

Politics and Religion in
Later Stuart Cornwall and
South-West Wales
A Comparative Study

JAMES HARRIS
LINCOLN COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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THESIS ABSTRACT (SHORT)

This thesis adopts a comparative approach to provide the first full-length study of Cornwall and south-west Wales during the later Stuart period. It explores the extent to which these isolated regions possessed unique religious and political cultures during these tumultuous decades, but also how they faced challenges and responded to developments which were common to the entire kingdom. Recent local studies have tended to downplay the distinctiveness of regions in England and Wales – preferring to use them as case studies to assess broader national trends, rather than delineating unique regional experiences. Furthermore, our understanding of the later Stuart period has been skewed by a propensity for modern studies to focus on London or other major urban centres. This thesis seeks to redress the balance by revealing the unique characteristics of two rural regions, whilst also placing them within a broader contextual framework. In doing so, it offers a re-appreciation of the multiplicity of religious and political experiences within the British Isles.

While the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales were far from insular, this thesis argues that their locality nonetheless continued to shape their lives and relationships. In terms of religious life, unique structural challenges in these regions posed considerable problems for the Church of England and affected its ability to carry out pastoral care – but also inhibited the growth of nonconformity. In the aftermath of the Toleration Act of 1689, each region experienced a contrasting ‘Anglican revival’: Cornwall’s conservative approach kept dissent at bay, whilst a low-church revival in the diocese of St. Davids could not compensate for worsening structural challenges, and dissent flourished. With regards to political culture, Cornwall’s electoral importance imbued the region with political influence. Both regions were traditionally royalist, but, following James II’s attacks on Anglican hegemony, this loyalty was redeployed in defence of the Church and parliamentary authority. However, this thesis argues that proclamations of unanimous loyalty were used tactically, to mask growing partisan divisions. After the Glorious Revolution, the ‘rage of party’ came to dominate political life in both regions, but was conditioned by kinship, Jacobitism, and the inability of the lower orders to participate routinely in the political process.

THESIS ABSTRACT (LONG)

This thesis adopts a comparative approach to provide the first full-length study of Cornwall and south-west Wales (the counties of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthenshire) during the later Stuart period. It explores the extent to which these isolated regions possessed unique religious and political cultures during these decades, but also how they faced challenges and responded to developments which were common to the entire kingdom. By considering the entire later Stuart period of 1660-1714, it is possible to explore longer-term change and continuity within each region, and to assess the impact of seismic moments of political and religious change such as the Restoration, Exclusion Crisis, and Glorious Revolution.

Recent local studies have tended to downplay the distinctiveness of regions in England and Wales – preferring to use them as case studies to assess broader national trends, rather than delineating unique regional experiences. Furthermore, our understanding of the later Stuart period has been skewed by a propensity for modern studies to focus on London or other major urban centres. This thesis seeks to redress the balance by revealing the unique characteristics of two rural regions, whilst also placing them within a broader contextual framework. In doing so, it offers a re-appreciation of the multiplicity of religious and political experiences within the British Isles. It draws from a wide range of sources from local and national archives, to incorporate documents including private correspondence, state papers, municipal records, pollbooks, diocesan records, addresses, petitions, and a variety of newspapers, pamphlets, and contemporary printed accounts.

What is the critical value of comparing Cornwall with south-west Wales? On the one hand, the former is a single county within England, whilst the latter is a quadrant of an entirely separate country. Yet both regions were integrated into political and religious structures which spanned the whole kingdom – most importantly the institutions of parliament, local government, and the Church of England. They also featured numerous structural and cultural similarities. Both had recent memories of royalist service during the Civil Wars, and could boast of indigenous languages and Celtic heritage. They were geographically isolated from London, and possessed extremely weak urban networks. Endogamous marriages between longstanding gentry families had resulted in particularly dense kinship networks which conditioned political alliances, and the absence of a

substantial ‘middling sort’ left the gentry as undisputed political leaders. At the same time, however, each region possessed unique features: from Cornwall’s buoyant and politicised mining industry, to the overwhelmingly monoglot Welsh-speaking population.

An intensive comparative study provides a framework through which we can delineate distinctive features of these regions, whilst determining which of these features were shared by a similar region, and which were the product of particular local circumstances. To distinguish further unique characteristics, this thesis also makes extensive use of a plethora of studies on other regions and counties across England and Wales. In doing so, it reveals much about Cornwall and south-west Wales, but also about rural and peripheral regions more generally. Equally, it enriches our understanding of several important themes within later Stuart historiography from a new perspective: from the role of the Church of England in the localities, to the growth of party politics.

The thesis builds upon studies which have characterised these regions as intrinsically conservative and loyal, and in possession of a ‘royalist identity’. However, it cautions against taking expressions of loyalty at face value, by revealing their performative function as a disguise for messier political realities: each region was, in fact, the site of multifaceted political conflict. In terms of religious culture, the same factors which inhibited the growth of nonconformity in these regions also presented substantial challenges for the Church of England, and prevented it from fulfilling its pastoral obligations: namely, their peripheral location and rural nature – which was exacerbated in south-west Wales by extreme poverty and a linguistic barrier.

A comparative approach also throws into sharp relief the stark differences between these regions. They were treated in a divergent way by central government: local office-holding in Cornwall was carefully managed, due to its electoral and strategic importance, whilst Wales was handled with a degree of apathy. The regions also displayed disparate responses to the challenge of dissent following the Toleration Act of 1689: an emphasis on conservative church principles in the diocese of Exeter can be contrasted with a low-church approach in south-west Wales. Ultimately, the Church’s worsening structural problems in the diocese of St. Davids resulted in an explosion of attendance at nonconformist meetings, as the laity took advantage of a tradition of occasional conformity to satisfy their appetite for preaching.

The study is structured into five thematic chapters: after an initial chapter on the landed elite of the regions, which spans the entire later Stuart period, the four subsequent chapters consider religious culture (Chapters Two and Four) and political culture (Chapters Three and Five), divided chronologically by the Glorious Revolution. This reflects the extent to which the revolution impacted religious and political life in these regions. Crucially, the Toleration Act of 1689 represented a paradigm shift in the relationship between the Church, dissent, and the state, and led to renewed efforts to enact an ‘Anglican revival’. Equally, political life was increasingly shaped by the pervasiveness of party politics in the decades following the revolution, and the dominant motif of loyalty was transformed by the emergence of Jacobitism.

Chapter One considers the landed elite of Cornwall and south-west Wales, assessing gentry society, culture, and identity. It argues that the lives and relationships of the gentry remained physically and conceptually centred on their locality. A history of endogamy had produced particularly close-knit local communities, united by dense kinship networks, and their neighbourhoods were the site of claustrophobic rounds of sociability. Far from being secluded and insular, though, the gentry frequently travelled outside of their localities – for education, business, and pleasure. When in London or elsewhere, regional associations remained important to them, and they facilitated cultural exchange between ‘locality’ and ‘centre’ in both directions. Welsh gentry society was more staunchly wedded to medieval concepts of gentility than their English counterparts. For Welsh gentlemen, authority was derived from kinship, ancestry, and landownership. The heads of Welsh families were less likely to receive higher education, tended to marry within the Principality, and were prouder of their native culture and indigenous language than the Cornish. Whilst the Cornish gentry were slower to turn to the national marriage marketplace, higher education, and embrace newer definitions of gentility than other parts of England, this shift was perceptible by the later Stuart period.

Chapter Two explores religious life in Cornwall and south-west Wales during the years 1660-89, with a particular focus on Anglicanism. It argues that fundamental structural issues simultaneously repressed the growth of nonconformity, and that the persecution of dissent was generally unenthusiastic. However, these same structural problems posed challenges to the Church of England: their peripheral location, rural character, and large parishes. These issues were compounded in the diocese of St. Davids by crippling poverty and the need to

accommodate a monoglot Welsh-speaking population. Although the clergy often found it impossible to fulfil the church canons in full, there is little evidence of outright neglect. Indeed, the evidence suggests that strong relationships could be established between ministers and the laity – parishioners desired ministers who were born in their local areas, or who were known to their communities, and were prepared to defend them if they came under censure from diocesan officials. Yet a pervasive sense that the Welsh, in particular, were spiritually backwards, encouraged an Anglican-nonconformist coalition in the form of the Welsh Trust, aimed at religious renewal.

Chapter Three then focuses on partisan politics during the same period. It argues that both Cornwall and south-west Wales possessed unique political cultures as rural, peripheral, and formerly royalist regions. The absence of a substantial ‘middling sort’ left the gentry as undisputed political leaders, and an enduring royalist identity fed into proclamations of unanimous loyalty to Charles II. This identity paradoxically persisted even as they abandoned James II during the Williamite invasion of 1688, as it had become inextricably linked to the defence of Anglicanism. Yet it also had a performative function, masking oppositional elements who favoured limits on royal powers. These partisan conflicts emerged soon after the Restoration, feeding into national debates and local issues. One major difference in the two regions’ political cultures was contrasting degrees of government interference in local politics. In Cornwall, local office-holding was carefully managed in alliance with a local manager, chiefly due to the county’s electoral importance with forty-four MPs. Meanwhile, there was something of an apathetic attitude towards south-west Wales, partly owing to the absence of influential Tories locally.

Chapter Four turns to examine religious culture in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. Again, focusing principally on Anglicanism, it argues that both regions experienced an ‘Anglican revival’ during the post-revolutionary period, as the Church competed with nonconformist denominations for church attendees. However, each region experienced a revival of a very different nature. Religious culture in Cornwall was heavily influenced by the conservative churchmanship of the region’s bishops, whose combined industry strengthened the ministry and ecclesiastical courts. The diocese of St. Davids, by contrast, experienced a lack of episcopal continuity, with the bishopric lying vacant for six years. As a result, extra-diocesan London-based reform societies such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge flourished with the assistance of powerful local gentry

figures: founding charity schools and distributing religious literature. Yet, despite this support, the Church was plagued by worsening structural problems which stretched its resources to breaking point. With the Church unable to provide adequate pastoral care, attendance at nonconformist meetings grew dramatically as parishioners took advantage of a tradition of occasional conformity to seek out new congregations.

Finally, Chapter Five returns to the topic of partisan politics during the post-revolutionary period. The period is notable for the pervasiveness of a two-party structure in political life: whigs and tories. However, it was a two-party structure overlaid by older court and country divisions, and, importantly, conditioned by dense kinship networks. The relative strength of the parties locally depended on local alliances, but also the attitudes of the monarch and ministry – with the support of the government, local party leaders could initiate wholesale changes in local office-holding. The tory party was numerically stronger in both regions, but, in Cornwall, the whigs launched assaults on tory dominance, while, in Wales, powerful whig magnates dominated politics during the 1690s. There is evidence that the royalist identity discussed in Chapter Three transformed into Jacobite sympathies during the post-revolutionary period, though it does not appear to have represented a genuine threat to the government. Despite this period being known nationally as the ‘rage of party’, there were few contested parliamentary elections in Cornwall and south-west Wales, reflecting the strength of proprietorial interest amongst certain gentry families, and the limited ways in which the lower orders could participate in the political process.

Overall, this thesis reshapes our understanding of a number of broader themes within seventeenth-century historiography. The political culture of Cornwall and south-west Wales supports narratives which stress the ubiquitous nature of party politics during the later Stuart period: even in these isolated regions, party conditioned political life. However, the importance of kinship as a central building block of political alliances outside of Westminster has often been underappreciated. National political issues were frequently played out through local concerns, as part of a two-way dialogue between ‘centre’ and ‘locality’. The thesis also explores notions of conservatism and loyalty – topics which remain relatively underexplored in the existing historiography of seventeenth-century Britain. It breaks new ground by highlighting the performative nature of loyalty, which was purposefully crafted to disguise oppositionist elements within local society. In addition, this study adds nuance to a recent historiographical emphasis on the importance of popular

politics. Although the lower orders of Cornwall and south-west Wales clearly held political views, their ability to participate routinely in political process was ultimately limited due to the interrelated issues of language, remoteness, and the rural nature of these regions.

An exploration of the Church of England in the localities reveals how major national religious issues played out in these distant and rural parishes – including the re-establishment of the Church after 1662, the ‘Anglican revival’ of the post-revolutionary period, and the fluid boundaries between conformity and dissent. The challenges which these isolated regions posed to the Anglican leadership (particularly the serious impact that structural issues could have upon local religious life) have yet to be fully recognised. Nonetheless, this thesis highlights the central role played by personnel in shaping regional Anglicanism – from the bishops themselves, to parish curates, who could form strong relationships with their local communities.

Although the heyday of the ‘county community’ debate has long since passed, there remains scope for county or regional studies which stress the importance of ‘locality’ to the lives of their inhabitants. Even the leading gentry remained physically and conceptually bound to their regions. This thesis adopts an innovative comparative framework for conducting a regional study, an approach which can make it easier to determine whether the features of the selected regions are typical, or truly distinctive. Future studies may find such a comparative approach fruitful when researching various aspects of regional political, religious, social, and cultural life.

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Kathy Keown's help, patience, and support as I have worked on this thesis has been nothing short of miraculous, and I owe her more than words can say.

Abbreviations

Add. MS	Additional Manuscript.
AHM	Antony House Muniments, Antony (consulted at the Cornwall Record Office).
BEA	Bank of England Archive, London (consulted at the History of Parliament Trust).
BL	British Library, London.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Carmarthen Visitation I	G. Miles Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', <i>NLWJ</i> , 18 (1974), pp. 287-311.
Carmarthen Visitation II	G. Miles Griffiths, 'A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710', <i>NLWJ</i> , 19 (1976), pp. 311-326.
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, Aylesbury.
CCL	Christ Church Library, Oxford.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Commons Journals</i> .
<i>Commons, 1603-1629</i>	A. D. Thrush and John Ferris (eds.), <i>History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1604-1629</i> (6 vols., Cambridge, 2010).
<i>Commons, 1660-1690</i>	Basil Duke Henning (ed.), <i>History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660-1690</i> (3 vols., 1983).
<i>Commons, 1690-1715</i>	David Hayton, Eveline Cruickshanks, and Stuart Handley (eds.), <i>History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715</i> (5 vols., Cambridge, 2002).
<i>Commons, 1715-1754</i>	Romney Sedgwick (ed.), <i>History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-1754</i> (2 vols., 1970).
CRO	Cornwall Record Office, Truro.
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i> .
<i>CTB</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Books</i> .

<i>CTP</i>	<i>Calendar of Treasury Papers.</i>
DHC	Devon Heritage Centre, Exeter.
Duckett, <i>Penal Laws I</i>	George Duckett, <i>Penal Laws and Test Act: Questions Touching their Repeal Propounded in 1687-8 by James II to the Deputy Lieutenants and Magistrates</i> (1882).
Duckett, <i>Penal Laws II</i>	George Duckett, <i>Penal Laws and Test Act: Questions Touching their Repeal Propounded in 1687-8 by James II to the Deputy Lieutenants and Magistrates</i> (1883).
<i>DWB</i>	Dictionary of Welsh Biography, NLW.
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review.</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal.</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies.</i>
JCA	Jesus College Archives, Oxford.
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>
<i>JRIC</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall.</i>
<i>Lords, 1660-1715</i>	Ruth Paley (ed.), <i>History of Parliament: The House of Lords, 1660-1715</i> (5 vols., Cambridge, 2016).
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal.</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online ed. (Oxford, 2004-), < http://www.oxforddnb.com >.
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past & Present.</i>
PA	Pembrokeshire Archives, Haverfordwest.
RIC	Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro.
<i>SPCK Wales</i>	Mary Clement (ed.), <i>Correspondence and Minutes of the S.P.C.K. Relating to Wales, 1699-1740</i> (Cardiff, 1952).
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.</i>
TNA	The National Archives, London.
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.</i>
WGA	West Glamorgan Archive Service, Swansea.

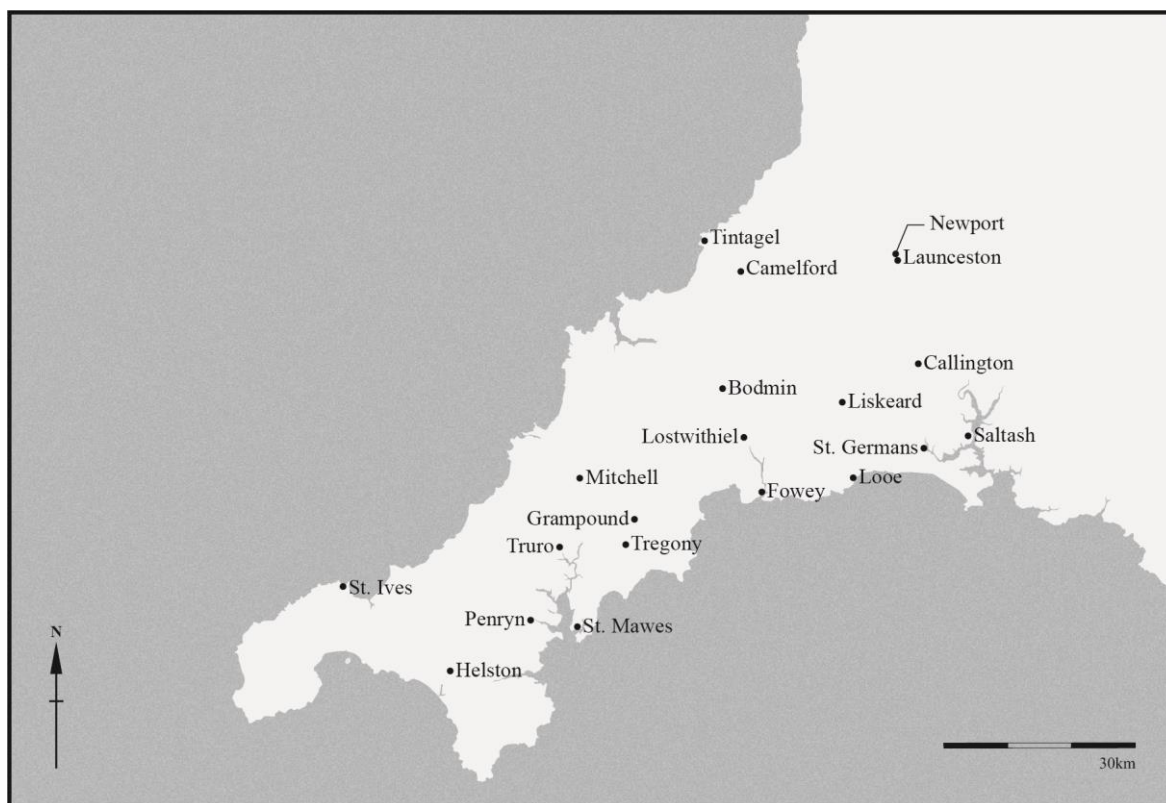
Conventions

All works cited are published in London unless otherwise stated. When quoting from contemporary sources, I have silently lowered superscript and added letters in square brackets where appropriate (for example, ‘wth’ to ‘w[i]th’). The usage of ‘u’ and ‘i’ has been modernised to ‘v’ and ‘j’. Otherwise original spelling and grammar has been retained, and interlineations placed within angled brackets (for example, <the>). Dates are Old Style, but it is assumed that the year begins on 1 January.

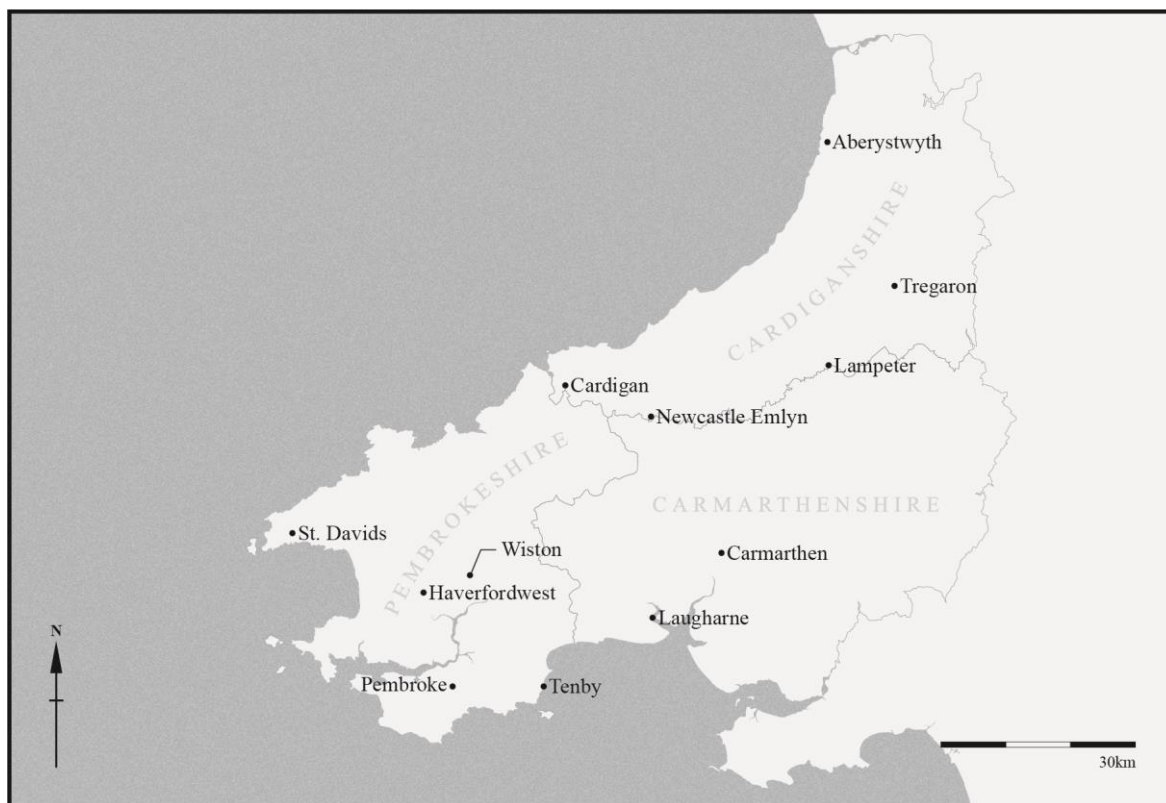
Map 1: *Cornwall and south-west Wales*



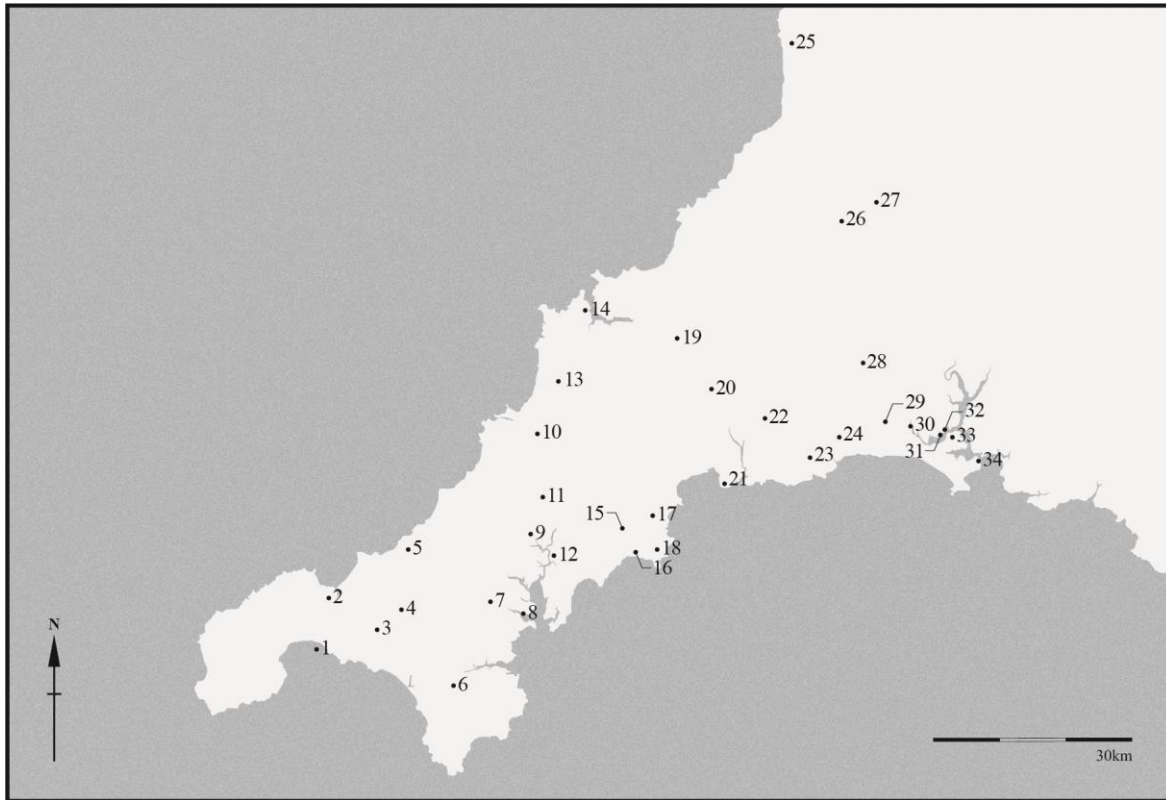
Map 2: *Cornish parliamentary constituencies*



Map 3: *South-west Welsh towns*

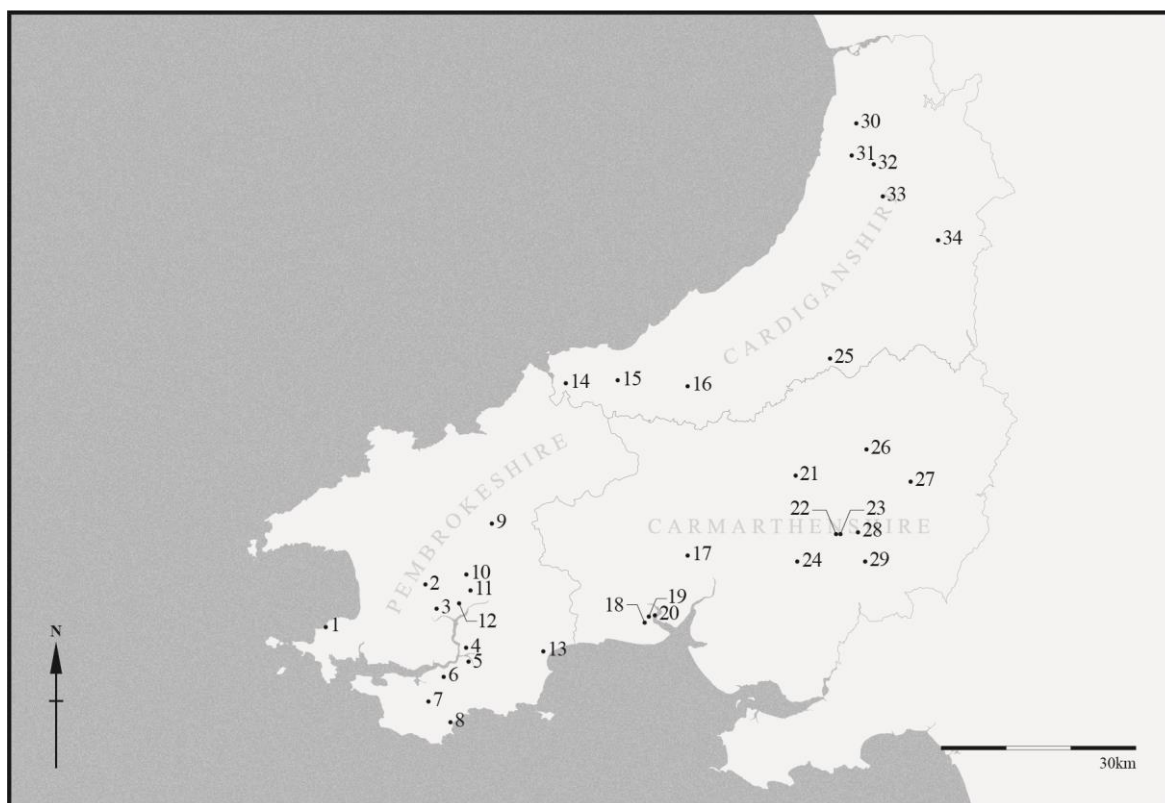


Map 4: Major gentry seats of Cornwall



- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. St. Michael's Mount (St. Aubyn) | 18. Menagwins (Scobell) |
| 2. Trevethoe (Praed) | 19. Pencarrow (Molesworth) |
| 3. Godolphin (Godolphin) | 20. Lanhydrock (Robartes) |
| 4. Clowance (St. Aubyn) | 21. Menabilly (Rashleigh) |
| 5. Tehidy (Basset) | 22. Boconnoc (Mohun) |
| 6. Trelowarren (Vyvyan) | 23. Trelawne (Trelawny) |
| 7. Roskrow (Pendarves) | 24. Morval (Buller) |
| 8. Trefusis (Trefusis) | 25. Stowe (Granville) |
| 9. Truro (Vincent) | 26. Penhale (Speccot) |
| 10. Trerice (Arundell) | 27. Werrington (Morice) |
| 11. Truthan (Borlase) | 28. Trebeigh (Wrey) |
| 12. Tregothnan (Boscawen) | 29. Bake (Moyle) |
| 13. Lanherne (Arundell) | 30. Port Eliot (Eliot) |
| 14. Prideaux Place (Prideaux) | 31. Ince Castle (Nosworthy) |
| 15. Tregonan (Tredenham) | 32. Shillingham (Buller) |
| 16. Caerhays (Trevanion) | 33. Antony (Carew) |
| 17. Heligan (Tremayne) | 34. Mount Edgcumbe (Edgcumbe) |

Map 5: Major gentry seats of south-west Wales



- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| 1. | St. Brides (Laugharne) | 18. | Broadway (Powell) |
| 2. | Prendergast (Stepney) | 19. | Laugharne (Russell) |
| 3. | Boulston (Wogan) | 20. | Laugharne (Crowe) |
| 4. | Lawrenny (Barlow) | 21. | Fforest (Lloyd) |
| 5. | Upton (Bowen) | 22. | Aberglasney (Rudd) |
| 6. | Bush (Meyrick) | 23. | Golden Grove (Vaughan) |
| 7. | Orielton (Owen) | 24. | Middleton Hall (Middleton) |
| 8. | Stackpole Court (Lort) | 25. | Maesyfelin (Lloyd) |
| 9. | New Moat (Scourfield) | 26. | Edwinsford (Williams) |
| 10. | Wiston (Wogan) | 27. | Abermarlais (Cornwallis) |
| 11. | Slebech (Barlow) | 28. | Newton (Rice) |
| 12. | Picton Castle (Philipps) | 29. | Derwydd (Vaughan) |
| 13. | Haroldston (Perrot/Barlow) | 30. | Gogerddan (Pryse) |
| 14. | The Priory (Philipps/Pryse) | 31. | Nanteos (Jones/Powell) |
| 15. | Noyadd Trefawr (Parry) | 32. | Llechwedd-dyrys (Powell) |
| 16. | Gernos (Lewes) | 33. | Trawsgoed (Vaughan) |
| 17. | Cwrt Derllys | 34. | Strata Florida (Stedman) |

Introduction

On 15 September 1704, one month after the duke of Marlborough's crushing victory over the Franco-Bavarian army at Blenheim, George Granville MP presented Queen Anne with a loyal address from his constituents: the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants of the peripheral and modestly-sized Cornish port of Fowey. After conventionally praising the monarch for her 'exemplary Piety' and 'peculiar Care of the Church of England', the authors declared that:

As this Western part of Your Dominions has been Fruitful in all Ages in Champions for the Crown and Royal Family, as it produc'd so many Famous Admirals in the Reign of Your Glorious Predecessor Queen Elizabeth, not only to discover new Worlds, but to defend the old from the Tyranny of Universal Monarchs; and as in this latter Age, the great and immediate Instruments of the Restauration were Illustrious Natives of this and our neighbouring County, so we cannot but admire the great Providence of God, who had ordain'd at this time, That the General who now leads Your Armies to Victory, who has not only retriev'd the Reputation of the English Arms, but rais'd it to a Degree of Glory greater than ever, has his Veins full of the Blood of our Country-men, and particularly descends from that Name which first humbled the Pride of the Spaniard, as he has given the first Check to the boundless Ambition of France.¹

In one sentence, the addressors proclaimed that Cornishmen had been central to the discovery of the New World, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the royalist war effort, the Restoration, and the recent victory at Blenheim.

¹ *London Gazette*, no. 4054 (14-18 Sept. 1704). 'Many Famous Admirals' was referring to Sir Richard Grenville of Stowe, who had fought against the Spanish Armada and travelled to Virginia in 1585, accompanied by John Rashleigh of Fowey. One of Grenville's descendants, Sir John Granville (later earl of Bath), had worked alongside his first cousin George Monck (later duke of Albemarle) to mastermind the Restoration of Charles II. Another descendant, George Granville (Bath's nephew), presented the address. The duke of Marlborough's mother was Elizabeth Drake. Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660: A Social and Political Study* (Oxford, 1933), p. 2; *Lords, 1660-1715*, III, 135.

Over twenty years beforehand, in the aftermath of the Exclusion Crisis, another loyal address sent from the distant town of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire similarly asserted the particular role that the authors' locality had played in a major historic event. The address was ostensibly written to abhor an 'Association' found in the earl of Shaftesbury's closet (allegedly a manifesto for rebellion), but it also thanked Charles II for:

The great Immunities and Priviledges which Your Majesties Royal Ancestors have been pleased to invest this small Corner of Your Dominions with; and which is happy in being situate of Your famous Port of Milford; in that it once received a Victorious King for the bearing down of Usurpation and Tyranny.²

The authors were referring to Henry Tudor's landing at Mill Bay, at the mouth of Milford Haven, in 1485.

Cornwall and south-west Wales were often painted as isolated backwaters or 'dark corners' in the seventeenth century, but it is clear that these addressors were intimately acquainted with England's major national, European, and global achievements.³ The very existence of these documents is evidence of both regions participating in a national political culture, in which carefully co-ordinated expressions of thanks, congratulations, or unity were articulated by localities across the kingdom and presented to the crown, thereby boosting a sense of English national identity.⁴ Importantly, however, the addressors also celebrated their locality's specific role in the kingdom's past events, displaying a unique historical perspective. Whilst the regions of Cornwall and south-west Wales were fully integrated into national political and religious structures, they remained geographically isolated from the centres of political and religious authority, and retained a distinctive character.

This thesis adopts a comparative approach to provide the first full-length study of Cornwall and south-west Wales during the later Stuart period. It explores the extent to which these isolated regions possessed unique religious and political cultures during these decades, but also how they faced challenges and responded to developments which were common to

² *London Gazette*, no. 1728 (8-12 June 1682).

³ J. E. C. Hill, 'Puritans and "the Dark Corners of the Land"', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 13 (1963), pp. 77-102; George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (rev. edn., Cambridge, 1952), p. 235.

⁴ Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), ch. 3, esp. pp. 110, 150-1.

the entire kingdom. By considering the entire later Stuart period of 1660-1714, it is possible to explore longer-term change and continuity within each region, and to assess the impact of seismic moments of political and religious change such as the Restoration, Exclusion Crisis, and Glorious Revolution. Recent local studies have tended to downplay the distinctiveness of regions in England and Wales – preferring to use them as case studies to assess broader national trends, rather than delineating unique regional experiences. Furthermore, our understanding of the later Stuart period has been skewed by a propensity for modern studies to focus on London or other major urban centres. This thesis seeks to redress the balance by revealing the unique characteristics of two rural regions, whilst also placing them within a broader contextual framework. In doing so, it offers a re-appreciation of the multiplicity of religious and political experiences within the British Isles.

Cornwall and south-west Wales (the counties of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthenshire) were especially distinctive regions. Each region's individuality stemmed from overlapping structural and cultural differences: both had recent memories of royalist service during the Civil Wars, and could boast of indigenous languages and Celtic heritage. They were geographically isolated from London, and possessed extremely weak urban networks. Endogamous marriages between longstanding gentry families had resulted in particularly dense kinship networks which conditioned political alliances, and the absence of a substantial 'middling sort' left the gentry as undisputed political leaders. This thesis builds upon studies which have characterised these regions as intrinsically conservative and loyal, and in possession of a 'royalist identity'. However, it cautions against taking expressions of loyalty at face value, by revealing their performative function as a disguise for messier political realities: each region was, in fact, the site of multifaceted political conflict. In terms of religious culture, the same issues which inhibited the growth of nonconformity in these regions also caused substantial challenges for the Church of England, and prevented it from fulfilling its pastoral obligations: namely, the peripheral location of these regions, and their rural nature – which was exacerbated in south-west Wales by extreme poverty and a linguistic barrier.

A comparative approach also throws into sharp relief the stark differences between these regions. They were treated in a divergent way by central government: local office-holding in Cornwall was carefully managed, due to its electoral and strategic importance, whilst Wales was handled with a degree of apathy. The regions also displayed disparate responses

to the challenge of dissent following the Toleration Act of 1689: an emphasis on conservative church principles in the diocese of Exeter can be contrasted with a low-church approach in south-west Wales. Ultimately, the Church's worsening structural problems in south-west Wales resulted in an explosion of attendance at nonconformist meetings, as the laity took advantage of a tradition of occasional conformity to satisfy their appetite for preaching.

Many seventeenth-century contemporaries understood that localism was a powerful force which bound communities together, and that regional differences existed throughout England and Wales. In 1706, the clergyman and future bishop of Peterborough, White Kennett, wrote that 'a *Kingdom* is but a Collection of Families, and Parishes'.⁵ Cornwall and Wales were often singled out for their cultural distinctiveness during this period. In an oft-quoted comment, the puritan minister Roger Williams claimed in 1652 that 'we have *Indians* at home, *Indians* in *Cornwall*, *Indians* in *Wales*, *Indians* in *Ireland*'.⁶ Such depictions of the Cornish generally only came to the fore at times when the region imposed itself on the national consciousness. Welsh stereotypes, on the other hand, proved more durable, and dated back to Tudor literature: they were typically presented as poor, stupid, and naïve, but with a level of low cunning that often enabled them to live happily ever after. They were obsessed with genealogy, had a ridiculous language, and were quarrelsome. Often the same character would make multiple appearances in consecutive pamphlets, and audiences would follow their hapless progress as they tried to succeed in London.⁷ As Mark Stoye and Lloyd Bowen have demonstrated, popular royalism in Cornwall and Wales provoked especially hostile representations of them in pamphlet literature during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, targeting perceived differences. The inhabitants of these regions were portrayed as poor, ignorant, and crypto-Catholics.⁸ Beneath the prejudice lay a modicum of truth: these were

⁵ White Kennett, *The Charity Schools for Poor Children Recommended in a Sermon Preach'd in the Parish-Church of St. Sepulchers* (1706), p. 22.

⁶ Roger Williams, *The Hirelings Ministry None of Christs; Or, A Discourse Touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus* (1652), p. 13.

⁷ Moira Dearnley, *Distant Fields: Eighteenth-Century Fictions of Wales* (Cardiff, 2001), ch. 1; Peter Lord, *Words with Pictures: Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press, 1640-1860* (Aberystwyth, 1995), ch. 2; J. O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being An Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays* (Cork, 1954), pp. 48-77; W. J. Hughes, *Wales and the Welsh in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Scott* (Wrexham, 1924).

⁸ Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), ch. 4; Lloyd Bowen, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), pp. 358-76.

peripheral and impoverished regions, in which the various dissenting sects had made little headway into popular attachment to the Church of England.

REGIONAL STUDIES: MOVING BEYOND THE ‘COUNTY COMMUNITY’

Since the late 1960s, local studies have been conceptually preoccupied by the work of Alan Everitt. His ground-breaking study of Kent, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60*, argued that counties should be considered as autonomous communities, and famously described England as a ‘union of partially independent county-states or communities, each with its own distinct ethos and loyalty’.⁹ These communities – the county gentry – were united by inter-marriage, longstanding settlement, and a paternal sense of responsibility towards their tenants. Their county-focused ‘ideals’ were reflected in their antiquarian interest in county histories. In its day, Everitt’s work provided a powerful corrective to a prevailing focus on the political centre, and also highlighted the important role of moderates during the Civil Wars. Its impact on the field was marked. To a greater or lesser degree, the ‘county community’ hypothesis influenced a string of county-focused local studies during the 1970s.¹⁰

By 1980, however, the notion of insular county communities was persuasively challenged by Clive Holmes and Ann Hughes.¹¹ They attacked Everitt’s thesis from two different directions. First, they stressed that the social horizons of the gentry extended far beyond their county borders, and that they were integrated into a national culture. Both note that gentlemen established connections with people from other counties through university, the Inns of Court, marriage, kinship networks, and meetings of parliament.¹² Holmes noted that assizes may have provided the county gentry with an opportunity to gather, but it was

⁹ Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), p. 13. His arguments were further developed in: *idem*, *The Local Community and the Great Rebellion* (1969); *idem*, *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester, 1969).

¹⁰ David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973); J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire, 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1974); Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (1975). See also, J. S. Morrill, *The Revolt of the Provinces: Conservatives and Radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650* (1976).

¹¹ It should be noted that caution had been urged earlier: Derek Hirst, ‘The Defection of Sir Edward Dering’, *HJ*, 15 (1972), p. 195.

¹² Clive Holmes, ‘The County Community in Stuart Historiography’, *JBS*, 19 (1980), pp. 56-9; Ann Hughes, ‘Warwickshire on the Eve of the Civil War: A “County Community”?’’, *Midland History*, 7 (1982), pp. 42-72; *idem*, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987).

ultimately an apparatus of the central government.¹³ An ever-growing number of studies on gentry culture during the later Stuart period have highlighted the increasing importance of London as both the main sphere in which gentlemen operated and as an influential cultural hub.¹⁴ The second strand of Holmes' and Hughes' criticism was to highlight the lack of cohesion *within* many gentry communities, which belied the existence of a single local identity. In particular, Hughes found an absence of economic or social homogeneity within Warwickshire's boundaries – its gentry often married outside of the county, and were bitterly divided on religious and political issues.¹⁵

The long-term effect of these powerful critiques has been to sterilize the county community debate, whilst simultaneously dampening enthusiasm for local studies amongst publishers.¹⁶ This was not the intention of Holmes or Hughes, as both practised what they preached and produced their own county studies of Lincolnshire and Warwickshire (respectively) to demonstrate that it could be achieved without invoking Everitt's hypothesis.¹⁷ They both argue that centre-local relations are better characterised by dialogue and cooperation between central authority and local interests, rather than by conflict and mistrust.¹⁸ Holmes conceptualised the gentry as 'brokers' who channelled 'products of the national culture into the localities'.¹⁹ It is therefore best to view the gentry as operating in multiple overlapping spheres, both larger and smaller than the county unit, which provided them with multiple identities and social structures.

During the intervening years, counties have continued to provide a convenient unit of study for historians of the Restoration period, but they have more often been used to explore broader historical questions – notably the nature of local administration, and the relationship

¹³ Holmes, 'County Community', p. 62.

¹⁴ James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650-1750* (1998), pp. 89-90; Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), p. xxi; Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), p. 4.

¹⁵ Hughes, 'Warwickshire'; *idem*, *Warwickshire*, ch. 1.

¹⁶ Tim Harris, 'What's New about the Restoration?', *Albion*, 29 (1997), pp. 198-9.

¹⁷ Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980).

¹⁸ Hughes, *Warwickshire*, p. 49; Clive Holmes, 'Centre and Locality in Civil War England', in John Adamson (ed.), *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640-49* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 173-4.

¹⁹ Holmes, *Lincolnshire*, p. 47.

between centre and locality.²⁰ Ann Hughes made it clear that ‘I would not wish to justify another county study on the basis of the unique nature of this particular county’.²¹ Cumulatively, these works have directly or indirectly served further to discredit several strands of Everitt’s ‘county community’ thesis. Far from being isolated, insular, and suspicious of central government, studies of local office-holding have characterised the localities as playing an important moderating role in the implementation of central government policy, and highlighted that state intervention was often initiated by local actors.²² In a similar vein, counties are no longer considered as holding homogenous political and religious views, discrediting what Holmes termed a ‘roseate aura of mutual love, charity and unity’ which pervaded ‘county communities’.²³

It is the contention of this thesis, however, that there remains critical value in considering geographic regions as worthy of study in their own right. Whilst the ‘county community’ debate may seem outdated, there has been something of a renaissance in recent years. A conference held in December 2009 in memory of Alan Everitt sought to reconsider and reinvigorate the ‘county community’ hypothesis, and assess its relevance in light of modern scholarship. Several papers found that ‘historians studying early modern society and its relationship to the concepts and practice of governance must still reckon with the county and the primacy of local experiences’.²⁴ Six years earlier, an edited collection of essays on the Church of England similarly highlighted a plethora of regional differences and variations, and also shared difficulties and experiences.²⁵ Studies of regions – both larger and smaller

²⁰ Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration, 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985); Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987); P. J. Norrey, ‘The Relationship Between Central and Local Government in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1660-1688’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Bristol, 1988); Michael John Short, ‘The Political Relationship between Central Government and the Local Administration in Yorkshire, 1678-90’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 1999).

²¹ Hughes, *Warwickshire*, p. xii. For a similar dismissal of distinctiveness, see Todd Galitz, ‘The Challenge of Stability: Religion, Politics, and Social Order in Worcestershire, 1660 to 1715’, unpublished PhD thesis (Brown University, 1997), p. 324. In his 1999 revised edition of *Revolt of the Provinces*, John Morrill firmly distanced himself from the theories of Alan Everitt: J. S. Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-1648* (2nd edn., 1999), p. 12.

²² Coleby, *Central Government*; Mark Goldie, ‘The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England’, in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 153-94.

²³ Holmes, ‘County Community’, p. 68.

²⁴ Jacqueline Eales and Andrew Hopper (eds.), *The County Community in Seventeenth-Century England and Wales* (Hatfield, 2012).

²⁵ Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003).

than the county – can broaden our understanding of the early modern period in manifold directions.

Another strand of Everitt's work which has not been completely dispelled is the notion that counties possessed local identities. Scholars have continued to consider whether a self-conscious identity existed amongst the inhabitants of regions which was inextricably bound to a sense of place – a 'regional identity'.²⁶ Even Clive Holmes was interested in 'consciousness' in Lincolnshire, albeit a consciousness 'which will vary from place to place, and will ebb and flow in time in response to a variety of pressures'.²⁷ Historians including David Cressy and Julian Hoppit have called for more work on 'collective politico-cultural identities' below the level of nation.²⁸ Linda Colley, meanwhile, while arguing for the rise of a national identity during the eighteenth century, admits that an 'intense localism' persisted in the Celtic fringe, East Anglia, and parts of the north.²⁹

The study of identities has, however, shifted from the county to the evasive 'region' as a unit of study. It is notable that one of Everitt's successors as head of the University of Leicester's prestigious Centre for English Local History, Charles Phythian-Adams, is a leading authority on regions, and that the Chair of English Local History has been rechristened the Chair of Regional and Local History.³⁰ While some embrace the ambiguity of the term 'region', others have sought to define it more rigidly.³¹ In particular, Phythian-Adams has attempted to identify 'spatially definable' regions based on a complex web of river systems and river-drainage basins.³² However, it is Edward Royle's conception of

²⁶ Important collections of essays on the subject include, Ted Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity: In Honour of John Marshall* (Manchester, 1998); Bill Lancaster, Diana Newton, and Natasha Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History* (Newcastle, 2007); Adrien Green and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300-2000* (Woodbridge, 2007). The idea of a regional consciousness has long been a major theme in the work of historical geographers.

²⁷ Holmes, *Lincolnshire*, p. 3.

²⁸ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 481-2; Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?: England, 1689-1727* (Oxford, 2000), p. 520.

²⁹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (rev. edn., 2014), p. 381.

³⁰ It should be noted that Alan Everitt was an enthusiastic supporter of the concept of 'regions': Alan Everitt, 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 29 (1979), pp. 79-108.

³¹ Tom Scott suggests that it is the very ambiguity of the term that makes it attractive: *Regional Identity and Economic Change: The Upper Rhine, 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1997), p. 1.

³² Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Differentiating Provincial Societies in English History: Spatial Contexts and Cultural Processes', in Lancaster, *et al.* (eds.), *Agenda for Regional History*, pp. 3-22; *idem*, *Re-thinking English Local History* (Leicester, 1987); *idem*, 'Introduction: An Agenda for English Local History', in Charles Phythian-Adams (ed.), *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 1-23.

regions as broad ‘zones of human activity’ which has proven more influential.³³ Such a definition implies that regions are not necessarily static and could overlap with one another. More importantly, it allows for a complex interaction of geographic, administrative, and economic criteria, but ultimately places people at the core of a ‘region’ rather than a straightforward topographical determinant; regions are ‘areas of cultural variation within wider society’.³⁴ As Royle notes, ‘physical features might define a potential region and help shape human activity, but ultimately it is what human beings make of that environment which shapes the nature of the region’.³⁵

Once a region has been established, however, identifying a self-conscious regional identity shared by its inhabitants is a separate challenge altogether. The geographer Anssi Paasi draws a distinction between the *identity of a region* (the qualities that make it distinctive) and *regional identity* (the regional consciousness of its inhabitants).³⁶ For instance, we might describe the ‘identity of a region’ as being rural, poor, or good-humoured; but whether the inhabitants of that region possess a conscious ‘regional identity’ is a different question. Most historians now recognise that an individual’s self-image is comprised of a negotiation between multiple, competitive, and multi-layered identities: an individual might, for example, identify as a merchant, a Protestant, and as Cornish.³⁷ These identities are rarely voluntary, but, as Diana Newton argues, ‘people [can] adopt or embrace different identities, at different times, for different purposes’.³⁸ It is therefore difficult to take a concept such as ‘region’ or ‘class’, and treat it as a single overarching identity which determined how people viewed themselves or behaved. However, this does not mean that ‘regional identity’ becomes redundant as a concept – rather, it can be said to operate ‘mutually with other forms of association and identity’.³⁹ It is possible that a regional

³³ Edward Royle, ‘Introduction: Regions and Identities’, in Royle (ed.), *Regional Identity*, p. 2.

³⁴ Adrien Green and A. J. Pollard, ‘Identifying Regions’, in Green and Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities*, p. 5.

³⁵ Royle, ‘Introduction’, p. 4.

³⁶ Anssi Paasi, ‘Region and Place: Regional Identity in Question’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (2003), p. 478.

³⁷ Henry French and Jonathan Barry, ‘Identity and Agency in English Society, 1500-1600 – Introduction’, in Henry French and Jonathan Barry (eds.), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 1-3, 22-3.

³⁸ Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569-1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 9.

³⁹ Green and Pollard, ‘Identifying Regions’, pp. 17-18.

identity is more sharply articulated at certain times; perhaps when it becomes a political issue, or at moments of contact with ‘others’.

As a result, the question of whether the inhabitants of regions possessed a self-conscious regional identity remains ‘difficult and elusive’.⁴⁰ Between 2000 and 2005, an AHRC-funded Centre for North-East England History attempted to determine whether north-east England was ‘a coherent and self-conscious region in the historical record from the beginning of the middle ages to the present day’.⁴¹ Considering the conceptual difficulties described above, it is perhaps unsurprising that the early modernists working on the project concluded that ‘the North East had a very fragile historical identity over the *longue durée* and was an incoherent and barely self-conscious region’.⁴² They ultimately concluded that ‘the early modern region was... composed of a series of shifting and kaleidoscopic sub-regions embracing a multiplicity of identities’.⁴³ Diana Newton’s detailed study of one north-east clergyman, Thomas Chaytor, found that he held a ‘myriad of identities’ which were ‘apportioned or selected or blended in many and varied combinations to create unique identities’.⁴⁴

In light of the historiography described above, it is the contention of this thesis that Cornwall and south-west Wales are regions worthy of study in their own right. Indeed, due to a combination of unique structural and cultural factors, each was a *particularly* distinctive region, and demands close attention to explore these complexities. Nonetheless, they were not isolated from broader trends which affected the rest of the kingdom, and were fully integrated into national culture with a dialogue existing between ‘centre’ and ‘locality’. They were neither homogenous nor insular; they were infused by the same political and religious divisions which affected the rest of the kingdom. We should therefore be wary of drawing too sharp a distinction between regional distinctiveness and integration into national political and religious structures – a region could be both simultaneously. The nature of local office-

⁴⁰ Royle, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.

⁴¹ Green and Pollard, ‘Identifying Regions’, p. 2. It is now known as the North East England History Institute <<http://www.neehi.co.uk/>> [last accessed 20 Aug. 2018].

⁴² Diana Newton, ‘A Crisis of Regional Identity in North-Eastern England? Thomas Chaytor, 1554-1617’, *Northern History*, 52 (2015), p. 201; *idem*, *North-East England*; Green and Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identity*; Christian D. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages: Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert* (Woodbridge, 2008).

⁴³ Newton, ‘Crisis of Regional Identity’, p. 201.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

holding meant that national institutions and policy were given local colouring, and were experienced in subtly different ways by the various parts of England and Wales. Although, at times, we can identify articulations of local identity in Cornwall and south-west Wales, the regional identities of their inhabitants were ultimately protean and multiple. The prevalence of political and religious conflict challenges the notion of a single regional identity. By exploring regional political and religious cultures (as opposed to trying to trace an all-encompassing regional identity), this thesis takes a different approach to the question of regional identity. It emphasises the impact of broad structural and cultural differences – the distinctive characteristics that Anssi called ‘the *identity of a region*’ – on political and religious life.

Despite the difficulties of definition associated with ‘regions’, Cornwall and south-west Wales are considered in this thesis as coherent units of study. To an extent, a study of Cornwall neatly sidesteps some of the common issues associated with defining a region. First, unlike Hughes’ fissiparous Warwickshire, Cornwall was a geographically coherent region: a peninsula with a single, clearly-defined border in the River Tamar. Secondly, institutions such as the duchy of Cornwall, stannary courts and parliaments, the archdeaconry of Cornwall, and county government provided administrative coherence. Finally, it was culturally coherent: possessed of an indigenous (albeit, dying) language, ‘ancient British’ origins, and unique cultural practices.⁴⁵ Although there were of course numerous links between Cornwall and neighbouring Devon – not least ties of kinship between gentry families – the two regions nonetheless remained distinct from one another.⁴⁶

By contrast, south-west Wales – the counties of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire – was a more complex entity. Historians including Philip Jenkins, Stephen K. Roberts, and Lloyd Bowen have suggested that north and south Wales should be regarded separately due to the topographical (and resultant cultural) divide between them.⁴⁷ Although

⁴⁵ Stoye, *West Britons*, pp. 13-17; Bernard Deacon, ‘County, Nation, Ethnic Group? The Shaping of Cornish Identity’, *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 3 (2001), pp. 5-29.

⁴⁶ J. P. D. Cooper’s study of the ‘Westcountry’ treats Cornwall and Devon as a single region, but highlights several key differences between them: *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 252-61. Most notably, the duchy of Cornwall and stannary institutions were of far greater significance to Cornwall than Devon.

⁴⁷ Philip Jenkins, ‘Seventeenth-Century Wales: Definition and Identity’, in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 232-3; Stephen K. Roberts, ‘How the West was Won: Parliamentary Politics, Religion and the Military in

counties in Wales have sometimes been regarded as relatively ‘recent’ innovations in the early modern period, Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire had effectively been demarcated since the Statute of Wales of 1284. By the sixteenth century, they formed one of the circuits of the court of great sessions. Culturally-speaking, south-west Wales was bound by ties of kinship and sociability. Moreover, the south-west had something of ‘a tradition of political and administrative homogeneity’, having once formed the kingdom of Demetae, and later the region of Deheubarth (Ceredigion, Ystrad Tywi, and the kingdom of Dyfed).⁴⁸ However, it should be noted that these older *cantref*s, *commotes*, and kingdoms did not necessarily map seamlessly onto the early modern shires. Similarly, the archdeaconries of St. Davids, Carmarthen, and Cardigan did not exactly match the three shires, and the diocese of St. Davids covered most of south Wales. The region also shared a language, traditions, and origin myths with the remainder of the Principality. It is therefore important to remember that regions are malleable, and that a study of south-west Wales can provide evidence of the broader characteristics of the Principality, especially south Wales.

It has been argued that Cornwall possessed a distinct regional identity during the early modern period. Classic studies of the county during the Tudor and early Stuart periods have highlighted an intense localist particularism in Cornish politics.⁴⁹ More recently, members of the Institute of Cornish Studies (affiliated with the University of Exeter) have found support from Mark Stoye in their conception of Cornwall as possessing a fundamental separateness from England.⁵⁰ Stoye argues for a ‘Cornish ethnic identity’ which ‘exerted a powerful influence on Cornish politico-religious behaviour throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods’.⁵¹ In doing so, he makes the case that Cornwall should be incorporated into new British historiography (which takes a holistic, *British* perspective of the history of the British Isles) as one of the constituent parts of the Atlantic archipelago alongside Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.⁵² On the one hand, we should be wary of equating early modern ethnicity with later understandings of race – there is little evidence of the Cornish defining themselves in

South Wales’, *WHR*, 12 (2003), p. 648; Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), p. 6.

⁴⁸ Howell A. Lloyd, *The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640* (Cardiff, 1968), p. 12.

⁴⁹ Coate, *Cornwall*, p. 2; A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall: Portrait of a Society* (1941), p. 20.

⁵⁰ Bernard Deacon *Cornwall: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2007); Philip Payton, *Cornwall: A History* (2nd edn., Fowey, 2004); Stoye, *West Britons*. This interpretation has not been without its critics, most notably: Cooper, *Propaganda*, pp. 252-61; John Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 21-31.

⁵¹ Stoye, *West Britons*, p. 1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

opposition to the English.⁵³ Indeed, examples abound of later Stuart Cornishmen (and Welshmen for that matter) conceptualising themselves within a broader *English* body politic. Equally, however, Stoye's chief case studies of the Cornish rebellions of 1497 and 1549, and the Civil Wars perhaps provided opportunities for the articulation of a popular Cornish identity in a way that had no comparison during the later Stuart period. Stoye himself claimed that 'perceptions of what it meant to be Cornish were transformed forever as a result of the Civil War', and that the Restoration period saw the Cornish develop a new identity based on loyalty to the Stuarts.⁵⁴ However, there has been no comprehensive study of later seventeenth-century Cornwall outside of the specialised study of language, and this thesis provides the first attempt to trace the development of Cornish distinctiveness over the period.

Despite its modern status as a separate country, historians of Wales have had reason to question the existence of a distinctive Welsh identity – it was technically a Principality, and was administratively, politically, and religiously integrated into the English state.⁵⁵ This thesis considers one little-studied quadrant of Wales: the south-west. Two studies of the gentry of south-west Wales bookend the later Stuart period: H. A. Lloyd's *The Gentry of South-West Wales* and David W. Howell's more polemically-titled *Patriarchs and Parasites*. Although their focus is largely socio-economic in nature, both contain useful chapters on politics and religion.⁵⁶ These can be complemented by several works on the Welsh gentry by Philip Jenkins, J. Gwynfor Jones, and Sarah Ward, which have explored various aspects of gentry identity, political and religious culture, and regional contexts.⁵⁷ The political and religious historiography of later Stuart Wales has traditionally emphasised (and occasionally overemphasised) the prevalence of nonconformity and political radicalism, often in an attempt to foreshadow future developments within the Principality –

⁵³ See, Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999); John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford, 2008), p. 36.

⁵⁴ Stoye, *West Britons*, ch. 8, esp. p. 157. This is discussed further below, pp. 134-43.

⁵⁵ See, especially, Jenkins, 'Definition and Identity', pp. 213-35.

⁵⁶ Lloyd, *South-West Wales*; David W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1986).

⁵⁷ Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983); J. Gwynfor Jones, *Concepts of Order and Gentility in Wales, 1540-1640* (Llandysul, 1992); *idem*, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (Cardiff, 1998); Sarah Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution: The Gentry of North-East Wales, 1640-1688', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016).

most notably, the ‘great awakening’ of the 1730s.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the efforts of Philip Jenkins and, more recently, Sarah Ward have provided much-needed balance in their focus on more conservative aspects of Welsh political and religious culture: royalism, Anglicanism, and toryism.⁵⁹ Only Ward attempts to describe the ‘uniqueness’ of the north-east Welsh gentry when compared to their English counterparts, revealing a distinctive ‘conservative culture’ in the region.⁶⁰ In south-west Wales, however, we find an analogous conservative culture in conflict with other more radical political and religious attitudes, complicating our understanding of Welsh identity, and highlighting important regional and cultural distinctions within the Principality.

What is the critical value of comparing Cornwall with south-west Wales? On the one hand, the former is a single county within England, whilst the latter is a quadrant of an entirely separate country. Yet both regions were integrated into political and religious structures which spanned the whole kingdom – most importantly the institutions of parliament, local government, and the Church of England. They also featured numerous structural and cultural similarities. Their populations were of a broadly comparable size, and similarly peripheral and rural in character. Both were known as royalist stalwarts during the 1640s, and were part of the Celtic fringe. Especially dense kinship networks pervaded their societies, which lacked a ‘middling sort’ of any critical mass. At the same time, however, each region possessed unique features: from Cornwall’s buoyant and politicised mining industry, to the overwhelmingly monoglot Welsh-speaking population. An intensive comparative study provides a framework through which we can delineate distinctive features

⁵⁸ For example, Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1987); *idem*, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales 1639-1689* (Cardiff, 1992); R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004); Eryn M. White, ‘From Ejectment to Toleration in Wales, 1662-89’, in Alan P. F. Sell (ed.), *The Great Ejectment of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath, and Ecumenical Significance* (Eugene, OR, 2012), pp. 125-80; Thomas Richards, *Wales under the Penal Code, 1662-1687* (1925); A. H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952); Philip Jenkins, ‘“The Old Leaven”: The Welsh Roundheads after 1660’, *HJ*, 24 (1981), pp. 807-823.

⁵⁹ Philip Jenkins, ‘The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560-1714’, in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest & Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (1995), pp. 115-138; *idem*, ‘Church, Nation and Language: The Welsh Church, 1660-1800’, in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds.), *National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 265-84; *idem*, *Ruling Class*, chs. 5-6; *idem*, ‘Francis Gwyn and the Birth of the Tory Party’, *WHR*, 11 (1983), pp. 283-301; *idem*, ‘Church Patronage and Clerical Politics in Eighteenth-Century Glamorgan’, *Morgannwg*, 28 (1984), pp. 32-47; *idem*, ‘The Tory Tradition in Eighteenth-century Cardiff’, *WHR*, 12 (1984), pp. 180-96; *idem*, ‘Tory Industrialism and Town Politics: Swansea in the Eighteenth Century’, *HJ*, 28 (1985), pp. 103-23; Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution’, chs. 2-3. See also, Glanmor Williams, William Jacob, Nigel Yates, and Frances Knight, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (Cardiff, 2007).

⁶⁰ Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution’, p. 5.

of these regions, whilst determining which of these features were shared by a similar region, and which were the product of particular local circumstances. To distinguish further unique characteristics, this thesis also makes extensive use of a plethora of studies on other regions and counties across England and Wales. In doing so, it will not only reveal much about Cornwall and south-west Wales, but also about rural and peripheral regions more generally, thus redressing the usual focus of early modern historiography on London and large provincial towns during the later Stuart period.⁶¹ Equally, it will enrich our understanding of several important themes within later Stuart historiography from a new perspective: from the role of the Church of England in the localities, to the growth of party politics.

SOURCES AND METHODS

A comparative approach offers unique methodological challenges, particularly the need for analogous bodies of primary sources. This thesis draws from a wide range of sources from local and national archives to incorporate documents including private correspondence, state papers, municipal records, pollbooks, diocesan records, addresses, petitions, and a variety of newspapers, pamphlets, and contemporary printed accounts. However, the disproportionate levels of survival for certain types of sources relating to each region has meant that it has not always been possible to devote the same amount of space to both regions. For the chapters focusing on partisan politics, for example, fuller Cornish gentry collections, combined with the fact that the region's electoral importance attracted national interest, has resulted in more voluminous discussion of the county. In the chapters on religion, on the other hand, good ecclesiastical collections held at the National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth) and Devon Heritage Centre (Exeter), in addition to the excellent Tanner manuscripts at the Bodleian Library (Oxford), has facilitated a more balanced discussion of both regions. The nature of the surviving evidence has also meant that the gentry loom large in this thesis. Although they were undisputed political leaders of their localities in Cornwall and south-west Wales, the lack of surviving quarter sessions rolls,

⁶¹ Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987); Gary S. De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party, 1688-1715* (Oxford, 1985); *idem*, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge, 2005); Perry Gauci, *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth, 1660-1722* (Oxford, 1996); John T. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government, 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979); David Alexander Scott, 'Politics, Dissent and Quakerism in York, 1640-1700', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of York, 1990).

files, or books for either region means that a major class of documents typically used to assess social levels below the elite have been lost.

A further methodological issue is that of language; both regions had indigenous Brythonic languages, albeit in disparate states of vitality. Whilst *c.*90% of the Principality's population spoke only Welsh during the later Stuart period, the Cornish language was in terminal decline, confined to the elderly within a handful of parishes in the far west of the county.⁶² By the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was said that those who could still speak Cornish were forced to do so with 'an intermixture of English'.⁶³ The only contemporary written Cornish to survive from the period was produced by a small coterie of language revivalists based in West Penwith, in the far western extremities of Cornwall.⁶⁴ The volume of later Stuart Welsh-language documents was curbed by the 'language clause' included in the 'Acts of Union', which required that all local office-holders spoke English, and that English was the language of the law courts – this came to include documents which articulated the views of non-gentry figures such as petitions and churchwardens' presentments.⁶⁵ Many Welsh-speakers have therefore been silently translated in the historical record. Interestingly, no Welsh-language documents have been found within the gentry collections of south-west Wales (although Chapter One will argue that the gentry were bilingual).⁶⁶ The main classes of documents which I have been unable to utilise were those designed for popular consumption – printed texts (usually translations of religious works) and manuscript sermons. Nonetheless, the survival of substantial anglophone sources has facilitated a detailed study of political and religious culture of south-west Wales.

⁶² Richard Suggett and Eryn White, 'Language, Literacy and Aspects of Identity in Early Modern Wales', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1850* (Manchester, 2002), p. 65; Matthew Spriggs, 'Where Cornish was Spoken and When: A Provisional Synthesis', in Philip Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Eleven* (Exeter, 2003), p. 252.

⁶³ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1814, f. 267: Nicholas Boson to Edward Lhuyd, [Aug.-Sept. 1700].

⁶⁴ See, BL, Add. MS 28554: Papers of William Gwavas, 1709-14. Most of this has been translated on *Chi an Yeth* <http://www.chianyeth.com/index.php?title=Main_Page> [last accessed 21 Aug. 2018].

⁶⁵ Peter R. Roberts, 'The Welsh Language, English Law and Tudor Legislation', *THSC* (1989), pp. 28-9; Mark Ellis Jones, "'An Invidious Attempt to Accelerate the Extinction of our Language": The Abolition of the Court of Great Sessions and the Welsh Language', *WHR*, 19 (1998), pp. 229-30.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 55-6.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

The Elizabethan cartographer, John Norden, famously described Cornwall as ‘full of hills, Rockes, and craggie mountaynes... the Rockes whereof are verie high, steepe, and harde, and are as a defensive wall againste the continuall furious assaultes of the prevailing Ocean on all sides’.⁶⁷ The Cornish peninsula protruded eighty miles into the ocean, narrowing from forty-five miles in width at the Devon border to only seven miles wide at its western extremity. Its coastline was rugged, and the inland dominated by a spine of moorland and granite tors which was uncultivated but rich with tin deposits.⁶⁸ In terms of landmass, south-west Wales was about one and a half times larger than Cornwall. Descriptions of the region often contrasted its coastal lowlands and river valleys with the remainder of the mountainous Principality – the major exceptions being the Preseli Mountains in northern Pembrokeshire, the Black Mountain in eastern Carmarthenshire, and northern Cardiganshire, where ‘the country begins to look like Wales again, dry, barren, and mountainous’.⁶⁹ In many ways, these regions’ individual landscapes were analogous to the distinctiveness of their economic and social characteristics

By the standards of the day, the economy of later Stuart Cornwall was diverse and remarkably industrialised. The county’s rough landscape was better suited to the pastoral farming of sheep and cattle, and agricultural development generally lagged behind the rest of the south-west of England.⁷⁰ Huge shoals of pilchards and herrings which appeared each year provided another major industry.⁷¹ However, by far the most economically, socially, and politically significant industry was tin mining. Predominantly used for making pewter, the production of Cornish tin grew steadily during the later Stuart period, increasing by 41%

⁶⁷ John Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (1728), pp. 3-4.

⁶⁸ Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, p. 1; Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall*, p. 12.

⁶⁹ Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 1; Lloyd, *South-West Wales*, p. 12; James Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Roger’s Three Years Travels over England and Wales* (1694), p. 121; Richard Blome, *Britannia, Or, A Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Isles of Territories Thereto Belonging* (1673), p. 267; Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (1991), pp. 192-3.

⁷⁰ Giles V. Harrison, ‘The South-West: Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall’, in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume V.I, 1640-1750, Regional Farming Systems* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 358.

⁷¹ Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, pp. 6-7; Chynoweth, *Tudor Cornwall*, pp. 12-13.

between the 1670s and the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁷² At the same time, however, tin prices were in steep decline.⁷³ Although a difficult and dangerous job, tanners (including mine owners) enjoyed certain legal privileges under stannary law.

Edward I's two charters of 1305 created something of an independent class of labourers: tanners were immune from many forms of taxation, tried by stannary courts rather than manorial or royal courts (except for the most serious of crimes), and were mustered into separate militia units.⁷⁴ The industry was a royal monopoly, designed to raise revenue for the duchy of Cornwall. All tin was publicly smelted, weighed, stamped, taxed by a coinage duty, and subjected to the crown's right to pre-emption before it was put on general sale. 'Stannaries' refers to both these customs and courts, and also to the eight geographic districts through which the industry was administered – four each in Cornwall and Devon.⁷⁵ In 1508, a new charter established a degree of self-government with the creation of a 'convocation of tanners', or stannary parliament, which had the authority to create stannary law and to ratify or reject contracts offered by the crown to buy a stated amount of tin for a pre-agreed price.⁷⁶ Although stannary law applied to both Cornwall and Devon, Cornish tin production far outstripped its neighbours by the Restoration period as Devon's mines grew deeper and less profitable.⁷⁷ The linked institutions of the stannary courts and parliaments have been described by Mark Stoye as forming 'virtually a self-governing state within a state', and John Rowe has likened the system to 'territorial semi-independence'.⁷⁸ This perhaps overstates the powers of the stannary institutions, but it did constitute a regional representative assembly which possessed the authority to manage its chief industry independently. Ultimately, the lord warden of the stannaries was the crown's principal ally in the region, and he managed the industry in the interest of the government.

⁷² John Rowe, *Cornwall in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Liverpool, 1953), p. 3; James Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century: An Economic History of Kernow* (Padstow, 1974), p. 59.

⁷³ Whetter, *Cornwall*, pp. 195-9.

⁷⁴ Robert R. Pennington, *Stannary Law: A History of the Mining Law of Cornwall and Devon* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁵ The Cornish stannaries were Foweymore, Blackmore, Tywarnhaile, and Penwith and Kerrier.

⁷⁶ Pennington, *Stannary Law*, pp. 21-24.

⁷⁷ *The Daily Courant*, no. 2692 (9 June 1710).

⁷⁸ Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), p. 17; Rowe, *Cornwall*, p. 13.

The convocation of tanners was modelled closely on Westminster. Elections of tanners were conducted by the mayors of the four ‘coinage towns’ of Launceston, Lostwithiel, Truro, and Helston. By the later Stuart period, as the parliament became increasingly politicised, these elections could rival their parliamentary equivalents in ferocity. In 1686, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then bishop of Bristol, stated that the earl of Bath’s electioneering was conducted ‘w[i]th such a violence of passion as if the honor of his family, & the preservation of his estate was now at stake’.⁷⁹ Since most tanners were major landowners, many had experience of serving as MPs in the House of Commons. Once in session, the convocation had both an upper house (of tanners) and a lower house (of ‘assistants’), elected a speaker, and established committees to draw up legislation.⁸⁰ By the eighteenth century, manuscript journals of convocation were produced, modelled on the *Commons Journal*, which detailed the various proceedings of the parliament.⁸¹

Although the economic history of south Wales is today as closely associated with its mining heritage as Cornwall, the industry fell behind cattle, butter, and wool in economic importance during the later Stuart period. Significantly, it did not create any new class of labourer as tin mining did in Cornwall.⁸² Instead, it was the cattle industry which constituted Wales’ major industry; it was said that Cardiganshire was ‘the nursery, or breeding-place’ of all cattle in England.⁸³ When a proposed ban on all imports of allegedly harmful Irish cattle gained momentum in 1665-6, Welsh MPs demonstrated rare solidarity in their efforts to support the Irish Cattle Bill.⁸⁴ The legislation was so important to the Principality that, during loyal addressing campaigns over fifteen years later, four Welsh counties (including Pembrokeshire) thanked the monarch for the bill.⁸⁵

Institutionally, Wales and Cornwall both enjoyed a degree of constitutional accommodation through the council of Wales and the Marches (known as the Welsh council)

⁷⁹ DHC, Reverend M. Etherington Collection, 53/10/1: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Sir William Godolphin, 12 Nov. [1686].

⁸⁰ Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘The Convocation of the Tanneries of Cornwall: The Parliament of Tanners, 1703-1752’, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 6 (1986), pp. 60-1.

⁸¹ CRO, RP/15/2: Journal of Convocation, 16 Sept. 1703; EL/565: Journal of Convocation, 20 Apr. 1710.

⁸² Dodd, *Stuart Wales*, pp. 23-8.

⁸³ Defoe, *Tour*, p. 195.

⁸⁴ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536-1990* (1992), pp. 69-70.

⁸⁵ *Vox Angliæ: Or, The Voice of the Kingdom* (1682), II, 11-12; *London Gazette*, no. 1728 (8-12 June 1682); *London Gazette*, no. 1737 (10-13 July 1682).

and the duchy of Cornwall respectively – institutions which intrinsically linked each region to the monarchy. The Welsh council, based in the English town of Ludlow, was principally a court of law, and, as the seat of the lord president of Wales, had traditionally acted as a regional government.⁸⁶ Likewise, the duchy had once offered Cornwall a degree of political autonomy whilst simultaneously bringing the county closer to the monarchy.⁸⁷ Yet neither institution fully recovered its former levels of self-government after their respective revivals in 1660.⁸⁸ The Welsh council now presided over only civil actions, while much of the duchy of Cornwall's landholdings had been sold during the Interregnum.⁸⁹ More significantly, the overtly-political prince's council – which had managed the Prince of Wales' properties and lands, and had previously played an important role in nominating electoral candidates across Cornwall – was not revived.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, faltering attempts to have the Welsh council abolished were given fresh impetus by the Glorious Revolution, with one anonymously-authored pamphlet attacking the court as a medieval relic which was unfit legally to administer justice in Wales.⁹¹ A last-gasp patriotic defence of the institution which has been attributed to James II's sometime solicitor general, Sir William Williams, failed to save the council, and it was finally abolished in 1689.⁹² Although neither the duchy nor the Welsh Council exerted much tangible importance during the later Stuart period, both played an important symbolic role by representing a unique relationship between each region and the monarchy.

To an extent, these institutions developed as a result of the regions' peripheral nature, and remoteness from the centres of political and religious power. A network of roads linked both regions with the metropolis and other major urban centres, but they were of particularly

⁸⁶ Dodd, *Stuart Wales*, p. 49; Murray G. H. Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789* (Basingstoke, 1997), p. 13.

⁸⁷ Payton, *Cornwall*, p. 71.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149; Dodd, *Stuart Wales*, p. 72.

⁸⁹ The crown gradually regained several deeds in exchange for leases during the late seventeenth century. John Kirkhope, 'The Duchy of Cornwall: A Feudal Remnant? An Examination of the Origin, Evolution and Present Status of the Duchy of Cornwall', unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Plymouth, 2013), pp. 78-9.

⁹⁰ For the prior importance of the Prince's Council, see Paul M. Hunneyball, 'Prince Charles's Council as Electoral Agent', *Parliamentary History*, 23 (2004), pp. 316-35.

⁹¹ *Journal of the House of Lords*, XIII, 721; *The Case of their Majesties Subjects in the Principality of Wales, in Respect of the Court held Before the President and Council in the Marches of Wales* (1689).

⁹² *A Welsh-mans Answer to a Paper Entitled, The Case of their Majesties Subjects in the Principality of Wales* (1689).

poor quality. In 1739, the Cornish antiquarian Thomas Tonkin stated that ‘there are not any roads in the whole kingdom worse kept than ours’.⁹³ Whilst the Cornish and Welsh gentry freely moved between their localities and London, the distance and cost of travelling was prohibitive to the lower orders. There was undoubtedly a physical disconnect which disrupted communication and travel.

Cornish and south-west Welsh settlement patterns were more dispersed than much of England, and parishes were typically far larger.⁹⁴ Small villages, hamlets, and farmsteads peppered the landscape, often isolated from their parish church. This inhibited effective pastoral oversight, and encouraged particularly dense kinship networks amongst the lower orders. These were overwhelmingly rural regions: the Cornish urban population stood at approximately 18% in 1660, and 11% in Wales.⁹⁵ The nearest approach to urban conditions were a handful of small settlements and the occasional medium-sized market town. Some of the Cornish parliamentary boroughs, in particular, were scarcely larger than villages.⁹⁶ When Daniel Defoe visited in the early eighteenth century, he found towns including Liskeard, Falmouth, Truro, and Penzance to be ‘considerable’, ‘well built’, and containing ‘people of fashion’, while Bodmin, Fowey, Launceston, and Lostwithiel were large towns in decline.⁹⁷ Yet even these were modest settlements compared to the rest of England. South-west Wales was similarly rural in character, though Defoe was impressed by the port towns of Tenby, Pembroke, and Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire.⁹⁸ It also possessed two of the largest towns in the whole Principality – Carmarthen and Haverfordwest – which each had a population approaching 3,000 by the eighteenth century.⁹⁹ Although a ‘middling sort’ of lawyers, traders, and merchants (especially as coastal communities) was present in both regions under study, it did not constitute a critical mass.

⁹³ Quoted in Coate, *Cornwall*, p. 1; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 1. See also, William Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks’ Travels in England, 1661-1663*, transl. and ed. Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehmann (1993), pp. 117, 121.

⁹⁴ David Luker, ‘Cornish Methodism, Revivalism, and Popular Belief, c. 1780-1870’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1988), pp. 63-4; Gibson, ‘Diocese of St Davids’, pp. 92-3; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Philip Jenkins, ‘Wales’, in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume II, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 134; Jonathan Barry, ‘South-West’, in *ibid.*, p. 68.

⁹⁶ See, Defoe, *Tour*, pp. 97-8, 111; Browne Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria: or, An History of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs in England and Wales* (2 vols., 1715), II, 155.

⁹⁷ Defoe, *Tour*, pp. 97-102, 110-11.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-3.

⁹⁹ Jenkins, ‘Wales’, p. 136; Dodd, *Stuart Wales*, p. 32.

It is striking that the major urban centres servicing Cornwall and south-west Wales lay outside of their borders, largely dictated by the necessity of trade. With the importance of Ludlow diminished after 1640, the latter looked east to Shrewsbury and across the water to Bristol.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile, Plymouth, on the Cornish-Devon border comfortably surpassed any Cornish town in size, and was described in 1630 as being ‘so esteemed by Cornishmen they would claim it for their own’.¹⁰¹ Further eastwards still lay the city of Exeter – the metropolis of the West Country. In 1688, the earl of Bath reminded the secretary of state that for Cornishmen ‘Exeter is our London, which gives laws to all the rest’.¹⁰² As bishop of Exeter, Sir Jonathan Trelawny’s attempts to manipulate elections to parliament and convocation led to accusations that he was treating the city ‘at the vile rate of a Cornish borough’.¹⁰³ Such criticisms not only reflect the low opinion many held of Cornish boroughs, but also highlight that the high degree of gentry influence which characterised urban politics in Cornwall could not be as simply exerted in a major regional centre.

Although largely rural and isolated, it would be wrong to describe the inhabitants of Cornwall and south-west Wales as completely ignorant of current affairs. Neither was immune to the ‘itch for news’ which gripped the kingdom.¹⁰⁴ Scholars including Jason Peacey, John Miller, and Grant Tapsell have highlighted how a vast volume of printed and manuscript news spread across England and Wales.¹⁰⁵ The correspondence of the regions’ gentry families suggests that they received scribal newsletters throughout the later Stuart period, and increasingly subscribed to newspapers from the 1690s.¹⁰⁶ Relatives in London (and occasionally other major towns and cities) played a pivotal role in relaying news; they

¹⁰⁰ Jenkins, ‘Definition and Identity’, p. 233.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Barry, ‘South West’, p. 75.

¹⁰² *CSPD, 1687-9*, pp. 304-5.

¹⁰³ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 420; *Reasons in Particular why the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Exon, Cannot Comply with His Lordship’s present Recommendation of Proctors* (1705), p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ Ian Atherton, ‘“The Itch Grown a Disease”: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century’, *Prose Studies*, 21 (1998), pp. 39-65.

¹⁰⁵ Jason Peacey, *Print and Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2013); John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), ch. 4; Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II* (Woodbridge, 2007), ch. 4.

¹⁰⁶ For examples of scribal newsletters or references to newspapers: CRO, RP/1/39, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51; T/1662, 1757, 2161, 2163, 2165; AR/10/324; NLW, MS Edwinstford 4235; BL, Add. MS 38175, ff. 74, 77r-v; BEA, Morice MSS: Nicholas Morice to Joseph Moyle, 29 Nov. 1709; H. L. Douch (ed.), ‘The Household Accounts of Warwick Mohun of Luney, 1705-1714’, *JRIC*, 9 (1984), p. 250.

appended the latest information to quotidian correspondence, and sent printed or manuscript copies of the king's speeches and parliamentary debates to their localities.¹⁰⁷

Yet it is less clear how far down the social order news permeated, due to the overlapping barriers of accessibility, literacy, and language. The larger boroughs would certainly have had access to the latest news in both print and manuscript. In the Cornish parliamentary boroughs, it was often the responsibility of the sitting MP to supply the town corporations with newsletters, doubtless taking advantage of their ability to frank post.¹⁰⁸ News was also penetrating into Wales: private letters sent from Cornwall to Wales in 1662 were 'unburdened... of newes bookes knowing you will see them in Walls before these can come to you', while twenty years later a loyal address out of Haverfordwest complained of 'the Licentiousness of some prophane Libels and Pamphlets'.¹⁰⁹ Hawkers, pedlars, and other itinerant dealers travelling across the kingdom distributed pamphlets, newspapers, and other material.¹¹⁰ Whilst neither region had a provincial press until the Hanoverian period, by 1700 booksellers had established businesses within both regions.¹¹¹ However, news and information was unlikely to be as readily available in the same quantities as in other more urbanised regions, nor did it necessarily penetrate far beyond these towns.

In addition, low literacy levels served as an obstacle to the reception of news. Accurate literacy statistics are notoriously difficult to ascertain, but estimates suggest that, in England, the ability to sign one's name grew from 30% amongst men and 10% amongst women at the outbreak of the Civil Wars, to 45% for men and 25% for women by 1714.¹¹² Whilst this is probably a reliable reflection of the growth of literacy, it doubtless underestimates people's ability to read. Reading and writing were regarded as separate skills, with most learning

¹⁰⁷ For example, CRO, CY/6834; EL/730, 732, 733; EL/B/3/4/1; PB/8/9; T/1741/1-3; T/1743/2; T/1750/1-2; RP/1/35, 36; RS/1/1031; RIC Courtney Library, HC/4/48; PA, D-CAR/172.

¹⁰⁸ BL, Add. MS 28052, ff. 37v, 73: Sidney Godolphin to Sir William Godolphin, 17 Aug. [c.1671]; 4 Sept. [c.1673-86]; CRO, T/2067: Sir John Tremayne to mayor of Truro, 7 Nov. 1690; BBOD/256: Thomas Sclater to [?Sir Jonathan Trelawny], 19 Jan. 1714.

¹⁰⁹ AHM, BC/26/14/7/21: [?Francis Buller] to Francis Buller, 14 [?Oct.] 1662; *London Gazette*, no. 1728 (8-12 June 1682).

¹¹⁰ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (1981), pp. 113, 116-18, 120.

¹¹¹ Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), pp. 249-50; J. R., *Infant-Baptism; Or, Infant-Sprinkling* (1700), sig. A1r.

¹¹² David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 176.

them in that order.¹¹³ Moreover, a national average does not account for variations in region, class, and occupation. Broad regional distinctions are ambiguous, but there was certainly a sharp decrease in literacy in rural areas such as Cornwall.

If literacy levels were likely to have been lower in Cornwall than other parts of England, Wales had the additional issue of language to contend with. As Lloyd Bowen has pointed out, the dominance of the Welsh language (c.90% of the population were monoglot Welsh speakers) served as a barrier to the flow of news and information. Many relied on the oral transmission of news which was usually conditioned by elite ‘bilingual brokers’, typically educated and literate members of the Church and government.¹¹⁴ Within the south-west of the Principality, Welsh-speaking mountainous Cardiganshire can be contrasted with the rolling hills of Pembrokeshire where bilingualism was common. Often referred to as ‘*Little England beyond Wales*’, one travel writer described Pembrokeshire’s inhabitants as ‘by their Manners and Language... much like the *English*’.¹¹⁵ Even within the county, however, the wholly English-speaking population were confined to its southern reaches (especially the hundred of Castlemartin), while the remainder were either bilingual or monoglot Welsh-speakers.

Of course, it would be wrong to overstate the importance of these barriers in either region. Official proclamations and sermons, for example, were read in both English and Welsh, and often referenced current affairs. As Jason Peacey has argued, it was important to live within a ‘literate environment’ where there were bridges to literacy, and Adam Fox has highlighted the vibrancy of oral culture in this period.¹¹⁶ Bustling ports such as Falmouth and Milford Haven would have witnessed a constant stream of ships bringing British and European news, which could then be transmitted orally. Nonetheless, the barriers to news and information in Cornwall and south-west Wales were clearly greater than in other parts of England and Wales. As this section has demonstrated, a range of social, institutional, and economic factors served to create distinctive religious and political cultures in both regions, which will be further explored throughout the thesis.

¹¹³ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 18-19.

¹¹⁴ Lloyd Bowen, ‘Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales’, *P&P*, 228 (2015), pp. 125-58.

¹¹⁵ Brome, *Travels*, p. 119.

¹¹⁶ Peacey, *Print and Politics*, p. 57; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The study is structured into five thematic chapters: after an initial chapter on the landed elite, which spans the entire later Stuart period, the four subsequent chapters consider religious culture (Chapters Two and Four) and political culture (Chapters Three and Five), divided chronologically by the Glorious Revolution. This reflects the extent to which the revolution impacted religious and political life in these regions. Crucially, the Toleration Act of 1689 represented a paradigm shift in the relationship between the Church, dissent, and the state, and led to renewed efforts to enact an ‘Anglican revival’. Equally, political life was increasingly shaped by the pervasiveness of party politics in the decades following the revolution, and the dominant motif of loyalty was transformed by the emergence of Jacobitism.

Chapter One considers the landed elite of Cornwall and south-west Wales, assessing gentry society, culture, and identity. It argues that the lives and relationships of the gentry remained physically and conceptually centred on their locality. A history of endogamy had produced particularly close-knit local communities, united by dense kinship networks, and their neighbourhoods were the site of claustrophobic rounds of sociability. Far from being secluded and insular, though, the gentry frequently travelled outside of their localities – for education, business, and pleasure. When in London or elsewhere, regional associations remained important to them, and they facilitated cultural exchange between ‘locality’ and ‘centre’ in both directions. Welsh gentry society was more staunchly wedded to medieval concepts of gentility than their English counterparts. For Welsh gentlemen, authority was derived from kinship, ancestry, and landownership. The heads of Welsh families were less likely to receive higher education, tended to marry within the Principality, and were prouder of their native culture and indigenous language than the Cornish. Whilst the Cornish gentry were slower to turn to the national marriage marketplace, higher education, and embrace newer definitions of gentility than other parts of England, this shift was perceptible by the later Stuart period.

Chapter Two explores religious life in Cornwall and south-west Wales during the years 1660-89, with a particular focus on Anglicanism. It argues that fundamental structural issues simultaneously repressed the growth of nonconformity, and that the persecution of dissent was generally unenthusiastic. However, these same structural problems posed challenges to

the Church of England: their peripheral location, rural character, and large parishes. These issues were compounded in the diocese of St. Davids by crippling poverty and the need to accommodate a monoglot Welsh-speaking population. Although the clergy often found it impossible to fulfil the church canons in full, there is little evidence of outright neglect. Indeed, the evidence suggests that strong relationships could be established between ministers and the laity – parishioners desired ministers who were born in their local areas, or who were known to their communities, and were prepared to defend them if they came under censure from diocesan officials. Yet a pervasive sense that the Welsh, in particular, were spiritually backwards, encouraged an Anglican-nonconformist coalition in the form of the Welsh Trust, aimed at religious renewal.

Chapter Three will then focus on partisan politics during the same period. It argues that both Cornwall and south-west Wales possessed unique political cultures as rural, peripheral, and formerly royalist regions. The absence of a substantial ‘middling sort’ left the gentry as undisputed political leaders, and an enduring royalist identity fed into proclamations of unanimous loyalty to Charles II. This identity paradoxically persisted even as they abandoned James II during the Williamite invasion of 1688, as it had become inextricably linked to the defence of Anglicanism. Yet it also had a performative function, masking oppositional elements who favoured limits on royal powers. These partisan conflicts emerged soon after the Restoration, feeding into national debates and local issues. One major difference in the two regions’ political cultures was contrasting degrees of government interference in local politics. In Cornwall, local office-holding was carefully managed in alliance with a local manager, chiefly due to the county’s electoral importance with forty-four MPs. Meanwhile, there was something of an apathetic attitude towards south-west Wales, partly owing to the absence of influential Tories locally.

Chapter Four turns to examine religious culture in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. Again, focusing principally on Anglicanism, it argues that both regions experienced an ‘Anglican revival’ during the post-revolutionary period, as the Church competed with nonconformist denominations for church attendees. However, each region experienced a revival of a very different nature. Religious culture in Cornwall was heavily influenced by the conservative churchmanship of the region’s bishops, whose combined industry strengthened the ministry and ecclesiastical courts. The diocese of St. Davids, by contrast, experienced a lack of episcopal continuity, with the bishopric lying vacant for six

years. As a result, extra-diocesan London-based reform societies such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge flourished with the assistance of powerful local gentry figures: founding charity schools and distributing religious literature. Yet, despite this support, the Church was plagued by worsening structural problems which stretched its resources to breaking point. With the Church unable to provide adequate pastoral care, attendance at nonconformist meetings grew dramatically as parishioners took advantage of a tradition of occasional conformity to seek out new congregations.

Finally, Chapter Five returns to the topic of partisan politics during the post-revolutionary period. The period is notable for the pervasiveness of a two-party structure in political life: whigs and tories. However, it was a two-party structure overlaid by older court and country divisions, and, importantly, conditioned by dense kinship networks. The relative strength of the parties locally depended on local alliances, but also the attitudes of the monarch and ministry – with the support of the government, local party leaders could initiate wholesale changes in local office-holding. The tory party was numerically stronger in both regions, but, in Cornwall, the whigs launched assaults on tory dominance, while, in Wales, powerful whig magnates dominated politics during the 1690s. There is evidence that the royalist identity discussed in Chapter Three transformed into Jacobite sympathies during the post-revolutionary period, though it does not appear to have represented a genuine threat to the government. Despite this period being known nationally as the ‘rage of party’, there were few contested parliamentary elections in Cornwall and south-west Wales, reflecting the strength of proprietorial interest amongst certain gentry families, and the limited ways in which the lower orders could participate in the political process.

Regional difference has yet to be fully appreciated by scholars working on the later Stuart period. This thesis takes the under-studied regions of Cornwall and south-west Wales, and aims to explore the distinctiveness of their religious and political cultures, by placing them within the context of the unique structural and cultural features of these isolated, peripheral parts of the British Isles. The regional distinctiveness depicted here offers new insights into major themes within later Stuart historiography, and enhances our understanding of the period’s religious and political culture in manifold directions.

CHAPTER ONE

Peers and Gentry: Society, Culture, and Identity

In Edmund Gibson's new translation of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), Sir Jonathan Trelawny, bishop of Exeter, provided additions for the Cornish section. He began: '*Cornwall*, as by the situation 'tis in a manner cut from the rest of *England*, so by its peculiar customs and privileges, added to a difference of Language, it may seem to be another Kingdom'.¹ A fellow contributor to Gibson's edition, the Oxford-based Welsh naturalist Edward Lhuyd, claimed elsewhere that he was not an Englishman, 'but an old Briton'.² It is perhaps surprising that two gentlemen who spent considerable time away from their localities should articulate such powerful notions of difference and separation from the rest of England. A regional identity continued to shape the self-conceptions of these men, despite their broad social horizons and high social status. This chapter adopts a broad methodological approach to explore the distinctiveness of Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry society, culture, and identity. In doing so, it provides the intellectual and social background for subsequent chapters on religious and political culture.

As outlined in the thesis introduction, since the deconstruction of Alan Everitt's notion of insular 'county communities', historians have envisaged the gentry as operating within multiple overlapping spheres both greater and smaller than the county unit.³ This chapter argues that, whilst the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales were far from insular, their locality nonetheless continued to play an important role in shaping their lives and relationships. Issues such as geographic remoteness and poverty impacted on their marriage patterns and education. Longstanding gentry settlement, combined with centuries of inter-marriage, had produced particularly dense kinship networks which conditioned their social networks. The gentry of south-west Wales understood their position in society largely in

¹ Edmund Gibson (ed.), *Camden's Britannia Newly Translated into English* (1695), p. 15.

² Quoted in Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary* (Oxford, 1950), p. 8.

³ See above, pp. 5-11.

terms of their ancestry and kin, and were more likely to live, marry, and produce progeny within their local communities than their Cornish counterparts. In Cornwall, meanwhile, there was a perceptible shift during the later Stuart period; a move away from endogamy and preoccupations with pedigrees. Similarly, the vitality of the Welsh language and the importance of lineage to Welsh gentility generated greater interest in studying, preserving, and supporting Welsh culture, than was the case in Cornwall.

WHO WERE THE GENTRY?

While noblemen were clearly distinguished by their titles, gentry status was more open to interpretation. As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes note, social mobility meant that definitions of gentility had to be flexible.⁴ As a baseline, most seventeenth-century commentators understood that ‘all non-noble landowners with some claim to exercise lordship or jurisdiction were unquestionably gentlemen’ – they were the governors of England and Wales.⁵ A further major criterion was the ability to maintain oneself ‘without Manual Labour’.⁶ These traditional conceptions of gentility were challenged from two directions. First, from the upward mobility of men who did not necessarily possess these qualities, but were nonetheless able to claim gentility through wealth, ownership of property, and education, including professionals, clergymen, and merchants. Indeed, education and the associated ability to exercise civic virtue were increasingly seen as essential markers of gentility, rather than lineage. Secondly, the fluidity of seventeenth-century society also saw minor gentry merge downward with prosperous yeomen.

Yet these expansive views of what constituted gentility were less readily applicable in Wales. The revenues of the majority of Welsh gentry would likely have put them in the category of small freeholder in most English counties.⁷ The relative poverty of the Welsh gentry meant that medieval notions of gentility which prioritised lineage, ties of kindred, and acreage survived into the eighteenth century. These older concepts fused with a Tudor

⁴ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 6-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ For example, Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliæ Notitia: or the Present State of England* (22nd edn., 1707), p. 294.

⁷ David W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1986), p. 10; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 13-14.

and early Stuart sense of influence derived from public service, and together they formed the core principles of Welsh gentility.⁸ The dual characteristics of poverty and genealogical pride formed central tenets of English stereotypes of the Welsh gentry. Pamphlets, chapbooks, and jokes lampooned Taffy, the Welsh ‘Shentilman’, who was contemptibly poor and obsessed with long and spurious pedigrees.⁹ These stereotypes drew on well-established literary conventions and were designed for an unsophisticated readership, but pointed to genuine features of the Welsh gentry. Although a small but dominant group of wealthy families had emerged in Wales by the late seventeenth century, whose revenues could match their English counterparts, older medieval concepts of gentility remained central to Welsh society.

Despite differences between the definitions of gentility in England and Wales, both groups shared a common feature: they were indisputably recognised as gentlemen within their own localities. In neither England or Wales were the elite a homogenous group – there were gradations of gentry: greater, middling, and lesser, and fluidity and blurred boundaries between these three groups. However, all had shared experiences and modes of behaviour, and contemporaries described them within a single linguistic category.¹⁰ For the statistical purposes of this chapter, I have identified a core subset of fifty-five south-west Welsh families and fifty-six Cornish families who formed the dominant elite in county government during the later Stuart period. This includes the nobility, greater gentry, and a sizeable proportion of the middling gentry of each region (usually esquires). The surviving gentry collections for Cornwall and south-west Wales have dictated that the lesser gentry are discussed less in this chapter than their wealthier counterparts.

WEALTH

The gentry of Wales were infamously poor. A system of *gavelkind* which had operated before the Tudor Acts of Union (whereby inheritance was divided amongst all male heirs),

⁸ J. Gwynfor Jones, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 234-5; Sarah Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution: The Gentry of North-East Wales, 1640-1688’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016), ch. 1.

⁹ Moira Dearnley, *Distant Fields: Eighteenth-Century Fictions of Wales* (Cardiff, 2001), ch. 1; Peter Lord, *Words with Pictures: Welsh Images and Images of Wales in the Popular Press, 1640-1860* (Aberystwyth, 1995), ch. 2.

¹⁰ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 15.

combined with poor terrain and the remoteness of good markets, stifled economic growth. This impacted gentry life in several significant ways, including their marriage patterns, education, political participation, and attitudes towards kinship. With wealth becoming increasingly concentrated in fewer hands during the seventeenth century, a group of impoverished gentry emerged who were proud of their pedigrees but did not possess the associated wealth. When a Cornishman was due to marry a Carmarthenshire bride in 1708, it was remarked that ‘she hath nothing but quality & beauty for her dower’.¹¹ In the mid-seventeenth century, an income of above £400 per annum could qualify a Welsh gentleman as a ‘substantial squire’ – half of the £800 which H. J. Habakkuk believed constituted an English equivalent.¹² By English standards, most lesser Welsh squires would have been affluent yeomen.

The Cornish gentry were also generally considered to have been poorer than elsewhere in England. A lack of evidence makes it difficult to be specific about the finances of the Cornish gentry, but Anne Duffin concluded that they ‘were not particularly wealthy’ in her study of early Stuart Cornwall.¹³ Daniel Defoe concurred in the early eighteenth century, commenting that ‘their estates may not be so large, as is usual in England’.¹⁴ This doubtlessly reflected the broader difficulties the Cornish economy faced as it underwent a painful integration into the national economy, leading to ‘relative deprivation and exploitation more reminiscent of the Irish than English experience’.¹⁵ Like south-west Wales, Cornwall also found it harder to access good markets because of its extreme remoteness. To compound the situation, gentry across England and Wales were faced with market stagnation over the course of the late seventeenth century as national agricultural prices were depressed for virtually the entire period.¹⁶ By the 1690s, England was committed to funding William III’s continental wars, and the gentry’s economic struggles were further deepened by land taxes levied almost annually at 20% of a landlord’s rental income.

¹¹ BEA, Humphrey Morice MSS: Nicholas Morice to Joseph Moyle, 12 Oct. 1708.

¹² H. J. Habakkuk, ‘English Landownership, 1680-1740’, *Economic History Review*, 10 (1940), p. 3; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 9.

¹³ Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry Before the Civil War* (Exeter, 1999), p. 24.

¹⁴ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (1991), p. 98.

¹⁵ Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (2004), p. 177.

¹⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 117.

Although peripheral regions like Cornwall and Wales were habitually under-assessed by local commissioners, the later Stuart period was nonetheless financially demanding.¹⁷

Cornish gentlemen were nonetheless far richer than the south-west Welsh squires. A comparison of hearth tax records for the two regions is an unsophisticated measure of true wealth, but the numbers reveal a striking disparity in gentry affluence. In 1670, Pembrokeshire had twelve houses with ten or more hearths, while Cardiganshire had only six.¹⁸ Eight years earlier, it was recorded that 117 houses in Cornwall had the same number of hearths.¹⁹ Evidently, the south-west Welsh gentry lacked the capital to build and maintain large houses on the same scale as the Cornish. The records also give a crude indication of the relative wealth of individual families. In Cornwall, there were thirty-five households with over fifteen hearths, implying a relatively large number of comparably affluent families – in terms of wealth, no single gentleman dominated. By contrast, in the whole of south-west Wales only nine houses had more than fifteen hearths, and it becomes clear that the assets of certain Welsh gentlemen far exceeded that of their neighbours.²⁰ The Owens of Orierton, for example, owned three of Pembrokeshire's twelve houses with ten hearths or more. In Cardiganshire, the Pryses of Gogerddan had two large houses of sixteen and eleven hearths, while, in Carmarthenshire, the earls of Carbery's seat of Golden Grove exceeded all others with fifty hearths. Although it ought to be acknowledged that these records are imperfect (for example, Sir John Vaughan of Trawsgoed's modestly-sized seat does not reflect his prodigious wealth at this time), they do broadly align with other evidence in suggesting that an elite body of wealthy greater gentry had emerged in Wales by the later Stuart period.

When compared to the English gentry, however, their wealth was still unspectacular, and they were few in number. In the early eighteenth century, when an annual income of £2,000 was the criterion of English greater gentlemen, only eight families in the whole of south-west Wales can be said with any certainty to have qualified – one fewer than Glamorganshire

¹⁷ W. R. Ward, *The English Land Tax in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 7-10.

¹⁸ Basil Hughes, *Pembrokeshire Hearth Tax 1670* (Pennar, 1999); Ceredigion Archives, ADX/152: Transcript of Cardiganshire hearth tax, 1670.

¹⁹ T. L. Stoate, *Cornwall Hearth and Poll Taxes, 1660-1664: Direct Taxation in Cornwall in the Reign of Charles II* (Bristol, 1981).

²⁰ The largest Carmarthenshire houses are recorded in Francis Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Carmarthen, 1987).

alone.²¹ While there was no straightforward pattern of decline amongst the lesser gentry, the great eighteenth-century book of pedigrees – the Golden Grove book – does repeatedly bear the words ‘he sold all’.²² Significantly, the material dominance of the greater gentry was easily translated into political and electoral dominance. The shortage of Welsh constituencies (seven in the south-west), combined with the poverty of many south-west Welsh families, meant that it was extremely difficult to finance a successful electoral challenge against the greater gentry.

LINEAGE

Lineage had been a preoccupation of the English and Welsh gentry for centuries. A proud and distinguished ancestry provided an important sense of security in a period of increasing social mobility – it could be used both to strengthen new claims to gentility or defend old claims against incomers.²³ Yet such an emphasis on descent was gradually being eroded, and by 1660 extravagant and often spurious genealogical accounts were no longer persistently published.²⁴ Instead, commentators such as Sylvanus Morgan and Edward Waterhouse began forthrightly to stress the centrality of wealth to gentility.²⁵ As Heal and Holmes note, these works reflected a pre-existing shift away from a concern with lineage amongst the gentry, rather than generating the shift.²⁶

In Wales, however, reputable lineage remained central to claims of gentility. Their persistent interest in genealogy became a subject of ridicule outside of the Principality – in John Vanbrugh’s play, *Aesop*, a Welsh genealogist’s pedigree commences with Noah ‘for

²¹ Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, pp. 231-2; *idem*, ‘Society, 1660-1793’, in Brian Howells (ed.), *Pembrokeshire County History Volume III: Early Modern Pembrokeshire, 1536-1815* (Haverfordwest, 1987), p. 329; Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 48. These families were, by county – Pembrokeshire: Barlows of Slebech, Campbells of Stackpole Court, Philipps’ of Picton Castle, Owens of Orielson. Cardiganshire: Pryses of Gogerddan, Vaughans of Trawsgoed. Carmarthenshire: Vaughans of Golden Grove, Vaughans of Derwydd.

²² Francis Jones, ‘An Approach to Welsh Genealogy’, *THSC* (1948), p. 397; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 37.

²³ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 22; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County, 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986), p. 118.

²⁴ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 38-40; James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650-1750* (1998), p. 29.

²⁵ Sylvanus Morgan, *The Sphere of Gentry: Deduced from the Principles of Nature* (1661), p. 101; Andrew Sharp, ‘Edward Waterhouse’s View of Social Change in Seventeenth-Century England’, *P&P*, 62 (1974), pp. 27-46.

²⁶ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 40.

brevity's sake'.²⁷ Although a stereotype, the author highlighted the fact that the Welsh gentry could usually trace their lineage back much further than their English counterparts; most were descended from one of the twenty ancient royal or noble tribes.²⁸ In contrast, many English ruling families were replaced after the Norman conquest. One edition of Daniel Defoe's *Tour* claimed that the Welsh 'laugh at a Pedigree that cannot be traced higher than the Conquest'.²⁹

Gentlemen in Wales were well-versed with their own ancestry and family tree; many could name the founding ancestor of their family, and their houses were decorated with heraldic art.³⁰ In the south-west, the Pryses of Gogerddan, for example, were descendants of Gwaithfoed, and the Vaughans of Trawsgoed arose from Collwyn ap Tangno.³¹ Understanding one's pedigree was no mere hobby for the Welsh gentry; during the medieval period, before the abolition of *gavelkind*, a working understanding of their family's lineage was vital in order to establish successful claims to land which was held by entire family groups and passed down through the generations. Moreover, it was through their ancestry that the gentry justified their authority and grounded their status, honour, and reputation.³² Since Welsh gentility was rooted in lineage, rather than wealth, many comparatively poor families could claim gentle status. However, not all of these claims were legitimate, and fraudulent pedigrees were not uncommon. Hugh Thomas, the deputy to Garter King-of-Arms from 1703, complained that Welsh genealogists 'never search particulars & Authority for Confirmation of their Pedigrees'.³³ In later Stuart south-west Wales, heraldry appears to have been a booming industry – with reviews ranging from 'our best herauld' Thomas Jenkins, to the allegedly 'very ignorant genealogist & Armorist' Charles Mathews.³⁴ A respect for lineage, then, was a central feature of gentry life in south-west Wales. It also cemented the self-identity of the Welsh as ancient Britons – the descendants of the original inhabitants of the British Isles long before the arrival of the Romans.

²⁷ John Vanbrugh, *Aesop: A Comedy* (1697), p. 22; Jones, *Welsh Gentry*, p. 238.

²⁸ Francis Jones, 'The Old Families of South-West Wales', *Ceredigion*, 4 (1960), pp. 4-6; *idem*, 'The Old Families of Wales', in Donald Moore (ed.), *Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Swansea, 1976), p. 30.

²⁹ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (2 vols., 1748), II, 379.

³⁰ Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', p. 404.

³¹ *Idem*, 'Old Families of South-West Wales', pp. 6-7.

³² Jones, *Welsh Gentry*, pp. 10-12, 83; Jones, 'Old Families of South-West Wales', pp. 9-10.

³³ Quoted in Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', p. 424.

³⁴ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817a, f. 110: William Parry to David Parry, 9 Feb. 1703; Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', p. 414; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 419, 421.

Table 1.1: *Medieval origins of gentry*

County	Percentage of families with Medieval origins
Cardiganshire	96%
Carmarthenshire	84%
Pembrokeshire	67%
Cornwall	57%
Warwickshire	18%
Lincolnshire	17%
Kent	75%

Sources: Jones, 'Old Families of South-West Wales', p. 4; Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, p. 23; Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 29; Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980), p. 66; Alan Everitt, *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966), p. 36.

As Table 1.1 demonstrates, south-west Wales had a remarkably long-established gentry community. Similarly, figures compiled by Anne Duffin suggest that 57% of the Cornish gentry families had been settled in the county since medieval times, substantially higher than the equivalent figures for Lincolnshire or Warwickshire, but falling short of Kent's 75%. It appears that isolated regions which bordered few other counties were particularly likely to have had long-established gentry families. If Cornwall could boast an ancient gentry society, did it place the same emphasis on lineage and pedigree? The antiquary Richard Carew thought so in the late sixteenth century, commenting that 'most *Cornish* Gentlemen can better vaunt their pedigree, then their liuelyhood; for that, they driue from great antiquitie', and believed their obsession with lineage surpassed any other English county.³⁵ Almost one hundred years later, it was said that Sir Jonathan Trelawny could trace his ancestry back to the foundation of Rome.³⁶ However, there is little evidence that the majority of Cornish gentry did not follow the general trend of moving away from this preoccupation with lineage after the Restoration. Significantly, whereas the Welsh gentry championed the idea that they were ancient Britons, their Cornish counterparts were accused by the late-Stuart Cornish-

³⁵ Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. John Chynoweth, Nicholas Orme, and Alexandra Walsham (Exeter, 2004), ff. 63r-v.

³⁶ M. G. Smith, '*Fighting Joshua*': *A Study of the Career of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, bart, 1650-1721, Bishop of Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester* (Redruth, 1985), p. 3.

language revivalist, William Scawen, of downplaying their British lineage in favour of emphasising French or Norman descent whenever they could.³⁷

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

Gentry families devoted substantial resources and effort into pursuing suitable marriages for their children. A successful marriage could provide lasting political alliances, long-term financial security, and, preferably, happiness for the couple involved.³⁸ A marriage could be a vital means of extending a landlord's estates or arresting their declining fortunes, and took on special importance during the later Stuart period due to the remarkably high failure of gentry families to produce male heirs.³⁹ In both Cornwall and south-west Wales, endogamous marriages strengthened local kinship networks and helped maintain regional identities. Yet, as we shall see, it is difficult to delineate the social, political, and economic motivations behind this trend. Moreover, exogamy was far more commonplace amongst the Cornish gentry than their Welsh counterparts, and became more common during the period for the region's leading families.

In the early eighteenth century, Defoe noted that the Cornish gentry 'generally intermarry themselves, the gentlemen seldom going out of the county for a wife', before echoing Richard Carew's famous adage, '*That all the Cornish gentlemen are cousins*'.⁴⁰ However, evidence based on the leading families selected for this chapter shows that inter-marriage amongst the heads of families was far more commonplace in south-west Wales than Cornwall (Tables 1.2 and 1.3). In Cornwall, 32% married within the county, and a further 21% looked across the border to Devon – over half married within the two most south-western counties. By contrast, 57% of the heads of prominent south-west Welsh families married within that region, and a full three-quarters married a Welsh bride.

³⁷ CRO, F/2/39, f. 42: William Scawen, *Antiquities Cornu-Britannic*, [1687-9].

³⁸ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 60-2.

³⁹ H. J. Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 29 (1979), pp. 188-91; Christopher Clay, 'Marriage, Inheritance, and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815', *Economic History Review*, 21 (1968), p. 517.

⁴⁰ Defoe, *Tour*, p. 98; Carew, *Survey*, f. 64r.

Table 1.2: *Marriage connections of heads of Cornish families, 1660-1714*

Bride's county of origin	Total known marriages	Percentage of total
Cornwall	58	32%
Devon	39	21%
Elsewhere	86	47%
Total	183	100%

Table 1.3: *Marriage connections of heads of south-west Welsh families, 1660-1714*

Origin of bride	Total known marriages	Percentage of total
South-west Wales	87	57%
Another Welsh county	28	18%
Elsewhere	39	25%
Total	154	100%

Sources: These statistics include aristocratic families. History of Parliament, *Commons* volumes, 1604-1754; Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage* (107th edn., Wilmington, 2003); *West Wales Historical Records*; DWB; Francis Jones, *Historic Cardiganshire Homes and their Families*, ed. Caroline Charles-Jones (Newport, 2000); *idem*, *Historic Pembrokeshire Homes and their Families*, ed. Caroline Charles-Jones (Newport, 1996); *idem*, *Carmarthenshire Homes*; Leslie Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul, 1999); Thomas Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (2 vols., 1872); Joseph Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (Truro, 1867).

Yet an important caveat ought to be noted: lesser gentlemen were more likely to marry within their neighbourhoods than the middling or greater gentry.⁴¹ These statistics therefore underrepresent the true degree of endogamy – explaining why the figures appear surprisingly low for such remote regions. As a result, it is difficult to construct adequate comparisons between other regions, except between the two under study. Various county studies have compiled statistics for marriage networks, but tend to include all gentry groups, and often focus on the early Stuart period only.⁴² Although no complementary figures exist for south-west Wales at this time, Anne Duffin calculates that 60% of gentry marriages were to Cornish brides. This figure still falls some way short of the 82% of Kentish gentlemen or

⁴¹ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61; Rosenheim, *Ruling Order*, p. 24.

⁴² These have been collated in Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 61.

Table 1.4: *Marriage connections of heads of greater Cornish families, 1660-1714*

Bride's county of origin	Total known marriages pre-1660	Total known marriages 1660-1714
Cornwall	27 (37%)	28 (28%)
Devon	21 (28%)	18 (18%)
Elsewhere	26 (35%)	55 (54%)
Total	74 (100%)	101 (100%)

Table 1.5: *Marriage connections of heads of greater south-west Welsh families, 1660-1714*

Origin of bride	Total known marriages pre-1660	Total known marriages 1660-1714
South-west Wales	30 (59%)	55 (56%)
Another Welsh county	9 (18%)	19 (19%)
Elsewhere	12 (23%)	24 (25%)
Total	51 (100%)	98 (100%)

70% of Lancastrian gentry who married within their county.⁴³ However, a further 29% of Cornish gentlemen found matches in Devon, so that almost 90% of gentlemen married within the two most south-western counties during the early Stuart period. Given the density of gentry families in the east of Cornwall, it is unsurprising that a significant proportion looked eastwards for potential brides, and it nonetheless points towards a narrow marriage network encompassing both Cornwall and Devon.

A further caveat should be noted: Tables 1.2 and 1.3 include all *heads of families* in 1660-1714, regardless of whether their marriages took place before 1660 or after 1714. Francis Buller, for example, was *paterfamilias* until 1677, but had married Thomasin Honeywood in 1625. If the statistics are broken down into marriages which took place before 1660, and those which occurred between 1660 and 1714, an interesting pattern emerges (Tables 1.4 and 1.5). The proportion of heads of leading south-west Welsh families who married within their locality (or, at least, within Wales) remained consistently high throughout the

⁴³ Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, p. 30.

seventeenth century. The heads of Cornwall's most prominent families, on the other hand, increasingly looked farther afield for potential brides.

In part, geographical isolation served to encourage gentlemen in Cornwall and south-west Wales to marry within their localities. There remained an association between Wales and incivility which, combined with its remoteness, put off some English families from sending their children there.⁴⁴ Similarly, the Cornish squire, John Rogers of Penrose, was rebutted by a potential fiancé as 'the Lady is resolved to lead a city life' and would hardly be persuaded to burden herself 'w[i]th the toylsomness of the country'.⁴⁵ The perceived absence of civil entertainments and distance from major urban centres could easily discourage women from moving to Cornwall or south-west Wales, and therefore force gentlemen to marry closer to home.

A lack of wealth or status could also dissuade suitors from outside of their locality. When negotiating matches, few Cornish gentlemen could equal Sir Francis Godolphin's claim that his son had a baronetcy, large estate, and familial relations at court.⁴⁶ The issue of poverty was even more acute for the Welsh gentry and spread further up the social ladder. As has already been noted, lineage was a more important factor, so that Morgan Jones could claim that his fiancé was 'well bred, of a good antient family in this county & lookd upon by all th[a]t know her to be discreet', despite bringing a small portion.⁴⁷ Even amongst the richest families, dowries were low. The daughters of Walter Rice of Newton (Carmarthenshire) and Sir Hugh Owen (2nd Bt.) of Orierton (Pembrokeshire) were both married to prominent south-west Welsh gentlemen with portions of £1,500 and £2,000 respectively during the reign of William III.⁴⁸ At the same time, the daughters of prominent Cornish gentlemen had dowries of at least £3-4,000.⁴⁹ As marriage took on evermore economic importance, the south-west Welsh gentry were priced out of the English market, and were more likely to find matches within Wales.

⁴⁴ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ CRO, RP/2/7-8: M. Davy to John Rogers, 14 Feb. 1681.

⁴⁶ BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 5: Sir Francis Godolphin to [?], [1667] [draft].

⁴⁷ NLW, MS Nanteos L13: Morgan Jones to Richard Powell, [1680s].

⁴⁸ Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 30.

⁴⁹ For example, John Manley married the daughter of Edward Grosse of Truro with £4,000, and Ambrose Manaton married the daughter of Sir John Carew with £3,000. *Commons, 1690-1715*, IV, 744-6.

However, inter-marriage could establish powerful kinship networks and regional alliances which lasted generations. In Cornwall, for example, two of Sir John Carew (3rd Bt.) of Antony's daughters with his first wife married prominent Cornish landowners: Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly and Ambrose Manaton of Lezant (see Appendix). In 1681, Carew also married locally himself to his third wife Mary, the daughter of Sir William Morice (1st Bt.) of Werrington. When he died in 1692, both his son-in-law, Jonathan Rashleigh, and brother-in-law, Nicholas Morice, were appointed as trustees, and raised his surviving children. Through a series of successive marriages, the Carews had built an influential social and political network. The Owens of Orierton in Pembrokeshire similarly utilised marriage connections to build a strong interest in the county (see Appendix). Sir Hugh Owen (1st Bt.) and his brother, Arthur Owen, were cousins of Rowland Laugharne of St. Bride's through their mother's family, and each brother also married a daughter of Sir John Philipps (1st Bt.) of Picton Castle, forming a powerful alliance between three of the most powerful Pembrokeshire houses.

For many of the greater gentry of Cornwall, and a smaller proportion of the leading families in south-west Wales, the benefits of marrying outside of the region increasingly appeared to outweigh the importance of these local networks. By the later Stuart period, they had access to national marriage markets in London and Bath which connected them to monied commercial families.⁵⁰ Indeed, marriages outside of their locality could substantially broaden the social horizons of the Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry, and enhance their cultural and political awareness. Sir Erasmus Philipps (3rd Bt.) of Picton Castle's tumultuous marriage to Catherine Darcy may have been loveless, but he was nonetheless on good terms with her uncle, Alexander Stanhope.⁵¹ His granddaughter expanded the family's political networks further when she married into the famous Walpole family of Houghton Hall in Norfolk.⁵² These long-standing connections were mirrored across numerous other marriages which took place outside of the gentry's locality.

⁵⁰ Rosenheim, *Ruling Order*, pp. 26-7; Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), p. 124.

⁵¹ NLW, MSS Picton Castle 1592, 1600: Sir Erasmus Philipps to Alexander Stanhope, 7 Sept. 1665; Alexander Stanhope to Sir Erasmus Philipps, 20 Mar. 1685.

⁵² NLW, MS 579: Memoranda book of Sir John Philipps, unpaginated.

KINSHIP NETWORKS

It is well-established that later Stuart gentry communities across England and Wales were bound together by kinship networks – especially in more geographically self-contained regions.⁵³ Social life, local administration, and political alliances revolved around these networks. In this respect, Cornwall and south-west Wales were not particularly distinct from other counties like Sussex or Kent. However, as Heal and Holmes note, ‘cousin spotting’ was a ‘particularly favoured pastime for the Celts’.⁵⁴ The deep-rooted settlement of the gentry in these regions, combined with decades or even centuries of inter-marriage, led to exceptionally dense cousinage networks. In Wales, where an obsession with lineage and remarkably high levels of endogamy led to sprawling kinship networks, often spanning across counties, it was customary for gentlemen to be familiar with even their most distant relations. It has been argued that kinship provided Welshmen with a sense of identity by firmly locating their position within society.⁵⁵ Both the Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry constructed enduring kin identities, which often dominated their social lives and militated their political actions.

Endogamy, combined with remoteness, produced unusually high numbers of gentry cadet branches in Cornwall and south-west Wales.⁵⁶ Younger sons of influential families had more opportunities to marry well and establish new junior families. The Vaughans of Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, for example, did this with extraordinary success. Four of Walter Vaughan’s (d. 1598) younger sons married heiresses, and each established a formidable house – Torycoed, Llanelli, Derwydd, and Cwrt Derllys (see Appendix). Within south-west Wales, the Vaughans operated as a cohesive unit, centred around the core family at Golden Grove, and bound together by mutual political and economic interests. Cornish families such as the Arundells of Lanherne and Rashleighs of Coombe also had cadet branches which usurped their original lines in terms of wealth and political influence, but remained unified by kinship and friendship.

⁵³ Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (new edn., 2003), p. 10; David Cressy, ‘Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England’, *P&P*, 113 (1986), p. 49; Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (1975), pp. 44-8; Alan Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester, 1969), p. 26.

⁵⁴ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 94.

⁵⁵ Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution’, p. 36.

⁵⁶ Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (1984), pp. 50-2.

Cousinage was strongly emphasised in correspondence, memorandum books, and private accounts.⁵⁷ A comparison of Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry correspondence suggests that this convention was far more prominent in the latter region, where kinship networks appear to have been denser and more expansive. Complex relationships were referred to in a way which suggests that gentlemen understood them intimately: ‘This young man... is Coz: Jo: Lewis’s son th[a]t lived w[i]th his father in law Coz: Hugh Vaughan at Hengwrt w[he]n you were there & he is sisters Grandchild to Coz: Edmond Meyrick of Caermarthen’.⁵⁸ None of the cousins named were close relations of the recipient, the naturalist Edward Lhuyd, but distant kindred whom he was nonetheless expected to assist. Indeed, there was a moral obligation to display loyalty to kindred. In a letter of advice to his son, Richard Vaughan, 2nd earl of Carbery, included a section entitled ‘Affection to Kinred’ which encouraged him to maintain ‘amity’ with his extended family, and promised ‘more secret Instructions’ on ‘those faithfull Frindes and servants to your Family’.⁵⁹ On a similar note, the Cornishman Nicholas Morice warned his nephew that ‘you have a family of y[ou]r own to look after & should not involve yourself in other men’s affairs to whom you are not related with the neglect of your own’.⁶⁰ It was the role of the *paterfamilias* to construct harmonious relations with kindred and oversee the welfare of the extended family wherever possible.

It is important to note that kinship did not always lead to harmonious relationships and unity, but could also be a source of dispute and conflict. The injection of personal affection and often personal finances into family ties could lead to disaster. Tension between brothers was not uncommon, or between in-laws – Edward Nosworthy of Ince Castle (Cornwall) was almost bankrupted by his estranged father-in-law, the famous Devon lawyer Sir John Maynard, after he refused to sanction a marriage for his daughter arranged by Maynard.⁶¹ Equally, father-offspring relations could be frosty; William Powell of Llechwedd-dyrys

⁵⁷ For example, NLW, MS Picton Castle 938: Receipt and memorandum book of Sir John Philipps, 1702-5; H. L. Douch (ed.), ‘The Household Accounts of Warwick Mohun of Luney, 1705-1714’, *JRIC*, 9 (1984), *passim*.

⁵⁸ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1815, f. 284: Maurice Jones to Edward Lhuyd, 11 Mar. 1704.

⁵⁹ Virgil B. Heltzel, ‘Richard Earl of Carbery’s Advice to His Son’, *Huntington Library Bulletin*, 11 (1937), p. 77.

⁶⁰ BEA, Humphrey Morice MSS: Nicholas Morice to Humphrey Morice, 4 Mar. 1709.

⁶¹ CRO, ME/3124, 3129: Edward Nosworthy to Sir John Maynard, 22 Aug. 1682; William Jennens to Sir John Maynard, 8 Sept. 1682.

(Cardiganshire) complained to his brother that ‘I found the doggs to have bett[e]r reception then my selfe’ when his father returned home.⁶²

When a kinship network was functioning amicably, however, it could serve its members in a variety of ways: from mediation during disputes and marriage brokerage, to the provision of hospitality. As we shall see, kinship had a vital role in political networks and patronage.⁶³ The particularly dense kinship networks in Cornwall and south-west Wales tied the gentry to their local communities, and (as with their marriage networks) allowed older customs to survive. Especially in Wales, kinship remained one of the most important foundations of gentry society, and a working knowledge of one’s lineage was vital when claiming gentility.

SOCIAL HORIZONS AND NETWORKS

In many respects, the marriages and kinship networks of the Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry support Everitt’s emphasis on the insularity of county communities. However, one of the enduring legacies of Clive Holmes’ and Ann Hughes’ work has been to remind historians that seventeenth-century gentry communities were integrated into a national culture, and that their social horizons were broad. The social networks of the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales confirm this – expanding outwards from their country houses and extending across the British Isles to London and beyond. Their networks were therefore both narrower and broader than the region itself. They moved comfortably in both national and local circles, spending months living in London while simultaneously remaining intrinsically bound to their local communities. Although this section will deal predominantly with inter-gentry social networks, it is important to note at the outset that they also had deep ties within their immediate neighbourhoods – their neighbours, fellow parishioners, and tenants.

There was little opportunity for social interaction on a county-wide level. As with other counties, the relatively infrequent assize or great sessions meetings were an important moment when gentlemen could come together to enjoy entertainment, socialise, and perform

⁶² NLW, MS Nanteos L26: William Powell to Richard Powell, 19 June 1682.

⁶³ See below, pp. 219-26.

vital political acts such as the drafting of loyal addresses.⁶⁴ By the eighteenth century, there is evidence that Cornwall's county elites were increasingly withdrawing from local office and attendance at the assizes – but correspondence in and out of London nonetheless demonstrates a keen interest in the business of the local courts.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the stannary parliaments (although meeting less often) also functioned as county-wide meetings which had a social bent to them.⁶⁶ There is no evidence of equivalent elite withdrawal in south-west Wales, and it is possible that it occurred later in the region.

Instead, the sociable interactions of the gentry took place on a more localised scale. The regular rounds of hunting and hawking were accompanied by a system of regular visiting and dining amongst friendship and kinship circles.⁶⁷ Richard Carew claimed that the Cornish gentry 'converse familiarly together, & often visit one another', and a gentleman would 'ride to make merry with his next neighbour; and after a day or twayne, those two couples goe to a third' in a kind of progress.⁶⁸ Two later accounts of the Cornish gentry community concurred with this assessment: Richard Blome wrote of their '*merry meetings*' in 1673, and Defoe commented that they were 'the most sociable, generous... [and] kindest neighbours'.⁶⁹ The account book of Warwick Mohun, a Cornish lesser gentleman, reveals the extent of visiting taking place in Cornwall; he visited a variety of gentlemen during the nine years the accounts cover, ranging from great magnates to lesser squires. Two features of Mohun's visiting patterns are striking: first, for the most part they were kin – his uncles Sir Jonathan Trelawny (then bishop of Winchester) at Trelawne and John Trevanion at Caerhays; his father-in-law; and his sister. Secondly, the country houses Mohun visited regularly – Heligan, Caerhays, Trelawne, Tregonan, Trevithick, Penrice, Levalza, Trencreek, Trelewick, and Penance – were virtually all in the hundred of Powder on the south coast of mid-Cornwall.⁷⁰ In other words, sociability appears to have been heavily

⁶⁴ See, NLW, MS Picton Castle 1487: John Courcy to Sir John Philipps, 4 Apr. 1702.

⁶⁵ James M. Rosenheim, 'County Governance and Elite Withdrawal in Norfolk', in A. L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim (eds.), *The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 95-125; BEA, Humphrey Morice MSS: Nicholas Morice to Humphrey Morice, 8 Apr. 1709; AHM, CC/FF/1/5: Mary Carew to John Treise, 8 Sept. 1696.

⁶⁶ For example, BEA, Morice MSS: Sir Nicholas Morice to Humphrey Morice, 19 Feb. 1710.

⁶⁷ See Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), chs. 4-5.

⁶⁸ Carew, *Survey*, f. 64v.

⁶⁹ Richard Blome, *Britannia, or, A Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1673), p. 59; Defoe, *Tour*, p. 98.

⁷⁰ Douch (ed.), 'Accounts of Warwick Mohun', pp. 237, 241, 245, 248, 249, 250, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 268, 270, 271, 273, 274, 285, 288, 290, 292.

influenced by kinship networks, and was confined to a more localised region than the county. Visiting neighbours also formed an important feature in the social lives of the south-west Welsh gentry. A letter addressed to Edward Lhuyd from Nanteos (Cardiganshire) included the ‘hearty service’ from the owner Sir Thomas Powell, and also from ‘Mr. Pryse Mr. John Pughe & Mr. Rowland’ – all of whom had evidently visited the house in the preceding days.⁷¹

In his *Survey of Cornwall*, Richard Carew made the dubious claim that the Cornish gentry ‘liue void of factions amongst themselues’.⁷² Yet, though a gentleman’s neighbourhood often formed the bulk of his social network, it could also provide several enemies. As subsequent chapters will elucidate, the gentry communities of Cornwall and south-west Welsh were not short of political or religious feuds. Even at the funeral of Katherine Philipps of Picton Castle (Pembrokeshire) in 1721, the coaches of the Owens of Orierton and Barlows of Slebech vied for precedence.⁷³ At times, these feuds could have more dangerous consequences: at least five duels between Cornish MPs or aristocrats were recorded in London between 1661 and 1706, with one ‘Mr. Buller’ (possibly Francis or John) being ‘dangerously wounded’.⁷⁴ Fewer violent exchanges are recorded amongst the south-west Welsh gentry, but Sir John Vaughan of Trawsgoed was involved in an ambiguously-termed ‘quarrell’ with one William Jenkins in 1665.⁷⁵ Whether as a source of friendship or enmity, then, the gentry’s locality was central to their lives; the arena of both routine rounds of sociability and deep personal and societal fissures.

It is nonetheless significant that so many of these duels took place in London. By the end of the seventeenth century, the cultural lives of the gentry of both regions had turned towards a high-status society orientated to London and the spa towns. After 1700, a summer season in Bath was especially popular amongst the wealthier families of south-west Wales.⁷⁶ For

⁷¹ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1816, f. 352: Richard Mathews to Edward Lhuyd, 27 Sept. 1701.

⁷² Carew, *Survey*, f. 64r.

⁷³ Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 171.

⁷⁴ CRO, PB/8/9/25: Sir William Morice to Edmund Prideaux, 15 Mar. [1661/2]; BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 12: Lady Dorothy Godolphin to Harry and Charles Godolphin, 2 Feb. [1667]; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols., Oxford, 1857), I, 41; III, 381; VI, 11.

⁷⁵ NLW, MS Nanteos L1: Thomas Oliver to John Jones, 10 Mar. 1665.

⁷⁶ NLW, MS Edwinstord 2965: [?] to Thomas Williams, [c. 1700-1725]; NLW, MSS Nanteos L32, L55: John Barlow to William Powell, 13 Sept. 1714; Lewis Pryse to William Powell, 30 Oct. 1714; NLW MSS Picton Castle 4075, 1458: W. Bernewitz to Sir John Philipps, 6 June 1713; Sir John Philipps to Katherine Philipps,

the many Welsh and Cornish gentlemen who served as MPs, the capital was the home of parliament, but many men and women were equally drawn to London's sociability, entertainment culture, educational institutions, coffee-houses, economic opportunities, and professional services. Many participated in nationwide political or religious societies: the Pembrokeshire gentleman Sir John Philipps (4th Bt.), for example, was a prominent member of the Society for the Reformation of Manners (SRM) and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK).⁷⁷ During the period under study, London increasingly came to dominate the social, political, and religious lives of the gentry as parliamentary sittings became more regular, and families gradually moved to the city.

However, one cannot draw a simple divide between the provincial and national spheres of gentry life. Clive Holmes has characterised the gentry as acting as 'brokers', responsible for 'transmitting the institutional services and ideological products of the national culture to the smallest units of local society'.⁷⁸ National charitable institutions such as the SRM and SPCK, for example, were operating in south-west Wales from the 1690s with patronage from the local gentry, replacing direct beneficence as the means by which they upheld their traditional social and moral responsibilities to the poor of their parishes.⁷⁹ Even gentry who did not directly visit London were influenced by the city's markets and culture – the importation of London fashion into both Cornwall and Wales was reflected in the availability of good-quality periwigs and stockings locally.⁸⁰ Yet this still perhaps underplays the breadth of interconnections which existed between national and local culture – it was a two-way exchange.

When in London or Bath, the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales continued to display their regional identity, and local concerns were continually reflected in their activities. In the House of Commons, MPs represented the interests of their county or borough. Similarly, Cornish and Welsh lawyers were employed by their neighbours to

11 June 1713. This was mirrored by Ludlow's decline as an important provincial capital, see A. H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 8.

⁷⁷ NLW, MS Picton Castle 579.

⁷⁸ Holmes, *Lincolnshire*, p. 64.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 170-4; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 102-3, 286; Rosenheim, *Ruling Order*, p. 96.

⁸⁰ Douch (ed.), 'Accounts of Warwick Mohun', pp. 230, 245, 269; NLW, MS Picton Castle 1466: Sir John Philipps to Katherine Philipps, 15 July 1715.

oversee provincial cases, or acted as ‘London agents’ for corporations.⁸¹ Throughout the later Stuart period huge numbers of Cornish and Welsh gentry were living in London at any given time. In a series of letters to his London-based son, Thomas Powell of Llechwe-ddyrys asked that his respects be paid to ‘Cos. Tho: Corbett’, ‘Cos. Rob. Pryse’, ‘Cos. Evan Vaughan’, ‘Cosen Herbert’, and ‘Lady Pryse’ – evidently a sizable group of friends and relations were resident in the capital during, at least, the academic quarters when legal business was being conducted.⁸² Indeed, so many influential Cornish gentry were resident in London in 1713 that Sir William Carew (5th Bt.) and John Trevanion announced their candidacy for knights of the shire ‘to those gentlemen that were in town’, and communicated it back to Cornwall with their election virtually guaranteed.⁸³ This does not mean that the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales were insular or socialised exclusively within their own communities – but surviving correspondence does suggest that close-knit regional social networks reasserted themselves when they were resident in London, and that local concerns continued to impinge upon their activities.

Although there were no Cornish or Welsh versions of the late-Stuart ‘county feasts’ which so often displayed localist rhetoric, these regional networks were occasionally more formally organised.⁸⁴ From 1678, the formidable Devon politician Sir Edward Seymour (4th Bt.) amassed considerable interest and connections amongst Cornish and Devon tory MPs, ‘styling them his west Saxons’, while being named ‘General of the West Saxons’ himself.⁸⁵ The ‘West Saxons’ – also known as the ‘Saxon corner’ or ‘Seymskeyes Western Empire’ – were often referred to as a distinct political bloc.⁸⁶ Moreover, they were organised and had longevity; in 1705, Francis Gwyn (sometime MP for Callington and Totnes) was announced as ‘Seymour’s successor in his western Empire’, and nine years later one Prideaux (probably

⁸¹ For example, Haverfordwest employed William Morgan: PA, HAM/SE/1/1, f. 48v: Haverfordwest common council meeting minutes, Oct. 1683.

⁸² NLW, MSS Nanteos L17, L18, L19: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, 25 May; 28 May; 10 June 1682.

⁸³ AHM, BO/23/63/15: Jonathan Elford to John Buller, 11 Apr. 1713.

⁸⁴ Newton E. Key, ‘The Political Culture and Political Rhetoric of County Feasts and Feast Sermons, 1654-1714’, *JBS*, 33 (1994), pp. 223-56, esp. 219, 235; *idem*, ‘The Localism of the County Feast in Late Stuart Political Culture’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1995), pp. 211-37, esp. 216. This perhaps stemmed from financial embarrassment, or because of remoteness – the bulk of county feasts originated from the home, marcher, and midlands counties, while more peripheral regions hardly featured at all.

⁸⁵ *Commons, 1690-1715*, V, 409-40; Daniel Defoe, *A Dialogue Betwixt Whig and Tory* (1693), p. 29.

⁸⁶ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 222; W. A. Speck, *The Birth of Britain: A New Nation, 1700-1710* (Oxford, 1994), p. 56; Stephen Taylor and Clyve Jones (eds.), *Tory and Whig: The Parliamentary Papers of Edward Harley, Third Earl of Oxford, and William Hay, MP for Seaford, 1716-1753* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 218, 213.

Sir Edmund) informed High Treasurer Harley, earl of Oxford, that he was ‘at the head of the West Saxons’ and promised to exert their interest ‘to defend and maintaine her Maj[es]ties honor & Prerogative, (on true principalls of loyalty & Religion) against all Pretenders’.⁸⁷

It was perhaps to a meeting of the ‘West Saxons’ that John Anstis MP was referring when he claimed to be in the company of ‘Mr. Bulteell, & eight other of our Cornish members’ for a drink.⁸⁸ It is likely that this political group met socially at taverns and coffee-houses. Equally, Anstis may have been referring to the ‘Cornish Club’, which met at the Fountain tavern.⁸⁹ It is unclear what the purpose of the club was – political, antiquarian, or social – but Anstis promised the naturalist Edward Lhuyd that he would promote a subscription campaign at ‘our Cornish Clubb’.⁹⁰ The names of these groups are interesting; although ‘West Saxons’ is a rejection of Cornwall’s claim to British origins, the ‘Cornish Club’ implies that its members were proud to self-identity as Cornishmen when in London. These county-based societies were not uncommon in London – a ‘Herefordshire club’ is known to have existed around the same time.⁹¹ By 1715, Welshmen had established the London-based Honourable and Loyal Society of Antient Britons. The gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales therefore had a hybrid character, comfortable both in their local neighbourhoods and the metropolis, and facilitated cultural exchange into both spheres.

EDUCATION

Education was an essential attribute of gentility; a gentleman ought to have a foundational knowledge of civic humanism, especially classical languages, rhetoric, and mathematics.⁹² It was hoped that an education would broaden a gentleman’s social and intellectual horizons – impart civic values of public service, prepare him for governance and administration, and encourage social and cultural learning.⁹³ While it is true that some gentlemen used

⁸⁷ Quoted in Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford, 1950 edn.), p. 378; BL, Add. MS 70204: [Sir Edmund] Prideaux to Earl of Oxford, 2 June 1714.

⁸⁸ Bodl., MS Ballard 17, f. 60: John Anstis to Arthur Charlett, 9 Nov. 1708.

⁸⁹ Huntington Library, MS Stowe 26(1): James Brydges’ diary, 18 Mar. 1702.

⁹⁰ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1814, f. 50: John Anstis to Edward Lhuyd, 11 Mar. 1702.

⁹¹ Huntington Library, MS Stowe 26(1): James Brydges’ diary, 14 Feb.; 28 Feb. 1699.

⁹² Stephen Porter, ‘University and Society’, in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 25-6.

⁹³ Rosenheim, *Ruling Order*, p. 34.

sophisticated educations to probe complex political, social, and religious concepts, many more merely sought what John Morrill describes as a ‘vener of polite learning’.⁹⁴

Higher education forced the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales from their localities; usually to Oxford or Cambridge for university, or to London for one of the Inns of Court. The universities and Inns have been described as functioning as a ‘melting pot’ by dramatically broadening the social and intellectual horizons of attendees.⁹⁵ In both academic activities and more social pursuits (such as fencing, dancing, and hunting), social networks could cut across regional origins and collegiate allegiances. However, it is striking that, of the group of south-west Welsh gentlemen chosen for this study, only 41% pursued higher education (Table 1.6), compared to 69% in Cornwall. The majority of Welsh gentlemen were therefore never exposed to this melting pot. Rather than being a symptom of the widespread abandonment of institutionalised education after 1700, as the gentry increasingly turned to private tutors and foreign travel as an alternative, it was more likely a result of the perennial issue of poverty.⁹⁶ Although, as Heal and Holmes note, quarrels between children and parents over money have a ‘universal air’, the poverty of the Welsh gentry must have made the issue especially severe.⁹⁷ It is possible that families were less inclined to invest in their first-born (who would inherit their estate), but preferred to pay for younger sons to become lawyers, clergymen, or professionals.

The Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry displayed a preference for the University of Oxford, with the former favouring Exeter College, and the latter Jesus College: 53% of the Cornish sample attending Oxford chose Exeter, and 62% of the Welsh sample went to Jesus. The two colleges, located opposite one another on Turl Gate Street, had the two strongest regional associations of any Oxford colleges during the seventeenth century. Long-standing regional endowments and family traditions secured connections between Jesus and Wales, and Exeter and the south-western counties of Devon and Cornwall. Only in these two

⁹⁴ John Morrill, *The Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-1648* (2nd edn., 1999), p. 37.

⁹⁵ Clive Holmes, ‘The County Community in Stuart Historiography’, *JBS*, 19 (1980), pp. 58-9.

⁹⁶ On the gradual abandonment of institutionalised education: Rosenheim, *Ruling Order*, pp. 36-7; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 274; Jenkins, *Ruling Class*, pp. 227-8.

⁹⁷ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 262-3; see, for example, NLW, MS Picton Castle 1450: Sir Erasmus Philipps to John Philipps, 30 Apr. 1683.

Table 1.6: *Attainment of higher education amongst heads of greater south-west Welsh families, 1660-1714*

	Number of known attendees	Percentage of 140 heads of families under study
Total number attaining higher education	57	41%
Attendance at Oxford	29	21%
<i>Of which at Jesus College, Oxford</i>	18	13%
Attendance at Cambridge	9	6%
Attendance at Inns of Court	47	34%

Table 1.7: *Attainment of higher education amongst heads of greater Cornish families, 1660-1714*

	Number of known attendees	Percentage of 160 heads of families under study
Total number attaining higher education	111	69%
Attendance at Oxford	70	44%
<i>Of which at Exeter College, Oxford</i>	37	23%
Attendance at Cambridge	23	14%
Attendance at Inns of Court	56	35%

Sources: The figures presented here are for the heads of families between 1660 and 1714, and therefore may have attained higher education before 1660 or after 1714. Some gentlemen attended both university and one of the Inns, and is therefore recorded twice. Joseph Foster (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* (4 vols., Oxford, 1891-2); *idem* (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886* (4 vols., Oxford, 1887-8); John Venn and J. A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: Part One, to 1751* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-54); Henry F. Macgeath and H. A. C. Sturgess (eds.), *Middle Temple Admission Register*, (3 vols., 1949); W. Paley Baildon (ed.), *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Admissions* (1896); Joseph Foster (ed.), *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (1889); F. A. Inderwick (ed.), *A Calendar of Inner Temple Records* (1896); *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660* (1877).

colleges were over half of matriculants from their associated localities – virtually all of Jesus’ attendees were Welsh, and two-thirds of Exeter’s from Devon and Cornwall.⁹⁸ This naturally led to more insular communities than other colleges. During the 1650s, the ejected principal of Jesus, Francis Mansell, surreptitiously taught so many sons of Welsh gentlemen that his house became known as ‘little Welsh-Hall’, and the students were noted for ‘mixing as little as possible with those of the university’.⁹⁹ Similarly, the ‘tall raw-boned Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen’ who flocked to Exeter were said to cloister together.¹⁰⁰ Of course, these represented a relatively small minority of the total sample of gentry selected for this study, and any suggestion of narrow communities should not be overstated. Nonetheless, the existence of small enclaves of Cornish and Welsh students is surely significant: they received similar educations, and built ties with their future neighbours. This perhaps led to the formation of compatible religious and political ideologies, and, in the case of Wales, assisted in the survival of, and support for publication in, the Welsh language amongst elite circles.

Seventeenth-century Oxford was a royalist, Anglican, and later tory institution. In many ways, Jesus College epitomised this; the fervently Episcopalian Leoline Jenkins continued to teach the unmatriculated sons of royalist gentlemen during the Interregnum, and was later elected Principal (1661-73). His successor, John Lloyd, was likewise a high-church tory.¹⁰¹ In the early 1680s, the staunchly conservative vice-principal Jonathan Edwards tutored almost 38% of Jesus students, overseeing their instruction, finances, conduct, and religious observance.¹⁰² It is therefore unsurprising that Jesus’ fourteen non-jurors of 1688 exceeded all Oxford colleges except Brasenose.¹⁰³ Only in the 1690s did the more moderately tory John Wynne become the most popular tutor.¹⁰⁴ The popularity of Jesus College amongst Welshmen perhaps contributed to the conservatism of Wales during the seventeenth century.

⁹⁸ John Maddicott, *Founders and Fellowship: The Early History of Exeter College, Oxford, 1314-1592* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 85-6; Porter, ‘University and Society’, p. 60.

⁹⁹ William Wynne, *The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins* (2 vols., 1724), I, v.

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, p. 269.

¹⁰¹ R. A. Beddard, ‘Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment’ and ‘Tory Oxford’, in Tyacke (ed.), *Oxford*, IV, 805, 807, 863, 877.

¹⁰² G. V. Bennett, ‘Against the Tide: Oxford under William III’, in L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (eds.) *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume V: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1986), p. 43; Porter, ‘University and Society’, p. 66.

¹⁰³ John C. Findon, ‘The Nonjurors of the Church of England, 1689-1716’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1979), p. 50. However, St. John’s, Cambridge, had a remarkable 64 nonjurors.

¹⁰⁴ Porter, ‘University and Society’, p. 66.

By contrast, Exeter College had been a refuge for Calvinists such as John Prideaux and John Conant from 1612 until 1662. Although they influenced the theology of substantial landowners like John Robartes (future 1st earl of Radnor), most of its Cornish alumni were royalists and tories, and the college's political leaning after the Restoration was probably similar to the rest of the university.

Despite the regional associations of Exeter and Jesus Colleges, many Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry looked elsewhere. Christ Church, Oxford, was particularly popular amongst the wealthier Cornish families, especially those baronets who wanted their sons to socialise with their social equals at a more prestigious college.¹⁰⁵ Throughout the later Stuart period, Christ Church was Oxford's most unwaveringly cavalier, tory, and high-church college. Others eschewed Oxbridge altogether. The earl of Bath's family preferred to send their children to French academies, while the puritan Bullers of Shillingham favoured Leiden University in the Dutch Republic.¹⁰⁶

As Table 1.8 demonstrates, the gentry of south-west Wales were more likely to combine university with a stint at the Inns of Court, or attend an Inn only, than their Cornish counterparts. Although the majority of attendees were never called to the Bar, the Inns nonetheless appealed to the gentry for several reasons: they provided a comparable education to the universities; allowed attendees to live in London and broaden their social networks; and provided a basic legal training which was valuable for estate management and office-holding. The absence of tutors allowed a degree of freedom which enabled students to engage in political activities (listening to sermons, debating at coffee-houses, and attending court) and social pursuits (fencing, dancing, and visiting the theatre).¹⁰⁷

There was a widespread respect for legal culture in England and Wales – it remained common for second or third sons to become lawyers, and could lead to substantial political advancement. The opportunities provided by Wales' distinctive legal system, especially the

¹⁰⁵ For example, John Coryton (4th Bt.), William Godolphin (1st Bt.), the Trelawnys (2nd-4th Bts.), and Sir Bouchier Wrey (5th Bt.). South-west Welsh attendees at Christ Church at this time were also from the three wealthiest families: Hugh Owen of Orierton (2nd Bt.), Sir John Vaughan of Trawsgoed, and John Vaughan, 3rd earl of Carbery.

¹⁰⁶ Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 272-3.

Table 1.8: *Breakdown of attainment of higher education amongst heads of greater Cornish and south-west Welsh families, 1660-1714*

	University only (%)	Inn of Court only (%)	University and Inn of Court (%)	Total (%)
Cornwall	54 (49%)	18 (16%)	39 (35%)	111 (100%)
South-west Wales	11 (19%)	20 (35%)	26 (46%)	57 (100%)

court of the great sessions and Welsh council, perhaps encouraged more families to send their first-born sons to the Inns than was common in England. The law provided the best opportunity for political advancement due to the scarcity of Welsh parliamentary constituencies. Indeed, a remarkable number of south-west Welsh gentlemen became important judges in the period: Sir John Vaughan of Trawsgoed (chief justice of the common pleas), Sir Thomas Powell of Llechwedd-dyrys (justice of the king's bench), and Sir John Powell of Broadway (judge of the common pleas and king's bench). The latter is best known for delivering the key judgement against James II's wishes at the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688, and was subsequently dismissed.¹⁰⁸ The infamous litigiousness of Welsh society meant that a lawyer was rarely short of work, and found the bulk of their clients within vast kinship networks.¹⁰⁹

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND HISTORY

This final section will consider the attitudes of the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales towards their language, culture, and history.¹¹⁰ Recent scholarly work has finally dispelled any lingering notions that by the later Stuart period the Welsh gentry were thoroughly 'anglicised' and contemptuous of their native culture.¹¹¹ In particular, Sarah Ward's study

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Glyn Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales* (2nd edn., Cardiff, 2012), pp. 150-3.

¹⁰⁹ For example, NLW, MSS Nanteos L15, L17, L18, L19, L20, L24: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, Nov. 1681-June 1683; PA, D-POW/B/10-11: Essex Meyrick to John Meyrick, 31 Jan. 1696; JCA, PP.ME/12: Letters from the Meyrick brothers to Edmund Meyrick, May-July 1698.

¹¹⁰ A more thorough treatment of the intellectual culture of the Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry will be made in a forthcoming journal article.

¹¹¹ Compare David Williams, *A History of Modern Wales* (2nd edn., 1977), pp. 87-9; Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 119; Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (1975), pp. 110-11, with studies such as Jenkins, *Modern Wales*, pp. 60, 66; *idem*, 'Seventeenth-Century Wales', p. 216-19, 235; Lloyd Bowen, 'Fashioning Communities: The County in Early Modern Wales', in Jacqueline Eales and Andrew Hopper (eds.), *The*

of the north-east Welsh gentry highlights the continued centrality of Welsh art, culture, and language in the lives of the landed elite in the form of poetry, music, and manuscript collections.¹¹² The powerful Richard Vaughan, 2nd earl of Carbery, for instance, collected local artefacts, patronised local poets, and hired a resident harpist.¹¹³ We should therefore be wary of drawing too firm a link between high social status and the dilution of a gentleman's Welsh identity.

Language has often been identified as performing a vital role in the formation of a distinctive identity, clearly demarking Cornwall's and Wales' Celtic origins.¹¹⁴ The Welsh word *iaith* represented both 'nation' and 'language' during the medieval period. However, as Ward and others note, it was possible to identify as Welsh without knowledge of the language, and the same could be said of Cornish.¹¹⁵ Indeed, whilst the Welsh language was thriving, Cornish was in terminal decline, confined to a handful of parishes in the far west of the county.¹¹⁶ It is therefore only within the context of this stark disparity in the vitality of the respective languages, that any discussion of the gentry's attitudes towards their native culture should take place. Any gentry interest in the Cornish language reflected a revivalist impulse, whereas an understanding of Welsh was often a necessary requirement for the Principality's elite.

It should come as no surprise that there is little evidence of Cornish gentry who were fluent in their native tongue. For Alexandra Walsham, the landed elite 'increasingly regarded [the language] as inferior and barbarous', while Mark Stoye writes of an 'anglicized

County Community in Seventeenth-Century England and Wales (Hatfield, 2012), pp. 97-9. 'Anglicisation' is also a nebulous and often ill-defined term.

¹¹² Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution', pp. 67-8.

¹¹³ Thomas Dineley, *An Account of the Progress of His Grace the First Duke of Beaufort Through Wales, 1684*, ed. Charles Baker (1864), p. 132; Francis Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove: The Earls of Carbery', *THSC* (1963), p. 120; Rhys Dafys Williams, 'Old Carmarthenshire Harpers', *Carmarthen Antiquary*, 6 (1963), p. 168.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Alexandra Walsham, 'Antiquities Cornu-Brittanick: Language, Memory and Landscape in Early Modern Cornwall', in Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds.), *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World* (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 71-91; Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Consciousness', in Bradshaw and Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity*, p. 13; Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), p. 7.

¹¹⁵ Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution', pp. 67-8; see also, Sarah Prescott, "'If there be Helicon in Wales it is": Writing Wales in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Poetry', in Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (eds.), *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 131-47.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 16.

elite'.¹¹⁷ This perhaps overstates their distaste: at least one unnamed gentleman allegedly had a royalist banner written in Cornish during the Civil Wars, and the Godolphin family motto was written in old Cornish: *Franc ha leal eto ge*.¹¹⁸ There was undoubtedly a pocket of Cornish gentry who were fascinated by the dying language. The former royalist, William Scawen, wrote a patriotic manuscript treatise, *Antiquities Cornu-Britannic*, on the history of the region, whilst mourning the 'heavy, and sad' loss of the Cornish language, and proposing several reasons for its decline.¹¹⁹ One of Scawen's legacies was to inspire a small coterie of minor squires centred in the far west of Cornwall who composed and circulated short Cornish translations.¹²⁰ In turn, this coterie fed into a small network of Cornish gentlemen with antiquarian interest, including Sir Jonathan Trelawny, John Anstis, and Thomas Tonkin. Despite their interest, though, even the most accomplished of these men did not have a full grasp of the language.

This can be contrasted with the Welsh gentry, for whom an everyday understanding of their language was essential to deal with servants, tenants, and other neighbours. One study has found that numerous south-west Welsh gentry families spoke Welsh throughout the eighteenth century. As late as 1809, the wealthy Owens of Orierton from 'anglicised' southern Pembrokeshire had their son instructed in Welsh.¹²¹ Although gentry correspondence was almost universally written in English, it is possible that they privately spoke to one another in Welsh – expressing values, beliefs, and customs in their native language. Certainly, many incorporated Welsh Bibles into their private libraries.¹²² Surviving letters referring to the Powells of Llechwedd-dyrys, in the thoroughly Welsh-speaking county of Cardiganshire, suggest that the gentry's interaction with the Welsh language was deeper still. Sir Thomas Powell and his son commented that the naturalist Edward Lhuyd's Welsh verse contained 'more wit... than in all the rest putting th[e]m together', implying a broad familiarity with Welsh poetry, though doubtlessly also flattering

¹¹⁷ Walsham, 'Antiquities Cornu-Britannic', pp. 75-6; Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), pp. 14-18.

¹¹⁸ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1816, f. 377: John Moore to Edward Lhuyd, 20 June 1702; BL, Add. MS 28554, ff. 14r-v: Thomas Tonkin to William Gwavas, 22 May 1735.

¹¹⁹ CRO, F/2/39, f. 3. On Scawen, see Stoye, *West Britons*, ch.7; Matthew Spriggs, 'William Scawen (1600-1689) – A Neglected Cornish Patriot and Father of the Cornish Language Revival', in Philip Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies: Thirteen* (Exeter, 2005), pp. 98-125.

¹²⁰ BL, Add. MS 28554: William Gwavas Papers.

¹²¹ Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, pp. 199-200.

¹²² For example, *ibid.*, p. 197; JCA, PP.ME/3/14: Thomas Watson to Edmund Meyrick, 3 Aug. 1689; NLW, MS Picton Castle 1618: List of books, [n.d.].

Lhuyd.¹²³ Sir Thomas also encouraged Lhuyd to produce a new English-Welsh dictionary in 1695, believing it would ‘take as well in Wales as any of y[ou]r other Books’.¹²⁴ There appears to have been something of an appetite for Welsh literature amongst the gentry of south-west Wales.

This was complemented by a desire to support printing in the Welsh language. In 1676, a respected group of west Wales gentry sought the earl of Carbery’s assistance to have one Thomas Dawkes (who had recently published a Welsh translation of the *Practice of Piety*) appointed the ‘King’s Printer for the British Language’. As lord president of the Welsh council, Carbery had little difficulty in complying, and Dawkes was promptly appointed for fourteen years.¹²⁵ The drive for printing in Welsh was most prominently carried out under the auspices of religious societies such as the Welsh Trust and SPCK.¹²⁶ The gentry’s support for Welsh printing therefore came from a different impulse than their desire for poetry or dictionaries. The former was often done for didactic purposes – to rectify the perceived spiritual ills of the Welsh lower orders.

Although many south-west Welsh gentlemen amassed vast libraries, they rarely incorporated printed Welsh books beyond a Bible and dictionary. Of the 259 volumes sold from the Peterwell library in 1781, not a single book was in the Welsh language, or related to the Principality.¹²⁷ One might occasionally find books relating to the antiquities of Wales, such as Edward Lhuyd’s *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), but the bulk of their collections did not deviate markedly from their English counterparts.¹²⁸ They reflected an interest in the classics, history, topography, and theology, and more utilitarian works on law, office-holding, and estate management. There were of course exceptions: Moses Williams, a protégé of Lhuyd, amassed an impressive library of Welsh texts, in both print and

¹²³ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 40: Edward Thomas to Edward Lhuyd, 29 Apr. 1695.

¹²⁴ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 42r: Edward Thomas to Edward Lhuyd, 31 [?Dec.] 1695.

¹²⁵ Jones, ‘Vaughans’, p. 126. Interestingly, prominent amongst the petitioners were John Barlow of Slebech and William Wogan of Wiston from the traditionally ‘anglicised’ south Pembrokeshire.

¹²⁶ Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), p. 35; Mary Clement, *The S.P.C.K and Wales 1699-1740: The History of the S.P.C.K. in Wales from its Foundation to the Early Years of the Welsh Methodist Movement* (1954), pp. xv-xvii. The motives and methods of religious reform societies in Wales will be discussed in more detail in chapters two and four.

¹²⁷ Herbert J. Lloyd Johnes, ‘A Cardiganshire Library’, *NLWJ*, 6 (1950), p. 304.

¹²⁸ See, for example, NLW, MS 1672B: Catalogue of Trawsgoed library, 1784; Eiluned Rees, ‘An Introductory Survey of 18th Century Welsh Libraries’, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1971), p. 234; Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites*, p. 197.

manuscript.¹²⁹ Moreover, it is known that book lending existed in south-west Wales; a list of ‘books lent’ survives in one of Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle’s account books.¹³⁰ It is therefore possible that those few Welsh-language printed texts which did exist within gentry collections reached a wider audience than one might think. Nonetheless, the evidence more strongly suggests that the Welsh gentry’s impulse to support publishing in Welsh was not for personal consumption, but aimed at educating the wider monoglot Welsh population.

A narrow focus on language is not a dependable measure of an individual’s attitude towards their native culture, however. If we cast the net more widely, it is clear that many Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry figures had an antiquarian interest in their locality. Following the publication of William Camden’s *Britannia* (1586), antiquarianism flourished across England and Wales amongst the landed elite, becoming ‘a field for recreation and a source of visible and tangible aesthetic pleasure’.¹³¹ Growing interaction with the wider world sparked a curiosity about perceived peculiarities, and awoke a desire to explore local history. The gentry’s education, wealth, and mobility facilitated access to primary sources, and it was bolstered by a pre-existing fascination with lineage and genealogy.¹³² As one Cornish gentleman noted, the Cornish were ‘the most Fond of our Ancest[o]rs & Antiquity’.¹³³ The intrinsic link between antiquarianism and heraldry was reflected in Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall*, which dedicated several sections to ancestry and pedigree.¹³⁴

It has been established above that interest in lineage was far deeper in south-west Wales. Some gentlemen composed their own genealogies, and amassed large collections of manuscripts: most notably, William Griffith of Penybenglog (Pembrokeshire) and William Lewes of Llwynderw (Carmarthenshire). Lewes, in particular, claimed that ‘no person in S[outh] Wales hath any collection of genealogies comparable to what I have’, and his

¹²⁹ Rees, ‘Welsh Libraries’, p. 236.

¹³⁰ NLW, MS Picton Castle 604: Rent rolls of Picton Castle estate, 1710-1717. See also, MS Nanteos L21: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, 4 May 1683.

¹³¹ D. R. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford, 2003), p. 15.

¹³² Jan Broadway, ‘No historie so meete’: *Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 5-6, 240.

¹³³ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1815, f. 192: John Hicks to Edward Lhuys, 27 Sept. 1700.

¹³⁴ Carew, *Survey*, pp. 23-4.

accuracy has impressed the region's premier modern herald.¹³⁵ Such was the popularity of heraldry amongst the Welsh gentry, that amateur genealogists like Griffith and Lewes busily produced pedigrees and coats of arms for their neighbours.¹³⁶ In many respects, pedigrees served to reinforce notions of the Welsh as 'ancient Britons' by describing their descent from the original British kings, fostering a common identity and ancestry amongst Welshmen.

Antiquaries were increasingly distancing themselves from firmly-entrenched British myths such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (c.1136), which recorded the descent of the Welsh people from the Trojans through the succession of the kings of Britain. Pioneering scholars such as John Selden, William Dugdale, and John Aubrey instead placed emphasis on the empirical study of authentic documentation and artefacts, and recognised the importance of Saxon history.¹³⁷ In Wales, however, these myths had become rooted in popular consciousness, entwined with their self-conception as 'ancient Britons', and it proved difficult to purge them completely. Lewes, for example, wrote of the 'prodigious ignorance of most of the gentry' in south-west Wales, and one John Williams desired a natural history of Wales which was 'retrievd and purifid fro[m] the fabulous traditions of our own Countryman, or the dry partial accounts of the English writers'.¹³⁸ Writers in the Welsh language, such as the clergyman Theophilus Evans, continued to repeat the fables associated with Geoffrey of Monmouth into the Hanoverian period.¹³⁹ It is striking that Scawen's *Antiquities Cornu-Britannic* adopted a similar lexis of 'Britishness' by referring to the Cornish as members of the 'Brittish Race', or 'Aborigines'.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, he criticised the gentry of his native county for '[forsaking] the Antiquity of their owne Cornish names, and thereby their Interests'.¹⁴¹ Indeed, Scawen repeatedly cited the failings of the Cornish gentry when describing the decline of the region's indigenous language.

¹³⁵ Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', pp. 408-17. Lewes' twenty-five volumes of pedigrees formed the foundation of the famous Golden Grove book. Daniel Huws, 'Evan Evans of Carmarthen: Compiler of the Golden Grove Book', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 45 (2009), p. 61.

¹³⁶ Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', pp. 410, 416.

¹³⁷ Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 2-16.

¹³⁸ Jones, 'Welsh Genealogy', p. 412; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 301: John Williams to Edward Lhuyd, 31 Dec. 1694.

¹³⁹ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 219; Theophilus Evans, *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* (Shrewsbury, 1716) [*The Mirror of the Early Ages*].

¹⁴⁰ CRO, F/2/39, ff. 6-7, 10.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 42, 44, 46.

The Welsh gentry, by contrast, were far more likely to champion their status as ‘ancient Britons’. In part, this may have stemmed from their lack of formal training, and distance from major repositories of primary sources.¹⁴² Equally, it may have also been because Galfridian myths were not entirely incompatible with the professionalization of English antiquarianism. Men like Aubrey and Edward Lhuyd acknowledged that ancient stone monuments had been built by pre-Roman Britons, and the latter recognised that the Cornish, Welsh, and Breton languages shared a commonality and had ancient origins.¹⁴³ Both of these narratives appeared to confirm that the Welsh were the original inhabitants of the British Isles. Ultimately, the Welsh appeared more willing than their Cornish counterparts to embrace and champion this fact.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with Sir Jonathan Trelawny’s and Edward Lhuyd’s expressions of Cornish and Welsh distinctiveness; they portrayed their regions as lands apart with separate histories, cultures, and languages. In many respects, gentry society in south-west Wales reflected this: most families had been settled in Wales for centuries (and were intensely proud of that fact), preferred to marry within the Principality, and lived within dense kinship networks. Rounds of sociability were deeply informed by these kinship ties, and tended to be conducted within localised regions. Kinship and lineage constituted central pillars of Welsh identity, and the gentry understood their ascendancy in society by referring to their vast pedigrees. The propensity for the gentry to marry within their communities served to perpetuate this identity. Many did not attend higher education institutions, and, if they did, attended distinctively *Welsh* institutions such as Jesus College, Oxford. Their historicised understanding of their authority also promoted a natural curiosity in antiquity, which was reflected in their desire to champion their origins as ‘ancient Britons’. This was further promoted by the survival of the Welsh language amongst the gentry, who continued to patronise the arts and literary culture throughout the later Stuart period. Welsh gentry society was clearly distinctive from English, and its members understood this. In many respects, it conformed to Alan Everitt’s notion of ‘county communities’.

¹⁴² As Geraint H. Jenkins has argued: *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 219.

¹⁴³ Parry, *Trophies of Time*, p. 12.

Similar claims could be made about gentry society in Cornwall when compared to other English regions such as Lincolnshire and Warwickshire. They were more likely to marry within Cornwall (or, at least, Devon), had an interest in genealogy, and lived within extended kinship networks. However, there was a perceptible shift during the Restoration period. The heads of Cornish families were increasingly looking to national marriage markets based in London and Bath, and seemingly placed less and less emphasis on their ancestry. Men like William Scawen who held a deep regard for the Cornish language and the county's claim to be 'ancient Britons' emerge as exceptions. However, this shift was happening elsewhere at a faster rate. One of the major differences between the south-west Welsh and Cornish gentry, then, was the willingness for the former to accept and champion their distinctiveness.

Everitt's central claim that the gentry 'lived almost wholly within the confines of their county' is insupportable for the period under study.¹⁴⁴ The gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales frequently travelled outside of the county, and London increasingly became a focal point. They moved comfortably between their localities and the metropolis, facilitating cultural exchange in both directions. Nonetheless, this chapter has argued that their lives and relationships remained physically and conceptually centred on their locality – they socialised within close-knit regional networks, and performed legal or political services for their localities. The remainder of this thesis will explore the ways in which these distinctive features and idiosyncrasies were manifested in their political and religious cultures.

¹⁴⁴ Everitt, *Kent*, p. 13.

CHAPTER TWO

Religion, 1660–1688

As William Schellinks, a Dutch traveller, journeyed from Fowey to Launceston, he passed ‘so many black-coats or parsons that we did not know what to make of it’. Some ‘smoked a little pipe on their horses, others hung their heads. Some were cheerful, others looked very melancholic, some had the newly printed book of common prayer in their hands’. Once he reached Launceston, Schellinks found every inn, tavern, and guesthouse overflowing with ministers. It was St. Bartholomew’s Day, 1662, and he soon realised that these clergymen had travelled to the town to ‘swear the oath of uniformity’.¹ The recently-passed Act of Uniformity had re-established the Church of England as the official state church of England and Wales after thirteen years of puritan rule, and stipulated that all clergymen who did not publicly declare their ‘unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything in’ the newly-revised Book of Common Prayer by that day would be ejected from their parishes.² This inflexible settlement quashed any hopes of religious toleration.³ The varied emotions displayed by the parsons that Schellinks encountered reflected their mixed opinions on the requirements placed upon them. Indeed, he noted that ‘four or five could not or would not swear against their conscience’ – in total, forty-six ministers in Cornwall refused the oath.⁴ Had he been in south-west Wales, he would not have noticed such commotion: most nonconformists had already left their livings in 1660, following the Act for Confirming Ministers, so that ‘Black Bartholomew’s Day’ (as it became known) held less significance.⁵

¹ William Schellinks, *The Journal of William Schellinks’ Travels in England, 1661-1663*, transl. and ed. Maurice Exwood and H. L. Lehmann (1993), pp. 127-8.

² Grant Tapsell, ‘The Church of England, 1662-1714’, in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Vol. II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 28-9.

³ Such hopes had been raised by Charles II’s declaration of Breda in 1660, which promised that ‘no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion’: Andrew Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents, 1660-1714* (1966), p. 58.

⁴ Richard Ball, *Congregationalism in Cornwall* (1955), pp. 51-4. Nine later conformed.

⁵ Calamy records that thirty-three south-west Welsh puritans were ejected in 1662, with six later conforming: Edmund Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected...* (2 vols., 1713), II, 716-21. Most south Welsh ministers are missing from A. G. Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised* (Oxford, 1934).

Many clergymen who took the oath had deep reservations about the religious settlement, and Schellinks claimed that they had ‘come there to damn, so that they should not be damned’.⁶ The Act of Uniformity ironically failed to create ‘uniformity’ within the Church of England – it remained a coalition of different ideologies, views, and interests. Continuity in personnel between the 1640s and 1660s led to a broad-based parish clergy which accommodated a spectrum of political and theological positions. On the one hand, this prompted difficulties for the Church’s leadership, such as when the archdeacon of St. Davids was accused of having been ‘Gentleman usher to Oliver Cromwell... [and] one of the close mourners att the Tyrants funerall’.⁷ But it also facilitated a degree of latitude within local parishes regarding worship and pastoral care. For John Spurr, the heterogeneity of the parish clergy was masked behind a single ‘Anglican’ identity which, through its careful mediation between Catholic and Reformed, could accommodate a range of positions behind a single pastoral effort.⁸ What the Act of Uniformity *did* achieve, however, was a legal division between ‘conformists’ and ‘nonconformists’. This somewhat simplistic partition was further entrenched by a wave of punitive statutes – deceptively known as the ‘Clarendon code’, after Charles II’s Lord Chancellor – aimed at expunging dissenters from local government and outlawing their congregations.⁹ The resulting schism in English Protestantism overshadowed religious life in England and Wales for the entirety of the later Stuart period.

Damning assessments of the spiritual provision delivered by the later Stuart Church of England, and the quality of its clergy, characterised by T. B. Macaulay, have fallen away to more recent studies which paint a picture of a hardworking, vigorous Anglican ministry which sought to sustain religious adherence in the face of nonconformity, Catholicism, and irreligion.¹⁰ One of the most influential accounts, Spurr’s *Restoration Church of England*,

⁶ Schellinks, *Journal*, p. 127.

⁷ Bodl., MS Tanner 34, f. 116: William Lloyd to William Sancroft, 23 Aug. 1683.

⁸ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (1991), p. 43. Nicholas Tyacke similarly stated that heterogeneity ‘is arguably of the “Anglican” essence’: ‘From Laudians to Latitudinarians: A Shifting Balance of Theological Forces’, in Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012), p. 46.

⁹ Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, actually favoured a moderate approach. Legislation included the Corporation Act (1661), the Quaker Act (1662), the first Conventicles Act (1664), the Five Mile Act (1665), and later the second Conventicles Act (1670) and the first and second Test Acts (1673, 1678).

¹⁰ T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (5 vols., Chicago, 1890), I, 296-306. For more positive assessments of the Church: Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000); John H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (1978); Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker:*

suggests that an ‘Anglican identity’ existed amongst the clergy as they found consensus in the overarching theological and pastoral initiatives of the church.¹¹ This is not to say, however, that these historians are not aware of the struggles the Church faced, hampered as it was by non-residency, pluralism, disrepair, and occasional careerism.

Traditionally, scholarship on the Church in Wales and Cornwall has sharply diverged on which aspects of this picture they emphasise. Studies on the established church in Cornwall by Anglican clergymen highlight a steady Anglican revival in the county and the commendable endeavours of successive bishops of Exeter.¹² Conversely, studies of Wales have largely echoed the Baptist Thomas Richards’ claim in the 1920s that the Church’s ‘heroic days had come to a close in 1660’ as the country entered a ‘golden’ age of dissent.¹³ Richards was a diligent archival historian, but tended to emphasise and extend the major criticisms of the English church, depicting its clergy as poor, pluralist, non-resident, and persecutory. Increasingly, though, the revisionist historiography that has rehabilitated the image of the English Church has been applied to the Church in Wales. Scholars including Philip Jenkins and William Gibson have stressed the degree to which the clergy were, as Jenkins puts it, ‘a distinctively Welsh body well attuned to the wider culture’, but also a robust body who oversaw the restoration and revival of the Church in the Principality.¹⁴ Nonetheless, there has never been a detailed study of Anglicanism in Cornwall or south-west Wales during the later Stuart period.

Aspects of English Church History, 1660-1768 (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 35-6; Grant Tapsell, ‘Pastors, Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church’, in *idem* (ed.), *Later Stuart Church*, p. 72.

¹¹ Spurr, *Restoration Church*, pp. 329, 374.

¹² Miles H. Brown, *The Church in Cornwall* (Truro, 1964), ch. 4; R. J. E. Boggis, *A History of the Diocese of Exeter* (Exeter, 1922), pp. 418-31.

¹³ Richards, *Wales Under the Penal Code, 1662-1687* (1925), pp. xi-xii; *idem*, *Wales under the Indulgence, 1672-1675* (1928). His interest in Welsh dissenters’ experiences of persecution has since been further updated: R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004); Eryn M. White, ‘From Ejectment to Toleration in Wales, 1662-89’, in Alan P. F. Sell (ed.), *The Great Ejectment of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath, and Ecumenical Significance* (Eugene, OR, 2012), pp. 125-80.

¹⁴ Philip Jenkins, ‘The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560-1714’, in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest & Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (1995), pp. 115-38; *idem*, ‘Church, Nation and Language: The Welsh Church, 1660-1800’, in Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 265-84; William Gibson, ‘“The Most Glorious Enterprises Have Been Achiev’d”: The Restoration Diocese of St Davids 1660-1730’, in *idem* and John Morgan-Guy (eds.), *Religion and Society in the Diocese of St Davids 1485-2011* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 91-128. See also, Glanmor Williams, William Jacob, Nigel Yates, and Frances Knight, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment, 1603-1920* (Cardiff, 2007).

This chapter aims to build upon historiographical revisions of the Church of England, while also considering a more recent development: namely, the way in which the Church operated in the localities.¹⁵ In doing so, it will also consider the experience of nonconformists, but Roman Catholicism will be discussed less due to its scarcity in Cornwall and south-west Wales. The nature of surviving evidence has meant that this chapter focuses predominantly on the 1660s and 1670s, while the subsequent chapter explores the political impact of the 1680s more fully (notably, the Exclusion Crisis and reign of James II). If we take a regional perspective, how distinctive was the Church's role in these regions? What challenges did it face in these rural, isolated areas? And in what ways did religious life vary for the laity compared to other parts of England and Wales?

THE RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Recent research has emphasised popular religious conformity amongst the Cornish and Welsh during the early Stuart period, and connected it to popular royalism during the Civil Wars. Their populations have been depicted as largely enthusiastic supporters of the Church of England's liturgy, episcopal government, and Prayer Book. In this sense, they were part of a broad movement in defence of the Church during the early 1640s described by Judith Maltby.¹⁶ In his study of early Stuart Wales, Lloyd Bowen highlights the strength of conformity in the Principality, whilst also stressing the popularity of the Laudian programme, arguing that the Welsh laity were epitomised by 'conservative conformism'. They favoured 'a religion of the liturgy rather than of the Puritan sermon'.¹⁷ Such conservatism has been ascribed both to the poverty of the Welsh dioceses (impeding the employment of capable preaching ministers), and to the survival of medieval attachments to ritualistic worship and ceremony.¹⁸ The inhabitants of both regions, then, were predisposed to favour the restoration of the Church in the 1660s.

¹⁵ In particular, see Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, 'National and Local Perspectives on the Church of England in the Long Eighteenth Century', in *idem* (eds.), *National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 1-27; Donald A. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹⁶ Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 84-8.

¹⁷ Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 208-12.

¹⁸ Sarah Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution: The Gentry of North-East Wales, 1640-1688', unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016), pp. 86-99.

Despite popular Welsh religious conformity, the Principality was viewed by many as mired in spiritual crisis. During the Civil Wars and Interregnum, puritans and Anglicans alike decried the religious state of the country – usually in tit-for-tat attacks by one upon the other. Famously, the puritan Hugh Peters (incidentally, a Cornishman) called upon parliament to ‘spread that Gospell’ into the ‘miserable, dark, and ignorant parts of the Kingdom’ in 1646.¹⁹ Four years later parliament responded with the Act of the Propagation of the Gospel, which established a body of commissioners to identify and eject ‘delinquent’ ministers, and replace them with a preaching ministry of ninety itinerants.²⁰ There were grave reservations in some quarters about the quality of the itinerant ministers: William Lucy, bishop of St. Davids, believed they ‘rod up and downe preaching’, sequestering the most valuable churches, and ‘looking onely at their owne p[ro]fit’.²¹ Though a partisan account, Lucy was correct insofar as there was only one itinerant minister to every seven or eight parishes, leaving many vacant throughout the Interregnum. In contrast to England, there was little continuity in the Welsh ministry between the 1640s and 1660s. Moreover, the impression of the Principality as a ‘dark corner’ survived into the later Stuart period, informing numerous evangelical efforts by both nonconformists and Anglicans.

The re-establishment of the Church’s authority could be assisted or hindered in equal measure by the ruling elite. In south-west Wales, the vast majority were Anglicans. An address sent to Charles II in 1660 by the six counties of south Wales and Monmouthshire called for ‘a speedy restitution’ of the ‘Brittish Church... to her Primitive Splendor, as to Doctrine and Government’.²² Prominent subscribers included the earl of Carbery, Sir Richard Pryse (2nd Bt.) of Gogerddan, and John Vaughan of Trawsgoed. However, several powerful figures were also missing: most notably representatives from the Owens of Orierton and Philipps’ of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire. As we shall see, several bishops

¹⁹ Hugh Peters, *Gods Doings, and Mans Duty Opened in a Sermon Preached Before Both Houses of Parliament* (1646), sig. A3r. See, Lloyd Bowen, ‘Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum’, *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), pp. 358-76.

²⁰ A. M. Johnson, ‘Wales during the Commonwealth and Protectorate’, in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 236-8.

²¹ Isaac Basire, *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, with a Memoir of his Life*, ed. W. N. Darnell (1831), p. 217; Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r: State of the diocese of St. Davids by William Lucy, [1672]. See also the comments of the great moderate puritan Richard Baxter: *Account of the Reason why the Twelve Arguments, said to be Dr John Owen’s, Change not my Judgement* (1684), pp. 28-9.

²² *The Humble Adresse of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, of the Six Counties of South-VVales, and County of Monmouth* (1660).

of St. Davids repeatedly became frustrated with the lenient attitudes of some of the region's gentry towards dissent.

Bishops of Exeter, by contrast, heaped compliments on the Cornish gentry. With faux-modesty, Anthony Sparrow reported that they had 'received the poor bishop as if he had been a prince'.²³ Following the Restoration, a stream of petitions sought to recover the proper allocation of seats in parish churches after the 'greate disorder' of the 'late unhappy troubles'.²⁴ The return of the gentry to their seats and pews was a physical manifestation of the renewed authority of traditional parish leaders. Yet, as Anne Duffin has demonstrated, religion was the major fault line between the Cornish gentry in the 1640s.²⁵ Whilst the church could rely upon a substantial body of Anglican gentry, it also had to contend with a sizable minority of powerful nonconformists. In both regions, the Anglican church was forced to contend with a minority of gentry families who were willing, at best, to countenance dissent, and, at worst, actively to defend and promote it.

STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES: POVERTY, REMOTENESS, AND LANGUAGE

The re-establishment of the Church of England's primacy was a difficult and protracted process. Following the Act of Uniformity, whilst celebrating the 'Rout' of dissenters, the bishop of Exeter, Seth Ward, also hoped that 'God will be pleased to put into the hearts of our Governors a stedly resolution to improve the present advantage to a p[er]fect settlem[en]t next to the miraculous restitution'.²⁶ In a similar vein, Bishop Lucy of St. Davids expressed hope in January 1662 that 'in time by degrees they wille weare awaie with the reviving of ecclesiastic discipline'.²⁷ If the revival of the Church was understood to be a drawn-out process, many dioceses faced locally-specific challenges which could hamper this already difficult process of restoring the physical repair of church and reinstating everyday devotional life. In the diocese of St. Davids, these challenges took the form of numerous

²³ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 156: Seth Ward to Gilbert Sheldon, 1 Sept. 1665; quotation from *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 458.

²⁴ DHC, Moger PR517/243, 282, 291, 296, 304: Petitions from Camborne, Gwinear, Ladock, Ludgvan, Madron, Penzance, and St. Martin-by-Looe, 1663-5.

²⁵ Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry before the Civil War* (Exeter, 1996), p. 211.

²⁶ Bodl., MS Tanner 48, f. 45: Seth Ward to [?Gilbert Sheldon], 20 Sept. 1662.

²⁷ Basire, *Correspondence*, p. 218.

structural weaknesses: it was vast, plagued by poverty, and faced unique linguistic challenges.²⁸ Both St. Davids and the archdeaconry of Cornwall suffered from being situated on the geographic periphery. They were comprised mainly of unusually large rural parishes and possessed weak urban networks. Collectively, these issues necessarily made it harder for the ecclesiastical authorities to establish moral and administrative authority – communication was slow, policies harder to enforce, money short, and unique demands placed on the clergy.

The diocese of St. Davids was proverbially poor. Although its annual endowment of £457 was similar to Exeter's £500, its size meant that this money had to stretch much further.²⁹ Whereas the diocese of Exeter neatly encompassed the two counties of Devon and Cornwall, St. Davids incorporated almost half of Wales: the four counties of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Breconshire, all of Radnorshire except six parishes, a swathe of Glamorgan, and numerous parishes in Herefordshire, Montgomeryshire, and Monmouthshire. Lucy counted himself to be 'the poorest Bishop this day in England or Wales' in 1670 due to his lack of additional livings *in commendam*.³⁰ One satire of Wales joked that 'some of the most *Reverend* Rectors are dignify'd with a stipend of *six pounds* a year'.³¹ This was barely an exaggeration: in 1708, it was claimed that almost half of St. Davids' parishes had an annual value of less than £20, at a time when £50 was widely considered to be the poverty line.³²

Such poverty could have a palpable impact on the administration of the diocese, from maintaining buildings to ensuring adequate spiritual provision. The failure to repair ecclesiastical buildings was typified by the neglect of St. Davids cathedral and various bishops' houses. Described as 'miserably defaced' in 1660, and still 'ruinous' by the 1670s, the cathedral had allegedly had £1,500 spent on it during the intervening years to little

²⁸ As Paula Yates has argued: 'Wales', in Gregory (ed.), *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, pp. 120-35.

²⁹ Bodl., MS Tanner 141, f. 78: Value of dioceses as given in the King's books, [c.1670-90].

³⁰ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 133: William Lucy to Gilbert Sheldon, 10 Oct. 1670.

³¹ W[illiam] R[ichards], *Wallography, or, The Britton Describ'd* (1682), p. 105.

³² John Vyrnwy Davies, 'The Diocese of St. David's during the first half of the 18th Century: To Include a Study of the Relevant Data in the "Ottley Papers"', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1936), p. 78; Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 34.

avail.³³ In a similar vein, in 1672, the parish church of Kidwelly (Carmarthenshire) had been ‘out of repaire and fallen downe’ since 1658, and it was not until 1705 that churchwardens finally reported that it had been ‘lately rebuilt’, but ‘a font is as yett wanting’.³⁴ These are particularly damning examples, but churchwardens’ visitation returns from across the three south-western counties consistently reported deficiencies in church fabric throughout the period – from damaged roofs, to missing bells, to broken windows.³⁵ Despite efforts by parishioners (through their churchwardens) to highlight these issues, the money simply was not available to maintain the physical fabric of the diocese.

A further consequence of impoverished parishes, which was felt in every diocese of England and Wales, was the growth of pluralism and non-residency.³⁶ Ministers often held two or more ecclesiastical offices concurrently to ensure adequate incomes, and the rampant poverty within the diocese of St. Davids necessarily made the practice more prevalent.³⁷ Yet it is difficult to generalise about the frequency of the dual-issues, or about their impact on religious life; ultimately, much depended on the distance between a pluralist’s livings, and, if he hired a curate, on his employee’s quality. For Philip Jenkins, pluralism was not necessarily an ill, but ‘a rational process of consolidation’ to ensure that a clergyman was sufficiently provided for.³⁸ In 1684, the minister of Llanerchaeron (Cardiganshire), for example, had a second benefice within a mile, and served both without complaint.³⁹ At other times pluralism was less rational, such as in the parish of Dale (Pembrokeshire), where the non-resident minister only visited to officiate once every three weeks.⁴⁰ Similar contrasts can be found in Cornwall: John Turner served Treneglos and Warbstow himself comfortably, while Francis Robinson lived twelve miles from his parish of Landewednack

³³ NLW, SDCh/MISC/210: Petition of Richard Phillips to Charles II, 21 Jan. 1660; Edward Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, ed. Francis Green (1927), p. 115; Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 127: Account of money spent by bishop of St. Davids since Restoration, [c.1670].

³⁴ NLW, SD/CPD/25/12; SD/CPD/21/31; SD/CPD/21/95: Churchwardens’ visitation returns, Kidwelly, 1672-1705.

³⁵ See, NLW, SD/CPD/5-8, 21, 25, 67: Churchwardens’ visitation returns, diocese of St. Davids.

³⁶ Geraint H. Jenkins has described these issues as ‘part and parcel of the structure of the church’ in *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), p. 11; Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 30, 115-16.

³⁷ Thomas Richards identified fifty-one pluralists in the diocese of St. Davids after the Restoration: *Penal Code*, p. 134.

³⁸ Jenkins, ‘Church, Nation and Language’, p. 269.

³⁹ NLW, SD/CPD/5/26: Churchwardens’ visitation returns, Llanerchaeron, 31 July 1684. For similar accounts see, SD/CPD/21/22, 41.

⁴⁰ NLW, SD/CPD/67/81: Churchwardens’ visitation returns, Dale, 2 July 1688.

and refused to provide a curate.⁴¹ Overall, the association between poverty, pluralism, and non-residency made it a more routine feature of the Church in Wales, and raised the likelihood of diminished performance of duties by ministers in these parishes.

Poverty could hamper the devotional and social life of a diocese in other ways. In north Wales, Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaph believed that it was impossible for Welsh cathedrals to fulfil the rubric ordering them to celebrate weekly communion as ‘there are not many Priests & Deacons’ when the bishop is away.⁴² Within parish churches, an impoverished minister may have struggled for authority or been unable to act benevolently.⁴³ As noted in Chapter One, clergymen held an ambiguous social status; they often participated in gentry life but ultimately held a marginal position and were rarely considered as equals.⁴⁴ The gentry of south-west Wales were poor themselves, but seldom to the same degree as the clergy. Such a disparity in wealth could promote a lack of respect between the two groups, or, conversely, force ministers into a sycophantic over-reliance on the local gentry.

By no means a wealthy bishopric, the diocese of Exeter was nonetheless affluent enough to begin physical repairs at an early stage. Although the church at Mullion parish, for example, had been ‘totally Ruinated in the time of the late unhappy warres’, other parishes laid out great sums on repairs in the early 1660s – St. Cleer expended £80 during these years.⁴⁵ In stark contrast to the diocese of St. Davids, complaints about defective church fabric in churchwardens’ presentments from the archdeaconry of Cornwall gradually decreased during the 1660s, and from the 1670s the overwhelming response was *omnia bene*.⁴⁶ That this silence reflected the successful restoration of churches across Cornwall is supported by extant churchwardens’ accounts, which reveal consistent, small-scale maintenance taking place throughout the period.⁴⁷ Parishioners were diligent in identifying

⁴¹ E. A. O. Whiteman, ‘Episcopate of Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter (1662 to 1667) and Salisbury (1667 to 1688/9) With Special Reference to the Ecclesiastical Problems of his Time’, unpublished DPhil Thesis (University of Oxford, 1951), pp. 331, 347.

⁴² Bodl., MS Tanner 34, f. 292: William Lloyd to William Sancroft, 17 Mar. 1684.

⁴³ See, Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980), p. 56.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 29.

⁴⁵ DHC, Chanter 11033: Churchwardens’ presentments, St. Cleer, 25 Aug. 1665; Churchwardens’ Presentments, Boxes 41/3: Mullion, 13 Aug. 1671.

⁴⁶ This was the same pattern identified by Donald Spaeth in Wiltshire: *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 66-7.

⁴⁷ For example, CRO, P16/5/1: Churchwardens’ accounts, Boyton, 1670-93; P17/5/1, ff. 12-24: Churchwardens’ accounts, Braddock, 1664-77.

and rectifying deficiencies in church fabric. This alliance between clergy and laity was best epitomised by the consecration of a new church in Falmouth – ‘*in memoriam Caroli Regis et Martyris*’ – financed by Sir Peter Killigrew. It marked both the establishment of an influential port town, and the burgeoning religious renewal taking place in Cornwall following the Restoration.

The poverty of St. Davids made it an unattractive diocese for episcopal candidates, and it came with little prospect for promotion. Whereas every bishop of Exeter between 1660 and 1708 was translated to a more lucrative see (Worcester, Salisbury, Norwich, York, and Winchester), the Welsh diocese was something of a death sentence. William Lucy, Laurence Womock, John Lloyd, and George Bull all died in office.⁴⁸ For some, the bishopric was a far from welcome promotion. The veteran polemicist, Womock, actively resented it, declaring that ‘St. Davids was not my aime but my surprise’, and bitterly complained to Archbishop William Sancroft about its meagre endowment.⁴⁹ With bishops rarely leaving St. Davids, many spent a considerable portion of their episcopate debilitated by old age and infirmity. In 1685, Womock complained of scurvy, gout, and a ‘cancerous tumour under my tongue’, and William Lucy and John Lloyd also suffered.⁵⁰ Unsurprisingly, this could seriously affect their ability to perform their duties. Towards the end of his life, Lucy could not travel more than a mile from his house, and repeatedly failed to attend parliament due to his infirmities.⁵¹ Not one to be outdone, Lloyd claimed he could not ‘walk crosse my room’.⁵² With decrepitude confining at least three bishops to their beds for months on end, they were unable to fulfil duties such as preaching, confirmations, or visitations without assistance.⁵³

Poor attendance in the House of Lords by Welsh prelates was also a symptom of the Principality’s remoteness. Both Cornwall and south-west Wales were located some two-hundred miles from the metropolis over difficult terrain. Both regions were also rural in

⁴⁸ William Thomas (1677-83) was translated to Worcester.

⁴⁹ Bodl., MS Tanner 34, ff. 136, 171, 175, 264; MS Tanner 32, ff. 85, 110, 112; MS Tanner 31, f. 123: Correspondence between Laurence Womock and William Sancroft, Sept. 1683-June 1685.

⁵⁰ Bodl., MS Tanner 31, ff. 134, 179: Laurence Womock to William Sancroft, 11 July, 8 Aug. 1685.

⁵¹ Bodl., MS Tanner 42, f. 43: William Lucy to Gilbert Sheldon, 16 Oct. 1673. Indeed, Lucy attended only four of fifteen House of Lords sessions: *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 287.

⁵² Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 128: John Lloyd to William Sancroft, 17 Jan. 1687.

⁵³ For Womock’s admission of this, Bodl., MS Tanner 34, f. 285; MS Tanner 32, ff. 23, 85.

nature, and comprised of remarkably large parishes and dispersed settlement patterns, so that many villages, hamlets, and farmsteads were isolated from their parish church.⁵⁴ While rural conditions could allow close ecclesiastical supervision, it could also be difficult to maintain effective pastoral oversight under a less diligent cleric. Moreover, rural parishes weakened the administrative machinery of the diocese, and thus the link between bishop and clergy – communication was slow and central policies more difficult to implement. Generally speaking, rural parishes were less likely to provide week-day services or frequently perform the sacrament.⁵⁵

One curiosity of early modern Cornwall and south-west Wales was that the centre of ecclesiastical power and religious life in each region, the cathedral, was unhelpfully located outside of the centres of power. In the Welsh diocese, the ‘mother church’ was in St. Davids, a tiny town on its far western border. It was far too remote to be serviceable to the remainder of the diocese, and even the canons refused to reside there, perform a second divine service on Sundays, or administer monthly sacraments.⁵⁶ Successive bishops of St. Davids therefore chose to reside instead at the more centrally-located bishop’s palace at Abergwili in Carmarthenshire, and few visited the cathedral. A sixteenth-century scheme to relocate the cathedral to Carmarthen was unsuccessfully revived in the 1660s and again in the 1670s. Bishop William Thomas spearheaded the second effort, arguing that St. Davids was ‘generally apprehended as a useless place, of no convention, traffick or estimate, in a nook of ye kingdom’.⁵⁷

The situation was different in the diocese of Exeter, where the cathedral was located in the sprawling south-eastern Devon city, around thirty-five miles from the Cornish border. The propensity for successive bishops to find themselves embroiled in bitter disputes with the city magistrates, alongside the strength of dissent in Devon, naturally drew their attention away from Cornwall.⁵⁸ Many letters to Lambeth from bishops of Exeter supplied

⁵⁴ David Luker, ‘Cornish Methodism, Revivalism, and Popular Belief, c. 1780-1870’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1988), pp. 63-4; Gibson, ‘Diocese of St Davids’, pp. 92-3.

⁵⁵ Gregory and Chamberlain, ‘National and Local Perspectives’, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁶ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 130: John Ellis to George Thorp, 10 Nov. 1679.

⁵⁷ Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, p. 115. The proposals were opposed by townspeople of St. Davids who, with the powerful backing of the Owens of Oriulton, argued that the cathedral was of great antiquity and formerly an archbishop’s see: *ibid.*, p. 399.

⁵⁸ Muriel E. Curtis, *Some Disputes between the City and the Cathedral Authorities of Exeter* (Manchester, 1932).

information on Devon only, while rare references to Cornwall were often vague. In June 1671, for example, Anthony Sparrow expressed concerns about the state of the church in Cornwall, only to declare three months later that it was ‘better than I expected’ after visiting himself.⁵⁹ In many ways, this is typical of a wider failure amongst the bishops of Exeter before 1689 to maintain knowledge of, or gather intelligence about, Cornwall.

As well as being peripheral, the Church in Wales had to accommodate a predominantly monoglot Welsh-speaking population. It was vital that officiating ministers were capable of performing their duties in the language, and that books (especially the Bible and Book of Common Prayer) were available in Welsh. When Erasmus Lewes returned to his native country to serve successively as a vicar in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire in 1708, after a twelve-year absence in England, he found that he was ‘so g[rea]t a stranger to the Welsh Language’ that he was forced to hire a curate to serve his churches until his Welsh improved.⁶⁰ Yet this perhaps oversimplifies the issue. There was also a substantial minority of monoglot English speakers, alongside a broad middle-ground of bilingualism. Accounts of the linguistic demographics of the region could range from parishes which were ‘all Welsh’, to ‘p[ar]tely English & p[ar]tely Welsh’, to the ‘Inhabitants for the most parte are English’.⁶¹ As a result, it became procedure across the region for parishes to own religious texts in both languages, placing further strain upon the diocese’s already stretched resources. Within parishes with mixed language needs, it was common for services to be given alternately in English and Welsh. Therefore, for any monoglots within the parish – whether English- or Welsh-speaking – only half of the services were comprehensible. Moreover, it was difficult for the diocese’s bishop to develop a single policy towards language, and it became an issue with which successive bishops were forced to grapple.

THE PUSH FOR UNIFORMITY AND THE DISSENTING CHALLENGE

If the Church of England aimed at unanimity within its parish communities, free from dissent, then the nonconformist sects perhaps posed the greatest threat to the successful re-establishment of Anglican authority. In Cornwall and south-west Wales, however,

⁵⁹ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, ff. 229, 231: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 5 June, 21 Sept. 1671.

⁶⁰ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1816, ff. 50-1: Erasmus Lewes to Edward Lhuyd, 21 Oct. 1708.

⁶¹ In order, NLW, SD/CPD/67/12, SD/CPD/21/93, SD/CPD/21/97: Churchwardens’ presentments, Fishguard, 29 July 1678; Eglwys Cymun, 4 Sept. 1705; Lampeter Velfrey, 4 Sept. 1705.

puritanism had made little headway during the mid-seventeenth-century crisis, and remained numerically weak following the Restoration. Superficially, then, Anglicans had little cause for concern in either region. Nonetheless, successive clerical and lay authorities spearheaded sporadic campaigns of persecution against dissenters, driven by local circumstances and national political concerns. The ultimate failure of the Church to persuade the laity to participate in this prosecution on a regular basis reflected an unwillingness to persecute their neighbours, but also a reluctance to act against the king's wishes. In both regions, a sizable body of influential gentry did not consider nonconformity to be a threat to their authority.

The growth of puritanism in both regions under study was slow and stuttering during the early Stuart period. In Cornwall, it advanced tentatively in towns such as St. Ives, Bodmin, and Launceston, with the support of an influential group of puritan gentry.⁶² Similarly, in Wales, it was largely confined to the far eastern border regions of the country and larger towns during the 1630s, as puritans struggled against the linguistic barrier. In these areas new ideas were more readily accepted by their often-bilingual inhabitants.⁶³ It was its architects hope that the establishment of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales would finally cast light on that infamous 'dark corner', but ultimately it failed to find adequate numbers of puritan ministers. In both regions, the same weak urban networks and remoteness which disrupted the Church of England served to shield their populace from the religious controversies of the 1630s and 1640s.

Nor did nonconformist groups discover popularity after 1660. Statistics gathered by Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon in 1665, revealed that only sixteen nonconformist ministers resided in Cornwall, three of them 'peaceably'. Ten were explicitly reported to keep conventicles, including six in the border town of Saltash who were all 'notoriously d[is]affected to K[ing] & Ch[urch]'.⁶⁴ Indeed, Saltash's proximity to the dissenting stronghold of Plymouth, combined with the ease with which dissenters could avoid the authorities by crossing the border, made the town a centre of nonconformity in Cornwall.⁶⁵

⁶² Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum: A Social and Political Study* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 326-7; Duffin, *Faction and Faith*, pp. 41-57; Ball, *Congregationalism*, p. 13.

⁶³ Lloyd Bowen, 'Wales and Religious Reform in the Long Parliament, 1640-42', *THSC*, 12 (2005), p. 37.

⁶⁴ No returns survive for the diocese of St. Davids. G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence* (3 vols., 1911), I, 180.

⁶⁵ For Plymouth as a dissenting stronghold, see *CSPD, 1668-9*, pp. 408, 655; *CSPD, 1682*, p. 10; *CSPD, 1684-5*, p. 189; Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 158; MS Tanner 36, ff. 62, 72, 91.

The major clusters of dissent in Cornwall – Saltash, Helston, Penryn, and the Lizard peninsula – were in some of the county’s largest towns and in the four hundreds along the south coast in which the most puritan gentry families resided (East, Powder, and West).⁶⁶ A similar pattern can be identified in south-west Wales, where dissent was largely an urban phenomenon; towns naturally offered concentrated populations which could sustain nonconformist congregations.⁶⁷

These figures provide a clearer impression of the geographical spread of dissent than its numerical strength. For numbers, our best source is a religious census commissioned in 1676 by Lord Treasurer Danby and implemented by Henry Compton, bishop of London, which placed the nonconformist community at c.4-5% of the population.⁶⁸ The data should be treated with caution as local clergymen were left to interpret ambiguously-worded instructions in manifold ways, and undoubtedly underestimated the true prevalence of dissent.⁶⁹ The returns of St. Davids have a further layer of complexity due to its sheer scale. The diocese reported that 2,401 nonconformists lived within its bounds – exceeding the combined total of the other three Welsh dioceses. However, 1,361 of these resided in the archdeaconry of Brecon, a further 457 in the deanery of Gower (Glamorganshire), and additional pockets in the deanery of Sub Aeron (Montgomeryshire).⁷⁰ Overall, only c.500-550 nonconformists were reported to be residing in the three south-west counties under study. The figures are easier to ascertain for Cornwall, where 721 dissenters were returned – over six times fewer than were recorded in the neighbouring county of Devon.⁷¹ In neither region, then, was nonconformity believed to be widespread. Despite its imperfections, the information presented in the Compton Census broadly aligns with more anecdotal evidence in churchwardens’ presentments about the location of conventicles.

Since both dioceses under study also included heavily factious regions, dissent naturally weighed heavily on the minds of successive bishops of Exeter and St. Davids, albeit in more

⁶⁶ Whiteman, ‘Seth Ward’, pp. 117, 142.

⁶⁷ Richards, *Penal Code*, p. 37; Geraint H. Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales, 1639-1689* (Cardiff, 1992), p. 59.

⁶⁸ Anne Whiteman, assisted by Mary Clapinson, (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (1986), pp. xxxvii-xxxix.

⁶⁹ Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (1993), pp. 9-11.

⁷⁰ Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, pp. 457-9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-6.

complex ways than straightforward hatred. Seth Ward, for example, earned a reputation as a fierce persecutor of nonconformists. His friend and biographer, Walter Pope, wrote that he did so out ‘of Love to the repose and welfare of the Government; for he believed if the growth of them were not timely suppressed, it would either cause a necessity of a standing Army to preserve the Peace’.⁷² Like many Anglicans, the experience of the Civil Wars and Interregnum had firmly aligned nonconformity and political sedition in Ward’s mind.⁷³ He also found justification within Anglican ecclesiology and theology. In his view, the laws against dissenters were necessary in order to educate proven sinners and persuade them to join the legitimate established church; it was simply an extension of his pastoral duties.⁷⁴ Ward repeatedly encouraged ejected nonconformist ministers to conform to the Church, and offered his interest to secure preferments.⁷⁵ His attitude towards dissent was not uniform, and he was willing to turn a blind eye towards the preaching of certain moderate nonconformist ministers who he respected.⁷⁶

The multifaceted attitudes of Seth Ward towards dissent are indicative of wider feelings amongst the episcopal bench, with each individual bishop placed at a unique point on the spectrum between persecution and leniency. As Anne Whiteman notes, all bishops were forced to demonstrate public support for the persecution of dissent ‘if he were to administer his diocese in the spirit bequeathed by the Commons, and to a lesser extent the Lords and Archbishop’.⁷⁷ For dissent to be fully suppressed, however, a bishop had no choice but to rely upon a host of ecclesiastical subordinates, lay officials, and parishioners. Without each level functioning in tandem, it was possible for nonconformists to escape punishment.

It is difficult to be precise about attitudes towards the persecution of nonconformists in Cornwall and south-west Wales. Often, complaints against negligent magistrates were made by those who wished to see the penal code applied more vigorously, and therefore offer examples both of those who favoured and opposed the persecution of dissent within a single

⁷² Walter Pope, *The Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Seth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury* (1697), p. 68.

⁷³ An association strengthened by events such as Venner’s Rising of 1661 and the Rye House Plot of 1683.

⁷⁴ Mark Goldie, ‘The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England’, in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 331-68.

⁷⁵ Whiteman, ‘Seth Ward’, pp. 100-1; Bodl., MS Tanner 48, f. 48: Seth Ward to [?Gilbert Sheldon], 27 Sept. 1662.

⁷⁶ Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised*, p. 475.

⁷⁷ Whiteman, ‘Seth Ward’, p. 113.

community. The churchwardens of Llandysilio (Carmarthenshire), for example, complained in 1684 that dissenters were repeatedly being presented, ‘yett escape unpunished’.⁷⁸ Many nonconformist ministers experienced these conflicting attitudes first-hand; the five imprisonments of the Independent Cornishman Thomas Tregosse are also notable for the number of times which he was released after only a matter of months.⁷⁹ In this way, the persecution of dissent in Cornwall and south-west Wales was sporadic, ebbing and flowing depending on local circumstances and the national political climate.⁸⁰

In the early 1660s, vivid memories of the Civil Wars and Interregnum encouraged fierce persecution, and, as was typical across England and Wales, Quakers bore the brunt of harassment. Their propensity to forego the usual marks of respect reserved for social superiors, and steadfast rejection of the necessity of an ordained clergy (and therefore tithes), imbued them with a radicalism which aggravated Anglicans and other Protestant nonconformists alike. Anecdotal evidence compiled by the Quakers themselves reveals abuses which ranged from exorbitant fines and imprisonment to physical violence by angry crowds.⁸¹ Following this explosion of hostility, all Protestant dissenters experienced persecution in waves during the subsequent decades: in 1670-1 following the second Conventicles Act, and in 1681-6 after Charles II’s dismissal of the Oxford Parliament during the Exclusion Crisis.⁸² Often, the link between religious dissent and political sedition led to spikes of arrests following moments of extreme political crisis in which nonconformists had been implicated – most notably, the Rye House Plot and Monmouth’s Rebellion of 1685.⁸³

The flipside to these moments of heightened persecution, were periods in which it lessened, or the legality of prosecuting nonconformists was altered altogether. There was

⁷⁸ Quoted in Jenkins, *Protestant Dissents*, p. 48.

⁷⁹ Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised*, p. 491.

⁸⁰ John Spurr, ‘From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660-1700’, in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 247-8; Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681-85* (Woodbridge, 2007), ch. 3; Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 132; Jones, *Congregationalism*, p. 51.

⁸¹ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* (2 vols., 1753), I, 115-17, 120, 124, 745, 748, 457.

⁸² Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters*, p. 46.

⁸³ For local examples, see Walter T. Morgan, ‘The Prosecution of Nonconformists in the Consistory Courts of St. Davids, 1661-88’, *Journal of Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, 17 (1962), p. 47; CRO, RP/1/42-3: Order, seizure of disaffected persons in Kerrier, 3-12 July 1685; Roger Morrice, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, gen. ed. Mark Goldie (7 vols., Woodbridge, 2007), III, 31.

widespread uncertainty over the king's attitude towards nonconformity, and it is now widely accepted that he had personally desired a more comprehensive church settlement.⁸⁴ His oscillation between publicly supporting toleration and persecution – usually as he was forced to appease various factions within court and parliament – was a feature of the period. In 1668, for example, he allowed the Conventicles Act to expire without renewal (partly at the behest of the Cabal ministers), only to be cowed into assenting to the even more draconian second Conventicles Act in 1670 after the Commons refused to grant the king supply money. The situation for dissenters could change rapidly, and the inconsistency of policy proved frustrating to Anglican hardliners who saw it as encouraging to nonconformists. During these brief years of toleration, the aforementioned Thomas Tregoss found himself released from prison, and immediately continued to preach in the parishes surrounding Falmouth. Government agents in the area decried the 'great liberty or indulgence granted to the fanatics' and claimed that they had 'grown so high that they build houses for their meetings'.⁸⁵

Tregoss did not live to witness a similar moment in 1672, when Charles exerted his prerogative power to issue a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all penal laws against Catholics and Protestant dissenters. Nonconformist gatherings became legal provided the minister obtained a royal license.⁸⁶ The impact was quickly felt: Bishop Sparrow of Exeter reported that 'the Churches are not so well fill[le]d as lately they were'.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, in Carmarthen, a Quaker was broken out of the town's gaol by a 'rabble', and began to keep a school in the town.⁸⁸ Once again, however, the king's innovation was met with hostility in parliament and he was forced to cancel the Declaration in 1673, and then accept a new Test Act requiring all office-holders to receive communion according to the Church of England. James II issued his own Declarations of Indulgence in 1687 and 1688 in an attempt to cultivate the support of dissenters, with the first eliciting a loyal address from nonconformist ministers in south-west Wales.⁸⁹ In this way, the legal grounding of persecution was

⁸⁴ Ronald Hutton, 'The Religion of Charles II', in R. Malcolm Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 228-46.

⁸⁵ *CSPD, 1667-8*, p. 418; *CSPD, 1668-9*, pp. 321, 617; *CSPD, 1670*, p. 91; Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised*, p. 491.

⁸⁶ For Cornish and south-west Welsh applications for licenses: Turner, *Original Records*, II, 1186-93, 1206-7, 1212-13.

⁸⁷ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 242: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 2 Sept. 1672.

⁸⁸ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

⁸⁹ *London Gazette*, no. 2287 (17-20 Oct. 1687).

constantly shifting, leaving magistrates uncertain of which laws they were supposed to be enforcing.

When the legal position was reasonably straightforward, there remained a widespread unwillingness to prosecute dissenters amongst the gentry. Many were wary of offending or displeasing the king; even during the height of persecutions, in 1665, the bishop of Exeter found Cornish JPs to be ‘very coole & shifting’, and Lord Arundell of Trecice was concerned that ‘it w[ou]ld be displeasing to my L[ord] Chan[cel]l[o]r to meddle with the Presbyterians’.⁹⁰ Similarly, after Charles II’s Declaration of Indulgence had been rescinded, Bishop Lucy of St. Davids remained cautious about ‘displeasing the King’.⁹¹ A deep-seated loyalty to the monarch made relatively ardent persecutors like Lucy pause before acting contrary to his wishes. Others favoured some form of comprehensive church settlement. They highlighted the theological parallels between the Protestant sects, and advocated a stronger, united church to stand as a bastion against Catholicism.⁹² In Cornwall, the powerful Presbyterian aristocrat, Lord John Robartes (created 1st earl of Radnor in 1679) was intimately involved in crafting legislation to shield nonconformists.⁹³ At a more fundamental level, however, local office-holders were reluctant to act against their neighbours. As Anthony Fletcher found in numerous counties, even during waves of persecution, ‘either individual JPs or a few strongly motivated justices’ spearheaded the enforcement of the penal laws; it was rarely a popular movement.⁹⁴ For example, the Cornish MP, Thomas Robinson, proclaimed his intention ‘to go a fanatic-hunting’ on the day that he was instead gored to death by a bull.⁹⁵ Alongside these zealous magistrates, however, were a number of powerful gentry families in both Cornwall and south-west Wales who demonstrated leniency towards nonconformists, or actively sheltered them. Many were nonconformists themselves, but others were simply moderates who favoured local order.

⁹⁰ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 154: Seth Ward to Gilbert Sheldon, 22 July 1665.

⁹¹ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 113: William Lucy to Gilbert Sheldon, 20 Feb. 1673.

⁹² John Spurr, ‘The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689’, *EHR*, 104 (1989), pp. 927-46.

⁹³ Andrew Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 55, n. 17.

⁹⁴ Anthony Fletcher, ‘The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1664-1679’, in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, Studies in Church History, 21 (Oxford, 1984), pp. 235-46; Coleby, *Central Government*, pp. 138-9.

⁹⁵ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), p. 239.

A small but powerful minority of Cornish gentry were accused of supporting dissenting ministers. The leading figures – Hugh Boscawen, Francis Buller, and Edward Herle – had, according to Bishop Ward, exerted pressure on their fellow JPs, who were themselves ‘either that way enclined, or else by kinred, or debts, or wives, or some other mischief, brought to a connivance’.⁹⁶ Pressure of this nature, informed by principles of kinship, allegiance, and sociability, could exert tremendous influence on the whole commission of the peace. The power of this clique was such that the elections to the Convention Parliament of 1660 saw the return of Presbyterians at Bossiney, Bodmin, Grampond, Callington, Fowey, Newport, Penryn, Saltash, St. Germans, St. Ives, Tregony, Truro, and West Looe in their combined interest.⁹⁷ Were it not for their influence, Ward believed that ‘it would not be in the power of the most pernicious of men (the presbyters) to putt that county into very great disorders’.⁹⁸

By contrast, in south-west Wales, this reluctance appears to have been more widespread. Bishop Lucy complained of ‘great purses w[hi]ch maintaine... preachers, & schooles’ in the diocese of St. Davids.⁹⁹ In Pembrokeshire, Peregrine Phillips was known to have benefitted from the benevolence of the Owens of Orielson and Perrots of Haroldston.¹⁰⁰ The most energetic Independent in Carmarthenshire, Stephen Hughes, preached at several Anglican churches, having been ‘countenanced by the leading men of the county and impropiators whose frowns over awe the poore curates that they feare to deny them’.¹⁰¹ Between the bouts of persecution described above, dissenters appear to have been able to operate relatively freely. Writing in the early eighteenth century, the Quaker Richard Davies described how he had toured south-west Wales during the late 1660s. Despite being arrested in Aberystwyth, Davies was treated ‘very civilly’ by the deputy-sheriff and high-constable of Cardiganshire, and praised the ‘Moderate’ JPs and magistrates of Haverfordwest.¹⁰² Astonishingly, he claimed to have preached to a priest’s family in Pembrokeshire, a Cardiganshire quarter sessions court after they had discharged him, and to several of the

⁹⁶ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 154.

⁹⁷ *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency entries.

⁹⁸ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 156.

⁹⁹ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 113.

¹⁰⁰ Morgan, ‘Consistory Courts’, p. 52.

¹⁰¹ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁰² Richard Davies, *An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services and Travels of that Ancient Servant of the Lord, Richard Davies* (1710), pp. 145, 153-7, 161-2.

magistrates of Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthenshire) over the course of his travels.¹⁰³ Of course, Davies' own testimony is liable to have been exaggerated, yet Bishop Lucy also found that the same Quaker who had been sprung from Carmarthen goal, 'did teach schollars who came to the windows of the Goale'.¹⁰⁴ Although these dissenters had evidently been prosecuted, the authorities appear to have applied the letter of the law but not its spirit.

Reluctance to persecute dissent was not confined to the gentry. Without quarter sessions records or complete consistory court documents it is difficult to be specific about the attitudes of the wider laity, but evidence from churchwardens' presentments and visitation returns reveals that the likelihood of parishioners being presented for non-attendance at church fell markedly after the 1660s. This was marginally less the case in Wales, where churchwardens closely followed the articles prescribed by the visiting authority (bishop, archdeacon, or otherwise) and were therefore more prone to reporting conventicles or those refusing to pay church rates after the 1660s. In Cornwall, on the other hand, *omnia bene* became a near-universal response. This reluctance could stem from a number of factors: a prevailing sense of neighbourliness, ideological opposition to persecution, or an unwillingness to offend the local gentry.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the situation was further complicated by the propensity for lay dissenters to continue to attend Anglican services. Yet this ought to be considered in the context of the numerical weakness of dissent; ultimately, there were relatively few parishes in which presenting nonconformity was ever a possibility.

The preceding sections have demonstrated that the diocese of Exeter was far better structurally equipped to re-establish Anglican authority in the aftermath of the Interregnum than the diocese of St. Davids. Moreover, although neither region was infested with dissent, the tendency for nonconformists to be treated with apathy by the authorities in south-west Wales further hindered diocesan officials. It is revealing that accounts of the two dioceses by their bishops display distinctly differing tones. In 1673, during the long shadow of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, Bishop Lucy of St. Davids wrote of great 'schismes' in his diocese as many attended conventicles and refused to send their children to be catechised.¹⁰⁶ This, he argued, was a symptom of 'evill principles formerly instilled during

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 157, 161.

¹⁰⁴ Bodl., MS Tanner 314, f. 40: William Lucy to Gilbert Sheldon, 3 Apr. 1673.

¹⁰⁵ See Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 155, 162, 165.

¹⁰⁶ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 113.

the late rebellion'.¹⁰⁷ Reports from bishops of Exeter during the first decades of the Restoration were more positive, albeit couched in low expectations. In 1663, Bishop Ward felt his diocese was in 'as good order as can be reasonably expected, and indeed better (considering all things) than I did thinke', and echoed these sentiments two years later.¹⁰⁸ His successor, Anthony Sparrow, was more confident still: in 1670 he reported that 'the churches fill apace, & the Conventicles are shrunk into almost nothing'.¹⁰⁹ Even in the month following the king's Declaration of Indulgence, Sparrow found the 'clergy & people' of Cornwall 'more affected to the Churches Govern[en]t than ever we did', and gave a further reassurance of the county's steadfastness in 1674.¹¹⁰ The remainder of this chapter, then, will consider how these differing contexts impacted the quality of the clergy, the provision of pastoral care, and popular observance of the liturgy amongst the laity.

THE PARISH CLERGY

Accounts of the Anglican priesthood have often focused on the higher clergy, and the role of patronage in their appointment.¹¹¹ This is perhaps unsurprising considering the centrality of Thomas Tanner's manuscript collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to the study of the seventeenth-century Church. Containing correspondence to successive archbishops of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon and William Sancroft, the collection offers a glimpse into the sycophantic attempts of bishops to receive preferment, additional livings, and solicit on behalf of friends, acquaintances, and relatives. The nepotism of Bishop Lucy towards his sons, for example, has been well documented and, indeed, eleven years after his death Richard and Spenser Lucy remained safely ensconced as chancellor and treasurer of St. Davids cathedral, and George and Robert Lucy jointly held the registrarship of the diocese.¹¹² Yet one major historiographical development of the last thirty years has been the propensity for historians to ascribe a 'professional identity' to the parish clergy.¹¹³ They

¹⁰⁷ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁰⁸ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, ff. 142r, 158: Seth Ward to Gilbert Sheldon, 19 Dec. 1663; 16 Sept. 1665.

¹⁰⁹ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 213: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 18 June 1670.

¹¹⁰ Bodl., MS Tanner 141, ff. 136, 150: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 20 Apr. 1672; 30 Sept. 1674.

¹¹¹ For example, D. R. Hirschberg, 'The Government and Church Patronage in England, 1660-1760', *JBS*, 20 (1980), pp. 109-39.

¹¹² Richards, *Penal Code*, p. 134; Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 119: List of prebendaries of the cathedral of St David's, c.1688.

¹¹³ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, ch. 2; Tapsell, 'Pastors, Preachers and Politicians', pp. 71-100.

possessed a shared educational experience, overwhelmingly centred in Oxbridge, and a common background in theological training. Furthermore, they had similar expectations placed upon them in terms of their behaviour and the execution of their duties. However, it is difficult to generalise about the quality of the clergy; they were unevenly distributed across England and Wales, and each diocese was led by a bishop who could set the ‘tenor’ of his bishopric.¹¹⁴ Regional specificity can therefore highlight variations in the character and quality of the parish clergy.

Far from simply being careerists, bishops were charged with managing numerous complex and demanding responsibilities. In addition to overseeing the quality of the clergy and the standard of pastoral care, they conducted visitations, supervised ecclesiastical courts, and attended the House of Lords when possible.¹¹⁵ In the decades following the Restoration, the bishops of Exeter and St. Davids usually performed visitations triennially, conducting confirmations and preaching throughout their journeys.

In many ways, the bishops of St. Davids were distinct from the remainder of the Principality’s prelates. Whilst other Welsh dioceses tended to be led by Welshmen with longstanding relationships with their sees, only two of St. Davids’ five bishops between 1660 and 1689 were Welshmen: William Thomas (1677-83) and John Lloyd (October 1686-February 1687).¹¹⁶ By contrast, the remaining three – William Lucy (1660-77), Laurence Womock (1683-86), and Thomas Watson (1687-99) – were all English churchmen. Nor was there consistency between their ecclesiological and theological views. While Lucy was a staunch Laudian (or ‘neo-Laudian’ after 1660) and Womock also an anti-Calvinist, Thomas was willing to collaborate with nonconformists for evangelical pursuits.¹¹⁷ Ultimately, they all shared the favour of the government at the time of their elevation. In particular, Watson was hand-picked by James II in 1687 due to his loyalty and willingness to countenance the toleration of Roman Catholics and dissenters. As a member of a courtly ultra-Erastian bloc of churchmen, he was one of the few bishops who ordered his clergy to read the second Declaration of Indulgence in their churches, and was also able to extract a loyal address

¹¹⁴ Gregory and Chamberlain, ‘National and Local Perspectives’, pp. 2, 17-18.

¹¹⁵ W. M. Jacob, ‘England’, in Gregory (ed.), *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, pp. 101-3.

¹¹⁶ I. M. Green, *The Re-Establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978), p. 96; John R. Guy, ‘The Significance of Indigenous Clergy in the Welsh Church at the Restoration’, in Stuart Mews (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, 16 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 336-7.

¹¹⁷ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 287, 515-16, 613. See below, pp. 98-100.

praising the first Declaration in 1687.¹¹⁸ St. Davids was therefore without a Welsh-speaking bishop for the entire period, barring the cumulative six years of Thomas' and Lloyd's episcopacy. However, as we shall see, the lack of linguistic competence amongst the bishops of St. Davids did not mean that they did not appreciate the need for, or encourage, a Welsh-speaking priesthood within their diocese.

Like their Welsh counterparts, there is little evidence of common backgrounds amongst the bishops of Exeter between 1660 and 1689. The four prelates – John Gauden (1660-62), Seth Ward (1662-67), Anthony Sparrow (1667-76), and Thomas Lamplugh (1676-88) – held a variety of ecclesiological and theological views. Gauden, Ward, and Lamplugh all demonstrated political dexterity during the Interregnum, but the former's emphasis on moderate episcopacy and religious toleration was out of step with his successors' periodic persecution of dissent. Meanwhile, Sparrow favoured the ceremonial aspects of the Anglican liturgy.¹¹⁹ Yet the absence of an obvious common background amongst the bishops of Exeter or St. Davids does not preclude the possibility of shared attitudes. It is interesting, for example, that the published visitation articles of Ward, Sparrow, and Lamplugh shared an unanimity of purpose, mainly because the latter two simply copied Ward's text of 1665 almost verbatim.¹²⁰ Their articles articulated common attitudes towards pastoral care, doctrine, and clerical discipline, providing their clergy and laity with a consistent message throughout the period.

Below the level of bishop, it has been argued that the clergy can be viewed as a 'professional community' during this period. Through various decrees, injunctions, and articles, Sheldon and Sancroft demonstrated a concern that only men of sound character and education should be admitted into the priesthood.¹²¹ A central tenet of this burgeoning 'professional identity' was a dramatic rise in the number of university-educated clerics. In Leicestershire, the number of degree-holders who were ordained rose from 91% during the

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 593: *London Gazette*, no. 2284 (3-6 Oct. 1687).

¹¹⁹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, 166, 251, 582.

¹²⁰ Seth Ward, *Articles of Visitation & Enquiry concerning matters Ecclesiastical...* (1662); *idem*, *Articles of Visitation and Enquiry concerning matters Ecclesiastical...* (1665); Anthony Sparrow, *Articles of Visitation and Enquiry, concerning matters Ecclesiastical...* (1674); Thomas Lamplugh, *Articles of Visitation and Enquiry, concerning matters Ecclesiastical...* (1677).

¹²¹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, pp. 78, 80-1; Whiteman, 'Seth Ward', pp. 200-1.

1660s to 97% by 1705-14.¹²² The clergy of the diocese of Exeter did not meet this high standard, but the number of graduate ministers did rise throughout the period. An analysis of ordinations reveals that, under Gauden's and Ward's leadership, fewer than 56% held a university education, with the proportion rising to 72% in Sparrow's time, and 89% in Lamplugh's.¹²³ In this sense, the diocese was following national trends, albeit lagging some way behind. It is possible that the difficulties associated with an isolated diocese dissuaded graduates from accepting distant parishes.

Compared to the Leicestershire or Cornish experience, the figures of university-educated ordinands in the diocese of St. Davids would have alarmed Sheldon and Sancroft. Between 1664 and 1670, fewer than 25% of those admitted into holy orders had attended university. By 1687, this had only marginally improved, as 40% of clergymen were graduates.¹²⁴ The major barrier to the appointment of graduates was the linguistic requirements. As Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaph informed Sancroft, 'we have a great many more Cures of Souls then we have Graduates in this Countrey, & most of the people understanding nothing but Welsh, we cannot supply the Cures w[i]th any other but Welshmen'.¹²⁵

Lloyd's comments also highlight the rather obvious fact that the vast majority of ministers in Wales were themselves Welshmen – yet the significance of this should not be understated. John R. Guy's detailed study of ministers in the diocese of Llandaff reveals that non-graduate Welsh ministers tended to return to their home parishes within a handful of years of ordination.¹²⁶ Although it has not been possible to conduct a similar assessment of non-graduate ministers in St. Davids, Guy believes that this was part of a wider policy of the Church in Wales to employ indigenous clergy. On the one hand, the ability of ministers to speak Welsh should not be overly commended; after all, the ability to communicate with parishioners in the only language they understood should surely have been a minimum requirement. However, the local origins of the clergy could have far-reaching benefits. If they were returning to their native parishes, it is likely that they were already known to their parishioners, perhaps shared kinship ties with many of them, and had friends amongst their

¹²² Pruett, *Parish Clergy*, p. 43.

¹²³ Boggis, *Exeter*, p. 442.

¹²⁴ Statistics from Richards, *Penal Code*, p. 141; Gibson, 'Diocese of St Davids', p. 112.

¹²⁵ Bodl., MS Tanner 30, f. 124: William Lloyd to William Sancroft, 14 Oct. 1686.

¹²⁶ Guy, 'Indigenous Clergy', pp. 338-40.

congregations. Moreover, a university education was just as likely to drive a wedge between the clergy and laity as it was to improve the clerical abilities of the minister.¹²⁷ If a clergyman was too scholarly, it could inhibit his ability to relate to his parishioners and thus disrupt the routine pastoral duties of a country minister. It does not necessarily follow that the clergy of St. Davids were detached from the ‘professional community’ of Anglican ministers, but it does suggest that they were possessed of a Welsh identity and could utilise this while fulfilling their duties.

Of course, the Church was not always able to appoint adequate ministers itself: the parochial patronage system meant that it only controlled about one-quarter of livings across England and Wales.¹²⁸ Bishops usually approved all appointments, but the wealthy laity (along with the crown, corporations, and other institutions) nonetheless held considerable influence over the nomination, quality, and political outlook of the clergy. Without accurate figures of lay impropriations in the dioceses of St. Davids and Exeter, we are forced to rely on qualitative evidence.¹²⁹ Many lay impropiators were amenable to the needs of the Church and parishioners. The Cornish gentleman Piers Edgcombe, for instance, took great care to establish the conformity of one Josias Hall in 1662, and sought the approval of both parishioners and bishop before appointing him to St. Mary’s church in Truro.¹³⁰ However, when the relationship was not functioning amicably it could produce a number of difficulties for the Church. In extreme cases, churches could stand empty if an impropiator failed to appoint a successor following the death or removal of an incumbent.¹³¹

In the diocese of St. Davids, lay impropriation exacerbated pre-existing issues. Bishop Thomas told Sancroft plainly that ‘too many of the Churches [are] Impropriated’, claiming that it was the ‘anguish of my soule’ that so many curates were paid inadequate salaries by patrons.¹³² He was under no doubt that it was contributing to the poverty which suffused the diocese. His immediate successor, Laurence Womock, reprimanded the lord keeper, Lord

¹²⁷ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 52-3.

¹²⁸ Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford, 2000), p. 212.

¹²⁹ Philip Jenkins placed the figure at 53% for south Wales, while an early-eighteenth-century account of St. Davids claimed it was 39%. See, Jenkins, ‘Church, Nation and Language’, p. 268; Robert Nelson, *The Life of Dr. George Bull, Late Lord Bishop of St. David’s* (1713), p. 411.

¹³⁰ CRO, ME/2908-11: Papers concerning the appointment of Josias Hall, Sept.-Dec. 1662.

¹³¹ For complaints about a lack of minister: Bodl., MS Add. c.305, ff. 142r-v; DHC, Moger PR517/240; PR517/276; NLW, SD/CPD/25/11.

¹³² Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 121: William Thomas to William Sancroft, 18 June 1678.

Guilford, for appointing ministers who could not officiate in Welsh, and who ‘place illiterate Curates for scandalous stipends, & then take, or keep curalies (of great advantage) in England, & become non-Residents’.¹³³ Issues which the bishops of St. Davids were keenly aware of – especially pluralism, non-residency, and linguistic competence – could be further aggravated by lay impropiators who had little concern for the spiritual welfare of the diocese.

Although bishops were often unable to determine the appointment of ministers, they could still lay high expectations upon their behaviour, and discipline them if they fell below these standards. Accusations of scandalous behaviour followed common patterns: a cluster of charges were brought collectively, with drunkenness and violence featuring prominently – the two were depicted as going hand-in-hand.¹³⁴ In Cornwall, for instance, the vicar of St. Breward, William Salmon, was accused of being ‘addicted to excessive and intemp[er]ate drinking’, so that on two separate evenings he got so drunk that he was unable to officiate the following morning, and fought with his parishioners.¹³⁵ The situation was somewhat different in south-west Wales. Whilst at least one minister was accused of drunkenness and violence, the performance of clandestine marriages was a more common charge against the clergy.¹³⁶ In both regions, scandalous behaviour was depicted as damaging the quality of religious life, and was leveraged to damage the reputations of the ministers involved.

Based on surviving evidence, the bishops of Exeter were far more concerned with rooting out ministers deemed to be ‘scandalous’ in life or doctrine than their Welsh counterparts. Successive Exeter prelates kept a careful eye on the behaviour of their clergy – Seth Ward even compiled detailed dossiers on his clergy which have unfortunately been lost.¹³⁷ His successors, Anthony Sparrow and Thomas Lamplugh, relied on visitations to uncover deficient ministers. Sparrow encouraged the gentry, clergy, and rural deans, to ‘informe me

¹³³ Bodl., MS Tanner 32, f. 119: Laurence Womock to Francis North, 12 Aug. 1684. On the lord keeper’s patronage: Rosemary O’Day, ‘The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Lord Keeper, 1558-1642’, *TRHS*, 5th ser., 23 (1973), pp. 89-109.

¹³⁴ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 122-3.

¹³⁵ DHC, Moger CC178/St. Breward: Articles of complaint exhibited against William Salmon, [c.1680]. For more examples of ministers accused of being drunk and violent: DHC, Churchwardens’ Presentments, Box 36/2: St. Anthony, 28 Aug. 1665; Whiteman, ‘Seth Ward’, p. 349.

¹³⁶ For an example of a minister accused of drunkenness and violence: NLW, SD/CCCm(G)/14, 14a. For examples of clandestine marriages: SD/CCCm(G)/6; SD/CCCd(G)/10, 16, 23.

¹³⁷ Whiteman, ‘Seth Ward’, p. 314.

of the scandalous Clergy' during visitations and promised that it was his 'resolution to proceed vigorously ag[ains]t all such'.¹³⁸ Both he and Lamplugh were active in suspending, depriving, and sometimes excommunicating those who transgressed.¹³⁹ Anne Whiteman has described a sophisticated Court of Audience where issues of clerical misconduct were redirected, over which the bishop himself presided.¹⁴⁰ In this way, they adjudicated the outcomes of any allegations of scandalous behaviour amongst their clergy closely. Conversely, the correspondence of successive bishops of St. Davids has little to say on the subject of clerical discipline. This is by no means conclusive evidence of neglect, but it is perhaps suggestive of other priorities amongst the St. Davids prelates.

A similar picture emerges when one focuses on lay involvement in the prosecution of deficient clergymen: far more evidence survives of the pivotal role played by the Cornish gentry in reporting 'scandalous' ministers to the ecclesiastical authorities. As Donald Spaeth writes in the context of Wiltshire, 'the gentry, and particularly the greater gentry, were natural promoters of court action against the clergy'.¹⁴¹ They possessed the necessary connections, wealth, and legal experience. When Anthony Sparrow opened proceedings against the former puritan Robert Hancock, vicar of St. Martin-by-Looe, part of his justification rested on the fact that Hancock was 'offensive to all the Loyal Gentry in Cornwall'.¹⁴² At other times, the gentry launched legal proceedings on their own. In the parish of Morval, John Buller led a group of local gentry in the drafting of articles against their vicar, Humphrey Long, which included a range of accusations – from preaching 'very fanatically' to allowing his servants to beat his wife.¹⁴³ Similar evidence of south-west Welsh gentry involvement in legal action against the clergy does not survive, perhaps as a result of the poorer survival of gentry collections for the region during the later Stuart period.

¹³⁸ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 255: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, [c.1668-9].

¹³⁹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 252; Bodl., MS Tanner 141, ff. 132, 136; MS Tanner 37, ff. 73, 83; Thomas Lamplugh to William Sancroft, 21 July, 28 July 1680; MS Tanner 35, f. 227: Thomas Lamplugh to William Sancroft, 21 Mar. 1683.

¹⁴⁰ Whiteman, 'Seth Ward', pp. 170-7, 349-50.

¹⁴¹ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 88.

¹⁴² Bodl., MS Tanner 141, f. 132. See also, MS Add. c.305, f. 227: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 22 May 1671.

¹⁴³ CRO, BU/572: Articles exhibited against Humphrey Long, 1686; DHC, Moger PR519: Petition of John Buller, Phillip Mayor, and John Hill to the bishop of Exeter regarding Humphrey Long, [c.1686-7]. Buller's own religious beliefs at this time are difficult to pin down; it was during these years that he swung decisively from Independency to Anglicanism.

What role the lower orders played in accusations against offending clergy in Cornwall and south-west Wales is difficult to determine. Only sporadic evidence of popular participation in the suits against ‘scandalous’ clergy survives. Though petitions cumulatively signed by hundreds of parishioners *do* survive from both regions (and will be discussed further below), none are explicitly critical of their ministers’ behaviour. If the scope is widened to include surviving churchwardens’ presentments and visitations returns, it becomes clear that criticism of the clergy’s conduct was rare in both regions. One of the few examples to arise during the survey completed for this thesis is the presentment of John Gey, vicar of St. Anthony in Cornwall, as ‘a frequenter of Alehouses a brawler and a fighter and a challenger of the field for duells’, but what came of this complaint is unknown.¹⁴⁴

One possible explanation for this silence is that there was widespread satisfaction with the quality of the clergy in Cornwall and south-west Wales. As scholars such as Jeremy Gregory and John Pruett point out, remarkably few clergy were dismissed in England or Wales for moral misconduct.¹⁴⁵ Successive bishops of Exeter concurred: in the late 1660s, Sparrow reported that ‘there were but two’ complaints against the clergy in all of Devon and Cornwall, and similarly claimed in 1674 that ‘there is no good ground for the loud complaint of a Scandalous Clergy’ with only four inadequate ministers in the entire diocese.¹⁴⁶ By Lamplugh’s episcopate, the rate had increased slightly, with four ministers ‘p[re]sented’ in Cornwall alone for ‘uncleanness and debauchery’ prior to his 1680 visitation.¹⁴⁷ The correlation between these complaints and episcopal visitations suggests that broader popular participation in rooting out ‘scandalous’ ministers did occur through churchwardens’ visitation returns which have not survived. Equally, however, a survey of the surviving material for Cornwall and south-west Wales reveals overwhelmingly positive assessments of the clergy. The majority of returns echoed the visitation articles, claiming that their minister was of ‘sober conversation and does his duty in all particulars’ or ‘a Constant man to the doctrine established in the Church of England’. Although it is difficult to judge the sincerity of these statements, their ventriloquism of the bishop’s articles should not automatically invalidate them. Indeed, there is little reason not to take them at face value.

¹⁴⁴ DHC, Churchwardens’ Presentments, Box 36/2: St. Anthony, 28 Aug. 1665.

¹⁴⁵ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 88; Pruett, *Parish Clergy*, pp. 130-3.

¹⁴⁶ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 255; MS Tanner 141, f. 150. See also, MS Add. c.305, f. 231.

¹⁴⁷ Bodl., MS Tanner 37, f. 73.

Holding deficient clergymen to account was rarely straightforward, and not always successful. In Cornwall, a decades-long campaign against Robert Jago, rector of Wendron and its chapelry of Helston, by the parishioners of both parishes ultimately failed to have the cleric removed. Despite being suspended in 1664 for offences including preaching ‘false dangerous and seditious words tending to the Countenancing of unlawfull assemblies’, accusations of heterodoxy, dereliction of duty, pastoral failures, violence, and (in a final salvo) sexual assault continued during the 1670s.¹⁴⁸ Jago’s secure position stemmed from his family’s ownership of the right of presentation, with the Presbyterian Hugh Boscawen also holding an interest.¹⁴⁹ His father, also named Robert Jago, had been instituted in the parish in 1633, and officiated throughout the Civil Wars and Interregnum, only to be ejected on ‘Black Bartholomew’s Day’. The elder Jago continued to live locally and preach as a nonconformist minister until his death in 1685.¹⁵⁰ After Robert Jago Jnr.’s death in 1706, his son followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and was appointed as minister in the same parishes.

Complaints against Jago highlight how action against negligent and troublesome ministers was often spearheaded by community leaders – the mayor and corporation of Helston and the minor gentry of Wendron were all involved – in cooperation with the wider laity who provided much of the detail of his perceived day-to-day deficiencies. These deficiencies were not only his unorthodox religious beliefs, but his ability to disrupt the religious life and the social fabric of his parishes. The failure to provide a curate in Helston, refusal to maintain church lands in Wendron, and truncation of the administration of baptism fell short of his parishioners’ expectations of pastoral care, while his targeting of individuals in sermons, barrage of lawsuits against neighbours, and alleged violence undermined the social life of the parish.

The centrality of the parish clergy to the social life of the communities they served should not be understated. Surviving petitions to the ecclesiastical authorities in Cornwall and south-west Wales during this period overwhelmingly requested the appointment of specific men to be their ministers who were known to the petitioners. In c.1664, for example, ten

¹⁴⁸ DHC, Chanter 57, ff. 65r, 69r-v: Orders concerning Robert Jago, 17 Feb. 1664, 8 June 1664; Moger CC178/Wendron: Articles exhibited against Robert Jago, [c.1670s].

¹⁴⁹ Joseph Polsue, *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (4 vols., Truro, 1867), IV, 309.

¹⁵⁰ Matthews (ed.), *Calamy Revised*, p. 293.

inhabitants of Llanfairollwyn (Cardiganshire) – approximately one quarter of the male inhabitants – requested that Griffith Evans replace their deceased minister, as he was a man ‘*wee know* to be of a sober and a clerical conversation, conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England’.¹⁵¹ Similar petitions were sent by parishioners of Llanllwni and its chapelry of Llanfihangel Rhos-y-corn (Carmarthenshire) in 1665, and St. Dogmaels (Pembrokeshire) in 1671.¹⁵² More examples can be drawn from Cornish petitions: the mayor of Launceston, together with four neighbouring clergymen, asked that the parish clerk be admitted to the office of deacon as he had ‘these Twenty yeares & above faithfully discharged the place or office of a Clarke’, while simultaneously studying the ‘writeings of our English divines’.¹⁵³ Parishioners wanted a minister whose theological beliefs they approved of, but also one who they felt could integrate into their communities – or, better still, one who was already integrated into their communities.

These bonds of community and sociability help to explain the propensity for parishioners in south-west Wales to petition in defence of their minister after he had been brought before the ecclesiastical courts. Unfortunately, their petitions only provide hints as to the nature of their parsons’ crimes, and the consistory court records do not offer more details. In 1664, for example, nineteen parishioners of Marloes (Pembrokeshire) defended their vicar, Matthew Lord, from ‘misinformation’. They displayed a number of common tropes of petitions of this nature. Lord was said to have enjoyed the ‘good affection of the parishioners’, and to have been in possession of the vicarage for ‘many years’. Importantly, his loyalty during the Civil Wars and Interregnum was clearly stated: he had ‘in the worst of times defended and followed the Liturgy of the Church of England’, while preventing others from ‘sowing seditious doctrine’.¹⁵⁴ In a similar vein, after the curate at Killycomb (Carmarthenshire), James Price, was excommunicated for an unspecified crime, sixteen parishioners simply requested that Hugh Price (presumably his son) be appointed in his place.¹⁵⁵ Once James Price had been absolved of all charges, eighty parishioners asked that

¹⁵¹ NLW, SD/MISC/404: Petition of inhabitants of Llanfairollwyn to the bishop of St. Davids, [c.1664]; Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, p. 469. My italics.

¹⁵² NLW, SD/MISC/133: Petition of inhabitants of Llanllwni and Llanfihangel Rhos-y-corn to the bishop of St. Davids, 8 Sept. 1665; SD/MISC/1235: Petition of inhabitants of St. Dogmaels to the bishop of St. Davids, 26 Aug. 1671.

¹⁵³ DHC, Moger ‘Basket D’ 7/67: Petition of mayor of Launceston and neighbouring ministers to bishop of Exeter, 1662.

¹⁵⁴ NLW, SD/MISC/515: Petition of inhabitants of Marloes to the bishop of St. Davids, 27 May 1664.

¹⁵⁵ NLW, SD/MISC/116: Petition of inhabitants of Killycomb to the bishop of St. Davids, 24 Mar. 1673

he be reinstated, highlighting that he had served the parish during ‘the tyme of the late unhappy rebellion’.¹⁵⁶

Although accused of serious breaches in discipline, parishioners remained steadfastly loyal to their minister. The vicar of Rudbaxton (Pembrokeshire), Lewis Gwyn Vaughan, was accused of preaching against his bishop’s injunctions in 1668, yet twenty parishioners staunchly defended him against ‘a false affidavit’, claiming he had never ‘acted any thinge contrary to yo[u]r Hon[ou]r[a]ble court & com[m]ands’.¹⁵⁷ Like the other petitions, they emphasised that he was popular amongst the laity, and had supplied their parish for many years. While it is possible that all of the men mentioned were innocent of the charges brought against them, it could also have been the case that long settlement in their parishes and subsequent popularity prompted swift defences from their parishioners. The laity were willing to accept a more flexible interpretation of a minister’s duties than expected by the ecclesiastical authorities.

PASTORAL PROVISION AND POPULAR OBSERVANCE

In an attempt to repair the spiritual and moral malaise of the nation, which had been clearly evidenced to Anglicans during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, the Church of England embarked on a vigorous pastoral campaign after the Restoration. Beginning under Archbishop Sheldon, emphasis was placed on providing youth with a catechetical education.¹⁵⁸ It was Archbishop Sancroft, however, who renovated the Church’s pastoral task and devotional life in the 1680s, placing a focus on catechising, church services, and weekly communion in cathedrals.¹⁵⁹ Jeremy Gregory’s assertion that pastoral emphasis increased following the Toleration Act of 1689, when the Church ‘lost the exclusive support of the state’, has been slightly revised by Brent Sirota, who sees the reinvigorated pastoral task originating during the Exclusion Crisis of Charles II’s reign and taking on a new

¹⁵⁶ NLW, SD/MISC/84: Petition of inhabitants of Killycomb to the bishop of St. Davids, [1673].

¹⁵⁷ NLW, SD/MISC/1234: Petition of inhabitants of Rudbaxton to the bishop of St. Davids, [c.1668]. For a further example of parishioners defending their minister against accusations of heterodoxy, see SD/MISC/1239: Certificate of parishioners of Penboyr and Llandyfriog, 2 Apr. 1675.

¹⁵⁸ John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), p. 139.

¹⁵⁹ Tapsell, *Personal Rule*, p. 126; *idem*, ‘Pastors, Preachers and Politicians’, p. 79.

vibrancy in response to the religious policies of James II.¹⁶⁰ Yet how vigorously were these policies implemented in Cornwall and south-west Wales? And to what extent did the laity adhere to the prescribed liturgy? The simple answer to these questions is that both the implementation and adherence was patchy.

It is impossible to produce a quantitative analysis of the provision or reception of pastoral care based on surviving churchwardens' presentments or visitation returns. In particular, the Cornish presentments provide little information on the performance of their minister's duties, and we are further hindered by their tendency to read *omnia bene* after the 1660s. The visitation returns of south-west Wales, on the other hand, offer scattered details about a minister's performance, yet remain problematic. Often articles went unanswered or were answered vaguely, so it is difficult to know whether a minister catechised regularly, performed divine service twice on Sundays, preached weekly, or regularly administered the sacrament. Moreover, how does one interpret this information? The parishioners of south-west Wales were inclined to write detailed returns, answering visitation queries article-by-article. Therefore, did a response noting that their minister only preached once a month represent a genuine grievance amongst the laity, or was it simply an honest answer to the question? Sometimes the language is helpful. 'Our minister does preach at our Church once every moneth and many times oftener' appears to be a more positive assessment than 'does not preach every Lord's day'.¹⁶¹ Nonetheless, it is impossible to classify either statement as categorically positive or negative. We are also forced to read much into the silences of the documents. If the churchwardens neglected to say how often their minister preached, did that mean he preached every week? Or did they simply skip over that particular article to protect him? Ultimately, then, what follows is an imperfect attempt to piece together the provision of pastoral care in Cornwall and south-west Wales based upon surviving evidence, and the religious observance of the laity.

Certainly, the bishops of Exeter and St. Davids during this period were supportive of the various pastoral initiatives emanating from Lambeth. 'There have beene constant orders

¹⁶⁰ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 210; *idem*, 'The Eighteenth-century Reformation: The Pastoral Task of Anglican Clergy after 1689', in John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 70; Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (2014), ch. 1.

¹⁶¹ NLW, SD/CPD/5/13; SD/CPD/21/25: Churchwardens' visitation return, Eglwyswrw and Cilymaenllwyd, 22-31 July 1684.

given to the Clergie in this Diocese, for instructing children in the Church Catechisms', Bishop Lucy of St. Davids reported in 1672.¹⁶² Similarly, Bishop Sparrow was diligent in passing on orders to his clergy to perform the church catechism and to observe the liturgy in the diocese of Exeter during his visitations.¹⁶³ Indeed, as has been noted above, all bishops of Exeter from Seth Ward to Thomas Lamplugh used the same text for their visitation articles, which enquired into the performance of a minister's pastoral responsibilities. In 1679, at the height of the fabricated Popish Plot alleged by Titus Oates, Lamplugh published a letter to his clergy in which he argued that constant catechising and preaching was the only way to combat the 'Romish Faction'.¹⁶⁴ However, given the structural issues which beset these two peripheral and rural dioceses, it does not necessarily follow that bishops' orders were received and implemented unanimously across both regions.

Indeed, the implementation of such pastoral policies appears to have been sporadic. In preceding sections, we have already come across a Pembrokeshire minister who was accused of rejecting his bishop's injunctions in 1668, and the refusal of the canons of St. Davids cathedral to remain resident, perform a second divine service on Sundays, or administer monthly sacraments.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, when Bishop Sparrow instructed his clergy to observe the liturgy and to catechise in 1671, he found 'too many of the[m] averse fro[m] both'.¹⁶⁶ The surviving evidence in churchwardens' presentments and visitation returns offers far more information on south-west Wales than Cornwall. In the three south-western Welsh counties, numerous parishes reported that their minister failed to catechise, usually because their pluralism forced them to divide their time between two or more parishes.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, those who did instruct children in the catechism did so once a year at Lent, not each Sunday as directed by the rubric. This had important ramifications for a youth's ability subsequently to be confirmed and receive communion; the catechism was the first step in the process of inducting children fully into the Church of England.

In this way, clergymen in south-west Wales and Cornwall often fulfilled their duties to the minimum requirements of the rubrics. Although the canons stated that parishioners were

¹⁶² Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁶³ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, ff. 203, 227: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 15 June 1668, 22 May 1671.

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Lamplugh, *My Reverend Brethren...* (1679), p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ NLW, SD/MISC/1234; Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 130.

¹⁶⁶ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 227.

¹⁶⁷ NLW, SD/CPD/21/35; SD/67/2, 61, 81, 83.

expected to communicate at least three times a year (one of which must be at Easter), visitation returns from Wales reveal that a handful of parishes only administered the sacrament once a year.¹⁶⁸ The majority celebrated three or four times a year at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and sometimes Psalm Sunday – as did most Cornish parishes, based on evidence of purchases of bread and wine in churchwardens' accounts.¹⁶⁹ This was typical of many dioceses across England.¹⁷⁰ Ministers were also expected to read divine service twice every Sunday. In the diocese of St. Davids, while the vicars of parishes such as Llangeitho, Aberporth, and Amroth did so diligently, the minister of Henllan Amgoed (Carmarthenshire) only occasionally performed evening prayers, and the vicar of Llanwinio (Carmarthenshire) 'never reads but Morninge prayer every Sunday'.¹⁷¹ A single divine service on Sundays was the norm in south-west Wales.

Provision of a weekly sermon was even more patchy. Stephen K. Roberts argues that sermons in Wales 'were delivered more regularly and conscientiously than they had been in previous decades' after 1660.¹⁷² Nonetheless, a survey of churchwardens' accounts by Geraint H. Jenkins for the archdeaconry of Cardigan in 1684 reveals that only twenty-nine out of sixty-nine parishes (42%) were satisfied that their minister was fulfilling his duties. A further four stated outright that they heard a regular Sunday sermon, but another fourteen claimed to receive preaching 'often', 'somewhat', 'monthly', or 'alternatively'.¹⁷³ This information can be corroborated with evidence from across the three counties of south-west Wales. At Henry's Moat (Pembrokeshire) the minister preached 'every 2d or 3d L[or]ds day sometimes every L[or]ds day', and at Henllan Amgoed (Carmarthenshire), he preached every other week.¹⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the churchwardens of Llanwinio (Carmarthenshire)

¹⁶⁸ For example, NLW, SD/CPD/5/8, 31; SD/CPD/21/25; SD/CPD/67/81: churchwardens' visitation returns, Cilcennin, Llangeitho, Cilymaenllwyd, 22-31 July 1684.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example, CRO, P17/5/1; P105/5/1; P138/5/1: Churchwardens' accounts, Braddock, Landewednack, St. Martin-by-Looe. For Welsh examples: NLW, SD/CPD/21/30, 35: churchwardens' visitation returns, Henllan Amgoed, Llanboidy, 22 July 1684.

¹⁷⁰ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 181.

¹⁷¹ For diligent ministers, see NLW, SD/CPD/5/1, 31; SD/CPD/67/1a. For ministers usually only reading divine service once a week: SD/CPD/21/30, 73.

¹⁷² Stephen K. Roberts, 'The Sermon in Early Modern Wales: Context and Content', in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), p. 319.

¹⁷³ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁷⁴ NLW, SD/CPD/5/15; SD/CPD/21/30: Churchwardens' visitation returns, Henry's Moat and Henllan Amgoed, 22-31 July 1684.

claimed their minister ‘never did preach in o[u]r p[ar]ish Church’.¹⁷⁵ Many deployed vague language such as ‘frequently’ or ‘often’. For the most part, such irregularity was a result of ministers supplying multiple livings without hiring curates. The growth of regular preaching in south-west Wales is therefore best seen as a process which was still developing during the decades following the Restoration.

Only intermittent evidence of Cornish and Welsh commitment to the Anglican church survives but it is clear that the laity did not fully adhere to the liturgy. Although most ministers supplied at least three communions a year, the laity of Cornwall and south-west Wales rarely attended more than once at Easter. For instance, in a common pattern, the churchwardens of Padstow spent almost five times as much money on provisions for Easter communion than on the others.¹⁷⁶ Should we view this as a rejection of Anglican piety? During the 1660s churchwardens were diligent in presenting those who refused communion, suggesting that such a refusal to attend at least once was seen as a red line. Without churchwardens’ accounts, it is difficult to know how often the Welsh laity received communion. Visitation returns often claimed that there were ‘none that refuse communion’, but this was usually deployed as a synonym for conformity. In his study of Wiltshire, Donald Spaeth also identified a reluctance to receive communion, seeing it as evidence of a blending of ‘Interregnum practices with the restored liturgy of the Church of England’.¹⁷⁷ Parishioners generally held reservations about either their worthiness to receive communion or their minister’s worthiness to administer it, and treated the ceremony with deep reverence. Such caution was perhaps a relic from the puritan regime’s campaign against promiscuous communion, and was reinforced by the emphasis placed on preparation for receiving the sacrament by the Prayer Book.¹⁷⁸

One recurrent concern for the clergy of south-west Wales was the failure of parents to send their children to be catechised. As Bishop Lucy lamented, ‘parents [are] earnestly required to send their children to be Catechised, but doe it not, and their backwardnesse is soe generall th[a]t the Church censure if used for their correction would involve whole

¹⁷⁵ NLW, SD/CPD/21/73: Churchwardens’ visitation return, Llanwinio, 22 July 1684.

¹⁷⁶ CRO, P170/5/1: Churchwardens’ accounts, Padstow.

¹⁷⁷ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 173.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-88.

p[ar]ishes together'.¹⁷⁹ Several visitation returns confirmed this phenomenon.¹⁸⁰ Again, Spaeth found a similar disillusionment towards catechising in Wiltshire, and argues that the suspension of the practice during the Interregnum was responsible.¹⁸¹ However, the parishioners of Bosherton (Pembrokeshire) wrote of their minister: 'he is a stranger & being lately come into the Countrey'.¹⁸² It is also possible, then, that the relationship between the parishioners and their minister was vital. Especially in Wales, where the clergy were often local men, a lack of familiarity with a vicar could disincline the laity from sending their children to be catechised.

The evidence presented above should not obscure the fact that church attendance appears to have been very high in both regions, and that confirmation remained popular. Bishop Ward of Exeter confirmed 'at least 6000 persons' in Cornwall during his 1665 visitation, and his successor, Anthony Sparrow, found the Cornish to be 'so desirous of Confirmation, that I was scarce able to satisfie them, having 700 at a time to confirme, throughout that whole County'.¹⁸³ Similarly, bishops of St. Davids during the 1680s – Williams Thomas, Laurence Womock, and Thomas Watson – confirmed great numbers during their visitations.¹⁸⁴ The people therefore continued to commit to the Anglican church. Indeed, the satirist William Richards mocked piety of the Welsh when he wrote that 'Tis almost incredible how far they are fain to trudge for a little *Homily*'.¹⁸⁵ The church stood alongside more traditional forms of worship, including a persistent interest in holy wells.¹⁸⁶ A ball-game named *knappan* was played in numerous parishes in south-west Wales on Sundays and holy days, and Cornish parishioners were reported to have used their churchyard as a bowling green.¹⁸⁷ The church was thus a vital hub of community which blended with existing religious and cultural

¹⁷⁹ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁸⁰ See, NLW, SD/CPD/5/7; SD/CPD/21/2; SD/CPD/67/76, 31: Churchwardens' visitation returns, Cenarth, Conwil Caio, Bosherton, and Amroth, 1678-1688.

¹⁸¹ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, pp. 188-94.

¹⁸² NLW, SD/CPD/67/3.

¹⁸³ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, ff. 156, 231. On the popularity of confirmation in Cornwall at this time, see HMC, *Fleming*, p. 82.

¹⁸⁴ Bodl., MS Tanner 32, f. 89: Laurence Womock to William Sancroft, 14 July 1684; *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 515, 594.

¹⁸⁵ R[ichards], *Wallography*, p. 103.

¹⁸⁶ Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), pp. 63-8; Tony Deane and Tony Shaw, *The Folklore of Cornwall* (1975), pp. 157-8.

¹⁸⁷ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 87; DHC, Churchwardens' Presentments, Box 39/6: Churchwardens' visitation return, Kilkhampton, 1665.

preoccupations. Imperfect observance of its liturgy did not preclude strong affection for it; ultimately, few in Cornwall or south-west Wales opted to attend nonconformist congregations instead.

Of course, in many ways the life of a nonconformist would have been unappealing. In addition to the risk of financial and physical persecution, joining a nonconformist congregation required an individual to, as John Spurr puts it, ‘submit his or her spirituality and behaviour to the scrutiny of the brethren’.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the geography of south-west Wales, combined with the illegality of dissent, led to the formation of a unique kind of church in which multiple congregations existed under the umbrella of a single church. The Baptist church of Rhydwylym in the parish of Llangolman (on the border between Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire), for example, built a following of eight-six members by 1676 across the three south-western counties under the leadership of William Jones, but consisted of numerous smaller centres.¹⁸⁹ Stephen Hughes was said to have rode eight or ten miles every Sunday to preach at various rural churches.¹⁹⁰ Congregations would meet at different locations in an attempt to avoid detection by the authorities. Scholars have suggested that the experience of persecution forged a common identity amongst nonconformists, or a ‘godly tradition’.¹⁹¹ This was perhaps also the case for Welsh congregations, but they were also often insular and localist, forced into small family-orientated groups supplied by hard-working ministers. Any nonconformist identity could therefore comfortably blend with an underlying Welsh identity. In addition to these rural ‘county churches’, limited information survives about unlicensed schools in towns such as Haverfordwest, Carmarthen, and Cardigan where Bishop Lucy believed ‘false Catechisms’ were taught, highlighting that a more urbanised nonconformist tradition also existed.¹⁹²

Dissent in south-west Wales was indebted to a handful of energetic ministers who operated across huge swathes of the region – most notably Peregrine Phillips (whose congregation of Independents was based in Haverfordwest), William Jones, and Stephen

¹⁸⁸ Spurr, ‘From Puritanism to Dissent’, p. 240.

¹⁸⁹ White, ‘From Ejection to Toleration in Wales’, pp. 155-7; Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters*, pp. 62, 65.

¹⁹⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 26.

¹⁹¹ N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987), p. 47; Spurr, ‘Puritanism to Dissent’, pp. 108-9; Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 142.

¹⁹² Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

Hughes. Hughes hailed from a merchant family, and married a wealthy widow in Swansea. Perhaps because of his wealth and elevated social status, he was able to persuade the ‘sober part of the gentry’ to allow him to preach in numerous Carmarthenshire churches which were ‘much throng’d by the vast Numbers that came to hear him from the Neighbouring Parishes’.¹⁹³ As a result, it is difficult to draw too distinct a separation between dissent and conformity; Hughes deliberately targeted churches where the officiating vicars or curates did not preach, and his audience was often comprised of regular churchgoers. His alleged popularity points to a burgeoning appreciation of preaching amongst the laity of south-west Wales during this period.

Anglicans and dissenters shared a low view of the piety of the Welsh laity during the Restoration period. In 1662, Bishop Lucy wrote that he feared ‘a secret atheism’, and a decade later bemoaned the ‘generall looseness in the manners of men, and those evill principles formerly instilled during the late rebellion’.¹⁹⁴ Naturally, he blamed the puritan regime. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, however, the puritans themselves had been motivated by a similar belief that the Welsh were ‘miserable, dark, and ignorant’. By the eighteenth century, Stephen Hughes was lauded for preaching ‘in the darkest Corners’, and for reclaiming men ‘from their Sinful and Wicked Ways’.¹⁹⁵ In this parallel concern for the spiritual welfare of the Welsh people, there was also the potential for a more positive relationship between the church and dissent which manifested itself in mutual support for the London-based religious reform society, the Welsh Trust.

Founded in 1674, the Welsh Trust aimed at printing a new edition of the Welsh Bible, and founding charity schools.¹⁹⁶ Its patrons included prominent Church of England latitudinarians such as John Tillotson, Edward Stillingfleet, and Edward Fowler, and eminent nonconformists including Richard Baxter, William Bates, and Thomas Firmin.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Calamy, *Account*, II, 718. This account is corroborated by Bishop Lucy’s claim that he had ‘intruded’ himself into churches ‘countenanced by the leading men of the county and impropiators’: Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁹⁴ Basire, *Correspondence*, p. 218; Bodl., MS Tanner 146, f. 138r.

¹⁹⁵ Calamy, *Account*, II, 718.

¹⁹⁶ The Church of England had long supported the printing of Welsh-language religious texts, and a translation of the 1662 Prayer Book was ordered after the Restoration: George Gould, *Documents Relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of 1662* (1862), pp. 400-1.

¹⁹⁷ M. G. Jones, ‘Two Accounts of the Welsh Trust, 1675 and 1678(?)’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 9 (1937), p. 72.

Supervising the whole enterprise was Thomas Gouge, an English ejected Presbyterian who had the support of the lord mayor of London and court of aldermen. The Trust was part of a broader movement in London during these years aimed at moral edification and philanthropic relief.¹⁹⁸ However, it also provided a focus and institutional framework for the evangelical impulses amongst Welsh churchmen, dissenters, and laity. In many ways, it built upon the same motivations which had driven the propagation of the gospel in Wales.

Welsh involvement in the Trust reveals a remarkable degree of harmonious cooperation between Anglican clergymen and dissenters. Gouge relied heavily on Welsh nonconformists to complete translations, most notably Stephen Hughes and Charles Edwards, a London-based Welsh dissenter.¹⁹⁹ These men were moderates who had proven themselves willing to collaborate with Anglicans before the advent of the Trust. Hughes had published multiple editions of Rees Prichard's *Canwyll y Cymry (The Welshman's Candle)*, a volume of religious poetry explaining Christian doctrine by a former protégé of William Laud.²⁰⁰ In the 1672 edition, Hughes prefaced the text with a letter addressed to 'some responsible ministers in Wales', including the future bishop of St. Davids, William Thomas, and three other parish clergymen who had backed him financially.²⁰¹ Once the Trust was established, it also drew in local gentry from north and south Wales; the most notable member from the south-west was Sir Erasmus Philipps (3rd Bt.) of Picton Castle. As Philip Jenkins notes, there was also a political undercurrent to the Welsh membership of the Trust: it represented a Protestant alliance of nascent whigs and oppositionist gentry who were concerned by a perceived growing Catholic threat.²⁰²

The Trust was largely successful in its core aims. Hughes' and Philipps' influence ensured that the highest concentration of schools was in areas within their orbit: Carmarthenshire had eleven schools, and Pembrokeshire fourteen.²⁰³ These schools were managed by the clergy and churchwardens of the parishes in which they were erected. Meanwhile, by 1678, Hughes had completed a new edition of the Bible in Welsh which was

¹⁹⁸ Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters*, p. 69.

²⁰⁰ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 150. It was first titled *Canwyll y Cymry* in the 1681 edition.

²⁰¹ Quoted and translated in R. Tudur Jones, 'Relations between Anglicans and Dissenters: The Promotion of Piety, 1670-1730, in David Walker (ed.), *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976), p. 83.

²⁰² Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536-1990* (1992), pp. 153-4.

²⁰³ Jones, 'Two Accounts', pp. 73-4. There were also seven schools in Cardiganshire: *ibid.*, p. 75.

affordable, and distributed amongst ‘poor families’ for private devotional purposes.²⁰⁴ The Trust was also buying up existing Welsh-language texts in London, and supporting the publication of new translations to be distributed in Wales – usually moderate texts with an emphasis on private devotion and piety which would have been palatable to Anglicans and nonconformists alike.²⁰⁵ Yet, they simultaneously allowed Hughes to tailor the publishing of religious books in Welsh subtly towards his own religious views. What impact this may have had on lay religion in south-west Wales is difficult to determine, but, as we shall see, it is striking that there was a remarkable growth in Congregationalism in Carmarthenshire after 1689 – Hughes’ primary sphere of influence.

There were natural limitations to any positive relationship between the church and dissent in Wales. At a very early stage in the Trust’s formation, Bishop Humphrey Lloyd of Bangor expressed deep reservations to Archbishop Sheldon. Lloyd was particularly unhappy about the involvement of ‘vulgar people’ (read: ‘nonconformists’) and believed that Gouge was deceiving ‘credulous common people’ and ‘the weaker Gentry’ into a disaffection towards the Church’s liturgy and government.²⁰⁶ While Sheldon acknowledged Lloyd’s apprehensions, he admitted that ‘it must receive no open discouragm[en]t from us’ as a new Bible was considered necessary.²⁰⁷ Ultimately, Lloyd wanted ecclesiastical affairs to be handled directly by the church. As the political temperature in the country rose during the Exclusion Crisis, enthusiasm for the bipartisan religious society rapidly dissipated. The last schools closed in 1684 following the death of Gouge.²⁰⁸ Nonetheless, a latitudinarian spirit had briefly flourished which utilised an evangelist impulse and a common ground of moderation amongst both churchmen and dissenters in Wales; with the assistance of clerics in London, both sides had placed the spiritual needs of the laity above partisan strife.

²⁰⁴ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 59.

²⁰⁵ Such as Allestree’s *The Whole Duty of Man* and Lewis Bayly’s *Practice of Piety*: White, ‘From Ejectment to Toleration in Wales’, p. 165.

²⁰⁶ Bodl., MS Tanner 40, ff. 18r-v: Humphrey Lloyd to Gilbert Sheldon, 10 Aug. 1676.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 19: Gilbert Sheldon to Humphrey Lloyd, [Aug. 1676].

²⁰⁸ White, ‘From Ejectment to Toleration in Wales’, p. 165.

CONCLUSION

It is typical of the character of the Church of England in Cornwall and south-west Wales that evidence can be interpreted in two contradictory ways. Often complaints about negligent or scandalous ministers and failings in pastoral provision were highlighted in the context of efforts to identify and rectify these issues. There were evidently ‘undeserving Persons’ in holy orders, as Bishop Lamplugh phrased it, but ensuring a high-quality ministry was a priority for the bishop.²⁰⁹ Bishops, gentry, and laity alike sought to root out ‘scandalous’ ministers when they found them, and their overall number was small. In 1671, Bishop Sparrow claimed that ‘I do not think there hath bene a more learned Clergy in mans memory, and upon the best inquiry I can make, I do not finde any reason to complain of the contempt of the Clergy’ in Cornwall.²¹⁰ If Sparrow’s characterisation of his clergy as ‘learned’ was alluding to their educational attainment, the situation was different in south-west Wales where the clergy were less likely to be graduates. To counteract this, though, they were Welsh-speaking and often local men, embedded within their parish communities. The majority of the parish clergy in both regions fulfilled their pastoral duties, albeit not to the standards expected of them by Lambeth. However, it should also be acknowledged that the laity had little cause for complaint unless their minister was altogether absent – the lack of weekly communions and catechisms, for example, was broadly accepted. What they desired were clergy who were known to their congregations, and regular Sunday services with sermons in a language which was intelligible to them.

Failure by the clergy strictly to meet the demands of the church rubrics was often as much a result of overarching structural defects as it was from the negligence of individual ministers. By taking a regional approach, it is clear that different dioceses faced unique challenges, and different dioceses responded to national challenges in distinctive ways. Both regions under study were rural and peripheral, naturally hindering communication and episcopal oversight. However, the diocese of St. Davids was riddled with unique additional issues. It was proverbially poor, and had to accommodate a laity which was predominantly monoglot Welsh-speaking, but also a small minority of English-speakers. Meanwhile their bishops – who set the ‘tenor’ of the diocese – were often elderly and infirm. Wales had also experienced exceptional upheavals during the Interregnum under the Commission for the

²⁰⁹ Bodl., MS Tanner 39, f. 93: Thomas Lamplugh to William Sancroft, 4 Sept. 1678.

²¹⁰ Bodl., MS Add. c.305, f. 231.

Propagation of the Gospel, with many parishes falling empty for over a decade. It is in this context that the quality of pastoral provision delivered during the Restoration period should be assessed. These structural challenges, alongside a longstanding belief in the spiritual backwardness of the Welsh, motivated Anglicans into an unusual collaboration with dissenters in the form of the Welsh Trust. With the prolific nonconformist preacher, Stephen Hughes, also attracting vast audiences in Anglican parish churches, a blurring between conformity and dissent became normalised. By contrast, in Cornwall, the restoration of the church fabric and church authority was accomplished quickly by a coalition of ecclesiastical and lay persons. While nonconformity remained numerically weak in both regions during this period, and the persecution of dissent was unenthusiastically enforced, the impact of religious toleration after 1689 would represent a paradigm shift in the relationship between the Church, dissent, and the state.

CHAPTER THREE

Partisan Politics, 1660–88

In the aftermath of the publication of Charles II's *Declaration to all His Loving Subjects* of April 1681, which had justified his dissolution of the two most recent Exclusion Parliaments, loyal addresses were sent from every corner of the kingdom to thank the monarch for his royal favour. An address from Carmarthen reminded Charles that the town was one 'of constant unblemished Loyalty in the late miserable Times of Rebellion'.¹ Similarly, Cornwall's Grand Inquest vowed to 'follow the example of our Predecessors, the memory of whose Loyal Valour, Your Royal Father hath perpetuated to all posterity'.² This was a reference to Charles I's 1643 letter of thanks to the Cornish people for their royalist service, which continues to hang in many Cornish parish churches today.³ Over two decades after the Restoration, the civil war royalism of Cornwall and Carmarthen remained a central pillar of their regional political cultures, and the political leaders of both regions represented their communities as unanimously loyal to the Stuart monarchy.

Loyalty to the Stuarts, morphing into ardent toryism, has dominated the historiography of Cornish and south-west Welsh political culture. Bernard Deacon writes of 'hyper-loyalism' in Cornwall after 1660, while Mark Stoye refers to 'rock-solid toryism'.⁴ For Keith Feiling, the region was the 'most famous and individual of Tory territories'.⁵ Likewise, Wales has long been considered to have been a bastion of royalism, court loyalty, and toryism. In a study of the north-east Welsh gentry, Sarah Ward finds it more helpful to conceive of 'a Tory or conservative spectrum' than a two-party structure, and describes

¹ *Vox Angliæ: Or, The Voice of the Kingdom* (1682), I, 41.

² *Ibid.*, 53.

³ Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), pp. 159-62; *To the Inhabitants of the County of Cornwall, a Letter of Thanks from King Charles I of Ever Blessed Memory* ([?Oxford], 1643).

⁴ Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 94-5; Stoye, *West Britons*, p. 171.

⁵ Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford, 1950 edn.), pp. 16-18.

loyalty as ‘one of the main pillars of Welsh political ideology’.⁶ In seeking an explanation for the strength of Welsh toryism in the early eighteenth century, W. A. Speck highlighted that the Principality had been a royalist stronghold, and identified a long-term political tradition permeating the Stuart period.⁷ The loyal addresses described above appear to conform to these characterisations of the political cultures of Cornwall and Wales.

Yet a handful of statistics challenge these assertions of unanimous loyalty. Two years before Charles published his *Declaration*, during the First Exclusion Parliament, numerous Cornish and Welsh MPs voted in favour of a failed Exclusion Bill, which would have prevented the king’s Roman Catholic brother, James, duke of York, from inheriting the throne. Members of twelve Welsh constituencies (44% of the Principality’s parliamentary representation) voted in favour of the bill, including four MPs for south-west Welsh constituencies (57% of the region’s MPs). Remarkably, only two members actively opposed the bill. Likewise, fourteen of Cornwall’s MPs (32% of the total) voted for exclusion, a far greater proportion than one might expect from a ‘hyper-loyal’ county.⁸

This chapter challenges assumptions of unanimous Welsh and Cornish political loyalty, and demonstrates that influential opposition to the court thrived in both regions. In doing so, it joins a body of studies on regional politics which have taken the relationship between centre and locality as their focus.⁹ Such studies have delineated the ways in which the central government was reliant upon communication and cooperation with local elites, and capable of adjusting power dynamics at a local level. Whilst contributing to this historiography, this chapter is also interested in the degree to which Cornwall and south-west Wales possessed distinct regional political cultures. Those studies which have focused on the nature of politics in the localities, such as Newton E. Key’s doctoral thesis on Herefordshire, have done little to contextualise their regions, and identify what was typical or atypical about their political

⁶ Sarah Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution: The Gentry of North-East Wales, 1640-1688’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2016), pp. 136, 143.

⁷ W. A. Speck, *Tory & Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715* (1970), p. 67. See also, Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (1967), p. 171.

⁸ Andrew Browning and D. Milne, ‘An Exclusion Bill Division List’, *BIHR*, 23 (1950), pp. 205-25.

⁹ Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987); Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration, 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985); P. J. Norrey, ‘The Relationship Between Central and Local Government in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, 1660-1688’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Bristol, 1988).

life.¹⁰ This chapter, on the other hand, argues that a number of structural factors (including parliamentary representation, geographic isolation, and weak urban networks) fostered unique political cultures, but also that political attitudes and beliefs could be expressed in unusual ways, and national discourses could be channelled into local issues.

CONTEXT OF THE CIVIL WARS AND INTERREGNUM

Popular royalism flourished in Cornwall, where an army of thousands rose in defence of the established church.¹¹ Many Cornish gentlemen who became major political actors following the Restoration had ancestors who had served as royalist officers or had done so themselves, primarily motivated by a desire to defend the Book of Common Prayer and the ceremonies of the Church of England against puritanism – they wore their royalist identity as a badge of honour. Three of the county's most powerful families during the later Stuart period – the Granvilles, Godolphins, and Trelawnys – had fought for Charles I with distinction, and continued to plot for a Stuart restoration during the 1650s.¹² Other influential families had illustrious royalist pedigrees, including the Arundells of Trevice (who were later elevated to the peerage), the recusant Arundells of Lanherne, and the Vyvyans, Edgcumbes, and Wreys.

However, Cornwall's reputation as a royalist stalwart should not disguise a sizeable and committed parliamentarian bloc of puritan gentry who fled to Plymouth at the outbreak of war. At their head were the Robartes (Barons Robartes), Bullers, and Carews, while the Boscawens were also prominent. Their moderation, combined with Charles II's general pardon (the Indemnity and Oblivion Act), allowed these men to return to the centre of national and local politics after the Restoration. As Presbyterians, they typically favoured limitations on the king's prerogative powers but abhorred the regicide, and played only a minor role in local government during the Interregnum. By December 1659, leading Cornish Presbyterians and royalists were working together towards the establishment of a 'free

¹⁰ Newton E. Key, 'Politics Beyond Parliament: Unity and Party in the Herefordshire Region during the Restoration Period', unpublished PhD thesis (Cornell University, 1989).

¹¹ Mary Coate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-1660: A Social and Political Study* (Oxford, 1933); Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: Politics and Religion of the Cornish Gentry before the Civil War* (Exeter, 1996), pp. 211-12.

¹² For royalist plotting: Coate, *Cornwall*, pp. 253-6, 262, 285, 289-90, 301-2.

parliament' and the restoration of the king.¹³ Despite this co-operation, however, civil war allegiances had been entrenched by open warfare in the county, and animosities would resurface during the later Stuart period.¹⁴

Allegiances in south-west Wales were less sharply defined than in Cornwall, and few of the gentry who went on to dominate politics after 1660 had an unblemished record of royalism. Indeed, the Anglophone hundred of Castlemartin (Pembrokeshire) has often been regarded as the only significant anomaly of otherwise unanimous Welsh royalism. Lloyd Bowen suggests that Castlemartin lacked the 'Welsh national character' – namely, the Welsh language and religious conservatism – which had encouraged royalism elsewhere in the country.¹⁵ However, whilst pockets of puritanism existed in the towns of Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordwest, it made little headway amongst the region's gentry. Most parliamentary gentry in south Pembrokeshire were instead motivated by a personal or military connection with the parliamentary commander, the 3rd earl of Essex.¹⁶ Moreover, the minimal parliamentary presence in south Wales encouraged the inexperienced cavalier commander, Lieutenant-General Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, 2nd earl of Carbery, to maintain an informal peace for the first year of the Civil War. When fighting did erupt, allegiances proved fluid, and many gentry oscillated between sides depending upon the prevailing wind.¹⁷

An anonymously-authored manuscript detailing the 'true character of the department' of the 'Principall Gentry' of south-west Wales during the mid-century underlined the ambiguous allegiances of the region's most influential families.¹⁸ The document was written

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-10. For the context: Blair Worden, 'The Campaign for a Free Parliament, 1659-60', *Parliamentary History*, 36 (2017), pp. 159-84.

¹⁴ By contrast, in counties such as Norfolk and Suffolk the Civil Wars left few lasting animosities: John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), p. 228.

¹⁵ Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 257-9.

¹⁶ R. Mathias, 'The First Civil War' in B. E. Howells (ed.), *Early Modern Pembrokeshire, 1536-1815* (Aberystwyth, 1987), pp. 160-8.

¹⁷ Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642-1646* (2nd edn., 1999), pp. 68-75; Andrew Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegades: Changing Sides during the English Civil Wars* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 108-9. Defections were also prevalent in Cornwall: *ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

¹⁸ Surviving manuscript copies: NLW, MS Wynn of Gwydir E/2273; MS Llanstephan 120, ff. 89b-c; MS Llanstephan 145, ff. 69-70. An edited version was printed by E. D. Jones, as 'The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Civil War', *NLWJ*, 11 (1959), pp. 142-6. It was originally written after 1660 but before Apr. 1661; the author cannot be conclusively identified. The Llanstephan 120 copy concludes with the name 'O. P. Maridunensis', believed by Jones to indicate Owen Price of Gorllwyn, Carmarthenshire. Jones also observes

by a royalist, and delivered a damning assessment of the loyalty of many gentlemen. Beginning with Carbery, the author questioned how the earl had managed to lose the war despite his overwhelming numerical advantage, and how he alone had escaped sequestration in Carmarthenshire.¹⁹ The cadet branches of his family were dismissed as ‘actuated by their kinsman’. Few Cardiganshire royalist gentry refused to hold public office during the 1650s, with many following the example of Sir Richard Pryse (2nd Bt.) of Gogerddan, who ‘ran thr[ough] sev[er]all publick offices’. Of greater concern was the inactive royalist John Vaughan of Trawsgoed, who had ‘p[er]sonally advised Cromwell to putt the crown upon his own head’. Similarly, the Philipps brothers of The Priory garnered a reputation for zeal in sequestrating royalist estates. Pembrokeshire was portrayed as the most disaffected county. The leading landlord, Sir Hugh Owen (1st Bt.) of Orierton, was tentatively described as a reserved royalist, and his younger brother, Arthur Owen of New Moat, as something of a ‘neuter’: ‘among rigid Presbyterians a Royalist, and among unlimited Royalists a Presbyterian’. The author of the document may have hoped to influence the decisions of government officials regarding local office-holding, and the survival of three manuscript copies suggests a degree of circulation (although this should not be overstated). Ultimately, however, it reveals that at least one royalist mistrusted the loyalty of the region’s leading gentry, and believed that their moderation was borne out of self-interest. Allegiances in south-west Wales were neither clearly defined nor solidified by conflict.

POLITICAL CONFLICT AND LOCAL OFFICE-HOLDING

Tensions were therefore evident between the leading gentry families of Cornwall and south-west Wales upon the Restoration. This section will chart the shifting power dynamics between the regions’ major political actors during the reigns of Charles II and James II, and assess the impact of short-term events and changes in government policy at the centre. Local office-holding provides a useful marker of social prestige and political fortunes, particularly the positions of JP and deputy lieutenant.²⁰ These offices were a powerful means by which the gentry could govern and maintain order in their locality, and also allowed the crown to

that a marginal note in Llanstephan 145 attributes John Jones of Nanteos as the driving force behind the project, but that is doubtful as John Jones is portrayed unfavourably within the manuscript.

¹⁹ Edward, 3rd Baron Herbert, also noted Carbery’s ‘long neglect of the king’s service’ in 1661: *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 753.

²⁰ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 23.

influence power dynamics within a locality. As Andrew M. Coleby notes, local office-holding was a blend of ‘centralization and decentralization’: holding influence at the royal court was essential to gaining local office, but this influence was devolved locally through aristocratic leaders, especially the lord lieutenant.²¹

Sir John Granville, the foremost royalist in Cornwall, was unambiguously confirmed as the county’s leading power following the Restoration. Between 1660 and 1661, he was named lord lieutenant, lord warden of the stannaries, steward of the duchy of Cornwall, and raised to the peerage as 1st earl of Bath, with the grant explicitly noting his family’s ‘vertue and loyalty to our self and our Royall anncestors’.²² Other prominent royalists were also rewarded for their loyalty. Richard Arundell of Trerice was named governor of Pendennis Castle, and later created Baron Arundell.²³ Despite his recusancy, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (a distant relation of Lord Arundell), was appointed commander-in-chief of all Cornish horse troops by Bath.²⁴ This Bath-Arundell-Arundell coalition oversaw the political and military management of the county for the majority of Charles II’s reign. The lieutenancy was similarly dominated by families who had fought for the king, including representatives of the Trelawnys, Vyvyans, Edcumbes, and Godolphins.

Bath’s only plausible aristocratic opponent in the county was John, 2nd Baron Robartes. As part of the king’s efforts to conciliate the Presbyterians in the House of Lords, Robartes was named *custos rotulorum* of Cornwall in 1660, and made lord privy seal a year later. His ‘outstanding legal ability’ marked him out as an important manager of the upper house. Although created earl of Radnor in 1679, Robartes’ political outlook during the 1680s is uncertain. His earldom and appointment to the commission for ecclesiastical promotions in 1681 implies royal support.²⁵ However, a failed attempt to have the Cornish assizes transferred from Launceston to Bodmin (only two-and-a-half miles from his estate of

²¹ Coleby, *Central Government*, p. 97.

²² BL, Add. MS 70288: Grant of the earldom of Bath, 20 Apr. 1661.

²³ *Lords, 1660-1715*, I, 79.

²⁴ CRO, AR/22/39: Appointment of Sir John Arundell as commander of horse troops, 20 Jan. 1661.

²⁵ Andrew Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 55, 81; *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 206-16; Grant Tapsell, ‘Charles II’s Commission for Ecclesiastical Promotions, 1681-1684: A Reconsideration’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66 (2015), p. 741.

Lanhydrock) highlighted his limited ability to challenge Bath's authority, and by 1684 he was removed from his offices 'by a most civil letter from the king'.²⁶

A more persistent thorn in Bath's side was an influential group of Presbyterian gentry from old parliamentarian families. Headed by Hugh Boscawen and Francis Buller, the group included the Tanner, Herle, Moyle, and Nosworthy families. They are best characterised by Mark Goldie's term, 'puritan whigs' – moderate Presbyterians who represented a continuation of puritan politics in their support for limitations on the king's prerogative powers and sympathy for ejected clergymen.²⁷ Through their marriages, they were incorporated into a wider 'puritan whig nexus' which spanned England. Within their locality, their moderation, social prestige, and wealth warranted their inclusion in the commission of the peace. Local office-holding was not completely dominated by Anglicans and royalists. Whilst republicans and Anabaptists were purged after 1660, 26% of the Restoration commission of the peace had nonetheless served at some point during the 1650s.²⁸ This was broadly similar to counties such as Lincolnshire, Sussex, and Hampshire where the figure ranged between 20% and 36%.²⁹ The role of Boscawen and his co-religionists in the restoration of the monarchy had seemingly proven their loyalty.

Yet their political beliefs quickly brought them into conflict with Bath and his allies. As early as 1663, the earl's efforts to restore the crown's pre-emption on tin was hindered by 'a considerable dissenting party' led by Boscawen and Buller.³⁰ They believed that the deal represented an abuse of the king's prerogative powers, and would damage the industry. As Buller put it, pre-emption was 'more for the advantage of his majesties revenues than any benefitt I know'.³¹ The episode highlights how the dominant political discourses of the day were channelled into local issues. Within Cornwall, the group were embroiled in a series of legal disputes with local officers, which attracted the ire of Bath. The earl's dominance in

²⁶ CSPD, 1664-5, pp. 179-80; A. F. Robbins, *Launceston, Past and Present: A Historical and Descriptive Sketch* (Launceston, 1888), pp. 223-4; *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 216.

²⁷ Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (Woodbridge, 2016), ch. 4; J. T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry Besieged, 1650-1700* (1993), pp. 45-6.

²⁸ Calculated from Richard Williams, 'County and Municipal Government in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset, 1649-1660', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Bristol, 1981), appendix 1.

²⁹ Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980), p. 219; Anthony Fletcher, *Sussex, 1600-1660: A County Community in Peace and War* (1975), p. 134; Coleby, *Central Government*, p. 90.

³⁰ TNA, SP 29/68, ff. 285, 289: Earl of Bath to Charles II, 27 Feb. 1663; Gentlemen of Cornwall to earl of Bath, 27 Feb. 1663; *CTB, 1660-7*, p. 302.

³¹ AHM, BC/26/14/7/26: [Francis Buller] to [?], 9 Oct. 1663 [draft].

the county was such that in April 1663 Buller was forced to seek legal representation from a relative in a 'remote' part of the country in order to shield his Cornish allies from Bath's retribution.³² This was not paranoia; only one month previously, Edward Herle, one of Buller's chief associates, had been arrested by Bath's agents.

The Presbyterian gentry of Cornwall were not defenceless, however. The families of Boscawen, Buller, Herle, and Tanner all sent numerous MPs to parliament, and their correspondence reveals embryonic plans to appeal to parliamentary authority in the case of Herle's imprisonment.³³ Although Boscawen ultimately declined to enter a motion in parliament, the group used their authority as JPs in October to arrest one of Bath's tin agents, and subsequently resolved to go to trial over the king's right of pre-emption.³⁴ In February, Bath had led a group of twenty-one gentry (essentially a roll-call of Cornwall's influential royalists) in complaining directly to Charles II of the 'disingenuous spiritts of some men' whose 'destructive principles are still lodged within them'.³⁵ If Bath wanted the 'dissenting party' removed from local government, he failed to persuade the crown to remodel the bench.

With the government seemingly unwilling to remove nonconformists from local office, Bath took matters into his own hands by orchestrating the downfall of Francis Buller. With the tin affair seemingly behind him, Buller's former chaplain, Nathaniel Eaton, became closely acquainted with the earl and agreed to inform against his former employer for 'traiterous & seditious words'.³⁶ Within a year, Buller had been found guilty of misprision of treason in King's Bench, and fined the enormous sum of £30,000. With his interest shaken, he was removed from the commission of the peace, and forced to sell great swathes of his estate.³⁷ Years later the nonconformist commentator, Roger Morrice, was certain that Bath had instigated the whole affair.³⁸ Sure enough, within four years Eaton was rewarded

³² AHM, BC/26/14/7/24: [Francis Buller] to [?], 24 Apr. 1663 [draft].

³³ AHM, BC/26/14/7/20: [Francis Buller] to Hugh Boscawen, 10 Mar. 1663 [draft]; RIC Courtney Library, HC/4/49: Edward Herle to Francis Buller, 20 Mar. 1663.

³⁴ TNA, SP 29/81, f. 13: Sir John Trelawny to Joseph Williamson, 2 Oct. 1663.

³⁵ TNA, SP 29/68, ff. 285, 289. As discussed in Chapter Two, p. 79, Boscawen, Buller, and Herle also provoked the wrath of Bishop Seth Ward for sheltering Presbyterian ministers.

³⁶ TNA, SP 29/138, f. 96: Deposition of Dr Nathaniel Eaton before the earl of Bath, 9 Dec. 1665.

³⁷ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 748.

³⁸ Roger Morrice, *Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, gen. ed. Mark Goldie (7 vols., Woodbridge, 2007), V, 484.

by Bath with one of the finest livings in Devon.³⁹ The earl's local power was formidable, and Buller was equally hamstrung by an absence of overt aristocratic support from Lord Robartes. In counties such as Norfolk and Cheshire, rival aristocrats served to balance local power dynamics – a balance that was largely missing in Cornwall.⁴⁰

Political conflict had therefore quickly re-emerged in Cornwall following the Restoration. This stood in contrast to counties such as Cheshire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire where the political climate of the 1660s was characterised by consensus amongst old factions.⁴¹ Ann Hughes (one of the earliest critics of the 'county community' hypothesis) even argues that the 'vicissitudes of the Civil War and Interregnum had perhaps forced the old governing classes of Warwickshire into forming, at last, a "county community", visible most obviously in the electioneering and the moves to control the militia'.⁴² In Cornwall, two rival factions were not only established at an early stage, but they mapped closely on to past civil war allegiances and future tory and whig allegiances – a clear continuity existed between the 1640s and 1680s.⁴³

A handful of wealthy families dominated the political landscape in the three counties of south-west Wales.⁴⁴ Above all others sat Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, earl of Carbery. Despite his dismal performance as a royalist commander, Carbery was rewarded at the Restoration with a seat on the privy council and the office of lord president of the Welsh council, which made him the lord lieutenant of every Welsh county. Within his native county of Carmarthenshire, the authority of Golden Grove was formidable, not least due to the family's four major cadet branches of Derwydd, Cwrt Derllys, Torycoed, and Llanelli. Of the thirty-two JPs appointed in 1661, ten were Vaughans or their kinsmen, and the family similarly dominated the lieutenancy; it was 'government by kinship'.⁴⁵ The other counties of south-west Wales had similarly pre-eminent families. In Cardiganshire, the only family

³⁹ Samuel Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Harvard, 1935), p. 240.

⁴⁰ Peter Challinor, 'The Structure of Politics in Cheshire, 1660-1715', unpublished PhD thesis (Wolverhampton Polytechnic, 1983), pp. 240-1; *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 319-22.

⁴¹ A. R. Warmington, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640-1672* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 208; Challinor, 'Politics in Cheshire', p. 235; Key, 'Politics Beyond Parliament', p. 581.

⁴² Ann Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 336.

⁴³ On this theme, Goldie, *Puritan Whigs*, ch. 4; Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁴⁴ For the wealth of the gentry see above, pp. 30-3.

⁴⁵ The phrase is Francis Jones': 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove', *THSC*, (1963), p. 123.

with the resources to challenge the Vaughans of Trawsgoed were the Pryses of Gogerddan. Pembrokeshire, meanwhile, was dominated by the Owens of Orielson, whose extensive kinship network included the Laugharnes of St. Brides and Philipps' of Picton Castle. The political ascendancy of these families remained remarkably stable during the Restoration period, and there is little evidence of open political conflict before the late 1680s.⁴⁶

The centrality of these families challenges the notion that Wales was unanimously loyal to the court. Both Sir John Vaughan of Trawsgoed and his son, Edward, were vocal opponents of the crown in the Commons, and featured prominently amongst the opposition during debates of the 1660s and 1670s – their criticisms often centred on Charles II's abuse of his prerogative powers.⁴⁷ The Owens of Orielson, who represented Pembrokeshire as MPs for most of the period, were largely inactive in parliament but were repeatedly listed as opponents of the court.⁴⁸ Beyond these leading gentry families there was continuity in the make-up of the commission of the peace between the 1650s and the Restoration era. In Carmarthenshire, 24% of the Restoration bench had served during the Interregnum (broadly similar to English counties), but in Cardiganshire the figure rose to 29%, and increased further to 44% in Pembrokeshire.⁴⁹ Rather than spend the Interregnum in retirement (as was the case elsewhere in the Principality), a sizable proportion of the gentry of south-west Wales were actively involved in local government during the 1650s.

Power dynamics in Cornwall and south-west Wales remained fairly stable until the government launched an unprecedented intervention into local office-holding in the years following the 'popish plot'. From the winter of 1679-80, while the nascent whig party was attempting to exclude the duke of York from the line of succession (or at least limit his future powers), there was a concerted effort to push exclusionists from local office across England and Wales. Purges of the county benches by the privy council were conducted with a sympathetic ear to local recommendations – in the case of Cornwall, those recommended by Bath.⁵⁰ It is therefore unsurprising that, in 1680, influential puritan whigs were purged from

⁴⁶ The exception was the borough-town of Haverfordwest, discussed below, pp. 126-7.

⁴⁷ *Commons, 1660-1690*, III, 624-6, 628-30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 190-3.

⁴⁹ Calculated from J. R. S. Phillips, *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1541-1689* (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 170-2, 197-9, 219-22.

⁵⁰ Lionel K. J. Glassey, *Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675-1720* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 49-62; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (2005), p. 293.

the Cornish commission of the peace, including Boscawen, Carew, Nosworthy, and Tanner. In their place came junior members of the Arundells of Trerice, Wreys, and Trelawnys.⁵¹ In many respects there was a tory ascendancy in 1680-1 which saw whig influence in Cornwall curtailed. However, this should not be overstated, as a number of puritan whigs retained powerful urban interests.⁵² Moreover, wealth and long-standing influence still commanded respect. In 1682, for example, Sir Jonathan Trelawny (3rd Bt.) was left frustrated by the number of men who withdrew from an unspecified royal commission out of deference to the Buller family.⁵³

By contrast, the crown made little effort to remodel the county benches of south-west Wales, despite the prevalence of court opposition. In Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire, none were removed from the commissions, while a handful of reliable men were added, including Sir Thomas Pryse (3rd Bt.) of Gogerddan in Cardiganshire. Removals only occurred in Pembrokeshire, where two relatively unknown men, Rowland Laugharne and Morrice Wogan, were replaced.⁵⁴ There were no sweeping changes to the south-west Welsh commissions in the final years of Charles II's reign, meaning that the powerful south-west gentlemen who had supported exclusion in parliament remained on the county benches of Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire, and were also deputy lieutenants of those counties.⁵⁵ Without direct royal intervention, the region's tories did not possess the authority to supplant influential oppositionist families until after 1700, leaving the structure of power in south-west Wales static during Charles II's reign.

Why was south-west Wales left virtually untouched? On the one hand, this was fairly characteristic of a general apathy towards the region by the crown; the political management of Wales was rarely a pressing concern for the central authorities, possibly due to the region's limited electoral importance. However, as A. H. Dodd has demonstrated, the south-east of the Principality had witnessed more substantial remodelling.⁵⁶ A more convincing

⁵¹ HMC, *House of Lords, 1678-88*, pp. 175-6.

⁵² On this theme, see Grant Tapsell, *The Personal Rule of Charles II, 1681-85* (Woodbridge, 2007).

⁵³ BL, Add. MS 28875, f. 224: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to John Ellis, 28 Aug. 1682.

⁵⁴ HMC, *House of Lords, 1678-88*, pp. 174-5, 188. Contrary to A. H. Dodd's claim, this was not Rowland Laugharne of St. Brides, but a member of a junior branch of that family; surprisingly a whig, Hector Phillips, was added: 'Tuning the Welsh Bench, 1680', *NLWJ*, 6 (1950), p. 257; Phillips, *Justices*, p. 228.

⁵⁵ Phillips, *Justices*, pp. 177-8, 200-1, 227-9; *Commons, 1660-90*, III, 192, 239, 624.

⁵⁶ Dodd, 'Welsh Bench', pp. 251-2.

explanation, then, was the absence in south-west Wales of influential Tories, or an energetic court manager in the mould of Bath. In 1672, Carbery was replaced by Henry Somerset, marquess of Worcester, as lord president after mounting accusations of misappropriation of funds, and a damaging rumour that he had brutally mistreated some servants.⁵⁷ By March 1680, the earl described himself as being in ‘retirement’, and there is little evidence that Worcester held the same depth of interest in the region as Carbery.⁵⁸ Without a diligent manager in the region, or prominent local Tories who could encourage government intervention, the crown lacked guidance on which officers to remove or (perhaps more significantly) who could be brought in to replace them.

At the accession of James II, Bath remained the pre-eminent authority in Cornwall, and he remained loyal to the king until the final days of his reign. However, underlying tensions between the two men quickly surfaced; Bath was particularly aggrieved when his request to be granted command of the standing forces in the West Country was refused.⁵⁹ At the same time, Sir Jonathan Trelawny’s stock was rising following his impressive command of Cornwall’s militia during Monmouth’s Rebellion while Bath was engaged elsewhere. The king rewarded Trelawny’s loyal service with the bishopric of Bristol in 1685, and the newly-appointed prelate soon developed a close alliance with his ‘cosin’ Sidney Godolphin, who was himself a rising star in the treasury and had recently been created Baron Godolphin.⁶⁰ Together, Trelawny and Godolphin tested their newfound strength by frustrating Bath’s efforts to form a new regiment in the regular army out of the Cornish militia.⁶¹

When a convocation of tinnors was convened in September 1686, Bath complained to Lord Treasurer Rochester that Trelawny had ‘endeavoured to prejudice the tinnors against him’ by using his new-found status at court to promise a favourable price in direct contradiction to the crown’s wishes.⁶² In a further challenge to Bath’s authority, Trelawny put himself forward as a candidate to represent Truro as a Stannator in the convocation. The ensuing election quickly assumed the character of a parliamentary election as Bath

⁵⁷ TNA, SP 29/135, f. 111: Ralph Grundy to Charles II, 26 Oct. 1665; Jones, ‘Vaughans’, p. 125; *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 755.

⁵⁸ *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 756.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 142.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-9; V, 528-9.

⁶¹ BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 96: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Sidney Godolphin, 10 July 1685.

⁶² *CTP, 1556-1696*, pp. 19-20.

unsuccessfully attempted to thwart Trelawny. Bath used every trick in the book to bribe, intimidate, and punish Trelawny's supporters; from summoning them to Stowe for a verbal dressing down to striking their names from the commission of the peace. Trelawny believed that Bath was intentionally undermining convocation in order to preserve the £3,000 a year he received from coinage duty, which would be lost in the event of pre-emption. In an action which was indicative of a new power paradigm in Cornwall, Trelawny appealed to his allies Lord Godolphin and Lord Rochester for support.⁶³ Increasingly, Lord Godolphin and Trelawny were capable of rivalling the Granvilles' political influence.

By this time, James II's manipulation of local office-holding was producing radical changes in local power dynamics by restructuring both the lieutenancy and the commission of the peace. From the autumn of 1686, the king began to turn out Tories and former royalists in favour of promoting Catholics and nonconformists in local government – men who would support his efforts to repeal the penal laws and Test Acts. James purged many of the gentry who had been unfaltering in their support for his right to be king during the Exclusion Crisis. Although relations of Trelawny and Godolphin survived the initial purges, they were joined by incomers who Bath later dismissed as men 'of meane quality and small Estate'.⁶⁴ Particularly irksome for the earl was the growing influence of the 'whig collaborator' Edward Nosworthy.⁶⁵ Aside from Nosworthy, however, the puritan whigs did not return to the bench. The faction suffered a mortality crisis between 1679 and 1685: John Tanner, Nicholas and Thomas Herle, and two of Hugh Boscawen's sons and his brother, Edward, all died.⁶⁶ The remainder were either overlooked by the crown, or, more likely, declined any invitation to join the commission – James II's absolutist tendencies were the antithesis of their political ideology.

Once again, local office-holding in south-west Wales during the reign of James II remained stable. Edward Vaughan of Trawsgoed died in 1684, but influential whigs such as Sir Hugh Owen (2nd Bt.) and Hector Philipps retained their offices as deputy lieutenants. The king promoted two supporters to the lieutenancy: the nonconformist Sir Rice Williams

⁶³ DHC, Reverend M. Etherington Collection, 53/10/1: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Sir William Godolphin, 12 Nov. [1686].

⁶⁴ CBS, D135/B1/4/1: List of JPs in Cornwall, 22 Sept. 1688; D135/B1/4/12: Earl of Bath to Lord George Jeffreys, 5 Oct. 1688.

⁶⁵ J. R. Jones, 'James II's Whig Collaborators', *HJ*, 3 (1960), p. 69; *CSPD*, 1687-9, p. 241.

⁶⁶ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 163.

of Edwinston (Carmarthenshire), and the Catholic William Barlow of Haroldston (Pembrokeshire).⁶⁷ However, these were not wholesale changes on the same scale as Cornwall or counties like Hampshire.⁶⁸ Throughout the Restoration period, the crown's approaches to remodelling the Cornish and the south-west Welsh commissions of the peace were strikingly divergent, and reveal opposing traditions of enacting policy in the two regions by the central government: whilst Cornwall was managed carefully, the government's attitude towards south-west Wales was one of apathy.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Electoral politics in Cornwall and south-west Wales was notable for the sheer extent to which the gentry influenced parliamentary elections. This interest was often derived from owning tenements in the area, but many families also had long-standing relationships with the towns, with local loyalty won through patronage and gifts. Deference, personal connections, and social standing were also powerful factors. The supremacy of the gentry in Cornwall and south-west Wales was, in part, facilitated by the weak urban structure of the regions, which resulted in the absence of a 'middling sort' of any critical mass to challenge them.⁶⁹ This section will demonstrate that Cornwall became a vital electoral region following the Restoration, with loyalist and oppositionist gentry vying to gain supremacy in many boroughs. By contrast, the relative under-representation of south-west Wales led to a lack of direct government intervention, and a far lesser degree of open electoral conflict.

This pattern of electoral politics in Cornwall and south-west Wales was largely shaped by the disparate nature of their parliamentary representation in the unreformed House of Commons. One of the most striking contrasts between the two regions was Cornwall's huge over-representation in the Commons compared to Wales' comparative under-representation. With forty-four MPs (twenty-one boroughs and a county seat), Cornwall elected 8.6% of the lower house. Most of these seats were established during the Tudor period as the crown sought to exploit the influence it held through the duchy of Cornwall to return loyal MPs to

⁶⁷ *CSPD, 1687-9*, p. 152.

⁶⁸ Coleby, *Central Government*, pp. 171-2.

⁶⁹ Jonathan Barry, 'The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' in Nicholas Orme (ed.), *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), p. 107; Mary E. Jones, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Pembrokeshire, the Pembroke Boroughs and Haverfordwest, 1536-1761', unpublished MA thesis (Aberystwyth University, 1958), p. 21.

an increasingly influential Commons.⁷⁰ By contrast, the counties of Carmarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembrokeshire together elected only seven MPs, despite having a population roughly three-quarters the size of Cornwall's. The Principality's right to receive representation in parliament was established by the sixteenth-century Acts of Union, but, due to the perceived poverty and inferiority of the country, each constituency was limited to a single member.⁷¹ This was the fundamental difference between parliamentary representation in Cornwall and south-west Wales: while there had been a concerted effort to imbue Cornwall with an electoral influence far exceeding its size and population, there had been an equally successful effort to limit the influence of the Principality.

Local gentry families held considerable influence over elections in almost every Cornish borough. Cornwall's twenty-one boroughs, each operating under one of the standard franchise types (Table 3.1), had almost universally small electorates: only two boroughs had electorates in excess of 120 (Saltash and Tregony), while eight polled less than fifty voters.⁷² This left them more susceptible to management by elites. Some constituencies were dominated completely by a local proprietor. Decades of purchasing vacant houses provided the Eliots with an iron-grip at St. Germans.⁷³ Similarly, careful vetting of freemen at East Looe secured the representation for the Trelawnys, and also at West Looe after 1685.⁷⁴ The Godolphins dominated at Helston where they acted as recorders, and the Morices were safe at Newport as lords of the manor.⁷⁵ More often, though, interest in a borough had to be shared between two or more families. Sir Jonathan Trelawny was well aware of the difference between boroughs in which 'my authority is absolute', and those 'where I have a helping influence'.⁷⁶ Consequently, electoral contests between 1660 and 1689 were often fought between rival proprietors. Moreover, these rival families can be mapped onto the

⁷⁰ Jennifer Loach, *Parliament under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1991), p. 36; Michael A. R. Graves, *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons, 1485-1603* (1985), pp. 72-3.

⁷¹ Steven G. Ellis, *The Making of the British Isles: The State of Britain and Ireland, 1450-1660* (2007), p. 101.

⁷² *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency entries. For the three broad franchise types whereby enfranchisement came with either membership of the corporation, ownership of property in the borough, or borough residence, see *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 73-124.

⁷³ Robert Eliot, 'The Pocket Boroughs of the Eliot Family at St. Germans, Liskeard and Grampound', *JRIC*, 9 (1985), pp. 321-49.

⁷⁴ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 167-9.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 163-4, 173.

⁷⁶ *CSPD, 1685*, p. 36. He was contrasting East and West Looe with Liskeard.

Table 3.1: *Franchises and dominant interests in Cornish boroughs, 1660-1714*

Name	Franchise	Interest
Bodmin	Corporation; resident (freemen) in 1685 only	Robartes' and corporation. Hoblyns after 1689. Hugh Trevanion believed he also had an interest in 1711.
Bossiney	Resident (householders)	Robartes' had one seat. Molesworths, Nicolls', and Glynn's. Duchy of Cornwall also had interest. Hugh Trevanion believed both seats were sold 'for sum of mony' in 1711.
Callington	Resident (all male)	Rolles and Corytons.
Camelford	Resident (freemen)	No dominant interest until after 1690. Manatons and Granvilles thereafter.
East Looe	Corporation 1660-85; resident (freemen) 1685-1715	Trelawnys.
Fowey	Resident (scot and lot); resident (freemen) in 1685 only	Duchy of Cornwall and Rashleighs, and Treffrys. Corporation had interest.
Grampound	Resident (freemen)	Tanners and Herles (before 1690). Thereafter, corporation established considerable degree of independence. Influential families were Vincents, Tanners, and Boscawens.
Helston	Resident (freemen)	Godolphins. By 1711 Trevanion believed Vyvyans had an interest.
Launceston	Resident (freemen)	Government influence as coinage town. Corytons and Granvilles had strong interest; Morices less so.
Liskeard	Resident (freemen)	Bullers, Wreys (before 1696), and Trelawnys (after 1678). Trevanion believed 'both Disputable' in 1711.
Lostwithiel	Corporation	Kendalls and Robartes'. Duchy of Cornwall. Assertive corporation.
Mitchell	Disputed: usually through the selection of two Elizors by the portreeve, who formed a jury of 24; increasingly resident (those not receiving alms)	Under the first franchise, the Arundells of Lanherne facilitated the choosing of a portreeve (which alternated between the nominations of the local lords). Under the second franchise, the inhabitants were highly susceptible to bribery. Trevanion believed Vyvyans could take both 'if he insist'.
Newport	Burgage	Morices.
Penryn	Resident (householders paying scot and lot); corporation in 1685 only	Corporation. Trefusis' and Pendarves'. Bishops of Exeter had some authority as lord of the manor. Duchy of Cornwall.

Saltash	Burgage; corporation and resident (freemen) in 1685 only	Bullers and Carews. Dockyard at Plymouth could exert influence.
St. Germans	Resident (potwallopers, one year residency qualification)	Eliots.
St. Ives	Resident (householders) 1660-98; corporation 1685, 1698-1702; resident (scot and lot payers) 1702-14	Nosworthys (before 1689), Praeds, Sir John Maynard (1689-90), and Sir Henry Hobart (after 1690). Powletts, Dukes of Bolton, were lords of the principal manor.
St. Mawes	Resident (freemen)	Tredenhams, Vyvyans (before 1678), and Boscawens.
Tregony	Resident (all male)	Boscawens and Trevanions.
Truro	Corporation	Boscawens and Vincents.
West Looe	Resident (freemen)	Trelawnys and Kendalls (before 1685).

Table 3.2: *Franchises, out-boroughs, and dominant interests in boroughs of south-west Wales, 1660-1714.*

Name	Franchise	Out-boroughs	Interest
Cardigan	Freemen.	Cardigan	Philipps' of The Priory until 1693; Pryses of Gogerddan thereafter.
		Aberystwyth	Pryses of Gogerddan.
		Adpar	No patron, faded into insignificance.
		Lampeter	Evans' of Peterwell until 1713; Walter Lloyd of Voelallt thereafter.
		Tregaron	Jones' of Nanteos until c.1700; Powells of Nanteos thereafter.
Carmarthen	Freemen. Inhabitants paying scot and lot have no right.	N/A	Vaughans of Golden Grove.
Haverfordwest	In freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants paying scot and lot, and not receiving alms.	N/A	Corporation.
Pembroke	Freemen.	Pembroke	Owens of Orielton.
		Tenby	Owens of Orielton; Wogans of Wiston in early eighteenth century.
		Wiston	Wogans of Wiston.

Sources: BL, Add. MS 70315: Hugh Trevanion's account of Cornish electoral interest, 1711; Glyn Roberts, 'Parliamentary Representation of the Welsh Boroughs', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 4 (1929), pp. 359-60; Peter D. G. Thomas, *Politics in Eighteenth-Century Wales* (Cardiff, 1998), chs. 1-2; *Commons, 1660-1690*; *Commons, 1690-1715*.

factions described in the preceding section. At Grampound, for example, the Herles and Tanners were opposed by the Tredenams; at Saltash, the Bullers and Granvilles vied for supremacy; and, at Tregony, the Boscauens were challenged by the Trevanions.

Nonetheless, the gentry in Cornwall were forced to contend with several rival interests in the boroughs. In Bodmin, Fowey, and Penryn the corporation held a strong electoral interest, and Camelford was unique in remaining broadly free of proprietorial control.⁷⁷ The inhabitants could also defy the local gentry. An in-depth study of the surviving pollbook for Mitchell, nominally controlled by Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, reveals a popular challenge on a patron's authority. A faction of inhabitants who were usually disenfranchised launched a sustained, independent attack on the patron's limited franchise, and succeeded in revising it to an inhabitant-based vote following the Exclusion Crisis – a time when Arundell's Catholicism had led to a self-imposed exile in France.⁷⁸ The case suggests that partisan conflict may have been simmering under the surface in other small settlements, but was only able to erupt when such anomalous conditions prevailed.

A patron therefore relied upon a reciprocal but unequal relationship with the borough, and usually remained attentive to the townspeople's needs. An 'interest' could be built through patronage or the exploitation of local connections and social standing. In Helston, for example, Sidney Godolphin was concerned to know whether 'my friends at Helston are at all satisfi'd w[i]th me & in case they are not what I may doe to make th[e]m soe'.⁷⁹ The maintenance of proprietorial interest required an active patron. In boroughs where rival patrons fought for supremacy, it was particularly vital to win popular support. One of two competing interests at Callington, John Coryton, found 'the temper of the people... very much altered in their esteem of me' after his rival had secured the borough a grant for two new fairs.⁸⁰ In a number of constituencies, the electorate held the balance of power between opposing gentry families.

⁷⁷ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 159-60.

⁷⁸ James Harris, 'Partisanship and Popular Politics in a Cornish "Pocket" Borough, 1660-1714', *Parliamentary History*, 37 (2018), pp. 350-68.

⁷⁹ BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 37: Sidney Godolphin to [Sir William Godolphin], 17 Aug. [?1671]. See also, Add. MS 28052, f. 73v: Sidney Godolphin to Sir William Godolphin, 4 Sept. [c.1673-86].

⁸⁰ Quoted in *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 158.

Another prominent interest in the Cornish boroughs came from the government. Although the duchy of Cornwall's influence was curtailed following the Restoration, it still possessed an interest in Launceston, Lostwithiel, and Camelford.⁸¹ More often, though, the government preferred work in tandem with loyal gentry, and increasingly came to rely on Bath as an electoral manager.⁸² Numerous royalist families, whether directed by Bath or working independently, took advantage of Cornwall's abundance of seats to secure the return of court MPs. Excluding close family relations of Cornish patrons and Devonshire men living close to the Cornish border, 22% of Cornish seats were taken by outsiders between 1660 and 1690 (seventy-eight in total), many in the court interest.⁸³ For example, in the early 1660s alone, Sir Jonathan Trelawny secured the return the courtiers Sir Robert Atkyns, Sir Henry Vernon, and Sir John Nicholas.⁸⁴ However, courtiers were not the only outsiders elected in Cornwall. Those in opposition to the court oversaw the return of country and later whig members. In 1676, Lord Treasurer Danby was informed that some nineteen of Cornwall's MPs were Presbyterians, and 'I hope for little good from them'.⁸⁵ The over-representation of Cornwall made it a hugely useful electoral region for bringing politicians of all political persuasions into the Commons. Even an effective manager like Bath could not run roughshod over local gentry interests in the boroughs.

Despite prevailing proprietorial interests in many boroughs, Cornwall experienced contested elections in 1660-89 at a rate which was commensurate with the rest of England. Including by-elections, 30% were definitely contested – similar to the national average of 28%.⁸⁶ A similar picture emerges when considering individual seats (Figure 3.1): 22% of Cornish seats were contested, compared to 20% nationally. Electoral contests were therefore

⁸¹ See above, pp. 19-20; *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 159-60, 165-6, 170.

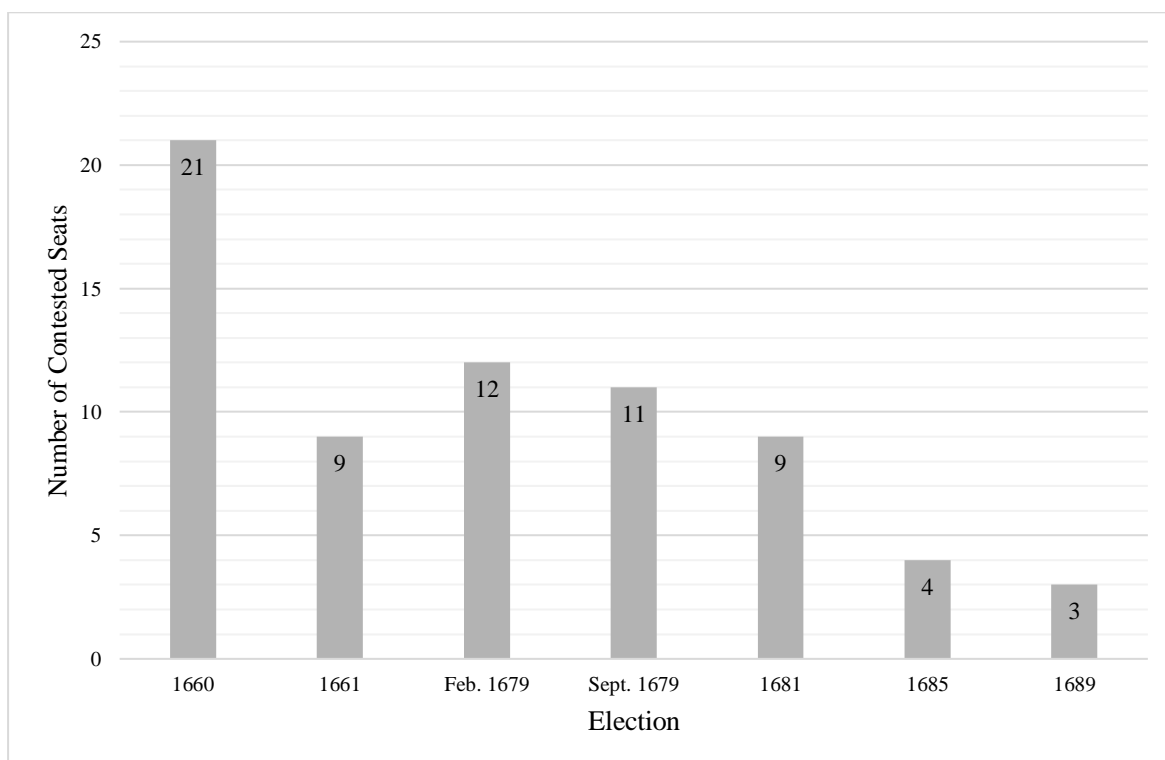
⁸² On Cornwall as an important electoral region: Andrew Browning, 'Parties and Party Organization in the Reign of Charles II', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 30 (1948), pp. 29-30; Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 80.

⁸³ Statistics calculated from *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency and member entries. This can be compared to Yorkshire, where only 11% of MPs were outsiders: Cheryl Margaret Keen, 'Yorkshire Politics, 1658-1688', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Sheffield, 1990), p. 383.

⁸⁴ Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, pp. 80-1.

⁸⁵ Andrew Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 1632-1712* (3 vols., Glasgow, 1951), III, 101-2.

⁸⁶ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 106-7. Statistics for Cornwall are calculated from constituency entries. However, the national statistics are calculated from general elections only.

Figure 3.1: *Seats contested at Cornish general elections, 1660-1690*

Source: *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency entries.

only slightly more prevalent in Cornwall than the national average.⁸⁷ One notable anomaly in Cornwall was the number of double returns in 1660-1, which reflected the confusion and partisan strife which gripped the Cornish corporations following the Restoration. With double returns removed, 14% of Cornwall's elections were contested, versus a national average of 17% – still only a slight discrepancy. However, the sheer *number* of seats in Cornwall may well have enhanced a sense of conflict within the region. In the fraught elections of March 1679, for example, the proportion of contests in Cornwall was almost identical to the national average. Yet this represented twelve contests in a single county, nine of which were in a small geographical area centred around Liskeard. In this context, Cornwall's seemingly unremarkable rate of contested elections actually represented a significant degree of conflict for a single county.

The proliferation of electoral contests in Cornwall after 1660 conforms to Mark Kishlansky's pattern whereby 'parliamentary selection' (dictated by social relations –

⁸⁷ These statistics are based largely on reports in the *Commons Journals*, and probably underestimate the full number of contests during the period. Furthermore, a number of electoral disagreements never made it to poll, as a desire to avoid conflict prevailed.

concepts of honour, standing, and deference) gave way to electioneering through the construction of ‘interest’ amongst the electorate (utilising local ties, benefactions, and wealth).⁸⁸ Of course, it was also necessary to court the electorate before 1660, but in simple numerical terms, there is a clear step-change in the number of contested Cornish elections between 1604-1629 and the Restoration period.⁸⁹

It is well established that the landed class dominated electoral politics in Wales.⁹⁰ Even the county seats could be considered safe during the Restoration period. A. H. Dodd went so far as to describe elections as serving ‘the purpose of parading the strength of the family connection’.⁹¹ In Cardiganshire, for example, the indenture for John Vaughan of Trawsgoed in 1661 declared him ‘unanimously, freely and indifferently’ elected.⁹² The Vaughans of Golden Grove and Owens of Orielton similarly dominated electoral politics in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire respectively – cumulatively, these three families won 76% of county elections in south-west Wales between 1660 and 1690.⁹³

Their influence usually extended into the boroughs (Table 3.2). The Owens of Orielton or their clients were returned uncontested in every Pembroke boroughs election, and featured prominently on the common council of Pembroke itself.⁹⁴ Similarly, the earl of Carbery appeared on the common council of Carmarthen in 1662 alongside five of his kinsmen.⁹⁵ In Cardiganshire, the Philipps’ of The Priory or their nominee won every election in the boroughs constituency, and appear to have worked in tandem with the Vaughans of Trawsgoed in parliament.⁹⁶ A unique system of ‘out-boroughs’ meant that the single borough constituencies of Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire were comprised of amalgamations of provincial towns all voting as a bloc (Table 3.2). However, it was an imperfect system in which the vote could be manipulated – either by neglecting to poll

⁸⁸ Mark A. Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 12, 20, *passim*.

⁸⁹ Derek Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1975); *Commons, 1603-1629*, constituency entries.

⁹⁰ Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1993 edn.), p. 152.

⁹¹ A. H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), pp. 177-8.

⁹² *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 508-9.

⁹³ Calculated from *ibid.*, constituency entries.

⁹⁴ See lists of burgesses in PA, PEM/6: Pembroke order book.

⁹⁵ Carmarthenshire Archive Service, CTC/1/1/1/1/1, f. 83r: Carmarthen order book, 4 Sept. 1662.

⁹⁶ Emily M. Pritchard, *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days* (1904), p. 108-10.

certain towns, or by taking advantage of the out-boroughs' unlimited freeman franchises, which allowed a dominant gentry family simply to create enough new freemen as was required to win the election.⁹⁷

As in Cornwall, however, a strong proprietorial interest did not preclude partisan conflict. After James Philipps secured the Cardigan boroughs seat for his friend Sir Charles Cotterell in 1663 by 118 votes, his wife – the famous poet Katherine Philipps ('the Matchless Orinda') – wrote that 'he is not yet the despicable thing in his own country that they represent him to be'.⁹⁸ Sir Francis Lloyd of Maesyfelin had organised substantial local resistance to Philipps' interest. It is therefore difficult to know the extent to which the electoral dominance of a handful of families in south-west Wales resulted from their financial advantage (allowing them to overpower poorer opponents) or consensus amongst the principal gentry.⁹⁹ The presence of cadet branches of major families may have enabled them to command enough tenants and dependants to carry the vote without the need for county meetings, as was common in north-east Wales.¹⁰⁰ Equally, it is possible that electoral conflict was generally avoided whenever possible. Prior to the elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689, Thomas Powell of Llechwedd-dyrys claimed that 'not by any means' would he advise Sir Carbery Pryse (4th Bt.) to contest the Cardiganshire county seat.¹⁰¹ Interestingly, in reference to an unspecified matter, Powell declared that 'I shall be loath to be troubled with any competition but if it may be quietly obtained I shall not decline it'.¹⁰² These are tenuous fragments of evidence, but they suggest a reluctance on Powell's part to engage in expensive and seemingly unnecessary conflict.

Further evidence of the strength of proprietorial interest was the lack of electoral contests. Excluding Haverfordwest (which will be discussed below), only 6% of county and borough elections were contested during this period. Contrary to Kishlansky's thesis, the Restoration did not represent a sea change in the frequency of contested elections in south-west Wales,

⁹⁷ Thomas, *Politics*, pp. 28, 48; *idem*, 'Eighteenth-Century Elections in the Cardigan Boroughs Constituency', *Ceredigion*, 5 (1967), p. 403; *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 139.

⁹⁸ Katherine Philipps, *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda*, ed. Patrick Thomas, Germaine Greer, and R. Little (3 vols., Stump Cross, 1990-1993), II, 82-3: Katherine Philips to Sir Charles Cotterell, 18 Apr. 1663.

⁹⁹ On the poverty of the Welsh gentry see above, pp. 30-3.

¹⁰⁰ Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution', p. 138.

¹⁰¹ NLW, MS Nanteos L50: Thomas Powell to William Powell, 30 Dec. 1688.

¹⁰² NLW, MS Nanteos L15: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, 17 Nov. 1681.

nor, indeed, in the rest of the Principality.¹⁰³ With so few seats afforded to Wales in the sixteenth-century Acts of Union, the crown had little interest in influencing elections through a court manager akin to the earl of Bath.¹⁰⁴ The management of elections was left solely to the local gentry.

URBAN POLITICS AND PARTISANSHIP

Partisanship was not confined to parliamentary elections. Numerous studies of English provincial towns (and it is almost exclusively *English* towns) have found a high degree of partisanship, and warn against viewing such conflict as being simply in preparation for upcoming elections.¹⁰⁵ Towns had become inseparably linked to political sedition in the minds of contemporaries; Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) described them as 'Commonwealths in the bowels of a greater, like wormes in the entrayles of a naturall man'.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the historian Paul D. Halliday has argued that partisanship first evolved in England's corporations as rival factions competed to control corporate offices, and predated the rise of political parties in parliament.¹⁰⁷ Yet previous studies have been concerned with large urban centres; cities and towns such as Great Yarmouth, Chester, Bristol, Oxford, and others. Small urban settlements such as those found in Cornwall and south-west Wales have rarely warranted the same degree of attention.¹⁰⁸ It remains unclear whether partisan politics existed in these communities to the same extent as their larger counterparts, or whether they possessed a unique character.

The distribution of political power in towns varied considerably across the kingdom. As discussed above, gentry families in Cornwall and south-west Wales wielded a remarkable degree of political authority in urban politics, especially within seigneurial boroughs. However, larger towns had a greater degree of self-government and autonomy, and in others the government could exert a strong influence. In all these permutations, a reciprocal

¹⁰³ Ward, 'Royalism, Religion, and Revolution', p. 136.

¹⁰⁴ Molly McClain, *Beaufort: The Duke and his Duchess, 1657-1715* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 32, 43-6, 146-7, 152-3, 159, 182-3, 185.

¹⁰⁵ Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650-1730* (Cambridge, 1998); Perry Gauci, *Politics and Society in Great Yarmouth, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1996); John Miller, *Cities Divided: Politics and Religion in England Provincial Towns, 1660-1722* (Oxford, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm (3 vols., Oxford, 2012), II, 516.

¹⁰⁷ Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 6-11.

¹⁰⁸ For Cornish and south-west Welsh urban networks see above, pp. 21-2.

relationship existed between the various levels of society: the centre and local elites often relied on negotiation and compromise with municipal officers who, in turn, relied upon the broader town populace and middling sort to implement policies. The involvement of the gentry and government, moreover, was often initiated at the behest of town magistrates who wanted to exploit their political heft.¹⁰⁹ The mayoral accounts of St. Ives, for example, reveal that the town regularly entertained and visited members of the major gentry in west Cornwall to conduct ‘Towne busines’.¹¹⁰ That these were not the borough’s leading patrons suggests that the town magistrates acted as autonomous political actors.

In south-west Wales, gentry influence in urban politics was more pervasive, with local gentlemen often featuring heavily on the common councils of the region’s towns. We have already seen how the Vaughans of Golden Grove and their kinsmen dominated local government in Carmarthen, and the Owens of Orielson similarly figured prominently in Pembroke. Although their signatures were not attached to every order relating to the minutiae of town government, they were typically involved in more significant decisions – especially those relating to elections to corporate office. Such dominance often imbued the towns with a veneer of political stability, with parliamentary elections typically remaining uncontested, and little surviving evidence of open partisanship. It is possible that there was opposition to the dominant local gentry in these towns. However, if such resistance did exist, it was not influential enough to have left an impression in the usual historical sources: electoral returns, town order books, or king’s bench records.¹¹¹

In this sense, Haverfordwest was the exception which proved the rule. It experienced a high degree of partisan conflict during the Restoration period, with seven electoral contests (63% of all contested elections in south-west Wales) between 1660 and 1690, marked by religious divisions.¹¹² In March 1660, for example, the common council’s moderate Presbyterian nominee was challenged by the dextrous political trimmer and local gentleman Sampson Lort, who found support from ‘all the phanatique partie’ that reportedly went

¹⁰⁹ Ian Archer, ‘Politics and Government, 1540-1700’, in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume II, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 235.

¹¹⁰ John Hobson Matthews, *A History of the Parishes of Saint Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor* (1892), pp. 240, 243, 245, 248, 250-1.

¹¹¹ See, PA, PEM/6: Pembroke order book; Carmarthenshire Archive Service, CTC/1/1/1/1: Carmarthen order book.

¹¹² *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 518-19.

‘armed & give out highe speeches’.¹¹³ By April a third candidate had emerged, the royalist William Philipps, who began canvassing the town burgesses.¹¹⁴ The tumultuous election to the convention parliament set the tone for the subsequent eight elections in Haverfordwest, and highlighted the range of religious positions held by the town’s various factions – from the Presbyterian corporation to the radical nonconformist supporters of Lort, to the no-doubt Anglican contingent who supported the incomer. Over the subsequent twenty years candidates who were sympathetic towards dissent were consistently fielded, and usually challenged by court candidates, with crowd activity commonplace and occasionally violent.¹¹⁵ These partisan divisions were further reflected in the purges and counter-purges which plagued the corporation. Writs of *mandamus*, which had the power to coerce the dismissal or restoration of municipal office-holders, formed the basis of years of turmoil in the corporation of Haverfordwest.¹¹⁶ The town was a microcosm of London, as its population – articulating different beliefs – publicly demonstrated their political views.

How had the town come to experience a degree of partisan conflict which was so out-of-step with the rest of the region? Many of the factors which prevented conflict elsewhere were missing: a dominant gentry interest, rural conditions, and the subsequent absence of a substantial middling sort. Haverfordwest was comfortably the most prosperous and populous town in Pembrokeshire.¹¹⁷ Trading links with Bristol and London helped the town establish a sizable body of leather traders who, based on indentures, formed a significant proportion of the electorate.¹¹⁸ It is also clear that the town was home to a sizable body of nonconformists. Moreover, soon after the 1660 election, the corporation ordered that no gentlemen should be admitted to the common council due to their poor record of attendance.¹¹⁹ Although this appears to have failed in eliminating gentry from the council, the corporation and wider town populace held the decisive interest.

¹¹³ PA, HBORO/365: Henry Jones to Arthur Owen, 22 Mar. 1660.

¹¹⁴ PA, HBORO/369: Henry Jones to James Philipps, 9 Apr. 1660.

¹¹⁵ PA, HBORO/2142, f. 105: Haverfordwest Minute Book, 7 Oct. 1667; *Commons, 1660-1690*, III, 193.

¹¹⁶ PA, HBORO/2142, f. 109: Haverfordwest minute book, 25 Oct. 1667; Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 14, 67-73. In 1682, Rev. William Williams preached a sermon before the corporation of Haverfordwest celebrating a newly-agreed peace: *The Necessity and Extent of the Obligation, with the Manner and Measures of Restitution* (1682).

¹¹⁷ Dodd, *Stuart Wales*, p. 32.

¹¹⁸ *Commons, 1660-1690*, I, 518-19. In 1698, the town petitioned against a duty on leather which had left almost 300 townspeople unemployed: *CJ*, XII, 30.

¹¹⁹ PA, HBORO/2142, f. 15: Haverfordwest minute book, 23 Nov. 1660.

Partisanship of a similar nature was also a feature of Cornwall's larger boroughs following the Restoration, with the issue of dissent acting as a major political cleavage. In Liskeard, for example, the republican and Anabaptist mayor of 1660, Hunt Greenwood, and his allies were quickly pushed out of municipal office, and ostracised over the subsequent decade through biannual presentations to the borough court for non-attendance at church.¹²⁰ Elsewhere, magistrates were expelled from office for their religious nonconformity in accordance with the Corporation Act (1662), and sporadic evidence survives of town oligarchies pursuing writs of *mandamus* to alter municipal office-holding during the 1660s.¹²¹ Partisanship in Cornish towns was also reflected in the number of double returns during the general elections of 1660 and 1661; 45% of borough elections were declared double returns by the returning officer.¹²² This probably resulted from a combination of factors: confusion over the legitimacy of various borough franchises, the corrosive impact of the Interregnum on the interest of royalist gentry, and underlying partisan conflict between Presbyterians and Anglicans. Although little evidence survives of partisan conflict during the 1670s (until the national crisis following the Popish Plot), it is difficult to know whether problems persisted beneath the surface, or went away during the interim. In any case, 1678 witnessed a revival of divisions: in Saltash, for example, a group of dissenters secured the return of their desired mayoral candidate 'in a Riotous and Mutinous manner' after being 'encouraged by some Gentlemen of that Country'.¹²³ What emerges in the Cornish boroughs and Haverfordwest is an urban political culture akin to other larger towns across England.

As towns became synonymous with political disaffection in the minds of the authorities, the central government sought a means to manipulate their political composition. Such efforts were given further impetus by the 'popish plot' and subsequent fraught Exclusion Parliaments. The king embarked on the innovative policy of attempting to use writs of *quo warranto* to acquire the charters of Worcester and London so that they could be re-modelled and re-granted once the political make-up of the magistracy had been altered.¹²⁴ After these

¹²⁰ John Allen, *The History of the Borough of Liskeard and its Vicinity* (1856), pp. 245-6, 281-3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 247-8; HMC, *Various Collections*, I, 333; AHM, BO/21/18: Resignation of John Buller as recorder of Saltash, 4 Aug. 1662; CRO, T/1676: Writ of *mandamus* relating to Truro, 27 May 1661.

¹²² Calculated from *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency entries.

¹²³ *London Gazette*, no. 1455 (27-30 Oct. 1679).

¹²⁴ Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 191-212.

experiments had proven successful, writs of *quo warranto* formed the basis of a new aggressive crown policy of mass charter surrenders and re-grants. Between 1682 and 1687, 134 new charters were issued.¹²⁵ Significantly, almost every new charter after March 1684 included provisions for the king to remove *any* corporation member at will, at *any* time. The crown was therefore able to control corporate membership, nip political disaffection in the bud, and serve the interests of tories in the provinces.

Early in December 1684, while the campaign was at its peak, the earl of Bath laid the charters of no fewer than fifteen Cornish corporations at the king's feet.¹²⁶ At the same time, he petitioned for the confirmation of the towns' old liberties, and reminded Charles of Cornish loyalty during the Civil Wars.¹²⁷ It was a display of the county's tory credentials unmatched anywhere in the kingdom. Within days the charters were passed through the necessary offices and seals without paying fees, and were delivered under the seal of James II following his brother's death. As a vital electoral region, the surrender of the Cornish corporations, alongside such a public display of loyalty, could be seen as a major step towards achieving a more compliant House of Commons. However, assumptions that the crown was motivated chiefly by a desire to control parliamentary elections have been challenged; the king was happy to maintain local autonomy provided loyal men held political office and the accompanying political influence.¹²⁸

Indeed, not least as the crown relied on information provided by local men when issuing writs of *quo warranto*.¹²⁹ In St. Ives, for instance, the political dominance of the puritan whig Edward Nosworthy, and his ability to generate support amongst the townspeople, led one local tory to claim in 1683 that 'The Humour of late was not more Hott and feirce in the Citty, nor the party (proportionably) more Rampant then they are in this Little Towne'. He

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹²⁶ John Miller, 'The Crown and the Borough Charters in the Reign of Charles II', *EHR*, 100 (1985), p. 78.

¹²⁷ *CSPD, 1684-5*, pp. 245-6. The king assured the earl that 'he very well remembered the Duty and Loyalty of that County in the worst times of Rebellion, and was well pleased with this fresh Demonstration of it by them': *London Gazette*, no. 1990 (11-15 Dec. 1684).

¹²⁸ For the older view, J. H. Sacret, 'The Restoration Government and Municipal Corporations', *EHR*, 45 (1930), pp. 232-59. For a more recent interpretation, Robert Pickavance, 'The English Boroughs and the King's Government: A Study of the Tory Reaction, 1681-85, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1976), chs. 4-5.

¹²⁹ Pickavance, 'English Boroughs', pp. 216-17; Miller, 'Borough Charters', pp. 79-82; Halliday, *Body Politic*, p. 195.

believed that a writ of *quo warranto* ‘would prove our best Phisitian’.¹³⁰ Yet while there was clearly a degree of pressure from local Tories, the *en masse* surrender also suggests coordination within the locality. The gentry took the lead in the seigneurial boroughs (the lords of the manor at Mitchell, St. Mawes, Callington, and St. Germans engineered the surrenders of their respective towns), and the mayors and magistrates organised surrenders in the larger boroughs – in Penryn, for example, at least 186 townspeople signed the surrender.¹³¹ At their head was the earl of Bath, who travelled to Plymouth in order to provide the Cornish towns with a convenient means of dealing with the threats of *quo warranto*.¹³² Bath had been ordered by Charles II to collect the Cornish charters and present them together – his actions were therefore, at least in part, a response to the crown’s direction.¹³³

Boroughs were encouraged to surrender their charters willingly rather than entangle themselves in the law courts, and were usually assured that the government would be sympathetic to requests for new privileges to ease any anxieties.¹³⁴ Although some feared the effects of surrender, it is probable that most Cornish boroughs took a similar course to Liskeard, where it was recorded that ‘upon advice taken, it was thought fitt nott to Contend or plead to the said writt butt to submitt to his Ma[jes]ties Royall grace and faver’.¹³⁵ There was certainly an element of pragmatism to the surrenders. The corporations could simultaneously demonstrate loyalty and spare themselves considerable expense – not even having to pay for the transportation of the charter. Although the whole process was portrayed as a spontaneous moment, behind the scenes Bath was sending orders to reticent corporations.¹³⁶

As Robert Pickavance notes, the gentry were prominent allies in the crown’s efforts to re-model the corporations.¹³⁷ Across Cornwall, the charters named prominent Cornish Tories as freemen to almost every corporation, alongside local Tories. Bath himself was named

¹³⁰ TNA, SP 29/434, f. 98: Thomas Trenwith to John Cooke, 7 Nov. 1683.

¹³¹ CRO, BPENR/5: Surrender of Penryn’s charter, 5 Nov. 1684.

¹³² *CSPD, 1684-5*, p. 199.

¹³³ CRO, AR/10/36: Earl of Bath to Sir John Arundell, 3 Dec. 1684.

¹³⁴ Pickavance, ‘English Boroughs’, pp. 179-80.

¹³⁵ CRO, BK/353, f. 27: Liskeard Constitution book, 26 Aug. 1684.

¹³⁶ CRO, AR/25/96: J. Newman to Sir John Arundell, 20 Nov. 1684.

¹³⁷ Pickavance, ‘English Boroughs’, pp. 311-24.

recorder of no fewer than nine Cornish corporations.¹³⁸ For the tory gentry of Cornwall, the charter policy cemented their ascendancy. Bath could now move the king to remove any magistrates he considered to be unfit, and took advantage of his newly-cemented authority by nominating members almost at will to James II's only parliament in May 1685; warning Bodmin's corporation that 'other towns without my seeking have freely offered me the recommendation of both their burgesses'.¹³⁹ When parliament met, Bath was aptly dubbed the 'Prince Elector'.¹⁴⁰ Whilst the primary aim of the royal charter policy had not been to influence parliamentary elections, it undoubtedly affected election results in Cornwall. In at least five boroughs, the franchise had been changed.¹⁴¹ Beyond this, the numerous alterations in corporate office-holding left tories as the dominant force within the urban electorate.¹⁴² Only three exclusionists were elected in 1685, and at least two of them had shifted towards toryism in the intervening years.¹⁴³ The role of the lord lieutenant in orchestrating the mass surrender of Cornish charters, and his swift assertion of his new-found electoral power, suggests that for Bath (and, by extension, the king), such dominance of parliamentary elections had always been an intended (albeit secondary) aim of the charter policy in Cornwall.

The contrast in south-west Wales was striking; the crown was remarkably slow to remodel the Welsh corporations. Considering the long-standing partisan strife in Haverfordwest described above, it is unsurprising that a writ of *quo warranto* was engineered locally against the corporation in March 1682 at an early stage of the charter campaign by an ejected common councilman. However, rather than surrender their charter, the corporation resolved to defend it 'upon the publique stocke of the towne'.¹⁴⁴ Once again, Haverfordwest was something of an exception within the context of south-west Wales. Although the duke of Beaufort was industrious in collecting charters from the south midlands (much as Bath was in Cornwall), he did not intervene in the south-west Welsh

¹³⁸ *CSPD, 1685*, pp. 28, 71, 73-74, 80, 86-88, 109, 256-7.

¹³⁹ John Wallis, *The Bodmin Register; or, Collections Relative to the Past and Present State of the Parish of Bodmin* (Bodmin, 1827), pp. 327-8.

¹⁴⁰ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. De Beer (6 vols., Oxford, 1955), IV, 442-5.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, the change at Mitchell: Harris, 'Popular Politics', p. 358. Also changed were East Looe, Fowey, Liskeard, and Penryn.

¹⁴² For more detail on changes to the electorate, see *Commons, 1660-1690*, constituency entries.

¹⁴³ Pickavance, 'English Boroughs', appendix 2.

¹⁴⁴ PA, HBORO/408: Common Council of Haverfordwest to [William Wogan], 17 Mar. 1682; PA, HAM/SE/1/1, ff. 34v, 35, 36v, 39: Haverfordwest minute book, Mar.-Sept. 1682.

towns.¹⁴⁵ In the south-east of the Principality, Swansea and Neath faced writs of *quo warranto* in 1684, and the common council of Cardiff publicly surrendered their charter to Beaufort in the same year.¹⁴⁶ Yet important towns such as Pembroke, Tenby, and Cardigan were left untouched.

Of course, the fact that a national charter campaign was being conducted against towns across the kingdom was perhaps enough to inspire political obedience for fear of repercussions. When Beaufort visited Carmarthen in 1684, the recorder ended a speech dripping with tory rhetoric by hoping that the duke ‘will allways look on us with an eye of Favour’.¹⁴⁷ However, it failed to spare the town from *quo warranto* proceedings, which were launched in March 1686.¹⁴⁸ At the same time, towns in Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire remained dominated by the whiggish Owens of Orielton and Philipps of The Priory. There are two potential factors which may explain this neglect. First, as we have seen regarding the government’s attitude to local office-holding, south-west Wales was not considered to be a political priority by the crown. Secondly, the dominance of these whiggish families possibly weakened local opposition to such a degree that they were unable to challenge them effectively.

The charter campaign left James II with a powerful new means of dealing with politically disobedient towns through writs of *quo warranto*, and the authority to remove corporation members in hundreds of English and Welsh towns. From 1687, however, the king used these powers not to promote the crown’s traditional allies, but to purge the corporations of men who were opposed to his religious policies (namely the repeal of the penal laws and Test Acts). In their place, he recommended that those willing to support the king be appointed, typically dissenters and Catholics.¹⁴⁹ Local ‘regulators’ with intimate knowledge of their regions were tasked with managing the purges. In Cornwall, Edward Nosworthy was the driving force behind the regulation of corporations, and during the summer of 1688

¹⁴⁵ Pickavance, ‘English Boroughs’, pp. 276-7.

¹⁴⁶ Molly McClain, ‘The Duke of Beaufort’s Tory Progress Through Wales’, *WHR*, 18 (1997), p. 614; *Commons, 1660-90*, I, 515.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Dineley, *An Account of the Progress of His Grace Henry the First Duke of Beaufort Through Wales, 1684*, ed. Charles Baker (1864), p. 142.

¹⁴⁸ *CSPD, 1686-7*, pp. 43-4; *Commons, 1660-90*, I, 510.

¹⁴⁹ Halliday, *Body Politic*, ch. 7; Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (2013), ch. 5.

wholesale changes were made to corporate membership in twelve Cornish boroughs.¹⁵⁰ Those purged were typically local Tories, but also included members of prominent families including the Corytons, Tredenams, Rashleighs, and, following Sir Jonathan's stint in the Tower for petitioning against James II's second Declaration of Indulgence alongside other prelates, the Trelawnys. In August 1688, the common council of Carmarthen was similarly purged of recently-appointed Tories.¹⁵¹ The ejected members were often the very same men who had been appointed to corporate office by the charters issued under James' seal in 1685.

It is less clear who these men were replaced by; the king mandated replacements, but usually did not have the authority to order their appointment, nor do their names usually survive. The list of recommendations which survives in Liskeard's constitution book includes local nonconformists and representatives of old parliamentary families.¹⁵² Such a dramatic reconstitution of power dynamics was unsurprisingly met with opposition. In Fowey and Lostwithiel, the corporations removed those purged by the king's orders, 'but finding they could not with safety to their oaths elect the persons named in the mandate, being contrary to their charters, they chose some of their corporation duly qualified'. It was the religion of James' nominees that lay at the heart of their opposition. According to Bath, who was increasingly losing confidence in the king, these were the only boroughs in Cornwall which remained 'in any tolerable condition of peace and good order'.¹⁵³ In doing so, the earl implied that the social fabric of the county was under threat.

In February 1688, the crown finally took a systematic approach towards Wales by issuing writs of *quo warranto* against twenty-seven Welsh towns.¹⁵⁴ In Haverfordwest, the local Catholic landlord, William Barlow of Haroldston, used the proceedings to advance his case for election to James' aborted second parliament. He noted 'the Kings anger ag[ain]st your Corporation', and implied that his new-found local prominence (as a deputy lieutenant) would help reform the town's image.¹⁵⁵ Ultimately, however, both the *quo warranto* proceedings and Barlow's election attempts were forestalled by the king's flight from

¹⁵⁰ TNA, PC 2/72, 694, 724, 734-5: Orders for removing officers, Bodmin, Grampond, Lostwithiel, Tintagel, Camelford, Fowey, East and West Looe, Tintagel, Liskeard, 23 June, 12 Aug. 1688.

¹⁵¹ TNA, PC 2/72, f. 724: Order for removing officers, Carmarthen, 12 Aug. 1688.

¹⁵² CRO, BK/353, f. 22: Liskeard constitution book, 23 June 1688.

¹⁵³ CSPD, 1687-9, p. 304.

¹⁵⁴ Halliday, *Body Politic*, p. 251.

¹⁵⁵ PA, HBORO/2128: William Barlow to [William Bowen], 9 May 1688.

England before the Welsh corporations experienced the level of chaos and confusion which Paul D. Halliday has argued characterised English towns.¹⁵⁶

Cornwall was not so lucky. Bath felt sure that the ‘irregularities and extravagances of Mr. Nosworthy and his fellow regulators’ would lead to an election plagued by double returns and confusion as ‘Scarce a Corporation knows its own magistrates’. The earl was discreetly advising patience in the towns while encouraging the government to restore the purged magistrates to their corporations.¹⁵⁷ Complaints from regional grandees across the kingdom, and a climate of backtracking at court as the Williamite invasion dawned, encouraged James to issue a proclamation on 17 October ordering the corporations to return to their former condition.¹⁵⁸ Although Bath celebrated the restoration of Anglicans at Exeter, he was equally frustrated that the terms of the proclamation had explicitly excluded most of the Cornish corporations as their charters had not been enrolled in the courts.¹⁵⁹ The earl’s frustration at James’ charter policy epitomised wider concerns within the Cornish towns: anxiety regarding the chaos which was unfolding due to the king’s perceived illegal activities, but also the political eclipse of Tories by nonconformists such as Nosworthy. This all fed into a pervasive dissatisfaction towards James II. The day after William of Orange landed, Bath reported that ‘tho the Gentlemen are all Unanimous to serve his Majestie, yet the Common people are so prejudiced with the late Regulations’.¹⁶⁰

LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY: A ‘ROYALIST TRADITION’?

Did a royalist tradition take root in Cornwall and Wales after 1660? In his account of Cornish post-Restoration political culture, Mark Stoye has argued that many former royalists wore their family’s civil war service as a badge of honour throughout the later Stuart period, and used it to ‘celebrate Cornish conservatism and regional distinctiveness’.¹⁶¹ In a period of ‘exaggerated loyalty’, he believes that an obsessive preoccupation with the events of the Civil Wars was more prevalent in Cornwall than elsewhere. Moreover, the Cornish

¹⁵⁶ Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 248-9, 253-4.

¹⁵⁷ *CSPD, 1687-9*, pp. 286-7, 304; CRO, T/1747: Earl of Sunderland to earl of Bath, 9 Oct. 1688; BL, Add. MS 41805, ff. 118-19v; Earl of Bath to earl of Middleton, 5 Nov. 1688.

¹⁵⁸ Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 257-9; *CSPD, 1687-9*, pp. 321-2.

¹⁵⁹ BL, Add. MS 41805, ff. 118-19v; *CTP, 1556-1696*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁶⁰ BL, Add. MS 41805, f. 129: Earl of Bath to earl of Middleton, 6 Nov. 1688.

¹⁶¹ Stoye, *West Britons*, ch. 8.

perpetuated an image of an *unanimously* royalist and loyal region. The image was extremely useful: it was credible (albeit exaggerated); celebrated the gentry and ordinary Cornishmen alike (whilst simultaneously upholding social norms); and, importantly, was politically expedient.¹⁶² Considering popular Welsh royalism during the Civil Wars, almost every aspect of this ‘royalist tradition’ should also describe the Principality after 1660.¹⁶³ This section will demonstrate that for many Cornish and Welsh former royalists, a genuine royalist identity developed after 1660, but also that it was used as a veil to mask disloyal elements of both regions. It was only after James II began to undermine Anglican hegemony and legal norms that this loyalty began to crumble.

As Stoye has demonstrated, Cornish royalism was consigned to posterity by Charles I himself through his letter of thanks to the Cornish people for their loyal service.¹⁶⁴ As a prominent feature of the church space, the letter was a powerful statement of Cornish royalism for current and future generations, and intrinsically bound this up with Anglicanism. The longevity of the letter’s impact was highlighted sixty years after it had been issued, when, following the accession of Queen Anne, a Cornish loyal address promised to protect her throne ‘in imitation of our Ancestors...’, and referenced the letter by ‘Your Royal Grandfather’.¹⁶⁵ For Cornish royalists, their loyalty had become linked to their ancestry, and by extension, linked to their identity.

In Cornwall and Wales, loyalty became a central pillar of regional political culture. Public declarations of their political allegiance to the king uniquely referenced their past royalism, most prominently in the loyal addresses quoted at the head of this chapter. Loyal addresses were first sent *en masse* in 1681, becoming a routine mode of communication between the localities and the monarch during the later Stuart period. As propaganda pieces, however, they are usefully considered as partisan tools – rhetorically-crafted texts aimed at pursuing political ends. Nonetheless, the language chosen within them is significant, and although they borrowed linguistic tropes from one another, they were often unique local

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁶³ See, Ward, ‘Royalism, Religion, and Revolution’, pp. 144-9.

¹⁶⁴ Stoye, *West Britons*, pp. 159-62.

¹⁶⁵ *London Gazette*, no. 3802 (16-20 Apr. 1702).

productions.¹⁶⁶ Both counties deliberately portrayed their inhabitants as uniformly loyal, and re-imagined their civil war royalism as similarly undisputed. A survey of the numerous addresses sent by the staunchly royalist cities of Durham and Newcastle suggests that such a focus on allegiance was unique to Cornwall and Wales. The memory of the Civil Wars thus deeply informed the political cultures of both regions, and was simultaneously exploited for political expediency.

Loyalty was also professed directly to the king or his representatives. In 1671, for example, Charles II's visit to Plymouth citadel rapidly turned into an impromptu royal progress as the alarmed gentry of Cornwall and Devon rushed to kiss the king's hand – many only arriving as Charles was leaving or had already left.¹⁶⁷ South-west Wales also experienced something of a regal progress in the summer of 1684, when Lord President Somerset (newly-elevated to the dukedom of Beaufort) undertook a grand progress through the Welsh and border counties. At Carmarthen, the recorder – Richard Vaughan of Cwrt Derllys – gave a highly partisan speech, saturated with declarations of political loyalty: 'our heads and our hearts inform'd and regulated by the same principle of Loyaltie which was our antidote against the Poyson and infection' of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. In this respect, the speech utilised the same tropes as the town and county's loyal addresses of 1681-3.¹⁶⁸ The duke later reported that the Welsh gentry everywhere expressed 'a loyal zeal and most dutiful affection to his Majesty and the established Government'.¹⁶⁹

The discovery of the Rye House Plot in 1683 has led Molly McClain to argue that Beaufort's progress was designed to 'promote Tory political loyalty amongst the gentry and wider population'.¹⁷⁰ It had not escaped the authorities' notice that support for the court had been lacking in the Principality. For McClain, the progress was a political triumph: Beaufort's magnificent progress with a full entourage secured the political loyalty of Wales and the border counties.¹⁷¹ However, the political expediency permeating through the whole

¹⁶⁶ For petitions as local productions, Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 86, 96; John Walter, 'Confessional Politics in Pre-Civil War Essex: Prayer Books, Profanations, and Petitions', *HJ*, 44 (2001), pp. 677-701.

¹⁶⁷ *CSPD, 1671*, pp. 391-2

¹⁶⁸ Dineley, *Progress*, pp. 136-42, 160-1.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-60.

¹⁷⁰ McClain, 'Tory Progress', p. 593.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 612-19.

progress is inescapable. As the king's viceroy in Wales, it is natural that Beaufort's arrival was repeatedly met with declarations of loyalty. A similar pragmatism can be identified in Charles II's visit to Plymouth; there was a desire both to see the king, and to be seen *by* the king.¹⁷² It is unsurprising, then, that those connected to Charles' court were feeding information on the king's movements back to their relations throughout the period, and attempting to co-ordinate an appearance by members of their family in the locality.¹⁷³ In this sense, such displays were performative in nature; families wanted to remind the king of their loyalty, especially if they rarely had opportunities to do so in London.

We must be alert to the fact that this was not a royalist identity shared by all – the language of loyalty concealed messier local political realities. Many of the public displays of loyalty described above served paradoxically to mask and highlight oppositional elements in both Cornwall and south-west Wales. The image portrayed publicly was of unanimity (much as Cornwall's response to the charter campaign had been), but the authorities also took careful note of those who declined to subscribe to addresses or failed to appear during progresses. As we have seen, neither region was wholly politically reliable for the king during the Restoration period.

Political opposition was most vocal amongst the gentry, and was largely moderate in nature – conducted through parliament or other established institutions. There is little evidence of popular political sedition, and fears of an armed uprising only surfaced at moments of political crisis. Such fears invariably revolved around the spectre of dissent as religious and political radicalism become conflated in the minds of the authorities.¹⁷⁴ However, the lord lieutenants of England and Wales were equipped with detailed orders regarding the settlement of the militia, and the surveillance, disarmament, and imprisonment of all who 'are notoriously known to be of ill principles'.¹⁷⁵ In both regions, this was

¹⁷² Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 99-101.

¹⁷³ BL, Add. MS 28052, ff. 37-8: Sidney Godolphin to [Sir William Godolphin], 17, 28 Aug. [1660s]; Roger Granville, *The History of the Granville Family* (Exeter, 1895), p. 355.

¹⁷⁴ See, Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 42, 69; *idem*, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990), pp. 34-5.

¹⁷⁵ NLW, MS 3071E, ff. 4, 7, 80; CRO, RS/28/1-3, 6, 8: Orders of privy council to Lord Lieutenants of Cornwall and Wales, Jan.-Oct. 1661. See also, Coleby, *Central Government*, p. 104.

quickly determined locally to refer to nonconformists.¹⁷⁶ For the remainder of the period, fears of disorder ebbed and flowed as the political tide rose and fell. In Cornwall, for instance, there were fears of disorder by ‘the malicious sort of people’ following the death of Charles II, and dissenting gentry and ministers were briefly arrested in the aftermath of Monmouth’s Rebellion, including Hugh Boscawen.¹⁷⁷ It is telling, however, that the authorities knew the identity of every prominent nonconformist in the county and were quickly able to apprehend them.

Oppositional elements within Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry society have already been described. Whilst Charles II was receiving loyal addresses in 1681 from the length and breadth of the British Isles, none came from Pembrokeshire or Cardiganshire. It is also striking that Cardiganshire was the only county in south Wales which Beaufort did not visit. Although this was due to a lack of fit accommodation, it is nonetheless significant that a county with such powerful whig families was neglected.¹⁷⁸ In Cornwall, too, whigs continued to hold substantial local influence, particularly in the boroughs. In the south-east of the county, the proximity of the factious town of Plymouth and the density of nonconformist gentry encouraged religious and political dissent. Writing from his seat of Trelawne, near Liskeard, Trelawny warned the earl of Rochester that ‘people in these parts... wholly resign th[e]mselves to the intelligence of the phanatiqs’.¹⁷⁹ Proclamations of loyalty from Cornwall and south-west Wales acted as a veil: proclaiming an image of unanimous loyalty which concealed partisan divisions.

Proclamations of loyalty not only masked the discontent of whigs, but also a small but growing dissatisfaction amongst former royalists who felt that their service and sufferings had not been properly rewarded.¹⁸⁰ This dissatisfaction was pushed to breaking point during the reign of James II. In many respects, the political impacts of the Catholic king’s policies were similar to the rest of the kingdom: as James increasingly undermined Anglican

¹⁷⁶ CRO, RS/28/9: Deputy lieutenants of Cornwall to Sir John Granville, 5 Sept. 1661; B. E. Howells (ed.), *A Calendar of Letters Relating to North Wales, 1533-c.1700* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 165.

¹⁷⁷ CRO, AR/25/103: Sir John St. Aubyn to Sir John Arundell, 17 Feb. 1685; RP/1/41-3: Orders to arrest disaffected persons, 3-12 July 1685; Morrice, *Entring Book*, III, 31.

¹⁷⁸ NLW, MS Nanteos L23: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, [1683-4].

¹⁷⁹ BL, Add. MS 15892, f. 161v: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to earl of Rochester, 18 Nov. 1683.

¹⁸⁰ For example, CRO, T/1729: John Tremayne to Lewis Tremayne, 26 Oct. 1675; T/1742: Lewis Tremayne to John Tremayne, 15 May 1679.

hegemony in worship and appointed his co-religionists and nonconformists to military and political office, he alienated the same phalanx of gentry who had defended his right to be king during the Exclusion Crisis.¹⁸¹ The mutually-beneficial alliance between tory-Anglican gentry and the monarchy had not eradicated partisanship, but had nonetheless left the Tories firmly in control of local government. Yet as James stripped them of local office one-by-one, their regional authority and status was decimated. Their humiliation was completed by their replacement on the commission of the peace and lieutenancies by, as Bath put it, men ‘of meane quality and small Estate’.¹⁸² More damaging still was the king’s apparent turn to arbitrary government and religious innovations – especially his Declarations of Indulgence. In July 1687, James dissolved the only parliament to sit during his reign, and began preparations to pack a new parliament with MPs who would support his efforts to repeal the penal laws and Test Acts.

An extensive survey of deputy lieutenants and JPs revealed a depth of opposition to the king’s plans in Cornwall and south-west Wales. The lord lieutenants were ordered to pose three questions to the leading office-holders of their localities: would they vote to repeal anti-Catholic legislation if they were elected to parliament; would they support candidates who favoured repeal; and would they live peaceably with men of all religious views. Although the result has often been considered an unmitigated failure for the king, Peter Walker’s systematic analysis of the answers has revealed that almost 20% answered ‘yes’ to the questions, even excluding those Catholics who James had appointed to local government. In particular, he found ‘respectable support’ for repeal in Essex, Northumberland, and Worcestershire.¹⁸³ Cornwall and south-west Wales, on the other hand, represented two of the regions most vociferous in their opposition to the policy: when combined, only four men consented to all three questions – one apiece in Cornwall and Carmarthenshire, and two in Pembrokeshire.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp. 234-5; Neil Paterson, ‘Politics in Leicestershire, c.1677 to c.1716’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 2007), ch. 5; Norrey, ‘Central and Local Government’, pp. 432-4; Keen, ‘Yorkshire’, p. 392.

¹⁸² CBS, D135/B1/4/12.

¹⁸³ Peter Walker, *James II and the Three Questions: Religious Toleration and the Landed Classes, 1687-1688* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 88, 155-6.

¹⁸⁴ Duckett, *Penal Laws I*, pp. 273-6, 377-8.

As lord lieutenant of all Wales, plus Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, Beaufort found it more convenient to summon his deputies and JPs to Ludlow Castle, providing the gentry with a convenient means to evade answering. Across the whole of south-west Wales, only 37% of those requested attended Beaufort. Old age, sickness, and non-residence in the region topped the list of excuses. It is impossible to know how far their non-appearance was simply a pragmatic way to avoid displeasing the monarch, and how far it reflected a genuine unwillingness publicly to oppose the king. In any case, the response was so overwhelmingly negative that the duke was pessimistic about the king's chances of finding any men with 'credit enough' to be elected who supported his religious policies.¹⁸⁵ Amongst the three who answered positively to all three questions were the recusant William Barlow of Haroldston and the nonconformist Sir Rice Williams of Edwinstow, who described the penal laws as contrary to 'primitive Christianity' and the Test Acts 'introduced by ill men for a very ill purpose'.¹⁸⁶

Bath met with even sterner resistance in Cornwall. Only the Catholic Humphrey Borlase answered positively to all three questions, while the remainder of the gentry acted as a bloc in opposition. Sir John Carew replied that he was:

doubtfull to the first and second Questions, till it debated in Parliament how the Religion established by Law may be otherwise secured, And further declares to the second Question, that he will assist and contribute his utmost endeavours to the Election of such Members of Parliament, and no other, but such only as he either knows or beleives to be Loyall subjects, and who will most faithfully serve his Majesty in all things, with security to our said Religion; And consents fully to the third Questions.¹⁸⁷

All of the remaining gentry responded in identical fashion. In this, they took the lead from Sir Edward Seymour (3rd Bt.) and their Devon neighbours, who responded almost verbatim.¹⁸⁸ The answer makes it clear that they prioritised the safety of the Protestant religion and legality above the king's wishes; they were only willing to countenance changing the laws in a parliament of 'Loyall subjects'. When Bath told the king that the

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁸⁸ *Commons, 1660-1715*, III, 420-1.

gentry of Cornwall and Devon would ‘risk and sacrifice their lives and property with the utmost fidelity for the King, but that they could not and would not place their religion in danger’, James ‘replied not a word’.¹⁸⁹

The Cornish Tories considered the defence of the Church and commitment to parliamentary authority to be as much a demonstration of loyalty as their royalism had been. In a report to Archbishop Sancroft, Sir Jonathan Trelawny (now bishop of Bristol) assured his primate sometime in the autumn of 1687 that any ‘attack from the Lord Lieutenant’ would not be successful, as ‘I was glad to find the Gentry unanimous for the preserving the Test, & our Laws’. Moreover, Trelawny encouraged the Cornish gentry to exert their influence ‘in their several corporations, & not suffer so many foreigners to be putt upon them’ by Bath. Instead, they pledged to ask that they themselves could serve in parliament as ‘Loyall subjects’. At this point, Trelawny had heard rumours of the three questions, and advised that the gentry should not give a straight answer in case it disqualified them from serving as MPs.¹⁹⁰ Ultimately, the king’s scheme was derailed by the Williamite invasion.

When William of Orange’s invasion force finally landed at Torbay on 5 November 1688, the immediate response in south-west Wales was enigmatic. The most conspicuous support for the stadholder came from Sir Hugh Owen of Orierton, who had allegedly sent his yacht to Rotterdam in September with ‘eight chests of silver’.¹⁹¹ Beyond Owen, however, there is little evidence of positive expressions of support for either William or James II. Indeed, it was a source of frustration for Bishop Watson that the gentry were not more forward for the king.¹⁹² Beaufort was said to be raising 10,000 men in Wales who never materialised.¹⁹³ It is impossible to know whether the restraint of the Welsh political leaders resulted from pragmatism, or a tacit support of William. It is worth noting that while the region had not suffered the same degree of upheaval in local office-holding as parts of England, the opposition to James’ religious policies was steadfast. The region’s geographic isolation also meant that they were under far less pressure than the Cornish to declare their allegiances.

¹⁸⁹ BL, 34510, f. 112: Aernout van Citters to States General, 20 Apr. 1688.

¹⁹⁰ Bodl., MS Tanner 28, f. 139: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to William Sancroft, [1687].

¹⁹¹ HMC, *7th Report*, pp. 348, 423.

¹⁹² JCA, PP.ME/3/3: Thomas Watson to Edmund Meyrick, 9 Oct. 1688.

¹⁹³ HMC, *Fleming*, p. 214.

With William landing in the neighbouring county, leading Cornish figures had been in contact with the prince and his agents during the month preceding the invasion. Far from ‘acquiescing silently’ to the Glorious Revolution, as Bernard Deacon argues, Cornwall quickly displayed a remarkable degree of loyalty to the stadholder.¹⁹⁴ Unlike regions like Lincolnshire and County Durham, it was the Cornish tories who first pledged their allegiance to William of Orange, with the whigs following suit almost a month later.¹⁹⁵ Why did the very group who had spent the previous decades constructing a royalist image turn their backs on the Stuarts?

Bath’s exasperation and growing fury towards the government was reflected in a letter of 8 October 1688, in which he self-effacingly referred to his ‘weak endeavours’ to serve the king during a time of royal contradictions and back-tracking.¹⁹⁶ James II’s alterations in local office-holding and religious policies had proven deeply unpopular. In response, Bath attempted to restore the Bath-Arundell-Arundell royalist alliance, recommending that Sir John Arundell of Lanherne act as a witness to Nosworthy’s ‘irregularities and extravagances’, and Lord Arundell be given his late father’s office as governor of Pendennis Castle. Only by appointing ‘their own countrymen’ who were ‘acceptable to this country’ could the gentry and wider populace be secured against the imminent invasion.¹⁹⁷ A report of 17 October claiming that the king was ‘very insecure’ in Cornwall appears to have been accurate.¹⁹⁸ That same day, Bath suspiciously slipped away from Plymouth citadel and the Catholic commander Theophilus Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, for an evening.¹⁹⁹ It seems likely that he met directly with William, or a Williamite representative, as the next day he promised to obey the stadholder’s commands.²⁰⁰ In a bold ploy, Bath entertained Huntingdon in Plymouth citadel with an ostensibly genial dinner while his officers set about arresting the Catholic officers, followed by Huntingdon himself.²⁰¹ With Bath’s ally, Sir

¹⁹⁴ Deacon, *Cornwall*, p. 96.

¹⁹⁵ Holmes, *Lincolnshire*, p. 248; Margaret Smillie Child, ‘Prelude to Revolution: The Structure of Politics in County Durham, 1678-88’, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Maryland, 1972), ch. 5.

¹⁹⁶ *CSPD, 1687-9*, pp. 304-5.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-5, 315, 321-2, 328.

¹⁹⁸ BL, Add. MS 41805, f. 63: John White to John Livingston, 17 Oct. 1688.

¹⁹⁹ HMC, *Hastings*, II, 193-5.

²⁰⁰ *CSPD, 1687-9*, p. 357.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 364-5; HMC, *Hastings*, II, 195-7, 198-9.

Joseph Tredenham, soon in command of Pendennis Castle, William had access to the vast harbours of Plymouth and Falmouth to anchor his fleet.

Despite Bath's decisive actions at Plymouth, those at the centre remained uncertain of Cornish allegiance due to the divisions amongst the region's gentry.²⁰² In late November, Bath met the deputy lieutenants, JPs, and 'principal gentlemen' of east Cornwall in Saltash, where William's *Declaration* was read and unanimously subscribed.²⁰³ Radnor and the county's puritan whigs did not attend the meeting, however, feeling themselves neglected by the stadholder at Bath's expense. As Roger Morrice put it, 'there has always been great feuds betweene the said Gentlemen and the Earle of Bath' and 'they were not willing to intermix'.²⁰⁴ Therefore a second meeting took place on 3 December in Bodmin, headed by Radnor, in which they signed the association and produced an address. According to Morrice, it had been drawn up by leading whigs in the county – Radnor, Hugh Boscawen, Sir Walter Moyle, and Sir John Molesworth – and was subscribed by 'multitudes'.²⁰⁵ In addition to praising William's preservation of the Protestant religion and maintenance of ancient laws and customs, the address criticised James II's appointment of 'papists & papishly affected persons' to civil and military office, and his 'assuming a dispensing and unlimited prerogative in the Kingdome'.²⁰⁶ These were similar to the fears of arbitrary government which had motivated the group to oppose Charles II's pre-emption on tin in the early 1660s. James lost the loyalty of Cornwall because he affronted both of these groups: through his religious policies and absolutist tendencies, the king had been forced to rely upon a rag-tag of minor gentry families who did not possess the necessary status, respect, or authority within the county.

CONCLUSION

Cornwall and south-west Wales possessed distinct political cultures. Both regions were overwhelmingly rural, located on the geographic periphery, and have often been considered

²⁰² HMC, *Fleming*, p. 219; Morrice, *Entring Book*, IV, 344, 350.

²⁰³ *CSPD*, 1687-9, p. 371.

²⁰⁴ Morrice, *Entring Book*, IV, 358-9.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 374.

²⁰⁶ RIC Courtney Library, MEN/146: Address to William of Orange from meeting held at Bodmin, 3 Dec. 1688 [draft].

by historians as royalist bulwarks during the Civil Wars – yet a closer study of political life reveals both similarities and points of contrast. Regional politics was conditioned not only by the attitudes of the inhabitants, but also by structural factors such as the strength of urban networks, the nature of parliamentary representation, and the locality's proximity to points of political crisis. In part, it was these structural factors which shaped the relationship between centre and locality. Cornwall's strategic and electoral importance encouraged the government to work alongside the earl of Bath to manage local office-holding carefully at both county and municipal level, and to promote loyal officers during moments of political crisis. The monarchs relied upon the initiative and cooperation of local groups – variously both tory-Anglicans and nonconformists – to identify subversive officers, and potential replacements. South-west Wales, on the other hand, was less strategically important, and had been made intentionally electorally impotent by the Acts of Union. How far this influenced a pervasive apathy towards the region by the government is difficult to know, but the crown was certainly slow to re-model local office-holding and corporations in the region. Such a lack of interest perhaps reflected the absence of a diligent court manager, or of mutually-influential factions locally who could initiate government intervention and cooperate with the crown thereafter.

Structural factors also facilitated a greater degree of political dominance by the landed class in Cornwall and south-west Wales. Weak urban networks, and the corresponding lack of a 'middling sort' of any critical mass, left the gentry as the undisputed political leaders of both regions. Of course, gentry authority had to be maintained through negotiation and compromise with various levels of society (including the crown and urban populations), but the electoral interest of certain families was nonetheless formidable. In Cornwall, this allowed several gentry families to utilise their abundance of parliamentary seats to assist political allies from other parts of the kingdom, whether tories or whigs. Whilst the gentry of south-west Wales did not have the same richness of parliamentary representation, the financial supremacy of a handful of families was translated into political dominance, and facilitated government by kinship as they provided their relations with local offices.

Political attitudes and beliefs were also central to the construction of a regional political culture. For many in Cornwall and south-west Wales, loyalty to the Stuart monarchs was paramount. The strength of royalism fostered something of a royalist identity after 1660 as loyal addresses repeatedly referenced their civil war royalism, and bound this to the defence

of the Church of England. However, there was undoubtedly an element of performativity to these public proclamations – they served to promote an image of loyalty while simultaneously highlighting ‘disloyal’ elements who failed adequately to join with such declarations. By 1688, the loyalty of former royalists to the Church and parliamentary authority overrode their loyalty to James II, whose policies had decimated their local standing, and undermined their religion. Meanwhile, opponents of the court had been evident during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Typically, the Cornish puritan whigs and powerful south-west Welsh families such as the Vaughans of Trawsgoed and Owens of Orielton favoured limits on royal authority, and were sympathetic towards dissent. At times, these beliefs were channelled into local issues – most notably, during Charles II’s attempts to reassert the royal pre-emption on tin during the early 1660s. Yet whilst these ideological disagreements erupted into partisanship during Cornish parliamentary elections and in urban politics (revolving around religious difference and personality conflicts), there appears to have been a prevailing desire to avoid political conflict amongst the landed elite in south-west Wales, which resulted in a lack of political conflict during parliamentary elections and within civic spaces.²⁰⁷

How far did the factions described above feed into the nascent tory and whig parties? The answer largely depends on how we define ‘party’. If we look for modern-style party machinery and organisation, as described by J. R. Jones, then there is little evidence within the localities under study.²⁰⁸ Equally, the vocabulary of ‘tory’ and ‘whig’ was slow to penetrate into Cornwall and south-west Wales, and there is no evidence of the terms being used locally before the Glorious Revolution. Contemporaries referred to ‘presbyters’, ‘malitious sort of people’, ‘fanatics’, ‘Republique partie’, ‘the other party’, ‘dissenting party’, ‘contrary party’, and the ‘loyal party’.²⁰⁹ Therefore, the notion of factional local politics was not alien to the Cornish or Welsh, but ‘party’ was typically deployed as a pejorative term.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ As noted above, Haverfordwest was an exception to this.

²⁰⁸ J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (Oxford, 1961). The large number of Cornish MPs, however, may have facilitated a degree of party organisation in London.

²⁰⁹ For example, TNA, SP 29/68, f. 285; CRO, T/1685: Richard Vyvyan to Lewis Tremayne, 31 Dec. 1662; AR/25/103; *CSPD, 1667-8*, pp. 321, 418; Philips, *Collected Works*, II, 82-3, 87.

²¹⁰ As were ‘tory’ and ‘whig’ initially.

As Grant Tapsell notes, however, political divisions can be identified along ‘axes that fit with what in London we would regard as whig and tory groups’.²¹¹ When considering ideology and belief, or public displays of political allegiances, there is plenty of evidence of whigs and tories in Cornwall and south-west Wales.²¹² The archive of the Cornish gentleman Lewis Tremayne, who did not serve as an MP, includes scribal copies of parliamentary speeches during the ‘popish plot’, and a printed copy of debates from the Oxford Parliament with the MPs’ names jotted by hand in the margins.²¹³ Similarly, in south-west Wales, Sir Thomas Powell of Llechwedd-dyrys had misplaced copies of ‘the *History of Prosbiterie*’ and the tory play *City Politiques* in May 1683, which he wanted to circulate amongst his neighbours.²¹⁴ These men were clearly engaged in the political process, and could tailor their reading practices according to their political bent. At the same time, numerous loyal addresses from both regions expressed elements of tory ideology, much as the address sent in the aftermath of the Williamite invasion articulated whig ideology. Even a brief glance at the parliamentary careers of men such as Edward Vaughan of Trawscoed or Hugh Boscawen reveals a deep engagement with party issues in parliament. Chapter Five will explore the ‘rage of party’, and discuss the continuing importance of kinship and older notions of consensus in Cornish and south-west Welsh political culture during the post-revolutionary period.

²¹¹ Tapsell, *Personal Rule*, p. 121.

²¹² On these themes, see Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge, 1991); *idem*, *England’s Troubles*; Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994).

²¹³ CRO, T/1741/1-3: Parliamentary speeches, 1678-9; T/1743/2: *Debates in the House of Commons Assembled at Oxford*, Mar. 1681.

²¹⁴ NLW, MS Nanteos L21: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, 4 May 1683; NLW, MS Nanteos L22: Thomas Powell to Richard Powell, 13 May 1683.

CHAPTER FOUR

Religion, 1689–1714

Erasmus Saunders' *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's* (1721) was a bleak appraisal of religious life in south-west Wales. He wrote of the 'melancholy and ruinous' state of the diocese, supplied as it was by 'poor and ignorant' curates who left its population without 'Christian Knowledge', 'Sense of Piety', or 'Value for Religion'.¹ The work has often been seen as an exaggerated account, written by an embittered churchman who resented his failure to secure a promotion to a bishopric.² Philip Jenkins and William Gibson have recently argued that Saunders' narrative has had an undue influence on the historiography of the Church of England in Wales.³ For Jenkins, the Church deserves praise for its 'remarkable success in maintaining popular loyalty', and for its ability to be 'a distinctively Welsh body well attuned to the wider culture'.⁴ Gibson is even more bullish, considering the later Stuart period to be one of 'restoration, rebuilding and revival, turning back the tide of the Commonwealth neglect and damage'.⁵

These upbeat accounts feed into broader historiographical trends concerning the vitality of the Church of England during the long eighteenth century. Victorian narratives which portrayed the period as one of torpor, neglect, and moral deficiency, have fallen away to modern accounts which stress the intellectual and pastoral vigour of the later Stuart Church,

¹ Erasmus Saunders, *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's about the Beginning of the 18th Century* (1721), pp. 5, 14, 26.

² See D. L. Thomas, 'Saunders, Erasmus', *ODNB*.

³ Philip Jenkins, 'Church, Nation and Language: The Welsh Church, 1660-1800', in Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 265-84; William Gibson, "'The Most Glorious Enterprises Have Been Achiev'd": The Restoration Diocese of St Davids 1660-1730', in William Gibson and John Morgan-Guy (eds.), *Religion and Society in the Diocese of St Davids 1485-2011* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 91-128. By contrast, Paula Yates' recent article highlights a number of the structural challenges which differentiated Welsh Anglicanism, but does not afford much space to the later Stuart period: 'Wales', in Jeremy Gregory (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 120-7.

⁴ Jenkins, 'Church, Nation and Language', pp. 266, 283.

⁵ Gibson, 'St Davids', p. 128.

whilst acknowledging the vast challenges faced by the Anglican establishment.⁶ In particular, Brent Sirota has argued for the existence of an Anglican revival during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which was characterised by ‘a multifaceted program of confessional revitalization’.⁷ Such revitalisation was, in part, motivated by a paradigm shift in the relationship between Anglicanism and dissent occasioned by the Act of Toleration. Without the coercive support of the state, the Church was forced to compete against nonconformist denominations in a religious marketplace. Yet whereas Sirota is chiefly concerned with political debates centred in London, this chapter is concerned with how this Anglican revival manifested in the localities on a practical level. Moreover, one of the central themes of this chapter is the challenges the Church faced in the regions under study, particularly in south-west Wales, where the verdict is less optimistic than Jenkins’ or Gibson’s. The focus is predominantly on Anglicanism – the dominant religion in both regions – but extensive reference is also made to the role of nonconformity in religious life.⁸

This chapter therefore also feeds into a growing corpus of work on the Church’s role in the localities.⁹ Recent studies highlight the importance of appreciating regional variation when studying the Church, whilst also acknowledging many common problems faced by the clergy of England and Wales. In attempting to explain regional variations, historians have often proposed overarching structural variations, such as the north/south divide or differences between rural and urban experiences.¹⁰ There were a number of broad similarities between later Stuart Cornwall and south-west Wales which might have led to

⁶ Some Victorian criticisms were echoed in Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840* (Cambridge, 1989). However, a more optimistic re-assessment was put forward by Norman Sykes in the 1930s: *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934). More recent accounts of the Church as a robust and effective institution include, Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and their Diocese* (Oxford, 2000); William J. Bulman, *Anglican Enlightenment: Orientalism, Religion and Politics in England and its Empire* (Cambridge, 2015); Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (2014). See also, the essays in two seminal edited collections: John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor (eds.), *The Church of England c.1689-c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993); Grant Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester, 2012).

⁷ Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 2.

⁸ Catholicism is not discussed due to its negligible presence in either region: HMC, *House of Lords, 1678-88*, pp. 228-9, 231-2.

⁹ Gregory and Chamberlain (eds.), *National Church in Local Perspective*.

¹⁰ Jeremy Gregory and Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, ‘National and Local Perspectives on the Church of England in the Long Eighteenth Century’, in Gregory and Chamberlain (eds.), *National Church in Local Perspective*, pp. 5-7; John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, ‘Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the “Long” Eighteenth Century’, in Walsh *et al.* (eds.), *Church of England*, pp. 11-12.

parallel experiences; both regions were overwhelming rural, located on the geographic periphery, comprised of large unwieldy parishes, and experienced popular evangelical revivals during the mid-eighteenth century. Yet this chapter demonstrates that the Anglican revival manifested in strikingly different ways in the two regions. A number of locally-specific factors – including religious and political cultures, clerical wealth, gentry attitudes, and the views of the region’s bishop – had a vital influence on religious life in each region.

STRUCTURAL ISSUES: CHANGING CONTEXTS

Chapter Two outlined a number of structural issues which hampered the re-establishment of the Church’s spiritual and civil authority in Cornwall and, to a greater extent, south-west Wales: issues of poverty, remoteness, and language. For the most part, these problems were perennial; there was no linguistic shift in Wales following the Glorious Revolution, and the Church in Wales continued to cater for a largely monoglot Welsh-speaking population. Equally, however, a number of structural problems faced by the Church during the Restoration period were amplified or transformed after 1688/9, and new issues arose. Broadly speaking, while officials in the diocese of St. Davids experienced increased difficulties, the Church in Cornwall was better served once Bishop Jonathan Trelawny’s delayed translation from Bristol to Exeter was completed in March 1689. It was rare for a bishop in the later Stuart period to serve a region whilst also leading one of its major families.¹¹ Trelawny’s intense involvement in parliamentary electioneering during the ‘rage of party’ ensured that he was often resident at his family seat of Trelawne, even conducting over two-thirds of ordinations there.¹² Although he was far from universally popular in Cornwall, Trelawny undoubtedly possessed a more intimate knowledge of the county and its society than his predecessors. In stark contrast, the bishopric of St. Davids lay vacant between 1699 and 1705 following Thomas Watson’s deprivation for simony, receiving excessive fees, and ordaining deacons without the required oaths of allegiance. Moreover, diocesan revenues stagnated during the early eighteenth century, as pluralism and non-residence grew rife.

¹¹ Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, was in a similar position.

¹² R. J. E. Boggis, *A History of the Diocese of Exeter* (Exeter, 1922), p. 443.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the annual endowment of the diocese of Exeter had tripled from its value during the reign of Charles II, whilst the value of St. Davids had only doubled during the same period, with the dioceses valued at £1,500 and £900 per year respectively. Therefore, while the former's average yearly increase in revenue outstripped almost any other bishopric, the latter's was amongst the lowest.¹³ Once placed within the context of its vast scale, it becomes clear that St. Davids was growing comparatively poorer throughout the period. For Erasmus Saunders, this poverty was at the heart of the irreligion and clerical ignorance which he believed plagued the diocese, and could be traced all the way back to the Reformation: the churches had been 'robb'd and pillag'd by a sweeping Alienation of all the Tyths'.¹⁴ The issues associated with the lay impropriation of tithes have been discussed in Chapter Two, and the increasing poverty of the diocese only exacerbated these problems. In particular, there was a growing belief that wealthy impropiators were receiving vast profits from tithes while paying ministers derisory salaries. During a visitation of his archdeaconry of Carmarthen in 1710, for example, Archdeacon Edward Tenison noted that one Mr. Bloodworth of Surrey paid a minister £5-6 per year for supplying a living valued at £80 annually.¹⁵

It is therefore unsurprising that the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty in 1704, which augmented the incomes of impoverished clergy by using the first-fruits and tenths (royal taxes on ecclesiastical dignities), was met with jubilation in south-west Wales, along with reminders of the region's great need for financial assistance. In a loyal address sent to congratulate the queen on military victories, the magistrates of Carmarthen believed that her bounty would 'redeem the Honour and Reputation of our Established Church', while criticising the 'Neglect and Oversight (to use no harsher Terms) of the Reformation, in not making a more plentiful Provision for the Subsistence of a great Part of its Clergy'.¹⁶ The authors of this address, like Saunders, located the origin of the clergy's poverty during the Reformation. Although complete and reliable statistics concerning the administration of the scheme are difficult to establish, it is clear that the diocese of St. Davids was a major

¹³ Daniel R. Hirschberg, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate, 1660-1760', unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Michigan, 1976), pp. 375-6, 377.

¹⁴ Saunders, *State of Religion*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 315. For more examples of such practices, see *ibid.*, p. 314; John Vyrnwy Davies, 'The Diocese of St. David's during the First Half of the 18th Century: To Include a Study of the Relevant Data in the "Ottley Papers"', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1936), p. 84.

¹⁶ *London Gazette*, no. 4066 (26-30 Oct. 1704). See also, *London Gazette*, no. 4075 (27-30 Nov. 1704).

beneficiary. A return of parishes compiled in c.1708 reveals that, of the 342 parishes which responded, just under 90% were valued under the poverty line of £50 per annum, and 18% were valued under £10 annually. Particularly impoverished was the archdeaconry of Cardigan where 79% of livings returned were valued at less than £30 per annum.¹⁷ This extreme poverty compounded the issues described in Chapter Two: the difficulty in maintaining church fabric; problems of pluralism and non-residency; and the disruption of parish social life.

The major ecclesiastical buildings of the diocese appear to have been in a perpetual state of disrepair since the Civil Wars. Successive bishops regularly complained about the disrepair of the cathedral, bishop's palaces, and archdeacon's houses, alongside claims that repairs were underway, and accusations of neglect and corruption by their predecessors.¹⁸ It was only during the episcopate of Adam Ottley from 1713 that repairs appear to have made headway, and in 1715 Browne Willis tentatively applauded the recent improvements to the church fabric.¹⁹ However, St. Davids was an overwhelmingly rural diocese and its poverty led to what might be termed typical 'rural churches' which stood in stark contrast to the grand baroque churches which were constructed in east London during the early eighteenth century.²⁰ A 'rural church' in south-west Wales (and also, to an extent, Cornwall) typically had an unpaved floor (which was instead earthen and uneven), unrendered walls, and windows without glass. One of Archdeacon Tenison's pet hates was the propensity for Welsh churches to raise their floors by several feet to accommodate more burials as it 'makes the floors every where very nasty & uneven'.²¹ In rarer cases, the church might be structurally unsound; a number had collapsed roofs, steeples, or chancels.²² Of course, there are some isolated examples of renewal and construction, yet Tenison ultimately surmised in

¹⁷ Davies, 'Diocese of St. David's', pp. 78, 82.

¹⁸ Bodl., MS Smith 49, f. 3: Thomas Watson to Thomas Smith, 25 June 1694; JCA, PP.ME/3/19/1; PP.ME/3/20: Thomas Watson to Edmund Meyrick, 23 Nov., 10 Dec. 1689; PP.ME/4: Thomas Watson to John Owen, 26 Nov. 1698; NLW, MS Ottley 90: Joseph Stephens to [Philip Bisse], 7 July 1711; Davies, 'Diocese of St. David's', p. 103.

¹⁹ Davies, 'Diocese of St. David's', pp. 103-4; Browne Willis, *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's* (1717), p. 32.

²⁰ Esther De Waal, 'New Churches in East London in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 9 (1965), p. 107.

²¹ Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 320.

²² For example, Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 298-300, 305; Carmarthen Visitation II, pp. 312, 315-18.

1710 that Welsh churches ‘lie generally in a very nasty condition’.²³ Churchwardens’ presentments show that parish officials were aware of these problems and frequently reported them, but could rarely fund the necessary repairs.²⁴

As clerical poverty in the diocese of St. Davids grew relatively worse after the Glorious Revolution, the problems associated with pluralism and non-residence similarly deepened. As was noted in Chapter Two, an efficient curate could comfortably supply multiple livings if the distances between them were manageable.²⁵ However, while these issues can be identified across England and Wales, extreme poverty dramatically increased their impact in south-west Wales. One satire wryly commented that ‘in *Wales* a Man may tack half a Diocess together, and yet not be charged with holding Pluralities’ as parishes do ‘not afford a competent Maintenance’.²⁶ The author’s quip highlights how legitimate and necessary means of managing the meagre available resources in the diocese of St. Davids could be abused. By its very nature, each pluralist impacted two or more parishes. Therefore, the ninety-six pluralists recorded in St. Davids in 1707 oversaw hundreds of parishes.²⁷

The main area of concern was its impact on pastoral care: could a minister adequately provide multiple parishes with spiritual guidance? Tenison’s visitation of the archdeaconry of Carmarthen in 1710 revealed a number of examples in which this appeared to be impossible. For example, one beleaguered curate named Samuel Morris officiated at four different churches: each Sunday he performed divine service at each church, beginning at six in the morning at Eglwys Fair Glyn Tâf and repeated the service at eight, eleven, and four in the three other churches.²⁸ While Morris was undoubtedly a hard-working and diligent curate, it was impossible for him to write and deliver weekly sermons, catechise regularly, or conduct communion regularly. The growth of non-residence and pluralism also undermined one of the most important features which had characterised the Church in Wales

²³ Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 316. For evidence of repairs, see *ibid.*, p. 313; NLW, SD/CPD/8/481, 498; SD/CPD/21/95.

²⁴ See, NLW, SD/CPD/5-8, 21, 25, 67: Churchwardens’ visitation returns, diocese of St. Davids.

²⁵ For example, the rector of Eglwyswrw, Pembrokeshire, comfortably served a pair of livings two miles apart: NLW, SD/CPD/5/70.

²⁶ Thomas Brown, *Novus Reformator Vapulans: or, The Welch Levite Tossed in a Blanket* (1691), p. 33; Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, pp. 171-2.

²⁷ Geraint H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), p. 7. This was a growth from fifty-one pluralists in the years after the Restoration: Thomas Richards, *Wales Under the Penal Code, 1662-1687* (1925), p. 134.

²⁸ Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 301.

following the Restoration: the value of employing local clergymen who were integrated into their local communities.

Alongside crippling poverty, officials in the diocese of St. Davids had to contend with a six-year period with no bishop. Following Thomas Watson's deprivation on 3 August 1699, it took a sustained legal effort by the government to remove him from his temporalities.²⁹ During the interim, Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, claimed metropolitan jurisdiction. Nonetheless, it was impossible to replace the influence and leadership of a bishop. It was no doubt due to a lack of episcopal oversight that the churchwardens of Llanllwni (Carmarthenshire) ceased to maintain their accounts between 1700 and 1704.³⁰ Life was also harder for ministers. A petition from the high sheriff, JPs, and gentry of Pembrokeshire sent in 1702, claimed that the parochial clergy were forced to suffer 'fatigue & charge' by travelling to London to take institutions, while a number of clerics complained to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) of the 'want of a good Bishop' during these intervening years.³¹ As we shall see, bishops had the authority and influence to shape the quality of the clergy, control clerical discipline, and decide which pastoral initiatives to pursue.

Of course, diocesan officials were somewhat used to coping without their bishops for parts of each year; as parliamentary sessions became longer and more frequent following the Triennial Act of 1694, bishops were increasingly required to fulfil their duties in the House of Lords. William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle, for example, was a dedicated parliamentarian, whilst successfully serving a remote diocese.³² Successive bishops of St. Davids, by contrast, regularly failed to return to their dioceses in an inversion of the pre-1689 situation: whereas they had previously used the arduous journey to London (and their personal frailty) to avoid leaving their diocese, the post-1689 bishops preferred to remain in the metropolis and avoid returning to Wales. Before his deprivation, Thomas Watson (1687-99) spent the majority of his time in London, while Philip Bisse (1710-13) only conducted

²⁹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 601-2.

³⁰ George Eryn Evans, 'Churchwardens' Presentments, A.D. 1705', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 12 (1917/18), p. 25.

³¹ JCA, PP.ME/4: Petition of high sheriff, JPs, and gentry of Pembrokeshire for the appointment of a new bishop, 6 Oct. 1702; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1815, f. 75: William Gambold to Edward Lhuyd, 3 Sept. 1694; *SPCK Wales*, p. 11: Thomas Thomas to John Chamberlayne, 19 May 1701.

³² William Nicolson, *The London Diaries of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, 1702-1718*, ed. Clyve Jones and Geoffrey Holmes (Oxford, 1985).

one unofficial visit during his three-year episcopate.³³ Bisse's successor, Adam Ottley (1713-23), was far more reliable, spending every summer in his diocese and claiming that 'I have that love for my diocese that I shall be much pleased with the thought of being there'.³⁴ In the diocese of Exeter, any effects of frequent parliaments were mitigated by Sir Jonathan Trelawny's (1689-1707) regular residence at Trelawne. His successor, Ofspring Blackall (1708-16), was also exceptional in that he needed to be personally summoned to London by Lord Treasurer Oxford to support the tories in the Lords, and believed that bishops ought to remain in their dioceses 'where they could do much good'.³⁵ In Cornwall, then, we find far more evidence of the Church's structural efficiency which has been celebrated by modern historians. The diocese of St. Davids, on the other hand, was plagued by a series of structural weaknesses which persistently put the Church on the back foot when attempting to effect religious renewal.

THE SPECTRE OF DISSENT

It is now historiographical orthodoxy to note that the Toleration Act of 1689 did not usher in a period of religious liberty, but that it had a far more limited aim of relieving nonconformist Protestants 'from the penalties of *certain laws*'.³⁶ Mark Goldie and John Spurr have stressed that its passage through parliament was a grudging partisan move, designed to secure the Revolution on a wide Protestant base, while also signifying a rejection of schemes for comprehension due to fears of introducing schism into the Church of England.³⁷ However, whilst dissenters were not granted full freedom of worship after 1689 and continued to face prejudice, the Act nonetheless represented a paradigm shift in the relationship between the Church, dissent, and the state.³⁸ As Spurr puts it, toleration 'reduced the Church of England from the *national* to merely the *established* church'.³⁹ Without

³³ JCA, PP.ME/3/9, 11-13, 25-7: Thomas Watson to Edmund Meyrick, Mar. 1689-May 1690; BL, Add. MS 70211: Philip Bisse to earl of Oxford, 7 Sept. 1711.

³⁴ Davies, 'Diocese of St. David's', p. 38.

³⁵ BL, Add. MS 70211: Ofspring Blackall to earl of Oxford, 14 Feb. 1713; *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 26.

³⁶ This quotation is taken from the proper title of the Act, my italics. Grant Tapsell, 'The Church of England, 1662-1714', in Gregory (ed.), *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, pp. 29-30.

³⁷ Mark Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 238-46; John Spurr, 'The Church of England, Comprehension and the Toleration Act of 1689', *EHR*, 104 (1989), pp. 927-46.

³⁸ The Act did not provide toleration for Catholics or Unitarians, and it required dissenting meetings to acquire licenses, nonconformist ministers to subscribe to most of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and kept the Test and Corporation Acts in effect.

³⁹ John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (1991), p. 104. Spurr's italics.

exclusive support from the state, the Church lost its ability to coerce individuals and groups into conformity and was forced to compete with the nonconformist denominations for the affections of the people; persecution of dissent was replaced by a rivalry with dissent.⁴⁰ During the decades following the Toleration Act, nonconformist meetings and academies flourished across England and Wales, and the laity had more latitude than ever before in choosing which congregations to attend.

One disadvantage the various nonconformist denominations faced was the steady drift of old puritan gentry and noble families towards Anglicanism as generational change ensured that personal ties with ejected clergymen faded.⁴¹ This pattern can be clearly observed in Cornwall. Many of the county's prominent nonconformist families at the Restoration were not only publicly Anglican by the reign of William and Mary, but were high-church tories. The descendants of the influential nonconformists Sir Alexander Carew (2nd Bt.) of Antony, Francis Buller of Shillingham, Nicholas Morice of Werrington, John Tanner of Courte, and Edward Herle of Prideaux all sat as tory MPs after the Glorious Revolution, and Charles Bodvile Robartes, 2nd earl of Radnor, also abandoned his father's religion.⁴² Carew's son, Sir John (3rd Bt.) had received Anglican communion by 1683, and his wife and children asked to be confirmed by Thomas Lamplugh, bishop of Exeter, after a dinner at Antony in that year.⁴³ By 1714, the long-lived former-Independent John Buller could proclaim the Church of England to be 'the best church in Xtendom'.⁴⁴ The loss of support from these former pillars of puritanism and parliamentarianism in Cornwall was a blow to the fortunes of nonconformity. Even the nephew and heir of the powerful puritan whig Hugh Boscawen, who shared his uncle's politics, was forced publicly to declare his Anglicanism to a gathering of Cornish gentry at Launceston to boost his electoral ambitions in 1705.⁴⁵ Cornwall's ruling elite were overwhelmingly Anglican.

This was perhaps a contributory factor to the proportional decline in attendance at nonconformist congregations in Cornwall which occurred between the compilation of the

⁴⁰ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 210; Walsh and Taylor, 'Introduction', pp. 16-17.

⁴¹ Goldie, *Puritan Whigs*, pp. 194-5; Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 208.

⁴² For profiles, see *Commons, 1690-1715*, III, 399-401, 466-7; IV, 341, 937-8; V, 608.

⁴³ Bodl., MS Tanner 34, f. 174: Thomas Lamplugh to William Sancroft, 10 Oct. 1683.

⁴⁴ AHM, BO/23/76/4: John Buller to [?], 13 Oct. 1714.

⁴⁵ CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 97r: Lancelot Blackburne to William Wake, 14 May 1705.

Compton Census in 1676 and the end of the Stuart period. When Daniel Defoe visited sometime in the early eighteenth century, he noted ‘something rare’: ‘a large new built meeting-house for the Dissenters’ in Liskeard which represented one of only four ‘very inconsiderable’ such buildings in the county. This was especially surprising to him as neighbouring Devon had ‘about seventy’ equivalent meeting houses.⁴⁶ Michael R. Watt’s estimates suggest that the total number of Cornish people attending dissenting meetings had tripled since 1676 (from c.721 to c.2,430 hearers), but a concurrent growth in population size meant that this represented only 2% of the Cornish populace.⁴⁷ By way of comparison, 10% of Devon’s population were said to be attending dissenting services by the early eighteenth century. Numerically, then, the Toleration Act did not signal a widespread nonconformist surge in Cornwall. Alongside the growing drift towards Anglicanism of the gentry, dissent nationally became increasingly confined to more urban and mercantile communities, and thus struggled to gain a foothold in rural Cornwall.⁴⁸ Nonconformist ministers were unable to supply the county’s thinly dispersed settlements adequately, and its small urban centres could not sustain a large enough body of middling sort to accommodate both sizeable dissenting and Anglican congregations.⁴⁹ Although a dedicated body of Cornish dissenting ministers – mainly Presbyterians – worked to establish meetings in towns such as Penzance, Launceston, Falmouth, Looe, and Fowey, they were ultimately unable to compete effectively with the Church of England.

Perhaps surprisingly, attendance at dissenting congregations in south-west Wales exploded following the Toleration Act. From the c.500 committed nonconformists recorded in the Compton Census, attendance rose to c.9,300 by the early eighteenth century – around 11% of the population. In particular, Carmarthenshire emerges as a centre of dissent, with over 20% of the county’s population believed to have been attending mainly Presbyterian and Independent meetings.⁵⁰ Although they were generally slow to build chapels, meeting

⁴⁶ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (1991), p. 98. Celia Fiennes recorded two meeting places in Penzance and Truro: Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (1982), pp. 207, 209. There is also evidence of meeting places in Fowey and Looe. See Richard Ball, *Congregationalism in Cornwall* (1955), pp. 8, 10, 15-18.

⁴⁷ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), p. 509.

⁴⁸ Goldie, *Puritan Whigs*, p. 195.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Barry, ‘The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, in Nicholas Orme (ed.), *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), pp. 88, 97, 107.

⁵⁰ Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 510. Compared to 6.9% in Cardiganshire and 3.5% in Pembrokeshire.

houses, and academies, congregations nonetheless sprang up across the region.⁵¹ Yet, like Cornwall, the gentry of south-west Wales were largely Anglican, often bequeathing money to fund church repairs.⁵² Moreover, an index of church seats dating from early eighteenth-century Carmarthenshire with the names of gentlemen engraved on them suggests that they visibly set an example of church attendance within their local communities.⁵³ Without the support of the ruling elite, how did a region with an urban structure as weak as Cornwall's sustain such a sizable nonconformist population?

The first point worth emphasising is that figures for dissent compiled after 1689 were unlikely to reflect committed nonconformists only. If the Church of England was forced to compete in a religious marketplace, then the people were free to sample the various products available. Indeed, it was not uncommon for parishioners to attend a variety of Protestant congregations, and the fundamental doctrinal differences between the denominations were not clear-cut (except, perhaps, for Quakerism). Archdeacon Tenison's visitation report makes it clear that the laity in Carmarthenshire frequently attended both Anglican and nonconformist services, and, in particular, favoured whichever provided a sermon.⁵⁴

It has been stated that it was the 'singleness of purpose and indefatigability' of nonconformist ministers in south-west Wales which allowed them to compete with Anglicanism. In particular, the legacy of Stephen Hughes in Carmarthenshire has been highlighted: it is widely (yet ambiguously) claimed that he was instrumental in training a new cohort of Independent ministers.⁵⁵ Regardless of Hughes' role in their education, it is certainly true that a group of energetic itinerant dissenting ministers were working across south-west Wales by the 1690s. Edmund Jones, for example, worked alongside two assistants in Cardiganshire to supply five churches and attracted c.1,000 hearers by 1715.⁵⁶ In this way, nonconformity was able to compete effectively against a Church of England

⁵¹ R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in Wales* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 80-1.

⁵² David W. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South-West Wales in the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1986), p. 203; Leslie Baker-Jones, *Princelings, Privilege and Power: The Tivyside Gentry in their Community* (Llandysul, 1999), pp. 237-8; Samuel Rush Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (Brecon, 1907), pp. 173-5.

⁵³ G. R. Brigstocke, 'An Index to the Seats of Carmarthenshire', *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and Field Club*, 8 (1912/13), pp. 15-17. See also, Gibson, 'St Davids', pp. 115-16, 125.

⁵⁴ Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 301-2, 307; Carmarthen Visitation II, pp. 313-16, 319-21.

⁵⁵ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 26; Watts, *Dissenters*, p. 281; Jones, *Congregationalism*, p. 80. The evidence to support Hughes' role is lacking.

⁵⁶ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 26.

which was riddled with structural issues in the region. Carmarthenshire also had a history of religious fluidity. During the decades of persecution, Hughes had preached in several Anglican churches, and the Welsh Trust had represented a cordial alliance between Anglicans and dissent across south-west Wales.⁵⁷ A blend of various forms of Protestant worship was therefore not unusual to inhabitants of Carmarthenshire. In addition, Thomas Watson was one of the few Anglican bishops who ordered his clergy to read James II's second Declaration of Indulgence from their pulpit. Although it is impossible to know how many complied with this order, those who did would have provided a further veneer of respectability to nonconformity.

Whilst nonconformist ministers may have lost the support of the gentry, an 'organisational revolution' after 1688/9 led to the development of national institutions designed to forge alliances between the various dissenting sects and provide them with funding.⁵⁸ Cornish and Welsh dissenting ministers received financial aid from the 'happy union' of Presbyterians and Independents established in 1691, and from the Baptist General Assembly which was held in London as early as 1689.⁵⁹ The alliance between Presbyterians and Independents, however, was short-lived as mutual distrust and disagreements over ecclesiology, theology, and doctrine led to its breakdown by 1695.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, a micro-scale 'happy union' continued in Cornwall and Devon into the eighteenth century, the Exeter Assembly, which had a strict emphasis on unity.⁶¹ Meanwhile, Welsh ministers benefitted from an offshoot by the Independents, the 'congregational fund'.⁶²

Although these institutions undoubtedly supported nonconformists in Cornwall and south-west Wales, they simultaneously undermined any regional identity which existed. Cornish Presbyterians and Independents were administered from distant Exeter, and the assembly's minutes reveal that, overall, there was minimal involvement by its western-most

⁵⁷ See above, pp. 79, 97.

⁵⁸ The term is Sirota's: *Christian Monitors*, p. 95.

⁵⁹ Alexander Gordon (ed.), *Freedom after Ejection: A Review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 18-20, 143-6.

⁶⁰ Watts, *Dissenters*, pp. 289-97; John Spurr, 'From Puritanism to Dissent, 1660-1700', in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 263-5.

⁶¹ Barry, 'Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', p. 94.

⁶² Glanmor Williams, 'The Dissenters in Glamorgan', in *idem* (ed.), *Glamorgan County History: Volume IV, Early Modern Glamorgan from the Act of Union to the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1974), p. 484.

partner.⁶³ For Wales the displacement was even greater. All Welsh dissenting denominations (except Quakerism) were increasingly incorporated into organisations operating out of London. In his study of the Congregational Fund in Wales, W. T. Owens argues that by the eighteenth century Welsh congregations and ministers were ‘very dependent... on help and guidance from London’.⁶⁴ Whereas during the persecution years independence was seen as a principle amongst dissenters, this self-sufficiency was steadily eroded as congregations had to conform to national conventions. It also drew Welsh dissenting congregations into the increasingly self-destructive quarrels between and within nonconformist denominations. With numerous assemblies, moreover, ministers were being drawn away from their congregations for periods of the year, an issue which was exacerbated in distant localities such as Wales and Cornwall.

ANGLICAN REVIVALS? PASTORAL PROVISION AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

In 1692, Humphrey Prideaux, the Cornishman and archdeacon of Suffolk, wrote that the ‘Act of Toleration hath almost undon us, not in increasing ye number of dissenters but of wicked and profane persons; for it is now difficult almost to get any to church’.⁶⁵ Anglicans feared not only the growth of dissent but also an increase of atheism, deism, and anti-clericalism. Without its coercive mechanisms, the Church had to adapt to a new era of ‘voluntary Anglicanism’ in which people could no longer be forced into conformity.⁶⁶ In Cornwall and south-west Wales, complaints against negligent ministers reflected this new paradigm. In calling for a new preaching curate for East Looe chapel, for example, petitioners aimed at ‘pr[e]venting the further growth of Schism and faction’.⁶⁷ Similarly, in Cardiganshire, articles exhibited against the rector of Llangoedmor complained that by keeping horses in his church, ‘a Barn or Beast house is as good as the Church’, and claimed that several parishioners had ‘gone from him over to the Conventicle’.⁶⁸ With the laity now free to choose between various Protestant churches, there was a broad consensus that

⁶³ Allan Brockett (ed.) *The Exeter Assembly: The Minutes of the Assemblies of the United Brethren of Devon and Cornwall, 1691-1717* (Torquay, 1963).

⁶⁴ W. T. Owen, ‘Wales and the Congregational Fund Board: “A Beauty-spot of Ecclesiastical History”’, *THSC* (1978), p. 152.

⁶⁵ Humphrey Prideaux, *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis, sometime Under-Secretary of State, 1674-1722*, ed. E. M. Thompson (1875), p. 154.

⁶⁶ This term is Mark Goldie’s: ‘Voluntary Anglicans’, *HJ*, 46 (2003), pp. 977-90.

⁶⁷ DHC, Moger ‘Basket D’ 1/12: Petition to bishop of Exeter from parishioners of East Looe, [n.d.].

⁶⁸ NLW, MS Otley 24: Articles exhibited against Owen Evans, 1707.

pastoral engagement was the best way to effect an Anglican revival, and halt the perceived drift away from the Church.⁶⁹

Brent Sirota has convincingly argued that an Anglican revival occurred during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁷⁰ This revival had its origins in the 1680s (informed by opposition to James II), and came to be supported by William III and Mary II after the Glorious Revolution, who incorporated the notion of a ‘godly revolution’ into their propaganda efforts.⁷¹ Sirota believes that the new monarchs ultimately failed to harness this impulse, and it instead found expression through a plethora of societies for the reformation of manners and voluntary activities – most notably the SPCK. However, there were fundamental tensions within the Church over which pastoral initiatives should be pursued, and how they should be administered. Whilst the SPCK, representing a religious association between Church and laity, increasingly drifted towards ‘church whiggery’ and low churchmanship, there was a high-church response – or ‘moral counter-revolution’ – which sought to confine the Anglican revival strictly to the Church establishment. A belief that the ecclesiastical establishment was losing its primacy led this latter group to champion measures such as the restoration of convocation, reinvigoration of church courts, and revival of rural deaneries – all informed by a firm sacerdotalism.⁷² These differing approaches to the Anglican revival can be identified in Cornwall and south-west Wales. In the former, the conservative churchmanship of the region’s bishops ensured that high-church policies were implemented, while, in the diocese of St. Davids, the vacancy of the bishopric led to the growing involvement of the laity in religious life, particularly through the activities of the SPCK.

The Anglican revival in Cornwall

Efforts to promote an Anglican revival in Cornwall were characterised by the conservative churchmanship of the region’s bishops. The role of a bishop was vital in shaping how the Church in the localities responded to the challenges posed by the post-revolutionary

⁶⁹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 210; *idem*, ‘The Eighteenth-century Reformation: The Pastoral Task of Anglican Clergy after 1689’, in Walsh *et al.* (eds.), *Church of England*, pp. 69-70; Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 185-7.

⁷⁰ Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 2.

⁷¹ Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁷² Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, chs., 3-5.

period.⁷³ Between 1689 and 1707, Bishop Jonathan Trelawny exerted a powerful influence over his diocese. That he was able personally to appoint three archdeacons and a chancellor, and develop a good relationship with the diocese's long-standing deputy registrar, was vital in allowing him to do so.⁷⁴ Despite Trelawny's professed allegiance to the Stuarts, he formed part of ecclesiastical opposition to James II (most famously as one of the 'seven bishops') and took the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, later claiming that 'we thought ourselves obliged to accept of the deliverance He brought us'.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, there were marked strands of 'neo-Laudianism' or 'Sancroftianism' to Trelawny's administration of the diocese. He firmly believed in the apostolic succession of the bishops, steadfastly championed ecclesiastical courts, and sought to mould a disciplined and paternalistic ministry. In many ways, he foreshadowed the 'moral counter-revolution' described by Sirota, partly because it shared many features of the churchmanship advocated by Sancroft.⁷⁶ During his time at Exeter, he demonstrated a concern with refurbishing the physical fabric of churches and churchyards. Importantly, he opposed a growing 'secularisation' of society typified by the regulation of morality by civil courts rather than church courts and the growth of extra-ecclesiastical societies such as the Society for the Reformation of Manners (SRM) and SPCK.⁷⁷ Trelawny's successor, Ofspring Blackall, shared his predecessor's conservative churchmanship and offered a degree of continuity in episcopal leadership within the diocese.

Trelawny repeatedly proved himself to be out of step with Lambeth. By 1699 Archbishop Thomas Tenison was beginning to acquiesce to the notion of voluntary associations. In a circular letter to the bishops of his province, which utilised a lexis similar to the embryonic SPCK, Tenison endorsed 'frequent *Meetings*' of the parish clergy, churchwardens, and 'other pious Persons among the *Laity*', while also urging diligent catechising and encouraging the laity to report moral offenders to civil magistrates to tackle the 'sensible growth of Vice and Prophaneness'.⁷⁸ When forwarding this letter to his clergy, however,

⁷³ See Gregory and Chamberlain, 'National and Local Perspectives', p. 17.

⁷⁴ M. G. Smith, *'Fighting Joshua': A Study of the Career of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, bart, 1650-1721, Bishop of Bristol, Exeter and Winchester* (Redruth, 1985), pp. 72-3.

⁷⁵ CRO, X1277, f. 218: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to William Lloyd, 25 Jan. 1717 [copy].

⁷⁶ See, Dudley W. R. Bahlman, *The Moral Revolution of 1688* (1957).

⁷⁷ The term 'secularisation' is employed by Sirota to signify the removal of religion from the ecclesiastical sphere: *Christian Monitors*, pp. 11-13.

⁷⁸ *His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Right Reverend the Lords Bishops of his Province* (Exeter, 1699), pp. 1-6; Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, pp. 105-6.

Trelawny added his own dismissive addendum. He claimed that he had ‘press’d most of these Duties on our Clergy already’, questioned the willingness of civil magistrates to prosecute moral offences, and called for a sitting convocation to deal with heretical books.⁷⁹ Indeed, only one month previously the SPCK’s early attempts to attract clerical members in the diocese of Exeter had been frustrated as Trelawny was an ‘utter enemy to all Societies’.⁸⁰ By 1706, members of the SRM mistakenly believed that his attitude had mellowed, but once this misunderstanding became clear the wider clergy ‘could not decently take any share therein, without the express consent of the B[isho]p’.⁸¹ Trelawny’s staunch opposition to any voluntary association of clergy and laity meant that no religious societies were established in Cornwall during the period under study. Instead, the bishop favoured ecclesiastical solutions to pastoral provision: an ordered ministry providing clerical oversight and a revived convocation.

As part of his efforts to improve the quality of the ministry, Trelawny was a strict disciplinarian. Non-residency, scandalous behaviour, and the performance of clandestine marriages were particularly scrutinised. Once he had identified failing ministers, he acted swiftly. Robert Hancock, vicar of St. Martin-by-Looe, for example, was well known to the Trelawny family (who dominated Looe’s municipal politics) as a former puritan. In 1669, articles of complaint accused Hancock of immorality while Bishop Sparrow described him as the ‘most scandalous Priest in this Diocese’, and by the 1680s the townspeople of East Looe complained to both the Trelawnys and the bishop of Exeter of Hancock’s failure to supply his chapel-of-ease in the town since the Civil Wars.⁸² Following Trelawny’s translation to the diocese of Exeter, he wasted no time in suspending the troublesome Hancock until he had made necessary repairs to East Looe chapel, presumably in anticipation that Hancock would hire a preaching curate or serve it himself.⁸³ As in the decades before the Revolution, the laity played a vital role in bringing actions against negligent or morally corrupt clergy, but often found it a long, protracted process that did not

⁷⁹ *To the Reverend the Arch-Deacon of Exeter* (Exeter, 1699).

⁸⁰ Edmund McClure, *A Chapter in English Church History, being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1704* (1888), pp. 295, 310.

⁸¹ CCL, MS Wake 23, ff. 155, 164-5: Maurice Wheeler to William Wake, 4 Mar., 9 Dec., 23 Dec. 1706.

⁸² DHC, Moger CC178/St. Martin-by-Looe: Articles of complaint against Robert Hancock, 20 Sept. 1669; Bodl., MS Tanner 141, f. 132: Anthony Sparrow to Gilbert Sheldon, 3 Oct. 1670; DHC, Moger ‘Basket D’ 1/12, 30: Petitions to bishop of Exeter from parishioners of East Looe, [c.1680s].

⁸³ DHC, Moger PR517/305, 306: Suspension of Robert Hancock, Jan. 1691; Robert Hancock to [?Sir Jonathan Trelawny], 6 May 1691.

necessarily see that minister removed from their parish.⁸⁴ Trelawny was receptive to complaints by parishioners, and, at times sought to ‘encourage the patitioners complaints, & assist th[e]m in the prosecution’.⁸⁵ The bishop proved himself to be a relentless opponent, and his fury towards disobedient clergymen was often palpable in his correspondence. Yet the other side to this singlemindedness was a dogged loyalty towards his allies. As he put it himself, ‘as I never wil faile of punishing an ill clergyman, I am always ready to support a good one’.⁸⁶ In this inflexible way, Trelawny maintained high clerical standards – as M. G. Smith notes, there were remarkably few incidences of scandalous behaviour during his episcopate.⁸⁷

Trelawny was careful to ensure high standards amongst his ordination candidates. The subscription books for his episcopate do not survive, but the proportion of graduate clergymen undoubtedly rose to its highest level since the Restoration and grew further still to 93% under Bishop Blackall’s leadership.⁸⁸ It was not uncommon for Trelawny to reject candidates for, as he once elegantly put it, ‘intolerable duncery’.⁸⁹ Indeed, from 1691 he spent three years traipsing between various law courts to defend his right to refuse institution for insufficient academic ability – a right which was eventually confirmed by the House of Lords.⁹⁰ In an uncompromising fashion, Trelawny aimed to mould a high-quality and orderly ministry in the diocese of Exeter who could act as an alternative to the extra-ecclesiastical organisations which were flourishing during the late 1690s. The primacy he placed on clerical ability and discipline suggests that sacerdotalism was an important strand of his churchmanship, and that he saw the clergy as holding a privileged position within society whose vital role could not be supplemented by the laity.

⁸⁴ See, Donald A. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁸⁵ DHC, Moger ‘Basket C’ 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 7 June [?1700].

⁸⁶ DHC, Moger ‘Basket C’ 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 2 Dec. [?1700]. See, for example, his defence of Lancelot Blackburne (canon of Exeter), who was accused of unspecified ‘detestable crimes’: CCL, MS Wake 17, ff. 64r-65r: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to William Wake, 8 Nov. 1703.

⁸⁷ M. G. Smith, ‘A Study of the Administration of the Diocese of Exeter during the Episcopate of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Baronet, 13 April 1689-14 June 1707’, B.D. thesis (University of Oxford, 1965), p. 45.

⁸⁸ Boggis, *Exeter*, p. 442. This was close to the 97% of graduate clergy in Leicestershire: John H. Pruett, *The Parish Clergy under the Later Stuarts: The Leicestershire Experience* (1978), p. 43.

⁸⁹ DHC, Moger ‘Basket C’ 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 23 Sept. [?1700].

⁹⁰ Smith, *Fighting Joshua*, pp. 91-2.

In addition to using ecclesiastical courts to punish negligent ministers, they were also used to punish moral offences amongst the laity. It was doubtlessly partly due to a reluctance to see such offences handled by the civil courts that Trelawny refused to circulate an order by Cornish JPs in 1691 concerning the punishment of ‘wickednesse & vice’ until he had consulted other bishops.⁹¹ It would be wrong to characterise Trelawny as an unyielding proponent of ecclesiastical courts over civil courts in all circumstances. In 1700, for instance, he asked the mayor and aldermen of Exeter to punish an offender, but also encouraged the churchwardens to present the man if they failed to act.⁹² Nevertheless, the Church in Cornwall attempted to maintain a degree of control over the lives of the laity: parishioners in Saltash were ordered to stop taking the communion cup out of the church, and it was only after an intervention by Queen Anne that proceedings were halted against several Plymouth dockyard workers who had laboured during a fast day.⁹³ However, despite Trelawny’s support for the church courts, he could not halt what was been described as a ‘catastrophic decline in the volume of business’ after 1688.⁹⁴ It was telling that when a petition concerning church seats at St. Just was sent shortly after the situation had already been resolved to Trelawny’s satisfaction, he wrote that ‘I should be severely angry... but th[a]t I know it wil scatter some mony in the consistory to w[hi]ch I wish more busines th[a]n... it hath had’.⁹⁵ He was fighting an ultimately futile battle to keep the church courts financially solvent and legally relevant.

The broader pastoral initiatives implemented during Trelawny’s episcopate are not always easy to identify amongst the surviving evidence. A handful of scraps, however, suggest that they were in line with conservative churchmanship: privileging the sacraments, priestly intervention, and ministerial discipline over personal piety, preaching, and education. In this, Trelawny was aided by having rural deans conducting annual visitations throughout the later Stuart period, reporting on the behaviour of the clergy and parishioners, and inspecting the physical condition of parish churches. In 1706, he sought to reinvigorate

⁹¹ CRO, BU/405/25: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to John Buller, 28 Dec. 1691. Trelawny was probably also hesitant because the Church was without an archbishop following Sancroft’s deprivation as a non-juror.

⁹² DHC, Moger ‘Basket C’ 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 14 Mar. 1699/1700.

⁹³ Smith, *Fighting Joshua*, pp. 66-7.

⁹⁴ Smith, ‘Administration’, pp. 89-90. On the collapse of church courts after 1689, see Barry Till, *The Church Courts 1660-1720: The Revival of Procedure*, Borthwick Paper 109 (York, 2006), pp. 5-34.

⁹⁵ DHC, Moger ‘Basket C’ 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 16 Nov. [?1700].

the office to effect a restoration of church fabric across his diocese.⁹⁶ The re-establishment of rural deaneries has often been seen as a feature of conservative churchmanship: Sancroft had promoted the office in the 1680s, and high churchmen in Convocation similarly promoted it from 1711 when it was viewed as a means of counteracting the purportedly unqualified religious societies.⁹⁷ The effectiveness of the rural deaneries in Cornwall is difficult to determine; presentments were returned directly to Edward Drewe, archdeacon of the county, and do not survive. Moreover, Drewe had a fractious relationship with his bishop at this point (see below) and M. G. Smith suggests that he ‘never supported the campaign’.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, surviving documents demonstrate the involvement of rural deans in the prosecution of negligent Cornish ministers during the 1670s, 1680s, and 1690s. Their role as supervisors of the clergy appears to have been maintained throughout the later Stuart period.

There is evidence of a growth of ritualism in Cornish parish churches during this period. In 1700, Trelawny consented to more regular psalmody, but stressed that it should be done in ‘a manner <more> suitable to the worshipping of God then before’.⁹⁹ It is easy to see why psalmody would appeal to Trelawny; it can be seen as part of an effort to encourage parish churches to imitate the rituals and ceremonies of Cathedrals. It is unlikely that he foresaw the fact that it was an innovation which, by the 1720s, would become viewed by many high churchmen as having spiralled out of the Church’s control.¹⁰⁰ There is also evidence of high-church views amongst those responsible for the furnishing of parish churches. From the mid-1680s, a number of parish churches began to conform to the Laudian practice of placing their communion table altarwise at the east end wall of the church, and erected altar rails at which parishioners could kneel to receive holy communion. A set of rails at Altarnon parish church are engraved with the year 1684, while rails are known to have been erected at Breage in 1693, St. Dominic in 1694, and Antony in 1698.¹⁰¹ Such practice became common after the Restoration across England, and rails were erected in a piecemeal fashion throughout the

⁹⁶ M. G. Smith, ‘Bishop Trelawny and the Office of Rural Dean’, *The Devonshire Association Report and Transactions*, 111 (1979), pp. 13-30.

⁹⁷ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 87; Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, pp. 189, 206-7.

⁹⁸ Smith, ‘*Fighting Joshua*’, p.

⁹⁹ DHC, Chanter 57, f. 167v: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to [vicar of South Tawton], 16 Apr. 1700 [copy].

¹⁰⁰ Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, ch. 10.

¹⁰¹ H. Miles Brown, ‘Communion Table Furnishings in Eighteenth-Century Cornwall’, *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, 23 (1947-49), p. 112; CRO, P50/5/1: Churchwardens’ accounts, St. Dominic, 1694.

late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with little controversy.¹⁰² How far this practice reflected the impulses of leading parishioners or directions from diocesan officials is unclear. During the personal rule of Charles II, Trelawny (as bishop of Bristol) had followed a number of his colleagues in ordering the Laudian-style placement of the communion table enclosed with rails but there is no evidence that he continued to do so in Exeter.¹⁰³ Moreover, by the 1690s, the decision to erect altar rails was typically a grass-roots phenomenon led by parish elites.¹⁰⁴ In any case, the changes point towards a growth of ritualism in Cornish churches, and perhaps reveals a growing popular reverence towards the reception of holy communion.¹⁰⁵

In many respects, Trelawny's successor, Ofspring Blackall, guaranteed continuity in the administration of the diocese of Exeter. A high-church tory, Blackall was a favourite of Queen Anne and had made a name for himself during a series of fierce religious disputes with John Toland and Benjamin Hoadly.¹⁰⁶ Like Trelawny, Blackall sought to maintain high clerical standards, and was a firm proponent of rural deaneries.¹⁰⁷ In other ways he was an innovator. Shortly after his appointment, Blackall gave a sermon before the city magistrates of Exeter encouraging the establishment of charity schools across the diocese, and sent a circular letter to his clergy promoting the same project so children could be instructed in the church catechism.¹⁰⁸ A published list of grammar schools had revealed that 'there is hardly a County in *England* in which there are not several of these Schools set up... except in the two Counties of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*'.¹⁰⁹ Charity schools were a central tenet of the SPCK's efforts to aid the parish clergy, but Trelawny's obduracy towards the society meant it had made almost no inroads into Devon or Cornwall. Blackall called for the establishment of charity schools without directly referring to the society once. The response of the Cornish

¹⁰² Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), p. 305.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 328-9.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that money spent by churchwardens on bread and wine suggests that most parishioners received communion once a year at Easter – even at St. Dominic in the decade following the construction of rails: CRO, P50/5/1. See also, P23/5/1; P87/5/1; P241/5/1: Churchwardens' accounts, St. Buryan, St. Hilary, and St. Tudy. At St. Erme.

¹⁰⁶ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 25-6. His appointment was resented by Archbishop Tenison and the whig junto.

¹⁰⁷ Arthur Warne, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century Devon* (Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 22-33.

¹⁰⁸ Ofspring Blackall, *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Ofspring Blackall*, ed. William Dawes (2 vols., 1723), II, 1174-87.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1183. See, *An Account of Charity-Schools lately Erected* (1708).

gentry, however, was not energetic. Two schools were founded in Launceston, but both had failed by 1712, and John Buller (a former Independent) was inspired to establish five schools in Saltash, Liskeard, Looe, Grampound, and Penzance to educate children in the ‘true religion’. Beyond Buller’s efforts, though, there was little discernible enthusiasm for the project.¹¹⁰ Throughout the period 1689-1714, a continuity in episcopal attitudes can be identified in Cornwall. Both Trelawny and Blackall stressed the importance of the priesthood, and were able to maintain a high degree of ecclesiastical supervision over religious life.

The Anglican revival in south-west Wales

Such continuity in leadership was not mirrored in the diocese of St. Davids. From 1692, Bishop Watson became embroiled in a series of lawsuits which would eventually lead to his deprivation in 1699. It was not until 1705 that George Bull was consecrated as his replacement. For the remainder of the period, there was a relatively rapid turnover of prelates – Bull, Philip Bisse, and Adam Ottley – which thwarted the development of a coherent long-term programme of religious renewal by diocesan officials. As a result, the gentry played a vital role in encouraging an Anglican revival in south-west Wales through their volunteerism. The most common avenue was to support the work of religious societies – principally, the SPCK. Although Brent Sirota has highlighted the growing whiggish ideology at the heart of this extra-ecclesiastical organisation, he also notes that at a parish level it was distinctly conservative in nature; it was reliant upon a collaboration of local clerics and lay persons in an effort to reinforce parish Anglicanism through the erection of charity schools and the distribution of religious texts among parishioners.

Yet there was no single approach. A number of bishops of St. Davids implemented policies and pastoral initiatives similar to those championed by Trelawny and Blackall in Cornwall, aimed at forging a disciplined and professional ministry. Watson, for example, was particularly energetic in rooting out non-residency – even ordering the infamously absent canons of St. Davids cathedral to remain resident.¹¹¹ However, many of their efforts were implemented in a sporadic fashion with little continuity throughout the period. Both

¹¹⁰ F. L. Harris, ‘Education and Charity in Eighteenth-Century Cornwall’, *JRIC*, 9 (1982), p. 36.

¹¹¹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 594, 596; Bodl., MS Tanner 27, f. 207: Thomas Watson to William Sancroft, 16 Sept. 1690.

Watson and his eventual successor, Bull, revived rural deaneries to monitor the clergy, only for the office twice to fall into disuse.¹¹² By contrast, it was later claimed that discipline amongst the clergy and laity was so loosely enforced during Bishop Bisse's brief and largely non-resident episcopate that the ecclesiastical courts of St. Davids had 'become less regarded than the meanest of the base courts in the country'.¹¹³

With such an oscillating approach to clerical standards, it is unsurprising that incidences of scandalous clerical behaviour appear to have been far more common in south-west Wales than Cornwall. Accounts ranged from the rector of Llangoedmor (Cardiganshire) who was accused, amongst other crimes, of rubbing his own excrement into his son's 'mouth & teeth as if his Excre[m]en[ts] *salva reverentia* had a medicinal vertue for a foul tongue', to the six ministers who were accused of base drinking habits during Archdeacon Tenison's 1710 visitation of Carmarthenshire.¹¹⁴ Diocesan officials often relied upon visitations to bring such behaviour to their attention, but only four episcopal visitations were conducted during this period.¹¹⁵ It was therefore left to parishioners to petition against negligent ministers or the gentry to intervene on their behalf, and, while some such documents survive, their scarcity suggests that it was uncommon. The standard mechanisms for monitoring the quality of the clergy and dealing with negligent ministers (visitations, rural deans, and ecclesiastical courts) were utilised inconsistently by successive bishops of St. Davids. While it would be wrong to denigrate the ability of the entire ministry in south-west Wales, defects within the parochial system nonetheless allowed any negligence to go unchecked.

Most bishops of St. Davids took care when appointing ministers.¹¹⁶ However, as with the pre-revolutionary period, they faced unique linguistic challenges: it was a prerequisite that the clergy should be Welsh-speakers. As Ottley put it, 'I keep St. Davids for natives of Wales'.¹¹⁷ Indeed, it is clear that the clergymen in south-west Wales remained

¹¹² Davies, 'Diocese of St David's', pp. 33, 135.

¹¹³ Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

¹¹⁴ NLW, MS Ottley 24; Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 300, 302, 304; Carmarthen Visitation II, pp. 315, 318, 320.

¹¹⁵ In 1691, 1705, 1708, and 1714. Archdeacon Tenison is also known to have completed a visitation of Carmarthenshire in 1710.

¹¹⁶ On careful vetting, see Davies, 'St David's', p. 40; Robert Nelson, *The Life of Dr. George Bull, Late Bishop of St. David's* (1713), pp. 423-7; NLW, MS Ottley 167: Adam Ottley to Adam Ottley [nephew], 19 Nov. 1713.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Davies, 'St David's', p. 40.

overwhelmingly native-speakers.¹¹⁸ As we have seen in Chapter Two, however, the linguistic reality was one of widespread bilingualism alongside pockets of monoglot Welsh and English speakers. Ministers therefore often needed to be bilingual in order to cater to their flocks. Yet finding ordination candidates who spoke Welsh and were also university graduates proved increasingly difficult. By 1714, only 32% of the clergy in St. Davids had attended university – the lowest proportion of graduate clergymen in any English or Welsh diocese.¹¹⁹ This also represented a fall since 1687 which was likely prompted by a number of factors: the widespread poverty of the Welsh gentry, and the absence of a substantial middling sort, made higher education unaffordable; the deprivation of Watson led to a period in which no bishop oversaw ordinations; and the difficulty of persuading graduates to accept poor Welsh livings. Yet we must be wary of underestimating the academic abilities of Welsh clerics; the correspondence of the celebrated naturalist Edward Lhuyd, for example, highlights dozens of deeply learned ministers.¹²⁰ Moreover, as discussed in Chapter Two, native clergymen could comfortably insert themselves into local communities. At its most effective, parishes could form close relationships with multiple generations of a single clerical family, as they did in Llanbadarn Fawr (Cardiganshire) where three generations of the Jones family held the living between 1654 and 1733 with glowing reports from churchwardens.¹²¹ However, growing pluralism in the diocese of St. Davids went some way to undermining this advantage.

Beyond maintaining a Welsh-speaking ministry, several bishops of St. Davids lent their support to efforts to produce Welsh-language pious tracts.¹²² These bishops identified the somewhat fundamental requirement that pastoral provision should be provided in a language their parishioners could understand. After all, failure to do so could quickly lead to disaffection and the abandonment of Anglican services. At Laugharne (Carmarthenshire) it was said that the parishioners had begun attending a Presbyterian meeting in the 1680s because ‘they had no Sermons at Church in a language they understood’, only for the

¹¹⁸ Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, pp. 9-10; Jenkins, ‘Church, Nation and Language’, p. 271; Gibson, ‘St. Davids’, p. 111.

¹¹⁹ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, p. 78.

¹²⁰ Philip Jenkins, ‘The Anglican Church and the Unity of Britain: The Welsh Experience, 1560-1714’ in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest & Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (1995), p. 127.

¹²¹ Gibson, ‘St Davids’, p. 111.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 103; Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, pp. 276-7; Davies, ‘St David’s’, p. 41.

dissenting congregation to shrink by two-thirds once Welsh Anglican services were provided.¹²³ Despite these clear signals about the danger of failing to provide for monoglot Welsh-speakers, Bishop Bisse nonetheless famously refused to subscribe to a Welsh translation of Robert Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts* (1704) for fear it would 'obstruct the English Tongue'.¹²⁴ Bisse's attitude undoubtedly placed him in a minority of St. Davids prelates, but his obstinacy in this instance does highlight that the clergy in south-west Wales were not universally supportive of the Welsh language, and that occasionally monoglot English-speaking ministers were appointed to Welsh livings.¹²⁵ Considering the linguistic challenges faced by diocesan officials, as well as manifold structural weaknesses, it is perhaps unsurprising that additional support from the SPCK was widely welcomed.

From its inception, there was a strong Welsh dimension to the SPCK; eight of the first twelve letters of support its committee received came from the Principality.¹²⁶ It is significant that Bishop Thomas was deprived of his bishopric only five months after the very first meeting of the society in March 1699. During the subsequent six-year period in which the diocese of St. Davids had no prelate, the SPCK played a central role in implementing an Anglican revival in south-west Wales. In 1703, Archbishop Thomas Tenison issued a circular letter to the clergy of St. Davids which, alongside the usual charges to 'Instruct your People well in the Principles of Religion', called for them to 'give the World all the Marks of your Respect of those Worthy Magistrates, or other Gentlemen, and also of Inferiour Persons, whom you see Zealous in the Cause of God and Religion'. Without explicitly naming the society, Tenison encouraged the clergy to assist the SPCK in their work of erecting charity schools and distributing religious books amongst the poor.¹²⁷

The SPCK quickly established a foothold in south-west Wales, especially in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire where it was popular amongst the whiggish and low-

¹²³ Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 307.

¹²⁴ *SPCK Wales*, p. 42: John Vaughan to Robert Nelson, 3 Oct. 1711. How far this was actually due to his distaste for the non-juring author of the work is a matter of debate.

¹²⁵ For example, at Llanglydwen and Llanrhian: Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 302; Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 324.

¹²⁶ Mary Clement, *The S.P.C.K. and Wales 1699-1740: The History of the S.P.C.K. in Wales from its Foundation to the Early Years of the Welsh Methodist Movement* (1954), p. xiv.

¹²⁷ *His Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Reverend the Arch-Deacons and the rest of the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David* (1703), pp. 10-13.

church gentry.¹²⁸ Only a handful of members corresponded directly with the SPCK, of whom the most energetic lay members were the whigs Sir John Philipps (4th Bt.) of Picton Castle (Pembrokeshire) and John Vaughan of Cwrt Derllys (Carmarthenshire), who worked alongside a patchwork of local clergymen.¹²⁹ An early stumbling block was the sheer size of south-west Wales and its lack of bishop; members were too widely dispersed to hold regular meetings, and a number of ministers were reluctant to ‘associate’ without the sanction of a new bishop.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, the growing membership of the SPCK quickly subsumed pre-existing reformation of manners movements.¹³¹ The importance of the support of powerful members of the gentry such as Philipps and Vaughan cannot be underestimated. The former had made a name for himself in parliament as a proponent for legislation against blasphemy and profaneness.¹³² His private memoranda books and correspondence were saturated with Christian language and imagery and reveal a deeply pious man with a puritanical streak.¹³³ John Vaughan, meanwhile, was from a minor branch of the powerful Vaughans of Golden Grove (the whig earls of Carberry) and his brother Richard served as MP for Carmarthen borough for almost forty years. Therefore, while the society was founded by both tories and whigs in London, and hoped to maintain a non-partisan position, the important lay influences in south-west Wales were whiggish from its foundation in the region.¹³⁴

In many respects, the SPCK in Wales can be seen as the natural successor of the seventeenth-century evangelical schemes (namely the Propagation Act and the Welsh Trust) shorn of their nonconformist connections. Certainly, few of the SPCK’s activities were new to the region. Correspondents repeatedly spoke of a spiritual backwardness amongst the Welsh people. This attitude existed both within and without the Principality; a Bristolian member wrote of ‘the great Ignorance and Atheism in Wales and of the contempt of the

¹²⁸ For early enthusiasm, see *SPCK Wales*, pp. 1, 3-5, 9-11, 250.

¹²⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 13 for list of correspondents 1701-1708. There were no regular correspondents from Cardiganshire.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10: Thomas Lloyd to John Chamberlayne, 1 Aug. 1700; John Laugharne to John Chamberlayne, 7 Dec. 1700.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11: Thomas Thomas to John Chamberlayne, 19 May 1701.

¹³² *Commons, 1690-1715*, V, 138-41.

¹³³ For example, NLW, MSS Picton 579, 1593, 1489, 4075, 1458-61: Memoranda books and correspondence of Sir John Philipps.

¹³⁴ Craig Rose, ‘The Origins and Ideals of the SPCK, 1699-1716’, in Walsh *et al.* (eds.), *Church of England*, pp. 172-190; Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 114. The tory Sir Humphrey Mackworth was an exception, but his activities for the society were predominantly centred in Glamorgan.

Clergy’, while Welshmen described their countrymen as ‘notoriously wicked’.¹³⁵ Indeed, various forms of popular religious expression, or ‘folk religion’, continued to be practised in Wales beyond those condoned by the established church. In Carmarthenshire, five holy wells at Llanpumpsaint were visited by two or three hundred people every St. Peter’s Day to cure aches, while graves were strewn with herbs every Saturday night at Merthyr and Carmarthen.¹³⁶ Erasmus Saunders, himself a member of the SPCK, wrote of ‘old Customs’ prevailing in the mountainous reaches, and believed that ‘Superstition and Religion, Truth and Errour, are so very odly mix’d’.¹³⁷ Such pre-reformation popular beliefs had often become blended with orthodox Anglican practices. To many Anglican clergy, however, any deviation from the prescribed liturgy was tantamount to nonconformity.

As one early correspondent noted, the success of the SPCK relied partly on whether ‘the next Diocesan patronizes their Designs’.¹³⁸ He was not to be disappointed: in George Bull the society found a powerful ally. During his episcopate, Bull firmly reminded his clergy of their pastoral obligations, and set an example by diligently performing mass confirmations across south-west Wales despite his infirmity.¹³⁹ In 1710, shortly before his death, he supervised the drafting of a circular letter to his clergy which, while never published, encouraged several aspects of low-church Anglicanism. In an effort to improve ‘piety and virtue’, the bishop urged his clergy to instruct their parishioners to practice family devotion, supply their children with small libraries of practical divinity, and purchase new editions of the Welsh prayer book, while the wealthier members of their flocks should be encouraged to erect charity schools. He also ordered his clergy to use their interest with JPs ‘to suppress vice and immorality’. As an example, he appended a 1708 declaration by Carmarthenshire JPs that they would put the laws against cursing, profanation of the Lord’s day, and ‘any other vice and immorality’ into action.¹⁴⁰ Central to the document was a strand of churchmanship which would have appalled Trelawny; at its core was an alliance between the laity and clergy to effect an Anglican revival in south-west Wales.

¹³⁵ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 10, 65: Arthur Bedford to John Chamberlayne, 8 Jan. 1701; John Pember to [Henry Newman], 28 Feb. 1714; Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. xv.

¹³⁶ Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 296-7.

¹³⁷ Saunders, *State of Religion*, pp. 35-6.

¹³⁸ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 4-5: Arnold Bowen to [John Evans], 4 Mar. 1700.

¹³⁹ Nelson, *George Bull*, pp. 419, 422-3, 430, 440.

¹⁴⁰ NLW, MS 1484E, ff. 73r-75v: George Bull’s letter to the archdeacons and clergy of St. Davids.

This Anglican revival was multifaceted and, in many respects, highly successful in bolstering the parish clergy's pastoral provision. As early as July 1700, one Carmarthenshire correspondent reported that their work had 'wrought a Visible Reformation in ye County'.¹⁴¹ The SPCK focused on two broad areas of activity in south-west Wales: the distribution of Welsh-language religious books and the erection of charity schools. In this first venture, they were aided by an explosion in printed Welsh-language books after 1700.¹⁴² As in the pre-revolutionary period, the bulk of these were translations of English works; while some were patronised by the society, they also took advantage of the work done previously by the Welsh Trust. Especially popular amongst correspondents were religious manuals, expositions of the catechism, and works encouraging personal piety.¹⁴³ John Vaughan was especially active in distributing these texts, ordering thousands to be delivered to Cwrt Derllys.¹⁴⁴ This was not a futile exercise: during his visitation of Carmarthenshire in 1710, Archdeacon Tenison enquired into the proportion of the parish 'poor' who could read Welsh (no doubt with a mind on the work of the SPCK), and found high rates of literacy.¹⁴⁵ The society was also vital in financing a new edition of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer in Welsh from 1714 with the explicit backing of all four Welsh bishops (plus the bishops of Hereford and Worcester), and in the establishment of a diocesan library at Carmarthen to improve access to religious texts for impoverished and geographically-isolated clergymen.¹⁴⁶ In these endeavours, the SPCK strengthened the work of the parish clergy, and although much of the funding came from the laity, the clergy were heavily involved in every venture. The society's leadership were aware of the need to maintain this delicate balance. When Vaughan became determined to see Bull's pastoral letter printed and circulated by every bishop in England and Wales, the society refused to lend its support for fear of appearing to be directing the clergy and overtly encroaching on ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ *SPCK Wales*, p. 8: Thomas Thomas to John Chamberlayne, 22 July 1700.

¹⁴² Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, p. 35.

¹⁴³ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 12, 14, 31, 62, 252-3.

¹⁴⁵ Carmarthen Visitation I & II, *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, pp. 30-32; Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society*, pp. 61-2; William H. Howells, 'Carmarthen Diocesan Library', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 20 (1984), pp. 59-68.

¹⁴⁷ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 28, 30-1, 34-8, 43, 50, 58-9, 64, 68, 326-7.

Another central feature of the SPCK's programme of Anglican renewal was the establishment of charity schools. Between 1704 and 1713, forty-one schools were established in south-west Wales under the auspices of the SPCK, funded by various members of the local gentry and clergy.¹⁴⁸ Of these, twenty-one were patronised by Sir John Philipps, predominantly in his native county of Pembrokeshire.¹⁴⁹ He was motivated by a desire to educate a new generation of steadfast Anglicans, writing in his personal memoranda book that 'if greater care were taken in the Xian education of children, there w[oul]d not be so many Anabaptists'.¹⁵⁰ Philipps' chief clerical ally, John Pember, believed that the reluctance of some parents to send their children to these schools resulted from their own failure to be 'Instructed in the Xtian Religion' as children.¹⁵¹ Their references to 'Christian education' highlights that these schools were, as Sirota puts it, 'instruments of Anglican confessionalization designed primarily to secure the lower orders of society in the communion of the established church'.¹⁵² While syllabi included a variety of subjects, catechetical education was at its core and the schoolmasters were clergymen. In this sense, the schools represented an alliance between clerical and lay Anglicans. Yet the impact of such schools is difficult to determine. By 1711 Philipps was said to be single-handedly funding the education of forty-two children but, as the south-west Welsh charity schools taught exclusively in English, their appeal may have only stretched to bilingual families.¹⁵³

A greater hindrance to the programme of Anglican renewal characterised by the activities of the SPCK was the accompanying breakdown of more traditional parish pastoral practices for which the Church was solely responsible. For instance, it was advised that children attending charity schools should be taken to services twice on Sundays and sent *en masse* to their parish church to be catechised once deemed ready.¹⁵⁴ However, the widespread structural weakness of the diocese of St. Davids meant that these requirements – dual-services on Sundays and weekly catechising – were rarely fulfilled. Tenison's visitation of the archdeaconry of Carmarthen in 1710 was particularly revealing. Of the forty-eight

¹⁴⁸ Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales*, pp. 102-46. Twenty-six in Pembrokeshire, fourteen in Carmarthenshire, and only one in Cardiganshire.

¹⁴⁹ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 15-16, 23, 25, 35, 44, 54-5, 329.

¹⁵⁰ NLW, MS Picton 579, *unpaginated*: Memoranda book of Sir John Philipps.

¹⁵¹ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 23, 65: John Pember to [Henry Newman], 24 Sept. 1709; 28 Feb. 1714.

¹⁵² Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 123.

¹⁵³ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 37, 44, 54-5.

¹⁵⁴ Sirota, *Christian Monitors*, p. 123.

parishes and chapelries for which he recorded information, only five (10%) provided two Sunday services, two-thirds performed divine service once every Sunday, and the remainder offered services more infrequently.¹⁵⁵ Fewer parishes included information on catechising (twenty-nine), but it suggests that only four (14%) performed catechisms on a weekly basis, seventeen (59%) annually, and eight (28%) not at all. A similar picture emerges concerning preaching: out of fifty-three parishes and chapelries, the majority of ministers or curates (55%) usually preached every other week, fourteen (26%) once a month, and only seven (13%) at least once a week. Typically, then, a parishioner in Carmarthenshire would attend church once on Sundays to attend divine service and hear a sermon on alternate weeks, and have their children catechised annually at Lent. A further complication was that fourteen parishes alternated between the English and Welsh languages when reading prayers and preaching – the fact that this was necessary presumably means there were a significant number of monoglot speakers of each language within these parishes who would only have been able to understand alternate services.¹⁵⁶

Quantitative data, however, does not provide the full picture. It does not, for instance, highlight the diligence of Thomas Philips, rector of Laugharne, who read prayers four times a week, preached ‘every Sunday & on State-days’, and catechised children every Sunday.¹⁵⁷ Nor does it highlight conditions which particularly troubled Tenison. Dissent was a constant spectre within his account, with Presbyterians and Independents booming in Carmarthenshire at this time. Particularly galling were the chapels of Llanllwch and Llan-y-Bre, which through either their ruinous condition or neglect by the lay impropiator were being used as dissenting meeting houses.¹⁵⁸ At Pencader, the chapel lay ‘ruined’ and an Independent meeting house had been erected next to the church yard in which one William Evans preached regularly and performed the sacrament every month.¹⁵⁹ Tenison was adamant that it was the neglect of Anglican ministers which drew people ‘away from the Church to the Conventicle’.¹⁶⁰ As a member of the SPCK, he was especially concerned to

¹⁵⁵ This can be contrasted to the diocese of London where 50% of parishes had dual-services, or Hereford’s 68%, or Shropshire and Oxford where the figure was over 80%. It should be noted that these figures relate to the eighteenth century. Gregory and Chamberlain, ‘National and Local Perspectives’, p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ Carmarthen Visitation I & II, *passim*.

¹⁵⁷ Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 306-7. Tenison was also impressed by the vicar of Abergwili: *ibid.*, p. 297.

¹⁵⁸ Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 295; Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 314.

¹⁵⁹ Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 316.

¹⁶⁰ Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 301-2; Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 316.

find that the aforementioned Evans was receiving funds from the society to maintain south-west Wales' only dissenting academy in Carmarthen.¹⁶¹

These permeable boundaries between Anglicanism and dissent were not uncommon in Carmarthenshire, and it is clear that a vast number of parishioners variously attended both congregations – particularly if a sermon was being preached, regardless of theological content. In at least ten parishes, Tenison found that parishioners ‘frequent the Meeting house, but when there is a Sermon several of them come to Church’, and that ‘when there is a Sermon at Church there is a full Congregation’.¹⁶² Parishioners at Talley were so eager to hear sermons that ‘when they hear of a strange Preacher [they] go to the Presbyterian Meeting’, despite the fact that ‘none of them do constantly frequent the Meeting’.¹⁶³ This hunger for preaching was not unique to south-west Wales: Jeremy Gregory and Donald Spaeth have found similar proclivities in Kent and Wiltshire respectively.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, this does represent a dramatic shift in the religious culture of the Welsh region from the eve of the Civil Wars, when preaching had made little headway in the Principality. Described as being spiritually conservative in the 1630s – ‘a religion of the liturgy’ – the laity of early eighteenth-century Carmarthenshire eschewed sacramental religion for regular preaching.¹⁶⁵ It is likely that the efforts of nonconformists (particularly Stephen Hughes) were vital in facilitating this shift, which would also account for the religious fluidity in the region. A decades-long tradition of nonconformist preaching in Carmarthenshire, sometimes within Anglican parish churches, meant that the failure of Anglican ministers to preach on a weekly basis presented dissenting ministers with a window of opportunity to attract large audiences.

Yet churchwardens' presentments rarely criticised their ministers for failing to fulfil the church rubrics, nor were the bishops of St. Davids' in-trays overflowing with petitions against negligent ministers. Rather, the vast majority of visitation returns from across south-

¹⁶¹ Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 294; ‘Carmarthen Academy (c.1703-1795)’, *Dissenting Academies Online*, <<https://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/sample1.php?parameter=academyretrieve&alpha=31>> [last accessed 18 Sept. 2018].

¹⁶² Carmarthen Visitation I, pp. 301-2; Carmarthen Visitation II, pp. 313, 314, 315, 316, 319, 320, 321, 324.

¹⁶³ Carmarthen Visitation II, p. 321. See also, NLW, SD/CPD/21/153: Churchwardens' visitation presentment, Talley, 4 Sept. 1705, in which it was claimed there were no dissenters in the parish.

¹⁶⁴ Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform*, pp. 256-7; Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁵ Lloyd Bowen, *The Politics of the Principality: Wales, c.1603-1642* (Cardiff, 2007), p. 210. Tenison found that the majority of parishioners attended only Easter communion.

west Wales suggest that the laity were generally satisfied with the clergy.¹⁶⁶ The laity were more typically drawn to action when faced with scandalous clerical behaviour or near-complete neglect. At Llanafan (Cardiganshire), for instance, the churchwardens made a rare criticism of their curate for fathering a bastard child with one of his flock.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, twenty-four leading parishioners in Manardivy (Pembrokeshire) brought a stinging petition against their minister, one Dr David Phillips, for remaining non-resident in London while receiving £190 a year from his living, and ‘leaving an insufficient and a notorious person for his curate who is the reputed father of several bastards’.¹⁶⁸ Perceived moral corruption was most likely to lead parishioners to hold their clergy to account. However, such episodes are notable for their infrequency, and many amongst the laity appear to have preferred to demonstrate their displeasure by simply attending different congregations.

Instead, the most powerful critiques of the Church in Wales at this time came from reformist clergymen within the Church of England, often from those who were both low churchmen and associated with the SPCK. Although, as this chapter has argued, the society was generally complementary to parish Anglicanism, some erosive elements can be identified in south-west Wales.¹⁶⁹ Most famous was Erasmus Saunders’ *State of Religion* discussed at the head of this chapter. However, something of the frustrations which underpinned Saunders’ book can also be identified in Archdeacon Tenison’s visitation of Carmarthen. A staunch whig and corresponding member of the SPCK, his identification of seven ministers who were ‘given to drink’ is typical of the movement to reform manners and its emphasis on austere sobriety.

Particularly telling was the case of Griffith Jones, rector of Llandeilo-Abercywyn, who would later become an early promotor of Methodism and establish circulating schools across Wales.¹⁷⁰ Considered to be one of the SPCK’s most talented members, the society failed to convince him to become a missionary in the East Indies as his flock would be ‘left destitute

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, NLW, CPD/5/70, 72, 73; SD/CPD/67/110, 111, 118, 136, 145; SD/CPD/21/96, 97, 98: Churchwardens’ visitation returns.

¹⁶⁷ NLW, SD/CPD/8/526: Churchwardens’ visitation return, Llanafan, 30 Apr. 1713.

¹⁶⁸ NLW, SD/MISC/120: Petition to the bishops of St. Davids from the freeholders of Manardivy, [c.1699].

¹⁶⁹ Sirota argues that the SPCK ‘was not... corrosive of parish religion’, in *Christin Monitors*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁰ See, Geraint H. Jenkins, “‘Old and Much Honoured Soldier’: Griffith Jones, Llanddowror”, *WHR*, 11 (1982), pp. 449-68.

of a Spiritual Guide'.¹⁷¹ Despite enjoying Sir John Philipps' patronage, Jones earned the ire of Bishop Adam Ottley for 'preaching on week days' outside of his parish bounds in churches, churchyards, and even on mountains, sometimes to hundreds, if not thousands, of hearers. The diocesan authorities accused him of both 'intruding' into other ministers' parishes and neglecting his own.¹⁷² In 1715, Jones sent a ten-page defence of his actions to Ottley, which quickly descended into a scathing attack on the state of the bishop's diocese and foreshadowed many of arguments later advanced by Saunders. Concern for 'the unexpressible misery th[a]t thousands of souls here languish in' was his core defence. Clerical negligence had left many inhabitants of the diocese of St. Davids 'utter strangers to Xt and his Gospel, knowing not the Tenn com[m]andments, the creed nor the L[or]d's prayer'. Ministers were too often pluralists, non-resident, and blighted by poverty. While he was keen to stress that some ministers were diligent, others were immoral, hypocritical, and could not speak Welsh. 'And now my Lord, upon the whole I hope you'll see a greater necessity of stirring up those th[a]t preach not th[a]n silencing any th[a]t doe', he concluded.¹⁷³ The accounts of Jones, Tenison, and Saunders have often been seen as isolated accounts of Church weakness which need to be challenged by modern historians. Yet together they paint a picture of a diocese ravaged by structural weaknesses, which was struggling to meet its pastoral obligations. In this context, these low churchmen are perhaps better viewed as reformists who identified a shift in the religious inclinations of the Welsh people and wanted the Church to adapt to better meet the challenge of dissent. At the same time, they foreshadowed an evangelical revival in the mid-eighteenth century wrought by the Methodists.

A HIGH-CHURCH ASCENDANCY? THE POLITICS OF RELIGION

Religion continued to be a driving force behind politics after the Glorious Revolution, and the Church of England became ever more politicised.¹⁷⁴ As the 1690s progressed, the ongoing agitation of high churchmen for a sitting Canterbury Convocation saw the disordered and directionless high-church movement coalesce into a high church party to

¹⁷¹ *SPCK Wales*, pp. 57-8; Griffith Jones to [Henry Newman], 29 May, 29 Aug. 1713.

¹⁷² Davies, 'St David's', pp. 138-9; Jenkins, *Literature, Society and Religion*, p. 15. Philipps numbered Jones' audience at 3,000-4,000.

¹⁷³ NLW, MS Ottley 100: Griffith Jones to Adam Ottley, 11 July 1715.

¹⁷⁴ Geoffrey Holmes, *Religion and Party in Late Stuart England* (1975); G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975).

which the majority of the lower clergy belonged.¹⁷⁵ The Church was thus divided along political as well as theological lines. A straightforward alignment of low church and whig, and high church and tory, is a simplistic but broadly accurate characterisation. At times, these associations were less clear-cut: in 1705, for example, the consistently conservative churchman Bishop Trelawny was ‘scandalously abused’ by one of his clergymen as ‘a wigg or Presbyterian’.¹⁷⁶ As we shall see, Trelawny’s dextrous political trimming had earned him the wrath of high churchmen within his diocese at this time. Prevailing historiography has consistently portrayed the decades after the Revolution as a triumphant period for high churchmanship in Cornwall and Wales.¹⁷⁷ Yet a question hangs over this assertion: why were there so few non-jurors in either region? Despite the close associations between these two movements, only two Cornish ministers became non-jurors, while only three can be identified with confidence to have hailed from south-west Wales.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps clergymen from these regions were influenced by the fact that their prelates both took the oaths despite their conservative churchmanship, or by the fact that the majority of the gentry supported the Williamite invasion. It is clear that the political attitudes of the wider clergy in Cornwall and south-west Wales were not homogenous, and there was a far higher degree of partisan conflict than has previously been acknowledged.

Numerous examples suggest a broad adherence to high-church principles in Cornwall. In the late 1690s, Trelawny set an example alongside his fellow pre-revolutionary bishops, Thomas Sprat of Rochester and Henry Compton of London, by supporting a ‘new High Church party’ under the earl of Rochester. Trelawny campaigned for a sitting convocation from an early stage, and even controversially installed the highflying churchman Francis Atterbury to the archdeaconry of Totnes to secure him a seat in the lower house. Once convocation was assembled, he worked diligently to clamp down on dissenting academies

¹⁷⁵ Grant Tapsell, ‘Pastors, Preachers and Politicians: The Clergy of the Later Stuart Church’, in *idem* (ed.), *Later Stuart Church*, p. 85; Pruett, *Parish Clergy*, p. 166; Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, *Accommodating High Churchmen: The Clergy of Sussex, 1700-1745* (Urbana, 1997), pp. 51-4; Walsh and Taylor, ‘Introduction’, p. 33.

¹⁷⁶ DHC, Moger CC178/Gwinnear: Articles exhibited against Peter Thomas, vicar of Gwinnear, 28 Nov. 1705.

¹⁷⁷ See, Davies, ‘St David’s’, p. 28; Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536-1990* (1992), p. 100; *idem*, ‘Anglican Church’, pp. 136-7; *idem*, ‘Church, Nation and Language’, p. 275; Bernard Deacon, *Cornwall: A Concise History* (Cardiff, 2007), p. 96; H. Miles Brown, ‘The High Church Tradition in Cornwall, 1662-1831’, *Church Quarterly Review*, 150 (1950), pp. 69-80.

¹⁷⁸ John C. Findon, ‘The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716’, unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 1979). For statistics, see *ibid.*, pp. 209-10, 229. This can be contrasted with forty-six from the diocese of Norwich.

and sought to have his low-church opponent Gilbert Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* declared an heretical book.¹⁷⁹

Wider opinion amongst the clergy of Cornwall is difficult to disentangle; few printed or manuscript sermons survive for the period. However, a flurry of high-church opinion was expressed during the early years of Queen Anne's reign when John Walker, a Devon minister, began collecting accounts of the suffering of sequestered ministers during the mid-seventeenth-century crisis. Walker's aim was to compile a high-church response to Edmund Calamy's account of ejected ministers who suffered under the penal code, and his proximity to Cornwall led to a particularly enthusiastic response from the county.¹⁸⁰ As Fiona McCall demonstrates, responses often relied upon oral tradition to present 'beguiling and emotive stories' in which ministers, and their wives and children, suffered violence and humiliation at the hands of parliamentary authorities.¹⁸¹ It also encouraged Anglican ministers to reconsider the events of the mid-seventeenth century and place them in the context of contemporary concerns that the Church was in danger from anti-clericalism without and latitudinarianism within.¹⁸² In one response, the minister of Ladock mourned the fact that those sequestered Anglicans could not have imagined that 'the Church and nation would a Second tyme be in danger from the same sort of men and from the same principles'.¹⁸³ For the contributing clergy, Walker's project represented an opportunity to highlight the past loyalties of Cornwall's clergy whilst cementing contemporary belief that the church was once again in grave danger from nonconformist and low-church elements.

Further insights into the Cornish clergy's political opinions can be gleaned from their actions during elections – both elections to parliament, and those to the lower house of convocation. As enfranchised voters, Anglican ministers could play pivotal roles during parliamentary elections, and Trelawny was known to direct the vote of his clergy. Before

¹⁷⁹ Bennett, *Crisis*, pp. 47, 54-6; Smith, 'Fighting Joshua', ch. 7; Martin Greig, 'Heresy Hunt: Gilbert Burnet and the Convocation Controversy of 1701', *HJ*, 37 (1994), pp. 569-92.

¹⁸⁰ Mark Burden, 'John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy and Church of England Responses to the Ejections of 1660-2', in N. H. Keeble (ed.), *Settling the Peace of the Church: 1662 Revisited* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 233-62; Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham, 2013), p. 12.

¹⁸¹ McCall, *Baal's Priests*, esp. pp. 15, 125, 162, 183. See also, Bodl., MS Walker c.1, f. 133; MS Walker c.2, ff. 15, 236, 237, 271; MS Walker c.3, ff. 20, 97, 105, 148, 153, 155, 174, 311; MS Walker c.4, f. 87; MS Walker c.5, ff. 139-40.

¹⁸² Bennett, *State*, chs. 3-4; Tapsell, 'Pastors, Preachers and Politicians', pp. 85-6.

¹⁸³ Bodl., MS Walker c.3, f. 105: William Wood to John Walker, 15 Apr. 1706.

the 1690 general election, for example, he encouraged them to vote for tories as knights of the shire due to their ‘firm adherence to the Crown & Church’.¹⁸⁴ Whilst Trelawny’s church principles were fairly consistent, his political views were more erratic; as one commentator noted in 1714, his ‘conduct has never been very uniform but now tis more unaccountable th[a]n ever’.¹⁸⁵ As established in Chapter Three, from 1685 the bishop and borough-monger was becoming increasingly politically allied to Lord Godolphin (made earl of Godolphin in 1706), and, by the reign of Anne, was a vital supporter of the Godolphin-Marlborough ministry. Once the duumvirs came to rely upon whig votes to pursue their court agenda from 1704, Trelawny’s political leanings similarly shifted.¹⁸⁶ If this was not already damaging enough to his relationship with high churchmen within his diocese, his growing association with low churchmen within the cathedral chapter, Lancelot Blackburne and William Wake, aggravated the situation. As Blackburne joked to Wake, ‘Was it news to you that My Lord B[isho]p is a Whig? Why? ’Twas you & I that made him so’.¹⁸⁷

Matters came to a head in 1705 when Trelawny simultaneously aligned himself with the whigs (namely, Hugh Boscawen) during the general election, and turned his back on the high-church candidates during the election for new proctors to represent the clergy at convocation.¹⁸⁸ The general election was already saturated by religious concerns following a failed attempt by hardliner tories to ‘tack’ a bill against occasional conformity onto a money bill before the dissolution of parliament. For the parallel election of proctors, Trelawny attempted to return his chosen low-church candidates without recourse to a vote, incorporating their recommendation into his visitation charge, and was opposed by the outgoing proctor, Peter Fisher, and the archdeacon of Cornwall, Edward Drewe. It was claimed that the ‘Divisions among Our Clergy here are hotly fomented’, and high churchmen in Exeter preached ‘nothing but the Church being now in the greatest danger, and the Bishop himself is often named in their pulpits as an enemy to the Church’.¹⁸⁹ One of the tory candidates, Sir Richard Vyvyan (3rd Bt.), even threatened to march on Exeter at the head of

¹⁸⁴ CRO, X1277, ff. 268-9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny’s circular letter to clergy of Cornwall, 1690. Trelawny did the same in Surrey as bishop of Winchester in 1710: Bodl., MS Ballard 9, ff. 69-70.

¹⁸⁵ Bodl., MS Ballard 18, f. 71: Thomas Carte to Arthur Charlett, 30 Nov. 1714.

¹⁸⁶ Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (1967), pp. 257-8.

¹⁸⁷ CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 93v: Lancelot Blackburne to William Wake, 3 May 1705.

¹⁸⁸ For a more detailed narrative, see Norman Sykes, ‘The Cathedral Chapter of Exeter and the General Election of 1705’, *EHR*, 45 (1930), pp. 260-72.

¹⁸⁹ CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 97r; HMC, *Portland*, IV, 177.

eighty Cornish clerics to oppose the bishop.¹⁹⁰ In his typically combative style, Trelawny was accused of issuing letters ‘full of bitter Invectives against Mr. *Fisher*’, in which he described him as an ‘*ignorant, fawning, cringing, complying Wretch*’.¹⁹¹ Despite having thrice backed the election of Fisher previously, Trelawny had performed a *volte-face* in line with the politics of duumvirs, and was met with stern opposition amongst the high-church clergy of his diocese.

And yet, not only were Trelawny’s favoured candidates comfortably elected as proctors, but Hugh Boscawen was also decisively returned in the general election.¹⁹² In this second election, of the fifty-six clergymen who can be positively identified in the pollbook, exactly half voted for Boscawen and his *de facto* tory partner, James Buller, and a further 9% cast one of their votes for the whig only. A high-church cohort can also be identified in the nine ministers who cast a single vote for Vyvyan and discarded their second.¹⁹³ When it came to the vote for proctors, it was Trelawny’s allies who mustered eighty Cornish clergy, while Drewe allegedly ‘did not appear, because he wou’d not oppose my Lord!’¹⁹⁴ It was likely the bishop’s own influence which helped secure such commanding loyalty from his clergy in Cornwall. Five years later, albeit during an even hotter religious climate following the Sacheverell affair and Trelawny’s replacement by a staunch tory, almost three-quarters of Cornwall’s Anglican ministers cast both of their votes for tory candidates, many voting *en masse* in blocs of twenty or so clergymen.¹⁹⁵ High-church sentiment could therefore ebb and flow depending on the religious and political climate of the time, and on the attitudes of their prelate. This second point should not be underestimated; in the aftermath of the elections of 1705, Fisher and his associates published two pamphlets justifying their actions and attacking Trelawny personally, but the bishop ultimately proved resolute.¹⁹⁶ Fisher was expelled for a lack of institution and induction, and given ‘a severe admonition’ to remain resident at a tiny rural cure he held, while other high churchmen were said to ‘feel the effect

¹⁹⁰ CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 97r; MS Wake 17, f. 91v: Lancelot Blackburne to William Wake, 30 Apr. 1705.

¹⁹¹ *An Apology for the Clergy of the Diocese of Exon, Endeavouring to Choose their own Proctors* (1705), p. 3; *Reasons in Particular why the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Exon, Cannot Comply with His Lordship’s present Recommendation of Proctors* (1705), p. 2.

¹⁹² CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 99r: Lancelot Blackburne to William Wake, 10 June 1705; *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 69-70.

¹⁹³ AHM, BO/23/65: Cornwall county election pollbook, 1705.

¹⁹⁴ CCL, MS Wake 17, f. 99r.

¹⁹⁵ Richard G. Grylls (ed.), *The 1710 Pollbook for Cornwall* (Tring, 2002), esp. p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ See, *Apology for the Clergy; Reasons... why the Clergy*.

of his lordship's displeasure'. It was reported afterwards that Trelawny was now 'formidable', and the high-church faction could only console themselves with the fact that he continued to support a bill against occasional conformity.¹⁹⁷

In south-west Wales, little evidence survives regarding the role of the clergy during parliamentary or convocation elections. Following the 1710 general election in Pembrokeshire, one tory newspaper praised 'the Diligence of the Clergy' in helping to return tory candidates for the shire and in the borough of Haverfordwest, while attacking 'a Judas among the Apostles' who backed the whigs.¹⁹⁸ As in Cornwall, such unanimity of opinion was perhaps as much motivated by the Sacheverell affair as it was a long-standing toryism amongst the clergy. Certainly, there is widespread evidence of partisan conflict amongst the clergy relating to the deprivation of Bishop Thomas Watson during the 1690s.

Ruth Paley provides the best narrative of the bishop's protracted trial, and this section will draw upon this account while fleshing out some of its local dimensions.¹⁹⁹ Watson's deprivation was deeply political: although first prompted by a local diocesan dispute, it was carried on with vigour in London due to his opposition to the Williamite regime. Watson was intensely unpopular: soon after the invasion, he was apprehended in Cambridge following the Williamite invasion, and paraded 'with a halter round his neck' while crowds burnt effigies of him in Glasgow and Chester.²⁰⁰ Nonetheless, he took the oaths of allegiance after a long delay. While this may have been a pragmatic decision, he told a confidant that he hoped to 'preserve the principles & rules I have design'd for the discharge of my office for the good of the diocese'.²⁰¹ As early as 1691, however, Watson was accused of Jacobitism in the Commons.²⁰² His eventual deprivation appeared to confirm fears amongst high churchmen of an omnipotent court; Trelawny claimed soon afterwards that 'I may be in danger of being St. David'd' if he did not bow to pressure from Lambeth.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 214.

¹⁹⁸ *Post Boy*, no. 2411 (24-26 Oct. 1710); The pollbook reveals that thirty-five (80%) of clergymen cast their vote for the tory candidate: NLW, MS 6108E.

¹⁹⁹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 591-602; Ruth Paley, 'A Matter of Judgement: Politics, Law and the Trial of Bishop Thomas Watson', *Parliamentary History*, 34 (2015), pp. 181-200.

²⁰⁰ HMC, *Fleming*, pp. 210, 230; *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 594-5; Roger Morrice, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice*, gen. ed. Mark Goldie (7 vols., Woodbridge, 2007), IV, 353, 472.

²⁰¹ JCA, PP.ME/3/23: Thomas Watson to Edmund Meyrick, 24 Dec. 1689.

²⁰² HMC, *Hastings*, II, 221-2.

²⁰³ DHC, Moger 'Basket C' 9: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Francis Cooke, 23 Mar. [?1700].

Ill-feeling between Watson and parts of the clergy of St. Davids had developed at an early stage due to his firm insistence on residency, and his willingness to admonish those who refused. In particular, tensions grew with George and Robert Lucy (sons of Bishop William Lucy) who jointly held, amongst other offices, the registrarship of the diocese for life. Watson resented their monopoly over the office and refused to confirm Robert as sole registrar following George's death in 1693.²⁰⁴ For their part, the Lucys found allies in clergymen who were under monition from the bishop. After Watson threatened to punish Robert Lucy for extortion in 1690, the co-registrar declared that 'something must be done and I am resolved I will not spare anything to prosecute'.²⁰⁵ Between 1692 and 1699, Lucy was the driving force behind a cocktail of prosecutions against Watson, lodged variously in the Brecon great sessions, House of Lords, chancery, and court of arches.

Lucy played two masterstrokes. First, he intrinsically linked Watson's alleged mismanagement of his diocese with his notorious political beliefs. An undated and unsigned catalogue of 'irregularities', presumably compiled by Lucy and his allies, included accusations of Catholicism and Jacobitism against the bishop.²⁰⁶ Secondly, he secured the support of successive archbishops of Canterbury – John Tillotson and Thomas Tenison. It was the latter's prosecution in an unusual court (composed of only the archbishop and six bishops) which ultimately found Watson guilty of simony, taking excessive fees, and ordaining without tendering the oaths of allegiance, and ordered his deprivation. By contrast, Lucy's numerous prosecutions served to assassinate the bishop's character; as Watson put it, 'Every fiction and dream of scandal is trumped up and examined'.²⁰⁷ Undoubtedly, it was Watson's political disaffection towards the Williamite regime which ultimately guaranteed his demise.

Yet the overwhelming hostility Watson faced in London, driven as it was by whig and low-church interests, was not always mirrored in his diocese. Lucy had initially been successful in persuading a bi-partisan group of south-west Welsh gentry to sign his first

²⁰⁴ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 594, 598.

²⁰⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, 596.

²⁰⁶ Bodl., MS Tanner 146, ff. 115-16, 122-3: Irregularities of Thomas Watson, [n.d.]. This appears to have been refined into 'Heads of severall matters to be objected against the Bishop of saint Davids': JCA, PP.ME/4. As Paley notes, its survival amongst the Tanner manuscripts points to early ecclesiastical cooperation in the campaign against Watson. *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 596.

²⁰⁷ HMC, *Hastings*, II, 283-4, 286.

petition to the Lords in 1692 – including the whig MP for Carmarthenshire, Sir Rice Rudd (2nd Bt.) of Aberglasney, and his sometime tory counterpart for Cardiganshire, John Lewis of Coedmore.²⁰⁸ However, at least one subscriber later admitted that he had signed after intense pressure and ‘good claret’.²⁰⁹ Local discontent towards Lucy’s underhandedness hardened two years later, following Watson’s suspension by Tillotson for contempt of the archbishop’s authority. An address was circulated in defence of the bishop, stating that Watson ‘enjoyed our Adherence & conformity to the doctrine & discipline of the Church of England’, while denouncing ‘severall Rumours’ that had been ‘dispersed to blacken his L[or]dship’. It was claimed that the clergy of Cardiganshire had ‘unanimously’ subscribed, and that their brethren in Carmarthenshire would shortly follow suit.²¹⁰ Although it is uncertain who organised the address, how many subscribed, or whether it was ever sent to Lambeth, it suggests that a robust high-church faction within St. Davids endeavoured to protect their beleaguered bishop.

Watson did not go down quietly. Without major aristocratic support in the Lords, his strategy hinged on launching law suits against witnesses in order to invalidate their testimonies. Even once the bishop had lost his diocese, the case continued to be discussed in the press, and Watson launched a string of appeals. His case received unlikely support from the whig-turned-Jacobite pamphleteer, Robert Ferguson, who attributed Watson’s downfall almost entirely to ‘his not being thoroughly dipt into Whigg Principles’.²¹¹ These accusations of political expediency gained even more currency after Edward Jones, bishop of St. Asaph, received only a temporary suspension in 1701 for similar crimes of simony, supported by more conclusive evidence.²¹² Any hopes Watson and his allies had of reprieve, however, were ended by a powerful alliance of Pembrokeshire gentry, headed by the whig magnate Sir Arthur Owen (3rd Bt.) of Orierton, who called for the appointment of a new bishop whilst attacking Watson as ‘an ill example to his clergy’ and a Jacobite.²¹³ The

²⁰⁸ HMC, *House of Lords 1692-93*, pp. 49-50.

²⁰⁹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 596.

²¹⁰ JCA, PP.ME/4: [?] to [Edmund Meyrick], [1694]; Address to John Tillotson, [1694].

²¹¹ [Robert Ferguson], *A Large Review of the Summary View of the Articles Exhibited Against the Bp. of St. David's* (1702), p. 3.

²¹² Paley, ‘Matter of Judgement’, pp. 196-7.

²¹³ JCA, PP.ME/4: Petition of high sheriff, JPs, and gentry of Pembrokeshire for the appointment of a new bishop, 6 Oct. 1702; *Lords, 1660-1715*, V, 602. Signatories included Owen, John Laugharne, John Meyrick, and Griffith Rice.

attitudes of the clergy in south-west Wales were not monolithic, and a tense struggle between rival high-church and low-church factions can be identified throughout Watson's struggles.

CONCLUSION

Assessments of the Church of England during the later Stuart period require an awareness of regional specificity. Cornwall and south-west Wales were both overwhelmingly rural regions, located on the geographic periphery, and comprised of large parishes. However, the experiences of either region cannot be wholly explained by reference to these features, and each experienced an Anglican revival of a very different character during the post-revolutionary period. The pastoral initiatives pursued in the diocese of Exeter were largely dictated by the conservative churchmanship and sacerdotalism of Trelawny and his successor, Blackall. Trelawny, in particular, possessed strong influence as a local gentleman, and understood the region's distinctive provincialism. Unfortunately, little evidence survives concerning clerical diligence, nor of popular attitudes towards the Church: churchwardens' presentments after 1689 unanimously declared that they had 'nothing to present', and the numerical weakness of dissent should not automatically be equated to popular affection for the Church.²¹⁴

Such episcopal continuity was conspicuously absent in the diocese of St. Davids. In addition to the bishopric remarkably standing vacant for six years, both Watson and Bisse spent the majority of their episcopates in London, resulting in an erratic approach to pastoral policies that was perhaps unmatched in any other diocese. The vacancy helped to open the door for the SPCK to establish a foothold in the region, with the support of a number of powerful gentlemen. These lay Anglicans were active in establishing charity schools and distributing religious literature, and found institutional support following the appointment of Bishop Bull. The impact they could have on religious life is reflected in Sir John Philipps' role as a lay impropriator: he took great care in appointing adequate ministers to his nine parishes, providing new prayer books, and funding repairs.²¹⁵ Yet it remained a diocese plagued by unique structural weaknesses which stretched the resources of its clergy to their limits. It is ironic that Philipps laid such stringent demands on the rector of Bridell

²¹⁴ DHC, Churchwardens' Presentments, Boxes 36-43.

²¹⁵ NLW, MS Picton 579, *unpaginated*: Memoranda book of Sir John Philipps.

(Pembrokeshire) that the minister neglected his second parish of Pendine (Carmarthenshire).²¹⁶ Growing clerical poverty, and an associated rise in pluralism and non-residence, impaired the Church's ability to fulfil its pastoral obligations in south-west Wales. While there is little evidence of popular discontent amongst the laity, they nonetheless regularly chose to attend nonconformist services instead, particularly if a sermon was on offer.

A kaleidoscope of factors influenced the nature of the various roles of the Church of England in the localities. It is difficult to overstate the formidable influence that a dedicated bishop with a good relationship with his chancellor and archdeacons could exert over his diocese.²¹⁷ Compare Trelawny's ability to block the establishment of religious societies and direct the vote of his ministry in parliamentary elections, to Watson's intense battles with the family who held most administrative positions. The political and religious culture of the region was also vital. The failure of dissent to establish itself in Cornwall, combined with the political conservativeness of the region's gentry, was surely important in buffering the authority of the Church during this tumultuous period. In south-west Wales, on the other hand, the whiggish tendencies of the region's most powerful gentry families, alongside a tradition of religious fluidity amongst the wider laity, led to innovation in extra-ecclesiastical apparatus and widespread occasional conformity – or, perhaps at times, occasional nonconformity. The Church struggled to keep pace with a changing religious culture in which the majority of the laity prioritised preaching over sacramental religion.

²¹⁶ Carmarthen Visitation I, p. 306.

²¹⁷ This point was made in Gregory and Chamberlain, 'National and Local Perspectives', p. 17.

CHAPTER FIVE

Partisan Politics, 1689–1714

Few studies have cast as long a shadow over their field as Geoffrey Holmes' *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (1967). The book represented a final salvo against Robert Walcott's Namierite rejection of the centrality of a two-party system in English politics during the early eighteenth century.¹ Walcott had sought to apply the methods and conclusions of Sir Lewis Namier (a mid-eighteenth-century specialist) by employing a prosopographical approach to emphasise the importance of 'political groupings' shaped by kinship and personal connections.² Holmes methodically re-established the fact that the vast majority of English and Welsh politicians identified consistently as whigs or tories, and that these parties held distinctive sets of political principles which generated substantial conflict. By the 1970s, Henry Horwitz had extended this interpretation backwards into the reign of William III.³ As a result, Holmes' characterisation of political life during the post-revolutionary period as dominated by fierce party conflict has endured to this day.

Such an interpretation rests heavily on the Houses of Parliament as the major site of political conflict. Holmes intentionally devoted less attention to local politics in order to leave a gap for W. A. Speck's *Tory & Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715*, which explored party conflict in the localities during election campaigns whilst employing aspects of modern psephology.⁴ However, many dedicated local studies of the later Stuart period terminate at the Glorious Revolution, or only cursorily discuss the post-revolutionary

¹ See especially, J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (1967). For a more detailed historiography: David Hayton, 'In No One's Shadow: *British Politics in the Age of Anne* and the Writing of the History of the House of Commons', *Parliamentary History*, 28 (2009), pp. 1-14.

² Robert Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1956).

³ Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977). This usurped a previous attempt to characterise the political structure of the 1690s as being dominated by court and country parties: Dennis Rubini, *Court and Country, 1688-1702* (1968).

⁴ W. A. Speck, *Tory & Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715* (1970).

period.⁵ Those which do cross the revolutionary divide are typically highly detailed chronological accounts of politics, with an emphasis on elections and local office-holding.⁶ This chapter, on the other hand, is also interested in the political culture of Cornwall and south-west Wales, and in identifying some of the key themes, issues, and priorities of politics in these regions.

Welsh political historiography is particularly indebted to the efforts of Peter D. G. Thomas, whose dozen or so articles were synthesised into *Politics in Eighteenth-Century Wales*.⁷ Thomas' work, although less detailed on the Stuart period, established the existence of party divisions in the Principality after 1688. This flew in the face of much scholarship on Welsh politics. For A. H. Dodd, party labels in Wales were 'no more than a borrowed battle-cry'.⁸ Geraint H. Jenkins agrees, claiming that 'election contests were, for the most part, untouched by... ideological principles'.⁹ Even Philip Jenkins, who writes of whigs and tories after 1688, argues that 'there is no evidence that any of the feuds in Glamorgan during this period involved a clear division between whig and tory'.¹⁰ One of the aims of this chapter, then, is to establish that a two-party structure existed in south-west Wales, albeit a structure which was heavily conditioned by kinship and personal relationships.

As noted in Chapter Three, Cornwall and Wales have often been identified as strongholds of toryism during this period.¹¹ Holmes claimed that 'in most of the Welsh counties the whig gentry were pitifully thin on the ground', while Speck describes the same counties as 'bulwarks of Toryism'.¹² This chapter highlights a greater degree of partisan conflict in Cornwall and south-west Wales, whilst noting the particular strength of toryism, sometimes tinged by Jacobitism. In both regions, the gentry exerted a strong influence over politics,

⁵ For example, Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987); Stephen K. Roberts, *Recovery and Restoration in an English County: Devon Local Administration, 1646-1670* (Exeter, 1985); Clive Holmes, *Seventeenth-Century Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1980).

⁶ Peter Challinor, 'The Structure of Politics in Cheshire, 1660-1715', unpublished PhD thesis (Wolverhampton Polytechnic, 1983); P. R. Brindle, 'Politics and Society in Northamptonshire, 1649-1714', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Leicester, 1983).

⁷ Peter D. G. Thomas, *Politics in Eighteenth-Century Wales* (Cardiff, 1998).

⁸ A. H. Dodd, *Studies in Stuart Wales* (Cardiff, 1952), pp. 177-8, 214.

⁹ Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford, 1993 edn.), pp. 161, 164.

¹⁰ Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 146.

¹¹ See above, pp. 103-4.

¹² Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (1967), p. 171; Speck, *Tory & Whig*, p. 67.

and important mining industries became politicised. Equally, older court and country overlaid party politics, and kinship could condition political allegiances.

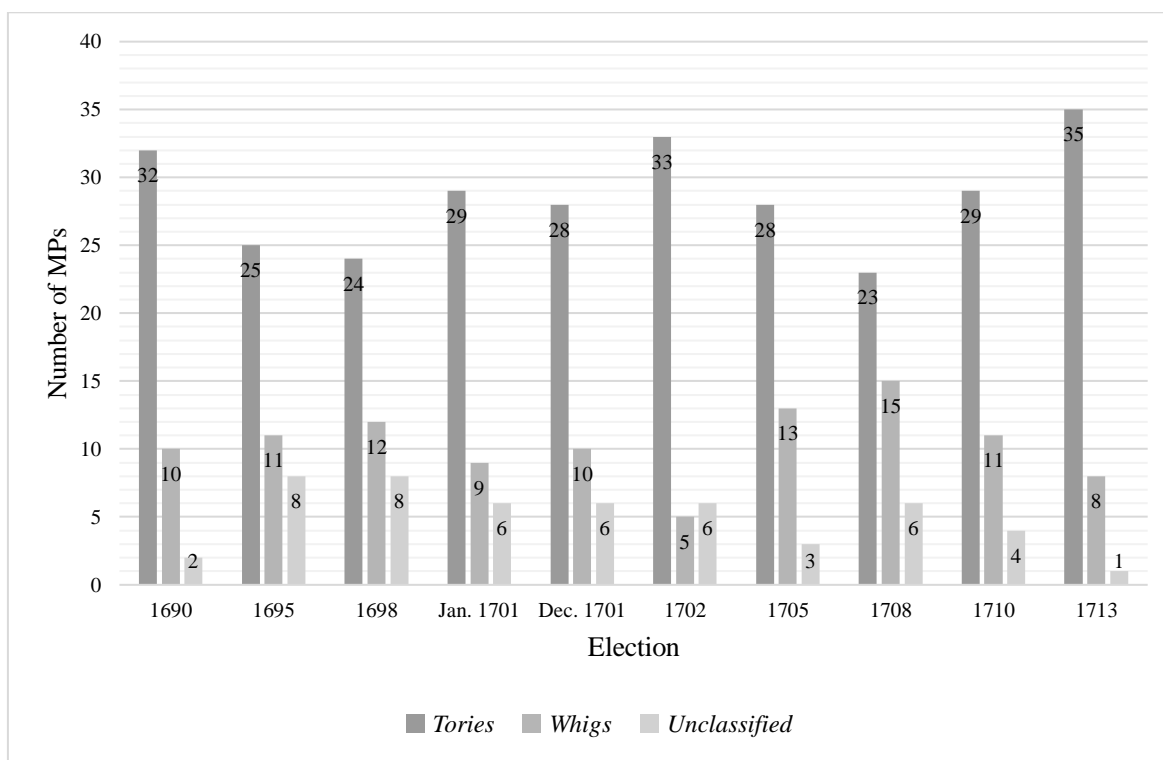
POLITICAL CONFLICT AND LOCAL OFFICE-HOLDING

By the end of Anne's reign, a paradigm shift had occurred in local office-holding. Local government was no longer the preserve of the county elite, who increasingly withdrew from playing an active role in governance, making way for their social inferiors.¹³ Yet local office-holding nonetheless remained a source of political conflict, and fluctuations in personnel continued to reflect local power dynamics as political actors – and, by extension, the whigs and tories – variously gained the upper-hand. This section will examine changing power dynamics in Cornwall and south-west Wales, charting how leading families vied for regional ascendancy. Throughout the period, certain families became inseparable from certain political positions (for example, the Granvilles and toryism, or the Vaughans of Trawsgoed and whiggism), but changes in royal policy, monarch, or political ministry could drastically alter the balance of power between rival factions. If the government shifted its interest, local political leaders could initiate alterations throughout local government: from the lord lieutenant to the lowliest officer. Local office-holding in Cornwall and south-west Wales was also punctuated by periods of stability, as the government either neglected to enforce alterations or found it politically expedient to remain bi-partisan.

After weathering the political storms of the Restoration, Exclusion Crisis, and reign of James II, John Granville, 1st earl of Bath, retained all of his offices after 1688, and continued as the government's political manager in Cornwall. Yet the aging earl does not appear to have remained the diligent manager which he had been for Charles II and James II. From 1691, he shared the lieutenancy with his eldest son Charles, Viscount Lansdowne, and spent much of the remainder of his life embroiled in legal disputes over his claims to the vacant estates and titles of the dukedom of Albermarle.¹⁴ Nonetheless, under Bath's leadership, Cornwall returned tory majorities in the 1690 and 1695 general elections (Figure 5.1).

¹³ See above, p. 44.

¹⁴ *Lords, 1660-1715*, III, 137, 140-1, 145-51.

Figure 5.1: *General election results in Cornwall, 1690-1714*

Source: *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 129.

The Granvilles' reputation at court quickly deteriorated, however. In March 1693, Lansdowne resigned from all his offices after clashing with the government over the crown's failure to pay arrears, while concerns about the family's loyalty prompted discussions about replacing Bath as lord lieutenant.¹⁵ Ultimately, Bath's military influence helped him retain his offices. It was the failure of several of his relations to sign a voluntary association in response to an attempt on William III's life in 1696 which served as the catalyst for change. Bath was replaced by the 2nd earl of Radnor as lord lieutenant and *custos rotulorum*, but managed to keep his office as lord warden of the stannaries until his death.¹⁶ The change of regional manager, combined with the king's shift in favour of the whigs from 1693, led to a slightly stronger whig showing in the 1698 general election, but the crown's failure to remodel the commission of the peace substantially was indicative of a wider failure to support the Cornish whigs locally.¹⁷ A central issue for the Cornish whigs was a shortage of personnel. While Hugh Boscawen continued as *de facto* leader, many prominent puritan

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 127; HMC, *Finch*, V, 66.

¹⁶ Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics*, p. 347; *Lords, 1660-1715*, III, 149.

¹⁷ Lionel K. J. Glassey, *Politics and the Appointment of Justices of the Peace, 1675-1720* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 122, 137, 139.

whig families drifted towards a particularly vociferous strand of high-church toryism. Younger members of the Buller, Carew, Morice, Eliot, Tanner, and Herle families all served as tory MPs.¹⁸

The last of the old guard of Cornish politics, many of whom had lived through the Civil Wars, died in 1701. Bath died in August, followed by Lansdowne only one month later ‘*per infortunium*’, leaving his ten-year-old son, William Henry, as heir to the earldom.¹⁹ In the same year, Boscawen had died, along with Sir Walter Moyle and Sir John Arundell of Lanherne. Nonetheless, the families of Granville and Boscawen continued to lead the Cornish tories and whigs (respectively) for the remainder of the period. Indeed, Anne’s accession in 1702, which was met with tory joy nationally, led to a reversion to the Granville family as court managers in Cornwall.²⁰ One of Bath’s younger sons, John Granville (created Lord Granville of Potheridge in 1703), was awarded all the major county offices, and secured a landslide tory victory to the queen’s first parliament. However, his tenure lasted only three years as his support for an Occasional Conformity Bill, contrary to the government’s wishes, secured his dismissal from office.²¹

Granville’s replacement as lord lieutenant was Lord Treasurer Sidney Godolphin (created 1st earl of Godolphin in December 1706), who had headed Anne’s ministry alongside John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, since her accession. During the reign of William III, Godolphin had proven himself to be a dextrous and resourceful politician, and a prudent manager of public finances – albeit, a man prone to defensiveness and timidity.²² Despite his moderate tory credentials, his ability to work alongside whigs became significant after 1705 as the duumvirs increasingly relied upon the whigs to enact the queen’s business in parliament.²³ Such moderation was reflected in Godolphin’s management of Cornwall, where he worked alongside his old ally Sir Jonathan Trelawny (3rd Bt.), the high-church bishop of Exeter and then Winchester, and his whig nephew Hugh Boscawen, who had

¹⁸ For profiles, *Commons, 1690-1715*, III, 399-401, 466-7; IV, 341, 937-8; V, 608. Edward Nosworthy joined James II in exile: *CSPD, 1689-90*, pp. 375-6.

¹⁹ *Flying Post*, no. 988 (4-6 Sept. 1701).

²⁰ On the tory response to Anne’s accession: Holmes, *British Politics*, p. 90.

²¹ *Lords, 1660-1715*, III, 154.

²² Holmes, *British Politics*, pp. 189-90. For Godolphin’s career see, *Lords, 1660-1715*, III, 60-120.

²³ Holmes, *British Politics*, p. 258.

inherited his namesake and uncle's estates and electoral interest.²⁴ The Godolphin-Trelawny-Boscawen coalition was maintained through a combination of kinship, personal friendship, and allegiance to the court (see Appendix).

Together, this alliance could marshal tremendous electoral influence, especially after Boscawen was given a life patent as lord warden of the stannaries in 1708. Trelawny was urged to 'muster up his squadron' in 1701, and later boasted that he had personally overseen the election of eleven members.²⁵ By the 1708 general election, it was said that 'all things goe to the utmost of [Boscawen's] wishes' as he secured the best result for the whigs of the period.²⁶ However, we have already seen in Chapter Four how Trelawny's alliance with Boscawen led to a high church backlash, and the tories continued to return majorities at the height of Godolphin's power.²⁷ In part, this simply reflected the strength of tory interest in Cornwall, but it was doubtlessly also a result of Godolphin's reluctance to re-model local office-holding in favour of either party.²⁸

If toryism remained a potent force in Cornwall, then so did the Granville family. Lord Granville died in 1707, but his cousin George (therefore a nephew of the 1st earl of Bath) was making something of a name for himself in London as a poet and playwright, and had fallen into the orbit of Henry St. John and Robert Harley – influential tory ministers in the Godolphin-Marlborough ministry.²⁹ Although Granville possessed no Cornish estate, he was able to capitalise on his family's name and reputation to establish himself as leader of the Cornish tories. His growing status in local and national politics mirrored the rise of Harley. In February 1708, Harley resigned his positions along with a number of tory allies over the duumvirs' desired rapprochement with the whig party, only slowly to gain the queen's support over the subsequent two years. By February 1710, an economic crisis, military failures, and the impeachment of the high-church cleric Henry Sacheverell had decisively turned public opinion against the Godolphin-Marlborough ministry, and the queen committed to a new moderate tory ministry led by Harley, who would soon be created earl

²⁴ As early as 1700, the three families coordinated in the election of MPs: BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 100.

²⁵ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 28; Holmes, *British Politics*, p. 323.

²⁶ BL, Add. MS 78498, f. 20: Sir William Scawen to John Evelyn, 22 May 1708.

²⁷ See above, pp. 180-3.

²⁸ Glassey, *Appointment of Justices*, pp. 166, 177, 179, 184.

²⁹ See, Elizabeth Handasyde, *Granville the Polite: The Life of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, 1666-1735* (Oxford, 1933).

of Oxford. In the general election of that year, Granville managed the tories to a self-styled ‘complete victory’ in Cornwall.³⁰

Over the subsequent years, Granville cultivated his local prestige, and carefully managed Cornish local office-holding in favour of the tories. Since the non-aristocratic Granville could not serve as lord lieutenant, the office was given to the arch-tory earls of Rochester, who served as Granville’s figureheads. However, Granville’s status was strengthened after he inherited the Stowe estate following the death of the young 3rd earl of Bath of smallpox. This launched the tory magnate on a tireless campaign to receive a peerage, resulting in his ennoblement as 1st Baron Lansdowne in January 1712.³¹ At the same time, Granville had been purging local offices of whigs. A partisan remodelling of the commission of the peace witnessed fifty-six additions between 1710 and 1714, including several tory MPs.³² Similarly, ‘menial servants to the Godolphin and Boscawen families’ were turned out of stannary offices in favour of Granville’s allies.³³ Granville’s ascendancy was confirmed in 1713, when the tories secured their largest electoral majority of the later Stuart period.³⁴

Through Harley’s authority, Granville had built a vast patronage network in Cornwall which included both leading political figures and scores of less prestigious local office-holders.³⁵ It was a vital means of maintaining the loyalty of tories. As he informed Harley, ‘our Western Gentlemen have very heartily endeavour’d to entitle themselves to your favour not only in their Elections but in their behaviour throughout the whole course of the sessions: it will be for your service that they return home with some tokens of encouragement’.³⁶ Once the Oxford ministry had established itself, Harley was subjected to a slew of solicitations by Granville on behalf of Cornishmen.³⁷ However, the network had to be managed carefully. There was pressure from the local gentry to ensure that offices went to Cornishmen rather

³⁰ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 623.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 690, 696.

³² Glassey, *Appointment of Justices*, pp. 217-18, 229n.

³³ BL, Add. MS 70288: George Granville to earl of Oxford, 28 Sept. 1711; HMC, *Portland*, V, 97.

³⁴ Tories estimated a ten-to-one victory: HMC, *Portland*, V, 330-1; BL, Add. MS 70204: Alexander Pendarves to earl of Oxford, 7 Sept. 1713; Bodl., MS Ballard 18, f. 49: Thomas Carte to Arthur Charlett, 29 Aug. 1713; *Post Boy*, no. 2865 (17-19 Sept. 1713).

³⁵ Major figures included Sir Richard Vyvyan (3rd Bt.), Sir Nicholas Morice (2nd Bt.), Francis Scobel, George Courtney, John Manley, John Anstis, Alexander Pendarves, Henry Vincent.

³⁶ BL, Add. MS 70288: George Granville to earl of Oxford, 3 June 1711.

³⁷ For example, BL, Add. MS 70229: Lord Lansdowne to earl of Oxford, 30 June 1711; 18 July 1713; BL, Add. MS 70288: George Granville to earl of Oxford, 3 July 1711.

than outsiders, and some senior tories felt themselves ‘neglected’ at Granville’s expense. For example, John Trevanion, an important member of the tory backbench October Club, wrote of ‘Darke industry... creating discontent amongst the people’, and later complained that ‘the affaires and interest of my County managed soe much in the darke’.³⁸ Overall, though, Granville succeeded in building a broad tory base of support in Cornwall which can be contrasted with Godolphin’s preference for non-partisanship.

Whereas the highest-ranking military and civil officers in Cornwall were dismissed and appointed according to the political whims of the monarch or ministry, these positions remained remarkably stable in south-west Wales. From 1694, the moderate court tory Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was lord lieutenant of all three counties, following the death of the whiggish Charles Gerard, earl of Macclesfield. He appears to have played almost no role in local politics, leaving the management of the region to the local gentry. However, the comfortable political dominance enjoyed by a handful of families during the pre-revolutionary period came under pressure during the early eighteenth century.

In many respects, south-west Wales can be set apart from the remainder of the Principality due to the strength of whiggism in the region. Although Philip Jenkins has highlighted that the whigs had a substantial presence in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, it remained the minority party, and was extremely weak in north Wales.³⁹ In the south-west, the whig Vaughans of Trawsgoed (Cardiganshire) and Owens of Orierton (Pembrokeshire) continued to dominate political life in their respective counties. In Pembrokeshire, the Owens utilised the support of a coalition of neighbours and kinsmen, including Sir John Philipps (4th Bt.) of Picton Castle, John Barlow of Lawrenny, John Laugharne of St. Brides, and Essex Meyrick of Bush.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, by 1695, the young John Vaughan of Trawsgoed had secured his ascendancy in Cardiganshire: he won a county by-election in December 1694 before being raised to an Irish peerage as 1st Viscount Lisburne the following May.⁴¹ A local tory complained of a ‘sad faction’ amongst the county’s JPs who, emboldened by

³⁸ BL, Add. MS 70207: John Trevanion to earl of Oxford, 30 July 1711; 21 Jan. [1712]; Add. MS 70288: Lord Lansdowne to earl of Oxford, 10 Dec. 1713.

³⁹ Jenkins, *Ruling Class*, p. 137.

⁴⁰ Thomas, *Politics*, p. 20.

⁴¹ *CSPD, 1694-5*, p. 469.

Vaughan's victory, had been 'placing & displacing inferior Officers... to the perverting of Justice'.⁴² Electoral success encouraged a partisan purge of local-office holding.

The whig interest in south-west Wales was further strengthened in the post-revolutionary period by the support of the wealthiest and most prestigious family in the region: the Vaughans of Golden Grove and their numerous cadet branches. John Vaughan, who became 3rd earl of Carbery in 1686, had demonstrated some sympathy for nonconformists as early as 1664 when he was arrested at a Quaker meeting in London, and was believed to have supported the Exclusion Bill. By the reign of William and Mary, he voted in the House of Lords along consistently whiggish lines.⁴³ Moreover, as *custos rotulorum* of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, and the only aristocrat of south-west Wales, he controlled 'a great many' lordships and was accused of the partisan distribution of local offices. One tory complained that he only appointed 'the L[or]d Lisburn & his fr[ien]ds of the low Church' as his stewards.⁴⁴ In each county of south-west Wales, then, the most powerful family were of firm whig principles for the remainder of the later Stuart period. Their hegemony was reflected in the whig majorities which were returned to every parliament of William's reign (Figure 5.2).

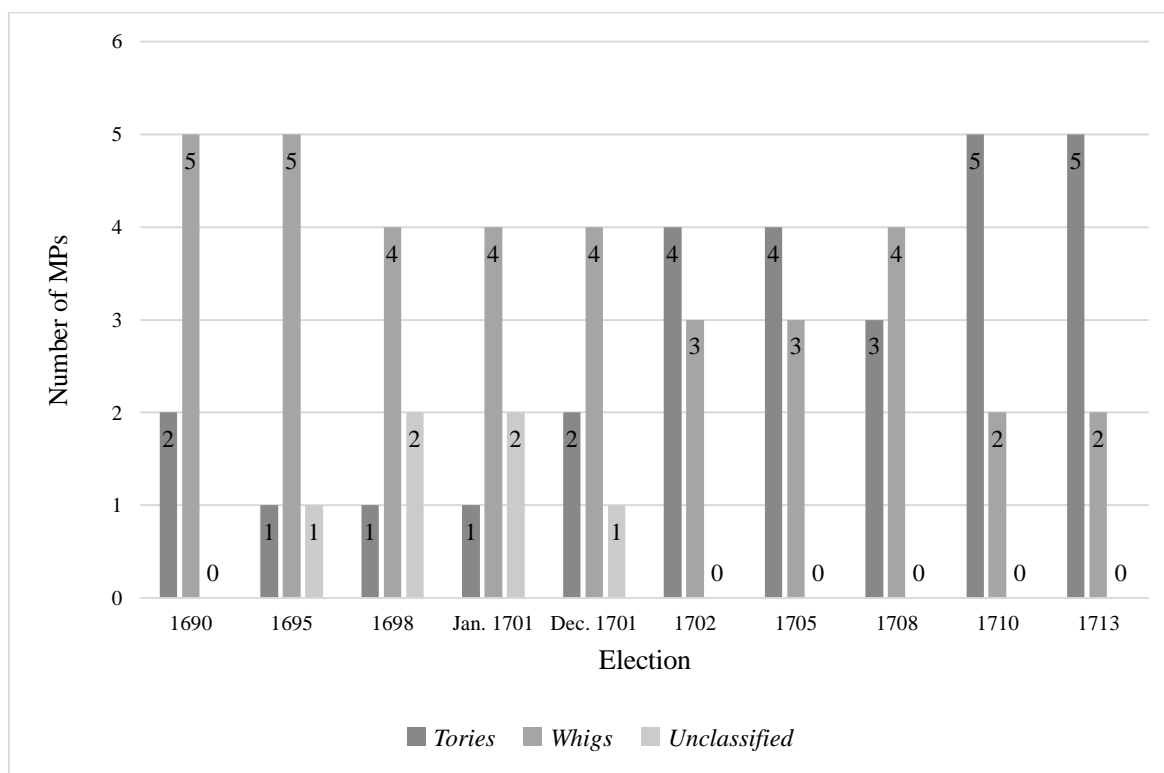
By the turn of the century, however, alliances of south-west Welsh tories began to challenge this whig ascendancy. Vaughan's chief political opponents in Cardiganshire were the Pryses of Gogerddan, who were closely connected with the Powells of Llechwedd-dyrys, and had discovered considerable lead and silver deposits on their lands. After the mine was sold to Sir Humphrey Mackworth (a tory Glamorganshire-based industrialist and pamphleteer) for £16,000 in 1698, the family possessed the capital to challenge the Trawsgoed interest.⁴⁵ During the 1690s, tory influence had been further enhanced by the acquisition of controlling interests in two of Cardiganshire's out-boroughs. The Pryses secured The Priory in Cardigan (and therefore political control of the town), and the Powells

⁴² Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 40: Edward Thomas to Edward Lhuyd, 10 Jan. 1695. See also, Glassey, *Appointment of Justices*, p. 116n.

⁴³ *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 747-51.

⁴⁴ BL, Add. MS 70205: Lewis Pryse to Robert Harley, 21 Nov. 1710.

⁴⁵ *Commons, 1690-1715*, V, 226.

Figure 5.2: *General election results in south-west Wales, 1690-1714*

Source: *Commons, 1690-1715*, constituency and member entries.

purchased Nanteos which controlled the out-borough of Tregaron.⁴⁶ The tory alliance had thus cultivated ‘a vast interest’ in both the county and borough elections.⁴⁷ With the young Lewis Pryse perpetually afflicted by gout, they were prepared to lend their interest to Mackworth, whose investments and charitable deeds helped him establish an independent interest in Cardiganshire. Indeed, as we shall see, Mackworth was able to win the county election in 1710 against Pryse by constructing a cross-party alliance with Lisburne and Powell.

As in Cornwall, the accession of Anne buoyed tory confidence in Cardiganshire, and Pryse had ‘great hopes of puting my L[or]d Lisbour nose out of joint in his arbitrary goverment’.⁴⁸ The personal animosity between the two men was particularly intense, with Pryse sarcastically referring to Lisburne as ‘that noble piece of Irish honour’, and at least

⁴⁶ Thomas, *Politics*, p. 18. The Pryses already controlled Aberystwyth.

⁴⁷ This was Mackworth’s assessment: quoted in *Commons, 1660-1715*, II, 795.

⁴⁸ NLW, MS Nanteos L53: Lewis Pryse to William Powell, 21 Apr. 1702. In the end, Pryse’s preferred candidate, Mackworth, was elected with ‘the acquiescence of Lord Lisburne’: quoted in *Commons, 1660-1715*, II, 796.

one anonymous informant sending copies of Pryse's letters to his rival.⁴⁹ The two families had also been involved in tit-for-tat purges of local office-holding throughout the 1690s. By 1708, Pryse claimed he was weary from 'suporting our poor fr[ien]ds' during a period of whig supremacy in Westminster, and feared that his allies would be targeted 'for no other reason then being our fr[ien]ds'.⁵⁰ It would have been disingenuous for Pryse to imply that he had not been guilty of the same partisanship. At the height of the Godolphin-Marlborough ministry, Lisburne urged several leading ministers to re-model the commission of the peace due to the 'insults and injuries' suffered by his allies at the hands of those (including non-jurors) who had been added to the bench following William III's death. These approaches were clearly successful, as Cardiganshire underwent the most substantial re-modelling of any Welsh county in February 1706.⁵¹ Local initiative remained vital in prompting wholesale changes in office-holding, but its effectiveness depended on how sympathetic the central government was to requests.

Pembrokeshire tories also began to probe whig dominance in the eighteenth century. At their head were the Barlows of Slebech and Wogans of Wiston, who leaned towards Jacobitism.⁵² Once Sir George Barlow (2nd Bt.) had come of age in 1700, the whigs discovered that 'a designe had been sometime privately carried on' by Barlow, Lewis Wogan of Wiston, and Sir William Wogan of Rickardstone to contest the election of January 1701.⁵³ The whigs thwarted the scheme through bribery and manipulation of the sheriff, while also threatening disagreeable freeholders with 'all the offices and places of expense and trouble'.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the challenge reflected a more assertive and well-organised tory presence in Pembrokeshire, which later capitalised on a combination of factors in 1710 to defeat the whig candidate at the general election. John Laugharne of St. Brides and John Meyrick of Bush (two of the Owens' chief allies) were moderate tories in ideology, but had traditionally been ill-disposed towards the Jacobitism of the county's other tory gentlemen. However, Harley's moderate toryism was more palatable, leading to their abandonment of

⁴⁹ BL, Add. MS 70283: Lewis Pryse to Mrs. Wogan, 9 Apr. 1702; [anonymous] to Lord Lisburne, 1 Jan. [1703].

⁵⁰ NLW, MS Nanteos L54: Lewis Pryse to William Powell, [1708].

⁵¹ Glassey, *Appointment of Justices*, pp. 176-7. See also, HMC, *Portland*, IV, 283.

⁵² Thomas, *Politics*, p. 20.

⁵³ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L1537: John Laugharne to [?Sir Edward Mansel], [c.1701].

⁵⁴ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 813.

Orielton.⁵⁵ In addition, Sir Arthur Owen's (3rd Bt.) public support for the impeachment of Sacheverell had been resented by the majority of gentry. This facilitated a broad tory alliance of the Slebech, Wiston, St. Brides, and Bush estates which overpowered the whig interest.⁵⁶ The establishment of the Oxford ministry, moreover, facilitated a greater degree of tory patronage in the region from Harley, with the Glamorgan magnate, Sir Thomas Mansel (5th Bt.) of Penrice, cultivating an interest amongst Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire squires on the government's behalf.⁵⁷

In both regions under study, political conflict (especially parliamentary elections) was largely conditioned by party politics. While the majority of gentry families were tories, powerful whig interests were capable of challenging tory hegemony in Cornwall, and dominating political life in south-west Wales. They were not monoliths, however, and at various points bi-partisan alliances cut across party allegiances in order to support court interests, or as a result of personal animosities. The balance of power between the parties in the localities was deeply affected by the inconsistent sympathies of the monarch and, by extension, the ministry. While local initiative could be used by both parties to enact substantial alterations in local office-holding, and strengthen their grip on local government, at various points partisan re-modelling of local offices was intentionally neglected. In Cornwall, William III and Godolphin favoured moderation and consensual politics, while, in south-west Wales, changes to the commission of the peace were often minimal or non-existent at moments of national re-modelling, reflecting a long-standing tradition of government apathy towards the Principality.⁵⁸

ELECTIONS AND URBAN POLITICS DURING THE 'RAGE OF PARTY'

Between the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian accession, tumultuous political conflict was invigorated by frequent parliamentary elections in a period known as the 'rage of party'.⁵⁹ The Triennial Act of 1694 ensured that general elections would take place every

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 591, 813.

⁵⁶ The politically-charged elections of 1710 also saw the Golden Grove interest defeated in Carmarthenshire by a local tory, Sir Thomas Powell (1st Bt.) of Broadway: *ibid.*, II, 797-8.

⁵⁷ Jenkins, *Ruling Class*, pp. 149-52; Thomas, *Politics*, pp. 59, 61.

⁵⁸ Glassey, *Appointment of Justices*, pp. 148, 166, 173, 175, 201n., 229n.

⁵⁹ The term was first used in Plumb, *Political Stability*, ch. 5.

three years, but with ten elections in 1690-1714, the average rate was every two and a half years. Beginning with the pioneering work of Holmes and Speck, historians have ascribed great significance to the role of the electorate in determining the outcome of these elections.⁶⁰ A central pillar of this interpretation was the growth of the electorate during the late seventeenth century, which Mark Knights considers to have been part of a process whereby the ‘public’ became the ‘arbiter of politics’.⁶¹ Yet Knights also acknowledges a body of work more sceptical of the autonomy of the electorate by scholars including J. C. D. Clark, Norma Landau, and Linda Colley.⁶² One study comparing pollbooks and tenurial relations suggests a more nuanced picture of both deference to landlords and the possibility of true independence.⁶³ It is not the intention of this section to become bogged down in these debates (which were largely conducted during the 1970s and 1980s), but it will nonetheless demonstrate how political elites were able to maintain considerable influence in county and borough parliamentary elections despite challenges from other interest groups.

Using the size of the electorate to determine political participation is immediately problematic in Cornwall and south-west Wales. In the former, evidence from pollbooks, newspaper reports, and *Commons Journals* reveals that the electorate was actually shrinking – if we compare the periods 1660-90 and 1690-1714, the size of the voterate⁶⁴ fell in seven boroughs, stayed about the same in eight, and only increased in six. The only substantial increase was in St. Ives, whereas the cumulative increase in the other five boroughs was c.150 people. By 1690, nine boroughs polled under fifty votes.⁶⁵ This, in part, may have stemmed from the crushing poverty which gripped the Cornish populace at this time, which

⁶⁰ Geoffrey Holmes, *The Electorate and the National Will in the First Age of Party* (Lancaster, 1975); Speck, ‘The Electorate in the First Age of Party’, in Clyve Jones (ed.), *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750* (1987), 45-62.

⁶¹ Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 12-13; J. H. Plumb, ‘The Growth of the Electorate in England from 1600 to 1715’, *P&P*, 45 (1969), 90-116.

⁶² J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 17-19; Norma Landau, ‘Independence, Deference and Voter Participation: The Behaviour of the Electorate in Early Eighteenth-Century Kent’, *HJ*, 22 (1979), pp. 561-83; Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁶³ Stephen W. Baskerville, Peter Adman, and Katherine F. Beedham, ‘The Dynamics of Landlord Influence in English County Election, 1701-1734: The Evidence from Cheshire’, *Parliamentary History*, 12 (1993), pp. 126-42.

⁶⁴ Those who actually voted, as opposed to those who were eligible to vote.

⁶⁵ Constituency entries compared in *Commons, 1660-1690* and *Commons, 1690-1715*.

would have culled some of the means-tested voters.⁶⁶ Moreover, a large electorate is not necessarily indicative of independent voters. In south-west Wales, the ability of boroughs to create unlimited freemen resulted in large but manipulated electorates.⁶⁷ The size of electorate alone reveals little about the strength of gentry interest in elections. This section will therefore consider broader methods of electoral management in each region.

As David Hayton notes in his introductory survey to *Commons, 1690-1715*, Cornish elections were ‘notable’ for ‘the relative infrequency of contests’.⁶⁸ The number of contested seats (Figure 5.3) decreased during the later Stuart period: from 22% in the years 1660-90 to 17% in 1690-1714 – during the same period, the national average rose significantly from 20% to 28%.⁶⁹ Of course, these statistics can be misleading as many electoral contests never made it to poll. As we shall see, partisanship often shifted into elections for those returning officers who could swing results. Hayton therefore suggests that looking at the turnover of seats at general elections is a more useful measure of electoral conflict.⁷⁰ Shifts in the relative strength of the two parties in Cornwall implies a high degree of partisanship behind the scenes: the 1695, 1698, 1705, and 1708 general elections witnessed stronger results for the whigs, while 1690, 1702, 1710, and 1713 were all landslide tory victories (Figure 5.4). In every general election, Cornwall returned a majority of tories, highlighting the natural inclinations of the majority of the county’s ruling elite. Moments when the whigs mounted their most effective challenges (in 1698 and 1708) often corresponded with high numbers of contested elections as a rigorous effort was required to make inroads.

There were also few electoral contests in south-west Wales, as the proportion of contested elections fell from 17% in 1660-1690 to 15% in 1690-1714 (Figure 5.5). However, this needs to be placed in the context of Haverfordwest’s transition from the most contested

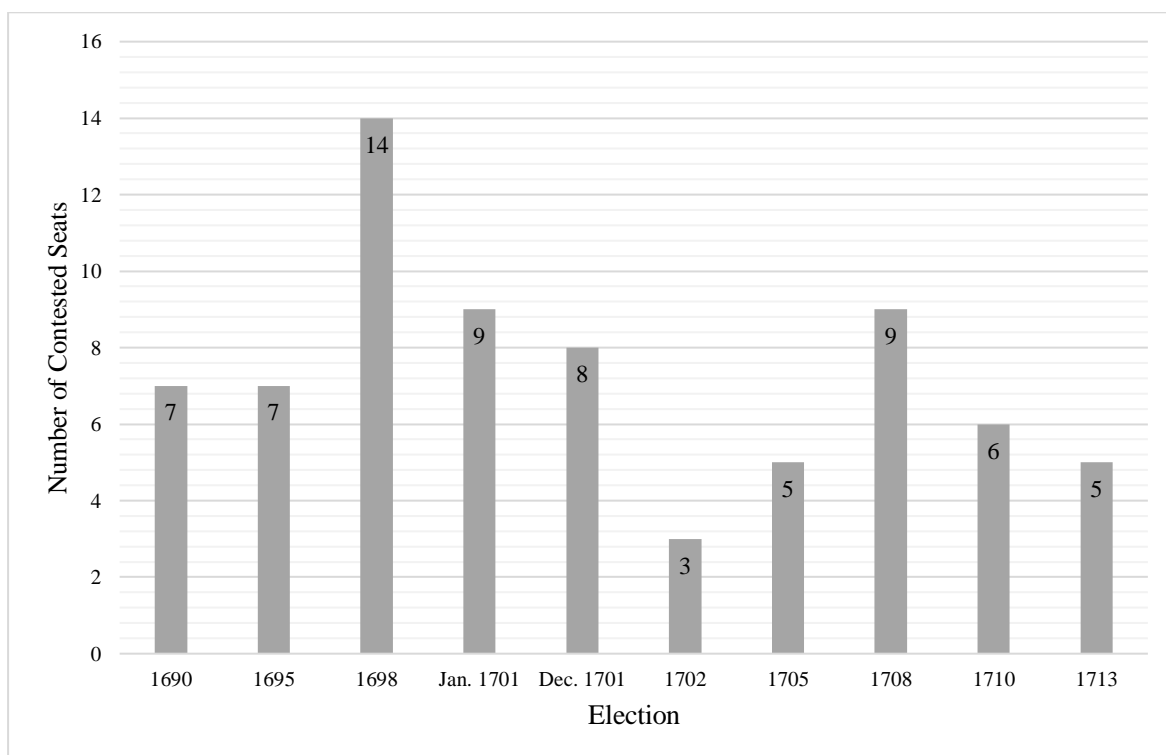
⁶⁶ Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (2004), p. 177.

⁶⁷ Cardigan borough’s electorate rose from 238 in 1710, to 1,047 by 1729: *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 796; *Commons, 1715-1754*, I, 373.

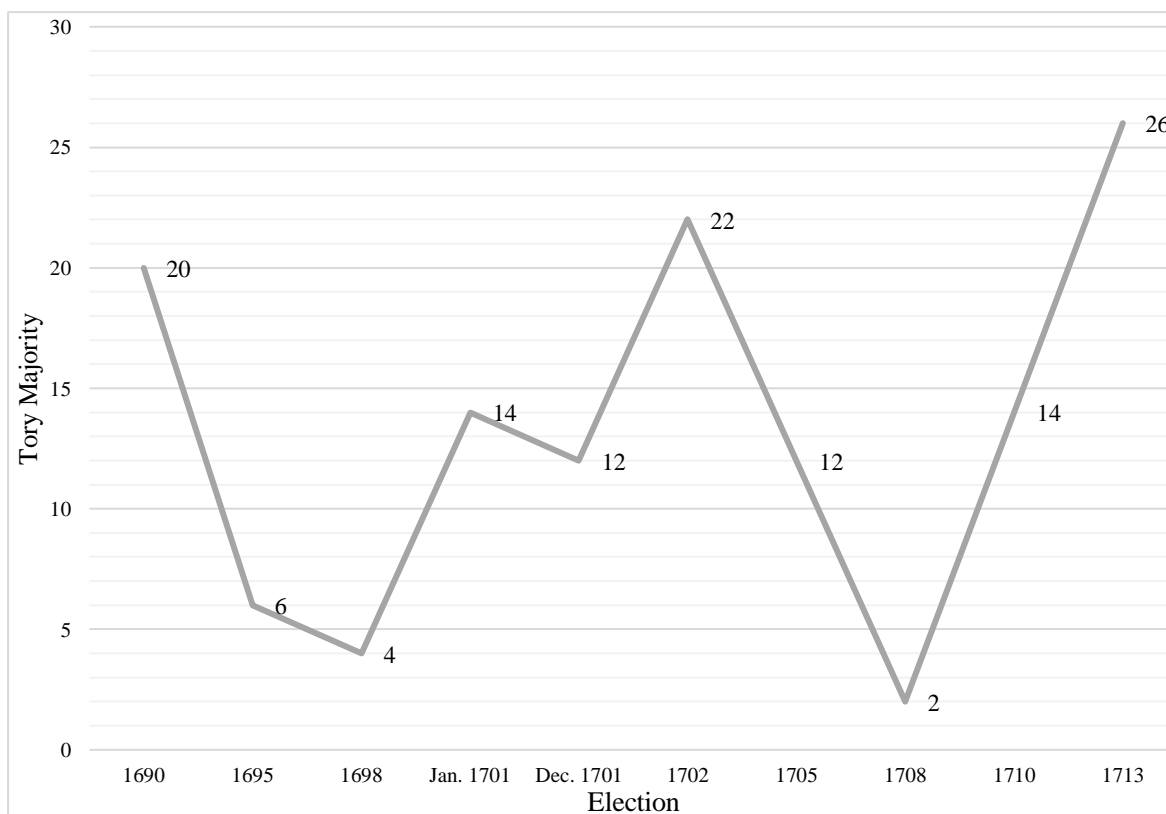
⁶⁸ *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 124.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 238. Cornish statistics calculated from *ibid.*, constituency entries, plus hitherto unknown contests at Penryn in 1695 and Grampound in 1710. See, CRO, CF/1/4545: Poll sheet, Grampound election, 19 Oct. 1710; BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 94: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Sidney Godolphin, 2 Nov. [1695]. The exclusion of these contests from *Commons* serves as a reminder that, as the editors admit, the figures no doubt represent an under-estimation.

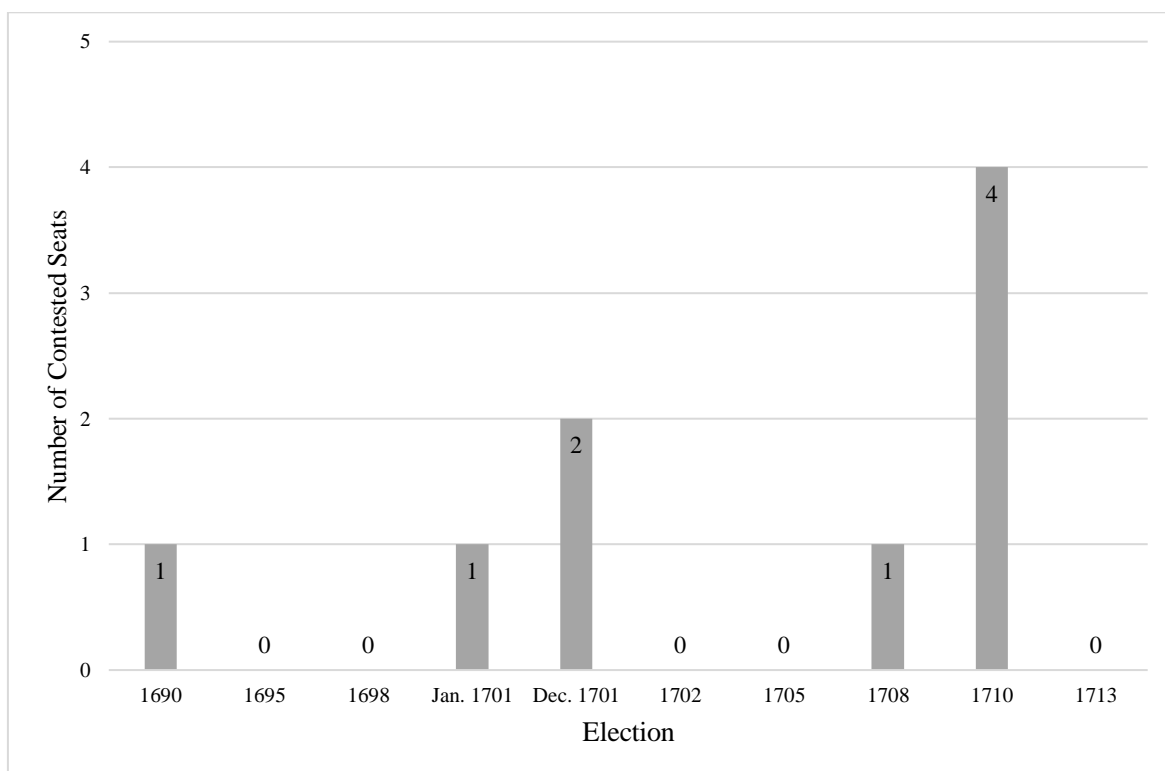
⁷⁰ *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 125-6.

Figure 5.3: *Contested seats at Cornish general elections, 1690-1715*

Source: *Commons, 1690-1715*, constituency entries; CRO, CF/1/4545; BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 94.

Figure 5.4: *Overall tory majority following Cornish general elections, 1690-1715*

Source: *Commons, 1690-1715*, I, 129.

Figure 5.5: *Contested seats at south-west Welsh general elections, 1690-1715*

Source: *Commons, 1690-1715*, constituency entries; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 39.

constituency in Wales in the pre-revolutionary period, to one which did not witness a single contest for the remainder of the Stuart period.⁷¹ Therefore, aside from Haverfordwest, every constituency actually underwent increased electoral conflict. Nonetheless, eleven contested elections between 1689 and 1714 is a strikingly low figure. As we have seen, certain families remained politically pre-eminent, and it took coalitions of opponents, combined with a favourable political climate, to challenge them effectively.

Haverfordwest's apparent political stability is an enigma. Nonconformity remained prevalent amongst the town's middling sort – an Independent meeting house was constructed in 1691.⁷² Yet, aside from the two elections of 1701, all of its members were tories. Perhaps the local peace of 1682 had a long-term political impact.⁷³ Equally, it is true that all of Haverfordwest's MPs after 1689 carefully defended the town's interests and were

⁷¹ Calculated from *ibid.*, constituency entries, plus a hitherto unknown contest at a Cardiganshire by-election in Dec. 1694 between John Vaughan of Trawsgoed and Edward Pryse of Gogerddan: Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 39; Edward Thomas to Edward Lhuyd, 10 Jan. 1695.

⁷² Michael Watts, *The Dissenters: From the French Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978), p. 354.

⁷³ See above, p. 127, n.117.

benevolent to their constituents.⁷⁴ The gentry may have also had a stronger interest in Haverfordwest by the turn of the century as the whigs Sir Arthur Owen and Sir John Philipps conspired to have Sir William Wogan replaced as MP in January 1701 by William Wheeler after Wogan had plotted with Pembrokeshire tories to secure the county seat.⁷⁵ However consensus was maintained, the lack of conflict in Haverfordwest contrasts with the rest of south-west Wales where old oligarchies were increasingly challenged.

The frequency of electoral conflict therefore depends upon which constituencies one focuses on – contests were far more frequent in certain constituencies. In south-west Wales, Cardiganshire seats (both county and boroughs) were the most contested, while Carmarthen and Haverfordwest witnessed no contests. Likewise, in Cornwall, Mitchell's ten contests, St. Ives's nine, and Lostwithiel's eight all stand out. On the other hand, Callington, East and West Looe, and St. Germans never went to a poll in 1690-1714, and during the reign of Anne ten Cornish boroughs had no contested elections.⁷⁶ Particularly tumultuous boroughs could be a result of numerous factors: the presence of an assertive corporation, rival patrons vying for supremacy, or a moderate patron who was reluctant to assert their interest, such as the Arundells of Lanherne at Mitchell.⁷⁷

County elections

As in most counties, the build-up to a county election in Cornwall and south-west Wales required the candidates to canvass influential gentry figures to secure their interest.⁷⁸ That requests for, or promises of, support often preceded elections which were never contested perhaps suggests that this was a precautionary practice, but could also imply that the weight of a candidate's support could intimidate potential rivals into submission. Often these decisions were taken at county meetings held before general elections in order to reach a

⁷⁴ For example, PA, HBORO/414, 414a, 415, 417: Correspondence between Sir William Wogan and mayor of Haverfordwest, 1688-90; *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 814.

⁷⁵ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L1537. Wheeler's brother had also built a new market house in Haverfordwest: PA, D-RTP/HAM/165: William Wheeler to [?], [Aug. 1701].

⁷⁶ Those mentioned plus Bossiney, Launceston, Liskeard, Newport, St. Mawes, and Truro.

⁷⁷ James Harris, 'Partisanship and Popular Politics in a Cornish "Pocket" Borough, 1660-1714', *Parliamentary History*, 37 (2018), pp. 350-68.

⁷⁸ For example, AHM, BO/23/63/3: Francis Bassett to [James Buller], 24 Nov. 1701; BO/23/63/6: George Granville to [John Buller], 1710; BO/23/63/10: Richard Edgcumbe to [John Buller], 24 Oct. 1710; CRO, CL/11/6: Francis Robartes to Stephen Michell, 14 May 1702; NLW, MS Edwinstford 3213: Griffith Rice to Thomas Llwyd, 21 Apr. 1708; NLW, MS Nanteos L32: John Barlow to William Powell, 13 Sept. 1714; WGA, RISW/Gn8/12: Earl of Carbery to Griffith Rice, 12 Aug. 1710.

consensus over representatives. Such agreements represented a consensual mode of politics; as one Cornish observer commented in 1702: ‘I hope the gentlemen will (for the peace of the county) agree the matter w[i]thout struggling’.⁷⁹ County meetings appear to have been conducted regularly in Cornwall, and provided a forum for the gentry to express grievances to county leaders, or for candidates to make election promises and pitches. For example, Lord Lieutenant Radnor was asked not to ‘prefer a stranger before one of their own country’ prior to the elections of 1698.⁸⁰ While consensus was the desired result, a meeting before the 1710 election descended into chaos when the whig candidates stormed out after taking offence at George Granville’s reading of a letter from Lord Lieutenant Rochester in support of the tories.⁸¹

In south-west Wales, no evidence survives of comparable county-wide meetings, and there appears to have been little prospect of a consensus between the tories and whigs. Instead, meetings and agreements occurred amongst the tory gentry of Cardiganshire in the early eighteenth century – albeit agreements which were not always honoured.⁸² Lewis Pryse, in particular, was at the heart of several electoral pacts made with neighbours in which he promised his interest for future elections in return for his partners’ interest.⁸³ In 1710, Mackworth, William Powell, and Lord Lisburne used this tactic against Pryse when they signed ‘a treaty in writing betwixt them for a 9 years alliance’, presumably rotating representation between the three men.⁸⁴ The intrigues of the Cardiganshire gentry reveals a more conspiratorial approach to county elections than was evident in Cornwall, and also highlights how small coalitions of powerful gentry could unite to fight elections without seeking a broader consensus.

Another distinct feature of county elections in south-west Wales was the prevalence of corrupt electioneering – especially when it came to taking a poll. Typically, rival candidates

⁷⁹ CRO, AR/10/151: George Bere to Lady Bellings, 4 June 1702.

⁸⁰ BL, Add. MS 40772, f. 49: James Vernon to John Worth, 1 Sept. 1698.

⁸¹ BL, Add. MS 70204: Alexander Pendarves to [Robert Harley], 10 Aug. 1710; AHM, BO/23/63/8: Circular letter of Hugh Boscawen and Richard Edgcumbe, 10 Oct. 1710. A 1701 resolution by the House of Commons determined that peers could not meddle in elections: *CJ*, XIII, 648.

⁸² NLW, MS Nanteos L44: John Lewes to William Pugh, 15 Aug. 1710. The recipient referenced ‘a meeting we had in December last att Gogerthan’ earlier that year: MS Nanteos L59a: William Pugh to Griffith Lloyd, 18 Feb. 1710.

⁸³ See, for example, *Commons, 1690-1715*, IV, 731; HMC, *Portland*, IV, 494.

⁸⁴ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L695.

would gather their voters, and alternately present them to the sheriff in blocks of twenty or so to be counted.⁸⁵ This left the sheriffs, as the returning officers, in an influential position, and allegations of corruption were levelled against them in all three south-west counties – ranging from delivering the writ directly to one candidate’s allies (Pembrokeshire), to accepting votes of non-jurors (Cardiganshire).⁸⁶ In the Cardiganshire election of 1690, Sir Carbery Pryse (4th Bt.) persuaded the sheriff suddenly to adjourn the vote from Aberystwyth to Cardigan (‘above Thirty *Welch* Miles off’) before all of John Vaughan’s votes had been counted. Four years later Vaughan played exactly the same trick on Pryse’s heir to win the county by-election.⁸⁷

The manipulation of elections by the leading gentry of Wales, combined with meetings of gentry in both regions under study, suggests that landlords could ride roughshod over the county freeholders who formed the bulk of the electorate. Such an interpretation is supported by surviving letters to tenants directing their votes.⁸⁸ Of course, we should be wary of accepting this as straightforward dependency; not all freeholders were obliged to follow direction, and others could split their two votes to appease both their landlord and vote for their desired candidate. Nonetheless, landlord influence is evident in the surviving pollbooks for the 1710 Cornwall and Pembrokeshire elections. As with other counties in England, both lists reveal a tendency for entire parishes to support the same candidates favoured by the principal landowner.⁸⁹ In Pembrokeshire, the tory strongholds of Slebech, Wiston, and Narberth gave the tory candidate, John Barlow of Colby, forty votes, and Sir Arthur Owen only five. By contrast, Owen could command all the votes in the parishes of Lambston, Castlemartin, and New Moat.⁹⁰ Similarly, in Cornwall, thirty-five of forty-one voters in Padstow aligned with the dominant landlord, Edmund Prideaux, in voting for the whigs Hugh Boscawen and Richard Edgcumbe.⁹¹ Yet this pattern was not universal, and numerous

⁸⁵ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L695; *CJ*, XVI, 267.

⁸⁶ *CJ*, X, 362; XIII, 350; XVI, 267-9.

⁸⁷ *CJ*, X, 371, 426-7, 486; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 39.

⁸⁸ See, for example, AHM, BO/23/63/9: John Buller to Mr. Grosse, 23 Oct. 1710; BO/23/63/13: Daniel Hawels to John Buller, 11 Jan. 1712; WGA, RISW/Gn8/12: Mr. Powell to Phillip Williams, 6 Sept. 1706; Griffith Rice to Phillip Williams, 16 Sept. 1710.

⁸⁹ Speck, *Tory & Whig*, pp. 44-5; J. Broad, ‘Sir John Verney and Buckinghamshire Election, 1696-1715’, *Historical Research*, 56 (1983), pp. 195-204; Challinor, ‘Politics in Cheshire’, p. 215.

⁹⁰ NLW, MS 6108E: Pembrokeshire pollbook, 1710.

⁹¹ Richard G. Grylls (ed.), *The 1710 Pollbook for Cornwall* (Tring, 2002). One townsman gave his vote to Prideaux, who was not standing!

parishes in both regions cast votes fairly evenly for the two parties reflecting either competition between rival landlords or independence amongst the freeholders.

Borough elections

Proprietorial interest remained dominant in Cornish borough constituencies for the remainder of the later Stuart period (Table 3.1). As in the pre-revolutionary period, certain families derived their interest from land ownership, and buttressed it with social standing, well-established connections, and benevolence towards their local communities. Bishop Trelawny's control of East and West Looe was such that the mayor of the former promised that no men would be admitted into the town's magistracy without Trelawny's 'possetive command', and neither constituency was contested in 1690-1714.⁹² Likewise, the Eliots maintained their iron-grip over St. Germans, and the Morices controlled one of the seats at Newport – in 1698, Nicholas Morice was said to have announced that he would declare the poll '*when he would, where he would, and for whom he would*'.⁹³ More frequently, however, two or more families shared or competed for interest. Hugh Boscawen struggled against rival tory families in St. Mawes (against the Tredenams) and Tregony (against the Trevanions). Likewise, competing interests at St. Ives, principally between the whig dukes of Bolton and the tory Praeds, generated a great deal of partisan conflict.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, power was shared more amicably in Callington, Liskeard, Saltash, and Truro.⁹⁵

Cornwall's abundance of seats, combined with the dominance of certain gentry families, meant that several constituencies could be regarded as strongholds by party leaders. Given the relative strength of the two parties, these were predominantly tory 'safe seats': Callington always returned two tories, while Bodmin, Bossiney, Camelford, Fowey, Launceston, Liskeard, Newport, Penryn, St. Germans, and St. Mawes returned at least one tory in every election.⁹⁶ The whigs could guarantee at least one MP from St. Ives and Tregony, and other constituencies had whig patrons for shorter periods. It was therefore not uncommon for prominent MPs to turn to Cornwall to ensure their re-election. When the leading whig Sir

⁹² Jonathan Couch (ed.), 'Borough of East Looe', *JRIC*, 2 (1866), p. 63. Trelawny also had an interest in Penryn and Liskeard: *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 84-5, 95-6.

⁹³ *The Case of John Prideaux, Esq.* (1698). See also, *CJ*, XIII, 327, 515.

⁹⁴ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 97-101, 103-5.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 75, 84-5, 102-3, 106-7.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 246.

Richard Onslow lost his seat at Surrey, he was swiftly provided for in one of Cornwall's 'Cities of Refuge'.⁹⁷ The practice served to underline the region's electoral importance, and highlights how the localities were integrated into a national political structure.

It also led to an increase in the proportion of seats won by outsiders, compared to the earlier period (from 28% to 33%). Alongside the usual suspects of kinsmen of borough patrons and prominent politicians requiring a 'safe seat', wealthy Londoners riding on the coat-tails of the 'financial revolution' attempted to buy their way into parliament through Cornwall.⁹⁸ The election of 'strangers', however, became increasingly unpopular amongst the gentry and borough electorates. Boscawen found that he could not return an ally to Tregony in 1690 as the townspeople 'will have no stranger', while Trelawny admitted that the inhabitants of East and West Looe were 'against admitting strangers'.⁹⁹ At the same time, some patrons were reluctant to lend their interest to unknown men, or fearful of having their authority usurped by 'strangers & Inter-lopers'.¹⁰⁰ This was not paranoia, but a realistic assessment of the fragility of many gentlemen's interests in the towns, especially in the county's larger boroughs.

The general election of 1698 and subsequent by-election at Penryn illustrates some of the rival groups who could deploy an interest. In the 1695 election, the moderate whig courtier James Vernon had been returned on the interest of the local Trefusis family. Three years later, and now a secretary of state, Vernon was invited by the corporation to stand again.¹⁰¹ Although he initially declined for fear of offending the Trefusis family, Vernon and his Penryn allies eventually devised a plan to have his son (and namesake) elected with the support of the corporation and Trefusis family. Since his son was unlikely to carry a contested election, Vernon would stand himself in both Penryn and his preferred seat of Westminster, and then step aside in the former to allow his son to win the resulting by-election in January 1699.¹⁰² The plan might have worked had the by-election gone

⁹⁷ Bodl., MS Ballard 38, f. 153: William Bromley to Arthur Charlett, 9 Nov. 1710. Boscawen secured Onslow's election at St. Mawes.

⁹⁸ See, for example, John 'Vulture' Hopkins and Anthony Rowe: *Commons, 1690-1715*, IV, 389; V, 311-12.

⁹⁹ HMC, *Portland*, III, 445; HMC, *Downshire*, I, 456. See also, *CJ*, XI, 491-2.

¹⁰⁰ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 102; AHM, BO/23/76/3: Memorandum of John Buller, 24 Aug. 1713; BL, Add. MS 28052, f. 94; *CJ*, X, 355.

¹⁰¹ BL, Add. MS 40771, f. 249: James Vernon to John Worth, 14 July 1698.

¹⁰² James Vernon, *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III from 1696 to 1708 addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, ed. G. P. R. James (3 vols., 1841), II, 147.

uncontested. Vernon was well aware that he had ‘a very precarious Interest’ in Penryn, ‘having never been near the place in my life’, and soon Alexander Pendarves, a local tory who had served as the town’s MP for nine years (1689-98), was making ‘great opposition’ by ‘going about from house to house’ to generate support.¹⁰³ Worse still, once Lord Lieutenant Radnor came to perceive Vernon’s political manoeuvrings to be neglecting or slighting his own authority, he dealt Vernon a blow by withdrawing his support.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, Pendarves hammered home his advantage by reminding Vernon that his family had been chosen to serve Penryn for generations. In response, Vernon claimed that the Penryn electors were free ‘to make their own choice upon such considerations as sway most with them’.¹⁰⁵ Ultimately his attempts to secure the seat for his son failed and Pendarves was returned.

The role of the corporation should not be underestimated. An account of ‘every persons interest’ in Cornwall compiled in 1711 claimed that ‘Worth & Herle’ controlled one seat in Penryn, and the two families dominated the corporation.¹⁰⁶ Together, they had also orchestrated Vernon’s candidature in 1698.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, in return, Worth and Herle had solicited Vernon’s assistance in obtaining the lease of the lordship of Penryn borough, which lay in the hands of the bishop of Exeter.¹⁰⁸ The influential and ambitious corporation was only one of the numerous and interrelated groups who had exerted influence during the elections. Principal landowning families, the Trefusis’ and Pendarves’, had also exercised their interest, as had Radnor as the county’s leading aristocrat. Furthermore, the wider body of Cornish gentry had been involved; Vernon himself had no doubt deployed whatever government interest he could muster; and both Vernon and Pendarves had appealed to the electorate for votes. These interest groups are difficult to delineate – Vernon probably believed he could rely on Radnor *because* of his government interest, and the Herles and Worths were gentry families in their own right – but it is clear that this election ought to

¹⁰³ Bodl., MS Rawlinson Letters 51, f. 160: James Vernon to Philip Lord Wharton, 9 Aug. 1698.

¹⁰⁴ BL, Add. MS 40772, f. 49. Radnor had been asked by the gentry to favour Cornish candidates above outsiders.

¹⁰⁵ BL, Add. MS 40772, ff. 112r-v: James Vernon to Alexander Pendarves, 17 Sept. 1698.

¹⁰⁶ BL, Add. MS 70315: Trevanion’s list, 1711; CRO, BPEN/355: Mayoral elections, 1709-1728.

¹⁰⁷ BL, Add. MS 40772, f. 49v.

¹⁰⁸ BL, Add. MS 40772, f. 50: James Vernon to John Worth. This had been achieved by 1707. CRO, BPENR/80: Lease, lordship of Penryn borough, 25 Mar. 1707.

complicate the notion that one or two gentry families could completely dominate a larger borough, even in Cornwall.

Cornish corporations were also still recovering from the charter campaigns of Charles II and James II. One of James' final actions as king had been to issue a *Proclamation for Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters* on 17 October 1688. As its title implies, it cancelled all charters that had been issued since 1679, and restored municipal officers who had been removed. However, twenty-nine towns whose surrenders had not been enrolled in the Chancery were explicitly excluded from the proclamation, including fourteen Cornish corporations.¹⁰⁹ New charters granted in the 1690s to deal with these lapses prioritised major urban settlements such as Nottingham, Colchester, and Plymouth – although Fowey received one as early as April 1690.¹¹⁰ The remaining thirteen Cornish towns responded to the situation in various ways. Some managed to avoid legal confusion; East Looe, for example, continued to be governed by James II's charter until 1880, while the corporation of Bodmin consulted the whig Devonshire lawyer, Sir George Treby, and reverted to their Elizabethan charter.¹¹¹ Elsewhere charters were not settled without a struggle. At Truro, the old recorder, Hugh Boscawen, broke down the doors of the town hall, and forcibly resettled the borough on its previous charter.¹¹² Meanwhile, Liskeard was governed by two rival corporations – one elected under the Elizabethan charter, and one under James II's charter – which was finally settled at Launceston assizes in favour of the more recent in the early eighteenth century.¹¹³

Confusion over charters and the strength of rival interests should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that gentry influence in Cornish elections had diminished since 1688. Instead, they gradually adopted new methods to control their outcome. Many developed sophisticated networks of allies in towns who reported on local political manoeuvrings.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Paul D. Halliday, *Dismembering the Body Politic: Partisan Politics in England's Towns, 1650-1730* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 257-9, 265, 278-9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 277; A. L. Browne, *Corporation Chronicles: Being Some Account of the Ancient Corporations of East Looe and of West Looe in the County of Cornwall* (Plymouth, 1904), p. 26; John Maclean, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the County of Cornwall* (3 vols., 1873-9), I, 217.

¹¹² *English Currant*, no. 9 (4-9 Jan. 1689).

¹¹³ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 84-5.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, AHM, BO/23/76/2: Francis Williams to [John Buller], [1713]; CRO, BU/397: William Wallis to John Buller, 8 Dec. 1710; WGA, RISW/Gn4/88: Richard Pollard to John Praed, 7 Mar. 1709.

A more direct means of influencing elections was through generosity or bribery. Boscawen was able to strengthen his position in Tregony by securing the right for the town to hold two new fairs in 1695, but still offered 20s. per vote and distributed 1,000 hundredweight of tin amongst his supporters during the general election.¹¹⁵ Indeed, bribery had become so prevalent in Cornish elections that Sir Robert Price referred to an election being ‘cornwallised’ in Herefordshire, by ‘scattering some guineas illegally’.¹¹⁶ Through means fair or foul, the Cornish gentry ensured that ultimate control over parliamentary elections rested in their hands in the vast majority of instances.

By the early eighteenth century, steps were also being taken by local gentry and regional party leaders to secure the connivance of the borough’s returning officer, usually the mayor or another municipal officer. A returning officer could reject voters based on their perceived ‘illegitimacy’, and thus manipulate the election to return their favoured candidates and circumvent the electorate. Between 1700 and 1714, the House of Commons’ committee of elections and privileges, which settled disputed elections, received no fewer than fourteen complaints from Cornish constituencies about the partiality of returning officers.¹¹⁷ In the lead-up to the 1713 general election, the tory magnate Lord Lansdowne expected to be ‘attacked in every Corporation’ as ‘the enemies of the Government have thought it necessary to be before hand with us in securing the returning officers’.¹¹⁸ While fierce struggles to control strategic corporate offices occurred across England, it was especially prevalent in Cornwall.¹¹⁹

The corporations of south-west Wales remained fairly comfortable oligarchies for the region’s leading gentry. Of the forty-three parliamentary elections to occur, only three were contested. However, the paucity of seats made the region unsuitable for securing the election of influential politicians.¹²⁰ We have already seen how Haverfordwest experienced a degree of stability, while, at Carmarthen, Richard Vaughan of Cwrt Derllys (a cadet branch of

¹¹⁵ *CSPD, 1694-5*, p. 470; *CJ*, XI, 491-2.

¹¹⁶ *HMC, Portland*, V, 327. For accusations of bribery: *CJ*, X, 355; XIII, 330, 328; XIV, 11.

¹¹⁷ *CJ*, X, 16, 141-2, 540; XIII, 329-30, 670; XIV, 7; XV, 8, 10, 239; XVI, 14, 22, 413, 417, 422, 589-90; XVII, 584.

¹¹⁸ *HMC, Portland*, V, 229.

¹¹⁹ See, Halliday, *Body Politic*, pp. 314, 330; Speck, *Tory & Whig*, pp. 50-1.

¹²⁰ See the failure of the Mansels of Penrice to secure a seat for Henry St. John in south-west Wales: NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L612: Edward Mansel to Sir Thomas Mansel, 12 June 1708.

Golden Grove) won every election without contest.¹²¹ The final two borough constituencies of Pembroke and Cardigan were comprised of amalgamations of ‘out-boroughs’, so that though a family might dominate one out-borough, they could still be challenged by a family whose interest lay in another out-borough. In Cardigan boroughs, the Pryses of Gogerddan progressively tightened their grip on the seat once they had purchased The Priory estate in 1693, which facilitated their control of the corporation of Cardigan itself (to complement their long-standing interest at Aberystwyth).¹²²

Yet partisanship was not absent in the south-west Welsh boroughs. Although the Owens of Orierton dominated the town of Pembroke, they were forced to work hard during the early eighteenth century to maintain their dominance of the boroughs election. The ‘cunning and designing’ Lewis Wogan of Wiston, who had earned his wealth by duplicitous means, controlled the out-borough on which his inherited estate lay, and he also slowly ate away at the Owens’ interest in Tenby.¹²³ To keep this challenger at bay, Sir Arthur Owen strengthened his authority in Pembroke by having his brother Charles serve as mayor in 1702-3, while serving himself in 1704 and 1705, and selecting an ally, Jabez Rickson, in 1707. Together they appointed their ‘Friends, Tenants, and Servants’ to the common council, swelling its membership from twelve to fifty-nine. Pembroke corporation also sought to neuter the influence of Wiston by declining to give notice to the out-borough of election dates. In 1710, when the Wiston burgesses arrived *en masse* in Pembroke to support the candidacy of Wogan, Owen whipped up a ‘great Tumult’ by giving a speech in which he claimed the Wiston burgesses had come ‘to destroy their Rights and Privileges’.¹²⁴ Strong proprietorial interest was not always capable of averting partisan conflict, but the dominance of a handful of gentry within the corporations was nonetheless formidable.

POPULAR POLITICS

This thesis has stressed the extent of the gentry’s political influence, despite a recent historiographic shift towards emphasising the social depth of political opinions, and political agency of the lower orders. When discussing ‘politics out-of-doors’ (the crowd, press, and

¹²¹ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 798.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 796-7.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, V, 912.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 815-16; *CJ*, XVI, 22; XVII, 2, 108-10.

public opinion) in this period, historians have often turned to Jürgen Habermas' concept of the 'bourgeois public sphere'. Put simply, this was an arena of public debate to which everyone had an equal right of access, was not manipulated to achieve a certain effect or serve any particular interest group, and was governed by reason.¹²⁵ Having not been specifically formulated for the early modern period, however, many have been sceptical of the term's applicability to the seventeenth century. In an influential article, Joad Raymond raises a multitude of issues with Habermas' definition. Its emphasis on inclusiveness is incompatible with the constraints placed on the printing trade and the realities of a stratified society; its stress on reason as the arbiter of debate conflicts with the parody and misrepresentation so prevalent in religious and political debate; and its assertion of non-instrumentality does not sit well with the pervasiveness of partisan politics in pamphleteering and coffee-houses. Its Marxist connotations are unsuited to Stuart society and, furthermore, it does not reflect the ebb and flow of later Stuart popular political debate.¹²⁶

In response, a number of scholars have sought to modify the concept of the 'public sphere'. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus have written of a 'post-revolutionary public sphere' which was characterised by regular public discussion, preferably unregulated, and was facilitated by the emergence of a more urbanised and commercialised society which, following the Civil Wars, craved reliable news.¹²⁷ Mark Knights similarly sees 'something of value in [Habermas'] notion of a new force of public opinion', and powerfully argues that a more representative society emerged under the later Stuart monarchs – the period after the Glorious Revolution, in particular, witnessed the rise of a highly partisan political culture in which the public routinely participated. The public, moreover, became central to politics, acting as the 'legitimizing power' and as an 'umpire' in political debates.¹²⁸ However, these more historically-grounded theories still pose a number of questions: how participatory was political culture in Cornwall and south-west Wales? Through what channels could the lower orders in these regions access the 'public sphere'? And, finally, to what extent did the rural

¹²⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, transl. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, 1989).

¹²⁶ Joad Raymond, 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere' in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999), p. 118.

¹²⁷ Peter Lake and Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *JBS*, 45 (2006), pp. 270-92.

¹²⁸ Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, pp. 3-8, 51.

and peripheral nature of these communities insulate the elite from the rise of a politically-active middling and lower sort?

Though Lake and Pincus claim that their account of the public sphere looks beyond London, and Knights' monograph refers to 'Britain', both are ultimately Anglo-centric accounts. As Raymond and Alasdair Raffe argue, the public sphere was not necessarily as applicable to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland as it was to England, due to weaker printing cultures and the comparative scarcity of coffee-houses.¹²⁹ Moreover, since Lake and Pincus stress the importance of the development of an 'urbanised' society, and Knights admits his is 'primarily a study of urban representational politics', this caution can be extended to peripheral, rural areas such as Cornwall and south-west Wales.¹³⁰ There were greater barriers to literacy than in London or other metropolitan areas, especially in Wales where a linguistic gulf separated the Principality from England.¹³¹ Of course, a 'literate environment' could overcome these barriers to an extent, but it would be wrong to dismiss them entirely. At the outset, then, there are questions as to whether the public in Cornwall and Wales could participate in the political process as freely as in other regions.

Lloyd Bowen has attempted to redress the neglect of Wales in the historiography of popular politics during the early modern period, and focuses on the issue of language. Since approximately 90% of the Principality's population possessed no English, Bowen argued that they were shielded from seventeenth-century 'oppositional discourses' such as puritanism, popular parliamentarianism, and whiggism – leading to the conservative culture which prevailed in much of Wales.¹³² Although providing a timely contribution to the historiography of British political culture, Bowen's narrow conception of the public sphere and popular politics is problematic. By confining himself to the discussion of the reception of news out of England in the English language, Bowen implies that 'opposition discourses' could only be imported from England, and could have no genesis within Welsh society. In

¹²⁹ Raymond, 'Public Sphere', p. 130; Alasdair Raffe, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660-1714* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 8-9.

¹³⁰ Lake and Pincus, 'Public Sphere', pp. 282-3; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, pp. 25-6. In his ground-breaking study, Tim Harris focused on London: *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987).

¹³¹ See above, p. 24.

¹³² Lloyd Bowen, 'Information, Language and Political Culture in Early Modern Wales', *P&P*, 228 (2015), pp. 125-58.

reality, however, the consumption of printed literature was only one of a myriad of ways through which individuals' formed political opinions.

As Tim Harris reminds us, political views during the early modern period were ultimately formed in response to the actions of the government. Though written news could help inform the wider population of government activities, or planned activities, there were several other avenues through which this information could reach the wider population – for example, through sermons, oral transmission of news, or simply personal experience. The number of medieval rebellions ought to caution historians against placing too great an emphasis on printed literature in the emergence of mass public opinion, or, indeed, against talking of an 'emergence' at all.¹³³ Moreover, as discussed above, 'oppositional discourses' *did* exist in south-west Wales: a number of prominent families were fiercely whiggish, and, by the post-revolutionary period, dissent was flourishing in Carmarthenshire.

It is also clear that the Cornish and south-west Welsh public below the level of the elite held political opinions, and were capable of expressing them in a public forum. Such expression could take multiple forms: petitioning and sending loyal addresses; spreading libels and speaking seditious words; or rioting and, in extreme cases, rebellion. There are numerous examples of, and references to, crowd protest in Cornwall – though their motivations are not always clear.¹³⁴ During Pembroke elections, candidates were known to march through the town at the head of 'Thousands of Gentlemen, Free-holders, &c', sometimes in a 'Riotous & tumultuous manner'.¹³⁵ Various references to bonfires in Cornish towns at important national political moments or anniversaries also suggests that these civic communities were integrated into a national political culture.¹³⁶ Francis Jones' study of the papers of the Pembrokeshire great sessions in Wales provides plenty of evidence of political

¹³³ Tim Harris, 'Introduction' in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 8-9, 22-5.

¹³⁴ T. C., *Great News from Falmouth, or, A True and Impartial Account of a Bloody Fight Between the Tinnors of Cornwall, And the Kings Forces in the Town of Falmouth* (1690); CSPD 1699-1700, p. 77; Patricia Griffith, 'Early Quakers in Cornwall, 1656-1750', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 2004), pp. 47-50; CRO, EL/565, f. 6: Journal of Convocation, 20 Apr. 1710; BEA, Morice MSS: Richard Blight to Humphrey Morice, 28 Mar. 1712. For an angry crowd in Pembrokeshire, see Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (2007), p. 300.

¹³⁵ *Post Boy*, no. 892 (4-6 Feb. 1701); NLW, MS Bronwydd 1674: Petition of burgesses of Wiston, [1708]; *CJ*, XVII, 108-10.

¹³⁶ CSPD, 1687-9, pp. 286-7; CRO, BLIS/297: Liskeard mayoral accounts, 1663; John Hobson Matthews, *A History of the Parishes of Saint Ives, Lelant, Towednack and Zennor* (1892), pp. 240-1, 246-7, 250-1, 256.

rumours and seditious words in the form of ‘utterances tending to treason’.¹³⁷ Whilst these actions can all be classified as political acts, in which ordinary people were participating in the political process, it is less clear whether they were able to participate *routinely*, as Knights argues.

This is the essence of Knights’ thesis, which posits two interrelated principles: first, that the means through which people could access political information was denser in the late Stuart period than at any time before, thus increasingly politicising public opinion. And, secondly, that more people than ever before could routinely express these opinions as a legitimate part of the political process. To explain the significance of the late Stuart period, he identifies five catalysts for, and reflections of, change: frequent contested elections involving a large electorate; the development of a fiscal-military state and commercial expansion; the proliferation of print, coffee-houses, and clubs; more pervasive ideological conflict and politicised religion; and, finally, the birth of political parties.¹³⁸ Although Knights states that he is primarily interested in ‘English civic communities’, his ‘five factors for change’ serve as a useful guide to highlight parallels and disparities between the kinds of urban areas he is interested in, and predominantly rural regions such as Cornwall and south-west Wales.¹³⁹

For Knights, the growth of the electorate during the later Stuart period in England and Wales, combined with frequent and increasingly contested elections, created a growing body of electors with a genuine political choice to make.¹⁴⁰ As noted above, however, this pattern was not mirrored in Cornwall and south-west Wales where the proportion of contested elections fell during this period. In the former, the electorate also decreased in size, whilst the electorates of the Welsh constituencies were dramatically manipulated by the mass admission of freemen for partisan purposes. While this does not preclude the possibility of partisan conflict, it often reduced the ability of the wider inhabitants to participate freely in elections. Instead, proprietorial interest was particularly strong in Cornish and south-west

¹³⁷ Francis Jones, ‘Disaffection and Dissent in Pembrokeshire’, *THSC* (1946-7), pp. 206-31.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-28.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25. It should be noted that Knights stresses that these five factors are ‘overly schematized, ignoring the subtlety of the way in which continuity and change work dialectically’ (*ibid.*, p. 11 n.13), but they serve as a useful overview.

¹⁴⁰ See also, John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), p. 84.

Welsh parliamentary elections, albeit often involving negotiation with several other interested parties. The ability of the electorate to determine the outcome of an election in Cornwall and south-west Wales was ultimately limited.

Another factor which contributed to a more representative national political culture during the later Stuart period was the proliferation of print, coffee-houses, and clubs, especially after the lapse of the licensing act in 1694. Theoretically, it facilitated the discussion of national affairs, and the formation of political opinion, to an extent hitherto unknown. However, as discussed in the thesis introduction, the barriers to the availability of news and information, whilst by no means insurmountable, were greater in Cornwall and south-west Wales than other parts of the kingdom.¹⁴¹ If the more affluent members of borough corporations (sometimes minor gentry in their own right) could not easily source dependable national news, then it is unlikely that the lower orders would have found it any easier.

Broad political engagement also required a degree of interaction. Certain spaces became recognised as venues of political discussion – most notably, the coffeehouse. Coffeehouses were designed to cater for a highly literate, news hungry clientele. Their popularity stemmed both from their affordable drinks and their ability to circulate the news of the day, and they could be found in towns across England.¹⁴² However, they were also largely an urban phenomenon, and rarely found in small boroughs. It is telling that there were no coffee dealers in Cornwall and only five in west Wales by 1736/7 – at a time when there were over 3,400 in London alone.¹⁴³ For the inhabitants of peripheral or largely rural regions, then, what spaces were available in which to engage in political discussion? A number of spaces pre-dated the inception of the coffeehouse as a site of public discussion: booksellers, inns, taverns, and alehouses. A thirst for political discussion did not emerge in tandem with the growth of coffeehouses, and Mark Hailwood has done much to elucidate the longstanding social and cultural significance of alehouses as spaces for political activity. Hailwood demonstrates that it was not uncommon to find criticisms spoken against the monarch or

¹⁴¹ See above, pp. 22-4.

¹⁴² Steve Pincus, “‘Coffee Politicians Does Create’: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), pp. 807-34; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (2005); Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, p. 17.

¹⁴³ Cowan, *Coffee*, pp. 155-6. I have found no evidence of coffee-houses in Cornwall or south-west Wales in the years 1660-1714.

government in alehouses, or expressions of contempt against local officials.¹⁴⁴ In 1693, for example, the clergyman Evan Evans was reported to the authorities in Pembrokeshire after he ‘dranke ye health of King James and would have others drinke it’.¹⁴⁵ Unlike coffeehouses, though, these were not spaces specifically tailored towards enabling politicised conversations, and tended to rely upon close-knit patterns of sociability which thrived in urban conditions.

This thesis has already made use of numerous loyal addresses sent from Cornwall and south-west Wales, cumulatively featuring hundreds (if not thousands) of signatures. Such documents claimed to represent the views of not only their subscribers, but of entire communities.¹⁴⁶ As a result, scholarship on later Stuart loyal addresses has largely been concerned with questioning their value as indicators of public opinion. This builds upon studies of the wide-ranging rival petitioning campaigns of the 1640s which suggest that petitions ‘deserve recognition as an authentic expression of deeply felt local opinion’.¹⁴⁷ The sociologist David Zaret considers the innovative use of printed mass petitions to have facilitated ‘the “invention” of public opinion’, and thus the public sphere, during the mid-seventeenth-century crisis by undermining established traditions of secrecy.¹⁴⁸ For historians of the later Stuart period, however, the related genre of addressing has never been viewed as a straightforward reflection of public opinion but, instead, indicative of partisan politics. Focusing predominantly on the 1681 addressing campaign, Phillip Harth, Mark Knights, and Tim Harris consider loyal addresses as part of a propaganda war during the Exclusion Crisis – documents with specific partisan aims.¹⁴⁹

The authors of addresses are usually unknown but, as with petitions, it is thought to have been small cliques of local gentry.¹⁵⁰ It is therefore likely that they best reflect the narrow

¹⁴⁴ Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 62-74.

¹⁴⁵ Jones, ‘Disaffection and Dissent’, pp. 218-19.

¹⁴⁶ Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, ch. 3.

¹⁴⁷ Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (1981), p. 192. See, Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 84.

¹⁴⁸ David Zaret, ‘Petitions and the “Invention” of Public Opinion in the English Revolution’, *American Journal of Sociology*, 101 (1996), p. 1498.

¹⁴⁹ Phillip Harth, *Pen for a Party: Dryden’s Tory Propaganda in its Contexts* (Princeton, 1993), p. 82; Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 339-44; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (2005), pp. 267-76.

¹⁵⁰ Fletcher, *Outbreak*, p. 193.

views of the elite and middling sort, and cannot be seen as representative of the lower orders. Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan, for example, sent a loyal address to Cardiganshire which he had personally drafted in a London coffee-house in 1702, and, in the same year, the mayor of Pembroke delayed sending an address as ‘we wait for a meeting of the gentlemen of the county’.¹⁵¹ As Knights writes, addresses and petitions attempted to “capture” public speech from minorities masquerading as majorities’.¹⁵² This was recognised by contemporaries with one whig pamphleteer writing in 1681 that addresses ‘contain and express only the sentiments of a few persons of little interest’, in a comment which perhaps also reflected the precariousness of the whigs’ position politically.¹⁵³ These documents were not spontaneous reflections of public opinion, and it is questionable how far they represented a genuine opportunity for the lower orders to participate actively in the political process.

It is evident that the wider public of Cornwall and south-west Wales held committed political views, and were capable of expressing them in many forms. Yet the political process does not appear to have been highly participatory in either region. Limitations on literacy, on the availability of printed or manuscript news and information, on the political influence of the electorate, and on the representativeness of loyal addresses, all served to limit the channels through which the public could routinely participate in political life.

KINSHIP AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Geoffrey Holmes’ deconstruction of Robert Walcott’s Namierite interpretation of politics during the reign of Anne should not be mischaracterised as a rejection of the importance of familial and patron-client relationships. Holmes understood the significance of kinship and clientage, but warned against ascribing political bonds between relations without further evidence. Moreover, he noted that ‘politicians of Anne’s day were normally rather more ready to respond to the calls of kinship in elections than inside the walls of Parliament’.¹⁵⁴ As demonstrated in Chapter One, the deep-rooted settlement of Cornish and Welsh families,

¹⁵¹ NLW, MS Nanteos L53a: Draft of loyal address to Queen Anne, Apr. 1702; MS Picton Castle 1487: John Courcy to Sir John Philipps, 4 Apr. 1702.

¹⁵² Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, p. 110.

¹⁵³ [?Anthony Ashley-Cooper], *An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the Late Addresses* (1681), p. 7. K. H. D. Haley has disputed Shaftesbury’s authorship but concedes he may have suggested some of its arguments: *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford, 1968), p. 640.

¹⁵⁴ Holmes, *British Politics*, pp. 230-1, 327-34, esp. 332.

combined with decades of endogamy, produced particularly dense kinship networks.¹⁵⁵ Many Welshmen, in particular, were intimately familiar with their lineage, and a sprawling cousinage network which could span multiple counties. In both regions, loyalty to one's kin was imperative. After acknowledging the existence (and importance) of principles in determining political allegiances, this section explores some of the ways in which this interacted with personal associations and kinship networks.

It is inescapable that England and Wales operated within a two-party structure during the post-revolutionary period, and that ideologies and principles played a central role in dictating individuals' political allegiances. Cornish and south-west Welsh gentlemen joined London-based party-political organisations where they could socialise with like-minded men; the Cornishmen James Buller and Alexander Pendarves were members of the high-tory Board of Brothers, while the earl of Carbery joined the whiggish Kit Cat Club.¹⁵⁶ The 'West Saxons' parliamentary group, comprised of Cornish and Devon MPs, consistently supported the tory party.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, electioneering implies that political ideologies permeated further down the social scale. The general election of 1698 in Liskeard, for example, which was held in the shadow of the Treaty of Ryswick and William III's unwillingness to reduce the army, featured 'false reports' that one of the candidates was 'for a standing Army'.¹⁵⁸ Eight years previously, the whig Anthony Rowe had dispersed copies of his *Letter to a Friend* in Mitchell, which included lists of which MPs had opposed the accession of William and Mary.¹⁵⁹ That such information and rumours were expected to influence the vote suggests that those responsible for its distribution believed that the electorate was ideologically-driven.

Documents purporting to represent the views of Cornish and south-west Welsh communities increasingly deployed party terminology and ideologies. Following the election of December 1701, the sheriff and freeholders of Cornwall sent a strongly tory set of instructions to county MPs John Granville and James Buller: charging them to enquire

¹⁵⁵ See above, pp. 41-3.

¹⁵⁶ BL, Add. MS 49360, ff. 3v, 15: Minute book of Board of Brothers; *Lords, 1660-1715*, IV, 751.

¹⁵⁷ See above, pp. 47-8.

¹⁵⁸ AHM, BO/23/72/21: Report of Liskeard election, 2 Aug. 1698.

¹⁵⁹ *CJ*, x, 355; *A Letter to a Friend, upon the Dissolution of the Late Parliament... Together with a List of those that were against making the Prince and Princess of Orange, King and Queen* (1690).

into the reasons for the dissolution of the previous tory-dominated parliament, to proceed with impeachments against the whig junto lords, and to examine allegations of corruption regarding war finances.¹⁶⁰ Not only were the members expected to represent the politics of their constituents, but the instructions portrayed the entire electorate as unanimous in its tory principles.

The explosion of loyal addressing after 1681 similarly articulated party ideologies. Following the duumvirs' misjudged impeachment of Sacheverell in March 1710 (after his infamous St. Paul's sermon aligning whigs and dissenters with Catholics), scores of addresses were issued in his defence.¹⁶¹ However, a Pembrokeshire address drawn up by the whig Sir Arthur Owen and subscribed with eighty-six names was unusual for its strong anti-Sacheverell line. The high churchman's 'enslaving Principles' were equated with those which had precipitated the Civil Wars, and it was suggested that French 'Emissaries' ('Papists' and 'non-jurors') were responsible for promoting the whole affair.¹⁶² Local tories were horrified by the 'cross-squinting' document, and the Pembrokeshire clergy were said to 'resent it mightily'.¹⁶³ A counter-address was quickly presented to the queen, which referred to the 'Growth of *Atheism* and *Blasphemy*, *Vice* and *Immorality*' in an unambiguous attack on latitudinarians, nonconformists, and whigs.¹⁶⁴ The rival addresses clearly expressed aspects of whig and tory ideology, and claimed that these party divisions infused Pembrokeshire society.

As Geoffrey Holmes argued himself, it would be over-simplistic to speak of a two-party *system* in the early eighteenth century; neither party was monolithic, and older court and country divisions remained significant.¹⁶⁵ The archetypal country issue which united whigs

¹⁶⁰ This was printed, along with several whiggish instructions, in *The Electors' Right Asserted: With the Advices and Charges of Several Counties, Cities and Boroughs in England, to their Respective Members of Parliament* (1701), pp. 22-3.

¹⁶¹ Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (1973), pp. 61-4.

¹⁶² *A Collection of the Addresses which have been Presented to the Queen, since the Impeachment of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell* (1710), p. 36; BL, Add. Ch 76113: Address of Pembrokeshire high-sheriff, grand-jury, and justices of the peace to Queen Anne, 22 Apr. 1710.

¹⁶³ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 813.

¹⁶⁴ *A Collection of the Addresses which have been Presented to the Queen, since the Impeachment of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell: Part II* (1711), p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ Holmes, *British Politics*, pp. 8-9. For discussions of the 'country' interest: David Hayton, 'The "Country" Interest and the Party System, 1689-c.1720', in Clyve Jones (ed.), *Party and Management in Parliament, 1660-1784* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 37-85; *idem*, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics in the Late Seventeenth-Century House of Commons', *P&P*, 128 (1990), pp. 48-91.

and tories was opposition to a standing army in 1698 – a principle exploited during the Liskeard election of that year to smear a court supporter. Equally, allegiances to the court could overlay party divisions, and Godolphin was able to secure the election of tories in Cornwall who would work alongside whigs in the court interest.

Meanwhile, elements of the tory party were influenced by Jacobitism.¹⁶⁶ Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan's (Cardiganshire) vociferous brand of Jacobite-tinged toryism alienated his more moderate would-be allies in south-west Wales. Following the accession of Anne, he sent a draft loyal address from London to be subscribed in the county, in which he attacked the 'wicked designs of the dangerous Fanatick and arbitrary Com[m]onwelthman, who have been so obnoxious to y[ou]r regal predecessors'. Needless to say, the text was completely rewritten before Pryse presented it to the monarch.¹⁶⁷ By 1708, Pryse had grown so frustrated with the tory party that he confided to a friend that 'I am really of opinion th[a]t a Tory Parliam[en]t will do you and I more hurt, than any thing th[a]t has happened since the Revolution'.¹⁶⁸ This was perhaps a response to tory failures to oppose consecutive supply bills and the Act of Union with Scotland the previous year. While party ideologies were important to political allegiances in Cornwall and south-west Wales, they were often shifting entities, splintered by internal divisions.

Party allegiances could also be bolstered and conditioned by kinship and personal connections. The importance of kinship can be seen in the distribution of parliamentary seats amongst the family members of their patrons. In Carmarthenshire, for example, the earl of Carbery's relations dominated almost every election of the later Stuart period. Bishop Trelawny was even prepared to decline his fellow prelate's request to nominate a candidate as he had already promised them to 'my relations' which 'I cannot without great affront or injury lay aside'.¹⁶⁹ The situation at Saltash was somewhat more complicated as the two most influential local families suffered minorities (the Bullers and Carews), leaving Lady Mary Carew predisposed to support the interests of her relations, the Pendarves, Morices, and Moyles (see Appendix).¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ D. Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-14* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁷ NLW, MS Nanteos L53a; *London Gazette*, no. 3810 (14-18 May 1702).

¹⁶⁸ NLW, MS Nanteos L54: Lewis Pryse to William Powell, [1708].

¹⁶⁹ HMC, *Downshire*, I, 455-6: Sir Jonathan Trelawny to Thomas Sprat, [n.d.].

¹⁷⁰ *Commons, 1660-1715*, II, 102-3.

Of course, kinship was no guarantee of parallel political opinions, and nor did contrary politics destroy families. The Cornishman Sir Nicholas Morice, who was raised by his fiercely whiggish uncle and namesake, developed staunch high tory principles, while his cousin Joseph Moyle (who was also raised by Nicholas Morice snr.) followed his uncle's politics. Although Sir Nicholas disparagingly referred to his uncle as 'the old Trojan', he ordered some 'good wine' in 1710 in order to 'keep up the sinking spiritts of my friend & kinsman Jos: Moyle whom I am in a concern for by reason every poste brings news of the Whigs takeing the countrey air'.¹⁷¹ There was doubtlessly something of a jibe in Morice's offer to buy his cousin a drink after a disastrous whig campaign, but it also suggests a genuine affection which transcended party divisions.

Yet familial relationships clearly played a role in the construction of local political allegiances in Cornwall and south-west Wales. In the former, the Godolphin-Trelawny-Boscawen alliance was held together, in part, by the fact that Boscawen was Godolphin's nephew. Certainly, their chief adversary, George Granville, understood the political influence of his kinship relationships. In a letter to his young nephew, the 3rd earl of Bath, he noted that:

there is hardly a Gentlemen either in Cornwall or Devon, but has some of your Blood or you some of His. I remember the first time I accompanied your Grandfather into the West, upon holding his Parliament of Tinnars, as Warden of the Stannaries... I observ'd there was hardly any one but whom He called Cousin, and I could not but observe at the same time, how well they were pleased with it.

For George, his family's kinship network was a powerful tool to be utilised for political means; as he put it, 'you inherit Friends without the trouble of makeing them'. There was a touch of Machiavellianism to Granville's advice, as his nephew should '*seem to* retain the memory of Kindred & Alliances'. Nonetheless, he urged the earl to reside in Cornwall, and assured him that the majority of the Cornish would be politically sympathetic as 'Royalists'.¹⁷²

Granville had found in 1708 that his family name carried considerable political capital in Cornwall. Whilst visiting the county, he 'found it necessary to answer the extraordinary

¹⁷¹ BEA, Morice MSS: Sir Nicholas Morice to Humphrey Morice, 26 Aug. 1710.

¹⁷² DHC, Z11: George Granville to earl of Bath, 4 Sept. 1711. My italics.

civilities and respect that I have found’, concluding that ‘as inconsiderable as I may seem at London, I find myself not without consequence here’.¹⁷³ Indeed, the family’s local reputation was formidable. As one high-church clergymen wrote, ‘I have made this observation to myself, that whenever it went well with the Granvilles, it went well with the Church of England’.¹⁷⁴ The flipside was that the reputation of someone like Hugh Boscawen was shaped by his father’s parliamentarianism, puritanism, and whiggism. In 1705 he was forced publicly to proclaim his Anglicanism, and after he was proposed as a candidate at Camelford, one townsman said that ‘the Town would be ruined, for... none of the Gentlemen of the Country would ever come to the Town’.¹⁷⁵ Kinship networks therefore transcended beyond immediate kin and marriage alliances. It was deeply imbedded in Cornish society, and was bound up with the long-term reputations of families and their *paterfamilias*.

Kinship and personal association were an even more significant factor in local political allegiances in south-west Wales, and occasionally superseded ideological views. In the general election of December 1701, for example, John Laugharne deployed his interest both for his whig kinsman, Sir Arthur Owen, in Pembrokeshire, and for the tory Sir Thomas Powell in Carmarthenshire.¹⁷⁶ Familial alliances were exceptionally difficult to break down. In October 1700, when the duke of Leeds, governor of the Company of Mine Adventurers, tried to engineer the election of the company’s deputy-governor, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, in Cardiganshire, he was informed that there were ‘many difficulties in our way’ as ‘a great many [are] nearly related to our pr[e]sent repr[e]sentative’.¹⁷⁷ It was only after the seventeen-year-old heir to Gogerddan, Lewis Pryse, lent his interest to Mackworth that the remainder of the gentry supported the tory industrialist. These kinship and political networks were strengthened by the naming of allies as godparents: Sir John Philipps of Picton Castle was named godfather of Sir Arthur Owen’s son, and, in turn, Philipps named the whigs Sir Arthur, John Barlow of Lawrenny, and John Vaughan of Cwrt Derllys as godfathers to his various children.¹⁷⁸ In this way, ties of kinship, personal association, and political allegiance became closely entwined in south-west Welsh society.

¹⁷³ HMC, *Portland*, IV, 495.

¹⁷⁴ HMC, *Cowper*, III, 105.

¹⁷⁵ *CJ*, XVI, 274.

¹⁷⁶ WGA, RISW/Gn8/12: List of voters, Carmarthenshire election, 1710; Thomas, *Politics*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁷⁷ NLW, MS Nanteos L41: Duke of Leeds to William Powell, 15 Oct. 1700.

¹⁷⁸ NLW, MS Picton Castle 584: Notebook of Sir John Philipps, [1701-28].

In Cornwall and Cardiganshire, the interplay between these various elements was displayed in electioneering for knights of the shire during the heated general elections of 1710. In Cardiganshire, the election was fought between two Tories: Lewis Pryse was defeated by his old ally Sir Humphrey Mackworth. Pryse's habit of abandoning his electoral pacts was beginning to take its toll. One of his longstanding supporters, John Lewes of Gernos, felt 'used of late in relation to the last election'. He complained to his 'Unkle', William Pugh of Mathafarn, that Pryse had reneged on a promise, despite Lewes having served him 'in opposition to much nearer relations'. As a result, Lewes was resolved to 'try whether I can meet w[i]th better usage fro[m] other p[er]sons'. Nonetheless, he expressed an 'unwillingness to separate fro[m] my friends'.¹⁷⁹ For Lewes, political allegiance was based on a complex blend of friendship, kinship, and honour. It is likely that he joined a growing bi-partisan movement in support of Mackworth. Pryse's chief ally, William Powell of Nanteos, had already mutinied, having been approached by the Whig Lord Lisburne.¹⁸⁰ One commentator described the 'extraordinary busines' which saw 'the two most distant persons on earth in opinion' join in partnership, and Pryse lamented the fact that 'Mr. Powell... has totally deserted his <old> fr[ie]nds of the Church & join'd the contrary interest'.¹⁸¹ There are a number of reasons why Powell and Lisburne may have united against Pryse. Of course, Mackworth's 'powerful gold' may have played a role, but it is also possible that Pryse's Jacobite tendencies were becoming viewed as dangerous, or that his divisive personality had alienated too many of his allies. Once men like Powell and Lewes had deserted him, they could exert their influence on their kin and clients. The evidence suggests that it was not a decision taken lightly, and that it hinged more on personalities and local power dynamics than on political principles.

In Cornwall, the Tory candidates George Granville and John Trevanion defeated the Whigs Hugh Boscawen and Richard Edgcumbe. As noted above, a county meeting had descended into chaos after the Whig candidates led a walkout in opposition to Sir Richard Vyvyan's attempt to read Lord Lieutenant Rochester's letter. Prior to this, however, a letter from Granville (who was fulfilling cabinet duties in London) was read which hit upon several key

¹⁷⁹ NLW, MS Nanteos L44: John Lewes to William Pugh, 15 Aug. 1710.

¹⁸⁰ NLW, MS Nanteos L46: Lord Lisburne to William Powell, 25 Dec. 1709.

¹⁸¹ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L695; BL, Add. MS 70205: Lewis Pryse to Robert Harley, 21 Nov. 1710.

Harleyite policies: he pledged to support the monarchy and Church of England, to restore public finances, and to pursue peace with France. In concluding, Granville stated:

I desire only to be tried in these principalls, I having nothing to value <my self> upon, but having my veins so full of Cornish Blood, as to have the honour of being related perhaps to every one of the Gent. to whom you may have an opportunity att this time to communicate my sentiments.¹⁸²

Following the whig exodus, the candidates canvassed for support, with allegiances not always reflecting political views. The longstanding friendship between the tory John Buller and whig Richard Edgcumbe, for example, led the former to pledge his interest in support of Edgcumbe.¹⁸³ Nonetheless, the pervasiveness of ideological issues was reflected in the cries of ‘Trevanion and Granville as sound as a bell, For the Queen, the Church and Sacheverell!’ which accompanied the election.¹⁸⁴ Tory propaganda alleging Boscawen’s support for Sacheverell’s impeachment (despite his absence at the trial) was countered by whig slurs attacking Trevanion as a Roman Catholic and Granville for having no Cornish estates.¹⁸⁵ The election was highly charged both in its appeals to political ideology, and in its personal attacks on candidates. Just as Granville would later advise his cousin to do, he sought to leverage his family’s kinship network and reputation to generate support, and personal associations could cut across nominal party allegiances.

WARFARE AND THE ECONOMY

European warfare became commonplace following the accession of William and Mary – indeed, defeating Louis XIV had been one of William’s foremost motivations for invading England in the first place. The financial burden of the Nine Years War (1688-97) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) gave rise to new taxation and public borrowing, all contributing to a ‘financial revolution’.¹⁸⁶ As demonstrated in Chapter One, despite being largely sheltered from excessive land tax, these decades nonetheless represented a difficult

¹⁸² AHM, BO/23/63/4: George Granville to gentlemen of Cornwall, 29 Sept. 1710.

¹⁸³ AHM, BO/23/63/5; BO/23/63/9; BO/23/63/10.

¹⁸⁴ *Commons, 1690-1715*, II, 70-1.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 271; BL, Add. MS 70288: William Roches to George Granville, 14 Nov. 1710; *Post Boy*, no. 2535 (9-11 Aug. 1711).

¹⁸⁶ John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (1989).

period economically for the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales.¹⁸⁷ Economic problems experienced by the landed elite led to powerful opposition to the wars, and attitudes towards England's (and, later, Britain's) military commitments became increasingly politicised and polarised. Put broadly, tories opposed large-scale continental campaigns, opposed higher taxation, and mistrusted financial innovations. Instead, they favoured a naval war, targeting French colonies in the West Indies (or 'blue-water strategy'), and by 1709-10 campaigned for peace. The whigs, by contrast, were committed to an alliance of Protestant nations opposed to Catholic France, and typically enjoyed the support of the new financial institutions.¹⁸⁸ This section takes the interrelated issues of warfare and the economy to demonstrate that, as strategically important regions, Cornwall and south-west Wales tangibly felt the effects of England's wars as other parts of the kingdom could not. It also argues that the mining activities of both regions became increasingly politicised and utilised for party political purposes, and, as these industries increasingly became threatened by depressed trade, the appeal of tory ideology was heightened.

The strategic importance of Cornwall and south-west Wales imbued them with the character of frontier regions, constantly under threat of foreign invasion or coastal attack. France lay only a hundred miles or so from the Cornish coastline, while Pembrokeshire was sixty miles from Leinster, so that the spectre of an Irish descent was constant. Soon after the Williamite invasion, twenty 'great guns' were sent to Pembroke Castle and Milford Haven, where fortifications were being hastily constructed.¹⁸⁹ Tensions were revealed when fiery crowds attempted to thwart the passage of James II's disbanded Irish troops across Pembrokeshire.¹⁹⁰ The atmosphere in Cornwall was also one of dread and frantic activity, as 'apprehensions of an Invasion from the French' gripped the 'common People'. A correspondent for the *English Currant* reported how tanners worked *gratis* to repair Pendennis Castle in the Falmouth estuary. A series of beacons were organised along the coast, and militia regiments were drilled to optimise their response to an invasion.¹⁹¹ Such

¹⁸⁷ See above, pp. 31-2.

¹⁸⁸ David Onnekink, 'Primacy Contested: Foreign and Domestic Policy in the Reign of William III', in William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (eds.), *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000: How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* (Basingstoke, 2010), p. 38.

¹⁸⁹ *CSPD, 1689-90*, pp. 129-30, 308.

¹⁹⁰ Harris, *Revolution*, p. 300.

¹⁹¹ *English Currant*, no. 3 (14-19 Dec. 1688); *English Currant*, no. 5 (21-26 Dec. 1688).

heightened anxieties diminished as the years passed, but never vanished completely, and both regions remained on alert for the remainder of the period.

Fears of invasion were accompanied by economic anxieties as domestic and international trade slumped. The Cornish coastline, in particular, was plagued by French ships, hampering the fishing industry and all maritime trade within the county. One visitor claimed that the French privateers ‘Lie as thick about the lands and as fallen leaves upon the water in Autumne’.¹⁹² Ships were captured off the coast of St. Ives, Looe, and Falmouth.¹⁹³ By the turn of the century, a string of towns on the northern coast, along with ports such as Fowey and Looe, petitioned for protection from privateers, variously requesting gun placements and ships to patrol their waters and defend their harbours.¹⁹⁴ A common thread amongst all of these requests was an emphasis on the economic damage inflicted by French privateers.

Sustained warfare also depressed tin prices, leading to the publication of three pamphlets in 1697 cataloguing the grievances of Cornwall’s tanners, and calling on the government to intervene. William III had declined to enforce a royal pre-emption on tin, so it was London-based merchants, as those responsible for setting the prices, who were targeted as ‘the Common Parent, of all the Mischeifs, and Inconveniencies’.¹⁹⁵ All three pamphlets, which perhaps had common origins, emphasised the extreme poverty of the miners themselves, who were said to be malnourished and unable to feed their families.¹⁹⁶ As England careered towards another war with France in 1701, one gentleman’s tin agent noted that ‘things [are] much in the dark’, and advised him to sell as much as he could before prices tumbled.¹⁹⁷ It was not a coincidence that the instructions delivered to Cornwall’s knights of the shire at the end of that year asked them to take care of ‘the Trade of this Country; especially the

¹⁹² Bodl., MS Ashmole 1816, f. 138v: Thomas More to Edward Lhuyd, 22 Mar. 1704.

¹⁹³ CRO, RP/1/48: Newsletter, 18 Feb. 1690; CRO, DCELO/39: John Oben to earl of Nottingham, 22 June 1690; *Post Man*, no. 1186 (16-18 Sept. 1703); *London Gazette*, no. 4663 (9-11 Mar. 1710).

¹⁹⁴ *CSPD, 1702-3*, pp. 127, 428-9; *CSPD, 1704-5*, pp. 87, 161.

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Tresilian, *The Tanners Greivances; Or, A True Narrative Shewing the Reasons of the Continual Fall of the Price of Tin* (1697), p. 6.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8; *Reasons for Raising the Price of Tin at the Present, and Keeping it from Falling for the Future* (1697), pp. 1, 7; *Aggravii Venetiani, &c.: Or, The Venetian and other Grievances together with a Proposal for Raising the Price of Tin* (1697), p. 9.

¹⁹⁷ CRO, AR/10/105, 106: Thomas Powell to George Bere, 31 Dec. 1700, 4 Jan. 1701.

Encouragement of Our Fishery and Tyn'.¹⁹⁸ It was becoming clear in the minds of contemporaries that continued warfare was inhibiting trade, and impoverishing the county.

Although Queen Anne was committed to the War of the Spanish Succession, her accession appeared to represent a positive moment for the tin industry. Following petitions from the tanners, a contract was signed by the twenty-four stannators of the convocation of tanners in which the crown agreed to buy 1,600 tonnes of tin for seven years at the favourable price of £3 10s. per hundred stannary weight.¹⁹⁹ Lord Warden Granville skilfully used the contract to boost his own reputation, and promote toryism in the county – using his speech at opening of the convocation to entwine toryism and loyalty to the monarch, partly by redeploing old tropes celebrating Cornish royalism. He reminded his audience (who were mainly tories) that ‘your Attendances will be indispensably required in another Place: Wherefore I hope you will... be consistent with Her Majesty’s Service, and the good of Cornwall’.²⁰⁰ Not only had Cornwall’s tory credentials earned it a favourable pre-emption, but they were in turn to promote the party’s interests in Westminster.

When convocation assembled to discuss a new royal pre-emption in April 1710, it was conducted in a starkly different atmosphere. The Godolphin-Marlborough ministry was nearing collapse, and the Sacheverell affair had intensified political and religious tensions across the kingdom. The depth of political feeling was evident during the contentious convocation, in which the stannators divided into parties, with one party attempting to reject the proposed contract. It has been argued by both contemporaries and modern historians that Godolphin (in tandem with Lord Warden Boscawen) had hoped ‘to ingratiate himself with his countrymen... to support his tottering station at Court’.²⁰¹ Yet Godolphin was in an unenviable position: the tanners had petitioned for a parliament, and asked the queen to purchase a higher quantity of tin to prevent the surpluses experienced during the previous pre-emption – conditions which were unacceptable to the court.²⁰² The crown was prepared

¹⁹⁸ *Electors Right Asserted*, pp. 22-3.

¹⁹⁹ *London Gazette*, no. 3920 (3-7 June 1703). For details of the convocation and contract: CRO, RP/15/2: Journal of convocation, 16 Sept. 1703, esp. ff. 3r-v.

²⁰⁰ CRO, RP/15/2, ff. 2r-v; *London Gazette*, no. 3951 (20-23 Sept. 1703).

²⁰¹ Richard Carew, *Carew’s Survey of Cornwall; To which are Added, Notes Illustrative of its History and Antiquities by the Late Thomas Tonkin* (1811), pp. 400-1; Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘The Convocation of the Stannaries of Cornwall: The Parliament of Tanners, 1703-1752’, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 6 (1986), p. 63.

²⁰² CRO, PW/109: Petition of tanners to Hugh Boscawen, [1709-10]. For another copy: AHM, BO/21/37.

to buy 1,600 tonnes of tin at £3 5s. per hundred stannary weight (a reduction from 1703), and, significantly, would only purchase 1,800 tonnes in peacetime.²⁰³

An account written years later by one of the stannators, Thomas Tonkin, recorded how the ferocity of the convocation elections was akin to ‘those of parliament men’, and resulted in two factions (plus a handful of neutrals) who engaged in ‘very hot debates’ on the opening day. One party – the ‘Anti-Wardenists, or the Country Party’ – was led by the tory stalwarts Sir Nicholas Morice and Sir Richard Vyvyan, and would only accept a contract on the same terms as the previous, provided it dealt with the surplus problem. On the other side were the ‘Wardenists, or the Court Party’, led by the whig Richard Edgcumbe, who wanted to accept the queen’s offer. The first group were tories who sought ‘the removal of those, *who delight in war*’, and the second largely whigs and those loyal to the Godolphin-Trelawny-Boscawen coalition.²⁰⁴ Tensions were wound even tighter after ‘a Great Mobb’ of 5,000-6,000 descended on Truro coinage hall to demand that convocation accept the contract, threatening ‘to do violence’ to any who refused.²⁰⁵ Only Boscawen’s personal intervention dispelled the crowd. The incident further polarised the two parties, and created animosities which were said to have lasted for years, while destroying ‘that harmony and agreement, that was among us before’.²⁰⁶

The determination of the ‘anti-wardenists’ to reject the contract was such that they drafted an address to Anne requesting a better price and a solution to the surplus issue. After Boscawen refused to present it, the authors stubbornly had it printed in Exeter.²⁰⁷ Ultimately, the risk of the pre-emption failing altogether tipped the scales in Boscawen’s favour, and the contract was approved.²⁰⁸ The intensity of the partisanship is highlighted when the parliament is compared to the corresponding convocation in Devon. Despite some opposition to the queen’s offer, the contract was signed *nemine contradicente*, and, unlike the Cornish convocation, committees were able to discuss several aspects of stannary law.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ CRO, EL/565, f. 3v.

²⁰⁴ Carew, *Tonkin*, pp. 401-2.

²⁰⁵ CRO, EL/565, f. 6; Carew, *Tonkin*, p. 412.

²⁰⁶ Carew, *Tonkin*, pp. 410-11.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 423; *The Humble Address of the Convocation of Stannators, or Parliament of Tinnors of the County of Cornwall* ([Exeter], 1710); CRO, EL/565, ff. 9v-10.

²⁰⁸ CRO, EL/565, f. 10v; Cruickshanks, ‘Convocation’, p. 63.

²⁰⁹ *Daily Courant*, no. 2692 (9 June 1710).

By contrast, the Cornish convocation was intensely politicised. Unlike economic issues in other counties, which cut across pre-existing political allegiances, the convocation in Cornwall reinforced party divisions.²¹⁰ The convocation also shed light on the centrality of peace to the prosperity of the tin industry – not only would it raise prices, but the crown would also be able to purchase higher quantities of tin. This adds another dimension to the depth and strength of toryism in Cornwall during the post-revolutionary period; a pragmatic desire to end warfare in order to resurrect the industry from which they derived vast wealth. At the general election of 1710, Granville promised to ‘produce a safe, honourable, and speedy peace’.²¹¹

Economic incentives also shaped politics in Cardiganshire. As in Cornwall, powerful political figures were involved in nascent industrialisation following the discovery of valuable veins of lead and silver ore in March 1690 on Sir Carbery Pryse’s estate.²¹² By 1698, the mine had been purchased by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, who established the Company of Mine Adventurers – one of the largest and most controversial financial schemes of the period.²¹³ Mackworth himself served as deputy-governor, under the figure-head governor of Thomas Osborne, duke of Leeds. Sir Carbery’s heir, Edward Pryse, and ally, William Powell of Nanteos, remained substantial shareholders in the company.²¹⁴ Much like the Cornish tories, then, the Cardiganshire tory gentry would have profited from the improved domestic and international trade which accompanied peacetime. Under Mackworth’s stewardship, the enterprise was pronounced to be a pursuit of ‘piety, profit, and public service’, and a portion of the company’s profits would go to charitable causes.²¹⁵ Comparisons with Cornwall’s tin industry can only be taken so far; the mine did not sustain an independent labouring class, and many of the miners were drafted in from outside of Wales.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ See, for example, the rock salt industry in Cheshire: Challinor, ‘Politics in Cheshire’, pp. 195, 221-3.

²¹¹ AHM, BO/23/63/4.

²¹² HMC, *Fleming*, p. 301; Bodl., MS Ashmole 1817b, f. 224: Ralph Wilbraham to Edward Lhuyd, 26 Apr. 1690.

²¹³ William Waller, *A Short Account of Sir Carbery Pryse’s Lead-Work* (1693).

²¹⁴ *A Settlement of the Mines, late of Sir Carbery Pryse* (1698), p. 5. See also, *A List of All the Adventurers in the Mine-Adventure* (1700), p. 3.

²¹⁵ Koji Yamamoto, ‘Piety, Profit and Public Service in the Financial Revolution’, *EHR*, 126 (2011), pp. 806-34.

²¹⁶ See advertisements for employees: *Post Boy*, no. 554 (19 Oct.-1 Nov. 1698); *London Gazette*, no. 3645 (14-17 Oct. 1700); *Post Man*, no. 938 (28 Feb.-3 Mar. 1702); *Flying Post*, no. 1058 (14-17 Feb. 1702).

Although Mackworth's philanthropic efforts failed to disguise the mine's lack of profitability, leading to accusations of mismanagement and fraud, he was able to achieve legal immunity by developing an independent electoral interest in Cardiganshire through his economic base. Considering the insularity of politics in the region, this represented a remarkable feat. As early as 1699, he offered gifts to leading political figures in the county, and distributed coal to Lord Lisburne, Lewis Pryse, and William Powell, who could 'order what they please' at any price they set. His aim was to 'prepare the Way' for his election in such a way that his neighbours would not 'suspect there was any Design in it'.²¹⁷ Simultaneously, Mackworth ingratiated himself with the county towns; as MP for Cardiganshire, he introduced a bill into the Commons to repair Aberystwyth harbour and build a small pier, but it is unclear whether it ever received royal assent.²¹⁸ In 1709, with his company failing, he was more forthright in his economic promises. He vowed to 'bring the White cloth trade from Shrowsberry into Cardiganshire. And th[a]t he will buld them a Key at Aberystw[i]th... And th[a]t if they will but Aske it, He will Buld them Cardigan Steeple'.²¹⁹ It was only through Mackworth's economic heft, and the investment of prominent families in his mining company, that he was able to build a formidable interest as an 'outsider'.

LOYALTY AND JACOBITISM

During the reign of Charles II, political leaders in Cornwall and south-west Wales had expended significant time and energy in projecting an image of unanimous loyalty to the Stuart monarchy, often articulating a royalist identity.²²⁰ Following the accession of William and Mary, what became of this royalist identity? Was it redeployed for the new monarchs, or did it continue to be expressed towards the exiled Stuarts? This section will demonstrate that there was a degree of Jacobite sympathy, if not outright Jacobitism, in both regions under study, especially amongst the landed elite. Yet, as Paul Kléber Monod has emphasised, Jacobitism incorporated a spectrum of opinion from 'hardliners' to 'well-

²¹⁷ William Waller, *The Mine-Adventure Laid Open: Being an Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Intituled, A Familiar Discourse, &c.* (1710), pp. 17, 82.

²¹⁸ Mary Ransome, 'The Parliamentary Career of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, 1701-1713', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 1 (1948), p. 242.

²¹⁹ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L651: William Waller to [Sir Thomas Mansel], 11 Oct. 1709.

²²⁰ See above, pp. 134-43.

wishers'.²²¹ For many Jacobites in Cornwall and south-west Wales, it was largely a social movement rather than a political one. Nevertheless, fears of Jacobitism were rife, and both regions were repeatedly alleged to be the site of Jacobite plots during the 1690s. The loss of James II's papers (and propensity for genuine plotters to destroy their papers) makes it almost impossible to verify these conspiracies, but it seems likely that the vast majority were fabrications.²²² In many ways, the Cornish and Welsh paid for their exuberant proclamations of loyalty during the pre-revolutionary period. At the same time, however, proclamations of past royalism all but disappeared during the reign of William, only to re-emerge following the accession of Anne, as a true Stuart.

The Cornish were especially careful to establish their loyalty to the new regime. William of Orange's *Declaration of the Reasons inducing him to appear in Arms* was said to have been met with 'universal acclamations of joy'.²²³ One of William's chief Cornish supporters, Shadrach Vincent, circulated an association pledging loyalty to the prince, which was signed by the gentry present at a meeting in Bodmin on 3 December 1688, and subsequently toured through the county to be subscribed by thousands.²²⁴ By June 1689, it had been arranged for over 3,000 tinnars to sign a loyal address to the new monarchs, who had 'rescued our Religion, restored our Liberties, and revived our languishing Laws'.²²⁵ No subscriptional texts of this were sent out of south-west Wales. Indeed, little evidence survives of south-west Welsh responses to the revolution, but the strength of whiggism during the 1690s would suggest it enjoyed at least some popularity.

Neither region was unanimously loyal, however, and there were signs of opposition towards the Williamite regime at an early stage. In Cornwall, there remained a large body of gentlemen who had fought for the Stuarts during the Civil Wars, been committed Tories, and had only abandoned James II moments before (or, in some cases, moments after) William's landing. One local correspondent to the *English Currant* noted that many who

²²¹ Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 4-6.

²²² Paul Hopkins, 'Sham Plots and Real Plots in the 1690s', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 89.

²²³ *English Currant*, no. 3.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*; *English Currant*, no. 9; Roger Morrice, *Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, gen. ed. Mark Goldie (7 vols., Woodbridge, 2007), IV, 471.

²²⁵ *London Gazette*, no. 2464 (20-24 June 1689).

had signed the association ‘had frequently drunk the Prince’s Confusion’ in the past.²²⁶ A more concrete cause for concern were the fifteen copies of James II’s declaration which were discovered to have been sent to gentlemen in Cornwall and Plymouth. Despite Colonel Henry Trelawny’s assurances that they had been ‘directed to Gentlemen that are very Loyall to their present Ma[jes]tie’, the anonymous sender must have expected to find meaningful support in Cornwall.²²⁷ There were also isolated examples of popular disaffection in the county; for example, Hugh Boscawen announced in the Commons that soldiers in Cornwall had murdered a magistrate for rejoicing at the Prince’s arrival.²²⁸ These incidents highlight a low level of discontent towards the new monarchs which had the potential to grow in prominence.

The high-church toryism prevalent amongst many of the Cornish gentry, in addition to some genuine Jacobite sympathies, meant that a number of families were suspected of political disaffection. Most notably, the Granvilles: the 1st earl of Bath’s brother, the dean of Durham, joined James II in exile, and Bishop Trelawny claimed that ‘the people’ suspected that Lord Lansdowne and his associates were ‘well wishers to King James’s interest, and such known Jacobites’.²²⁹ By the early eighteenth century, the head of the family, George Granville, had more pronounced Jacobite sympathies. In the aftermath of the failed Jacobite rising of 1715, he was arrested along with several of his Cornish tory allies, including Sir Richard Vyvyan, Sir Nicholas Morice, Sir William Carew, and Alexander Pendarves. How legitimate a threat they posed is unclear; one Cornishman attacked the ‘arrogance & pride of B[oscawen]’ who was accused of rounding up his political opponents.²³⁰ As another put it, ‘tho’ Torys are plenty in our neighbourhood we havn’t one Papist, Non-juror, or Jacobite’.²³¹

In south-west Wales, too, loyalty to the Williamite regime was far from universal. Although none of James II’s supporters joined him in exile, they nonetheless continued to harbour resentment towards the Williamite regime. The authorities were informed that one

²²⁶ *English Currant*, no. 3.

²²⁷ TNA, SP 32/1, f. 168: Henry Trelawny to [earl of Shrewsbury], 14 June 1689.

²²⁸ Harris, *Revolution*, p. 356.

²²⁹ HMC, *Finch*, IV, 143-4.

²³⁰ BEA, Morice MSS: [?] to Humphrey Morice, 7 Oct. 1715.

²³¹ BEA, Morice MSS: William Pole to Humphrey Morice, 13 Nov. 1715.

of the former king's chief supporters amongst the Pembrokeshire gentry, the recusant William Barlow of Haroldston, had arranged for ships to transport James' allies to Ireland.²³² Others stated their opposition to the new monarchs without actively plotting against them. For example, Sir Thomas Powell of Llechwedd-dyrys, a justice of the king's bench, resigned his office after 1688 with his monument inscription stating that 'he could not comply with the Revolution'.²³³ In a similar vein, several Pembrokeshire magistrates were presented at the court of great sessions in August 1693 for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, including major landowners such as Sir John Barlow of Slebech (1st Bt.), Essex Meyrick of Bush, Rowland Laugharne of St. Brides, Lewis Wogan of Boulston, and Lewis Wogan of Wiston.²³⁴

A number of leading landowners maintained their loyalty to James II and his heirs into the eighteenth century. In 1710, a rumour claimed that Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan had led William Barlow, William Powell, and 'other gentlemen of quality' in drinking to the 'Pretender's health & return upon their knees & made an affidavit to that purpose'. Yet the chief promoter of the story, Walter Lloyd of Peterwell, could not find a JP willing to prosecute.²³⁵ While an 'affidavit' suggests that the group were hoping actively to plot for the restoration of the pretender, there is little reason to doubt Peter Thomas' conclusion that such gatherings were predominantly social events, rather than political.²³⁶ Following the Fifteen, Lord Lisburne, now *custos rotulorum* of Cardiganshire, was an energetic presence in south-west Wales, and his vigorous approach was perhaps justified as Pryse was informed that the pretender intended to emulate Henry Tudor and launch a second landing in south Wales.²³⁷ Although there were no major incidents of disaffection in south-west Wales or Cornwall, there were enough rumblings to plant the seeds of fear into the minds of government officials.

²³² TNA, SP 32/1, f. 133: Israel Fielding to [earl of Shrewsbury], 19 Apr. 1689.

²³³ NLW, MS Nanteos L45: Edward Lhuyd to William Powell, 6 Mar. 1706.

²³⁴ Francis Jones, 'Disaffection and Dissent in Pembrokeshire', *THSC* (1946-1947), p. 219. Lisburne's complaints of non-jurors on the commission of the peace in Cardiganshire in 1705 suggests that this was a phenomenon across south-west Wales: HMC, *Portland*, IV, 283.

²³⁵ NLW, MS Penrice and Margam L695.

²³⁶ Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Jacobitism in Wales', *WHR*, 1 (1962), p. 291. By the mid-1720s, they had organised into the Society of Sea Serjeants.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Fears that sympathy towards the exiled Stuarts might escalate appeared to be confirmed in May 1690 as Cornish tanners started an ‘extraordinary Riot’ in Falmouth which culminated in a skirmish with local soldiers. A printed account of the disturbance reported that 400 tanners had attempted to storm ships in the town’s harbour for salt, alcohol, and linen which they incorrectly believed was to be destroyed. By the following morning, a crowd of 2,000 had amassed, leading the captain of Pendennis Castle to send musketeers who were forced to ‘make use of Ball.... so that one of the Ring-Leaders was shot through the Body, another in the shoulder, a third had his Belly slit up with a Baggonet, that his Bowels hung out, and several others Pricked and Wounded’.²³⁸ Far from having been motivated by disaffection to the government, the incident reflected the financial hardship of the tanners as the industry entered a period of decline. Indeed, only five days previously, William III had promised ‘all possible relief’ to the tanners by purchasing as much tin as could ‘be disposed of at this time’.²³⁹ Nonetheless, the instability of the Williamite government and the ongoing war in Ireland, meant the potential for a Jacobite rising in Cornwall was taken seriously.

First, Lord Lieutenant Bath was admonished for failing to ensure that the county’s militia were in a fit state to assist the civil magistrates in suppressing disorder.²⁴⁰ At the same time, Shadrach Vincent (now MP for Fowey) was dispatched to treat with the tanners. Letters exchanged between senior politicians reveal genuine fears that the tanners were ‘disaffected to our government’ with the lord president of the council admitting that he had ‘no small apprehensions’. These fears were exacerbated by the ‘great noise’ William’s enemies were making about the incident. Vincent relieved tensions by relaying assurances that the king would purchase more tin while simultaneously obtaining a loyal address renouncing any allegiance to James II, allegedly signed by 10,000 tanners – a second address in thirteen months.²⁴¹ In a shrewd move, the king had not only succeeded in reaffirming the loyalty of an important group of subjects, but had also sent a public message to his enemies that Cornwall was firm in its allegiance.

²³⁸ *Great News from Falmouth; CSPD, 1690-1*, p. 26.

²³⁹ *CSPD, 1690-1*, p. 16.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43; HMC, *Finch*, II, 300; *London Gazette*, no. 2572 (3-7 July 1690).

An inseparable connection between the Cornish tanners and political sedition had developed in the minds of the authorities. In the summer of the Falmouth episode, the cabinet discussed measures for appeasing the tanners, and agreed to explore the possibility of exporting more tin to Holland. In case this was ineffective, Bath was also ordered to ensure that the Cornish militia was in ‘readiness to prevent mutinies of the tanners’.²⁴² To a large extent, the disturbance at Falmouth had precipitated these connections, but it was also informed by a longstanding link between the Cornish and rebelliousness (reflected by rebellions in 1497 and 1549) and celebrations of the tanners’ staunch royalism during the reign of Charles II.²⁴³ Such fears were heightened by several allegations of Jacobite plots during the early 1690s, and an seemingly genuine belief amongst the exiled Stuarts that the Cornish would support a Jacobite rising. A captured Jacobite courtier revealed in 1691 that ‘there were twenty thousand miners... that would presently joine with [James II]’.²⁴⁴ The tanners were said to have been ‘well pleased’ with James’ declaration of 17 April 1693 (which was ironically whiggish in character) and it was ‘read publicly amongst them’.²⁴⁵ However, efforts to have Jacobite agents muster support and approaches to the tory squire, John Praed (due to his ‘great interest with the Tanners’), implies that the exiled Stuart court was hopeful of support amongst the miners, but had not yet secured their allegiance.²⁴⁶ The region’s association with rebelliousness had merged with more recent proclamations of loyalty to the Stuarts to tarnish the county’s reputation.

For many moderate Jacobites, the accession of Anne represented a return to the true Stuart dynasty, and the possibility of a true Stuart heir. As Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan put it, ‘we... congratulate y[ou]r happy accesson to the throne of y[ou]r royall ancestors... [and] most earnestly pray for a royal issue fro[m] y[ou]r most sacred Ma[jes]ty to inherit the princly throne of y[ou]r predicessors’.²⁴⁷ A loyal address sent from the Cornish assizes noted that Anne had ascended to ‘the Throne and Dominion of Your Ancestors’, and also redeployed the tropes which had dominated Cornish addresses during the reign of Charles II by

²⁴² HMC, *Finch*, III, 379; Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics*, p. 60.

²⁴³ On Cornwall and rebelliousness, see Mark Stoye, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002), ch. 1.

²⁴⁴ HMC, *Finch*, III, 332.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 169.

²⁴⁶ HMC, *House of Lords*, n.s., I, 294-5, 297.

²⁴⁷ NLW, MS Nanteos L53a.

reminding the queen of their royalist service during the Civil Wars.²⁴⁸ There was a sense that they were trying to re-establish themselves publicly as the queen's *most* loyal subjects. However, there was a slightly altered context to this royalist identity than that expressed during the 1680s. The civil war generation had now died out, and the addressors instead spoke of the 'Loyalty of our Ancestors' or referred to themselves as 'loyal Offspring'. At the same time, royalism meant more than just loyalty to the monarch, but also to the Church of England. By 1710, it was clear that the Hanoverian succession was unavoidable, and the queen's support for the impeachment of Henry Sacheverell had undermined her high-church credentials.²⁴⁹ In the flood of pro-church addresses which followed the trial, those from the Cornish assizes and Cardiganshire great sessions emphasised the past royalism of their regions.²⁵⁰ Unlike previous addressing campaigns, though, the documents were ostensibly critical of the government, and, by extension, the monarch. Their royalist ancestry was now being deployed in service of the high church and tory cause, not the monarch.

CONCLUSION

Physical isolation did not insulate Cornwall and south-west Wales from the pervasiveness of party politics during the 'rage of party'. A two-party structure dominated the political landscape in both regions, with the relative strength of each party fluctuating as local alliances were established and collapsed, often responding to the attitudes of the monarch and ministry. With a sympathetic administration, local political leaders could initiate wholesale changes in local office-holding, and access vast patronage networks emanating from the centre. At times, however, a bi-partisan approach was preferred if local managers or central authorities wanted to avoid partisan conflict, or had no interest in changing the *status quo*. Nonetheless, party divisions were so ingrained that even Cornwall's local parliament, the convocation of tinnors, divided into rival factions which closely resembled those in Westminster. Numerically, the tory party was stronger in both regions under study – reflecting a widespread desire to defend the Church of England from perceived threats of dissent and irreligion. In Cornwall, this was reflected in tory majorities in every general election during the post-revolutionary period, whilst south-west Welsh tories were able to

²⁴⁸ *London Gazette*, no. 3802 (16-20 Apr. 1702).

²⁴⁹ Holmes, *Sacheverell*, p. 238.

²⁵⁰ *Collection of the Addresses I*, p. 1; *Collection of the Addresses II*, p. 6.

form alliances and challenge powerful whig magnates by the turn of the century. During the early eighteenth century, fears of foreign invasion and the impact of continental warfare on local trade boosted the popularity of the tory party's commitment to 'blue-water strategy' and, later, peace.

Political elites in both Cornwall and south-west Wales had considerable influence over county and borough elections. Although they had to contend with several rival interests – from corporations, 'interlopers', and inhabitants – they developed strategies to control elections, or simply bribed their way to victory. Whilst Cornwall's abundance of parliamentary seats allowed outsiders occasionally to usurp the constituency patron, Sir Humphrey Mackworth was only able to win an election in Cardiganshire after he had established a powerful economic base, and ingratiated himself with the local gentry. However, this also meant that Cornwall's importance as an electoral powerhouse was enhanced during a period of frequent elections, and party leaders in London could rely on the county for 'safe seats'. This should not disguise the fact that the lower orders in both regions held political views, and were capable of expressing them publicly, but their ability to regularly participate in the political process was limited.

The two-party structure was overlaid by older court and country divisions. In Cornwall, for example, a powerful court faction was harnessed by Lord Treasurer Godolphin during the reign of Anne. Although political allegiances were shaped by ideological considerations, dense kinship networks in Cornwall and south-west Wales could bolster or, at times, supersede these political principles. This often fed into the broader reputations of the regions' powerful families. In addition, the tory party was splintered by the presence of a Jacobite wing. Early discontent towards the Williamite regime occasionally developed into more pronounced Jacobitism, but there do not appear to have been any genuine plots in Cornwall or south-west Wales, with many Jacobite activities in the latter conditioned by sociability. Nonetheless, Cornwall and, in particular, the tinnerns became a source of concern for the authorities, partly because the tinnerns had often been proclaimed as being supremely loyal to the Stuart monarchy during the 1680s. This image had been cemented to such a degree that it is likely that the exiled Stuart court genuinely considered Cornwall to be a preferable invasion point. As a result, the tinnerns became a political tool, as rivals attempted to represent them as either loyal to the Williamite regime or politically dangerous.

Conclusion

Visitors to Cornwall and Wales during the later Stuart period would have first been struck by the landscape: having seemingly travelled to the farthest corners of the kingdom, they would traverse through craggy mountains and hills punctuated by evidence of the dominant mining industries. As settlement patterns were more dispersed in Cornwall and Wales than was common elsewhere, travellers came across few large towns, and certainly encountered no major urban settlements. Those who were interested in the political culture of the regions would doubtlessly have been aware that these were once royalist strongholds, which had since elected droves of Tories to the House of Commons. When one teenaged gentleman visited Cornwall, he was advised that ‘you may wonder how it comes to pass, that it sends more burgesses to Parliament than any other county in England’.¹ A visitor to the diocese of St. Davids may have noticed the general disrepair of its parish churches, but perhaps also reflected, like Erasmus Saunders, that ‘there is, I believe, no part of the Nation more inclin’d to be Religious, and to be delighted with it than the poor Inhabitants of these Mountains’.² Several travellers noted the intense sociability of Cornish and south-west Welsh gentry society, and it was common knowledge that the regions’ inhabitants were ‘ancient Britons’ possessed of indigenous languages.³

This thesis has endeavoured to analyse the distinctiveness of Cornish and south-west Welsh religious and political cultures during the later Stuart period. In the first comprehensive history of either region during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, it has been argued that each region faced problems common to other parts of the kingdom, but nevertheless possessed a unique character. The distinctiveness of Cornwall

¹ HMC, *Egmont*, II, 195: Francis Parry to John Perceval, 24 June 1701.

² Erasmus Saunders, *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David’s about the Beginning of the 18th Century* (1721), p. 32.

³ See, for example, *Britanniae Speculum; Or, A Short View of the Ancient and Modern State of Great Britain, and the Adjacent Isles* (1683), p. 23.

and south-west Wales was a product of both structural and cultural idiosyncrasies. Extreme geographical isolation, weak urban networks, and the absence of a substantial body of 'middling sort' all played a role in shaping political and religious life – inhibiting the growth of religious nonconformity, presenting the Church of England with unique challenges, and helping to establish the gentry as undisputed political leaders. Each region's divergent degree of parliamentary representation (Cornwall's over-representation, compared to Wales' under-representation) helped shape its political importance in the eyes of central government. They also possessed important cultural distinctions: their reputation for royalism and loyalty; the strength and density of kinship networks; and, in south-west Wales, a thriving indigenous language. Nonetheless, an all-encompassing regional identity was rarely reflected in political or religious life, chiefly because neither Cornwall nor south-west Wales were monocultures, but communities permeated with multifaceted divisions. When a royalist and Anglican identity was most forcibly proclaimed in either region, it tended to have a performative, partisan purpose of veiling oppositional elements within local society.

An exploration of religious and political life in Cornwall and south-west Wales highlights the multiplicity of regional experiences which existed across the British Isles. There has been a tendency for historians to downplay the distinctiveness of regions since the deconstruction of Alan Everitt's 'county community' hypothesis in the 1980s, yet the regions under study in this thesis display various unique characteristics whilst remaining fully integrated into national political and religious structures. A comparative regional study allows such idiosyncrasies to be delineated – highlighting distinctive characteristics which might otherwise be missed within broader national studies.

Far from being the insular communities famously described by Alan Everitt, the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales frequently travelled to London, Oxbridge, and the fashionable spa towns for education, business, and leisure. Nonetheless, their lives and relationships remained centred on their locality. Many of the regions' gentry families had been settled in their localities since the medieval period, with centuries of endogamous marriages producing particularly dense kinship networks which informed claustrophobic rounds of sociability. Even at university, the gentry tended to gravitate to colleges with strong ties to their home regions. Ultimately, they facilitated cultural exchange in both directions: channelling national culture into their localities, whilst maintaining strong links with their regions whilst in the metropolis.

It has been argued that ideals of gentility were not universal, nor did they evolve at commensurate rates in different regions. Medieval notions of gentility persisted in Welsh gentry society into the eighteenth century; authority was a product of kinship, ancestry, and landownership. A survey of the heads of south-west Welsh gentry families reveals that they were less likely to receive higher education, tended to marry within their locality, and were prouder of their native culture and indigenous language than the Cornish. Compared to other parts of England, the Cornish gentry were slower to embrace the national marriage marketplace, higher education, and embrace newer definitions of gentility, but this shift was perceptible by the later Stuart period.

Although historians have rescued the reputation of the seventeenth-century Church of England from Victorian accusations of stupor and neglect, it would be wrong to underestimate the structural challenges that it faced in Cornwall and, to an even greater extent, south-west Wales. Both regions were comprised of predominantly large rural parishes on the extreme periphery, hindering communications and diocesan oversight. The diocese of St. Davids faced additional issues – most tangibly extreme poverty which grew proportionally worse during the later Stuart period. It resulted in a proliferation of pluralism and non-residency, difficulties in maintaining church fabric, and hampered the ability of the clergy to provide sufficient pastoral care. In the Principality, the Church was required to accommodate a laity which predominantly spoke only Welsh, but also a small minority of monoglot English-speakers, further stretching its depleted resources. It shaped the quality of the ministry in several ways: while it was difficult to find graduate ministers who were fluent in Welsh, it also encouraged local men to serve their home parishes, lessening the educational fissure between ministry and laity.

When considering the effectiveness of the later Stuart Church in these regions, much of the evidence can be interpreted in contradictory ways. Most examples of negligent or scandalous ministers, for example, are highlighted in the context of the ecclesiastical authorities' efforts to root them out: simultaneously suggesting the inadequacy and the competency of Church administration. Overall, there were ongoing efforts to improve the provision of pastoral care, and little evidence of widespread deficiency. Nonetheless, the limited resources of the diocese of St. Davids meant that the burden of religious renewal often fell to extra-diocesan organisations. Between 1674 and 1684, the Welsh Trust operated across the Principality, representing a coalition between Anglicans and nonconformists,

aimed at producing Welsh-language religious texts and establishing charity schools. In the aftermath of the Toleration Act of 1689, the Church underwent an ‘Anglican revival’ as it competed with dissenting denominations for church attendees.⁴ It is striking, however, that this revival took very different forms in Cornwall and south-west Wales. In the former, the steady leadership and conservative churchmanship of the region’s bishops oversaw a high-church revival which emphasised ecclesiastical discipline, ritual, and sacerdotalism. By contrast, a lack of episcopal continuity in the diocese of St. Davids (epitomised by the bishopric laying vacant between 1699 and 1705) opened the door for a low-church revival, in which the objectives of the Welsh Trust were continued by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, albeit stripped of any nonconformist links. The contrasting experiences of Cornwall and south-west Wales highlights the important role bishops played in dictating the tenor of their diocese, and how the Church could operate differently across the various parts of the kingdom.

Many of the structural factors which hindered the Church of England in Cornwall and south-west Wales also served to inhibit the growth of nonconformity. Dissent was confined to the regions’ modestly-sized urban settlements. This goes some way towards explaining why, as elsewhere in England and Wales, persecution of dissent was never enthusiastic. Many magistrates also feared displeasing the king and powerful gentry families who supported dissenters. Yet the weakness of dissent did not automatically correlate to a strong affinity with Anglicanism. Surviving evidence suggests that the laity favoured clergymen with whom their community was familiar, and that, if this relationship was strong, they were prepared to defend their minister against censure. Although the implementation of pastoral care rarely met the standards stipulated by Lambeth, there was little appetite amongst the laity for more frequent communion or catechising, and church attendance was high. In south-west Wales, in particular, the laity appear to have favoured sermons – a demand which the Church proved unable to satisfy. In the 1670s, the Independent minister, Stephen Hughes, had encouraged an early form of occasional conformity in Carmarthenshire by preaching in several Anglican churches with the connivance of the local gentry. Following the Act of Toleration, this tradition of occasional conformity (which was further entrenched by the

⁴ Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (2014).

Anglican-nonconformist Welsh Trust) was embraced by the laity as they attended whichever services offered a sermon.

Cornwall and south-west Wales have often been characterised as politically conservative, yet this thesis has uncovered political divisions in both regions from an early stage in the Restoration period. On the one hand, the majority *had* been royalists during the Civil Wars, and this became blended with toryism by the 1680s. Although both regions were slow to adopt the labels ‘whig’ and ‘tory’ locally, a two-party political structure had clearly exerted itself on local political divisions by the post-revolutionary period. Toryism was stronger in both regions, perhaps enhanced by the perceived damage that whig-backed continental wars were doing to local industries. However, this study has demonstrated that neither region was a homogenous entity: prominent members of the country opposition, who favoured limits on royal authority, evolved into whigs. In Cornwall, for example, they launched vociferous opposition to the king’s efforts to secure a pre-emption on tin in the early 1660s, and, by the reign of Anne, the convocation of tanners was divided along party political lines. The whig interest in south-west Wales was maintained by the financial supremacy and extensive kinship networks of a handful of powerful families. Indeed, in both regions, dense kinship networks helped to shape local political allegiances.

It is perhaps unsurprising that Cornwall and south-west Wales have been considered by modern historians as intrinsically conservative, as elements within each region worked hard to present this image during the later Stuart period. A genuine royalist identity persisted amongst many following the Restoration, becoming wedded to support for the Church of England. This informed the construction of a public image of unanimous loyalty to the Stuart monarchs. However, it also had a performative function aimed at masking the oppositionist elements described above, and it became difficult to sustain during the final years of James II’s reign as he increasingly undermined Anglican hegemony in education and worship. It also posed difficulties during the post-revolutionary period. As George Granville told his nephew, ‘In a Country subject to Revolutions what passes for Loyalty to day, may be Treason tomorrow’.⁵ Whilst there were undoubtedly Jacobite sympathies amongst the gentry of Cornwall and south-west Wales after 1688/9, their reputation as royalist stalwarts served to heighten fears of political dissent in the eyes of the government.

⁵ DHC, Z11: George Granville to earl of Bath, 4 Sept. 1711.

Structural factors also played their part in shaping political culture in Cornwall and south-west Wales, including geography, settlement patterns, and the nature of parliamentary representation. Cornwall's strategic and electoral importance during the later Stuart period encouraged the careful management of local office-holding. Often initiated by local men, the crown and political ministries made use of regional managers to put allies into positions ranging from the lord lieutenant to the lowliest officers. By contrast, there was a general apathy displayed by the government towards south-west Wales, perhaps motivated by the region's under-representation in the Commons, but also a symptom of the oligarchic political control possessed by a handful of wealthy families – there were few influential challengers to initiate changes in office-holding before the eighteenth century. The rural nature and peripheral location of these regions, combined with the lack of a sizable body of 'middling sort', limited the ability of the lower orders to participate routinely in the political process, and left the gentry as undisputed political leaders.

Through an intensive comparative study of later Stuart Cornwall and south-west Wales, this thesis has provided the first full-length treatment of these underexplored regions during this period. It redresses a conventional focus on urban areas, especially amongst studies of later Stuart political culture. But it also reshapes our understanding of a number of broader themes within seventeenth-century historiography. The political culture of Cornwall and south-west Wales supports narratives which stress the ubiquitous nature of party politics during the later Stuart period: even in these isolated regions, party conditioned political life. However, the importance of kinship as a central building block of political alliances outside of Westminster has often been underappreciated. National political issues were frequently played out through local concerns, as part of a two-way dialogue between 'centre' and 'locality'. The thesis has also explored notions of conservatism and loyalty – topics which remain relatively underexplored in the existing historiography of seventeenth-century Britain. It breaks new ground by highlighting the performative nature of loyalty, which was purposefully crafted to disguise oppositionist elements within local society. In addition, this study has added nuance to a recent historiographical emphasis on the importance of popular politics. Although the lower orders of Cornwall and south-west Wales clearly held political views, their ability to participate routinely in political process was ultimately limited due to the interrelated issues of language, remoteness, and the rural nature of these regions.

My exploration of the Church of England in the localities has revealed how major national religious issues played out in these distant and rural parishes – including the re-establishment of the Church after 1662, the ‘Anglican revival’ of the post-revolutionary period, and the fluid boundaries between conformity and dissent. The challenges which these isolated regions posed to the Anglican leadership (particularly the serious impact that structural issues could have upon local religious life) have yet to be fully recognised. Nonetheless, this thesis highlights the central role played by personnel in shaping regional Anglicanism – from the bishops themselves, to the parish curates who formed strong relationships with their local communities.

Although the heyday of the ‘county community’ debate has long since passed, there remains scope for county or regional studies which stress the importance of ‘locality’ to the lives of their inhabitants. Even the leading gentry remained physically and conceptually bound to their regions. This thesis has adopted an innovative comparative framework for conducting a regional study, an approach which can make it easier to determine whether the features of the selected regions are typical, or truly distinctive. Future studies may find such a comparative approach fruitful when researching various aspects of regional political, religious, social, and cultural life. My study of Cornwall and south-west Wales during the later Stuart period ultimately highlights a number of distinctive and fascinating characteristics. Structural and cultural idiosyncrasies combined to produce political and religious cultures which were shifting, protean, yet unmistakably distinctive.

APPENDIX

Family Trees

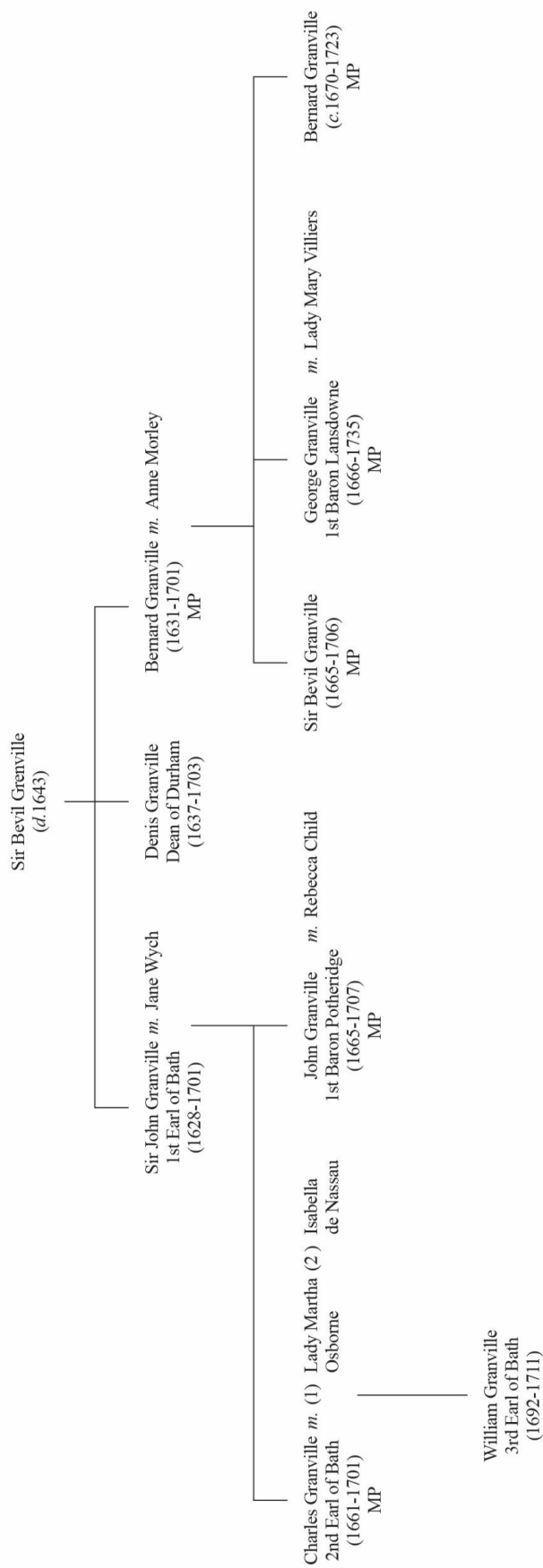
Cornwall

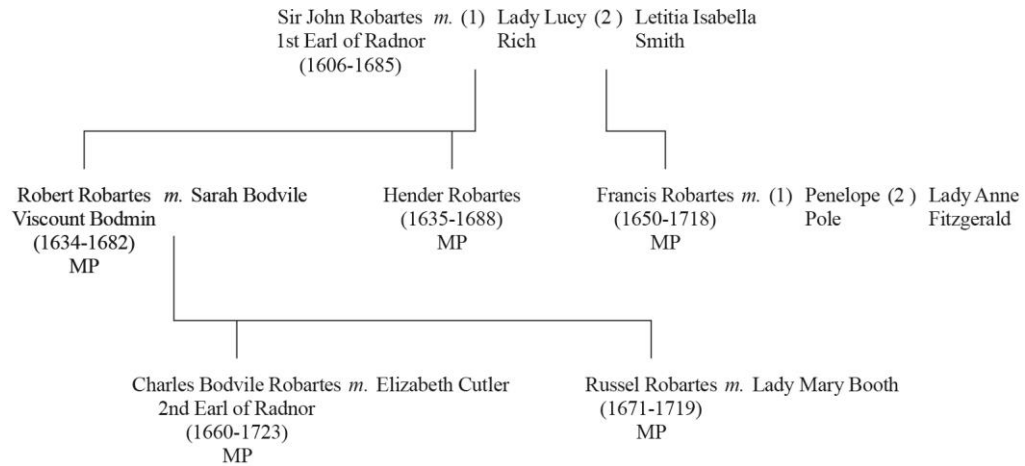
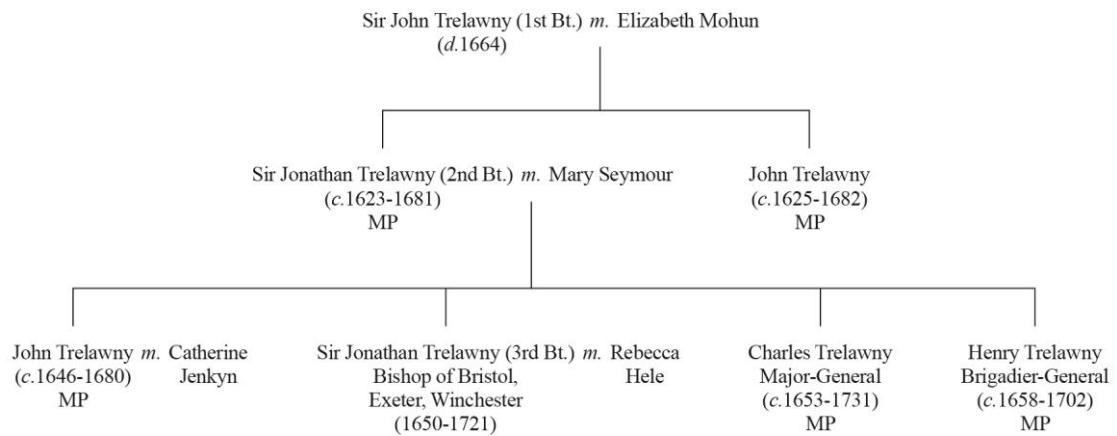
Granvilles of Stowe	248
Robartes of Lanhydrock	249
Trelawnys of Trelawne	249
Godolphins of Godolphin and Boscawens of Tregothnan	250
Carews of Antony, Morices of Werrington, and Moyles of Bake	251

South-West Wales

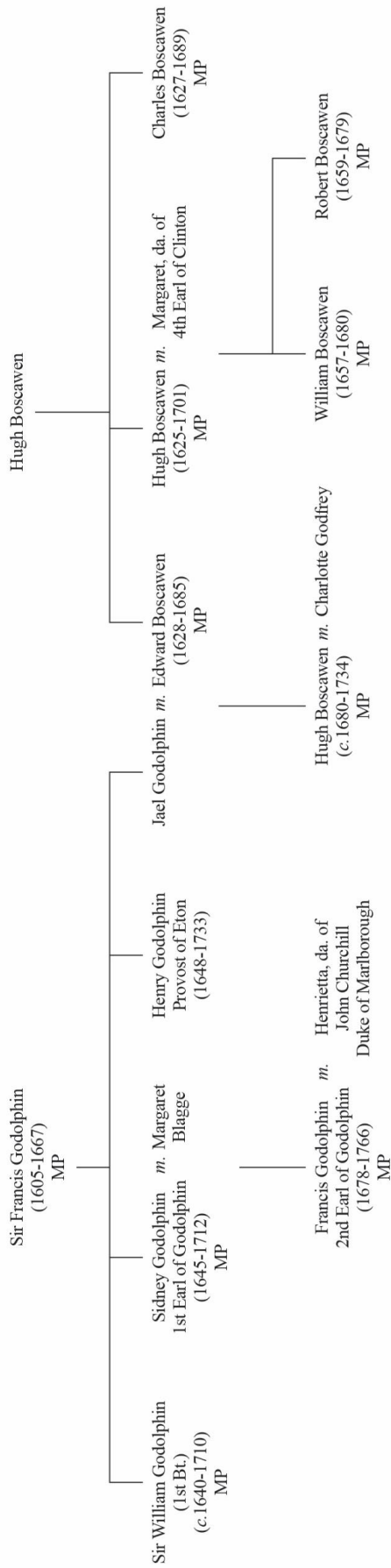
Vaghans of Golden Grove (Carmarthenshire)	252
Owens of Orielson, Barlows of Lawrenny, and Philipps' of Picton Castle (Pembrokeshire)	253
Barlows of Slebech (Pembrokeshire)	254
Vaghans of Trawsgoed (Cardiganshire)	254

Granville of Stowe



Robartes of Lanhydrock*Trelawny of Trelawne*

Godolphins of Godolphin

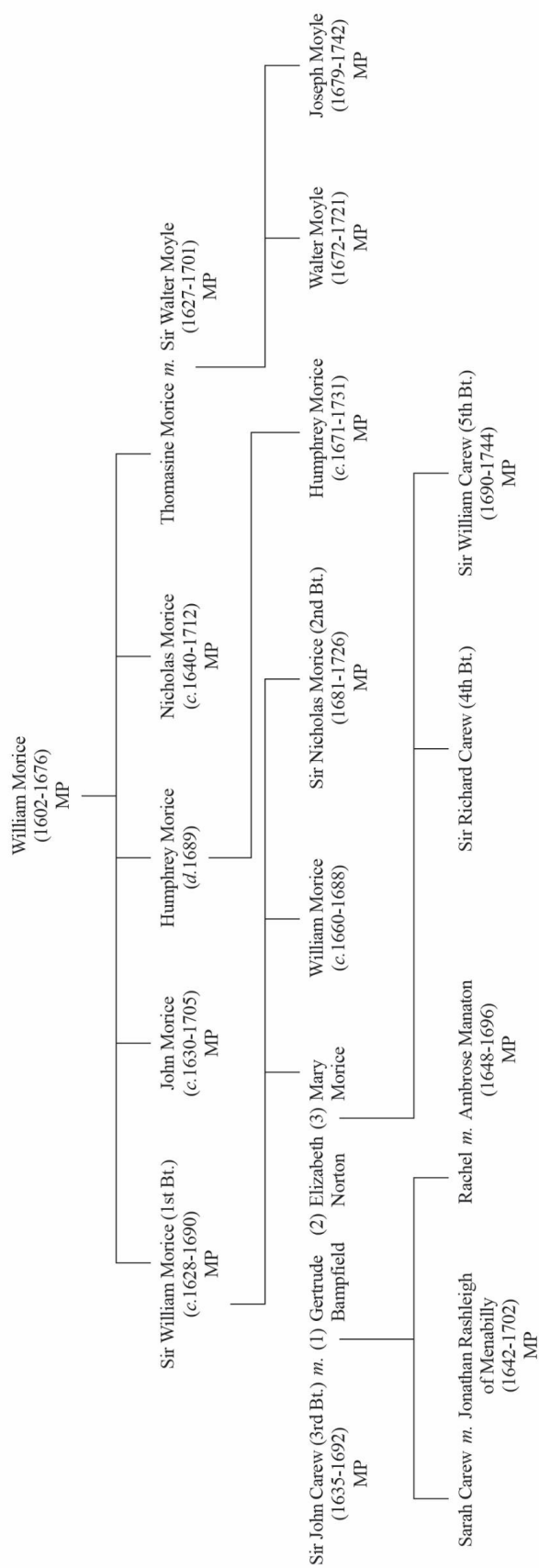


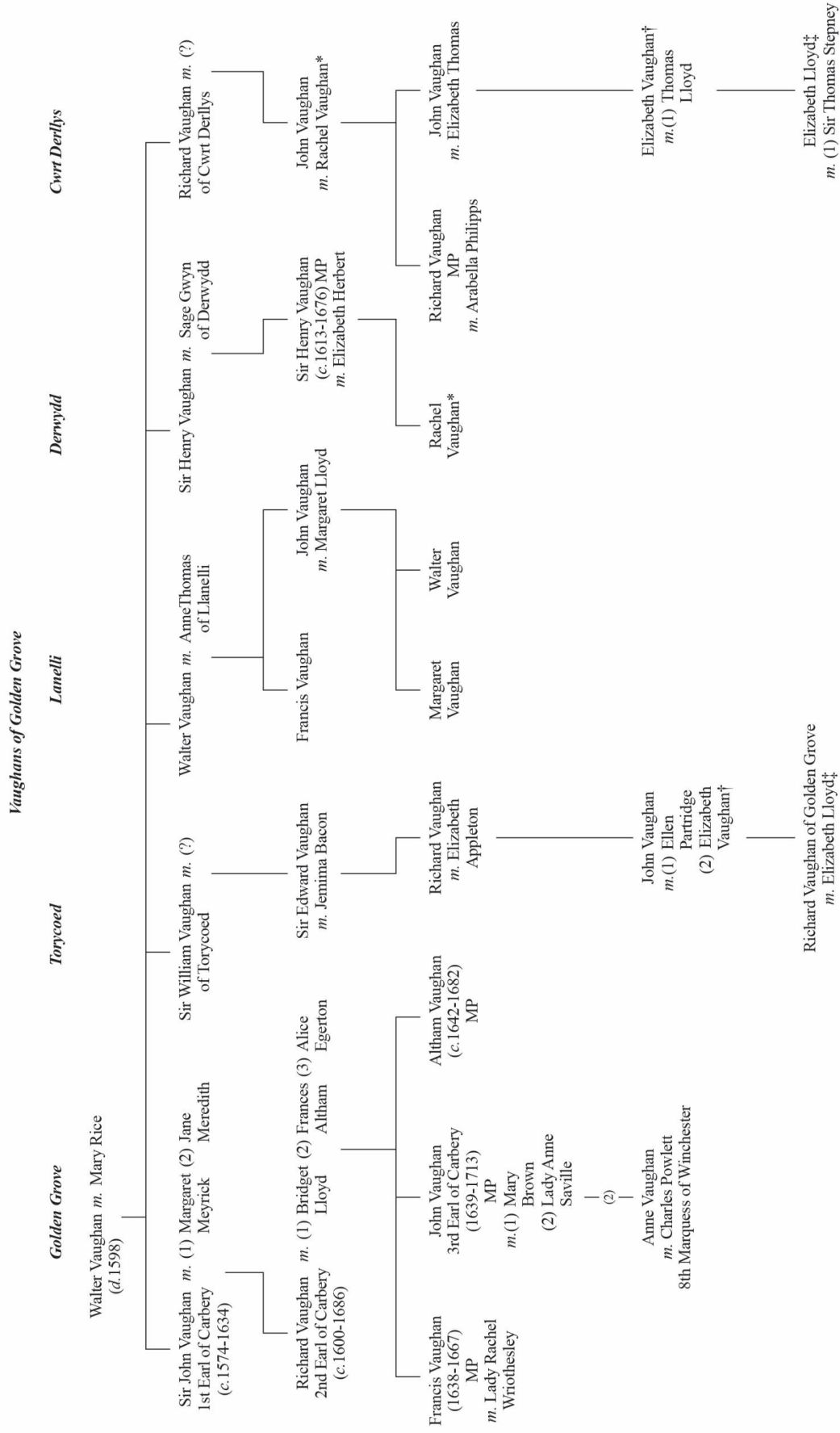
Boscaawens of Tregothnan

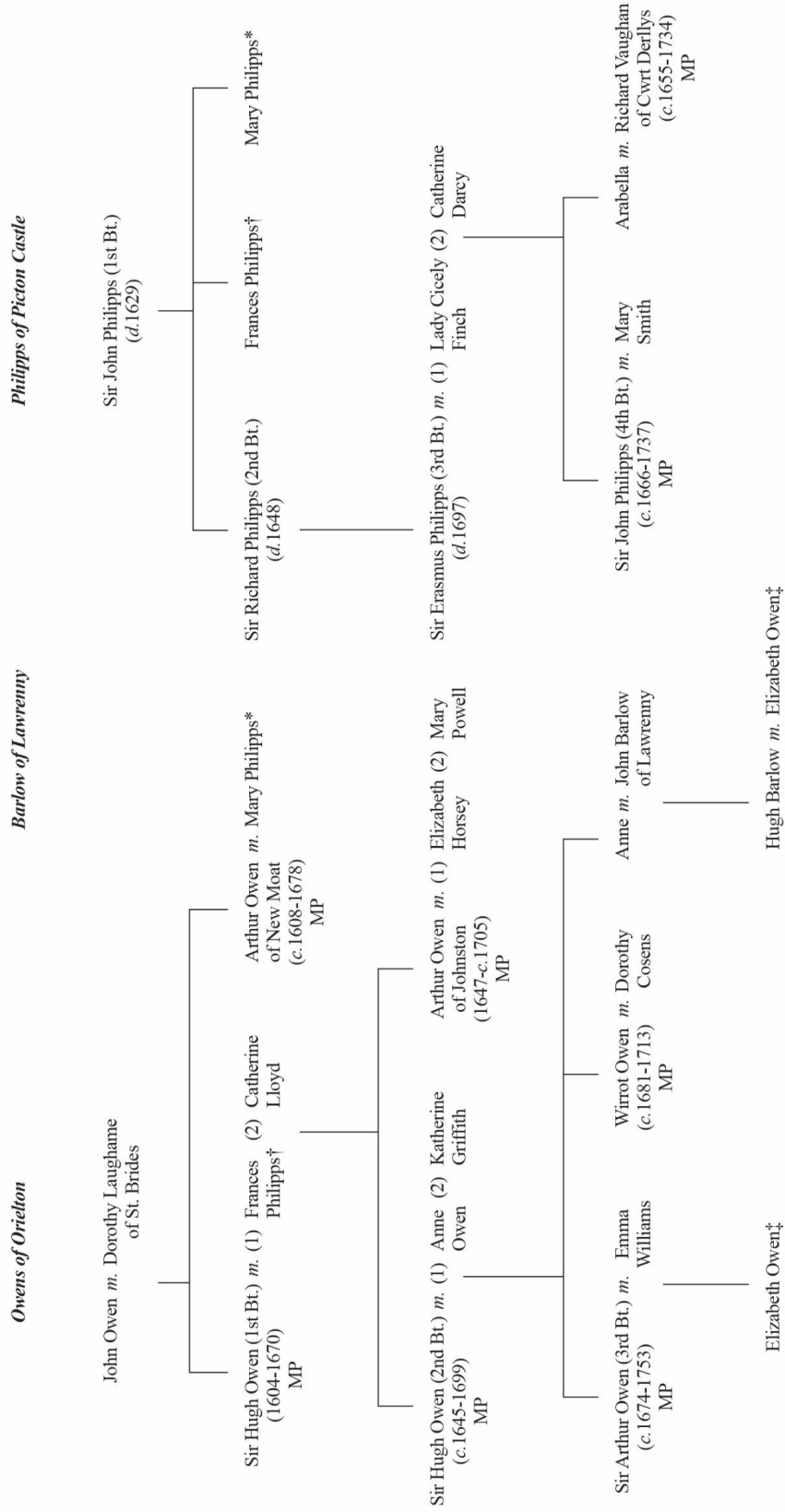
Moyle of Bake

Morice of Werrington

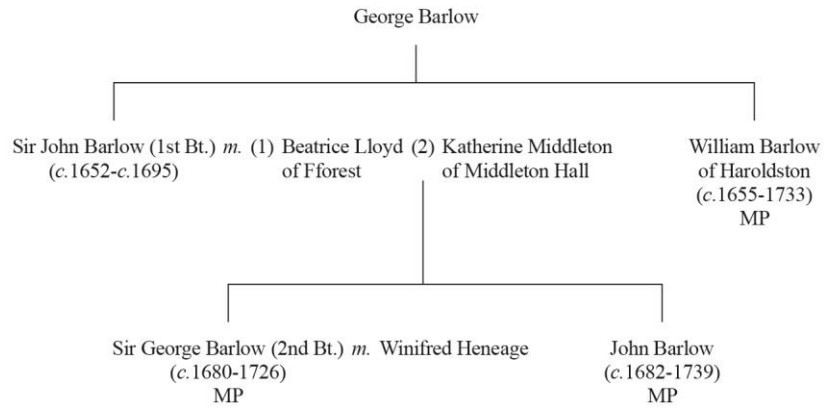
Carew of Antony



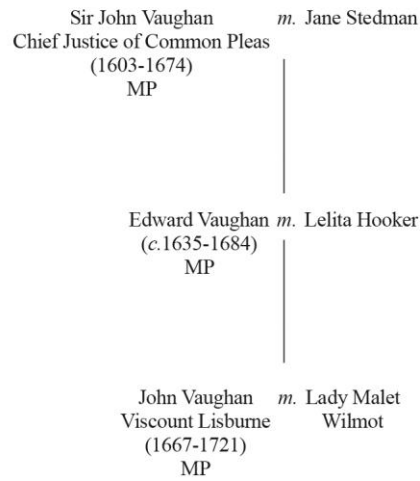




Barlow of Slebech



Vaughan of Trawsgoed



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 HBORO/356-421, 2128: Haverfordwest Correspondence, 1660-1701.
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