Women publishers of puritan literature in the mid-seventeenth century: three case studies

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WOMEN PUBLISHERS OF PURITAN LITERATURE IN THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THREE CASE STUDIES

by

Maureen Bell

A Doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology 1987

ERRATA

p.77 for Anothy read Anthony
p.86 for already read already
p.104 for Redently read Recently
p.128 for noteable read notable
p.130 for ofically read officially
p.131 for belonging read belonging
p.143 for clemecy read clemency
p.156 for Februay read February
pp.164, 183 for Westmoreland read Westmorland
pp.167, 216, 319 for Tytan read Tyton
p.175 for persecutors sinners read persecutors and sinners
p.199 for and the read and that
p.205 for conform read confirm
p.210 add 8
p.269 add CLRO Corporation of London Records Office
p.307 Dister is Diester; Gregory Dexter was in North America by this date

The identification of Thomas Simmons as the brother of Matthew Simmons is mistaken. Matthew did have a brother Thomas, a much older man, who was bound as Thomas Shemans in 1610 to Thomas Dawson. The Thomas Simmons who married Martha Calvert was the son of Richard Simmons of Purton, Wilts. (pp.56, 128, 204, 223)
This thesis looks beyond the stereotypes of women as transmitters and caretakers of businesses by focusing on the careers of three women, one a widow who remarried, one a woman with no apparent family connection with the trade, and the third another widow who carried on the business for almost ten years after the death of her husband. Their careers are reconstructed from biographical data and the details of their publishing output. Emphasis is placed on the relationship of individuals to the sectarian communities for which they published, and on the ways in which sectarian material came to be published and distributed. The studies suggest ways in which women's inferior legal status could protect them in their 'seditious' activities, and reveal the inadequacies of attempts to control the press during the period 1645-75.

Hannah Allen's output demonstrates her development over a brief period of a specialized trade in books representing the strand of Independent thought which grew into Fifth Monarchism, and her emergence from economic dependency on partnerships to become a publisher in her own right. Mary Westwood's career reveals a level of publishing outside the London book trade and concerned exclusively with a Quaker market largely in the provinces. The career of Elizabeth Calvert is examined both before and after the death of her husband in order to investigate her role in a leading radical bookselling business. Her later activities provide evidence of the shortcomings of the 1662 'Licensing' Act, and confrontations between a group of 'Confederate' women and the authorities suggest how women could avoid punishment despite their persistent publishing of nonconformist and opposition literature.
'Dispersing seditious books is very near a-kin to raising of tumulds; they are as like as brother and sister: raising of tumulds is the more masculine; and printing and dispersing seditious books, is the feminine part of every rebellion.'

Serj. Morton, trial of Thomas Brewster, 1664.
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Many people have contributed, directly and indirectly, to the making of this thesis, and specific debts are recorded in the references; what is presented here is the product of my own research, and the responsibility for what appears here is mine alone. Two people have done most to help me complete it. My husband, George Parfitt, has supported me not only by sharing his own enthusiasm for and knowledge of seventeenth century literature and history, but more particularly in practical ways, by sharing domestic responsibilities to provide me with time to work and travel. Jessica, our daughter, whose birth gave me an opportunity to leave full-time work and begin this research, has happily shared her first three years of life with parents equally addicted to the seventeenth century. To them both, my love and thanks.

Note to the reader
Dates are given Old Style, but with the year beginning on 1 January. Thus '7 January 1663' becomes '7 January 1664', for example, and the Quaker '1st month' becomes March.
Titles are given throughout in lower case, capitalization being used only for proper names of people and places.
Quotations from printed texts and manuscripts are given as they appear in the original, with no modernization of spelling or punctuation.
I have tried to see at least one copy of everything published by Hannah Allen, Mary Westwood and Elizabeth Calvert; in the few cases where this has not been possible, the fact is noted in the bibliographical appendices.
A list of abbreviations used is given on p.269.
INTRODUCTION

This enquiry is the product of two converging interests: in seventeenth century women's history and in the history of the book trade in the same period. Despite the upsurge in women's studies in recent years, feminist history has confined itself largely to the nineteenth, and most recently the eighteenth centuries, and as yet comparatively little work has been done on the earlier period. Alice Clark's work, published in 1919, remains the only extended treatment of seventeenth century women's working lives. Despite a general awareness among book trade historians that women were active in the London book trade throughout the period, no attempt has yet been made to explore the accepted notions that widows sometimes carried on their husbands' businesses, and that they were inclined either to marry their apprentices or to hand over control to sons or other relatives. It is clear, at least, that the women involved in the seventeenth century trade were numerous, and that among them a wide variety of levels of participation is represented: some ran businesses in name only, leaving the everyday supervision to a manager, senior apprentice or relative, while others dealt themselves with the practicalities of publishing, bookselling, distribution and printing. What follows is an attempt to explore, expand and complicate the existing superficial view of women's trade activities by offering detailed evidence of the careers of a few of them; and as well as providing new information about women themselves, as publishers and booksellers and as participants in religious and political debate, these careers can demonstrate in some detail the workings of the mid-seventeenth century trade and the limited extent to which press controls were effective.

From the little work that has been done in surveying the extent of women's activity in the mid-seventeenth century book trade, it is apparent that some particular
groups of women stand out. In particular, a number of women between 1640 and 1675 whose careers were either long or prolific were involved in the production of Puritan literature. The term 'Puritan' is imprecise and was used by opponents as a catch-all term of abuse; moreover, its meaning changed after the Civil War as increasing numbers of religious sects evolved. I am concerned here with the post-war period, and with some of the results of that fragmentation of Puritanism. Specifically, the women whose careers are examined here were all involved in Puritan publishing, and it will become obvious that they shared common acquaintances and associates within and outside the trade. Importantly, however, they were concerned with different branches of Puritan literature, representing different religious and political stances: Hannah Allen the strand of Independency which turned Baptists into republicans and Fifth Monarchists, Mary Westwood the early days of Quakerism, and Elizabeth Calvert the republicanism which after the Restoration found common cause even with Presbyterianism under the new definition of nonconformity. 

The rise of the Civil War sects seems to have presented opportunities for women's involvement in the 'public' spheres of politics and religion. The emphasis on individual faith, 'the light within', gave validity to women's own spiritual experiences and enabled many women to speak, write, travel and take part in actions. A series of women was both applauded and condemned for their 'unwomanly' involvement in these activities: the visionaries Lady Eleanor Douglas, Hannah Trapnel and Elizabeth Poole, the preachers Mrs. Attaway and Katherine Chidley, the Quakers Martha Simmons and Dorcas Erbury. The proportion of female members of the sects is reckoned to be high; estimates as high as 75% for the gathered churches and 50% among Quakers have been made, and certainly Quaker women were prominent among those who were assaulted, imprisoned and fined. 

Earlier in the century
women had been active in political demonstrations, notably in the fen and enclosure riots; in the 1640s and 1650s, however, their involvement in political action seems to have increased. Petitions and demonstrations organised by women are recorded throughout the two decades, and women were involved in the preparations for war, the building of fortifications and the defence of towns, in London and the country at large. Women were particularly active in Leveller demonstrations and in petitioning Parliament for the release of Lilburne. The prominence of women in the religious and political changes going on is obvious from their vilification by opponents. Women petitioning Parliament were mocked as 'The Meek-hearted Congregation of Oyster-wives, the Civill-Sisterhood of Oranges and Lemmons, and likewise the Mealymouth'd Muttenmongers wives' and were instructed to go home and wash dishes; individual women, like Mrs. Attaway, were personally abused and their sexual habits publicly debated. (The responses of misogynists, it will be noted, have changed very little over the centuries.) But while they accepted their inferior legal status, these women persisted in claiming the right to speak, using as their justification their own reading of scriptures, or appealing to their common concern with men in the political development of the nation: 'Have we not an equal interest with the men of this Nation ...'.

The absence of any plea for female suffrage in the seventeenth century is a measure of the extent to which women internalized their 'inferior' status. Even the Levellers, most far-reaching in their demands for electoral reform, did not envisage universal male suffrage, let alone the extension of the vote to women. Any view of the Civil War and the rise of the sects as heralding new freedoms for women needs modification in view of the way in which the freedom of speech and action won by women in the early years was withdrawn once the sects became established and to some extent institutionalized. The Quakers are an obvious example of the process, in which a sect 'matured'
by ostracizing the very people who had helped in its foundation and by circumscribing with rules and hierarchies the permitted activities of its women members. This cycle of women's involvement in a new movement, their enjoyment of greater opportunities, and their gradual exclusion as the movement becomes formalized or institutionalized, recurs not only throughout the seventeenth century, but in religious sects in other periods; moreover, it is not confined to religious movements, and it has been suggested that a similar cycle of freedom followed by exclusion accompanied the rise of history as an academic subject.

The inferior status of women in the seventeenth century was enshrined in law. A woman was, for most of her life, under the control of another man, her father or her husband. That women discovered that they could use this legal view of their inferiority for their own ends will be one of the arguments of this thesis. Widows, alone of all women, were powerful and independent. Whereas in London, with its own customs, wives could in some circumstances contract business agreements in their own right, in the rest of the country economic freedom could only be achieved by widows. Recent work on a group of widows in Oxford has suggested that, as the century wore on, fewer widows remarried, preferring to retain their legal and economic independence. For the latter part of the century, 'remarrying within the trade was perhaps not so common as the conventional image of the marriage of the widow and her apprentice suggests'. The widow has long been a shadowy figure in the history of the book trade, and the phrase 'the business was carried on by his widow' is frequently found at the end of entries in biographical lists of male printers and booksellers. The implication is always that this is the end of the matter; all enquiry stops, usually, at that point. What little has been written about the women themselves has been secondary to the main subject of enquiry, the man,
and attempts to look at individual women or at the patterns of women's involvement have been very few.\textsuperscript{12} Three patterns of activity among stationers' widows have been distinguished: carrying on until the business is taken over by a son, other relative or apprentice; carrying on until remarriage, when the business passes to the new husband; and continuing the business until the widow's own death, with or without a manager.\textsuperscript{13} In the first two cases, the record of the woman's activity in the trade may be very brief: she appears in records usually only in the interval between her husband's death and the take-over of the business by a relative, apprentice or new husband. That the apparent brevity of the woman's career is misleading is one of the themes of the investigation of Hannah Allen. Elizabeth Calvert, another of the subjects of this study, is one of those women who did not remarry, but continued in the trade for at least a decade as a widow; such careers as hers raise questions about a woman's previous experience of the trade, during the period when she is 'masked' in the records by her husband, and I have dwelt on the period before Elizabeth Calvert's widowhood in the first of the two chapters devoted to her career, in order to push back into the 'hidden' years and examine the ways in which husbands and wives might work together. Despite the evidence that most women in the book trade had some family connection with the business before it passed into their hands, there were some women for whom no family history in the trade seems likely; Mary Westwood, investigated here, is one of those 'rootless' women as far as the trade is concerned, whose career illustrates a world of printing and distribution completely outside the official world of the London book trade and the Stationers' Company.

In investigating any women in the book trade of this period, reliance on the records of the Stationers' Company, the 'official' face of trade history, is misleading. Women were excluded from position and power
within the Company, though they were conceded a number of valuable rights. Stationers' widows could bind apprentices and hold shares in the English Stock, and from the late 1660s there was a growing tendency for girls to be bound as apprentices, though it seems that they were usually bound to masters in other trades who happened to be Stationers' Company members. Despite their exclusion from power, however, women were active in a number of ways. Throughout the century they are found dealing in copies, entering copies in the Stationers' Register, taking and freeing apprentices, being prosecuted and imprisoned by the authorities and entering into trade partnerships. Something of the extent to which women could and did operate almost and sometimes completely outside the structures of the trade as represented by the Stationers' Company will be demonstrated in what follows. Whether or not these women had much formal connection with the book trade establishment, however, they were all part of the trade as a whole and subject to the regulations and laws which were designed to limit the freedom of the press.

The whole of the period covered here, roughly 1645 to 1675, was one of confusion for the book trade and for the agencies empowered to control it. In the political upheaval the press, like the pulpit, was seen as a threat by successive governments, which instituted a series of more or less unsuccessful attempts to impose their own restrictions on the trade. The abolition of Star Chamber and the High Commission in 1641 had removed the tight controls of the 1637 Star Chamber Decree, and the effectiveness of the Company as a controlling agency waned as it was subjected to a series of internal challenges to power, with printers agitating for their own separate incorporation and internal arguments over the monopolies claimed by the Company. Parliament, well aware of the need for controls, had in practice little time or energy to spare from more pressing political concerns. By 1643, there was chaos in the trade, with no restriction on the number of printers or apprentices, piracies frequent, and
fewer copies being entered in the Stationers' Register. An Ordinance of 14 June 1643 attempted to restore order, reaffirming the rights of the Company and providing for licensing of copies. The period of the Army's ascendancy, from 1647 to 1649, saw more attempts at control, culminating in the Treason Act and the Printing Act of 1649. From then until the Restoration in 1660, there were swings between repression and laxity, with a new Act in 1653, and Cromwell's orders of 1655 beginning the suppression of newsbooks; the controls instituted by Cromwell were still in force after his death, until late in 1659. On the Restoration, Charles II retained the royal proclamation as a means of regulating the press, but legislation was added in the form of the 1662 'Licensing Act', and the office of Surveyor of the Press added to the already numerous agencies involved in press control. The multiplicity of agencies involved - the King and Council, the Secretary of State, the Surveyor of the Press, and the Stationers' Company - certainly complicated the task of regulating the Restoration press. While the catalogue of Ordinances, proclamations, orders in council and Acts has been fully documented for the period, there is as yet little basis for forming judgements about their relative effectiveness as measures of control, and the responses of the trade itself. As Siebert remarks of the 'Licensing Act', 'Any estimate of the success or failure of the enforcement of the printing regulations must await an intensive survey of the productions of the press in the latter half of the seventeenth century'. One of the intentions of what follows is to provide some material detailed enough to begin to suggest answers to questions about controls and enforcement. In particular, the publications of Mary Westwood demonstrate a strand of pamphleteering apparently beyond the orthodox measures of control, and the post-Restoration activities of Elizabeth Calvert offer firm evidence of the limitations of the 1662 Act as an effective piece of legislation.
More than 200 women are known to have been involved in the London book trade in the seventeenth century, almost half of them in the period 1645 to 1675. The extent of their known trade activities varies from a single copy entry in the Stationers' Register to a long and prolific career, and it would be improper on often flimsy evidence to claim them all as active in the trade on a day-to-day level. In focussing on three of the 'Puritan' group of women, I am attempting neither to claim these three as the 'important' women publishers of the period, nor to offer them as 'typical' of women working in the trade. Many more studies of this kind are necessary before any such generalizations might even be attempted. While the worlds of these three women overlap, as will be obvious from the recurrence of authors' and associates' names throughout the chapters, there is no evidence to support their existence as a 'group'; on the other hand, their shared context reveals something of the interconnections between different radical groups and the booksellers who promoted their publications. All the women here are booksellers and 'publishers' in the modern sense of the word; it is important to remember, however, that women ran printing businesses too. In the context of publishing for the Puritans, the printer Gertrude Dawson would make an interesting study; her output, a mixture of radical and thoroughly conservative works, might suggest other possible relationships between legal and illegal printing, and between women and the Stationers' Company. Tace Sowle, the great Quaker printer, whose career is outside the period of this thesis, would repay similar attention, both in terms of her career as a woman printer and in relation to the publishing practices of later Quaker organization.

The reasons for the decision to concentrate on the lives of three women, rather than attempting a grand survey of women in the trade, will I hope become clear in what follows. Detailed information about women's careers,
because of the nature of the records kept and those that survive, must be collected piecemeal, and the jigsaw of evidence inevitably has pieces missing. Detailed reconstruction of a few careers has been preferred to a more superficial amassing of information about many, in part because it is only by the cumulation of evidence from primary sources that any sense at all can be made of the individual woman's work, contacts and social context. The three women who are the focus here have been selected for study because they provide a variety of ways of working while all remaining in the world of sectarian publishing. Hannah Allen is one of those women who, in textbook manner, carried on the business for a short time after her husband's death and then married her apprentice, Livewell Chapman. Her 'visible' career as a publisher is the brief interval between marriages; a scrutiny of her own career does much to challenge the stereotype of a woman 'caretaking' a business, as well as revealing the ways in which a small group of Independent preachers first came to be published, forming the nucleus of what was to develop into Fifth Monarchy. Mary Westwood's career demonstrates some of the methodological problems inherent in this kind of exploration of women: for her there exists almost no biographical evidence, and the study presented here is based entirely on the evidence of works published with her imprint. Remarkably, the product of the investigation is a description of a regional trade in Quaker pamphlets which offers new evidence about the trade outside London as well as specific information about the use of the print medium by early Quakers. Elizabeth Calvert is one of those women whose career outlived that of her husband by more than a decade. In her case the available evidence is much greater, because of the number of times she ran foul of the authorities. As well as documenting a persistent and prolific career in the publishing of opposition and nonconformist works, it has been possible to identify some of the ways in which she and other women contemporaries were instrumental in keeping alive, in the early years of
the Restoration, the religious and political strands of publishing promoted by Hannah Allen in the more favourable climate of the Interregnum. More importantly, perhaps, her career offers new evidence about the ineffectiveness of the 1662 Act, and about the realities of what could be printed with impunity, as opposed to the apparent tightening of controls on the trade. At the very least, the research presented here challenges the lingering assumption that women in the book trade merely 'filled the gaps' in an otherwise male tradition. More than that, it will, I hope, add much-needed detail to our knowledge of the material world of the mid-seventeenth century book trade. In investigating the ways in which it meshed with Puritan groups it also adds something to our knowledge of the sectarians and the ways in which they exploited the printing press in periods politically favourable, in the confusion of 1659-60, and in the hostile post-Restoration period.

Last, a word about feminist history. That this research has a feminist purpose should be made clear; equally important to state is that feminist history, and more specifically feminist book trade history, is no more 'ideological' than any other kind of history. Where it might differ from mainstream book trade history is that it declares, rather than hides, its political assumptions. Like most of our history - 'stories written primarily by men about men's experience of the world' - book trade history has been largely a male preserve, and the standard works on which we rely are inadequate because of that. Plomer's dictionaries, for example, have relatively few entries for women; Arber, despite the evidence he himself presented, persisted in the assumption that the book trade was all male: 'The discovery hereafter of a new London Printer or Publisher between 1553 and 1640 A.D. will .. probably be of infrequent occurrence ... Every man can now be identified'. Cyprian Blagden, speaking to the Bibliographical Society in 1958, began by describing the
Stationers' Company in the seventeenth century as 'like one of the minor public schools to us - a place through which many of us are content to pass, respectable but anonymous, and with none of the cachet of the Big Twelve'; his assumption about his audience suggests a world of gentlemen scholars. Examples of male-centredness in book trade history are not hard to find, even among women (Leona Rostenberg's romantic view of wife-as-disciple shares the same root) and male historians who are otherwise reliable. Raising this issue is more than a matter of complaint, since it has direct consequences for the methodology of a piece of work such as this. In the first place, it means that secondary sources are largely unreliable, since the principles governing their writing, if not the writers themselves, are male. Conscious or not, there is a tendency for compilers of dictionaries such as Plomer's, and writers of abstracts, such as those in the Calendars of State Papers Domestic, to screen out women, at the level of omitting references to wives, or failing to note female names, or occasionally even mistranscribing Mr. or he for Mrs. or she. The consequence of this mistrust of secondary sources means a particularly heavy load of searching through primary sources, with all its attendant frustrations. It was impossible for me to see every primary document on which this research is based; I have, however, tried to see the originals of records relating to a woman, and have trusted to secondary sources only for minor (usually male) figures.

The second important consequence of the 'male-centred' writing of history is that it compounds an already difficult task; researching women of the past can never be as easily accomplished (unless the women were royal or aristocratic) as for men. Their invisibility in records has been described many times, and as well as providing an obstacle in the pursuit of the research itself, renders other, otherwise reliable, historians' work unsatisfactory. Margaret Spufford acknowledges the
difficulty, for example, and points to the way in which the impossibility of tracing women skews research results: she bases her research into a Congregational church on 22 people out of 70, because the 22 were men and 'it is almost impossible to trace a woman's status unless her husband is named'. She is thus limited to presenting evidence based on less than one third of her sample. As Joan Thirsk has pointed out, 'The difficulties in writing on the history of women have been rehearsed many times, and nothing in the future will ever remove them. The records of women of the past are sparse, and every kind of ingenuity is needed to reconstruct even fragments of their lives.'

What follows is an attempt to reconstruct, for three women publishers, some of those fragments. Some gaps in the records cannot be filled, and I have tried to be clear about the gaps and the tentativeness with which I suggest what might be hidden. While no historian can, or should, pretend that the gaps do not exist, what we can do is to notice them, and question the reasons they are there. This work is presented not as the last word on women publishers of the period, nor as a demonstration that three women did publish and can therefore be cited as token women in any discussion of the seventeenth century book trade. It is meant to open up possibilities, both for more work on how women worked within the trade, and for the eventual writing of a history which recognizes as participants both men and women, and explores the ways in which they worked together.
Like several women active in the seventeenth century book trade, Hannah Allen surfaces in the records on the death of her first husband, only to disappear on remarriage a few years later. The pattern of remarriage within the trade is a common one; the marriage of a stationer's widow to an apprentice was not unusual, and particularly at times of restrictions on the number of master printers, marriage to a stationer's widow was an obvious route to acquiring a business for the apprentice with no capital or family connections in the trade. The economic power of widows as inheritors and transmitters of businesses and rights was not confined to the book trade, and similar patterns of remarriage have been noted among the widows of tradesmen generally.

This sporadic appearance in records of women apparently 'caretaking' bookshops and printing houses, where noticed by book trade historians, has not been remarked on. The women's economic role has been recognized, but no investigation has been made of their practical, day-to-day involvement in the trade. From the evidence available for Hannah Allen's brief career, I shall argue that the passive role as transmitter and caretaker hitherto ascribed to such women is far from the whole picture, and that a woman in this position could take charge of and develop a business in which she was already experienced in a way which suggests more than a nominal competence.

The difficulties of gathering evidence on Hannah Allen are the same as for most of the women of this period: their names occur in book trade sources only during the few years (sometimes months) between marriages, and very little biographical material is available. Consequently, the bulk of the evidence for Hannah Allen's involvement in bookselling lies between 1646 and 1651, in the
Stationers' Register and in the surviving books which bear her imprint. Additional information has been found from parish registers and State Papers, but the surviving books and pamphlets provide most of the information. The concentration by historians on male figures in the book trade has, moreover, distorted the view of women's activity: the only account of Hannah Allen's career is that provided by Leona Rostenberg as a prefatory episode in her essay on Livewell Chapman, and in stressing the woman's function as transmitter Rostenberg has severely unbalanced her account of the Allen-Chapman business. I hope to redress that balance (or at least to complicate the picture) by concentrating fully on the work of the woman, to the (almost) complete exclusion of the two men who sandwich her.

Benjamin Allen and Hannah Howse were married on 2 April 1632, the year after he obtained the freedom of the Stationers' Company. It seems likely that Hannah came from a family already established in the book trade, though the evidence is only circumstantial. A Robert Howes was active as a bookseller in the 1620s, and his son Samuel was apprenticed to the Allens' neighbour, Henry Overton; Samuel continued to use a Pope's Head Alley address after he was freed, which suggests some association with Hannah Allen, who may have been his sister. Three other sons of Robert Howes were freed by patrimony: John, Joseph and Jeremiah. Fourteen years after the Allens' marriage, in May 1646, Benjamin died, leaving Hannah with two children and an apprentice of three years' standing, Livewell Chapman. Between August 1646 and January 1651 Hannah Allen issued the 54 books and pamphlets which survive with her name in the imprint. By September 1651 she had married Chapman, and her career as a bookseller apparently ends there. The five years of her career span the second Civil War, the defeat of the Levellers, Pride's Purge and the execution of the King. Most significantly, it was during this time that groups within the sectarian community,
especially the Baptists, were hardening their millenarian position into the stance which became known as Fifth Monarchism. The works sold by and printed for Hannah Allen should not simply be seen against this political and religious background: they are themselves part of the several debates then in progress about the relations of church and state, the vision of the future, and the possibilities opened up during the previous six years for radical change. Moreover, there is evidence that Hannah Allen was associated, apart from her trade, with people committed to radical change of this sort.

The very location of Hannah Allen's shop is worth consideration. Pope's Head Alley, off Lombard Street, lay within the parish of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, a parish remarkable for its inhabitants' religious Independency and anti-royalism over many years. An area of London known for its political and religious identification, it later became the main meeting place for Fifth Monarchists, as well as supporting several Baptist and other separatist congregations. Pope's Head Alley housed other bookshops whose proprietors were associated with radicalism, notably those of Henry Overton (probably the brother of the Leveller Richard Overton) and of Henry Cripps. A list of sectarian booksellers made in 1649 lists as an Antinomian 'One Howse a bookbynder in Lumber Street in an alley', a reference to Samuel Howse, probably Hannah Allen's brother, who was then nearing the end of his apprenticeship to Henry Overton. Howse combined his bookbinding with some publishing; his name appears, in conjunction with that of John Blague, in several imprints in the early 1650s. In view of the area's sectarian reputation, it is perhaps not surprising that Pope's Head Alley occurs as the selling place in imprints which name no individual bookseller, and the Alley was perhaps well-known as a source of pro-Parliamentary and sectarian literature. The imprint of Elizabeth Poole's Alarum of war ... is a case in point.
Poole was a prophet who was excluded from Kiffin's Baptist congregation and the pamphlet protests at her treatment. Published in 1649, it was to be sold 'in Popes-head-Alley and Cornhill'; whether the seller was Cripps, Overton (who might still have been in business at that date) or Hannah Allen, the association of the place with a certain kind of religious/political literature is suggestive. 10

In looking at the range of works issued from the Crown, and at the kinds of religious and political positions they represent, I want to concentrate on two areas of inquiry. First, the works themselves and the authors with whom Hannah Allen was associated; and secondly the trade relations of which those works are evidence, and the networks of printers and booksellers with whom she particularly dealt. A detailed discussion of these two areas will suggest how much (or how little) Hannah Allen relied on the contacts already established by her first husband, and to what extent she herself developed the business before it became Livewell Chapman's.

The Works
1. The 'Benjamin Allen' authors

The business Hannah Allen inherited in 1646 was well-established and, presumably, reasonably prosperous. She kept on the apprentices, rather than transferring them to another master, and took on another apprentice, John Garfield, the following year. 11 Within three months of Benjamin Allen's death, she was issuing books in her own name. 12 It is important, first, to establish to what extent Hannah Allen's business relied on copies already owned by Benjamin, and on authors previously published by him. The claims made by Rostenberg are, I think, particularly misleading on this point:

Mrs. Allen was to publish until her apparent retirement in 1650 an approximate sixty works many of which were later editions of titles issued by her husband.

[my emphasis] 13
Of the surviving 54 works which I have identified as bearing her imprint, only two are in fact later editions of works earlier published by Benjamin: Samuel Chidley's *A Christian plea for infants baptism* ..., 1647; and William Greenhill's *An exposition* ..., 1649 and 1650. Moreover, of the twenty-seven individual and named authors represented in her output, only seven had previously had works published by her husband: Burroughes, Lockyer, Cotton, Mather, Richardson, Chidley and Greenhill. Furthermore, of the 14 works by these seven 'Benjamin Allen' authors issued by Hannah Allen, eight were published in the first eighteen months of her career, and the other six, less frequently, over the remaining three years. Thus, while it is fair to say that her early career shows a dependence on authors 'inherited' from her husband (although even during this period more of her publications were not by these authors than were), the notion that she was heavily dependent on them is mistaken.

Jeremiah Burroughes and Nicholas Lockyer were associated with Hannah Allen as publisher only once each, both in the first few months of her solo career and both as preachers of fast sermons to the House of Commons: Burroughes' sermon was preached on 26 August 1646, and Lockyer's on 28 October of the same year. Both printed sermons carry the official Commons order for their printing, and Lockyer's also carries a statement by the author that 'I appoint John Rothwell and Hannah Allen to print my sermon.' Burroughes' disappearance from the Allen list is not surprising, since his death is thought to have occurred on 13 November, only a few months after this sermon was delivered. Lockyer's career, however, was a long one, and he was made Cromwell's chaplain and sent to Scotland with the parliamentary commissioners in 1651; after the Act of Uniformity he left England for Rotterdam, and as late as 1670 was in trouble for publishing criticisms of the Conventicle Act.
William Greenhill was a colleague of Burroughes at Stepney, where Burroughes preached in the morning and Greenhill in the evening. Although Greenhill appears three times as the author of works published by Hannah Allen, the three copies are in fact parts, or editions of parts, of the same work: his *magnum opus An exposition ... of the prophet Ezekiel*, published in five parts between 1645 and 1662. This is the only example of a work published by Benjamin Allen, Hannah Allen and Livewell Chapman, albeit in parts rather than as a whole. The first part was printed in 1645 by Matthew Simmons for Benjamin Allen, and again by Simmons for Hannah Allen in 1649 and 1650. She also published the second part in 1649, again with Simmons as printer, and entered the copy in the Stationers' Register in her own name on 20 April 1650. Simmons printed the third part for Livewell Chapman in 1651, and the following year Chapman assigned the rights, now his property, in the parts so far published, to Peter Cole. The fourth part was published by Chapman and sold by Henry Mortlock in 1658, and the fifth and last was published by Thomas Parkhurst in 1662. Neither of these last two parts carries a printer's name.

The Stationers' Register entry for Chapman's transfer of the rights in the first three parts to Cole is in itself of interest. It reads as follows:

Assigned over unto him by vertue of a writing under the hand & seale of Livewell Chapman, now husband of Hannah late wife of Benj: Allen, dec'd, all his the said Livewell Chapman's right, title, estate & interest of and in two bookes or copies called, The First, Second & Third volume of Mr Greenhill's Exposition of 19 chapt. of Ezechiel. And a booke or copie called a Platforme of discipline in New England, licensed by Mr Caryll, both the said bookes being formerly entret for the said Benj: Allen & Hannah Allen widdow, as their copies ...
The words 'second' and 'Hannah Allen widdow' were, according to a note in the printed transcript, 'interlyned, being left out by mistake'. The clerk's original entry would therefore have been for the first and third volumes of Greenhill, and in adding the second (later, or simply as a correction?) the insertion reminded whoever was making the entry that the second volume was Hannah Allen's own property rather than a transmission via her from Benjamin. This might suggest that Hannah Allen's separate registration of the second part had upset the more usual direct transmission of copies from man to man, which the clerk would perhaps be more used to, and her part in the transfer had to be added as an afterthought once the clerk, or whoever made the entry, had remembered it.

Samuel Richardson, ex-soldier and army preacher, is the fourth of the Independent preachers whose works Hannah Allen 'took over' from her husband. Of the three texts by Richardson she published, The saints desire or a cordiall for a fainting heart ... predates Justification by Christ alone ..., (17 June) 1647. His political stance as well as his hostility to the established church can be detected in the third of his publications issued by Hannah Allen: An ansvver to the London ministers letter ..., January 1649, which formed part of a furious debate which went on for several months. Samuel Chidley, whose A Christian plea for infants baptism ... was published by Hannah Allen in 1647, was the son of the preacher and religious controversialist Katherine Chidley. Like his mother, he was committed to strict separatism, his church allowing no communion with those who entered parish churches, and he opposed the practice of believers' baptism which was spreading among separatist congregations. An active supporter of the Levellers, he was imprisoned on a charge of sedition for presenting the Levellers' Agreement of the people to the Commons.
The remaining two of the authors 'inherited' by Hannah Allen from her husband were both prominent New England ministers and controversialists: John Cotton, whose work had been published by Benjamin Allen in 1643 and 1644, and Richard Mather, published three times by Benjamin in 1643. Cotton, teacher of the Boston church, was the dominant figure among New England clergy, and both in America and in England his writings were taken as 'the standard expositions of the Congregational system'. His The bloody tenent, washed, and made white in the blood of the lambe ..., (15 May) 1647, was part of a debate about the limits of liberty of conscience then raging among Congregationalists on both sides of the Atlantic. A statement of the orthodox Massachusetts theory of persecuting the ungodly, it appeared in response to Roger Williams' The bloody tenent of persecution, issued in 1644 while Williams, the founder of Providence, Rhode Island, was in England. Animosity between Cotton and Williams was long-standing, and they also clashed over Williams' demand for total separation from the Church of England. Cotton's own anti-tolerationist view is evident in his description of 'the great questions of this present time': 'How farre Liberty of conscience ought to be given to those that truly feare God? And how farre restrained to turbulent and pestilent persons, that not onely raze the foundation of godlinesse, but disturb the Civill Peace where they live?,' Cotton's was not the last word in the debate, however: Williams, returning to England in 1651 to defend the Rhode Island charter for settlements, responded with The bloody tenent yet more bloody: by Mr Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the blood of the lambe, (28 April) 1652, printed for Giles Calvert.

Richard Mather, who married Sarah Hawkridge, Cotton's widow, in 1655, was another of the most prominent Massachusetts Congregationalists. Teacher at Dorchester, he is known particularly for his joint authorship of the Bay psalm book, the first book issued in the American
colonies. His A reply to Mr Rutherfurd..., (8 May) 1647, printed for John Rothwell and Hannah Allen, is part of the long-running battle between Presbyterians and Independents.

These, then, are the seven authors whom Hannah Allen can be said to have 'inherited' from her husband. They all represent what can be identified as a body of Independent, Congregational and pro-Parliament opinion which Rostenberg sees as the core of Hannah Allen's output. It remains to be demonstrated how much they were central to her business, and in turning to other groups of authors and works she published, I want to identify continuities where they exist and, I think more importantly, the radical departures from mainstream Independent thought visible in the development of her publishing activities.

2. Fast sermons and thanksgiving sermons

The group of authors which, I think, demonstrates the beginnings of a shift in Hannah Allen's publishing is the group whose fast and thanksgiving sermons she issued. On the one hand, this can be seen as an extension of Benjamin Allen's earlier activities in publishing the works of pro-Parliament Independent and Baptist preachers. On the other, the individuals whose sermons appear with Hannah Allen's imprint are demonstrably in a new and different stream of Independent thought.

She issued five fast or thanksgiving sermons preached before the House of Commons, four of them in her first year as a bookseller: Walter Cradock's The saints fulnesse of joy in their fellowship with God: presented in a sermon preached July 21. 1646...; Jeremiah Burroughes' A sermon preached before the honorable House of Commons assembled in Parliament, at their late solemn fast, August 26. 1646; Nicholas Lockyer's A sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons assembled in
Parliament: at their late solemn fast, Octob. 28. 1646 ...; Thomas Manton's Meate out of the eater, or, hopes of unity in and by divided and distracted times ... June 30. 1647; and Thomas Brookes' The hypocrite detected, anatomized, impeached, arraigned, and condemned before the Parliament of England ... preached ... upon their last thanksgiving day, being the 8th of Octob. 1650 .... All were printed, as was usual with sermons preached before the Commons, by order of Parliament, and carry the official Parliamentary order facing the title page. In addition, some carry a note of appointment from the author: Cradock's has 'I appoint Matthew Simmons and Hannah Allen to print the same'; Lockyer's 'I appoint John Rothwell, and Hannah Allen to print my sermon'; Manton's 'I appoint Hanna Allen to Print my sermon'; and Brookes' 'I appoint Hanna Allen to print this sermon'. 29 Sheila Lambert has pointed to the often dubious status of such 'official' instructions to print, and remarks that 'the presence on a printed paper of the printed signature of the clerk of either House is in no way conclusive, nor is the presence in either title or text of an order to print, for these elements might be present in an authorized manuscript copy which found its way into the hands of an unauthorized printer; or, these elements might simply be forgeries'. In the case of the fast sermons published by Hannah Allen (not included in Sheila Lambert's index to parliamentary printing), their claim to 'official' status seems genuine; they are at any rate accepted by Jeffs as the officially sanctioned versions. 30 As well as these Parliamentary sermons, Hannah Allen also published sermons given before the Lord Mayor of London: Richard Kentish's KaG1 1νπερβολνοδος. Or, the way of love, set forth in a sermon preached at Pauls Septemb: 10. 1648 ...; and two editions of God the father glorified; and the worke of mens redemption, and salvation finished by Iesus Christ on earth ... the second day of the tenth moneth (called December) 1649, by Vavasour Powell. 31
In his detailed study of Parliamentary sermons, John Wilson argues that after 1645 there was a shift in the nature of the sermons themselves, and in the kind of men invited by Parliament to preach: more radicals were moving in, with an upsurge just before Pride's Purge in December 1648. No fast sermons were printed during the trial and execution of Charles I, and in April 1649 monthly fast sermons ended, with only occasional humiliations and thanksgivings thereafter, few of which were printed. Until 1646 the regular Parliamentary sermons had been dominated by a core of about 20 preachers, nearly all Presbyterian; in the later period, he identifies a group of Independents who predominate. Among these are Burroughes, Brookes, Kentish, Lockyer, Manton and Cradock. Burroughes he regards as a 'conventional' participant, preaching at monthly fasts but not at the extra thanksgiving services. The rest are what Wilson terms a group of 'marginal participants' in the Commons' programme of sermons, who addressed Parliament infrequently and were not members of the Westminster Assembly, which provided most of the preachers. Apart from Manton, who preached twice before the Long Parliament, the rest only preached once to the Commons (though Brookes and Lockyer both appear to have addressed the Rump in the next decade). Brookes, Kentish and Lockyer he identifies as 'clearly' Independents; Cradock is an example of an army preacher invited to exhort celebrations of victories and able to offer a first-hand account of the military success.

What Wilson's analysis indicates is evidence of a more radical and younger generation of preachers to Parliament between 1646 and 1649, who were not part of the 'Establishment' represented by the Westminster Assembly, and whose careers were to flourish after the execution of the King and the declaration of the Commonwealth. Brookes was made chaplain to the Parliamentary army and in November 1648 preached the younger Rainsborough's funeral sermon; Lockyer became
Cromwell's chaplain, was sent to Scotland with the Parliamentary commissioners in 1651 and became preacher at Windsor Castle; Manton, in spite of his disapproval of the King's execution, remained in Cromwell's favour and became a Trier; Cradock (like Vavasour Powell) was involved in the setting up of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales in 1650, and also became a Trier.34

Looked at alongside Wilson's analysis, Hannah Allen's sermon publishing seems remarkably consistent. The one preacher not so far discussed is Vavasour Powell; that he, too, belongs at the radical end of the Independent spectrum will become clear in the next section, and his career allies him with Cradock, Brookes and Lockyer as luminaries of the Commonwealth pulpit. Powell has, I think, a special place in the output of Hannah Allen's bookshop, and it seems sensible to discuss him as part of the next group of writers represented in her list: a grouping which pushes further the tendency towards religious radicalism already noted in her editions of official sermons.

3. All Hallows and the Welsh connection

Thirteen of the surviving copies issued from the Crown by Hannah Allen, representing nine separate titles and five authors, suggest an even more consistent link with radical Independency and a particular connection with Henry Jessey, leader of the first Independent congregation originally established by Henry Jacob, and lecturer at Allhallows the Great. The five authors are Jessey himself, Mannasseh ben Israel, Walter Cradock, Vavasour Powell and John Robotham.

Jessey took charge in 1637 of the congregation originally gathered by Henry Jacob, who was the first to advocate both attendance at a parish church and participation in a separate voluntary congregation, thus effecting a compromise between strict Presbyterian
puritanism and strict separatism. The congregation admitted Baptists, but continued as a latitudinarian Independent church. In 1639 Jessey went to South Wales, to help with the formation of a congregation at Llanvaches, under William Wroth and Walter Cradock: a church modelled on Jessey's own. By 1640 Jessey's London congregation was so large that, probably to avoid becoming too conspicuous to the authorities, it divided into two, with Jessey leading one section and the other in the care of Praisegod Barebon. Jessey, Christopher Feake (later to become a leader of the Fifth Monarchists) and others kept up a lectureship at Allhallows the Great, 'one of the centres of radical millenarian preaching under the Commonwealth'.

It was to Allhallows that whole congregations from Bristol and South Wales fled in 1643 when Bristol fell to the royalists. The Llanvaches church had moved to Bristol the previous year as a refuge from the royalist threat, and now there was an influx into London with Cradock at the head of the combined Llanvaches and Bristol congregations. Cradock attracted London members to his meetings, and himself became a regular lecturer at Allhallows. Only a few years earlier, in 1638 or 1639, Cradock had converted Vavasour Powell, then a schoolmaster-curate in Shropshire. Following his conversion, Powell began his career as an itinerant evangelist, and after repeated arrests for field preaching moved to London, returning to Wales in September 1646; Cradock followed him to Wales soon after, in the following year, to become an itinerant preacher himself. Powell returned to London in 1649 and preached both before the Lord Mayor and before Parliament.

February 1650 saw the passing of the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and Powell was one of the 25 ministers charged with recommending commissioners to implement the Act. Jessey, Cradock and Powell are the three men at the centre of this group of authors, and I shall argue that their personal relationships may be a clue to a number of works published by Hannah Allen.
The first known published work by Henry Jessey was *The exceeding riches of grace advanced by the spirit of grace, in an empty nothing creature, viz. Mrs Sarah Wight, lately hopeles and restles, her soule dwelling as far from peace or hopes of mercy, as ever was any ...*, 1647. Entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 May of that year by Overton, who had acted as Jessey's London posting address from the early 1630s, it was printed by Matthew Simmons 'for Henry Overton, and Hannah Allen, and are to be sold at their shops in Popes head Alley'. Its popularity was such that a second impression appeared in the same year, a third and fourth in 1648, and in 1652 Livewell Chapman, Henry Cripps and Lodowick Lloyd published the sixth. Other editions followed in 1658 and 1666. The volume is an account by Jessey of the experience of Sarah Wight, who fasted for 76 days and underwent a profound religious conversion. According to the title page, it was published 'for the refreshing of poor souls, by an eye and ear-witnes of a good part thereof, Henry Jesse' and the bulk of the narrative derived from a journal kept by the author recording day by day the religious ordeal. A victim for some years of depression, and a failed suicide terrorized by visions of hell, Sarah Wight began fasting on 27 March, and from then until 19 May (53 days) she took no food and very little to drink, never drinking on two consecutive days. Her eyes were closed fast all the time, and she was without sight or hearing from 15 to 17 April. On 10 April she began 'speaking' and the religious outpourings from this very frail woman became a focus of attention for other people in religious turmoil or despair. She was visited by, and gave advice and comfort to, 'maids in deep despair', women with particular problems such as bereavement and unwanted pregnancy; her visitors also included religious leaders and members of the nobility. In June, after 76 days, she at last sat up and ate, eventually rose from her bed, and on 30 June her first outing was to Allhallows the Great to hear John Simpson lecture. Towards the end of the narrative
it becomes clear that her head and eyes were bandaged tight for the duration of the fast, because of her persistence in banging her head against the walls. Sarah Wight was 15 years old.

The bare outline of the narrative leaves the modern reader, used to twentieth century ideas about mental health and religion, perplexed; it is necessary to point to the political as well as the religious importance of such a text, and to make clear the context in which it became such a popular and often reissued work. First, women prophets and evangelists were not at all uncommon in the seventeenth century, particularly between 1630 and 1662, and membership of congregations which encouraged women preachers, public prophesying, and travelling ministry was one way in which women participated in the religious and political upheavals of the time. The importance of what these women had to say is attested by the crowds of visitors they attracted and their access to Cromwell and to Parliament: Elizabeth Poole was invited to address Parliament on the subject of the King's trial, and Hannah Trapnel's prophecies were both widely circulated and viewed as a serious threat to public order by the authorities. Secondly, there was for Puritans a particular interest in accounts of conversions and spiritual experiences which encouraged the publication of a number of narratives of this kind. Here, as in other conversion narratives, the individual mind and body becomes the battleground for the contest between God and the devil, and the person experiencing the battle becomes a living example of divine intervention. Suicide was not defined in the seventeenth century as a mental disorder, but as a religious/civil crime to do with Satanic temptation, often linked with a despair of salvation. MacDonald, exploring seventeenth century attitudes to suicide and depression, warns that 'visions of Satan or the urgent conviction that one was haunted by demons were not taken to be sure signs of severe psychosis ... and we should not dismiss them merely as the
delusions of addled minds'. The Puritan emphasis on repentance and conversion encouraged individuals 'to interpret their own emotional disturbances as manifestations of battles between grace and sin' and the spiritual significance of mental turmoil was particularly emphasized by sectarians. Accounts of spiritual experiences thus had a political dimension, for just as affairs of state were read (not least by Cromwell himself) in terms of divine intervention, so the individual undergoing conversion was a symbol of the same process, in microcosm.42

The account of Sarah Wight's experiences is particularly important here, in that it contains evidence of Hannah Allen's personal involvement in the sectarian world, providing a unique glimpse of the publisher beyond her trading activities. Many visitors to Sarah Wight are named both in the preface and in the narrative itself, testifying to the interest taken by co-religionists in the story of Sarah Wight's experience as it unfolded. Among the visitors was Hannah Trapnel, the prophet who underwent a similar (and similarly publicized) experience at around the same time.43 The list of visitors includes religious leaders (Thomas Goodwin, John Simpson, Nicholas Lockyer and Walter Cradock among them), members of the nobility, political figures like Captain and Mrs. Harrison and Mrs. Fiennes, a number of physicians and many more individuals less easily recognizable. After a string of names of ministers, nobility and army officials, Jessey goes on:

Mris Wilson at the Nags-head; Mris Lane, Mr P. Barbon, and his wife; Mris Owen, and Mris Hannah Allen, Bookseller, Mris Manning of Tower-Street, Mris Elizabeth Waldo ...44

The appearance of Hannah Allen's name alongside other tradeswomen and merchants' wives is a rare sight of her existence beyond the Crown, and places her firmly in a particular religious community. The list of names was presumably included by Jessey as verification of what he
was about to describe, and it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that those named would, for the most part, be familiar to readers of the book. Hannah Allen's name, then, seems to have been well enough known for Jessey to mention her as a visitor. The fact of her visiting Sarah Wight, her name in the list of visitors in corroboration of Jessey's account, and her involvement in publishing the account, when taken together, give some idea of the extent to which she was personally involved in the Independent circle in London. Neither Matthew Simmons, who printed the book, nor Overton, its publisher, is listed as a visitor.

The text is also revealing about the way in which the account was compiled and printed. Jessey's own interest in Sarah Wight's experience was enough for him to keep a diary from early on; he wrote down her 'Soliloquies' as she spoke them (herself unaware of anyone listening), and drew on the memories of her mother and maid for further evidence. Overton's entry of the copy in the Stationers' Register on 20 May indicates that the story's potential as a pamphlet was quickly spotted and the right to publish it established. The coincidence of the entry with Sarah Wight's critical condition (19 May was a turning point in her physical state) suggests that Jessey and Overton thought that the fast was about to be ended by Sarah Wight's death, which then seemed imminent, and that they were preparing to publish at that point. Sarah Wight recovered, however, and publication cannot have taken place until after 16 July, the latest date mentioned in the narrative. That the first part of the account was being printed while the second part was still being enacted is confirmed by remarks in the address 'To the Christian reader'. Jessey remarks that 'Divers Christian friends' who had heard of Sarah Wight's experiences were asking for it to be published 'when no more was gathered then what might be contained in two sheets or more' and goes on:

Thus was this put to the Presse, and in the mean while, one day after another was occasion
of enlarging it, by conferences, &c. and of her still drawing nearer death, in outward appearance, till June 11. And before June 11, and June 25. 1647. (which were the days of the Lords wonderful raising up her body by Faith, as is shewed page 135.-) a good part thereof was printed.

A parenthetical note in the preface makes clear that the unfulfilled expectation of her death, which had seemed imminent on 19 May, caused a hiatus in the plans of the publishers:

[Since the former was fitted for the Presse, shee then not being likely to live, unlesse the Lord should work a Miracle: He raised her wonderfully, by faith in his Son, without any meanes, (when shee could use none) and that by two degrees: First. to EATE, and to ARISE, (Jun. 11. 1647.) Then (on Midsummer day,) to WALK; as both follow, neer the end of the Book, Pag. 137.]

To what extent Hannah Allen was instrumental in arranging for the account to be published is impossible to tell; her appearance as a visitor at Sarah Wight's bedside argues at least that, like Jessey, she had a personal interest in Sarah Wight's spiritual crisis.

Apart from three more editions of The exceeding riches of grace ..., the other work by Jessey published by Hannah Allen is Of the conversion of five thousand and nine hundred East-Indians, in the isle Formosa, neere China, to the profession of the true God, in Jesus Christ ..., (9 October) 1650. The first section of the book is a translation by Jessey of a letter written in Latin by Caspar Sibelius, recounting the success of his friend 'Ro: Junius, a minister lately in Delph in Holland', in effecting the mass conversion of the title. In fact, the volume is a composite of several different works and extracts. The title page promises 'a post-script of the Gospels good successse also amongst the West-Indians, in
New-England': in fulfilment of this the second section is a summary of another book, *The clear sun-shine &c* sold by Bellamy in Cornhill, and the third section gives extracts from 'The glorious progress of the gospel, amongst the (West-) Indians in New-England. Printed for H. Allen in Popes-head-Alley'. Then follows a 'breviate' of the Act for promoting and propagating the gospel in New England, more advertisements for books, and a letter from John Eliot, probably the most famous of the preachers who converted N. American Indians, to Hugh Peters. Throughout the volume, the reader is directed both by marginal notes and by references in the body of the text to other books on the subject and their booksellers. For example,

The rest of the Letter, and of other Letters, and more of the Indian Questions, the Reader may see ... in a Booke, Published by Mr. E. Winslow, called (c) The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New-England. To which Book, with the two former Bookes of the same Subject, viz. The Day-Dreake [sic] of the Gospel with the Indians. (sold by Mr. Clifton on Fishstreet-hill) and the Cleare Sun-shine ... (sold neere the Exchange by Mr. Bellamie,) The Godly Reader ... is referred for his further satisfaction.46

[(c) refers to a marginal note: 'Sold by H. Allen'.]

Several other books, mostly published by Brewster, are given advertisements in the text, and Brewster, Bellamy and Allen seem to be the chief dealers in books about Indian conversions. The curious mixture of new material, snippets from old, and unconnected letters makes more sense when put into context; the Act for propagation in New England, which is summarized here, was in fact the culmination of a campaign of lobbying aimed at Parliament by Independent ministers over the preceding months, and what the volume does is to draw together a sample of the
material which went towards paving the way for the Act. The work by Winslow extracted by Jessey in his volume is worth a slight detour here, and can reveal both the importance of 'conversion' as an issue among Independents and millenarians, and something of the process by which their campaign for a Propagation Act was conducted.

The glorious progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England ..., 'Published by Edward Winslow', was printed for Hannah Allen in 1649. It consists of three letters from John Eliot, the great 'convertor' of N. American Indians, a letter from Thomas Mayhew and an appendix 'holding forth conjectures, observations, and application'. Dedicated to Parliament, the book has as its central issue the question whether or not the Red Indians were descendents of the tribes of Israel. This question was of specific importance for evangelical millenarian preachers at this time: the conversion of the Jews was expected as one of a sequence of events leading to the fifth monarchy, or Christ's rule on earth, and conversion of the Jews was to be actively promoted to speed the establishment of Christ's kingdom. Moreover, a millenarian reading of Daniel and Deuteronomy indicated that the Redemption could only begin when the Dispersion of the Jews all over the world was complete: hence the interest in discovering descendents of the tribes of Israel on the American continents. The Jewish antecedents of Indians, and their conversion to Christianity, were parts of the progress towards Christ's kingdom which many Independent ministers took a serious interest in, as being of great urgency.

Winslow, a passenger in the Mayflower in 1620, was a distinguished figure: he became governor of Plymouth colony, and returned to England several times on the colony's business. He came over in 1646 specifically to defend Massachusetts against growing complaints of religious intolerance and cruelty, reissued his The danger
of tolerating Levellers in a civil state, (published by Bellamy), and lobbied for a charter to propagate the gospel in New England. In his meetings with the New England commissioners he particularly impressed the Earl of Warwick and Sir Henry Vane. It seems likely that The glorious progress ..., dedicated as it was to Parliament, was part of his propaganda mission for the congregationalism of Massachusetts and, more specifically, the campaign for gospel propagation. Thomason dates his copy 1 June 1649, and the charter of incorporation for the Gospel Society was granted on 29 July. His other three works published in England around this time all bear the imprint 'By Richard Cotes for John Bellamy'; the Hannah Allen imprint on this one may conceivably hide the involvement of these two men, but the lack of an entry in the Stationers' Register makes it impossible to verify. Equally, though, the association of Winslow and Hannah Allen may be an extension of the New England contacts already established by the Allens in their publishing of Cotton and Mather.

Another work which, though not by Jessey, may properly be seen as coming within his sphere of influence, is one by Manasseh ben Israel: The hope of Israel: written by Menasseh ben Israel, an Hebrew divine, and philosopher. Newly extant, and printed in Amsterdam, and dedicated by the author to the High Court, the Parliament of England, and the Councell of State. Translated into English, and published by authority, 1650. It was printed by 'R.I.', probably Ibbitson, for Hannah Allen, and Thomason dates his copy 4 July. The Agreement of the People the previous year had limited toleration in England to Christians; the proponents of wider toleration did not give up, however, and the urgency of the issue is perhaps partly explained by the fact that at least one influential millenarian commentator, John Archer, had in his The personal reign of Christ upon earth ... (published by Benjamin Allen in 1642, and again by Chapman) dated the conversion of the Jews as taking place in either 1650 or
1656. Manasseh, an authority on Jewish scholarship, was well known to English millenarians, especially Baptists, and he and Jessey, himself a Hebrew and rabbinic scholar, were correspondents. Like a few other Baptist ministers, Jessey observed the seventh day sabbath, and he was involved in collecting around £300 for the relief of distressed Jews in Jerusalem. The name of the translator of The hope of Israel ... is not given, but Jessey seems a likely candidate.

Manasseh's book is largely an account of the story of Anthony Montezinos, a Marrano, who returned from a voyage to America with the news that he had found in Ecuador a group of Indians who practised Jewish ceremonies, and whom he identified as descendents of the lost tribes of Reuben and Levi. Montezinos had given his account on oath in Amsterdam, with Manasseh as one of the examiners, and Manasseh was then bombarded by his English correspondents with requests for the details. The urgency of the conversion of the Jews has already been mentioned; the particular importance of Montezinos' account lies in the fact that it provided more evidence of the near-completion of the Jewish Dispersion. Moreover, taken together with the spread of Jewish refugees across Europe in 1648, resulting from the Spanish Inquisition and the massacre of Jews in Poland, it meant that the Jews were now dispersed in every part of the known world, except for England. The readmission of Jews into England was necessary for the Dispersion to be complete, and for the conversion and Christ's kingdom to begin. The hope of Israel ..., originally in Latin, was Manasseh's response to the many requests he received for information; an instant success, it was quickly published in English, and three English editions appeared in as many years: this first for Hannah Allen, and two for Livewell Chapman in 1651 and 1652. The campaign for the readmission of the Jews into England came to a head in 1655, when Manasseh ben Israel was allowed into England and secured a
conference with Cromwell to put his case. Thomas Manton and Henry Jessey participated in the discussions. In the end, the outcome was far from clear-cut: Cromwell provided personal protection for Jewish merchants already living inconspicuously in London, but there was no readmission. The proceedings of the conference were written up by Jessey, and published by Chapman in 1656 as *A narrative of the late proceed's at White-Hall concerning the Jews.*

Turning now to Walter Cradock, whose association with Jessey both in the establishment of his own church in Wales and later in London has already been outlined, we find another example of Hannah Allen's involvement in the publishing of the first work of a leading Independent preacher. Cradock began preaching at Allhallows the Great in 1646, and it was in the same year that his first published works appeared, including the thanksgiving sermon *The saints fulnesse of joy ...* discussed above. All but two of his works were printed by Matthew Simmons, and the sermon was entered in the Stationers' Register by Simmons and Hannah Allen jointly. His other work sold by Hannah Allen was *Gospel-holinesse, or, the saving sight of God ...*, a collection of 19 sermons also printed by Simmons and dated 1651. The title page describes Cradock as 'late preacher at Allhallowes the Great' and the preface to the reader is signed by John Robotham and dated 24 October, 1650. Other copies exist, one without Hannah Allen's name and another by Simmons to be sold by Joseph Blaiklock. According to DNB, it was 'seen through the press' by Robotham, who himself was published by Simmons and Hannah Allen: his first work, *The preciousnesse of Christ unto believers ...*, was published by them (7 September) 1647. Simmons entered the copy on 14 May the same year. Again, most of this author's works were printed by Simmons, including an edition of *An exposition on the whole booke of Solomons Song*, 1652, to be sold by three booksellers including Livewell Chapman.
The last of this group of authors is Vavasour Powell, the Welsh evangelist whose first two works were published by Hannah Allen and whose later works were mostly published by Chapman (usually printed for him by Robert Ibbitson). His connections with both Cradock and Jessey are strong: his conversion from Anglicanism to congregationalism was effected by Cradock in the late 1630s; later, when the Welsh Independents split over whether to support the Protectorate, Powell disagreed with Cradock, who remained pro-Cromwell, and shifted towards the Baptist group, probably being himself baptized by Henry Jessey. At the time of his first publication Powell had been in and around London for four years, first as a preacher in London, and then in Dartford. In September 1646 he received his certificate (not without argument) from the Westminster Assembly to allow him to return to Wales, and in the same year he published *The scripture's concord: or a catechisme, compiled out of the words of scripture, wherein is the summe of the way of salvation, and spirituall things compared with spirituall. Intended and translated for the good of Wales; and now in English, chiefly for the use of Dartfords little-ones*. The copy was entered in the Stationers' Register by Hannah Allen on 15 October 1646, and again Simmons was the printer. Thomason's copy is dated 24 October, and it seems likely that by this time Powell was back in Wales. Towards the end of 1649 he returned to London, and his sermon before the Lord Mayor became his second publication, *God the father glorified...* (see above, p.22). The note at the end of the text that the sermon was 'copied out of shorthand' and that the many errors in printing are a result of the author's being unable to attend the press perhaps reflects Powell's preoccupations at this time: not only was he preaching 'official' sermons, both before the Mayor and before Parliament (the latter on 28 February, 1650), but also engaging in public debate (with John Goodwin on 31 December) and concerned in lobbying for and implementing the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales (passed
in February 1650) under the leadership of Thomas Harrison. Seeing a sermon through the press cannot have been a priority. God the father glorified ... proved popular enough to warrant a second impression in 1650, again printed by Charles Sumptner for Hannah Allen.\(^{54}\)

The last of Powell's works to be issued under Hannah Allen's imprint was *Christ and Moses excellency, or Sion and Sinai's glory*. Being a triplex treatise, distinguishing and explaining the two covenants or the gospel and law: and directing to the right understanding applying, and finding of the informing and assuring promises, that belong to both covenants, 1650. Powell is described as 'Preacher of the gospel in Wales', and the printer was 'R.I.', presumably Robert Ibbitson.\(^{55}\)

Taking these authors as a group, then, strengthens the evidence already gathered from the sermon publishing that a particular group of radical, millenarian Independents, some of them Baptist, are at the core of Hannah Allen's publishing. From 1646 to the early 1650s the group's interests were cohesive, their personal relationships close and their programme for evangelism coherent. Splits came later, when Powell allied with Feake to condemn and work to undermine Cromwell's position as Protector. Jessey, never quite a Fifth Monarchist himself, in terms of membership of the organization, was constantly under suspicion of Fifth Monarchist sympathies because of his millenarianism, his interest in 'signs' and portents, his latitudinarian brand of Independency and his geographical proximity to the Fifth Monarchists' meeting places in the Coleman Street area. The later careers of these men are not of immediate concern here, but some of them (notably Jessey and Powell) had later works published by Livewell Chapman in the 1650s. More importantly, Hannah Allen provided the outlet for the first published works of all of them, and it is not simply as a publisher of this strand of religious thought, but rather as the bookseller through
whom these authors first addressed the reading public, that she should be noticed.\textsuperscript{56}

4. Other religious publications

Hannah Allen's involvement in religious publications goes beyond the three groups of texts already considered: those by authors 'inherited' from Benjamin, the official fast and thanksgiving sermons, and the Allhallows and Welsh Independents. She also issued works by another seven authors which can, for the most part, be linked with the 'core' of Independents already discussed.

A one-off publication near the beginning of her career was a posthumous collection of sermons by Thomas Brightman: Brightman redivivus; or the post-humian offspring of Mr Thomas Brightman, in IIII. sermons .... Brightman, a Biblical commentator who died in 1607, used a system of prophecy centred on millenarian ideas, and produced among other works a commentary on Daniel and a book on the Apocalypse. He was one of the authorities often cited by millenarians in the 1640s, and several popular versions of his works were published in the early part of the decade, some of them in verse: evidence of the growing interest in prophecy, the rule of the saints, and the Fifth Monarchy. His view that Christ's reign had started in 1300, was gradually unfolding, and would reach completion after 1690, fed the current feeling of urgency.\textsuperscript{57} This edition of his sermons was published by John Rothwell, who entered the copy in the Stationers' Register on 10 February, 1647; Thomason acquired his copy two days later. Thomas Forcet printed it 'for John Rothwell, at the Sun and Fountaine in Pauls Church-yard, and Hannah Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley', and it carries the imprimatur of Joseph Caryl.\textsuperscript{58}

A month later, the same pair of booksellers issued the first published work by Ralph Venning, Orthodoxe paradoxes, or, a beleiver clearing truth by seeming contradictions, with an appendix, called the triumph
of assurance, printed for them by 'E.G.'. Again, the copy was registered by Rothwell (on 4 March). Venning, 'of Immanuel Colledge in Cambridge', dedicated his book to Col. Fran. West, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. His college has been noted as a breeding ground of puritanism; Venning himself became a lecturer at St Olave's in Southwark. The popularity of the work is evident in that it ran to seven editions by 1657. While there is no surviving copy of the second edition, the appearance of the third in 1650 with the same imprint as the first suggests that the second was probably also issued by Rothwell and Hannah Allen. The fifth, in 1652, has Rothwell and Chapman in the imprint, and all of the recorded editions have Rothwell as the first named bookseller.

In the one work by William Troughton published by Hannah Allen there is another link with the circle of Baptists and radical Independents already noted. Saints in England under a cloud; and their glory eclipsed in this life. Or, the case of desertion briefly stated in a few considerations with several symptoms of the saints decreasing and declining in spirituals, (27 July) 1648, was his first published work, issued in the summer of the Second Civil War amid arguments about the advisability of attempting to treat with the King. Troughton was chaplain to Robert Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, and had access to the King during his imprisonment there. Troughton's being there may make him the source of the two letters from the Isle of Wight published by Hannah Allen in the same year. Dedicated to Fairfax, Saints in England ... has a note to the reader by Joseph Caryl and an address 'To the Christian reader' signed 'W.G.' - possibly William Greenhill.

Around the same time Hannah Allen was selling another publication linked with Greenhill: QEOEMLAXNIE. Or, the yernings of Christs bowels towards his languishing
friends ... by Samuel Moore. Like Troughton's book, this one was printed for Hannah Allen by Simmons; in this case, however, the copy was registered by the printer, on 8 June. It had been published the previous year, carrying Simmons' name only. For this edition, Greenhill supplied the address to the reader, and the work was dedicated to Philip Lord Wharton, Baron of Wharton, a Parliamentarian whose support of the Westminster Assembly eventually gave way to Independency. 63

1649 saw the first publication of John Durant, an Independent minister at Sandwich and later at Canterbury. Sips of sweetnesse, or, consolation for weak beleevers was the first of three of his works to be published by Hannah Allen. She entered it in the Stationers' Register on 20 April 1650 along with his second book, A discovery of the glorious love of Christ to beleevers, published in 1650. 64 In September of the same year she entered the third of his works, Comfort & counsell for dejected soules ... being the heads and sum of divers sermons preached to a particular congregation ..., which Thomason bought in January, 1651. 65 All three seem to have proved popular, each running to several editions. Sips of sweetnesse ... was printed for Hannah Allen by Simmons; the other two by Ibbitson, who finally gained the rights to all three by a bill of sale from Livewell Chapman. 66 This transfer of copies is of particular interest in that it gives an indication of the date of Hannah Allen's marriage to Chapman: the entry, made on 11 November, 1651, gives the date of the bill of sale as 12 September. The marriage by which Chapman became owner of the rights must therefore have taken place between January and 12 September 1651 - more than a year earlier than has been assumed. 67

The remaining two of the religious works she published are both concerned with baptism: Henry Lawrence's Some considerations tending to the asserting and vindicating of the use of the holy scriptures ...,
(10 May) 1649, and Daniel King's *A way to Sion sovght ovt, and fownd, for believers to walke in...*, (3 March) 1650, which justifies believers' baptism. Lawrence, a friend of Cromwell and later President of the Council of State, was a leading Baptist and, politically, a moderate Independent. It was said that his elevation to President of the Council was an attempt to win over the Baptists to support the Protectorate; if so, it failed, for the Protectorate was the issue on which the Baptists split, with some (like Powell) in total opposition, and others (Cradock, Richardson and Lawrence, all friends and supporters of Cromwell) arguing for submission. King's place in the Baptist spectrum is not known; at the time of writing *A way to Sion...* he was preaching near Coventry, moving later to Southwark, and then Warwick. 68

5. Politics and the Army

To separate politics from religion in the seventeenth century is to simplify and to mislead; in defining this group of publications, several of them anonymous, as separate from the 'religious' works already discussed, I have no intention either of ignoring the political implications of those 'religious' books, or of minimizing the religious content of those that follow. The publications I want to consider here, however, are political in the sense that they address more directly the political events of the time: they include reports of events, contributions to political discussion, papers from the army and defences of the army's actions. All of them form part of the public debate about the course of the nation, its rulers, and the actions of the army and Parliament.

The change in the temper of Parliament towards the end of the 1640s was, as noted in the discussion of fast sermons, a shift from a consensus for moderate reform towards an unsettling injection of radical demands. In July 1646 the first manifesto of the Levellers was
published, and in London urban radicalism was increasing. The 1646 elections at the Guildhall had been disturbed, journeymen and craftsmen were troublesome to the still moderate government of the City, and sectarian radicalism was spreading in the army. People of property were frightened by the increasingly vocal claims for democracy. Underdown's analysis of the complex factionalism taking place within Parliament suggests that by the end of the war in 1646 the main issues between the (broadly defined) Presbyterians and Independents within Parliament included the dismantling of the garrisons, the terms to offer to the King and get rid of the Scots, and the religious settlement. All of these issues feature prominently in this group of works published by Hannah Allen.

The first of these works is a collection of papers from the army published in May 1647. March of the same year had seen the first in a series of crises in the relations between army and Parliament: pressures on the latter from the counties and the City of London to disband the garrisons, and Parliament's own plan to send troops to Ireland, had been met by pressure from the army for its own grievances - unpaid arrears, destitute soldiers' families, no indemnity for crimes committed during war time - to be acted on. The soldiers' attempt to petition had been vetoed by Parliament, and rank and file and officers alike were uniting in demands for immediate redress of grievances and in opposition to service in Ireland until redress had been implemented. The first formal expression of the army's grievances came in mid-March, probably from Rich's regiment, and it is from the same regiment that the papers issued by Hannah Allen emanate. Divers papers from the army: viz. 1. Marshall Generall Skippons speech to the army, May the 15th. 2. The answer of the army: wherein they set downe their grievances. Whereunto are added other papers of concernment was entered by Hannah Allen on 20 May. Skippon's speech and the army's answer was the culmination
of a process begun by Parliament on 1 May to try and prevent disorder in the army. Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton and Fleetwood were sent to army headquarters at Saffron Walden and a meeting of officers was held at which the officers refused to give an account of the troops' dissatisfactions without being allowed first to consult the troops themselves. Fourteen regiments produced written statements of their grievances, of which Rich's regiment was one, and on 15 May the convention of officers met to hear Skippon's justification of Parliament's actions and to present their grievances. The pamphlet prints Skippon's speech, an address to Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton and Fleetwood listing 11 grievances, a list of grievances submitted by Rich's regiment, and ends with 'The requests of Coll. Riches regiment upon the votes of Parliament'. How these particular papers came into Hannah Allen's hands is impossible to tell without more detailed information about the people connected with Rich. Rich himself was a Baptist who, in his opposition to the Protectorate, was later thought to be a Fifth Monarchist. Along with Harrison (one of the visitors to Sarah Wight, according to Jessey), he lined up with the Fifth Monarchists in 1654 and was arrested for his activities. During the period in which the pamphlet under discussion was published, Rich's regiment took a prominent part in opposing Parliament's move to disband the army, and it was one of those regiments of horse which began the system of electing 'agitators'. It seems likely that the two 'agitators' (i.e. representatives) themselves drew up the list of the regiment's grievances, and it is interesting that one of them was called Nicholas Lockyer. Whether this is the same man who preached a fast sermon published by Hannah Allen has been impossible to establish; it is possible, at least, that they were the same, and that Lockyer was acting as a chaplain in the regiment at the time of the trouble in the army. Firth has noted the frequency with which chaplains acted as war correspondents, writing and having printed narratives of proceedings in the army.
Skippon's own chaplain was William Erbury, former vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, whose curate there had been Walter Cradock (another minister whose work Hannah Allen published). While it would be no more than a guess to suggest Lockyer or Erbury as the source of the pamphlet, their chaplaincies are illustrative of the way in which Independent preachers, present at key points in the army, formed an influential network and a link with the civilian population.71

The second of Hannah Allen's surviving political tracts appeared the following year: the King was now prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, and Two letters from the Isle of Wight ..., dated by Thomason 3 August, were presumably designed to allay fears in London about security on the Isle, following repeated attempts by Charles to escape and a reported threat to his life.72 The letters, dated 23 and 24 July, give information about Osborne (who had been trying to help the King escape) and state the innocence of Mr Rolph (a Leveller court-marshalled for threatening to kill the King); the defences of the island, the trustworthiness of the soldiers and their readiness for a siege are all said to be satisfactory.73 According to the title page the letters were 'Sent from one of His Majesties Attendants, to a friend of his in London', and it seems likely that he can be identified as William Troughton, who was chaplain to Hammond, governor or Carisbrooke Castle, and whose Saints in England under a cloud ... had been issued by Hannah Allen in July. Moreover, as well as Troughton's position giving him regular access to the King, there is evidence that Charles enjoyed his company and the two spent hours together debating theology.74 Also at the beginning of August, Hannah Allen published The Scots cabinett opened ..., the title of which, perhaps intentionally, echoes The King's cabinet opened, a collection of the King's papers captured by parliamentary forces after Charles' flight from Naseby in 1645 and printed to disclose his treachery. The
treachery disclosed in *The Scots cabinett* ... is that of the Scots commissioners at Derby House, whose anti-army tactics are attacked, as well as their attempt at a personal treaty with the King. The Second Civil War is said to be the fault of the Scots, the citizens of London, the Scots commissioners, and the Presbyterians, and any attempt at negotiation with the King is condemned: 'we have bought our Liberties of His Majestie at too dear a rate to treat them away basely'.

In the end, the army reacted to Parliament's acceptance of the King's Newport proposals by staging Pride's Purge on 6 December; an event which provoked a flood of pamphlets as the Independents, millenarians and separatists rejoiced, the army sought to justify its actions, and the out-manouevred Presbyterians protested at the army's use of force. Parliament's ultimatum to the King was refused by him on Christmas Day, and his trial was now inevitable. Two days before the King's refusal of the Commons' terms, *The Kentish petition* was presented to the House. Published as a broadside for Hannah Allen (dated 29 December by Thomason), it is one of a number of addresses to Parliament which reflect the growing strength of feeling that negotiating with the King was a lost cause: after thanking the Commons for its votes of 13 December, the petitioners requested 'a speedy bringing to justice (that grand Author of all our miseries) the person of him, who as a King ought to have defended us, but as a Tyrant hath actually levied arms and waged war against us ...'. Also dated 23 December are papers from the navy printed by Simmons for Hannah Allen, in vindication of the fleet's honour and loyalty to Parliament: *The navall expedition, of the right honourable, Robert, Earl of Warwick, (Lord High Admiral of England) against the revolted ships ...*. In May a number of ships had gone over to the King, and the mutineers had some support in a number of towns in Kent. Parliament replaced Rainsborough with the Lord High Admiral, Warwick,
who was felt to be the only commander who could win back the disaffected sailors. The royalist disturbances in Kent had involved plans to rescue the King from the Isle of Wight, and it seems likely that at least three of Hannah Allen's publications at this time had the same source: the *Two letters frome the Isle of Wight ...*, with its message of reassurance about the security of the King's prison, *The Kentish petition* which affirms the county's loyalty to Parliament (and was presumably a reply to the royalist Kentish petition circulating in May), and *The navall expedition ...* which reports Warwick's successful pursuit of the revolted ships. The latter pamphlet was probably designed as more than a simple news report; by the end of November, Warwick was back in the Downs and a split was developing between him and his Captains (who maintained that their return was necessary and that they needed more supplies, more men, and some payment) and the Derby House Committee, which had wanted Warwick to stay off the Dutch coast to blockade the revolted ships which were still holding out. This report of the expedition and its expressions of loyalty may have been designed to counter the growing criticism in London that Warwick was suffering from inertia in the pursuit of the Parliamentary cause. While it is impossible to do more than guess at the sources of these pamphlets, it is worth noting that in May, Rich's regiment (whose grievances Hannah Allen had published) was sent to Kent to take part in the campaign against the royalists. The regiment's position in the county during the summer and its direct involvement in the Parliamentary campaign against royalist mutinies in the ports suggests a common source for a number of Hannah Allen's political pamphlets. 78

Of the five pamphlets issued by Hannah Allen in the early months of 1649, one is an official publication for the army, three are part of a long-running debate about the army's actions, and the other is a justification of the King's execution. The first, *The humble answer of the
General Council ..., was the army's official address to Parliament, in response to the demands of the honourable Commons of England ... concerning the late securing, or secluding of some members thereof' and was signed by Rushworth as secretary of the General Council on 3 January. In January, February and March Hannah Allen issued pamphlets in response to the 'London ministers' letter', which had been published on 18 January and led to a furious debate between Presbyterian and Independent ministers. The debate lasted (in print) from January until May. At the time of the letter's publication, as A serious representation of the judgement of ministers within the province of London ..., the King's trial had been set in motion, and sessions began on 8 January. The Presbyterian London ministers attacked the trial, and drew immediate criticism and counter-attacks from Independents and supporters of the Commons and the army. Samuel Richardson's contribution to the debate, published by Hannah Allen in January, takes on not only the London ministers, but also a book by John Geree (published, like the London ministers' letter, on 18 January) and an attack on the army. The scope of Richardson's defence of Parliament and army is obvious from the title of his book: An ansvver to the London ministers letter: from them to his excellency & his Counsel of VVar; as also an answer to John Geree's book, entituled, Might overcomming right; with an answer to a book, entituled, The armies remembrancer. Wherein it appears the accusations of the army are unjust, and the armies proceedings justified by the word of God, and by the light of nature and reason. As well as defending the army, he attacks the 'learning', 'ordination' and the 'vanity and insufficiency thereof' of the ministers themselves. The dedication to Cromwell and the Council of War is dated 23 January, and Thomason bought his copy on 27 January, the day on which the King was sentenced. The address to the reader ends with an affirmation of support for the army: 'all power is not in the Magistrates, some is elsewhere ... its well some is in the Army
farewell'. Others of his works had been published by both Hannah Allen and by Benjamin Allen; as a leading member of one of the London baptist congregations (probably John Spilsbury's in Wapping) Richardson had considerable influence among the Independents, and had always been strongly in favour of Cromwell. 80

There is no clue to the authorship of the other two responses to the London ministers issued from Hannah Allen's shop. A parallel between the ministerial ingenuity of the forty seven London ministers: and the foule miscarriages of the army, in their declarations, and covenants-breaking ... suggests that the ministers should keep out of civil affairs, and argues that their printing of the letter allowed Cromwell and the Council no time to consider it or to reply, and constituted a deliberate provocation of the Army; it goes on to justify the King's trial. 81 The third of the answers to the London ministers published by Hannah Allen is The resolver continued, or, satisfaction to some scruples about the putting of the late King to death. In a letter from a minister of the gospel, to a friend in London; Together, with a word to the Parliament, the High Court of Justice, malignants, discontented friends, and the people of the nation, by 'N.T.', bearing Theodore Jennings' imprimatur dated 12 March. The text is a continuation of The resolver, or a short word to the large question of the times, concerning the Parliament, and confirming the proceedings about the King ..., also by 'N.T.' and licensed by Mabbot to be printed in January. This original Resolver, which justifies the seclusion of members of Parliament and argues for the King's trial - 'All and every subject may resist a Tyrant' -, was entered in the Stationers' Register by John Clowes on 22 January. His entry, and his printing of the second Resolver suggests that Hannah Allen may have sold the original as well as the continuation which carries her name. 82 By the time the second part was written, the King had been both sentenced
and executed, and it is with justifying the execution that this second part is mainly concerned.

That justifications for the army's actions and for the King's execution kept on appearing is hardly surprising; after the execution the leaders of the revolution needed both to push on with the process of change (the abolition of the House of Lords on 6 February, abolition of the monarchy on 7 February, the creation of the Council of State on the 14th) and to broaden their base of support both inside Parliament, which by February contained many previously secluded members, and among the general public. The last publication of this kind issued by Hannah Allen was published in March, again with Jennings' imprimatur: The kingdoms divisions anatomized, together with a vindication of the armies proceedings, by 'Franciscus Leinsula'. Dedicated to Bradshaw, President of the High Court of Justice which tried the King, it identifies the nation's divisions as threefold: Independents, Presbyterians and 'Malignants'. Unsurprisingly, Presbyterians and Malignants come in for detailed criticism; the four things which disturb the earth are said to be 'The superstitious and idolatrous Papist, The grosse and profane Malignant, The carnall and formall Presbyterian, And the blasphemous Heretique'.

That the radicals were better at pamphleteering than the moderate reformers is clear from the weight of radical publications during the early months of 1649; it may in part be attributable to the radicals' access to more effective means of distribution, for the army itself and the loose networks of independent churches could provide a means of dissemination not only in London but reaching into the country at large which was more efficient at carrying news than anything the moderates could tap. Presbyterian ministers clearly used their sermons, which they published, to some effect, but in general the radicals were better placed to spread their own views.
It is in this context of rapid political change, public eagerness for comment and news, and the intense popular enthusiasm in London for the revolution, that this group of 'political' and pro-army publications by Hannah Allen must be seen. Of the eleven books and pamphlets I have included in this group, nine were published in the period of intense activity leading up to Pride's Purge and the King's execution, that is mid-1648 to March 1649. The two which lie outside that eight-month period are Divers papers from the army ..., reporting the crucial army convention of May 1647 (see p. 42 above) and A letter sent to the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland: by Oliver Cromwell Lord Generall of the army of the Common-wealth of England now in Scotland &c, published in August 1650. This latter was part of Cromwell's anti-Scots propaganda campaign leading up to Dunbar, and contains his famous appeal to the Kirk, 'I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.' This concentration of 'political' publications over such a small period of time is in itself perhaps evidence of the inseparability of religion and politics: not a regular publisher of 'news', but a consistent publisher of radical Independent and Baptist authors, Hannah Allen published these 'political' works as an extension of her established trade in religious books. That the religious ideas of some of her authors had political implications has already been noted many times; the last months of 1648 and the beginning of 1649 was the point at which the interconnections of religious belief and authority of the state reached a crisis, and provided for a short time a wave of enthusiasm among the religious radicals who saw in civil revolution the promise of the religious change they desired.

It has been noted that a number of works issued by Hannah Allen, including a few of those defined here as 'political' pamphlets, carry the official imprimatur of licensers. Any view of Hannah Allen as an 'official'
publisher to Parliament would be mistaken, however, and the meaning of apparently 'official' approval for these publications is doubtful. None of Hannah Allen's publications, with the exception of the fast sermons, was an 'official' publication in the sense that its printing was ordered by Parliament; comparison of Hannah Allen's output with Sheila Lambert's list of material printed for Parliament makes it clear that, apart from the fast sermons, Hannah Allen's publications were not ordered by Parliament. The foregoing discussion of 'political' pamphlets and their context goes some way to elucidate the status of her publications, as well as the political arguments they represented, and points to the confusion of authority (both political and, more narrowly, in relation to printing) which existed between mid-1648 and early 1649. Siebert has noted that during these months the licensers (appointed under the Act of 1647) were caught between the conflicting authorities of Commons, Lords and the army. Mabbott and Jennings, whose names appear on some of Hannah Allen's publications, both acted as licensers appointed by the Commons, and the works on which their names appear are straightforward vindications of Parliament's actions. The bulk of the 'political' pamphlets, however, carry no licenser's name: one is signed by Rushworth, whose position as Secretary to the army (and, incidentally, an ex-Parliamentary licensor) presumably allowed him to sanction papers from the army. The rest carry no licence at all, but what is particularly striking is the extent to which they represent the army view, sometimes (as in The Scots cabinet opened ...) in direct opposition to the Commons. I have made some tentative suggestions about the ways in which these pamphlets could have reached Hannah Allen via radical preachers in the army; while it is impossible to claim that all her political news had army sources, it is at least clear that for the most part these pamphlets, if not actually emanating from army radicals, were in support of the army in its arguments with Parliament. It seems that
only the pamphlets which avoided the implicit and sometimes explicit criticism of Parliament, dwelling on issues such as the King's trial and execution (which were not issues for contention between army and Parliament) were thought safe to license. The three cornered battle for control, not just of the press but of the nation, was finally resolved by the army's ascendancy. The power-base of the Council of State set up under the Commonwealth was the army, and it was Fairfax who cut through the chaos of Parliament's failure to control the press by issuing military orders reaffirming parliamentary ordinances and authorizing searches and seizures with or without the consent of the Stationers' Company. The Treason Act of May 1649 completed what Siebert has called 'the most stringent regulation of freedom of discussion of the Puritan revolution'. Unlike the women whose careers are examined in later chapters, Hannah Allen, although by no means an 'official' publisher, was engaged in producing radical literature at a time when religious and army radicals were in the ascendant, and parliamentary authority was too much under threat to control the tide of pamphlets.

6. A false imprint?

Unique among Hannah Allen's surviving publications, being firmly in the field of education, are three lectures by Sir Balthazar Gerbier, printed by Gertrude Dawson to be sold by Hannah Allen, which appeared in August and September 1649. Gerbier is an odd figure to be associated with Hannah Allen: a painter-architect born in Zeeland, he was a favourite of the Prince of Orange and first came to England in 1616. As a courtier he travelled abroad on royal missions, including the visit of Charles I to Spain. He incurred the displeasure of the English court exiled in France, and after the King's execution returned to England and established his academy, which opened on 19 July 1649 at his house in Bethnal Green and was modelled on Charles I's 'Museum Minervae' which had ended with the outbreak of the Civil War. His three lectures sold by
Hannah Allen, on military fortifications, cosmography and geography, were all printed by Gertrude Dawson, who also printed a fourth lecture which has no bookseller's name in the imprint. A series of Gerbier's lectures was also published by Robert Ibbitson, some of them being new editions of those published by Dawson and Allen. Eventually, in November, Ibbitson entered the lectures on cosmography and navigation as his own copies in the Stationers' Register. Gertrude Dawson's presswork is of a much lower standard than Ibbitson's, and the lectures are quite clearly different editions. It is Ibbitson's versions, moreover, which are dedicated to Henry Vane junior by the author, and which carry the imprimatur of Henry Scobell. It therefore seems that Ibbitson's editions were the 'official' ones, and his entering of two of the titles in November may have been an attempt to claim rights already agreed between himself as publisher and Gerbier as author, but subverted by the two women who somehow got hold of the texts and published them more quickly than Ibbitson could. Even as piracies, the lectures remain oddities in Hannah Allen's list. There was radical pressure for educational reform, but many of the religious radicals disliked formal education (embodied for them by the clergy) and the appearance of a long-standing courtier running a private academy among Hannah Allen's other authors remains something of a mystery. The answer may be that, given Hannah Allen's known trade in Puritan and parliamentarian literature, this is an almost joking false imprint.

In the foregoing detailed survey of the works and authors published by Hannah Allen there is overwhelming evidence of a career which started from an established base of Puritan and Independent publishing and developed in a more specific and radical direction. In the first eighteen months of her career nearly a half of Hannah Allen's publications were by authors previously published by Benjamin Allen; conversely, more than half of the 14 works by Benjamin's authors which she published were
issued in that early stage of her career. Growing out of that base of Independent literature he established, however, there emerges a pattern of the publication of a particular group of Independent preachers, mostly of a younger and more radical generation: the 'marginal participants' in the official parliamentary programme of sermons. In addition, a particular group of millenarian voices has a central place in her publishing programme: the set of people I have described as being connected with the Allhallows and Welsh strands of Independent and Baptist thought. As far as is discoverable, the other religious writers published by Hannah Allen are again all millenarian, Independent or Baptist, which completes the view of a concentration on one particular strand of puritanism. Most striking, coupled with the evidence from the sermon publishing, is the fact that the first published works of Jessey, Cradock, Powell, Robotham, Durant, Moore, Troughton, Venning and Manton were all issued by Hannah Allen: all, that is, of the Allhallows/Welsh group, plus a fair proportion of the other religious writers she published.

This is too consistent an appearance of radical, Baptist and millenarian views to be the result of a haphazard publishing activity. I have pointed to the centrality of Jessey both as an author and as a possible connection via whom other authors might become associated with Hannah Allen's shop. The slim biographical evidence about her in Jessey's account of Sarah Wight's experiences, and the possible connection with the sectarian Samuel Howes, adds some credence to a view of Hannah Allen as living, working and taking a personal interest in this circle of religious enthusiasts. The publication of political tracts around the time of Pride's Purge and the King's execution confirms this position: their purpose is to justify the army's grievances, defend its actions, justify the trial and execution, and refute the attacks of the Presbyterian ministers on army and Parliament.
This is not the place for an analysis of Livewell Chapman's career. That he published 11 of Hannah Allen's authors, only three of whom had been published by Benjamin Allen, might suggest that Hannah's development of the business had outrun Benjamin's legacy to her. That Chapman continued the millenarian/Baptist/Fifth Monarchist direction is clear; that the course had been firmly set during the brief solo career of Hannah Allen is equally evident.90

Trade Relations

Evidence of Hannah Allen's trade relations derives entirely from two sources: the imprints of surviving texts and entries in the Stationers' Register (tabulated in Appendices 2 and 3). Of the 54 works which carry her imprint, only 17 titles were entered in the Register; a proportion which is not unusually low, at a time when the Stationers' Company was losing ground as a controlling agency, and when so many changes in government meant that governmental efforts at control were sporadic and largely ineffective.

The striking thing about the trade relations evident from these two sources is that Hannah Allen's career falls into two quite distinct halves. The first phase runs from August 1646 to the end of 1648, and the second from January 1649 to January 1651; periods of almost 2½ years and just over 2 years respectively. In the first period her association with one printer and two other booksellers is almost exclusive; in the second, there is no such consistency in the people she worked with.

In stressing the continuities in practice between Benjamin and Hannah Allen, Leona Rostenberg is doubly misleading. In writing

In her publishing career Mrs Allen collaborated occasionally with several of her late husband's associates: Richard Best of Gray's Inn, John
Walker, John Clowes, Robert Ibbitson and George Whittington

she focusses on figures who, I shall argue, were largely peripheral in Hannah Allen's trade relations (indeed, I can find no evidence at all of any collaboration with Best), while ignoring the very important trade relationship which bound her to Matthew Simmons, Henry Overton and John Rothwell.

Hannah Allen's collaboration with Simmons, Overton and Rothwell is a feature of what I have called the first phase of her career. The relationship with Simmons continued, more sporadically, after 1648, and he printed a total of 25 of the 54 works issued from her shop. Looking at the first half of her career, however, Simmons' dominance as printer is clear: of 25 imprints from this period, 19 give a printer's name, and in 17 of the 19 Simmons is the printer. (The other two were printed by Thomas Forcet and 'E.G.', probably Edward Griffin junior.)

Ten imprints from this period name another bookseller: five name Rothwell, four name Overton, and one names George Whittington. Of the 11 copies from this period which were entered in the Stationers' Register, all but one are entered to Hannah Allen, Matthew Simmons, John Rothwell or Henry Overton, either individually or in combination. The association with Simmons in particular seems strong enough to suggest some kind of partnership, with Simmons as sole printer of works issued at the Crown. Although Plomer states that Simmons' business in 1641 was very small, by 1646 Simmons was the leading printer for the Independents; McKenzie's analysis of radical printers confirms Simmons as the most prolific of them all.

His family connections, too, place him firmly in the group of leading radicals in the book trade: he was the brother of Thomas Simmons, and thus related by marriage to Giles Calvert, whose sister Martha married Thomas. In the first 2½ years of Hannah Allen's career, her shop was an outlet almost entirely for the work of this one leading radical printer.
Henry Overton, too, belongs to the same group of book trade radicals, and in McKenzie's analysis stands as third leading radical publisher (after Calvert and Thomas Simmons). It is not clear whether he was related to Richard Overton, the Leveller leader, but coincidences of birth, of religion and of locality in London suggest a connection: both were born in Warwickshire, and Henry Overton was a member of John Goodwin's Independent church at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, which Richard Overton attended from outside the parish. Overton's shop was on the corner of Lombard Street and Pope's Head Alley, making him a near neighbour of Hannah Allen, and the reputation of the area for Independency and radicalism has already been noted. Overton had a history of Puritan allegiance, and in 1633 was acting as intermediary for letters to and from Henry Jessey. He was also one of a syndicate (which also included John Rothwell) set up to publish the sermons of the Puritan John Stoughton. In 1630, 1631 and 1641 he was in trouble with the authorities for selling unlicensed and scandalous books. In 1644 he took as apprentice Samuel Howes, who may have been Hannah Allen's brother.

An absence of biographical information makes Rothwell's position harder to define. His association with Overton in publishing Stoughton suggests some Puritan sympathy, which the connection with Matthew Simmons and Hannah Allen tends to confirm. Interestingly, Rothwell forms a link to the two works of this period not printed by Simmons: both Brightman redivivus . . . and Venning's Orthodoxe paradoxes . . . (printed by Forcet and 'E.G.' respectively) were printed for Rothwell 'at the Sun and Fountaine in Pauls Church-yard' and Hannah Allen at the Crown, and both were entered by Rothwell in the Stationers' Register.

Untangling the relationship of Simmons, Overton, Rothwell and Hannah Allen in economic terms is not easy: the difficulties of interpreting imprints of this period
contribute to uncertainty. Simmons' predominance as printer is clear, and the fact that only two of the 11 copies registered were entered to Hannah Allen alone suggests that in terms of finance and ownership of copies she was a junior figure in this four-cornered partnership. In all but one of the imprints she shares with Overton or Rothwell, she is the second-named bookseller, which again may suggest a secondary role to the others as publishers. Add to this that it is in this first stage of her career that she relies more heavily on publishing authors previously published by her husband, and a view of her position can be tentatively elaborated. Newly widowed, with 14 years' association with the trade, a shop, £150 capital, and with at least one child (of about 11 years old) to support, she opted for a role as outlet for more well-established publishers. After 2½ years of bookselling on this basis, however, there was an abrupt change both in her trade relationships with printers and booksellers and in the way in which she operated.

Turning now to the second phase of her career, from the beginning of 1649 onwards, the picture is different in two respects: first, the way in which Hannah Allen seems to be more in control as a publisher, and second the lack of any consistent trade relationships with printers and other booksellers. In this second period, which covers 29 imprints as against 25 in the first, all of the six copies entered in the Stationers' Register were entered to Hannah Allen alone: there are no joint entries with other stationers, and none of the works bearing her imprint was entered by anyone else. Moreover, only three imprints from this period are shared with other booksellers: two with John Rothwell (presumably the son of the John Rothwell with whom she was earlier associated) and one with John Walker. The evidence for collaboration and partnership noted in the first phase now disappears, and Hannah Allen's name is coupled neither in the Register nor in imprints with other possible publishers.
Of the 29 works, 24 have imprints which name printers, and here again the change is very marked: instead of the almost exclusive association with one printer there now appears a great variety of printers' names. Eight printers are named in all; Simmons' name still appears more often than that of any other printer, but his relationship with Hannah Allen is clearly much less exclusive. Simmons appears on 8 imprints; Robert Ibbitson on 4; John Clowes, Gertrude Dawson and Charles Sumptner on 3 each; Francis Neile on two; and both John Hammond and 'E.G.' appear once only. Simmons appears as printer throughout the second period, while most of the others appear at particular times, associated with particular types of work. Ibbitson appears from mid-1650 until her last imprint in January 1651; John Clowes printed three topical political/religious works between January and March, 1649; Dawson printed the three Gerbier lectures in August and September, 1649; Sumptner seems to have printed for her only from late 1649 until March 1650; Francis Neile's two works appeared in April and in October 1650; Hammond's one was also in October 1650; and 'E.G.' reprinted in 1650 the work by Venning which he had originally printed for Hannah Allen and Rothwell in 1647.

Most of the printers listed here fit into the branch of the book trade which produced Puritan and radical literature. Clowes, an earlier associate of Benjamin Allen, printed with Ibbitson the newsheet The perfect occurrences from 1647 to 1649. Ibbitson, another former associate of Benjamin Allen, produced much of the 'official' Commonwealth literature, and in 1653 his name was suggested for the position of printer to the Council of State, though in the event Hills and Field were appointed. Francis Neile, also a newsheet printer (The weekly intelligencer 1651-5), was an associate of Matthew Simmons. John Hammond, too, had produced a newsheet - The kingdom's weekly post - in 1643. Little is known either of Sumptner or of Walker, whose shop was also in Pope's Head Alley, at the sign of the Star.101
The differences between the two periods of Hannah Allen's career are so great as to suggest a significant change in her practice: the almost exclusive association with Simmons, Rothwell and Overton in the first period gives way to what looks much more like the pattern of a publisher running her own business, owning and entering more copies and employing 'jobbing' printers for particular pieces of work. The break-up of the earlier association is, in part, explicable: according to Plomer, Rothwell died early in 1649, and Overton either died or retired in the previous year.102 This does not explain, however, why the strongest link, with Simmons, should have been fractured at about the same time (though not entirely broken). A possible explanation may be that Rothwell and Overton were the ones who provided the capital. Rothwell can be assumed to be a man of some wealth, since he was warden of the Stationers' Company twice, in 1634 and 1638. Overton's position financially must have been similar: he was active in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, parish, serving as a General Vestryman from 1630 and a Select Vestryman from 1644; he fined for Scavenger in 1633, sat on the Wardmote Inquest in 1634, was collector for the poor in 1638 and fined for Constable in 1639. He also joined the Honourable Artillery Company, which attracted Puritans and radicals, in 1631.103 The evidence is far from satisfactory, but Rothwell and Overton's likely wealth contrasts with Plomer's reference to Simmons' relative poverty in 1641, and it is possible that Rothwell and Overton acted as Simmons' backers for a number of publications. The deaths of the two men towards the end of the first period of Hannah Allen's career would have implications both for the volume of work passing to Simmons' press and for Hannah Allen as retail outlet for their publications. A rough survey of Simmons' imprints does suggest that after 1649 his output fell, but the explanation for this is probably more complex than the mere removal of Rothwell and Overton from the trade.104
The difficulties of clarifying the economic relationships of stationers from the often misleading evidence of imprints, and the way in which Stationers' Register entries can obscure copy ownership, have been rehearsed elsewhere. Bearing in mind, then, that the evidence I have been able to discuss is at best incomplete, and possibly misleading, I would suggest that Hannah Allen's career does exhibit two distinct phases, and it seems that after the collapse of the earlier association with Simmons, Rothwell and Overton at the end of 1648, Hannah Allen took on more of a publishing and copy-owning role, turning to a number of printers to fulfil contracts and entering into no new partnership with another bookseller or publisher. Several of the printers she used were in the Puritan/radical group of stationers, and a few of them (Clowes and Ibbitson, Hammond and Walker) would be known to her already as printers for Benjamin Allen. The tailing off of her association with Simmons may be simply part of a general falling-off in his output. Despite the tentativeness of the explanations I have offered, it seems at least clear that Hannah Allen's brief career, in her relations with other stationers, shows a move from a measure of dependency on the backing of others to a more active and personally controlled publishing role.

After 1651

Hannah Allen's career as a publisher apparently ends in January 1651, with the publication of Durant's Comfort and counsell...; the last entry in the Stationers' Register in her name is for the same book, registered on 2 September 1650. Livewell Chapman's indenture expired around this time: he was freed by Hannah Allen on 13 November 1650; by 12 September 1651, at the latest, they were married. Their son, also called Livewell, was christened on 2 June 1652, and a daughter, Patience, on 6 December 1653, both at St Mary Abchurch. Chapman's name appears in an imprint for the first time in 1650, on a broadside petition of Wills; the following year he appeared in eight imprints.
Not surprisingly, from the time of her marriage Hannah Allen's name disappears from imprints and from the Stationers' Register (except as a party to the sale or transfer of rights) and the evidence from other sources about her subsequent level of activity within the trade is very slim. I shall argue, however, that the little evidence available points to continued activity, and taken together with the development of her brief solo career it demonstrates the way in which the brief 'surfacing' of a woman in book trade records can be misleading: like the tip of the iceberg, the apparently brief career of a woman between marriages is simply the visible part of something more far-reaching - in this case, a much longer involvement with the book trade than the 'visible' evidence might suggest.

Livewell Chapman's career has been surveyed elsewhere and I do not propose to dwell on it, except at the points where something about Hannah Allen's activity is implied. 109 In 1651 the Fifth Monarchists came into being as an organization, and Chapman's specialization in the literature produced by this group is well-known. There is evidence that when the group split over their attitude to the Protectorate, Chapman was one of those opposed to the use of physical force to bring about Christ's kingdom on earth, and was not therefore part of the armed uprisings organized by Venner in 1657 and 1661. 110 Chapman's publishing was dominated by Baptist and Fifth Monarchist literature throughout his career; Rostenberg is misleading when she says that the publications he issued during the first two years of his career 'represent the writings of authors who had been originally represented in the trade list of Benjamin and Hannah Allen: Powell, Durant, Troughton, Venning and others'. 111 In fact, the authors she names were all published by Hannah Allen, but not by Benjamin; and it was Hannah Allen who issued the first publications of all four of them.
Hannah Allen's appearances in the records from now on are quickly summarized: on 6 February 1654 she freed John Allen, an apprentice apparently taken on by Benjamin Allen in 1645, shortly before his death, but whose apprenticeship was formally registered with the Stationers' Company by Hannah Allen on 2 November 1646. Whether any family relationship existed between the Allens and this apprentice is not clear: the coincidence of surname (admittedly a common one) and the fact that John Allen later published authors once published by Hannah Allen might suggest a connection closer than that of mistress and apprentice. A year after freeing him, she freed another apprentice, John Garfield, on 10 January 1655. His apprenticeship to Hannah Allen had begun in 1647, but he was freed not by Hannah Allen alone, or by her and Chapman, but by her and Joseph Hunscott. Hunscott's involvement remains unexplained. This is the only occasion on which his name appears in conjunction with Hannah Allen's, and Plomer's account of him as an active and zealous member of the Stationers' Company, a Parliamentarian but hardly a radical, suggests no particular mutual interest. Hunscott did, however, undertake a large amount of 'official' Parliamentary printing, and among his former apprentices were George and Giles Calvert. No record of any transfer of Garfield from Hannah Allen to Hunscott survives. The likelihood that Hannah Allen had for the most part of her solo career three apprentices, whereas both her husbands only bound one apprentice each, may reflect the degree to which the business expanded under her management.

Livewell Chapman's skirmishes with the authorities under the Protectorate (in 1654/5 for publishing Spittlehouse's attack on Cromwell; in 1656 for Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana; in October 1657 for sectarian publishing; in March 1658 for publishing an attack on the government) do not, as far as the surviving records show, implicate Hannah Allen in any of these
activities. The fact of Chapman's alliance with the Fifth Monarchists, at least until the middle of 1656, is not of itself grounds for assuming that Hannah Allen was also a supporter. It is apparent, however, from information collected by Thurloe, that among the Fifth Monarchists women did organize separately, and that the women dealt with the distribution of literature and propaganda. A note from an informer giving information about meeting places goes on:

In which places were their armes, ammunition, and declarations. These declarations were to be dispersed in this town, and also to be sent into the country. And a committee of women were appointed to do this. Another paper, written this time by a Fifth Monarchist, states:

That the declarations be left with the sisters, that meet together, to be sent into the countries, all opportunityes after wee are gon; and to be delivered to the churches and meetings in this citty, and published to all upon the 6th day of the weeke.

There is no evidence of Hannah Allen's involvement in any of this, but the existence of a separate women's group concerned with distribution points to the participation of women in an organization persistently characterized by historians as an almost exclusively male preserve. Some of the religious radical groups seem to have had women-only meetings, and the prophet Hannah Trapnel met with her sisters before travelling to Cornwall; the following chapter's discussion of Mary Westwood touches on the existence within Quakerism of a group of women who challenged the leadership of Fox. The role of such groups of women (as opposed to the preaching and writing of individuals) is as yet unexplored.

The crunch came for Livewell Chapman with the Restoration: in 1660 warrants for his arrest were issued
on 26 March, 3 April and 28 April, all for seditious publishing. The second of these warrants, which Chapman presumably evaded, was issued to Serjeant Northfolk 'to apprehend Livewell Chapman and -------- Chapman, and bring them before the Council'. It seems likely that the unfilled blank stood for Hannah, whose arrest along with her husband would be desired if she, too, were still involved in either the publishing or the retail side of the business. The blow which more or less ended Chapman's career (and the careers of most of the 'Confederates') was the investigation of the printing of The phoenix of the solemn league and covenant and Mirabilis annus, in 1661. Chapman's apprentice gave evidence against him, as did the printer Thomas Creake, and the imprisonments which followed almost wiped out the whole group. In 1662 Chapman fled abroad, but was caught on his return; Dover and Brewster died in Newgate, Calvert died in 1663 probably as a result of his imprisonment, Twyn was executed in 1664, Nathaniel Calvert died in the same year, and the only survivors were Francis Smith, who eventually rebuilt his business, and Chapman, who did not.

Several historians have pointed to the persistence of the wives and widows of this group in continuing to print and publish during their husbands' forced absences and imprisonments, and after the men's deaths. It is this group of women survivors, centring on Elizabeth Calvert, that I want to consider more fully in later chapters. The point about keeping the business going holds true for Hannah Allen: from 1660 to 1664, Chapman was often away from Pope's Head Alley, either on the run from the authorities, or, having been caught, spending time in Ludgate or the Gatehouse prison. Chapman's output fell off considerably during these years: from 6 imprints in 1660 to two in 1661, none in 1662, and one a year from 1663 to 1665. That books bearing his name were produced at all during this period may reasonably
supposed to be due, in part, to the continued activity of Hannah Allen in arranging printing and distribution. One piece of evidence survives to substantiate her involvement in publishing after the Restoration. Notes on seditious printers and publishers made early in 1663, and mainly concerning that group of stationers called by L'Estrange 'the Confederates', lists her among the publishers of seditious material. The notes, presumably a drawing together of evidence for a potential prosecution, and headed 'This will be attested', include the following:

That Twinning printed the generall epistle of Sr Henry Vane. That Bruister managed the printing of Sr H: Vane's triale, and life & death. And that Mrs Chapman, of ye 6e face of Times.

Vane was executed in 1662 and won much popular support during his trial and for his behaviour at the execution. One of those radicals who had opposed the Protectorate, in 1655 he had been summoned, along with Nathaniel Rich, to appear before the Council of State, probably because of involvement in Fifth Monarchist plots against the government. In the autumn he was arrested and imprisoned on the Isle of Wight, where the Fifth Monarchists Christopher Feake and John Rogers were fellow prisoners. After Cromwell's death he re-emerged into politics, and Livewell Chapman and Thomas Brewster were associated in publishing his pamphlets. Violet Rowe has noted that of eleven pamphlets published to persuade the army to recall the Rump in 1659, all but one were published by Chapman, and several of these have been ascribed to Vane. For republicans, Vane's trial and execution in 1662 was a cause célèbre, and it is not surprising to find the same publishers who had printed Vane's pamphlets now publishing his work and accounts of his life to keep alive enthusiasm for 'the good old cause'. That Hannah Allen, now Mrs. Chapman, managed the publication of a work by Vane at this time, perhaps during one of Livewell Chapman's many absences, offers a rare indication that her activity as a publisher of radical
literature continued not only after her second marriage, but also into the post-Restoration period when the production of such literature was a dangerous occupation. By 1663, she was considered by the authorities to be part of that network of publishers centring on the Confederates which was responsible for the many 'libels' of the early Restoration years.¹²²

On 9 March 1663 a warrant for Chapman's arrest was issued, and he was in prison until May of the following year - for about 14 months. In the April immediately following his arrest he petitioned for his discharge, claiming that he had fled England for debt and that he had been misrepresented by his enemies. Hannah also petitioned, to be allowed to see him; in January, she and Christopher Chapman were granted access.¹²³ A visit from L'Estrange in March seems to have resulted in an 'accommodation', and L'Estrange wrote to Williamson on 5 May, giving his opinion that the securities for Chapman's bond (dated 9 May) were responsible, and reporting the conditions on which Chapman was to be released. He says 'the condition is to be that neither he nor his wife, nor any by their order, print, publish, or disperse any book or paper contrary to law.' This deliberate inclusion of Hannah Allen's good behaviour in the bond for Chapman's release indicates that as far as L'Estrange was concerned they were equally concerned in illegal publishing, and suggests that she was still active in the running of the business.¹²⁴

According to Francis Smith, who himself lost his shop and trade for two years and sold balms for the cure of the gout, Chapman was also reduced to selling patent medicines for a living, a sideline not uncommon among booksellers. L'Estrange mentions Chapman as selling translations of the classics. Smith's estimate of his situation seems likely to be accurate: 'Mr. Lidwell Chapman ... by continued imprisonments, he and his family [were] ruined.'¹²⁵
On the face of it, then, there is little evidence for Hannah Allen's continued activity in the trade after her second marriage. But her probable inclusion in the warrant for arrest in 1660, the allegation of managing the publication of Sir Henry Vane's book in 1663, the specific inclusion of a reference to her in the conditions for Chapman's release in 1664, and the continuation of the business during Chapman's absences abroad and in prison, at least indicate that the immediate impression of an ended career, given by her disappearance from imprints in 1651, may be far from the truth. What happened to her after 1665 is unknown: presumably, unlike the more persistent 'confederate' wives and widows, she honoured the terms of the bond for her husband's release. The Stationers' Company Poor Book lists a 'widow Hannah Chapman' from the second quarter of 1678 until the second quarter of 1705. If this is the same woman (and the lateness of the dates would make her very old indeed), her receipt of the Company's charity for 27 years suggests no very successful career after the 1660s. In investigating others of the 'confederate' women, I hope to suggest more of what might lie behind the silences of the book trade records.
CHAPTER TWO
MARY WESTWOOD, QUAKER PUBLISHER

In the library at Friends' House there is a memorandum by H.R. Plomer headed 'Mary Westwood. Publisher of Quaker literature. 1659' which describes five pamphlets carrying the Westwood imprint, noticed by Plomer in a volume of Quaker tracts. The questions with which Plomer ends his account have not yet been answered:

Is anything known about Mary Westwood? Was she simply a Friend anxious to spread the truth who caused these pamphlets to be printed, or was she one of those female hawkers of books and pamphlets who are known to have existed in the days of the Commonwealth?¹

Mary Westwood's full name appears on eleven pamphlets, ten of them published between January 1659 and January 1660, and the other dated only 1660. Identification of her with the 'M.W.' who was publishing between 1659 and 1663 seems likely; like Mary Westwood, 'M.W.' published Quaker literature exclusively, and 'M.W.' published all but two of the authors whose works appeared with the Westwood imprint.² Both share the habit of giving the day and month of the year in the Quaker style, and there are no other known booksellers with the same initials who seem remotely identifiable as this 'M.W.'³ Oddly, the reversed initials also appear on eight Quaker pamphlets in 1662 and 1663, and all but one of the authors published by 'W.M.' were also published by Mary Westwood and 'M.W.'⁴ There is no hard evidence for assuming 'W.M.' to be the same publisher, but the coincidence of authors is at least suggestive. Most striking is the appearance of two pamphlets by William Bayly, both written in October 1663 during his confinement in Hertford prison, one carrying the 'M.W.' imprint and the other the 'W.M.' imprint.⁵ The evidence from imprints points to a Mary Westwood/M.W. publishing 51 pamphlets over a period of about five years, and possibly another eight as 'W.M.'; a full list of titles published under each imprint
is given in Appendix 4. Every one of these pamphlets was written by Quakers for whom biographical detail is in most cases available.

The most puzzling thing about Mary Westwood is the lack of biographical evidence, beyond her name or initials on Quaker pamphlets. Plomer's bafflement is echoed by historians of Quaker printing: 'Mary Westwood is one of whom little is known'. In the women's petition against tithes, which she published in July 1659, she appears within the text as a signatory to the petition in the London and Southwark section. The petition is the only one of her publications to give an address, but the place of sale named is not her own shop: 'Printed for Mary Westwood, and are to be sold at the Black-spread Eagle at the West end of Pauls'. This suggests some acquaintance with the Calverts, whose shop was at that address. Mary Westwood is also listed in Smith's Descriptive catalogue... as the author of A testimony against tythes, but no copy of the work seems to have survived. I have been able to find only one piece of evidence confirming her existence: ironically, the record of her death. The Quaker burial records for London and Middlesex show that a 'Mary Westwood died on 18. 11mo. 1666' (i.e.18 January 1667) and that she was buried in 'Checker Alley', the burial ground used by Quakers in Bunhill Fields. No cause of death is recorded. It is not surprising, in view of the kind of literature she published, that the records of the book trade do not mention her. She entered no copies in the Stationers' Register, and appears never to have had premises searched or copies seized. More surprising is the absence of her name from Quaker archives: given the detail of early Quaker records and the systematic researches of Quaker historians, it might reasonably be expected that her name would occur in letters organizing book distribution among Friends, or in the extensive records of sufferings.
This striking lack of biographical evidence might suggest that 'Mary Westwood' was a false name, intended as a cover for the real publisher who wished to avoid identification and possible prosecution. But while it is true that opposition publishers of the Restoration period sometimes used false imprints, occasionally to implicate other, rival, publishers, such an explanation in this case seems unlikely, and certainly not in keeping with the usual practices of publishers of Quaker material. Mary Westwood's career spans the confusion of 1659, when Quaker hopes of toleration reached their peak, and the onset of severe persecution (and attempts at tighter control of the press) after 1660. Throughout this period Quaker publications appeared with no imprint at all; conversely, the main Quaker publishers in London continued to put their names to the works they produced without attracting the attention of the authorities. Giles Calvert, Thomas Simmons, Thomas Brewster and Robert Wilson were all publishing Quaker material for at least part of the period under consideration, and few examples of harrassment can be found. Their names appear, openly enough, on a multitude of Quaker pamphlets, and it is therefore difficult to see why anyone should invent a false imprint; publishing with no imprint would have been the obvious option for anyone fearful of prosecution.

I shall assume, then, that Mary Westwood did exist and did publish Quaker literature. It is possible that, like the other publishers named above, she was not herself a Quaker, though the record of her death implies that by that time she had become one. Her exclusive publishing of Quaker material suggests either a stronger commitment than mere sympathy with the Quaker cause or the shrewd cornering of a particular market. The narrow range of her publications, the individual authors represented in her list, and the strong geographical bias and interest of the works themselves suggest a market largely outside London, tied to a network of Quaker itinerants mainly in the
southern counties rather than to the commercial book trade of the capital. Her output provides new and detailed evidence of the ways in which one sector of the book trade operated and responded to the needs of the Quakers, a sect which recognized early in its development the power of print in evangelizing not only England but the whole world. It suggests, too, a provincial readership which, whether Quaker or not, was interested in the campaign for religious toleration and, more specifically, in the abolition of tithes.

Publishing Activities of the Early Quakers

From the beginnings of the Quaker movement in the early 1650s the press was an important factor in the spread of ideas. Letters of early Friends and contemporary accounts demonstrate that, almost as a matter of course, the distribution of pamphlets and books was an integral part of Quaker meetings. Itinerating Quakers carried with them printed material for distribution in towns they passed through, consignments of pamphlets were supplied to regions and sent on missions abroad, and any opportunity offered by markets, fairs and court hearings for public speaking was also used for the free distribution of pamphlets. Northern Quakers financed most of the early book production, and the accounts of Thomas Willan and George Taylor, with their letters to Margaret Fell, indicate the scale of the activity and the expenses met by collections and personal donations.13

Elizabeth and Giles Calvert, the London booksellers, were involved early on in publishing work for Quakers, though neither seems to have become a member of the movement. Giles Calvert attended the large meeting of Quakers at Swannington in January 1654, which sufficiently alarmed the authorities for spies to be sent to gather information. Thurloe's informants reported on 21 January:

The printer who was with them was Giles Calvert of London, who stay'd with them eight or nine
Two years later the Calverts' shop was raided and 94 copies of Edward Burrough's book *A trumpet of the Lord sounded out of Sion*, stitched up ready for sale at 4d each, were seized. There is no record of any punishment, however, and it seems likely that the surprising freedom from legal action enjoyed by the main publishers of Quaker literature was due either to bribes or to their personal influence with members of the government. Lodowick Muggleton's account from 1669 may well describe a practice long established and familiar to publishers and printers in the earlier decades:

> through the forgetfulness of the Printer, not taking the copy in his pockets as he thought to do, he went out and left the copy and proof of one sheet upon the press with his servants, and the searchers came immediately up stairs and took it, and would have carried it to the Council; but the Printer made friends for money, else he would have been utterly undone; for it cost the printer seven pounds, and me five pounds to pacify the matter, and not get it done neither. But I have preserved the copy, most part of it, and hereafter I do think to print it, but not at present, it will be no ways convenient.

In the case of Calvert and Brewster in the mid 1650s, however, their influence may have been sufficient to make such measures unnecessary. Both were under consideration in May 1653 for appointment as printers to the Council of State (along with Ibbitson and Hills), and under the Protectorate their contacts with radicals in London and in the army must have given them some protection.

The first appearance of Quakers in London, before the burst of missionary activity from the north in 1654,
was in the persons of two women who brought with them a paper by George Fox which they had printed and then dispersed in the streets. One of the women is unknown; the other was Isabel Buttery, probably from Wakefield and a friend of James Nayler. The paper they dispersed was 

To all that would know the way to the kingdom ..., reprinted many times, including an edition in French published by Mary Westwood in 1661. Records of the imprisonments of Quakers during the early years show that several of those arrested were involved in distributing what was seen by the authorities as 'seditious' literature. Quakers were imprisoned in Sussex in 1656 for 'publishinge certaine seditious books', and in the same year Thurloe was sent information about a Mr. Cole of Southampton who was caught sending Quaker books and papers to the postmaster at Winchester, and was thought himself to have dispersed some of the pamphlets on the Isle of Wight.

The main ends which printing served for Quakers are indicated both in Runyon's analysis of Quaker works and in O'Malley's survey of the Quaker press. In the early years, proclamations and prophetic works addressed to non-Quakers predominated, along with doctrinal disputes and replies to attacks; also numerous were appeals to government and to particular individuals like Cromwell, or Monck in Scotland, and works designed for use in missionary work abroad, especially in Ireland, Barbados and Europe. At particular times of stress, accounts of sufferings and epistles to fellow Quakers became important; later, a few autobiographical works and an increasing number of memorials and volumes of collected works were produced. An unexpected result, according to Runyon, of his detailed analysis by year, was the peak of many kinds of Quaker publishing between 1658 and 1662, when the series of political upheavals and changes in government led both to high hopes of toleration and to sudden swings towards persecution.
It is this 'peak' time of Quaker publishing that Mary Westwood's career covers. The harsh persecution of Quakers after Nayler's conviction in 1656-7 gave way to hopes of toleration after Cromwell's death. 1659, a year of four governments and rapid reversals of policy towards sectarians, was the year in which Quakers campaigned hardest for the abolition of tithes and for toleration, while among some sections of the public a fear of the 'Quaker threat' took hold; it was also the year in which Mary Westwood began her Quaker publishing. The promise of toleration held out by Charles II at the Restoration was quickly withdrawn as the Quakers were implicated (probably mistakenly) in Venner's rising, and greater tolerance of Quaker activity towards the end of 1661 was ended by the onset of extreme persecution the following year. The years 1659-62 were the most crucial and the most complicated in the history of the Quakers' relation to the state, and it is as part of the frenetic activity of those years that Mary Westwood's output should be viewed. It was, moreover, a period in Quaker publishing which preceded the organized programme developed partly as a response to the persecution after 1661. Thereafter, an increasingly 'managed' publishing activity reflected the shift in every aspect of the movement from its earlier character as a spontaneous sect to a more rigidly hierarchical organization, with Fox as leader and chief censor. Most investigations of the Quaker press have dwelt on this later, organized, period, describing the ways in which the movement's hierarchical development, particularly after 1672, affected its publishing, with tight central control of content, printing and distribution. But in the years immediately before and after the Restoration, Quakerism itself and the practice of Quaker publishing were very far from the rigidity and control of the later years. Between 1659 and 1662 the Quaker movement, like the political nation, was in transition, and in concentrating on the output of Mary Westwood during that crucial period I hope to shed some light both on the ways in which Quaker texts came to be
written, printed and distributed, and on a level of publishing activity not previously inspected at all by historians of the London-based trade.

The Southern Counties: Hampshire

The extent to which Mary Westwood's publications emanated from, or were addressed to, places in the south of England is striking. Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in particular, as well as Dorset and Devon, feature repeatedly in the works she produced, with direct addresses and exhortations to individual ministers, villages, towns and counties, works by early Friends living in that area and others by Friends not indigenous but suffering imprisonment there forming a large proportion of her output. In all, 29 pamphlets out of the total of 59 (23 out of 51 if 'W.M.' imprints are excluded), representing nine individual authors, have a connection with the southern area. They are spread throughout her career, though most of the direct addresses to local places and works written from Winchester prison appear in 1659; their preponderance suggests a particular connection between Mary Westwood's business, and perhaps her origins, and this area.

In 1659, the first year of her publishing activities, Mary Westwood published a series of pamphlets written by Friends imprisoned in Winchester. Her habit of detailed dating, often giving the day as well as the month and year of publication, is not consistent enough to supply a detailed record of the order of publication, and evidence towards a chronology is offered in Appendix 5. Of the 1659 publications dated by month, the first seven to appear have connections with the southern area: in January, February, May and June she published 'southern' works and authors, as well as others which cannot be more precisely dated. The centre of this activity in the first part of 1659 seems to have been Winchester prison, and it is with Friends imprisoned there that Mary Westwood's career apparently began.
The previous autumn had seen the Quakers realize the disadvantages of their rapid growth as a movement. Their success in London alarmed the Independents who convened at the Savoy to establish a common front against the sects in general and Quakers in particular. Elsewhere, Presbyterians and Independents worked together to oppose the challenge presented by the Quakers, for example in Essex with some success and in Herefordshire with little. The death of Cromwell in September left the Quakers without the personal protection he had in individual cases afforded them, and at the mercy of already severe magistrates in some areas who used the Vagrancy Act, Sabbatarian Act and Church Attendance Act to harrass them. On his accession the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, was petitioned by Quakers for the release of Friends imprisoned for non-payment of tithes, refusals to take oaths and the interruption of church services. Henry Scobell, Clerk to the Council, circulated a letter in October 1658 to all 34 prisons with Quaker inmates, asking for information about Friends' commitals and the lengths of their imprisonments. The returns, made in October and November, included one from Winchester which enclosed copies of the mittimuses of the seven Quakers imprisoned there; of those seven prisoners, four wrote works published by Mary Westwood in 1659. The mittimuses of these four prisoners - Humphrey Smith, William Bayly, Daniel Baker and James Potter - give details of the offences for which they were prosecuted. Humphrey Smith and William Bayly were arrested together, in February 1658, along with Anothry Mellage, for 'severall High Misdemeano'rs by them committed at Poulner in the parish of Ringwood'; having refused to provide sureties they were sent from Southampton to Winchester prison, and were committed at the Lent Assizes to remain there until they agreed to give sureties for their return to their respective homes. Daniel Baker had been arrested at Brixton on the Isle of Wight for interrupting the minister's sermon on 19 May 1658, a day of public humiliation. At the Southampton Quarter Sessions he and his colleague,
George Henderson, were committed to 'moderate Laboure for six months. Or until they shall be Legally discharged payinge fees'. The fourth, James Potter, had also disturbed a minister, this time at Baghurst, and at the Summer Assizes in 1657 had been fined five pounds for contempt of court. He was imprisoned in Winchester until such time as he paid the fine, which he consistently refused to do. 27

The survey of October 1658 which provides this information drew a favourable response from the committee of the Council, and it ordered the discharge of about 40 named prisoners as well as sending a letter to magistrates asking them to exercise leniency and discharge some of the others. The letter seems to have had little effect on justices whose anti-Quakerism was deep-rooted, however, and in April 1659 Friends were again lobbying for the release of prisoners, with 164 Quakers offering themselves as substitutes for those in prison. They were sent away by an unsympathetic Commons, which viewed their appeal as an attack on magistrates and ministers. 28

The length of time that Humphrey Smith, William Bayly, Daniel Baker and James Potter each spent in Winchester prison is not in all cases certain. Smith had been imprisoned before, in 1655, and had been whipped and put in the stocks at Evesham: he was later imprisoned again in Winchester, and died a prisoner there on 4 May 1663. He wrote copiously, many of his pamphlets being written from prison, and nine of them were published by Mary Westwood. Bayly had been one of the first of Fox's converts in his mission to Poole, Dorset in 1655; previously a prominent Baptist minister there, and a ship-master, he travelled extensively as a Quaker and wrote numerous pamphlets, of which Mary Westwood published 11. 29 Daniel Baker had also been a seaman, captain of a man-of-war, and in 1661 he travelled to Smyrna and Constantinople on a Quaker mission to the East; Mary Westwood published three of his six pamphlets. Potter stayed in Baghurst after his release,
and was again committed to Winchester prison along with his sister Ann for non-payment of tithes. His testimony to his fellow-prisoner Humphrey Smith was included in the edition of Smith's works collected in 1683.

The pattern of arrest, long imprisonment, release and rearrest is a familiar one at this period in Quaker history. The publications of these men in 1659 indicate the ways in which imprisoned Quakers used the press both to publicize the intolerance and injustice of ministers and magistrates, and to justify their own suffering. More specifically, they indicate the extent to which Quakers were concerned to target their audience and to address a particular readership. Collaboration and co-authorship are strong features of Quaker pamphlets, many of which were written jointly or were compilations of several papers written by different authors. The Winchester prisoners clearly drew on each others' support and worked together at their writing. All four, along with four other Quaker prisoners, put their names to The fruits of unrighteousness and injustice brought forth by John Bulkley and Thomas Bowrman, and the rest of the rulers in Hampshire, against the innocent people of God, called Quakers, which was published by Thomas Simmons in 1658; and Smith and Bayly, along with Anthony Mellage (or Melledge) wrote a broadside defence of their case, again attacking 'John Bunkley', published in April 1659 without imprint.

Of the pamphlets by these four authors which Mary Westwood published, those appearing in 1659 are notable for their localization and their concern with local debates between the Quaker community and its opponents. Potter's A relation of the commitment and long unjust imprisonment of James Potter ... is an account of the sufferings of the author himself, his sister Ann and brother Richard, and an indictment of Edward Bental, minister of Baghurst (the minister whom Potter had earlier interrupted and by whom he was turned over to the magistrate in 1658). It also
contains an account of 'the imprisoning of Elizabeth Streeter, with two of her husbands servants, occasioned by Iohn Corbet Priest of Bramshot', and concludes with 'a few words to all; especially to the inhabitants of Baghurst and Bramshot, to turn from those covetous hirelings which have long deceived the [sic], & return unto the Lord ...'. The concern to expose intolerant ministers and to justify Quaker sufferings argues a local readership who, as neighbours, would be interested in the individuals named and, if sympathetic, might be persuaded to act on that sympathy and respond to Potter's repeated appeals to 'come out from them' and abandon the Church of England. 33

Baker's pamphlet *With the light is fifteen priests, (of the Isle of Wight reproved ...* [sic] is, similarly, part of a local debate, this time attacking the ministry of the Isle of Wight clergy: 'they are dark sinful sinners of the Gentiles, living in obscurity, chained up in a cave of darkness, their light eclipsed, their eyes dim, their sloath great, their hearts begin to gather blackness, and are seised on with fear ...'. Again, individuals are attacked, and the title names two as 'chiefest of them', one being Robert Dingley, whose service Baker and George Henderson had interrupted, leading to their imprisonment. 34

One of Bayly's works, too, addresses 'the rulers and priests in Ham shire' and attests his own sufferings at their hands; the same tract includes a paper called *A voice and visitation of God to the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight* which Bayly had been moved 'to speak forth' on the island the previous January. 35 Publication of these works and others of this kind must have been aimed at local distribution, to embarrass ministers and magistrates named and to win local public opinion to the side of the Quakers. Smith also wrote from Winchester prison with a local audience in mind; in the case of *Man driven out of the earth and darkness, by the light, life, and mighty hand of God* ... he addressed not the people of Hampshire, but 'both rulers and all sorts of professors in Herefordshire', his home county. His feelings about his treatment in
Winchester are quite clear: 'this filthy stinking, wicked, abominable prison'.

Throughout 1659 Mary Westwood continued to publish these four 'Winchester' authors, some of whom were released during the course of the year, and the focus now shifts away from Winchester and Hampshire. Bayly must have been freed by June, for in August Mary Westwood published his *A short discovery of the state of man* ... exposing 'the ignorance and error of Robert Hall preacher at Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire, and Edmund Board of the same town a professor' and detailing his debate with Hall and Board at a meeting in Colebrooke in June. Bayly ends with an appeal to the people of Colebrooke to judge for themselves the rightness of his cause, and the text is dated 24 June, 1659, written at Kingston upon Thames. Bayly's *A short relation or testimony of the working of the light of Christ in me, from my childhood* ..., also published in August, is the only autobiographical work represented in the works of the four 'Winchester' authors published by Mary Westwood. Autobiography as a kind of Quaker writing did not become common until the next decade. Bayly's account of his spiritual progress from childhood, dwelling on his relations with Baptists in Poole before his eventual conversion to Quakerism, would have had a particular interest for his home community. He had been a leading Baptist in Poole and the pamphlet is in part an explanation of his vacillation between Baptists and Quakers, a process which involved leaving and then rejoining the Baptists and considerable persecution as a member of that church. While not addressed to specific persons or places, the pamphlet reads in part as a justification to those he had deserted; as well as holding interest for that readership, the pamphlet would have provided Bayly, in his work as an itinerating Quaker, with a usefully personal tract with which to approach Baptists and Seekers he met on his travels. By September, Bayly was addressing a London readership: *A warning from the Lord, to the inhabitants of the city of London* ...
Daniel Baker was also released from Winchester during 1659 and by the autumn was in prison in London. The two works written from the Poultry Compter and published by Mary Westwood are again specific in terms of those addressed, and concern events in the city. A certaine warning from a naked heart before the Lord ... identifies Baker with the civil disturbances which began in London after the army coup which expelled Parliament and set up the Committee of Safety. The Committee, more favourable towards the radical sects, had banned the Lord Mayor's Show, probably not only from puritan motives but also to avoid a likely riot if it went ahead; pressure from the aldermen of the City, however, forced the rescinding of the banning order, and the Show took place. The only trouble at the Show was caused by Quakers, 'one of whom denounced the Show for its pomp, while another smashed the beautiful statues in the gardens of Whitehall'. Baker's pamphlet is the printed version of his denunciation of the Show, in which he condemns 'all cursed abominations' such as fairs, markets and shows, and offers a 'fire and brimstone' warning to the inhabitants of London. The origin of the pamphlet is made clear in its text:

Two of the originall Copyes of this was delivered, the one into John Ireton's hand late Mayor, and another to the present Mayor that evening before the heathenish idolaters with their idolatry, and cursed abominations ...

Baker describes his testimony before the Mayor's gate, and how he was beaten up and thrown into 'the hole' in the Poultry Compter. The second of Baker's pamphlet's published by Mary Westwood in the autumn of 1659 was again written from the Poultry Compter, and admonishes rulers, magistrates, priests and constables in general, as its title indicates: Now heare this all yee persecuting rulers, preists, and magistrates throughout the world ... [sic]. In reality, however, its target is the magistrate
John Waterton who, during Baker's imprisonment, had persecuted Baker's wife, children and servant. Its narrative of a vindictive magistrate harassing the dependents of a man already in prison, reminiscent of many other Quaker pamphlets including some of those by the 'Winchester' authors described above, was presumably designed both to embarrass the magistrate locally and to offer to the wider public another example of the oppression resulting from the involvement of magistrates in matters of religion. 42

Smith, who seems not to have been released from Winchester, also published work during 1659 which addressed a wider audience than that of Hampshire. As well as the pamphlet addressed to Herefordshire, noted above, he wrote To the musicioners ... in which the target is not geographical at all. In it he speaks to all people who enjoy music, singing and dancing, and his closing remark that 'This may be Translated (truely) into Latine, French or other languages by any friend in truth' suggests the scope of his intended readership. 43 His Concerning tithes ... may well have been part of the upsurge of Quaker hopes for the abolition of tithes in the summer of 1659, and will be discussed alongside other 'political' tracts. 44

The importance of the four 'Winchester prison' authors in Mary Westwood's publishing career is clear, not only in the first part of 1659 but throughout the whole period of her work. The chronology of her publications (Appendix 5) suggests that the relationship between authors and publisher began during the time of the authors' co-residence in Winchester; that the relationship continued after their respective releases is clear from the 1659 publications of Bayly and Baker, and from the extent to which these authors dominate her output in the following years. Between them, the four men provided 24 of the works she published in the course of her brief career. 45 Interestingly, there are discernable links between this
group and other authors in her list, perhaps suggesting that personal friendships between the 'Winchester' authors and other Quakers lie behind others of her publications. A personal connection is obvious, for example, in Nicholas Complin's *The faithfulness of the upright made manifest ...*, published in 1663. Complin's only published work, it is a testimony to the life of Humphrey Smith, who died in Winchester prison on 4 May of that year. Himself from Hampshire, Complin may well have been a fellow-prisoner of Smith; he, too, died in Winchester prison later the same year. Another of Mary Westwood's authors, Humphrey Bache, may have been published by her as a result of his friendship with Daniel Baker. Bache had been an early London convert, and like Baker was a shopkeeper; his house, at the sign of the Snail in Tower Street, was a regular meeting place for Quakers. In 1659 Mary Westwood published *A few words in true love written to the old long sitting Parliament ...*, one of two pamphlets written by Bache. Bache and Baker's friendship is suggested by their collaboration in other Quaker tracts: the last page of Bache's other work, *The voice of thunder ...*, was written by Baker, and they spent time together as prisoners in the Poultry Compter in the autumn of 1659. Baker's two pamphlets written from prison and discussed above both contain material written by Bache: *A certaine warning ...* finishes with a testimony by Bache about his opening his shop on a Sunday, for which offence he was imprisoned alongside Baker in the Compter, and *Now heare this all yee persecuting rulers ...* has a preface signed 'H.B.'. The initials seem likely to be Bache's, since Baker's pamphlet is, in part, about the magistrate's harrying of his wife and family for opening shop on Sundays.

Other 'Southern Counties' Authors

Dorset was first visited by Fox in 1655 and several Baptists were convinced at Poole, including William Bayly. Poole, Lyme Regis, Bridport and Weymouth became the chief centres of Quakerism in the county, and Fox held large
meetings at both Dorchester and Weymouth. Thomas Woodrove, published by Mary Westwood in May 1659, was probably an early Weymouth convert and was imprisoned with Humphrey Smith in Evesham. His *An allarm to the inhabitants of the earth... Also a salutation to the children of light, who are turned to the Lord, especially to them in Dorsetshire* is another of those pamphlets written for a local audience by an inhabitant, and is one of only two works published by Woodrove; the other appeared in the same year under the imprint of Thomas Simmons.50 Also in 1655, preceding Fox's southern tour, two Quakers had visited Exeter and Plymouth and succeeded in gathering a meeting in the latter. Generally, however, Devon proved very hostile to Quakers, and the two itinerants were imprisoned in Exeter, to be joined by numerous other Quaker prisoners, including Margaret Killam who helped to consolidate the Plymouth meeting.51 Two of the earliest Plymouth converts were Priscilla and Arthur Cotton, who both corresponded with Margaret Fell and Fox in the 1650s, several times to request help in Devon and Cornwall, both of which counties remained hostile to the spread of Quakerism. Arthur Cotton wrote only one work, jointly with other Plymouth Friends, published by Mary Westwood without a date: *The wise taken in their own craftiness. Being an answer to certain queries sent to the people of God called Quakers. In Plymouth, and other certain queries propounded to the people called Baptists. In Plimouth. For them to answer.*52 The pamphlet provides an indication of the way in which local debates might lead to Quakers issuing a printed statement: Cotton describes the Quakers' attempt to read their statement at a Baptist meeting, and the reason for the statement now being printed:

> we the people of God called Quakers having drawn up an answer thereunto, in our freedome did tender it to their publick meeting, and read part of the same, but the said Baptists by unseemly words, caused the minds of many to be evilly affected, so that few of them would hear
the answer to those queries, and so did evilly requite our Loves therefore we thought it necessary to put forth our answer to publick view, both for the information of the simple hearted ... and also for the stopping of all clamorous mouths ... 53

Rivalry between Baptists and Quakers was often fierce, since Quakers were winning many converts from the Baptist congregations. Cotton's pamphlet not only answers the 'queries' raised by the Baptists, but carries the debate a stage further by appending a number of queries addressed to the rival sect, instructing the Baptists to 'Send an answer to these Queries to any of the People of God called Quakers in Plymouth'. The Cottons' repeated requests for help from itinerating ministers are perhaps a measure of the fierceness of the local debate with Baptists of which this pamphlet forms a part. 54 Priscilla Cotton, Arthur's wife, wrote four works, one of which was also published by Mary Westwood, again undated. Her A testimony of truth to all Friends, or others that desire to be satisfied what this truth is, or the manifestation in the flesh is names no specific target, but as a statement of Quaker belief would presumably have been distributed among local sympathizers and waverers likely to be attracted to Quakerism. 55

A participant in the 1655 mission to the south was Ambrose Rigge, who travelled through Surrey and Kent and met much abuse; at Basingstoke he was imprisoned for 15 weeks for refusing the oath of abjuration. By the time he reached Hampshire, there were already some established groups of Quakers with Ringwood, Bramshot, Alton, Basingstoke and Southampton the principal centres. His main work seems to have been on the Isle of Wight, which proved difficult territory; he established a meeting there, but was arrested and expelled from the island. In 1658 he was imprisoned at Southampton as a vagabond, and in 1661 was arrested at either Southampton or Winchester as a 'pernicious fellow', and had his books taken from him. Whether the books
confiscated were his personal texts or, as seems more likely, Quaker pamphlets he carried to disperse in the county, is not known. Mary Westwood published one of his many tracts, *A true prospect for the bishops, priests and deacons...*, which uses the Common Prayer Book as the grounds for an attack on the hypocrisy of Church of England ministers.\(^5^6\)

In all, then, nine of the 27 authors published by Mary Westwood lived, worked or were imprisoned in the southern counties, and another, Humphrey Bache, had a personal link with them. Their works amount to half of her identifiable output, and they are proportionally significant from the very beginning of her career: in 1659, thirteen of the 21 works carrying her imprint emanated from this group. There is no evidence that she herself came from this part of England, but its importance in the flood of works which suddenly issued under her imprint in 1659 is clear, and it seems likely that her market as bookseller or distributor was at least initially in this region.\(^5^7\) More evidence for her operation outside London is discussed below.

**Other 'Local' Publications**

Turning now from the southern mission and Mary Westwood's publishing in 1659 to her publications as a whole, the theme of publication for a specific local audience is still apparent. The connection with the southern counties remains, and it seems likely that the works of Bayly and of Humphrey Smith published after 1659 would have had a particular interest for people of those counties. Four of the six pamphlets she published by Smith in subsequent years carry statements that they were written in Winchester prison, and the other two may well have been written there too.\(^5^8\) A number of other publications by Mary Westwood address specific, local targets in other areas of the country.
Both Solomon Eccles' *In the year 59 ...*, published in August 1659, and Rebecca Travers' *This is for any of that generation ...*, which appeared in January 1660, concern the same church in Aldermanbury. Eccles describes his enactment of a 'sign' by arriving in the church before Calamy, the minister, arrived to preach, and staging a 'sit-in' demonstration in the pulpit. His first attempt resulted in his violent removal, and his second in a beating and imprisonment in Newgate, where the pamphlet was written. Rebecca Travers' tract, which describes her own search for a satisfying church and her eventual rejection of the Anglican church for Quakerism, appeals directly to 'them that meet to worship in the old Mass-house in Aldermanbury' to follow her example. Also aimed at a particular local audience is Henry Jackson's *A testimony of truth ...*, published in 1662 and addressed 'To all Friends of truth in the East and West parts of Yorkshire'; it is dated 'From the Lodge in Essex this 4th day of the 9th Month, 1662' (i.e. 4 November). Jackson himself was from Yorkshire; in a postscript he demonstrates one of the ways in which Quaker tracts came to be printed:

> Freinds, I not having convenient opertunity, to transcribe so many Copies hereof, as the places set before me, unto which it was to be directed for the service thereof I was free in the Lord, to commit it unto the Press, and to disperse it amongst you, as a Testimony of Truth ...  

The way in which Quaker writings circulated in manuscript, and the reasons for converting them to print, are points I shall return to when examining the scale and function of Mary Westwood's publishing as a whole.

Other provincial connections are noticeable in the two works by brothers published in 1662. William and Thomas Green originated from Northamptonshire; while it is unlikely that William ever moved away from the area, Thomas moved south, and in 1659 was writing from
Twickenham. William Green's A visitation of love unto the inhabitants of London, or any other place where it may come is dated 'London, the 12th of the 10th month, 1663' (i.e. 12 December) and may have been written during a visit to his London-based brother. Thomas Green's A few plain words to the inhabitant of England [sic], published by 'W.M.' in 1662, consists of five papers written at different times and in different places. The first was written 'From the Comon Goale in Bedford the 11th of the 2d month (i.e. April) 1661'; the second is an account of a vision, dated 6 April 1660; the third is in verse; the fourth was 'Given fourth the 14th. of the 6th. Month [i.e. August] 1662. in Colchester to be Read amongst Friends'; and the last is a reassurance about persecution and is undated.

Mary Westwood also published a few works aiming at a non-English readership. Two are translations into French. The first, published by Thomas Simmons in English in 1659 and 1660, is Vn mot au people du monde, qui hait la lumiere ..., by George Fox the younger. The second is a translation of the standard work by Fox the elder, To all that would know the way to the kingdom ..., the first Quaker tract to be disseminated in London. It was reprinted in English many times in the 1650s, and was clearly one of those pamphlets which itinerating Friends used in their missions. As A tous ceulx qui voudront cognoistre la voye au roy avme ... it was 'Re-imprimé à Londres pour 'M.W.' lané 1661' with several additions, one at least of which is by Fox, doubling the length of the English original from 16 to 32 pages. It is impossible to link these two publications with particular missions to France or French-speaking countries; from as early as 1654 Friends had travelled abroad, and although John Perrot and Charles Bayly were certainly in France in 1661 on their way home from Rome, and William Salt was there from 1658 until autumn 1659, there is no evidence of a connection. Indeed, there was most likely a more or less continuous presence of Quakers in France, as many separate missions travelled
through that country en route for Italy and the East. The reason for Mary Westwood's publication of two standard Quaker addresses in French may, however, lie closer to home. In the seventeenth century, well before the immigration resulting from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there was an established Huguenot community whose foreign churches in London and in other cities may have attracted some Quaker attempts at conversion. Interestingly, as well as the French community in London, there was a long established French church in Southampton, which continued to absorb new refugees whose escape from France brought them to the southern coastal towns. French protestant communities in England, especially those in Southampton and London, may have been among the intended targets of Quaker translations such as these. 66

Another publication designed for a non-English audience is Stephen Crisp's *A description of the Church of Scotland*; with a word of reproofe to the priests, and teachers, and officers therein .... An influential early Friend from Colchester, Crisp visited Scotland in 1659, though the length of his stay there is not clear. Crisp, like Humphrey Bache, had offered himself earlier in the same year in exchange for the release of imprisoned Friends. This pamphlet may have been published on his return, in part as a description of the state of the Scots church, but its specific appeal is to the Scots themselves, to accept the falsity of their church's doctrines and 'come out from amongst them', and it was probably designed for distribution by Quaker itinerants in Scotland. 67 Two more pamphlets, this time connected with Barbados, present a similar uncertainty about their likely target readership; in both cases, the pamphlets would have had some interest for Quakers in England as well as providing material which might accompany missions abroad. *The sins of a gainsaying and rebellious people laid before them ...* addresses 'ye scattered people in Barbados' and in fact contains three papers, by Rous himself, Margaret Fell and George Fox.
Rous was the son of a wealthy sugar planter in Barbados, and the father was among the first on the island to join the Quakers; like Rhode Island, Barbados became a centre of missionary activity to the mainland of America, and John Rous was imprisoned in Boston in 1658, and had an ear cropped for his activities as a Quaker. Newly arrived in London at the time of writing the address to Barbados, he married Margaret Fell's daughter two years later. There appeared a few months after Rous's tract a pamphlet by Richard Pinder called *Bowells of compassion towards the scattered seed...*; it was written in Barbados, in 1659, 'to the scattered people in America'. All of Pinder's four works concerned the West Indies or America, the others being published by Wilson and Simmons.

**Political Pamphlets**

The extent of Mary Westwood's involvement in publishing material related to the southern counties has already been demonstrated, and its importance as a proportion of her output, particularly in the first year of her activity, has been emphasized. Publications deriving from, or addressed to, London appear under her imprint from the summer of 1659, and it is this, more London-centred, material which is revealing about the Quakers' involvement in politics nationally. Two strands of Quaker 'political' writing need to be distinguished here: first, attempts to influence both the government and public opinion in relation to Quaker demands for toleration and the abolition of tithes; and second, tracts which relate to the internal conflicts within Quakerism itself, and address the internal politics of the movement. I intend to treat these two strands separately, though their separation is to some extent misleading; the Quaker line on pacifism, for example, which I will discuss as part of the Quakers' attempts to influence national politics, itself caused some conflict within the movement, and therefore crosses the boundary between the two categories adopted here. In each case, it will be
necessary to provide some background information before proceeding to a discussion of the publications themselves.

1. **Quakers and national politics**

There has as yet been little detailed analysis of the complex events of 1659, despite the acknowledgement of the importance of the period leading up to the Restoration; recently, Barry Reay has done much to document the year as a crucial one for Quakerism, and has described the way in which the increase of Quaker activity brought with it a widespread reaction of fear of 'the Quaker threat', which fear contributed both to the royalist risings and the eventual restoration of Charles II. In what follows, I shall attempt to sketch in the events of the year as they affected Quaker hopes, to provide some idea of the political context which the pamphlets were designed to influence.

Richard Cromwell's abdication in April 1659 was immediately followed by a flurry of speculation in print as to the form the next government should take. In the book trade, Livewell Chapman and John Canne were the leading lights of republicanism, and produced a number of pamphlets arguing the case for the reinstatement of the Rump. On 6 May the Parliament of 1653 was recalled, and it met the following day. Earlier, in April, a campaign for the continuation of tithes had begun, since it was generally assumed that Richard Cromwell's Parliament would be in favour of a national ministry; now, in May, the situation was reversed, for the Rump was seen as being, in its earlier existence, a pro-sectarian Parliament, and its reinstatement presented an opportunity for the anti-tithe lobby to push through legislation for the abolition of tithes. The reinstatement of the Rump meant, for Quakers as for other sectarians, the prospect of achieving what had been frustrated for so long: the abolition of tithes, and religious toleration. No time was lost by the Quakers in beginning the campaign to pressurize this new and, it
was thought, sympathetic government. Only three days after Parliament's recall, Southwark Quakers petitioned for the release of Quaker prisoners of conscience, and 'a great commotion' in the press followed. As Hutton remarks, 'The world of this press is another important and unstudied feature of the period'. May 1659 saw the beginning of two campaigns which dominated the summer: for the abolition of tithes and for liberty of conscience. It is in this context that Mary Westwood's 'political' pamphlets of 1659 must be placed.

A pamphlet by Humphrey Bache, the first London author to be published by Mary Westwood, is an early example of the advice being offered by sectarians to the new Parliament. Dated 13 May, it offers A few words in true love written to the old long sitting Parliament, who are yet left alive, and do sit there now in the Parliament house at Westminster. Bache's theme is of self-denial: beginning with a reference to the 'self denying ordinance' enacted in the Parliament's previous existence, he details his own 'self-denial' in growing ashamed of his own embezzling and repaying the £150 he had misappropriated; Parliament is asked to consider his own example, and to examine its own iniquities. A common demand at this time was that officials remaining in offices established under the Protectorate, widely believed to be corrupt, should be dismissed from office and made to repay the salaries they had 'stolen' from the nation. Bache offers himself as an example to the corrupt officials, and reveals his sympathy with the army by referring to the poverty of the soldiers, who were themselves asking Parliament for indemnity and payment of arrears as well as demanding toleration for everyone except Catholics and episcopalian.

Tithes

Most prominent as a group in Mary Westwood's 'political' pamphlets of 1659 are those relating to the campaign against tithes. The abolition of tithes had been
an issue for Quakers throughout the existence of the movement, and hundreds of Quakers were imprisoned for their refusal to pay them; there is evidence that many who became Quakers early in the 1650s had already established themselves as opponents of tithes, and their Quakerism was in part an extension of a position many had reached as individuals during the previous decade. It soon became clear that the high hopes for abolition raised by the reinstatement of the Rump were not quickly to be met; the religious formula accepted by Parliament on 20 May did little to satisfy the Quakers, in that it left their own status unclear and did nothing to remove the burden of tithes. The campaign against tithes which the Quakers now mounted was impressive in scope: two huge petitions were presented, one on 14 June with signatures collected in the western counties, and a general one, presented on 27 June, which contained more than 15,000 signatures from all over the country. Something of the scale of Quaker organization can be gathered from the speed with which the signatures were collected; tours of the countryside by Quakers on horseback aided collection in the north-west. The response of the Commons to the second petition was disappointing. Their reply as originally proposed was that for the Encouragement of a Godly Preaching Learned Ministry throughout the Nation, the Payment of Tythes shall continue as now they are; until this Parliament shall find out some other more equal and comfortable maintenance, both for the Ministry, and Satisfaction of the People.

The implication of some hope for improvement held out in the word 'until' was, however, dashed, and after debate the word was changed to 'unless'. A month later, on 20 July, a third petition was presented, signed this time by 7,000 Quaker women, and it is this women's petition which is the most notable of all Mary Westwood's political pamphlets. These several papers was sent to the Parliament the twentieth day of the fifth moneth,
1659. Being above 7000 of the names of the hand-maids and daughters of the Lord, and such as feels the oppression of tithes, in the names of many more ... was printed for Mary Westwood, to be sold at the Calverts' shop the Black-Spread Eagle. The petition is remarkable in terms of Mary Westwood's usual publishing output for its length (72 pages) and the elaborate title page, and the imprint giving the Calverts' shop as place of sale is unique. I shall return to the significance of these details in discussing Mary Westwood's likely production and distribution methods. The pamphlet contains a main address to Parliament followed by separate addresses, not all of them restricted to the subject of tithes, from different counties or groups of counties, each with its own list of signatories. Listed as a signatory for London and Southwark is Mary Westwood herself, as well as a number of other women whose names will become familiar in the course of this chapter, and some women who are identifiable but were certainly not Quakers. They include Rebeccah Travers, her sister Mary Booth, Sarah Blackborrow, Elizabeth Poole, Sarah Attaway, Dorcas Erbury and Martha Simmons. Some of the individuals named, as well as the total number of signatories, suggest that the petition was signed by women opposed to tithes regardless of their religious adherences. Opposition to tithes was widespread, and Quakers found many sympathizers, and perhaps admirers, because of their testimony against tithes which had led to so many Quaker imprisonments and sometimes deaths in prison. The signatories to this petition would certainly repay further investigation; of those I can readily identify, Elizabeth Poole was a Baptist expelled from her own congregation and Sarah Attaway is likely to be the Mrs. Attaway vilified by Thomas Edwards as a tub-preacher and also a Baptist; the inclusion of Martha Simmons and Dorcas Erbury suggests an element much more radical than the orthodox Quakerism represented by the Fell women, who head the Lancashire section. There is at least a suggestion here that the petition might provide evidence
of a common cause between the different sects in the summer of 1659 and of the way in which a shared political objective, for sectarian women at least, might cut across the boundaries separating sects which were in other respects hostile to each other. 82

It is possible that Mary Westwood's involvement in the campaign against tithes went further than the publication of a number of anti-tithe pamphlets in 1659. Smith's catalogue of Quaker works lists a quarto pamphlet, dated 1663, called A testimony against tythes, whose author is given as 'Mary Westwood?'. This tentative attribution to Mary Westwood may be no more than an echo of an entry in John Whiting's catalogue of Friends' books, compiled in 1708, which lists the same pamphlet and ascribes it to '----- Westwood'. No surviving copy of the work has been found, and Mary Westwood's activity as an author cannot be verified. Whether or not she was still involved, as an author, in the fight against tithes as late as 1663, it is at least certain that during 1659 she published a number of anti-tithe works. Dating them more precisely is difficult: Humphrey Smith's Concerning tithes, for example, may have been part of the same campaign as the women's petition, or of a second wave of anti-tithe agitation in August and September, when Parliament's defeat of Booth's royalist (and anti-Quaker) rising led to a renewal of sectarian demands. 83 In September, Quaker hopes were again high, Parliament's reorganization of the army and militias probably enabling Quakers to meet openly with less risk of violent attack; the exoneration of the Leveller Lilburne and Parliament's release of James Nayler in September would have strengthened Quaker morale. 84 Another pamphlet, written by Grace Barwick, probably dates from October or later, after the army coup which left the sectarians split as to whether to support Parliament or the army. Despite the 'official' Quaker line developed by Fox, there is evidence that there was strong support among some Quakers for the army at this point: 'More Quakers seem to
have been actively associated with this government than any other, despite the strictures of the movement's spokesmen'. Grace Barwick, who describes herself as 'wife of Robert Barwick once a Cornet under Generall Lambert', had travelled 150 miles to London, presumably from Yorkshire, to deliver a message from the Lord. The pamphlet itself indicates that it might have been composed during the army take-over: the title, To all present rulers, whether Parliament, or whom-soever of England, implies some confusion about who actually constituted the government at the time of her address. The likelihood of such a dating is further substantiated by the heading of the second part of the pamphlet, another address but this time 'To John Lambert, and the rest of the Officers'. Grace Barwick's message is that it is time to 'remove the wedg of gold out of your camp even Tithes' and that the matter is urgent: 'so now it is brought to your dore that you may doe something while time is in your hands, for time is pretious ...'. The weight of years of frustrated hopes and the disappointment of broken promises is evident in what she writes: 'For it is truth and freedomme and just judgement and mercy, that good men seekes after, and it is these things that will please the Nation. It is not the changings of Governments into new titles and names ...'.

Nothing is known of Grace Barwick, except that she came from Kelk in Yorkshire, but her appeal to Lambert in particular is not surprising, in view of her husband's former service under him. Lambert's Yorkshire regiment was widely believed to be riddled with Quakers, and Lambert himself had spoken in favour of James Nayler, his former quartermaster, during the latter's trial for blasphemy. After his successful suppression of Booth's rising in August 1659 he had returned to London to take a prominent part in the army's seizure of power, and his central role in the new government must have fuelled the sectarians' hopes that reform was, at last, on the way. While there is no additional evidence from the pamphlet to suggest its date, it seems at least probable that Grace Barwick
undertook her journey in the autumn and delivered her message to the 'rulers' at around the time of the army's seizure of power in mid-October.

Some of the other pamphlets issued by Mary Westwood during 1659, while not addressing themselves particularly to the tithes issue, were clearly part of the wave of heightened Quaker activity which accompanied the radicals' raised hopes of toleration. Both William Bayly in *A warning from the Lord, to the inhabitants of the city of London ...*, and Daniel Baker in his *A certaine warning from a naked heart before the Lord ...* adopt the prophetic declamatory style of urging to repentance associated with the early Quaker movement. Both pamphlets respond to particular public events: Bayly's to the fast and humiliation held on 1 September, and Baker's to the Lord Mayor's Show later the same month. The visions of God's wrath are similar, with Baker predicting God's vengeance in terms of fire (later read as a prediction of the Fire of London) and Bayly employing the same images of terror and fire in his attempt to turn the citizens of London to repentance:

"my vengeance like a beasome of fire shall sweep you into everlasting torment, where you shall be plagued without end ....". To dismiss such tracts as these as nothing more than religious denunciation would be misleading; their production at a time of political crisis when the City was at odds with the government in terms of politics and religion, gives them the status of interventions in the local as well as the national politics of London. Baker's tract and his personal demonstration against the Lord Mayor's Show, leading to his imprisonment, is directed at the city leaders whose staging of the Show was an act both offensive to Quaker beliefs and in opposition to a government seen as sympathetic to the sectarians. A broadside written by George Fox the younger, *For the Parliament of England and their army so called* probably belongs to the same period of increasing political turmoil, and though its accusation that Parliament has abused its
power is not specific enough for the purpose of dating, he was probably addressing the Rump which was again reinstated in December. 90

**Pacifism**

Two more political addresses published two years later present an odd contradiction, and represent different responses by Quakers to the aftermath of the Restoration. It is now well established that the Quaker stance of pacifism was not formulated until the second decade of the movement's existence, in response to political pressures and persecution, and was then projected backwards by the movement's leaders. In the 1650s Quakers had served in the army and in militias and non-violence seems not to have been at issue. Attempts at armed risings after the Restoration, however, led the authorities to suspect Quaker involvement, and in particular the Fifth Monarchist rising led by Venner in January 1661- led to mass Quaker imprisonments as Friends were seen as implicated. The backlash against Quakers continued despite their protestations of innocence, and Fox and Hubberthorne quickly drew up a declaration against plots and fighting as an expression of Quaker dissociation from armed sedition. The declaration was successful in that it led to the exoneration of Quakers from the plot, and the release of most of those imprisoned. The expression of pacifism was worked out as a matter of expediency, and despite its later establishment as a central tenet of Quakerism, it was at the time a contentious issue, and clearly Fox and Hubberthorne's hastily worked-out pacifist policy had little to do with the lives and beliefs of many Quakers. 91

Mary Westwood published two works representing both sides of the pacifist argument yet both designed to win over government (and royal) opinion to sympathy for toleration. 92 Humphrey Smith's *Sound things asserted* ... published in 1662 is 'Offered in meekness and good will
unto the consideration of all the kings, lords, counsellors, and all other his chief officers under him, in all places of justice and trust, both civil, military and ecclesiastical and appeals against the persecution by now well established against Quakers. Smith details the King's own statements on the subject of the liberty of conscience, starting with the declaration of Breda, and adds evidence of the King's sympathetic attitude as demonstrated by his words to Parliament, his freeing of Quaker prisoners in May 1661, and his verbal promises to secure liberty of conscience. He interposes questions to magistrates, whose actions in persecuting Quakers are in direct conflict with the King's declared sympathy for toleration, and argues that liberty of conscience would be conducive to civil peace. Smith's logically argued case seems at several points to pose a veiled threat, that civil unrest might revive and that the King himself is not invulnerable. In his closing remarks he warns the King that God can remove him, just as his father was removed before him. Nowhere is violence openly condoned, but there are heavy hints about its possibility. 93

In contrast, Mary Westwood published in January 1663 William Bayly's A briefe declaration to all the world, from the innocent people of God, called Quakers, of our principle and beleif concerning plottings and fightings with carnal weapons, against any people, men or nations upon the earth ... 94 Bayly's pamphlet was a response to the wave of persecution which followed the Quaker Act of May 1662; as the persecution worsened, with savage raids on Quaker meetings in the summer and rumours in October of a plot by Quakers and Baptists leading to more mass imprisonments, the split over pacifism became evident. A declaration similar to the one presented by Fox and Hubberthorne would probably have secured the release of many prisoners, and in November Quakers were summoned before the Council and were asked for an undertaking to renounce carnal weapons. This time, however, Fox himself
was absent and Edward Byllinge and the others present refused point blank to comply. It seems that their refusal sprang from a continuing unwillingness to sign away the option of physical violence as Fox and Hubberthorne had done before. Bayly’s pamphlet was presumably the response of the ‘pacifist’ group and an attempt to undo the hostility caused by Byllinge’s attitude before the Council. Just as Fox and Hubberthorne had done two years earlier, Bayly declares for pacifism, announcing the renunciation of weapons and fighting as a Quaker ‘Principle’. By undercutting the position of Byllinge and Bishop, Bayly may well have strengthened the King’s hand in his opposition to Parliament on indulgence, and certainly in January 1663, the month in which the pamphlet was issued, there was a mass release of Quaker prisoners.

2. The internal politics of Quakerism

The brief period covered by Mary Westwood’s publishing career was not only a crucial time in the relations of Quakerism and the state, but a time of transition and factionalism within the movement itself. In its first decade, Quakerism had been a spontaneous, prophetic and largely disorganized force; as is evident from the discussion of pacifism above, the end of the 1650s and the beginning of the 1660s entailed a shift, very much under Fox’s guidance, from enthusiastic civil war sect to a church-type religion, a transition which involved the alienation and rejection of some Friends from the movement. The hierarchical organization which marks Quakerism in the decades after 1670 was a response to Restoration persecution and a result of Fox’s emerging authoritarian leadership. A part of the process was the rewriting, during the later decades of stability, of the earlier history of the movement by Fox, Margaret Fell and others. In shedding some of the earlier, less ‘respectable’ elements of the movement the later accounts omit both people and incidents incompatible with later Quakerism. I shall argue that a number of the authors and publications
associated with Mary Westwood belong to the 'early' style of Quakerism; that they are part of the tradition of activity which later Quakerism erased, in some cases literally, from the record; and that a possible reason for the absence of records of Mary Westwood herself may be due to her association with these people and texts. Before turning to the publications themselves, it is necessary to sketch the factionalism already obvious within Quakerism by 1659, and to introduce some of the individuals involved.

The first split in Quakerism became public in 1656 with the prosecution of James Nayler for blasphemy; in fact, the arguments into which Nayler was drawn were already long-standing, and for years after the Nayler incident Quakers were still seen as pro- or anti-Nayler. The focus by historians on Nayler himself, and the reading of the events of 1656 in terms of a battle for leadership between Nayler and Fox, obscure the real issue out of which the division arose. Before Nayler became involved there already existed grounds for dissent within the London Quakers. A group of women including Martha Simmons, Dorcas Erbury, Judy Crouch and a woman known only as Mildred had been employing Quaker tactics to disrupt the meetings of the Quakers themselves: interrupting speakers, singing, talking down those 'officially' addressing the meeting. These dissident Quaker women appear in contemporary accounts as witches and hysterics. While the grounds for their dissatisfaction are not explicitly stated, it seems likely that the question of women's right to speak in meetings was at issue, as it had been for some years; the focus of their attack was the (male) London leadership who would not listen to their case. Nayler was approached to support them, and his sympathy with their case led eventually to the enactment of his 'blasphemous' entry into Bristol, his trial, long parliamentary debates, a savage sentence and Fox's ascendancy as the leader who rescued Quakerism from the disgrace of Nayler's fall. What is important here is that as well as receiving continued support from the women
directly involved in the incident which led to his trial (Martha Simmons, Dorcas Erbury and Hannah Stranger) Nayler was also supported by more 'respectable' Quaker women, including Sarah Blackborrow and Rebecca Travers. Both these women were leading Friends in London, and both had work published by Mary Westwood. How much their support was out of personal friendship with Nayler, rather than sympathy for the women whose cause he had identified himself with, is not clear; Sarah Blackborrow seems to have been more of a personal friend, and dissociated herself from Martha Simmons. Rebecca Travers tended Nayler's wounds after his punishment and wrote openly to Parliament to ask for mercy and the remission of further punishment, without success. When Nayler was freed in September 1659 he was welcomed by Rebecca Travers and other London Friends while others ostracized him and Fox refused to see him. Nayler drew large crowds at meetings immediately after his release, to the annoyance of Fox, and his meeting place was the house of Jane and William Woodcock at the Savoy. Jane Woodcock had been in correspondence with Nayler before his arrest, and one of her letters was used in evidence against him; her name will recur as an associate and perhaps a friend of Elizabeth Calvert.

The 'Nayler' incident directly concerned the two leading publishers of Quaker writing. Martha Simmons, held responsible for 'bewitching' Nayler and blamed by Quakers for his disgrace, was Giles Calvert's sister and Thomas Simmons' wife. After the crisis, Calvert's publishing of Quaker literature fell off significantly; whether he was ostracized by the Quakers, or himself withdrew from the association out of sympathy for his sister is not known. Surprisingly, Thomas Simmons did carry on publishing for Quakers, and replaced Calvert as their main publisher, in 1659 publishing 115 Quaker items.

There is, of course, no evidence for Mary Westwood's involvement or personal position in internal Quaker
conflicts. But in the context of the split, the disaffection of a group of women and the transition from enthusiastic sect to organized church some of her publications are suggestive. Some of her publishing concerns the very elements within Quakerism which Fox and his supporters tended to want to suppress. In 1660 she published works by both Sarah Blackborrow and Rebecca Travers, both signatories to the London and Southwark section of the women's tithing petition, and both personal friends and supporters of Nayler. Another of her authors, William Dewsbury, was concerned in the resolution of the animosity between Fox and Nayler. The antagonism between the factions was bad enough, with Fox back in London in February 1660 and incensed at Nayler's popularity, for Dewsbury to travel down from Yorkshire to attempt a reconciliation. He succeeded, though the versions of the two factions differ in their interpretation of the event. In addition, a number of other authors and texts associated with Mary Westwood have a particular connection with internal Quaker issues, and with the aspects of early Quaker activity which culminated in the 'blasphemous' entry into Bristol/Jerusalem, and which were discredited along with Nayler in the eyes of the more 'orthodox' Quakers. The strands of Quaker activity now in dispute were threefold, and will be discussed in turn in relation to the texts themselves: the enactment of 'signs' and public demonstrations; prophecy; and the ministry of women.

1. 'Signs'

One of the activities associated with early Quakerism which later historians of the movement have found difficult to cope with was the enactment of 'signs', public demonstrations, theatrical in their element of performance and use of symbolic action and dress. Recently, Kenneth Carroll has done much to reinstate such actions in the history of the movement, and has collected examples of signs and wonders throughout the seventeenth century. Carroll has usefully demonstrated how widely the practices of going naked and appearing in sackcloth and ashes were
employed by early Quakers to demonstrate to onlookers their own spiritual nakedness and desolation. Among the Quakers enacting signs in the 1650s were Martha Simmons, who appeared in Colchester in 1655 wearing sackcloth and with ashes on her head, Fox himself who as early as 1651 went barefoot through Lichfield, and Nayler whose ride into Bristol, despite accusations of 'blasphemy' from Quakers and non-Quakers alike, was no more than an elaboration of the tendency already well established among Quakers to enact individual signs. According to Carroll, the practice 'seemed to be enjoying a new vogue in 1660-1661'.

One of the most famous exponents of the sign was William Simpson, whose broadside justification of his action, *Going naked, a signe*, was several times reprinted. Three editions survive, one of which was published by Mary Westwood, undated; other editions were published by Robert Wilson in 1660 and 1666. Simpson frequently went naked as a sign of the spiritual nakedness of the Church of England, with episodes in London, Oxford and Cambridge, at great risk of personal injury. His *Going naked, a signe*, consisting of a single quarto leaf, explains the significance of his action:

> As naked shall you be spiritually, as my body hath been temporally naked in many places in England, as a signe to the nakednesse and shame that is coming upon the Church of England.

He goes on to explain his own feelings about undertaking such an extreme form of protest:

> But before I was given up to the thing it was as death unto me, and I had rather if it had been the Lords will, have dyed then gone on in this service; But when the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Goe on and prosper, It was sweet unto me, as the honey and the honey Comb.

Bauman has dwelt on the ambiguity of such actions for a puzzled and hostile audience; here, in this brief justification, is perhaps the answer to that criticism.
For Simpson's *Going naked*... looks, by its very brevity and content, like a leaflet designed to be handed out by himself or his supporters, as part of his passage through towns and cities.\textsuperscript{108} Equally, Simpson's leaflet may have been used by others in their enactment of signs; if so, the rise in such activities in 1660-1 may account for its reprinting then.

Another of Mary Westwood's authors was as well known as Simpson for his use of public signs. Solomon Eccles wrote *In the year 59*... in Newgate, where he was imprisoned as a result of the demonstration described in the pamphlet itself. The pamphlet was published in August, and describes Eccles' enactment of a sign at Calamy's church at Aldermanbury. At God's instruction, he decided to occupy the pulpit in advance of Calamy's arrival to preach, and as well as occupying the space, he 'purposed to carry with me a Pocket to sow'. On 3 July he arrived at the church too early and was seen and sent away, and returned at 9 am only to be spotted immediately as a troublemaker, because he was wearing his hat, and dragged out by his hair. The constable cautioned him but let him go on condition that he caused no further disturbance. Five days later he was more successful: arriving in good time he got into the pulpit, sat on the cushion with his feet on the minister's seat, and started sewing. This time his eventual discovery led to kicking and beating, forcible ejection and immediate arrest.\textsuperscript{109} Eccles' attempts at direct action did not end there: in 1661 he too went naked, through Bartholomew Fair 'with a pan on his head full of fire and brimstone, flaming up in the sight of the people, crying repentance among them, and bade them remember Sodom'. The following Sunday two women enacted a sign at St. Paul's, one with her face blackened and blood poured over her hair and running down her sackcloth, and they poured blood over the altar.\textsuperscript{110} After 1665 this kind of enactment became much less common, and while there is evidence that Fox himself never disowned such actions, it
seems that there was a distancing of 'respectable' Quakerism, as it developed into a hierarchical organization, from a practice associated with the early years of the movement. Quaker historians' views of Eccles as an eccentric who was 'emotional' (a term of abuse levelled also at Martha Simmons and her colleagues) and 'erratic' suggest later Quakers' distaste for these actions. The Nayler entry into Bristol, itself a prophetic or typological sign, probably made many Friends wary of the enthusiastically prophetic signs and wonders accepted readily in earlier years, and it is worthy of note that the two most well known figures associated with such signs, and who continued their practice after it had ceased to be popular with many Quakers, were both published at the height of the revival of 'signs and wonders' by Mary Westwood.

2. Prophecy

The growing distaste for signs was matched by a growing uneasiness with prophecy. Prophetic declamation had been another hallmark of early Quaker speaking and writing, and printed denunciations of towns and cities are frequent in the early Quaker literature. The link between prophetic declamation and the enactment of 'prophetic' signs and wonders was strong, and it is not surprising to find that the individuals who practised the enactment of signs were often given to a prophetic style of writing.

A number of publications issued by Mary Westwood use this particular style of address: Woodrove's An allarm to the inhabitants of the earth ..., Bayly's A warning from the Lord ..., Smith's The lamb and his day proclaimed (which begins 'The Kingdom of God is at hand ...'), and Baker's A certaine warning ... and Now heare this ... (the title of which includes the words 'Woe, woe, terror, terror, and feirce indignation from the Lord God') are only a few examples. Also noticeable is Mary Westwood's association with Quakers who had reputations as prophets of the early kind, especially Humphrey Smith (called by Braithwaite 'a man of rare prophetic gift'), William Bayly, Daniel
Baker, and the famous employer of many signs and wonders, Solomon Eccles. 113

In his exhaustive account of the Fire of London, W.G. Bell discusses four prophecies of the Fire, all widely remarked by contemporaries. Of the four prophets, three were Quakers, and all three were men whose writing was published by Mary Westwood: Humphrey Smith, Daniel Baker and Solomon Eccles. 114 Smith in particular seems to have been noted for his prophecies, and though his Vision which he saw concerning London ..., the work in which the prediction of the Fire appeared, was published by Thomas Simmons, Mary Westwood's connection with this author was clearly a strong one, in that she published at least nine of his works. 115 Baker's prophecy of the Fire appeared in A certaine warning from a naked heart ..., the tract condemning the Lord Mayor's Show which Mary Westwood published in 1659:

... a fire, a consuming fire, shall be kindled in the bowels of the earth, which will scorch with burning heat all hypocrites, unstable, double-minded workers of iniquity ... Yea, a great effusion of blood, fire and smoke shall encrease up in the dark habitations of cruelty, howling and great wailing shall be on every hand in all her streets. 116

Baker was also one of those who continued the practice of signs after the year of the Restoration: in 1662, returning from a mission to the east after failing to secure the release of Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers from the Inquisition, he stopped at Gibraltar and enacted a sign against the Church of Rome. On 6 April he entered the church there and spreading forth his arms, he slipped off his upper garment, and rent it from top to bottom in divers pieces, which he cast from him with indignation. Then he took his hat from off his head, as being the uppermost covering of man, and casting it down, stamped upon it with
his feet, and appearing in sackcloth covering, he with a loud voice thrice sounded repentance ... 117

In the publishing of works by such men as these, it is possible to detect some interest for Mary Westwood in the 'early style' Quakers for whom, despite the shift of the movement away from such practices, signs and prophecy remained important ways of testifying to the truth.

The most intriguing of Mary Westwood's 'prophetic' connections is her publication of a work by John Perrot, To all Baptists everywhere ...; while Perrot's letter, consisting only of a single quarto leaf, is by no means an important prophetic work, Perrot's own reputation as a prophet, his emergence as a dissident within Quakerism and the split among Quakers in which he was a central figure all make the timing of Mary Westwood's publication of this letter interesting in terms of the internal politics of Quakerism. 118 From Ireland, Perrot had been a Baptist and was converted to Quakerism in 1655 by Burrough. An early Friend in the 'prophetic' tradition, he embarked in 1656/7 on a mission towards Turkey, stopping off in England at the beginning of his journey and signing a pro-Nayler petition. At this stage his sympathy for Nayler did not extend to Martha Simmons and the other women involved, and in a letter he accused Martha of 'witchery and filthy enchantment' and called her 'their Miserable Mother'. 119 He left England in 1657 with a group which included Mary Fisher (who later married William Bayly, another Westwood author) and in June 1658 arrived in Rome. After attempting to visit the Pope he was arrested, brought before the Inquisition, imprisoned for 18 weeks and then sent to the madhouse where he was chained, beaten and tortured. During his long incarceration he wrote many letters to Friends, several of which were printed, mostly by Simmons or Wilson. The 'extravagance' of his style has led Quaker historians to question his
sanity, and there is a suggestion that his experiences in the madhouse led to a mental breakdown. The Perrot schism, which split Quakers much as the Nayler issue had done, was triggered off by a letter written by Perrot from prison and it seems likely that the state of Quakerism in London was already conducive to a major upheaval, and that Perrot's letter was simply the catalyst.

The dissatisfaction of some women within Quakerism, which culminated in the scapegoating of Nayler, has been outlined already. It seems clear that Nayler's punishment did not end the expression of dissent, and some of the women whom Nayler had supported continued to disrupt meetings. Nayler's release in September 1659 and his immediate popularity fuelled the split anew, and the personal reconciliation of Fox and Nayler effected by Dewsbury the next year did little to heal the rift among Quakers generally. Nayler's popularity still angered Fox, who suggested in July that Nayler retire to Durham despite the argument of leading Quakers who thought that Nayler's work in London was important. Fox insisted, and Nayler left London, and it was on his way home that he died in October. The 'Nayler' split was therefore, in 1660, far from forgotten, and Kenneth Carroll has pointed to the ways in which the Perrot schism was an extension of the already existing controversy represented by Nayler. Perrot's letter, which reopened the wound, claimed that God had spoken to him; unfortunately, God's message contradicted Fox, and their argument over what came to be known as 'the hat question' triggered an already explosive situation among London Quakers. When Perrot returned to London after his release in 1661 the issue grew into a challenge to Fox's authority. The supporters of Nayler now took up Perrot's cause: the Travers family, friends of Nayler, seem to have sponsored an abortive attempt at reconciliation; Mary Booth, Rebeccah Travers' sister, formerly a Nayler sympathizer, became one of Perrot's most persistent and vocal advocates. Intentionally or not,
Perrot had become a new focus for the women who had supported Nayler, and like Nayler he provided a focus for already deep-rooted discontent.

The timing of Mary Westwood's publication of Perrot is crucial. The offending letter from Rome which sparked the schism was written early in 1661. To all Baptists everywhere ..., also written from the Rome madhouse, was written on 2 October 1660, and its publication in London, probably early in 1661, must have come at a sensitive time, with Fox's displeasure already apparent and a group of disaffected Friends beginning to rally to Perrot's defence. Perrot's arrival in England by the end of July 1661 brought the dispute to a head, and while northern Friends remained largely untouched by the arguments, Quakers in London, Colchester and the south and south-west were particularly affected and troubled. Mary Westwood's publication of a letter from Perrot at this time may have been either a response to the local southern interest in Perrot and his ideas, or a less innocent move to make his writing available to his adherents, presumably annoying Fox in the process. The outcome of the schism is of no importance here, but one or two details are of interest. After Perrot left for the West Indies in 1662 the division continued and the Perrot party in England withdrew from regular Quaker meetings, sometimes attending only to interrupt them. Eventually Rebeccah Travers, William Dewsbury and William Bayly lined up with Fox in opposition to Perrot. Martha Simmons, by now a veteran of the long battle within Quakerism, died in 1665 on a journey to Maryland.123

3. Women's Speaking

The third aspect of early Quakerism which by the turn of the decade was falling into disrepute was the ministry of women. The high proportion of women involved in the beginnings of Quakerism is clear: they were active as speakers, itinerant ministers, enacters of signs, writers
of texts and missionaries abroad. That there was a shift in women's activities after the Restoration is equally evident: from the late 1660s onwards an increasingly formalized structure of women's meetings was established throughout the country, largely concerned with poor relief, overseeing Quaker marriages, and other matters in the field of social welfare. Fox was keen on the idea of separate meetings for women, and encouraged a group of women led by Sarah Blackborrow in 1659 to set up a 'Box meeting' to deal with poor relief. Fox's advocacy of this role for women proved contentious, however, and during the 1660s met with resistance from Friends who supported mixed meetings, others who were in favour of mixed meetings on condition that women remained silent, and yet others who were suspicious of women meeting apart. The period of Mary Westwood's career falls in the transition between free and spontaneous involvement of women in every aspect of Quaker activity, and the formalized women's separation and responsibility for welfare in the later period. Her publication in 1660 of a tract by Fox on the subject of women's speaking and prophesying came, therefore, at a crucial point in the transition.

The extent to which Nayler's trial was the public culmination of a long-running internal dispute within Quakerism has not yet been investigated, but I have tried to point to the importance of the group of London women above. One of the immediate effects of Nayler's public disgrace was the hostility directed at the women directly involved, and this had repercussions among Quakers far removed from the seat of the disturbance. Arthur Cotton, for example, reported shortly after the Bristol incident that Friends in Devon and Cornwall were no longer keen to hear women Friends speak. Interestingly, the validity of women's speaking had been at issue in the area for some time. Richard Farnsworth and Anne Audland had begun the argument for women's right to speak in 1654 and 1655, and in the latter year a pamphlet by Priscilla Cotton and Mary
Cole had taken the debate further, by defining 'woman' as a biblical symbol of spiritual weakness, and turning the argument back on the male opponents of women's speaking by arguing that the men were themselves 'the women, that are forbidden to speak in the Church'. Priscilla Cotton has already been noted as one of the southern area authors published by Mary Westwood, and Mary Cole was the wife of one of the other signatories to Arthur Cotton's pamphlet published by Mary Westwood in 1659. Both Fox and Margaret Fell wrote in opposition to these tracts, and the issue was still very much alive at the end of the decade. In Concerning sons and daughters and prophetesses, speaking and prophecy in the law and in the gospel ... Fox's dilemma is apparent. In it, he upholds the principle of women's speaking while managing to exclude the kind of women of whom he disapproves. The bulk of the pamphlet runs through the usual arguments from scriptures in justification of women's speaking and prophesying, and the last four pages deal with the justification of sanctified wives who oppose unbelieving husbands. His difficulty as a Quaker committed to women's right to speak on religious matters but also as a leader faced with a vocal group of female opponents is clear from the way in which Fox has to justify exceptions to his general argument. He thus supports the speaking of women except those 'not led by the Spirit of God', whom he describes as 'in the disobedience as Eve was, and so goes into tatlings and goes out of truth as Iesabel did ...'. Women should speak 'in the obedience to the power & spirit which does not bring to usurpe, over the man, as the disobedience doth'. In that phrase 'over the man' there is perhaps a hint of the cause of the women's disaffection. Two editions of the pamphlet were published, though dating the other is impossible. In publishing Fox's statement, Mary Westwood was again addressing a current internal Quaker debate, though whether her publication of Fox's view was a demonstration of sympathy with Fox or more a way of providing Quaker women, then under attack as itinerants
and preachers, with 'official' Quaker backing is impossible to judge.

Finally to 'place' Mary Westwood in the divisions then existing within Quakerism is no easy matter. But what this discussion of her publishing in the light of Quaker factionalism does suggest is that there is a tendency to favour 'old style' early Quaker activities and the authors associated with them. Signs, prophecies and prophetic authors are well represented in her output, and the addition of the women's tithing petition and authors sympathetic to Nayler, Perrot or both, indicates a thread of dissent from the hardening Quaker orthodoxy. In all, Mary Westwood published nine works by George Fox, most of them very short and, excepting the tract on women's speaking and, perhaps, a refutation of Judaism, none can be claimed as 'important' Fox writings or in any way central to his pamphlet debates. Some, like John James ... and These queries are given forth ... seem to be local addresses; others, like her French version of an early Fox paper, are standard statements of the Quaker position. Others are epistles of encouragement to Friends (again, possibly local in intent): his paper for children, for example, or the brief address to the uncertain. Several consist of a number of very short passages cobbled together, without any common theme. Clearly, Fox did not choose to disseminate his major statements through Mary Westwood.

A connection with the 'dissenters' among the Quakers may explain the silence of Quaker records about her. Without recourse to conspiracy theory, it is demonstrable that individuals associated with 'old style' activities were omitted, sometimes deliberately, when Quakers began to document the beginnings of the movement. Fogelklou has recounted how Fox's 'cleaning up' of the Quaker image meant rewriting its earlier history: letters were destroyed and names were crossed out. During Fox's lifetime no collection of Nayler's writings was printed, and accounts
of the movement's history written in later years by Margaret Fell, Burrough and Howgill omit all reference to Nayler, despite his prominence as an early Friend and contemporaries' descriptions of him as the leader of the sect. The reassessment of Nayler as other than a 'crazy' figure has only begun this century and only very recently has any attention been paid to other 'troublemakers': Martha Simmons and her companions, Perrot and his supporters. In the suppression or destruction of evidence about Quaker internal dissent, it is at least possible that a publisher associated with 'embarrassing' activities might, too, be wiped from the record. 134

Production and Distribution

Most of the evidence I have presented so far has centred on the content of the pamphlets published by Mary Westwood and on information about the authors themselves and particular events with which they can be linked. The picture built up in this way is of a publisher with strong links with the southern counties who published a few works specifically relating to London, a series of short and for the most part insignificant tracts by Fox, and displayed some bias towards authors and works representing the early, prophetic style of Quakerism. Suggestions have been made, in passing, about the publisher's likely markets and target areas for distribution, and it is by turning now to an examination of other bibliographical features of the pamphlets that these suggestions can be elaborated.

Apart from the connection with southern counties already demonstrated, there are other indications that Mary Westwood's market for distribution lay outside London. The absence of a place of sale in her imprints, and the one exception provided by the women's tithing petition, are worth noting here. Unlike Calvert, Simmons and Wilson, the main Quaker booksellers whose names appear many times on Quaker literature of the period, she only once adds to her name a place of sale. Calvert, Simmons and Wilson
were consistent in including their shop addresses in imprints; Mary Westwood never did, and in the one case where a point of sale appears the address given is not her own, but that of the Calverts. The omission suggests that she was not a London bookseller with a fixed address wanting to attract customers to a shop. Whereas the men's addresses acted as an advertisement, both for Londoners who could visit their shops and for Friends in the provinces who could send in written orders, for Mary Westwood this seems not to have been important. It seems that the women's tithing petition, the longest of her publications (72 pages), arguably the most politically important one and unusual in her output in having a title page, was designed for a market wider than her usual one. The Calverts' Black Spread Eagle was a selling point for all shades of radical opinion as well as a meeting place for London radicals (though by 1659 its connection with Quakerism was waning) and would have provided a useful outlet for a publisher with no premises wishing to seek a London and probably a national market. The absence of Mary Westwood's name from standard book trade records also suggests that she was not an orthodox London bookseller, as does the fact that none of her publications was collected by Thomason. While it is clear that Thomason had little interest in Quakers, and that as a result Quaker literature is under-represented in his collection, he did acquire a number of works by leading Quakers, including tracts by a number of Mary Westwood's authors. Given the number of Quaker pamphlets in the Thomason collection, it is surprising that not one of Mary Westwood's publications appears there, and the suggestion must be that if Thomason, well-known as one who haunted London bookstalls, picked up nothing produced by her, it is likely that she did not use London outlets for most of her sales. If the lists of signatories to the women's tithing petition are to be believed, Mary Westwood was in Southwark in 1659; but her activity as a publisher, whether based there or not, seems not to have been associated with retail bookselling at all.
The evidence of the works themselves points to her as organizing publication (including, presumably, printing) for non-London Quakers for their own local use; the 'standard' short Quaker tracts would have been useful to itinerating ministers wherever their mission. It seems likely that most of her pamphlets were not on sale in London at all, and that their function as part of the itinerating Quaker's luggage or the local Quaker's stock took them outside the usual trade outlets.

The sizes and lengths of most of the pamphlets also indicate portability and, possibly, free distribution. Only six exceed 16 pages, and most are quartos, often of eight pages, but ranging from a single leaf to 16-page pamphlets. Several are not single works at all, but composites of a number of texts, sometimes not united by a common theme, and occasionally by several different authors. Baker's A certaine warning ..., for example, includes a half-page statement by Baker's fellow-prisoner Humphrey Bache about the latter's own imprisonment; Thomas Green's A few plain words ..., consisting of eight pages, is a collection of five pieces by the same author with no common theme, written in verse and prose; and dated separately. The address to Barbados by Rous contains sections by Margaret Fell and Fox, and A paper concerning such as are made ministers ..., consisting of three closely printed quarto pages with no title and little paragraphing, apparently includes three separate texts differentiated by no typographical changes or spacings and separable only because each ends with a set of initials: 'M.F.', 'G.F.' and 'G.F.' respectively.

The extent to which Mary Westwood was engaged in publishing for Friends unused to writing, or at least unused to having work printed, is striking. Quakers frequently circulated manuscript papers in their own community, and Fox's Journal has many examples of the ways in which papers were written as responses to other sectarian groups by
itinerant Quakers; papers of 'queries' to opponents were sometimes delivered personally, and sometimes displayed publicly on a market cross. Travelling Quakers also wrote letters to their home communities which were regarded as open letters to be read and discussed by the group. Information about the transition from manuscript to print is given in some of Mary Westwood's publications. An undated pamphlet by Fox indicates in its opening paragraph one use to which print was put:

John James, I hearing that thou doest make a noise up and down in the countrey amongst the ignorant, and hath spoken reproachfully, and backbited the people of God, that by such as thee are in scorn called Quakers, here is a few Queries for thee to answer in writing, and plainess of words, which if thou dost not, we shall spread them abroad and set them in places where thou comes.

In this case an individual who was causing trouble was threatened with being named in print if he continued his open hostility: 'if thou do not give us thy Answer within two weeks, we may cause this to be Printed, because thou hast slanderously reported of us'. Presumably John James did not comply with Fox's request. This tactic of sending open letters as advance warning about travelling ministers whose views were unacceptable was used later by Fox against Perrot, and was also used by the Baptists against Elizabeth Poole; in neither case, however, were the letters printed. Authors also decided to turn to print when their customary use of circular letters was under pressure. The need for more copies than could be handwritten was Henry Jackson's reason for printing his A testimony of truth ...: 'I not having convenient opportunity, to transcribe so many Copies hereof, as the places set before me ...'. Jackson himself published only two works, of which this was the first, and he is one of a number of authors published by Mary Westwood who were, on the evidence of Smith's Catalogue, infrequent authors, and for whom
Mary Westwood managed their first (and sometimes only) entry into print. Fifteen of her authors might be termed 'infrequent' authors, producing no more than half a dozen works or part-works and, compared with the prolific leading Quaker writers, being noted for few works of any lasting importance to the developing Quaker orthodoxy. Of these fifteen, eleven had their first printed work published by Mary Westwood. At this level, her activity seems to have been that of an agent in helping Friends inexperienced in publication and often from outside London to get their works printed for distribution in their own areas. Exceptions to this local level of publishing have already been noted (the women's tithing petition, Baker's A certaine warning ... and others apparently addressed to London) but the predominance of what I have called the 'southern area' authors, and others from the provinces (William Green, William Smith, Henry Jackson, Grace Barwick) strongly suggests that Mary Westwood was used by Quakers outside London as an agent for arranging publication.

The appearance of the pamphlets suggests both that Mary Westwood used the same printer for most of them and that the printer was either inexpert or restricted by the types available. Plomer's memorandum in Friends' House describes the five pamphlets he saw as printed with 'italic type very old and worn' and 'a battered fount of non pareil roman'. Examination of the rest of her pamphlets confirms Plomer's impression that many of them 'have a strong family likeness' and that for most of them she probably used the same printer. Elaborate title pages (and indeed title pages at all) are rare and the 'family likeness' holds true for the majority of the pamphlets, with the exceptions being the women's tithing petition and a few of the longer tracts. For the rest, the smaller pamphlets have many similar features: small roman and small italic types are the most common, and the texts are usually very closely set, often with little or no paragraphing. Most have no title pages and the titles
vary from being set in larger type or capitals, and indented, to being no more than the first line of the text set in slightly larger type.

Particular features indicate both a restriction on the type available to the printer and perhaps the inexperience (or incompetence) of the compositor. In some cases, the type changes in mid-sentence: in *The just and equal balance ...*, for example, there are three mid-sentence changes from italic to roman and back again. In others, the size of type changes: on the third page of Eccles' four-page pamphlet there is an abrupt change to larger italics, and in Bayly's *A short discovery ...* the italic becomes smaller on the next to the last page. Some of the changes suggest a crude adjustment of type size to ensure that the text will fit the format: Bayly's *A vindication ...* has two changes of type, from roman to italic and then to a still smaller italic. Similarly the problem of spacing the text to fit the number of pages seems to be the reason for a stretching of the text towards the end of some of the pamphlets: in Eccles' tract both the spacing between words and that between lines of text become gradually larger on the second and third pages. Bayly's *A short relation ...* has very large spaces between each word on pages 10 and 11. Titles, where they exist, are sometimes not uniform in their printing, again suggesting restricted types or inexpert printing: in Green's *A few plain words to the inhabitant [sic] of England*, as well as the mistake of the missing 's', the word 'England' consists of mixed italic and roman capitals. Other peculiarities in the printing include a tendency for 'w' to become 'vv' part way through the text; misplaced catchwords; misnumbered pages; and a minimum of elaboration throughout the pamphlet. Mary Westwood's edition of Dewsbury's *The discovery of mans returne ...* is one of no more than half a dozen exceptions to this general style of production, exceptional (like the women's tithing petition) for its length, and in the
elaboration of its layout, with an ornament and marginal scriptural references throughout the text. The few pamphlets of more than 16 pages represent printing of a higher standard; the majority, much shorter, display the features noted above, and point to a much lower standard of production. 152

The 'typical' Mary Westwood pamphlet is thus one with no ornament, no title page, closely set type with little variety, and unrelieved by section headings or changes in type for emphasis. The apparent concern to squash or stretch the text to fit the given number of pages, however crude the method, may account for the appearance of a number of composite texts, often with one or two shorter pieces added to a longer work. 153 The standard of printing described here, taken together with Mary Westwood's apparent residence in Southwark, suggests either an illicit press or that the work was done by a not very competent journeyman printer, or even an apprentice, rather than by a master printer. Only in the case of more substantial pieces of work does a competent printer with a full range of types seem to have been employed, and the restriction of types used in most of the pamphlets, together with the association with Southwark (reputed to be the home of a number of illicit presses) give grounds for suspecting that an illegal press was in operation. 154 Another possibility is that these pamphlets were printed provincially; having acquired the 'battered' set of types it would not have been difficult or expensive to set up a press outside London, and given the strong association with Hampshire and the southern counties, Winchester might be a possibility. No record of a press here survives, however, the earliest printing in Winchester being recorded as 1691. 155 Like so much else about Mary Westwood, her access to printing remains a mystery, and the likeliest possibility, that much of it was done by an apprentice working 'on the side' or at an illegal press, remains only speculation.
As primarily an agent for arranging publication Mary Westwood could have operated without any specialist knowledge of the London book trade, and may herself have been a Friend concerned to publish the truth. Financial backing for publications was usually provided by collections from local Friends, and in the case of the majority of her publications the financial outlay need not have been great. The role which emerges from the evidence presented here is that of facilitator/agent, with non-London Friends and a few within the capital approaching her to organize printing, and Mary Westwood distributing the printed material via local authors themselves and through local Quaker communities. It is not clear that this would have been, in the strict sense, a 'business' at all; she had apparently no retail shop and, as a Quaker herself, may have been acting philanthropically on behalf of other Friends, with no desire, or need, for profit. The appearance and size of many of the pamphlets has been stressed: their portability, cheapness of production and brevity all suggest their suitability for use in travelling missions and for free distribution in the provinces as well as London itself. Despite the political pressures of the time, and the growing concern after the Restoration to control seditious publications, Mary Westwood's activities seem not to have been detected. The change of imprint from 'Mary Westwood' to 'M.W.' after the Restoration was perhaps an attempt to avoid detection under less favourable conditions. Without more information about biography and the state of Quaker internal politics in the years in question, it is impossible to do more than make tentative suggestions in response to Plomer's questions about her.

In every sense Mary Westwood seems an odd, almost marginal figure: marginal in terms of the book trade in London, provincially focussed if not actually based in the provinces, using for the most part inexpert printing and publishing several authors who have themselves been seen as marginal by many Quaker historians. But the body of work
she published is important both because it illustrates a level of publishing and distribution hitherto unexplored, and because it illuminates a strand of Quaker history which deserves serious attention. The ease with which early Friends made the transition from manuscript to print and used it to further their cause owes much to the established radical London publishers like the Calverts and Thomas Simmons; alongside them, the existence of Mary Westwood's output indicates another level of activity co-existent with theirs, and demonstrates other ways in which printing and publishing could respond to a sectarian market by providing access to print and to local audiences for a particular group of Quaker authors.
CHAPTER THREE
ELIZABETH CALVERT AND THE 'CONFEDERATES'

In 1663 L'Estrange, Surveyor of the Press, thought that the breaking of one group of stationers was central to controlling the press. In his Considerations and proposals in order to the regulation of the press ... he demonstrated how much seditious literature had been produced since the Restoration, and detailed the grounds on which, in his view, books should be suppressed. His list provides a useful indication of what, to L'Estrange and his contemporaries, constituted sedition. The following are listed as expressions whose publication he considered to be seditious:

1. anything about the murder of Charles I
2. justifications of his execution
3. denials of Charles II's right to the throne
4. libels against Charles II, his father, or the royal family
5. arguments 'tending to stirr up the People' against the government
6. positions which lead to the conclusion that the king can be judged and executed by the people (including arguments for the sovereignty of Parliament, justifications of the civil war, defence of the Solemn League and Covenant, arguments separating the king's person from his authority, and arguments that the Long Parliament was not yet dissolved). 1

Various books are cited and quoted as examples of sedition, including the regicides' Speeches and prayers ..., Gods loud call ..., The year of prodigies ... and A phoenix: or, the Solemn League and Covenant. 2 Information on the producers of the books is also given, and the same names recur: Brewster, Chapman, Dover, Creake and the Calverts. In fact, L'Estrange's whole pamphlet is a demonstration of his opening remarks on the centrality of the Confederates, as he calls them, to opposition publishing in the early years of the Restoration:
The most Dangerous People of all are the Confederate Stationers, and the breaking of That Knot would do the work alone. For the Closer Carriage of their business they have here in the Town, Their Private Ware-houses, and Receivers. 3

The control and regulation of the press after the Restoration was of obvious concern to a king and government attempting the settlement of a nation sharply and deeply divided over religion and politics. While the royal proclamation was still of use as a method of legislation, other parliamentary measures were added, the central pillar of which was the so-called Licensing Act of 1662. This Act 'for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed Books and Pamphlets, and for regulating of Printing and printing Presses' included limitations on the numbers of printers, typefounders, presses and apprentices, as well as regulations on the importation of books and the number of booksellers. It established a licensing system under parliamentary authority and provided for the regulation of copy ownership by the entry of titles in the Stationers' Company Register. 4 In addition to the Act itself, the authorities wishing to control the press could also pursue offenders under the existing laws of treason and seditious libel. Yet despite all this, offensive material continued to appear in print, as L'Estrange's pamphlet makes clear; and as early as 1663 when his Considerations and proposals ... appeared, L'Estrange at least was convinced of the inefficacy of the Licensing Act:

not One Person has been Fin'd, and but one Prosecuted, (as is credibly Affirm'd) since the Late Act, notwithstanding so much Treason and Sedition Printed and disperst since That time. 5

That the Licensing Act did not provide the solution to problems of press control has been apparent to historians of the book trade, who have pointed to the difficulties of
enforcement in particular. Siebert's caution that 'Any estimate of the success or failure of the enforcement of the printing regulations must await an intensive survey of the productions of the press in the latter half of the seventeenth century' is well-advised, and such a survey has yet to be conducted. The investigation of Elizabeth Calvert's career which follows, though illustrating only a tiny fraction of the output of the press in the early years of the Restoration, offers evidence of some of the ways in which enforcement failed and demonstrates a publication output almost totally illegal under the terms of the Licensing Act. Not only did the Act fail to help in the pursuit of the Confederates themselves, but also by its insistence on printers as the focus of regulation (and as the source of sedition) it handicapped L'Estrange and the authorities in subsequent attempts to stamp out seditious publications.

Not long after Considerations and proposals ... was published, L'Estrange could fairly claim that 'That Knot' of confederate stationers had been broken: on 20 February 1664 the trials of Twyn, Brewster, Dover and Brookes began, and by the end of April most of them were dead. Giles Calvert had died a year previously, probably as a result of his imprisonment, Twyn was executed for treason, and Brewster and Dover both died in Newgate. Livewell Chapman went out of business, and Francis Smith, a junior colleague, lost his shop but rebuilt the business to become one of the leading opposition publishers of the next two decades. Smith was not, however, the only one of the Confederates to survive as a publisher: in the years after 1664 the widows of Simon Dover, Thomas Brewster and Giles Calvert all carried on their involvement in opposition publishing at much risk to themselves and to their children. Joan Dover remarried, and as Joan Darby continued her trade associations; in 1668 she and Anna Brewster were regarded as 'a couple of the craftiest and most obstinate ... of the trade'. The two women distributed pamphlets from John
Darby's secret press in Blue Anchor Alley, assisted by Anna Brewster's son; ten years later Anna Brewster was in hiding after another spate of 'seditious' activity. 9 Elizabeth Calvert, despite regular harrassment by the authorities and numerous imprisonments, continued to publish material unwelcome to the government for another ten years. These female survivors of L'Estrange's attack on the Confederates have been barely noticed elsewhere. Crist's detailed account of Francis Smith's career does not dwell on the years 1664-72, a period of rebuilding and underground publishing for Smith, in part because of the difficulties of investigating such a secretive period of book trade history. While acknowledging the role of wives and friends as agents and petitioners for imprisoned stationers, Crist relegates the continued activity of these women over the next decade to a footnote. Kitchin calls them 'obdurate Whig spouses whose services to the Cause, ludicrous though it may seem, were real and constant' (my emphasis). Both Hill and Morton have noticed Elizabeth Calvert's publishing policy, but have nothing to add. In all, little serious attention has been paid to a group of women who were, by contemporary account, at the heart of opposition publishing for a decade or more after their husbands' deaths. 10 As Crist has demonstrated, L'Estrange's attempt to clean up the press in 1664 did little more than to drive 'seditious' publishing underground; by focussing on the career of one of these women, Elizabeth Calvert, I hope to shed light on the ways in which this strand of publishing survived, and on the role of the women involved.

Before the Restoration

The maiden name and birthplace of Elizabeth Calvert are unknown. Some time before March 1639 she married Giles Calvert, who came from Meare in Somerset and had been apprenticed to two stationers in succession: to William Lugger in 1628, and in 1632 to Joseph Hunscott. Their marriage probably coincided with the end of Giles' apprenticeship; he took up his freedom on 25 January 1639
and began publishing in 1641. On 15 March 1639 a daughter Elizabeth was christened at St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey; two sons were born later, Nathaniel in 1643 and Giles in 1653. The family involvement of the Calverts in the book trade is notable: Giles' brother George was also apprenticed to Hunscott, his term overlapping with Giles', and George became a bookseller in London. Their sister Martha married Thomas Simmons, another radical publisher, and became well-known as the Quaker Martha Simmons; Thomas' brother Matthew was the leading radical printer of the 1650s. The importance of this family group in the book trade of the Interregnum deserves attention, as does the individual career of Giles Calvert. His pre-eminence as a radical publisher is well-known, and is frequently mentioned by social and political historians, but has been little researched. Here his career will only be surveyed as far as it can illuminate that of Elizabeth Calvert; their years together deserve some scrutiny, as the years in which Elizabeth Calvert built up the experience of the trade and the contacts useful to her after Giles' death. More importantly, Elizabeth Calvert can be seen to have been an active partner in the business during Giles' lifetime.

Altha Terry reads Giles Calvert's early output as a foreshadowing of his Quaker publishing of the 1650s, and takes the Quaker material as the central feature of his career. It seems to me more likely that Calvert's sympathies, as far as they can be deduced at all from his publishing, lay with radicalism in the first place, and that his Quaker publications coincided with the rise of Quakerism as a radical threat in the mid-1650s. As Quakerism lost its early radical edge, his Quaker publishing declined, and it is conceivable that the Quakers' rejection of his sister Martha Simmons as a 'witch' was a cause of his withdrawal from Quaker publishing. The coincidence of dates is at least suggestive. In the 1640s, at the beginning of his career, Giles Calvert had published the Seeker John Saltmarsh; the Antinomian William
Dell; Hugh Peters and John Cook (both executed later as regicides); the first works of the Quaker Isaac Penington the younger; the Leveller William Walwyn and the Levellers' 1649 Agreement of the people...; about half the works written by Winstanley, the Digger; and foreign authors whose influence on radicalism in England was significant, such as Jakob Boehme and Hendrik Niclaes, the founder of the Family of Love. The Calverts' shop at the Black Spread Eagle at the west end of St Paul's became a meeting place for radicals, just as their brother-in-law Thomas Simmons' premises at the Bull and Mouth became a centre for London Quakers. These shops combined business premises with meeting rooms, and acted both as centres of information and outlets for the products of other publishers. Giles Calvert's personal involvement in and knowledge of the sectarian left is suggested by Laurence Clarkson, the Seeker turned Ranters, who describes his introduction to the Ranters thus:

a former friend of mine, asked me if I heard not of a people called My one flesh? I said no, what was their opinion, and how should I speak with any of them? Then she directed me to Giles Calvert... so coming to Calvert, and making enquiry after such a people, he was afraid I came to betray them, but exchanging a few words in the height of my language, he was much affected, and satisfied I was a friend of theirs, so he writ me a Note to Mr. Brush...

Having introduced Clarkson to the Ranters in this way, Calvert went on to publish his A single eye... in October 1650. Morton suggests that Calvert's publication of an anti-Ranter pamphlet the following December, coinciding with the beginning of his association with the Quakers, signalled Calvert's retreat from Ranters' connections. Whatever the truth about the shifts in Giles Calvert's religious and political positions, his association with the Quakers was for a time very strong. Although apparently he never himself became a Quaker, he attended
the mass meeting at Swannington in January 1655, carrying copy back to London for printing, he attended Quaker meetings in London, and entertained James Nayler at home as well as publishing around thirty of Nayler's works and pamphlets by Martha Simmons. Calvert published nearly 300 Quaker titles in all, was twice raided by the authorities, supplied books to Quakers in the provinces, and acted as a forwarding address for Friends' letters. An association with the government seems to have been short-lived: for a year, in 1653, Calvert published officially for the Council of State, in conjunction with Henry Hills and his own former apprentice, Thomas Brewster.

A thorough investigation of Giles Calvert's career is long overdue and would result in a monograph of itself; the foregoing outline is provided here as no more than an indication of the way in which the Calvert business developed, and as evidence of its centrality in the radical sectarian community. Elizabeth Calvert, masked in the records for much of her husband's lifetime, was party to this development and, in view of her later activities, must have gained experience during this time both of the practicalities of the trade and of the particular character of the sects and their adherents. A glimpse of her personal involvement in the life of the sects is given in a letter to Margaret Fell dated 26 February 1655:

Gyles Caluerts wife it seems hath Cast some Asspertions of Anthony Pearson and of the truth as wee heare, hee may it is like goe up and Cleare them ... Pearson was a leading Quaker convert in Durham, who used his position as magistrate to protect northern Friends. Elizabeth Calvert's criticism of him might suggest that she was wary of the distinguished converts being cultivated by Quakers. If so, her wariness was justified: under immediate suspicion after the Restoration, Pearson dissociated himself completely from his former friends,
returned to the Anglican Church and became under-sheriff at Durham. Elizabeth Calvert perhaps already detected in him the careerism which other Friends began to notice later in the 1650s. Whatever her criticism, it was clearly important enough for Pearson to consider taking action to clear himself in London of her accusations.23

Years later, in October 1671, Elizabeth Calvert was still regarded as part of the Ranter wing by orthodox Quakers. A letter from Ellis Hookes, clerk of the London Friends, to Margaret Fox gives news of a feast organized by John Pennyman, and its reference to Elizabeth Calvert as one of the guests places her firmly in the old Simmons/Nayler camp:

next third day heere is like to be a madd frolick acted by our Apostatized Apostle John Penniman, who then intends to Wedd Mary Boreman, they would have ye meeting house at Gracious street (but it was denied ym) to have donne the action in - soe he has gott the Greatest Hall about London belonging to any Company viz. Marchant Taylors, & has invited all or most of ye Aldermen of the Citty as I heare: & the whole sinagogue of ye jewes to be there; & all his old associates both friends & others yt he had any interest in, & all sorts of Ranters & it is like to be such another feast as Robert Richs of the 7 churches whereeto Jesebell; Giles Calverts wife was invited: I heare he has provided 27 venison pastyes and severall pipes of Wine: & now at last he will shew to all the World what a prphain Quaker he is ...24

The coupling of Elizabeth Calvert's name with Pennyman and Rich is suggestive. Pennyman, despite royalist origins, had become a Fifth Monarchist in the early 1650s, but after Feake's committal to Windsor Castle he joined the Quakers, probably in 1658. He was one of those Friends who offered their bodies in exchange for imprisoned Quakers in 1659.25
A successful businessman, he owned houses and shops at the west end of St Paul's, and as a property-owner as well as a sectarian was probably known by the Calverts at that time. Pennyman's mysticism, seeing visions and fasting, worried Fox and his followers, and after two years he grew apart from the Quakers; in 1670 he burnt his Quaker books in public at the Royal Exchange, and Quakers disowned him. Mary Boreman was the sister of his second wife; herself the widow of a Quaker, she joined a group of women at Tottenham where she developed religious views similar to those of Jane Lead and the Philadelphians, and she too left the Quakers. Robert Rich had been a staunch supporter of Nayler, and a great embarrassment to the Quakers; by now in Barbados, he carried on writing and campaigning on behalf of Nayler. The association of Elizabeth Calvert with this company of ex-Quakers and religious radicals in 1671 suggests a long and continuing friendship with members of the radical sects. The use of 'Jesebell' to describe her (a term frequently used by Fox and others to describe women who were 'out of the light', and to denigrate women whose speaking in religious meetings was unacceptable) indicates her position in relation to 'orthodox' Quakerism; the use of her name to suggest the kind of people invited to Pennyman's 'wedding' feast suggests that she, and her religious views, were well known to Quakers. Clearly, too, the survivors from among the Civil War sects were still in touch in 1671. Pennyman's obedience to a command from God that he should invite all sects to the feast is reminiscent of John Perrot's suggestion in his Epistle for amity and unity that there was more ground for common cause and unity between himself and Baptists and Seekers than with some other Quakers.

Early Restoration Libels

It is as part of the 'Confederate' group responsible for a number of early Restoration libels that Elizabeth Calvert's involvement in publishing first becomes obvious. Members of the group, including Giles Calvert, his former
apprentice Thomas Brewster, the booksellers Livewell Chapman and Francis Smith, their usual printers Simon Dover and Thomas Creake, and the binder George Thresher, were variously responsible for a string of publications which worried the authorities. Henry Jessey's *The Lords loud call to England* ..., published by Chapman and Smith in 1660, set a style of anti-Restoration propaganda which relied on signs and portents which were interpreted as God's disapproval of king and government; for religious radicals and more conservative Presbyterians alike, they provided both comfort and hope in the struggle for toleration or comprehension. Despite the risks of publishing such material (Smith and Chapman were both arrested, the former three times) the popularity of such publications was high. Just as Presbyterians, Independents and sectaries alike took seriously this 'evidence' of God's displeasure at their treatment, so too government listened to reports of anti-royalist signs which often turned out to be no more than stories told by drunks in taverns, and saw the threat which widespread publication of these stories fuelled. 28 Three more similar pamphlets followed Jessey's, and it is at this point that Elizabeth Calvert's activity becomes apparent. In 1661 the first of the three pamphlets appeared with the title *ENIAYTOΣ TEPAΣΤΙΟΣ*; *mirabilis annus,* or the year of prodigies and wonders, being a faithful and impartial collection of several signs that have been seen in the heavens, in the earth, and in the waters; together with many remarkable accidents and judgements befalling divers persons, according as they have been testified by very credible hands; all which have happened within the space of one year last past, and are now made publick for a seasonable warning to the people of these three kingdoms speedily to repent and turn to the Lord, whose hand is lifted up amongst us. The following year there appeared *Mirabilis annus secundus;* or, the second year of prodigies. Being a true and impartial collection of many strange signes and apparitions, which have this last year been seen in the heavens, and in the
earth, and in the waters. Together with many remarkable accidents and judgements befalling divers persons, according to the most exact information that could be procured from the best hands; and now published as a warning to all men speedily to repent, and to prepare to meet the Lord, who gives us these signs of his coming. Later in 1662 a second instalment was issued: Mirabilis annus secundus: or, the second part of the second years prodigies. Being a true additional collection of many strange signs and apparitions, which have this last year been seen in the heavens, and in the earth, and in the waters. Together with many remarkable accidents, and signal judgements which have befell divers persons who have apostasized from the truth, and have been persecutors of the Lord's faithful servants. Published as a warning to all, speedily to repent, and to meet the Lord in the way of his judgements. 29

The titles are given here at length, not only to demonstrate the progressive changes in tone (the exhortation to 'turn to the Lord' acquiring in the second pamphlet the Fifth Monarchist overtones of a second coming, and in the third being coupled with a specific threat to apostates and persecutors), but also to demonstrate that there were indeed three pamphlets with confusingly similar titles. The Greek title of the first (under which all the pamphlets are catalogued by the British Library) seems never to have been used by contemporaries; on the other hand, Mirabilis annus, Annus mirabilis and Signs and wonders, and even 'the book of prodigies', seem to have been used indiscriminately, and it is sometimes impossible to tell which pamphlet is being referred to in contemporary sources. Perhaps this use of a 'generic' title simply demonstrates that they were treated as an entity, a 'type' of publication equally unwelcome to the authorities in all its manifestations. More infuriating is the tendency of historians to muddle the pamphlets in the same way. 30
All three pamphlets consist, for the most part, of recitations of strange events and wonders happening at particular times and places, with little attempt to point the usually obvious conclusion. In the prefaces and addresses to the reader, however, the wording is more explicit. In his Considerations and proposals...

L'Estrange quotes passages from works he considered worthy of prosecution, including this from the first of the three:

Amongst the Hellish rout of Prophane and ungodly men, let especially the Oppressors and Persecutors of the True Church look to themselves, when the hand of the Lord, in strange signs and Wonders is lifted up among them ... 31

In selecting seditious passages L'Estrange must have been spoilt for choice; equally actionable under his own definitions of seditious literature would have been this direct attack on the king:

the Mene Tekel on the Wall did signifie evil to Belshazzar, who though he knew all that God had done to his Father, yet humbled not his heart, but lifted up himself against the Lord of Heaven ... 32

The second pamphlet, a collection of 'signs' covering the period April 1661 to July 1662, was presumably published to coincide with St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August, when ministers unable to conform to the Act of Uniformity were finally ejected. It disclaims all interpretation of the signs, and advertizes that another 100 signs are to be published in a few days' time. 33 The third was not printed as soon as planned, however; in it, the catalogue of signs is brought up to November 1662, and the text itself refers to difficulties in printing:

Having at length, through the assistance of Providence, overcome the many interruptions which have attended the Press, we have (though much later than we promised, and indeed intended) at last Mid-wifed into the World a Second Part of
this years Prodigies ... Certainly there is some great thing at the Birth, and the Lord is rising from his place to do his Work, even his Strange Work and:

Thus we have at last, though through many difficulties (in regard of the watchful eye that is continually upon the Press) dispatched this Second Part also. 34

The second group of 'libels' for which the Confederates were responsible was a series of more direct responses to specific political events: in particular, the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant and the trials and executions of the regicides. It must have been clear by August, when Jessey's The Lords loud call to England ... appeared as the first in what was to become a series of 'signs and wonders' pamphlets, that the republicans and sectarians were not going to accept the Restoration and its likely consequences quietly. Widespread concern about the productions of the press during 1660-1661 is evident from the Council's orders for the arrest of publishers, the repeated seizures of the Confederates, and searches and seizures made outside London. Quaker pamphlets were confiscated in Chester, Baptist literature was burnt in Sherborne, and Presbyterian works were burnt in Exeter. 35

In October 1660 the first of the regicide trials took place, and 10 of the 11 then in custody were executed; the following January, reaction to the disinterring of regicides and Venner's rising early in the month increased fears of violence from the radical sects. More regicide trials in April 1662 and the passing that year of the Act of Uniformity, the Quaker Act and the Corporation Act fuelled the increasingly vocal discontent of the religious radicals. As St. Bartholomew's Day approached, rumours of plots and risings grew, and by the end of 1662 a remarkable change in popular London opinion had been effected - from the 'hysterical rejoicing' of 1660 to downright hostility to
The response of the Confederates to these events was swift. The execution of the first group of regicides between 13 and 19 October 1660 was followed by the publication of The speeches and prayers ..., dated 1 December by Thomason, and A dying father's last legacy to an only child or Mr. Hugh Peter's advice to his daughter .... The order for the public burning of the Covenant, an issue which alienated the Presbyterians and produced the first open division in Parliament, was answered by The phoenix, or the Solemn League and Covenant, which ingeniously reprinted the text of the Covenant and the King's declaration acknowledging his father's sins, juxtaposed with Calamy's sermon from 1649 on the subject of the dangers of covenant-breaking. No commentary was needed, and the texts side by side demonstrated both the King's duplicity and the likely fate of oath-breakers.

The second series of regicide trials and the executions of Barkstead, Okey and Corbett on 19 April 1662 resulted in the publication of more Speeches and prayers ...; another 'prodigy' pamphlet was printed by Dover in 1662, called The panther-prophecy; or, a premonition to all people of sad calamities and miseries like to befall these islands ...; and the atmosphere of plotting and rumours of the Northern Plot of October 1663 coincided with the publication of A treatise of the execution of justice ..., also known as Mene tekel or the downfall of tyranny, for which Twyn was executed.

This series of pamphlets, their production and distribution and their effect on the government, has scarcely been investigated. Williams has dealt with the series of Speeches and prayers ... in some detail, but an extreme royalist view and a naivety about the political purpose of the texts result in an ill-balanced account. (He seems, for example, to be concerned to demonstrate that the printed speeches were forgeries, without realizing that their relation to the words actually spoken by the regicides facing execution is not a central issue: the
Confederates were in the business of producing effective republican propaganda, not truthful accounts of death speeches.) Crist touches on part of the investigations into the Confederate group, and both Kitchin and Walker give some account of L'Estrange's intervention and the investigations which eventually resulted in the trials of 1664. But there is much more detailed evidence, notably in the State Trials, about the practicalities of production and the ways in which stationers worked together, all of which information deserves detailed study. While it is not my task to review this central group of printers and publishers, I hope that in concentrating on Elizabeth Calvert's part in the events of the early Restoration years, some of the interconnections will become obvious, and the richness of the available source material will be demonstrated.

Elizabeth Calvert's Role

In June 1661 began the long series of investigations which would culminate, three years later, in the prosecutions which effectively ended the Confederate group. In its first session after the Restoration, Parliament ordered the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant, which had proposed the settlement of a national church without bishops, and which had become almost a sacred document to the Presbyterians. The publishers' response, The phoenix ..., was quickly investigated, and the printer Thomas Creake and the binder George Thresher gave evidence which implicated Chapman, Giles Calvert and Thomas Brewster. Brewster and Chapman fled, but Calvert was arrested and questioned. Francis Smith was also imprisoned; like Calvert, he was not inclined to give information to the authorities. The seizure of The phoenix ... also brought to light the first of the Mirabilia annus pamphlets, which Creake was then in the process of printing; Thresher, who had stitched copies of The phoenix ..., gave evidence implicating the Confederates in the production of this, too. At this point, with the men either fled or in
prison, Elizabeth Calvert took up the work. As L'Estrange recalled in 1663,
Giles Calvert did not only come off for This, but during his Imprisonment, (which continued till the Adjournment of the Parliament) his wife went on with the Prodigies; upon Proof whereof, She was likewise Committed, and is come off too. Crist has identified two editions of ENHAYTOE TERAZTIOE mirabilis annus ..., and suggests that while Smith's edition, interrupted while printing, was printed at two presses, hers was printed at one, and is the more common of the copies surviving. This is the one held by the British Library, with a woodblock illustration; its survival in greater numbers than Smith's reflects the fact that she had more time to distribute copies. The first edition, seized from Creake while printing, had been half finished; Creake said that he was employed to print 2,000 copies, and at the time of his arrest he had completed 1,000, which had been sent to Thresher for binding. Assuming that Elizabeth Calvert moved quickly to set up the printing of another batch, she would have had three months at most before she too was arrested. On 4 October she was sent to the Gatehouse 'for printing and publishing a treasonable and seditious book called Several Prodigies and Apparitions seen in the Heavens, from August 1, 1660, to the latter end of May 1661, being a forgery of false and feigned prodigies, prognosticating mischievous events to the King, and instilling into the hearts of subjects a superstitious belief thereof, and a dislike and hatred of His Majesty's person and government, and preparing them to effect a damnable design for his destruction, and a change of government.' The words of the warrant issued by Secretary Nicholas are in themselves a demonstration of the seriousness with which government viewed the political threat inherent in prophecies and prognostications.

By the time of Elizabeth Calvert's arrest, Giles Calvert had already been released and had fled London.
Elizabeth's petition to Secretary of State Nicholas for her own release suggests that Giles' disappearance from London was a result of debt:

    Yet soe it is that Since your Petitioners said husbands releasement, haveing beene long in Suite for a Considerable sume of money properly belonging to him was for feare of Arrest forced to obscure himself in the Countrey.47

Debt was a usual excuse for the absence of husbands who were stationers, and Giles Calvert had good reason to stay clear of London; in law responsible for his wife's actions, he would have been liable for rearrest for seditious publishing if found.48 Throughout her imprisonment Elizabeth Calvert maintained the show of innocence and appealed for clemency; the same petition continues:

    Since when your petitioner hath been apprehended and is now Close prisoner in the Gatehouse by vertue of A warrant from your honor to her Great Greife And Sorrow, your petitioner not knowing the Cause of her Commitment

and ends with a plea to be examined so that she 'And her Children and Small Estate may not be utterly Ruin6d and distroyed.'49 She continued to petition for release and another petition mentions her ill health; recently cured of yellow jaundice, 'now by reason of her long imprisonment the same distemper is upon her againe which without inlargement will inevitably put an end to her daies.'50

Most revealing is a letter from her to Mrs. Woodcock dated 23 November, in which she states her case as an innocent. The presence of the letter in the State Papers suggests either its interception, or Mrs. Woodcock's submission of it as evidence of Elizabeth Calvert's innocence. It should, I think, therefore be read not as a private personal letter, but as a letter whose contents were likely, if not intended, to be seen by L'Estrange and Nicholas. Mrs. Woodcock was probably Jane Woodcock, a Quaker who lived at the Savoy and whose house was regularly used for Quaker meetings. She had been a supporter of Nayler, and one of
her letters to him was produced in evidence against him at his trial; on his release in September 1659 he used her house for meetings, attracting huge audiences. As a prominent and property-owning London Quaker and, in particular, one of the women allied with the Nayler group, Jane Woodcock had perhaps been acquainted with the Calverts for a number of years. Given, then, a likely friendship between these two women, and the public intention of this ostensibly private letter, the confession it contains is more likely a plausible fabrication of innocence than a full account of Elizabeth Calvert's actions:

Mrs. Woodcock

Last night when you was heare you was pleased to desire me through the command of Sr. Edward Nicholas to confess what I know as touching the booke w'ch I suppose I am accused of. Let me tell you when my husband was in prison And had theire Continued about a week he Gave me order to Gett up all the sheets of wast what ever together which Mr. Lay Strange had taken part of And Safely Secure them and Cary them into his Honor if Required In obedience to w'ch I presently went home And did as Commanded w'ch I provided expecting his Honors Command for ye same as my Antagonist[?] may testifie w'ch not being demanded I sold for wast Paper els my Serv't shall take his oath if Required above A month after not expecting the least word of anger from his honor for the same. And Confident I am had I humored the Printer soe far as to have paid his fees while in prison with my husband I had never beene a Prisoner at this Time w'ch manifestly Appeares by the Information given in ag st me, is out of meare malice as will be proved if his honor will be pleased to bring him to my face. Therefores my Request is to you, Humbly begging his Honors Compassion in [unreadable] to pitty my Condition as a woman.
And likewise the straytes I am driven to being in
time of my Husband's Imprisonment forth to pawne
my Plate for £20. which is unpaid to this day And
further hath beene forth to make my Serv't Interest
Alderman Blackall [unreadable] soo far as to lend
me £10. towards the maintayning me in this my sad
Distress, All wch considered by his Honor with the
ffeare of my husbands comeing home least Arrested
for Debt. I hope he will be pleased to take
sufficient Bayle wch I hope in pitty towards me
will give their bond. And shall further never
trouble his Honor in the like nature. But shall
ever me and mine be bound to pray for him and his
undertakings. I desire you let me know how this
takes with his honor And I shall ever Remaine
your Distressed Friend
Eliz: Calvert

I beseech you further let his Honor know my
Indisposition of Body And I doubt not but as he
is a person of Honor he will Pitty my Condition. 51

Her story of selling waste sheets is not entirely
implausible; it is clear, for example, from the evidence
to the House of Lords' Libels Committee in 1676 that
leading members of the Stationers' Company were engaged
in seditious publishing, and reissued or reprinted libels
they themselves had seized from others. It would not have
been impossible for one of them to have bought up as
'waste paper' the remaining sheets and organized
distribution for their own profit. 52 But later evidence of
Elizabeth Calvert's own publishing and distribution
activities, and her familiarity with the practices of the
trade in libels (she knows, for example, the protective
device of 'saving harmless') render her 'innocent'
explanation hardly credible. The pose of naive innocence,
used repeatedly by women in this sector of the book trade,
will be considered later. 53 Her plea of poverty and
promise of future good behaviour are almost routine
features of her many petitions in the following years. The reference to her illness is perhaps truthful, and presumably recalls the jaundice mentioned earlier; certainly in the sequence of documents during this imprisonment, her signature becomes progressively shaky. Her attempt at 'confession' in order to secure release seems, however, to have failed: in December she again petitioned for release, this time addressing the king and Privy Council. She seems to have given up protesting her innocence and simply apologizes and asks for clemency:

her condition being very sad through sicknes, 
(and her distressed famyly alsoe running into ruine) by her long imprisonment, and she being heartily sory in any thing she might displease his Ma\textsuperscript{ty} or this Most Hon\textsuperscript{ble} Board ...\textsuperscript{54}

On 1 December, after almost three months in prison, she signed a bond for her release on sureties of £500 for her appearance when summoned; the warrant for release was not issued, however, until three weeks later, on 21 December.\textsuperscript{55} The delay between the signing of the bond and her release is not easily explained. During the interval, the investigation was proceeding to establish the authorship of Mirabilis annus ...; George Cockaine had earlier been suspected, but now attention was focussed on Henry Jessey, who was examined and held during December. Jessey was an obvious suspect, given his own similar publication the previous year. He admitted his interest in prodigies, and that he collected accounts of that kind; he also owned that he knew Danvers, Smith and Cockaine, but would go no further. Smith, questioned along the same lines about the compilation of the book, maintained (implausibly) that he had never heard of it, and according to the record of his examination on 19 December, remained 'Mute'.\textsuperscript{56} Perhaps with Jessey now in custody as the putative author, the authorities were less interested in the publisher who, as a wife, would be difficult to prosecute anyway, and so released her at this point. The
question of influence exerted on her behalf at a higher level will be considered later. 57

By the beginning of 1662, the case against Jessey had apparently collapsed, both the Calverts were at liberty and Francis Smith was the only one left in prison. After a series of habeas corpus writs he was eventually released on bail. 58 Clearly the authorities were losing the battle to control the press. In February, however, L'Estrange became a Surveyor of the Press and began a comprehensive search for seditious material under a general search warrant. 59 And on 10 June, after much delay, the Licensing Act was passed. The provisions of the Act have been described elsewhere, and both Siebert and Crist have pointed to the difficulties of enforcement and the multiplicity of agencies which led to inconsistencies and ineffectiveness in its application. 60 Here I propose only to look at the Act in relation to the group of publications by the Confederates; from their activities alone it seems clear that the passing of the Act did little to deter 'seditious' publishing. In the middle of 1662 a series of general search warrants was issued, and in November L'Estrange's attempt to pin down the Confederates showed signs of success. 61 In particular, L'Estrange seems at last to have found someone willing to talk. A note dated 3 November refers to an unnamed young man, seized in connection with The panther-prophecy ..., who 'is the only person that can inform about the author or printer of those, Sir Henry Vane's book, the book of wonders, the book of destroying the King and state, and in fact all similar ones prohibited since the Restoration ...'. The trail led to the Calverts: on 27 November Giles Calvert signed a bond for his release on bail. 62 His freedom was short: on 12 December a warrant was issued for his imprisonment in the Tower, for seditious practices, but was not executed. Four days later, however, he was committed to Newgate. Also on 12 December, warrants were issued for Elizabeth Evans, the Calverts' maid, 'for dispersing seditious books
and pamphlets' and for 'the wife of John Batty'. On 16 December, the day of Giles' committal to Newgate, the stationer Richard Joad and the grocer George Bennett signed a bond guaranteeing Elizabeth Calvert's surrender as prisoner on Friday 19 December to Northrop, the King's messenger. Elizabeth Evans was bailed on the Saturday, to appear before Secretary Bennet on 20 December; Richard Joad was again one of the sureties. John Batty and his wife Constance were bound over not to receive or distribute seditious books of libels, while Elizabeth Evans was rearrested early in the New Year. By 14 January 1663, among the prisoners in the Gatehouse committed by the Secretaries of State were Elizabeth Evans, Constance Batty (in prison since 12 December), George Gosnall (committed 27 November), Mr. Hinch or Inch (incriminated by the anonymous young man), the printer Thomas Leach and William Salmon. All were committed on charges of dangerous and seditious practices, and most of them had been bailed by the end of the month.

Not all of these people can be identified. Apart from Elizabeth Evans, whose position as the Calverts' maid resulted in several arrests and whose involvement in the carrying of copy between publisher and printer is obvious from the 1664 trials, the others seem to have been arrested for their part in distribution, though none of them is known as a bookseller. William Salmon was a former apprentice of Robert White, one of the stationers accused before the House of Lords' Libels Committee of trading in seditious books. There may be evidence here of a network of distribution which had little to do with the usual book trade channels, and relied on the transmission of material by congregations of nonconformists. It is possible, for example, tentatively to identify John Batty as a Baptist. A John Batty signed the Baptist petition of 1657 and an apology issued by the Baptists in 1661, and John Batty, merchant and itinerant preacher, attended the Bell Alley Baptist congregation and was a leading member of Kiffin's church in 1660. If this is the same person, and the
unusual surname makes it likely, his role in distribution was probably connected with his attendance at religious meetings, rather than with any trade associations.

Clemence Batty, in her petition for release, claimed to have meant no harm in selling books which she could not read, and asked to be released to attend to her nine children. That she was held while her husband was released suggests that she was the main agent in selling the books; it seems clear that she refused to give any information. An undated note implies that John Batty was the more likely of the two to talk:

Batten, were he re-examin'd, would informe (if strictly required) of whom he and his wife had receiv'd severale parcells of severall seditious bookes ...

It makes clear, too, their link with the Confederate circle: scribbled on the back of the note are a number of remarks, including 'Battin's wife to be released' and 'Calvert's wife to be sent [...] to Prison'.

The same undated note, headed 'This will be attested' and presumably a drawing up of available evidence for a future prosecution, hints at the widespread corruption among officials which made prosecution difficult: Henry Northrop, the King's Messenger, and his wife are said to have kept company with Brewster in a tavern, and it appears that in one case Northrop was known to have accepted a bribe to release a man in his custody. Among the scraps of information listed are a number of familiar names: Leach, Creake, and Twyn (printers); Brewster and Hannah Chapman, said to have managed the printing of Henry Vane's The face of the times. One remark, 'That Bruister may be found at Teags house (ye signe of ye Dolphin in Bristol' brought results: on 2 February Brewster was discovered in Bristol, where he 'kept neither shop nor booth in the fair', living 'in private lodgings with two boxes of books, many of which the Bishop of Bristol finds to be unlicensed and seditious'. Despite being on the run from the London
authorities, he was clearly still engaged in the distribution of books of the very kind which had caused him to flee the capital. Peter Bodevile, Brewster's apprentice, was questioned about the circulation of the regicide speeches, the account of Vane's trial and life, and The phoenix ..., but prosecution of the known offenders was still some way off; although Brewster was brought back to London, he must have been released fairly quickly. The existence in the State Papers of a statement of defects in the 'Act for Printing', and proposals for their remedy and for a supplementary bill, dated 23 February, indicates that it had already become clear that the 1662 Act was ineffective; L'Estrange's Considerations and proposals ..., of the same year, makes the point strongly. It would be another year before Brewster, Dover and Brookes would be brought to trial, and even then they were tried not under the Licensing Act of 1662 but under common law. The apprentice Bodevile reappeared then for the prosecution, helping to convict his own master.

In June, however, a new wave of arrests began, perhaps heralded by L'Estrange's Considerations and proposals in order to the regulation of the press ..., which appeared that month. As well as setting out the grounds on which material might be considered seditious, as described above, he urged harsher punishments and better rewards for informers, pointing to the duplicity of the Stationers' Company as an obstacle to control, and to the lack of prosecutions under the Act. Chapman had already been arrested on his return to England, and was by now in prison; the arrests at the end of June may have been connected with Mirabilis annus secundus ... (probably the second part), which was circulating at that time as the 2-9 July issue of Mercurius publicus makes clear, carrying a refutation of one of the prodigies it contained. The panther-prophecy ... was also causing concern at this time; a copy was sent to Secretary Bennet by an informant on 2 June. The trawl of seditious publishers that month
brought in Peter Lillicrap and his wife and Elizabeth Calvert, as well as a new statement from Creake, all within the space of six days. Elizabeth Calvert's imprisonment lasted less than a month; after petitioning Bennet for her release to attend to 'A charge of children whom are in a deplorable condition by reason of the want of their poor mother now in prison' and asking to be examined, she was released on the direct intervention of the Earl of Carlisle. Why Carlisle should have any interest in Elizabeth Calvert will be explored below; her release is attributable to a hastily written note, dated from St. John's, 15 July, and addressed to Bennet:

Sr,

I understand that Mrs Calvert is in prison, & very much in distress upon that account, I would intreat you to favour her, in her condition, & to release her, & you will very much oblige ...

your
most humble servant
Carlisle.76

The note had its effect, and on 24 July Elizabeth Calvert signed a bond for good behaviour and appearance on three days' notice.77 It is likely that at the time of her release Giles Calvert was already ill. On 11 August he made his will, and it was proved on 28 August. Elizabeth was sole executrix, and according to the custom of the City of London she was to receive a third of the estate, while another third was to be divided between the children, Nathaniel and Giles (the younger Elizabeth presumably having died). The remaining third, after a legacy of £10 paid to Elizabeth Evans, was to be divided between Elizabeth Calvert and her two sons. One of the witnesses to the will was Alderman Blackall, the Alderman from whom Elizabeth Calvert had earlier borrowed money.78 The business was now entirely in the hands of Elizabeth Calvert, probably helped by Nathaniel, who was freed in October by his uncle George Calvert. At the same time, L'Estrange was reaching the height of his power to hunt out seditious publishing; on 15 August he had become Surveyor of the Press.79
Throughout September there were rumours of a planned uprising in the north of England, and there was a suspicion that London stationers were involved in publishing republican propaganda in its support. L'Estrange's zeal in pursuing opposition stationers brought results. The Lillicraps, for example, to avoid prosecution for printing part of the farewell sermons of ejected ministers 'which were printed by other houses and no man questioned for them', were prepared to give information about John Heydon's seditious activities in order to demonstrate their own loyalty. Acting on information of a secret press in the Cloth Fair, L'Estrange raided on 7 October the house of the printer John Twyn. The early morning raid revealed Twyn in the process of printing *A treatise of the execution of justice...*, construed as an incitement to revolt against the King and linked in the view of the authorities (though the link was never proved) with the Northern Rising of 12 October. Twyn admitted that the source of the copy was 'Evans Calvert's maid'. Elizabeth Evans acted as a go-between throughout, supplying the copy and meeting Twyn at the Rose in Smithfield to collect the printed sheets and pay him for his work. During the next few days, numerous warrants were issued, for Matthew Stevenson (Elizabeth Calvert's apprentice), Twyn, Nathaniel Calvert, two for Elizabeth Calvert herself, Dister, Doe and his wife, Elizabeth Evans, Perry, William Fullwood, Thresher, Richard Overton and one 'Mimpress'. Brewster and his apprentice were also committed on 15 October and Dover and his apprentice were arrested. At the same time, evidence was arriving from Sir John Knight in Bristol that Richard Moone, a bookseller there (and the Calverts' former apprentice), had stocks of both parts of *Mirabilis annus...* and was regularly supplied by Elizabeth Calvert, Thomas Brewster, Simon Miller and Francis Eglesfield.

Given that Elizabeth Calvert was immediately implicated by Twyn's information that Elizabeth Evans both supplied him with copy and paid him for his work,
L'Estrange's failure to surprise and arrest both women seems odd. Matthew Stevenson and Nathaniel Calvert denied any knowledge of the whereabouts of Elizabeth Calvert, and were themselves released on bail on 14 November. But there was some delay in chasing Elizabeth Calvert at all: whereas her son and apprentice were arrested only two days after the raid on Twyn, the warrant for her arrest was not issued until 12 October, five days after the discovery and three days after Twyn's written statement. That she and Elizabeth Evans seem to have been given time to escape is confirmed, though not explained, by evidence given at Twyn's trial. When asked if he had spoken to Elizabeth Evans, L'Estrange replied:

I was long in searching Twyn's house, and one of his apprentices made his escape, and probably gave notice of it: for the night I went to mistress Calvert's house, she and the maid too were fled. I have since taken the mistress, and she is now in Custody, I have heard nothing of the maid since.

Moreover, Twyn's speech at his execution betrays his suspicion of double dealing, in that his information was not acted on:

when they had taken me, I did ingenuously acknowledge and confess who I had it of; and yet for all this the searching after those persons concerned, was neglected that whole day, though they were at home, and easy to be taken, I could prove it.

On the other hand, Twyn himself was accused of protecting the publishers:

he says, That the persons concerned (meaning Calvert, and her maid) were neglected that whole day, being at home, and easy to be taken, which is disproved, both by his own servants, and Mrs. Calvert's: And likewise proved, on the other side, That if he himself would have ordered his apprentice to have looked after the maid (as he
promised, and was directed, she had been secured that very morning; the fellow meeting her in St. Bartholomew's Close, within a quarter of an hour after his master was carried away, not knowing that she had any concern in the business. As to the mistress herself, she is, at present, under custody.\textsuperscript{89}

However the delay in looking for the two women really arose, it is clear that they were vital links in the publication chain, and their evidence would have been necessary if the author, whose identity Twyn repeatedly denied knowing, was to be traced. Elizabeth Calvert was eventually found after at least three months on the run; she was in custody at the time of Twyn's trial, having been committed to the Gatehouse on 2 February 'for her usual practices'. She was kept close prisoner, allowed only to see other prisoners who were not printers or stationers. A set of notes of questions to be put to her indicates what she was thought to be involved in, and what she might be expected to know:

- Who Printed the First Part of Mene Tekel?
- Who Printed the Last Sheet of the Second Part, which was supplied anew, the Former being taken?
- To what place were the Sheets carried from the Presse, & where, & by whom were they layd up?
- Who stitch'd up the books?
- Who delivered the Original copy in Manuscript? who wrote it? & who Composed it?
- Where are the 5 or 600 Copyes, that are yet behind?
- Who Printed the First Impression of the Speeches of Baxter [i.e. Barkstead], Okey, & Corbet?
- Who was the Author of it?\textsuperscript{90}

No report of her examination survives; perhaps she was never examined, or, given that the missing Elizabeth Evans was the only link between herself as publisher and Twyn as printer, she could remain silent, knowing that she was
safe from prosecution on what was only circumstantial
evidence. Despite her arrest, she was not called as a
witness at the trials, and therefore must have refused to
give any information.

The trial of John Twyn for treason was held on 20
February 1664, and those of Dover, Brookes and Brewster
followed two days later. The culmination of L'Estrange's
campaign against seditious printing and publishing, they
were show trials intended both to demonstrate the severity
of the law and to break the ring of Confederates. Notably,
none of the four men was prosecuted under the terms of the
Licensing Act itself: Twyn was tried for treason, while
the other three were prosecuted as common law criminals.
As Chief Justice Hyde remarked at the end of the trials,
the common law as it existed before the passing of the new
Act allowed the prosecution of printers and publishers of
sedition for misdemeanours.91 What needs some explanation,
in view of L'Estrange's undoubted zeal in tracing the
sources of sedition, is that in the prosecution of Twyn the
investigation stopped short at the printer, rather than
extending to those who had used him. Twyn, it seems, like
many other printers at a time of economic stress, was
willing to print what he called 'mattlesome stuff', but
he was hardly the source of sedition. Yet Elizabeth
Calvert, now in custody and with a record of publishing
and distributing seditious material, was not prosecuted.

Three possibilities present themselves in explanation
of her freedom from legal proceedings. The first is that
the case against her, with Elizabeth Evans still missing,
was simply untenable. L'Estrange was well aware of the
difficulty of securing successful prosecutions, remarking
that 'The Law is so short that unless the very act of
Printing the very point in question be expressly proved,
the Printer will come off.'92 Faced with a printer caught
red-handed and a publisher whose culpability could only be
established on the evidence of her maid who had escaped
arrest, it is perhaps not surprising that the printer was prosecuted and the publisher imprisoned indefinitely. A second possibility is that L'Estrange's object, and arguably the object of the Licensing Act and all the other efforts at press control, was to focus on stopping libels being printed, rather than to address the source of the sedition in the shape of authors, publishers and financial backers. The concentration on printers was, in part, an inheritance from the tradition of control established by the Tudors, and in the mid-seventeenth century, from the 1642 Ordinance onwards, the main targets of control seem to have been the printers. The 1643 Act similarly aimed at printers as the chief culprits, and the investigations of both Houses of Parliament in the 1640s seem overwhelmingly to have concerned printers, and to have resulted in printers, rather than publishers or distributors, being imprisoned. The 1647 Act awarded penalties for illegal printing to authors, printers, booksellers and hawkers on a sliding scale, with the punishment for printers being double that for booksellers (fines of 20 and 10 shillings, or imprisonment for 20 or 10 days, respectively) and printers in addition losing their printing materials and presses. Hawkers and peddlers were to be whipped.93 The 1649 Act again ranked printers higher than booksellers in the scale of punishments, and was concerned particularly with limiting the actions of printers. Numerous orders were issued for the suppression of hawkers throughout the period, but here the publication of news was the specific object of the controls. The Licensing Act itself was in the same tradition, placing much emphasis on the regulation of printers and presses as a method of control, and this well-established view of the printer as key figure was shared by L'Estrange himself. As Siebert has remarked, and a reading of Considerations and proposals ... makes clear, 'The theory of regulation under which L'Estrange proceeded was that if printing were limited to a few chosen and well-affected persons the productions of their presses could be controlled ...'.94 Twyn's prosecution, given such a
view, was a logical step and was designed to frighten off printers tempted by money (rather than by political allegiance) into illegal work. The third possible explanation for Elizabeth Calvert's freedom from prosecution is that she and perhaps the author of the pamphlet were being protected; the evidence for an influential figure in the background will be discussed below. 95

For whatever reason, or combination of reasons, Elizabeth Calvert escaped any punishment more severe than an indefinite term of imprisonment and the considerable expenses that implied. After Twyn's execution on 24 February she remained in the Gatehouse; a list of prisoners dated 29 March shows her still a prisoner, alongside Livewell Chapman and the Quaker Solomon Eccles. 96 She petitioned for release on compassionate grounds: Nathaniel, who had been released from prison the previous November along with the apprentice Matthew Stevenson, was now desperately ill, 'all the tyme of her said imprisonment being dangerously sick', and she sent in a physician's testimony as proof. 97 In asking for her freedom on bail to visit her son, 'the comfort and staffe of her life and age', she touches on the subject of her offence, arguing that she knows nothing more than she has already told, 'being thereto obliged as well by the Earl of Carlisle as her own conscience'. 98 A second petition shows that her release came too late: Nathaniel was 'ever since fryday morning dead and is yett unburied and that small livelihood shee hath left is nowe like to bee lost and your pet' 99 utterly ruined ...'. 100 This time the response was prompt, whether by virtue of mercy for a bereaved woman or by reason of the Earl of Carlisle's influence. On 8 April she was released, presumably in time to bury her son, and was delivered into the hands of the messenger the following day. 100

Confederate Women and the Law

The narrative presented above raises particular questions about Elizabeth Calvert's role, the role of other
women in the group, and their apparent ability to escape prosecution. In turning now to these questions, I hope both to fill out the life of Elizabeth Calvert in particular, and to place her in the context of other women in the opposition book trade.

First, it is important to emphasize that Elizabeth Calvert is not an exception among stationers' wives, either in her practical experience of the trade or in her persistence in challenging the law. The only respect in which she is atypical is that there are more surviving pieces of evidence for her continued activities than for other women known to be engaged in the same kind of business. Looking first at the Confederate group prior to the trials of 1664, it is possible to document the involvement of a number of other 'Confederate women'.

At one level the involvement of the women can be inferred: given such long absences on the part of the men, wives and apprentices were frequently in charge of businesses for quite long periods. Giles Calvert's absences have already been noted. Brewster seems to have been out of London from May 1661 until his discovery in Bristol in February 1663, Chapman fled the country and Francis Smith spent at least four months in prison in 1661-2. As well as overseeing the business in the man's absence, women were important in securing legal advice and pressing for the release of their husbands when in prison. Crist has documented Eleanor Smith's attempts to free Francis Smith by interesting Lord Anglesey, obtaining legal advice from Sir Thomas Foster, and petitioning repeatedly. Similarly Joan Dover (later Joan Darby), Anna Brewster and Hannah Chapman all worked for their husbands' freedom. Not only were these women keeping businesses going and acting as their husbands' agents, but also they were organizing printing and publishing. Elizabeth Calvert organized the publication of a second run of the first *Mirabilis annus*... while Giles Calvert and Francis Smith were imprisoned for
their publication of the same pamphlet; it seems likely that she, too was responsible for both parts of *Mirabilis annus secundus* .... She managed the distribution of copies, and after Giles' death carried on supplying books to Richard and Susanna Moone in Bristol. The copies of the third *Mirabilis annus* ... pamphlet seized from their shop were sent by her, and in 1667 she was still supplying Susanna Moone with seditious material, this time about the Fire of London. Her implication as publisher of Twyn's *A treatise of the execution of justice* ... has already been described.\(^{102}\) Hannah Chapman, too, was organizing publication in her husband's absence: she was held responsible, along with Brewster, for publishing works by Sir Henry Vane after the latter's execution.\(^{103}\) Evidence given by L'Estrange at Dover's trial gives a hint of the way in which women could carry on during a husband's imprisonment. Joan Dover had been allowed to visit Simon on condition 'that she neither deliver papers to him nor receive them for him', but a letter found on her by L'Estrange during a raid on her house the following February reveals that precautions designed to prevent the passing of instructions between the Dovers were ineffective: Dover wrote

I would fain see my sister Mary; therefore sister Hobbs will not come, take her order, and instead of her name, put in sister Mary's: it will never be questioned here. However, do it as wisely and handsomely as you can ... You must either get Tom Porter, or some very trusty friend, (possibly CD may help you) to get for you a safe and convenient room to dry books in, as soon as possibly you can ... Let me know what you intend to do with the two sheets and half. I will have it published, when I am certain I shall be tried.\(^{104}\) Joan Dover is clearly continuing to print; moreover, she is here requested to forge a name on a warrant.\(^{105}\) Her concern for keeping the business going is also apparent in her earlier attempt to persuade Bennet to free their apprentice:
his apprentice, Thomas Alington, was examined, but no ground of charge appears, requests the dismissal of the apprentice, that he may continue an important piece of work, and enlargement or liberty of the prison for her husband.106

The later careers of Elizabeth Calvert, Joan Dover, Anna Brewster and Eleanor Smith point to continued activity in these roles. Eleanor Smith, married to the only one of the Confederate men whose business survived the break-up of 1664, reappears in the 1680s when Francis Smith was again absent through imprisonment or escape; her name appears on 13 imprints in 1682, and on one each in 1690 and 1691; and she is found entering copies in the Stationers' Register on Smith's behalf. Despite one indictment, she was never (unlike her daughter Eleanor) brought to trial, but appeared at Francis Smith's trial for Ticklefoot's Observations to plead for her absent husband. 107 Joan Dover, left on Dover's death with a small child and a printing business, quickly remarried another printer, John Darby. She was in trouble for seditious printing almost as soon as her first husband was dead: 'Widow Dover' appears in a list of printers of Fifth Monarchist and Quaker literature compiled by an informer, printing The jury-man charged and England's warning as well as books by the Quaker Rebeccah Travers, and both Darbys had warrants issued for them on 2 May 1664.108 In 1668 the discovery of the Blue Anchor Alley secret press implicated both her and Anna Brewster; Joan Darby supplied Anna Brewster, who then organized distribution through hawkers. L'Estrange's remark that 'she and Brewster are a couple of the craftiest and most obstinate ... of the trade' reflects his frustration in trying to bring them to account. Joan Darby's involvement in the trade continued at least until 1683.109 Anna Brewster continued in opposition publishing for many years; the Blue Anchor Alley press seems to have been a joint venture with the Darbys, but despite her
imprisonment in May 1668 she was never brought to trial. In 1678 she was in hiding after a warrant was issued for her arrest, and although L'Estrange found her three months later, he could not prove her involvement in the publication of several pamphlets for which he was convinced she was responsible. These included *The letter about the test*, *Two speeches of the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Shaftesbury*, *Jenks' speech*, *The growth of popery* and *A list of the members of Parliament*. A newsletter of 16 October 1679 reported her imprisonment, with Mary Thompson and two letter office clerks, Murray and Ray, for dispersing *The appeal*..., and in 1680 Smith published Ticklefoot's *Observations* in her name, promising to 'save her harmless'.

Placed among these women, then, Elizabeth Calvert seems less of a special case. What is particularly interesting about them is that, despite their clear responsibility for publishing and distributing seditious literature, and the authorities' suspicions which led to frequent arrests, they were very rarely brought to trial. Only Eleanor Smith junior and Elizabeth Calvert seem ever to have been tried, yet all of these women were frequently under suspicion and underwent imprisonments. In the case of married women, freedom from prosecution is probably explained by the legal principle of coverture, which protected a wife even when her husband was absent. Crist adduces this as an explanation for the continued freedom from prosecution of Eleanor Smith in the 1680s, in contrast with the Smiths' daughter Eleanor who, as a single woman, could more easily be brought to trial. The essence of coverture was the legal view that a married woman, a 'feme covert', was under civil subjection to the husband; thus 'a married woman is not responsible for a crime committed by her in her husband's presence or in concert with him, and such a situation raises a presumption of coercion by her husband'. With certain exceptions such as treason, this meant that in most cases under criminal law the wife was understood to be acting under
the command of the husband, and could not therefore be prosecuted. According to Sir Matthew Hale, even when the woman was proved to be the instigator of a joint crime, it was the usual practice to acquit the wife and convict the husband; if a wife was convicted, she would be reprieved before judgement, because of the doubt about the legal validity of the indictment. The difficulty of obtaining indictments against wives of stationers, even when the husbands were absent by virtue of imprisonment or flight, was frustrating enough for justices in the 1680s to falsify evidence in order to obtain a prosecution. Scroggs managed to bring Jane Curtis to trial for publishing and selling A satyr upon injustice ... in 1680, by allowing two witnesses to swear that her husband Langley Curtis was dead, thus contriving that she could be tried as a 'feme sole'. Similarly, Eleanor Smith was indicted as 'Elinora Smith, Spinster, (alias wife of Fr. Smith formerly of London, stationer)', but the lack of further proceedings may suggest that the bill was, quite rightly, found invalid. Crist's identification of coverture as a protection for married women in the 1680s applies equally to the earlier period, and the knowingness with which Frank Smith the younger responded to customers' enquiries for opposition pamphlets must have been a feature of the careful sale of seditious material in the 1660s. When asked for a new pamphlet, he replied:

No. We have many Enemies, and I dare not meddle with 'em; but when my mother or my Sister comes, you may have as many as you will; for No body can touch them.

Importantly, it seems clear that this essentially legal view of women's status fed back into more general assumptions about women's actions, even when the legal principle was not directly relevant. Thus, Leveller women who petitioned Parliament were told by an MP that the House 'could not take cognizance of their petition ... they being women, and many of them wives, so that the Lawe
tooke no notice of them'; the women's response, 'that they were not all wives', had no effect.\textsuperscript{117} That women could turn the law's view of them to their own advantage, by playing up to the role of simple-minded incompetents, is abundantly clear and is detectable in the widespread air of injured innocence adopted by women in the book trade when questioned about their activities. A claim that she was acting on her absent husband's instructions (as in Elizabeth Calvert's letter to Jane Woodcock) could frustrate the authorities in any attempt to proceed against a stationer's wife. And when the husband was out of the reach of the law, in hiding or abroad, little could be done by those investigating. Husbands, too, blamed wives for actions committed in their own absence, knowing that prosecution would be impossible.\textsuperscript{118} A fine performance as 'innocent wife' was given by Jane Curtis when, by the manoeuvring of Scroggs, she faced trial, and the trial transcript demonstrates both her role-playing and the Justice's own assumptions about women:

\begin{quote}
Mrs. Curtis. I was ignorant in the matter, and knew no such thing, my lord; my husband, an't please your lordship, was in the country a hundred miles off of me, in Lincolnshire.

Justice Jones. You did it ignorantly and simply, without any malice, and, I suppose, you are heartily sorry for it. You see your neighbour there, Mrs. Smith, hath shewed good discretion in the behalf of her husband; she has ingenuously declared, that he shall come and make submission, and if I find you as submissive, and as sorry for what you have done, I may do the like for you.

Mrs. Curtis. In any thing that I have done, I know not myself Guilty; and if I am, I beg your lordship's pardon with all my heart, my lord, or any body's else.\textsuperscript{119}
\end{quote}

That women could use their inferior status under the law to appeal in this way must have infuriated Scroggs still
further, since he had sworn 'by the name of God she should go to prison, and he would show her no more mercy, than they could expect from a wolf that came to devour them'. A hint that such meekness was not Jane Curtis' only style of defence is clear from the opinion of the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company that her verbal attack on Stephens was so violent that they 'were apprehensive he might be in danger of his life by doing his duty'.

Coverture, and the connected but more general view of wives as 'innocents', goes some way to explaining the immunity of a number of women from prosecution. Returning to the particular case of Elizabeth Calvert, her reprinting of the first edition of *Mirabilis annus*... while Giles was in prison would not therefore have put her at personal risk of prosecution, but would simply have compounded the offence for which Giles had already been arrested. While Giles Calvert remained alive, albeit in prison or in hiding at various times over the next two years, she could continue to publish seditious material, facing arrest and imprisonment but avoiding the full consequences of her actions in law. The second and third *Mirabilis annus*... pamphlets cannot conclusively be assigned to any particular publisher, but her publication of the first and her distribution of the third make her at least a likely candidate, with so many of the men out of action by reason of imprisonment or flight. More difficult to explain is her avoidance of prosecution for *A treatise of the execution of justice*...; by this time Giles was dead and she therefore, as a 'feme sole', was legally responsible for her own actions. Twyn's evidence points directly to her as publisher, and both Elizabeth Calvert and Elizabeth Evans went into hiding as soon as Twyn was raided. I have already suggested some possible explanations for her escaping prosecution: that, with Elizabeth Evans still missing, no direct accusations against Elizabeth Calvert could be made; that Twyn's trial was designed to frighten printers, the
control of whom was widely seen as the key to press control; and that Elizabeth Calvert was being protected by someone of influence. It is with this last possibility that the rest of this chapter will be concerned.

Influential Friends?

The practice of 'saving harmless' has been documented elsewhere to demonstrate the way in which publishers of seditious material could protect themselves by promising to pay the prison fees and fines of their distributors and printers, in return for loyal silence when those colleagues were questioned. Elizabeth Calvert's letter to Mrs. Woodcock shows her own knowledge of the practice: 'Confident I am had I humored the Printer soe far as to have paid his fees while in prison with my husband I had never beene a Prisoner at this Time ...'. Francis Smith promised Anna Brewster that he would 'save her harmless' from legal costs resulting from his use of her name in a false imprint. Similarly, Jane Curtis secured the release of her hawker Judith Jones, who was imprisoned for debt, by paying off the debts, thereby protecting her own interests by removing pressure on her hawker to inform. It is at least conceivable that, just as publishers protected their own interests in this way, preserving secrecy by 'looking after' their associates and employees, so politicians who were either authors of libels or at least sympathetic to the publication of a particular pamphlet might take care of their publishers in the same way, in order to protect their own position. It is clear, for example, that Francis Smith had a 'protector' in Lord Anglesey, who occasionally intervened on Smith's behalf. In general, however, it is unlikely that documentary evidence of such connections exists; influence at the level of 'a quiet word in the ear' from one courtier or official to another is unlikely to have been committed to paper. Despite the obvious difficulty of producing conclusive evidence, however, there are a number of points in Elizabeth Calvert's early career which suggest the figure of a protector in the background.
The first hint of an intervention in her affairs is no more than a suggestion, but is worth examining as part of a cumulative series of events, and arises from L'Estrange's obvious exasperation at both the Calverts' avoidance of prosecution for the first Mirabilis annus .... How their release came about is not known, but L'Estrange's annoyance is clear:

Giles Calvert did not only come off for this, but during his Imprisonment ... his Wife went on with the Prodigies; upon Proof whereof, She was likewise Committed, and is come off too ...

and his frustration may be due to his realization that someone more influential than himself had secured their release. 127 A more substantial hint is given by the manner of her release from prison in July 1663. Her release came as the result of the note written to Secretary Bennet by the Earl of Carlisle, quoted at length above. 128 The note was written only five days before Carlisle was due to leave the country as ambassador to Russia, Sweden and Denmark, and it is intriguing at least that, presumably in the midst of his preparations, Carlisle felt it necessary to secure the release of a woman who, ostensibly, had no connection with him. The haste of the handwriting suggests the urgency of its message, and its very existence perhaps indicates the hurried circumstances which required that such a message be committed to paper, when normally it might have been conveyed by word of mouth. As an isolated incident, the note might be inexplicable and the connection between Elizabeth Calvert and Carlisle unfathomable; placing it in the series of 'hints' of influence does, at least, make some sense of it. At the time of Elizabeth Calvert's next imprisonment, in February 1664, Carlisle was still abroad, but in her petition for release to visit the then dying Nathaniel, Elizabeth Calvert invoked Carlisle's name, maintaining that she had told all that she knew 'being thereto oblidged as well by the Earl of Carlisle as her own conscience'. 129 Her mention of his name was perhaps designed as a veiled reminder of his influence and of his interest in her treatment.
It is impossible to claim that the 'hints' described above constitute a case that Carlisle was Elizabeth Calvert's patron; on the other hand, if Elizabeth Calvert did have a protector, Carlisle is the only likely candidate. A glance at Carlisle's career makes any such connection seem at first doubtful. Born Charles Howard, and created Earl of Carlisle after the Restoration, he was one of those gentry who survived and prospered despite all the changes in government between 1640 and 1660. He had been suspected of royalist sympathies, but claimed to support the Commonwealth, and the Council of State in 1650 dismissed charges of disloyalty brought against him. As Captain Howard of Narward he fought on the Parliamentarian side at Worcester and distinguished himself in the fighting. After 1653, when he became an M.P. in Barbone's Parliament, he received numerous preferments from Cromwell, who in 1657 made him Baron Gilsland and Viscount Morpeth. He was suspected of involvement in Booth's rising, but the charge of high treason was dropped and he was reelected M.P. for Cumberland in 1660. After the Restoration he prospered as privy councillor, Custos Rotulorum of Essex, and Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland. On the face of it, Carlisle's career seems to have been that of an easy-going careerist, whose sympathies with the Commonwealth were easily reversed on the Restoration. There is nothing to suggest that he was a convinced republican. His membership of George Cockaine's Soper Lane congregation, however, suggests religious if not political radicalism, and Cockaine will be recalled as one of those suspected, with Henry Jessey, of the authorship of the first Mirabilis annus ..., as well as being an associate of Feake, Powell and other Fifth Monarchists. Perhaps, then, the link between Carlisle and Elizabeth Calvert lay in the religious sphere.

A second explanation for the connection, and one which hinges also on the religious, is that Carlisle's brother-in-law William Howard was himself a member of the world of London religious radicals, and well-known in that circle of
radical printers and booksellers. Carlisle may have been drawn into his apparent interest in Elizabeth Calvert in an effort to protect William. Carlisle had married his own cousin, Anne Howard, daughter of the first Lord Howard of Escrick; the Howards of Escrick had also taken the Parliamentary side in the Civil War, during the course of which Anne's brother, William, became a Baptist. Like many of his co-religionists, he turned against Cromwell when the latter became Protector, and surviving correspondence reveals his attempt, along with a younger brother, to persuade the exiled Charles II to finance a plot to assassinate Cromwell. Thurloe intercepted the correspondence and William was imprisoned, but Cromwell's death and Richard's accession led to his release. Both 'a great preacher of the Anabaptist congregation' and a frequent correspondent of Hyde, William Howard remains a puzzle: he was either a convinced republican trying to use royalist money to finance anti-Cromwell agitation, or he was a double agent. After the Restoration he became M.P. for Winchilsea and in 1678 he was created a peer, but involvement in Dutch plots against Charles II led to imprisonment, and when arrested for his part in the Rye House Plot he turned informer and gave information which led to Russell's conviction. William Howard has been linked with the Levellers, and he was friendly with Wildman and Sindercombe, who tried to kill Cromwell in 1657. Whatever the truth about his apparent double-dealing (and, however shifty his record, it would be consistent with an unbending radical Baptist line) William Howard's name does appear several times in relation to the early Restoration libels. During the investigation of the first Mirabilis annus... Hugh Chamberlain, questioned by Secretary Nicholas, stated that he had 'the Prodigies' from Mrs. Hester 'a gentlewoman' and delivered it to William Howard, the Lord of Escrick's son. Nicholas suggested that Mrs. Hester might be a relation of Francis Smith, but it is possible that she was connected to the Howards; Henry Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, married into the Hester family in 1665, but the
connection is at best a tenuous one.\textsuperscript{132} Interestingly, while Henry Jessey was in custody in December, suspected of the authorship of the same book, he wrote to William Howard to ask advice about obtaining his release. The following year Clarendon sought Nicholas' permission for William Howard to visit Francis Smith in prison in the Gatehouse, in the hope that Howard could extract a confession from Smith. Clarendon presumably trusted Howard and saw him as acting in the interest of the authorities; but Howard's record of double-dealing at least allows of the possibility that Howard's real object in visiting Smith was other than his declared one. Taken together, Howard's long association with the Baptists (Francis Smith was also a leading Baptist preacher) and his involvement in the Mirabilis annus investigations might suggest that he was part of the chain of distribution of the book, if not a hidden partner in its publication, who used his court connections to avoid suspicion.\textsuperscript{133}

Thus, while there is some evidence for linking the Earl of Carlisle and Elizabeth Calvert, the reasons for that connection are at best very tentatively adduced. The radical sympathies of the Baptist William Howard and his position as Carlisle's brother-in-law, together with Carlisle's own apparently nonconformist religious views, may go some way to explaining why Carlisle wanted Elizabeth Calvert released. The very nature of the influence exerted by Carlisle on her behalf makes it impossible to tell how long the interest continued; certainly there is no evidence in her career from 1664 onwards to suggest that it was maintained, but the lack of evidence does not rule out the possibility. Elizabeth Calvert continued her publishing activities for another ten years, during which time she was imprisoned on several occasions, and only once prosecuted. Whether her almost total avoidance of prosecution during those years owed anything to Carlisle is impossible to establish.
One other possible source of influence operating to Elizabeth Calvert's benefit is the Stationers' Company. While for the most part she operated outside the regulations of the Company, it is possible that some members of the Company were prepared to protect her because of their own interest in illegal publishing. L'Estrange believed that one of the leading members of the Company had been instrumental in the production of *A treatise of the execution of justice* ... and was probably thinking of Tytan when he wrote:

One of those very presses wherein *Mene Tekel* was printed (that most execrable villainy), belonged to a ruling member of that society (of Stationers), who cannot pretend ignorance neither, the printer being known to his lifelong and gross experience for a person of notorious principles and practices against authority.

During Elizabeth Calvert's imprisonment in February 1664, when she was in close confinement, one of her visitors was Samuel Mearne, then royal bookbinder and later to become one of the three 'loyal! appointees by the King to the Court of the Company. Mearne's visit would, of course, be explained by his role as a stationer concerned to control illegal publishing, but there is evidence in Elizabeth Calvert's later career of Mearne's intervention on her behalf, and Mearne was one of the stationers accused before the House of Lords' Libels Committee of dealing in the very seditious publications they should have been acting to suppress. While Elizabeth Calvert's relations with the leaders of the Stationers' Company remain obscure, the possibility of the interest of Mearne and others in her later publishing will arise in the survey of her career post-1664 which follows.
By the time that Elizabeth Calvert was released from the Gatehouse in April 1664 in order to bury her elder son, Nathaniel, she had spent two months in prison without trial. Giles Calvert had been dead nearly eight months; Twyn had been executed, and the month of Elizabeth Calvert's release saw also the deaths in prison of Simon Dover and Thomas Brewster. Brewster's funeral attracted a large crowd, and L'Estrange's report that he was 'attended to his grave in the Phanatiques burying place in Bedlam by at least 3,000 people of the same stamp' suggests considerable popular sympathy for the anti-church and anti-monarchy stance represented by the Confederates. L'Estrange's view, unsurprisingly, is that the stationers had only themselves to blame, and that they had been leniently treated by the King:

These men might have been set at liberty by his Majesty's special grace if they would have been but so ingenuous as to have told the meaning of their own hands and papers in order to the clearer discovery of their dangerous confederates, and in cases wherein they themselves could not pretend ignorance. But they chose rather to end their days in a prison (where they did not lack anything) which to the quality of their condition might be afforded. ¹

The men's silence, however, must have preserved other parts of the web of opposition publishing, and despite the personal costs they had already incurred, the women persisted in producing and distributing 'seditious' material. Joan Dover, left alone with a small son, quickly remarried and as Joan Darby worked with Anna Brewster to organize the distribution of books and pamphlets printed by John Darby; Elizabeth Calvert continued the business at the Black Spread Eagle, with some interruptions, until 1675.
On her emergence from prison, Elizabeth Calvert was in sole charge of a long-standing and well-known business. Giles junior, then about ten years old, presumably helped in the shop; although he was never apprenticed to a stationer, or made free of the Stationers' Company, he was described in Elizabeth's will as a bookseller of the City of London. Her apprentice Matthew Stevenson, imprisoned with Nathaniel Calvert in 1663, had probably been removed from her service by his father. Her maid, Elizabeth Evans, may have returned to the shop after many months of hiding, but there is no record of her association with Elizabeth Calvert continuing; a Phyllis Evans, conceivably a relation, supplied her mark as witness to Elizabeth Calvert's will. Over the next ten years Elizabeth Calvert bound four apprentices, none of whom completed his term or was made free, and freed another, Joshua Waterhouse, who had been bound originally to John Hancocke. Beyond the binding of apprentices, her links with the formalities of the Stationers' Company were few; the only copies she entered personally in the Stationers' Register were three 'best-sellers' by Richard Steele, entered in 1674, presumably to secure them for Giles after her death.

Elizabeth Calvert's financial position may not have been as secure as the inheritance of the business might imply. The numerous periods of imprisonment for all the Confederate group would have been expensive in terms of prison fees and legal expenses. A year after Thomas Brewster's death in prison, Anna Brewster appeared before the Court of the Stationers' Company to describe her poverty:

She has sustained considerable losses by the long Imprisonment of her late Husband, and otherwise, whereby shee is reduced into a low Condicion ...;

after detailing her lack of employment and her dependent children as additional burdens, she appealed to her creditors to accept eight shillings in the pound. The
Calverts, too, must have suffered losses as a result of the imprisonment of three members of the family in recent months. In 1661 Elizabeth had borrowed money from Alderman Blackall, and in 1664 Nathaniel borrowed from the Stationers' Company. In January of that year he was granted a loan of £50; only a fortnight later he applied to the Court for a loan of £100 which had formerly been granted to Giles, but was granted only half that amount. In mid-March the Court heard that Nathaniel was so dangerously ill as to be 'past hopes of recovery' and agreed that if Nathaniel were to die the loan might be transferred to George Calvert. Presumably the money was to be channelled to Elizabeth Calvert, whose finances seem to have taken some years to sort out: in February 1667 the Stationers' Company ordered her to repay £10 of her debt within a month, and as late as July 1670 she was still in debt to the Company with Giles' estate not yet cleared up:

The Widow Calvert this Day applied herself to the Table, and promised to pay her Debt due to the English Stock of this Company, so soon as any Part of her Husbands Estate, came into her hands.

The financial situation cannot have been helped by the outbreak of the Great Fire of London in September 1666. The Fire hit the booksellers badly and destroyed Elizabeth Calvert's premises along with many others. The familiar Calvert address, 'the Black Spread Eagle at the west end of St. Pauls' does not reappear in imprints until 1669, but the destruction of stock and premises led to no hiatus in the business; indeed, the years 1667-70 were, on the evidence of imprints, her most productive period, 15 of the 27 copies carrying her name being published then. It is known that stationers sustained heavy losses in the Fire, for as well as losing shops they also lost the stock which had been carried into St. Paul's for protection. Total losses to booksellers and stationers were estimated at £150,000 to £200,000; a single bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard lost £7-8,000 in stock. It is impossible to
know how much Elizabeth Calvert herself lost in the Fire, but L'Estrange's belief that the Confederates had their own warehouses may have been well-founded. Certainly, in the 1670s she was selling old stock with Giles Calvert's imprint, which must therefore have been stored beyond the limits of the Fire. A reference by L'Estrange in 1670 to finding libels 'of old date' in her shop might also suggest the survival of copies, though he may have been referring to material published after the Fire.  

Two addresses appear on Elizabeth Calvert's publications between the date of the Fire and the move back to St. Paul's Churchyard in 1669: 'at the Black-spread Eagle in Barbican' and 'at the signe of the Black Spread-Eagle in Duck Lane'. It is not clear whether she moved first to Duck Lane and then again, sometime in 1667, to the Barbican address, or whether the two might be different forms of the same address. Interestingly, the move took her to an area well-established as a nonconformist stronghold. The 1669 conventicle returns report two conventicles close to Duck Lane, one in Horne Alley and another in St. Bartholomew's Close. It was to St. Bartholomew's Close, just off Aldersgate, that the Presbyterian minister Richard Steele came in 1666; as well as becoming one of Elizabeth Calvert's most successful authors, he apprenticed his son Samuel to her in 1670. The Darbys' secret press in Blue Anchor Alley was in the same area, and Vavasour Powell was preaching at a congregation in the same alley in 1668. In turning to examine Elizabeth Calvert's publications in this period, it is important to bear in mind the coincidence of this move to a nonconformist area with the development of a strongly nonconformist line in publishing.

Publications 1664-70

It is a commonplace that the severe repression instituted in the early years of the Restoration served only
to drive underground the trade in anti-church and anti-government literature. That 'seditious' works continued to be printed and dispersed is clear from the many reports and investigations of particular pamphlets collected in the State Papers; what is less clear is which printers and booksellers were responsible for particular publications. As Crist has pointed out, most opposition pamphlets before the Popish Plot were published without imprint and dispersed secretly, so that it is almost impossible to decide who was responsible for which items. The discretion learnt by printers and booksellers during the early years of the decade resulted in a general refusal to inform on other stationers, and the Stationers' Company, now run largely by Presbyterians and Anglicans, was more concerned to hunt out those who infringed its own monopolies than to act as the King's agent in discovering sedition. Less affluent printers were not likely to talk to the authorities, when they well knew that legal printing would be withheld from them unless they participated in illegal printing and kept silent about it. In such circumstances, any investigation into publishing must look beyond the obvious sources of information, such as imprints and booksellers' lists, to discover the totality of a publisher's output. It is possible to distinguish, for Elizabeth Calvert as for other opposition publishers, two levels of activity: the 'open' publication of books and pamphlets carrying her imprint, and the 'hidden' illegal publishing, the evidence for which lies in the notes of investigations, examinations and imprisonments collected in the State Papers. Piecing together the evidence for the 'hidden' publishing is far from satisfactory: gaps in the records and imprecisions necessitate guesswork and uncertainty. But to rely on imprints to form an impression of the Restoration career of any publisher with a record of radical activity is to miss half the story. In examining Elizabeth Calvert's career from 1664 to 1679, therefore, I propose to look separately at the two strands of activity: first, the overt publishing and the character of the books and pamphlets to
which she put her name; and second, the opposition pamphlets too dangerous to publish openly, the history of whose publication is, at best, only patchily reconstructed from a variety of sources. Before turning to the works themselves, however, it will be necessary to outline the changing mood of the nonconformist population, and the responses of government, over the period in question; as well as providing a context for the discussion of the texts she produced, such an outline will provide a measure of the extent to which Elizabeth Calvert's publishing reflected changes in attitudes to nonconformity and the variations in confidence of the nonconformists themselves.

The persecution of nonconformists, 1664-72

It has been frequently remarked that the successive pieces of legislation (erroneously called the Clarendon Code) aimed at the suppression of the sects succeeded only in strengthening and institutionalizing nonconformity. The persecution not only of Quakers, Baptists and other radical sects but also of the Presbyterians who had expected to be granted comprehension at best, toleration at least, created a large body of people in direct conflict with both church authority and the authority of the state. In rejecting toleration or comprehension of the more conservative Presbyterians, Parliament created an opposition which was both vociferous and persistent; in persecuting Presbyterians and Quakers alike, it brought about a unity among nonconformists otherwise quite disparate in their beliefs, and alienated the local magistrates and civic authorities charged with enforcing the laws, whose sympathies would never have been engaged by the radical sects, but were aroused by the treatment of their respectable but Presbyterian neighbours. The response of nonconformists to the Act of Uniformity had been relatively peaceful; of the c.960 clergy ejected on St. Bartholomew's Day 1662, most joined private households or became schoolmasters. The effects of the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Quaker Act of 1662 were mitigated in some regions by lenient
magistrates and tolerant civic authorities. But by 1664, with a bill against Catholics, tests for vestry members, an extension of the Quaker Act penalties to all Protestant dissenters, and the first Conventicle Act in May, persecution was at its height. The rumoured October 1663 rising in Yorkshire led not only, indirectly, to the execution of Twyn, but also to a spell of repression during the first nine months of 1664 which went further than anything the dissenters had previously experienced. As well as trials and executions connected with the Northern Plot, there were many trials of northern dissenters, like Fox and Margaret Fell, who had so far escaped prosecution; trials of dissenters proceeded in 23 other counties as well as in London, and in the south former republican leaders were arrested. Between 24 July 1664 and 31 December, 1665, there were 909 convictions against conventiclers in London. While it is true that the intense persecution affected Quakers much more than any other nonconformist group in terms of trials, long imprisonments, and the violent breaking up of meetings, largely because of the Quakers' refusal to evade detection or even to meet in secret, the persecution did succeed in driving most other dissenters underground. Provincial ejected ministers like Philip Henry and Richard Steele conformed to the extent that they attended the parish church, but they continued to meet privately for their own religious services and debates.

The importance of signs and portents in the eyes of dissenters continually under threat for their practices and beliefs has already been noted in relation to the popularity of the three parts of Mirabilis annus. Such signs and symbols of God's attitude, both to individuals and to the nation were collected not only by Henry Jessey and the compilers of the pamphlets, but by dissenters as different as George Fox and the Presbyterian Philip Henry, who both recorded in their journals many examples of sudden deaths befalling persecutors and sinners and of prophetic dreams, regarding such phenomena as clear evidence
of God's judgement of and intervention in worldly and spiritual affairs. Henry, a neighbour and co-religionist of the Richard Steele who later became one of Elizabeth Calvert's best-selling authors, was much impressed by the first Mirabilis annus ... pamphlet, which reached him in Flintshire in December 1661 (the date is a measure of the speed with which distribution was effected);

I read a book cald Annus mirabilis contayning a narrative of several strange Appearances of the great God this last year in all the Elements, chiefly, witnessing agt. Prophanes & persecution, lord, when thy hand is lifted up, men will not see, but they shall see, true and holy are thy wayes, just and righteous are thy judgements, thou King of Saints. 16

In a society where the majority of nonconformists waited for the abatement of persecution and looked to signs of God's intervention as a comfort in a time of great difficulty, the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire the following year took on enormous significance as examples of the strength of God's anger towards persecutors and sinners. But the Plague was also of practical significance to the nonconformists in that it gave them, for the first time since the 1662 ejections, a public platform in London and in other cities. So great was the flight from centres of population by those who could afford to move that many pulpits were left empty by their fleeing Anglican incumbents; at the same time, city and parish authorities were so stretched in attempting to cope with the effects of the Plague itself that they had little inclination to enforce laws against nonconformists. In London, with the Court and government fled, the ruling classes and Anglican clergy alike moving to the country for their own safety, and the remaining authorities totally absorbed in coping with the Plague and its victims, nonconformists began to preach openly and unmolested, winning popular sympathy for their courage in staying to minister to the population whose own ministers had deserted them. In other towns,
such as Colchester, the pattern was repeated. By the time that the Plague abated and the exiles returned to London, early in 1666, nonconformist ministers had established a popular following; despite the laws still in operation against them, they had gained a foothold in the religious life of the city. John Owen, whose refusal to conform had led to his retirement to the country, from where he continued to issue anonymous pamphlets, at this point abandoned his plan to emigrate to New England and started preaching openly in London.¹⁷

The events of the autumn of 1666 gave still more ammunition to the nonconformists in the propaganda war. A series of storms and tempests could be read as divine wrath, and the Great Fire in September fulfilled the prophecies of Quakers and Presbyterians alike that God's wrath as manifested in the Plague would strike again if the persecutors of God's people did not repent.¹⁸ Moreover, the Fire occasioned a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment which turned attention away from nonconformity in general and focussed on Catholicism and the Court's 'popish' leanings as the real threat to order. Nonconformists were quick to add to the growing hostility towards Catholics, as is evident from the many 'seditious' accounts of the Fire which were published.¹⁹ In effect, by the end of 1666 the persecution of nonconformists had abated, and they had in practice achieved a greater freedom to meet and preach than was legally allowed.²⁰ Leading nonconformists like Owen began to publish openly again, and for the rest of the decade the relaxation continued. In 1667 conventicles were meeting openly, and the expiry of the Conventicle Act that year renewed hopes for toleration; nonconformists remained largely unmolested while Parliament was not sitting, until the proclamation of July 1669 against conventicles signalled the renewal of persecution in 1670 and 1671. The Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 was a surprise both to nonconformists and to their opponents, and though short-lived it marked another stage towards
toleration: although the King was forced to give up the 
Declaration only a year later, nonconformists had enjoyed 
a year of licensed preaching, and many continued to preach 
openly on the grounds that their individual licences had 
not yet been revoked, even though the Declaration itself 
had been cancelled.21

In turning to the works published by Elizabeth 
Calvert in the 1660s, it will be instructive to compare what 
she published overtly with the works secretly produced and 
distributed; taken together, the two types of publication 
indicate both the nonconformists' own ideas of how much 
they could risk in public, and the limits as far as the 
authorities were concerned on what they were prepared to 
tolerate being circulated in print.

The works: 'over the counter'

1. Popular nonconformity

After the events of the previous eighteen months it 
is perhaps not surprising that nothing carrying Elizabeth 
Calvert's imprint survives from 1664. Her personal and 
financial circumstances when she resumed the business in 
April 1664, after months in hiding and then in prison, the 
deaths of husband and son, and of old friends and associates 
like Thomas Brewster and Simon Dover, probably led her to 
concentrate on running the shop, relying on stock in hand. 
Only one imprint for 1665 survives, and the severe effects 
on trade of the mass exodus from London during the height 
of the Plague may be relevant here; but from 1666 her 
activities as a publisher steadily increased, making the 
end of the decade her most productive period. Interestingly, 
the blank period in her career, from her release in April 
1664 until the appearance of her first imprint in 1665, 
coincided with the onset of severe persecution, and the 
pressures on nonconformists may have something to do with 
her apparent inactivity as a publisher. Those sectarians 
and republicans to whom she might have looked for pamphlet 
material were under extreme pressure to conform or be
silent; particular areas to which she distributed books, depending on the attitudes of local authorities, might have become almost impossible to operate in. Bristol, for example, where Elizabeth Calvert had regular trade connections with Richard and Susanna Moone, became a particularly hostile area for nonconformists under the mayoralty of Sir John Knight, who twice sent information to London about Elizabeth Calvert's supplying books to the Moones. It would have been the worst of times to begin again her 'usual practices'. From 1666, however, her activity grew, and the most consistent theme in her publications of the following years is that of nonconformity. She published works by William Dyer, John Wilson, Thomas Wilson, Benjamin Agas, John Owen and the Quaker Francis Howgill, and in 1667 began to publish the work of Richard Steele, who in the 1670s was to become her main author. In all, of the 27 works which survive with her imprint, 20 were written by nonconformists. The coincidence of her developing such a clear publishing line with the growing boldness and emergence in public of the silenced ministers after the Plague is suggestive, and will be looked at in more detail in what follows.

One of the first nonconformists to be published by Elizabeth Calvert was William Dyer, who until 1662 had been a minister in Buckinghamshire, and had moved to London at the time of the Plague to preach at St. Anne's, Aldersgate. Three of his works were often reprinted throughout the rest of the seventeenth century: Christ's famous titles ..., Christ's voice to London and the great day of God's wrath, and A cabinet of jewels; or a glimpse of Sion's glory. The first of these was published without imprint, and the strong grounds for connecting Elizabeth Calvert with its publication will be discussed in relation to her 'hidden' publishing. Her name did appear on editions of the latter two titles, and it seems likely that she was also responsible for earlier editions which appeared with no imprint. She published Christ's voice to London ...
in 1666 and reissued it in 1668 with Matthias Walker; A cabinet of jewels ... appeared with her imprint in 1668, and Dyer's own remarks quoted below suggest that she may have been responsible also for editions published anonymously in 1663 and 1664. Little is known of Dyer beyond the evidence of his publications; although it seems doubtful that he ever joined the Quakers, he was certainly sympathetic to them, and was buried in the Quaker burial ground at Southwark. His Christ's voice to London ... consists mainly of two sermons preached at St. Anne's, Aldersgate during the Plague. That Dyer's work was both popular and dangerous is obvious from the existence of another 1666 edition, presumably one of the pirated versions Dyer himself complained of, and from his own account of his books being seized:

I have had little encouragement from the world, to appear any more in this nature, who have had so many Books taken and kept from me, without any just cause, though there was nothing in them, but what was profitable matter for the Church of God, yet for all this, they are kept from me still. But kind Reader, this is not all which I have suffer'd, for as soon as my Books came forth, several men made a prize of them, by Printing them over divers times without my knowledge, with many gross mistakes and abuses, which was not a little trouble to me, to see how the Author and the Buyer, were both abused. Therefore Courteous Reader, this may give thee to understand, that if thou hast occasion for any of my Books, thou mayst have them at the Black-Spread Eagle, at the West-End of Pauls, truly printed.

The reference to troubles with the seizure of earlier books must be to Christ's famous titles or to the earlier editions of A cabinet of jewels; his nomination of Elizabeth Calvert's shop as the authorized source of his books might suggest her involvement in the earlier publications which attracted official notice. That Dyer's works were both
dangerous and profitable to publish is indicated by evidence given before the House of Lords' Committee for Libels in 1677, where Dyer's works are quoted as an example of the kind of seditious literature countenanced by Mearne as Warden of the Stationers' Company. The Committee was shown

Treasonable and seditious expressions taken out of Dyer's Sermons to the effect that Kings are often unjust, and do not love their subjects, nor their subjects them; that Kings are made for their subjects and not the subjects for their King; that rulers of the earth lay heavy burdens upon men's consciences, but that God's vengeance will follow their violence; Hell is prepared for Kings and great men: the great are evil livers, and haters of the saints: unjust judges shall stand trembling on the Judgement-day. 26

These opinions clearly meet L'Estrange's definition of sedition. Worth noting here is Mearne's apparent involvement in publishing Dyer; before the same committee, Mearne was accused of protecting Randall Taylor in 1673 when 'three porters' loads of Dyer's sermons' were taken from his house; apparently, Mearne and others of the Company 'seized 1,000 of Dyer's Sermons, an unlicensed book and sold them to Royston, who sold them to White, who sold them publicly. The book was printed almost every year by Taylor, Sawbridge, and Wright, and dispersed all over the Kingdom.' 27 That such leading members of the Stationers' Company were so involved argues both the profitability of such seditious works, and a possible common interest between Elizabeth Calvert and some of the Company. 28

The two Dyer works bearing Elizabeth Calvert's imprint, though unlicensed, must have been regarded as safe for open publication. The relaxation of persecution in the years of the Plague and the Fire, the overt activities of nonconformist preachers in London, and the administrative breakdown must have taken pressure off the
authors and publishers of such works. Elizabeth Calvert's publication of Dyer's Christ's voice to London... in 1666 marks the first appearance of a work by Dyer carrying an imprint, and presumably reflects both the nonconformists' and their booksellers' growing confidence. The language of the sermons is apocalyptic and prophetic, reflecting the way in which nonconformists read the events of 1665 and 1666 as divine interventions:

O London, London! God speaks to thee by his judgements; and because thou wouldst not hear the voice of his word, he hath made thee to feel the stroke of his Rod. O great City! How hath the Plague broke in upon thee, because of thy abominations? 

His insistence that the Plague's abatement meant nothing if the people had not reformed must have looked a few months later like a direct prophecy of the Great Fire: 'God hath not yet done with London, but hath other Judgements to pour out upon you, though he cause this to cease.' As in his other works, the language of Revelations is used and the rule of the Saints invoked.

Two years later, in 1668, Elizabeth Calvert reissued the sermons and published Dyer's A cabinet of jewels..., which had previously appeared in 1663 and 1664 without imprint. The latter contains an open appeal for toleration: 'let me beseech you to love every man that is a godly man, let him be of what way and form he will'. It attacks the established church and its ministers:

Oh! false Teachers do not feed the Flock, but fleece the Flock; they do not convert, but pervert ... instead of curing Souls, they kill Souls so they have but the peoples Goods, they care not though the Devil have their Souls: they are neither rightly called, nor rightly qualified, nor rightly ordained ...

The political threat, though unspoken, is present in Dyer's plea for unity among nonconformists:
Oh beloved, hath not God made his Wrath to
smoak against us for the divisions and heart-
burnings that have been amongst us? Oh that
you would lay this to heart, and throw away
all discord, and divisions, and heart-burnings,
and labour for an oneness in love and affection
with every one that is one with Christ. 32

The other nonconformist minister with whom Elizabeth
Calvert had a long association was Richard Steele, whose
writing she began to publish in 1667. Her publication of
his An antidote against distractions: or, an indeavour to
serve the Church, in the daily case of wandrings in the
worship of God, dated May, was followed by two more editions
of the same work in 1669 and 1673. She also published his
The husbandmans calling ... in 1668, 1670 and 1672, and his
A plain discourse upon uprightness ... in 1670 and 1672. 33
All three were popular works of devotion, books of
'practical divinity' offering advice on the avoidance of
temptations in daily life and appropriate ways to serve God;
their popularity is evident from the number of times they
were reprinted. Interestingly, the 1672 edition of The
husbandmans calling ... and the 1673 edition of An antidote
against distractions ... both carry the official imprimatur
of Thomas Tomkins, chaplain to Sheldon, the Archbishop of
Canterbury, in his capacity of assistant licenser;
presumably the Declaration of Indulgence made possible, for
a short time at least, the licensing of nonconformist
works.34 These three works by Steele are the only copies
ever entered by Elizabeth Calvert in the Stationers'
Register, presumably to protect them for transmission to
her son Giles after her own death. 35 Steele, from
Barthomley in Cheshire, was one of those ejected ministers
who kept up their private meetings while complying with the
Act of Uniformity by attending their parish church. His
continued activity in the area led to several appearances
at the assizes for baptizing his own child and for private
meetings; he was arrested with Owen Lloyd in October 1663
on suspicion of being involved in the Northern Plot. He was seen at a conventicle in London in 1664, and after a brief return to Cheshire he moved to London permanently in late 1665 or early 1666, preaching at a morning congregation at Armourers' Hall, Coleman Street and at Hoxton in the afternoon. His address at Westmoreland House, near Bartholomew Close, puts him very close to the area north of the City wall, off Aldersgate, to which Elizabeth Calvert moved after the Fire; its strong nonconformist character has already been noted. The association of Steele with Elizabeth Calvert was further strengthened when in July 1670 she took as her apprentice his son Samuel. Steele was probably also responsible for arranging another apprenticeship at around the same time: in October 1668 a Robert Steele, also of Barthomley in Cheshire, and the son of John, was apprenticed to Mearne. 36

John Wilson, another of Elizabeth Calvert's authors, is likely to have been an acquaintance, if not a friend, of Steele. Wilson came from the same region and was ejected from Backford in Cheshire in 1662. Nothing is known of his movements, but he may have been one of the many ejected ministers who moved to London at the time of the Plague. In 1667 Elizabeth Calvert published his Cultus evangelicus: or, a brief discourse ..., and her publication of his Nehushtan without imprint the following year led to her imprisonment. 37 The Independent leader John Owen, whose eminence during the Commonwealth had been followed by indictments and harassment after the Restoration, had continued to publish anonymously during the persecution, and re-emerged as a preacher during the Plague; in 1668 he began again to publish under his own name, and one of his first books to appear with an imprint after 1664 was The nature, power, deceit, and prevalency of the remainders of indwelling - sin in believers ..., published by Elizabeth Calvert in 1668. 38 Owen lived north of the City, probably in White's Alley, off Little Moorfields, and there is reason to connect him with John Wilson. The details of the
relationships between individual nonconformist preachers are obscure, as are their links with particular booksellers in their new emergence into print. Interestingly, Owen's regular publisher was Nathaniel Ponder, a bookseller who was instrumental in obtaining licences for a number of nonconformist ministers after the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, including a licence for George Cockaine, and among the printers he used were Robert White and John Darby. Owen supplied the preface for another of Elizabeth Calvert's publications, Theophilus Gale's *The true idea of Jansenisme ...*, which appeared in 1669. Unusually for one of her publications, it was entered in the Stationers' Register, but by Giles Widdows. Gale had been an Independent preacher in Winchester Cathedral, and after the Restoration became a tutor, travelling to Normandy with his pupils. His employer, Lord Wharton, was friendly with John Owen. Returning to London at the time of the Fire, Gale took pupils at Newington Green and assisted at an Independent congregation in Holborn.

Other nonconformist authors to appear under Elizabeth Calvert's imprint in the late 1660s were Benjamin Agas, Francis Howgill and Thomas Wilson. Agas, whose *Gospel conversation ...* she published in 1667, was ejected in 1662 from Cheyness, Buckinghamshire. That he was persistent in his nonconformity despite persecution is clear from the fact that in 1682 he was fined £840 for keeping a conventicle in St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Francis Howgill, an early Quaker and prominent London Friend, and who had been with Giles Calvert at the Swannington meeting of 1654, must have been an old acquaintance of the Calverts. His *The glory of the true church discovered ...* first appeared with Giles Calvert's imprint in 1661; in 1666 it was reissued by Elizabeth Calvert, and its attack on the Catholic church, 'mother of harlots', and concentration on central Puritan themes, such as the evil of popish practices, the unlawfulness of tithes, and the idolatry of Anglican ceremonies, suggest that it would have been popular beyond
the specifically Quaker market. Thomas Wilson, author of *Judicium discretionis: or a just and necessary apology...*, has not been identified among the several nonconformist ministers of that name; he may possibly be the Thomas Wilson of Canterbury who died in 1622, making Elizabeth Calvert's publication a reissue of an earlier anti-Catholic work.  

2. Astrology and trade

The only work issued by Elizabeth Calvert in 1665, and the one which effectively began her solo career as publisher, was written by the astrologer John Gadbury: *London's deliverance predicted: in a short discourse shewing the causes of plagues in general; and the probable time (God not contradicting the course of second causes) when this present pest may abate.* Its topicality is obvious; interestingly, in publishing this popular astrological work, Elizabeth Calvert seems to have been demonstrating a willingness to comply with the authorities. The work carries L'Estrange's official imprimatur, and the pro-Restoration tone of the author (unusual among her usually nonconformist writers) would have ensured that the pamphlet was politically unexceptionable. The work was licensed on 25 August and dedicated to Luke Cropley of St. Michael's Bassishaw; it deals with the causes of plagues, their likely lengths, and the consequences of the current mass exodus from London of a wealthy population driven by 'servile fear'. A comforting prediction of the present Plague's abatement by September is offered. Published at the height of the Plague year, the pamphlet by a leading astrologer must have been of great popular interest. Gadbury, like L'Estrange and presumably Elizabeth Calvert, stayed in London throughout the Plague summer, and could comment at first hand on the disastrous effects on trade of the rush to leave London. Gadbury looks at first rather out of place, politically and religiously, among Elizabeth Calvert's other authors: by 1679 he was suspected of being a Catholic and implicated in the Meal Tub Plot. In the
1650s, however, he had been a supporter of Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and the period 1660 to 1680 saw a shift in his political and religious allegiances from Parliamentarian to Jacobite and from Ranter to Catholic. At what point in the spectrum he stood in 1665 is not known, but his recent support of the Commonwealth and, perhaps, his residence in Jewen Street, near Aldersgate Street (the area already characterized as nonconformist), might suggest that he had not yet moved very far to the right. Old associations seem the likely reason for this author-publisher relationship: as a former Parliamentarian, Gadbury would have shared with Elizabeth Calvert something of a common past, and the name of the pamphlet's printer, James Cottrell, is also suggestive here. Cottrell had printed a book of Gadbury's for Giles Calvert, William Larner (the Levellers' publisher) and Daniel White in 1658; moreover, he was an old colleague of the Calverts, having printed for Giles Calvert from 1649 onwards, and had already printed several works by Gadbury. As well as printing the 1665 edition of *London's deliverance predicted...*, Cottrell also printed a second edition, again for Elizabeth Calvert, the following year. The Plague was still rife in the early months of 1666, and public interest in the pamphlet would still be strong. In 1667 Cottrell printed another work by Gadbury for Elizabeth Calvert, who by this time was at her Duck Lane address: *Vox solis: or, an astrological discourse of the great eclipse of the sun, which happened on June 22, 1666...*, dedicated to Elias Ashmole as patron of astrologers. In it, Gadbury explains the eclipse astronomically and expounds its astrological implications both for England and for other countries. It was printed 'with allowance' and contains in its dedication to Ashmole unexceptionably royalist sentiments; Gadbury refers to the pre-Restoration period as 'the twilight of Great Britain's hope... [when it was a Crime, either to be known Loyal, or to own any one of that (then-despised) inclination and Judgement]'. Despite this royalist line, however, there are echoes in Gadbury's text of the religious warnings common in the work of William
Dyer which Elizabeth Calvert was publishing at around the same time:

As the sad and to-be-lamented effects of these several Celestial Ambassadors, we have had our sufficient share of Wars, the company of that horrid, black and dismal enemy the Pestilence; a miserable desolation and destruction by Fire; and all these too long and too heavy upon us! and yet Gods anger is not turned away, his hand is stretched out still!  

The pamphlet is incidentally of interest for the information it gives about the effect of the Fire on its publication. The title page makes clear that it was 'Intended to have been published in his Ephemeris for this present year 1667, but prevented by reason of the late terrible Conflagration of London'. In his 1666 Ephemeris Gadbury had committed himself to the publication of a treatise on the eclipse, and he had prepared an account for his Diary of 1667 'having much enlarged the same, and obtained License thereof, for that very end and purpose':

But the late dreadful Conflagration happening to London, wrought so great a destruction among the Stationers and Printers in that City, (they suffering the most by the Tyrannical Flames, of any one Society whatsoever) that I was constrained to reduce my Annual Book to its old number of sheets, and reserve any Discourse of the Eclipse to be printed apart by self.  

The difficulties occasioned by the Fire perhaps explain why Gadbury's 1667 Ephemeris is the only one between 1659 and 1668 not printed by James Cottrell.  

Set in the context of the years of the Plague and the Fire, at a time when public interest (and specifically nonconformist interest) in signs and wonders, prophecies and divine warnings, was strong, these pamphlets by Gadbury sit more easily among the other works published by Elizabeth Calvert. On the face of it they were acceptably royalist
works, yet at the same time they would have been read with interest by nonconformists. And when we come to the discussion of Elizabeth Calvert's 'seditious' publishing, including her distribution of the anti-Catholic tracts about the Fire, Gadbury's pamphlets can be placed both as part of the 'signs and wonders' series of tracts and as part of that group, including Dyer's Christ's voice to London and the pamphlets about the Fire, which focussed on the Plague and the Fire as 'signs' readily usable for nonconformist propaganda. 52

At first sight, Sir Josiah Child's Brief observations concerning trade, and interest of money, published in 1668, seems a strange departure from what has so far been described as a consistent publishing policy. In it, Child argues for the improvement of trade and suggests a number of measures, including the lowering of interest rates; he draws lessons from the success of the Dutch in trade, and appends, with separate title page, A tract against usurie, presented to the High Court of Parliament, written 50 years previously by 'a Country Gentleman'. Child's purpose in publishing seems to have been to supply a Parliamentary lobby with arguments:

The foregoing Discourse I wrote in the Sickness-Summer at my Country-Habitation, not then intending to publish it, but only to communicate it to some honourable and ingenious Friends of the present Parliament ... 53

As well as supporting the views of a group led by Shaftesbury, Child thereby began a paper debate on the 'abatement of usury'; additions and replies to his arguments were written by Sir Thomas Culpeper, Thomas Manley and 'H.R.', and Child's views on trade were republished in the 1680s and 1690s by, among others, Andrew and Tace Sowle. That the Sowles, the major Quaker printers of the later seventeenth century, as well as Elizabeth Calvert, published Child's work on trade suggests that it was of interest to the nonconformist as well as to the economist; the clue to
that religious dimension lies in one paragraph. Child's pamphlet lists point by point the reasons for the Dutch success in trade, and of all these points, one is emphasized by italics:

Eleventhly, Their Toleration of different Opinions in matters of Religion: by reason whereof many industrious People of other Countreys, that dissent from the Established Government of their own Churches, resort to them with their Families and Estates, and after a few years cohabitation with them, become of the same Common interest.54

This is the only paragraph in the whole tract emphasized typographically in this way, and the only one that refers to religion. That this was the root of the tract's importance, in the eyes of nonconformists at least, seems very likely; its description of a 'brain drain' of wealthy and successful merchants to Holland, and the strong financial argument for the adoption of religious toleration, are reminiscent of the arguments used by those advocating toleration of the Jews in the 1650s.55 Tellingly, when toleration did come, albeit very briefly, with the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, the text of the Indulgence itself made the same point:

we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjecture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings.

Shaftesbury, thought at the time to be the architect of the Declaration, was known to be keen on obtaining concessions for nonconformists in the interest of improved trade. That the questions of trade and toleration were linked in the public mind is suggested also by the attention paid to one of the many pamphlets written against persecution, The present interest of England stated ..., 1671, which pointed to the way in which commerce was adversely affected by intolerance.56
Before moving on to examine Elizabeth Calvert's involvement in 'seditious' publishing over the same period, it is important to note that nearly all of the books discussed above as constituting her 'open' publishing were, strictly speaking, illegal under the terms of the 1662 Licensing Act. The Act required all books to be both licensed by the appropriate licenser and entered in the Stationers' Register. Elizabeth Calvert hardly ever complied with either of these procedures, and with the exception of the licensing of Gadbury's *London's deliverance predicted* ..., and Steele's three books, licensed in the 1670s, Elizabeth Calvert seems to have ignored, and with impunity, the licensing regulations. Similarly, her entries in the Stationers' Register are few: Giles Widdows entered Gale's *The true idea of Jansenisme* ... and Elizabeth Calvert herself entered only the three Steele works, her entry of them in 1674 (after each had run to several editions) securing them as the property of her son rather than legitimizing their publication, which happened several years previously. It would be wrong, therefore, to think of her 'open' publishing as representing the legal side of her business: almost all of those publications could have been grounds for prosecution under the Act. That Elizabeth Calvert's name appears openly in these imprints indicates a measure of (justified) confidence that the letter of the law was unlikely to be strictly prosecuted and that, in practice, publishers might disregard the Act's requirements. The output of one publisher is hardly conclusive, and surveys of the productions of other booksellers around this time are needed before any firm conclusions could be drawn. But judging by Elizabeth Calvert's 'open' publishing, the licensing and registering requirements of the Act seem to have done little to prevent the publication of a body of nonconformist opinion. 57

The works: 'under the counter'

The works discussed so far have in common the appearance of Elizabeth Calvert's name in the imprint and
the fact that, despite their overwhelming illegality, they seem not to have attracted the interest of the authorities. Alongside these publications, however, Elizabeth Calvert was involved in a number of pamphlets considered 'seditionos', some of which circulated widely and troubled the authorities considerably. While few of her 'open' publications were legal, she and her authors were clearly confident enough of avoiding prosecution to risk owning them publicly.

In turning to her hidden publishing, involving pamphlets carrying no printer's or publisher's name, it will be possible to form some idea of the limits of that confidence. What I have called the 'hidden' work consists of material too outspoken to be owned, yet which is a part of that same continuum of nonconformist debate identified in the 'open' publishing. Only once does Elizabeth Calvert appear to have faced trial for her activities, in 1671, but there is plenty of evidence that she was well-known to the authorities as a 'seditionos' publisher, and she was several times searched and questioned as a result. Inevitably the evidence which follows is patchy and sometimes inconclusive. Cumulatively, however, it provides a valuable insight into the world of illegal publishing in the late 1660s.

The beginning of Elizabeth Calvert's solo career coincided with the years of the Plague and the Great Fire, and the development of her nonconformist publishing has been examined in the context of the greater freedom from surveillance enjoyed by nonconformists from that time until the end of the decade. Her first publications, by Dyer, Howgill and Gadbury, were not entirely harmless as far as the authorities were concerned, though Gadbury's was at least licensed and sufficiently royalist in tone to satisfy L'Estrange. As her overt nonconformist publishing grew in volume, she became more vulnerable to detection for her less public activities. In 1665 she was arrested, though the cause is unknown; in 1667, 1668, 1670 and 1671 she was again in trouble, but until the latter date seems not to have been pursued to the point of prosecution.58
In 1667 she was implicated in two affairs which disturbed the government: the publication and distribution of books about the previous year's Fire, and the selling of A trumpet blown in Sion. The investigation of her part in distributing books about the Fire is reminiscent of the Mirabilis annus ... investigation of 1663, in that in both cases it was the Bristol authorities who sent in information about her supplying the Moones with offensive material. On this second occasion it was again Sir John Knight, along with the Mayor of Bristol Sir Thomas Langton, who on 13 July 1667 wrote to Lord Arlington to request that action be taken against her:

Elizabeth Calvert, of Little Britain, London, has lately sent to Bristol 50 books concerning the late fire in London and Popish recusants. Have seized some as seditious, and likely to seduce persons against Government. Proceedings should be taken against Mrs. Calvert, who formerly made a trade of sending seditious books to that city, and also against the author and printer.\(^{59}\)

Enclosed was a note dated 4 July from Elizabeth Calvert to Susanna Moone, her 'loving friend', saying that she was sending 25 books about the Fire, 'which I think will be very acceptable with you', and offering to send more if needed. Susanna Moone's evidence, also enclosed, indicates both the popularity of the pamphlet and something of Elizabeth Calvert's usual methods of distribution. Mrs. Calvert sent 50 of the books 'without order', and all had been sold since they were received the previous Monday. Susanna Moone may have acted as supplier for other Bristol booksellers: another enclosed examination relates that George Clark bought from Michael Thomas, bookseller of Bristol, a book called A true and faithfull account of the severall informations exhibited to the Honorable Committee appointed by the Parliament: to inquire into the late dredfull firing of the City of London. Distribution clearly stretched far afield: a month later complaints of the same book were received by Williamson from Rydal, where it was
supposed to have been 'maliciously (and surely very falsely) published by some Presbiterian hand'. Three days later a similar complaint came from Carlisle, where 18 unsold copies were seized by Philip Musgrave and a letter was found from the anonymous supplier to Richard Scot, a Presbyterian shopkeeper, to alert him that 24 copies were being sent.

A true and faithfull account... is ostensibly a report of the Parliamentary inquiry into the starting of the Fire, and prints the orders of the House, the composition of the committee of inquiry, and the report of the surveyor. The point is made in the text, however, that the prorogation of Parliament on 22 January 1667 cut off discussion of the report, and that the report did not include all the information received. In fact, the committee had intended it to be an interim report, and had offered no recommendations, expecting a full discussion in the House; the prorogation effectively prevented any such discussion, and left public opinion unsatisfied. The report was reprinted several times and used as anti-Catholic and anti-government propaganda. This particular printing was dangerous because it included 'very seditious additions' to the report proper, in the form of evidence omitted from the official version, 'Papist' verses and warnings allegedly scattered by the Catholics around the city. The title page promises 'other informations touching the insolency of Popish priests and Jesuites, and the increase of Popery', and these additions, calculated to inflame the 'subcutaneous fear of Catholics' which had recently been fed by the outbreak of war with France and the 'confession' of the Frenchman Robert Hubert to starting the Fire itself, alarmed a government already under attack and a court already tainted in the public mind with 'Popish' tendencies. Similar pamphlets circulated at the same time: London's flames discovered... is a shorter version of the same material, containing 14 instead of 32 pages; the similarity of the material suggests that it is a cheaper and pirated (if the term can be used of an illegal pamphlet)
version of A true and faithfull account... There is nothing to suggest that the investigation following on from the Bristol information went very far. L'Estrange was at this time temporarily in retirement from his pursuit of seditious printers, and it seems likely that members of the Stationers' Company, themselves involved in what must have been a profitable trade in books about the Fire, were reluctant to spoil their own profits by hunting out the printers and publishers. A list of questions for the Master and Wardens of the Company makes it clear that London's flames... was discovered in printing at Thomas Leach's, and that the Company took no action against him; indeed, Milburn's wife accused Royston of selling 'some of ye Bookes concerning ye Firing of ye Citty wch he had seized himself'. On 17 August both Leach and Thomas Johnson entered recognizances not to print unlicensed books and pamphlets, which indicates that they were let off relatively lightly; Leach at any rate 'stept aside' from unlicensed printing for a time, but was back in business before long. There is nothing to suggest that Elizabeth Calvert was even questioned, and it may be that at a time when L'Estrange was inactive and the regulation of the press was largely in the hands of a corrupt Stationers' Company, either her own connections with members of the Company or the Company's unwillingness to put a stop to a type of publication from which they, too, profitted, ensured her freedom. The importance of the Fire pamphlets in building on the prevalent belief in 'signs' and feeding a growing anti-Catholic feeling must be emphasized, and their widespread distribution across the country added to their significance. While stopping short of Williams' view that Elizabeth Calvert, via her publication of Mirabilis annus..., the fire pamphlets and Trap ad crucem..., was almost single-handedly responsible for making possible the Popish Plot, it is reasonable to point to the way in which such pamphlets strengthened the confidence of nonconformists while channelling popular hostility away from nonconformity in general and towards Catholicism in particular.
Also during the summer of 1667, while the Fire pamphlets were circulating, Elizabeth Calvert's shop was again brought to official notice, perhaps by the actions of an over-zealous customer. A silversmith called John Bromley had noticed a book on her stall 'about the middle of Barbican, at the black Spread-Eagle' and he took it upon himself to advertise what he thought was 'a most seasonable, small, but very precious Book, intituled, A Trumpet blown in Sion, sounding an Alarm in Gods Holy Mountain, &c. By a poor Worm, &c.'; he composed an advertisement, which he asked Astwood to print. Bromley was discharged and a warrant issued for Astwood, who admitted that in July Bromley had brought him the 'ticket', and that he printed it at Robert White's press. He also recalled that in February he had seen a waste sheet and a piece of the manuscript of the same book at Darby's house. No copy of A trumpet blown in Sion ... has been traced, and perhaps none survives; there is, however, a book by Benjamin Keach of that title, which exists only in a 1694 edition. Keach was tried at Aylesbury in 1665 for writing A child's instructor ... and the 1694 edition of A trumpet blown in Sion ... is certainly of a character to have alarmed the authorities in 1667, with its emphasis on the wrath of God towards sinners and backsliders and its repeated use of Fire as a metaphor for divine anger:

So Gods Wrath, like a dreadful and an unexpected fire, breaks out sometimes suddenly upon the ungodly ... A consuming Fire destroys, wastes and devours exceedingly, as Sodom found, and London also by woful experience.\(^4\)

Both sermons in the 1694 edition are said to have been preached in 1693, but this does not rule out the possibility of their being written more than 20 years earlier; the style of the first sermon in particular, with its references to the covenant with Abraham, its attack on hireling preachers, its identification of the Saints as wheat, and sinners and backsliders as chaff, and the recurrent references to fire, suggest that it would not have
been out of place in the summer of 1667.\textsuperscript{65} Whether or not this identification of Keach's sermons as the book sold by Elizabeth Calvert is correct, the episode confirms her connection with Darby as printer, and again suggests the existence of a sympathetic member of the Stationers' Company standing on the sideline, this time Robert White, whose press Astwood used to print the advertisement. According to Kitchin, Darby, Elizabeth Calvert and Robert White were all arrested in August and held over for trial until the spring sessions of 1668; he offers no evidence to substantiate this, however, and I can find none. No warrants were recorded for Elizabeth Calvert and Darby until the following year, when on 21 January warrants were issued for them both and for Gaines, Darby's servant, to appear before Secretary Morice. There are no surviving records of examinations following these warrants, and indeed it is not clear that the warrants did relate to the publication of \textit{A trumpet blown in Sion ...}; neither is there any evidence that on this occasion the warrants resulted in arrest or imprisonment for any of those involved.\textsuperscript{66}

During 1668 control of the press took a new turn; at the request of the king, L'Estrange was brought back into service, after reaching an agreement over his arrears of payment. By 24 April he was back at work, sending Williamson a list of libels then in circulation and suggesting that no arrests take place until it was certain that convictions could be obtained.\textsuperscript{67} L'Estrange's recall was probably prompted by the events of the previous month: in March the authorities became aware of plans to import 'factious work' from Rotterdam, and there were suspicions of a secret press at work in London.\textsuperscript{68} An informer suspected that the secret press was in a house in Blue Anchor Alley: 'by following Beeston's wife, I am confident it is in one of 5 houses in Blue Anchor Alley; but by reason of so many back doors, bye-holes, and passages, and the sectarians so swarming thereabouts, I have been afraid of being discovered in scouting, but I saw one of Darby's men at the meeting.'\textsuperscript{69}
L'Estrange, favouring a slow but sure approach to catching the criminals, was clearly exasperated that some arrests had already been made, probably as a result of a general search warrant issued by Arlington on 20 April; he complained that he had not been able either to see the messengers involved or to interview those examined.

In fact there were two secret presses: one in Blue Anchor Alley involving the Darbys and Anna Brewster, and another in Southwark run by Elizabeth Calvert. The difficulties of obtaining convictions were uppermost in L'Estrange's mind. In a letter to Williamson he reviews the evidence that the hawkers obtained papers from a carpenter in Blue Anchor Alley, and that the carpenter received them from Anna Brewster, who refused to give any information about her own source of supply. Her son, however, admitted that he received papers from Joan Darby. L'Estrange concludes:

I do not heare that Darbys wife has been examind, & beyond doubt she'll confesse nothing, for shee and Brewster, are taken to be a couple of ye Craftyest & most obstinate ... of ye trade. Agt. Darby himselfe, I see nothing as yet. So that only Brewster stands answerable, & Printing does not concern her.

Again, the emphasis on pursuing the printer rather than the dispersers effectively frustrated prosecution; since no direct evidence was obtainable to prove that Darby printed the pamphlets, all the information about the distribution chain was useless, and Joan Darby remained at liberty: 'Mr. Derby ye Printer is in Custody, but no witness appears directly agt him'. Presumably Joan Darby, who headed the chain of distribution, could not easily be prosecuted as a married woman; and while it was possible (though fruitless) to prove her role in distribution, there was only the circumstantial evidence of her marriage to Darby to suggest that he printed the pamphlets, and no conviction against him could be obtained on such indirect
evidence. As long as Joan Darby refused to talk, her husband was effectively beyond the reach of the law, since she was the only link between printer and distributors. Joan Darby successfully petitioned for her husband's release, on grounds of ill health: on 7 May he was released on bail, to appear when required and to print 'nothing contrary to the Act in the meantime'. On the same day, Henry Hotham and Anna Brewster were discharged by Morice; both had been committed to the Gatehouse charged with dispersing seditious pamphlets.

At the same time as the detection of the Blue Anchor Alley press, with all the attendant frustrations of being unable to secure convictions, Elizabeth Calvert's secret press in Southwark was raided by members of the Stationers' Company:

Mr. Mearne this day acquainted the Table, that he had lately seised a presse and Tenne paire of Cases, in a house in Southwarke, w. ch he has carried to Whitehall And that the Widdow Calvert was then present in the said house. Elizabeth Poole, the owner of the house in the Mint where the press was found, was arrested on 28 April and a warrant was issued for Elizabeth Calvert the following day 'for keeping a private press, and vending unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets'. It would be interesting to know whether this Elizabeth Poole was the same as the woman preacher in whose defence a letter was posted up in the Calverts' shop during the Interregnum; if so, she may have been an old friend of Elizabeth Calvert from the days of the rise of radical sectarianism. Not surprisingly, Elizabeth Poole's petition for release claims her innocence. She had, she claimed, simply let a room in her house to a printer; the room had separate access from the rest of the house, and she was entirely ignorant of what went on there. There is no record of her release, but it seems unlikely that she would have been held for long. Elizabeth Calvert also petitioned, though not for release, but to be
allowed a visit from her son and relations. The length of her stay in the Gatehouse is not known. Mearne, who had led the raid, lost no time in claiming his reward. On 8 May he was granted possession of the press itself, and on 27 May he, Norton and Roycroft became the King's 'loyal' appointees to the Court of the Stationers' Company. It is likely, however, that Mearne and the other apparently loyal stationers involved in the raid were less disinterested than their action suggests. The messenger Wickham's later description of events implies something of the corruption which later became a serious charge against the Company. Wickham stated that he

did with Mr Mearne and others of the Stationers Company discover, and seize a Private Printing Press in Southwark, belonging to Mrs Calvert. That by the said Stationers direction the said Press with the Materials as also several Reams of an Imperfect unlicensed Booke there found, was brought to the Messengers Chamber in Whitehall; where they did remayne untill Mr Mearne having obtayned his Ma'ts warrant for the Press and Materials fetched them away.

That the said paper remayning there still. Mr. Mearne did severall times demand the same telling yo' Petior that there was no hurt in it, and Mrs. Calvert must have it againe, but bringing no Warrant for it as he had done for the Press yo' Petior refused to deliver it to him.

That sometime after Mr. Royston, then Warden of the Company, did demand the same saying it ought to be Cari'd to their Hall and yo' Petior knowing the said Mr. Royston to be the Kings Stationer and warden of the Company and that he had a Warrant from Mr Secretary Morice to seize all unlicensed books; and that upon all seizures of bookes the Warden uses to carry them to their Hall: did upon these considerations permit him to take them away, and did receive of the said Mr. Royston as a
That Wickham was as innocent as he maintains seems unlikely, but what is clear is that the stationers, first Mearne and then Royston, were eager to get hold of the unfinished pamphlet found in the Southwark raid. Mearne managed to get hold of the press itself (and it would be interesting to know what he then did with it), and then attempted to secure the printed sheets. If true, his story that the sheets might be returned to Mrs. Calvert suggests some interest in her business, perhaps as a participator in the profits. If, as seems more likely, Mearne's real intention was to secure the sheets for himself, the incident provides another example of the way in which stationers exploited their power to search and seize for their own ends. The episode supports the accusation made some years later before the House of Lords' Libels Committee that Stationers' Company officials were reselling and in some cases reprinting unlicensed books they had seized from others. The accusation before the Committee involved one of Elizabeth Calvert's authors: Mearne, Royston and Wright were accused of trafficking in Dyer's sermons, 1,000 of which they had seized, and Taylor, Sawbridge and Wright were said to have reprinted them. It is tempting, though nothing more than speculation, to connect the seizure of the Southwark press with the same illegally printed works: in October 1668 Mearne himself was questioned and warrants were issued for Royston and White, and it is at least possible that the pamphlet seized from Elizabeth Calvert and which the stationers were so eager to appropriate was an edition of one of Dyer's popular works. In effectively removing Elizabeth Calvert's press from the scene, as John Hetet has suggested, the stationers may have been moving in to take over the profitable trade in Dyer's sermons she had established.
The fact remains that while Elizabeth Calvert's running of the secret press in Southwark is well documented, there is no evidence of the identity of the pamphlets printed there, no mention of the title of the 'Imperfect unlicensed Booke' whose printing was interrupted by the raid, and no information about the length of time for which the press had been operating. One possibility is suggested, however, in documents relating to Elizabeth Calvert's trial three years later. The indictment on which she was brought to trial refers to an offence committed on 20 May 1668 (only a few weeks after the seizure of the secret press) and states that on that date she published 'a seditious book entitled: "Directions to a painter for describing our Navall business in imitation of Mr. Waller, being the last workes of Sir John Denham, whereunto is annexed Clarendon's house warming by an unknown Author, Printed in the yeare 1667".' Whether or not the book was printed at the Southwark press, Elizabeth Calvert's selling it so soon after the raid suggests something of her persistence in an increasingly risky trade in opposition literature. The 'Painter' satires, which had already circulated widely in manuscript, were incisive (and, according to Pepys, accurate) criticisms of the conduct of the naval battles with the Dutch. Elizabeth Calvert's Directions to a painter ... prints 'The second advice' and 'The third advice', now both attributed to Marvell, along with two more poems in the same satiric tradition and 'Clarendon's housewarming', another satire by Marvell, this time mocking Clarendon's ostentatious new mansion built partly from the remains of St. Paul's which had been destroyed in the Fire. An even more extraordinary example of Elizabeth Calvert's persistence in seditious publishing is that she seems not to have reacted to the raid on her secret press and her implication in the publishing of the 'Painter' satires by keeping a low profile; by the autumn of the same year she was again involved in 'sedition', and it seems likely that the trial, when it came, was also connected with her activities of the autumn of 1668.
Efforts to clean up the press continued throughout the summer; at the same time, L'Estrange's feud with the Stationers' Company, whose members he considered to be both incompetent and unwilling to regulate the press, gained momentum, leading to the proposal of new bye-laws for the Company in 1669 and a tension between Surveyor and Company which was to continue well into the 1670s. In July 1668 James Cottrell was arrested for seditious printing and in the same month there were surveys of printers and printing presses, apprentices and workmen. Darby was one of the three supernumerary printers brought to light by the survey, and plans were made to secure an indictment against him at the next sessions. In October, Elizabeth Calvert was again in trouble for illegal publishing, this time for Nehushtan: or, a sober and peaceable discourse, concerning the abolishing of things abused to superstition and idolatry: which may serve as one intire, and sufficient argument, to evince that the liturgy, ceremonies, and other things used at this day in the Church of England, ought neither to be imposed, nor retained, but utterly extirpated and laid aside: and to vindicate the nonconformists in their refusal to close with them. She had published John Wilson's Cultus evangelicus ... the previous year; his Nehushtan ..., however, was printed with no printer's or publisher's name. The strength of its attack on the established church is obvious from the full title; as well as attacking the Anglican church, however, Wilson included pointed criticisms both of Charles II and of his father. In expounding the action of Hezekiah in hewing down graven images, Wilson stresses the zeal with which Hezekiah began his reformation on the first day of his reign, and the contrast between the reformer Hezekiah and the indolent Charles II is no less pointed than the unspoken identification of Ahaz, Hezekiah's wicked father, with Charles I:

An illustrious example hereof we have in this place in King Hezekiah, who no sooner comes to the Throne, but he falls upon the work of Reformation, with all zeal and diligence. He
does not only purge his Royal Palace, most lamentably defiled with his Father's impurities, but he also cleanses the Nation, which was in like manner over-spread therewith, abolishes strange worship, destroys the Instruments and Monuments of Idolatry, and roots out whatever he finds contrary to the Law.

Admiration for Hezekiah is the greater for his being 'a young man, in the prime and flower of his youth, and so likelier to be carried away after pleasures, than to mind matters of religion'. The combination of the usual justification of nonconformity with strong hostility to Catholicism and a blatant attack on the Stuarts rendered the book immediately vulnerable to prosecution. Calamy suggests that it was brought to the attention of the government by a hostile clergyman: 'The author of the Friendly Debate confuted his Nehushtan, by causing its author to be pursuivanted up to the council, rather than by anything of moment he hath printed against it'. The King sent to Williamson for a warrant for Wilson's arrest, specifying that the Messenger John Dawson be sent to make the arrest, since he knew Wilson 'and most of Calvert's relations and servants'. The following day, Mearne gave information against Wilson, reporting that the printer Leach had confessed to him that Wilson acknowledged himself to be the author, and that Wilson himself corrected the book sheet by sheet at the press. No warrant for Elizabeth Calvert's arrest is recorded, but she was imprisoned in the King's Bench, from where she petitioned for pardon:

one John Wilson of Chester the Author of a Booke Titled Nehustan [sic] desired your petnr to assist him in the printing thereof, which your petnr did and desired Mr. Leech who printed the same if he found any thing in it, that might give offence to your Ma'tie or that was not fitt to be published to cause the said Author to race it out. And your petnr being altogether ignorant of the Sedition contain'd in the said Booke,
for which she is a close prisoner in the King's Bench, which will utterly ruin her and her family. 87

The investigation of Nehushtan ..., beginning in October 1668, took some time to come to fruition. In July 1669 the bookseller Thomas Parkhurst was summoned to appear before Arlington and bring with him, 'a copy of the reply to a book entitled A Friendly Debate, newly printed' which, given Calamy's remarks, may well have been Wilson's book. On the same day the printer Thomas Leach was again called in and a warrant for both men was issued two days later.

The trials of Elizabeth Calvert and Thomas Palmer, for 'publishing' and 'dispersing' respectively, did not take place, however, until the spring of 1671. 88

Before turning to the trials themselves the catalogue of Elizabeth Calvert's illegal publishing must be completed: one more example of her 'hidden' business came to light in 1670 when a book was interrupted in printing. On 7 January the Messenger John Potts certified that he had seized several sheets of a book entitled Divers titles of the letter K from the printer Samuel Simmons, who was printing them for Peter Parker. Simmons was a member of the Simmons family allied to the Calverts both by marriage and business interests, and was probably the son of Matthew Simmons. With Parker, Samuel Simmons had published the first edition of Milton's Paradise lost, and his family's connections with republicanism and sectarian literature were strong. Both Simmons and Parker were arrested and imprisoned, and their petition for release makes clear that the book was in fact William Dyer's Christ's famous titles ...; the petition also names Elizabeth Calvert as the supplier of the copy. The book had been published anonymously in 1663 and 1666, and this attempt to reprint it in 1670, from copy supplied by Elizabeth Calvert, adds to the already strong likelihood that she had been the publisher of the first two editions; certainly, as discussed above, Dyer considered her his 'official' publisher, and
the two works issued under her imprint conform this. Simmons' and Parkers' excuse is at best flimsy: your Lordshippe's Petition were found the 7th of Jann last printing a Booke Entituled Christ's famous Titles, which one of yo" petition bought of one Calvert, who informed him it would be lycensed, And yo" Petition not doubting the truth thereof put the said booke to print, but was resolved to attend the Lycenser for a Lycence before the conclusion of the said booke ... No examination of Elizabeth Calvert appears to have taken place; the fact that the book had been successfully prevented from being completed presumably meant that there was no need to pursue the matter further. Something of Dyer's apocalyptic style and open scorn for the established church has already been demonstrated; in Christ's famous titles ... the political threat implicit in the justification of nonconformity is more explicitly stated than in either of the two works which carry Elizabeth Calvert's imprint, and this may perhaps be the reason for the attempt at clandestine printing in the hostile climate of 1670:

But tell me, have the people gained any thing by resisting Christ, his Gospel and Government; by hating his servants and by scorning his holy wayes? Or doth it make the Crowns sit faster on the heads of Kings? I will leave you to judge of this.

Looking back at Elizabeth Calvert's publishing, both 'open' and 'hidden', between 1664 and 1670, the consistency of her policy is striking. The nonconformist works published overtly are echoed by the 'seditious' publishing, and both John Wilson and William Dyer appear as authors in both categories of publication. The connections between this phase of activity and her earlier work as one of the Confederate women are also clear, with the style of the Mirabilis annus ... pamphlets being picked up in the anti-catholic fire tracts, and the presentation of the case for
nonconformity continuing the earlier involvement in anti-church and pro-republican publications. How much of a watershed was created by her trial in 1671 will be explored below.

The Trial

At the London Sessions of 10 March 1671 Elizabeth Calvert was fined 20 marks for publishing a seditious book, and another bookseller, Thomas Palmer, was fined 40 marks and pilloried for dispersing libels. Newsletters reporting the trials refer to Palmer's punishment as being for dispersing Lord Lucas' speech, but Palmer's own petition states that he was sentenced for selling Nehushtan ... and Directions to a painter .... As described above, both of the pamphlets which brought Palmer to the pillory were published by Elizabeth Calvert, but the indictment drawn against Elizabeth Calvert at the Sessions of 5 December 1670 names only Directions to a painter ..., and it is impossible to tell from the record of the trial itself whether the 'seditious book' she was eventually tried for publishing refers to the collection of 'Painter' satires or to Nehushtan .... It seems likely that Elizabeth Calvert tried to avoid appearances at the Sessions. She was bailed at the Sessions of Gaol Delivery on 7 December, to appear at the next Sessions, and bail was set at £100 payable by her and £50 each by two securities. She did not appear at the next Sessions, however, and eventually appeared on 20 February 1671, but no trial took place. Presumably she was committed to prison, perhaps for defaulting on her bail, for her next appearance was at the Sessions of Gaol Delivery on 10 March, where she pleaded not guilty to publishing a seditious book but was convicted and fined, and bound to appear 'at the next Session of the Peace after the end of one whole year now next following!', and in the meantime to be of good behaviour. That she was unable to pay the fine is suggested by a note in the Newgate Calendar that 'Elizabeth Calvert, came upon bayle and [was] committed
for her fynel. She appeared again at the next Sessions of the Peace and is recorded as having defaulted when due to appear. Despite the fact that she had been bound to appear in a year's time, again on £100 and with two sureties of £50 each, she made no appearance the following year. 93

There is no evidence, beyond the coincidence of their trials, to link Elizabeth and Thomas Palmer; more puzzling, though, is that the trials happened so long after the event of publication. That the investigation was a long one has been suggested above, and the questioning of Parkhurst and Leach in 1669 has already been noted. The delay is, however, reminiscent of the Confederate trials of 1664, when Brewster, Dover and Brookes were tried on information received a year before, for an offence committed more than three years previously. The difficulties of bringing prosecutions and the precision of evidence required in order to win a conviction were noted in the previous chapter, and a letter from L'Estrange dated 29 October 1670 suggests that the trials of Calvert and Palmer were the culmination of a long investigation. It is perhaps not merely coincidental that it was during a time of renewed persecution of nonconformists that enough evidence could be gathered to secure the conviction of a woman who had for a decade escaped trial. 94 The events of December 1670 to May 1671 and their implications for Elizabeth Calvert, both financially and personally, will be considered as an important factor in the clear shift in her publications policy in the following years.

Publications 1671-75

In the 1670s Elizabeth Calvert's publication of new nonconformist works declined markedly. Apart from reprints of works by Steele, which form the bulk of her early 1670s output, she published in 1673 Peter Fullwood's *Concio ad magistratum a nations honour* ..., and in 1674 Samuel Petto's
The difference between the old and new covenant stated ...

Fullwood preached at South Normanton in Derbyshire, and this, his only published work, includes a visitation sermon preached two years earlier; he appears to have been a Presbyterian, but no biographical information to confirm this has been found. Samuel Petto's was the last nonconformist work to be openly produced by Elizabeth Calvert; it has, like Gale's The true idea of Jansenisme ..., an address to the reader written by John Owen, and Petto's own remarks suggest something of the care with which nonconformists had to tread in 1674:

Reader, the following Treatise hath been divers years prepared and not one leaf added to it since October 1672, which I mention for a special reason.

This aside, printed in parentheses, was presumably designed to protect author and publisher from prosecution. By stating that the work had been completed in the autumn of 1672, when the Declaration of Indulgence was still in force, they were defending themselves in advance of any accusations that they were contravening the rather confused law as it stood in 1674, the year of publication. The confidence to preach and write openly conferred upon nonconformists by the Declaration had been lost by 1674; by then their status was ambiguous and consequently insecure. On the one hand, the Declaration itself had been overturned; on the other, the licences issued under the terms of the Declaration to individual ministers, allowing them to preach in particular places, had not been revoked. Local magistrates were often confused about how to act, and there were conflicting messages about renewed persecution of dissenters coming from King and Court. It seems that Samuel Petto, who had obtained a licence to preach in Wontwell, Norfolk, was one of many ministers who continued his preaching after the revocation of the Declaration, relying on his licence for protection and taking care to justify his emergence into print.
The decline in Elizabeth Calvert's nonconformist publishing is part of what seems to be an overall decline in her publishing activities. After her trial in March 1671, the number of copies carrying her imprint falls; 1671 is the only year for which no imprints exist, and her total imprints for the following years are 2, 3, 1 and 1 respectively. Five of these seven copies are by nonconformists. How much this decline in her publishing was due to her personal circumstances is uncertain. The imprisonments of the last few years must have been a financial burden, and in 1670 she was in debt to the Stationers' Company, promising to repay her debt 'so soon as any Part of her Husbands Estate, came into her hands'. 97 It seems likely that her financial position, the move back to the old premises in 1669, and the trial itself combined with the renewal of the persecution of dissenters to dissuade her from her 'usual practices'. Certainly she seems to have avoided attracting official notice for much of this period, and the appearance of two of Steele's works carrying Tomkins' official imprimatur suggests that by now she was prepared to comply with at least some of the procedures legally required of her. 98 Her other publications, two editions of William Rabisha's *The whole body of cookery dissected* ..., in 1673 and 1675, can have offended no-one; Rabisha's work is unique among Elizabeth Calvert's publications in being the only thoroughly secular and non-political work she published. It is also unique in that it seems to have been a joint venture with Francis Smith; the second of her editions carries the imprint 'Printed for E.C. And are to be sold by Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill'. 99 The cookery book had been published originally by Giles Calvert in 1661, and is extravagant in its royalist attitude:

I was further encouraged to this work, by seeing that happy and blessed restauration of our long-exiled Royal luminaries; and the hopes of the benevolent Influence of Liberality and Hospitality.
Presumably Rabisha, himself formerly resident with a noble family at the King's court in exile, proved a best seller among the returned courtiers.¹⁰⁰

The decline in Elizabeth Calvert's publishing in the 1670s is not, however, the whole story, and there is some evidence that while her publishing (inasmuch as that can be fully identified on the evidence of imprints alone) fell off, the business as a whole continued to do well. First, as late as February 1674 she took on another apprentice, Thomas Corbett.¹⁰¹ Secondly, two of her publications carry advertisements for 'Books Printed for Eliz. Calvert' and 'Books Printed and are to be sold by' her. These lists, as well as including titles already identified here as her publications, provide valuable information about other books and pamphlets clearly identified with her shop, but on which her name did not appear. It is at the information to be gleaned from these lists about her retail business and other publishing ventures that I now propose to look.

Old stock or new?

Both Samuel Petto's *The difference between the old and new covenant stated* ... (1674) and the 1675 edition of Rabisha's cookery book contain, on their last page, lists of other books sold by Elizabeth Calvert. The lists are given in Appendix C. As well as including five of the titles already identified as carrying Elizabeth Calvert's imprint, the lists provide another 12 titles not previously connected with her.¹⁰² One or two of these may have been published by Elizabeth Calvert herself: Sarah Davy's *Heaven realiz'd* ..., published in 1670, and *Conversion exemplified* ..., published in 1669. Of the remaining titles, one was published in 1662 and the rest in the 1650s, five of them for Giles Calvert and others for associates of his: George Calvert, Henry Fletcher, Thomas Johnson and George Sawbridge.¹⁰³ Later editions of these titles are not listed in Wing, and the assumption must be that Elizabeth Calvert was advertising old stock which had
belonged to her husband, and/or old stock acquired from other booksellers who were associated with him in the 1650s. These copies had somehow survived the Fire, and judging by their proportion to new publications in the two advertisements they must have formed a sizeable part of her retail business.

Sarah Davy's *Heaven realiz'd* ... is a conversion narrative published after the writer's death. The text, reshaped by its 'publisher', A.P., recounts the spiritual autobiography of Sarah Davy as a child and young woman, and includes a number of her verses. A crucial stage in the account is her meeting and growing to love a woman whose Independent congregation she joined. The book is obviously consistent with Elizabeth Calvert's nonconformist output; why, in this case, her name does not appear in an imprint, while her shop is named as the place of sale in the colophon, is puzzling. *Conversion exemplified* ... is another posthumously published conversion narrative, this time determinedly anonymous. Its subject, 'a gracious gentlewoman now in glory' dictated the account to 'her dearest friend' who is also unnamed. The only proper name in the 'Epistle to the reader' is that of Mr. Caryl, the minister who visited the 'gentlewoman' before she died. No printer's or publisher's name is given, either in imprint or in a colophon, and attribution to Elizabeth Calvert as publisher is therefore only speculative. Equally, both these conversion narratives, seen into print by the writers' friends and relatives, may have been privately published and sold through the Black Spread Eagle as a known outlet for nonconformist works.104

What is particularly striking about the remaining books listed - those published many years previously - is their size, relative to the more recent works. Assuming that the two books discussed above were indeed Elizabeth Calvert publications, the old stock consists entirely of larger publications, in folio and quarto, whereas the
Elizabeth Calvert publications listed are smaller, either large or small octavo. Six of these old books are elaborate folio volumes whose publishing history, as far as can be established, involved multiple publishers; in some cases, several copies of the work have survived, dated the same, but with different booksellers' names in the imprints. Presumably the size of these volumes, each consisting of several hundred pages, and some elaborately illustrated, necessitated joint publishing in order to cover costs. Burgess' *The scripture directory*, published in 1659, was printed by Abraham Miller for Thomas Underhill, and sold by Underhill, George Calvert and Henry Fletcher. Lee's *The temple of Solomon* ... exists with a variety of title pages, all printed by John Streater in 1659, for a number of booksellers including Thomas Basset, Giles Calvert, Humphrey Moseley, Abel Roper and George Sawbridge; another copy survives with a 1665 title page, printed for Tyton and Basset, suggesting perhaps that these large and expensive works were reissued at intervals with new title pages. The failure of any of them to survive bearing a title-page with Elizabeth Calvert's imprint, however, suggests that she was simply selling off the remainder of Giles Calvert's original share of these publications. 105 Similarly, Renodaeus' *A medicinal dispensatory* ... exists with variant title pages, and here again it seems that Streater was printing for a group of publishers. This work was first entered in the Stationers' Register to Richard Moone, the Calverts' former apprentice, in June 1656; five days later, Moone assigned the rights to a group consisting of Giles Calvert, Streater, James Cottrell, Moone himself and Henry Fletcher. 106 It seems likely that behind the names in the imprints of others of these folio volumes, groups of publishers with Giles Calvert as a member may be hidden.

Apart from *The history of Diodorus Siculus* ..., Renodaeus' medical book and Hartlib's works on bees and silkworms, all those which appear in the lists are religious
works, and all but one are by nonconformists. Burgess had been a member of the Westminster Assembly, and was ejected after the Restoration. Samuel Lee, a proctor at Oxford during John Owen's vice-chancellorship, had been made minister of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, by Cromwell, and was removed from his position there by the restored Rump in 1659; after the Restoration he became a member of Owen's Leadenhall Street congregation, and later became joint pastor with Theophilus Gale of Rowe's congregation in Holborn. Gorton, whose Exposition listed as sold by Elizabeth Calvert has not been traced, was a New England preacher whose views on religious toleration led to his banishment from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Boston in turn. Hartlib too, though not a participant in religious debates, was so closely associated with Milton and republicanism that he was reduced to poverty after the Restoration. 108

Trade Associates

Connections have already been made between Elizabeth Calvert and a number of other stationers who were involved in the same strand of nonconformist and illegal publishing. To survey all her trade associations would be both tedious and inconclusive; so little evidence exists for her long-term trade relationships that little more than a catalogue of names would ensue. I intend, therefore, to dwell only on two associations which can be seen to have been maintained over a number of years, and which can illuminate the way in which the underground press functioned. In discussing these particular examples, the printer Thomas Leach and the booksellers Richard and Susanna Moone, there is an obvious implication that similar associations and methods of working would have applied to a number of others similarly involved in the trade in 'offensive' material, the records of whose activities are simply too patchy to be conclusive.
1. **Printing: Thomas Leach**

Few printers' names appear on works which carry Elizabeth Calvert's imprint. James Cottrell printed for her the works by Gadbury, and John Lock printed Fullwood's book. Cottrell had printed at least 15 works for Giles Calvert from 1649 onwards, and had been one of that group of publishers who had combined to produce the elaborate folio volumes which Elizabeth Calvert was selling in the 1670s. For the printing of her more dangerous material, however, she apparently turned to less established printers. Just as the Confederates had employed poor printers who were tempted to print illegal work because of financial necessity, so Elizabeth Calvert seems to have used small-time printers for the pamphlets she issued anonymously.

The name of Thomas Leach appears repeatedly throughout Elizabeth Calvert's career, and from 1663 to 1669 his name recurs in the State Papers in connection with illegal printing, often of material handled by Elizabeth Calvert. As early as 1660 he was in trouble with the Stationers' Company both for attempting to print someone else's copy and for illegal printing discovered by the Warden in a search, for which he had two forms of type removed. In January 1663 he was questioned about the regicide speeches and it seems that he was intending to print his own version of the much-reprinted Speeches and prayers. In his examination he demonstrated a loyalty to his publisher which would have commended him to the Confederates, refusing to name his 'best customer' who employed him in the work, and avoiding implicating anyone as the source of his copy by claiming, quite plausibly, that 'His wife bought at his own door a copy of the trial of the King's murderers'. With several others he was committed to the Gatehouse for 'dangerous and seditious practices', but he was released on bail in less than a week. His arrest at this time may have been connected with that of Elizabeth Evans, the Calverts' maid, who herself was arrested three days before Leach's examination; Leach's arrest came at the tail end of
a series of warrants, beginning the previous December, which pulled in Elizabeth Evans twice, Elizabeth Calvert and John and Clemence Batty. In the same year, Leach's name appeared in a list of seditious printers (also including Brewster) arrested by Northrop, and he petitioned for release from an imprisonment resulting from his pirating of Hudibras. Leach was also involved in the production of some of the Fire pamphlets, though not necessarily the one distributed by Elizabeth Calvert: the Stationers' Company discovered copies of London's flames at his house, but did not remove his presses or prosecute him, and after a brief period of lying low, he was soon at work again. The following year, Leach and Thomas Johnson entered recognizances not to print unlicensed books or pamphlets. Before long, however, he was again involved in illegal printing: Mearne's evidence about Nehushtan ... points to Leach as the printer, and Leach himself gave evidence about the author. Both he and Thomas Parkhurst were summoned to appear before Arlington, probably in connection with the same book. It seems doubtful that Leach ever set up as a printer in his own right: in July 1668 he had a press 'provided by Mr. Graydon' and one workman (one of the smallest businesses listed in the survey) but by December of the same year he was working as a journeyman for John Redman, who was questioned for printing Queries about Ireland. It is at least possible that Leach may have been printing for Elizabeth Calvert at the Southwark press (Nehushtan ..., which Leach printed, may have been printed there) and his position as a far from well-established printer, working on the edges of the Confederate circle, make it likely that he did so. Certainly, the name of Thomas Leach occurs often enough in conjunction with Elizabeth Calvert's illegal publishing to suggest a more than casual association.

2. Distribution: Richard and Susanna Moone

The distribution arrangements for illegal and 'seditious' publications remain obscure, because of the
secrecy surrounding such material. Something can be deduced from the way in which the Confederates operated: Thresher, the binder, was instructed by Brewster to deliver copies of The phoenix ... direct to 15 stationers, for example. Some of the names in Brewster's list are familiar as associates both of the Confederates and of Elizabeth Calvert later: Francis Smith, Brewster himself, Sawbridge, Roper, Tytan and Parkhurst were among those on the list, and it is worth noting here that Roper and Tytan were both high up in the Stationers' Company. Available evidence about the Darbys' Blue Anchor Alley press demonstrates the use of a chain of distributors within London, with printer and hawkers separated by a number of intermediaries so that information extracted from hawkers and their immediate suppliers could rarely be used against those at the head of the chain. Evidence does exist for Elizabeth Calvert's distribution beyond London, and particularly prominent is her long-standing connection with Bristol through Richard and Susanna Moone.

Richard Moone had been apprenticed to Giles Calvert from 1645 to 1652, and his apprenticeship, overlapping with that of Thomas Brewster, seems to have come about because of the coincidence between the Calverts' reputation as sectarian publishers and the religious views of Moone's father. The father, another Richard, was a farrier in Wine Street, Bristol, and became an early convert to the Baptists; he was the first deacon of the Broadmead congregation which absorbed Cradock's Llanvaches church in 1642. This swollen congregation, consisting largely of tradespeople aligned with Parliament, fled to London in 1643 when Bristol fell to the royalists, and during this stay in London, which lasted until 1646, Richard Moone the elder apprenticed his son to Giles Calvert. Some time after his return to Bristol, the father seems to have left the Baptists to join the growing Quaker meeting there. Left in London, the younger Richard Moone continued his apprenticeship, and on his emergence as a free man he
carried on the Calverts' style of publishing. In August 1653 he was arrested for selling and publishing seditious books and was sent to the Gatehouse. 122 The following year he married Susanna Wallis, and their son, also Richard, was born in 1657 and christened at St. Gregory by St. Paul. 123 The Moones' first shop was at the Seven Stars in St. Paul's Churchyard, near the great north door, and Moone started to publish books in association with John Allen. 124 In 1654 both his and James Cottrell's premises were searched, after a book called Differtatio de pace had been delivered at the door of the House of Commons; Moone's apprentice John Daniell was implicated, and his refusal to name the author led to the reference of the affair to a Commons committee. No further action seems to have been taken, however. Moone and Cottrell were again connected the following year, when Moone was examined about the printing of A short discovery of his highness the Lord Protector's intentions, touching the anabaptists in the army, &c ...; Moone admitted that he had been paid 40s by John Sturgeon, and had arranged for Cottrell to print it. Moone's imprisonment lasted until September, when he wrote to Thurloe asking for relief. 125

By 1660 Moone had moved to Bristol, and his Wine Street address suggests that he used his father's premises. The move to Bristol may have been an attempt to avoid the attention of the authorities, or it may have been a shrewd business move. Bristol had by now a sizeable radical Puritan community, with well-established Baptist and Quaker meetings, and provided a ready market for the publications of Moone's London associates. Moone's Bristol imprint appears on three works by the Quaker George Bishop, published in 1660, and Creake's information on The phoenix ... and the first Mirabilis annus ... pamphlet, given in June 1661, shows that Chapman was supplying Moone with copies of The phoenix ... 126 When Sir John Knight searched the Moones' shop in October 1663, he found copies of Mirabilis annus secundus, or the second part ... , and Richard Moone
was imprisoned while instructions were given for the post and carrier to be searched for more pamphlets. Moone's examination proved entirely unhelpful to the authorities, but several letters seized with him alerted the authorities to the identities of his regular London suppliers. Moone confirmed the evidence of the letters that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Calvert were his chief suppliers 'that send to him books and pamphletts constantly and they are his constant correspondents'. In the past he had been supplied by Francis Eglesfield and Thomas Brewster, both of St. Paul's Churchyard, but he had received nothing from them for some months. A letter from Brewster partly concerns business and partly refers to political events. Brewster had fled to Bristol, probably in mid-1662, to avoid arrest for his part in a number of the Confederates' publications; he was discovered early in 1663, with two boxes of unlicensed books. His note to Moone, who as a former fellow apprentice and a long-term associate had probably helped in sheltering Brewster during his period of hiding, refers to Ewens, the minister of the Broadmead congregation, and suggests that Brewster was supplying books to the Baptist meeting through Moone.127

The possibility of the interception of books sent via post or carrier clearly led suppliers to exercise caution. Notes addressed to the Moones and found by Sir John Knight were in some cases sent anonymously, with information about quantities and prices but with no name of a supplier or instruction about where to send payment. One of the notes found in 1663, for example, is signed 'your unknown friend', says that 52 books at 8d each are being sent, to be sold for 10d each, and remarks that Moone will know whom to pay, and where to send for more. Clearly, the Moones and their suppliers knew each other well enough to dispense with any identification, and to trust each other for payment and supply without using receipts and records.128 In the case of interception of books or letters, the bookseller receiving them could claim
total ignorance of the source of the books, with little risk of prosecution. 128

In 1667 Elizabeth Calvert was still sending 'seditious' pamphlets to Bristol; a note from her addresses Susanna Moone as her 'loving friend' and accompanies the sending of 25 'books about the fire'. When questioned, Susanna Moone admitted that she had received 50 copies in all, sent 'without order' by Elizabeth Calvert, all of which had been sold. 130 It is likely that by this time Richard Moone was dead: he was not examined about the Fire pamphlets, and Elizabeth Calvert's note makes no mention of him. Susanna Moone, by now an old friend and trade associate of Elizabeth Calvert, is perhaps another example of a woman persisting in the distribution of illegal publications. 131

The last year: 1674-5

In 1674 Elizabeth Calvert may have been preparing for a transfer of the business to her only surviving child, Giles. In September of that year he would have been 21, and Elizabeth was probably in her late fifties. She may already have been ill; there is evidence of several episodes of ill-health during her imprisonments in the 1660s, and her death probably occurred in the autumn of 1674. On 27 July she entered three copies in the Stationers' Register, the only time she ever did so, presumably to establish the rights for herself and therefore for Giles after her death. The copies were the three works by Steele which she had published repeatedly from 1667 onwards. It is doubtful that Giles did carry on the business; though he is described as a bookseller in Elizabeth's will, her description may have been made in anticipation of his gaining freedom of the Stationers' Company by patrimony, which never happened. He probably remained a copy owner without keeping on the retail business: two of Steele's books were republished after her death. The husbandmans calling ... by Giles Calvert and
R. Simpson in 1681, and An antidote against distractions ... by Ralph Simpson in 1695.\textsuperscript{132}

If, as seems likely, Elizabeth Calvert pulled out of underground publishing in the last few years of her career, and relied largely on retailing old stock, authorized nonconformist works and a few popular secular books, there is some evidence that her links with illegal publishing were not entirely severed. In January 1674, the probable year of her death, a warrant was issued for her arrest and appearance before Secretary Coventry. The following day, warrants were issued for her former apprentice Joshua Waterhouse, now a bookseller of Houndsditch, and for Peter Lillicrap. The reason for the arrests and their outcome are unknown, but they may have been connected with the pamphlet Verbum sapienti ..., preserved in the State Papers at this time.\textsuperscript{133} This isolated brush with the authorities may, of course, be the only surviving evidence for what continued to be a risky participation in seditious publishing; at any rate, it may have been enough to convince her that, after all the deaths, imprisonments, searches and questions of the previous fifteen years, and the trial of 1671, now was the time to consider retirement. The taking of a new apprentice in February and the entering of the Steele copies suggests that the business, if not her direct running of it, was intended to continue. That it did not is implied by the unique imprint of the 1675 edition of Rabisha's cookery book: 'for E.C. And are to be sold by Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill'. Her initials on the imprint of a book which appeared after her death are presumably explained by the work being printed while she was still alive; the selling of the work by Francis Smith, however, can only suggest that the retail business had been closed down after her death, and that Giles had decided not to keep on the old premises.\textsuperscript{134}

On 19 October, 1674, Elizabeth Calvert made her will, 'being sick of body but of perfect memory and understanding'.
She named her 'loved cosen William Ballard of Rochester Gent' as sole executor, leaving her goods to him and the 'overplus' after payment of debts to Giles. The will was proved on 5 February, 1675; by that time Elizabeth Calvert had presumably been 'decently buryed amongst the Baptists' as she had requested. 135
CONCLUSION

The three careers presented here suggest a number of common issues about the activities of women in the trade and provide a detailed account of aspects of Puritan publishing as yet little explored. In conclusion I propose to point first to some of the issues raised about women in the trade, and secondly to new information they offer about the book trade in general.

The women whose careers I have focussed on do not stand alone, and it is important to remember the numbers of women contemporary with these three who might also prove rich sources of study. It has been possible to place Elizabeth Calvert in the context of that group of 'Confederate' women who kept up the trade in opposition literature during the difficult years immediately following the trials of 1664. That each of these women, especially Joan Darby and Anna Brewster, would repay more extensive attention is, I hope, clear from what little it has been possible to say about them here. Gertrude Dawson, the printer whose name has occurred in connection with Hannah Allen, was connected with some of the same people and at many points her career touched on some of those mentioned in these studies: she printed for Giles Calvert, Francis Eglesfield, Thomas Brewster and Francis Smith, and one of her six apprentices was Joan Darby's first husband, the Confederate printer Simon Dover. A glance at her imprints suggests that she walked a fine line between legal and illegal printing, producing work for the Stationers' Company as well as a host of Puritan works. An investigation of her career, which seems to have settled into 'safe' legal printing after the Restoration, might yield valuable information about the possibilities of combining 'official' and illegal printing, and might suggest something of the pressures on a printer who apparently chose to play it safe in the 1660s. Other women printers of the period, such as Elizabeth Purslow,
Alice Norton and Jane Coe, deserve some attention, and the large family businesses run by Anne Maxwell and Elizabeth Flesher might offer other patterns of women's involvement in the printing trade. The printer Mary Simmons was a member of the Simmons/Calvert complex of businesses central to radical publishing, itself overdue for investigation, and Mary Thompson, long associated with Catholic printing, was by 1679 working alongside Anna Brewster.\(^3\)

Returning to the women studied here, despite the impossibility of useful generalization from so few, it is clear that their careers provide new information about the work of women in the trade and challenge assumptions about women implicit in many accounts of book trade history. Hannah Allen's career disputes the idea that women who carried on businesses for brief periods between marriages were merely 'caretaking' until a competent second husband took over. The shift towards publishing in her own right makes clear that, far from continuing the business in the same mould as that established during Benjamin Allen's lifetime, she developed it from the base she inherited in a particular direction which was then pursued when the business became Livewell Chapman's. In particular, she was instrumental in the emergence into print of a group of authors pursuing an identifiable religious and political course. In Mary Westwood, unusual in having no apparent family connections with the trade, we have evidence of the possibility of a woman developing a specialized and largely localized business which lay entirely beyond the formalities of the London trade, and which seems (perhaps because of being small-scale and specialized) entirely to have escaped the controls then prevailing. The investigation of Elizabeth Calvert's long career demonstrates two things in particular about women: that they could be active in the business during the lifetime of a husband, thereby gaining experience valuable later in the pursuit of a 'solo' career, and that after the Restoration, despite considerable personal loss and risk, women remained central to the
continuation of Puritan publishing in increasingly hostile circumstances. The persistence of the 'Confederate' women, moreover, suggests the common involvement of a group of women beyond the individual whose career is presented here.

The association of women with the retail side of the trade has been assumed by historians and is in part confirmed by these studies, extending our knowledge of women's involvement with distribution. Women's employment as hawkers has been documented for the very end of the century and beyond, and the names of the mercuries Ann Dodd and Elizabeth Nutt are familiar in the history of the newspaper. The association between women and distribution goes back long before the eighteenth century, however. Female hawkers and mercury women were familiar in the 1640s, and references to them in the State Papers occur throughout the rest of the century. Mrs. Andrews organized distribution of the London gazette for Williamson, and was both efficient and assertive about payment; even in the confusion immediately following the Great Fire she kept distribution going. Elizabeth Bud was involved in the distribution of The English Catholics' apology and was questioned about her source of supply. In a list of hawkers made probably in 1668, over two thirds of the hawkers listed are women. That women should be employed as hawkers - at the bottom of the chain of distribution, and for 'offensive' literature most vulnerable to arrest - is not surprising; women did and still do congregate in insecure and badly paid jobs, and were presumably attracted to hawking by the profits to be made from, in particular, illegal publications, rather than necessarily because of any political commitment. Women, as has been demonstrated by Margaret Hunt, were prominent also as mercuries, and Dunton refers to several in the later period. As has been seen from the studies presented here, however, women were involved not only in the distribution of papers and pamphlets in London streets, but on a much wider geographical scale. Although there is no evidence for Hannah Allen's participation, through her we have caught sight of a group of Fifth Monarchist women
specifically concerned with the distribution of pamphlets. Mary Westwood's means of distribution remain unverifiable, but the local associations of many of her pamphlets point to distribution via local Friends, not themselves anything to do with the book trade at all, who presumably undertook local distribution for her, as well as using her pamphlets as part of their 'baggage' when travelling to seek converts. London booksellers, the usual channels for distribution, seem to have been used by Mary Westwood only for a few larger pamphlets like the tithing petition which had a London and probably national interest. How far Elizabeth Calvert's distribution stretched is not known, but its geographical spread is suggested by the well-documented connection with the Moones in Bristol, the reports of 'fire' pamphlets being discovered in Rydal and Cheshire, and the first Mirabilis annus ... pamphlet reaching Philip Henry in Flintshire. The identification of John Batty as the member of a particular congregation might suggest also that, as well as distributing material through other booksellers, she too could use networks of religious sympathizers to distribute books among congregations. Sadly, the very secrecy which has been described above as vital to the success of widespread distribution prevents us knowing more about the process.10

At every level of the trade, it must also be remembered, were numerous unnamed women whose activities were crucial in the spread of Puritan literature. Quakerism first came to London in the shape of two women distributing a leaflet written by Fox, but they had no link with the trade as such. Many women were drawn into distribution by religious conviction, rather than economic necessity. In 1664, for example, a woman called Elizabeth Ward and her daughter Sarah Keate were both arrested for possessing printed papers; Elizabeth Ward was a victualler at the Dark House in Billingsgate (a property owned by the Stationers' Company) and her daughter had been given petitions, the implication being that she was to disperse
them. Elizabeth Ward successfully petitioned for her own release, claiming that her daughter had been 'seduced and misled by some dissolute persons in Judgm t Styled Quakers'; Sarah Keate was kept in the Messenger's custody, and her mother asked that the daughter be sent to prison, since the Messenger's fees were too high.\textsuperscript{11} The evidence by Mrs. Knight in 1675 about the stitching of an opposition pamphlet, very detailed and perhaps designed to confuse, suggests an informal network of women handling small scale distribution in London; information given by them seems to have been designed to play on the 'innocent woman' theme, and one of the women was described by her interviewer as 'a poor innocent, weak creature, that to get a penny knew not what she did'.\textsuperscript{12} The role of Elizabeth Evans in carrying copy, collecting sheets and paying the printer suggests another level of activity for those, largely anonymous, women who worked as stationers' maids. Many more women drifted in and out of involvement with the law for activities to do with distribution, without themselves ever being part of the trade proper: in 1639 Katherine Hadley, then an old woman, was smuggling copies of Lilburne's papers past prison guards and 'threw them among apprentices and others holidaying in Moorfields'. She was arrested, kept in the Poultry Compter for seven months and then sent without examination to Bridewell. Elizabeth Lilburne was herself arrested for dispersing work written by her husband.\textsuperscript{13} Countless other women must have been involved in distribution, from the persistent trade activities of booksellers like Elizabeth Calvert and the pyramid organization set up by Joan Darby and Anna Brewster, to the regular hawkers and the women who, like Sarah Keate, got involved in distribution perhaps only once, because of a particular religious or political belief.\textsuperscript{14}

To what extent women's exclusion from office and power in the Stationers' Company affected their involvement in the trade is hard to judge from these few studies; what they do suggest is that women could operate as publishers
at the edges of legality, and with little contact with the Company itself. The privileges accorded to widows by the Company were certainly important in allowing their continuation and development of businesses they inherited; on the other hand, Mary Westwood seems to have been free to develop her own line in Quaker publishing without any connection with the Company. The Westwood business, it may be argued, was quite different from the shop-based work of Hannah Allen and Elizabeth Calvert, both of whom had enjoyed a long experience of the trade and were running a business for profit. The 'business' nature of the Westwood operation is less likely to have been a matter of profit, or even of covering costs. Sadly, there is no biographical information to suggest whether Mary Westwood was herself a philanthropic financer of Quaker pamphlets, or perhaps the coordinator collecting financial contributions and organizing printing and distribution. Either of these roles would seem more likely than the essentially 'business' base of the other two women. For women running businesses of the Allen/Calvert kind, however, their privileges under the regulations of the Stationers' Company were clearly valuable, and however much Elizabeth Calvert ignored the requirements of registration of copies and licensing, she repeatedly took advantage of the allowance to widows of apprentices.

Another dimension to women's involvement in the trade is added by the information presented here on women's status under the law. Their almost total invulnerability to prosecution during their husbands' lifetimes, when as 'femae coerentes' their own crimes were the legal responsibility of the men, gave wives a greater freedom to publish and disperse illegal material than men could enjoy. Moreover, it would seem from the examination of Elizabeth Calvert's career as a widow that the difficulty of prosecuting women carried over to widows too, and that there was always a tendency among the judiciary to believe women to be naive and misled, rather than rational beings in control
of their own actions. Exploitation of the law's (and society's) view of them as 'inferior' and 'not responsible' gave women, paradoxically, a weapon against the authorities. This difficulty of bringing women to prosecution clearly did not prevent their harassment, however, and the series of raids, imprisonments and periods of hiding undergone by Elizabeth Calvert point to the woman's continuous exposure to pressure. The extent of Elizabeth Calvert's experience of harassment is not, I think, untypical of other women whose publications displeased the authorities. In 1647, for example, Mary Overton was arrested with her brother Thomas Johnson, found stitching copies of Regall tyrannie discovered; after refusing to give information to the House of Lords, Mary was dragged through the streets, carrying her six months old child, and after physical and verbal abuse was thrown in to Bridewell. By the time she was released, her baby had died in prison.¹⁵ Jane Curtis was hounded in the 1680s by Robert Stephens and Scroggs' own animosity towards her had been mentioned above. By some accounts, L'Éstrange was not above the sexual harassment of women offenders. The degree to which women were hounded may be a result of the frustrations felt by the agents of press control who could not bring them to trial; certainly, there is an air of exasperation about Scroggs' venomous threats against Jane Curtis.¹⁶

The careers of the women presented here add considerably to our knowledge of the practices of the book trade, and raise specific questions about attempts at press control. In particular, the brief career of Mary Westwood opens up a new area of enquiry about sectarian publishing, and the existence of a market in pamphlets based in the provinces and only in a few instances touching on the London trade. The existence of such a trade in Quaker literature, at a time when Quakers were widely viewed as the enemy to order, must raise questions about the efficacy of controls. The absence of any records of investigation of the woman herself, or of the seizure of any of the pamphlets she
published, argues perhaps a lack of concern (or even knowledge) on the part of the London-based authorities about subversive material being distributed in the provinces. And this demonstration of one specific local trade in Quaker pamphlets immediately raises questions about the possible existence of other, local, and 'unofficial' branches of the book trade in other parts of the country. It is possible, for example, that a more detailed survey of the book trade in Bristol and its connections with both Baptist and Quaker communities there might yield evidence of another essentially local trade in pamphlets, as well as revealing Bristol's likely importance as a distribution point for sectarian literature into Wales and Ireland. That the early Quakers very quickly developed their own methods of distribution is already known, but so far the printing and publishing have been seen in the context of the Simmons/Calvert family group of established London stationers. Although there is evidence to connect Mary Westwood with the Calverts' shop, the bulk of her output seems to have been designed for a different distribution market. While adding little biographical information about Mary Westwood, the survey of her imprints provides new evidence of a specialized provincial trade and demonstrates publishing practices among the Quakers which contrast strongly with their highly centralized publishing activities from the 1670s onwards.

Central to our clearer understanding of the practices of the trade are the practical effects of the many efforts at press control during the period, and on this point the output of the women discussed here can provide detailed evidence. The most striking thing is their apparent disregard for licensing, and for registering copies. A number of Hannah Allen's publications, notably the fast sermons, do carry the official imprimatur of the relevant licenser under the terms of the 1643 and subsequent Acts: Joseph Caryl the preacher, Henry Elsyng and Henry Scobell, Clerks to the House of Commons, Theodore Jennings who joined Mabbott as licenser early in 1649, and John Rushworth,
former licensor for newsbooks who became Secretary to the Army. The majority of Hannah Allen's output was apparently not licensed, however, and, despite the more stringent penalties for offenders laid down by the Act of 1647, her registration of copies if anything declined. Only 17 of her copies were entered in the Stationers' Register, less than a third of the works carrying her imprint, and she published only six registered works in the second half of her career, as against 11 in the first. Siebert has described in detail the attempts at control, particularly of news, in the years of Hannah Allen's career, and has pointed to the difficulties of licensers caught between the three forces of Commons, Lords and Army. It is not surprising, in this period of political confusion, with the Army in the ascendant but the power of press control in the hands of Parliament, that some of Hannah Allen's apparently 'official' reports from the Army should not be licensed or registered. It is evident that despite the increasingly stringent legislation of 1643, 1647 and 1649, a publisher involved both in the publication of Army and Parliamentary news and in the production of religious literature did not feel it necessary to comply with the law consistently and was apparently never challenged for non-compliance. More investigation of Hannah Allen's pattern of licensing and registration might yield a clearer account of the particular political group with which she was connected, and a suggestion of the relative strengths of Parliament and Army in the fast-changing events of 1647-9.

Mary Westwood's publications provide even clearer evidence of the inefficacy of press controls. The absence of any record of detection or investigation is not, of course, conclusive: it may mean no more than the failure of such records to survive. If, however, as seems to be the case, her activities went ignored by the controlling agencies, her career may represent a level of provincial publishing beyond the control of the London authorities. The controls imposed by Cromwell in August 1655, which were
very effective in the suppression of news, were still in force until late in 1659; it is perhaps a measure of the paralysing of such controls by the political chaos of that year that Mary Westwood then began her publishing activities. That she apparently continued to produce Quaker literature without penalty after the Restoration, until as late as 1663 and possibly later, despite the repression directed at sectarians in general and Quakers in particular, points both to the Quakers' persistence and to the difficulties of preventing their activities. However chaotic the year of 1659, its changes included periods of hope and political backing for the Quaker cause, and that in those circumstances Quaker publishing could go on in this way is perhaps not surprising. That it continued after the Restoration, and even after the 1662 Act, points to the hopelessness of attempting to control a group so committed to its own visible witness before magistrates and people.

The long post-Restoration career of Elizabeth Calvert raises more issues about press control, and the practices of Puritan publishers in the face of legislation aimed at silencing them. One obvious conclusion from her activities and those of her associates is that the Licensing Act of 1662 was far from adequate; L'Estrange lamented its deficiencies in relation to his difficulties in securing conviction of the Confederates, and when some of them were eventually tried the trials were under the statute for treason and under common law, rather than the 1662 Act. Elizabeth Calvert's activities for the next decade again point to the Act's inefficacy, perhaps a failure of enforcement rather than the wording of the Act itself. The only points at which she ever licensed a book were in 1665, probably to demonstrate her 'loyalty' after the events of 1664, and in the relaxation of persecution in the early 1670s. In fact, since the 1662 Act required both licensing and registration, virtually all her output was strictly illegal, and no entries were made by her in the Stationers'
Register until the probable year of her death. The implications of this as evidence of the seriousness with which the Licensing Act was viewed by an opposition publisher are striking. That Elizabeth Calvert, with her reputation as a publisher of 'seditious' works, and thus a prime target for punishment for non-compliance with the Act, published so many nonconformist works quite openly and with her name and address in the imprint suggests that she was not at all deterred by the possibility of prosecution under the Act. The division of her output into 'open', nonconformist publishing carrying her name and 'hidden' publishing carrying no imprint has shown the extent to which authors and publisher could with confidence write, print and display their work despite its illegality; the 'hidden' side presents us with a measure of the limits of that confidence and represents the judgement of author and publisher about which opinions would be viewed as 'seditious' and pursued as such. The implication must be that, despite its nickname of 'Licensing Act', the 1662 Act's provisions on licensing and registration were not widely enforced and could be largely ignored with impunity.

The failures of enforcement pointed to in the course of Elizabeth Calvert's career throughout the Restoration period may owe something to the obsession of the controlling agencies with regulating and pursuing printers as the prime offenders, rather than publishers and distributors. The tradition of focussing on the control of printers and printing presses, I have argued, lay behind the various attempts at regulation throughout the century, up to and including the 1662 Act itself, and continued to inform the thinking of L'Estrange. By the 1660s, however, the concentration on printers was out of step with the economic realities of the trade, in which booksellers had superseded printers as principal financial backers of publications and printers themselves were suffering economic depression. It is clear that Twyn, for example, who eventually received the severest penalty, was hardly a
central figure in the spate of libels associated with the Confederates, and was probably no more than an unfortunate printer prepared to do some illegal printing simply to make a living. The real organizers of the libels were the bookseller-publishers, and taken alone the execution of Twyn would have made precious little difference to opposition publishing. Indeed, L'Estrange's success in smashing the Confederate group probably owed more to unhealthy prison conditions, which accounted for the deaths of Dover and Brewster, and probably those of Giles and Nathaniel Calvert, than to the show trials he staged. Ironically the source of the book for which Twyn was executed, Elizabeth Calvert, was not prosecuted, and in the decade to come she was to publish and distribute a series of offensive books and pamphlets. Arguably, the trial and execution of Twyn of itself did little to stop opposition publishing, and at most it may simply have served as a warning to other printers to be more wary of making a profit by printing sedition.

One further point of general application to the trade may be drawn from the evidence presented here about Elizabeth Calvert's trade practices. Her lack of interest in entering copies in the Stationers' Register may indicate that the establishment of ownership of copies was a matter of common agreement, rather than reliance on the legal claim of entries. The fact of first publishing a work may, on the evidence here, have been enough in trade circles to secure for the publisher the rights in the work. Elizabeth Calvert was, for example, the sole publisher during her lifetime of Richard Steele's volumes of popular devotion; all his three titles were reissued by her, some more than once, and the assumption must be that they sold well. No attempt to pirate the work seems to have been made, however, and there are no surviving copies of the works under anyone else's imprint during Elizabeth Calvert's lifetime. The point at which she did enter the works was at the end of her career, and the intention seems to have been to secure
the copies legally for her son. Her entry of the Steele works in the Register in this way does suggest that in practice an entry to secure rights in a copy was only considered necessary when legal backing for the rights might need to be provided, as in the case of copies transferred by rights of inheritance after a publisher's death. That first publication could, in practice, secure rights for the publisher is also suggested by the odd case of the Gerbier lectures, published (apparently) first by Hannah Allen, and entered soon afterwards in the Register by Ibbitson. Whether or not, as has been discussed above, the Hannah Allen imprint was false, Ibbitson seems to have entered the copies for himself, very soon after their first pirated publication, in order to secure for himself as Gerbier's approved publisher the rights in all the lectures. Again, the suggestion is that practice worked in favour of the first publisher as copy-owner, and the Stationers' Register was used to establish rights where otherwise they might be in dispute.19

These are the main issues raised by the three studies for our understanding of the trade and of women's place within it in mid-seventeenth century England. But along the way a number of other questions have been raised, if not always answered. There is, for example, some evidence in Elizabeth Calvert's career that powerful members of the Stationers' Company, ostensibly an agency concerned with press control, were themselves participants in the illegal trade in opposition pamphlets and nonconformist literature; the extent of their involvement will only be established by the accumulation of more detailed evidence than can properly be included here. Other questions, like the extent of women's trade activities during their husbands' lifetimes, remain unanswered because of the impossibility of tracing records for those periods of women's lives. All too often there exist (and probably existed) no records of women whose business transactions would have been carried out in men's names. It would seem reasonable to speculate that
women like Hannah Allen and Elizabeth Calvert, who assumed control of businesses, were not novices in the trade, and that they must have accumulated many years of day-to-day experience during the lifetimes of the husbands who mask them in the records; nevertheless, hard evidence for women's activity as wives exists only patchily. The placing of Mary Westwood in the evolution of the Quakers from enthusiastic sect to organized church is hampered by the gaps and silences in the Quakers' own history. That there was an argument within Quakerism between a group of women and the Foxite leadership seems certain; what has yet to be established is the issue over which the argument arose, though it seems to have had much to do with the issue of women's speaking and silence. Only more work on this aspect of Quakerism can help us to place Mary Westwood more firmly in the internal politics of the Quaker movement.

In one particular respect I hope that the results of the research presented here can be seen to reach beyond the special interest of the bibliographer, into the wider area of social history. An attempt has been made throughout to make sense of the distinct but often overlapping sectarian groups of the period. Names of authors, printers and publishers have recurred in these chapters, giving some idea of the interconnected world of the sectaries and their publishers. The paths of the women themselves occasionally cross: Hannah Allen, with Livewell Chapman, seems to have been involved at the edges of the Confederate group in the early stages of the Restoration; Mary Westwood used the Calverts' shop as an outlet on at least one occasion. While they were by no means a 'group' of publishers working together, they did share the common social context of radical sectarianism, of which both their publications and they themselves were a part. A little biographical evidence exists to place the women, quite apart from their trade activities, in the sectarian communities: Hannah Allen visiting Sarah Wight; the 'Jezebel' Elizabeth Calvert still in 1671 associating with old sectarian activists and being
buried among the Baptists; and Mary Westwood being buried in the Quaker burial ground. Such evidence as this might usefully remind historians generally that the material producers of books and pamphlets, far from being impersonal figures glanced at in imprints, are themselves worth attention as participants in a society in which publishing was not a reflection of, but an intervention in, the process of religious and political change.
APPENDIX 1

WORKS PUBLISHED BY HANNAH ALLEN

1646

Burroughes, Jeremiah. A sermon preached before the honorable House of Commons ... August 26.1646. Printed by Matthew Simmons, for Hannah Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing B6118)

Cradock, Walter. The saints fulnesse of joy in their fellowship with God: presented in a sermon preached July 21.1646. Before the honorable House of Commons ... Printed by Matthew Simmons, for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing C6764)

Lockyer, Nicholas. A sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons ... Octob. 28.1646 ... Printed by Matthew Simmons, for John Rothwell, at the Sun and Fountaine, in Paul's Church-yard, and Han. Allen, at the Bible in Popes-head Alley. (Wing L2800)

Powell, Vavasour. The scripture's concord: or a catechisme ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing P3093)

1647

Brightman, Thomas. Brightman redivivus: or the post-humian of-spring of Mr. Thomas Brightman, in IIII. sermons ... Printed by T.F. [i.e. Thomas Forcet] for John Rothwell at the Sun and Fountaine in Pauls Church-yard, and Hannah Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley. (Wing B4691)

Chidley, Samuel. A Christian plea for infants baptism ... Printed and are to be sold by H. Allen. (Wing C3837)

Cotton, John. The bloudy tenent, washed, and made white in the bloud of the lambe ... Printed by Matthew Simmons for Hannah Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-Head-Alley. (Wing C6409)

Cotton, John. Singing of psalmes a gospel ordinance ... Printed by M.S. for Hannah Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-Head-Alley: and John Rothwell at the Sunne and Fountaine in Pauls-Church-yard. (Wing C6456)
Divers papers from the army: viz. 1. Marshall Generall Skippons speech to the army, May the 15th. 2. The answer of the army: wherein they set downe their grievances ... Printed for Hanna Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing D1709)

Jessey, Henry. The exceeding riches of grace advanced by the spirit of grace, in an empty nothing creature, viz. Mris Sarah Wight ... Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, and Hannah Allen, and are to be sold at their shops in Popes head Alley. (Wing J687)

Jessey, Henry. The exceeding riches of grace advanced ..., second edition, Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, and Hannah Allen, and are to be sold at their Shops in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing J688)

Manton, Thomas. Meate out of the eater, or, hopes of vnity in and by divided and distracted times ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley. (Wing M525)

Mather, Richard. A reply to Mr Rutherfurd, or, a defence of the answer to Reverend Mr. Herles booke against the independency of churches ... Printed for J. Rothwell, and H. Allen, at the Sun and Fountaine in Pauls Church yard, and the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing M1275)

Richardson, Samuel. Justification by Christ alone, a fountaine of life and comfort ... Printed by M.S. & are to be sould by Hannah Allen at the signe of the Crowne in Popes-head-Alley and George Whittington at the Anchor neere the Royall Exchange. (Wing R1408)

Richardson, Samuel. The saints desire or a cordiall for a fainting heart ... Printed by M. Simmons, to be sold by Hannah Allen. (Wing R1413)*

Robotham, John. The preciousnesse of Christ unto beleevers ... Printed by M. Symmons, to be sold by Hannah Allen. (Wing R1733)

Venning, Ralph. Orthodoxe paradoxes, or, a beleiver clearing truth by seeming contradictions ... Printed by E.G. for I. Rothwell, at the Sunne and Fountaine in Pauls Church-yard, and Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing V217)
1648

Jessey, Henry. The exceeding riches of grace advanced ...
Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, and
Hannah Allen. (Wing J689)*

Jessey, Henry. The exceeding riches of grace advanced ..., fourth edition, Printed by Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, and Hannah Allen, and are to be sold at their Shops in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing J690)

The Kentish petition: to the honourable, the Commons now sitting in Parliament ... Printed for Hanna Allen, at the Crown in Popes head Alley. (Wing K328)

Moore, Samuel. ΤΕΟΣΙΠΑΝΧΙΝΙΩΕΙΣ. Or, the yernings of Christ's bowels towards his languishing friends ... Printed by M.S. and are to be sold by Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing M2589)

The navall expedition, of the right honourable, Robert, Earl of Warwick (Lord High Admiral of England) against the revolted ships ... Printed by Matthew Simons, for Hannah Allen, and are to be sould at her shop, at the Crowne in Popes-head Ally. (Wing N255)

The Scots cabinett opened ... Printed for Hannah Allen, in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing S2024)

Troughton, William. Saints in England under a cloud; and their glory eclipsed in this life.... Printed by M. Simmons for Hannah Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley. (Wing T2319)

Two letters from the Isle of VVight. Being a true relation of Mr. Osborns carriage and proceedings: and His Majesties speech to the Governor ... Printed for Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-Head-Alley. (Wing T3465)

1649

Durant, John. Sips of sweetnesse; or, consolation for weake beleevers ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen, and are to be sold at her shop in Popes-head Alley. (Wing D2678A)

Gerbier, Sir Balthazar. The first pvblique lectvre read at Sr. Balthazar Gerbier his accademy, concerning
military architecture, or fortifications. Printed by Gartrude Dawson, and are to be sold by Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing G562)

Gerbier, Sir Balthazar. The first lectvre, of an introduction to cosmographie ... Printed by Gartrude Dawson, and are to be sold by Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing G557)

Gerbier, Sir Balthazar. The first lectvre of geographie ... Printed by Gartrude Dawson, and are to be sold by Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing G559)

Greenhill, William. An exposition of the five first chapters of ... Ezekiel ... Printed by M. Simmons for Hanna Allen, and are to be sold at her shop, at the sign of the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing G1852)

Greenhill, William. An exposition continued upon the sixt, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters of the prophet Ezekiel ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing G1854)

The humble answer of the General Council of Officers of the Army, under his excellencie, Thomas, Lord Fairfax ... Printed by Matthew Simmons, for Hannah Allen at the Crowne in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing H3399)

Kentish, Richard. Ṫαθρίης ῶς ὑποκινοῦσα Or, the way of love, set forth in a sermon preached at Pauls Septemb: 10. 1648 ... Printed for Hannah Allen at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing K319)

Lawrence, Henry. Some considerations tending to the asserting and vindicating of the use of the holy scriptures, and christian ordinances ... Printed by M. Symmons, for Hanna Allen, and are to be sold at the Crowne in Popes-Head Alley. (Wing L669)

Leinsula, Franciscus. The kingdoms divisions anatomized, together with a vindication of the armies proceedings. Printed by John Clowes, for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing L2369)

A parallel between the ministerial ingenuity of the forty seven London ministers: and the foule miscarriages of
the army, in their declarations, and covenants-breaking ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen in Popes head Ally. (Wing P337)

Powell, Vavasour. God the father glorified: and the worke of mens redemption, and salvation finished by Iesus Christ on earth. Opened in a sermon before the right honorable the Lord Mayor ... the second day of the tenth moneth (called December) 1649. Printed by Charles Sumptner, for Hannah Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-Head-Alley. (Wing P3087)

Richardson, Samuel. An ansywer to the London ministers letter: from them to his excellency & his Counsel of VVar; as also an answer to John Geree's book, entituled, Might overcomming right; with an answer to a book, entituled, The armies remembrancer ... Printed by I.C. for Hanah Alin, at the Crown in Popes Head Alley. (Wing R1402)

T., N. The resolver continued, or, satisfaction to some scruples about the putting of the late King to death ... Printed by J. Clowes, for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing T39)

Winslow, Edward. The glorious progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested by three letters ... Printed for Hannah Allen in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing W3036)

1650

Brookes, Thomas. The hypocrite detected, anatomized, impeached, arraigned, and condemned before the Parliament of England ... in a sermon preached before the Parliament of England, upon their last thanksgiving day, being the 8th of Octob.1650 ... Printed by Fr: Nelle for Hanna Allen at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing B4949)

Cotton, John. Of the holinesse of church-members. Printed by F.N. for Hanna Allen, and are to be sold at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing C6448)

Cotton, John. Singing of psalmes a gospel-ordinance ... Printed for J.R. at the Sunne and Fountaine in Pauls-
Church-yard: and H. A. at the Crowne in Popes-Head-Alley. (Wing C6457)

Cromwell, Oliver. A letter sent to the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland ... Printed for Hanna Allen at the signe of the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing C7107)

Durant, John. A discovery of the glorious love ... Printed by R.I. for Hannah Allen. (Wing D2676)*

Greenhill, William. An exposition of the five first chapters of ... Ezekiel ... Printed by M.S. for Hanna Allen, to be sold by John Walker. (Wing G1853)*

Jessey, Henry (trans.) Of the conversion of five thousand and nine hundred East-Indians, in the isle Formosa, neere China, to the profession of the true God ... Printed by Iohn Hammond, and are to be sold at his house voer-against [sic] S. Andrewes Church in Holborne; and in Popes-Head-Alley, by H. Allen. (Wing S3748)

King, Daniel. A way to Sion sovght out, and found, for believers to walke in ... Printed by Charles Sumptner, for Hanna Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head-alley. (Wing K490)

Manasseh Ben Israel. The hope of Israel ... Printed ... by R.I. for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. (Wing M375)

Powell, Vavasour. Christ and Moses excellency, or Sion and Sinai's glory. Being a triplex treatise, distinguishing and explaining the two covenants or the gospel and law ... Printed by R.I. for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley. (Wing P3080)

Powell, Vavasour. God the father glorified: and the worke of mens redemption, and salvation, finished by Jesus Christ on earth ... Printed by Charles Sumptner for Hannah Allen, at the Crowne in Popes-Head Alley. (Wing P3088)

Venning, Ralph. Orthodoxe paradoxes ... Printed by E.G. for I. Rothwell and Hanna Allen. (Wing V218)*
1651

Cradock, Walter. Gospel-holinesse, or, the saving sight of God ... Printed by M. Simmons, and sold by Hanna Allen. (Wing C6761)*

Durant, John. Comfort and counsell for dejected soules ...
Printed ... by R.I. for Hannah Allen, at the Crown in Popes-Head-Alley. (Wing D2673)

Notes

* denotes a copy which I have been unable to see, and for which I have been unable to obtain either a photocopy or transcript of the title page. The information given here is from Wing, and the impossibility of verification means that it must be suspect.

1. Two works entered in SR by Hannah Allen do not survive with her name in the imprint, and therefore do not appear in this list. The first, John Simpson's The perfection of justification ... (entered 20 May 1647 by Hannah Allen and M. Simmons) was printed in 1648, with the imprint 'by M. Simmons, to be sold by George Whittington' (Wing S3817). The second, A platform of church discipline or a confession of faith ... (entered by Hannah Allen 17 December 1649), may be the same work as Wing P2396, which appeared in several editions, some of them American, but none with the Allen imprint. (SR 1, pp.270, 333)

Wing also lists, as carrying Hannah Allen's imprint, George Wishart's The history of the King's affairs ... (W3119); Trinity College Library, Wing's location, has no copy, and it is unlikely that such a royalist work would have been published by Hannah Allen.

2. The name of the shop is clearly a mistake. Jeffs has found copies in Dr. Williams' Library and at John Rylands which have been corrected to 'at the Crowne', but are otherwise identical. (Jeffs, op. cit., vol.25)
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<td>30 Jun 47</td>
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<td>Kentish pet'n, K328</td>
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<td>8 Jun 47</td>
<td>Simmons</td>
<td>M.S.</td>
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Notes

1 = dated from internal evidence  
t = dated by Thomason

An entry in the Stationers' Register made by Hannah Allen and Matthew Simmons on 20 May 1647 is not included here, since no copy survives with her imprint. The work was Simpson's *The perfection of justification ...*, printed by Simmons for Whittington in 1648.
### APPENDIX 3

**HANNAH ALLEN: CHRONOLOGY AND TRADE ASSOCIATIONS: 'SECOND PHASE'**

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<td>t 3 Jan 49</td>
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<td>t 27 Jan 49</td>
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<td>I.C.</td>
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<td>Leinsula, L2369</td>
<td>t 1 Mar 49</td>
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<td>John Clowes</td>
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<td>T.,N., T39</td>
<td>i 12 Mar 49</td>
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<td>J. Clowes</td>
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<td>t 20 Apr 49</td>
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<td>King, K490</td>
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<td>Cotton, C6448</td>
<td>t 20 Apr 50</td>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>S.R. entry date by</th>
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<th>Other bookseller</th>
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<td>Manasseh, M375</td>
<td>t 4 Jul 50</td>
<td>1 Jul 50 Hannah Allen</td>
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<td>Cromwell, C7107</td>
<td>i 3 Aug 50</td>
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<td>Brookes, B4949</td>
<td>i 9 Oct 50</td>
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<td>John Hammond</td>
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<td>Jessey, J697</td>
<td>t 9 Oct 50</td>
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<td>R.I.</td>
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<td>Powell, P3080</td>
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<td>R.I.</td>
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<td>Durant, D2676</td>
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<td>E.G.</td>
<td>I. Rothwell</td>
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<td>Venning, V218</td>
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<td>R.I.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durant, D2673</td>
<td>t Jan 51</td>
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<td>Simmons</td>
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<td>Cradock, C6761</td>
<td>1651</td>
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Notes

1 = dated from internal evidence
t = dated by Thomason

On 17 December 1649 Hannah Allen entered a platform of church discipline ... in the Stationers' Register; the work is not included here, since no copy survives with her imprint.
APPENDIX 4

WORKS PUBLISHED BY MARY WESTWOOD

1. Works 'Printed for Mary Westwood'

Baker, Daniel. With the light is fifteen priests, (of the Isle of Wight reproved ..., London Printed, in the 12th month for Mary Westwood. 1658. (Wing B488B)

Barwick, Grace. To all present rulers, whether Parliament, or whom-soever of England, Printed for Mary Westwood, 1659. (Wing B1007A)

Bayly, William. A short discovery of the state of man: before the fall, in the fall, and out of the fall again ..., London; Printed the 6th moneth for Mary Westwood, 1659. (Wing B1536)

--- A short relation or testimony of the working of the light of Christ in me, from my childhood ..., London: Printed for Mary Westwood in the 6th Month, 1659. (Wing B1537)

--- A warning from the Lord, to the inhabitants of the citty of London ..., London: Printed for Mary Westwood in the 7th. month, 1659. (Wing B1543A)

Fox, George. This is to all people who stumble at Gods commands, Printed for Mary Westwood in the Year, 1660. (Wing F1936)

Smith, Humphrey. Concerning tithes, Printed for Mary Westwood, 1659. (Wing S4054)

--- Man driven out of the earth and darkness, by the light, life, and mighty hand of God ..., London Printed, in the 11th month 1658, for Mary Westwood. (Wing S4068)

--- To the musicianers, the harpers, the minstrels, the singers, the dancers, the persecutors ..., Printed in the 11th moneth, 1658. For Mary Westwood. (Wing S4082)

These several papers was sent to the Parliament the twentieth day of the fifth moneth, 1659. Being above
7000 of the names of the hand-maids and daughters of the Lord, and such as feels the oppression of tithes, in the names of many more..., Printed for Mary Westwood, and are to be sold at the Black-spread Eagle at the West end of Pauls, 1659. (Wing F1605)

Travers, Rebeccah. This is for any of that generation that are looking for the kingdom of God..., Printed for Mary Westwood in the 11th month, 1659. (Wing T2064)

2. Works 'Printed for M.W.'

Bache, Humphrey. A few words in true love written to the old long sitting Parliament, who are yet left alive; and do sit there now in the Parliament house at Westminster, London, Printed for M.W. 1659. (Wing B253)

Baker, Daniel. A certaine warning from a naked heart before the Lord, to the earthly, wise, great, and honourable men, and inhabitants of the earth..., Printed for M.W. 1659. (Wing B481)

---

Now heare this all yee persecuting rulers, priests, and magistrates throughout the world. Woe, woe, terror, terror, and fierce indignation from the Lord God..., Printed for M.W. 1659. (Wing B482C)

Bayly, William. The blood of righteous Abel, crying from the ground, being a lamentation for, and a warning too, all that have a hand against the innocent people of God... in Hamshire..., London Printed 3 month 4 day for M.W. (1659) (Wing B1519)

---

A few seasonable words to pass through Israel, as a warning, that all may take heed they do not betray their testimony, in this day of tryal, and hour of temptation..., Printed for M.W. (1663) (Wing B1525A)

Blackborrow, Sarah. The just and equal ballance discovered: with a true measure whereby the inhabitants
of Sion doth fathom and compasse all false
worships and their ground ..., London:
Printed for M.W. in the Yeare, 1660.
(Wing B3064)

Complin, Nicholas. The faithfulness of the upright made
manifest, being a testimony concerning the
life death and suffering of a precious
servant of the Lords, called, Humphery Smith ..., 
Printed for M.W. 1663. (Wing C5661)

Cotton, Arthur. The wise taken in their own craftiness.
Being an answer to certain queries sent to
the people of God called Quakers. In
Plymouth, and other certain queries propounded
to the people called Baptists. In Plimouth.
For them to answer, Printed for M.W. 
(n.d.; not in Wing)

Cotton, Priscilla. A testimony of truth to all Friends, or
others that desire to be satisfied what this
truth is, or the manifestation in the flesh
is, Printed for M.W. (n.d.; not in Wing)

Crisp, Stephen. A description of the Church of Scotland:
with a word of reproofe to the priests, and
teachers, and officers therein, for their
many corrupt doctrines and practises ..., 
Printed for M.W. in the first Moneth, 1660. 
(Wing C6928)

Dewsbury, William. The discovery of mans returne to his
first estate by the operation of the power
of God in the great work of regeneration ..., 
London, Printed for M.W. (n.d. 1665?)
(Wing D1263)

Eccles, Solomon. In the year 59. in the fourth month, the
last day of the month being the 5th day of
the week. The presence of the Lord God was
felt within me ..., London: Printed for M.W.
in the 6th Month, 1659. (Wing E128)

Fell, Margaret. A paper concerning such as are made ministers
by the will of man, and as an exhortation to
all sober minded people to come out from among them, London, Printed in the 4th. month 8th. day for M.W. 1659. (Wing F634A)

Fox, George. An answer to the arguments of the Jewes, in which they go about to prove that the Messiah is not come ..., London, Printed for M.W. (1661) (Wing F1745)

Concerning sons and daughters and prophetesses, speaking and prophecying, in the law and in the gospel. And concerning womens learning in silence ..., London Printed for M.W. 1660. (Wing F1771)

A general epistle to all Friends, (begins 'All my dear Friends, and brethren, who are of the royal seed of God ...'), Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing F1824)

John James, I hearing that thou doest make a noise up and down in the countrey amongst the ignorant, and hath spoken reproachfully, and backbited the people of God ..., Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing F1853B)

A paper for little children, (begins 'Christ is the truth') Printed for M.W. (n.d.; not in Wing)*

These queries are given forth for any, either preist or people, to answer, if they can, Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing F1932)

To all people in all christendom, concerning perfect love, pure wisdome and the holy faith &c ..., Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing F1940)

A tous ceulx qui voudront cognoistre la voye au roy avme ..., Re-Imprimé a Londres pour M.W. lané 1661. (Wing F1740)

Fox, George (the younger). For the Parliament of England and their army so called, Printed for M.W. 11th month, 1659. (Wing F2003)

Vn mot au people du monde, qui hait la lumiere ..., Imprimé à Londre pour M.W. (n.d.) (Wing F2006A)
Green, William. A visitation of love unto the inhabitants of London, or any other place where it may come, Printed for M.W. (1663) (Wing G1814B)

Jackson, Henry. A testimony of truth, with an exhortation of love unto such as are convinced by God's light ..., Printed for M.W. (1662) (Wing J69)

Perrot, John. To all Baptists everywhere, or to any other who are yet under the shadows, and watery element, and are not come to Christ the substance, London Printed for M.W. 1660. (Wing P1630)

Pinder Richard. Bowells of compassion towards the scattered seed, or a visitation to all, who hath been seeking the resting place, but hath not found it ..., London, Printed for M.W. in the 10th month, 16(59?) (Wing P2261)

Potter, James. A relation of the commitment and long unjust imprisonment of James Potter, in the common jayle at Winchester, with the imprisoning of his sister Ann Potter, for tythe ..., London, Printed in the 4th month 4th day for M.W. 1659. (Wing R818)

Rigge, Ambrose. A true prospect for the bishops, priests and deacons ..., Printed for M.W. (1663) (Wing R1499)

Rous, John. The sins of a gainsaying and rebellious people laid before them, that if there be any tenderness in them, they may repent ..., London, Printed in the 4th month 8th. day for M.W. 1659. (Wing R2044)


Smith, Humphrey. The lamb and his day proclaimed, Printed for M.W. in the year 1661. (Wing S4066)

--- A paper shewing who are the true spouse of Christ, and who are not, Printed for M.W. (1662) (Wing S4070)

--- A sad and mournfull lamentation for the people of these nations, but especially for
the priests, and leaders of them ..., Printed for M.W. in the yeare, 1660. (Wing S4071)

---

This is to all dear Friends who keep faithful in their measures to the end, Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing S4076)

---

To the meek and open hearted lambes, and flock of heaven, in meekness of love, with greetings of peace from the seat of infinite mercy ..., Printed for M.W. (1662) (Wing S4081)

Smith, William. A christian life manifested, wherein is shewed who they are which follows the lamb in meekness and patience, Printed for M.W. (n.d.) (Wing S4294)

---

Some queries propounded to this professing generation the people called Baptists, or any of the professors upon the earth for them to answer, and heedfully to weigh and consider, London: Printed for M.W. in the Year, 1659. (Wing S4331)

---

The world's observation for keeping their masse days and festivall dayes (so called) fathomed and found groundless, Printed for M.W. 1659. (Wing S209)

Woodrove, Thomas. An allarm to the inhabitants of the earth ... Also a salutation to the children of light, who are turned to the Lord, especially to them in Dorsetshire, London, Printed in the 3d. month, for M.W. 1659. (Wing W3473)

Notes

* denotes the only one of these publications I have been unable to trace. Information given here is from Smith, J. 1867. A descriptive catalogue of Friends' books.
3. Works 'Printed for W.M.'

Bayly, William. *A briefe declaration to all the world, from the innocent people of God, called Quakers, of our principle and beleif concerning plottings and fightings with carnal weapons ...*, Printed for W.M. 1662. (Wing B1520)

--- ---anr. ed., Printed for W.M. (n.d.) (not in Wing)

--- *A general epistle to all Friends, who are called and gathered of God, called Qvakers*, Printed for W.M. (n.d.) (Wing B1527)

--- *A message sent forth from the risen seed of God, being a faithful expostulation and testimony concerning the unjust and hard dealings of the rulers and people in England, who have a hand in the cruel oppressions and sufferings of the people of God, called Quakers*, Printed for W.M. 1662. (Wing B1533)

--- Some words given forth by the spirit of truth to all people in the year 1662, Printed for W.M. (1662) (Wing B1538)

--- *A vindication of the commands and doctrine of Christ Jesus, and of his people in their faithful obedience to him, against all swearers and swearing whatsoever, according to the scriptures of truth ...*, Printed for W.M. (1663) (Wing B1543)


Smith, Humphrey. *Sound things asserted, -1st, in the Kings own words,-Secondly, from late experience,-Thirdly, from scripture truth, -Fourthly, according to reason and equity ...*, Printed for W.M. 1662. (Wing S4074)
## APPENDIX 5

**CHRONOLOGY OF WORKS PUBLISHED BY MARY WESTWOOD/M.W./W.M.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Wing no.</th>
<th>Date published</th>
<th>Date written</th>
<th>Place written</th>
<th>Place addressed to</th>
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<td>Smith, H. S4068/Westwood</td>
<td>Jan.59</td>
<td>19.Aug.58</td>
<td>Winchester prison</td>
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<td>Smith, H. S4082/Westwood</td>
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<td>Baker, D. B488B/Westwood</td>
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<td>22.Nov.58</td>
<td>Winchester prison</td>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
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<td>May 59</td>
<td>May 59</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>20.Jul.59</td>
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<td>Parliament</td>
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<td>Kingston-on-Thames</td>
<td>Colebrook</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayly, W. B1537/Westwood</td>
<td>Aug.59</td>
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<td>Baker, D. B482C/M.W.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1.Nov.59</td>
<td>Poultry Counter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Travers, R. T2064/Westwood</td>
<td>Jan.60</td>
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<td>Aldermanbury</td>
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<td>Fox, G. (ygr) F2003/M.W.</td>
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<td>Crisp, S. C6928/M.W.</td>
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<td>Rome madhouse</td>
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<td>Fox, G. F1771/M.W.</td>
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<th>Date published</th>
<th>Date written</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Place addressed to</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bayly, W. B1527/W.M.</td>
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<td>Nov.62</td>
<td>White Lyon prison Southwark</td>
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<tr>
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<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Winchester prison</td>
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<td>Bayly, W. B1538/W.M.</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>Jan.63</td>
<td>(Winchester)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayly, W. B1543/W.M.</td>
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<td>Oct.63</td>
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<td>Green, W. G1814B/M.W.</td>
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<td>12.Dec.63</td>
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<td>Bayly, W. --/W.M.</td>
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<td>Plymouth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dewsbury, W. D1263/M.W.</td>
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<td>Fox, G. F1824/M.W.</td>
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<td>Fox, G. --/M.W.</td>
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<td>Fox, G. F1932/M.W.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fox, G. F1940/M.W.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Author/Wing no.</th>
<th>Date published</th>
<th>Date written</th>
<th>Place addressed to</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fox, G. (ygr) F2006A/M.W.</td>
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<td>Simpson, W. S3846/M.W.</td>
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<td>Smith, W. S4294/M.W.</td>
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Notes

Dates and places in brackets are derived from information outside the text itself. All dates have been regularized to a year beginning in January; thus, the date written by Quakers as '11th month 1659' has become 'Jan.1660'. Dates in the 'date written' column are in all cases either the actual date of writing as given in the text, or the latest date appearing in the text.
APPENDIX 6

Places associated with Mary Westwood's publishing
APPENDIX 7
ELIZABETH CALVERT'S 'OPEN' PUBLISHING:
WORKS CARRYING HER IMPRINT

1665
Gadbury, John. London's deliverance predicted: in a short discourse shewing the causes of plagues ... Printed by J.C. for E. Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Pauls. (Wing G86)

1666
Dyer, William. Christ's voice to London and the great day of Gods wrath ... Printed for E. Calvert, and are to be sold at the Black-spread Eagle near the West end of Pauls. (Wing D2942)
Gadbury, John. London's deliverance predicted ... Printed by J.C. for E. Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Pauls. (Wing G86A)
Howgill, Francis. The glory of the true church discovered ... Printed for E. Calvert, at the Black-spread-Eagle, at the West-end of Pauls. (Wing H3164)

1667
Agas, Benjamin. Gospel conversation, with a short directory thereunto. Printed for Elizabeth Calvert, and are to be sold at the Black-Spread-Eagle in Duck-lane. (Wing A758)
Gadbury, John. Vox solis: or, an astrological discourse of the great eclipse of the sun ... Printed by James Cotterel, for Eliz. Calvert, at the signe of the Black Spread-Eagle in Duck-lane. (Wing G100A)
Steele, Richard. An antidote against distractions ... Printed for Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black-spread Eagle in Barbican. (Wing S5382)
Wilson, John. *Cultus evangelicus: or, a brief discourse concerning the spirituality and simplicity of New-Testament worship.* Printed for Eliz. Calvert at the Sign of the black spread Eagle in Duck-Lane. (Wing W2901)

Wilson, Thomas. *Judicium discretionis: or a just and necessary apology ... exhibited against the arrogant pretences and imperious suggestions of Tannerus ... with other advocates of the papal tyranny ...* Printed for Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black spread Eagle in Duck-lane. (Wing W2946)

1668

Dyer, William. *A cabinet of jewels; or a glimps of Sions glory.* Printed for Elizabeth Calvert. (Wing D2933)*


Owen, John. *The nature, power, deceit, and prevalency of the remainders of indwelling-sin in believers ...* Printed, for Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black-spread-Eagle in Barbican. (Wing 0774)

Steele, Richard. *The husbandmans calling: shewing the excellencies, temptations, graces, duties, &c. of the Christian husbandman.* Printed by M.S.
and are to be sold by E. Calvert at the sign of the Black spread Eagle in Barbican.
(Wing S5387)

1669
Gale, Theophilus. The true idea of Jansenisme, both historick and dogmatick. Printed for E. Calvert, and G. Widdows. (Wing G152)*
Steele, Richard. An antidote against distractions ... Second edition ... Printed for Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black-spread Eagle at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5383)

1670
Davy, Sarah. Heaven realiz'd or the holy pleasure of daily intimate communion with God, exemplified in a blessed soul ... (colophon) To be sold at the Black Spread-Eagle at the West End of Pauls. (Wing D444)
Steele, Richard. The husbandmans calling ... Printed for E. Calvert, at the Sign of the Black spread-Eagle at the West-end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5388)
Steele, Richard. A plain discourse upon uprightness ... Printed for E. Calvert, at the sign of the Black-spread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5391)

1672
Steele, Richard. The husbandmans calling ... Printed for E. Calvert, at the Sign of the Black Spread Eagle at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5389)
Steele, Richard. A plain discourse upon uprightness ... Second edition ... Printed for E. Calvert, at the Sign of the Black-spread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5392)
1673

Fullwood, Peter. *Concio ad magistratum a nations honour, and a nations dishonour or a kingdoms prospective-glass*. Printed by John Lock for E. Calvert at the Black-spread-Eagle at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing F2522)

Rabisha, William. *The whole body of cookery dissected, taught, and fully manifested*. Printed for E. Calvert, at the sign of the black Spread Eagle, at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing R115)

Steele, Richard. *An antidote against distractions*. Third edition. Printed for Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black-spread Eagle at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing S5384)

1674

Petto, Samuel. *The difference between the old and new covenant stated and explained*. Printed for Eliz. Calvert, at the Sign of the Black Spred-Eagle at the West end of St. Pauls. (Wing P1896)

1675

Rabisha, William. *The whole body of cookery dissected: taught, and fully manifested*. Printed for E.C. And are to be sold by Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. (Wing R116 and R113)

Undated

Peters, Hugh. *A dying fathers last legacy to an only child*. Printed for E. Calvert, and are to be sold at the Black-spread Eagle in St. Pauls Church-yard. (Wing P1698)

Notes

* denotes a copy which I have been unable to see, and for which I have been unable to obtain either a photocopy or
transcript of the title page. The information given here is from Wing, and the impossibility of verification means that it must be suspect.

1. The only copy of R113, listed by Wing as that of Trinity College, Cambridge, lacks a title-page, but in all respects is identical with the 1675 edition. There is no foundation for Wing's dating.
APPENDIX 8
WORKS SOLD BY ELIZABETH CALVERT

Samuel Petto's *The difference between the old and new covenant stated*, 1674, lists 'Books printed, and are to be sold by Elizabeth Calvert, at the Black-Spread Eagle, at the West end of St. Pauls' as follows:

**Folio**
The *Scripture Directory for Church Offices and People: Or, a Practical Commentary upon the whole Third Chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. To which is annexed, The Godly and the Natural Mans Choyce upon Psal.4. vers.6, 7, 8. By Anthony Burgesse, Pastor of the Church of Sutton Coldfield in Warwick-shire.*
The *Temple of Solomon Pourtrayed by Scripture Light: wherein all its famous Buildings, the Pompous Worship of the Jews, with its Attending Rites and Ceremonies, the several Officers employed in that Work, with their Ample Revenues: And the Spiritual Mysteries of the Gospel vailed under all, are treated at large by Samuel Lee.*
The *History of Diodorus Siculus, containing all that which is most memorable and of greatest Antiquity in the first Ages of the World, until the War of Troy.*
The *Renodaeus his Dispensatory, containing the whole body of Physick; discovering the Natures and Properties, and Vertues of Vegetals, Minerals and Animals.*
The *Burgess on the Corinthians.*
The *Wright on the Pentateuch.*

**Quarto**
*Christopher Goad his Sermons Entituled, Refreshing Drops, and Scorching Vials.*
*Samuel Gorton his Exposition on the fifth Chapter of James.*
*Samuel Hartlib of Bees and Silkworms.*
Large octavo

Owen of In-dwelling sin.
Steeles Anditote. [sic]
------- His Husbandmans Calling.
Gales Idea of Jansenism.
Conversion Exemplified.
Heaven Realiz'd.

William Rabisha's The whole body of cookery dissected ..., 1675, lists 'Books Printed for Eliz. Calvert at the Black Spread-Eagle at the West-end of St. Pauls' as follows:

Folio

Burgess on the Cor.
Wright on the Pentateuch.

Octavo

Dr. Owen of Indwelling Sin.
Mr. Steeles Antidote.
His Husbandmans Calling.
Wilson's Judicium Discretionis.

small Octavo

Dr. Owens Catechisme.
Mr. Steele on Uprightness.
Mr. Gale's Idea of Jansenisme.
Conversion Exemplified.
Heaven Reallized.
## APPENDIX 9

**ELIZABETH CALVERT'S 'OLD STOCK'**

Table showing publishing history of folio and quarto volumes listed in Appendix 8: i.e. the 'old stock', as described above pp.210-13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>S.R. entry</th>
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<th>pub/bks</th>
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<td>1659</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ab. Miller</td>
<td>T. Underhill</td>
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<td>Hen. Fletcher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee, Temple of Solomon</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td>Streater</td>
<td>Streater</td>
<td>T. Basset</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>H. Moseley</td>
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<td>A. Roper</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F. Tyton</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1665</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F. Tyton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1659 ed. with new t.-p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T. Basset</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1653</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>J. Macock</td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
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<th>pub/bks</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Renodaeus, Dispensatory</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td>Moone, assigned</td>
<td>Streater &amp; Cottrell</td>
<td>G. Sawbridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
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<td>H. Fletcher</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Streater</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Cottrell</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>R. Moone</td>
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<td></td>
<td>H. Fletcher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Wright, on the Pentateuch</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>G. Dawson</td>
<td>T. Johnson</td>
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<td>1653</td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
<td>R.W.</td>
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<td>none found</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>J. Streater</td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
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<tr>
<td>silkworm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
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<tr>
<td>The reformed common-wealth of bees</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Giles Calvert</td>
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REFERENCES

The following abbreviations are used throughout:

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>BL</td>
<td>British Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>Journal of the House of Commons</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSPD</td>
<td>PRO, Calendar of state papers: domestic series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAB</td>
<td>Dictionary of American biography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dictionary of national biography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMC</td>
<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JFHS</td>
<td>Journal of the Friends' Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LJ</td>
<td>Journal of the House of Lords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon Index</td>
<td>International genealogical index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUC</td>
<td>National union catalog of pre-1956 imprints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Eyre, G.E.B. A transcript of the registers ...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1640-1708</td>
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<td>State trials</td>
<td>Howell, T.B. A complete collection of state trials ...</td>
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<td>Arber, E. The term catalogues, 1668-1709</td>
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<td>Thomason</td>
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<td>Thurloe</td>
<td>Birch, T. A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe ...</td>
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<td></td>
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Introduction


and Gardner, J.E. 1978. 'Women in the book trade, 1641-1700: a preliminary survey' in Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 346-6 are the only attempts to survey women in the C17 book trades. 'Publishing' is used here, and throughout, in its modern sense. Dunton, J. 1818.
The Life and errors of John Dunton, citizen of London.

3. Other women engaged in the production of Puritan literature in the same period include Gertrude Dawson, Anna Brewster, Jane Coe, Joan Leach, Elizabeth Overton, Ruth Raworth, Joan Dover (Darby), Mary Simmons, Jane Underhill.


6. ibid.; Edwards, T. 1646. Gangraena i, Appendix pp.120-3; ii, pp.10-11, 101; iii, pp.26-7, 188; To the supreme authority ... petition of divers well-affected women, 1649, quoted in Higgins, P. op. cit., p.217.


8. See ch. 2; Thomas, K. op. cit. argues that, contrary to the view that 'the history of enthusiasm is largely a history of female emancipation', women gained little real progress from their involvement in the sects.


11. For numerous examples see McKerrow, R. B. (ed.) 1910. A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland ... 1557-1640; Plomer, H. R. 1907. A dictionary of the booksellers and printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667; Plomer, H. R. 1922. A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725.

12. Rostenberg, L. 1965. Literary, political, scientific, religious and legal publishing, printing and bookselling in England, 1551-1700: twelve studies provides some account of wives as part of her investigations of men, e.g. Mary Thompson, Hannah Allen and Anne Baldwin; Treadwell, M. 1980. 'London printers and printing houses in 1705' in Publishing history, 7, 5-44 deals with some women printers in their own right; Bell, M. op. cit.; Gardner, J. E. op. cit..


14. ibid.; in the C18. female apprentices within the Company were in fact bound to milliners and haberdashers: Hunt, M. 1984. 'Hawkers, bawlers, and mercuries: women and the London press in the early enlightenment' in Women and history, 9, 41-68.

15. Bell, M. op. cit..


17. Bell, M. op. cit. has 207 women in the C17, 93 of them with all or part of their activity during the period 1645-75. More women could now be added to that listing, though problems about levels of activity mean that the numbers are only a rough guide.

18. The word 'publisher' is used throughout in its modern sense.
19. Remarks on Gertrude Dawson are based on a preliminary survey of Wing-listed imprints, entries in SR, apprenticeship lists and booksellers with whom she shared imprints; for Tace Sowle, see Treadwell, M. op. cit.; Mortimer, R.S. 1948. 'The first century of Quaker printers' in JFHS, 40, 37-49; Muir, P. 1933. 'English imprints after 1640' in The Library, 4th series, 14, 157-77.


23. Rostenberg, L. op. cit. romanticizes the role of the wife: Hannah Allen is presented as 'devoted helpmate' and 'faithful companion' and Anne Baldwin's career is no more than a continuation of her husband's: 'In Anne Baldwin the spirit of her husband had not been vanquished, but glowed steadfast and true'. A more worrying example is Treadwell's concentration on John Bradford whose business 'was small and shady and which involved piracy', when reference to Treadwell's own sources reveals that the central figure in the business, 'Chief Orderer and Director in everything she undertakes', was Bradford's wife Jane; she printed the pirated copies in question, and the warrant was issued for her arrest, not her husband's (Treadwell, M. op. cit.; Snyder, H.L. 1967. 'The reports of a press spy for Robert Harley ...' in The Library, 5th series, 22, 326-45).


Ch. 1: Hannah Allen

1. For women remarrying in the trade see Bell, M. op. cit. Joan Cooke, Mary Cooke, Anne Hood, Joan Butter Newbery,
Emma Short and Joan Sutton all remarried within the trade; Alice Bing, Frances Elde, Joan Orwin and possibly Jacquelin Vautrollier each married three stationers. Todd, B. 1985. *op. cit.* suggests that remarriage became less common among the widows of tradesmen as the century went on.

2. Gaskell and Blagden both assume that women were largely inactive, as shareholders and as the 'nominal' owners of businesses; Rostenberg romanticizes the woman's role as supporter and 'help-meet' inspired by the fond memory of a dead husband; Kitchin notices the importance of the 'Confederate wives', but fails to take them seriously (see p.127 below). Gaskell, P. 1974. *A new introduction to bibliography*; Blagden, C. 1960. *op. cit.*; Rostenberg, L. *op. cit.*; Kitchin, G. 1913. *Sir Roger L'Estrange: a contribution to the history of the press in the seventeenth century*, p.111. There are many more examples of women being allowed only a parenthetical existence in the history of the male book trade.

3. Rostenberg, L. 1965. 'Sectarianism & revolt: Livewell Chapman, publisher to the Fifth Monarchy' in Rostenberg, L. *op. cit.*.

4. Mormon index; they were married at St. Katherine by the Tower. Plomer, H.R. 1907. *op. cit.*; McKenzie, D.F. 1974. 'Stationers' Company apprentices 1641-1700', *Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications*, New series, 17. One of Robert Howes' apprentices, Henry Moreclock, was freed in 1656 by Howes and Thomas Brewster, which suggests some association between Howes and the Confederate Brewster (for Brewster, see p.146). John Howes was freed in 1646, Samuel in 1651, Jeremiah in 1667 and Joseph in 1677. Mormon index records the christening of an Anne House, daughter of Robert and Anne, in 1619, and it is tempting to identify 'Anne House' with 'Hannah Howse'; such a christening date, unless the christening was of a child rather than an infant, would make her a very young bride in 1632.
5. Rostenberg, L. op. cit. says that the will mentions two children; I can trace only one, Benjamin, christened on 9 August 1635 at St. Olave, Hart Street. Chapman was apprenticed to Benjamin Allen on 6 November 1643, and freed by Hannah in 1650. John Allen was probably also working for the Allens at this time, though his apprenticeship was not formalized until after Benjamin's death, when he was apprenticed to Hannah (see p.63). McKenzie, D.F. op. cit. The total of Hannah Allen's imprints should perhaps be 58. King's A way to Sion is in three parts with separate title pages, and was presumably issued separately between 1649 and 1650; also there are two entries in the Stationers' Register of works to Hannah Allen, copies of which do not survive with her imprint: John Simpson's The pfection of justificacon ..., printed by Simmons and sold by George Whittington (Wing S3817), and A platform of church discipline or a confession of faith, presumably by John Cotton. SR 1, pp.270, 333.

6. For evidence for the date of the marriage, see p.40. This is a year earlier than Rostenberg's dating.

7. Kirby, D.A. 1968. 'The parish of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London: a study in radicalism, c.1624-1664.' Oxford B.Litt. thesis. In January 1642 the Five Members had taken refuge in the parish; numerically, this was the biggest of the City parishes which supported Parliament, and was second in its financial support only to St. Dunstan's in the East. As well as containing John Goodwin's Independent church, it housed at least 9 Baptist and Fifth Monarchist meetings in the 1640s and 1650s, including the one led by Henry Jessey in Swan Alley.

8. For details of Overton, see p.57. For Cripps, see Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.: his was 'the first shop in Pope's Head Alley, next Lombard Street', and therefore next door to, or immediately opposite, Overton's shop which was on the corner. Little is
known about Cripps, except that he was associated with Lodowick Lloyd and was succeeded for at least two years by his widow.

9. PRO SP16/520:85. The description of him as 'bookbynder' may be a mistake. Howes was bound to Overton on 21 January 1644 and freed on 3 February 1651 by Mrs. Overton (McKenzie, D.F. _op. cit._).

His name appears in 7 imprints, 1652-4. With Blague he published Whitfield's _Strength out of weakness_, a collection of letters from New England ministers about the propagation of the gospel; the imprint suggests that Blague and Howes shared a shop in Pope's Head Alley. Like Hannah Allen, Howes published work by Henry Lawrence, and was associated with the printer Matthew Simmons.

10. It is possible that this is the same Elizabeth Poole who housed a secret press for Elizabeth Calvert. See p.198.

11. McKenzie, D.F. _op. cit._; John Allen's apprenticeship ran from 2 November 1645 but he was not formally bound until a year later, and John Garfield was bound on 6 December 1647.

12. Her first imprint was Burroughes' sermon of 26 August 1646 (Wing B6118).


14. Wing C3837, published previously by Benjamin Allen in 1643/4; Wing G1852, 1853, 1854 (all parts of the same work), two parts of which had been published by Benjamin Allen in 1645.

15. _DNB_.

16. _DNB_; see section on fast sermons, p.23, for more on Lockyer.

17. Wing G1851-7: An exposition of the five first chapters ... for Benjamin Allen, 1645; second edition for Hannah Allen, 1649; another edition for Hannah Allen, 1650; An exposition continued upon the sixt ... for Hannah Allen, 1649; An exposition continued ... fourteenth ... for Livewell Chapman, 1651; An
exposition continued upon the xx ... for Livewell Chapman, 1658; The exposition continued upon the nineteen last chapters ... for Thomas Parkhurst, 1662.

18. SR 1, p.404, 19 October 1652. Rostenberg derives her dating of the Allen/Chapman marriage from this entry. See p.40 for my own dating, a year earlier.

19. ibid.

20. DNB. A reference in Justification ... to his earlier book provides evidence for this order of publication. Dates in parentheses from Thomason.

21. Wing R1402. For discussion of the debate, and the place in it of this volume, see p.47.

22. Wing C3837. The British Library copy was destroyed in the war.


25. ibid.; DAB.

26. Wing W2760.


28. Wing M1275: A reply to Mr Rutherfurd, or, a defence of the answer to Reverend Mr. Herles book against the independency of churches ....

29. Wing C6764; B6118; L2800; M525; B4949. Jeffs, R. 1970-1. Fast sermons to Parliament, 34 vols. has identified variants of the first four of these.

31. Wing K319; P3087; P3088.
33. Identification of Manton with the 'anti-establishment' seems to me uncertain, and Manton was for a time an unofficial 'scribe' for the Westminster Assembly (DNB).
34. Wilson, J. F. *op. cit.*, p.129; DNB.
36. DNB; Tolmie, M. *op. cit.*.
37. DNB; Powell preached before the Lord Mayor on 10 December 1649, and before Parliament on 28 February 1650.
38. According to Wing.
39. Wing J687; SR 1, p.271; Tolmie, M. *op. cit.*, p.115.
40. Wing J687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 692A, 692B.
41. See Hobby, E., forthcoming. *Virtue of necessity*. Mary Cary, the Fifth Monarchist, was also prominent at this time. For Elizabeth Poole, see pp.15-16 and 198.
43. Jessey notes that 'About the same time of June beforesaid, the Relator heard of one H.T. that then had great enjoyments of God, and could not take in a crumme or sip of the creatures, for full six dayes together, yet being in bodily health ...'. He went to visit 'H.T.', whose fast lasted from 9 to 16 June 1647, and compared the expressions and conditions of the two women (*Exceeding riches ...*, pp.139, 43).
44. *ibid.*, p.9. The errata instruct the reader to change 'Bookseller' to 'Booksellers' - i.e. to include Mrs. Owen as a bookseller. I can find no evidence of her activity in the trade.
45. Wing J697, printed by John Hammond, and sold by him and Hannah Allen.
For discussion of her relationship with Simmons and Overton, see p.56ff.


58. SR 1, p.262. Caryl was a moderate Independent member of the Westminster Assembly who frequently preached before Parliament. He was one of the licensers appointed by the Commons in 1643; himself a prolific author, he had many works printed or published by Rothwell, Giles Calvert, Henry Overton, Henry Cripps, Matthew Simmons and the Millers (DNB; Arber, E. op. cit., vol.5, pp.1111-1114; Wing).

59. Wing V217; SR 1, p.264. Thomason dated his copy 11 March. According to DNB, this was Venning's first published work.

60. Wilson, J.F. op. cit.; DNB; Tolmie, M. op. cit.


62. Wing T2319; DNB.

63. Wing M2589; SR 1, p.272. For Wharton, see DNB.
64. Wing D2678A; D2676; SR 1, p. 342.
65. Wing D2673; SR 1, p. 350, 2 September 1650.
66. Sips of sweetnesse ... 2nd ed. 1652 and 3rd ed. 1662; A discovery ... ann. ed. 1655; Comfort & counsell ... ann. ed. 1653, 4th ed. 1658. All of these were printed for Ibbitson.
67. SR 1, p. 383; Rostenberg's dating is taken from the sale of Greenhill's Exposition ..., on 19 October 1652.
69. This account is based largely on Underdown, D. op. cit.; the terms 'Presbyterian' and 'Independent' are here used to refer to Parliamentary groupings, which were considerably different in character from the religious groupings denoted by the same terms. Elsewhere in this chapter the terms are used consistently in their religious sense.
70. Wing D1709; SR 1, p. 270.
71. Firth, C.H. 1921. Cromwell's army: a history of the English soldier during the civil wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, 3rd ed.; Firth, C.H. and Davies, G. 1940. The regimental history of Cromwell's army, 2 vols., Oxford. The importance of radical sectarians in the politicization of the army is generally agreed upon, except by Kishlansky, M.A. 1979. The rise of the New Model Army, Cambridge; he argues that infiltration by radicals was not widespread, but the evidence offered here (and by most historians of the period) suggests otherwise.
72. Wing T3465.
74. ibid., p. 331. See p. 39 for Troughton's Saints in England .... Troughton was under suspicion for his activities after the Restoration: in 1662 he was living in London, in Seacoal Lane, and letters written
by him, partly in code, to 'a fanatic' were intercepted (CSPD 1662, p.542).

75. Wing S2024.
76. Wing K328.
77. Wing N255. At least one of the signatories for the navy, Richard Saltonstall, was friendly with Henry Jessey. There is a flurry of papers involving the navy, the county of Kent, and the Earl of Warwick around this time, dated by Thomason within a couple of days of each other.

78. Powell, J.R. 1962. The navy in the English civil war; Firth and Davies, op. cit.
79. Wing H3399.
80. A serious and faithfull representation ..., Thomason E. 538 (25); Wing R1402. Richardson had been published previously by Hannah Allen, see p.19. DNB; Tolmie, M. op. cit.
81. Wing P337; Thomason dated it 26 February.
82. Wing T39 and T40; SR 1, p.308. For Clowes see p.59; for Jennings and Mabbot see p.51.
83. Wing L2369; p.12.
84. I owe this point to Underdown, D. op. cit., ch.7.
88. DNB; Wing G562, The first pvblique lectvre read at Sr. Balthazar Gerbier his accademy, concerning military architecture, or fortifications, (30 August) 1469 [sic: i.e. 1649]; Wing G557, The first lectvre, of an introduction to cosmographie ..., (11 September) 1649; Wing G559, The first lectvre of geographie ..., (11 September) 1649. The lecture printed by Gertrude Dawson with no bookseller's name was on the subject of navigation, and it too may have been intended 'to be sold by' Hannah Allen (Wing G556).
89. SR 1, p.332, 28 November 1649. Ibbitsone's editions of the lectures printed by Dawson are Wing G555, G558, G560, G569. He also published other lectures by Gerbier.

90. See Rostenberg, L. op. cit. for Chapman. The authors published both by Hannah Allen and Livewell Chapman are: Powell, Venning, Cotton, Richardson, Robotham, Jessey, Troughton, Lawrence, Greenhill, Durant and Manasseh ben Israel.


92. Brightman redivivus ... and Venning's Orthodoxe paradoxes ...; 'E.G.' also printed a later edition of the Venning work for Rothwell and Hannah Allen.

93. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.; Simmons paid the smallest amount of poll tax in 1641. He was apprenticed to John Dawson senior. McKenzie, D.F. 1976. The London book trade in the later seventeenth century (Sandars lectures) analyzes a number of radical texts in terms of printers and booksellers in imprints; Simmons printed 37 of the texts in McKenzie's survey.

94. ibid.; Overton appears in 32 of the imprints surveyed.

95. Brailsford remarks of Richard Overton: 'He was a printer by trade, perhaps an inherited calling, for Henry Overton, a printer who kept within the law (which Richard did not) seems to have been a relative' (Brailsford, H.N. 1976. The Levellers and the English revolution, Nottingham, p.50). Kirby, D.A. op. cit.; Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.; see pp.14-15 for Samuel Howes.

96. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.; SR 1, pp.262, 264.


98. Cotton's Singing of psalmes ... is the exception.

99. The Gerbier lectures were, of course, entered by Ibbitsone; for the status of the 'Hannah Allen' editions, see p.52.

100. With Rothwell she published Venning's Orthodoxe paradoxes ... and Cotton's Singing of psalmes ...,
both of which she had earlier published with Rothwell senior; with Walker she published a part of Greenhill's Exposition ....

101. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.. Rothwell junior's collaboration with Hannah Allen seems to be an extension of her earlier association with his father. The copy printed by 'E.G.' is a reprint of the work he printed for her in 1647.

102. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit..

103. ibid.; Kirby, D.A. op. cit.

104. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.; Morrison, P.G. 1955. Index of printers, publishers and booksellers in Donald Wing's Short title catalogue ... 1641-1700, Charlottesville.

105. Shaaber, M.A. op. cit..

106. SR 1, p.350; Thomason dated his copy January 1651.

107. McKenzie, D.F. 1974. op. cit.; see p.40 above for the dating of the marriage; Mormon index.

108. Wing T1741A; Morrison, P.G. op. cit.


111. Rostenberg, L. op. cit., p.211.

112. McKenzie, D.F. 1974. op. cit.: John Allen was the son of John Allen, Clerk, of Matchin, Essex. His apprenticeship began 2 November 1645, he was bound on 2 November 1646, and freed 6 February 1654. In the 1650s he published a number of works by Burroughes and Cotton.

113. ibid.: John Garfeild [sic], son of Thomas, Clerk, of Tickhill in Yorkshire, was apprenticed to Hannah Allen on 6 December 1647; Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.

114. Rostenberg, L. op. cit..

115. Thurloe, 6, p.186 (written in 1657).
I am indebted to Elaine Hobby and Kate Pahl for information about Hannah Trapnel. The titles of Brown's and Capp's books about Fifth Monarchism are revealing here: neither account has much to say about women, except for Mary Cary, whose work as an author has perhaps kept her more 'visible' than other women to historians of the movement. An interesting example of a woman involved in the provincial distribution of Parliamentary pamphlets is that of Mary Blaithwaite. Her petition, published as The complaint of Mary Blaithwaite widow ... describes her ill-treatment by royalists in the north of England, and her arrest on a Sunday in chapel for distributing pamphlets.

CSPD 1659/60, pp. 572, 575.


Crist, T. op. cit.; Kitchin, G. op. cit.; Hill, C. 1975. The world turned upside down: radical ideas during the English revolution. For discussion of this point, see p. 127.

PRO SP29/67: 161; Rowe, V. A. 1970. Sir Henry Vane the younger: a study in political and administrative history. Rowe, p. 216, notes Woolrych's opinion that 'Chapman's responsibility for the change of government might well have been considerable'. For Restoration libels and the Confederates, see ch. 3.

CSPD 1663/4, p. 71 (the warrant also included Mr. Leonard, Chapman's landlord); ibid. pp. 124, 430. Christopher Chapman's relationship to Hannah and Livewell remains a mystery.

CSPD 1663/4, pp. 510, 581, 582.

Crist, T. op. cit.; Rostenberg, L. op. cit.; State trials, 7, p. 958. The connection between the book


Ch.2: Mary Westwood, Quaker Publisher

1. Friends' Library, Portfolio 36. 158.

2. Wing dates some undated editions published by 'M.W.' as 1664 and 1665 (F1824; D1263; F1932) but I can find no evidence for such dating.

3. Mortimer has pointed to styles of dating (Mortimer, R.S. op. cit.); Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.; Matthew Walbancke, Mathias Walker and M. Wright are the only contemporary stationers with those initials, and there is no reason to link any of them with Quaker publishing.

4. The author published by 'W.M.' but not by Mary Westwood or 'M.W.' is Thomas Green.

5. Wing B1525A; B1543; see Appendix 5. The word 'imprint' is used throughout, but Mary Westwood's statement of publication appears more often as a colophon. Very few of her pamphlets have title pages.


7. Wing F1605; see pp.95, 116.

8. Not in Wing; Smith, J. 1867. A descriptive catalogue of Friends' books ... 2 vols. and supplement. See p.96 below.

9. Friends' Library, London and Middlesex Burials 1661-1699; Beck, W. and Ball, T.F. 1869. The London Friends' meetings. Here and throughout this chapter, Quaker dating is converted to a year beginning in January, so that the Quakers' '1st month' becomes March.
10. Besse, J. 1753. A collection of the sufferings of
the people called Quakers ... 1650, to ... 1689,
2 vols.

11. Francis Smith, for example, used Anna Brewster's
name in a false imprint; Crist T. op. cit.. Use of
a false imprint over such a long period would be very
unusual.

12. Braithwaite notes that most Quaker publications
between 1662 and 1680 appeared with no imprint:
Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. The beginnings of Quakerism,
p.418n. For Giles Calvert's experience of raids, see
p.73 below. Wilson wrote 'very often I am plundred
by the Rulers of my goods: burning them at home &
abroad', 21 June 1662, Penney, N. (ed.) 1913. Extracts
from state papers relating to Friends 1654 to 1672,
p.148.

13. Swarthmore MSS. For a fuller account of early Quaker
printing see O'Malley, T.P. 1979. 'The press and
Quakerism 1653-1659' in JFHS, 54, 169-184.

Muggleston of Swannington, whose howse was the onlie
place of theire entertainment ...'; while identification
is not certain, this may suggest a link between
Quakers and the founder of the Muggletonians.

15. Thurloe, 4, p.717; information of Stephen Bowtell,
who seized the copies on 17 April 1656. Calvert was
summoned before the Council of State, perhaps on
this matter, but it went no further (CSPD 1655/6,
p.308).

16. Letter to Thomas Tomkinson, 31 January 1669, quoted
in Smith, J. 1873. Bibliotheca anti-Quakeriana ...,
p.312. The book was An answer to Isaac Penington ...

17. CSPD 1652/3, p.320.

op. cit., p.645. Wing F1942, 1942A, 1943, 1944A,

19. Penney, N. op. cit., p.18; Thurloe, 5, p.287 (8
August 1656). Nicholas Cole also appears in a list
of dispersers of Quaker books, dated 1664, in the state papers, printed in Penney, N. op. cit., pp.228-9. This list, of 44 people, itself indicates to what extent Quaker literature relied for its distribution on local Friends, rather than the usual book trade channels.


24. Mary Westwood's total output is assumed to be all imprints by Mary Westwood, M.W. and W.M., unless otherwise stated; see Appendix 4. A map showing places associated with her publishing is given as Appendix 6.

25. Wing supplies the date [1658] for the undated pamphlet by Fox, John James... (Wing F1853B) but there is no internal evidence to support this early dating.

26. See Appendix 5 for full list of 1659 imprints.


29. Of the 11, five were printed for Mary Westwood or M.W., and six for W.M..


31. Joint authorship and compilations are 'hidden' in Wing and in Appendix 4. For examples, see p.117.
32. Wing S4061; S4056.
33. Wing R818; written on 18 May and published 4 June 1659.
34. Wing B488B; published February 1659.
35. The blood of righteous Abel ..., published 3 June (Wing B1519). On p.6 Bayly says he was taken as 'a wanderer from the town in which I was born, (and which is in the same county) and have been kept near 12 months because I cannot promise to go home.'
36. A voice and visitation ..., which forms pp.8-9 of the pamphlet, is dated by Bayly thus: 'This of the Lord of Life was I moved in this Island to speak forth as a visitation and warning from him ... on the 8th. of the 11th. month, 58' (i.e. January 1659).
37. Wing S4068; published January 1659.
38. Wing B1536.
39. Wing B1537; Runyon, D. op. cit.
40. Wing B1543A; written 1 September 1659.
42. Baker, A certaine warning ..., p.7.
43. Wing B482C.
44. Wing S4082; published January 1659. Wing gives the imprint as 'For Mary Westwood'; the British Library copy, however, does not give her name.
45. Wing S4054; published in 1659 but not dated by month. See p.96 below.
46. This includes the six Bayly pamphlets published by W.M.
47. Wing C5661.
48. Smith, J. 1867. op. cit., p.446.
50. Wing B254; published in 1659.
51. Wing W3473; A brief relation of the state of man ... (Wing W3474). Woodrove and Humphrey Smith were joint authors of The cruelty of the magistrates of Evesham, Penney, N. (ed.) 1911. The journal of George Fox, 2 vols., Cambridge, p.434n.

52. Not in Wing; Smith, J. 1867. op. cit., p.454 (copy in Friends' Library). One of the signatories is Nicholas Cole; could this be the Cole who was organizing distribution of Quaker books from Southampton in 1656 (see p.74)?

53. 'To the impartial reader', signed by Cole and Cotton. The names Cotton and Cole are also combined in Priscilla Cotton and Mary Cole's To all the priests and people of England ..., published by Giles Calvert in 1655; for these women see pp.112-3.


55. Not in Wing; Smith, J. 1867. op. cit., pp.454-5 (copy in Friends' Library). Of her three other works, one was published by Calvert, one by Simmons and one carries no publisher's name.


57. There is no record of a Mary Westwood among Southampton Friends; but Westwood is a place name in that area; a Westwood family is recorded among Hampshire Quakers in the nineteenth century. I am grateful to Margaret Matthews for her search of Friends' archives for the region.

58. See chronology, Appendix 5.

59. Wing E128; T2064.

60. See p.106 for a fuller discussion of this pamphlet.

61. The only other work by Travers to carry a publisher's name is in fact by Nayler, with a preface by her: A message from the spirit of the truth ... (Wing N298), published by Simmons in 1658. Another, For those that meet to worship ... (Wing T2059) has the imprint 'London, Printed, and are to be sold at the black-spread-Eagle near the West-End of Pauls, 1659'; the omission of a name may indicate that a publisher
other than the Calverts was using their shop as an outlet, as Mary Westwood did in the case of the women's tithing petition. For Rebeccah Travers, see pp.103, 110.

62. Wing J69.

63. Thomas Green's _A declaration to the world ..., 1659_, is noted by Smith as written at Twickenham on 26 October 1659 (Smith, J. 1867. _op. cit._, p.864). William Green's _A visitation ..., Wing G1814B_.

64. See p.117 for a discussion of composite works.

65. Wing F2006A; see p.74 and n.18 above.

66. Braithwaite, W.C. _op. cit._, pp.466n., 416-18; Gwynn, R.D. 1985. _Huguenot heritage: the history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain_. The Southampton French church had 116 members in the sixteenth century; numbers fell off in the seventeenth century, but the church remained in existence. Other French churches were established at Dover and in other southern towns (Gwynn, R.D. _op. cit._, pp.30-5, 39).

67. Wing C6928, March 1660; Braithwaite, W.C. _op. cit._, pp.190, 382, 456. For Bache, see p.84.

68. Wing R2044; Braithwaite, W.C. _op. cit._, pp.402-3; _DNB_. Rous arrived in London no earlier than April and the pamphlet was written on 8 June 1659; he married Margaret Fell jnr in 1661.

69. Wing P2261. Dating the pamphlet is uncertain: the British Library copy is heavily cropped and the date is incomplete, but the third digit of the year may have been a 6 rather than a 5, judging by the little that remains.

70. Hutton, R. _op. cit._; Reay, B. _op. cit._; Reay, B. 1985. _The Quakers and the English revolution_.

71. Hutton, R. _op. cit._, p.39 has at least 28 pamphlets produced by 'Commonwealthsmen' in the first two weeks after the dissolution of Richard's parliament. Of the press appeals to the army to recall the Rump noted by Violet Rowe, Chapman published all but one (Rowe, V. _op. cit._, p.217; see p.66 above).
72. At least two London vestries had been campaigning for the continuation of tithes in early April (Hutton, R. op. cit., p.46).

73. ibid., p.47.

74. Wing B253; the date given is the date of writing. Bache is the 'first London author' of those publications that can be dated: see chronology, Appendix 5.

75. Hutton, R. op. cit., p.48.

76. Reay, B. 1980. 'Quaker opposition to tithes 1652-1660' in Past and present, 86, 98-120.

77. Braithwaite, W.C. op. cit., p.457; Hutton, R. op. cit., p.47.

78. CJ 7, p.694, 27 June 1659.

79. Wing F1605; for discussion of the imprint, see p.116. There is some confusion as to whether the petition was ever presented; Hutton and Braithwaite differ on this, but while there is no mention of its presentation in CJ, Fox's journal records its being presented by two women (Penney, N. (ed.) 1911. op. cit., p.385).

80. Printed as spelt here, except 'Rebecca Trevise', 'Doras Erbery', 'Martha Simonds' and 'Sarah Ataway'.


82. For Poole, see pp.15-16, 27 above; for Mrs. Attaway, Edwards, T. op. cit., 1, Appendix pp.120-3; 2, pp.10-11, 101; 3, pp.26-7, 188: she was a member of Thomas Lambe's Baptist church in Bell Alley, and became a tub preacher. For Simmons, Erbury, Blackborrow and Travers, see pp.102-4 below. The petition may have been in circulation a long time: in 1657 Fox was encouraging women to petition against tithes, and appealed for signatories to a 'paper against tithes' which he would send 'by women to ye parliament' (Penney, N. (ed.) 1911. op. cit., p.385n).

83. Smith, J. 1867. op. cit., p.878; Whiting, J. 1708. A catalogue of Friends books, p.202 (I am grateful to Malcolm Thomas for his information about this missing copy); Wing S4054.
84. Hutton, R. *op. cit.*, p.54-62.
85. ibid., p.75.
86. Wing B1007A, copy at Friends' House.
87. Penney, N. (ed.) 1911. *op. cit.*, p.107 and n., has Fox's recollection of a meeting at Grace Barwick's house in Kelk, Yorkshire, in 1666. She was an early convert, and was in correspondence with Fox in 1655. Her husband Robert died in gaol in 1660. For Lambert's regiment and its reputation, see Firth, C.H. and Davies, G. *op. cit.*, p.253ff.
88. Wing B1543A; B481.
89. See pp.77-84 *passim* for Baker.
90. Wing F2003. There is confusion over dating: Wing gives January 1660, while the British Library catalogue gives November 1659; verification is difficult, since BL's copy lacks an imprint. Wing's is the more probable date, with confusion arising from a mistaken rendering of '11th month' as November.
92. Both works discussed here appeared under the W.M. imprint.
93. Wing S4074.
94. Wing B1520; British Library has two copies, identical except for the last line. BL 4139.b.103 ends 'London', while BL 4152.f.2.(8.) ends 'London the 11th month, 1662.' Both carry the W.M. imprint.
96. Charles II issued the Declaration of Indulgence on 26 December and it is possible that the undated impression of Bayly's pamphlet was already in circulation by then. Penney, N. (ed.) 1913. *op. cit.*, p.159ff lists the 1663 prison releases.
98. Fogelklou, E. 1931. *James Nayler: the rebel saint 1618-1660*, trans. L. Yapp, details the ways in which Nayler was 'removed' from Quaker history by Fox and
others. Penney, N. (ed.) 1911. *op. cit.* has many examples of omissions made by Ellwood in his edition of Fox's journals, e.g., pp. 244, 246.

99. Sources for the 'Nayler incident' include Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. *op. cit.*; Carroll, K.L. 1972. 'Martha Simmonds, a Quaker enigma' in *JFHS*, 53, 31-52; Brailsford, M.R. 1927. *A Quaker from Cromwell's army: James Nayler*; Fogelklou, E. *op. cit.*; *State trials*, 5; Rutt, J.T. (ed.) 1828. *Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. 1. Even Carroll and Fogelklou, who have attempted to explore the women's role more sympathetically, slip into the language of earlier historians, seeing 'emotional' and 'impulsive' women as entrappers of 'poor Nayler'. An inspection of the women's grounds for disaffection within Quakerism is long overdue.

100. I am grateful to Kate Pahl, whose own research has provided helpful information about Blackborrow and Travers.


102. Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. *op. cit.*, p. 274; Fogelklou, E. *op. cit.*, p. 280 quotes Hubberthorne's description of Nayler's meeting at the Woodcocks' house: 'we have drawn some from that meeting, because it was so full, and many that are great in the outward resort thither'. For Jane Woodcock, see p. 140.

103. The falling-off in the Calverts' Quaker publishing was immediate: Quaker works published under the Calvert imprint were as follows: 28 in 1657; 16 in 1658; 17 in 1659; 8 in 1660; 4 in 1661; 1 in 1662 (Mortimer, R.S. *op. cit.*). For Simmons, see Mortimer, R.S. 1947. 'Biographical notices of printers and publishers of Friends' books up to 1750' in *Journal of documentation*, 3, 107-125. See also the next chapter.

104. Blackborrow, S. *The just and equal ballance discovered* ... (Wing B3064) and Travers, R. *This is for any of that generation* ... (Wing T2064). Fogelklou and Braithwaite, like Nayler's
contemporaries, give differing accounts of the reconciliation.

105. Carroll, K.L. 1975. 'Sackcloth and ashes and other signs and wonders' in JFHS, 53, 314-25; 1977. 'Quaker attitudes towards signs and wonders' in JFHS, 54, 70-84. Discussion of signs as symbolic actions is provided by Bauman, R. 1983. Let your words be few: symbolism of speaking and silence among seventeenth-century Quakers, Cambridge; some of Bauman's remarks on the relationship between speaking and religious authority are suggestive in the context of the debate about women's speaking.


108. Bauman, R. op. cit., ch.6; arguing that the 'immorality' and shock-value of going naked obscured the symbolism, Bauman does not consider the possibility that a written explanation of the act may have been distributed to onlookers.

109. Wing E128.


111. ibid., pp.25, 320. Brailsford, M.R. op. cit. is full of such labelling of women as 'hysterics'.

112. Carroll, K.L. 1975. op. cit.; for an interest in signs, wonders and prophecy which went beyond Quakerism and was a characteristic of all shades of Puritanism, see Thomas, K. 1973. Religion and the decline of magic, pp.103-112, and the discussion of Restoration 'signs and wonders' pamphlets, p.133ff below.

113. Wing W3473; B1543A; S4066; B481; B482C; Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. op. cit., p.195.

114. Bell, W.G. 1920. The Great Fire of London in 1666, pp.18-19. Bell assumes that only Smith was a Quaker; Eccles is here called 'Eagles'.

115. Wing S4084.

116. Wing B481; quoted in Bell, W.G. op. cit., p.18.

118. Wing P1630.
120. Hubberthorne, for example, favoured Nayler's continued work in London, and wrote to Fox in support of Nayler; see n.102 above.
121. Carroll, K.L. 1970. op. cit..
122. ibid. details the correlations between the Nayler episode and the Perrot schism.
123. The 'hat' letter, in Friends' Library, Clarke MSS, is not dated, and chronology is therefore difficult. Mary Westwood's publication of a pamphlet written in Rome in October probably occurred early in 1661, but what follows here is necessarily speculative, and no verification of the sequence of events can be offered. Carroll, K.L. 1970. op. cit..
125. Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. op. cit., p.238n. Cotton's letter was dated November 1656. For Mary Westwood's publishing of Cotton, see pp.85-6.
126. Farnsworth, R. 1654. A woman forbidden to speak (Wing F514); Audland, A. 1655. The saints testimony finishing through sufferings (not in Wing); Cotton, P. and Cole, M. 1655. To the priests ... (Wing C6474); ibid., pp.7-8. My thanks to Kate Pahl for sharing her detailed knowledge of the women's speaking debate.
127. See pp.85-6 above.
128. Fox, G. 1656. The woman learning in silence ... (Wing F1991); Fell, M. 1666. Women's speaking justified ... (Wing F642). Both virtually condemn women prophets. In the context of the Martha Simmons/ Nayler episode, it is interesting to note that while Farnsworth and Cotton and Cole's pamphlets (n.126 above) were published by Giles Calvert, the Fox pamphlet was published by Thomas Simmons.
129. Wing F1771; the two sections run from p.1-12 and p.13-16. Wing has another edition, F1772, with no imprint and dated [1661].

130. *An answer to the arguments of the Jewes ...*, 1661 (Wing F1745).

131. *John James ...* (Wing F1853B) is a rebuke to a particular individual hostile to Quakers. Identification is uncertain, but there was a Baptist of that name, leader (with Peter Chamberlain) of a seventh-day church in London, who was executed for treason in 1661 (Whitley, W.T. 1929. *The Baptists of London 1612-1928*). These queries are given forth ... (Wing F1932); *A tous ceulx ...* (Wing F1740).

132. *A paper for little children ...* is not listed in Wing but is found in Smith, J. 1867. *op. cit.*, p.681, where the M.W. imprint is given; no copy has been traced, however. *This is to all people who stumble ...* (Wing F1936).

133. For example, Wing F634A, which consists of three sections, one by Margaret Fell and two by Fox; F1824.

134. Reassessment of Nayler has been attempted by Fogelklou, E. *op. cit.*, and of Martha Simmons and Perrot by Carroll, K.L. in articles cited above.

135. Elaine Hobby has alerted me to an incident exemplifying the 'public' use of the Calverts' shop: the wife of the mayor of Abingdon, writing to defend Elizabeth Poole against the charges made against her by her church, insisted that her letter be posted up and displayed at the Black Spread Eagle, indicating that this would be seen by those concerned in religious debate among the sects. Confusion over the address has led Lloyd to associate Mary Westwood with another Quaker publisher, Robert Wilson: 'her business was taken over by Robert Wilson'; Wilson's shop, called the Black Spread Eagle and Windmill, was at St. Martins le Grand, near Aldersgate. (Lloyd, A. *op. cit.*, p.149; Plomer, H.R. 1907. *op. cit.*).
136. 'His collection of Quaker Tracts is ... quite fragmentary', Fortescue, G.K. (ed.) 1908. Catalogue of the pamphlets ... collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, vol.1, p.xxii.

137. Works in excess of 16 pages are Baker's With the light is fifteen priests ... (30 pp.); Dewsbury's The discovery of mans returne ... (45 pp.); Fox's A tous ceulx ... and An answer to the arguments of the Jewes ... (52 pp.); Rigge's A true prospect for the bishops ... (23 pp.); and the women's tithing petition (72 pp.).

138. See p.39 above.

139. Composite works containing several separate passages by the same or by different authors are numerous: Wing B481 (Baker and Bache); B1519 (Bayly); Priscilla Cotton's A testimony ... (not in Wing); Wing B1007A (Barwick); F634A (Fell and Fox); F1771, 1745, 1824, 1740 (Fox); G1842 (Green, T.); R1499 (Rigge); R2044 (Rous, Fell and Fox); S4076, 4070 and 4068 (Smith, H.); S4081 (Smith and Charles Bayly); W3473 (Woodrove); and a special case perhaps, the women's tithing petition (F1605) with sections from different regions, authors unknown.

140. For examples of the use of 'papers' in Fox's journal, see Penney, N. (ed.) 1911 op. cit., vol. 1, pp.187, 206, 237, 269.

141. Wing F1853B. There is no internal evidence for Wing's dating of [1658].

142. Fox sent letters to Bristol to warn Friends about Perrot, who was on the way there: Carroll, K.L. 1970. op. cit.; Baptists did the same to cut off support for Elizabeth Poole in Oxfordshire (see n.135 above).

143. Wing J69; quoted at more length p.88 above.

144. The fifteen are Bache, Baker, Barwick, Blackborrow, Complin, Arthur and Priscilla Cotton, Eccles, William Green, Jackson, Pinder, Potter, Simpson, Travers, Woodrove.

145. The exceptions are Blackborrow, Green, Simpson and Priscilla Cotton (Smith, J. 1867. op. cit.).
146. These 'provincial' authors were from Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

147. More elaborate layout and printing, with elaborate layout of titles in particular, are noticeable, for example, in the works by Baker, Dewsbury and Rigge already noted for their exceptional length (see n. 137 above) and in Smith's Man driven out of the earth ... and some works by Bayly, particularly A few seasonable words ... and A vindication ....

148. Wing B3064; italic changes to roman on p. 4, while pp. 8, 9 and the first line of p. 10 are again in italic. A similar mid-sentence change occurs on p. 7 of William Smith's A christian life manifested ....

149. Wing E128; B1536; there are many more instances of changes of this kind.

150. Wing B1543; E128; B1537.

151. Wing G1842; in Complin's pamphlet (Wing C5661) the sizes of type in the title are uneven.

152. 'w' becomes 'vv' in, for example, Bayly's A short relation ..., Fox's John James ..., Bayly's The blood of righteous Abel ... and Potter's A relation ... (Wing B1537; F1853B; B1519; R818). In Fox's A tous ceulx ... (Wing F1740), the catchword on p. 28 does not match p. 29. Fox's All my dear Friends ... (Wing F1824), a general epistle, has no page 8; another issue in the British Library ends at p. 7, suggesting that pp. 9-14 of the Westwood copy are additions (BL 1478. aa. 24(25)). Dewsbury's The discovery of mans returne ..., Wing D1263.

153. Thus short pieces by Bache and Charles Bayly 'fill up' works by Baker and Smith respectively (Wing B481; S4081); William Bayly's pamphlet The blood of righteous Abel ..., an eight page quarto, is 'filled up' by his A voice and visitation of God to the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, on pp. 7 and 8 (Wing B1519).

154. See, for example, Elizabeth Calvert's secret press there, p. 198.

156. The reversal of the initials may also have been an attempt at concealment; reversals of initials have been noted among newspaper publishers in the 1680s and Sutherland remarks that, ineffective as such measures might seem, they may have provided a legal loophole. Sutherland, J. 1986. The Restoration newspaper and its development, Cambridge, p.219.

Ch.3: Elizabeth Calvert and the 'Confederates'


2. Not least of the difficulties in tracing seditious books is the variety of titles used for the same book (see p.134 and n.39 below). The first three mentioned here are more properly The speeches and prayers of some of the late King's judges ..., 1660; Jessey, H. 1661. The Lord's loud call to England ...; ENIAYTOE TEPAZTIOE: Mirabilis annus, or the year of prodigies and wonders ..., 1661.


5. L'Estrange, R. op. cit., p.25.


7. For Chapman's 'accommodation' with L'Estrange, see p.67 above; Crist, T. op. cit., p.34.

8. PRO SP29/239:5, 26 April 1668.


11. Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit. has Giles Calvert apprenticed to Lugger for 9 years from 30 June 1628; the indentures were cancelled and new ones taken out on 11 June 1632 for seven years with Huncott. Calvert's first publication listed in Wing is Napiers narration, 1641. Mormon index has 'Elizabeth Calvart' christened 15 March 1639 and Nathaniel christened 24 June 1643, both at St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey; and Giles christened 8 September 1653 at St. Gregory by St. Paul. The record of her daughter's christening is the earliest record of Elizabeth Calvert as the wife of Giles.


13. Terry, A.E. 1937. 'Giles Calvert, mid-seventeenth century English bookseller and publisher; an account of his publishing career, with a checklist of his imprints', Columbia University M.Sc. thesis, is largely a checklist of his publications. The brief survey of Calvert's career emphasizes the Quaker publications. Unfortunately, Terry does not cover Elizabeth Calvert's career.

14. See p.103 above for the fall in Calvert's Quaker publishing, and for Martha Simmons' involvement in the Nayler case.


16. For the use of the Black Spread Eagle as a 'notice-board', see p.116 above; Mary Westwood's tithing petition was sold at the Calverts' shop.


18. A single eye all light, Wing C4584 (the book was ordered to be burnt, and Clarkson sent to the House of Correction); Morton, A.L. op. cit., p.106; Terry
dismisses Calvert as publisher of *A single eye*..., despite Thomason's MS note that Calvert was the publisher, largely I think because she prefers Calvert not to have been closely identified with the Ranters.

19. For Calvert's role at Swannington, see pp. 72-3 above; Terry, A.E. *op. cit.*, appendix A quotes Swarthmore MSS I.162, describing Judge Fell and Giles Calvert attending a Quaker meeting, and a group including Nayler going to Calvert's house.

20. See pp. 72-3 above; O'Malley, T. 1979. *op. cit.*. Many examples of business transactions and forwarding letters are to be found in Swarthmore MSS, e.g. I.209, 374, 252, 263, 285.

21. Brewster was Calvert’s first apprentice, bound on 28 September 1640 and freed 3 November 1647; McKenzie, D.F. 1974. *op. cit.*.

22. Swarthmore MSS, I.214, George Taylor and Thomas Willan to Margaret Fell.

23. Wallis, A.E. 1966. 'Anthony Pearson (1626-1666): an early Friend in Bishoprick', in *JFHS*, 51, 77-95; Friends' House, 'Dictionary of Quaker biography'; O'Malley, T., private correspondence. I am grateful to Tom O'Malley for his interpretation of Elizabeth Calvert's 'Asspertions': 'Perhaps Elizabeth Calvert had Pearson weighed up quicker than the rest of the Quakers'.

24. Swarthmore MSS, I.57, Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox, London, 21 8th month [i.e. October] 1671. My thanks to Tom O'Malley for this reference. The syntax of this passage is awkward, and there is some ambiguity: was Elizabeth Calvert invited to Pennyman's feast, or another organized by Rich? Since Rich was in Barbados from 1659 to 1679, I take the reference to be to his offer of money in 1666 to seven London churches, rather than to an actual feast. The comparison is thus between Pennyman's invitation of all the sects, including Jews, and Rich's own vision of a community of sects.
25. See p. 78 above.

26. DNB; Carroll, K.L. 1970. op. cit.; for the Quakers' use of 'Jezebel', see p. 113 above.


28. Wing J694. Crist, T. op. cit., ch. 1; CSPD 1661/2, p. 282 has a typical report of an 'omen', involving the printer Robert White who said he heard a bird sing 'the Parliament would soon be over and not meet again for a year' (White's connection with the trade in opposition literature will be noted below). See p. 175 for the Presbyterian Philip Henry's recording of portents in his diary, and Thomas, K. 1973. op. cit., p. 347ff for the widespread interest in signs and wonders.

29. The British Library has several copies of each title: ENIAYTOΩ TEPAΞΤΙΟΩ ... BL444: a. 21.(3.) and five more copies, all but one with woodcut illustration, 4°, pp. 88; Mirabilis annus secundus; or, the second year of prodigies ... BL444: a. 21.(5.) and three other copies, one of which has the conclusion missing, 4°, pp. 89; Mirabilis annus secundus: or, the second part ..., BL 19764 and one other copy, 4°, pp. 54.

30. Crist, T. op. cit. uses the title 'Several prodigies and apparitions', which is the heading of the first section of ENIAYTOΩ TEPAΞΤΙΟΩ ..., presumably because this is the title given in the warrant for Elizabeth Calvert's arrest. The title Mirabilis annus by which all three pamphlets were popularly known was reversed by Dryden in his response, Annum mirabilis, 1666 (see Lord, G. de F. (ed.) 1963. Poems on affairs of state: Augustan satirical verse, 1660-1714, vol. 1, p. xxxiv).

31. L'Estrange, R. op. cit., p. 16; ENIAYTOΩ TEPAΞΤΙΟΩ ... preface, dated 25 July 1661. L'Estrange uses the title The year of prodigies for this pamphlet.

32. ENIAYTOΩ TEPAΞΤΙΟΩ ..., preface.

33. Mirabilis annus secundus; or, the second year of prodigies ..., preface.

34. Mirabilis annus secundus; or, the second part ..., preface and p. 54.
35. Hutton, R. *op. cit.*, p.156.
37. The speeches and prayers ... appeared in four editions: Thomason's copy is part of the second impression of the first edition, printed by Dover and Creake; a second edition entitled *Rebels no saints* ... appeared early in 1661, with a new preface and additional 'observations' on each regicide; a third, also in 1661, appeared as *A compleat collection of the lives, speeches and prayers* ... and is much like the second, with the addition of a life of each regicide; the fourth, printed in French as *Les iuges iugez, se iustifiants* ..., appeared in 1663, probably printed in Geneva, with additional material on the three regicides executed in 1662 (Williams, J.B. 1913. various articles in *Notes and queries*, 11 series, 7, pp.301, 341, 383). An edition of Peters' *A dying father's last legacy* ... appeared with Elizabeth Calvert's imprint and is dated 1660 by Wing. I can find no justification for this date, and it seems more likely that this was a later reprint or reissue (Wing P1698).
39. Williams, J.B. 1913. in *Notes and queries*, 11 series, 8, p.243; *The panther-prophecy* ..., Wing L2665. Both Walker and Bate, F.1908. *The Declaration of Indulgence 1672* treat *A treatise* ... and *Mene tekel* ... as the same work, which is also suggested by the questions addressed to Elizabeth Calvert in 1664 (PRO SP29/92:10) and L'Estrange's reference to it under that title (*CSPD* 1683 Jan.-June, p.346).
40. Williams, J.B. 1913. Various articles in *Notes and queries*, 11 series, 7, pp.301, 341, 383, 442, 502; 8, p.22; Crist, T. *op. cit.* ch.1; Kitchin, G. *op. cit.*; Walker, J. *op. cit.*.
41. **State trials**, 6, 513-564. McKenzie, D.F. 1976. _op. cit._ draws on some of this material.

42. PRO SP29/38: 56, 57, 58; **CSPD** 1661/2, pp.50, 87. L'Estrange's account of the discoveries is given in his _Truth and loyalty vindicated ..._, 1662:

'This Book [i.e. *The phoenix ...*] being brought to my Hand, I procur'd a Warrant to search for it, and Retriv'd about 120 Copies, which I seiz'd, together with the Printer, Disperser and One Stationer (of the Three that were Partners in the Impression) I Brought These People to His Majesties Principal Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas; by whose Order, the Printer, and Stationer were Committed; and the Disperser, being Poor to Extremity, was upon certain Conditions left at Liberty.'

43. _ibid._, p.57, see p.143 below.

44. Crist, T. _op. cit._, pp.20-1.

45. PRO SP29/38:56.

46. **CSPD** 1661/2, p.106. Note that the title given here is not from the title page, but is the heading of the first section of the book, given on p.1. The section ends on p.38. See p.133 above.

47. According to L'Estrange, Calvert was held until the adjournment of Parliament, i.e. 30 July 1661. It is possible that warrants issued by the Secretaries of State became void when Parliament was not in session. **CSPD** 1661/2, p.106, printed in full in Penney, N. (ed.) 1913. _op. cit._, p.134.


49. **CSPD** 1661/2, p.106, printed in Penney, N. (ed.) 1913. _op. cit._, p.134. Her ignorance of 'the Cause of her Commitment' may, technically, have been true: prisoners were not always shown the warrant under which they were arrested, and were often held for long periods without examination.

51. PRO SP29/44:93. The letter suggests that she had not been examined. For Jane Woodcock, see Braithwaite, W.C. 1912. op. cit., p.274; State trials, 5, 809; Fogelklou, E. op. cit., p.280; CSPD 1670, p.324. A Thomas Blackhall, haberdasher, fined for Alderman of Farringdon Ward Without in 1657, and for Bishopsgate Ward, 1661 (Beaven, A.B. 1908. The Aldermen of the City of London, pp.41, 161).

52. HMC Ninth report, Pt. II, pp.75-9. Hetet, J. op. cit. recounts an episode where Royston acquired sheets sent as waste to the King's kitchen, and sold them.

53. See p.160 below. Elizabeth Calvert's reference to paying the printer's prison fees points to her knowledge of 'saving harmless', the practice whereby the publisher of an illegal book might buy the silence of the printer or distributor by promising to pay fees or to maintain his or her family if an investigation resulted in imprisonment. This method of ensuring loyalty by providing a kind of insurance for colleagues was also known as 'bearing out'; examples of the practice are noted by Crist, T. op. cit. p.133.

54. PRO SP29/44: 94; 45:1.

55. PRO SP29/45:2; the sureties were Thomas Martyn (or Malyn?), haberdasher, and Nicholas Ashton, woollen draper; CSPD 1661/2, p.186.

56. CSPD 1661/2, p.128, letter to Nicholas, 30 October; PRO SP29/45:28, examination of Jessey, 8 December; PRO SP29/45:33, Jessey's letter to Howard, 10 December; PRO SP29/45:75, examination of Smith, 19 December.

57. See p.162.

58. Crist, T. op. cit. details Smith's involvement and imprisonment; he was released in the spring.

59. CSPD 1661/2, pp.282-3, general search warrants issued to L'Estrange. He was not made the Surveyor of the Press until 1664.

60. Siebert, F.S. op. cit., ch.12, Crist, T. op. cit., ch.2.
61. CSPD 1661/2, pp.492, 493, 529.

62. CSPD 1661/2, p.543. The 'young man', a bookseller, was possibly Brewster's apprentice, Bodevile, who gave evidence against Brewster at the latter's trial in 1664. CSPD 1661/2, p.572 and printed in Penney, N. 1913. op. cit., pp.155-6. The date of Calvert's arrest is unknown; his securities were Thomas Lamas, stationer, and Jacob Jennifer. The warrant for his release was issued the same day.

63. CSPD 1661/2, pp.589, 592, 593.

64. Elizabeth Evans' other surety was Joseph Watson, victualler. Elizabeth Calvert's bond, CSPD 1661/2, p.593 and printed in Penney, N. 1913. op. cit., pp.156-7. Elizabeth Evans' bond, PRO SP29/65:29; presumably she was illiterate, the bond being marked with 'E' rather than signed. The warrant for her release was issued the same day, CSPD 1661/2, p.597.

65. PRO SP29/65:90; warrant for Elizabeth Evans issued on 7 January, CSPD 1663/4, p.5; PRO SP29/67:46. Only Gosnall is mentioned in connection with books and pamphlets; the others are all listed as imprisoned for dangerous and/or seditious practices.

66. Warrants for Elizabeth Evans were issued 12 December 1662, 7 January 1663 and 2 February 1664. For her part in the publication of A treatise of the execution of justice ..., see pp.149-51 below.


68. Whitley, W.T. op. cit., 2.657 and 9.661; Kirby, D.A. op. cit., p.245; PRO SP29/89:74; PRO SP29/67:161. Mrs. Batty was released on 31 January, the same day as John Inch.


70. CSPD 1663/4, p.37. The Bristol fairs, held at St. James' and St. Paul's, attracted a high proportion
of traders from outside the immediate area. Like similar fairs, they presumably attracted sellers of sectarian literature who set up booths. That Brewster was not selling at the fair suggests he had other trade outlets, perhaps through the Moones (see p. 215 below) and Thomas Ewins (see p. 218 below), who would have given him an entry into the local Baptist congregation. Mortimer, R. S. 1946. 'Quakerism in seventeenth century Bristol', Bristol M.A. thesis, p. 319; Everitt, A. 1967. 'Trading at fairs' in Thirsk, J. (ed.) 1967. The agrarian history of England and Wales, vol. 4, 532-43.

71. PRO SP29/68: 88; CSPD 1663/4, p. 54.
72. See p. 124 above for L'Estrange's definitions of 'seditious' literature.
73. Williams, J. B. 1913. in Notes and queries, 11 series, 8, p. 82.
74. CSPD 1663/4, pp. 161-2.
75. CSPD 1663/4, pp. 179, 180, 186, warrants; PRO SP29/75: 117. Creake's statement repeats the information on The phoenix ... and Mirabilis annus ... he had given in 1661, PRO SP29/38: 56.
76. PRO SP29/76: 30; PRO SP29/76: 80. For Carlisle, see p. 163 below.
77. PRO SP29/77: 49. Her securities were John Woodward, joiner, and Richard Joad, stationer.
78. Photocopy and transcript of will given in Terry, A. E. op. cit., pp. 64-6. For Alderman Blackall, see p. 142 above and n. 51.
79. McKenzie, D. F. 1974. op. cit.; Nathaniel was not formally bound, so may never have worked for George. He was freed by George, by patrimony, on 5 October 1663. CSPD 1663/4, p. 240.
81. At the opening of Twyn's trial, the connection between the pamphlet and the Northern Plot of 12 October was made explicitly, but no evidence was offered on this point (State Trials, 6, 521). Twyn's examination of 9 October, PRO SP29/81: 48.
82. ibid.; State trials, 6, 526-8 and 530.

83. Warrants were issued for Stevenson on 9 October (CSPD 1663/4, p.292); for Twyn and Nathaniel Calvert on 9 October (ibid.); for Elizabeth Calvert on 12 October (CSPD 1663/4, p.295); for Dister, Doe and his wife, Elizabeth Calvert, Elizabeth Evans, Perry, William Fullwood, George Thresher, Richard Overton and --- Mimpress, all on 22 October (CSPD 1663/4, p.311). A warrant of 14 October for --- Smith, Robert Roberts, --- Wood, --- Gaine and --- Adlington is probably part of the same investigation (CSPD 1663/4, p.301). Gaines was Dover's servant (and was arrested with John and Joan Darby in May 1664) and Adlington was Dover's apprentice. Warrant for Joan Dover to visit Simon Dover in the Gatehouse, 27 October (ibid., p.315); a petition by Brewster in 7 October (ibid., p.318); another petition by Joan Dover, 7 December (ibid., p.366). Identification of some of those involved is tentative: 'Dister' may be Gregory Dexter, who occasionally printed for Giles Calvert, or Francis Diester, who had three apprentices between 1657 and 1664. A Joseph Doe was apprenticed to Francis Smith and freed in 1643. Thresher had bound work for the Confederates (see p.133 above) and, like Brookes who was tried alongside Brewster and Dover, had been apprenticed to Lawrence Udall in the 1640s. Hugh Perry, a bookseller issuing political pamphlets in the 1640s, apparently went out of business, but may have survived as a disperser of illegal pamphlets. (McKenzie, D.F. 1974. op. cit.; Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit.).

84. PRO 29/81:73, 12 October. See p.215 below for Moone.

85. PRO SP29/83:95, 96. They were released on recognizances of £300. Thomas Newland and John Panyell stood security for Nathaniel Calvert; Stevenson's securities were his father Richard, and George Vaux. Richard Stevenson petitioned for his son's release, PRO SP29/89:108.

86. See n.83 above for dating of warrants.
87. *State trials*, 6, 527.
88. *ibid.*, 537.
89. *ibid.*, 539.
90. Warrant, 2 February ([CSPD 1663/4, p.465]; PRO SP29/92: 10. See n.39 above on Mene tekel ...). A petition of Elizabeth Evans in the State Papers, dated ? February, is probably misplaced, and belongs to her previous period of imprisonment.
91. *State trials*, 6, 513-564; *ibid.*, 564.
93. Siebert, F.S. *op. cit.*, pp.190-1. Information on the various measures of press control discussed in this paragraph taken from Siebert, *passim*.
94. *ibid.*, p.256.
95. See p.162 below.
96. PRO SP29/95:68. 'Lavioll Chapman' was committed 9 December 1663 by Secretary Bennet. 'Solomon Eagles' (see p.106 above) was committed 15 March for unlawful preaching.
97. PRO SP29/95:98; the physician was Thomas Lenthall. Another petition by Elizabeth Calvert is misdated in the State papers: PRO SP29/76:29, dated ? 4 July 1663, refers to her 'late husband' and must therefore belong to her 1664 period of imprisonment. In it, she repeats the 'waste paper' story: 'having in her possession a small remnant of unlawful books, purchased long since by her late husband, ... most unadvisedly delivd a few of them to a person that did with great Importunity and Artifice tempt her thereunto ...'.
98. PRO SP29/95:98. See p.163 below for Carlisle. The last word is almost illegible, and may be 'cognizance'.
99. PRO SP29/96:64, dated 7/8 April.
100. [CSPD 1663/4, pp.549, 550. Elizabeth took out letters, of administration to Nathaniel's estate, 18 February 1666. Two warrants were issued for her release: did Broughton not act immediately on receipt of the first?
101. Crist, T. *op. cit.*. ch. 1; petitions by Joan Dover/Darby, CSPD 1663/4, p. 366 and CSPD 1667/8, pp. 201, 378; petition by 'Hannah' Brewster, CSPD 1663/4, p. 326; petitions by Hannah Allen Chapman, see p. 67 above. Crist, T. *op. cit.*, p. 33 points to the importance of this activity: 'Wives and friends served as agents in delivering petitions, contacting lawyers, and demanding that specific charges be brought against stationers'.

102. For the *Mirabilis annus* ... pamphlets, see p. 133 above; PRO SP29/81: 73; PRO SP29/209: 75. For the Moones, see p. 215 below.

103. PRO SP29/67: 161; see p. 66 above.

104. CSPD 1663/4, p. 315, 27 October; *State trials*, 6, 557.

105. A warrant was issued on 25 January for Catharine Hobbs to visit Dover, CSPD 1663/4, p. 452.

106. *ibid.*, p. 366. Thomas Adlington was apprenticed to Dover 21 January 1662, and was arrested on 14 October 1663 (McKenzie, D. F. 1974. *op. cit.* and CSPD 1663/4, p. 301). At the time of Dover's imprisonment the Dovers had a small child: James Dover was freed by patrimony in 1681, so was probably born in 1660 (McKenzie, D. F. 1974. *op. cit.*).

107. Crist, T. *op. cit.*; SR 1, pp. 145, 149, 156; *State trials*, 7, 931; her daughter was fined £10 in 1683 for *The second part of the ignoramus justices*, and she and her brother Francis were bound over and bailed to appear on an indictment for *The second part of the growth of popery*, CSPD 1683 Jan.-June, p. 178.

108. See n. 106 above. CSPD 1663/4, p. 577; *ibid.* 1664/5, p. 148, printed in Penney, N. 1913. *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30. For Rebeccah Travers see p. 103 above. CSPD 1667/8, pp. 360, 361. Reconstruction of her career is impossible here, but there is plenty of material deserving of attention.

109. PRO SP29/239: 5; see p. 197 below for the Blue Anchor Alley press. CSPD 1683 July-Sept., p. 432 (29
September 1683) has Darby's information that his wife delivered copies of Julian to a porter.

110. CSPD 1667/8, pp. 360, 378; ibid. 1678, pp. 188, 372-3; Walker, J. op. cit. Her name appears in five imprints.

111. Muddiman, J.G. 1932. 'Benjamin Harris, the first American journalist' in Notes and queries, 163, p. 131; State trials, 7, 935; Crist, T. op. cit.


116. Observator 1, 164-5, 4 and 5 July 1682, quoted in Crist, T. op. cit., p. 297.


118. Apart from petitions by Elizabeth Calvert quoted above, see petitions of the Battys and Elizabeth Evans, CSPD 1663/4, pp. 422, 499. Husbands 'blaming' wives for illegal printing include Redman (CSPD 1668/9, p. 110); Braddyll, who maintained that his wife printed The growth of popery for Francis Smith in Braddyll's absence (CSPD 1683 Jan.-June, p. 272); and Astwood, whose wife printed A Ra-ree show while he was 'abroad' (Crist, T. op. cit., p. 297).

119. State trials, 7, 959-960.

120. ibid. 8, 191; Liber F, entry for 6 March 1688/9, quoted in Crist, T. op. cit., p. 358.

121. PRO SP29/81: 73, Sir John Knight's information from Bristol, refers to distribution of the third of the Mirabilis annus ... pamphlets.

122. In the case of treason, coverture would not in any case have applied (Hale, Sir M. op. cit., p. 45).
123. Crist, T. op. cit. establishes the practice of 'saving harmless' as one means of protection for opposition stationers. See n.53 above.

124. PRO SP29/44:93.


126. ibid., ch.1.

127. L'Estrange, R. 1662. op. cit.; he was not yet the Surveyor of the Press.

128. See p.148 above.

129. PRO SP29/95:98.


132. CSPD 1661/2, p.87; Causton, H.K.S. op. cit., p.135. Hugh Chamberlain was perhaps a member of the medical Chamberlen family; Peter Chamberlen, physician to James I, Charles I and Charles II, led a sabbatarian Baptist church which by 1668 was meeting in Bell Lane (Kirby, D.A. op. cit., p.252).

133. CSPD 1661/2, pp.175, 327.


135. PRO SP29/92:9.


Ch.4: Elizabeth Calvert, 1664-75

1. The newes, 28 April 1664, quoted in Williams, J.B. 1913. 'The forged "speeches and prayers" of the regicides' in Notes and queries, 11 series, 8, p.203.

2. Facsimile and transcript of the will in Terry, A.E. op. cit., pp.67-8. The will was proved on 5 February 1675.

3. See p.149 above; the tone of Richard Stevenson's petition suggests annoyance at Elizabeth Calvert's disappearance.


8. p.142 above; Stationers' Company, Court Book D, 87 (18 January 1664); 88 (1 February 1664); 88v (17 March 1664).

9. ibid., 128v (13 February 1667); 173 (4 July 1670).

10. See Appendix 7.

11. Bell, W.G. op. cit., pp.225-6 (the bookseller was Kirton, who also lost £3,000 in debts); see pp.210-13 below. PRO SP29/275:155, L'Estrange to Arlington, 19 May 1670: 'I have seized a matter of 500 Seditious Books of old date at Mrs. Calvert's'. Little work has been done on the impact of the Fire on the trade in general.


14. For the activities of the Company and the position of printers during this period, see Crist, T. op. cit.; Kitchin, G. op. cit.; Siebert, F.S. op. cit.; Hetet, J. op. cit.

15. This account is based largely on Bate, F. op. cit.; Watt, M.R. op. cit.; and Hutton, R. op. cit.


19. See p.192 below.

20. There were many other contributory factors, including the reluctance of some Anglicans to hound fellow
Protestants, idiosyncratic magistrates, interventions by sympathetic neighbours, the refusal of some juries to convict.

21. Licences were revoked 3 February 1675.


23. DNB. Christ's famous titles ..., 1663 (Wing D2935); 1666 (Wing D2936); and reprinted in 1672 in America, and in 1673 and 1675 in England, without imprint. Christ's voice to London ..., for E. Calvert 1666 (Wing D2942); pirated edition 1666 (Wing D2942A); for Eliz. Calvert, and Matthias Walker, 1668 (Wing D2943); other editions 1670 (Wing D2944) and Glasgow, 1679 (Wing D2945). A cabinet of jewels ..., 1663 and 1664 without imprint (Wing D2931, D2932); for Elizabeth Calvert 1668 (Wing D2933); another edition 1676 (Wing D2933A) and Glasgow 1679 (Wing D2934). See also p. 204 below.

24. DNB; Dyer is included in Smith's catalogue of Quaker authors.

25. Dyer, Christ's voice to London ..., 1666 (Wing D2942), Epistle to the reader.


27. ibid., p. 77. Mearne's accuser was Seymour, and Larkin and Grainge were witnesses against him.

28. See Hetet, J. op. cit.

29. Dyer, Christ's voice to London ..., 1666, p. 34.

30. ibid., p. 26 [sic; recte 36]. The pamphlet must have appeared before September, given the address in the imprint.


32. ibid., p. 34.

33. An antidote against distractions ..., 1667, 1669, and 1673 (Wing S5382-4); The husbandman's calling ..., 1668, 1670 and 1672 (Wing S5387-9); A plain discourse upon uprightness ..., 1670, 1672 (Wing S5391-2).
34. DNB; the other Steele work, *A plain discourse upon uprightness*, was licensed in 1670 (TC 1, p.54).


37. Wing W2901; W2927. For *Nehushtan* ... see pp.202-4 below.

38. DNB; Biog. brit.; Moffat, J. *op. cit.*; Wing 0774. The Earl of Anglesey was a friend of Owen.


41. DNB; Biog. brit.. Lord Wharton, who employed Gale as tutor, was a prominent Puritan and a conspicuous opponent of the 1670 Conventicle Act.


43. Wing H3164; DNB. Giles Calvert published editions in 1661 and 1662, Wing H3162-3.

44. DNB; Wing W2946.

45. Wing G86.

46. DNB; Capp, B. 1979. *Astrology and the popular press: English almanacs 1500-1800*. Cottrell (sometimes 'J.C.') appears in the imprint of 15 titles published by Giles Calvert (Terry, A.E. *op. cit.*).

47. Wing G86A.

48. Wing G100A. 'To the reader' is dated 14 March 1667.


50. ibid., p.1.

51. Wing A1738-45 and A1747 were all printed by Cottrell; A1746 was printed by T. Milbourn for the Stationers' Company.

52. For the Fire tracts, see pp.192-4 below; for Dyer, pp.178-82 above.

53. Wing C3852; *Brief observations*, p.17.
54. ibid., p.5.
55. See pp.33-5 above.
56. Bate, F. op. cit., pp.77, 79, 82-3.
57. Gadbury's Vox solis ... claims to have been published 'with allowance', but there is no evidence of registering or licensing to support its claim to legality. See p.219 below for Elizabeth Calvert's registering of the Steele copies; TC 1, pp.54, 106. Later in her career she licensed two other works, by Petto and Rabisha (TC 1, pp.129, 169).
58. CSPD 1664/5, p.191, warrant issued 4 February 1665 for Elizabeth Calvert to be sent to the Gatehouse. A petition dated ? February 1665, concerning Nehushtan ..., must be misdated (PRO SP29/113:128), see pp.206-7 below.
59. See p.149 above for Mirabilis annus ... pamphlets and Bristol; CSPD 1667, p.290 (PRO SP29/209:75).
60. CSPD transcribes Moone as 'Moore' on several occasions, but Susanna Moone's identity is certain. PRO SP29/213: 118, 16 August; PRO SP29/214:27, 19 August.
61. A true and faithfull account ..., 1667, Wing T2471; Bell, W.G. 1920. op. cit., p.203, says he has identified five separate impressions of this pamphlet; Hutton, R. op. cit., pp.247-9, 256-7. London's flames discovered by informations taken before the committee, appointed to enquire after the burning of the City of London. And after the insolency of the Papists &c., 1667, Wing L2928.
63. Williams, J.B. 1913. op. cit., p.284. Trap ad crucem ... was another 'fire' pamphlet, related to a series of fires in London in 1670; I have no evidence that Elizabeth Calvert was involved in its production, though its relation to the earlier fire pamphlets is obvious. It was widely distributed, and its circulation in Yarmouth in September 1670 caused concern (PRO SP29/278:131, 156).
64. PRO SP29/212:17, 19; SP29/213:128, 129, 130. A trumpet blown in Sion ..., 1694, Wing K102; State trials, 6, 702. A trumpet blown in Sion ..., p.31.

65. First sermon dated 5 February 1693; second, 12 March 1693. A trumpet blown in Sion ..., 1694, pp.12, 6, 1, 27, 30, 31, 42 and title page.

66. Kitchin, G. op. cit. cites CSPD 1667, p.395, which does not confirm his assumption about the arrests; CSPD 1667/8, p.178.

67. CSPD 1667/8, pp.353-4, L'Estrange to Arlington, 22 April 1668; ibid., pp.357-8, L'Estrange to Williamson, 24 April 1668.

68. ibid., p.282, letter to Williamson from Rotterdam.

69. ibid., pp.294, 318-9.

70. ibid., p.350, search warrant; PRO SP29/239:5, L'Estrange to Williamson, 26 April 1668.

71. ibid.

72. PRO SP29/239:6.

73. CSPD 1667/8, p.378.

74. Stationers' Company Court Book D, 139v (5 May 1668); CSPD 1667/8, p.363.

75. See pp.15-16, 27 above.

76. PRO SP29/239:93.

77. PRO SP29/239:156.

78. CSPD 1667/8, pp.380, 409.

79. PRO SP29/248:88, petition of Wickham to Arlington, October 7, 1668.

80. HMC Ninth report, Pt. II, pp.75-8 and see pp.179-80 above; CSPD 1668/9, pp.32, 37, warrants for Royston, White and Wickham; Hetet, J. op. cit., p.52 (which misses the political significance of Dyer's sermons).

81. CLRO Sessions File SF205, indictment of Elizabeth Calvert. Information on documents relating to the trial has come too late for me to check the sources personally. I am indebted to J.R. Sewell for supplying CLRO references. For the publishing history and authorship of the 'Painter' satires, see Lord, G. de F. op. cit.
82. Siebert, F.S. *op. cit.*, pp.256-9 summarizes the antagonism between L'Estrange and the Stationers' Company.

83. CSPD 1667/8, p.495, warrant for Cottrell; PRO SP29/243:126 and 181, surveys of 24 and 29 July. The latter survey is noted as received 15 November, so the reference is probably to the Spring Sessions of the following year.

84. Wing W2927 (listed erroneously under Joseph Wilson).


86. Calamy, E. *op. cit.*, vol.1, p.257.

87. PRO SP29/248:46, 61; PRO SP29/113:128, misdated as ? February 1665 but probably written in October 1668.

88. CSPD 1668/9, pp.409, 411.

89. CSPD 1670, pp.9, 26; PRO SP29/251:111; Plomer, H.R. 1907. *op. cit.*; for Dyer, see pp.178-82 above.

90. PRO SP29/251:111; the petition is calendared as 1668, but the details of date and title confirm its place in 1670.


93. CLRO Sessions File SF 205, indictment of Elizabeth Calvert; CLRO Sessions Minute Book SM 36, G.D., 7 December 1670; SM 36, S.P., 20 February 1670/1; SM 36,G.D., 10 March 1670/1; SF 207, wrapper; SM 37, S.P., 1 May 1671; SF 208. All unchecked (see n.81, p.316 above); inspection of these and of documents relating to Palmer's trial might throw some light on the association between Calvert and Palmer. Securities for Elizabeth Calvert's bail in December were H. Comander, scrivener, and Zouch Harbert, vintner; securities for her bond in May were Joseph Read, carpenter and Henry Parker, joiner. Clearly this episode needs further investigation.
94. PRO SP29/280:15. The proclamation against conventicles, 10 July 1669, effectively renewed persecution, which was intensified by the Conventicle Act the following February. May 1670-April 1671 has been noted as a period of intense persecution (Bate, F. op. cit.; PRO SP29/275:155; numerous informers' notes in State Papers).

95. Wing F2522; P1896.

96. Petto, The difference between the old and new covenant ..., sig. a5; DNB; Bates, F. op. cit. Petto's book was licensed on 26 May 1674 (TC 1, p.169).

97. See p.170 above.

98. The husbandman's calling ..., 1672 and An antidote against distractions ..., 1673. Their licensing was presumably made possible by the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672.

99. Wing R115-6. Wing also lists The whole art of cookery, For Eliz. Calvert [1682], but the item in question, located at Trinity College, Cambridge, turns out to be an incomplete copy of the 1675 edition of The whole body of cookery .... See p.220 below for an explanation of the Smith imprint. The work was licensed as a reprint in 1673 (TC 1, p.129).

100. The whole body of cookery dissected ..., 1675, 'To the reader', sig. A3r, A3v.


102. Or possibly 13 titles: 'Hartlib of Bees and Silkworms' may refer to two books; see Appendix 9.

103. One of the works has not been identified; see Appendix 9 for printers and publishers of the 'old stock'.

104. Wing D444; C5981. I am grateful to Elaine Hobby for sharing information on Heaven realiz'd ..., and to Sheila Edward for details of Conversion exemplified .... British Library lists the Davy pamphlet as printed 'for Edward Calvert', but the absence of the pamphlet from the BL collection prevents investigation of this odd imprint.
105. Wing B5656; L897; BL has 2 copies of the Lee work, one for Sawbridge and one for Tytan and Basset, 1665, while NUC lists other 1659 copies for Basset, Giles Calvert, Moseley, Roper, G. Calvert, George Sawbridge (see Appendix 9). Hartlib's, though smaller volumes, are also elaborately printed, with illustrations.

106. Wing R1037, printed by Streater and Cottrell and to be sold by George Sawbridge; BL has a copy by the same printers, to be sold by Henry Fletcher. SR 2, pp.65, 67.

107. Wright is the exception: he seems to have been Anglican throughout (DNB).

108. DNB; DAB.


110. Terry, A.E. op. cit.; p.212 above.

111. Twyn is an obvious example (and casualty) of the practice.

112. Stationers' Company Court Book D, 55 (22 May 1660); CSPD 1663/4, p.8.

113. See p.145 above.

114. CSPD 1663/4, pp.36, 425. Leach's petition is endorsed 'Leach, Hudibras'; Plomer, H.R. 1907. op. cit. records his arrest in 1662 for printing seditious literature 'with a base stollen edition of poor Hudibras', which may mean that the petition is misdated. Plomer's identification of Leach as the printer arrested by Northrop on 6 January 1662 (CSPD 1661/2, p.237) confirms his involvement in the regicide speeches, and his refusal to give information to the authorities.

115. PRO SP29/187:172.

116. CSPD 1667, p.395. Johnson printed the 1662 folio of Wright's 'Pentateuch' sold by Elizabeth Calvert in the 1670s. He was in trouble throughout the 1660s for seditious printing, including the series of 'Painter' poems.
117. CSPD 1668/9, pp.409, 411. Parkhurst's summons requests that he bring the reply to a friendly debate (see p.203 above).

118. Survey of 24 July 1668, printed in Plomer, H.R. 1900. A short history of English printing, pp.185-8; CSPD 1668/69, pp.107, 110. Redman's defence was that his wife had accepted the copy for printing.

119. PRO SP29/38:561, 58.

120. See p.197 above.

121. McKenzie, D.F. 1974. op. cit., Hayden, R. op. cit.. The father and son are confused in accounts of Quaker bookselling, as for example by Mortimer, R.S. 1947. op. cit.. See p.25 above for the combination of the Llanvaches and Bristol churches. Hayden assumes that the elder Moone left to join the Quakers; his last appearance in the Broadmead records is in 1653, when he was sent to admonish Baptists including Hollister who had joined the Quakers.

122. CSPD 1653/4, pp.433, 106. His imprisonment is likely to have resulted from either a breach of parliamentary privilege (CJ, 7, p.296, 6 August) or the investigation of The humble petition ... by apprentices in support of Lilburne (CSPD 1653/4, p.65).

123. Inexplicably, two weddings were held within a week: Mormon index has marriages on 24 March 1654 at St. Gregory by St. Paul, and on 31 March 1654 at St. Lawrence Jewry. Their son Richard was christened on 15 April 1657.


125. CJ, 7, p.405; Thurloe, 3, pp.738-9; ibid., 4, p.5.


127. PRO SP29/81:73.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid., Enc. II notes Moone's 'ignorance' of his supplier.

130. See p.192 above; PRO SP29/209:75.

131. Moone's last imprint is Wing H2283, printed by 'J.C.' in 1661. Later in the century a Quaker Moone family
was established in Bristol, but there is nothing to connect them with the booksellers. Moone's earlier career needs more investigation; after the move to Bristol, however, there are few records of his activities.

132. SR 2, p.485, 27 July 1674; Wing S5390 and S5385.
133. CSPD 1673/5, pp.122, 123. The printer Crouch was also arrested a few days later (ibid., p.132). Verbum sapienti, ibid., pp.128-132.
134. Wing R116. This was presumably published well after her death: her will was proved in February 1675, but any publication before this would have been dated 1674 in the old style.

Conclusion
2. Wing; Morrison, P.G. 1955. Index of printers, publishers and booksellers in Donald Wing's Short title catalogue ... 1641-1700; McKenzie, D.F. 1974. op. cit.
3. Bell, M. op. cit.
4. Hunt, M. op. cit.; Spufford, M. 1984. The great reclothing of rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century notes women pedlars and booksellers at fairs e.g. Joan Dant, a Quaker pedlar who left over £9,000 when she died in 1714.
5. e.g. CSPD 1648/9, pp.310, 331; LJ 9, p.163; Hart, W.H. 1872. Index expurgatorius Anglicanus (reprint, 1969), pp.200-5.
8. PRO SP29/251:196.
9. 'the honest (Mercurial) Women, Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Nutt, Mrs. Curtis, Mrs. Mallett, Mrs. Croom, Mrs. Grover, Mrs. Barnes, Mrs. Winter, Mrs. Taylor' (Dunton, J. op. cit., p.236).
10. See p.215 above.


12. CSPD 1675/6, pp.395-6, 400; Catharine Knight's evidence is very detailed, for example, about prices.


14. Examples of women whose names occur only once or twice are Eleanor Passenger (alias Ellen Braban) (CSPD 1648/9, pp.310, 331; ibid. 1650, pp.368, 522, 533; LJ 7, p.520); Abigail Rogers (CSPD 1650, pp.514, 542; LJ 8, pp.615, 624, 634); Mary Silvester, handling imported Catholic books (CSPD 1640, pp.176, 256-7). Elizabeth Alkin ("Parliament Joan") would make an interesting study: see Frank, J. 1961. The beginnings of the English newspaper 1620-1660, pp.204, 216, 348, 354 and CSPD 1651/2, 1652/3, 1653/4, 1654, 1655 for numerous references to her.

15. LJ 8, pp.647-8; Gregg, P. op. cit., p.151. Gregg assumes she was the wife of the Leveller Richard Overton, but references to a shop suggest that she might have been married to Henry Overton of Pope's Head Alley. See p.57 above for the confusion between the two Overtons. Thomas Johnson printed for Giles Calvert and may have worked on the 'Painter' poems.


17. Mortimer, R.S. 1946. op. cit. has examples of Bristol Friends in the 1670s preparing material for printing themselves, though the first recorded Bristol printer, William Bonney, did not set up a press there until 1696. In 1662 Robert Wilson was sending books to Bristol for Ireland (CSPD 1661/2, p.414, printed in full in Penney, N. 1913. op. cit., p.148). Bristol Men's Meeting sent books to Wales, America and the West Indies (Mortimer, R.S. 1946. op. cit., p.296).
Bristol fair was an important distribution point (n. 70 above and Mortimer p. 321).


19. See p. 53 above.
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Mirabilis annus secundus; or, the second year of prodigies ..., 1662.
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