions of the Town, especially London. It was associated with certain practices, such as idleness and irreverence for serious things, and especially the consumption of ‘trifling *New-Papers* and silly *Pamphlets*, stuffed with little Objections, which neither the *Authors* nor their *Readers* know the Force of.’⁶⁶

The paper’s critique of ‘false politeness’ did not amount to a rejection of politeness as a whole. While essayists criticised superficiality in manners, they did not advocate a return to ‘ancient manners’ or older forms of courtly address and behaviour.⁶⁷ Instead, their criticisms served as a contrast to forms of polite behaviour which were both true to the inner self and compatible with religious sincerity and orthodoxy. Central to this way of thinking was the idea of a virtuous mean, or *via media*, which navigated between the two extremes of irrational heat and lukewarmness in religion. The clergy were cautioned against the former, while authors lamented that the fashionable and urbane too often fell into the latter. Certain writers for the *Miscellany*, therefore, attempted to pursue what they saw as a more fulfilling and moderate mean which could create common ground between the clergy and laity. They imagined an ideal middle ground where religious passion or ‘zeal’ was guided and constrained by reason, propriety and civility.

In June 1734, an anonymous author articulated much of the thinking behind this approach to polite religion in an essay entitled ‘A serious Apology for *Religious Zeal*’ (June 1 & 8, 1734). Looking at the fashionable world, the author opened with ‘this melancholy Truth’ that ‘we are refin’d at last into the most irrational Coldness and Indifference to Religion’:

⁶⁵ *The Weekly Miscellany* (May 5, 1733).

⁶⁶ *The Weekly Miscellany* (May 5, 1733).

⁶⁷ Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 125.

Our Thoughts, our Company, and Conversation are so turn'd upon Matters of a lower Nature, they are so entirely swallow'd up in Voluptuousness and Secularity, that a Zeal for Religion looks as odd and singular upon a Man, as an antiquated Dress of our great Grandfathers, and is truly become the object of Pity among Men of Elegancy and Taste. (1 June 1734)

In its place, the essayist believed that zeal, 'The radical Passion, and that which enkindles and furnishes Fuel to all the rest', must be guided by a sense of reason and 'practical Judgement'. With an eye to the periodical's clerical readers, he cautioned against passion becoming misdirected or misplaced:

For instance; it is certainly the Part of a zealous, good Christian to reprove, and, if he can, to restrain, the Insolence of the common Swearer, the Scoffer, or Blasphemer; but yet should a Man thrust himself into such Company, in the midst of irreligious Mirth, or in the Heat of their drunken Fury, what would the Event be, but the exposing of himself, and the cause he is concern'd for, to the Scorn and Outrage of extravagant Men? (1 June 1734)

Zeal must therefore be exercised by the religious with 'a nice Regard to the proper season' and 'always expressed in a *decent Manner*'. By following these precepts, the author argued that '*Zeal and Moderation* are not Opposites and Enemies to one another' and cautioned that 'Mildness and Humanity... are due to those that have *erred and are deceived*.' Self-regulation and restraint during instances of 'Indignation' were vital to prevent 'indecent Excesses'. 'Zeal is never commendable, which is not allayed [sic] with something of Moderation, nor is that *Moderation* of much Value, that is not enliven'd and invigorated with Zeal... This is the *virtuous Mean*, in which *Zeal and Moderation* both meet in one; this is the happy Temperament of both, which enables those who are furnish'd with it, to maintain the Cause of Religion.'⁶⁸ It was a sentiment succinctly restated by another commenter, that 'The *Credit* of the Gospel

⁶⁸ *The Weekly Miscellany* (London, June 1 1734).

will always depend very much upon the good Manners, Orthodoxy, and Abilities of the Christian Clergy' (9 March 1734).

Writers for the paper spent a great deal of time assessing the performance of the clergy against this benchmark of polite, moderate, orthodoxy. Crucially, they contrasted an image of contemporary clerical behaviour with that ideal of religious moderation, and provided practical advice on how clergymen could take steps to meet that ideal. A central purpose of the *Miscellany's* adoption of the concept of politeness, therefore, was as a rhetorical and didactic tool in a campaign to reform standards of clerical behaviour.

The Clergy and the Coffeehouse

Central to the *Miscellany's* critique of clerical manners was the associational venue of the coffeehouse. The coffeehouse has featured prominently in the historiography of eighteenth-century polite culture and is often taken as emblematic of the development of a 'worldly' public sphere. Such a depiction obviously ignores a great deal of evidence that coffeehouses were important venues for religious discussion, and clerical sociability.⁶⁹ Many of the coffeehouses of eighteenth-century London were in the vicinity of St. Paul's Cathedral, making them natural sites of clerical association. Both Child's in St. Paul's Churchyard and The Chapter in Paternoster Row were two establishments noted for their clerical clientele.⁷⁰ One source highlighting clerical associational culture, and recently discussed by Andrew Starkie in his study of the Bangorian controversy, is a satirical play published in 1717 called, *The Inquisition: A Farce* by John Philips.⁷¹ *The Inquisition* takes place in at the height of the controversy in Child's, which serves as a setting for the author to paint mocking caricatures of sour High Churchman and preferment-seeking Low Church 'Cantabs'. As Starkie

⁶⁹ In addition to Klein, 'Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714', see Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create'" and Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*.

⁷⁰ Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffeehouses: A Reference Book of Coffeehouses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1963), pp. 151-157.

⁷¹ John Philips, *The Inquisition. A Farce. As It Was Acted at Child's Coffee-House, and The King's-Arms Tavern, in St. Paul's Church-Yard* (London, 1717); Starkie, *The Bangorian Controversy*, p. 63; Jeremy Black, *A Subject for Taste: Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (London, 2005), p. 8.

commented, *The Inquisition* relied on reader's familiarity with a culture of mixed clerical socializing, communal reading, and 'spectatorial' culture. In doing so, it captured a social reality that was a topic of discussion in both print and manuscript sources, and a subject of much debate and critique within the *Miscellany*.

The letters of William Warburton to Thomas Birch evoke this clerical associational culture. In one letter Warburton bid Birch give 'my humble Service to all Friendly particularly those at Rathmale Coffy-house. That society is the only thing, for which I regret my absence from London.'⁷² For churchmen with urbane aspirations, the coffeehouse provided an alluring forum for performative sociability which put aside traditional barriers of rank and distinction, and even of celebrity. On his first visit to the capital in 1684, for example, a seventeen year-old Francis Lockier, later dean of Peterborough Cathedral, 'thrust' himself 'into Will's', the famous meeting place of John Dryden and his circle, 'to have the pleasure of seeing the most celebrated Wits of that time'.⁷³

The *Miscellany* was especially critical of clerical participation in the politically fervid aspects of coffeehouse culture. In a letter to the *Miscellany* from 30 March 1734, an essayist took up the role of a coffeehouse spectator in just such an exercise. Strolling into a coffeehouse, the author related, 'not a Mile from St. Paul's... I plac'd myself according to the greatest Advantage, for both seeing and hearing what pass'd'. His eyes turned to a 'vicar, negligently tossing a Paper in his Hand, and sometimes, casting a Glance upon it, while he hearken'd to the Vollies of Wit, and join'd the Pearls of Laughter'. The irreverent company take up the Patriot

⁷² William Warburton to Thomas Birch, May 27 1738, Birch Correspondence, BL Add MS 4320, fol. 120.

⁷³ Edmond Malone, 'Life of Dryden', in Edmond Malone (ed.), *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, vol. 1 (3 vols., London, 1800), pp. 478-481.

political paper, *The Craftsman*, and each take a turn to read aloud from its pages. The vicar ‘was quick enough to demand his Turn’, and amid the banter, he ‘rejoic’d triumphant in every Muscle’ at his audience’s approval. Our narrator, however, turned to ‘melancholy Thoughts’ and concluded his essay with a stinging moral message: ‘his quick, eager Appetite towards *Politicks*... shew’d such an utter *Unconcernedness* about Things of *greater* importance’.⁷⁴ The essayist here was overt in his disdain for the worldly concerns of the vicar, but implicit too is a concern that the coffeehouse was a permissive social space that mixed varied sorts of people on an equal plane, undermining traditional notions of the clergy as a distinct estate separate from the laity. This was a longstanding concern of the episcopacy. Thomas Tenison, for example, was troubled by clerical coffeehouse attendance too, as John Evelyn noted in his diary in 1684:

Dr. *Tenison*... told me there were 30 or 40 Young Men in *Orders* in his Parish, either, Governors to young Gent: or Chaplains to Noble-men, who being reprov’d by him upon occasion, for frequenting Taverns or Coffè-houses, told him, they would study & employ their time better, if they had books.⁷⁵

Again, however, it should be stressed that though writers for the *Miscellany* were critical about certain aspects of contemporary clerical culture, they did not fall into a reactionary mould or seek to restore a bygone past. To the contrary, essayists often referred to the immediate period which followed the Revolution of 1688 in subtly critical terms. Writing in 1734, for example, one author noted that ‘the Character of *modern Clergymen*’, was ‘quite of a different Stamp from those that lived forty Years ago, and act and think in a Way so enlarged and refined, as was not known to our great Forefathers. The true Reason of which we may imagine, is the great Improvements of later Years in Science and Languages, in Logick and Theology’ (23 Nov. 1734).

Other publications from this period echoed these sentiments. Thomas Stackhouse, for instance, lauded the progress which churchmen had made in religious

⁷⁴ *The Weekly Miscellany* (30 Mar. 1734).

⁷⁵ William Bray, *Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn... Comprising his Diary, From the Year 1641 to 1705-6*, vol. 1, 15 Feb. 1684 (2 vols., London, 1819), p. 570; Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, p. 93; Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 31.

learning and rhetoric since the time of Bacon, ‘when Learning was just breaking out of the Cloud of Ignorance, which had so long beset it’. He believed his theological dictionaries were only now possible ‘after a long Succession of able Divines, who have examined into the difficult Points of Theology with more Accuracy, have improved our Tongue, and brought the sacred Oratory of the Pulpit to a much higher Pitch of Perfection, than formerly.’ He traced a lineage of divines, beginning with Cudworth, Whichcote, Wilkins and More, who ‘were the first that made the Reformation’ of sermon writing. They were followed by Barrow and Tillotson, Stillingfleet and Patrick (though he omitted Tenison), who ‘have left it to those of the present Generation to compleat [sic]’.⁷⁶ Stackhouse, much like the authors of *The Weekly Miscellany*, believed that it was the task of the present clergy to distil and represent religious knowledge as accessible to both fashionable and clerical readers, providing the stimulus for more substantive and improving forms of religious discussion in social venues such as coffeehouses.

The Weekly Miscellany was thus an important platform for writers to express, and for its readers to aspire, to this emerging identity of a ‘modern’ clergyman: versed in the liberal arts and sciences, ‘Enlightened’, polite, and sociable. It mixed traditional notions of the clergy as defenders and advocates of religion with an increasingly popular gentlemanly ideal. The *Miscellany* championed certain types of cultural pursuits, particularly reading and literature, as crucial to this form of clerical modernity. Specific forms of literature and the arts were recommended as morally and religiously instructive. Edward Young, Joseph Addison and the metaphysical poet John Norris were all praised as exemplars of polite religion:

Many... deserve the highest Praises, for imploying [sic] their poetical Abilities, as they ought to be employed, in the Service of *Religion* and *Morality*. Dr. *Young* has not (that I remember) in all his Works, a profane or immoral Sentiment or Expression, tho’ his Enemies must allow him Credit of a strong *Imagination* and a lively *Wit*; Mr. *Addison* was a most extraordinary Instance of *poetical*, *religious* and *moral*, Excellence: He did not imagine that he should lessen his Character as a *Poet*, by appearing to be a *Sound Divine*, and a *good Man*; Mr. Norris has done still more Honour to *Poetry*, and to himself; for he has shewn [sic], that a *good Poet* may be a *close Logician*. (28 Sept 1734)

⁷⁶ Stackhouse, *A Complete Body of Divinity*, b-d.

In the paper's final year, Webster and his contributors became enamoured with Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, and devoted weeks of essays to animated discussions of the character's exemplary moral virtue. Samuel Richardson was Webster's friend and publisher. In an anonymous letter to the paper (probably written by Webster himself as an advertisement for the book) from 11 October 1740, the author claimed to have read the manuscript, commended its 'beautiful Simplicity', and vigorously urged Richardson to publish. On 13 December, an essay further reviewed the book's various instructive qualities, and showed how different types of people, servants and lords, men and women, could learn different improving lessons.

In other areas, one author even recommended that 'Under proper Regulations, the *Stage* might be made subservient to excellent Purposes, and be a useful Second to the *Pulpit* itself', though he recognised that this was controversial. (8 Dec. 1733). One letter commented on 'our Saviour's *intellectual Abilities*', which 'were they contain'd in any other Book, than the *Bible*, they would have been celebrated with the highest Praises, by the greatest *Wits*, and the politest *Criticks*' (12 July 1740). This representation of religion as polite, literary, and learned, however, depended on its being intelligible to educated lay readers. One letter writer, 'Academicus', wrote that 'I take it to be the Fault of *Metaphysicians*, and not of Metaphysics, that what we meet with in that Science is usually so dark and inscrutable', but, he thought, 'divested of Terms of Art, as may be easily done', it could be 'the clearest of all the sciences', which could be included in Webster's paper without fear of 'frightening your *polite* Readers with hard Words, or subtle Speculations' (18 May 1734). The goal of advancing plainness and adapting language to readers played a key part in one of the most prominent controversies in which *The Weekly Miscellany* was involved, when William Webster used his paper to attack William Warburton in 1738. This controversy largely defined Webster's efforts in the *Miscellany* during its final years, and brought to bear many of the themes and ideas discussed here.

William Warbuton and the Decline of *The Weekly Miscellany*

The figure of William Warburton did not conform to *The Weekly Miscellany*'s programme as outlined above. In late February 1738, a heated controversy broke out between Warburton and Webster. Writing in the *Miscellany*, Webster took exception to Warburton's new book, *The Divine Legation of Moses*:

If I am capable of understanding the *Meaning* and *Drift* of his Book, he had Reason to apprehend it might draw upon him the Censures of *all* the Clergy who are sincere Friends to *Christianity*... If it be possible for Charity... to suppose he did *not see* the ill Use that *Infidels* would make of his Book, and the Offence it would give to all *sober Christians*, yet his *Manner* of Writing is so justly blameable, for the apparent *Vanity* and *Self-Conceit* which runs thro' the whole, and his *Contempt* of the most judicious and celebrated Advocates for the Truth of *Revelation*, he could not expect to pass uncensur'd.⁷⁷

Webster continued, proclaiming that 'if he *really means* to *Defend* Christianity, he has publish'd the *weakest Defence* of it, that I have ever yet read'.

The work which prompted Webster's outburst constituted a novel refutation of freethinking undertaken by Warburton, 'On the principles of a Religious Deist'. Much, claimed Warburton, had been made by freethinkers of the apparent lack of any distinct reference to a future state of rewards and punishments in the Old Testament. Where this had been awkward for Christian apologists in the past, Warburton admitted the proposition and inverted the critique, using it as a highly unusual proof of the divine origins of religion.⁷⁸ He echoed other thinkers in suggesting that if freethinking critiques of Christianity were taken together and to their logical conclusions, they only served to act as proofs of the Christian religion. Freethinkers charged that the doctrines and ceremonies of revealed religion had their origins in the ambitions of a power-hungry priesthood. Key to such arguments, according to Warburton, was the idea that a future state of rewards and punishments had been propagated in antiquity for the purposes of social expediency and the maintenance of the public good. In a controversial claim, however, appropriating a separate idea from freethinking arguments, Warburton argued that none of the figures of the Old Testament could thus

⁷⁷ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Feb. 24 1738).

⁷⁸ Leslie Stephen, *A History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 (London, 1876), p. 356.

have ever acted on, or been influenced by, the prospect of a future state. The logical conclusion of the freethinker's own contentions, as Warburton constructed them, was therefore, that the Mosaic dispensation could not have had its origins in priestly deceit: under the extraordinary providential system which God managed the Jews of the Old Testament, each man received his full reward and punishment in his present life, with no prevailing notion of a future state. The Jewish religion, and by implication the Christian as well, thus stood clear of the accusation that they were fabricated for the purposes of social utility: The divine origins of scripture and the truth of revealed Judeo-Christian religion were demonstrated.⁷⁹

After the publication of the first volume, Webster accused Warburton of abusing the clergy and undervaluing external evidences of scripture.⁸⁰ Most of all, Webster took exception to the *Divine Legation's* highly abstract argument, which he believed rendered it unsuitable as a work of plainly intelligible Christian apologetic:

what Provision has he made for the Capacities of his *Readers* who are to believe the *Bible* upon the Strength of it? As it requires *uncommon* Attainments to do Justice to the Argument, it requires a capacity much above the common level of *Readers* in order to understand the force of it. But, surely, the *Evidences* of Religion ought to be calculated for the *Bulk* of Mankind; and those are the *best* Evidences which are most fitly adapted to answer that End, and Use.⁸¹

For Webster, these were the external evidences for the proof of scripture: God himself 'has given *Preference to Miracles* above all other Evidence of his Mission'.⁸² Set against the internal evidence which Warburton had privileged within his account, the requisite learning for this kind of apologetic material was much more within the grasp of authors and readers, only requiring '*Church History, common Diligence, and Judgement*'.⁸³ Throughout the controversy, Webster and Warburton took each other to task over the language and tone which they deployed in public writing. In a highly affected and rhetorical exchange, each traded insults with the other over their

⁷⁹ Stephen, *History of English Thought*, p. 359.

⁸⁰ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Apr. 28 1738).

⁸¹ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Apr. 28 1738).

⁸² *The Weekly Miscellany* (Apr. 28 1738).

⁸³ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Apr. 28 1738).

supposed incivilities. Warburton accused Webster of having a ‘most unchristian manner’ and being ‘unhappily agitated by a furious Zeal for the Cause of GOD and RELIGION’.⁸⁴ Webster on the other hand, chided Warburton for his ‘assuming’ and ‘scornful’ airs, wondering ‘how he will ever be able to reconcile such a manner of Writing with the Rules of *true Politeness* and *Good-Breeding*’. Instead, he ridiculed Warburton’s self-assured ‘*prodigious Abilities*’ as ‘*ridiculous Arrogance*’.⁸⁵

After a final exchange of pamphlets and letters, Warburton claimed triumph in the preface of his second volume to *The Divine Legation*. He declared that his critics ‘have given our Author Cause enough to be vain: who, as inconsiderable as he is, has, it seems, his *Webster*; as well as *Locke* his *Edwards*, or *Chillingworth* his *Cheyne*’.⁸⁶ Though triumphant in public, in a private letter to Thomas Birch, Warburton expressed a vindictive desire to blacken the reputation of his critic:

To think I will ever enter into a controversy with the weakest as well as the wickedest of all mankind, is a thing impossible. This I shall do indeed, in a short preface to the second volume. I shall hang him and his fellows as they do vermin in a warren, and leave them to posterity to sink and blacken in the wind; and this I will do, was the Pope himself their protector.⁸⁷

Webster meanwhile, seemingly suffered from entering the controversy. Though he publicly claimed his ‘[ease] under the *Enmity* and *Reproaches* of various Kinds, which the Execution of the Scheme has brought upon me’⁸⁸, he anxiously sought the opinions of his Cambridge friends, writing his correspondent Zachary Grey on 15 July 1738, ‘I wish you had told me what my friends think of my last Letter upon

⁸⁴ William Warburton, *A Vindication of the Author of The Divine Legation of Moses, &c. from the Aspersion of the Country Clergyman’s Letter in the Weekly Miscellany of February 24, 1737*. By William Warburton, A.M. (London, 1738), p. 27.

⁸⁵ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Apr. 28 1738).

⁸⁶ William Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated, on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Reward and Punishment in the Jewish Dispensation*. In *Six Books. The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged by William Warburton*, vol. 2, (London, 2 vols, 1738-1742), xii.

⁸⁷ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 5, p. 167. Nichols does not give a date for this letter, which he extracted from a letter ‘preserved in the British Museum’, though it must have been written sometime between the initial controversy over the first volume, in 1738, and the publication of the second, in 1741.

⁸⁸ Webster, ‘It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP’; *The Whitehall Evening Post* (June 22 1738).

Warburton, and what you hear of him'.⁸⁹

At its core, the controversy between the two authors revolved around differing conceptions of the role of the Christian apologist. For Warburton, innovative forms of Christian apology, which played freethinkers at their own game, added evermore weight to evidence in support of Christianity. He echoed, but took to an extreme, the type of marshal language used by Waterland to describe controversy, writing that he wished to 'sally out upon the Enemy, level his Trenches, destroy his Works, and turn his Artillery upon him'.⁹⁰ Webster, however, questioned the value of such works if no one except the most learned in society could understand them, observing that they did more to serve the ego of the author than the cause of religion. The confrontation between Webster and Warburton was exceptional. The ill feeling and bitterness which characterised the dispute brought a heightened sense of emotion and personal investment to the pages of the *Miscellany*, with Webster staking his reputation against Warburton's book in an ever more public manner as the dispute spilled out into pamphlets, letters to bishops, and scornful prefaces. The terms of Webster's critique, however, conformed to the design of his paper to advance religion in a plain intelligible manner, and to elevate clerical discourse above this form of heated and uncivil polemic.

By 1738 the strains of the production were beginning to show. Initial investors in the paper had come from leading lights in the publishing world, notably Samuel Richardson and William Bowyer. Problems were becoming evident by 1735, three years into the periodical's run. Increased publicity attending the controversy with Warburton in 1738 provided an opportunity to raise subscriptions, and Webster published a circular letter addressed to Edmund Gibson in June 1738. The letter appeared in the *Whitehall Evening Post* the same month, on the front page of that week's edition, and publicly detailed the difficulties which were confronting the paper: 'when I last made up Acompts [sic] with my PRINTER, was brought into

⁸⁹ William Webster to Zachary Grey, July 15 1738, in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 5, p. 174.

⁹⁰ Warburton, *The Divine Legation*, vol. 2, ix.

Debtor to it... near 140 *l.*'⁹¹ In a letter to Grey, undated, though clearly from this period, Webster confirmed the details of his debts, and further added, 'To encourage my present printer to undertake and propagate it with industry, I insured to him all the profits that he could make it bring in, preserving to myself nothing but the power of conducting all the labour of the design.'⁹² This seems to have ensured the paper's survival a little longer, and the periodical lasted for several more years. It only finally came to an end, however, because of an unfortunate set of circumstances involving a preferment.

The declining profits of the *Miscellany* in the late 1730s meant that Webster came to rely on the incomes from his curacy at St. Dunstan and his rectorship of Depden. He came to resent the considerable time which was required to oversee its editorship, complaining that 'I am a *sufferer* for the undertaking' and that he had to 'neglect other Opportunities of employing myself more profitably'.⁹³ Webster's relationships with the senior clergy began to sour as they were neither willing to give more support to the paper nor to let him drop it entirely. Around 1740, he expressed doubts to Grey about the paper, but indicated that 'his Grace [John Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury] is not willing that I should drop the *Miscellany*'.⁹⁴ Perhaps as a token of goodwill, Potter offered Webster the vicarage of Thundridge and Ware in Hertfordshire. Feeling obliged to take the position, and give up his old livings, to secure the patronage of Potter, he was advised by Gibson that he 'must accept the Livings', which transpired to be heavily dilapidated 'in a more expensive situation than when I was a *Curate* in *London*'.⁹⁵ The additional expense imposed by dividing his time between London and Hertfordshire, moreover, meant 'All together the *Miscellany* will cost me at least 40*l.* a year; which is a charge that I cannot possibly

⁹¹ Webster, 'It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP'; *The Whitehall Evening Post* (June 22 1738).

⁹² William Webster to Zachary Grey, n.d., Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 175.

⁹³ Webster, 'It is with very great Respect that I address... your LORDSHIP'.

⁹⁴ Webster to Zachary Grey, n.d., in Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, p. 173; *The Weekly Miscellany* (June 27, 1741).

⁹⁵ Webster, *A Plain Narrative of Facts*, p. 10.

support till I can get some addition to my income'.⁹⁶ Eventually the situation gave out, and in the final edition of the *Miscellany*, Webster announced his resignation from public life, asserting his disinterestedness as an author and the unprofitability of the design, which he claimed had to the end pursued the 'Interest of *Religion* and *Virtue*' and 'attempt[ed] to effect a general change of Manners'. He could not help issuing a final parting shot at Warburton, who had just published his second volume of the *Divine Legation*.⁹⁷ In a short letter to Grey, he commented: 'I suppose you saw my dying speech in the *Miscellany*... I am coming out with a pamphlet. I never was so distressed as now. My last preferment has absolutely ruined me'.⁹⁸

Conclusion

The last years of Webster's editorship of *The Weekly Miscellany* illustrate not only the extent of change to clerical authorial culture. Webster's *Weekly Miscellany* often served as a platform for discussion and self-reflection about the role of the clergy as 'a Set of Men appointed and maintained for the Service of Religion'. But whereas much pamphlet literature of the era celebrated and affirmed the rights of the clergy as a distinctive caste in English society, the *Weekly Miscellany* dealt with the fact that the separation of clergy from laity no longer conferred moral and spiritual authority in a world where 'the *Press* is open, [and] *Conversation* is free'.⁹⁹

The open and heterogeneous world of the Town, particularly venues such as coffeehouses which mixed different sorts of people on an equal plane, rendered the conventional force and authority of the clergy as a separate caste, if not entirely null, then certainly diminished. Webster and his writers sought to make the clergy adapt their own behaviour and persuasive strategies to fit within this new cultural world, reflected in Webster's plan 'to guard Men's Faith, to regulate their *Practice*, to improve

⁹⁶ William Webster to Zachary Grey, n.d., Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, p. 173.

⁹⁷ *The Weekly Miscellany* (June 27, 1741).

⁹⁸ William Webster to Zachary Grey, n.d., Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 5, p. 175.

⁹⁹ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Aug. 24 1734).

their *Understanding*, and refine their *Taste*, without abusing either *Persons*, or *Parties*'.¹⁰⁰ His commitment to a new style of clerical writing, and his advocacy of politeness as compatible with religious orthodoxy, brought him into conflict with contemporaries, such as Warburton, who continued to advocate the old polemical style. Webster thought not only that religion should be an adornment of polite gentility, but that it should also be intelligible to those of ordinary understandings and abilities. In his episode of conflict with William Warburton, we see the existence of two models of clerical authorship in conflict: the newer, polite, and plainer mode contrasted against the old style of polemic which sought to crush opposition through force of rhetoric, logic, and zeal.

¹⁰⁰ *The Weekly Miscellany* (Jan. 20 1733).

Conclusion

From the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century, the culture of clerical publishing experienced several shifts. Statistical analysis of bibliographic trends reveals that the size of the general population of clerical authors remained broadly stable. The intensity of clerical activity in print, however, determined by the numbers of clergymen publishing each year, grew significantly, from about 50 authors per year at the time of the Restoration to nearly 250 authors by the end of the eighteenth-century. About twenty new clerical authors appeared in print each year, though this number rose at times of political crisis and religious controversy, such as in the 1680s, 1710s, and 1740s, to highs of thirty to forty authors.

Despite being a relatively small population of authors, the clergy exerted an outsized influence on the development of an English print market, especially between the years 1660 to about 1720. This position of strength was based on the clergy's success as controversialists in a developing public sphere. The annual output of the clergy quadrupled during this period, a time when lay output, as demonstrated by trends in a control group of lay authors, was unchanged. While greater research needs to be carried out in this area, we can speculate that the massive acceleration of clerical activity in the press bolstered a process of rapid commercialization in the later Stuart book trade. This activity reached its apex after the Revolution and during the years of the Rage of Party, in the two decades between 1700 and 1720. In particular, in three years of enormous energy, 1710, 1716, 1717, clerical publishing activity reached unprecedented highs of above 400 publications per annum. These years, encompassing the Sacheverell crisis, the Hanoverian succession, the '15, and the Bangorian controversy, pitted a Tory lower clergy against a Whig upper clergy and episcopate. The legacy of these conflicts would decisively shape the future relationship between the clergy and print culture into the mid eighteenth century and beyond.

The first outcome was that these crises introduced a new generation of clerical authors to print. The result was a new norm: clerical publishing rates after 1720 largely remained above a threshold of 200 titles per annum, meaning the gains seen in the Restoration and later Stuart period were consolidated and stabilized. Thus, the clergy cemented their place in the book market. This trend held until the 1780s, when publishing rates jumped once again to highs not seen since the Rage of Party era.

The problem, however, was that the clergy stabilized their gains in a period when the rest of the book market started to experience huge growth. We can easily imagine that the visibility of clerical titles in bookshops would thus have diminished as the retail capacity of these spaces grew to accommodate the overwhelming volume of other, non-clerical, titles. Clerical awareness of this fact seems to have driven the upwards movement in output after 1780. After 1780, the number of new clerical authors remained consistent with levels seen in previous decades, while the number of new lay authors saw an unprecedented exponential increase. Clerical authors began to work much harder to get their works into print, even resorting to defraying the expenses of publication themselves. The growth of non-Anglican evangelical groups likely created an increased pressure on the clergy to maintain their presence in the book market. Thus, religious publishing may have had the characteristics of a ‘zero sum game’ in this later portion of the century. If the demand for religious works constituted a fixed proportion of the overall market, and the success of one group came at the direct expense of another, self-publication was a short-term solution to combatting competition from new evangelical and older resurgent denominations.

Yet quantity of output is only one consideration in evaluating the clergy’s contribution to print culture. The other crucial consideration is content. Indeed, it was the content of the clergy’s works that captured the attention of contemporaries most of all. Here too, we see shifts of equal if not greater significance over the course of the long eighteenth century. Topic modelling analysis reinforces the conclusions of historians and literary scholars that the Restoration was dominated by episcopal activity in print, signalled by high numbers of titles where words such as ‘sermon’, ‘prayers’, and ‘holy’ clustered with keywords signalling high status: ‘lord’, ‘reverend’, and ‘bishop’. This trend continued into the early eighteenth century before

episcopal genres declined in importance after 1730. Also predominant in the post-Restoration period were practical works of piety and divinity, flagged by the co-association of terms such as ‘death’, ‘life’, and ‘Christ’. This genre also experienced a decline as the century wore on.

The peaks of clerical activity in print during moments of partisanship are further evident in the topic model. The decades of 1680-1689 and 1710-1719 saw huge spikes in the number of works whose titles contained terms such as ‘letter’, ‘answer’, and ‘vindication’ in conjunction with ‘Church’ and ‘England’. Adding weight to the idea that the ecclesiastical authorities and the government sought to suppress the extremes of partisanship, controversy was mostly in decline after 1720 and was always equal or lower than 10% of clerical output after 1740, a significant contraction from the genre’s high point of 27% in 1680-1689.

The shift away from controversy lines up with a more general trend from the mid-century onward, that clerical printed works became less associated with politics. Sermons of memorialization and thanksgiving, which tended to have strong political and loyalist overtones, never returned to the heights of popularity which they had seen in the Rage of Party period. This is significant. Central to the ‘confessional state’ argument of J.C.D. Clark is the idea that ecclesiastical and political authority were enmeshed right up to 1832. Such a notion of Church-State relations may be evident in the theoretical, political, and legal texts he used to make the case for a British *ancien régime*. The reality, however, was that English bishops and clergymen spent less and less time defending this authoritarian vision in their sermons, memorials, polemics, and prayers. What, then, replaced those traditional appeals to divine right and confessional loyalty?

The answer, according to this analysis, was an emergent form of print culture defined by a new lexicon of divinity and new types of ostensibly secular scholarship. The former trend can be seen in the growth after 1720 of clerical works whose titles imply a metaphysical vocabulary of religion and a critical awareness of its sources: ‘Christian’ and ‘Christ’ paired with terms such as ‘nature’ and ‘scripture’. Moreover, the polemical overtones of concepts such as ‘answer’ and ‘vindication’ disappear, and are replaced with a more neutral term: ‘discourse’. For the latter category, we see

significant growth in what might controversially be called ‘secular letters’. The composition of this class of works is certainly loose, but they are tied together by their overriding lack of reference to any traditional religious concepts in their titles. The most popular term in this category is ‘history’, which notably co-occurs with ‘English’ but not ‘Church’, implying that the clergy were producing secular, but not religious, forms of historical and antiquarian scholarship. The rest of the terms in the topic class refer in some way to the structure or printed form of the text: ‘account’, ‘letters’, ‘volumes’, ‘edition’. A random sample of these texts confirmed that they are a mixture of history, collections of letters, and works of literary, theatrical, scientific, and grammatical interest.

The parallel emergence of metaphysical divinity and secular scholarship is evident in the third major form of clerical writing in the mid-eighteenth century. These works were defined most of all by their authors’ positions in the universities. Thus: ‘fellow’, ‘Oxford’, ‘college’, and ‘Cambridge’ predominate in the titles of these works. Sampling these titles shows that they were composed of a mixture of the above two categories, including works of divinity, legal and ethical works, historical and biblical scholarship, and collections of letters on miscellaneous subjects.

This secular component of clerical print culture is undoubtedly significant. It should be remembered, however, that secular forms also sat alongside new forms of divinity, as well as a significantly increased number of sermons produced by the parish clergy. From 1700 onwards, a category of texts with strong co-association between the words ‘sermon’, ‘preached’, ‘Sunday’, ‘rector’, and ‘chaplain’ in their titles emerged to new prominence. Perhaps facilitated by the growth of provincial printing and the culture of ‘voluntary’ religious endeavour, a larger share of the lower clergy appear to have turned their parish sermons into published texts for wider consumption.

The reasons for these shifts in the culture of clerical publishing are complex, but the case studies pursued in chapters 2, 3, and 4, offer some lines of conclusion. It is notable that the transitional phase began in 1720 and was complete by 1750. In this period, the culture of Anglican religion was strongly shaped by the shared objectives of Whigs in Church and State to stem the societal and political conflicts which had

plagued Britain since the Revolution.

Crucial figures in this Whig alliance between Church and State were Edmund Gibson, Daniel Waterland, Robert Walpole, Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, and Charles, 2nd Viscount Townsend. Also prominent were Robert Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was at the centre of efforts to secure the allegiance of the university to Hanover after 1714. Not discussed in this dissertation, but also significant, was Thomas Sherlock, who despite his Tory inclinations, as bishop of Bangor reinforced and complemented the efforts of Gibson and Waterland to rebuke freethinkers in print with celebrated works such as *The Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* (London, 1729). In addition to Walpole, Newcastle, and Townshend in the ministry, figures such as Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Chancellor, secured notable prosecutions of heterodox clerics such as Thomas Woolston.

This list could go on to include many other well-known figures not discussed here. In this dissertation, I have sought instead to focus on figures who are less well-known to modern scholars, such as William Webster and Thomas Stackhouse, as well as clients of Edmund Gibson and Daniel Waterland such as John Conybeare, Zachary Grey, Thomas Johnson, and others. In different ways these writers opposed freethinking, irreligion in its ‘profane and impious’ forms, as well as old and new enthusiasm. They worked as part of a collaborative endeavour to create consensual religious orthodoxy, quell the Tory zeal among lower clergymen, improve standards of religious knowledge, and fuse Whig cultural concerns, particularly the concept of politeness, with traditional religious concepts.

In the first four decades of the Hanoverian regime, this Whig religious project was both uneven in its evolution and was far from ‘enlightened’ in a modern sense of the word. At once Gibson’s defenders claimed that he ‘approved of a *Toleration of Protestant Dissenters*’, yet they celebrated his unequivocal opposition to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. He was also proclaimed as a ‘hearty Enemy to Persecution in matters of Religion’, yet he personally secured the prosecution of heterodox thinkers such as Thomas Woolston, who was widely

believed to have died from the ill-treatment he suffered in Bridewell prison.¹

Nor did the writings discussed in this dissertation offer consistent messages about the clergy's role as religious writers and communicators. The type of polite religion promoted in William Webster's *Weekly Miscellany* offered a stark stylistic contrast to the bullish mode of controversial writing advanced by Daniel Waterland, who was one of Webster's key patrons. Reading the *Miscellany* from week to week, it is striking how quickly the paper vacillated between traditional forms of controversial writing and the newer and more literary mode of polite exposition. This duality was largely the result of the contrast between the polite approach of Webster with his key contributor Richard Venn, who adopted an older and far more strident High Church style of polemic. In the same way, Edmund Gibson's *Pastoral Letters* offered an unusual mix of practical religious advice for 'ordinary readers' alongside controversial content evidently unsuitable for those without a reasonably advanced understanding of scripture. While this may have been intentional, to ensure that readers of various abilities could find the *Letters* useful, their heterogeneous quality fits into a broader picture that clerical writing during this period was mixing older forms with newer styles during a period of change.

Despite this uneven quality, we can see in the productions of Waterland, Gibson, and Webster, the kernel of what would become the new norm for clerical publishing in the later century. On the one hand, figures such as Waterland sought to give new structure and organization to traditional modes of clerical polemic. He gave new purpose to the close-knit social networks among orthodox scholarly clergy in the universities, and deployed these connections in a concerted effort to meet the challenges created by a heterogeneous, often heterodox, culture of print and the public sphere. Waterland's answer to the new culture of print was to try and create a phalanx of orthodox clergy ready to do battle in the public sphere. By giving controversy such structure, he sought to prevent the clergy from descending once again into damaging and chaotic episodes of free-fall controversy.

¹ Smalbroke, *An Account of the Right Reverend Dr Edmund Gibson*, p. 18.

Yet, mirroring trends in the statistical analysis, Waterland's contemporaries were beginning to see greater value in different and new styles of writing. This is evident, albeit in a conservative form, in Gibson's *Pastoral Letters*. The *Pastoral Letters* provided a novel means for Gibson to draw practical lessons from orthodox theological arguments, so as to make them intelligible to a wide readership. The *Pastoral Letters* also gave new serial form to such addresses, as Gibson issued new *Letters* over the course of two decades to provide a continual commentary on the state of religious belief and practice in England.

Serialization was key to many of these new efforts by the clergy in print. The junior clergy in Gibson's networks produced some of the boldest and most experimental forms of religious writing discussed in this dissertation. Thomas Stackhouse's works, published by number, made affordable and available large folio works for clergymen with lesser incomes. Stackhouse's works exemplify the new style of divinity and scholarship: one of his key texts was an encyclopaedia of religious metaphysics while the other was an encyclopaedia of biblical history. William Webster took up the definitive serial form, the periodical paper, and attempted to suffuse orthodox Anglicanism with polite ideas and belles lettres. The paper actively encouraged many of the forms that would come to dominate clerical print output in the decades to come: history, divinity and metaphysics, literature and poetry, and even the theatre. Furthermore, both Stackhouse and Webster saw their works as part of an effort to fashion a new style of enlightened clerical 'modernity'. Stackhouse believed it was the task of his generation to crystalize and disseminate, in accessible form, the advances in religious knowledge achieved since the time of Bacon. Complementing that effort, Webster moulded the form and rhetoric of his periodical to the new culture of urban life, and thus sought to refashion the Church's moralism in the style of a popular and forward-looking polite culture.

This changing culture of clerical publishing has important historiographical implications. A wide range of scholarship has demonstrated the conceptual value of the 'public sphere' as a framework for historical analysis, albeit in a form which has undergone significant revision since the publication of Habermas's seminal text. Despite the importance of religion to the public sphere, it has nevertheless remained a marginal feature of print historiography. This lacuna is all the more interesting since

there has been a notable revival of interest in eighteenth-century religion in recent years. This dissertation has sought to bridge the gap between these two strands of historiography more effectively, and demonstrate the complex and evolving intersections between print and religious culture.

Much recent scholarship on the Church of England has drawn inspiration from the work of J.C.D. Clark. While this dissertation has shown that the Church derived strength from its ability to adapt in a changing cultural environment, to speak of Anglican 'hegemony' elides the complexity of the challenges facing the established Church. It should not be ignored that the Church faced a truly existential threat in the forms of heterodoxy and lay indifference. Without the traditional resources of censorship and with limited help from the State, the Church sought to meet these challenges directly. The clergy situated themselves squarely within a lively culture of print, and forged new means of defending the Church's positions and actively propagating its teachings to new audiences. The maintenance of orthodoxy within the discursive space of the public sphere, however, required a significant outlay of time, effort and manpower, and the success of these clerical projects was never guaranteed. Despite the application of wide-ranging institutional resources, the public sphere had an unpredictable, levelling quality which could never be fully controlled or regulated by the Church.

As we have seen in the cases of Webster and Stackhouse, these challenges were amplified by the lack of formal mechanisms within the Church to support and sustain writers' efforts. Though not an issue for high status clergy in well-paid benefices, for those lower down the scale, the life of an author, editor, or compiler was often precarious. Thomas Stackhouse, for instance, struggled as an unbeneficed curate for years before securing a permanent vicarship. Even after this, he appears to have died in relative poverty. William Webster was forced to close the *Miscellany* due to insecurities arising from a lack of income and a poorly situated benefice which made his career as a periodical editor impractical. In a larger context, these deficiencies speak to the eighteenth-century Church's apparent inability to reform itself. Gibson's early tenure as bishop of London was marked by repeated failures to reform the patronage system, the results of which might have alleviated the conditions facing figures such as Stackhouse and Webster.

Perhaps the most pressing question to emerge from this PhD is whether the declining presence of the clergy in the print market, and the general shift towards non-religious forms of writing in the later century, favours an argument for secularization. These two points of evidence, along with the weight of contemporary observations about the rise of ‘profaneness and impiety’, heterodoxy, and freethinking, certainly suggest that the culture of religion was changing in ways that tended to diminish traditional clerical and institutional forms of authority. A set of other factors, however, signal caution here. The first is that churchmen were keenly aware of such problems and, as the case studies have shown, they were more adaptable than was once thought, even if their efforts produced mixed results. The second point is that a changing print culture of clerical publishing does not necessarily signal a secularizing trend. Here we must look to the larger forces that were at work in the later eighteenth century. Crucially, voluntary societies, particularly the SPCK, increasingly took charge of the effort to produce and disseminate religious literature to the public. In extracting the corpus of clerical texts from the ESTC, I did not explicitly include parameters to find those works produced on behalf of the SPCK. This would require a separate set of algorithmic procedures, and in any case, would be more suited to a study on its own terms. In the case of the SPCK, moreover, the practice of title counting would not do justice to the scale of the Society’s activities. Compared to the clergy, the SPCK published a far more restricted range of titles, but it had the purchasing power to output much larger and more sustained print runs than what individual booksellers or clerical authors could have achieved. Thus, title counting obscures this increasing scale of production on the part of voluntary societies, as the methodology takes no account of print runs. Indeed, the growth of print output on behalf of voluntary societies may explain the changes in clerical publishing described here. Clergymen may have felt less pressure to produce new religious works, especially of the practical and devotional kind, given that the SPCK was reissuing large quantities of older works in these genres. In this light, the clergy may have felt more at liberty to start exploring new kinds of non-traditional and non-religious forms. Finally, it should be remembered that the declining market share of the clergy was the result, in part, of competition coming from other religious groups. In sum, though these factors point to a changing culture of religious print, these changes suggest a process of diversification, rather than of secularization.

In order to develop and extend the conclusions of this project, therefore, future investigations might examine the print output of voluntary societies such as the SPCK, to explore the social, religious, and commercial considerations that produced a selective 'canon' of Anglican textual culture for wide-spread distribution. Of especial interest are the social relationships and social interactions among the society's governing body, its booksellers, and its subscribers in London, the provinces, and colonial society. Such interactions may have shaped the textual selection process, and would further illuminate the overlapping 'pious' and commercial interests which brought religious texts to market. The emergence of extra-establishment groups such as the SPCK signalled a crucial shift away from centralized ecclesiastical controls over religious print production. In place of traditional institutions, an increasingly commercialized, philanthropic model of religious print production emerged. Such research, therefore, would continue to trace the broader book history of religion, investigating the *longue durée* process whereby extra-establishment groups and British booksellers increasingly controlled, even commodified, the long-standing confessional aims of churchmen to proselytise the Anglican religion at home and abroad.

Appendix: Creating a Sample of Clerical Printed Works, 1600-1800

Abstract: This supplementary appendix provides a detailed outline of the method used to create a bibliographic dataset of printed works by clergymen of the Church of England published from the Restoration to the end of the eighteenth century (1660-1800). It was created using a subset of the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC, <http://estc.bl.uk/>) in conjunction with data from the *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCED, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>) for the purposes of statistical analysis in the first chapter of the PhD. The project was carried out using R, a language for statistical computing (<http://www.R-project.org/>) and RStudio (<https://www.rstudio.com/>), and integrated development environment for R.

Terminology: Several technical terms are used throughout the text which refer to procedures and concepts in computing and data science. It may be helpful to provide a brief explanation of these terms for the sake of clarity. A central component of the thesis involved extensive data processing and statistical analysis of bibliographic data. This was performed using *R*, a freely available software environment for statistical computing and graphics. *R* handles many data-types, called *classes*, such as character data (a-z), numerical data (0-9), and logical data (TRUE, FALSE). These data can be stored as variables within *objects*. Once again, objects take a variety of forms, from simple *vectors* to large and complex *data frames*. Vectors can be thought of as contiguous cells containing multiple data points. For example, the alphabet can be stored as a vector of character data: a, b, c, d, e, etc. A vector can only store one class of data, but other *R*-objects can store multiple types of information. One of the most useful are data frames. Using data frames, multiple types of related data are arranged in a table, with columns and rows, akin to a spreadsheet. The final basic component of *R* is its many statistical and programming features. These range from simple arithmetic to complex statistical modelling and graphic functions. User-defined sequences of such operations, or *algorithms*, are defined in *R* using *functions*.

Outline: The objective of this research was to create a comprehensive and accurate bibliographic sample of printed works by clergymen of the Church of England published between 1660-1800. The primary source was the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC), a comprehensive union catalogue of surviving printed works published before 1801, and the Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCED), a prosopographical resource for career information about the clergy of the Church of England between 1540-1835.

The process described here was the heuristic solution to a problem of considerable complexity, and it is by no means perfect or error free. Nevertheless, developing a computational solution offered numerous advantages over working to compile the data manually. Principally, it enabled most research time to be spent in archives developing case studies that complemented, and fleshed out, the findings of statistical research. The process of extracting clerical works from the ESTC was subject to considerable evolution over the course of the study. The challenge was to design a set of data processing functions capable of analysing many thousands of ESTC records for signs of clerical authorship. Programmed into these functions were a set of decision-making processes that isolated potential records on the basis of key linguistic patterns in book titles. Suspected clerical works were then subjected to a further stage of verification by comparing the names of their authors to the personnel records of the CCED. The final stage involved selecting all ESTC records which corresponded to every unique author who had passed this two-step process.

This method was felt to be most effective given the inherent limitations of each dataset, neither of which was designed for this type of research. At all stages of the process, careful decisions had to be made to balance a desire for the final sample to be as comprehensive as possible with the need to be as accurate as possible. Unfortunately, due to limits imposed by the datasets, accuracy and comprehensiveness tended to be in tension: permissive criteria as to what constituted ‘clerical authorship’ produced more records in the final sample, but it also introduced greater numbers of non-clerical or non-Anglican authors who by chance met the relaxed criteria. By contrast, more restrictive criteria failed to account for natural variations in the language and terminology used by authors to designate their clerical status, resulting in the exclusion of many valid records. It was only by fine-tuning each stage of the

process, and manually checking the outcomes of each stage, that error was minimized to an acceptable level while preserving the greatest number of valid records in the final dataset. This chapter describes the process and rationale of the methodology, and assumes the reader has read the broader overview provided in chapter 1.

The final dataset of clerical works contained 34,502 unique ESTC records produced by 2,838 authors. Manual checking determined that clerical authors were selected with at least 87.5% accuracy. The full dataset is supplied written to a DVD-ROM which can be found in the back of the PhD. The criteria used to produce this dataset can be summarized as follows:

If in the title of an ESTC record, an author advertised himself as a clergyman, and the name of that author matched the record of a person in the CCED, then all works by that author were extracted from the ESTC and included in the final dataset.

This appendix describes the process to create a bibliography of printed works by clergymen according to the above criteria. It begins with a description of the two datasets, then records the step-by-step methodology, followed by details about the final dataset and the steps taken to ensure its accuracy.

ESTC Data

The ESTC is a comprehensive union catalogue of existing early printed books, serials, newspapers and ephemera printed before 1801. Its coverage extends to items issued in Britain, Ireland, overseas territories under British colonial rule, and the United States. Also included is material printed elsewhere which contains significant text in English, Welsh, Irish or Gaelic, as well as any book falsely claiming to have been printed in Britain or its territories. It does not include foreign language texts published by British authors outside of English-speaking territories (For example, Latin, Greek, or Hebrew texts published in the Netherlands, France, and Germany). It is important to emphasize that only material currently in existence is included in the file. Material continues to be incorporated, and the full dataset records holdings from more than 2000 libraries world-wide.¹ The dataset provided by the British Library was a subset

¹ Adrian Edwards, 'English Short Title Catalogue - History',

of ESTC metadata of all resources for the period 1660-1800, the file was provided on 23 July 2015. The content, layout, and size of the dataset is described below.

Number of records in ESTC subset for 1660-1800.

[1] "412,546"

Number of unique entries within the 'Name' field.

[1] "55,575"

Layout and structure of ESTC, showing first 2 records.

ESTC_citation_number	Type_of_resource	Name	Dates_associated_with_name
N1	Monograph	warner, joseph	1717-1801
N10	Monograph	fordyce, george	1736-1802

Type_of_name	Role	All_names	Title	Country_of_publication
person		warner, joseph	a description of the human eye, and its adjacent parts: together with their principal diseases, and the methods proposed for relieving them. by joseph warner, f. r. s. and senior surgeon to guy's hospital	England
person		fordyce, george	a third dissertation on fever: part i. containing the history and method of treatment of a regular continued fever, supposing it is left to pursue its ordinary course. by george fordyce	England

Place_of_publication	Publisher	Date_of_publication
London	printed for Lockyer Davis, in Holborn, printer to the Royal Society	1773
London	printed for J Johnson	1798

Physical_description	Topics	Languages	Notes
xiv, 2, 109, 3 pages, plate, 8°	1701-1800 ; Ophthalmology-- Early works to 1800	English	With a half-title and a final advertisement leaf ; Preliminary unnumbered leaf = errata ; Printed by William Bowyer and John Nichols, according to John Nichols, Literary anecdotes of the

			eighteenth century, iii 234n
4, 260 pages, 8°	1701-1800 ; Fever	English	An errata slip is inserted at the end of Part I, containing a quotation from 'Orlando furioso' ; Part II was published in 1799 ; In this issue the titlepage has 'fever' in roman and 'ordinary' is not hyphenated

Additional_notes_for_serials**Provenance****Referenced_in**

Maslen and Lancaster. Bowyer ledgers 4969

CCED Data

The second dataset used in this project was taken from the Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCED). The CCED contains career information on clergymen of the Church of England from 1540-1835. By September 2014 the database recorded the ‘career events’ of over 150,490 individuals, including information about appointments, subscriptions, and ordinations. The CCED draws on different print resources to reconstruct the careers of clergymen, namely registers, subscription books, licensing books and libri cleri (call) books. As detailed on the project website, these records were inputted and manually linked together by researchers in a process called ‘personification’.³⁶⁹

Unlike the ESTC, established in 1977, the CCED has been active for less than two decades (since 1999). The database itself has not yet been fully populated, with new records being added each year. Only the name information contained within the CCED was useful for matching to ESTC authors. The ESTC frequently records the birth and death dates of authors, but as the CCED is structured around ‘career events’, it does not contain easily comparable life date information.

Number of records in CCED subset for 1600-1800.

```
## [1] "150,490"
```

Layout and structure of CCED, showing first 10 records.

cced_identifier	cced_cleric	cced_date_range
8291	a Beckett, Thomas	1774-1782
10	a Birnfeld, Urbanus Pierius	1639-1642
87212	A Court, John	1709-1740
130590	a Fowle, Edward	1576-1576
130591	a Fowle, Henry	1535-1584
150518	a Fowle, William	1584-1613
160567	a Paisy, Walter	1686-1686
7464	a Price, John	1557-1557
5263	A'Planta, Andrew Joseph	1756-1756
165264	ab Eign' (Eynon), Richard	1561-1561

³⁶⁹ ‘Reconstructing Clerical Careers: The Experience of the Clergy of the Church of England Database CCed’, <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/about/cced-publications/copyright-note/reconstructing-clerical-careers-the-experience-of-the-clergy-of-the-church-of-england-database/>.

Method

The following sections describe and reproduce each step of the project. The operations used in the analysis consisted of a small repertoire of core functions adapted to perform the necessary tasks in the correct sequence. These consisted of: context-based text searching, textual comparison, and a variety of sampling and counting functions used to test the outcome of each stage in the process. The first step was to account for the different format and structure of each dataset, making modifications where necessary to undertake valid comparisons. This was followed by several operations to compare and select records which met the criteria established above. Relevant examples of the type of functions and ‘regular expressions’ (for text-based search patterns) are here reproduced along with text and tables to describe each stage of the analysis.

Import and clean data

Internal CCED Database Statistics as of 6 Oct 2016

cced_data_type	cced_count
Appointment	286141
Dispensation	14175
Ds_Appointment	21846
Ds_Ordination	9449
Liber Cleri Detail	200064
Liber Cleri	11074
Ordination	180941
CDBPatron	197581
CDBSubscription	114700
CDBVacancy	262848
Personified Records	150490
Evidence Records Used in Personification	707038

Import CCED. ‘Personified records’ were extracted from the CCED website. The data included a unique record identification string for each individual, their name, and (if present) the dates associated with that name. These dates corresponded with the first and last career event recorded for the individual. The first date records the first ordination or appointment, and the last date is either the last appointment or death.

Clean CCED. The data required extensive cleaning and reformatting. The first step was to remove records with incomplete names, such as records with only a surname, or no date information. Some records with partial data could be corrected manually (such as the date range 1561-1589 given as 561-589), but 2350 unrecoverable records had to be removed. 150,490 remained for further cleaning and modification. The objective was to create a list of names containing only alphabetic characters separated by a comma, organized as ‘last name’, ‘first name’. The data contained many special characters which had to be removed. Characters such as question marks ‘?’, square brackets ‘[]’, curly brackets ‘()’, asterisk ‘*’, and others are used in regular expression syntax to denote character pattern sequences. An asterisk, for example, is an instruction to match the element which proceeds it 1 or more times, while square brackets are used to enclose a sequence of any characters that need to be matched. These special characters were removed from CCED names where they appeared to prevent errors in the search functions. Certain character sequences were also removed which would prevent proper matching to ESTC names, such as additional descriptions contained in square brackets. The name entries themselves were not removed, only individual problem characters and sequences within those strings. The sequences removed were: all text in [square brackets] and initials within curly brackets (such as from ‘(W.W.) Webster, William’). The special characters removed were: [] () * ? / = :

Reformat and Translate Latin Names in CCED. The CCED contained many Latinate first name forms such as ‘Danielus’ for ‘Daniel’, or ‘Johannes’ for ‘John’. In the ESTC these names are, for the most part, in the modern vernacular form. To be able to compare the two data sets, modernized alternatives to Latin forms were added to the CCED data, but the original form was also preserved should the name appear that way in the ESTC too. For example, the name matching process needed to account for the fact that ‘Danielus Waterland’ in the CCED appeared as ‘Daniel Waterland’ in the ESTC. Both forms, along with other variations, needed to be accounted for. The cleaned names were separated into individual columns. The first names were replicated in a third column for translation. The first names of all CCED individuals were queried to find names ending in Latin noun inflections: ‘us’, ‘i’, ‘o’, ‘um’, ‘em’, ‘e’, ‘es’, ‘a’, ‘ae’, ‘am’, ‘orum’, etc. These Latin names were paired against a dataset

of Latin first names and their English translations compiled from two web sources.³⁷⁰ Approximate string pattern matching was used to find translations for minor variants of Latin names, such as: ‘johannes’ and ‘johanes’. A translation table was created listing Latin names and their variants alongside their corresponding English translations:

latin	english
abrahamus	abraham
adamus	adam
aegidius	giles
alanus	alan
albericus	albri
albericus	aubrey
alphonsus	alphonse
alphonsus	alphonso
andreas	andrew
anthnoius	anthony

English names were then mapped to their Latin equivalents in the ‘alternative’ first name CCED column, producing a table with the original last name, original first name, and a translated first name where applicable. The modified layout of CCED data is shown below. Note the transposition of ‘joannes’ to ‘john’ and ‘elias’ to ‘elijah’ in the example. In the comparison of CCED to ESTC names, both variants were queried against ESTC records.

last	first	alternative	date_start	date_end	cced_id
wrench	frederick	frederick	1833	1833	124575
wrench	jonathan	jonathan	1726	1765	116326
wrench	benjamin	benjamin	1749	1763	116325
wrench	richard	richard	1661	1665	138341
wrench	joannes	john	1708	1742	129326
wrench	thomas	thomas	1732	1775	72021
wrench	james	james	1604	1620	79747
wrench	henry	henry	1635	1684	167767
wrench	elias	elijah	1630	1669	168159
wrench	elias	elijah	1593	1633	16261

³⁷⁰ See ‘Appendix: Latin Forms of English Given Names - Wiktionary’, https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Appendix:Latin_forms_of_English_given_names and ‘Latin Christian Names’, <http://comp.uark.edu/~mreynold/recint7.htm#N>.

Clean and Format ESTC. A similar process of cleaning and reformatting was then applied to the ESTC dataset. The ESTC presented a slightly different challenge. The dataset provided by the British Library attributed authorship across two separate fields. The first column, entitled ‘Name’, attributed a single name to a record where possible. This name was the person that ESTC cataloguers deemed most responsible for the text in question. In a second column entitled ‘All names’, every person determined to have been involved in the authorship of the text, including editors, contributors, and translators, was included in a concatenated string separated by a semi-colon (including the primary name attributed in the ‘Name’ field). The vector-based matching functions used later required a format known as ‘long’ data, with grouped fields disaggregated into their constituent components but traceable to the original record. Author names were extracted out of the ESTC’s concatenated author fields and separated into distinct records. This is best demonstrated with an example:

An ESTC record with multiple authors under ‘All_names’

ESTC_citation_number	All_names	Title
N1007	wesley, john ; wesley, charles	hymns for times of trouble and persecution : by john and charles wesley, presbyters of the church of england

```
# split the ‘all_names’ column, which contains multiple names
# separated
# by ‘;’ symbol, into individual names.

strsplit(as.character(estc$All_names[80]), ";")
[[1]][1] "wesley, john " " wesley, charles"
# replicate associated record data for each named author. What is
# key
# here is that each name in the estc data set is traceable back to
# its
# original associated record through its unique ESTC identifier.

splitted <- strsplit(as.character(estc$All_names[80]), ";")

wesley_eg <- data.frame(citation_number =
rep.int(estc$ESTC_citation_number[80],
  sapply(splitted, length)), dates_associated_with_name =
rep.int(estc$Dates_associated_with_name[80],
  sapply(splitted, length)), unique_name = rep.int(estc$Name[80],
sapply(splitted,
```

```
length)), all_names = unlist(split))
```

There is now a unique version of the record for each author

citation_number	dates_associated_with_name	unique_name	all_names
N1007	1703-1791	wesley, john	wesley, john
N1007	1703-1791	wesley, john	wesley, charles

As with the CCED, special characters and problem sequences were removed from ESTC names. Names attributed to anonymous or pseudo-anonymous texts by ESTC cataloguers were formatted differently to author names which appeared in the paratext. A name attributed to a set of initials, for example, was given as a set of initials followed by a name attribution in curly brackets. The names were therefore split into their constituent elements at comma and opening bracket symbols to account for the different word arrangements. The final format of the ESTC is shown below using the record from the previous example:

```
# create new column to be split into individual name components
wesley_eg$split_names <- wesley_eg$all_names

# split names
wesley_eg <- separate(wesley_eg, col = split_names, into = c("last",
"first"),
  sep = ",", extra = "merge")

# an alternative column accounts for author names given as initials
# followed by attributed name in curly brackets.
wesley_eg <- separate(wesley_eg, col = first, into = c("first",
"alt"),
  sep = "\\(", extra = "merge", perl = TRUE)
```

citation_number	dates_associated_with_name	unique_name	all_names	last	first	alt
N1007	1703-1791	wesley, john	wesley, john	wesley	john	N A
N1007	1703-1791	wesley, john	wesley, charles	wesley	charles	N A

Match ESTC author names to CCED clergy names.

The names in each dataset were now split into their constituent elements and could be organized according to the different patterns which appeared in the two datasets. Five different name organization patterns were identified within the two datasets. The table

below shows how one name could have appeared in five distinct ways:

name_pattern	example
Last, First	Webster, William
Last, initial. (First)	Webster, W. (William)
Last, Latinate First	Webster, Guiliemus
First Last	William Webster
Latinate First Last	Guiliemus Webster

Each variation had to be accounted for, with a series of ESTC and CCED name subsets created to account for each possible organization of name patterns and languages. Having split the names into separate columns to account for different syntax patterns, the names in the CCED and ESTC had to be recombined according to each of the possible patterns described above and matched against its equivalents in the other dataset:

ESTC_last	ESTC_first	ESTC_alternative	CCED_last	CCED_first	CCED_latin
last	first		last	first	
last		first	last	first	
last	first		last		latin
first last			last	first	
first last			last		latin
last		first	last		latin
		first last	last	first	
		first last	last		latin

```
# The match conditions demanded that CCED names correspond exactly to
# the whole name string of an ESTC author. Additionally, the
matching
# function recorded the unique ESTC and CCED id between matches.
This
# meant that each match was traceable to their individual ESTC and
CCED
# records.

wholeFieldTerm <- function(x, y) {
  cced_id = estc_match = ""
  cced_name <- unlist(str_split(x, "_"))[1]
  cced_name <- paste("^", cced_name, "$", sep = "")
  if (any(grep(cced_name, y, perl = TRUE))) {
    cced_id <- unlist(str_split(x, "_"))[2]
```

```

    estc_match <- grep(cced_name, y, perl = TRUE)
  }
  estc_match[estc_match == ""] <- NA
  estc_match <- na.omit(estc_match)
  cced_id[cced_id == ""] <- NA
  cced_id <- na.omit(cced_id)
  df = data.frame(cced_id, estc_match)
  return(df)
}

```

Results. Names which were matched between ESTC and CCED were collected into a new data frame (referred to as the ‘ESTC-CCED name-matched subset’) preserving the exact form which each name appeared in the ESTC and the full bibliographic record which had produced a match. Execution of all 8 jobs took 23 hours, producing nearly 3 million possible combinations between 32% of CCED records and 27% of ESTC records. As expected, the frequent duplication of common names in the CCED meant that each ESTC record tended to be matched against multiple CCED persons. This CCED-ESTC matched subset formed the basis for the next stage of the analysis, in which titles were queried for context-specific references to clerical authorship.

CCED-ESTC name-matched subset statistics

Number of unique CCED records matched to ESTC records

```
## [1] "48,803"
```

Number of ESTC records matched to CCED records

```
## [1] "111,660"
```

Number of potential matches between the CCED and the ESTC subset by name.

```
## [1] "2,917,972"
```

Create List of Clerical Professions used in ESTC book titles.

The next step was to isolate clerical records from the ESTC-CCED name-matched subset based on evidence in titles. Name matching was only a partial solution to the problem, producing many inaccurate matches due to common and shared names. The next stage was to further refine the dataset based on authors self-advertising as clergymen in the titles of their printed works. The task, therefore, was to create a set of key words and phrases used as markers of clerical authorship in ESTC book titles, and search for those terms in their appropriate contexts in the titles of the ESTC-CCED name-matched subset. The analysis began by creating a comprehensive list of professions used within the Church of England during the period. These were taken

from the CCED, which contained 261 terms used by cataloguers to describe positions within the Church. Not all of these terms were used by authors within book titles. Many never appeared or were too generic as descriptors. The analysis progressed by determining which CCED profession terms were irrelevant or inaccurate descriptors. Strategies were developed to search for the chosen terms in their appropriate context.

Examine Terms in Context and Refine Key Word Set. This section of the analysis posed two problems. The first was to determine which profession terms were relevant to Church of England clergymen, and the second was to develop accurate search techniques. Terms denoting clerical professions were often used in multiple contexts, and were not always used to denote authorship. Simple search queries produced a mixture of correct and incorrect results, so more refined context-based search patterns were developed to isolate only those records where professional terms appeared as part of an author-statement. This began with dictating that a professional term must only appear within 20 words (measured by blank spaces) after the words ‘by’ or ‘sometimes’. These context-based search patterns were later refined to produce greater accuracy. At this stage, however, this method was sufficient to test the validity of each profession term.

```
# Find row locations where term(s) appear in field within 20 words of
# either 'sometimes' or 'by'. Match single text string. Can be whole
# field or within a broader phrase.

single_term <- function(x, y) {
  row_match = estc_name = ""
  q <- paste(x, "\\b", sep = "")
  q <-
paste("(\\bb\\b|\\bsometimes\\b)\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,20}?\\b",
  q, sep = "")
  if (any(grep(q, y, perl = TRUE))) {
    estc_name <- x
    row_match <- grep(q, y, perl = TRUE)
  }
  estc_name[estc_name == ""] <- NA
  estc_name <- na.omit(estc_name)
  row_match[row_match == ""] <- NA
  row_match <- na.omit(row_match)
  df = data.frame(row_match, estc_name)
```

```
return(df)  
}
```

When applied to the ESTC-CCED name-matched subset, this context-based search method counted 29,091 titles where professional terms appeared within 20 words of ‘by’ or ‘sometimes’ in book titles. Random sampling was used to closely evaluate the usage of each professional term.

Remove problem professions. Many CCED profession terms could refer to both Anglican and non-Anglican ministerial positions, as well as clerical and non-clerical roles. For example, the word ‘minister’ might be used to refer to Church of England clergymen, but it was more often used to refer to ministers of other denominations. Furthermore, terms such as ‘medic’, ‘clerk’, or ‘librarian’ were general positions within a range of institutions. Finally, there were several cataloguing terms used in the CCED to denote the absence of data, such as ‘not given’, which needed to be removed. A sample of the titles in which each of the queried terms appeared was taken to assess which produced good matches to clergymen. This process, furthermore, highlighted where the context-based pattern matching strategies needed to be refined or adapted for particular word patterns.

Function which sampled the term matches

```

sampleR <- function(x, y) {
  var_name = sample_output = ""
  a <- paste(x, "\\b", sep = "")
  a <-
paste("(\\bby\\b|\\bsometimes\\b)\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,20}?\\b",
  a, sep = "")
  if (length(grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)) >= 3) {
    # if 3 or more results, take a sample of 3
    sample_output <- grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)
    sample_output <- sample(sample_output, 3)
    var_name = x
  }
  if (length(grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)) == 2) {
    # if 2 results, take a sample of 2
    sample_output <- grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)
    sample_output <- sample(sample_output, 2)
    var_name = x
  }
  if (length(grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)) == 1) {
    # if 1 result, take a sample of 1
    sample_output <- grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)
    sample_output <- sample(sample_output, 1)
    var_name = x
  }
  var_name[var_name == ""] <- NA
  var_name <- na.omit(var_name)
  sample_output[sample_output == ""] <- NA
  sample_output <- na.omit(sample_output)
  df = data.frame(var_name, sample_output)
  return(df)
}

```

The output produced up to three examples of titles matched against each profession term. These titles were sorted through manually, and decisions were made as to their accuracy and relevance. About half of the terms were valid, but it was clear in some cases that the context-based search functions needed further development. The remaining half of the terms were excluded for various reasons. While some decisions were clear cut, some terms produced a mixture of both clerical and lay works. These terms were treated on a case-by-case basis, in some cases specific stipulations were placed on how the terms should appear, or limits placed on the origin of publication.

The decision-making process is documented below.

included_terms almoner, archbishop, archdeacon, bishop, canon, chanter, chanter, chaplain, chaplaine, chaplaines, chorister, clerk of the closet, curate, d.d. president, d.d. professor, deacon, dean, fellow, lecturer, master, master of the temple, minister, official principal, preacher, prebendary, precentor, proctor, professor of divinity, provost, public orator, reader at the temple-church, reader of the temple, rector, residentiary, rev., subdean, succentor, verger, vicar, warden

excluded_terms advocate, assistant, auditor, bedell, brother, catechist, chancellor, clerk, coadjutor, commissary, commissary general, confessor, custos, donative, doorkeeper, fellowship, governor, guardian, lector, librarian, medic, missionary, not given, notary public, organist, parson, pastor, pauper, penitentiary, portioner, preceptor, prefect, president, priest, principal, probationer, professor, reader, receiver, register, registrar, scholar, schoolmaster, secondary, sequestrator, superintendent, surgeon, treasurer, tutor, usher, vacant, vice-chancellor, vice chancellor, warden, writing master

- ‘Medic’, ‘governor’, ‘clerk’, ‘surgeon’, ‘advocate’ yielded results evidently not by clergymen. These were excluded.
- Some hyper-specific terms duplicated the results of more general terms. For example, all titles with authors who are ‘canon residentiary’ or ‘vicar general’, were matched under the more general terms ‘canon’ and ‘vicar’. These were excluded in favour of the more general terms.
- Some terms referred to positions often held by clergy as secondary roles, but could also be held by lay men and women too. For example, authors often used terms such as ‘tutor’ as a secondary position subordinate to their main professional role (e.g. *by john Isaac, m. a. rector of ashwel, domestick chaplain to the rt. honourable dorothy, countess of gainsborough, and tutor to her son, the present earl of gainsborough*). These terms were: ‘principal’, ‘register’, ‘brother’, ‘assistant’, ‘scholar’, ‘treasurer’, ‘tutor’, ‘guardian’, ‘parson’, ‘schoolmaster’, ‘receiver’, ‘preceptor’, ‘confessor’. These terms were excluded, in the knowledge that the author’s stated main role (in the example above, ‘chaplain’ and ‘rector’), would ensure their inclusion.
- Positions in schools, universities, and learned societies which could be filled by both clergymen and laymen produced the most mixed results. The terms ‘fellow’, ‘provost’, ‘warden’, and ‘master’ were widely used terms to describe institutional

positions. ‘Fellow’, for example, yielded texts both by John Evelyn (lay) and John Wesley (clerical). The same was true of ‘principal’, which produced a text by Conyers Middleton, a clergyman, but also a medical text by a lay surgeon. The most practical solution to very mixed results was to include the personnel of Oxford and Cambridge (which were dominated by the English clergy), but exclude personnel in lay dominated institutions, such as the Royal Society, or non-English institutions, such as the University of Edinburgh. This was achieved by searching for terms such as ‘fellow’ and ‘master’ only in concurrence with the words ‘Oxford’, ‘Cambridge’, and their variants (‘cantab’, ‘oxon’, etc.).

- Another term, ‘reader’, required special attention. ‘Reader’ was used as a descriptor of both clerical and lay professional status, such as with ‘reader on the practice of physic’, ‘reader and professor in the royal college at Paris’, but also ‘a.m. reader at the temple-church’. In the context of the Church of England, a common use of ‘reader’ in titles was used to describe a clerical position in the Temple Church in Fleet Street, London. ‘reader at the temple-church’ and ‘reader of the temple church’ were included, but other types of ‘reader’ were excluded.
- ‘Professor’ yielded many works by professors of mathematics, medicine, natural philosophy in universities, as well as fellows of learned societies and military institutions mostly in Europe, North America and Scotland. It is doubtful that any of these titles were by clergymen, except those signing themselves ‘professor of divinity’. The term does not seem to have been used in Oxford and Cambridge very widely (where ‘fellow’ was more common). ‘professor’ was therefore excluded, except for the specific terms ‘professor of divinity’ and ‘d.d. professor’ (i.e. Doctor of Divinity).
- Denominational terms not specific to the Church of England, such as ‘minister’ and ‘pastor’, were excluded as they yielded too many Dissenters, Scottish, and non-episcopal North American clergy. ‘Preacher’, however, was included because that term was used widely by the Anglican clergy as a self-descriptor, especially in the republished works of Puritan churchmen who wrote prior to the ejection of 1662. The rule applied here was that only titles published in England with this term were permitted, as the term was also used by non-Anglican churchmen in other countries. The term’s inclusion did introduce the possibility of greater error: foreign ‘preachers’ might still have published works in England, and the term was

- also used by English non-conformists. Name matching against the CCED in the previous stage and later manual checks, however, reduced this error. The abbreviated form of ‘reverend’, ‘rev.’, was also included on this basis, allowed only in cases where it appeared in titles published in England.
- The term ‘priest’ was excluded based on its frequent usage in polemical contexts as a reference to opposing authors, for example: *[against] the impartial examiner published by the reverend john jones, a romish **priest** in 1747... by Walter Harris [the physician], esq.* In some cases, it was used legitimately to denote Anglican clerical authorship, such as with *by john sidway, late seminary priest, but now of the reformed religion, and vicar of selling in Kent.* In cases such as this, because the author also advertised himself as a ‘vicar’, his works were included in the final data set.
 - Finally, certain eccentricities were noted at this stage which had to be accounted for in the search parameters. Spelling variations of professional titles, such as ‘chaplains in ordinary’, and of key locations, e.g. ‘cambridg’, ‘cantabriensis’, ‘cantab’, ‘oxonensis’, ‘oxon’, ‘oxoniensis’. Also, the use of non-name-based author attributions in both title and author fields: church of England, diocese of London, bishop (1723-1748: Gibson), *The late Bishop of London Dr. Gibson’s five pastoral letters to the people of his diocese...* Many official publications of the Church of England are simply catalogued under the even more general author field ‘church of England’ in the ESTC. These were included manually later.

Aggregate all ESTC records where professional terms are used in book titles (context sensitive).

general_terms	almoner, archbishop, archdeacon, bishop, canon, chanter, chanter, chaplain, chaplaine, chaplains, chorister, clerk of the closet, curate, d.d. president, d.d. professor, deacon, dean, lecturer, master of the temple, official principal, prebendary, precentor, proctor, professor of divinity, public orator, reader at the temple-church, reader of the temple, rector, residentiary, subdean, succentor, verger, vicar
england_terms	preacher, rev.
Oxbridge_terms	fellow, master, provost, warden

The next step was to apply the results of the sampling phase, adapting the context-based search terms to the chosen professional terms. Regular expressions (Regexp) were used to match the sequencing of different author-statement phrases. The profession terms were divided into three groups each suited to a different search method. The first Regexp was applicable to most profession terms, being a further refinement of the search parameters adopted in the sampling phase. This method demanded that a term, 'vicar' for example, appear within 20 words after 'by' or 'sometimes', but within 10 words prior to 'of', 'to', 'in', or 'at'. These distances between the words were allowed as book titles during the period could be very long, and could involve complex statements of authorship and professional status. Two terms, 'preacher' and 'rev', were searched using this general method but results published outside of England were excluded.

While the general method worked for most of the terms, it produced problems when applied to academic and educational positions filled by laymen and clergymen in equal measure. Here a compromise had to be reached: specific terms which denoted that an educator or academic was a clergyman, such as 'd.d. professor' or 'doctor of divinity' were searched for under the general method described above. Four academic terms related to institutional positions were queried using a specialized method that limited results to Oxford and Cambridge personnel: 'fellow', 'provost', 'warden', and 'master'. This was done on the basis that Oxford and Cambridge positions during the period 1660-1800 were, by in large, occupied by clergymen. The term 'fellow' was used more widely in institutions such as the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Society whose personnel were not, by in large, clergymen of the established Church. The same applied to 'provost' and 'warden', which yielded many non-clerical personnel that worked in schools, hospitals, and other institutions under the general method. For these four terms a rule was applied as follows: the term had to appear within 20 words of 'by' or 'sometimes' and within 10 words of 'oxford', 'cambridge', 'oxon', 'cantab', 'cambridg', 'cantabriensis', 'oxoniensis'. While this method was not entirely satisfactory, it produced the largest number of accurate matches without introducing an unreasonable quantity of erroneous results. Lay Oxford and Cambridge fellows with the greatest print output were removed manually later. The two search methods were applied to their corresponding profession term sets to the titles of the CCED-ESTC name-matched subset using the function below.

```

single_term <- function(x, y) {
  row_match = estc_name = ""
  a <-
paste("(\\bby\\b|\\bsometimes\\b)\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,20}?\\b",
      x,
"\\b\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,10}?(?:\\bof\\b|\\bto\\b|\\bin\\b|\\bat\\b)",
      sep = "") # generic by or sometimes followed by profession.
  # or a <-
  # paste('(\\bby\\b|\\bsometimes\\b)\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,20}?\\b',
  # x,
  #
  '\\b\\W+(?:\\w+\\W+){0,10}?(?:\\boxford\\b|\\bcambridge\\b|\\boxon\\b|
  \\bcantab\\b|\\bcambridg\\b|\\bcantabriensis\\b|\\boxoniensis\\b)',
  # sep = '') # oxford and cambridge positions
  if (any(grep(a, y, perl = TRUE))) {
    estc_name <- x
    row_match <- grep(a, y, perl = TRUE)
  }
  estc_name[estc_name == ""] <- NA
  estc_name <- na.omit(estc_name)
  row_match[row_match == ""] <- NA
  row_match <- na.omit(row_match)
  df = data.frame(row_match, estc_name)
  return(df)
}

# apply
system.time(name_match_1 <- ldply(general_terms, single_term,
all_names_estc$Title,
  .progress = "text"))
system.time(name_match_2 <- ldply(Oxbridge_terms, single_term,
all_names_estc$Title,
  .progress = "text"))
system.time(name_match_3 <- ldply(england_terms, single_term,
all_names_estc$Title,
  .progress = "text"))

# select all records
name_match_1 <- all_names_estc[name_match_1$row_match, ]
name_match_2 <- all_names_estc[name_match_2$row_match, ]
name_match_3 <- all_names_estc[name_match_3$row_match, ]
# eliminate non-england publications for 'rev.' and 'preacher'.
name_match_3 <- subset(name_match_3, Country_of_publication ==
"England")
# write
write.table(name_match_1, file =

```

```

"RPhd/data/processed/2_general_terms_general_regex_all_matches.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE)
write.table(name_match_2, file =
"RPhd/data/processed/3_Oxbridge_terms_Oxbridge_regex_all_matches.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE)
write.table(name_match_3, file =
"RPhd/data/processed/4_england_terms_general_regex_all_matches.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE)
# read
name_match_1 <-
fread("RPhd/data/processed/2_general_terms_general_regex_all_matches
.csv")
name_match_2 <-
fread("RPhd/data/processed/3_Oxbridge_terms_Oxbridge_regex_all_matches
.csv")
name_match_3 <-
fread("RPhd/data/processed/4_england_terms_general_regex_all_matches
.csv")
# combine results
name_match <- rbind(name_match_1, name_match_2, name_match_3)
name_match <- unique(name_match)
write.table(name_match, file =
"RPhd/data/processed/4_all_regex_term_matches_combined.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE)

```

Match results (results of all methods combined)

Unique ESTC records matched

```
## [1] "14,856"
```

Unique names records in the "Name" field

```
## [1] "3,172"
```

Unique records under the "All_Names" field

```
## [1] "4,077"
```

Number of CCED records matched against at least 1 ESTC record

```
## [1] "21,462"
```

The dataset was narrowed down to 3172 ESTC authors matched against c. 21,400 possible persons in the CCED. Ideally, the correspondence between these two numbers would have been close to 1:1, with each author in the ESTC matched to a distinct record in the CCED. The inherent differences between the two datasets prevented, at this stage, an automated solution to achieving a closer correspondence. This aspect of the project was put to the side, and left open for later research. For the moment, the ESTC had now been subset by records which match at least one name in the CCED and titles which contain context-specific statements of clerical authorship. This was deemed a sufficient set of criteria to move forward and collect all records associated with each ESTC author in the matched subset, and create the final dataset. The distribution of professions in matched titles was as follows:

var_name	count
rector	3663
chaplain	3153
bishop	3096
vicar	1653
dean	822
prebendary	638
lecturer	493
archbishop	420
curate	358
archdeacon	316
canon	302
professor of divinity	136
deacon	124
master of the temple	103
residential	93
almoner	37
chantor	31
clerk of the closet	27
d.d. professor	19
d.d. president	16
precentor	15
chanter	12
proctor	9
chaplaine	8
public orator	8
subdean	7
chaplains	3
verger	3

succentor	3
reader of the temple	2
chorister	1
official principal	1
reader at the temple-church	0

var_name	count
fellow	1543
master	186
provost	13
warden	2

var_name	count
preacher	547
rev.	0

Select all records associated with matched names

All records associated with each matched author were selected. The code is reproduced here.

```
# drop cced id col
name_match$cced_id <- NULL
name_match <- unique(name_match)

# NA values replaced with 0 Length value ""
name_match$last[is.na(name_match$last)] <- ""
name_match$first[is.na(name_match$first)] <- ""
name_match$alt[is.na(name_match$alt)] <- ""
holder <- NULL

for (i in 1:nrow(name_match)) {
  fl <- name_match$last[i]
  a <- name_match$alt[i]
  l_f <- paste(name_match$last[i], name_match$first[i], sep = ",
")
  l_a <- paste(name_match$last[i], name_match$alt[i], sep = ", ")
  if (any(grepl(name_match$Name[i], fl, perl = TRUE)) == TRUE) {
    dat <- TRUE
  } else if (any(grepl(name_match$Name[i], a, perl = TRUE)) ==
TRUE) {
    dat <- TRUE
  } else if (any(grepl(name_match$Name[i], l_f, perl = TRUE)) ==
TRUE) {
    dat <- TRUE
  } else if (any(grepl(name_match$Name[i], l_a, perl = TRUE)) ==
TRUE) {
    dat <- TRUE
  } else {
    dat <- FALSE
  }
  holder <- rbind(holder, dat)
}

name_match$integrity <- holder
# create match IDs

# ESTC
estc$match_ID <- paste(estc$Name, estc$Dates_associated_with_name)
estc$match_ID <- as.character(str_trim(estc$match_ID))
estc$all_match_ID <- paste(estc$All_names,
estc$Dates_associated_with_name)
```

```

estc$all_match_ID <- as.character(str_trim(estc$all_match_ID))

# NAME
name_match_ID <- subset(name_match, integrity == TRUE)
name_match_ID <- paste(name_match_ID$Name,
name_match_ID$Dates_associated_with_name)
name_match_ID <- as.character(str_trim(name_match_ID))
name_match_ID[name_match_ID == ""] <- NA
name_match_ID <- na.omit(name_match_ID)
name_match_ID <- unique(name_match_ID)

# ALL NAMES
all_name_match_ID <- subset(name_match, integrity == FALSE)
all_name_match_ID <- paste(all_name_match_ID$All_names,
all_name_match_ID$Dates_associated_with_name)
all_name_match_ID <- as.character(str_trim(all_name_match_ID))
all_name_match_ID[all_name_match_ID == ""] <- NA
all_name_match_ID <- na.omit(all_name_match_ID)
all_name_match_ID <- unique(all_name_match_ID)

# FUNCTION: Match exact strings in 'Name' Field
author_search_name <- function(x) {
  row_match = estc_name = ""
  q <- paste(x, "$", sep = "")
  q <- paste("^", q, sep = "")
  if (any(grep(q, estc$match_ID, perl = TRUE))) {
    estc_name <- x
    row_match <- grep(q, estc$match_ID, perl = TRUE)
  }
  estc_name[estc_name == ""] <- NA
  estc_name <- na.omit(estc_name)
  row_match[row_match == ""] <- NA
  row_match <- na.omit(row_match)
  df = data.frame(row_match, estc_name)
  return(df)
}

# FUNCTION: Match exact strings in 'ALL Names' Field
author_search_all_name <- function(x) {
  row_match = estc_name = ""
  q <- paste(x, "$", sep = "")
  q <- paste("^", q, sep = "")
  if (any(grep(q, estc$all_match_ID, perl = TRUE))) {
    estc_name <- x

```

```

        row_match <- grep(q, estc$all_match_ID, perl = TRUE)
    }
    estc_name[estc_name == ""] <- NA
    estc_name <- na.omit(estc_name)
    row_match[row_match == ""] <- NA
    row_match <- na.omit(row_match)
    df = data.frame(row_match, estc_name)
    return(df)
}

# APPLY: Name Field
system.time(final_match_name <- ldply(name_match_ID,
  author_search_name,
  .progress = "text"))
beep()

# APPLY: ALL Names Field
system.time(final_match_all_name <- ldply(all_name_match_ID,
  author_search_all_name,
  .progress = "text"))
beep()

# SELECT

# Name and ALL_Names hits separate
final_match_name$row_match <- as.integer(final_match_name$row_match)
final_match_all_name$row_match <-
as.integer(final_match_all_name$row_match)

# Full ESTC Records select
final_match_name <- estc[final_match_name$row_match, ]
final_match_all_name <- estc[final_match_all_name$row_match, ]
all_combined <- rbind(final_match_name, final_match_all_name)
all_combined <- unique(all_combined)

# EXPORT
write.table(final_match_name, file =
  "RPhd/data/processed/final_match_name.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE, fileEncoding = "UTF-8")
write.table(final_match_all_name, file =
  "RPhd/data/processed/all_records_all_names.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE, fileEncoding = "UTF-8")
write.table(all_combined, file =
  "RPhd/data/processed/all_combined.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE, fileEncoding = "UTF-8")

```


Match results (all records associated with all matched authors selected)

Unique ESTC records

[1] "35,956"

Unique records in the ESTC "Name" field

[1] "2,877"

Unique records in the ESTC "All_Names" field

[1] "5,109"

Manual Checking

At each stage of the process steps were taken to ensure the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the final dataset. From the outset, it was clear that no solution would produce entirely accurate results, and that some level of manual work would be required to check for errors. Time constraints did not permit manually checking the clerical status of each author in the final dataset. Without additional biographical information, such as the birth and death dates of individual persons in the ESTC and CCED, it would be difficult to draw an exact match between each ESTC author and CCED person records even with manual work. As we have seen, many contemporary clergymen had shared names, and the evidence in both datasets is often incomplete in obscure cases.

Manual checking was undertaken to determine the clerical status of the top 350 most prolific authors in the dataset. Non-clerical and non-Anglican authors were eliminated, removing the sources of the greatest error within the data. If the level of error within the top 350 authors applied to the data set more broadly, this method also allowed for an estimation of the degree of error in the whole.

At this stage a number of glaring omissions were also revealed. Noted clerical authors such as Jonathan Swift and John Wesley were missing from the CCED, so were not included in the final dataset. Investigation revealed that these prominent individuals were not missing because an error in the method above. The omission was found in the CCED itself. In the case of Swift, the CCED creators adopted a policy to exclude the Church of Ireland from their database, based on its constitutional distinctness from the Church of England (it was Presbyterian not episcopal) and poor record survival. The case of Wesley is more difficult to account for. According to his

page in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Wesley was ordained deacon in 1725 and elected fellow of Lincoln College on 17 March 1726. He was further ordained priest in 1728. Wesley is also recorded as matriculating in 1720 from Corpus Christi, Oxford, in Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, one of the key printed sources used in the construction of the CCED. His omission, therefore, is likely to be a simple, but glaring, error on the part of CCED cataloguers.

John Wesley was an obvious candidate for manual inclusion into the dataset, but the case of Swift was more complex. It is true that, strictly speaking, Swift was not a Church of England clergyman. He nevertheless spent considerable time in England, commenting extensively on English affairs and publishing in the English book market. On this basis, Swift was also manually included into the dataset, and other authors in the Church of Ireland were also permitted during the final manual checks. The final ‘author’ for manual inclusion was official texts of the Church of England, including Psalters, the Book of Common Prayer, and others. These were tagged ‘Church of England’ under the names field of the ESTC.

Based on Swift and Wesley’s omission from the CCED, it is reasonable to assume that other authors eligible for inclusion have also been omitted for the same reason. The inclusion of Swift and Wesley’s works (750 and 1192 titles respectively), goes some way to incorporating notable omissions, but there was little else which could be done at this stage. As the CCED improves in the future this analysis could be rerun to reflect changes to the database.

In addition to incorporating notable omissions, the top 350 authors (by number of publications) were manually checked to eliminate the largest sources of error and approximate the accuracy of the process. Criteria had to be established as to who did, and who did not, count as a ‘Church of England’ clergyman. The following rules were applied:

- All ordained clergy of the Church of England were included, verified by examining author-statements in the titles of their published works and their entries in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

- Church of Ireland clergymen were included, given the porous boundary between the Anglican and Irish church.
- Likewise, clergy of the episcopal church in the American colonies were included.
- Puritan ministers ejected in 1662 were included if they had previously published as a Church of England clergyman.
- Likewise, nonjuring authors were included if they had published prior to their leaving the Church.
- Lay fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges were excluded.
- English nonconformists were excluded.
- Scottish churchmen were excluded.

The largest sources of error were: clergymen editing the work of non-clerical authors who happened to share a name with a clergyman, lay fellows of Oxford and Cambridge, and English nonconformists.

14% of the top 350 authors were erroneously included. There are good reasons to believe, however, that the rate of error is much lower in the overall dataset. The more works associated with an author, the greater the chance that one of their published titles met the conditions of the context-based search terms in error. This was evident when manually checking the 350 most productive authors: for the top 175 authors, there was an 18% error rate, while for authors 176 through 350, the error rate dropped to 5%. All removed authors are highlighted in bold in the table below. The error in the dataset was calculated at 14% and adjusted to reflect the manual removal of 49 problem authors. Adjusted to reflect these changes, the overall error rate is estimated at 12.5%.

```

# Drop problem authors
problem_search <- function(x) {
  row_match = problem_name = ""
  a <- paste("^", x, "$", sep = "")
  if (any(grep(a, all_combined_edited$match_ID, perl = TRUE,
ignore.case = TRUE))) {
    problem_name <- x
    row_match <- grep(a, all_combined_edited$match_ID, perl =
TRUE)
  }
  problem_name[problem_name == ""] <- NA
  problem_name <- na.omit(problem_name)
  row_match[row_match == ""] <- NA
  row_match <- na.omit(row_match)
  df = data.frame(problem_name, row_match)
  return(df)
}

# APPLY:
system.time(problem_names <- ldply(excluded_authors$top,
problem_search,
  .progress = "text"))

all_combined_edited_excluded <- all_combined_edited[-
c(problem_names$row_match),
] # drop problem rows

write.table(all_combined_edited_excluded, file =
"RPhd/data/processed/all_combined_edited_problem_authors_excluded.csv",
  sep = ",", row.names = FALSE, fileEncoding = "UTF-8")
all_combined_edited_excluded <-
fread("RPhd/data/processed/all_combined_edited_problem_authors_excluded.csv")

```

Final dataset statistics

Percentage error

```
NROW(unique(all_combined_edited$Name)) - 350 # the total number of
authors minus the top 350
```

```
## [1] 2528
```

```
2528 * 0.14 # the number erroneously included authors calculated at
an error rate of 14%
```

```
## [1] 353.92
```

```
percent(354/(2878 - 49)) # the error rate for the entire dataset
adjusted for the 49 manually removed names. The true error rate is
likely lower given the higher prevalence of errors in the top 350
authors, from which the rate of 14% was estimated.
```

```
## [1] "12.5%"
```

Unique records in dataset

```
## [1] "34,502"
```

Unique records in the ESTC "Name" field

```
## [1] "2,838"
```

Unique records in the ESTC "All_Names" field

```
## [1] "4,733"
```


Supplementary Tables

Table 1: Top Authors in the Clerical Sample (by Number of Published Titles), Showing those Manually Included (Italics) and those Excluded (Bold).

Name	Freq		Freq
1. <i>church of england_</i>	1870	20. <i>beveridge, william_1637-1708</i>	206
2. <i>wesley, john_1703-1791</i>	1192	21. <i>law, william_1686-1761</i>	206
3. <i>swift, jonathan_1667-1745</i>	750	22. <i>owen, john_1616-1683</i>	170
4. pope, alexander_1688-1744	651	23. <i>sherlock, thomas_1678-1761</i>	163
5. milton, john_1608-1674	473	24. <i>taylor, jeremy_1613-1667</i>	162
6. gay, john_1685-1732	464	25. <i>watson, richard_1737-1816</i>	160
7. <i>young, edward_1683-1765</i>	463	26. <i>stillingfleet, edward_1635-1699</i>	156
8. <i>whitefield, george_1714-1770</i>	455	27. hale, matthew_1609-1676	145
9. <i>burnet, gilbert_1643-1715</i>	405	28. <i>whiston, william_1667-1752</i>	145
10. baxter, richard_1615-1691	372	29. <i>fleetwood, william_1656-1723</i>	143
11. <i>sterne, laurence_1713-1768</i>	335	30. <i>dodd, william_1729-1777</i>	140
12. <i>allestree, richard_1619-1681</i>	302	31. <i>romaine, william_1714-1795</i>	138
13. <i>hervey, james_1714-1758</i>	276	32. gray, thomas_1716-1771	137
14. <i>tillotson, john_1630-1694</i>	272	33. salmon, thomas_1679-1767	137
15. <i>syngge, edward_1659-1741</i>	250	34. <i>atterbury, francis_1662-1732</i>	133
16. <i>gibson, edmund_1669-1748</i>	234	35. <i>trapp, joseph_1679-1747</i>	131
17. <i>woodward, josiah_1660-1712</i>	228	36. edwards, jonathan_1703-1758	130
18. <i>hoadly, benjamin_1676-1761</i>	225	37. <i>kennett, white_1660-1728</i>	128
19. <i>patrick, simon_1626-1707</i>	209	38. <i>morell, thomas_1703-1784</i>	126
		39. <i>sharp, john_1645-1714</i>	126
		40. <i>fletcher, john_1729-1785</i>	122
		41. <i>mason, william_1725-1797</i>	121
		42. <i>newton, john_1725-1807</i>	114
		43. <i>stebbing, henry_1687-1763</i>	113
		44. <i>wells, edward_1667-1727</i>	113
		45. <i>wake, william_1657-1737</i>	112
		46. <i>clarke, samuel_1675-1729</i>	111
		47. <i>hare, francis_1671-1740</i>	110

48.	wesley, charles_1707-1788	110	75.	humfrey, john_1621-1719	86
49.	price, richard_1723-1791	109	76.	caesar, julius_	85
50.	brown, john_1722-1787	107	77.	hickes, george_1642-1715	84
51.	russel, robert_active 1692	106	78.	langhorne, john_1735-1779	83
52.	ken, thomas_1637-1711	105	79.	assheton, william_1641-1711	82
53.	wilson, thomas_1663-1755	105	80.	sacheverell, henry_1674-1724	82
54.	norris, john_1657-1711	103	81.	rawlet, john_1642-1686	81
55.	dunton, john_1659-1733	99	82.	scott, john_1639-1695	81
56.	lowth, robert_1710-1787	99	83.	porteus, beilby_1731-1809	80
57.	wright, s. samuel_1683-1746	99	84.	beverley, thomas_	77
58.	bacon, francis_1561-1626	97	85.	whitby, daniel_1638-1726	75
59.	horneck, anthony_1641-1697	97	86.	smith, william_1727-1803	74
60.	huntington, william_1745-1813	97	87.	bentley, richard_1662-1742	73
61.	ray, john_1627-1705	96	88.	hickeringill, edmund_1631-1708	73
62.	stanhope, george_1660-1728	94	89.	lucas, richard_1648-1715	72
63.	tucker, josiah_1712-1799	94	90.	barrow, isaac_1630-1677	71
64.	barclay, robert_1648-1690	93	91.	horne, george_1730-1792	71
65.	dyché, thomas_-approximately 1733	92	92.	sanderson, robert_1587-1663	71
66.	berkeley, george_1685-1753	90	93.	gilpin, william_1724-1804	69
67.	comber, thomas_1645-1699	90	94.	south, robert_1634-1716	69
68.	sykes, arthur ashley_1683 or 1684-1756	90	95.	warburton, william_1698-1779	69
69.	stephens, edward_-1706	89	96.	sewell, george_-1726	68
70.	blair, robert_1699-1746	88	97.	sprat, thomas_1635-1713	68
71.	brown, john_1715-1766	88	98.	ambrose, isaac_1604-1664	67
72.	ballard, thomas_active 1698-1734	87	99.	lewis, john_1675-1747	67
73.	secker, thomas_1693-1768	87	100.	prideaux, humphrey_1648-1724	67
74.	hoole, charles_1610-1667	86	101.	whitehead, william_1715-1785	67
			102.	kettlewell, john_1653-1695	66

103. knox, vicesimus_1752-1821	66	131. hobbes, thomas_1588-1679	54
104. gouge, thomas_1609-1681	65	132. parnell, thomas_1679-1718	54
105. king, william_1650-1729	65	stackhouse, thomas_approximately	54
106. smith, william_-1673	65	133. 1680-1752	
107. watson, thomas_-1686	65	134. crook, john_1617-1699	53
108. chauncy, charles_1705-1787	64	135. derham, w. william_1657-1735	53
109. henley, john_1692-1756	63	136. love, christopher_1618-1651	53
110. howe, john_1630-1705	63	137. clarke, samuel_1599-1682	52
111. paley, william_1743-1805	63	138. fowler, edward_1632-1714	52
112. wakefield, gilbert_1756-1801	63	139. bradford, samuel_1652-1731	51
113. edwards, john_1637-1716	62	140. ellis, clement_1630-1700	50
114. lloyd, william_1627-1717	62	141. kennicott, benjamin_1718-1783	50
115. madan, martin_1726-1790	62	142. wilkins, john_1614-1672	50
116. wallis, john_1616-1703	61	143. francklin, thomas_1721-1784	49
117. waterland, daniel_1683-1740	61	144. rogers, john_1679-1729	49
118. snape, andrew_1675-1742	60	145. shepard, thomas_1605-1649	49
119. knaggs, thomas_1660 or 1661-1724	59	146. smalridge, george_1663-1719	49
120. milbourne, luke_1649-1720	59	147. smith, samuel_1588-1665	49
121. clarke, john_1687-1734	58	148. clayton, robert_1695-1758	48
122. williams, david_1738-1816	58	149. earbery, matthias_1690-1740	48
123. king, william_1663-1712	57	150. gauden, john_1605-1662	48
124. bennet, thomas_1673-1728	56	151. goodman, john_1625 or 1626-1690	48
125. maddox, isaac_1697-1759	56	152. hall, joseph_1574-1656	48
126. coke, thomas_1747-1814	55	153. kidder, richard_1633-1703	48
127. dodwell, henry_1641-1711	55	154. more, henry_1614-1687	48
128. pearce, zachary_1690-1774	55	155. scott, thomas_1747-1821	48
129. tenison, thomas_1636-1715	55	156. evans, john_1680-1730	47
130. woolston, thomas_1670-1733	55	157. greene, thomas_1658-1738	47

158. leland, john_1691-1766	47	186. warton, thomas_1728-1790	40
159. adams, william_1706-1789	46	187. field, john_1652-1723	39
160. bates, william_1625-1699	46	188. grey, zachary_1688-1766	39
161. brett, thomas_1667-1744	46	189. hildrop, john_1682-1756	39
162. talbot, william_1658 or 1659-1730	46	190. trimnell, charles_1663-1723	39
163. bisse, thomas_-1731	45	191. conybeare, john_1692-1755	38
164. butler, joseph_1692-1752	45	192. gastrell, francis_1662-1725	38
165. croxall, samuel_-1752	45	193. horsley, samuel_1733-1806	38
166. dorrington, theophilus_-1715	45	194. de coetlogon, c. e. charles edward_1746-1820	37
167. pelling, edward_-1718	45	195. dyer, william_1632/3-1696	37
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169. burn, richard_1709-1785	44	197. taylor, john_1694-1761	37
170. chubb, thomas_1679-1747	44	198. cockburn, john_1652-1729	36
171. duck, stephen_1705-1756	44	199. coxe, william_1747-1828	36
172. haweis, thomas_1734-1820	44	200. moss, robert_1666-1729	36
173. webster, w. william_1689-1758	44	201. shaw, samuel_1635-1696	36
174. burkitt, william_1650-1703	43	202. strype, john_1643-1737	36
175. disney, john_1746-1816	43	203. blackburne, francis_1705-1787	35
176. mason, william_1719-1791	43	204. fiddes, richard_1671-1725	35
177. dyer, william_-1696	42	205. frend, william_1757-1841	35
178. hole, matthew_1639 or 1640-1730	42	206. pierce, thomas_1622-1691	35
179. wilymott, william_-1737	42	207. polwhele, richard_1760-1838	35
180. dell, william_-1664	41	208. stukeley, william_1687-1765	35
181. hurd, richard_1720-1808	41	209. t. w. thomas wilcox_1622-1687	35
182. brady, nicholas_1659-1726	40	210. bull, george_1634-1710	34
183. cave, william_1637-1713	40	211. butler, john_1717-1802	34
184. lindsey, theophilus_1723-1808	40	212. long, thomas_1621-1707	34
185. phillips, john_1631-1706	40		

213. nicholls, william_1664-1712	34	240. donne, benjamin_1729-1798	30
214. richardson, william_1743-1814	34	241. lake, edward_1641-1704	30
215. townley, james_1714-1778	34	242. percy, thomas_1729-1811	30
216. adams, john_1662-1720	33	243. rymer, thomas_1641-1713	30
217. balguy, john_1686-1748	33	244. shipley, jonathan_1714-1788	30
218. bishop, george_-1668	33	245. smith, thomas_1638-1710	30
219. bold, s. samuel_1649-1737	33	246. tilly, william_1675	30
220. hill, rowland_1744-1833	33	247. wesley, samuel_1662-1735	30
221. kennett, basil_1674-1715	33	248. wheatly, charles_1686-1742	30
222. venn, h. henry_1725-1797	33	249. addison, lancetot_1632-1703	29
223. walker, samuel_1714-1761	33	250. chillingworth, william_1602-1644	29
224. anderson, james_approximately 1680- 1739	32	251. du moulin, peter_1601-1684	29
225. douglas, john_1721-1807	32	252. fleetwood, john_	29
226. glasse, samuel_1735-1812	32	253. hopkins, ezekiel_1634-1690	29
227. hales, stephen_1677-1761	32	254. howell, william_1631 or 1632-1683	29
228. nicolson, william_1655-1727	32	255. randolph, thomas_1701-1783	29
229. smith, mr thomas_active 1753-1777	32	256. vivian, thomas_approximately 1722- 1793	29
230. stockdale, percival_1736-1811	32	257. welchman, edward_1665-1739	29
231. berriman, william_1688-1750	31	258. wood, thomas_1661-1722	29
232. clagett, william_1646-1688	31	259. boulter, hugh_1672-1742	28
233. hawker, robert_1753-1827	31	260. browne, peter_approximately 1666- 1735	28
234. hay, george_1729-1811	31	261. clowes, j. john_1743-1831	28
235. hunter, henry_1741-1802	31	262. dawson, benjamin_1729-1814	28
236. newton, thomas_1704-1782	31	263. drake, james_1667-1707	28
237. turner, john_1649 or 1650	31	264. grantham, thomas_1634-1692	28
238. barlow, thomas_1607-1691	30	265. hunt, isaac_approximately 1742-1809	28
239. bedford, arthur_1668-1745	30		

266. moore, john_1646-1714	28	294. smalbroke, richard_1672-1749	26
267. parker, samuel_1640-1688	28	295. smythies, william_-1715	26
268. parker, william_1714-1802	28	296. bentham, edward_1707-1776	25
269. penn, james_1727-1800	28	297. bragge, francis_1664-1728	25
270. perkins, joseph_1658	28	298. calamy, benjamin_1642-1686	25
271. whatley, robert_-1767	28	299. fullwood, francis_-1693	25
272. wotton, william_1666-1727	28	300. hooper, george_1640-1727	25
273. elliot, richard_-1788	27	301. marshall, walter_1628-1680	25
274. harwood, edward_1729-1794	27	302. scott, james_1733-1814	25
275. herring, thomas_1693-1757	27	303. white, john_approximately 1685-1755	25
276. hurdis, james_1763-1801	27	304. wilkes, wetenhall_-1751	25
277. mangey, thomas_1688-1755	27	305. womock, laurence_1612-1685	25
278. mann, isaac_1711 or 1712-1788	27	306. allen, william_-1686	24
279. marshall, nathaniel_-1730	27	307. berridge, john_1716-1793	24
280. pearson, john_1613-1686	27	308. brevint, daniel_1616-1695	24
281. simpson, david_1745-1799	27	309. burroughs, jeremiah_1599-1646	24
282. stirling, john_-1777	27	310. chapman, john_1704-1784	24
283. wagstaffe, thomas_1645-1712	27	clarke, richard_1723-approximately	24
284. wesley, samuel_1691-1739	27	311. 1780	
285. worthington, john_1618-1671	27	312. denne, john_1693-1767	24
286. claridge, richard_1649-1723	26	313. grey, richard_1694-1771	24
287. fothergill, george_1705-1760	26	314. law, edmund_1703-1787	24
288. foxe, john_1516-1587	26	315. lye, thomas_1621-1684	24
289. huntingford, george isaac_1748-1832	26	316. newton, william_-1744	24
290. hutchinson, francis_1661-1739	26	317. pyle, thomas_1674-1756	24
291. potter, john_1673 or 1674-1747	26	318. ramsay, james_1733-1789	24
292. seabury, samuel_1729-1796	26	319. reynolds, edward_1599-1676	24
293. sherlock, r. richard_1612-1689	26	320. rotheram, john_1725-1789	24

321. rudd, sayer_-1757	24	348. lowth, william_1660-1732	22
322. squire, samuel_1713-1766	24	349. mapletoft, john_1631-1721	22
323. tatham, edward_1749-1834	24	350. maskelyne, nevil_1732-1811	22
324. turner, w. william_active 1687-1701	24		
325. ainsworth, robert_1660-1743	23		
326. andrewes, lancelet_1555-1626	23		
327. chishull, edmund_1671-1733	23		
328. cosin, john_1594-1672	23		
329. desaguliers, j. t. john theophilus_1683-1744	23		
330. dodwell, william_1709-1785	23		
331. gale, theophilus_1628-1678	23		
332. graves, richard_1715-1804	23		
333. holmes, robert_1748-1805	23		
334. ibbetson, james_1717-1781	23		
335. leng, john_1665-1727	23		
336. massey, edmund_1690-1765	23		
337. pead, deuel_-1727	23		
338. rennell, thomas_1754-1840	23		
339. stephens, william_-1718	23		
340. thacher, peter_1752-1802	23		
341. wilcox, daniel_-1733	23		
342. woodward, richard_1726-1794	23		
343. young, samuel_active 1684-1700	23		
344. byrom, john_1692-1763	22		
345. cobden, edward_1684-1764	22		
346. fox, francis_1675-1738	22		
347. laurence, john_1668-1732	22		

Table 2: Latin names in the CCED and their English Translations.

abrahamus	abraham	chrisopherus	christopher	elias	elijah
adamus	adam	christianus	christian	elias	elliot
aegidius	giles	christoferus	christopher	elias	ellis
alanus	alan	christoforus	christopher	elizaesus	elizaes
albericus	albri	christopherus	christopher	elizeus	ellis
albericus	aubrey	claudius	claudes	elizeus	elys
alphonsus	alphonse	danielem	daniel	epiphanius	epiphani
alphonsus	alphonso	danielis	daniel	eugenius	eugene
andreas	andrew	davidem	david	euphemius	euphemi
anthnoius	anthony	davidus	david	eusebius	eusebi
anthonius	anthony	demetrius	demetri	fidelis	fidel
antoniuss	anthony	desiderius	didier	frances	francis
archibaldus	archibald	desiderius	dresery	franciscus	francis
arthurus	arthur	dionysius	denis	frauncis	francis
audioenus	owen	dionysiusdennis	denis	fredericus	frederick
barnabas	barnaby	eadwardus	edward	gabrielus	gabriel
barnabus	barnaby	edmondus	edmond	galfridus	geoffrey
bartholomeus	bartholomew	edmondus	edmund	geo	george
benedictus	benedict	edmundum	edmond	georgius	george
benedictus	bennet	edmundum	edmund	gilbertus	gilbert
caius	kay	edmundus	edmond	gilbertus	wilbert
carolum	charles	edmundus	edmund	gilbertus	wilbur
carolus	charles	eduardus	edward	gualterus	walter
charolus	charles	edvardum	edward	guido	guy
chrisoforus	christopher	edvardus	edward	guileilmus	william
		edwardus	edward	guilielmus	william
		edwardus	edward	guillelmus	william

gulielimus	william	jeremias	jeremy	ludovicus	lewis
guliellmus	william	joahannes	john	ludovicus	louis
gulielmi	william	joh	john	malachias	malachy
gulielmum	william	joannes	john	marcus	mark
gulielmus	william	johanes	john	marias	mary
guliemus	william	johannes	john	marmaducas	marmaduke
gulilemus	william	johnannes	john	martinus	martin
gulimus	william	jona	jonah	mathias	matthew
gustavus	gustav	jonas	jonah	mathias	matthew
gustavus	gustave	josephum	joseph	mattaeus	matthew
hanricus	henry	josephus	joseph	matthaeus	matthew
hendricus	henry	joshu	joshua	mattheus	matthew
henri	henry	joshua	joshua	matthias	matthew
henrici	henry	joshuas	joshua	matthias	matthew
henricus	henry	josia	joshua	mauricius	maurice
herbertus	herbert	josia	josiah	mauricius	merrick
heugo	hugh	josias	joshua	mauricius	morris
heugo	hugo	josias	josiah	maximilianus	maximilian
hieronymus	jerome	josua	joshua	michaelis	michael
hugo	hugh	julius	jules	miles	miles
humfredus	humfrey	lancellotus	lancellot	milo	miles
humfridus	humfrey	lancelotus	lancelot	name	translation
isaaci	isaac	laurentius	laurence	nathanus	nathan
iacobum	jacob	laurentius	lawrence	nicholas	nicholas
iacobum	james	leonardus	leonard	nicholaus	nicholas
iacobus	jacob	lodovicus	lewis	nicholaus	nicholas
iacobus	james	lucas	luke	nicholaus	nicolas

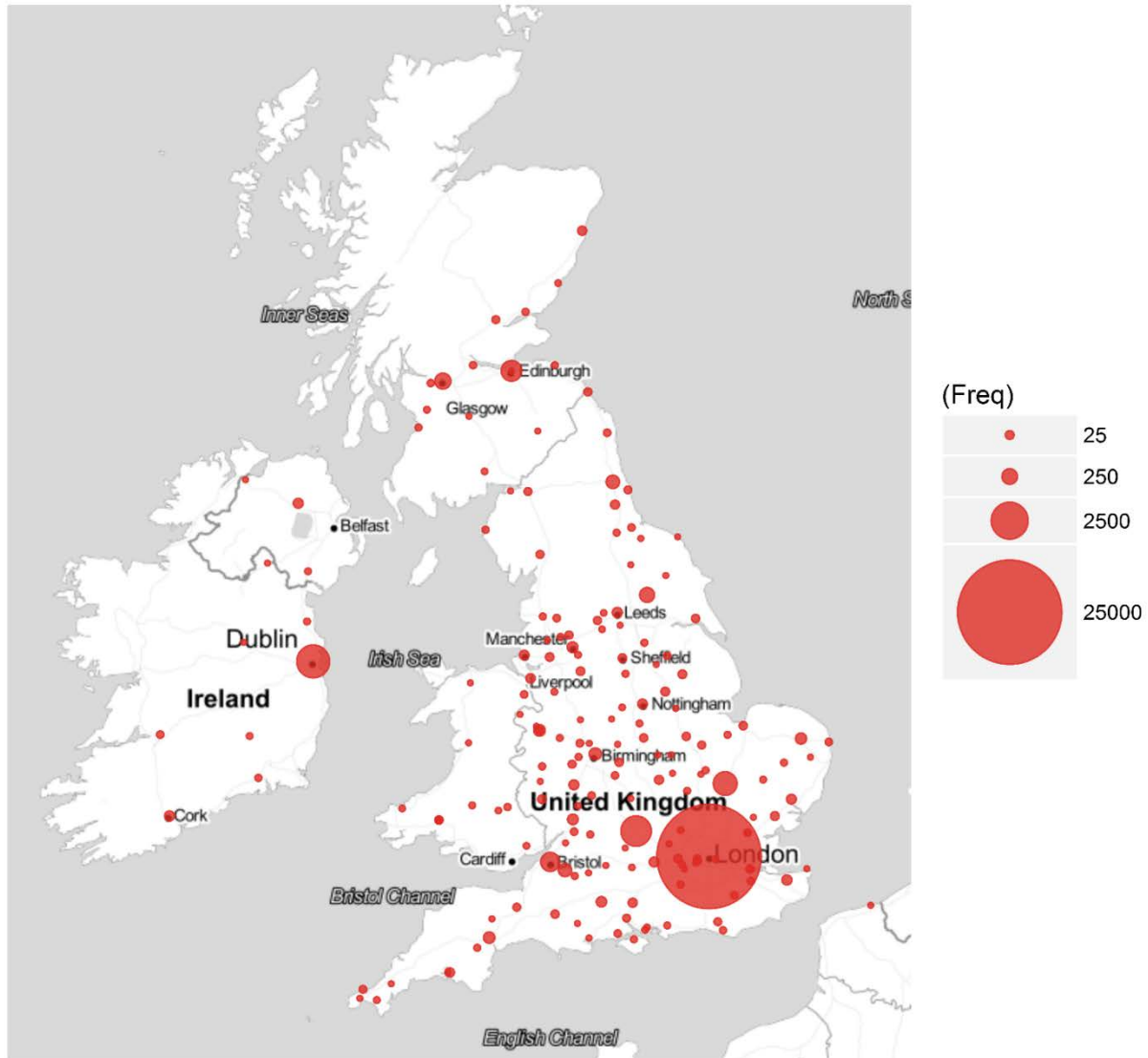
nicolas	nicholas	ric'us	riceus	tobias	toby
nicolas	nicolas	robertum	robert	valentinus	valentine
nicolaus	nicholas	robertus	robert	walterus	walter
nicolaus	nicholas	rodericus	roderick	wiiliam	william
nicolaus	nicolas	rogeru	roger	wilhelmus	william
oliverus	oliver	rogerus	roger	wilhelmus	william
otho	otes	rolandus	roland	wiliam	william
patricius	patrick	samuelis	samuel	willelmus	william
paulus	paul	samuelus	samuel	willelmus	william
petrus	peter	stephanus	stephen	willhelmus	william
philippus	philip	stephanus	steven	willhelmus	william
philippus	phillip	theodorus	theodore	willielmus	william
phillippus	phillip	theophilus	teofle	willimus	william
renatus	rene	thomas	teofle	zaccharias	zachary
ricardus	richard	tho	thomas	zaccheus	zachary
ricaus	rhys	thoma	thomas	zacharia	zachary
riceus	rhys	thos	thomas	zacharias	zachary
richardus	richard	timotheus	timothy	zacheas	zachary
ric'us	rhys			zacheus	zachary

Supplementary Maps and Charts

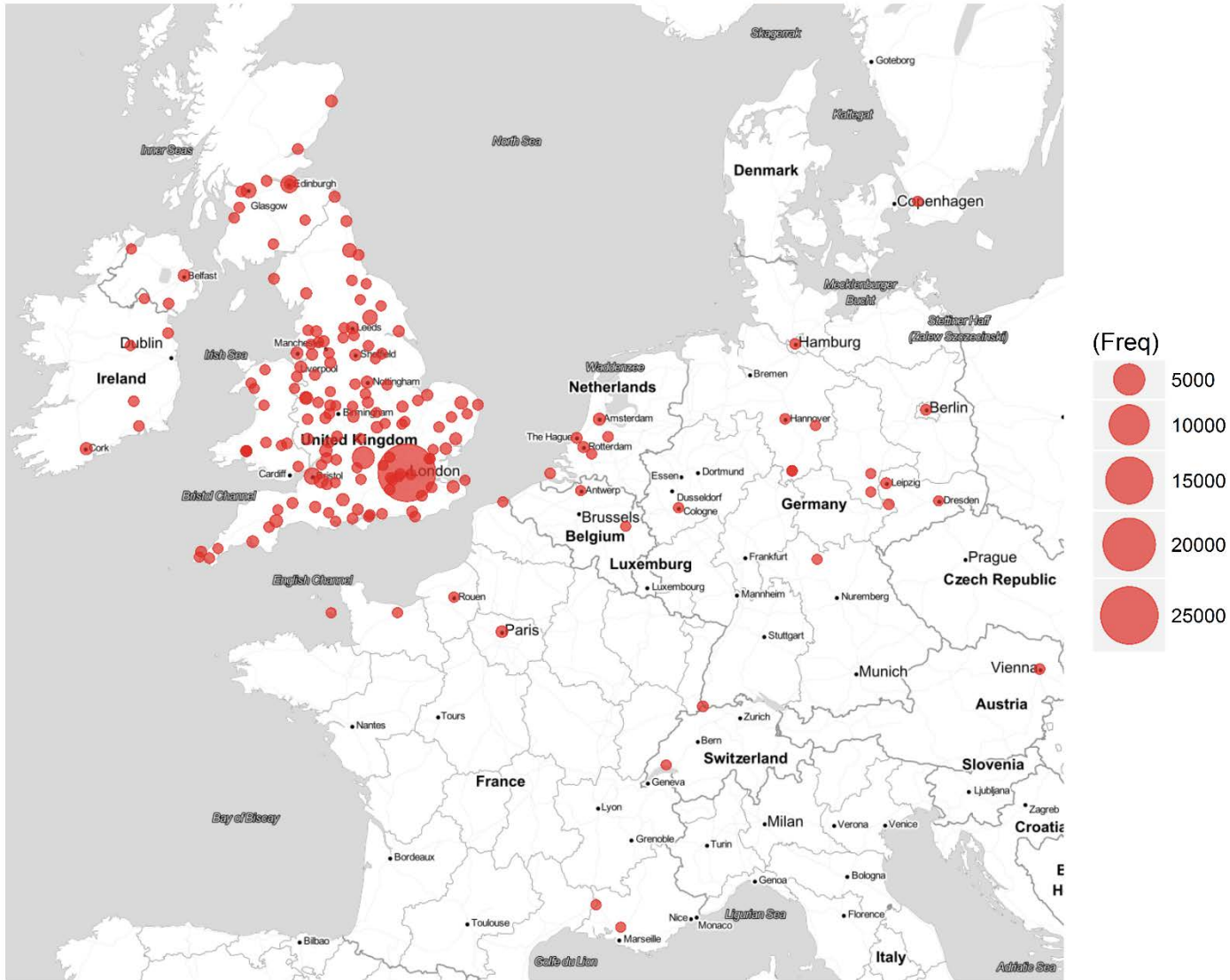
N.B. The following maps and charts were not included in the main analysis but may be of interest as they point to potential avenues for future research. They were excluded for one or more of the following reasons:

- They relied on methods which were experimental or underdeveloped and raised problems too complex to be resolved in the course of the PhD.
- They visualized data better suited to presentation in a table.
- They reproduced the research results of other scholars.

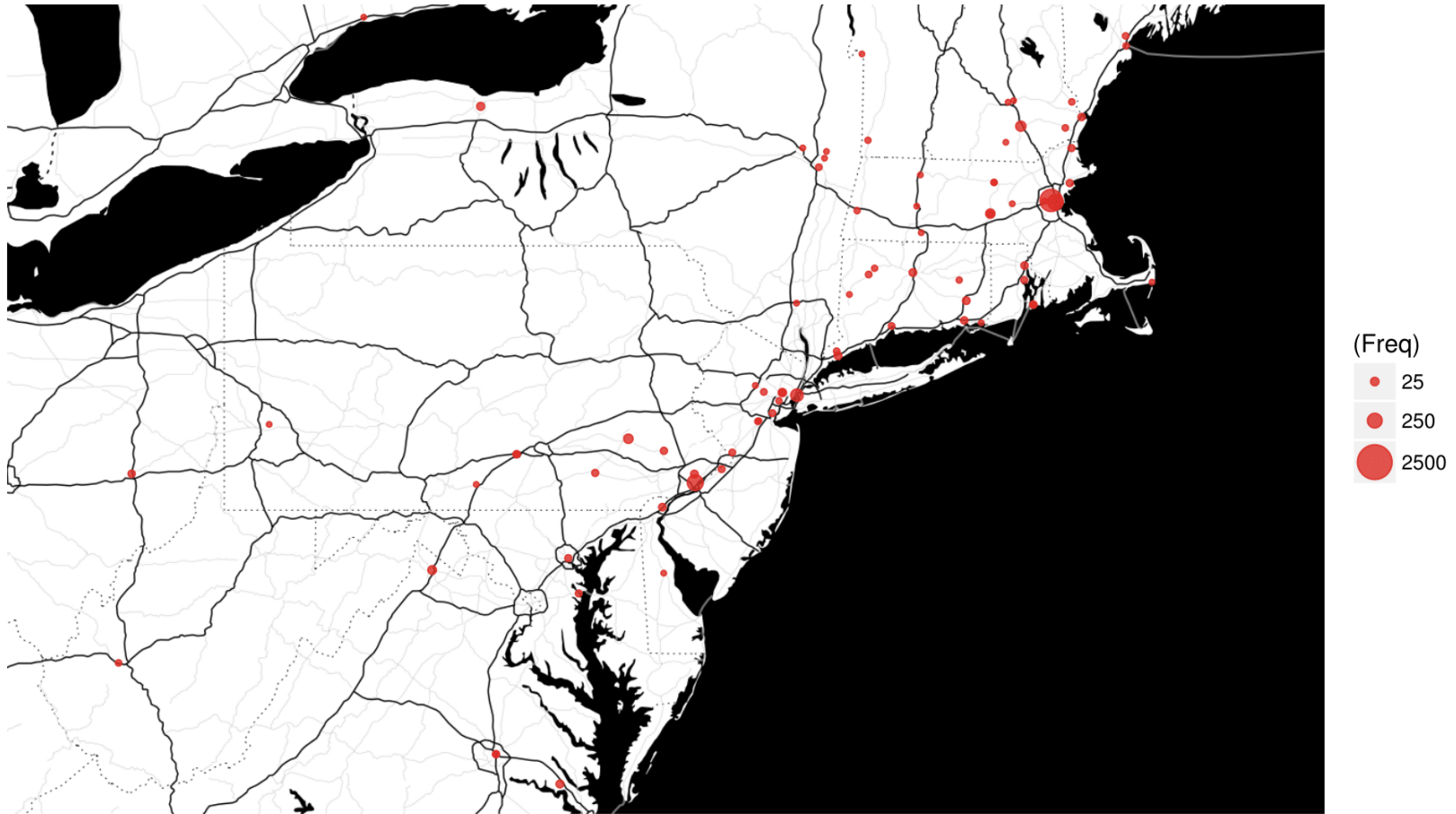
Volume and distribution of clerical titles across british isles, 1660-1800

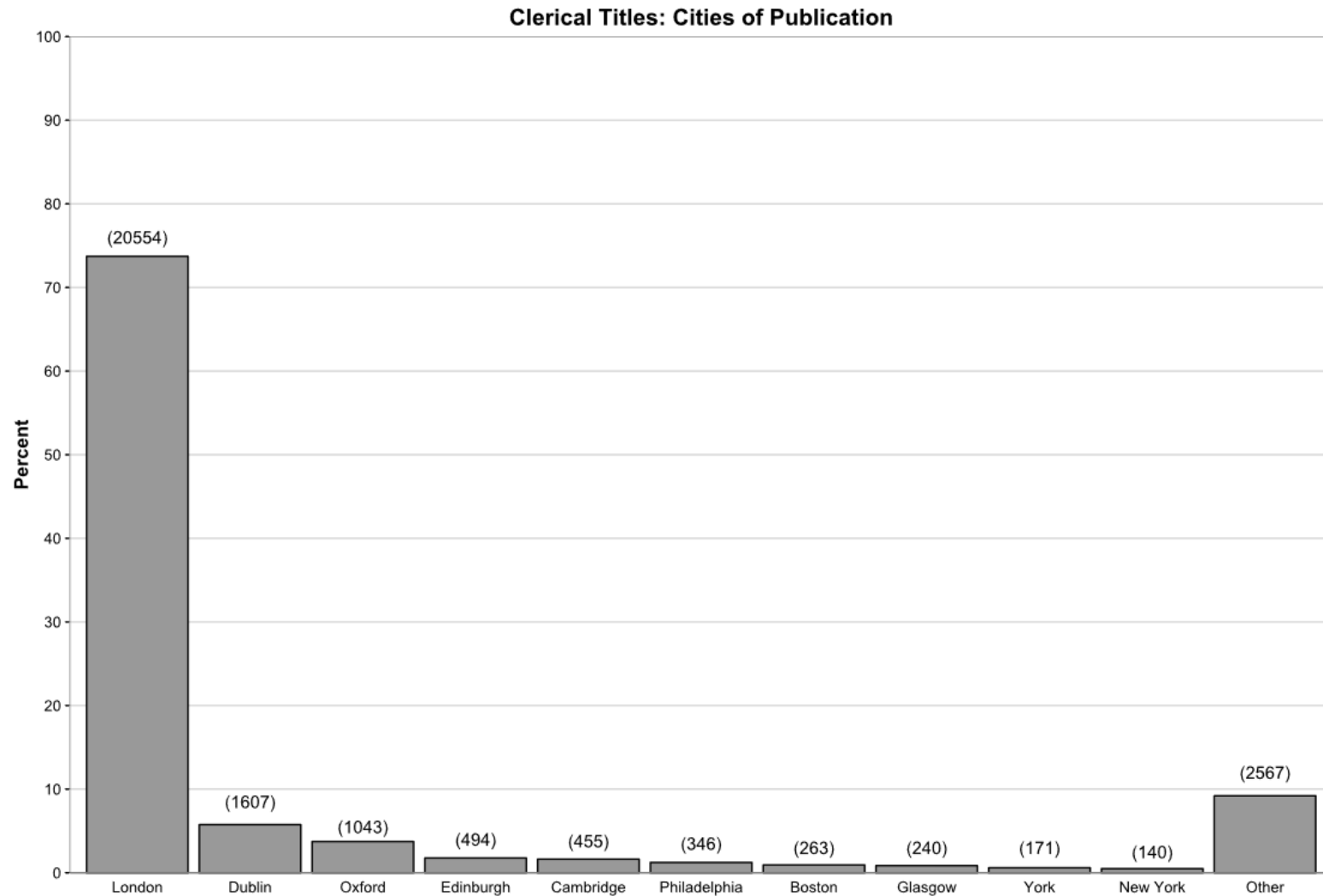


Volume and distribution of clerical titles across europe, 1660-1800

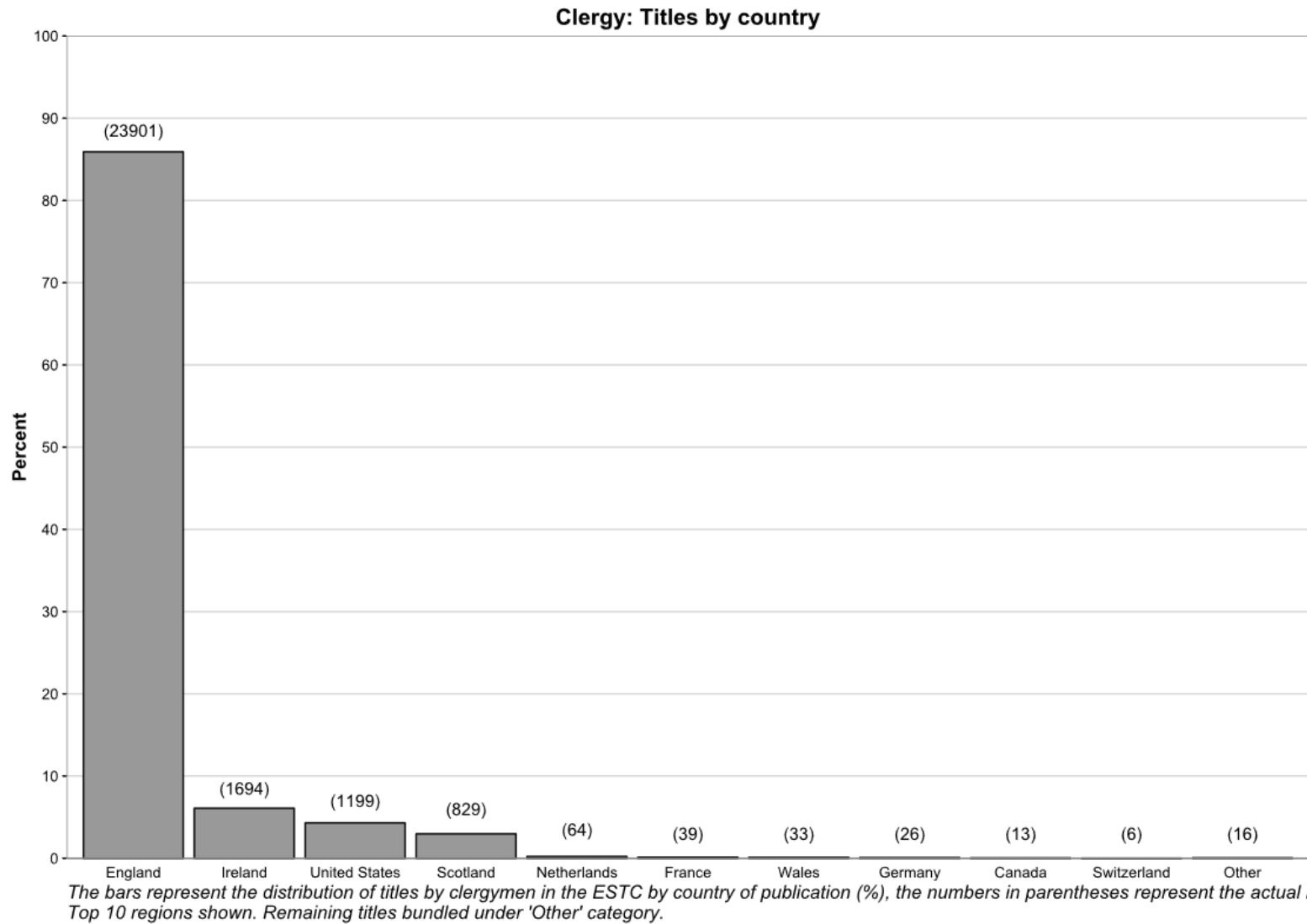


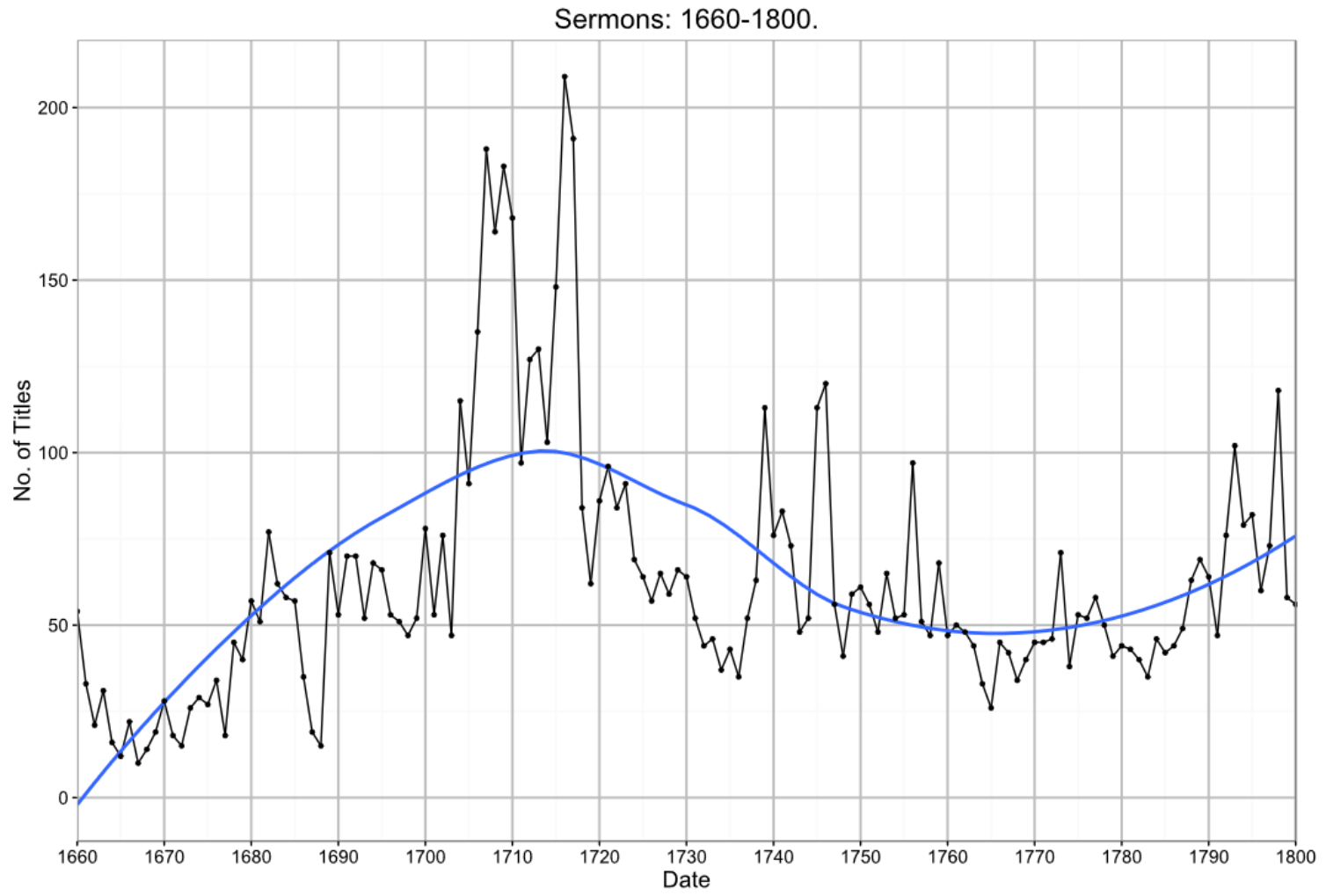
Volume and distribution of clerical titles across new england, 1660–1800

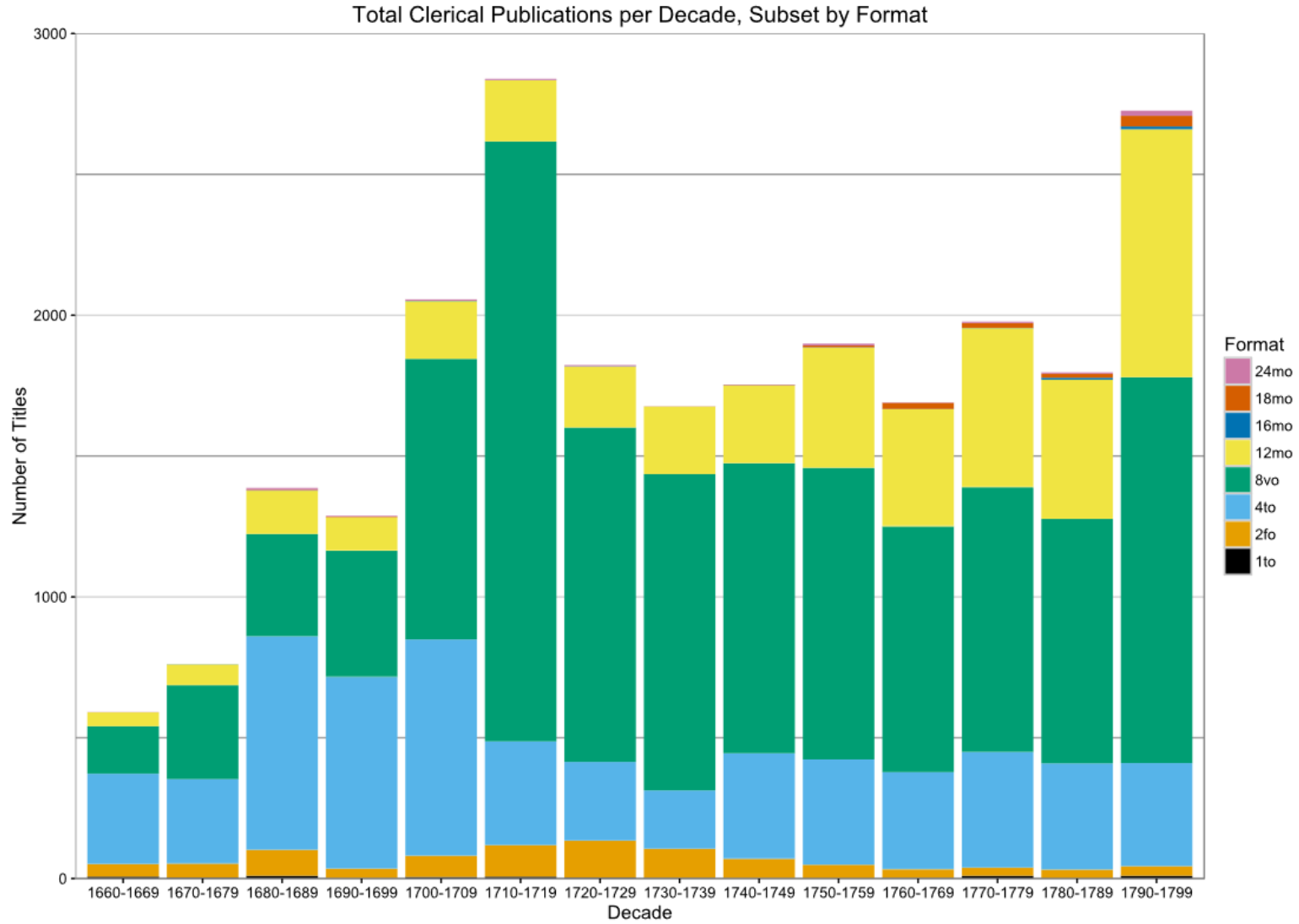




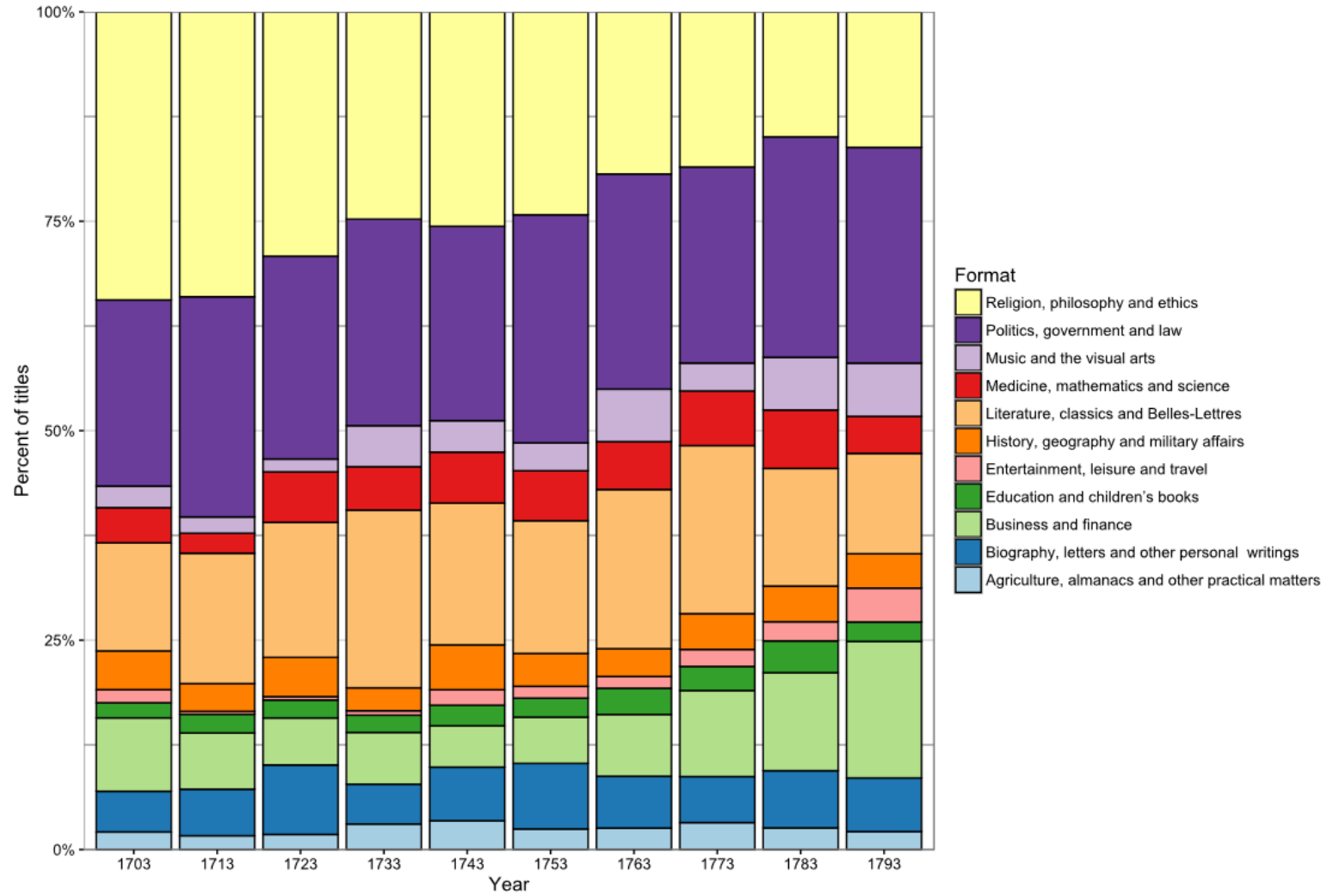
The bars represent the proportion of clerical titles published in different cities, the numbers in parentheses represent the actual number of titles. Top 10 cities shown, with remaining titles (from minor centres) bundled under 'Other' category.







Genre as a proportion of total output, M. Suarez, 1703-1793.



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