



DANIEL FLEMING, RICHARD SCOTT AND JAMES COCKE:
THE MAKING OF A 17TH CENTURY ENGLISH PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

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CHAPTER ONE

DANIEL FLEMING, BIBLIOPHILE

Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall in Westmorland describes himself laconically, and in the third person.

"Born about Midnight upon the 24 or 25 Day of July 1633 Daniel Fleming their son and Heir . . . He went July 20 A° 2 Car 2 and was enter'd a commoner in Queen's College under the Tutorage of Mr. Thomas Smith Fellow thereof, afterwards Dean (and Bishop) of Carlisle. He was matriculated Nov. 18. 1650. He left Oxford July 13 1652 having been there almost Two years and having cost his father £100.3-9. He went first into Commons at Gray's Inn Jan 22 1652 . . . He resided there till Sept. 28. 1653. Upon Monday Aug 27. 1655 about 11 o'clock in the Forenoon he was married unto Barbara Fletcher . . . "

On his father's death in 1653 he inherited the family estates, which had been sequestrated after the Civil War. He had to recover his father's estates from the Committee for Compounding, and disentangle certain other properties both from the Committee for Compounding and also from the rival claims of two female cousins and their husbands. He gained possession of the core Rydal estate only in 1654, and had to buy out some of the rival claimants. As late as December 1655 and January 1656 he records payments of £549 to "my cosen Collingwood" and £552 to Sir Jordan Crosland, which seem to have finally settled the disputes about his inheritance.² He now owned the

¹"The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming," transcribed by R. E. Porter, ed. by W. G. Collingwood, *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Tract series no. XI, 1928, p.73.

²Daniel Fleming's Autobiographical Sketch. Reprinted, J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1904, p.10.

manors of Rydal and Coniston in Westmorland, and of Skirwith, Crosthwaite and Beckermest in Cumberland. It was in 1656 that he moved permanently from Coniston to Rydal, and began to restore a mansion which had been severely damaged by Parliamentary troops under Sir Wilfrid Lawson searching for royalist treasure. This labour can be traced through numerous entries in his great account book.³

He became the first Sheriff of Cumberland after the Restoration of Charles II, and acted as Justice of the Peace for Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. Charles II knighted him in 1681, and he sat as member for Cockermouth in the parliament of 1685-87. He busied himself during parliamentary elections on behalf of two kinsmen, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven (for Cumberland) and Sir John Lowther of Lowther, subsequently first Viscount Lonsdale, (for Westmorland). Fleming, however, preferred to devote himself to country pursuits, and to the interests of his large family of nine sons and four daughters. Aside from his public and family activities, he spent much time in antiquarian research, corresponding with fellow antiquarians and collectors. He wrote one of the first topographical and historical accounts of Cumberland and Westmorland. Fleming was always a confirmed bibliophile, and by a fortunate chance much of his correspondence and accounts with his principal booksellers have survived. He dealt with Richard Scott, the Carlisle stationer, between 1656 and 1665; and from 1665 until Fleming's death in 1701, the Cocks family of Kendal.

³"June 20th 1657. Paid unto Jackson (the Joyner) in part for the wainscotting of the Roome over the Hall £1-0-0 . . . Jan 23rd 1658. More paid by my wife for bringing the stones for the parler-chimney up Windemeer-water - 4s-0d." Reprinted in M. L. Armitt, *Rydal, Kendal*, 1916, p.578.

This remarkable archive permits us to watch the gradual development of what must have been a very substantial scholarly library during the second half of the seventeenth century. It also illuminates the early history of book-publishing and bookselling, and the social relations between gentry customer and retail tradesmen in early modern England.⁴ The letters from his booksellers not only provide titles of books which he purchased and list their prices, but show how the books were ordered, bound, argued over, bought and carried to Rydal. Fleming scribbled drafts or copies of his replies to these letters on the backs of accounts or on scraps of paper, providing a rare opportunity to follow both sides of the correspondence.

The Scott/Fleming papers mention approximately four hundred titles of books either as ordered by Fleming or simply sent, some of which he later sent back. Some of those ordered may not have arrived because, while Fleming notes them as "ordered" or "books worth buying," no accounts exist for them.⁵

Books dealing with Divinity head the list. He bought seven prayer books in various editions, lives of worthies and the sermons they preached, works of general theology, biblical exegesis, and aids to devotion. Church history, church law, and controversy about church

⁴For a detailed description of this archive, see Appendix A.

⁵See Appendix B for a more detailed analysis.

government make up the bulk of this division. Naturally, as a magistrate, he wished to maintain a good working library of law books. He bought titles by Dalton, most of William Shepheard's works, books on Common Law, and numerous reports, particularly those by Sir Edward Coke. The history books cover works on foreign countries, and contemporary national history and controversy. Antiquarian titles include Camden's *Brittania*, Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and Baker's *Chronicle*.

He also bought poems, plays, romances, and books on manners.

(*Advice to a Son, Gentleman's Calling, A President of Female Perfection.*)

Medical works purchased helped in the task of caring for the health of a large family and numbers of servants. Works on Natural Philosophy include Dr. Browne's *Nature's Cabinet Unlocked, the Naturall Causes of Metalls, Stones, Precious Earths . . .* Perhaps he bought this book not just for intellectual curiosity but with an eye to the further development of his manor of Rydal. On March 21, 1654, he paid 8s 0d "unto the minerall-man for his being four dayes lookeing for lead-oare."⁶ Gardening and husbandry titles include Blith's *The English Improver Improved*, which recommended marling for exhausted soils, crop-rotation, and the advantages of irrigation and flooding land to increase fertility. He also bought many news-books, diurnals and periodicals, a perpetual diary, and three different sorts of almanacs.

A larger number of books in a particular division does not mean that Fleming spent more money in that particular area. Prices vary

⁶"The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming," *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII*. London, 1890. Fleming owned copper mines on his Coniston manor, which he leased to "adventurers."

from the many twopenny and threepenny religious and political tracts and acts of parliament to far more expensive works in folio, often of antiquarian or historical interest. Two volumes of Dugdale's *Monasticon* cost £4-5-0, Camden's *Brittania* £1-11-0, Davilla's *History of France* £1-4-0, and Heylyn's *Cosmography* £1-7-6.

As it is difficult to compare these with modern prices, it makes sense to compare the sums he paid for books with amounts spent on men's wages at the same time. In 1659 he began work on the Low Park barn, and notes in his account book payments to the workmen: "Aug. 6th. Paid unto Greene (the slater) for 25 dayes work . . . at 6d per diem . . . 12s-6d." Wallers earned about 5d a day each, stone-getters 4d. The labour totalled £9-8-6.⁷ That year he paid Richard Dixon, a servant, his half-year's wages - £1-5-6; paid 1s 0d to John Mill for bringing pigeons, and gave a lad 6d for bringing half-a-dozen charrs (fish). On December 29 and 30 he and his wife lost at cards £1-16-6.⁸ By contrast, in 1659 he purchased Rioland's *Anatomy* for 11s 6d, Balzack's *Letters* for 4s 0d, and Coke's *Declarations* for 8s 4d; in all that year he spent approximately £8-0-0 on books from Scott. In most other years he spent similar sums: £18-15-0 in 1656, £15-0-0 in 1657, £8-0-0 in 1658, £7-0-0 in 1662, £6-10-0 in 1663, £6-0-0 in 1664, and £6-0-0 in

⁷Cumbria County Record Office, Kendall WD/Ry Box 119, quoted in Blake Tyson: "Low Park Barn, Rydal," *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Vol. LXXIX, 1979, p. 85.

⁸Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.400.

in 1665. The figures for 1660 are not ascertainable after April, and for 1661 not until November.⁹

Although after his marriage he went rarely to London, he kept in touch with the world beyond Rydal through letters, journals and periodicals. In 1665, newsbooks began to arrive twice weekly, and Scott writes (June 20, 1665), "I have now a friend in the Post Office, if you will have news-books this way you shall have them as I have them at 2d a piece, I have both Thursdays and Mondays."

Letters from his close friend Thomas Smith and others brimmed with news and descriptions: of Cromwell's funeral in 1658, the King's landing at Dover in 1660, and later his coronation. By April 1665 Daniel Fleming and Thomas Smith were receiving regular bulletins of news from Joseph Williamson, who had been a fellow student at Queen's College, and was now Keeper of the State Papers.

Fleming writes, "You have of late taught Dr. Smith and mee such an ill custome in sending us weekly newes, that what you were pleased onely to favour us with, wee almost begin to expect it from you. When one of our letters fail, wee then conferre notes together; but when both fall short (which they have done severall times lately) then wee are at a great loss and are forced to read over our Diurnalls twice

⁹The figures are rough approximations worked out from Scott's accounts. Fleming's own accounts for this period have only been published selectively, so it is impossible to determine precisely how much he spent *per annum*, particularly as his general account shows that he obtained a few publications from sources other than Scott. Unless otherwise stated, all accounts and letters quoted are from the archive WD/Ry 30, as outlined in Appendix A.

(out of necessity) and are very apt then to sensure your clerk, or the post, of forgetfulness."¹⁰

Fleming wanted to obtain books, acts of parliament, and reports of law cases as soon as they came out, often requesting them before Scott knew they had been published; indeed, he expected Scott to anticipate his wishes. "As to what you write concerning Hugh's *Grand Abridgment*, the third part, and *The Epitome of all the New Acts* since his Majesties Restoration, tho' they bee not yet extant, yet I know this terme will produce them, which made mee write for them to have them with your first." (October 27, 1662) The speed with which he and other country gentry heard about and received new titles indicates that they had no need to feel intellectually isolated, and did not rusticate in insular, provincial communities. As early as 1603, Christopher Hunt's Exeter bookshop had stocked the most recent plague orders, and an account of the Gowry conspiracy.¹¹ Sir Thomas Barrington, who lived at Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, in the 1630's ordered books from Richard Whitaker, a London bookseller. An analysis of the books and dates of purchase shows that he bought more than one-fifth of them within six months of their publication. "Sir Thomas was informed immediately of these publications, or perhaps even ordered them ahead

¹⁰(April 1, 1665.) Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.152. After the fall of Oxford in the Civil War, Smith retired to the north, and later married Fleming's mother-in-law, Catherine, widow of Sir Henry Fletcher. They lived at Cockermouth. He became Dean of Carlisle in 1672, and Bishop in 1674. Williamson, a fellow-Cumbrian, became Secretary of State in 1674.

¹¹F. J. Levy, "How information spread among the gentry, 1550-1640," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1982, p.18.

of publication, having received advertisement of their appearance in advance from Whitaker."¹² and 12a.

When in London, Fleming purchased books for himself, probably by browsing through the shops and stalls concentrated about St. Paul's churchyard. On one visit to London from April 3 to July 14, 1662, he purchased fifty-one titles.¹³ Once back at Rydal he still seems to have obtained all the books he wished, hearing of them through friends' letters, gossip at the assizes, or by reading catalogues. Smith wrote to Fleming on June 2, 1662: "The Diurnall hath told us the Titles of all the new Acts, which hath set my teeth awatering for a sight of some of them, but much more for the new book of Com. praier which I presume will be extant now suddainely."¹⁴

The publication of catalogues must have greatly aided country gentlemen in selecting books and keeping up to date with new publications. "Sent for 18 bookes thus marked † in the halfe sheet of paper catalogue," he noted on February 7, 1663. Certainly Fleming used William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books* (1657) when he

¹²M. E. Bohannon, "A London Bookseller's Bill 1635-1639," *Library*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, 1938, p.420.

¹³Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.408.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.142.

^{12a} Books which Fleming ordered in a letter of 8/9/59 were forwarded from Carlisle between 25/10/59 and 30/1/60. Of eighteen books in the 'halfe sheet of paper catalogue' noted as ordered on the back of a letter of 10/1/63, thirteen were forwarded on 20/3/63 with the comment, "This parcell hath beene long a coming."¹⁴ In the late 1650's Fleming was getting newly published books on average about three months after Thomason.

compiled his "list of books worth buying." He copied most of the titles word for word from it, and (except for the first four) in very nearly the exact order. Even the characteristic misspellings occur as they do in the catalogue (*e.g.* "timerandis" for "temerandis"). Numbers 39-44 on Fleming's list are not in London's catalogue, except for *Villare Anglicanum*, but, judging by the lengthy descriptions in catalogue style, they, too, have been copied from a catalogue. London defended such wordiness.

"That the Titles of all Books in this catalogue are at large and so swell the boundary of such a work; producing rather an Inundation to drown, than a showre to make it grow: is easily reduc't to reason, if we consider the very native use, and primitive intent of Titles themselves, as placed to their Books: nay the general defect of this in catalogues, makes many good profitable Books strangers to the world; whereas if fully discovered in their Titles (which should be the scope of each Book in short) would be eagerly looked after."¹⁵

Inexactness about titles had resulted in Scott sending the wrong books from time to time. "Tho you have sent me Balzak's *Aristipus* which I shall keep, yet it was Randal's I chiefly desired. You have also sent me the *Grand Signior* (as you call it) which I shall also keep, but that which I sent for is another book." (March 30, 1663) London addresses his work to the "Wise, Learned and Studious in the Northern Counties," and urges them to buy much and read long.

"Let Tinkers and Vulgar Brats, drown and soak their meaner wits and conceptions, in draining a country Ale-house. Let Gentlemen seek their own Honour; and blazon their own Reputation; by their Noble and brave deportment; which is only to

¹⁵W. London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, London, 1657. (Epistle to the Reader)

to be accomplished by Study, Reading and converse with Discreet and Wise men."¹⁶

Fleming responded to the evangelical tone of this call to intellectual action. On September 8, 1659 he requested from Scott the supplement to London's catalogue of books "if it bee yett printed. . . . and the sight of some choice new peices, and write the names of some others." Scott willingly obliged, and many accounts list books he "sent a sight of" to Fleming, hoping he would purchase them.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, (The Epistle Dedicatory).

CHAPTER TWO

RICHARD SCOTT, BOOKSELLER IN CARLISLE

Richard Scott acted as Daniel Fleming's bookseller from 1656 until 1665. Provincial booksellers in the seventeenth century rarely made a living out of bookselling alone; it usually developed as a sideline from the stationery business. Although the bulk of Scott's trade with Fleming consisted of books and stationery, he also acted as a general merchant, supplying articles as varied as childrens' stockings and shoes, patent medicine, Spanish leather gloves, sweet-meats, pickled oysters, and anchovies. He also asked for orders of claret and wine. Children's shoes must have been a hit-or-miss affair. "Here's 2 paires of shoes because I had none would just fit your measure. Mrs. Fleming may returne me one or both pairs again." (February 8, 1659) The children of Kendal Roger North described "leaping as if they had hoofs, and those shod with iron," probably stayed more comfortable than the Fleming children.¹

A memorandum at Naworth Castle of receipts and disbursements for groceries and spices in 1658 notes a payment for "Richard Scott of Carlile for vynegar, sugar and odd things oweing in his book and sent formerly to Naword."² Inventories of the seventeenth century often show the combination of groceries and stationery. Roger Sankey,

¹Roger North, *Lord Keeper Guilford*, London, 1890, ¶1210.

²*Naworth Estate and Household Accounts 1648-1660*, ed. C. R. Hudleston, Surtees Society, Vol. 168, 1953, p.199.

described as a mercer with a shop in Ormskirk, died in 1613, and left stock ranging from sugar and dried fruits to medicine and paper; and a selection of Greek grammars, Catos and Terences, no doubt for the local grammar school. Thomas Harris, a mercer in Oxfordshire, left stock of cloth, haberdashery, gun-powder, red herrings, and stationery when he died in 1632; and a Caernarvon mercer in 1673 kept groceries, stationery, and iron mongery.³ The provision of stationery such as paper, ink, lip-glue and sealing-wax formed an important part of Scott's income, and the accounts list the quality of paper supplied, the lack of specific paper which had been ordered and the hope that the quality sent would suffice. Fleming refers to Scott as a stationer, and a receipt dated April 19, 1659 is given on behalf of "Scott, stationer at Carlile."

If a bookseller or author in London wanted to distribute his books in the provinces, the stationer was the logical person to approach, not simply because he dealt in paper, but because he sat at the end of an already developed network of distribution between London and the provinces. The books simply followed the paper trail developed by the London wholesalers, and in turn groceries, patent-medicine and tobacco travelled the same way. The words "to be sold by Richard Scott" appear on the title-pages of four books: T. Polwhele's *Treatise of Self-denial* in 1658, Richard Gilpin's *Agreement of the Associated Ministers and Churches of the Counties of Cumberland Westmorland* in 1656, *The Temple*

³T. S. Willan, *The Inland Trade*, Manchester, 1976, p.80.

Rebuilt by E.T., and Richard Baxter's *The Crucifying of the World*."⁴

The imprint for Polwhele's book reads "printed for Thomas Johnson and are to be sold by Richard Scott Bookseller in Carlisle, 1658." Thomas Johnson was the copyright owner, or his agent, and Scott sold the books wholesale, making copies available at trade prices for retail book-sellers elsewhere.

In the seventeenth century, young men normally entered the trade of shopkeeping through apprenticeship. It had been "both a convenient and easy way for the gentry, clergy and commonalty of this kingdom to provide for their younger sons," with parents paying a substantial premium for apprenticeship, and then providing the capital necessary for setting the boy up as a shopkeeper.⁵ Two surviving personal accounts of seventeenth century shopkeepers show that these two men received more than a rudimentary education. Roger Lowe, in Lancashire, wrote letters for neighbours, and taught his master's son.⁶ William Stout of Lancaster describes his early education at a dame school, then at the free school in Bolton, with absences for plowing, hay-time and harvest, "so that we made smal progress in Latin. For what we got in winter we forgot in summer, and the writing master coming to Boulton mostly in winter, wee got what writing wee had in winter." Later he

⁴D. R. Wing, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England etc. 1641-1700*, London, 1972. Wing nos. P2782, G774, G778, B1233A. All these books, except Baxter's, have somekind of local Carlisle connection.

⁵"The Trade of England Revived," 1681. Quoted in *Seventeenth Century Economic Documents*, ed. Joan Thirsk, Oxford, 1972, p.395.

⁶Roger Lowe, *The Diary of Roger Lowe*, ed. by William Sachse, New Haven, 1938.

attended grammar schools at Heversham and Lancaster.⁷ Lowe bought stock from his master when he first set up in business, but Stout borrowed his brother's horse, set off to London, and bought his goods there. The journey took five days, and once there he approached wholesalers, buying goods and paying "about halfe ready money, as was then usual to do by any young man beginning trade."⁸

Most of Scott's supplies came from London, although he mentions book-buying visits to York and Cambridge. He usually dealt with the London booksellers at a distance, and when he heard of a forthcoming title he would order his "friend" to buy him a copy on publication.⁹ Scott must have kept a running account with London suppliers, just as Richard Thropp, a bookseller in Chester, kept an account during the 1650's with Edward Dod of London. Thropp and Dod went to court over a dispute about payment, and Dod provided his account book as evidence. The accounts cover the period between July 30, 1650 and November 18, 1651, and show that Dod regularly sent batches of books to Chester twice a week.¹⁰ It seems that seventeenth century gentlemen could receive books more quickly than we can today.

⁷*The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, ed. J. D. Marshall, Manchester, 1967, p.70.

⁸*Ibid.*, p.89.

⁹See Scott to Fleming, October 4, 1656.

¹⁰R. Stewart-Brown, "A Chester bookseller's law-suit of 1653," *The Library*, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1928, pp.53ff.

Scott names his booksellers in a number of letters. "Sir, I intend myselfe towards London next Monday. If you please to commend me any service there pray send your letter by Kendall post and dyrected to be left for me with Mr. Thomas Prowse at the Reed Lyon in Cateaton Streete in London." (October 20, 1662) On other visits, Scott informed Fleming that he could be reached "at the Golden Key in Paule's churchyard, at Mr. Thomas Johnson's bookseller there," (April 5, 1657) "Mr. Thomas Kirk's at the Blewbell in Laurence layne, London," (May 18, 1663) or "Mr. Luke ffawne's shop at the Parot in Paul's churchyard." (September 26, 1664)

A survey taken in 1668 lists Thomas Johnson as having two presses and three workmen. In 1666 he served a sentence in Ludgate for printing a book that offended the censor. Mr. Luke Fawne, a freeman of the city in 1629, stocked exclusively works of divinity, and was a leading Presbyterian controversialist. He published Mr. William London's Catalogue.¹¹ Cateaton Street seems to have been an address favoured by Welsh booksellers.¹²

In 1657, Scott went to London after Easter, travelling via Kendal. He delayed another trip planned for that year until the following March because of a visit to York; and mentions other trips in April 1659, May

¹¹H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work, England, Scotland and Ireland 1641-1667*, London, 1907.

¹²G. M. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales*, Cardiff, 1978, p.248.

and October 1662, May and October 1663, and September and December 1665. The roads in winter must have remained passable enough for travelling on horseback at least. Once there, he bought or exchanged books for Fleming, chose books which he thought his northern customers would buy, and tried to trace special orders. "These I was forced to cull out of many shops and with very much difficulty." (January 6, 1664) Editions were small in the seventeenth century, thirteen hundred being a common size. Print runs at Oxford ranged from 500 copies of an Arabic-Latin volume to 5,000 of the first Oxford Bible. Popular books sold out very quickly, so Scott had to search out all the likely shops, or try the second-hand dealers. The advantage of being able to buy books wholesale in London must have made up for the time and expense involved in travelling.

Booksellers in the seventeenth century frequently sold the books unbound in sheets, leaving the customer free to choose his own style of binding, but after the very early transactions Fleming received his books ready-bound from Scott, either separately or bound with some other title. In some letters, Fleming gives instructions for the style of binding he wants: "neatly," "of a good print, neatly bound," a Church Bible "excellently bound and buft" or prayer books "in a pocket volume, with cutts, neatly bound." The practice of a bookseller receiving books unbound from the printer inevitably led to mistakes. What happened to one week's supply of the *Mercurius* and the *Public Intelligencer* must have often happened at the printers. Scott explained, "being very busy on Saturday I suppose I mistooke in putting up Mr. Smith's or some others. If Mr. Smith's be wrong, as they are for ought I know, then by this sent, you may right yourselves." (August 18, 1656)

Fleming frequently complains about books being bound with pages missing, and promptly sends them back to Scott to be exchanged for perfect ones, or uses the "imperfection" to obtain a price reduction. Scott received such a book on May 18, 1663, and wrote, "Yours rec'd with Goodwin which is but a little defect, and truly I feare it will be wholly cast in my hand. It wearyes those I deal with to have books returned upon slight accmpts;" but Fleming could not be mollified, pointing out that the "little defect" was in fact a gap of four pages at the very place which described his own region.

The uncertainty of how imperfect a book had to be before he could persuade the London seller to take it again bothered Scott, because if he accepted it from Fleming, and then the London bookseller refused to take it, he would be left with an unsaleable book. He wavers in his policy of taking them back, and Fleming remarks sharply about his reluctance, implying that either Scott or his London bookseller must be dishonest if he found it hard to return or exchange them, claiming that booksellers everywhere took back imperfect books as a matter of course. (May 17, 1659) With his professional reputation under attack, Scott responded exactly as Fleming wished: "as for imperfect bookes you never needed my promiss under my hand to change them. I have always done it to every man and shall never refuse to any I deale with." (June 24, 1659)

CHAPTER THREE

THE TRANSPORT OF THE BOOKS

'THIS PARCELL HAS BEEN LONG A-COMING'

Before Fleming could check for imperfections, the books had to travel from London to Rydal. Scott fetched most of his books by sea, but during the seventeenth century the Dunkirk privateers preyed upon the colliers and other trading ships as they plied the coast. Once Cromwell embarked on war with Spain in 1656, the privateers attempted to take as many ships as they could, and told English sailors to advise the Protector that "while he is fetching gold from the West Indies, they will fetch his coals from Newcastle."¹

"I heare there are a great many Dunkirks lyeing in Yarmouth Road, which stop the passage from London and report is that they have taken a greate many of our marchant ships together with their convoy, and indeed I have come to feare the ship in which is a parcell of my bookes: yet desire to trust providence," Scott wrote to Fleming on June 6, 1656, but later added a note, "the news within is true, yet not as to my owne particular."

Once on land, local English affairs caused delay. On January 16, 1660, he apologizes for a long delay which he ascribes to General Monk's march through Northumberland. The books still had not arrived by January 22, and Scott wrote again, "but being that weeke left by the carriers could not be brought since, there having not since any carriers gone

¹Cal. S.P.D. 1655-6, quoted J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Vol. II, London, 1932, p.200.

to Newcastle; what [with] the late unhappy differences, tedious lyeing at sea and now no carriers being able to pass to Newcastle hath disappointed mee." The carriers knew that if they ventured forth, they ran the risk of losing their horses to the army.

The winter weather caused many delays. "I pray thinke not much that I do not at this tyme get them so speedilly as you desire, the 2 last months (especially December) are the very worst tyme, ships being almost all laid up, but now begin againe to go." (January 5, 1657)

Once the books had actually arrived at Newcastle, Scott either sent a carrier or went himself to fetch them. They came by pack-train, pack-horse traffic being the rule in the Northern counties. George Crowle, in a letter to Daniel Fleming in 1668, addresses it "In Rydall, with a 2 horse pack."² Roger North gives more lurid detail.

"From Newcastle, his lordship's route lay to Carlisle. The Northumberland sheriff gave us all arms; that is, a dagger, knife, pen-knife and fork altogether. And because the hideous road along by the Tyne, for the many and sharp turnings and perpetual precipices, was for a coach not sustained by main force, impassible, his lordship was forced to take horse."³

The carriers and shopkeepers of Cocker-mouth and Penrith received and held the parcels for collection, or sent them on to Rydal. Most

²Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.177.

³North, *op. cit.*, ¶207.

parcels and letters arrived with messages about delivery. "Leave this with Matthew Walton of Penreth to be delivered as above said." (June 21, 1656) "I perseive you have not received the parsell of bookes I sent you, 8ber 11th. I sent it to William Collinson shop of Penreth. I see your bookes will not come with any conveniency that way, and therefore if you please to send me word what house I may leave them at in Keswick, I shall send them thither." (October 27, 1658) Books travelled back to Scott "via young Dent," "Sent by Betty," by Will Barker's man," either by Cockermouth or Penrith. Even apart from "troublesome tymes," books still disappeared, arrived damaged, or went to the wrong person.

It is impossible from the letters to gauge how much Scott's bookselling centred around Fleming. Carlisle was a cathedral town, and served as the assize town for Cumberland, so would have had a core of educated clergy and lawyers who needed a supplier of books. However, the plague killed one third of the population in the late sixteenth century, and the town suffered a siege of eight months in 1644-45, when the citizens survived on hemp seed, dogs and rats. A contemporary estimated that Carlisle's population numbered 2,000 inhabitants, with 400 houses inside the city walls.⁴ Of this number, less than two thirds could read, and still fewer afford to buy books, if one estimate (based on Northern Circuit Assize records) is correct, which estimated that between the 1640's and 1670's 60 percent of villagers, 50 percent of those living in market towns, and 36 percent of city-

⁴W. Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, London, 1978, p.67.

dwellers were illiterate.⁵ The problem is highlighted by the efforts made to relieve it. The *Boke of Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkby Kendal* noted, on May 5, 1641, that the Court Leet had ordered that in future no children should be admitted to apprenticeship who could not read or write.⁶

Research on the sale of almanacs suggests that this form of literature at least reached a larger audience than gentry, lawyers and clergy. The almanacs were cheap, and distributed into all corners of the land. In the 1660's sales averaged about 400,000 copies a year, "a figure which suggests that roughly one family in three bought an almanac each year."⁷ A Chester bookseller bought four hundred new almanacs in the autumn of 1650.⁸ As they only remained good for a year, he must have expected to sell them quickly.

Scott hints in several letters at a growing number of customers which caused local rivalry. "For the Diurnalls when att first I had

⁵R. A. Houston, "The Development of Literacy: Northern England 1640-1750," *Economic History Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, 1982.

⁶Quoted in J. Somervell, *Isaac and Rachel Wilson, Quakers of Kendal, 1714-1785*, London, 1924, p.17.

⁷B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, London, 1979, p.23.

⁸R. Stewart-Brown, *op. cit.*, p.57.

them for you I had no more than just yours, now I have more about 5 weekely at Newcastle. Because that bookseller envies me, you may be sure I must pay full (or more) then Rate." (June 14, 1656, and perhaps referring to William London in Newcastle.)

Daniel Fleming's relations bought books from Scott, but often via Fleming himself, because he notes in the margins of accounts, "sent for my uncle Jo. Fleming and paid for," "this book paid for to mee by my cosen Kirkby." Once Scott asked Fleming directly to help him to obtain customers, requesting him to prevail upon Sir George Fletcher, Fleming's brother-in-law, to buy his books from Scott. No doubt Scott kept this circle of local gentry in mind when buying books in London, knowing that it gave him several chances to sell the same title. "Sir, I have sent a sight of *Thorndyke on the church*, which I would not have sent but that I know it is accompted a very excellent booke. I sent it Mr. Smith upon lykeing, and he kept it, allso severall others lyke it exceedingly." (January 30, 1660) The ploy did not work, and Fleming returned the copy because he thought it was too expensive. One other customer worth noticing occurs in an account and letter sent on April 12, 1658.⁹ Scott explains the inclusion of *The Practice of Piety*: "For your kooke, Thomas Russell. . . . and have put no more on it than it cost me first peny in London . . . Pray Sir, pardon my boldness wherein I know not how to send it him single." Russell was paid £4-0-0 per annum, and the book cost him 1s 6d.

⁹Scott's clerk dated this letter April 12, 1657 but, matching up books mentioned in it with later accounts, the year must be 1658. He had probably forgotten the year's change-over on March 25.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRICES AND ACCOUNTS

'I PERCEIVE HEE WILL PROVE A DEAR MERCHANT,
IF HEE BE NOT LOOK'T TO.'

From the first, Daniel Fleming and Thomas Smith voiced their suspicions about Scott's prices. On May 2, 1656, Smith wrote, "I pray, informe mee in what yeare your *Pulton* is printed and by whom, for this which Scott hath procured for mee was printed in 1640, and (if my memory faile not) you told mee there was a later and better edition of it in 1650, or thereabouts. I desire likewise to know what it is ordinarily sold for in London." He wrote again on May 3, "I am glad my *Poulton* proves right, for I was a litle fearfull of it: but I perceive the price which hee puts it at (viz £2-4-6) is farre wide; hee protests to mee it cost him 38s-6d in London. I perceive hee will prove a dear merchant, if hee be not look't to."¹ Certainly this particular mark-up is far above the carriage cost and 1d per shilling profit Scott elsewhere claims to take.

On April 30, 1656, Scott writes, "I shall freely show you my notes what they cost, and dare hazard to referr my proffitt to your owne self, not doubting but you would allow mee a reasonable gaine, more than which I shall never desire," a form of protestation several times later repeated. In the following months he explains his profit margin of 1d per shilling in the light of shipping charges, porter hire, cost of boxes, and the cost of books themselves in London; but the two continued to disagree about prices until they severed connections. The way they argued their points of view, compromised, or

¹Both letters in Magrath, *op. cit.*, pp.99, 102.

stood firm on particular points of issue gives an illuminating insight into gentry/tradesmen relationships in the seventeenth century.

Scott signs his letters with the customary formulae: "Your servant to be commanded," "Your servant in my power," "Yours ready to serve you." However, although suitably deferential, he had a living to make, and in the early years of the relationship tried to stand firm on his principles of "no abaitment" and "no return of books specially ordered." In fact, he often sent books without order, hoping Fleming would keep more than he returned, picking titles to suit Fleming's interests. "I have sent severall, all new peices, as one intituled *The Iron Age* (by whom I know not), Chewney's *Antisosin*, Sedwick *Of ffaith*, Usher on the *Septuagint*, his life and death" (July 14, 1656) Out of a total of thirteen titles, Fleming kept five. Scott usually attempts to impose a time limit on keeping these books, no doubt to prevent Fleming from using him as a lending library, reading his fill, then returning the book many months later. In 1665 he attempted to charge Fleming for the use he had of a book.

Scott chiefly objected to Fleming returning books especially ordered. (The time between ordering and eventual delivery had been long enough for Sir Daniel to change his mind, lose interest, or borrow another's copy.) Sometimes Fleming tried to send back a book he no longer wanted as part payment of the account. Scott accepted such proposals reluctantly, because usually the book in question had been superseded by a new edition, or was not the kind of book he could re-sell easily. If he took the book to London, he had the trouble and expense of transporting it, with perhaps nothing in the end to show for it.

In spite of protests, Fleming usually sent the books back to Scott. He regarded the deposit of them as equivalent to the credit Scott was extending to him. Sometimes Scott was forced to accept them as part payment, in order to pressure Fleming into keeping and paying for others. "I have sent you Bentivolio's *History*, . . . *Strada* being deducted (which I think will never sell with me)." He signed himself "Your affectionate friend," but then crossed out "friend" and wrote "servant." (November 12, 1659) It is interesting to note that in the middle of this particular argument Scott still asked to serve Fleming, "tho it be not matter of proffit to me, I shall lay out my weak power and meanwhyle shall ever continue, Sir, your humble servant." (April 28, 1659) His desire to retain Fleming as a customer still outweighed his anxiety about being paid. He tried to make Fleming accept his prices by appealing to his sense of fair dealing. "And as to those abaitments . . . I would hope that if I should lay them at your feete your generous and ingenious spirit would not suffer you to put me or any man that lives by his trade to so much loss." (November 8, 1660)

Fleming suspected Scott charged him more than other customers, and compared his prices with those paid in London, Newcastle, Oxford, or by his friends elsewhere in the county. Scott insisted he charged reasonably, claiming to buy many books "first peny" in London, but only occasionally lists in the accounts the prices he had paid himself. He agreed to reduce the prices of particular titles if Fleming found that William London in Newcastle priced them cheaper. He vigorously denied selling to other customers cheaper, and pointed out that it would be foolish of him to try and overcharge a customer so conversant with current prices. Some years earlier, however, he had promised to treat

Fleming "better" than others. This promise, which implied different prices for different customers, may have led Fleming to suspect that he was one of the over-charged goats rather than the under-priced lambs.

Scott tries to explain that books do not have fixed prices, but increase in price as they grow scarce. "Books are not always at one price but rise and fall according to the will of him that owns the copy." (May 18, 1663) Fleming accepts the truth of this, but continues to insist that Scott overcharges, "for tho I must now confess books are not always at one price . . . yet I understand not how it can be applyed to books sold unto me dearer than the like sold to others about the same time or to the prices of books set at the sending of them, and raised at the time of accounting." (June 6, 1663)

A very small number of book-lists with prices survive from the seventeenth century, and even fewer have the actual prices that a customer paid rather than the valuation put on them at the owner's death. None seem to have survived for the years Fleming bought books from Scott. We do know that one country gentleman paid his London bookseller in 1635 3s 4d for Heylyn on *The Sabbath*, quarto, and 8s 0d for Selden's *Mare Clausum*, folio.² Daniel Fleming paid Scott 3s 4d for Heylyn on November 29, 1658, and 9s 6d for Selden on October 3, 1663; but we do not know which editions the men bought, or the style of binding, so no proper comparison can be made.

²Bohannon, *op. cit.*, pp.433, 439.

In spite of their disagreements, the two men dealt with each other for nine years. Both men found the lure of books difficult to resist. Fleming promises to order more if Scott complies with Fleming's wishes in the matter of exchanging books and reducing prices. Scott responds with the temptation of new titles. He was obviously anxious to have the leading gentry as customers. Moreover, in the last years he was inextricably entangled with Fleming by the money Fleming owed him. If he refused to serve him, when would the money be paid? Perhaps Fleming believed that what he paid in kind made up for what he did not pay in cash. He graciously introduced Sir George Fletcher as a customer. When Fleming became High Sheriff in 1660, Scott asked him "to conferr the Bailiff's place of the Abbey in Holme Coultram upon Edward Brisco, an uncle of myne, who has been successively for many yeares together in that office." (November 14, 1660) Fleming was quite free to appoint whomever he chose, but he granted the request. In his insistence on setting his own prices and linking it to the promise of purchasing more books, he does seem to be saying, "If you do as your patron says, your reward will follow." He signs himself "your loveing friend," "your lo. friend."

Scott's dilemma was widespread in the seventeenth century. The unwise extension of credit caused the downfall of many tradesmen. "He that takes credit may give credit, but he must be exceeding watchful; for it is the most dangerous state of life that a tradesman can live in; he is in as much jeopardy as a seaman upon a lee-shore," wrote Defoe in 1727.³ The price of nearly everything still had to be settled

³Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, London, 1725-7, p.40.

by argument, and fixed prices and cash sales were exceptional. Fleming appeared to find Scott's rule of "no abatement" puzzling and unusual. However, the Quaker William Stout deplored haggling and arguing, and tried to fix a set price. "And I alwayes detested that [which] is common, to aske more for goods than the market-price, or what they may be aforded for, but usualy set the price at one word, which seemed ofensive to many who think they never buy cheape except they get abatement of the first price set upon them . . ."⁴ Nevertheless, Defoe records that even the Quaker shopkeepers had been forced, by degrees, "to ask and abate, just as other honest tradesmen do," because it was customary practice.⁵

Customers, especially the aristocracy, expected shopkeepers to extend credit as a matter of course, and Lawrence Stone lists some of the astonishing debts owed to tradesmen of this period, including Thomas, Earl of Arundell, who at his death in 1646 owed shop debts amounting to £16,176. "Tradesmen extended credit on this imprudent scale partly because they had little choice. The patronage of a magnate was a prize worth having, and it required iron will and a willingness to cut losses to refuse credit to a feckless nobleman. Once debts had been run up, it was difficult to know where to stop."⁶ The tradesmen

⁴William Stout, *op. cit.*, p.90.

⁵Defoe, *op. cit.*, p.178.

⁶L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, Oxford, 1965, p.515.

relied on their customer's sense of honour, especially as James I, alleging that shopkeepers often faked their books, had an act passed making their books inadmissible as proofs of debts more than a year old.⁷

Defoe describes living on credit as "eating the calf in the cow's belly," but explains that careful tradesmen make allowances for the credit in the rate of their goods, charging more to cover the costs of waiting for payment: ". . . thus I have known a family, whose revenue has been some thousands a year, pay their butcher, and baker, and grocer, and cheesemonger, by a hundred pounds at a time, and be generally a hundred more in each of their debts; and yet tradesmen have thought it well worth while to trust them."⁸

William Stout refers many times to colleagues or acquaintances who failed because of carelessness in the matter of credit and debt . . . Joshua Crossby in 1699, "a grocer and honest man, but not very capable to manage his trade to much advantage," and William Godsolve in 1708, "who for some years had followed his trade of a draper and a grocer reputably, but he being too forwards in credit, was drawn into familiarity with some decayed Popish gentry. . . . and not only gave them large credit, but became bound with them to others for large summes."⁹

⁷D. Davis, *A History of Shopping*, London, 1966, p.185.

⁸Defoe, *op. cit.*, p.272.

⁹Stout, *op. cit.*, pp.125, 156.

When Stout inspected his books in 1697, he found that in nine years of trading he had lost £220 through 248 insolvent debts. "At my beginning I was too credulos and too slow in caling, and seldom made use of attorney, except to write letters to urge payment."¹⁰ Roger Lowe records his many trips away from the shop debt-collecting, often to no avail. "I went into Haddock to seaverall houses to gett moneyes, but I got none." (October 23, 1665) "I went to Mr. Walls in Prescott but did gat no monys." (August 15, 1667) He describes his relief after a fruitful trip. "I was sent for to Brinn and I went very Joyfully. To my joy I was payd the debt oweing to me per Mr. Brinkes, and very Joyfully I came home." (March 7, 1663)¹¹

Ironically, Sir Daniel did not extend credit to his relations when they purchased books through him. He collected the money from them as soon as they collected their books, long before he had paid Scott's account for them; often, indeed, before he had actually received the account. However, with his cook Russell, Fleming did not demand the money until he had paid Scott. Scott sent the book in April 1658, and included it in a long account running from December 1657 until March 25, 1659. Fleming paid part of this bill on April 19, 1659, but argued over details as late as September. Not until December 21 did Fleming note in his account book, "Received of Thomas Russell for a *Practice of Piety*, had of Scott, 0-1-6."¹²

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.120.

¹¹Lowe, *op. cit.*

¹²Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.401.

	1	Book of Admiralty	00	00	04
		Carriage to Cockermouth	00	15	00
+	June 29	+ wars of Italy	00	09	06
	Oct 3.	1 Book of Harle Gaufr	02	15	06
+		+ Church bible	00	11	00
+	+ 10 ^s	1 Common prayer books w th psalms	00	00	06
+	sent back	+ Carriage to put them in	00	04	06
	Oct 27	- 6 ^s for 6 pairs of gloves	00	01	00
	Dec. 20	- 1 st children thro' to Cockermouth	04	05	00
Jan 7		+ Monastion Anglican	00	09	00
3 rd 10 th		1 Brownlow of writts	00	01	02
		1 Spelman's & non tamerindis	00	04	06
+	Jan.	1 Callers inghium	00	01	00
		1 Advice to a Sonnets first part	00	00	10
		1 life of Jameson	00	02	00
		1 life of Epithoax fisher	00	01	02
		1 Survey of Turkish Empire	00	03	00
		1 Nichols of Stones	00	03	08
		1 Randolphs Virginius	00	01	08
		1 Relation of the Court of Rome	00	01	02
		1 2 ^o etc of Audibras	00	03	04
+	Jan.	1 Books of Innocents and procerations	00	02	06
		1 Howells History Naples	00	02	00
		1 Winstons Anatomy	00	03	00
+	Jan.	1 Criley agt Poarje	00	05	00
		10 of best wine	00	01	00
		1 Soap	00	01	00
+	Jan.	Carriage to Cockermouth	00	02	06
+	Feb 6.	+ Carriage Extra Milit	00	14	00
		- 2 Common prayers with Psalms	00	04	00
		1 Ship and Sea guide	00	02	04
		1 Audibras 1 & 2. part	00	00	06
July 6		1 Whartons almanack	00	02	03
		- 1 Etaike of the Empire	00	00	08
		1 Gyrocivius	00	05	00
		1 Sweete meates	00	00	08
		1 Percy formon			
		Sumo ^s	18	17	09
Aug 30		1 paper book copy for in battle	00	06	06
		Carriage thro' off to Penrith			02
Aug 31 st 1664		End of whole Sumo	18	17	09

He seems to have paid his labourers promptly, judging from the accounts for the building of Low Park Barn. Scott, however, being "trade," was kept waiting indefinitely for money. The haggling over accounts and the relentlessness with which Fleming pursued small errors reflects either his parsimonious nature or mistrust of Scott. His attitude may, in fact, have been an expression of the countryman's traditional suspicion of town-bred tradesmen.

The sending and payment of accounts quickly fell into a standard pattern. Scott usually noted his prices at the end of a letter, and periodically sent out a long account which covered periods of one to two years. On June 18, 1659, Fleming particularly asked Scott to send an account. The arrival of an account invariably provoked from Fleming a flurry of letters, pointing out small errors, claiming that he had been over-charged, or that books he had returned were still included in the bill, or arguing about terms of exchange. In December 1658, Scott actually wrote up an account, but then delayed sending it for some months, no doubt dreading the bout of arguments and protests which would ensue. There is no suggestion that Scott had been short of money until April 4, 1659, when he accompanies the account with an anxious plea for money, a plea which recurs thereafter. Perhaps his London sellers were calling in their debts; perhaps he had bought unwisely in London and was not able to sell his stock; or perhaps he had lost money in his publishing ventures.

By late 1660, payment of accounts had reached an impasse, with Fleming steadfastly refusing to pay until Scott had agreed to his demands. Fleming's appointment as Sheriff for 1661 had temporarily

weakened Scott's position as an importunate creditor, particularly since, as we have seen, he was anxiously soliciting Fleming on behalf of his uncle for the bailiffship of Holme Coultram. Thus, we find Scott writing resignedly: "Yet for peace sake rather than I should in any way incur your displeasue, I shall abate towards *Schobell's Collections*, 5sh. (and sell the small one for you too if I can)."

(November 22, 1660) A gap of almost a year occurs in the correspondence for 1661, although Fleming, in the book of accounts, records a payment on July 18, 1661 to Scott for various books and a brush. Fleming, as High Sheriff, frequently visited Carlisle, and could have bought directly from the shop.

The letters continue to flow back and forth from Carlisle to Rydal for the next four years, following a similar pattern; with Fleming doing his own sums, demanding reductions, and listing his exceptions to the prices as he discovered from friends how much they claimed their books had cost. On July 18, 1663, Scott assured Fleming that his financial difficulties had compelled him to borrow money at interest, explaining that the bluntness of his letter was caused by financial worry. Fleming replied unsympathetically that he would pay no money until his demands were met. In spite of financial difficulties, Scott steadfastly defends his prices point by point, and refuses to agree to all the reductions listed by Fleming, maintaining his dignity and the right of a tradesman to make a reasonable profit on services rendered. Unhappily, Scott was placed at a further disadvantage when Fleming realised that he was being charged for an amount of money already paid. Scott, evidently deeply embarrassed, explained that he had forgotten to cross the first page of a two page account, and had later inadvertently included the uncrossed page in the next account. We can

acquit Scott of dishonesty, knowing that he had written two years earlier, on July 18, 1663, "Sir I thank you kindly you sent the £6-2-0 to Dr. Smith, which I received and crosst all former accompts." He included an emended account, which Fleming paid on November 10, 1665. "Yours is come unto my hand, and since you acknowledge your mistake, yea, and that to bee a foule one, I shall not give myself the trouble of examming whether you did it wilfully or ignorantly."

We have no idea how the relationship terminated. Sir Daniel may have been so convinced that Scott cheated him that he finally looked elsewhere. Scott may have decided that bookselling to such a customer no longer proved profitable. He had written, on June 20, 1665, "I assure you when I cast up all my proffit at books they are not worth the whyle, I haveing a dayly loss of some that sells not, some also cast in my hand that I bought by order (some such from yourselfe) for which to this day I never got farthing nor am like to do."

of 17
I have yet of yesterday. I truly should be as ready
to make all your abatements as you should desire
them. were it in my power to do it without loss
for the warrs of Italy. If never came to me; so will
it be made out yet for some concerned for me
it, I cannot abate it.

2. I have great much bible & abate for that it hath
3. Gailus Count. militair sent by way of Cochormos
to St. Smith which can make out yet if it be lost
least I should offend you the loss it
4. The Common prayer book was as low as I hold many
high. if you will enjoy me to take it & less the do
a Monastier I got not it by it (verily) I have some
want so much of my price, I'm sure considering the
ready money I got nothing but rather loss
for Baeror Cronacke. I hope will allow me 30 for
the use of it the take it back; the book stand
in 180 with land Carriage; so cannot abate any
thing. for the other which you desire of abatements
are not only my profit but some of your tribles
my profit so far as I remember. for the Carriage
brought in no more yet for it (I cannot imagine
that any Carriage would carry them for nothing)
for so many letters I have made bold to trouble
you with shall beg pardon for this; I shall only
say that if I could save my self I should grant all
you desire but yet I cannot do. however shall abate
50 shillings at your price of 100 whole which more
then due was desired of me in the like case.
I shall also wish make pardon for this
I pray pardon me yet my urgent occasions force
me to request my money. which I pray please
to grant unto him who is for

for the warrs of Italy pray you shall & humbly
take time to consider of it
may be for the rest if you please!
to the cause nor with Coleridge with whom I have prevailed
to come to Ryall. to save the trouble for his next shall be
as good as if signed By you humble servant
Rich: Scottz

CHAPTER FIVE

JAMES COCKE: A DIFFERENT MAN, A DIFFERENT METHOD

At some point in the years 1665-1666, Fleming transferred his allegiance to another Cumbrian bookseller, James Cocke of Kendal, a substantial mercer. Items in the correspondence and Fleming's account book refer sometimes to "James Cock" (or Cocke), "James Cock Senior" or "old James Cock," and sometimes to "James Cock junior" or "young James Cock," evidently the son of the former. Whether the two Cockes had separate businesses for at least part of the time is not possible to determine on present evidence. (An attempt to disentangle the two men's careers appears in Appendix C.) It is clear from the Fleming-Cocke papers that the stormy relationship between squire and bookseller which so characterised the dealings of Scott and Fleming were not reproduced in the new relationship. The dealings between the Cocke and Fleming families appear to be untroubled and businesslike; lightened by the occasional touch of gallantry from James Cocke senior to Mrs. Fleming, when he sends books to her and the children as gifts, or refuses to charge profit on a book sold specifically to her. "I have often thought to have sent you this book (viz) *School of the Heart*, if you please to accept it and peruse it, which I question not but will be to your satisfaction, for soundness and solid bossum truths. My guift then of it to all your children to be for the reading of those may reach it in their capasattyes." (April 19, 1679)

What perhaps may seem strange is that relations between Fleming and the family were amicable in spite of the events of late 1662, when Fleming issued a warrant on November 16 commanding the mayor of Kendal to search the town and seize all arms. Four prominent men were picked

out as examples to other "disaffected" persons, among them James Cocke. Cocke refused to give sureties for good behaviour, and Fleming and the other justices committed him to prison. When the Earl of Carlisle wrote wondering about the decision to imprison Cocke,¹ Fleming replied, "If we should not have thus proceeded against them, I am confident (especially at this time) the whole Fanatic party would have been so Rampant, as our authority amongst them would have signified little or nothing."² Cocke was released on bond sometime in late January, 1663.

We can reasonably infer from the evidence that Cocke was an opponent of the Church as established in the reign of Charles I. Between 1655 and 1657, James Cocke, "gentleman," attended meetings at Penrith of the committee for "Ejecting of Scandalous, Ignorant and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolemasters" in the four northern counties.³ On April 7, 1659, he signed a document on behalf of the aldermen of Kendal nominating Mr. Jeremiah Marsden to continue as preaching lecturer in the parish church of Kendal.⁴ Robert Philipson wrote to his kinsman Fleming on February 8, 1669, reporting gossip overheard at Trout-beck Bridge Inn by the innkeeper. "I believe a conventicle will be this night about Kendall,

¹Letter 528, "The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming," *op. cit.*

²Quoted in Armitt, *op. cit.*, p.629.

³Norman Wilson, "Ejected Ministers in Westmorland and Cumberland: Minutes of proceedings of the Committee," *Trans. Cumb. and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV. 1924, pp.67ff.

⁴William Brown "Addenda Antiqua," *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, 1916, p.302.

James Cock's or Plumgarth's, this Sir I thought fit to tell you; you know, cure the head and the body may better be dealt with."⁵

Nevertheless, Fleming bought books from the family until his death in 1701, and the family seemed happy to serve him. Although very few letters exist for the years between 1666 and 1669, it is at once apparent that scarcely an argument occurs about the price of books or the profit charged. At the beginning Cocke was so deferential to his new customer that he made the tactical error of leaving his profit up to the generosity or sense of fair play of his client. Thus, on February 20, 1669, he writes diffidently that he would like to take 1d per shilling profit, but "if it be to much then as you please" - and, in fact, on this particular bill he charged much less. On April 10, 1669, he adds "profit 1d shilling or what you please," and Fleming took him at his word and paid 1s 0d, instead of the 1s 5d which the 1d per shilling profit on the amount would imply. After mid-1669, Cocke stated the profit rate definitely as 1d per shilling, and thereafter includes it as a separate item at the end of every account, or studded at intervals through the long accounts. On the occasions when Fleming returned books, Cocke duly reduced his "penny shilling" accordingly. It is amusing to note that Fleming carefully passed the profit charge on if he was buying the book on behalf of someone else. Occasionally Cocke explains what a book cost him in London. A book priced in London at 3d appears in the account as 4d, and Fleming appears to have accepted such mark-ups without fuss. Cocke also reports to Fleming when a book in London is too expensive to buy at the moment: "that Ashmole booke

⁵Quoted in Armitt, *op. cit.*, p.639.

Kendall 15th March, 1673

Plow: ^{Ex^o} J^r

I have sent those you last ordered
 and send some more out and you
 may please to see or send againe. They are viz

1 Elton's Art Military	0:6:4
2 Phosphorace Crust. n ^o 89:90	0:3:0
1 Solonoble Discourse ag ^t Popis	0:0:5
1 Dr Tillotson Sermon	0:0:5
1 Blunt: Academy of Eloquence	0:1:1
Montaigne, Moroury Gallant	0:0:10
1 Romarq ^s upon Romarq ^s	0:0:8
1 German Linnis	0:0:9
Robert + Shoufon's Poems	0:0:9
Caridge 3 1/2 d. Freight w ^d	0:1:7
	0:13:10

I have not said a word about Eggs Dybbys.
 Experience w^d I may w^d at, but I will
 send againe I remaine

I have I servant

I do not out of this year
 For Stephen Coim^t 0:0:10

Lefts of this year 0:13:0
 w^d of a former year 0:14:1

Ia^s Cocke

Kendall: 17 April 1673

Send thou of John Banks by the appointment
 of Daniel Fleming Esq^r & w^d to be taken
 shilling being in full payment of all
 examples to this day. 17 April 1673

Ia^s Cocke

of *Heraldry*, which my friend adviseth to stay a littill. It is at present at 30sh, but he expecteth it will be cheaper shortly." (July 6, 1672. In November he bought the book for 28s.) The only quibble in the entire correspondence begins on December 19, 1673, when Fleming notes next to an item for one *Royal Grammar* . . . 2s 0d, "but a second-hand book." Cocke at the end of the letter had added an explanation: "*Royall Grammar* cost first 3s-4d then was sold for 2s-8d. I send it that I can afford at 2s-0d." Unfortunately, the next sentence has been splattered with inkblots, but on January 3, 1674, Cocke acknowledges receipt of an account, and adds, "Sixpence I abat at which is more than I can doe well at the *Royall Grammar*." In striking contrast to the Scott correspondence, this seems to be the only occasion when Fleming challenged the price of a book sold by Cocke. Nor did Cocke voice objections to his customer's returning books. Like Scott, he liked to send books without order to Fleming, hoping that he would buy enough to make it worthwhile. Sometimes he prayed pardon for his "boldness"; always he explained that whatever Fleming did not like, he could return; and when books came back, Cocke accepted them without protest.

Fleming paid the monthly or bi-monthly accounts as promptly as they came. On January 6, 1672, Cocke sent a bill for £1-6-5, and received full payment three weeks later; a bill dated March 8 for £2-17-4 received full payment in early April, and a bill sent on May 18 for £2-9-11 was paid by the end of the month. This pattern continues until 1674, when Cocke began to send out bills at longer intervals, but Fleming still paid just as promptly, whether for six months or twelve months, for five pounds or ten pounds. The one

instance when Fleming did not pay the full amount immediately, leaving 11s 11d owing after paying £9-10-0, does not appear to be because Fleming protested about the amount, which was the customary reason given for not paying Scott in full. Payment seems to have been arranged as in Scott's day, with Cocke issuing receipts for money received. However, most of the Cocke acquittances read, "Received then of John Bankes by the appoyntment of Daniel Fleming." John Bankes, the steward, paid the accounts on his regular visits to Kendal on his master's behalf, and became a link between Fleming and the Cocke family. It was to John Bankes that James Cocke junior wrote describing his visit to London to get his son 'touched' for scrofula by the king, and added, "I had sent 6 leamond and 6 orindges which I desire you to deliver to your master and I desire you to present my humble servise to him. Also I have sent your bedfellow 2 leamonds and 2 orindges . . ." (December 5, 1676) Oranges and lemons - an exotic gift for a Cumbrian, where citrus did not grow easily; and six for the master and two for the steward (or, rather, his wife) a very seventeenth century proportion.

The publication of the *Term Catalogues* from 1668 onwards may well have been a major factor in the smoothness of the Cocke/Fleming dealings, especially in regard to the lack of argument over prices. (William London's catalogue and supplement never included the prices.) The *Term Catalogues* came out four times a year, roughly coinciding with the middle of the four law terms. They listed all books being printed, the prices of many titles, and whether the book came bound or in sheets. Sir John Lowther, trapped in the north by ill health, wrote from Whitehaven to his bookseller in January 1699, "that which would enable me for such enquiries would be the printed list that comes out every Term. When

I was last at your shop I saw your catalogue which was a collection of all the books printed for many years past. If you can get me such . . . and send them . . . "⁶ Fleming purchased the catalogues as soon as they appeared. Both buyer and seller now knew what books cost in London, so Fleming could keep a wary eye open for any drastic mark-ups, and Cocke knew that he would have to explain carefully any such mark-up. In fact, Cocke sold many items cheaper than the stated catalogue prices. Either he had a regular agreement with London booksellers to obtain stocks at wholesale prices, or he bought books unbound in London, and was able to have them bound cheaper in Kendal. Whatever the reason, it seems that Fleming had found the bookseller of his dreams.

Both James Cocke senior and junior appear in the Kendal records as "mercier," but the bulk of Fleming's purchases from James Cocke senior consisted of books. On the other hand, Fleming's accounts for Cocke junior list more purchases of cloth than books, especially linen cloth for children's shirts, which he often records in his books of accounts. In the correspondence, the only books which Cocke junior sold Fleming were the various volumes of Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum*, published in five enormous folios between 1669 and 1676, which cost Fleming a total of £6-3-9. The prospectus for this work, issued in 1667, lists "James Cock of Kendall" as one willing to receive subscriptions. Like Scott, the Cocke family dealt in a number of sidelines, particularly stationery. Fleming also bought "stamp paper"

⁶Sir John Lowther, of Whitehaven, Draft letters, D/Lons/W Correspondence. LW2/D15

from them, and the prices listed in the accounts give the same amount for every purchase: "6 sheets of 6d stamp paper . . . 3s-6d." By an act of 1694, certain legal transactions became subject to duty, payable by a stamp on the document. It was possible to buy government paper already stamped for various denominations. Stationers and booksellers quickly became involved in the distribution, gaining a percentage of the sales and acquiring what amounted to a local monopoly on the sale of certain documents. By the end of the eighteenth century, booksellers made up perhaps forty percent of stamp distributors.⁷ Medical items such as "elixir salutis" also appear in the accounts. Many booksellers sold pills and patent medicines, and advertisements appeared in the *Term Catalogues* for agents. "If any Bookseller, living in any Town or City (where they are not sold) is pleased to sell of this Universal Pill, they may be furnished with the rights at the place abovesaid . . ." ⁸

Unlike Scott, Cocke fetched all his goods from London by land. The privateers menacing the coastal shipping may have driven much of the trade inland, not because the roads had improved, but because the margin of cost-advantage held by the coasting trade narrowed as the risks increased. The majority of parcels came by pack-train. Celia Fiennes found Kendal full of pack-horses when she arrived in 1698 - "abundance of horses I see all about Kendall streetes with their burdens."⁹ Even the woollen manufacture of the town depended on pack-

⁷John Feather, "Cross-Channel Currents: historical bibliography and l'histoire du livre," *The Library*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1980, p.7. This article emphasises the importance of "side-lines" in the bookselling economy.

⁸Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, London, 1903, p.145.

⁹Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. by Christopher Morris, Exeter, 1982, p.166.

trains, as Roger North described, "they could write to most trading towns and have answers by the packs, (for all is horse-carriage)."¹⁰ The pack-trains came into Kendal from London on Tuesday, and set out again on the following Monday. Rydal lay fifteen miles away from Kendal through relatively easy country. This was just as well, because during the 1670's Fleming began buying very weighty tomes, which taxed both box and beast.

"Since the writeing of the lines above, your man being returned from Park House, wee have been contriveing all the wayes imaginable to lay the box soe as it might be neither prejudicial to horse nor man in carryeing, but the box being so very larg both as to breadth and length and soe extrordinary heavy and weighty wee _____ could soe contrive it but would be prejudicial either to the one or to the other, and Mr. Simpson being present, he thought it was best to lett it alone till Saturday and then we shall send it you either by David Harrison or any other whom you shall appoynt." (September 16, 1680) (Atlases and box weighed 3 stone 11 lb.)

David Harrison was a local carter, and may have had a cart to solve the problem which the village by-standers could not. When the time came for such a book as Richard Blome's *Brittania* to be delivered, even the box had to be specially constructed. "Item, laid out for the dressing and makeing your box . . . 4s-0d." (November 8, 1673) Books travelling by land still faced hazards, and many letters record damage caused by damp, or the care taken to pack up the boxes with reams of paper to reduce damage by shaking, or the accidents which happened in spite of every precaution. "This Cave's *Tabula* etc. was basly rent. I am apt to think it was in bringing down but if it doe not please I shall returne it, but I pasted it indifferently at least as well as I could." (February 3, 1674) As in Scott's day, books were lost or sent to the wrong person. Scott and Cocke used different methods to charge

¹⁰North, *op. cit.*, ¶210.

for the transport of books, making it difficult to actually compare their carriage costs. Scott listed as a separate item the carriage cost from Carlisle to Penrith or Cocker-mouth, usually charging one penny or twopence, sometimes sixpence. The one occasion when he charged one shilling, Fleming wrote objecting that he had not itemised this amount in the letter which accompanied that particular consignment of books. Cocke charged carriage from London to Kendal, always listing it as a separate amount in the accounts. He charged 2d per pound, and listed the weight of the parcel and then the total - "carriage 3lbs - 6d," "carridg of all 2lbs . . . 4d," "carridg 8lb, 2d per lb . . . 1sh-4d." Scott built in the London to Carlisle transport cost in the price of the book or the profit he charged, rather than listing it as an item on its own, and only when badgered by Fleming's criticisms of his prices does he actually spell out the different costs of book-price and transport cost. Fleming evidently much preferred Cocke's method of accounting, where he could see precisely what every item cost.

At least Scott in his dealings with Fleming did not have to contend with the problem of the deteriorating coinage, which bedevilled so many financial transactions in the later seventeenth century. Many shop-keepers issued trade tokens in order to provide small change in the absence of official copper coins, and James Cocke junior issued such a token - stamped with a game-cock - in 1667.¹¹ On September 13, 1673, Cocke wrote, "Alsoe I send you 15 shillings in ffarthings in a purse which I shall charge to Dr. Smith's account.

¹¹R. S. Bounphrey and C. R. Hudleston, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc., extra series XX, 1975.

If you have not heard of the 5 shillings in false pennies was sent by David Harison. Some of us must cum to lose." On July 1, 1682 he acknowledged receipt of money from Fleming, and wrote, "There is 3s. mixt moneys in this 6 pounds, one very bad." There was very little the local authorities could do, in spite of the gravity of the situation. Alan Chambre wrote to Fleming in 1696 describing a rabble in Kendal, who demanded of the authorities how they would buy bread if their money could not pass.

"As they were far too strong for the civil power, we gave them some drink and they promised not to molest the town tonight but will have a frolic in the country. We can do nothing but give them good words or there will be bloodshed."¹²

During the seventeenth century, women married to tradesmen commonly took an active part in their husbands' businesses, especially in the retail trades. A man would often appoint his wife as executrix, and she was allowed to carry on the business after her husband's death. Many women managed the shop during their husband's absence, thus acquiring the necessary expertise to run affairs by themselves. Defoe laments the removal of the women from the shop to the parlour upstairs, to sit genteelly, receiving visits and drinking tea with neighbours. When her husband died, "if she has been one of those gay, delicate ladies, that values herself upon being a gentlewoman . . . now she falls into a sea of trouble" and runs the risk of losing her husband's inheritance through ignorance and disdain.¹³ Mary Scott managed the

¹²"The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming," *op. cit.*, p.343. (Alan Chambre was appointed recorder of Kendal in 1695.)

¹³Defoe, *op. cit.* p.215.

shop while her husband travelled to York and London, sending out books and receiving payment of accounts, but did not feel able actually to price the books. On April 26, 1657, she wrote to Fleming listing the books included in the parcel, but added, "as for the pryces, they must be defered 'till my husband's return." Although I cannot determine which James Cocke was her husband, Mary Cocke had some hand in running the business after 1695, and was most probably then the legal proprietor, as she signs a number of acquittances. In 1696, Fleming notes on one such, "Mrs. Cock's note and Gen. Acq."¹⁴

¹⁴See also Appendix C.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GROWTH OF THE LIBRARY

Fleming continued to buy a wide range of books: law, theology, acts of parliament, history and books of antiquarian interest. He followed the alarms and excursions provoked by the Popish plots and scares, buying in 1679 pamphlets about the trials of Greenhill, Berry and Coleman, *Cabal of the Jesuits*, *Gunpowder Treason*, and two sheets of verses upon the plott. In 1684, with a Catholic king on the horizon, he purchased such stiffenings of the theological sinews as *Saint Peter Not at Rome*, *Reasons Why a Protestant Should Not Turn Papist*, *Treatise Against Latin Service*, and *Ffoxes and Firebrands*, a pamphlet that urged separatists to rejoin the Church of England. On the other hand, it is surprising that such a well-known "hammer of the Quakers" as Fleming should buy so few books and tracts condemning Quakers.

Weekly and monthly periodicals now included *Philosophical Transactions* (the journal of the Royal Society), the *Political Mercury*, and the *Athenian Gazette*. He continued to buy almanacs, and Cocke sent as a gift a "China almanac . . . for I had it given me by a speciell friend that came from Java in the East India" (January 6, 1672) He bought a map of Hungary at the same time as the *History of the Siege at Buda* (December 4, 1686); and books as diverse as *Amboyna* and *Burlesque upon Burlesque* are listed in the accounts.

Children's books now feature as major items in the accounts, sometimes included in the main account, sometimes written up separately; listing school books, writing paper, ink horns or a sand-box.

"A note for Mr. ffleming's sones, 15th June 1672" includes a Greek grammar, *Epigrams* and Terence with Farnaby's *Notes*. The bill came to 11s 1d. The children first attended the Rydal village school. Some of the boys later went to the grammar school in Kendal, or schools at Ambleside and Hawkshead. Four of the boys eventually went to Oxford. In 1685, George and Richard were placed in Sedbergh school in Yorkshire; and the accounts have the occasional note next to particular titles, "for your sons at Sedber." As the children grew older, they ordered books on their own account, and in the 1680's and 1690's acquittances frequently read, "due from him or his children." The young Daniel Fleming acted as his father's factotum after leaving Kendal school, and often paid the account or witnessed the acquittance. We have no way of knowing how many of her husband's books Mrs. Fleming read, but we can guess that some titles came specifically for her or her daughters: *The Accomplished Lady's Delight*, *Art of Draweing*, *Whole Body of Cookery*, *Gentlewoman's Companion* and *Lady's Calling*.

Other seventeenth century booksellers stocked an equally wide range of books. John Foster, a York stationer in the early century, kept nearly 3,000 volumes, consisting of sermons, theology, school books, law books, herbals and medical books, more than 500 almanacs, many newsbooks, and twenty-seven play books. A catalogue of the Frankfurt fair indicates that some of his customers might have been buying new foreign books. The fact that a number of townsmen owed Foster money may mean that they, too, patronized the bookshop, along with the clergy, gentry and lawyers.¹ A Hereford bookseller's inven-

¹Levy, *op. cit.*, p.19.

tory of 173 books in 1695 includes books on religion, history, travel, biography, medicine, and dictionaries and school books.² In 1644, John Awdley, a bookseller in Hull, stocked 832 titles, listing works on law, medicine, theology and the classics.³

By far the most interesting development in Fleming's book buying habits began in 1668, with his purchase of special subscription volumes. Subscription publishing began in the seventeenth century as a method of allowing authors to finance expensive publications by spreading the financial risk among as many people as possible, and allowing a number of people to share jointly in what could be a profitable enterprise. Defoe, in his "Essay on Projects," called the seventeenth century "a projecting age," and describes the readiness with which people bought stock in a number of schemes for public or private profit. "To this sort of men 'tis easy to trace the original of Banks, Stocks, Stock-jobbing, Assurances, Friendly Societies, Lotteries and the Like."⁴ The subscription method financed lectures by individual scholars, founded insurance companies, raised money for buildings and scholarships at Oxford or for worthy charities, and the building of theatres; and the great trading companies, the East India Company, the Africa Company, and the Hudson Bay Company all used the joint stock or subscription method.

²F. C. Morgan, *A Hereford Bookseller's Catalogue of 1695*, 1942. No place of publication given.

³C. W. Chilton, "The Inventory of a Provincial Bookseller's Stock in 1644," *The Library*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1979, pp.126ff.

⁴Daniel Defoe, "An Essay on Projects," 1697, quoted in Sarah L. Capp, "The Beginnings of Subscription Publication in the Seventeenth Century," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 29, 1931/2, p.199.

In subscription publishing, the author undertook to produce a book of specified content, size and quality, and the benefactor or subscriber paid a specified amount to help finance the production, receiving in return a copy or copies of the book according to the amount paid. A subscription meant more than a promise: it usually involved payment in advance of half the total sum. The author advertised his intention by stating his proposals on a single sheet or in a small pamphlet describing the projected work and terms of purchase. To display the appearance and quality of the work, the instigator often printed the proposal on the same type of paper and with the same print as the proposed book, or included a specimen page or two. Advertisements appeared in the editions of the *Term Catalogues*, and the author also made private appeals to men who had previously subscribed to some other venture, hoping they would respond favourably to the new scheme.

John Minsheu financed the publication of *Ductor in Linguas* (1617) - a dictionary in eleven languages - by what may be the first example of subscription publication. Printers and booksellers quickly realized the advantages of such a method, and began to use the idea. Many expensive and beautiful books might never have been printed without the aid of such a scheme. The list of subscribers to Minsheu's work includes royalty, nobility, gentry and scholars, along with a number of merchants: "a heterogeneous as well as a divided patronage. . . . subscription publication, in fact, marks the beginning of the concern of the community at large in books."⁵ Many subscribers may have been per-

⁵Capp, *op. cit.*, p.215.

suaded to take a copy because of the publicity involved and the opportunity to rub shoulders with the nobility, even if only in print; a chance to increase social stock along with book stock. Using a list of royal patrons and eminent scholars both coaxed lesser men into subscribing and acted as an advertisement and guarantee of the book's quality.

Fleming kept a number of proposals of intended publication. One, copied out by Thomas Smith, announced an edition of the Bible to be printed at Oxford, with annotations, geographical tables and chronological observations drawn up by "eminent and learned" men. Subscribers ("well-disposed and religious men") could advance sums of money, and in proportion to their giving receive in return a copy or copies of the book "so as to be of a greater value, by at least a sixth part," than the money deposited, which was the normal return for this kind of venture. (The scheme, announced in 1672, never transpired.)

Fleming subscribed to all three printed proposals included in his correspondence: Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, reprinted with additions by Richard Blome; John Ogilby's *English Atlas*; and Blome's two volumes, *The Arts of Cosmography and Geography*, and the *Gentleman's Recreation*. (Both authors made repeated use of the subscription method to finance their publications.) John Ogilby, a superb publicist, and not a modest man, trumpeted forth his earlier conquests "of the Greek and Latine Paper-Kingdoms," and described his new proposal, "girding himself courageously for no less than the Conquest of the whole World, making the Terrestrial Globe his Quarry." Blome sounded the dulcet notes of an equally potent appeal - to social vanity - setting

out two grades of proposal, with payment to match. Proposal one of Guillim's *Heraldry* allowed the subscriber to have his Paternal Coat of Arms inserted into the text, together with some remarks about his family "to remain to posterity." Proposal two allowed the Paternal Coat of Arms plus Achievements (Mantle, Helmet, Crest, Motto, Quarterings) in copperplate, and information about the family. *The Arts of Cosmography* had a similar grading. For £3-0-0 the benefactor would be "honourably mentioned" in the work. For an additional £5-0-0 he could choose a copperplate in the book to which would be affixed his Coat of Arms, signifying his patronage. Both proposals described a commonly used incentive scheme to encourage subscribers to find other persons willing to join, by promising one volume free for every six subscriptions obtained. This type of incentive appealed to Fleming, and the accounts reveal that he ordered a number of subscriptions for his kinsmen.

Fleming, with his great family pride, naturally chose the second proposal for Guillim's *Heraldry*, and Blome's subsequent letters about Fleming's choice show how careful an author or publisher had to be in determining costs in advance. Blome had sent Fleming an early proposal, quoting a price of forty-six shillings, a price which he swiftly altered in later proposals, realizing that the figure would not return a profit. (The instigators of the proposed Oxford Bible wisely declined to set a price in their preliminary proposal, to avoid such an embarrassment.) Blome realized that he was in no position to demand more money, but in a number of letters about the book he reminds Fleming of the great expense involved in preparing a complicated Coat of Arms with twelve quarterings, and asks him to consider the price: "Your coate being more troublesome and chargable than others by reason of the many quarterings and the largeness of the wrighting in the body of the book about your family."

(Undated, but the volume had been completed.) To help keep the proposition financially viable, he asked Fleming several times to recommend the work to his friends and persuade them to become benefactors.

The accounts and letters between the Cocke family and Fleming record the transactions relating to more of these expensive books: Blome's four-part *History of the World*, Moses Pitt's *Atlas*, Camden's *Brittania in folio*, Barrow's works in two volumes, and Matthew Poole's *English Annotations and Synopsis Criticorum*, perhaps one of the most expensive works of the time. Cocke junior includes in the accounts a breakdown of expenditure for "Mr. Pool's 3rd volume." (November 6, 1673)

"6 books comes to	3 - 17 - 2
bindinge of 6 books, 6s. a piece	1 - 16 - 0
collations 6d a book	0 - 3 - 0
bax and cord	0 - 3 - 0
caridge of the 6 books and the box was all 9 ston 4lb. For	
this 6 comes to 2-9	0 - 16 - 3
chardg of post letters	0 - 1 - 3
	<hr/>
	6 - 16 - 8"

Fleming scribbles his own arithmetic in the margin, to split the cost six ways (he had ordered on behalf of various kinsmen), and notes underneath, "my cosen Ro. Philipson took fourth at Trout-beck bridge his Book, therefore has to pay for it." Three years later, on December 13, 1676, it is possible to see how prices had or had not changed.

"7 books cost, including the Index	6 - 0 - 0
colation 6d a piece	0 - 3 - 6
portridge from Mr. Pool to the binder	0 - 1 - 0
binding 6s a piece	2 - 2 - 0
box and cord	0 - 3 - 6
portridg from the binder to the carrier	0 - 1 - 6
caridg 7 stone 8lb, 1½d. per pound	0 - 13 - 3
post letters	0 - 0 - 9
	<hr/>
all 7 books lys to	9 - 5 - 6"

Fleming also subscribed to Ogilby's *English Atlas*, which included volumes on Africa, America and Asia; beautifully produced on fine quality, imported paper with excellent maps and illustrations. For his *Brittania*, Ogilby raised money to finance a completely new survey of the whole of Britain. Purchasers found the resulting maps so useful that they often cut them out to use them as guides in their travels.

But, in spite of the price of these magnificent books, the Cockes appear to have made no profit at all on them. When he sent an account for £1-17-6 for Pitt's *Atlas* on April 13, 1671, Cocke senior reminded Fleming that "they were bought with your own moneys soe profit I expect non unlesse you would have charged me with your money if it had been lost and if soe I leave it to yourself if you be content therewith because I stood hazard." As he acknowledges receipt of just £1-7-6 a month later, Fleming must have decided against "profit." With a bill for yet more atlases, Cocke told Fleming that he did not like to charge any profit because the books and their binding were already so dear. (September 16, 1680) Perhaps the author or publisher paid booksellers a fee for handling subscriptions, though I have not found any evidence for this. What may have happened is that Cocke, not

Fleming, gained the free "incentive" copy earned when Fleming enlisted six subscriptions from his friends and kinsmen. Whatever the case, to make bookselling profitable the Cocke family needed to sell endless almanacs and school books, sermons and diatribes, besides handling subscription books.

* * * * *

Books are like coal, stockings, candles, and groceries: articles to be bought and sold, and to make a living for somebody. Printers at London, Oxford and Cambridge produced most of the books in seventeenth century England. Without the bookloving squires like Fleming and other like-minded gentlemen, these books would not have penetrated to remote corners like Cumbria; but, remember too that the books could not have travelled north without the long trains of pack-ponies lumbering saucepans and sewing needles into every part of England, harness bells tinkling as they jogged down into Kendal with twelve copies of the Countess of Morton's *Devotions* padding the crockery. Print runs would have been smaller, fewer titles published, fewer risks taken, without the many small provincial shopkeepers to sell the books, who in turn needed to provide a variety of merchandise and services in order to make a living. Much has been written about the contents of seventeenth century books, the Stationers' Company in London, the character of the men who began the Oxford Press, but the volumes in Rydal library once shared a pack with a tub of pickled oysters and eighteen pairs of children's shoes.

APPENDIX A

The bundle of manuscripts numbered WD/Ry 30 contains the correspondence between Daniel Fleming and his booksellers. The contents covering the years he dealt with Richard Scott include draft letters to Scott, and letters, accounts and acquittances from him; and two undated lists written by Fleming headed "Books worth buying" and "A note of books sent for to London by Scott, of Carlile."

Those papers which cover the years he bought books from the Cocke family contain draft letters to the Cockes; accounts, letters and acquittances from them; three letters with accounts from a bookseller named Ormerod; and a draft letter by Fleming to the Reverend Mr. Jeremy Collier agreeing to become a subscriber to one of his books. It also includes letters, accounts, acquittances from Mr. Richard Blome concerning subscription books, two letters from Jo. Baxter concerning Blome's books, and three printed proposals for subscription books. All these papers are part of the very large archive of Fleming (subsequently Le Fleming) Papers, amounting to approximately 120 boxes, which are currently deposited in the Cumbria County Record Office at Kendal.

APPENDIX C

There appear to be two, possibly three, men called James Cocke in Kendal in the second half of the seventeenth century. (They themselves usually write "Cocke;" Fleming and other contemporaries write "Cock.") Magrath notes a James Cocke as an alderman in 1624, and again in 1645 and 1654; and mayor in 1653. He describes James Cocke junior as "probably a son, sworn as 'mercator freeman' in 1655 and was mayor in 1681. Which of the two is the James Cocke mentioned as Alderman in Charles II's charter is doubtful."¹

Boumpfrey and Hudleston describe James Cocke as an alderman in 1624-5, and Cocke "perhpas his son" as mayor in 1653-4, with James Cocke junior as mayor in 1681-2.²

Although the handwriting in the accounts changes several times, the acquittance handwriting and the elaborate signature which can best be described as an "office logo" remains unchanged from 1670 to May 16, 1691 (see letter dated March 15, 1672/3). This signature, or "logo," always has the date twined underneath, and is initialled "J.C." at one end. It appears on the two receipts where a James Cocke writes his name in full as "James Cocke senior," once on May 31, 1673, and again on May 24, 1684 (see letter for this date). On June 24, 1693, a John

¹Magrath, *op. cit.*, p.429.

²Boumpfrey and Hudleston, *op. cit.*, p.81.

Prissoe signs the acquittance for the account which covered the years 1691-1693; and on June 22, 1695, Mary Cocke signs the next account. Neither use the office "logo." (When John Prissoe had received payment on September 28, 1685, he wrote: "for the use of my brother James Cock," so it is probable Mary Cocke was his sister.) On November 21, 1696, Mary Cocke and a James Cocke sign the acquittance. The "office logo" re-appears, but in a simpler form, with no date and no initials (see letter of this date). Daniel Fleming addresses the note as "Mrs. Cock's note and Gen. Acq." On July 28, 1697, Mary Cocke signs the acquittance. Undated, but on the same page, is written the note, "Sir I am yours to serve you to my power, James Cock. This I write for my mother Mary Cock." However, I am not convinced that the handwriting of this James Cocke is the same as that of the man who writes his name in full as "James Cocke junior" several times in 1673, once in 1675, and twice in 1676 (see letter dated December 5, 1676). Mary Cocke signs both acquittances in 1700. It is quite possible that all the letters, accounts and acquittances were written by clerks, including the signatures; but the "James Cocke junior" handwriting is so illegible that I doubt anyone would have paid for it!

17 ^a Ap:	1	mercurie for march	-	-	0	0	6
15 ^a may	1	set of Acts some sent vance	-	-	0	3	6
	1	mercurie for Ap:	-	-	0	0	6
	1	Glod. Duty of man	-	-	0	7	9
12 ^a June	1	set of Acts sent 10 ^a Ap:	-	-	0	0	0
June	6	sheets of st. pap ^o 11:	-	-	0	3	6
17 ^a June	1	mercurie for for may	-	-	0	0	6
10 ^a June	1	Booke Plot	-	-	0	1	0
22 ^a July	1	mercurie for June	-	-	0	0	6
Aug ¹¹ 11	1	The Eng: Historiall Liberty	-	-	0	4	6
	1	True Copy of the Original	-	-	0	0	4
	1	Cartell	-	-			
	1	The Bp: of Rochester's discourses	-	-		1	3
	1	The History of Scotland	-	-	0	1	0
	1	The History of Earthquakes	-	-	0	1	0
17 ^a 10 ^a	1	mercurie for July Aug ¹¹ 7 th 16	-	-	0	1	6
19 th							

November 21. 1696.

Received then of Daniel Fleming
the sum of five pounds & seventeen
shillings & six pence being in full of
his Account & of all other Demands
whatsoever he has Received of me
Witness Dan: Fleming.

Mary Cocke
her Cocke

APPENDIX D

In transcribing the following letters, I have retained the original spelling, but cautiously modernized punctuation and the use of capital letters. Dates are left "old style," and where the "new style" date is different it is given in square brackets. A dash in the text indicates that the word or words are indcipherable. A question mark next to a word indicates a tentative reading.

Books worth buying

Sir Henry Spelman's De non timerandis ecclesijs, in English.

Osborne's Advice to a son, the 1st part.

Sherlock's Paraphrases upon the church catechism. Young clerk's Tutor.

A book of all the names of all the Hundreds in the Shires of the Kingdom of England, with a number of Towns, Parishes, Villages and places in every Hundred. 12°

The Life of Tamberlin the Great, his wars against the great Duke of Mosco, King of China, Bajazaty and great Turk, the Sultan of Egypt, the King of Persia and etc., wherein are rare examples of heathenish piety, mercy, justice, humility, temperance etc. 8°

History of the rites, customs and manners of the present Jews throughout the present world, written in Italian by Leo Modena, a rabbi in Venice; now Englished by Mr. Chilmead, M.A. 8°

The Royall Game of chess, the rules of the play 12°

Mr. Davie's History of Magick by way of apology, for all the wise men who have unjustly been reputed Magicians from the Creation to this age: Englished from Gassendus, 8°

England and Wales exactly described; with every shire, and townes. Each shire in six maps, bound together, 8°

The Grand differences between France, Spain and the Empire; with there severall titles, claims and pretenses to each other's dominions, discussed and stated 8°

The history of Russia, or the Government of the Emperor of Moscovia, with the manners and fashions of the peoples of that country by Mr. Fletcher Fell, of Kings College Cambridge, and imployed in the Embassy thither, 12°

Mr. Goodwin's Succession of Bishops in England since the first placing of Christian religion in this island, with their lives and actions, together with Sir J. Harrington's supplement. 4°

History of the Life and Death of the renowned Bishop Fisher, comprising the highest and hidden transactions of state in the reign of King Henry VIII, with morall, politicall and historicall animadversions on Cardinal Woolsly, Sir Tho. Moor, Luther, with a full relation of Queen Catharine's discourse, 8°

Mr. Hunt, M.A., his new recitations, or vane and exquisite intention for exercising of acute witts and industrious dispositions, replenished with mysteries, secrets and vanities, both arithmetic and mathematicall. 12°

History of the Imperial state of the Grand Seignours, their habitations, lives, tythes, qualities, exercises, warres, revenues, habit, descent, ceremonies, magnificence, judgements, offices, favourites, religion, power, government and tyranny. 8°

Mr. Jackson's Saturni Ephemerides sive Tabula - Historico - Chronologica; containing a chronological series on succession of the four Monarchies; with an abridgement of the annuall memorable passages in them; also a succession of kings and rulers over their world and there severall stories epitomized. A compendious of the Church of God, from the creation etc. Folio

The rise and fall of that great statesman, Count Oliveras, with other histories concerning the Kingdome of Portugall, 8°

The Sovereignty of the British seas, 12°

[The list continues for another page of Daniel Fleming's handwriting.]

Sir, Yours I received but do hope you received myne with *Wharton* and *Lillies* almanack which I sent so soone as they came to my hand. Your books arrived with them at Newcastle, but being that weeke left by the carriers could not be brought since, there haveing not since any carriers gone to Newcastle; what the late unhappy differences, tedious lyeing at sea and now no carriers being able to pass to Newcastle hath disappointed me as I never was before that I know of, and forc'd me dissappoint you. For the *Whole Duty of Man* I have by me and shall send it with your other

peices so soone as ever there's any passage for carriers. They have promised to adventure this weeke. My humble service presented, I remayne Sir,

your ready servant in my power,

Richard Scott.

Carlisle, January 22 1659 [60]

Mr. Scott,

Yours of January the 22nd instant I have received wherein you intimate your sending long since of *Wharton* and *Lilly's* almanack unto mee, which I have not yett received nor can I hear anything of them, tho' I ordered one (last Tuesday) to call att Mr. Will. Collinson's and to enquire if hee had anything for mee, which hee then had not. You had best enquire of him to whom you delivered them what hee did with them, that soe it may bee discovered in whose hand they now are, least otherwise they bee lost. I have received nothing from you since the 2 *Acts* came unto my hand, save your last letter above mentioned, but I hope 'ere long to heare and receive more from you.

I am your loveing friend

D.F.

Rydall, January 30, '59 [60]

[This account begins in October, 1662]

Aug. 29th [1663]

X	Warrs of Italy	00 - 15 - 00
Oct. 3.	1 Seldon's Marie Clausum	00 - 09 - 06
X	Church Bible	02 - 15 - 08
X 10sh	1 Common prayer book with psalmes	00 - 11 - 00
sent X back	canvas to put them in	00 - 00 - 06
Oct. 27th	paid for 6 paire of gloves	00 - 04 - 06
Dec. 20th	1 pair children shoes, to Cockermouth	00 - 01 - 00
deare, £3-10-0	Jan. 7 ^X Monasticon Anglicanum	04 - 05 - 00
	1 Brownlow of Writts	00 - 09 - 00
	1 Spellman's De Non Tamerindis	00 - 01 - 02
X dear	1 Villare Anglicanum	00 - 04 - 06
	1 Advice to a Son, first part	00 - 01 - 00
	1 Life of Tamberlin	00 - 00 - 10
	1 Life of Bishop Fisher	00 - 02 - 00
	1 Survey of Turkish Empire	00 - 01 - 02
	1 Nichols of Stones	00 - 03 - 00
	1 Rãndolph's Arristipus	00 - 03 - 08
	1 Relation of the Court of Rome	00 - 01 - 08
	1 2nd part of Hudibras	00 - 01 - 02
X dear	1 Book of Synodalls and Procreations [sic]	00 - 03 - 04
	1 Howell's History Naples	00 - 02 - 06
	1 Winston's Anatomy	00 - 02 - 00
dear	1 Cressy against Pearse	00 - 03 - 00
	10 quires best paper	00 - 05 - 00
	1 box	00 - 01 - 00
not in the letter	carriage to Cockermouth	00 - 01 - 00

X	1 Dallen's Contra Milet.	00 - 02 - 06
Feb. 6	2 Common Prayers with cutts	00 - 14 - 00
	1 Shipard's Sure Guide	00 - 04 - 00
	1 Hudibras 1 and 2 part	00 - 02 - 04
	1 Wharton's Almanack	00 - 00 - 06
July 6	- 1 Estaite of the Empire	00 - 02 - 03
	1 Tyrocinium	00 - 00 - 08
	1 lb Sweet-meetes	00 - 05 - 00
	1 Peirce's Sermon	00 - 00 - 08
		<hr/>
	Sum is	18 - 11 - 01
Aug. 30th	1 paper book demy folio in vellum	00 - 06 - 06
	carriage thereof to Penreth	02
		<hr/>
Aug. 31st 1664	ended whole sume	18 - 17 - 09

[Notes in *script* are in Daniel Fleming's handwriting.]

Carlile October 3
1665.

Sir,

I make bold to entreate you will please send my money to Mr. William Collinson at Penreth or to Mr. Richard Lowry in Cockermouth, either of whose receipts shall bee good. Truly Sir, if my necessity did not put me upon it, I would not press you. I pray pardon my boldness. If neither of these plans suite your convenience, I shall wait on you at Rydall. With my humble service do remain Sir, your assured ready and humble servant,

Richard Scott.

Rydall, October 16,
1665.

Mr. Scott,

Yours of the 3rd instant is come unto my hand, and your money you might have long since received had you been willing to have made mee such reasonable deductions as I have often intimated unto you. Most of them I have now hereunder written, severall of which you have already yielded unto; and upon your granting of the rest, every farthing that is due unto you shall bee forwith payd you (without any further dunning) either at Penrith or Cockermouth, by

Your loving friend,

D.F.

For the Warres of Italy which was returned you by Mr. George Johnson	00 - 15 - 00
The Great Church Bible and canvas	02 - 16 - 02
Dallons contra Milit. which I never had nor sent for	00 - 02 - 06
A great Common prayer-book, overrated.	00 - 01 - 06
Monasticon (both parts) overrated	00 - 05 - 00
Villare Anglican. overrated, the Book of Synodalls and Procurations, (a little stitch'd book) 1sh-4d, and Cressy against Pearse 1sh, in all	00 - 03 - 04
Carriage not mentioned in any letter	00 - 01 - 04
Baker's Cronicle, overrated 2sh, and Croke's Abridgement 1sh-9d, both	00 - 03 - 09
	<hr/>
	04 - 08 - 01

Penreth
October, 17th 1665

Sir,

I have yours of yesterday. I truly should be as ready to make all your abaitements as you should desyre them were it in my power to do it without loss. For the *Warres of Itally*, it never came to me; so till it be made out that I, or some concerned for me received it, I cannot abait it.

2. The great church Bible I abait for I had it back.

3. *Dallon's contra Militerium* I sent by the way of Cockermouth to Dr. Smith which I can make out, and yet if it be lost, least I should offend you, I'le loose it.

4. The Common prayer booke was as low as I sold to any parish. If you will enjoyne me to take 12d less, I'le do.

5. The *Monasticon* I got not 5sh by it (verilly) and therefore cannot abaite so much of my price, I'm sure, considering the want of my money considered, (for it was bought with ready money) I got nothing but rather less. For Bacre's *Cronackle*, if you will allow me 3sh for the use of it, I'le take it back; the booke stands in 18sh with land-carriage, so cannot abait anything. For the other peices you desyre of abaitment are not only my profit but (some of them) tribble my proffit so farr as I remember. For the carriage, though in no leter, yet I put it. (You cannot imagin that any carrier would carry them for nothing.)

Sir, after so many letters I have made bold to trouble you with, I shall beg pardon for this; and shall onely say that if I could save myselfe I should grant all you desyre, but yet I cannot do. However, I shall abate fyve shillings at the prices of the whole, which is more than ever was desyred of mee in the lyke caise.

Dallen's I shall loose also, which makes seaven shillings 6d. I pray pardon me that my urgent occasions forceth me to request my money, which I pray please Sir to grant unto him who is, Sir,

Your reall and humble servant,

Richard Scott.

Sir, for the *Warrs of Itally*, pray take tyme to consider of it and pay for the rest if you please.

To the bearer Mr. William Collinson with whom I have prevailed to come to Rydall to save you trouble. Sir, his receipt shall be as good as if signed, by Sir, your humble servant,

Richard Scott.

* * * * *

Kendall, 15th March 1672/3

Honoured Sir,

I have sent those you last ordered and have sent some without order which you may please to keep or send againe. They are, viz.

Item.	Elton's Art Military	0 - 6 - 4
	2 Phylosophicall Transactions, no 89, 90	0 - 1 - 0
	1 Seasonable Discourse against Poperie	0 - 0 - 5
	1 Dr. Tillotson Sermon	0 - 0 - 5

1 Blunt Academy off Eloquence	0 - 1 - 1
(without order) 1 Mercury Gallant	0 - 0 - 10
1 Remarques upon remarques	0 - 0 - 8
1 German Princes	0 - 0 - 9
<i>returned</i> X 1 Stevenson's Poems	0 - 0 - 9
caridg 3½ lbs 7d	
profit 12d	0 - 1 - 7
	<hr/>
	0 - 13 - 10

Sir, I haveing not heard a word about Esquire Ogolby's *Specimen* which I much wonder at; but shall send againe, I remaine,

Your true servant

James Cocke

deduct out of this parcell for Stephen. poims	0 - 0 - 10
	<hr/>
Rests of this parcell	0 - 13 - 0
rests of a former parcell	0 - 14 - 1
	<hr/>
	1 - 7 - 1

Kendall, 5th Aprill, 1673

Received then of John Banks by the appoyntment of Daniel ffleming esq. twentie-seiven shillings being in ffull payment of all accompts to this sayd 5th Aprill, 1673, I say received in ffull . . . £1-7-0.

per me James Cocke

[Note in *script* is in Daniel Fleming's hand.]

Loveing friende,

Mr. Banck, these are to acquaint you that I am very well gott home and my son sick and I got him touch by his Majesty, and is much better prays be the Lord. Pray acquaint your master that the books is come and they lay to 26sh-6d _____ from the Index _____ I had sent 6 leamonds and 6 orindges which I desire you to deliver to your master and I desire you to present my humble servise to him. Also I have sent your bedfellow 2 leamonds and 2 orindges; noe more but my respect in haist, I remaine,

Yours to serve you

James Cocke Junior

Kendall, 5 Des, '76

They are putt in a litle bagg, in all 16. I write this I have prevailed with this bearer, Isaac Bateman, to carry the box, and you must returne me 1 book again, for ther is 7 in the box for I would not adventure to open the box fearing that the _____ should be damidged.

6 books lys to 26sh-6d apiece, is 7-19-0.

Received this 24 March '76 by Mr. James Cocke the sum of seven pounds, nineteen shillings, being in full payment for 6 of Mr. Pool's last itims, signed for and by the appoyntment of Danyall Fleming esq. per me James Cocke Junior . . . £7-19-0.

Kendall, 24th May, 1684

Received of Mr. John Brougham (?) the day and yeare above by the appoyntment of Sir Daniel ffleminge the just some of ten pounds, eight shillings (viz) Tenn pounds 5sh 6d in money and too shillings 6d that I remained debtor to Sir Daniel ffor Blunt's Glosographie, with £10-5-6 now received and the 2sh-6d allowed maketh just tenn pounds eight shillings as above sayd, which sayd some is in ffull payment of all accompt and rackings fformerly due ffrom the sayd Sir Daniel ffleminge, Kt. to James Cocke senior, I say received in ffull the just some of . . . £10-8-0.

per me James Cock

[A rare example of James Cocke spelling his name as "Cock".]

[The last segment of an account dated 1696.]

22nd April	1 Mercurie for March	0-0-6
15th May	1 set of Acts, some sent back	0-3-6
	1 Mercurie for April	0-0-6
	1 Hole Duty of Man	0-1-?
12th June	1 Set of Acts	0-0-6
13th June	6 Sheets of stampt paper	0-3-6
	1 Mercury for May	0-0-6
18th June	1 Booke Plot	0-1-0
22nd July	1 Mercury for June	0-0-6
Aug. 1st	The English Historicall Libery	0-4-6
	1 True Copy of the Originall Cartell	0-0-4

1 The Bishop of Rochester's discours	0-1-2
1 The History of Scotland	0-1-0
1 The History of earthquakes	0-1-0
1 Mercury for July, August, 7ber	0-1-6

November 21st, 1696

Received then of Sir Daniel Fleming the sum of five pounds and
seventeen shillings and sixpence being in full of this account
and of all other demands whatsoever, I say received by me,

Mary Cocke, James Cocke

witness: Dan. Fleming

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