Notes

INTRODUCTION: CROSSING BORDERS: FROM PRIVATE DIALOGUE TO PUBLIC DEBATE

1. As “free conference” is printed in brackets, it may be a revision to the original text, either by Chidley or the printer. With the exception of titles, I have modernized spelling, where this does not interfere with the sense or scansion.

2. See Habermas’s first, influential book on the public sphere, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. The continuing interest in locating a pre-eighteenth-century public sphere along Habermas’s lines is evidenced by a recent issue of Criticism (2004), edited by Joseph Loewenstein and Paul Stevens. Based on a cluster of 2002 MLA panels, it addresses the question “When is a public sphere?” Though its attempt to create a “tentative genealogy” of publicness is admirable, its focus on “an apolitical precursor” to Habermas’s eighteenth-century ideal leaves out the politically vested communities this book addresses (Loewenstein and Stevens, “Introduction” 202). Critics of seventeenth-century studies who are more attentive to a pluralized and conflictual model of seventeenth-century publicness include James Holstun (Ehud’s Dagger), Mihoko Suzuki, and David Zaret (“Religion, Science, and Printing”). See also Joad Raymond, who has argued in relation to early modern newspapers that the expanded print culture of this period was “heterodox and conflictual” (“The Newspaper” 129).

3. Since Fraser published her critique, Habermas, too, has pluralized public debate. See Habermas, Postnational Constellation.

4. Michael Warner notes that even for Habermas, the inclusivity of the public sphere has never been realized, but “has always been structured by a set of ideals that were contradicted by its own organization and compromised by its own ideology” (46).

5. For scholars who rethink the relationship of public and private, see, for example, John Brewer on the terms in the long eighteenth century; Michael Warner on modern publics; and Dena Goodman on Old Regime France. Amanda Vickery offers a comprehensive critique of the concepts as the dominant organizing principle of gender discourse in studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
6. For scholars who question the public/private dichotomy in the seventeenth century see, for example, Raymond (Pamphlets and Pamphleteering 277), Lois Schwoerer (58), and Kari Boyd McBride (14). For a recent article that explores sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century meanings of “private,” also see Longfellow.

7. Clark’s Working Life of Women was first published in 1919, Stopes’s The “Sphere” of Man in 1907.

8. This is a republication from Hutson’s earlier The Usurer’s Daughter (1994), in which she stresses that the dichotomy of private woman and public man was a “fiction” but that it nonetheless had real limiting effects on women’s “access” to “cultural production” (21, 51). Warnicke argues that women could participate in public life, but only “in indirect ways through the manipulation of their male relatives” (140).

9. Write or Be Written (2001), for example, edited by Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt, includes only three essays out of twelve that explicitly address women’s relation to public politics. Similarly, the otherwise impressive A Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing (2002), edited by Anita Pacheco, contains valuable contextual essays on women and education, religion, law, work, and writing, but lacks a comparable section on women and politics.

10. As Erickson notes, “Prohibitions upon girls and women appearing in public places like markets and fairs are entirely absent from early modern ballads and broadsides” (10). For women’s involvement in coffee shops, see Pincus.

11. See Hilda Smith’s All Men and Both Sexes (74–83) and Maureen Bell’s “A Dictionary of Women in the London Book Trade” and “Women Writing and Women Written” on printers and guilds. See also Dagmar Freist for female hawkers, printers, and booksellers.

12. Histories of women that detail their relation to public institutions include Crawford, “The Poorest She”; Willen, “Women in the Public Sphere”; and Mendelson and Crawford, Women in Early Modern England. Queens are the exception that proves the rule as regards women holding governmental court office and queens’ courts could offer a handful of aristocratic women court position and power. For female courts’ appropriation of masculine models of “institutional selfhood,” see McManus.

13. Catherine Belsey and Lena Cowen Orlin both analyze the analogous and contradictory relations between conduct literature and patriarchal theory. For an argument about the enabling potential for women writers of these contradictions, see chapter 1 in this book.

14. Though the idea of the church as an extended family was not new, the sects used an intensified language of attachment not just to Christ but to each other to facilitate bonding and, as Edwards notes below, to justify their relative autonomy from state institutions. On a Baptist “counterromance” of church affiliation that substitutes for hierarchical domestic arrangements, see Gillespie (Domesticity and Dissent 131–39).
15. For arguments over religious settlements couched in terms of public and private, see, for example, Katherine Chidley’s arguments that “private men” (i.e., men without official position) can set up churches (The Justification 34, 51), or Daniel Featley’s The Dippers Dipt, which purports to quote Baptists saying: “The scripture puts no difference betwixt public and private; it is as lawful to worship God in a private house, to preach there, as in one of your Steeple houses” (10). For female sectarians on these debates, see Gillespie’s Domesticity and Dissent.

16. For Philips’s use of the term friend see Barash and chapter 3 in this book. The Quakers did not officially become known as the “Religious Society of Friends” until the eighteenth century, but drew on the Bible to describe themselves as “friends in the light” and “Friends of Truth” long before this. On the competing classical models of male friendship (from Aristotle, Plato, Catullus) available for potential revision—or rejection—by women like Philips, see Andreadis (43, 57).

17. For a different use of the familiar letter between writers on opposed sides of the Civil Wars, see Wilcher (162–67).

18. See, for example, Herrick’s “True Safety” (Hesperides 288) or Lovelace’s “The Grasshopper” (Lucasta 34–36).

19. For a detailed history of male friendship from the classical period to the Enlightenment, see Alan Bray. Though I differ from Bray in retaining a sense of friendship’s privacy (as seventeenth-century writers code it as exclusive, and, as Bray notes, intimate), we both analyze the wider social—and in my case political—uses of friendship.

20. Feminists who analyze the problematic status of the household in Habermas include Fraser, in Unruly Practices, and Marie Fleming. In his “Further Reflections on the Public Sphere,” Habermas concedes that “[u]nlike the exclusion of underprivileged men, the exclusion of women had structuring significance” on the development of the public sphere (428).

21. There are of course exceptions: see Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson’s diverse anthology of women’s poetry across the British Isles; Norbrook’s “Women, the Republic of Letters, and the Public Sphere”; and Margaret Ferguson’s magisterial Dido’s Daughters.

22. Bell and Crawford show seventeenth-century women’s published writing starting at a low of 0.3 percent of total published material, climbing to 1.3 percent in the 1650s, and reaching a high point of 1.6 in 1690 (266–67).

23. For the dating of modern notions of an impersonal state (rather than governance embodied in the king) to this period or slightly earlier, see Skinner and Orr. For a sampling of scholars who stress the multi-kingdom or colonial context of British identity and governance in this period see Bradshaw and Morrill’s The British Problem, Schwyzzer and Mealor’s Archipelagic Identities, and Baker and Maley’s British Identities. Scholars are just beginning to stress transnational or archipelagic

24. Begun by groundbreaking anthologies such as Greer et al.’s *Kissing the Rod*, and reinvigorated by a second wave of recovery of women’s manuscripts by groups such as the Perdita Project, the market for early women’s writing has grown greatly. Recent collections of articles include books growing out of the conferences sponsored by the Society for the Study of Early Modern Women, such as *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women*, edited by Donawerth and Sceff. Recent anthologies of early modern women’s writing include *Early Modern Women’s Manuscript Poetry* by Millman and Wright. For an interesting anthology that couples writing by men and women, see Travitsky and Prescott’s *Female and Male Voices*.

25. In addition to Holstun, mentioned above, Norbrook investigates the development of a republican tradition in *Writing the English Republic*; Nigel Smith the evolution of a public sphere of debate in *Literature and Revolution*; Achinstein the rise of practices of activist reading in *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*; and Zaret the creation of public opinion in *Origins of Democratic Culture*.


27. For Fell’s crucial role coordinating Quaker publications and organizing national campaigns from Swarthmoor Hall, see Peters, particularly chapter 2.

28. Saltmarsh’s actions toward the end of his life are recorded in *Wonderfull Predictions Declared in a Message* (1648). For more on both men, see chapter 2 in this book.

29. When the British Civil Wars appear in Habermas, they act as foils to his bourgeois public sphere. Arguing that systematic opposition to the government existed only “from 1727 on,” he states: “Until then political opposition at the national level had been possible only as the attempt to push one’s interests by resorting to violence in the forms of the Fronde and the Civil War” (*Structural Transformation* 64). Fraser’s theory allows us to see interested conflict as constitutive of reasoned public discourse rather than as antithetical to it.

30. Scholars such as Jonathan Goldberg, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong have argued that the literature surrounding James I and his son, Charles, elevated the king as the embodiment of an abstract ideal of power.

31. For an example of this kind of “prying” see Shohet’s suggestive argument that printed masques could circulate as a kind of news.

32. For these and other key events, see Christopher Hill’s *Century of Revolution* (94–165).

33. On this coalition as a powerful force in the Revolutionary conflict, see Brenner.
34. The first figure comes from a search for all publications between these dates on Early English Books Online, and so does not distinguish between new books, republications, and new editions. The figures for 1642 and 1639 are from John Barnard and Maureen Bell’s statistical tables of books, compiled from Wing, Pollard, and Redgrave’s *Short Title Catalogues* (783).

35. Post-revisionist emphasis on opposition has generated a plethora of research on the early Stuart period. See, for example, Richard Cust, Alastair Bellany, Curtis Perry, Thomas Cogswell, Stephen Clucas, and Rosalind Davies.

36. Rich historical narratives of the rise of these diverse and conflicting groups abound. In addition to scholars already discussed, see Raymond on Scots Presbyterians (*Pamphlets* 161–201); Murray Tolmie and Tai Liu for the Independents and the sects; G.E. Aylmer for Leveller politics; Keith Lindley and Robert Ashton on English Presbyterian activity; and Lois Potter and David Underdown (*Royalist Conspiracy*) on Royalist activism. Bernard Capp’s *The Fifth Monarchy Men* and Christopher Hill’s *The World Turned Upside Down* are still the most comprehensive accounts of, respectively, the Fifth Monarchists and the radical groups generally in this period.

37. For other essay- or chapter-length articles analyzing women writers and seventeenth-century public spheres see Raymond’s analysis of female pamphleteers in *Pamphlets*; Schwoerer’s comprehensive survey of women’s political writings and the public, “Women’s Public Political Voice”; and Achinstein’s analysis of women’s use of reasoned discourse and the male backlash it provoked in her “Women on Top.”

38. Both Bradstreet and Philips’s husbands were sympathetic to their literary efforts, but were absent a great deal. Simon Bradstreet in New England and James Philips in Wales held government posts and were busy in land transfers and thus both left their wives often, traveling widely for business. See chapters 3 and 4 in this book.

39. For scholars on women and the sects in addition to those already discussed, see, for example, Phyllis Mack, Hilary Hinds, Keith Thomas, Nigel Smith (*Perfection Proclaimed*), Dorothy Ludlow, and Anne Laurence.

40. For women petitioners, see Suzuki, Anne McEntee, and Patricia Higgins.

41. On Royalist women, see Antonia Fraser, Ezell (*The Patriarch’s Wife*), Carol Barash, Hero Chalmers, and Catherine Gallagher. Channel’s amanuensis, Arise Evans, says, “you shall find more truth and substance in it, than in all Hana Trapnel’s songs or sayings” (7).

42. See, for example, “To my sister S.G.” (8), “To my sister, S.S.” (27), “When my brother was sick” (32), and “To my brother” (35) in *Eliza’s Babes*.

43. As Jeffrey Master puts it, early modern women were forced to “locate themselves in a textual economy normatively transacted between men” (8).
44. For Swetnam, see Henderson and McManus. For Stuckley, see his sermon printed in Mall’s 1658 [A] True Account.
45. See, for example, Peter Stallybrass’s seminal essay on the question of woman, enclosure, and silence, and Suzanne Hull’s Chaste, Silent, and Obedient.
46. See the prefaces to Naylor’s 1661 Milk for Babes and his 1658 A Message from the Spirit of Truth, and Mack (200–01).
47. For the necessity of reading Quaker pamphlets through models of collaborative authorship, see Catie Gil.
48. Scholars who offer sophisticated analyses of gender fluidity in the early modern period include Wendy Wall (Imprint of Gender), Mary Beth Rose, Rachel Trubowitz, and Phyllis Mack.
49. With the possible exception of the role of queen. For Elizabeth I’s use of transgender positions, for example, see Carol Levine’s “Power, Politics, and Sexuality: Images of Elizabeth I.”
50. For Trapnel’s biography, see her Anna Trapnel’s Report and Plea.
51. There are, of course, exceptions. See, for example, the prefatory matter to Aemilia Lanyer’s Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum, where she attempts to construct a female community (The Poems).
52. Underhill published two tracts by Elizabeth of Bohemia, and another by Henrietta Maria.
53. In this emphasis on men and women’s collaboration, I differ from Suzuki, who focuses on a female or proto-feminist counterpublic. For a statistical analysis of women’s books of the period, with similar reservations about a female tradition, see Maureen Bell’s “Women Writing” (434–35).

**Chapter 1 The Zealous Mother: Dorothy Leigh and the Godly Family**

1. Both Leigh’s book and The Fathers Blessing bear the date 1616 on the title-page, but The Fathers Blessing was entered in the Stationer’s Register on October 29, 1615, whereas Leigh’s book was not entered until February 26, 1616, suggesting her book may have been published later.
2. Leigh’s book was published at least nineteen times before 1640, of which fifteen editions survive. After 1640, there are only four surviving editions from the seventeenth century. Page length and chapter numbers vary slightly from edition to edition, depending on print size; however, the content remains the same. All quotations will be taken from the 1616 edition unless otherwise stated.
3. Writers on James include Wormald, Doelman, Sharpe, Goldberg, and biographers such as Willson and Lee.
4. The 1622 and 1623 editions of Leigh’s book were bound with the 1621 and 1624 editions of The Fathers Blessing, respectively. A letter from Queries (with no author, date, or publishing information) has
been added to the *Early English Books* tenth edition of *The Mothers Blessing* (1627) stating that the owner of this edition also found it bound with the 1624 edition of *The Fathers Blessing*.

5. See Lewalski’s *Writing Women*, Ezell’s *The Patriarch’s Wife*, and Goldberg’s *Desiring Women*.

6. Works dealing with conduct literature in a similar vein include Hilary Hinds, who states: “The family was represented as a ‘little church’ or ‘little state,’ and thus unquestionably patriarchal and authoritarian” (35), and Anne Rosalind Jones who, while mounting a sophisticated exploration of women poets’ multiple resistances to the exigencies of Puritan conduct, also presents that conduct as a univocal replication of the monarchist state: “As the king rules over his kingdom, the father rules over his family and flock” (“Nets and Bridles” 59).

7. See Wall, *Staging Domesticity*.

8. More recently, Lena Cowen Orlin similarly analyzes the inconsistencies in women’s roles in the family (100–01).

9. Early in his career, Breton wrote elegies and dedications for Sidney, Spenser, and the countess of Pembroke, thus aligning himself with the pan-Protestant Leicester circle. However, he also wrote panegyrics for James I and published a criticism of dissent called *A Murmurer* in 1607.

10. For an extended analysis of literary transvestitism in the Renaissance, see Harvey.

11. I am arguing the reverse of Poole here, who claims that maternity only operates as a “facade” for Breton and that he “soon abandons all references to the maternal in either tone or content” (70). This ignores Breton’s many continuing references to his maternal persona.


13. There were moves to semi-Separatism during this period; for example, the London Jacob’s Church was started the same year Leigh’s *The Mothers Blessing* was first published. See Tolmie’s *The Triumph of the Saints*.

14. In 1613, Frances Howard started divorce proceedings against the earl of Essex, in order to marry Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. During the divorce, there was a split between the early Arminian party (Neile, Buckeridge, Andrewes, and Bilson) who all voted in support of the King’s wishes for annulment, and the Anglo-Calvinists (King and Abbot) who opposed the divorce (Fincham and Lake 192). The public polarization over the scandal of the Essex divorce became even greater after it was discovered during 1615–16 that Somerset’s advisor, Overbury, who had opposed Somerset’s marriage to Frances Howard, had been poisoned. The Somersets were tried for murder in May 1616, and Overbury came to be seen as a Protestant martyr, persecuted by the powerful, Catholic Howard faction and the parasitic
Carr (Bromham and Bruzzi 32–34; Bellany, The Politics of Court Scandal).

15. Most sources agree on the identity of her father; however, the connection between Leigh and the William Leigh beneficed by Winthrop is less certain. Sources of biographical information on Leigh include a reply from the editor in Notes and Queries; Paul and Jane Schlueter’s An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers; and Bell, Parfitt, and Shepherd’s A Biographical Dictionary of English Women Writers.

16. The first seven editions of Leigh’s were published by Budge, who also published volumes of elegies for the death of Prince Henry; books by conformist Anglicans (such as John Denison); and books by former Separatists who had returned to the Anglican fold (such as Richard Bernard). From 1627 to 1640 most of the surviving editions were printed by R. Allot, who published from a theologically varied group of mainly religious writers, including both conformist divines, such as Mathew Griffith, and nonconformists, such as Thomas Hooker, already in exile in New England at this time. Any conclusion drawn from publishers must be tentative, as they are of differing political commitments and chose books as much for market as for ideological value. However, Leigh’s publishing history before 1640 puts her with Calvinist theological writers with varying commitments to the Anglican hierarchy.

17. On this masque, see David Norbrook’s “The Reformation of the Masque” and Barbara Lewalski’s chapter on Elizabeth in Writing Women in Jacobean England.

18. She situates deference to royal authority within the context of a broader civic and religious duty, however, arguing that a strong faith will better enable her sons “to serve God, thy King, and Country, both in thy life and in thy death” (22).

19. Snook’s analysis of Leigh’s “cultural politics of vernacular literacy” also emphasizes Leigh’s counsels on reading (80).

20. See Milton’s An Apology against a Pamphlet (1642), for example, in which he berates Anglican clergy for pluralism and their condescending attitude to a populace that they themselves have trained to be ignorant (Complete Prose 932).

21. The canons restricted preaching to those ministers examined by bishops for their conformity and licensed accordingly; those who were not licensed were told to read from the Book of Homilies and procure a licensed preacher once a month from their own salaries (Hill, Society and Puritanism 34–35). This was an attempt to control the political climate, as the pulpit was one of the major sources of government propaganda.

22. The controversy between Puritans (who advocated stricter Sunday observance) and the defenders of village festivities revived during the period leading up to the Addled Parliament of 1614, when there was a surge of local activities against pastimes and plays (Marcus 66). So
acrimonious were the battles between Puritan reformers and defenders of Sunday sports that Patrick Collinson has pinpointed this culture clash as a major factor in the Civil Wars: “England’s wars of religion began, in a sense, with the maypole” (Birthpangs 141).

23. A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers for 1615–16 shows pamphlets by and about Overbury in great demand. One of Leigh’s publishers, Robert Allot, later published one of Overbury’s books, Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife, in 1632.

24. In 1618 James issued the first Declaration of Sports to settle debate over the Sabbath, but its polarization of the situation only confirmed pastimes as “part of the symbolic language of Stuart power” (Marcus 5); Charles reissued his father’s text almost fifteen years later, but in doing so only intensified the association among corrupt hierarchy, Laudian high-church reforms, and popular sports. For extended commentaries on the Sabbatarian controversies see Marcus, Whitaker, and Hill, Society and Puritanism, chapter 5.

25. Conformists believed that since the ancient days of the church, the congregation had lost their right to elect their own minister (Lake, “Calvinism” 214).

26. See Lake’s “Calvinism.”  
27. For a detailed historical account of the growth of opposition during this period, see Cogswell’s The Blessed Revolution.

28. In the original edition, the cut line reads: “Yet know withal there is a King of Kings: / Who hoisteth up and headlong tumbleth down” (7).

29. Roe talked of his subsequent ambassadorial post to Turkey that year as a form of “banishment” (Strachan 132).

30. As neither edition contains the name of publishers or the place of publication, it is not certain where the two versions were published; however, Pollard and Redgrave’s Short Title Catalogue traces the first edition to Amsterdam and the second to London, published anonymously. The first edition was printed under a different title: The Answer of a Mother unto Hir Seduced Sonnes Letter (1627) and may have been an answer to a pamphlet ostensibly published from Douai in 1623 called An Epistle of a Catholike Young Gentleman, perhaps written by an anonymous English convert on the continent (though actually published secretly in England). If so, A Mothers Teares takes part in a propaganda war, waged within England and across the channel by Catholics and Protestants engaged in ideological and then literal conflict. The quotations I have chosen appear in both editions of the text, unless otherwise stated, but the page numbering comes from the first, Amsterdam version, which is considerably shorter.

31. A Mothers Teares also cites Elizabeth Joceline’s The Mothers Legacie as a precedent.

32. For more information on Stam, and his printing of corantos for import into England, see Dahl. Dahl also states that Veseler was involved in printing the earliest known coranto from Amsterdam (31).
33. Stam published *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus* (1636); *A Breviate of the Prelates Intollerable Usurpations* (1637); and XVI. New *Quaeres Proposed to Our Lord Prelates* (1637), all by Prynne.

34. For more on the conflict between Arminianism and Calvinism see Tyacke, “Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered” and “Anglican Attitudes”; and Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology*.

35. As James emphasized pacifism in the face of growing continental strife, and Charles found himself first negotiating for the hand of a Spanish Catholic and then married to a French one, the traditional insistence on Catholics as agents of the Antichrist seemed less useful politically, particularly when apocalyptic zeal played such a major role in the anti-governmental publications of the Bohemian Crisis and Spanish match.

36. Roger Lockyer, Buckingham’s biographer, describes some of the anti-Catholic feeling that surrounded the court favorite in *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers*. See also Holstun’s *Ehud’s Dagger* and Bellany’s “‘Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse.’”

37. Milton, for example, criticizing Presbyterians who were turning away from the more radical implications of the Revolution, alludes to their identification of Charles with Ahab in *Eikonoklastes*: “he that was once their Ahab, now their Josiah” (*Complete Poems* 794).

38. On Revolutionary Period women prophets see Purkiss, Gillespie’s *Domesticity and Dissent*, Holstun’s chapter on Anna Trapnel in his *Ehud’s Dagger*, and chapter 2 in this book.

39. For the flipside of this phenomenon, where Royalists use maternity in scurrilous attacks that satirize Parliamentary power through gross female embodiment, see the *Mistris Parliament* pamphlets (1648).

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**Chapter 2  At “Liberty to Preach in the Chambers”: Sarah Wight, Henry Jessey, and the New-Modeled Community of Saints**

1. For this phrase, and a detailed documentation of the events leading up to the army’s march on London in August 1647, see Ashton.

2. Maureen Bell notes that because Wight’s words are published in Jessey’s text she “disappears, bibliographically, from view” (“Women Writing” 433).

3. Other critics who discuss Wight in general analyses of female prophets include Hobby (*Virtue of Necessity* 67, 69), Ludlow (155–60), Stevie Davies (123–35), and Nigel Smith (*Perfection Proclaimed* 45–51).

4. These records, reproduced among other sectarian documents in Burrage, are often attributed to Jessey and are, in fact, known as the “Jessey memoranda.”
5. The elliptical nature of these notes means that it is hard to tell whether this is a reference to her testimony to the court or the title of a book. However, there are two surviving publications during this period by a Sarah Jones: the first book is by a woman identified as an Independent by Phyllis Mack (413), and the second is by a Quaker. Either or both of these authors could be the Sarah Jones mentioned in the Jacobs Church records and *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*.

6. The title-page attributes this publication to a John Hart, or “HART ON-HI,” and I have followed Wing’s *Short Title Catalogue* in doing the same, though Dailey attributes the work to one of Drake’s visitors, Jeremy Heartwell (442).

7. Hooker had moved to New England by the time of the book’s publication, but he was still in Old England at the time of Drake’s troubles, and appears as a character in the text. One historian suggests that Hooker may have arranged the publication before he died, or that it was published at his wife’s request (Williams 114).

8. On John Dod see Williams (119); on John Preston and John Forbes see Greaves and Zaller (3: 59; 1: 294).

9. For information on these performances, see Mares’s introduction to the play (lxii, lxv).

10. This 1654 edition was retitled *The Firebrand Taken out of the Fire*. It has a new, anonymous preface that presents Drake’s conversion as a counter to those who “rage horribly against God’s Ministers” ([A3]).

11. *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* was entered in the Stationer’s Register on May 20, 1647, but Jessey added to the book until at least July 16, the last date on the prefatory material. The second edition was published sometime after September 21, 1647, the last date on a revised prefatory letter from Jessey. It would make sense to see the first edition as published sometime between the two dates, probably, given Jessey’s apologies for his own errors of haste, in late July/early August (av).

12. Saltmarsh’s *Free Grace* in part uses spiritual affliction as a polemical tool to criticize preachers who rely too heavily on ordinances (17). He emphasizes instead that “Christ crucified is the foundation and cornerstone and rock for sinners” (29–30).

13. Jessey names eighty-two visitors in his preface, claiming “many more might be named,” and then sporadically adds new names later in the dialogues (9–10). For specific visitors, see below.

14. Although Wight’s fast was published first, Trapnel later claimed to have had her first prophetic experience in 1646 (Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone* 3), so it is difficult to tell which woman was the originator of this spate of fasting prophesies.

15. As Dailey notes, Jessey’s list includes at least two moderate religious Presbyterians, indicating his desire to incorporate moderates of a range of denominations (453).

16. For these men, see, respectively, Greaves and Zaller (3: 195–96; 2: 61; 3: 32). Other men in Jessey’s lists who were connected to the army
include Thomas Coxe, military physician (Dailey 445); Richard Price, captain of a Welsh regiment (Greaves and Zaller 3:61); Thomas Palmer, army chaplain (Greaves and Zaller 3: 4); Robert Blake, organizer of Parliamentary resistance at Bristol (Greaves and Zaller 1: 72); and Isaac Knight, who met with officers to pray for the army before Pride’s Purge (Capp 253; Gentles 278).

17. These images, an amalgam of Galatians 3.24 and 4.2, are evoked in similar terms by Saltmarsh in Free Grace (148).

18. For more on Hannah Allen, her sectarian connections, and publications, see Bell, “Hannah Allen.”

19. Ernestine van der Wall notes that Ranelagh is mentioned in the list of visitors as Lady “Renula,” along with William Worsley, a correspondent of Robert Boyle’s (“A Philo-Semitic Millenarian” 164). Other ladies who visit Wight include Lady Vermuyden and Lady Darcy, both of whom later also visited the prophet Anna Trapnel (Trapnel, The Cry of a Stone 2).

20. Jessey mentions “Sir Ric Philips and his Lady, dau to Dr. Oxenbridge” (9). Katherine Philips’s mother was the daughter of Daniel Oxenbridge and married Sir Richard Philips in 1646 (Souers 12–18).

21. This number includes Jessey himself, as well as John Simpson, Isaac Knight (another early leader at Allhallows), Edward Harrison, and Richard Price. Thomas Palmer, Samuel Fisher, John Browne (whose letter is added to the 1648 edition), Morgan Llwyd, and John Tillinghast also all joined the Fifth Monarchist movement. Although Jessey was more openly opposed to Royalism, it was disaffection with the Commonwealth government that led him to join the Allhallows Fifth Monarchist meetings in 1651. Jessey was a moderate and, with John Simpson, split from the group in 1657 over its identification of the Cromwellian government with the Antichrist (White, “Pastor” 107). However, his dedication to a belief that worldly governments would soon fall before the reign of the saints is clear throughout his career. For more on Fifth Monarchists, see Capp.

22. Jessey cites Wight as proof of the coming fulfillment of the passage from Joel 2.28: God has promised “to pour out his Spirit in the last days” (A6v).

23. In Storehouse, Jessey refers to the conversion of a Jew (35). For more on Jessey’s connection to the movement to readmit the Jews to England see Katz (“Mannesheh Ben Israel’s Christian Connection” and Philo-Semitism 125–31) and Ernestine van der Wall (“A Philo-Semitic Millenarian”). Jessey also translated The Conversion of Five Thousand and Nine Hundred East-Indians in the Isle of Formosa, 1650 (Ball 109). This document described the missionary work of Robert Junius, which was seen as a sign that the preaching of the word to all nations, a necessary precursor to the millennium, was being accomplished (Ball 110).
24. On the relationship between apocalyptic belief and sectarian practices of assimilation and exclusion, see Guibbory and the conclusion of this book.

25. See, for example, Purkiss’s sophisticated “Producing the Voice, Consuming the Body,” and Berg and Berry’s “Spiritual Whoredom.”

26. Along with contributing a preface to Mary Cary’s *Little Horns Doom and Downfall* (1651), Jessey’s recollection of the 1661 spiritual counsels of a ten-year-old, Mary Warren, was written down and published by Abraham Cheare as *A Looking-Glass for Children* (1673). Jessey’s interest in other miraculous signs of God’s favor or displeasure were recorded in his later publications, such as *The Lord’s Loud Call to England* (1660).

27. Jessey notes that Wight is raised from the dead like Lazarus and Dorcus (av).

28. There are seven surviving editions from before 1660 (it was published at least twice in 1647, 1648, and 1658). It was also republished in 1666.

29. Jessey promises to print these letters, along with the other conferences, in the second part that never materialized. Serrarius wrote a foreword to a translation of Sprigge’s sermons in 1654 (van den Berg 190). In 1658, the year he is mentioned in Jessey and Wight’s book, he contributed a letter on the conversion of the Jews to *An Information Concerning the Present State of the Jewish Nation in Europe and Judea*, variously attributed to either Jessey or Dury. For more on Serrarius’s career generally see van den Berg and van der Wall (“The Amsterdam Millenarian”).

30. Like *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, this book is often attributed to Allen in bibliographies but claims to record Huish’s words. It is therefore perhaps better seen as a collaborative book.

31. See *A Serious Letter Sent by a Private Christian*, *Advice Sent in a Letter from an Elder Brother to a Younger*, and *A Letter from a Christian Friend*, which claims boldly “a Tyrant’s death is the people’s Antidote” (8), all published, like Wight’s book, in 1655.

32. For analysis of the importance of the Pauline epistles to Marian martyrs, see Knott (84–91).

33. For short biographies of these three men, see Greaves and Zaller (1: 63, 3: 195, and 3: 224).

34. Biddle was imprisoned in 1654, for his *A Two-Fold Catechism*, and Moone and Cottrell were imprisoned for publishing this book (Greaves and Zaller 1: 63). Tany was imprisoned for his attack on Parliament (Greaves and Zaller 3: 224). Spittlehouse was kept in custody early in 1654 for his criticisms of the government. He was rearrested in late 1654 for a new pamphlet criticizing the Protectorate (Greaves and Zaller 3: 195).

35. Hobby and Ludlow identify “R.B.” as Robert Bragge, an Independent minister and rector of Allhallows, who visited Wight
(Hobby, *Virtue* 67; Ludlow 159). Dailey, on the other hand, identifies him as Robert Bacon, author of a Familiarist catechism (453), who seems a more likely candidate, given Moone and Cottrell’s other publications.

36. Lucy Hutchinson, for example, while calling the rest of the Cromwell family “Cavaliers,” wrote approvingly of Bridget (208): “His daughter Fleetwood was humbled not exalted . . . but the rest were insolent fools” (209). Dailey confuses this Mrs. Fleetwood with Mrs. Hartopp, who visited Wight in 1647 (Jessey and Wight A1v), but who did not marry Charles Fleetwood until after Bridget Cromwell’s death in 1662 (Dailey 453).

37. On earlier women writers’ use of Christ as erotic object, see Wall (*Imprint of Gender* 328).

38. Both Allen and John Vernon, a close acquaintance of Allen’s who wrote the second preface to Allen and Huish’s book, knew the Lord Fleetwood of Wight’s letter, attending Particular Baptist meetings with him and working under him in Ireland. For more on Allen, see Hardacre, “William Allen.”

39. George Yule claims Fleetwood was a member of Owen’s congregation (98). For more on the collaboration between Owen and Jessey see White (“Great Rebellion” 141).

40. For more on Livewell Chapman, see Rostenberg.

41. Allen was cleared of any involvement with the book, but the story goes that when called up to defend himself before Cromwell, he claimed that although he was not the author, had he been learned enough to write the pamphlet he would have done so (Hardacre, “William Allen” 303).

42. In 1658, Cromwell sent Desborough to investigate Chapman on a book “reflecting on the government” (Rostenberg 225). Rostenberg speculates this book was *The Captive Taken from the Strong* (225).

43. And, we might add, colonial or semicolonial conquest. Though space does not permit a discussion of this issue, many members of the sects, including Allen, were active in Cromwell’s policy of violence and land transfer in Ireland. For a brief discussion of Allen’s role in 1650s Ireland, and his disquieting attitude to Irish Catholics, see Hardacre (“William Allen” 297–302). For more on England’s vexed geopolitical relation to Ireland see the end of chapter 3 in this book and my forthcoming article on Katherine Phillips in Ireland.

44. Allen and Vernon were in part responsible for the divisions in Rogers’s Dublin congregation that caused him to leave Ireland in 1651 (Hardacre, “William Allen” 299), and so may be in direct competition with him here.

45. In one of his addresses to the Corinthians, Paul denies any need of letters of recommendation from or to his audience, claiming “Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men” (2 Cor. 3.2).
Chapter 3 The Knowing Few: Katherine Philips and the Courtly Coterie

1. Many of Philips’s coterie friends lived in London and Philips’s husband visited the city in an official capacity. However, we have no records of her visiting London extensively during this period, nor do we have records of her London friends visiting her.

2. See, for example, Arthur Marotti, Harold Love, and more recently, Robert Wilcher. Marotti and Love explain the importance of manuscript exchange to women writers, but do not relate these women to the politics of coteries. Wilcher’s extensive study of Royalists addresses Philips for three pages (333–35).

3. Harriette Andreadis and Arlene Stiebel, for example, give sophisticated readings of Philips’s homoerotic poetry, but do not link either Philips’s heterosocial or homoerotic verses to her Royalism.

4. For Patrick Thomas, see his introduction to Collected Works.

5. For other political readings of Philips, see also articles by Kathleen Swaim, Robert C. Evans, and James Loxley (“Unfettered Organs”).

6. Bouts rimés were competitions in which poets would take turns supplying the lines for given rhymes. The rondeaux was a complicated form that involved the repetition of phrases and the use of only two rhymes (Maland 56–59; Mourgues 118–40).

7. For Philips’s poems on these men, see her Collected Works (1: 100, 86, 96, 87, 83, and 143). For Vaughan’s responses, see Philips’s Collected Works (3: 182–84). For Finch’s manuscript dedication to Philips, see below.

8. See Patrick Thomas for the surviving fragment of this verse (Collected Works 1: 332). Berkenhead’s poem to Lucasia, “No Reprieve,” is in Henry Lawes’s Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues set to music (1655) (3).

9. For the other songs Lawes set to music see Philips’s Collected Works (1: 337, 356). Berkenhead’s biographer, P.W. Thomas, notes the Interregnum gatherings that occurred at Lawes’s house (143–44).

10. As Nigel Smith argues, after the King’s death: “For Royalists, elegy attaches itself to everything” (Literature and Revolution 287).

11. However, Moseley also notoriously published Milton’s 1645 Poems.

12. Lawes’s biographer states that he set poems in Musarum Oxoniensium Epibathpia to music (W.M. Evans 160), and Vaughan’s biographer that he is the “H. Vaughan, Jes. Col.” who contributed to Eucharistica Oxoniensia (F.E. Hutchinson 34). The other writer connected to Philips, Sir Edward Dering, contributed to a Cambridge equivalent, Irenodia Cantabrigiensis, in 1641. Other contributors to the
Cartwright volume also wrote for earlier collections: Joseph Howe, Martin Luellin, Richard Hill, and Christopher Ware contributed to *Eucharistica Oxoniensia*, and Ralph Bathurst, Thomas Severne, John Fell, John Finch, and Cartwright himself contributed to *Musarum Oxoniensium Epibathpia*. The authors of the Grenville volume include William Creed, Jasper Mayne, and Martin Luellin, all of whom wrote for Cartwright.

13. Records of the visitation are incomplete and attendance is difficult to determine because many men attended university but did not take a degree (Burrows 465–66). In addition, of the men writing poems for *Comedies* that signed their poems using initials only, three have not been identified. However, nineteen of the names in Cartwright match those called before the visitors during the 1640s, five contributors identify themselves as Oxford men in *Comedies*, and twelve more are included in Foster’s *Alumni Oxonienses*. Vaughan’s biographer states that he attended Oxford (F.E. Hutchinson 32–33) and Patrick Thomas that Francis Finch went to Balliol (*Collected Works* 1: 330). For a table of Oxford men who came before the visitors, see Burrows (465–571).

14. During the early 1640s, New College’s cloisters and tower had become powder magazines, Frewin Hall had been turned into a canon foundry, and Christ Church’s quadrangle had been given the dubious honor of housing the army’s cattle (Hibbert 92).

15. The condition of Fane’s release from the Tower in 1643 was an edict confining him within five miles of London (Hugh Maclean 197).

16. Copies of *The Faithful Scout* (June 20 and June 27, 1651) and *A Perfect Diurnal . . . in Relation to the Armies* (June 23 and June 30) carry news of this uprising and defeat.

17. With the exception of Philips’s poems on Lawes and Cartwright, which are taken from the original publications of their works, all Philips’s poems are from *Collected Works*, Vol. 1.

18. For Lawes and Berkenhead’s careers, see their respective biographers, P.W. Thomas and Willa McClung Evans.

19. The Lawes volume includes three verses by Dering, five songs and a commendatory poem by Berkenhead, one verse by Finch, and one by Cartwright.

20. On this harmonic principle and its political resonance in masques, see Orgel and Strong. Cartwright’s 1636 university production of his *The Royal Slave*, commissioned for the last royal progress, included perspective scene designs by Inigo Jones, songs and instrumental arrangements by Lawes, elaborate Persian costumes, twelve dancers, and special effects—including an eclipse and a shower of rain. On the play’s performance and effects, see W.M. Evans (122–34) and G.B. Evans (171–83).

21. For the manuscript poem, see Nigel Smith (*Literature and Revolution* 290).
22. The two manuscript collections of her poems dating from the 1650s are the Tutin manuscript, an autograph of fifty-five poems (MS 775B), and a miscellany (MS 2. 1073), which includes fourteen of Philips’s poems from 1650 to 1651 (Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts 128–29). Another manuscript miscellany (MSS 6. 13) includes seventy-three of Philips’s poems, dated up until 1662. Sir Thomas Philipps also refers to a Royalist miscellany, which may include poems by Philips, John Jeffreys, and Andrew Marvell. For these, see Beal (Index of English Literary Manuscripts 130–36). For the poems held by Crouch—expelled by the Parliamentary visitors from Oxford—and Bridgewater, see Hageman and Sununu (“New Manuscript Texts” 180–81). Jenkin Jones threatened to publish Philips’s poem defending the King from poetic attack by Vavasor Powell (see above). Jeremy Taylor, an Oxford graduate and protégé of Laud’s, addressed his A Discourse of the Nature, Offices, and Measures of Friendship to Philips, and Davies dedicated his translation of Cleopatra to her. For arguments that Philips may have influenced Overton and Marvell, see respectively David Norbrook (“This Blushing Tribute of a Borrowed ‘Muse’ ”) and Allan Pritchard. Nigel Smith also links Philips and Marvell (The Poems of Andrew Marvell). After the Restoration, manuscript collections of Philips’s work include one in Dering’s hand and another made by a professional scribe for Mary Aubrey (Beal, Index of English Literary Manuscripts 129–30).

23. Finch dedicated his 1653 manuscript Friendship to “D. Noble Lucasia-Orinda” (Patrick Thomas, Katherine Philips (“Orinda”) 28).

24. Patrick Thomas thinks the poem refers to Amoris Effigies (1651), but Berkenhead’s elegy on Charles I, Loyalties Tears (published anonymously in 1649), was republished with the initials “J.B.” in 1650, just before Philips’s poem was written (Collected Works 1: 341). Philips may refer to this elegy.

25. As Margaret Ezell argues, too often pseudonyms are read as “riddles to be solved” rather than as bonding techniques (“Reading Pseudonyms” 14).

26. The title is “To the Noble Silvander on His Dream and Navy, Personating Orinda Preferring Rosania before Salomon’s Traffic to Ophir in these Verses.” For Dering’s fragment, see Philips (Collected Works 1: 332–33). Hageman and Sununu give further examples of Restoration imitations of Philips (“More Copies” 131–46).

27. For violent images in Marvell, see, for example, his punning image of the Republic’s capitol as founded upon “A bleeding head” that “Did fright the architects to run” in “An Horatian Ode” (Complete Poems 69–70).

28. For these quotations, see “To the Much Honored Mr. Henry Lawes” (b1r); “To Mr. Henry Vaughan, Silurist” (line 8); and “To the Noble Palaemon” (line 17).
29. Gallagher coins this phrase to describe the way Margaret Cavendish models her own authorship on the figure of the absolute monarch. Gallagher claims only women use the exiled King as a figure for authority, and that it renders Cavendish “eccentric because outside of anyone else’s circle” (“Embracing the Absolute” 26). Philips shows that this model of royal autonomy can operate for men and that its repetition creates the very circle of which Philips is a part.

30. For example, one of Marvell’s early lyrics, which can be found in the 1645 autograph manuscript of Henry Lawes’s brother, William Lawes, is titled “Thyrisis and Dorinda” (Marvell, Complete Poems 221). Sir Edward Dering’s verses in Lawes’s book, set to music by his wife, also refer to Doris and Chloris (24–25).

31. See Marotti on the dating of both poems to the early years of Donne’s marriage (John Donne 137, 156–57, 169, and 178).

32. Spenser’s Epithalamion, for example, presents marriage as procreational Protestant evangelism, its purpose: “Of blessed Saints for to increase the count” (English Sixteenth-Century Verses 23.423).

33. Goldberg argues that Donne appropriates the language of absolutism for his private sphere (107–11).

34. On Overton’s politically motivated revisions of Philips, see Norbrook (“This Blushing Tribute” 244).

35. For example, The Famous Tragedy of Charles I and Quarles’s Regale Lectum Miseriae both liken Cromwell to tyrants (Potter 118; Maguire 6).

36. See (Hey Hoe for a Husband) and New News from the Old Exchange. For a discussion of this kind of scandalous polemic, see Wiseman, “Porno-Political Rhetoric”.

37. Philips’s position may be similar to the Virgil of the eclogues, as a poet who writes pastoral during a period of massive land transfers, while remaining personally insulated through a problematic political affiliation. Cromwell is not Philips’s Augustus, however.

38. For an exploration of landscape poetry, see Fitter’s Poetry, Space, Landscape.


40. Milton, for example, contrasts the King’s “parasites,” who imitate the royal will (Complete Poems 787–88) to the open trial of debate created by publication (Complete Poems 783).

41. The titles of the two editions are: Poems by the Incomparable Mrs. K.P. (1664), and Poems by the Most Deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, the Matchless Orinda (1667).

42. For this miscellany, see Cowley, to whom it is often attributed.

43. Terminology for the inhabitants of Ireland during this period is vexed. The terms used at the time—New English, Old English, and Old Irish—were slippery, as ethnic distinctions were blurred by the history of settlement, intermarriage, and religious affiliations. I use Anglo-Irish
because it connotes the cultural Englishness of this group, the majority
of whom were from waves of English Protestant settlement in Ireland.
For more on naming, see Connolly (103–43).

44. On the Adventurers see Beckett (The Making of Modern Ireland 87); on Philips’s particular situation, see Souers (157–58).

45. Lady Elizabeth Boyle, Lady Anne Boyle, and Frances Wentworth. For her exchanges with Orrery and Armourer, see her Collected Works (2: 48, 60) and above. For her poems to Orrery’s nieces see Collected Works (1: 177, 201, 221, 223, 227).

46. The authors of the rival translation are: Edmund Waller, Sir Charles Sedley, Charles Sackville, Sir Edward Filmer, and perhaps Sidney Godolphin—though one manuscript copy attributes the fifth act to Sir Samuel Tuke (Philips, Collected Works 2: 71). Philips’s Pompey was performed at the Smock Alley Theater on February 18, 1663. Orrery’s play was performed privately on October 18, 1662, and then publicly at Smock Alley on February 26, 1663 (Beal, In Praise of Scribes 160). Orrery claimed Charles II asked him to write a heroic drama (W.S. Clark, Dramatic Works 23).

47. For a theorization of the connections between England’s Civil Wars and the wars of its subject kingdoms, Ireland and Scotland, see Pocock.

48. At the Restoration, Orrery used the rebellion to define Anglo-Irish loyalty by contrast with Catholic perfidy—the murkier Protestant allegiances of historical fact notwithstanding. See his An Answer to a Scandalous Letter (1662) and anonymously published The Irish Colours Displayed (1662).

49. After the Revolutionary Period, Cromwellian settlers and New English loyalists united to form a powerful class of landholding Protestants. See Barnard (“Crisis of Identity” 54), Beckett (The Making of Modern Ireland 111), and Connolly (13–14).

50. This speech is similar in Corneille. All quotations from Philips’s translation, its prologue by Roscommon, and the commendatory poem by Orrery are taken from Collected Works, Vol. 2.

51. For the dating of these poems to 1650 and 1652, see Patrick Thomas (Collected Works 1: 363, 367).

52. Their version reads: “Yes, I do Love, but must not let the flame / Dazzle me so as to neglect my Fame . . . She that great Caesar loves should in her soul / Abhor th’appearance of a crime so foul” (2.1. 1–2, 7–8).

53. For an association between Cromwell and Julius Caesar, see Marvell’s “An Horatian Ode” (Andrew Marvell: The Complete Poems lines 81–82). Norbrook, Nigel Smith, and Chalmers all show Pompey deployed by Royalists as well as republicans (Writing the English Republic 83–86, 263; Literature and Revolution 207; 87–89). Dering also used Pompey as a metaphor for the triumph of Royalist poetry in the Cartwright volume [A6v].
54. See “On the 3d September” (23–24) and “On the Numerous Accesse of the English” (3–4).

55. Even the Protestant Ormonde was characterized as “an Irish man” for treating with the Irish rebels (Milton, The Works 3: 315).

56. In January 1663, Philips’s English editor, Charles Cotterell, presented a copy to the duchess of York. In April, Philips sent Dublin publications to England (Philips, Collected Works 2: 68, 77). By May, Cotterell presented a print copy to the King and the London publication occurred later that summer (Philips, Collected Works 2: 90, 85).

57. On the Restoration attempt to control the press see Weber and Raymond (Pamphlets 323–82).

58. The four poems written or published in Ireland are by Orrery, Philo-Philippa, Roscommon, and Cowley (from the Dublin miscellany). The author with Irish connections is James Tyrrell, whose mother (heir of James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh) brought printed copies of Pompey to England (Philips, Collected Works 2: 77). Though Tyrrell later became an outspoken Whig, he was related to Cotterell, Philips’s English editor.

Chapter 4  New England Becoming Old: Anne Bradstreet and the Coterie of Ghosts

1. For accounts of the Pequot war and the Antinomian controversy, see Cave and Hall, respectively.

2. There are two seventeenth-century editions of Bradstreet’s work. The 1650 London edition, The Tenth Muse, and the 1678 Boston edition, Several Poems. This chapter focuses on the first edition, from which all quotations by Bradstreet and her prefatory writers are taken.

3. Dudley was elected in May 1637 (A. Jones 234), and the Pequot massacre occurred on May 26, 1637 (Cave 150).

4. For a useful summary of these relations, see Hugh Amory’s “British Books Abroad.”

5. There is some evidence to suggest that Dudley was descended from John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, as was Sidney’s mother, Mary Dudley. Wade White traces the lineage that may have connected Thomas Dudley to the Lords Dudley, although the issue is complicated by the fact that no one knows the identity of Dudley’s paternal grandfather (11–30). Thomas Dudley did use a seal showing descent from the younger son of a baronial house, however (11).

6. Bradstreet also wrote poems to her husband during this period, but these were not published until Several Poems. In terms of the men’s education, Ward, Simon Bradstreet, John Cotton, and Winthrop were all graduates of Cambridge. Samuel Woodbridge and his brother, Benjamin, attended Oxford (Morison, Founding 362–63).
7. For scholars who note critical tradition’s dismissal of Bradstreet’s early poetry, see, for example, Timothy Sweet (168), Ivy Schweitzer (291), and Phillip Round (154).

8. For the popularity of Foxe’s Book of Martyrs in New England, see Wright (36–38).

9. Dudley’s commission was to aid the siege of Amiens, but as Amiens was taken peaceably he did not see any military action and soon returned to England (Jones 20–21).

10. On The Swedish Intelligencer in England, see Gerald Maclean (54). This is listed, along with a number of pamphlets of the 1620s and 1630s, in several New England libraries (Wright 25–27, 38).

11. As Scott and Reynold’s pamphlets were seditious, both the dates and places of publication are unreliable: Pollard and Redgrave’s Short Title Catalogue assumes they were printed in London.

12. On the use of neo-Elizabethanism in the seventeenth century to defend and oppose the Stuart kings, see Anne Barton, C.V. Wedgwood, D.R. Woolf, John Watkins, and Curtis Perry. For Elizabeth’s importance as a figure of female authority for women writers see Lisa Gim and Mihoko Suzuki.

13. Both James and Elizabeth were equally reluctant to aid the Dutch in rebellion against their royal ruler (Hill, Puritanism and Revolution 115), and Sidney, Raleigh, and Essex were all at different times frustrated by Elizabeth’s lack of enthusiasm for engaging in pan-Protestant heroics.

14. On the Armada, see Scott’s Robert Earl of Essex His Ghost and Reynolds’s Vox Coeli (3; 34).

15. These poems are published in full in Farmer, along with other verses from the manuscript and a brief introduction to its contents.

16. See, for example, the image of Elizabeth as the woman clothed in the sun by Francis Delaram in 1617–19, and that of her as an Amazon warrior defeating the Beast of the Apocalypse by Thomas Cecil in 1625 (Strong 164–65).

17. A 1559 Elizabethan proclamation was published as Injunctions Given by the Queenes Majestie (1641); Elizabeth’s Golden Speech was printed as Queen Elizabeths Speech to Her Last Parliament (1642); and another speech was published as A Most Excellent Remarkable Speech (1643). On Burgess and Marshall, see C.V. Wedgwood (17–20).

18. Dudley’s will mentions “Several pamphlets,” “New books [news books?]” and “Small writings” (Wright 39)—any of which could be the news items sent over by Pelham. Dudley’s letter is to the countess of Lincoln.

19. Jessey, for example, wrote to John Winthrop Jr. in the summer of 1637 about Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne (Jessey, “To John Winthrop, Jr.” 461–64).

21. For a sophisticated discussion of these gender reversals, see Schweitzer.

22. Country can mean nation or county in this period, so either Bradstreet evokes Sidney as a national hero, while distancing herself from his local region, or she both avows and disavows a British identity. Either way, the line betrays an ambivalent connection to Britain.

23. At least one copy of *Histrio-mastix* traveled to New England in the early seventeenth century (Wright 29).

24. For the wealth of elegiac literature on Sidney, see the collection of essays edited by Van Dorsten, Baker-Smith, and Kinney.

25. Sweet also argues that *Errata* is a corrective, although he reads Bradstreet’s poetry as a woman’s correction of “the dominant discourse” of male poets (161).

26. The other muse she leaves out in her list of muses, in addition to Erato, is Urania. For more on her, see Gillespie (“This Briny Ocean,” 103). As the muses drive Bradstreet from Parnassus at the end of her elegy to Sidney, omitting Urania may allow Bradstreet to distance herself from a pagan poetic tradition, while covertly claiming a reformed tradition indebted to figures such as du Bartas, who as I note below Christianized Urania.


28. The list includes, among others, biblical figures, such as Moses and David; Classical writers and orators, such as Homer and Cicero; and influential Italians, such as Petrarch and Tasso (Sylvester 1: 436–41).

29. As Christopher Hill notes, in the 1640s the old idea of revolution as a circle or return—especially of heavenly bodies—began to give way to the concept of revolution as a momentous change in the existing political order. See his “The Word Revolution,” in *A Nation of Change and Novelty* (82–101).

30. Acrasia’s Bower of Bliss is perhaps the most obvious example of the polarized gendering of Protestant masculine knighthood against luxurious feminine courtliness. Britomart, however, occupying the hybrid position of female knight, offers a more complex meditation on the relation between Protestant heroism and femininity.

31. The poem is dated March 20, 1642, in the 1678 edition of Bradstreet’s published poetry, which, given Bradstreet’s habitual use of old style dating, puts it in the same year as the elegy to Elizabeth. See Wade White (253).
32. This quotation is from *Ill Newes from New England* (1652), a pamphlet attacking New England intolerance by a Particular Baptist, John Clarke (Bremer 252), but Cotton Mather said something similar after the Civil Wars: “Whereupon ensued such a change of Times that instead of Old England’s driving its People into New, it was itself turned into New” (qtd. in Stout 170). This widespread sense of role reversal even affected Winthrop, who noted in his *Journal* that the Revolution more or less put an end to migration to New England, in terms similar to Bradstreet’s poem. For Winthrop, see Delbanco (385).

33. Bradstreet was not the only writer to imagine the Revolutionary Period as the start of wider reformation, but she was one of the earliest. On the English belief that the Civil Wars were an international event, see Hill (*Puritanism and Revolution* 112–37). Milton, in his 1644 *Areopagitica* asks, “Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europe?” (*Complete Poems* 743).

34. For Raleigh’s long-lived popularity and republications of this text, see Beer.

35. Holmes prepared one of John Cotton’s defenses of Congregationalism for the press and Stubbes was a client of ex-Massachusetts governor, Henry Vane Jr. (Bremer 221). Some of the dedications are signed with initials. Three other sets of initials appear in the dedicatory verses: “C.B.” appears twice and “R.Q.” Both Wade White and Derounian-Stodola have identified one “C.B.” as the classicist Cassibelan Burton and the other as Clement Barksdale (260; 135). Barksdale seems unlikely, though, as he was an Anglican minister and would presumably have not appreciated Bradstreet’s argument that England must “root out Prelates” and let “sturdy Tyburn” load it till it crack” with malignants in “A Dialogue” (147). White and Derounian-Stodola are both uncertain about “R.Q.” White offers Robert Quarles, though he died in 1640 (262–63). Derounian-Stodola suggests the Separatist Roger Quatermayne (135).

36. For a list of Bowtell’s publications, see Wing’s *Short Title Catalogue*.

37. For Ward’s connection to Rich see Morison (*Builders* 221–24 and *Founding* 368).

38. The anonymous *Eliza’s Babes* was published in 1652, Anne Collins’s *Divine Songs and Meditacions* and Margaret Cavendish’s *Poems and Fancies* in 1653, and Elizabeth Major’s *Honey on the Rod* in 1656.

39. For the military context and the significance of Milton’s attribution to Raleigh at this time, see Stevens.
Scattering and Gathering in Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers: Conclusions

1. Both Gil and Peters stress Quaker collaboration, though neither addresses Evans and Cheevers’s pamphlet.
2. Though women’s publications dropped at the Restoration, they rose again by 1670 and in 1690 reached their highest peak of the century (Bell and Crawford 266).
3. For radical women publishers in particular, see Bell, “Seditious Sisterhood.” For Quaker women writers in addition to scholars mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, see Moira Ferguson and Mack.
4. See McDowell’s Women of Grub Street.
6. Barbour estimates that of the 620 Quaker authors published before 1700, eighty-two were women, and that of the 3,853 books published then, 220 were by female authors (46). Foxton raises the number of Quaker women authors to 234, by counting women’s contributions to multi-authored books (Gil 4).
7. For Quakers’ use of “the ancient Christian tradition of paradox” in defense of women’s speech and writing, see Mack (172).
8. All quotations will be taken from the first edition, A Short Relation, unless otherwise stated.
9. Keeble calculates that up to 15,000 Quakers were imprisoned during the later seventeenth century, and that some 450 died in prison (187).
10. Stubbs also took copies of Margaret Fell’s books to Holland, and prepared a 1660 English-Hebrew edition of her 1656 A Loving Salutation (Guibbory 215–16). According to one contemporary source, on this journey Stubbes and Fell “threw pamphlets about the streets” in Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin (Braithwaite 429).
11. Baker’s A Tender Greeting, published from Worcester prison, states that God’s “goodness and mercy” is over those that fear Him “as a lovely banner, and comely Ornament of praises and his fear seated in your hearts” (Baker 3). Quakers believed their divinely inspired words were potentially as spiritually powerful as those of the scriptures.
12. For Quaker use of a biblical erotic in their address, see Leo Damrosch (123–24). Damrosch argues that the strongest bonds between Quakers were homosocial (124), but actually gives examples of intense erotic language from both same-sex and male-female interlocutors (123–24).
13. For example, see Psalms, where God threatens to punish Israel’s idolatry by lifting his hand “to scatter them in the lands” (106.27).
14. On the pamphlet’s linking of absolutist Catholicism with the English government, see Kegl (72–73).
15. The Quakers’ first official declaration of pacifism occurred in 1661 (Reay 153).
16. The language of “seed” also recalls God’s Old Testament genealogical promise to Abraham’s seed and Paul’s non-genealogical Christian interpretation of this: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise” (Gal. 3.28–29).
17. For example, see Ezekiel, where God promises to gather the “house of Israel” from where it is scattered among other nations (28.25).
18. The women were finally released at the request of another Catholic, Lord d’Aubigny, Lord Almoner to Henrietta Maria, through the intervention of George Fox and another friend, Gilbert Latey (Braithwaite 432).
19. Abroad can mean generally dispersed or outside the home or the nation in this period.
20. For a discussion of the key role gender and women played in the shift from Latin to English literacy as an index of empire, see Margaret Ferguson.
21. As Naomi Baker argues “Englishness is not a unified construct” in this period (11).
22. On the Bible as a source for English nationalism, and the tensions within prophetic national forms between godly nationhood and an “England divided against itself” into the elect and others, see Collinson (“Biblical Rhetoric” 35).
23. For depictions of real families and friends split by war, see Royle (178–80) and Carlton (Going 39–51).
24. For Achinstein, see “Women on Top.” On Quaker women’s activity as “a fait accompli of Quakerism,” to which Quaker men then had to react, see Peters (141).
25. Apart from a role as an officer in the Parliamentary navy, Baker’s life is sketchy, so we do not know whether he attended school or university (Reay 18).
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