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ABSTRACT

Title of Document: MISTRESSES OF THE PRESS: THE ROLES
OF WOMEN IN PRINT HOUSES IN 17TH
CENTURY ENGLAND

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This thesis examines the participation of women in the seventeenth-century English print trade. While previous research emphasizes a lack of the study of women in early print, this thesis highlights seven women who actively participated in the London and provincial print trade. Using contemporary sources such as the Stationer's Company records along contemporary wills of printers and booksellers, this study shows that women did have a place in early printing. Women were important participants in the networks of early printing in the household and their communities. By controlling an aspect of printing, as printers, managers, or booksellers, women gained a form of agency in a male-dominated space. Taking part in the network of early printing gave women some freedom, protection, and ownership that did not necessarily existed for them outside the trade. Seventeenth-century England experienced several critical events that influenced the way print trade operated; however, the political conflicts of the century also created an opening for women's participation in printing.

MISTRESSES OF THE PRESS: THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN PRINT HOUSES
IN 17TH CENTURY ENGLAND

By

Maayan Rosen

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Dedication

I dedicate this to my family who always supported my love for history. Thank you for all the encouraging words and support throughout this process.

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Introduction

It's 1643, England is in the midst of a civil war. You are not out fighting, but your work is also dangerous. In a dark room with a heavy machine, you are spreading out ink on reverse text blocks. You place a piece of paper on a frame, which is then carefully pulled towards the ink and pushed to the press. You pull a large wooden lever towards you to stamp the paper. You pull it out and repeat the process. There is sweat on your forehead, you've done this over and over again, for hours. Any mistakes could end your career, get you thrown in jail, or leave permanent scars on your body. This was the life of many people who worked within the print trade.

Early modern printing is often considered physical and labor-intensive work done by men. However, the production of print was an elaborate process that was completed with the help of many, including women. While women's involvement might not have been as physical as men's work, they played an integral part in the printing and distribution of texts. In the seventeenth century, England experienced critical changes that ultimately affected the way people worked within the print trade. These changes allowed more people to participate in the production of print. In effect, more women from different social classes became involved in the print trade. The process of printing as well as the print house were male dominated in the early modern period. Yet this does not mean that there were no women who participated in the trade. As managers, writers, printers, and distributors, women played important roles that kept print houses active in English society.

This thesis focuses on the different roles and activities that English women filled within the print trade throughout the seventeenth century. It examines women in general, while focusing particularly on a sample of seven women who actively participated in the English book trade.¹ Even though the majority of printing was done in London, the political changes of the time period enabled the rise of print houses throughout the country. Due to the changes in the English parliament and copyright laws, women outside the elite class were able to participate more in the trade. This thesis examines the different roles and printed work that women produced not only in London, but also in lesser studied English provincial towns. While women's names appeared somewhat sporadically throughout contemporary records, this thesis argues that women were continuously active participants in the early English print trade. Studying a specific group of women who were actively engaged in the English print trade will provide more information on early printing. The study will analyze the types of printed material women produced and distributed to society, as well as women's interactions within the printing networks of the book trade. Much of the scholarship on the topic has previously focused on women's writings and their distribution in English society; however, the research lacks information on individual studies of women and their roles in the print trade. While this research will address the crucial events of seventeenth century England, it will also examine the roles and activities women performed in producing rather than writing printed works during the century.

¹ The sample of women that I have chosen for the thesis will be discussed in chapter one.

This thesis examines three distinctive, but related questions that focus on women and the production of print in early modern England: What were English women's roles in printing? How did the critical events of the century affect the work of women in the trade? And finally, were there any differences or similarities between the genres that women printed in different shops? While the contributions of women in the trade have not been widely researched, there are several ways of showing the roles of women in printing. Some of the sources that highlight women's involvement in the trade are the contemporary records and printed material from the seventeenth century. By examining these questions and contemporary records, this research will show that women did play a more substantial role in the early English book trade than once thought and will help illuminate the types of printed materials they produced and distributed to society.

Throughout the early modern era, print culture became a crucial aspect of daily English life. While the print industry has occupied a large space in academic studies for a long time, it is only recently that scholars started analyzing women's place in print. Even though English women had been participating in the print trade since the sixteenth century, scholars traditionally have associated the work inside print houses with men.² However, in the last twenty years, scholars have begun to analyze women's roles and activities in the early English print trade. Much of the research on women in print has focused on their presence in the printed text instead of

² Many women in the elite class had access to print houses throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

However, the involvement of elite women in printing was limited to their commissioning print houses to publish and distribute their poetry or religious writings. See Helen Smith, *"Grossly Material Things:" Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 22-29.

their roles in the production of the print. While historians of the early modern period have a variety of sources on print culture to consult, they have limited themselves to specific aspects that either address the texts produced in print houses or how the writings of printers were influenced by the era's political and religious climate.³ Although scholars mention the critical events of the seventeenth century, there is still a lack of research on how critical events of the era influenced women's involvement in early printing. Much of the research has focused on what women wrote and how it was related to the conflicts of the time period. Scholars have analyzed the movement from handmade manuscripts to machine-printed texts and how the production of print became more accessible to people outside the elite class. The major focus of previous research on the topic has been on the printed texts women produced as opposed to examining other sources that indicate women's involvement. Yet, research on the daily activities of women in print houses has been rare.

Historians who have analyzed women in print culture have limited their inquiries to issues of genre, political and religious influences, as well as a focus on London. While scholars of the era often discuss the development of print in London, there is limited analysis of the women printers outside of England's capital. Although the majority of women printers were located in London, early modern dictionaries and indexes of printers show women printers were also active in provincial English towns. While it is difficult to know the full extent of women's presence in the print

³ Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Amos Tubb, "Independent Presses: The Politics of Print in England during the Late 1640s," *Seventeenth Century* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 2012), 287–312.

industry during the early modern era, indexes from the time period indicate the presence of roughly 320 women with a connection to the London print trade and about 50 women outside of the capital.⁴ It is important to note that these numbers account for the women who published in their name; however, most women in the industry would often mark themselves as anonymous or by their initials to hide their gender.⁵ So the numbers of 320 and 50 respectively are a bare minimum of women who participated in the London and provincial print trade. The focus on the London print trade has limited scholars understanding of the involvement of women printers throughout England, however.

Another aspect that scholars have focused on is the genre of texts that were produced during the early modern era. Analysis of early print culture often focused on poetry and religious manuscripts written by elite women who had access to print houses through their wealth.⁶ This research has examined women's writing through a gendered and class-based lens. Rather than analyzing the changes in genres during the century, scholars focused on gendered genres and the female consumer. The radical conflicts between the monarchy and English Parliament ushered in changes during mid-century that greatly changed the production of genres. This enabled women below the aristocracy to participate in the trade and allowed women to print in new genres such as contemporary events and political issues. The research on genres and

⁴ Elizabeth L. Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (University of Rochester Press, 2002), 106.

⁵ Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England*. Also see Maureen Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6, (1996), 13-45. Patricia Crawford, "Women's Published Writings 1600-1700," in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 1985), 234-281.

⁶ Helen Smith, "*Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 28-29. Also see Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," *Seventeenth Century* 24, no. 2 (October 2009), 205-37.

women during the seventeenth century has been limited to what has been seen as female appropriate texts; however, the critical events of the century enabled a wide range of genres to appear in English society.

The historiography on women in the English print trade has developed over the past twenty years with work by scholars such as Paula McDowell. McDowell's *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (1998) provides a great deal of information on women in London print society and the shaping of the political press. McDowell's approach to women in print is similar to how historians, such as Richard Cust, had written about the English print industry. While Cust's *News and Politics in Early Seventeenth Century England* does not discuss the topic of women in printing, it emphasizes the political influences of the era that many historians use to contextualize early modern printing. Much of the research in Cust's article focuses on the role of news during the English Civil War and its effects on readers.⁷ While McDowell is a literary scholar, she provides a detailed historical analysis on the later seventeenth to eighteenth century. Similar to Cust, McDowell examines the political writings of women printers during the late seventeenth century. McDowell focuses is on the way women's writing was influenced by the political changes of the time period. Her main argument addresses how women in the print trade were part of the first group that

⁷ Richard Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England," *Past & Present*, no. 112 (1986), 111-112. Also see John P. Feather, "From Censorship to Copyright: Aspects of the Government's Role in the English Book Trade 1695-1775," in *Books and Society in History*, edited by Kenneth E Carpenter, (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1983), 173-198. Amos Tubb, "Independent Presses: The Politics of Print in England during the Late 1640s," *Seventeenth Century* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 2012), 288. Tubb Amos, "Printing the Regicide of Charles I," *History*, no. 4 (296) (2004), 500- 524. Christie Schneck, "Between Words: Popular Culture and the Rise of Print in Seventeenth Century England," Master's thesis, University of Central Florida, 2012.

became involved with producing and distributing public political expressions.⁸ Her monograph was one of the first full-length analyses of women in the English print trade.

The English scholar Maureen Bell provides a detailed analysis of the presence of women in print that was not addressed by McDowell or other scholars. Bell has focused on the different roles that women filled in the printing industry, such as hawkers, printers, copiers, and overseers. Bell has also examined the different writings by women as well as the types of publications women read during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bell's article, "Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700," examines the involvement of women in different stages of the print trade. She notes that many scholars have dismissed the idea of women participating in the trade due to the fact that their names appear only sporadically in the records. This article is the first of several by Bell that attempts to highlight the participation of women in the early English print trade and break the belief that only men were involved in the trade.⁹ Bell's most recent work, "Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book," adds to the literature on women printers by examining the women's roles; however, she does not discuss partnerships in the early English print trade.

⁸ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 6.

⁹ Maureen Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6 (1996), 13-45. Bell, "Women Writing and Women Written," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. 4, 1557-1695, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 431-452. Bell, "Women and the Opposition Press After the Restoration," in *Writing and Radicalism*, edited by John Lucas (Longman, 1996), 39-60. Bell, "Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book," in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, ed. J. Hinks and V. Gardner (Oak Knoll and British Library, 2014), 107-131. Bell, "Offensive Behavior in the English Book Trade, 1641-1700," in *Against the Law: Crime, Sharp Practice, and the Control of Print*, edited by Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (Oak Knoll Press, 2004), 61-79.

There has also been scholarship on gender in the print industry and the relationship between male and female printers, as well as the reasons why women became involved in the occupation. Scholars argue that, during the early modern era, gender did not discourage women from participating in the production of print. Despite a power imbalance between male and female printers, women were able to take active roles in the trade.¹⁰ Many print houses worked as partnerships between husbands and wives. Inter-marriage in the print industry was common and provided widows and daughters a way to keep print houses in the family. Alastair J. Mann's *Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland* illustrates the similarities shared by Scottish and English women in the print industry.¹¹ In seventeenth century Scotland, it was essential to maintain continuity within the family business; therefore, it was common for printers' widows to take over the printing business if their sons were too young to work.¹² The practice of widows inheriting print houses was common in both England and Scotland. Jane Stevenson's article, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing" examines the different types of women who utilized printing houses.¹³ While elite women commissioned printers to publish their poetry and religious writings as a way to

¹⁰ Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," 440. Also see Amanda Paetz Hiner, "Women, Publicity, and Print Culture in England, 1670-1770" (PhD Diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 1998). While Hiner's dissertation is focused on the writing of women in the mid-seventeenth to eighteenth century, she discusses the interactions between men and women in print trade and its effects on the private and public sphere.

¹¹ While Mann's article focuses on Scottish women in Edinburgh's book trade, there are several similarities in women's roles and how they entered the print industry through birth or marriage. See, Alastair J. Mann, "Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland." in *Women in Scotland c. 1100--c.1750*, edited by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 2002), 136-45.

¹² Ibid., 140.

¹³ Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," *Seventeenth Century* 24, no. 2 (October 2009), 205-37.

become part of a literary English culture, tradeswomen used print houses as a means to provide financially for their families by working as booksellers and hawkers. The comparison that Stevenson makes between elite and working women and their achievements as a result of distributing their work has not been analyzed in earlier scholarship. The literature on the gender interactions within the print trade shows women were involved in the trade not only for cultural reasons but also to make a living.

Helen Smith's '*Grossly Material Things*' *Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (2012) provides the most recent comprehensive study of women in English print culture. Smith analyzes the work of previous scholars and highlights the different roles that women had in the print industry. Smith's research adds to the scholarship by discussing the participation of women in the print trade as commissioners, producers, and consumers, which earlier scholars rarely discussed.¹⁴ Whereas Smith primarily discusses the roles of women outside the print house, Joad Raymond examines the process of printing inside the shops. Raymond provides the most detailed information about the activities in print houses and how printing developed in the seventeenth century. In his chapter, "'Stitchers, Binders, Stationers, Hawkers:' printing practices and the book trade," Raymond explains the detailed process of printing in print houses, which has only been briefly addressed in earlier scholarship.¹⁵ While Raymond's chapter on the process of printing examines the work

¹⁴ The other scholar who also compares women as writers and readers is Maureen Bell. See Bell's "Women Writing and Women Written."

¹⁵ It should be noted that in his chapter, Raymond does not exclusively look at women's involvement in the print trade. This chapter explains the process of text being printed, bound, and distributed. Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 53-97.

within the print houses, the focus of his book, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, is on the different writings that people produced and distributed during the early modern period. Since both Raymond and Smith's background are in literature, their main focus is on the language in the printed texts. Smith provides detailed information on how women's writings showed their participation in humanist culture. Smith's main analysis relied on the writings being produced by women printers. Although Smith and Raymond address different aspects of the early English print trade, their focus is on the language and writings that people produced and sold in the early modern era rather than their roles within the print trade.

Smith's earlier article, "'Print[ing] your royal father off: Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trade,'" analyzes the geographic limitation in the research on early modern women in print.¹⁶ Smith notes the level of English women's involvement in the print industry and provides information that both McDowell and Bell lack: the distribution of writings by women printers outside of London. She traces women's involvement through the contemporary publications that women produced and distributed to society. In her discussion of women printers throughout England, she indicates the movement and distribution of writing by London printers outside of the capital. Smith examines how the London printer Anne Griffin distributed her printed works in Exeter, Northampton, Salisbury, and Dorchester. Most recently, similar work has been done

¹⁶ Helen Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off': Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades," *Text* 15 (2003), 164.

by historian Bernard Capp, who examined the relationship of print and distribution between London and provincial English towns. He describes how the English Civil War created an interaction between London and the countryside. However, his work is not exclusive to women's participation in the print trade.¹⁷ Whereas Capp's analysis gives a broad view into the distribution of printing in the 1650s, Smith's article discusses the circulation of women's printed work outside London.

While the English print trade provided a range of different roles in which women could participate, scholars rarely have discussed the day-to-day jobs women did in the print industry, both inside and out of the print houses. Scholars of print culture have provided us with many different sources concerning women's printed texts and their roles in print houses, yet the major literature on the topic has focused on the writings being produced in the shops rather than the people, including women, who did the work in those locations. While historians continue to write about the types of work that women, both elite and of the trading classes, did during the early modern era, the field rarely examines the daily roles, the collaboration, and actual work that women did to produce and distribute printed texts. The most extensive research that has been done on women in the early English print trade has been completed by McDowell, Bell, and Smith, who are all literary scholars rather than historians. While their work provides thorough views into early modern English printing, an analysis of the print history and the labor history of women in the print trade did is overshadowed by the analysis of published texts from the era. Bell's

¹⁷ See Bernard Capp, "The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s," in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, ed. J. Hinks and V. Gardner (Oak Knoll and British Library, 2014), 209-228.

articles provide a great deal of information on the different activities women participated in, yet her work lacks an examination of women printers outside London. Smith's research provides an overall view into the different roles of women; however, it does not analyze the daily activities inside print houses. Even though scholars like McDowell, Bell, and Smith illustrate the different types of roles that women had in the print industry, not enough case studies have focused on the actual work of women in print houses.

This thesis will provide such an analysis. It will focus on specific women and their roles in the trade. This thesis moves away from what women wrote and instead examines what women printed. Since previous literature on seventeenth century printing lacks individual studies of women, this thesis will analyze seven women as evidence to show their active participation in printing. While the work of many scholars, including Bell, McDowell, and Smith, has relied on the contemporary publications of women, this study will examine other resources such as the records of the Stationers Company and wills that provide a view into women's participation in the print trade. Such sources allow for an examination of women's interactions within the trade. Rarely have scholars examined the print houses and women outside of London. This thesis will move beyond examining women's writings and focus more on the roles of women and their interactions within the trade. By looking at a sample of women printers and booksellers throughout England, this study will provide further analysis of women's roles and interactions within the print trade.

During the seventeenth century, the presence and work of women in print houses was not always widely acknowledged or known. Many women published their

work under their initials or under their husbands' or fathers' name in order to conceal their gender. However, the absence of women's names in published texts does not mean they were not involved in the production of printed texts.¹⁸ While it can be difficult to find women's active involvement in print houses, it is possible to trace female participation through indexes, records of registered copyrights/print houses, the records of the Stationer's Company of London, wills, and title pages of printed books. This thesis will examine the activities of women in English print trade through such sources.

Both indexes of printers from the time period and records of registered print houses are crucial in showing women's presence in the book trade. The first step in locating women printers is examining indexes from the registered printers throughout England. The Folger Library in Washington, D.C., has several organized indexes of seventeenth-century English printers and booksellers. While indexes reveal that women were present in print houses, they do not indicate exactly how women were involved in the production of texts. The records of the Stationer's Company, which can be found through the British Library online archives and the Internet Archive (<https://archive.org>), provide information on the registered printers in England, their published work, and their print house. Since the majority of English printers were registered under the Stationer's Company, which was the main printing guild in England, their records are important for finding the names of women printers. The records from the Stationer's Company describe the daily publications from different print houses in London. Another source that shows the records of early English

¹⁸ Bell, "Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700," 13.

printers is the dictionary of printers, available through the Internet Archive. Rather than focusing on London printers, as the records of the Stationer's Company do, the dictionary of printers provides information on all the notable early printers throughout England. Although it does not show the roles that women had in print houses, it does indicate whether or not a woman commissioned a print house to publish her work or if a woman managed a printing house. These dictionaries provide detailed information on women's locations, active years, titles of their work, and familial connections. Lastly, the Adam Matthew Digital collection of Literary Print Culture provides the Stationer's Company records and documents from 1554 to 2007. The Stationer's Company records provide information on the daily activities of stationers, collaborations between printers, as well as apprenticeship records.

Another documentary source that illustrates women's involvement in the English print industry are the publications of print houses. Examining the title pages of printed books can reveal the amount of texts women published during their time in print houses. Title pages show the involvement that women had with the published work. The title pages from print houses will be used to indicate the different genres in which women wrote and show their participation in print trade. Title pages also show a possible collaboration between printers as well as booksellers. The "printed by" section of a title page periodically showed multiple names or initials, which indicate if the printed text was a collaborative work between printers. Title pages also indicate if a woman published the work under her name or under her husbands'/father's name.

One area that previous research overlooked is the use of contemporary wills of printers and booksellers. While wills of female printers and booksellers are difficult

to find, wills of husbands indicate the partnerships between male and female kin inside print houses and the transfer of wealth. Since women's names do not appear in the contemporary records prior to their husbands' death, wills can provide insight into women's participation before the head of the family's death. Also, contemporary wills from the seventeenth century highlight the different responsibilities that wives had after the death of their printer husbands. A way to figure out if a woman published under her husbands' or father's name is to look at printers' wills or marriage records, which are sometimes available online through the National Archives at Kew in the U.K. These publications and records are important because they show the movement of a printing business between male to female printers, as well as suggest the possible dynamics between men's and women's roles in print houses. Wills can indicate if the women acquired copyrights or apprentices with the print houses. In effect, wills of printers provide a significant way of showing women's participation in the early English print trade.

Even though the indexes of printers, Stationer's Company records, and dictionaries of early printers might be somewhat lacking in showing women's involvement in the production of texts, reading these records alongside and with publications, wills, and title pages indicates the roles and activities women had in the print trade. While they might not directly explain women's involvement in printing, they establish a link between women and publication. The significance of these sources is that they show women were working in print houses even though they do not specify their roles within the print trade.

I chose these sources in order to locate the names of women printers and examine their involvement in print industry. These records provide further evidence of women's participation in the early English book trade. Through the information I have gathered from the indexes, dictionaries, publications, and wills, I have created a database of over 200 women whose names appeared in the contemporary records throughout the seventeenth century. This database can be found in the appendix at the end of this thesis. This database of information helped me choose the specific women for my sample. The criteria I used to narrow down the number of women in my sample are location, active years, genres, and the availability of publications. From the larger group of 200, I have chosen a sample of seven women to focus on in the thesis.

The first chapter covers the history of seventeenth-century England printing houses. It shows the development of print houses and the roles of women who participated in them. In the chapter, I discuss how the major events of the seventeenth century affected the print trade and enabled more women to take part in printing. Also, I describe the seven women chosen for the case study, how they were chosen, and briefly provide important background information. In all, this chapter explores the influences of the seventeenth century that affected the development of the print trade in totality, which resulted in an increase of women in printing.

In the second chapter, I start with a short speculative view on the work women might have done daily in print houses. This section provides a detailed look into the process of printing inside the print house as well as how women could have participated. It highlights the different aspects of printing, including management and

apprenticeships. The second half of the chapter analyzes the different genres that women printed throughout the century. It addresses how the critical events of the century changed the printing of certain topics. Here, I analyze the different genres that the women in my sample printed and distributed to English society.

The third chapter analyzes the relationships, connections, and networks of women in the English print trade. It focuses on how specific women distributed their work to society as well as their interactions with men in the trade. Since the print trade was connected through families and marriages, I examine how interactions between women and men had a substantial role in the work that women did in print houses. An analysis of wills shows the relationship between men and women printers and the way print houses were passed down. The second part of the chapter analyzes the connections within the print trade that went beyond London. I examine how London women were able to distribute their printed work beyond the capital. The chapter will conclude with an overview of how women played a more substantial role in the early English print trade.

In conclusion, this research analyzes the different roles and activities that women performed in the early English print trade. Through a sample of seven women who actively participated in the trade, I show that women had more of a role than earlier scholarship has assumed. Although women's names might appear sporadically in the records, a careful piecing together of different types of contemporary records will show their involvement should not be overlooked in the study of the early English print trade.

Chapter 1: Seventeenth Century England and Women in the

Print Trade

From the constant political conflicts to a seemingly never-ending plague, English society was rapidly changing during the seventeenth century. James I ascended the English throne in 1603, beginning the Stuart dynasty, and bringing both Scotland and England under the rule of one monarch. However, the growing tensions of the early seventeenth century between the Stuarts and the English Parliament resulted in civil war. During the 1640s, when the English Civil War was fought, one of the trades that was greatly affected was printing. While the parliament was fighting the monarchy, the print trade was freed from the heavy regulation imposed by the government. New developments in printing arose throughout the war, such as pamphlets and newspapers.¹⁹ These changes enabled a faster method for people to receive news about the war front and learn about the conflict in a better way. The English Civil War created an opportunity for the print trade to expand because the government was more focused on the conflict than managing the country. A visible increase in women's involvement in the print trade during the 1640s was likely also a result of the Civil War.²⁰ The constantly changing environment in England caused an

¹⁹ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 85.

²⁰ Out of the 249 women from the database, which is found in the appendix, roughly 49 women were part of the print traded between 1600 – 1640. Also see Maureen Bell, "Women Writing and Women Written," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4, 1557–1695, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 433.

opening within the print trade that allowed new developments to occur and more people to enter the profession.

This chapter will analyze the influence of major events during the seventeenth century on the English print trade and how these changes allowed women to enter into the trade. The first half of this chapter will discuss how the different critical events of the 1600s affected the early English print trade, particularly addressing the breakdown of the monopoly that the English parliament and the Stationer's Company had on printing. While providing background information on events such as the English Civil War, the Interregnum period, and the Restoration, the focus will be on the print trade and its role. It will also discuss the changes to the print trade as a result of the Licensing Act of 1662 and how the Stationer's Company attempted to take back its control. While there has been an assumption that women played a minor role in the English book trade, the second half of this chapter will show how major events in the seventeenth century enabled women to actively participate in the trade.²¹ Following a discussion of women and the early English print trade, this chapter will introduce the women in my sample who provide the basis for my study. I will provide background information on their roles in the print trade. Overall, this chapter will examine how critical events in seventeenth-century England created an opening for women to participate in the print trade.

²¹ The assumption of women's involvement in the print trade is noted throughout several of Maureen Bell's articles. See Bell, "Women and the Opposition Press After the Restoration," in *Writing and Radicalism*, edited by John Lucas (Longman, 1996), 39-60. Maureen Bell, "Women Writing and Women Written," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4, 1557-1695, edited by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 431-452. Maureen Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6, (1996), 13-45.

The Printed World in Seventeenth-Century England

Prior to the seventeenth century, English print houses were bound by strict censorship and licensing laws. All legal print houses in England were controlled by the parliament. The development of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers, also known as the Stationer's Company, in the mid-sixteenth century was intended as a way to control the press. Under the reign of Mary I in 1557, the Stationer's Company was incorporated by the English parliament, which gave it the complete monopoly over printing in England.²² Before 1642, the development of the print trade in London was relatively unchanged and fairly stable.²³ Essentially, printers and booksellers were required to register their printed material to the Stationer's Company and receive approval prior to distributing the work. The English government restricted the number of print houses to twenty-five, which were all required to be in the London area.²⁴ The only two print houses allowed to be outside England's capital were located in the university towns of Cambridge and Oxford. With close proximity to all print houses, the English Parliament and the Stationer's Company, who had a monopoly over all printing, were easily able to censor any

²² Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 63.

²³ Printers were required to go through a specific procedure to publish their work because of the control of the English parliament and the Stationer's Company. This is discussed in further detail in chapter two. See Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," 13.

²⁴ "Star Chamber Decree, Westminster (1586)," in E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1557-1640*, 5 vols (London: 1875-94), 2: 808, Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900).
http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRepresentation?id=representation_uk_1586&show=all

printing being done in England. The censorship and restrictions of the Stationer's Company can be seen in the Star Chamber decree of 1586, which highlights the number of print houses and who was allowed to practice the trade in England.²⁵ To legally own a print house and print text, men were required to apprentice with the Stationer's Company.²⁶ It became a way to control the public's view of the parliament and the monarchy because between the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, direct written criticism of the monarchy and their ministers was seen as a threat to the nation's security.²⁷ In effect, printing gave people considerable power to control the narrative about the government and the Church of England. Knowing the amount of power printing could hold over society, the English Parliament and Stationer's Company passed many regulations over the trade. Through this process, the English government held tight control over what type of printed material was read by the public, mostly religious texts or other Parliament-approved texts.

The outbreak of the English Civil War led to a weakening of Parliament's control of the production of print. The collapse of the Star Chamber court in 1641, due to the end of monarchical control, broke the Stationer's Company's monopoly. The internal tension between the English parliament and the monarchy divided many people. No longer were people required to obtain permission to print and distribute their writing. The constant shift of power made printing an important trade throughout the war. Many printers took advantage of the weakening control by producing and distributing printed material that showed different opinions regarding

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Prior to the seventeenth century, women were not allowed to apprentice for the Stationer's Company. This will be discussed more in chapter two.

²⁷ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 64.

the war. Not only did the power of printing provide a wide interaction between printers, booksellers, and their customers, it also held control over the narrative of the government, monarchy, and church. The political conflicts of the century saw printing shift power from the government and Stationer's Company to the people in the trade. While the Stationer's Company did survive through the conflicts of the seventeenth century, the decline of its printing monopoly gave new freedoms to English print houses.

The chaos of the English Civil War created an opening for more writers and printers to produce and distribute their work. In the 1640s and 1650s, there was a rise in new opinions and genres of writings. In effect, more people, both men and women, were able to participate in the print trade. From 1600 to 1640, the total number of works printed by women was roughly fifteen a year.²⁸ However, the war decade saw a rapid growth in women's printed work, with a total of over 120 publications yearly by 1650 and almost 140 by 1660.²⁹ This shift was not only in the number of works printed by women but also in the number of women active in the print trade which can be seen in the dictionaries and indexes from the time period. In my database, which is made up of 249 women who participated in the seventeenth century English print trade, roughly 49 women participated in the trade prior to 1640. While there are 20 women who had no known active years, 180 women were recorded in the contemporary records after 1641.³⁰ While women's names did appear in the printing records prior to the English Civil War, they were rare. The increase of women's

²⁸ Bell, "Women Writing and Women Written," 437.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ This can be seen in the appendix.

names could be a reflection of male printers either being killed because of the war or jailed for their printed material.³¹ The rise of women's names acknowledges the fact that women were left behind at home and likely expected to manage the print houses without their husbands. While the English Parliament did attempt to take back its control of printing shops, the censorship laws it enacted were less restrictive than the ones before the English Civil Wars.

After the English Civil War, the loss of control over the print trade was evident throughout the country. Between 1649–1660, there was no monarchy in England. This period was known as the Interregnum and parliament experimented with several different forms of a republican government. Many print houses began appearing throughout England and were no longer confined to London and the two print houses in Oxford and Cambridge. The break from the Stationer's Company monopoly over the print houses enabled a rise in printing throughout England. While the Stationer's Company attempted to regain its control over printing, it was forced to adapt to the multiple print houses that had developed throughout the country during the war. Prior to the English Civil War, the Star Chamber decree restricted the number of print houses in England to twenty-five. By the end of the war, the number of print houses rose to forty and by the end of the century, there were over sixty legal print houses near London.³² The Interregnum period altered several aspects of government as well as the way the parliament controlled the print trade. In a way, the chaos of the English Civil War created a vacuum inside the early English print trade

³¹ Ibid., 433.

³² Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 68.

and enabled a rise in the number of women participating in the trade, both inside and outside of the printing house.

One of the major consequences of the English Civil War was the rise of radical political religious opinions in print.³³ Several well-known printers and booksellers were involved in the production and distribution of radical Protestant texts. Many printers, including Elizabeth and Giles Calvert, Hannah Allen and her second husband Livewell Chapman, and Thomas and Anna Brewster, ran thriving shops during this time period.³⁴ The Calverts, Chapmans, and Brewsters used the lack of printing regulations to spread their radical Protestant texts to English society. These women assisted their husbands in printing as well as managed their shops when their husbands were away.³⁵ Much of the work they produced during the Interregnum period would later be considered seditious. The war enabled many women outside the gentry to participate in the trade. Some of this was because men were either fighting in the war or in exile due to what they were distributing to society. However, it was also because the majority of political issues were related to religion, an area in which women were allowed some agency, meaning women were able to engage with the politics of the era through religious issues. As a result, women were a part of the first wave that “seized the opportunity for public political expression.”³⁶ While the English

³³ Patricia Crawford, “Women’s Published Writings 1600-1700,” in *Women in English Society, 1500-1800*, ed. Mary Prior (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 1985), 213. Also see David R. Como, “Secret Printing, the Crisis of 1640, and the Origins of Civil War Radicalism,” *Past & Present*, no. 196 (2007), 37–82.

³⁴ Maureen Bell, “Seditious Sisterhood: Women Publishers of Opposition Literature at the Restoration,” in Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen, and Suzanne Trill (eds.), *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing* (Keele University Press, 1996), 186.

³⁵ Bell, “Women Writing and Women Written,” 441.

³⁶ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 6.

parliament was recovering from the English Civil War and attempting to create a republic, the lack of regulation over printing allowed radical expressions to develop.

After failing to establish a proper replacement to the monarchy, parliament decided to restore the Stuart monarchy in the spring of 1660. The Restoration period brought more changes to the way printing was produced and distributed throughout England. Although some of the old laws were reintroduced to England, such as the control of the Stationer's Company over printing, many print houses were able to continue operating. The Stationer's Company regulated all printed material to be registered with the guild. However, the events of the Great Fire of London of 1666 greatly set back the power that the government and the Stationer's Company once had over the print trade. The Great Fire critically affected the Stationer's Company since Stationer's Hall was located inside the Old walls of London, where the fire was most damaging. It burned half of their records.³⁷ Several print houses in proximity to the fire also burnt down. The Stationer's Company struggled to regain the control they once had on the print trade.

Although the Stationer's Company had control over the print trade again, this did not stop printers from producing and distributing critiques about the influence of the parliament and monarchy. Throughout the English Civil War, there was a rise in radical Protestant printing, which was used to distribute critiques about the war, the English parliament, and the monarchy. When family members were arrested, women

³⁷ In the Stationer's Company court books, where they wrote about their meeting with master printers, it is indicated that the fire of 1666 greatly damaged their building. Although the location of their meeting is rarely indicated in the text, the Great Fire of 1666 forced them to move, as the records indicate that they were rebuilding their main Hall west of St. Paul's Cathedral after the event. See, *Court book D*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_B_01_02

would continue their husbands' work, in hiding most often. While wives of printers would take over their husbands' printing, wives of newspaper writers sometimes passed blank paper to their imprisoned husbands and returned to collect their writings.³⁸ Although the Stationer's Company attempted to control the amount of unauthorized printing produced and distributed by arresting printers, the underground print and book trade continued to thrive during the seventeenth century. And it was women who enabled this.

One of the major changes in the print trade during the Restoration period was the passing of the Licensing of the Press Act in 1662. This act was a way for the English parliament to appeal to the Stationer's Company and give it some of the control that it had lost over the print trade. Because of the rise of printing houses during the English Civil War, the Stationer's Company lost the ability to control the distribution of printing throughout England. The act's long title, "An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Books and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses," sums up the goal of the English Parliament. The act was meant to regulate print houses from producing and distributing seditious critiques about the monarchy or parliament. It was aimed at stopping the underground print trade from distributing seditious printed work. The act stated the following:

"That no person or persons whatsoever shall presume to print or cause to be printed either within this Realm of England or any other His Majesties Dominions or in the parts beyond the Seas any heretical seditious schismatical or offensive Bookes

³⁸ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 71.

or Pamphlets wherein any Doctrine or Opinion shall be asserted or maintained which is contrary to Christian Faith or the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England or which shall or may tend or be to the scandall of Religion or the Church or the Government or Governors of the Church State or Common wealth or of any Corporation or particular person or persons whatsoever nor shall import publish sell or [dispose] any such Booke or Books or Pamphlets nor shall cause or procure any such to be published or put to sale or to be bound stitched or sowed together.”³⁹

The act was meant to control the number of printed books and pamphlets in England. This act seems to have been directed toward both men and women, as it is stated “that no person or persons” were allowed to print any seditious text. By the mid-century, women were more active in the print trade than before, which is partially implied in the act. While the Stationer’s Company still did not formally accept women into the guild, women were allowed to participate in the trade, which included registering copyrights. In order to print legally in England, people were required to register the work with the Stationer’s Company prior to printing as well as clearly state who wrote and printed the text on the title page.⁴⁰ After licensing the work, the author or printer was allowed to print the book or pamphlet and distribute it to society. Any printing that Parliament deemed too radical or that did not portray the monarchy in a favorable light would be cause for imprisonment of the printers. However, the rise of print houses throughout the English Civil War made it difficult for the Stationer’s Company to control the number of prints being distributed to society as well as ensuring that print houses were following the licensing act. While this act reinstated

³⁹ “Charles II, 1662: An Act for Preventing the Frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious Treasonable and Unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for Regulating of Printing and Printing Presses. | British History Online,” <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp428-435>.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

most of the control that the Stationer's Company had lost during the Civil War, it lost the control over censorship in the trade.

Although printers were required to register their works with the Stationer's Company to legally print and distribute them, the licensing act of 1662 took away the Stationer's Company's ability to directly control and regulate the trade and gave it to the government.⁴¹ In an attempt to ensure print houses were legally regulated and overseen, the English government hired Sir Roger L'Estrange as the first surveyor of the press. L'Estrange's work entailed the enforcement of the Licensing Act and making sure no print house was printing books or pamphlets deemed seditious. His main focus was to control radical Protestant printing from spreading throughout England.⁴² During the 1660s, L'Estrange personally targeted the Calverts, Chapmans, and Brewsters in attempt to stop their seditious work from reaching the public.⁴³ Although L'Estrange was hired to survey and control the amount of seditious printing during the Restoration period, he was not able to regulate printing during periods of political upheaval.⁴⁴ Throughout the years he worked as a surveyor, L'Estrange attempted to enforce the act against women printers and booksellers; however, the contemporary coverture laws made it nearly impossible to punish women's publications.⁴⁵ While several women were arrested and imprisoned for distributing seditious texts, such as Elizabeth Calvert, Anna Brewster, and Joan Dover, they were

⁴¹ Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760*, Literary Conjugations (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 64.

⁴² "L'Estrange, Sir Roger (1616–1704), Author and Press Censor | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16514>.

⁴³ Bell, "Seditious Sisterhood," 187.

⁴⁴ Maruca, *The Work of Print*, 94.

⁴⁵ The coverture laws will be discussed in further detail in chapter two. Maureen Bell, "Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book," in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, ed. J. Hinks and V. Gardner (Oak Knoll and British Library, 2014), 117.

ultimately released and able to continue their work.⁴⁶ L'Estrange attempted to find evidence for the women's seditious printing, but was unsuccessful.⁴⁷ Although the English parliament and the Stationer's Company attempted to control printing during the period, it became exceedingly difficult to do so. This is evidenced by the fact that the Licensing Act of 1662 had to be continuously issued throughout the late seventeenth century until it lapsed in 1695.

Overall, the print trade experienced many different effects as a result of the critical changes that took place in England throughout the seventeenth century. The radical changes in government enabled rapid developments in the trade. Changes in censorship and licensing laws enabled new people to enter the print trade. While the aristocracy and the church dominated the trade during the previous century, a shift occurred during the mid-1600s. Rather than focusing on religious work and prints approved by the parliament, there was a rise in contemporary literature and a development in daily news. The monopoly of the Stationer's Company and the English government had broken down as a result of the English Civil War. Women such as Elizabeth Calvert, Hannah Allen, and Anna Brewster were able to print and distribute radical texts and critiques. While the Stationer's Company remained in operation throughout the century, it did lose some of its control over the print houses. Through the Licensing Act of 1662, the Stationer's Company regained some power over trade; however, the guild could not directly regulate the trade as it once did. The lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 marked the beginning of free speech in England.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Bell, "Seditious Sisterhood," 187.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 188.

⁴⁸ Maruca, *The Work of Print*, 94.

The changes that occurred throughout the seventeenth century gave women the opportunity to engage with the print trade more than before. While the parliament was focused on the war during the 1640s, an opening in the print trade allowed for more print houses to develop and more women to work in the trade than before the war.

Women and the Early English Print Trade

While not predominant, women had always been a part of the English print trade in one way or another. Both women in the aristocracy and the lower classes were able to participate in the print trade. The political conflicts of the seventeenth century created an opportunity for more people, both men and women, to participate in printing. While the contemporary records might not acknowledge women's presence very often, printing was considered a domestic-based trade. Some of the reasons why women appeared in the contemporary printing records were because men were ill, traveling out of London, imprisoned, running away from debt, or had died.⁴⁹ While women did participate in the print trade prior to the seventeenth century, their roles were designated towards the "feminine" aspects of the trade, such as writing poetry or stitching the binds of books. However, the print house was considered part of the private home and was more often than not passed down from one generation to another. Because printing was a domestic-based trade, women married or born into the trade often learned the skills needed to work in it. In the early

⁴⁹ Bell, "Women and the Production of Texts," 116.

English book trade, women were engaged in writing, printing, and distributing printed work.

The development of the printing press changed the way books were produced and distributed throughout English society and allowed for a faster means of production. Before the development of the printing press, the book trade consisted of handwritten manuscripts. Each person was tasked with a different part to complete. The three major steps of creating a manuscript included writing, drying/folding the paper, and stitching. Much of the printing in the early English print trade was focused on political proclamations, religious texts, and writings from the ancient world.⁵⁰ Before the seventeenth century, printers and writers relied on previously handwritten work that could be translated and produced by the printing press. Also, print houses directly linked to the English parliament produced and distributed royal and government proclamations. Although the contemporary records rarely acknowledge women's involvement in the trade prior to the seventeenth century, women could have engaged in creating manuscripts. Since printing was domestic-based, women could have participated in the writing and binding process.⁵¹ Because handwritten manuscript took a long time to create, it was difficult to produce a large number of manuscripts. However, the printing press enabled people to create multiple works to be produced and distributed. In effect, there was a rise in opinions in English society as a result because the English Civil War saw the rise of pamphlets and daily news

⁵⁰ Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," *Seventeenth Century* 24, no. 2 (October 2009), 205.

⁵¹ Helen Smith, "*Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 30.

appear throughout society. Because of the breakdown of the Stationer's Company's control over the print trade, more people were able to produce their own printed work.

Prior to the seventeenth century, most women who took part in the trade were elites who had money and connections to a print house. These women often sought out print houses to publish their writings, which were often either religious-based or poetry. Elite women used the printing houses to get their writings distributed to society and in effect, become famous. Many elite women who published their work were greatly influenced by humanism.⁵² While they did not necessarily need the income that they received from distributing their work, they used their writings to promote themselves in elite society. It became a way for elite women to improve their position in English society. Many elite women commissioned printing houses to produce their poetry, in particular, and showed their independence from their families. Although elite women might have had different goals in publishing the writings, either to make themselves known or show off their knowledge, this success depended on their social status.⁵³ While they were still largely dependent on the head of the house, either a husband or father, elite women who published their writings used it as a way to make themselves known individually among their contemporaries.

One example of an elite woman involved in the print and book trade was Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle. Cavendish had a fairly high social standing in England as Queen Henriette Maria's lady-in-waiting. She started her

⁵² Humanism was a cultural movement during the late medieval and early modern period. It sought the return of classical Greek/Roman writings and beliefs. This movement brought a rise in education, mostly within the elite class. The development of printing during the late medieval period helped humanist writings spread throughout Europe. See Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," 211.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 213.

career as a published writer in 1656 with her first book, *Poems and Fancies*.⁵⁴

Through her first book, she developed a business relationship with several prominent London printers. While the majority of printers she worked with were men, after 1666, she developed a business partnership with a woman printer, Anne Maxwell.⁵⁵ Although the Cavendishes did have some financial struggles around the time she first published *Poems and Fancies*, money was not the reason the Duchess of Newcastle chose to publish her work. Her reason for publishing was to make herself known amongst the English aristocracy.⁵⁶ Her writings were aimed at a specific audience, the elite, whom she wanted to impress with her knowledge.⁵⁷ The example of the Duchess of Newcastle provides a view into how elite women used the book trade to gain fame from their peers.

Unlike elite women, middling and tradeswomen used printing as a means to support their families. Women writers of more average status would often seek out printing their work as a way to provide additional income for their families. Unlike the elite women who used printing houses to get acknowledgment from their contemporaries, women outside the aristocracy needed the money from printing their work. Women who married printers and booksellers assisted their husbands in the trade. Many print houses also hired lower class women as mercury women or hawkers to distribute their publications.⁵⁸ While mercury women had stalls on the streets, hawkers would walk around the town to sell the print house's publications. In

⁵⁴ Ibid., 211.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 212.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 208.

sum, women's relationship to printing and their goals varied depending on their status.

The trend of women working in a trade as a means to provide for their families went beyond printing. During the seventeenth century, women took part in several trades, such as needleworking, innkeeping, laundry, and retailing, in order to financially help their families.⁵⁹ Women were not bystanders in the early modern economy, rather their participation in different trades helped the economy develop during that time period. Women likely had a disadvantage in the patriarchal system in the early modern economy, yet they still took part in domestic-based trades.⁶⁰ In regard to the print trade, women were able to engage with different areas of the trade. As my database indicates, tradeswomen were able to take active roles as printers, booksellers, and business partners.

Throughout the early modern era, printing was viewed as a domestic or household-based trade, linked to familial networks. The print trade was connected through family-owned print houses that were "passed down through families and intermarriages."⁶¹ If a person was born into a print family, there was a high chance of learning the trade in one form or another. The eldest son would often be expected to enter an apprenticeship and later inherit the printing house. Apprenticeships were a common step for young men prior to taking over the print house. While women rarely appeared in seventeenth-century apprenticeship records (fewer than 10 women appear in the records between 1666–1699), their husbands and family names highlight the

⁵⁹ Alexandra Shepard, "Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy," *History Workshop Journal* 79, no. 1 (April 24, 2015), 11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶¹ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 33.

importance of training to be printers.⁶² Paula McDowell has found that between 1660 and 1800, only 108 women were formally apprenticed in the Stationer's Company.⁶³ But this was not how most women were trained. Instead, they learned by observing and helping their fathers or spouses at work. Husbands and wives worked together in the printing house to make sure everything ran smoothly. After a death of a husband or father, women who actively participated in the trade sometimes chose to print their work under the man's name or their initials. While some women did publish their printed texts under their own names, some women used their husbands' or father's names. Despite a power imbalance between men and women, there were collaborations between many printers during the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Many widows remarried within the print trade to other printers or apprentices to keep the copyrights and the printing houses. Copyrights were an important aspect of the print trade because they provided money.⁶⁵ In effect, printing was built around a network of people who were either born into a print family or married into one.

Because the printing trade was based in the household, many women took part in it in one form or another. Wives, sisters, daughters, and widows are often noted in

⁶² *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and clothed volume 2*, Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_C_05_04_02. In this volume, which holds all the names of all London apprentices in the Stationers Company from 1666 to 1728, less than ten women were recorded as apprentices between the years of 1666 to 1699.

⁶³ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 35.

⁶⁴ This is noted through the multiple primary publications that acknowledge multiple printers under a co-authorship. Under said publications, there would be a primary author (the person who likely owned the copyrights to the material) and secondary authors would be listed under as either co-writers or co-printers, depending on if they wrote part of the text or printed the material in their shops for faster distribution to society. See Helen Smith, "*Grossly Material Things*," 19.

⁶⁵ Piracy and plagiarism were not a critical issue during the time period. While it did not matter who wrote it first, it depended on who registered the work first. Copyrights would be linked to how much a person would receive in compensation. See Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," 220.

different records that highlight contemporary publications. The positions of women in printing houses varied; however, they were still there. Women often oversaw the distribution of the prints while their husbands oversaw the press, or the physical work of printing the text.⁶⁶ Women would manage the print houses if their husbands could not. The work produced and distributed by print houses most likely depended on commissions, popular demand, and the beliefs of the printers. Members of a printing family worked together to produce and distribute printed material. While the husbands and apprentices would work with the heavy machinery, women oversaw the business side of the print house, which meant hiring apprentices, finding new commissions to print, and meeting with booksellers and authors. Although women did not often appear in official records prior to their husbands' death, the work inside print houses presented several opportunities for women's involvement.

One of the areas in the early English print trade that highlights women's involvement was distribution. The changes in writing and distribution of prints enabled more people to enter the print trade. Women involved in the printing trade often were part of the sale and distribution of printed texts. Some of the roles that women performed outside the print house include hawkers, mercury women, and agents. Hawkers were the people who independently set up booths on the streets and sold their own printed work. On the other side, mercury women traveled around the city and sold the prints from printing houses. Mercury women were also hired by

⁶⁶ McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 46.

specific print houses and would often sell pamphlets.⁶⁷ Women as agents would link different writers to print houses.

Another major role that women had in the print trade was bookselling. In the contemporary records, the majority of women are listed as booksellers.⁶⁸ The role of the bookseller was to oversee the production of printing, maintain copyrights, supervise distribution, and manage the print house.⁶⁹ While the husbands did the physical work and used the printing press, women would take up the tasks of bookseller and manager of the print house. Managers of print houses oversaw the business side of the printing. For example, after the death of her husband, Hannah Allen inherited and managed her husbands' print house for four years (1646–1650) until she married Livewell Chapman.⁷⁰ After she remarried, Hannah and Chapman successfully managed the shop together.⁷¹ Managers connected printers with booksellers and authors as well as do the bookkeeping. Also, they sometimes hired apprentices for the print house, which meant that even though they might not have been involved in the printing aspect, they were aware of the skills of the trade. In

⁶⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁶⁸ Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667*, Bibliographical Society, 1907. <http://archive.org/details/adictionarybook00plomgoog>. Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* ([Oxford] : Printed at the Oxford university press, 1922), <http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofprin00plomiala>. R. B. (Ronald Brunlees) McKerrow, Harry Gidney Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, (London: East & Blades, 1910), <http://archive.org/details/b28987007>.

⁶⁹ Maruca, *The Work of Print*, 66.

⁷⁰ “Allen [Née Howse; Other Married Name Chapman], Hannah (Fl. 1632–1664), Bookseller | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,” <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57039>.

⁷¹ Ibid.

effect, booksellers had a great deal of control over what was being published and the connections of the print house.

While previous research has assumed that women played a passive role in the early English print trade, there are several areas in which women were able to participate. Although the contemporary records do not show women prior to their husbands' death, the rise of women's involvement after inheriting the print house indicate that they had a role in the trade. Women engaged with printing, distributing, and selling printed texts. The majority of women who participated in the trade prior to the seventeenth century were part of the gentry; however, the chaos of the English Civil War brought changes to the way people used the print trade. Examining a specific group of women who were involved in the early English print trade will highlight the different roles and printed material women produced during the seventeenth century.

Database and Sample of Female Printers and Booksellers

To show the roles of women in printing during the seventeenth century, I will focus on a sample of seven women drawn from my database. These women show the developments in printing throughout the century and the possible roles that women had on the trade. This sample, I aim to show the involvement of English women in the print trade as well as how interconnected the trade was during the seventeenth century. It should be noted that while women did appear in early printing trade records of the sixteenth century, they were very rare and often connected to the

aristocracy. In addition, while the majority of women printers and booksellers were based in London, it did not mean that women outside of London were not engaging in the trade.⁷²

To come up with my sample of women, I developed a database of over two hundred women who appeared throughout the contemporary records.⁷³ This database shows all of the women that I found who were appeared in the contemporary records taking part in the seventeenth century English print trade. My database is only the second compilation of women printers in seventeenth-century England to be created.⁷⁴ Through looking over different records of English printers, I have been able to create a database that exclusively shows only female printers and booksellers throughout England during the seventeenth century. The database includes information on women's roles, locations, the genres they printed, family connections, and apprenticeships. The criteria I used to narrow down the women I chose were duration of activity, location, genres printed, and availability of publications. To derive my sample, I focused on women who actively participated in the print trade longer than five years. While many women were active only a few years, most of these women appeared to have sold their husbands' copyrights and print houses and retired. As most print houses worked as partnerships between husbands and wives, many widows chose to work off their deceased husbands' debts and retire. While

⁷² Helen Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off': Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades," *Text* 15 (2003), 169.

⁷³ This database is included in the appendix to this thesis.

⁷⁴ While I found only one other list of English women printers during the same time period, compiled by Maureen Bell, Bell's list only shows the women printers and booksellers in the London area between 1550 to 1700. My list includes women who were engaged in both the London and provincial trade in the seventeenth century. See Bell's appendix in Bell, "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700," *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6, (1996), 31-39.

some women's names only appeared over a five-year period, others were actively involved in printing for longer than fifteen years. Rather than focusing solely on London, a few of the women in my sample are connected to the provincial trade. Since previous research has focused on women in the London print trade, there is a gap in the scholarship on the provincial trade. I chose a few women from the provincial trade in order to highlight that women were involved in printing outside of the capital as well. The availability of publications is also important because through the contemporary texts, I can analyze the different genres women produced. By examining the genres women printed, I will be able to analyze how the critical events of the century affected what genres were printed. For the sample, I have chosen women for whom I was able to find more evidence than others. These women are: Anne Lichfield, Alice Broad, Anne and Sarah Griffin, Susan Cripps, Jane Bell, and Hannah Sawbridge.

Anne Lichfield was a printer in the college town of Oxford active between the years 1657–1671. She mostly produced religious works and government-approved printed work.⁷⁵ Her husband, Leonard Lichfield, was one of the three university printers at the Oxford print house. After his death, Anne replaced her husband in the print house and worked alongside the other master printers there. Anne and her son, Leonard Lichfield II, were appointed university printers after the death of her

⁷⁵ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers...From 1641 to 1667*, 117. Also see, Eric A. Clough, *A Short-Title Catalogue, Arranged Geographically: Of Books Printed and Distributed by Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in the English Provincial Towns and in Scotland and Ireland up to and Including the Year 1700* (London: Library Association, 1969). Falconer Madan, *The Early Oxford Press: a Bibliography of Printing and Publishing at Oxford, 1468-1640*; (Oxford, 1895), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044080280308>.

husband.⁷⁶ Anne Lichfield closely worked with her son on many printed books until her death in 1671. Lichfield was credited for roughly 58 titles with her imprints over the fourteen years she worked in the trade.⁷⁷ Anne Litchfield's career as an Oxford printer provides an insight into the printing trade outside London as well as how women printers interacted with men in the print trade.

Alice Broad, a York printer, produced secular and religious works.⁷⁸ She had worked throughout the 1660s and her name briefly reappeared in the records in 1680. She succeeded her husband, Thomas Broad, after his death in 1660. She worked alongside other York printers, who produced and distributed Protestant literature. She also had a few partnerships with York booksellers. Alice Broad contributed and worked on several books for the York print trade that were also distributed in London.⁷⁹ Similar to Anne Lichfield, Alice Broad provides a view into women's roles in the print trade and the connection between provincial towns to London.

Susan Cripps, a London bookseller, produced a variety of printed works during the 1660s.⁸⁰ After the death of her husband, Henry Cripps, she remarried an Oxford printer, Peter Parker. Henry Cripps's will shows the faith he had in Susan

⁷⁶ Ian Gadd, Simon Eliot, and William Roger Louis, *History of Oxford University Press: Volume I: Beginnings to 1780* (OUP Oxford, 2013), 75-76. Also see Julian Roberts, "Lichfield, Leonard (Bap. 1604, d. 1657), Printer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16636>.

⁷⁷ Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd ed., (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972).

⁷⁸ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... From 1641 to 1667*, 33.

⁷⁹ Robert Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press: With Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Nichols and Sons, 1868), 96.

⁸⁰ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... From 1641 to 1667*, 56. Also see, William Proctor Williams, *Index to the Stationers' Register, 1640-1708: Being an Index to A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A.D.*, edited by Eyre, Rivington & Plomer (La Jolla, CA: McGilvery, 1980). Clough, *A Short-Title Catalogue, Arranged Geographically*.

because he made her his executrix.⁸¹ Her name reappeared in the print records during the early 1680s in Oxford. Many of the books printed under her name ranged from religious to secular literature. Susan Cripps' career highlights the role of women as booksellers. She also had several books dedicated to her. This practice of dedication appeared to be common between printers and booksellers. In most cases, if a specific book had been dedicated to a widow's husband, its next printing would be dedicated to the widow.⁸² Also, her second marriage to an Oxford printer shows the connection between the London and Oxford printing communities.

Anne Griffin and her daughter in law Sarah Griffin were London-based printers who produced a variety of texts throughout the seventeenth century.⁸³ Anne Griffin, who worked from 1622 to 1657, managed a large print house in London and had many apprentices. Anne mostly printed religious books, with the exception of a few secular texts. Over her impressive thirty-five-year career, Anne is credited with over 80 publications.⁸⁴ Helen Smith briefly noted in her research that Anne Griffin's work was also distributed outside of London, which shows the interaction between London printers and provincial printers.⁸⁵ Just before Anne's death, her daughter in law, Sarah Griffin, took over Anne's role as a printer. Sarah, who worked from 1648 to 1679, printed different types of work, including religious, political, and secular

⁸¹ "Will of Henry Cripps, Bookseller of Oxford, Oxfordshire" (September 14, 1658), PROB 11/280/482, The National Archives, Kew.

⁸² This trend of book dedication appeared throughout the seventeenth century among widely-known printers and booksellers. See, Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*.

⁸³ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... From 1641 to 1667*, 86. Paul G. Morrison, *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers*, in A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, "A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640," 2nd ed. (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961).

⁸⁴ Alfred W. Pollard, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2d ed. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976).

⁸⁵ Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off,' 171.

texts. Sarah and her husband, Edward Griffin II, also had many apprentices who worked for them. In Edward Griffin II's will, Edward made his wife Sarah his executrix; however, he also made sure to leave his mother, Anne, a fixed sum of money. Similar to her mother in law, Sarah produced roughly 80 printed works over thirty years.⁸⁶ The work of Anne and Sarah Griffin highlights the familial connections in the print trade as well as the changes in printing in family shops over time.

Jane Bell, the widow of Moses Bell, was a London printer who worked from 1650 to 1672.⁸⁷ The majority of the work printed under her name was both religious and contemporary literature. It is implied in Moses Bell's will that she was actively managing the print house during his lifetime.⁸⁸ Bell's will also suggests that Jane was meant to keep the print house operating until their eldest son came of age, which was twenty at the time period.⁸⁹ At the time of her husbands' death, Jane Bell also had apprentices, who were expected to help her manage the print house. Along with her printed work, Jane Bell had books dedicated to her, similar to Susan Cripps. Jane Bell's career as a printer shows the partnership between husband and wife as well as how widowed mothers continue their husbands' work for their minor children.

Hannah Sawbridge, a London bookseller, worked from 1682 to 1689.⁹⁰ Although her active years are relatively short compared to the other women in my sample, Hannah Sawbridge's work provides an interesting view into the work of a master printer. Her husband, George Sawbridge, was involved with the Stationer's

⁸⁶ Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*.

⁸⁷ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... From 1641 to 1667*.

⁸⁸ "Will of Moses Bell, Stationer of London" (July 27, 1649), PROB 11/208/774, The National Archives, Kew.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers ... From 1641 to 1667*.

Company as a master printer and was one of the most successful printers of the seventeenth century.⁹¹ Hannah continued her husbands' work by producing and distributing political and secular prints. She also had two apprentices who helped her. Similar to Jane Bell and Susan Cripps, Hannah Sawbridge also had several books dedicated to her.⁹² Hannah Sawbridge was acknowledged in roughly 50 printed works as a bookseller or dedicatee during the seven years that she worked in the book trade.⁹³ She worked closely with other printers, both men and women, during her active years.

All the women in my sample provide a much more detailed look at the work women did in the print trade during the seventeenth century. While some women have more publications than others, each woman shows the diversity of genres produced and distributed. All the women were actively engaged in the trade, both inside the print house and selling the printed work on the streets. Through these examples, I will show the roles that women regularly had in the print trade as well as their connections with other printers and booksellers during the seventeenth century.

Chapter Conclusion

The chaos of seventeenth century England created an opening for women of different social statuses to engage with the print trade. While the production of

⁹¹ Maggie Kopp, "Women's Book History for Women's History Month | Special Collections Blog | L. Tom Perry Special Collections | HBLL," BYU Harold B. Lee Library, March 7, 2017, <https://sites.lib.byu.edu/special-collections/2017/03/07/womens-book-history-for-womens-history-month/>.

⁹² Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*.

⁹³ Ibid.

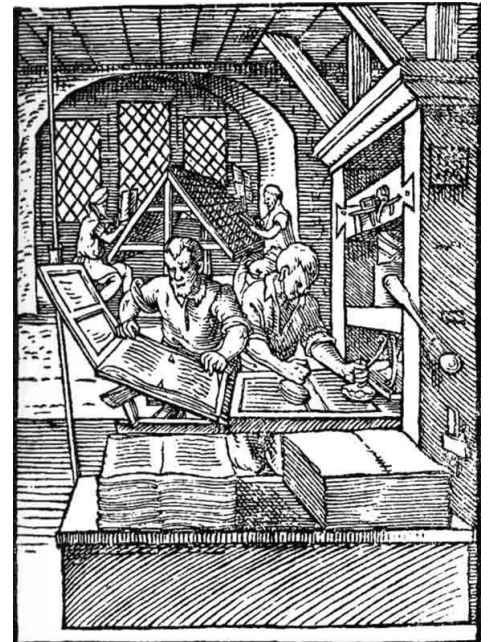
printed texts was fairly unchanged prior to the English Civil War, the conflicted enabled the decline of the Stationer's Company's monopoly over printing. The consequences of the war reshaped the way people, particularly women, participated in the trade. Even though the Stationer's Company continuously attempted to regain its power over the trade during the century, they were forced to adapt to the changing environment. The production and distribution of printed material became more accessible to people outside the gentry. The changes in writing, printing, and selling allowed more women to join the trade as printers and booksellers. Although the contemporary records do not show women in the print trade prior to their husbands' death, the influences of critical events in the century enabled women to take an active role in the early English print trade.

Through the women in the sample, the following chapters will show that women were actively engaging in the English print trade. Although men are prominently represented in the early English print trade, the trade itself depended on an interconnected network of people. Apprenticeship and copyrights were two of the main aspects of the print trade and without them, it was difficult for people to enter the trade. Printing houses depended on the family to operate the machinery and manage the business. As evident through many contemporary wills, husbands often depended on their wives to manage the business and ensure its success. While the physical work of printing was done by men, the other work found in the print trade, such as bookselling, was often done by women. The next chapter will examine women's involvement inside the print house and the different genres that were produced during the century.

Chapter 2: Roles and Genres: English Women in the Early

Printing Trade

Creating printed texts to distribute was no easy task in early seventeenth – century England. Authors who wanted their work to be published had to meet with a publisher or manager of a print house. Once the manager accepted the work to be printed, the process of recreating and printing the text began. First, the manager would give the master printer a handwritten copy of the work. Then, the printer would get the equipment needed, such as paper, ink, and type sets.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, the compositors would start analyzing the author’s manuscript. Compositors recreated the work on reverse letter blocks and editors checked and edited it. After the text was recreated on a metal tray, it would be moved to the printing press. The printer and pressmen would spread a piece of paper on the printing press. Working with the printing press required upper body strength in order to successfully produce printed pages. The metal tray was carefully placed inside the printing press and one of the pressmen spread the ink.⁹⁵



⁹⁴ Type sets, which were small metal blocks with the alphabet etched on them in different fronts and styles, were created and sold by engravers. While in the early sixteenth century, printing houses created their own types sets, by the seventeenth century, typesetting had become a separate trade, which was led by engravers. See Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 74.

⁹⁵ This can be seen in the image. Jost Amman, *At the Left in the Foreground, a “Puller” Removes a Printed Sheet from the Press. The “Beater” to His Right Is Inking the Forme. In the Background,*

Then, the pressmen and printer would pull the lever and stamp the block onto the paper. This process would be repeated multiple times until the workers created enough prints.

Once the printed texts were created, they would be sent to another part of the printing house, where they were folded and organized for the booksellers. The bookbinder would stitch and bind the pages together. Then, the manager would pass the completed printed material to the bookseller, who would go out and sell the printed work to the local townspeople or book shops. Booksellers were often the main link between the print house and the public. They were responsible for knowing what the public wanted and the best way to sell the product to society. While booksellers sold the books or pamphlets, printers brought a copy to the printing guild and recorded their copyrights of the printed text. The process of recreating a handwritten work into printed copy was labor intensive, full of multiple steps, and required collaboration between both male and female workers.

This chapter examines the roles of women inside the print houses and looks at the different stages of the trade. Examining the process of creating and publishing printed books and pamphlets will highlight the different skills women may have learned inside printing houses. Although it is difficult to know the specific roles women had inside print houses, there are several methods of examining the possible involvement of women in the process of printing. This chapter also examines the different printed genres that women in my sample produced and how critical events

Compositors Are Setting Type, 1568, Meggs, Philip B. *A History of Graphic Design*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 1998. (p 64), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Printer_in_1568-ce.png.

during the seventeenth century, described in the previous chapter, might have influenced a change in the genres produced within the book trade. The genres being printed during this time period also experienced several changes. While most texts printed in the sixteenth century focused on religious work and proclamations approved by the English Parliament, the events of the seventeenth century saw a rise in popular literature, such as fiction, and an increase of pamphleteering and daily news. Women as well as men produced these new types of printed texts.

The Process Inside the Print House

By the seventeenth century, the printing and book trade was built around a network of collaborative work. The majority of print houses during the time period had a master printer, manager, compositor, pressmen, editors, apprentices, and a bookseller. With the possible exception of physically working the press, women were able to participate throughout several stages of the printing process.⁹⁶ While the majority of women working in the print trade were booksellers, women also managed print houses. Although women were not officially admitted into the Stationer's Company, they were very much involved in the trade regardless.⁹⁷ While women as printers were acknowledged in the indexes and records from the seventeenth century, the records more often than not recognized women's roles as booksellers. However, women could be found at many levels of the print trade from working inside the print

⁹⁶ The Stationer's Company had specific rules on who was allowed to apprentice and work on the printing press. This will be discussed below.

⁹⁷ Helen Smith, *"Grossly Material Things:" Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 90.

house to running a stall on the street as booksellers or mercury women. Contemporary sources might not directly discuss women's roles inside print houses, but their involvement in the process of printing is implied in several ways. While the records only show women in the print trade after their husbands' death, women were likely involved in printing houses at earlier stages in their lives.⁹⁸ This was because the print trade was built around a network of familial connections, which meant that men and women who were either born or married into the trade learned its skills. Both men and women who actively engaged in the print trade would understand all aspects of it and acknowledge that the trade was built on collaboration.⁹⁹

The process of printing was a collaborative effort from the author to the print house to the book shop. As mentioned above, producing a printed book or pamphlet for distribution was a long process, which focused more on the print house than the writing itself. Authors would reach out to a publisher or manager of a print house in order to find a printer. The publisher would meet with the master printer and discuss the cost and format of the prints before agreeing to produce the book.¹⁰⁰ After accepting a written work, the master printer would acquire paper and ink for the project. The most expensive aspect of printing was the white paper because there were no British manufacturers of white paper until the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ After receiving all the necessary equipment, the master printer would sit with the

⁹⁸ Ibid., 102.

⁹⁹ Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760*, Literary Conjugations (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 17-18.

¹⁰⁰ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 76.

¹⁰¹ While brown paper was used on cheaper prints, such as broadsides and sometimes pamphlets, most printed books used white paper because it was more durable. White paper was imported from the continent, mostly France and Italy. See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, 72.

compositor and arrange the format of the prints, such as where the page break would be and font style.¹⁰² Depending on the genre, each printed work would have different formats and presentation style. Music and mathematical texts would require different forms and font styles of printing than short pamphlets and grammar books.¹⁰³ After agreeing on a format, the compositor would recreate the written copy with the type-blocks.¹⁰⁴ Once the type-blocks were set on a metal tray, the compositor sent them to the pressmen.¹⁰⁵ The majority of the time, print houses would have at least two pressmen for every press. One person would ink the type-blocks and another person would insert and press the paper. After creating the first set of pages, the page would be sent to a proofreader before the pressmen continued with the process. Because white paper was too expensive to throw away, print houses had a permanent proofreader who would fix any mistakes before the pressmen continued with their work.¹⁰⁶ After the pressing was completed, the pages would be hung to dry and then folded for the booksellers to take to the book shops and stalls.

Before distributing the completed text, printers or booksellers, depending on how the text was commissioned, would register the text with the Stationer's Company. For example, the printer would bring in a copy of the text and enter it into the daily court records of the guild. After the text was approved into the Stationer's Company register, the guild would keep a copy of the printed work for proof of

¹⁰² Ibid., 76.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 78.

¹⁰⁶ Depending on how well-known the print house was during the time period, some print houses would check the metal trays prior to pressing as a way to avoid wasting white paper. See Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, 78.

existence. Once the text was registered and licensed under a printer or bookseller's name, permission from the owner of the copyright was the only way for another printer to print the work.¹⁰⁷ During this time period, piracy in the literacy world was not an issue. It did not matter who wrote the text first; owning copyrights and receiving payment depended on who registered the text first in the printing guild.¹⁰⁸ This process was common in seventeenth-century England. The movement of copyrights from one printer to another also required registration in the guild's court records. Copyrights could be sold or bequeathed with the owner's permission. When a printed text was assigned to another printer, he or she was required to bring a copy of their version of the text.¹⁰⁹ In effect, this process of copyrighting was essential for a print house to be profitable.

Inside the print houses, workers picked up many different skills, such as management, printing, and preparing a bind. Since printing was considered a domestic or household trade, many women were fully immersed in the trade.¹¹⁰ Because the majority of print houses were managed as a partnership between husband and wife, many wives ended up in the roles of managers or booksellers. While husbands oversaw the physical labor of printing and pressing, wives handled the

¹⁰⁷ "The Stationers' Company - Copyright," The Stationers' Company, <https://stationers.org/our-heritage/copyright.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Jane Stevenson, "Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing," *Seventeenth Century* 24, no. 2 (October 2009), 220.

¹⁰⁹ *Eyre Volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/SC_Eyre_V1. *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/SC_Eyre_V2. *Eyre Volume 3*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/SC_Eyre_V3.

¹¹⁰ Elizabeth L. Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (University of Rochester Press, 2002), 106.

management of the trade. Managers would oversee the business side of printing, such as introducing authors to printers and finding booksellers. Since the majority of printers and their families lived above the print house, it was an economic necessity for women in printing households to take part in the trade.¹¹¹ In effect, the printing shop was an extension of the household. For example, Anne Griffin managed the Eliot Court Print House after her husbands' death in 1621.¹¹² When her son, Edward Griffin II came of age, he took over ownership of the shop; however, after his death in 1652, his wife, Sarah, inherited the shop.¹¹³ Women could have also worked as compositors and created the handwritten work on type blocks; however, that skill required literacy, which some women had but perhaps not in equal numbers to men in the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴ Along with managing and arranging the typesets, another skill that women could have learned in print houses was bookbinding. After folding and arranging the pages of printed books, bookbinders would stitch the paper to a bind, which held the book or pamphlet together.¹¹⁵ While the scholarship does not suggest a relationship between binding and women's skills in sewing, both men and women could have been taught to bind books. Women developed many skills

¹¹¹ Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 38.

¹¹² Edward Arber, and Charles Robert Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, A. D.* Vol. 3 (London: Birmingham, 1875), 701, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001168984>.

¹¹³ Kelli Hansen, "5 Women Printers and Booksellers of the 17th Century," *Library News* (blog), March 20, 2014, <http://library.missouri.edu/news/special-collections/5-women-printers-and-booksellers-of-the-17th-century>.

¹¹⁴ By 1714, roughly 45% of men appeared to have been literate whereas about 25% of women were literate. It should be noted that the literacy statistics from the seventeenth century are based on if the person could write their name as oppose to making a mark on paper; therefore, it is difficult to estimate the exact number of literacy during the time period. See W. B. Stephens, "Literacy in England, Scotland, and Wales, 1500-1900," *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1990), 555.

¹¹⁵ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 81.

throughout the different stages of printing in the print house, from managing to preparing printed pages and bookbinding without the need to apprentice in the trade.

Apprenticeship was one of the ways many people learned the skills in the print trade. While most women in the trade were not allowed to formally apprentice, there was a rise in women recorded as printers by the late seventeenth century.¹¹⁶ The apprenticeship records of the Stationer's Company from the seventeenth century indicate that there were around ten women who apprenticed as printers (the majority apprenticing in the late seventeenth century); however, contemporary indexes and dictionaries from later in the century show a much larger number of women recorded as printers.¹¹⁷ This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the print trade was viewed as a domestic trade, in which many women were able to learn the different skills in printing as a member of a printing household without an official apprenticeship.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Stationer's Company established specific rules regulating who was allowed to apprentice. Master printers were not legally allowed to train any person on the printing press who was not registered as an apprentice by the guild. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Stationer's Company ordered that "no master-printer, or other printer or workman.... shall teach, direct or instruct any person or persons whatsoever, other than his or their own legitimate son or sons, in this Art of Mystery of Printing, who is not actually bound as

¹¹⁶ This can be seen in the appendix. Also see, *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and cloathed volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_C_05_04_02

¹¹⁷ This can be seen in the appendix.

an Apprentice to some lawful authorized Printer.”¹¹⁸ This was one attempt that the Stationer’s Company made to stop women from learning the skills of the press or at least from being trained in the trade. However, the constant political changes in the century made it difficult to ensure printers were following the guild’s rules. While no contemporary records indicate that women did the physical work of pressing paper, women could have been informally involved in the process of printing. Because women did not appear in the contemporary records prior to their husbands’ death, it is difficult to know the specific stages of printing that women participated in. Yet, many widows inherited and managed print houses after their husbands’ death, which implied that they did have previous engagement in the trade inside the print house.

Managing the print house also included hiring new apprentices, which meant that managers were required to know the different skills that apprentices could obtain in the shops. Apprenticeships also show the different interactions between printers. While most sons would work in their parents’ print house, some sought other print houses in the area in which to formally learn the trade.¹¹⁹ In the contemporary apprenticeship records of the Stationer’s Company, records marked young men who worked in their parents’ shops under patrimony. The records of the Stationer’s Company stated that “By patrimony, whereby any son born subsequent to his father’s being made free of the Company could claim—without serving any apprenticeship—

¹¹⁸ Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920), 165-166.

¹¹⁹ *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and cloathed volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive. *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and cloathed volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_C_05_04_02.

on reaching the same prescribed age, the freedom of that Company, by virtue of being freeborn.”¹²⁰ While sons were not necessarily required to do apprenticeships, it did not mean that they were not trained in the trade. Sons of freeborn printers, who completed their apprenticeship for the stationer’s guild, were not bound to repeat their father’s training. This rule also clearly alienated girls from learning the trade; however, the political unrest of the century made it difficult to ensure printers were teaching only their sons the trade. Although sons were likely expected to learn the trade through their fathers, widows are recorded as working with their sons as well.

Many widows likely taught their sons the skills of the trade after the death of their husbands in order to keep the business and copyrights. In one case, Sarah Griffin’s son, Bennet Griffin, was marked as working under “patrimony” and gained his freedom on the fourth of May 1666.¹²¹ Considering that Sarah Griffin’s husband passed away in 1652 and she oversaw the print house between 1648 to 1679, it is likely that her son learned the trade under her watch and took over the print house after he came of age.¹²² Another example is Anne Lichfield who also worked with her son after the death of her husband.¹²³ Anne Lichfield closely worked with other male printers in Oxford, who could have helped her son learn the trade. The contemporary records show that together, the mother-son duo published several printed books.

¹²⁰ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640*, A. D. Vol. 1 (London: Birmingham, 1875), xxxix, <http://archive.org/details/transcriptofregi01statuoft>.

¹²¹ *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and cloathed volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital.

¹²² Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* ([Oxford]: Printed at the Oxford university press, 1922), 134, <http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofprin00plomia>. Also see, “Will of Edward Griffin, Stationer of London” (October 12, 1652), PROB 11/223/424, The National Archives, Kew.

¹²³ Henry Robert Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667*, Bibliographical Society, 1907, 117, <http://archive.org/details/adictionarybook00plomgoog>.

Between 1669 and 1670, there was another shift in printed work by Anne Lichfield to Leonard Lichfield II, which was likely when Anne's son formally inherited his father's position as printer.¹²⁴ While some widows sold their husbands' copyrights and print houses, others chose to continue their husbands' work and help their sons learn the family business.

Bookselling was one of the most important roles in the early English book trade because of the person's interaction with both the print house and buyers. Booksellers had to know what genres and printed books were in demand and how to guide print houses in creating the printed material. In effect, booksellers became the link between print houses and customers.¹²⁵ Print houses relied on booksellers to inform them of customers' interests and then help them sell the printed work to people and book stalls. Booksellers would sell printed books either unbound or stitched.¹²⁶ Booksellers could also employ hawkers, journeymen, and mercury women to sell the printed works. While hawkers would walk around the town and sell the printed material, journeymen would travel outside the city to sell publications. Along with the hawkers, who primarily worked locally, mercury women had stalls around the town and sold newspapers and pamphlets on behalf of the booksellers and print house. Throughout the seventeenth – century records, the majority of women in the print trade were listed as booksellers.¹²⁷ Whereas husbands would be recorded as

¹²⁴ Julian Roberts, "Lichfield, Leonard (Bap. 1604, d. 1657), Printer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16636>. Also, Eric A. Clough, *A Short-Title Catalogue, Arranged Geographically: Of Books Printed and Distributed by Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in the English Provincial Towns and in Scotland and Ireland up to and Including the Year 1700* (London: Library Association, 1969).

¹²⁵ Maruca, *The Work of Print*, 9

¹²⁶ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 81.

¹²⁷ The sources in my appendix show which records list women as booksellers and printers. See Paul G. Morrison, *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers*, in A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, "A

printers; wives were listed as booksellers the majority of the time. Involvement in the print trade through bookselling emphasizes the different ways women engaged in the print trade.

While women were not officially admitted into the printing guild prior to the English Civil War, their appearance in the contemporary records shows that they were allowed to practice the trade.¹²⁸ Even though the Stationer's Company rarely acknowledged women as stationers, because the trade was based in the household, women were connected to the trade through families or marriages. Helen Smith notes that it was not until 1660 that women were admitted to the Stationer's Company; however, only four women were able to receive the title of stationer.¹²⁹ The first woman who officially apprenticed for the Stationer's Company was Elizabeth Latham in 1668.¹³⁰ Although Latham did apprentice under patrimony, the majority of women were still unable to officially apprentice for the guild. For example, several women appear multiple times in the court record books of the Stationer's Company, indicating their involvement with the Stationer's Company even though they were not officially allowed to become a stationer. The Eyre volumes of the Stationer's

Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640," 2nd ed. (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961). R. B. (Ronald Brunlees) McKerrow, Harry Gidney Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, (London: East & Blades, 1910), <http://archive.org/details/b28987007>. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers...From 1641 to 1667*. William Proctor Williams, *Index to the Stationers' Register, 1640-1708: Being an Index to A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A.D.*, edited by Eyre, Rivington & Plomer, (La Jolla, CA: McGilvery, 1980).

¹²⁸ Bell, Maureen. "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700." *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6, (1996), 13.

¹²⁹ Helen Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off': Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades," *Text* 15 (2003), 166.

¹³⁰ *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and clothed volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital.

Company, which indicate the daily court records of the guild, highlight multiple women throughout the century who were involved in the trade, showing their registration and trading of their copyrights.¹³¹ This shows that although women were not officially allowed to apprentice for the Stationer's Company, they were able to learn different aspects and skills of the trade and exercise it. Although the apprenticeship records provide one view into women's involvement, other contemporary records have further evidence to track women's participation. While bookselling was one of the roles most commonly associated with women in the print trade, women were able to learn the work inside print houses as well.¹³²

The Changes in Contemporary Genres

While the work inside print houses slowly developed during the time period, one aspect that changed was genres of printed material. The breakdown of the monopoly held by the Stationer's Company at the end of the English Civil War in 1651 enabled a rise in different types of printed works in England. As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the major consequences of the English Civil War was the increase in pamphlets and contemporary news throughout society. After the 1640s, people began to print and distribute more opinion-based work, which divided the

¹³¹ *Eyre Volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital. *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital. *Eyre Volume 3*, Adam Matthew Digital.

¹³² This can be seen in the multiple dictionaries and indexes from the time period. See, Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers...from 1668 to 1725*. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers...From 1641 to 1667*. McKerrow, Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England*.

country. There was a demand for more contemporary news because people wanted to know the progress of the war and how it could affect their towns and livelihood.

The impact of the political conflicts in seventeenth-century England greatly changed the production of literature. Prior to the seventeenth century, the majority of work that women were noted as printing and writing included religious prints and copies of classical texts from Greece and Rome.¹³³ While other types of genres were produced before the seventeenth century, the circulation of religious prints was higher. The Interregnum saw an increase in radical Protestant texts and political critiques. In the years of the plague, which reoccurred throughout the century (with major outbreaks in the 1630s and 1660s), several printers produced prints relating to plague and medicine. The constant changes to English society during the seventeenth century created a shift in the types of genres printed.

Prior to the English Civil War, the majority of printing being produced was focused on religion and anything Parliament reviewed and approved. While there were also contemporary writings being printed during the time period, such as poetry and plays; much of the contemporary printed books and pamphlets espousing the Anglican faith. The English Civil War created a change in opinion, which led print houses to produce more contemporary news-based prints and pamphlets as ways to keep people updated with the war front. This increase in contemporary news would greatly impact the way people interacted with the print trade and society itself. The war also created a rise in radical Protestantism, which could be seen in the print trade. During the 1650s, many printers and booksellers took advantage of the shift toward

¹³³ Smith, ““Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off,”” 175.

radical Protestantism and began to print texts that espoused it.¹³⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, many underground printing presses operated under the radical Protestant movement. A number of printers, both male and female, were associated with this religious view. While genres of printed works were tightly controlled by the Stationer's Company and English parliament in previous centuries, the chaos of the seventeenth century created demand for different types of genres.

The texts that women produced inside print houses do not seem to have any particular connection to their gender in topic or theme.¹³⁵ Most print houses focused on what books and pamphlets were in demand. For example, during the plague years in the mid-seventeenth century, the print trade experienced a rise in broadsides dedicated to plague news and death statistics.¹³⁶ The surviving broadsides show additional markings on the paper by the buyers, who tracked the number of deaths, showing that communities throughout England were interested in this type of publication.¹³⁷ Other printers also printed and distributed religious work regarding the plague, which focused on repentance. George and Hannah Sawbridge were involved in printing many medical pamphlets, which was likely the result of the interest in the plague epidemic.¹³⁸ Women connected to the pharmaceutical field were also noted as

¹³⁴ Bernard Capp, "The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s," in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, ed. J. Hinks and V. Gardner (Oak Knoll and British Library, 2014), 217.

¹³⁵ Smith, "*Grossly Material Things*," 93.

¹³⁶ Several contemporary printers published broadsides covering plague news and medical advice. One printer, John Trundle, was noted to have produced at least five pamphlets regarding the plague between 1636 to 1637, and later seven more pamphlets during the 1665 to 1666 outbreak. See Mark S. R. Jenner, "Plague on a Page: Lord Have Mercy Upon Us in Early Modern London," 255.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

¹³⁸ Maggie Kopp, "Women's Book History for Women's History Month | Special Collections Blog | L. Tom Perry Special Collections | HBLL," BYU Harold B. Lee Library, March 7, 2017, <https://sites.lib.byu.edu/special-collections/2017/03/07/womens-book-history-for-womens-history-month/>.

booksellers during the time period.¹³⁹ The majority of printed work being produced and distributed was often connected to the critical events of the century.

The change in genres resulted in many complications between printers and the Stationer's Company. The war between the Stuart monarchs and Parliament led many printers to start publishing critiques about the government. The English Civil War also resulted in the rise of radical Protestantism, which influenced several printers to produce and distribute pamphlets that promoted the movement. The rise of pamphlets and cheap prints created tension between printers, guild, and parliament. Prior to the English Civil War, the government and the Stationer's Company were able to control the print distribution in England; however, the 1640s and 1650s saw a rapid rise in unauthorized prints in England.¹⁴⁰ Women were also involved in producing and distributing printed work that highlighted the ideology of radical Protestants. Joan Darby, who was a well-known London printer during the 1640s and 1660s, produced many radically religious books and took part in the underground radical Protestant book trade.¹⁴¹ Throughout the seventeenth century, many printers were accused of printing and distributing seditious material. This created opportunities for women, for when male family members were arrested, women would often continue their husbands' or father's work.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ The British Books Trade Index online highlights over two hundred printers/booksellers, both men and women, who were involved in both the pharmaceutical and print trade. See "British Book Trade Index," <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/#>.

¹⁴⁰ Maruca, *The Work of Print*.

¹⁴¹ Maureen Bell, "Seditious Sisterhood: Women Publishers of Opposition Literature at the Restoration," in Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hansen, and Suzanne Trill (eds.), *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing* (Keele University Press, 1996), 186.

¹⁴² McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*, 71.

While typically, male printers would be arrested and tried for distributing seditious prints, there were cases where women were brought into questioning or tried for their printed work. In one case from 1680, Jane Curtis, a London printer, was arrested and tried for printing and distributing a pamphlet titled *A Satyr upon Injustice: or Scroggs upon Scroggs* that were deemed seditious by the government.¹⁴³ Curtis' pamphlet criticized the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs.¹⁴⁴ While this was a period when many printers and booksellers were accused or arrested for publishing seditious pamphlets, Jane Curtis provides a unique case of a woman arrested, tried, and found guilty. The trial records provide one of the rare moments of a woman involved in the print trade speaking about her participation in the trade. Regarding the printing of the seditious pamphlet, Curtis stated that she was "ignorant in the matter, and knew no such thing...my Husband, and please you Lordship was in the Country a hundred miles off of me, in *Lincolnshire*."¹⁴⁵ Jane Curtis pled not guilty for distributing the pamphlet. Claiming ignorance and an absent husband were two common excuses that many women in the print trade used when they were questioned. While the trial lawyer, Mr. Justice Jones, told Curtis to be submissive, she was still found guilty.¹⁴⁶ Although her punishment was not indicated, her guilty verdict was the result of two reasons. First, this was not the first time she or her husband were questioned regarding their printed pamphlets. Her husband, Langley Curtis, fled several arrests

¹⁴³ Francis Smith, "An impartial account of the trial of Francis Smith upon an information brought against him for printing and publishing a late book commonly known by the name of Tom Ticklefoot, &c.: as also of the trial of Jane Curtis, upon an information brought against her for publishing and putting to sale a scandalous libel, called A satyr upon injustice, or, Scroggs upon Scroggs," *Early English Books Online*, 1680, 1- 6.

¹⁴⁴ Maureen Bell, "Women and the Opposition Press After the Restoration," in *Writing and Radicalism*, edited by John Lucas, (Longman, 1996), 40.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, "An impartial account of the trial...Jane Curtis," 6.

¹⁴⁶ Bell, "Women and the Opposition Press," 40.

when he was alive.¹⁴⁷ Second, Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, who was a leading figure in the Court of the Stationer's Company, brought two witnesses to swear that her husband was dead so she could be tried under the feme sole laws as a widow and not a wife.¹⁴⁸ Jane Curtis' guilty verdict was a unique case in how coverture laws were implemented in English society and the print trade.

During the seventeenth century, women had limited legal rights and were viewed as subordinates to men. While in theory, single women had the same legal status as men, the common law emphasized that women were either married or to be married.¹⁴⁹ The law of coverture considered women to be under the same category as children, the mentally ill, and criminals. When women were brought to court, it was difficult to convict them of wrongdoings because their husbands were responsible for their wives' actions. As evidenced by Jane Curtis' trial, women were expected to be submissive and obey men and husbands were held responsible for their wives's actions. In this case, it appears Jane Curtis must have been well aware of the coverture laws. Not only did she claim ignorance, showing the submissive side that was demanded of women during the era, she also claimed an absentee husband, which indicates that she knew the role of a man at the home. The Jane Curtis trial emphasizes the role of women in seventeenth-century English society as well as the effects coverture laws had on the print trade.

The coverture laws also addressed property ownership. With limited and rare exceptions, particularly in the print trade, women were not allowed to own any

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 43.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Sara Heller Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 37.

property. In effect, married women had no right to hold property of their own; however, widowed women were considered feme sole again and could own and bequeath their late husbands' property. In the print trade, widows of freed printers and booksellers were allowed to inherit their husbands' print houses and copyrights as well as become freewomen.¹⁵⁰ Allowing widows of freed printers and booksellers to become freewomen and inherit their husbands' properties were two ways the Stationer's Company protected the people in the trade. Women were not officially allowed to apprentice for the guild, yet the Stationer's Company gave them some protection. By allowing widows to inherit and run their husbands' print houses and copyrights, the Stationer's Company protected and continued the family business.

Through the protection that the Stationer's Company offered widows, many women who chose to continue their deceased husbands' work were able to contribute to the changing genres. The women in my sample produced a variety of different genres throughout the seventeenth century. While the earlier printers produced and distributed religious works, the printers in the latter half of the century produced more secular texts. Since London was one of the major areas affected by the English Civil War (whoever held London controlled the isle), there was a visible shift that occurred in the printing and distributing in the area. The rise of cheap prints, such as pamphlets and broadsides, also changed the way news was communicated to English society.¹⁵¹ As the chaos of the century continued, different genres of text appeared in England. Even though the scholarship relating to women and genres during the seventeenth

¹⁵⁰ This can be seen in printer's wills, which will be examined in chapter three. Contemporary records from the Stationer's Company can also show that women could register copyrights.

¹⁵¹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 57.

century has focused on printed works directed toward women, the women in my sample will highlight the various types of genres women produced in the early English print trade.

The Eliot Court Print House, which was owned by the Griffin family, provide a good example of how the changes throughout the seventeenth century affected what was printed. Anne Griffin mostly produced religious texts; however, Sarah Griffin produced secular ones. Contemporary dictionaries illustrate that many of the titles registered to Anne Griffin were religious in nature. Several of Anne Griffin's printed books were religious sermons for example, which were registered in the Stationer's Company records.¹⁵² However, a shift occurred when Sarah Griffin, Anne's daughter-in-law, took charge of the print house and slowly transitioned the distribution from religious work to secular, such as fiction and contemporary news. This can be traced by examining several copyrights that were registered under Sarah Griffin's name. For example, on November 9, 1653, Sarah Griffin submitted to the Stationer's Company her printed copy of Sir Percy Herbert's *Cloria and Narcissus*, a romantic work of fiction.¹⁵³ Sarah printed over eighty books and pamphlets between 1648 to 1679. While she also printed religious sermons and psalms, the majority of titles credited to her were secular.¹⁵⁴ The changes at the Eliot Court Print House emphasizes the changes in printed texts throughout the seventeenth century.

¹⁵² Smith, "Grossly Material Things," 115-116.

¹⁵³ *Eyre Volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital, 434.

¹⁵⁴ Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd ed., (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972).

Another example of a woman who printed non-religious texts is Jane Bell, who was a London printer during the 1660s. The majority of copyrights that were owned by Bell were popular literature even though most of the prints that her late husband had produced were religious and political.¹⁵⁵ Many of Bell's copyrights were recorded in the Stationer's Company official records. One of her copyrights was *The Turke turned Christian, or a Relacon of the conversion of a native Strand*.¹⁵⁶ While the title indicates that Bell's printed book was somewhat religious in nature, it also could be categorized as current events. She is credited for several secular works as well. For instance, Bell printed several almanacs and yearly surveys for the Stationer's Company, which indicate that she had a good relationship with the London guild.¹⁵⁷ Bell also printed *M. William Shake-speare his true chronicle history of...King Lear* in 1655.¹⁵⁸ While Bell did print a few religious works, the majority of her printing was secular and directed to the Stationer's Company. The genres in which Bell printed draw attention to the different interests of English society during the time period. People were still interested in religious texts, but also wanted secular texts in the market. Bell's copyrights included those that were passed down to her by her husband; however, she also broke from her husbands' model and began to print in new popular genres such as almanacs and fiction.

In contrast to Bell, much of the work that Hannah Sawbridge printed was a reflection of her late husband, who was part of the Stationer's Company Guild and a known master printer throughout London. The guild allowed Sawbridge to continue

¹⁵⁵ Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers...From 1641 to 1667*, 20.

¹⁵⁶ *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital.

¹⁵⁷ Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*, 42 & 51.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 239.

her husbands' work after his death. She worked for several years before passing down the print house to her son. The work that Hannah Sawbridge printed consisted of parliament-approved proclamations and religious works. However, records show that Hannah Sawbridge sold a legal work, *The country justice*, which was previously printed and sold by her husband.¹⁵⁹ As mentioned above, the contemporary records also note that Sawbridge published medical prints, which were likely the result of the several plagues England experienced throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁰ The genres of Hannah Sawbridge's books show the interest in contemporary events in seventeenth century society.

In provincial towns, genres and printed works also experienced a change. While most works printed in provincial towns remained religious and politically based during the seventeenth century there were some shifts to secular prints. As printing became widespread throughout London, well-established London printers began sending their prints outside of the capital. One of the provincial women who printed works in a variety of genres was Alice Broad, of the northern city of York, who mainly produced and distributed secular prints. Alice Broad worked closely with the York community, since there were very few print houses in town. Broad printed several contemporary literature books during her career such as *Appello Caesarem* (1661) and the fifth edition of John Croshey's *The good-husbands jewel*.¹⁶¹ She printed Croshey's work in both 1661 and 1664, which indicates the popularity of the

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 417.

¹⁶⁰ Kopp, "Women's Book History for Women's History Month."

¹⁶¹ Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*, 180 & 406.

book.¹⁶² The work of Alice Broad highlights the interest of secular books and pamphlets in provincial towns.

Susan Cripps is an example of a female bookseller who was involved in the London and Oxford trade. After the death of her husband, Henry Cripps, Susan's name later reappeared in the Oxford trade when she remarried one of her late husbands' apprentices, Peter Parker. The Cripps were connected to several radical Protestants and printed radical religious prints, which were distributed throughout London.¹⁶³ Many of the prints from these radical Protestants included pamphlets and prints offering ways to reform the Church of England.¹⁶⁴ Even though Cripps was mostly credited for producing religious work, she did have a few secular genres connected to her name. In 1664, Susan Cripps distributed both a book titled *Panoplia: or armour*, by J. Hayes as well as an untitled school play, which was "prepared for...Middlesex."¹⁶⁵ This shows that while most printers may have specialized in a genre, they usually printed texts on multiple themes.

One of the better known provincial female printers, Anne Lichfield, worked closely with the main print house in Oxford. She was very well connected to the main printers in Oxford since her husband was a master printer. Lichfield would assist other Oxford printers in producing prints approved by the government. The majority of her prints were religious; however, she also printed and distributed grammar books. A few of the religious titles Anne Lichfield printed include *The hope of glory*

¹⁶² Ibid., 406.

¹⁶³ Richard Gameson, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* Volume 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 746.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*, 519 & 186.

(1657), *Directions for a godley life* (1658), and *The triumphant chariot of antimony* (1660).¹⁶⁶ Anne Lichfield also printed some secular books with her son, which included a book called *Memorials of worthy persons* in 1663 and three government proclamations in 1665.¹⁶⁷ The genres that Anne Lichfield produced show the range of printed texts in provincial towns.

While some printers continued to produce and distribute religious work, others used the opportunity provided by the political chaos to distribute more secular and opinion-based pamphlets. Some of this shift can be seen throughout the record books of the Stationer's Company. Although the majority of opinion-based pamphlets were not registered with the Stationer's Company, some of the non-religious and non-political work was copyrighted under the Stationer's Company. The print trade saw a rise in literature and educational prints. In effect, women were able to contribute to the change in genres by producing and distributing both religious and secular literature. Rather than focusing on the religious work, many print houses focused on what authors were commissioning and the demands of their customers. Even though printed religious books were still being produced, the English book trade during the seventeenth century saw a rise in secular literature and women were a part of and printing such literature.

Chapter Conclusion

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

The critical events of the seventeenth century enabled many changes in the interior aspects of the early English print trade. Although it is difficult to know the specific stages of printing that women participated in, sources show that women could be found at every stage of the print trade, including writing, printing, stitching, and distributing texts.¹⁶⁸ Overall, there were several areas inside print houses in which women participated. The major role of women inside shops was likely as managers, and this shows how the printing trade relied on family members. As managers, women had to be aware of the skills that went into printing, such as composition, printing, folding the printed pages, and binding the covers of books. The contemporary records do not directly state the roles of women inside print houses; however, the success of some women in managing and printing after their husbands' death indicate involvement in the trade beforehand. The shift to different genres during the seventeenth century created a broader range to texts that printers were producing. Rather than focusing on religious work or printed material that were controlled by the government, the upheavals of the mid seventeenth century introduced new genres to England that did not need to be passed through the government. Many of the genres being written, printed, and distributed to English society were influenced by the events of the century, such as the English Civil War and the plague.

The works printed by women discussed in this chapter reflect the changing country and time period. Whereas Anne Griffin primarily focused on religious works, the printed material created and distributed by her daughter-in-law were more secular,

¹⁶⁸ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 279.

focusing on contemporary literature. The English War Civil played a major role in what genres were printed and distributed throughout London and in the provinces. Depending on who was in control of London, certain printed works could have been illegal and risked the production of the print house. The plague had a substantial effect in the genres that were being printed and distributed to society. At the height of the plague epidemic, there was a rise in medical prints and death statistics. Several booksellers, including Hannah Sawbridge, took advantage of the situation and distributed medical literature. The genres being printed during this time period were greatly influenced by the changes in society and women were able to contribute to the changes by printing and distributing the genres in demand.

While the women's presence in the early English print trade only becomes visible after the death of their husband, their involvement should not be considered passive. The process of printing inside the shop relied on collaboration between managers, printers, compositors, and pressmen; however, the partnerships between different print houses were also essential. Working inside the printing shop was one aspect that showed women's participation; however, as the next chapter will highlight, the collaboration of printers and booksellers extended beyond the shop.

Chapter 3: Women's Presence in the Networks of the Seventeenth-Century Print Trade

The print trade was not confined to the print house; relationships between printers and connections with booksellers built a community of print. The early English print trade was based on a wide familial network, where both men and women were able to learn the trade if they were born into a printing family. Many printers lived above their shops and family members would learn the trade through their parents.¹⁶⁹ And people regularly married within the trade in order to keep print houses and copyrights in the family. The trade was built from a group of twenty printing houses in London, with the exception of two University print houses in Oxford and Cambridge, and grew rapidly from the chaotic changes of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁰ Clusters of printers who specialized in similar genres would live near each other on the streets of London. Printers and booksellers clustered around St. Paul's Cathedral, the Old Bailey, Westminster Hall, and close to the Stationer's Company building.¹⁷¹ Inside the Old City Walls of London was the main building of the Stationer's Company, where stationers, printers, and booksellers went to register new copyrights under their names. Printing in seventeenth-century England was built

¹⁶⁹ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 74.

¹⁷⁰ "Star Chamber Decree, Westminster (1586)," in E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1557-1640*, 5 vols (London: n.p., 1875-94), 2: 808., Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900).

¹⁷¹ Helen Smith, "Grossly Material Things: " *Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 149. Also, Alfred W. Pollard, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2d ed., (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976).

around familial, neighborhood, and occupational connections of printers and booksellers. Essentially, the early English print trade was a tight community.

The print and book trade were built around the collaboration of printers, writers, booksellers, and distributors. The streets of seventeenth-century London were filled with trade shops and retailers attempting to make a profit from their product. The printing and book trades were no different. Women were involved in these trades through their work inside printing houses; however, women's involvement is even more apparent in the distribution of printed works. Printers would help each other with producing and distributing printed work. By the late seventeenth century, women were able to apprentice and participate in the trade as official stationers. Although women were not able to officially join the Stationer's Company, they were still able to engage indirectly in printing and distributing printed material. Through the partnerships between men and women, women were able to participate in the trade as printers and booksellers.

This chapter examines the relationships within the print trade as well as the social connections of women in the trade. The distribution of printed texts throughout England indicates the regional networks of printers and booksellers. By looking at the distribution and locations, one can see the way people in the trade interacted with one another. There are a few ways to show the interactions and relationships of people in the print trade. First, wills of printers show the relationship between other printers and most importantly, wives and other family members. Wills highlight the possible roles that women had in the print trade. Although women do not appear in the contemporary records prior to their husbands' death, wills imply the connection of

women to the trade. Second, the daily records of the Stationer's Company draw attention to the different interactions of the guild and printers as well as who had copyrights and how they were passed within the trade. Last, imprints on title pages also shows the collaboration in printing between printers as well as booksellers. By analyzing wills, Stationer's Company records, and title pages, this chapter emphasizes women's interactions within the trade, with each other, their male partners, and the guild.

People of the Trade: The Relationships Between Printers and Booksellers

The field of printing during the seventeenth century was connected through the interactions of printers, writers, and distributors. Since printing was considered a household-based trade, women were able to learn the trade in one way or another, either inside the shop or outside selling printed texts. As mentioned above, many people learned the trade because they were either born or married into it. Since print houses were part of the familial space, people relied on their families and partners in the trade to help out. Familial links along with partnerships were fundamental for the success of print houses.¹⁷² When high demand for a lengthy book rose, multiple print houses worked together to meet the book or pamphlet count. While there one main printer took charge of the project, multiple printing houses helped print the book. Printers would share in the copyright and get paid for their work. The collaboration

¹⁷² Jennifer Winters, "The English Provincial Book Trade: Bookseller Stock-Lists, c. 1520-1640 (Volume 1)," (PhD diss, University of St. Andrews, 2012), 260.

between printers and booksellers in England emphasized the wide network of seventeenth century printing.

One of the ways the print trade was connected was through husbands and wives, who worked together in the print house. In most cases, husbands were the printers and wives were the booksellers. As mentioned in the previous chapter, contemporary records highlight printed work by multiple people as well as the movement of prints houses and copyrights from one person to another. Much of the records from the Stationer's Company showed widows passing and assigning their rights to their husbands' copyrights. Several women who only participated in the print trade for a few years were recorded as assigning their husbands' copyrights to the Stationer's Company. The possible reasons why some women chose to remain in the trade only for a few years were likely related to resolving husbands' debts or having little involvement in the trade prior to their husbands' death. For example, Mary Vavasour appeared in the Stationer's Company records once in 1653. On July 9, 1653, widow Vavasour assigned her deceased husbands' rights of *The Northerne Lasse* to Master printer Humphrey Moseley.¹⁷³ Another example, Widow Okes assigned her late husbands' copyrights to her new husband. While it is difficult to know if assigning copyrights back to the Stationer's Company was a way for a widow to pay off her deceased husbands' debt, it might show women who did not interact with the trade much. Sometimes, women assigned copyrights to men who they remarried. On June 15 1646, widow Okes passed her rights to a book titled

¹⁷³ *Eyre Volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, 423,
http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/SC_Eyre_V1

Heresiographia to her new husband, William Wilson.¹⁷⁴ This was a common way for widows who remarried to keep their copyrights in the family.

The contemporary records indicate printed works by multiple people as well as the movement of print houses and copyrights from one person to another. While some women chose to assign their husbands' copyrights back to the Stationer's Company after their husbands' death, others continued their husbands' work. The Stationer's Company records provide a view into who registered what copyrights and the transfer of copyrights from one printer to another or to the guild itself. These records show who owned certain copyrights and sometimes, how payments were handled between printers, the authors, and the guild. Since authors were not accepted into the Stationer's Company, they could not hold copyrights over their writing.¹⁷⁵ The records of copyrights illustrate how much printers paid to authors and what was required of them to own the copyright.¹⁷⁶ For instance, in March 1640 Anne Griffin and her son Edward recorded their agreement for printing a book titled *The Perambulacon of Kent* with the author, Master Lambard. Anne and her son were required to print the book frequently and would receive four shillings and six pence per ream.¹⁷⁷ In another entry for the guild's records from July 1650, Constance Jones assigned her rights to *A rich storehouse for the diseased* over to John Clowes.¹⁷⁸ The movement and registration of copyrights during the seventeenth century draw attention to the interaction of printers and booksellers with the Stationer's Company.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 234.

¹⁷⁵ This process later changed with the Copyright Act of 1710. See Lyman Ray Patterson, *Copyright in Historical Perspective* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 5.

¹⁷⁶ *Eyre Volume 1*, Adam Matthew Digital.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 347.

Since licensing copyrights in the Stationer's Company meant receiving payments, the contemporary records showed how shared printing of books and pamphlets was handled in the trade.

Because London was the center of the printing trade, the printers and booksellers there were well connected to each other. Many men married daughters of printers and sometimes, apprentices married widows to help continue the business. Women who were acknowledged as printers were more often than not the daughters of printers. For example, Hannah Allen, one of the most well-known female printers of the seventeenth century, was the daughter of a bookseller and married two printers.¹⁷⁹ Even without any formal apprenticeship, Allen successfully managed her first husbands' print house for over nineteen years.¹⁸⁰ Daughters of printers were able to learn the trade by observing their parents. Many widows, who wanted to continue working in the printing trade, sought new partnerships, either business or personal, in the trade.¹⁸¹ In effect, the interconnected network of the print trade enabled many widows to continue their husbands' work.

Even without having served formal apprenticeships, widows were able to keep print houses in their possession after a death of a printer spouse. The Stationer's Company's approval of wives inheriting their deceased husbands' print house indicates that women were involved in the trade through management. Prior to the English Civil War of the 1640s, four women were acknowledged by the Stationer's

¹⁷⁹ "Allen [Née Howse; Other Married Name Chapman], Hannah (fl. 1632–1664), Bookseller | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57039>.

¹⁸⁰ Alyson D. Alvarez, "A Widow's Will: Examining the Challenges of Widowhood in Early Modern England and America," *Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research*, University of Nebraska Department of History, (2013), 36.

¹⁸¹ Smith, "Grossly Material Things," 114.

Company as inheriting their husbands' print house in the seventeenth century. These four women were Elizabeth Alde (1628 – 1650), Mary Dawson (1635 – 1637), Anne Griffin (1621 – 1657), and Elizabeth Purslowe (1632 – 1646).¹⁸² Although Mary Dawson was part of the trade for only two years, other widows took over print houses for much longer. Alde managed her print house for twenty-two years and Purslowe participated in the trade for roughly fourteen years.¹⁸³ Anne Griffin, who is part of my sample, worked in the print trade for thirty-five years. While women were not allowed to officially apprentice for the Stationer's Company until the late seventeenth century, the guild did provide several protections for printer's widows, which allowed them certain rights. Women were not allowed to hold office in the Stationer's Company until 1936, yet they were able to indirectly interact with the printing guild.¹⁸⁴ The relationships between husbands and wives gave women opportunities to engage with the print trade as well as providing protection over print houses and copyrights.

Partnerships between printers, booksellers, and printing houses were common during the seventeenth century. Many printers chose to work in partnerships because it allowed them to divide the labor. In effect, the print trade is where intellectual property, physical labor, and entrepreneurship blend together. Through the process of printing and the finished work, we can also examine the business partnerships between printers and booksellers. The division of labor gave people in the print house

¹⁸² Edward Arber, and Charles Robert Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, A. D.* Vol. 3 (London: Birmingham, 1875), 701, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001168984>.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Helen Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off': Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades," *Text* 15 (2003), 167.

an opportunity to learn different skills. Parents would teach their children the trade in order to keep the family business and copyrights. While it is difficult to know the extent of wives' partnerships with husbands prior to the man's death, some evidences lay in the contemporary records that suggest women were part of the trade. For example, Anne Griffin was linked to several male printers and booksellers during her active years in the print trade. Prior to working with her son, Edward Griffin II, she also had a business partnership with John Haviland as well as several women booksellers. Her business relationship with John Haviland started after the death of her husband.¹⁸⁵ Prior to working with her son, perhaps because he was a minor, Anne Griffin worked with John Haviland, a printer, throughout the 1620s. Although Haviland did not have a partnership with Anne's husband, Anne likely took Haviland as a business partner to help her grow the print house as well pay off the £800 debt that was left from her husband.¹⁸⁶ The partnership between Griffin and Haviland shows the connection between unrelated male and female printers prior to the English Civil War.

The early records of the Stationer's Company indicate that Griffin and Haviland shared multiple copyrights, many of which were religious titles.¹⁸⁷ Griffin and Haviland worked on several printed works together and also co-owned copyrights. Some of their shared copyrights included *God's parlee with princes* and *The perambulacon*, which were recorded in the Stationer's Company register on July

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 115.

¹⁸⁶ James Laurence Laughlin and James Alfred Field, *The Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago Press, 1901), 590.

¹⁸⁷ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640*, A. D. Vol. 4 (London: Birmingham, 1875), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001168984>.

7, 1621.¹⁸⁸ Another copyright that they shared was a book titled *A golden Trmpett to Rowse up a Drousie Magistrat[e]*, which was entered into the records on July 12, 1624.¹⁸⁹ Sharing copyrights shows the partnerships between printers as well as booksellers. Haviland and Griffin's business partnership allowed Haviland to develop his career as a printer.¹⁹⁰ While women were not admitted to the London printing guild, the Stationer's Company did acknowledge the business partnership between Griffin and Haviland.¹⁹¹ Griffin seemed to have used her partnership with Haviland in order to pay off her late husband's debt because their partnership had been dissolved by the early 1630s.¹⁹² Anne Griffin also worked with Anne Boler and Elizabeth Purslowe, booksellers, on a regular basis; however, it should be noted that all three women also had business partnerships with several male printers during their active years.¹⁹³ There could have been a power imbalance between male and female printers; however, the contemporary records indicate that men and women were able to work together. While her business relationships with female booksellers were not as predominant in the contemporary records, Anne Griffin's work with John Haviland highlights the collaboration of men and women in printing.

Many widowed women like Anne Griffin, worked with and most likely taught their sons the skills of the printing trade. These women were critical in the continuance of the family trade. Throughout the 1630s and until 1643, Griffin closely

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 55, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924092496052>.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 121.

¹⁹⁰ Haviland finished his printing apprenticeship in 1621, which was right before he began his working partnership with Griffin. See McKerrow, Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England*, 132.

¹⁹¹ Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers*, Vol. 4, 701.

¹⁹² Laughlin and Field, *The Journal of Political Economy*, 590.

¹⁹³ Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off,'" 177.

worked with her son, Edward Griffin II. Considering that her son officially entered the trade in 1636 yet his father died in 1621, it is probable that Anne taught her son the skills of the trade.¹⁹⁴ Anne Griffin published many printed texts alone; the Stationer's Company records indicate that she published roughly up to fifteen printed texts by herself. However, she and her son were credited and shared copyrights to several printed sermons in the late 1630s.¹⁹⁵ While the Stationer's Company stated that Anne Griffin was "neuer admitted, neither capable" of working in the print trade, she successfully managed her deceased husbands' print house for longer than her husband managed the business. The concept of not being capable of having the skills of the trade emphasizes the contemporary view that women were seen as weaker than men, but the laws of the Stationer's Company made it complicated to take away copyrights and print houses that were passed down from husband to wife. The contemporary idea that women were incapable of learning the skills of the trade is voided by the presences of women managing print houses, owning copyrights, and collaborating with their male partners.

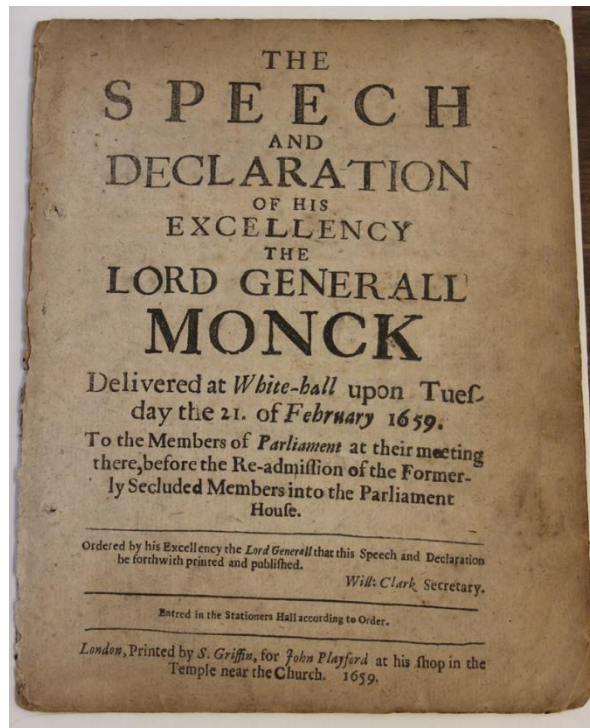
Continuing the work of her husband, Anne Griffin was able to develop a profitable print house over her thirty years in the trade. Her husband, Edward Griffin I had worked in the print trade since 1598, when he started his apprenticeship, until his death in 1621. Griffin was freed from his apprenticeship around the early 1610s, and registered his first copyrights in 1613. It is likely that Edward and Anne married around the 1610s. He succeeded to another printer's, Melchisedec Bradwood, print

¹⁹⁴ Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Eldridge Carney, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500-1650* (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 240.

¹⁹⁵ Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers*, Vol. 4.

house, Eliot's Court Press, in 1618, which was eventually passed to his wife Anne and son Edward II.¹⁹⁶ While Edward Griffin I only managed the print house for eight years, his widow, Anne managed and grew the business for over thirty years.¹⁹⁷ Although Anne Griffin was not seen as capable of knowing the skills of the trade, she continued to work and was able to teach her son and daughter-in-law the trade.

Similar to her mother-in-law, Sarah Griffin also inherited and managed the Eliot Court Print House from her husband, Edward Griffin II. While Anne Griffin primarily printed religious material, Sarah's imprints were both religious as well as secular. Likely learning from her mother-in-law and husband, Sarah also worked in partnerships with several booksellers as well as her son, Bennet, who represented the third generation of Griffin printers. While the contemporary records often show that Sarah worked alone in printing several titles, such as *The Speech and Declaration of*



¹⁹⁶ McKerrow, Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England*. For quote see, Arber and Vinton, *A Transcript of the Registers* Vol. 3, 707.

¹⁹⁷ Levin, Bertolet, and Carney, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen*, 240.

his Excellency the Lord General Monck (1659) and *An old slander newly revived confuted and blowne up without the helpe of gunpowder* (1658), she collaborated with various booksellers to distribute her printed work.¹⁹⁸ During her time as a printer, Sarah printed several books and pamphlets for other printers, particularly John Playford, and hired a few booksellers to distribute her printed work. Considering that her son, Bennet, was freed from apprenticeship in 1666, several years after the death of his father, it is likely that Sarah helped him learn the trade.¹⁹⁹ The work of mothers in printing shows how familial and household connections were essential to the trade.

While there are not many contemporary records regarding the provincial printing trade, a few male and female printers worked together. One way to know if a printed book or pamphlet had multiple printers is through the title page. The first page of a printed book would highlight the “printed by” with multiple names or initials, which would indicate who worked on the printed book. In one case, Anne Lichfield, who was married to an Oxford master printer, worked with other male printers after the death of her husband. As mentioned in the previous chapter, she and her son collaborated until her son inherited his father’s position in the Oxford print house. Anne Lichfield provides a unique case in the Oxford printing trade, simply due to the fact that until 1970, there were no women involved in printing there except herself.²⁰⁰

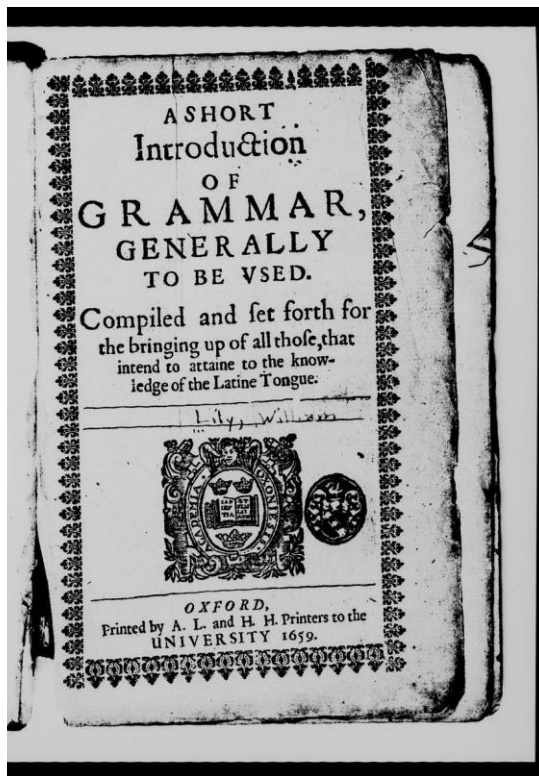
¹⁹⁸ Kelli Hansen, “5 Women Printers and Booksellers of the 17th Century,” *Library News* (blog), March 20, 2014, <http://library.missouri.edu/news/special-collections/5-women-printers-and-booksellers-of-the-17th-century>. *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/SC_Eyre_V2

¹⁹⁹ *Apprentices bound, turned over, free and cloathed volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive, http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_C_05_04_02

²⁰⁰ “Oxford University Press - Women’s Journey into the Press,” <https://global.oup.com/news-items/archive/WomensJourney?cc=us>.

The fact that Anne Lichfield became a university printer, even though she possibly lacked understanding in Latin, and that she collaborated with several male printers is notable and rare.

While Anne Lichfield worked closely with her son for the twelve years between 1657 to 1669, she also had business partnership with other Oxford printers. The title page of a printed introduction to grammar by William Lily indicates that the text was printed by “A. L. and H. H. Printers to the UNIVERSITY 1659.”²⁰¹ As the date indicates, Anne Lichfield was a printer at the university during the time of the printing the text. It is therefore likely that the A. L. refers to Anne Lichfield. H. H. was most likely Henry Hall, another university printer who worked at Oxford during



²⁰¹ William Lily, “A short introduction of grammar, generally to be used: compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those, that intend to attaine to the knowledge of the Latine tongue.” Oxford: Printed by A. L[ichfield] and H. H[all] printers to the University, *Early English Books Online*, 1659.

http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=config.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=857314683&ECCO=undefined&SUBSET=undefined&ENTRIES=undefined

the time period. This acknowledgement of the two printers shows the collaboration of female and male printers.

Another printed title page that shows Anne Lichfield and her son, is a religious pamphlet. In the pamphlet by John Barbon, the imprints were created by “A. & L. Lichfield [as] Printers to the Univer[sity] 1663,” which were likely Anne and her son, Leonard Lichfield II.²⁰² Anne Lichfield worked with several Oxford printers; however, the majority of her printed work was a collaboration between herself and her son. Such collaboration and the use of initials, however, is one of the reasons we have missed the involvement of women in the process of printing.

Female printers in London also collaborated with each other. Hannah Sawbridge worked with several master printers, who had worked in partnership with her deceased husband, during the 1680s. Over the five years she engaged in the print trade, Hannah Sawbridge’s name could be found in fifty imprints.²⁰³ Her name appeared in several dedications of printed work and rights to sell the text. Hannah and her husband, George Sawbridge the elder’s, relationship also highlights the network of printers during the mid-seventeenth century. For example, “G. Sawbridge, T. Roycraft, and W. Rawlins” shared the copyright of *The country justice* in 1677.²⁰⁴ Five years later, a new edition of the same book was printed and credited to “H. Sawbridge, S. Roycraft, and W. Rawlins.”²⁰⁵ Hannah continued her deceased

²⁰² John Barbon, “Liturgie A Most in Answer to a late Pamphlet stiled, Common-Prayer-Book no Divine Service,” Oxford: Printed by A. & L. Lichfield, Printers to the Univer., *Early English Books Online*, 1663.

²⁰³ Elizabeth L. Furdell, “Sawbridge, George, the Elder (b. in or before 1621, d. 1681), Printer and Bookseller | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,” 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69227>.

²⁰⁴ Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd ed., (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972), 417.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 418.

husbands' collaboration with Roycraft and Rawlins on several printed books, illustrating how relationships between printing families survived individuals and transitions.

Hannah had been responsible for her husband George Sawbridge's rise to prominence in the Stationer's Company. Hannah's father, Edward Brewster, was a stationer and held the position of treasurer at the Stationer's Company.²⁰⁶ After Brewster's death in 1647, George Sawbridge succeeded to his father-in-law's position in the guild.²⁰⁷ Without his marriage to Hannah Brewster, George Sawbridge likely would not have been able to achieve the position in the guild. In effect, through his marriage to Hannah Brewster, he was acknowledged as "the greatest Bookseller that [had] been in England for many years."²⁰⁸

The work that Jane Bell produced during the late 1650s illustrates the collaboration that occurred between widowed printers and their apprentices. Bell worked with both her husband and the apprentices in their print house. Her name appeared several times in the Stationer's Company's records working with a few other stationers. In her husbands' will, it is indicated that their apprentices were meant to stay and help Jane manage the print house.²⁰⁹ On November 9, 1657, she registered her copyright of *The Turke turned Christian*, which showed that her

²⁰⁶ Furdell, "Sawbridge, George, the Elder."

²⁰⁷ George Sawbridge's family background was in farming (his father was a farmer). See, Furdell, "Sawbridge, George, the Elder."

²⁰⁸ John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London: With the Lives and Characters of More Than a Thousand Contemporary Divines, and Other Persons of Literary Eminence. To Which Are Added, Dunton's Conversation in Ireland; Selections from His Other Genuine Works; and a Faithful Portrait of the Author ...* (J. Nichols, son, and Bentley, 1818), 211.

²⁰⁹ "Will of Moses Bell, Stationer of London" (July 27, 1649), PROB 11/208/774, The National Archives, Kew.

husbands' apprentices stayed in the print house to help her manage it.²¹⁰ Jane Bell was also credited for several editions of the Stationer's Company almanacs as well as yearly surveys.²¹¹ Without the help from her apprentices, the print house she inherited from her husband might not have been as successful. Her copyrights highlight the relationship between women printers, apprentices, and the Stationer's Company.

The presence of women in the partnerships emphasizes the different ways they were able to participate in the print trade. With the help of business partners and apprentices, the women examined above were able to succeed in a male-dominated trade. Even though the contemporary printing guild considered women incapable of learning the skills of the trade, it did not stop women from collaborating with other printers and booksellers. While the Stationer's Company records are one source that indicates the partnerships between widows and male printers, examining contemporary wills also illuminate the partnerships between husbands, wives, and children.

The Presence of Women in Contemporary Wills

The wills of husbands and widows highlight different roles that women had in the printing trade as well as the relationships between husbands and wives. Although previous scholarship has rarely made use of contemporary wills, an examination of printers' wills can indicate the relationship of husband and wife as well as women's

²¹⁰ *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, 153.

²¹¹ She printed surveys for the Stationer's Company in 1653 and then between 1657 to 1660. See Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Vol 1*, 42.

roles in the trade. Contemporary wills also indicate a degree of copyright ownership as well as the transfer of wealth in the trade. While some women did have a passive role in the trade, others show a more active position. One of the challenges of the Stationer's Company records is that women are listed as printers and booksellers only after they are widowed; however, this does not mean that wives were not involved in the printing trade prior to their husbands' death. Many print houses were passed down from husband to wife rather than from father to son.²¹² A number of wills from the time period indicate that wives were meant to carry on the family business until their sons came of age, which was 21 years old during the seventeenth century. Wills reflect the idea that women, who were mentioned in the contemporary records, were active participants in the trade. While some women in the records are indicated to have only participated in the trade for only a few of years (ranging from one to two years, which could have only been because they were assigning their husbands' copyrights back to the printing guild), other women worked for longer than five years and were continued their husbands' work in the trade.²¹³ Many husbands whose wives were actively involved in the trade made their wives executrixes of their wills, giving their wives the responsibility of managing their estates and property. The wills of printers during the seventeenth century underscore the multiple roles that women had in the print trade both before and after their husbands died.

While there are over a hundred wills of male printers from the seventeenth century at the National Archives in London, there are roughly fewer than fifteen wills

²¹² Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760*, Literary Conjugations (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 161-162.

²¹³ This can be seen in the appendix as well. Also see Helen Smith, "*Grossly Material Things:*" *Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 102.

made by women printers and booksellers. The 1615 will of the female printer, Sara White, gives some insight into women's relationship with the Stationer's Company prior to the English Civil War.²¹⁴ While not much information could be found regarding Sara White's involvement in the printing trade, her will indicates that she was a widow of a stationer. She had a son and grandchildren; however, she left the majority of her money to her granddaughter.²¹⁵ Sara White's will shows that she left her son, Edward, £20, gave her grandson £40, and left £80 to her granddaughter.²¹⁶ Her will also indicates that she had a good relationship with the Stationer's Company since her money was meant to come from there. She also left some money for her other printer friends, who were all men, to buy mourning rings.²¹⁷ The inheritance for her granddaughter emphasizes the social status of women during the seventeenth century. Since the coverture laws limited women's rights in England, the granddaughter's inheritance from the Stationer's Company would have set her up in life and provided some stability.

The will of Hannah Sawbridge provides more information on the wealth of the print trade as well as the relationship between mother and son. As previously mentioned, Hannah Sawbridge was married to one of the most successful printers of the time period. In her will from 1686, Hannah Sawbridge highlights the amount of success that printing provided for the family by bequeathing her four children a great

²¹⁴ "Will of Sara White, Stationer of London" (December 19, 1615), PROB 11/126/596, The National Archives, Kew.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

sum of money as well as multiple properties.²¹⁸ She owned a building on Milk Street in London, where the original Stationer's Company was located.²¹⁹ Also, she had land in Middlesex.²²⁰ Although the majority of the inheritance went to her eldest son, Thomas, Hannah was able to leave three of her unwed children a total of £2500, which was kept in the Orphan's Fund administered by the Chamber of London.²²¹ In the will, her son Thomas inherited all the copies, stock, and interests that the family had in the Stationer's Company as well as a third of the land.²²² Two-thirds of the land was to be divided between Sawbridge's three daughters. She explicitly wrote that all money that the land generated would directly go to each girl, and when they married, it would continue to be given to them without meddling from their husbands.²²³ Sawbridge's inheritance directions for her daughters indicate that she was aware of the position of women in seventeenth-century England, and wanted to ensure her daughters a level of financial independence. While the wills left by women printers and booksellers during the time period are rare, many wills by male printers who mention their wives.

The will of Edward Griffin II draws attention to the amount of wealth that the Griffin family acquired in the print trade. In his will, Griffin acknowledged both his

²¹⁸ "Will of Hannah Sawbridge, Widow of London" (January 19, 1686), PROB 11/382/61, The National Archives, Kew.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ The Orphan's Fund of the Chamber of London was organized by the London freemen as a way to protect the inheritances of orphans. Parents would put a fixed sum in the fund, which would earn interest. See "Will of Hannah Sawbridge, Widow of London." Also, it should be noted that the Stationer's Company kept a list of which apprentices were connected to the Orphan's Fund. See, *Apprentice register Relief of the Orphans Act*, Adam Matthew Digital, Marlborough, Literary Print Culture: The Stationers' Company Archive,

http://www.literaryprintculture.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/TSC_1_C_05_02

²²² "Will of Hannah Sawbridge, Widow of London."

²²³ Ibid.

mother and wife, and made sure his family was taken care of after his death in 1652. Edward owned a house in the Old Bailey area of London, which at the time of the will was worth up to £30.²²⁴ In the will, he emphasized that the rent would be given to his wife and children after his death. He also gave his mother £20 a year.²²⁵ While Edward Griffin did not reference his work in the book trade much, the amount of money he was able to divide between his mother, wife, and children implies that their printing business was successful. In his will, Edward Griffin left his mother £20 yearly, his eldest son, Bennet, would receive the print house when he turned 21, and his daughter and younger son would get £100 each when they came of age (or when the daughter got married, with the approval of Sarah Griffin).²²⁶ Edward Griffin II's will highlights the partnerships between mothers and sons in the print trade. In order to have a successful family print house, mother and sons, as well as husbands and wives, had to work together.

The will of Humphrey Moseley provides an interesting window into the relationships of printers, wives, and daughters. Anne Moseley and her daughter, Anne, were a part of the London print trade between the years of 1661 to 1675. The two women shared multiple copyrights and were represented in the Stationer's Company records. Anne Moseley, who printed both religious and secular books, entered her copyrights into the Stationer's Company's court record at least eighteen times during her active years.²²⁷ Her husbands' will explained that their two

²²⁴ "Will of Edward Griffin, Stationer of London" (October 12, 1652), PROB 11/223/424, The National Archives, Kew.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*, Vol 1.

apprentices, John Langford and Henry Pentor, would get paid £5 if they stayed at the print house to help Anne with the business.²²⁸ Since Anne Moseley and her daughter appeared in the Stationer's Company records multiple times, this seems to imply that Langford and Pentor honored Humphrey Moseley's request.²²⁹ Interestingly, even though Moseley bequeathed his brother £5 to oversee the business, he chose to equally divide the business between his wife and daughter.²³⁰ Moseley also left £10 for the Stationer's Company to make a cup or plate in his honor.²³¹ In 1675, the Stationer's Company recorded that Anne Moseley had made her son-in-law, Edward Rayney, the executor of her will and assigned all her copyrights to him and her daughter.²³² By inheriting her husbands' print house, Anne Moseley was able to teach her daughter the skills of the trade and pass it on the next husband-wife printer pair.

Through the use of wills and the records of the Stationer's Company, one can see the relationships of women and men in the print trade. They show that many print houses functioned as partnerships between husband and wife, which means that even though women did not appear in the contemporary records prior to their husbands' death, they were involved enough in the trade to know how to manage the business after a loss of a partner. Wills also show the different relationships between printers as well as the Stationer's Company. While some wills, like those of Sara White and Humphrey Moseley, indicate a relationship with the Stationer's Company, other wills

²²⁸ "Will of Humfrey Moseley, Stationer of Saint Gregory, City of London" (March 26, 1661), PROB 11/303/623, The National Archives, Kew.

²²⁹ *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital.

²³⁰ "Will of Humfrey Moseley."

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Eyre Volume 2*, Adam Matthew Digital, 503.

rarely mention the London printing guild. The company records, wills, and title pages all indicate the possible business relationships within the book trade.

Distribution of Printed Work Between London and the Provincial Towns

During the seventeenth century, there were major changes in the way printed work was distributed throughout England due to the critical events that occurred throughout the century. Although London was still considered the center of printing, due to the number of print houses located there, there was a rise in printed material going to provincial towns.²³³ The relationship between London printers and provincial booksellers developed as the monopoly of the Stationer's Company broke down. Printing might have been more predominant in London; however, several London printers were linked to the provincial book trade. The relationship between London printers and provincial booksellers enabled an increase in printed material distributed to the provinces.²³⁴ In effect, this change created a widespread effect on the way print houses distributed prints. While it is difficult to estimate how many provincial booksellers there were in the seventeenth century, it is easier to examine the connections and distribution between London and provincial towns. The printing network spread throughout the country and created better interactions between print houses in London and in the countryside. In some cases, London printers were able to

²³³ Bernard Capp, "The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s," in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, ed. J. Hinks and V. Gardner (Oak Knoll and British Library, 2014), 212.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 228.

connect with a printer outside of the capital and produce and distribute London work to the countryside.

While it is difficult to know how many printers from provincial towns distributed their works in London, several London printers were connected to provincial booksellers. According to Bernard Capp, “Local and regional markets were already a very important dimension of book-selling in the 1650s. The great majority of works were still printed in London, but the cultural flow was not simply from the centre to province; the provinces themselves generated plenty of material for the press as well as consuming its product.”²³⁵ The rise of printing houses throughout the English Civil War enabled provincial printing to develop in addition to the London-centered trade. While it is difficult to know how many women, as well as men, were solely involved in the provincial book trade, provincial printers and bookseller often appear in the contemporary records when they collaborate with London printers.²³⁶ Through the connections of London printers and booksellers, we can see the relationship between the capital and provincial towns.

Anne Griffin, who was previously mentioned, was one of the female printers who was able to distribute her printed books and pamphlets to provincial towns. While it is difficult to know if her daughter-in-law continued the relationship with provincial towns, there are printed books that indicate, through title pages, that they were printed by Anne Griffin and distributed by provincial booksellers. Many of her printed books were distributed throughout England. Griffin’s work was distributed in

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Since many provincial printers and booksellers who had no links to the capital rarely left records of their work in the trade, it is difficult to estimate how many people were involved and to what extent. See Smith, “*Grossly Material Things*,” 154.

Exeter, Northampton, Salisbury, and Dorchester, with the help of provincial booksellers, who were linked to Griffin.²³⁷ In effect, Anne Griffin and her son were able to establish a network of distribution between London and provincial towns throughout England.²³⁸ When Griffin printed *The Italian Convert* in 1635, various copies of this printed book were sold by H. Hamond of Salisbury, W. Browne of Dorchester, J. Cartwrit of Coventry, E. Dight of Exeter, P. Whaly of Northampton, and M. Sparke and Anne More in London.²³⁹ Her work with a network of printers and distributors in provincial English towns enabled her print house to develop outside of London. The connections that Anne Griffin had with different printers and booksellers draw attention to the relationship between the London and provincial print trade. Not only was Griffin able to manage a large print house, she successfully made a name for herself in the print trade throughout England.

In addition, Anne Griffin was also linked to a few female booksellers. One of the London booksellers who distributed Griffin's work was Anne Boler, who was active in the trade between 1635 – 1637. Boler distributed Griffin's print of *Meditations and disquisitions upon the Lords prayer* and *The poore orphans court, or orphans cry* in 1636.²⁴⁰ Griffin's partnership with Anne Boler shows the connection between female printers and booksellers during the seventeenth century. The collaboration between Anne Griffin and different booksellers emphasizes the wide network of printers and booksellers throughout England.

²³⁷ Smith, "'Print[Ing] Your Royal Father Off,'" 163–86.

²³⁸ Alvarez, "A Widow's Will: Examining the Challenges of Widowhood," 44.

²³⁹ Pollard, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England...1475-1640*, " 57.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 56 and 351.

Two other women who were involved in the provincial print trade were Alice Broad and Susan Cripps. While Alice Broad inherited her husbands' print house at York in 1661, Susan Cripps' husband had ties to the London and Oxford trade. Alice Broad printed several medical books for Francis Mawbarn, a York bookseller, such as *The Duke's Desk newly broken up; herein is discovered divers rare receipts, both of Physick and Surgery, good for men, women, and children, Together with several Medicines to prevent and cure the most pestilent Diseases in any Cattell*.²⁴¹ Broad also worked with Leonard Campleshon, who distributed Broad's printing of *The good-husbands jewel*, throughout York. Whereas Alice Broad primarily printed and distributed her work in York, Susan Cripps was linked to both the London and Oxford book trade. In 1664, Cripps sold a book titled *Panoplia: or, armour*, which was also printed by J. Hayes, throughout London and Oxford.²⁴² Her business relationship with Hayes continued when Cripps sold his printed religious book titled *A short and sure way to grace*, in 1665.²⁴³ This book was previously sold by her husband, Henry Cripps in 1657.²⁴⁴ While it is difficult to know the number of printed works being distributed throughout the provinces, women booksellers were often linked to male printers in provincial towns.

The connections of women in the early print trade went beyond England into Scotland as well as on the European continent. Although the Licensing Act of 1662 attempted to control the amount of printed material going in and out of England, the

²⁴¹ Robert Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press: With Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Nichols and Sons, 1868), 90.

²⁴² Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England*, 519.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 520.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

seventeenth century saw a rise in women's involvement in the print trade outside of England.²⁴⁵ Scottish women printers occupied similar roles and faced similar rules as their English counterparts. Although the Stationer's Company did not extend beyond England, widows in the Scottish print trade were able to inherit their husbands' print houses and copyrights. Since Scotland was still under English rule during the time period, there are similarities between the Scottish and English print trade.²⁴⁶ Similar to the women in the English book trade, Scottish women also played a crucial role in the trade. In Scotland, it was common for a widow to take over the printing operation if her son was too young to work or inherit the business.²⁴⁷ One example of a widow who successfully inherited her husbands' printing business was Lady Rosenburn, who became the king's printer in 1676.²⁴⁸ She was able to create a large and influential printing business in Edinburgh. On the European continent, several women were linked to the English print trade. For example, Mercy Browning, a widowed bookseller from Amsterdam, published several books between 1675 - 1687 and sold them in both Amsterdam and London.²⁴⁹ One of her printed books was *An English and Nether Dutch Dictionary* (1675), which was sold in England and the

²⁴⁵ "Charles II, 1662: An Act for Preventing the Frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious Treasonable and Unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for Regulating of Printing and Printing Presses. | British History Online," <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp428-435>.

²⁴⁶ The formation of the United Kingdom (Scotland and England) officially passed through the English parliament in 1707, with the 1707 Acts of Union. But beginning with the reign of James VI/I in 1603 the two kingdoms of Scotland and England were united under one Stuart King.

²⁴⁷ Alastair J. Mann, "Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland," In *Women in Scotland c. 1100--c.1750*, edited by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (Edinburgh: Tuckwell, 2002), 140.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 144.

²⁴⁹ Henry Robert Plomer et al., *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* ([Oxford]: Printed at the Oxford university press, 1922), 55, <http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofprin00plomia>.

Netherlands.²⁵⁰ In 1687, she sold her business to Rest Fenner, a London bookseller.²⁵¹

Although the center of the print trade was in London, distribution of English texts went beyond England and women were involved in such widespread distribution.

Women's relationships with the early English print trade varied and transformed throughout the seventeenth century. The changes of the century created an opening for more activities, particularly for women, as printers and booksellers became more established in English society. Through the changes, many printed works were sent outside of London and into the provincial towns. The connection between the London and provincial print trade emphasizes the rise of distribution throughout England. While few contemporary records solely focus on the provincial print trade, the relationship between London printers and provincial booksellers indicates the spread of printing during the seventeenth century and the involvement of women.

Chapter Conclusion

The early English print trade was built around a network of printers, writers, and booksellers. Because of the lack of regulations during the English Civil War, more people, particularly women, were able to participate in the trade. Inside shops, many widows continued their husbands' business by working with business partners. Apprentices married daughters and widows to keep copyrights in the family and print

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 55 and 116.

houses from closing down. Sons helped their widowed mothers keep the business operating. Printers hired booksellers to distribute their printed material among hawkers and the customers. From the print house, printed books and other cheap literature were sold and often sent outside the capital to the English provinces. The early English print trade relied on familial connection to produce and distribution printed material. Although the trade was male-dominated, women were able to participate in printing and distributing printed text. The presence of women in the contemporary records might be seen as sporadic; however, by examining different and new types of contemporary sources, we can see that the domestic-based trade provided them a place and role to work with other printers and booksellers.

In effect, the printing trade often depended on the work of women to ensure the continuation of the trade within the family. As the contemporary wills indicate, husbands made their wives executrixes of their wills in hopes that their wives would continue to manage their print houses so their children could inherit them. Many widows and daughters were the connecting link between male printers. While some women chose to sell their rights to the print house after the death of their husband, others continued their husbands' work by printing their copyrights, keeping their partnerships with other male printers, and sometimes forming new business partnerships to expand the shop. Even though women were not as predominant as men in the print trade during the seventeenth century, they were essential partners to and collaborators in the trade.

Conclusion

“It should no longer be news that women have long played a significant role in the making and transmission of the printed word.”²⁵² When Paula McDowell published *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* in 1998, the research concerning women in the early English print trade was in its early stages. However, large gaps remain in the research today. While a few scholars have devoted significant time researching women in the print trade, there is still a lack of studies of individual women who participated in it. Considering these limited individual studies, this thesis aimed to highlight women’s involvement in the early English print trade by focusing on seven women who contributed to the trade. While some women were passive participants, many other women worked in partnerships with their husbands, and took over the businesses for decades after their husbands died. Due to the household-based nature of the trade, women could be found both inside the print house and outside, printing and distributing the printed material.

Previous scholarship has limited itself to focusing on women’s writings and the contemporary Stationer’s Company records; however, using the guild’s records along with title pages and contemporary wills can shed more light on women’s participation in the trade. Seventeenth-century England experienced rapid political changes that greatly affected society. Much of the changes that occurred in England

²⁵² Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 26.

can be seen in the printed text. Examining the shift in printed genres can indicate the impact critical events had on the trade. While some contemporary wills from printers and booksellers do not discuss their work for the Stationer's Company, other wills indicate a relationship between printers and the guild as well as show the wealth that can accumulate from the trade. By analyzing different contemporary sources that previous scholarship had rarely considered, this thesis highlights more ways to show women's involvement in the early English print trade.

The changes of the era created opportunities for women to work in the print trade. While the Stationer's Company continuously attempted to control and regain their power of the trade throughout the century, the political conflicts made it difficult to control the press and what was being printed and distributed. In effect, the end of the Licensing Act of 1662 in 1695 created the start of freedom of speech in England.²⁵³ Women had a great deal of influence in the print trade during the seventeenth century, which likely resulted from the disarray of the time period. More roles and opportunities opened for women in the early English print trade that allowed them to participate in the trade. Although the majority of printers during the seventeenth century were men, a shift occurred which allowed more women to engage in the trade and get acknowledged in the printed text. When men became involved in the political conflicts of the era, women were left behind to manage the home. By controlling an aspect of printing, such as management or bookselling, women gained some agency in the male-dominated space. As managers, women

²⁵³ Lisa Maruca, *The Work of Print: Authorship and the English Text Trades, 1660-1760*, Literary Conjugations (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 94.

oversaw the business side of the print house. Women's interactions with other print houses, authors, and apprentices gave them some influence over the production of printed work. As booksellers, women were both linked to print houses and the customer. They were able to control what type of printed material was in demand. Having control over printing gave women a form of freedom and ownership that did not necessarily exist for them outside of the trade. As a result of the political chaos, the presence of women in the contemporary records increased throughout the seventeenth century.

Another finding of this thesis is the rise of women's presence in the contemporary records during the seventeenth century. While women might have been seen as passive participants in the print trade, contemporary records indicate their involvement. The rise of women's involvement can be seen in my database. Out of the 249 women from my database, less than fifty women took part in the trade prior to 1640. Roughly 180 women started participating in the trade after 1641. The contemporary records only show women after they are widowed; however, their presence in the records highlight their earlier participation in the trade. The Stationer's Company records indicate women's interactions with each other and other male printers. Women were recorded passing copyrights to other female printers and working with male printers. Whereas some women did work with their sons, others like Alice Broad and Anne Griffin had business relationships with male printers who were not part of their family. In the provinces, women such as Anne Lichfield and Alice Broad worked with several male booksellers, who distributed their printed material both in provincial towns and London. The presence of women in the

contemporary print trade records might appear sporadic; however, their appearances indicate that there were partnerships in the print trade.

The partnership, particularly between husband and wife, in the early print trade highlights the household or domestic basis for the trade and collaboration within the trade. The early English print trade often depended on partnerships, which is why many printers and booksellers worked together and shared copyrights. While it is difficult to know the extent of how much women worked inside the print house prior to their husbands' death, there are a few sources that suggest women's involvement. One way to examine partnerships between husbands and wives is through contemporary wills, which is one source that previous scholars have not analyzed. As contemporary wills of printers indicate, many husbands made their wives the executrices of their wills and stated that they would manage the business until a son came of age.²⁵⁴ Examining specific wills of printers and booksellers can provide an insight into partnerships, ownerships of copyrights, and the transfer of wealth. If a woman had no prior involvement in the trade, then it is unlikely the business would succeed without her husband. However, the fact that some women were able to manage and expand their print houses for between ten to thirty years indicates that they did participate in printing and distributing before their husbands' death. By examining different contemporary sources like the Stationer's Company records alongside contemporary wills, we can get a better understanding of women's participation in the early English print trade.

²⁵⁴ "Will of Moses Bell, Stationer of London" (July 27, 1649), PROB 11/208/774, The National Archives, Kew. "Will of Edward Griffin, Stationer of London" (October 12, 1652), PROB 11/223/424, The National Archives, Kew. "Will of Humfrey Moseley, Stationer of Saint Gregory, City of London" (March 26, 1661), PROB 11/303/623, The National Archives, Kew.

Women were also able to contribute to change in printed genres by printing and distributing printed material that society wanted to read rather than focusing solely on religious and parliament approved work. Whereas the previous centuries distributed mainly religious work, the seventeenth century experienced a shift in printed material focusing on contemporary news and secular literature. There was a rise in almanacs, newspapers, medical treatises, fiction, and ballads in the book trade.²⁵⁵ Although some women still printed religious text, the consequences of the English Civil War enabled women to produce more secular material. Women such as Jane Bell and Sarah Griffin printed almanacs for the Stationer's Company and produced popular literature.²⁵⁶ Even though there were still religious texts being produced and distributed during the time period, many women in the print trade focused on the changing environment. In effect, the religious texts of the century were also a response to the political changes by being more radicalized than before. The genres that women produced and distributed were no longer tied to the approved lists of printed text created by the Stationer's Company and the parliament. The changes in seventeenth century English society enabled more women to contribute to the print and book trade.

While showing the roles of women inside print houses is difficult, women's involvement was more visible outside the shop. Distribution of printed books and cheap literature was another aspect that shows the participation of women during the

²⁵⁵ Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*, 2nd ed., (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972).

²⁵⁶ Alfred W. Pollard, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2d ed. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976).

seventeenth century. As printers, compositors, and pressmen occupied the printing house, booksellers, hawkers, mercury women, and journeymen filled the streets of the printed world. Women were more visible as booksellers than printers; however, as mentioned in the chapters, booksellers were the link between the print house and the customers. While some wives worked in partnership with their husbands inside the printing house, others worked outside the shops and sold their husbands' printed material.²⁵⁷ Distributors had connections to printing houses, who hired them to sell their printed products, and the customers. Once outside the print house, printed material was sold or sent outside London. In effect, distribution could be seen as one of the most important aspects of the trade. While printers could work alone, the printing world outside the print house highlights the relationship of different people in the trade as well as shows women's engagement in the trade.

Throughout each chapter, I highlighted different aspects of the print trade along with how women could have participated in. By using a specific number of women, some who have appeared in previous research and others who have rarely been mentioned, this thesis examined the different roles and genres women printed and distributed to seventeenth-century England. Previous research emphasized a lack of individual studies in early modern printing; therefore, I chose a sample of seven women to provide more information on different women who participated in the trade. Also, I created a database that highlights all of the women that I found who were connected to the trade, both in London and provincial towns, throughout the

²⁵⁷ Elizabeth L. Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (University of Rochester Press, 2002), 106.

seventeenth century. My analysis of contemporary wills shows that these sources can provide a view into women's involvement prior to a husband's death. While chapter one set the stage for women in the trade during the seventeenth century, chapters two and three gave more insight on women's involvement inside and outside the print house. As part of the early English print trade, women might not have been allowed to apprentice; however, women were able to learn the skills of the trade as part of a printing household. Even though the trade was male-dominated, women were still able to contribute and collaborate with both men and other women in printing. In effect, the early English print trade was built around the collaboration of multiple printing households.

If I had more time to expand the thesis, I would have researched more on the provincial print trade as well as examined a few more women. Since contemporary records that focus solely on the seventeenth-century provincial print trade are rare, it is difficult to see the influence of the political chaos without a connection to the London trade. Also, the majority of provincial records that do exist are in local British archives and are not available online. In addition to researching more on the provincial trade, I would have added more detailed examples of women's involvement. One aspect that the scholarship addresses is women's involvement in the underground print trade during the seventeenth century. For example, many radical Protestant women, such as Hannah Allen and Elizabeth Calvert, were involved in spreading radical religious printed work as part of the secret printing

press.²⁵⁸ Also, I would have liked to examine advertisements regarding printers.

During the late seventeenth century, there was a rise in advertisements in contemporary newspapers. While there are a few examples of male printers using advertisements to promote their business, it is difficult to know if women printers attempted this as well.²⁵⁹ Researching more on the provincial trade, advertisements, and women printers/booksellers are a few aspects that I see as areas to expand upon.

The aim of this thesis was to highlight the participation and collaboration of women in the seventeenth-century English print trade. Rather than addressing the way women wrote in the seventeenth century, this thesis examined how the disarray of the seventeenth century resulted in more women engaging in the print trade and the way seven women contributed to the early English print trade. By analyzing a specific group of women who engaged in the trade, this study showed that women were not passive participants. Although the print trade was a male-dominated space, the chaos of the seventeenth century enabled women to have a more substantial role in the printed world.

²⁵⁸ Maureen Bell, "Women and the Opposition Press After the Restoration," in *Writing and Radicalism*, edited by John Lucas, (Longman, 1996), 39-60.

²⁵⁹ Cynthia Wall, *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 66.

Appendix

A Database of Women who participated in the English Print Trade throughout the Seventeenth Century

This database includes all of the women that I found who participated in the seventeenth century English print trade. The database includes women's names, their roles, active years, location, family information, number of apprentices, genres of printed work, and the sources where the names were found. The 249 names in the database include 180 London-based women, 49 provincial-based women, and 20 women with no known active years. This database contains women in both London and provincial towns who were recorded to have taken part in the seventeenth century English print trade. I found the women in this database in the following sources:

Bell, Maureen. "Women in the London Book Trade 1557-1700." *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6, (1996), 31-29.

"British Book Trade Index." <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>.

McKerrow, R. B. (Ronald Brunlees), Harry Gidney Aldis, and Bibliographical Society (Great Britain). *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, (London: East & Blades, 1910), <http://archive.org/details/b28987007>.

Morrison, Paul G., and Donald Goddard Wing. *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in Donald Wing's Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700*. (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1955).

Plomer, Henry Robert *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1641 to 1667*. Bibliographical Society, 1907. <http://archive.org/details/adictionarybook00plomgoog>.

Plomer, Henry Robert, Harry Gidney Aldis, Arundell James Kennedy Esdaile, E. R. McC (Ernest Reginald McClintock) Dix, G. J. (George John) Gray, and R. B. (Ronald Brunlees) McKerrow. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. [Oxford]: Printed at the Oxford university press, 1922.
<http://archive.org/details/dictionaryofprin00plomiala>.

Williams, William Proctor. *Index to the Stationers' Register, 1640-1708: Being an Index to A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A.D., Edited by Eyre, Rivington & Plomer (1913-1914)*. La Jolla, CA: L. McGilvery, 1980.

Names	Trade	Active Years	Location	Family Information	Genre of work	Source
Adams, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1620-38	London	Widow of Thomas Adams	classical/theological work	McKerrow-1557-1640 Dictionary
Adams, Sarah	Bookseller	1669	London	Likely widow of Charles Adams		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Albyn, Alice		1651-59	London	Widow and mother, might be connected to Benjamin Albyn. Had 1 apprentice who was her son.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Allde, Elizabeth	printer	1628-50	London	Widow of Edward Allde. She was also married to Ralph Joyner. Oulton. Had 5 apprentices.	cataloguing and recording the nobility. 130 Publications .	McKerrow-1557-1640 Dictionary
Allde, Margaret	Bookseller	1584-1603	London	Widow of John Allde. Had 3 apprentices.	no clear indication, but had two ballads registered under her name	McKerrow-1557-1640 Dictionary

Allen, Hannah	Bookseller /Printer	1645-64	London	Widow of Benjamin Allen, later married Livewell Chapman. Her maiden family name was Howes, her father was Robert Howes who was also a bookseller. Had 3 apprentices.	theological literature. Had roughly 56 publications under her name.	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Allen, Mrs.	Bookseller	1669	Sevenoaks		religious work	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Allot, Mary	Bookseller	1635-37	London	Widow of Robert Allot. In 1637, she transferred her copyrights to Andrew Crooke and R. Legatt. Her second husband was also a bookseller, Phillip Chetwin.	her name is found in <i>The Countryman's Instructor</i> .	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Allsopp, Elizabeth	Printer	1647-64	London	Widow of Bernard Allsopp. Maiden name was Wood. Bernard Allsopp was an apprentice from 1602 to 1610. Had 1 apprentice.	Secular and politics. She published about 17 printed work.	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Alsop, Margaret		1663-64	London			Williams--1640-1708 Index
Andrews, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1662-70	London	Widow of John Andrews. Had 1 apprentice.	no clear indication, her husband	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index

					dealt with ephemeral lit. like ballads and broadsides. She published about 15 works.	
Andrews, Elizabeth				Widow of Atye Andrews		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Astwood, Widow	Bookseller	1699			She had 1 publication under her name.	Morrison Index
Avery, Mary	Bookseller	1682			She had 2 publications under her name.	Morrison Index
Badger, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1656-57	London	Widow of George Badger. Later married Theodore Crowley. Had 1 apprentice.		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Baldwin, Ann/Abigail	Bookseller	1648-1713	London	Widow of Richard Baldwin. Maiden name was Mulford.	Political. Throughout the 17 th century, she sold roughly 67 printed work	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Barrett, Hannah	Bookseller	1624-26	London	Widow of William Barrett	Contemporary work, her husband published historical work (<i>historie of the raigne of King Henry the Seventh</i> and <i>historia naturalis</i>)	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary

Bartlett, Sarah	Bookseller	1662	London	Widow	She had 1 known publication	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Batt, Ann		1667	London			Williams-- 1640-1708 Index/Bell appendix
Beckett, Alice	Bookseller	1636-48	London	Likely a widow		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index/Bell appendix
Beckford, Mrs.	Bookbinder	1681	Oxford	Likely Widow of Ralph Beckford		Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Bell, Jane	Bookseller /Printer	1650-72	London	Succeeded Moses Bell, had a lot of kids. Possible connections to A. Bell (1695-1700), Andrew Bell (1693-1700), Henry Bell (1660-1661), J. Bell (1643-1660), John Bell (1660). Had 3 apprentices.	popular lit. She published roughly 23 known printed work.	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Bennet, Margaret	Printer	1692-1709	London	Widow of Joseph Bennet. Had 6 apprentices.	Political	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Bever, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1685			She published only 1 printed work.	Morrison Index

Bill, Jane	Printer	1630-38	London	Widow of John Bill. She had 2 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Bishop, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1619-1620	London	Widow of Edward Bishop	3 Publications	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Bishop, Jane		1677	London	Widow. She had 1 apprentice, who was her son.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Blackmore, Sarah		1659	London	Widow		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Blageart, Mrs.	Bookseller	1655			1 Publication	Morrison Index
Blaiklock, Hannah		1655			1 Publication	Morrison Index
Boler, Anne	Bookseller	1635-38/ 1642	London	Widow of James Boler	Religious Publications : 16	McKerrow-- -1557-1640 Dictionary
Bourne, Jane	Bookseller	1660-1662	London	Widow	Had 3 publications	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Boyden, Anne		1661	London	Possible connection to Robert Boyden		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Bradley, Alice		1651-58	London	Widow of George Bradley. She had 1 apprentice.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade

						1557-1700 appendix
Bradyll, Mrs.	Printer	1683	London	Widow of James Bradyll		BBTI
Brampton, Katherine		1677- 85	London	Widow of William Brampton. She had 2 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Breach, Mrs.	Bookseller	1649- 75	London		Secular and politics	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Brewster, Ann	Bookseller /Printed pamphlet	1641- 89	London	A Widow of Thomas Brewster, likely faced charges against her work	Pamphleteer ing. She had roughly 11 publications under her name.	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Brissenden, Mrs.	Bookseller	1699	Chatham		Religious	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Broad, Alice	Printer	1644- 60/168 0	York	Widow of Thomas Broad	Religious. There are around 12 publications under her name.	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Brome, Joanna	Bookseller	1673- 84	London	Widow of Henry Brome (2nd husband), her first husband was Francis Leach. Had 1 apprentice.	cataloguing for St. Paul. Published around 59 printed work.	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Brookes, Martha				Servant of John Gaines, might be connected to Nathaniel Brookes		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Brooks, Widow	Bookseller	1690- 1750	Surrey			BBTI

Broome, Joan	Bookseller	1591-1617	London	Widow of William Broome	classical/religious	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Browne, Alice	Bookseller	1623-25	London	Widow of John Browne. She had 2 apprentices.	Music. 4 Publications .	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Browning, Mercy	Bookseller	1675-87	Amsterdam	A Widow. Did business with English Printers	translating/religious. Published 2 printed work for the English trade.	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Brudnel, Elizabeth		1656-63	London	Widow of Thomas Brudnell. Had 1 apprentice.	5 Publications	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Burby, Elizabeth	Bookseller /Printer	1604-1612	London	Widow of Cuthbert Burby, her second husband's family name was Turner. She had 2 apprentices.	21 Publications .	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Brusey, Mary		1641			1 Publication	Morrison Index
Butten, Sarah	Bookseller	1693-1704	Newcastle upon Tyne			BBTI
Calvert, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1644-84	London	Widow of Giles Calvert. She had 5 apprentices.	political/religious. 24 publications under her name.	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Cartwright, Mary		1662	London	Wife of Samuel Cartwright		Williams--1640-1708 Index

Cellier, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1680	London		2 publications in 1680	Morrison Index
Cheese, Tace		1694-1701	London	Widow of Richard Cheese. Had 1 apprentice.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Clark, Hannah	Printer	1691-1725	London	Widow of Henry Clarke. She had 11 apprentices, one of them was her son. 2 known publications in the 17 th century.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Clark, Mary	Printer	1649-99	London	Widow of Andrew Clark, printed for Charless Harper and Jacob Tonson. Maiden name was Cotes. She had 5 apprentices. 99 publications.		Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Coe, Jane	Printer	1644-55	London	Widow of Andres Coe, worked with her son. Had 2 apprentices.	political, something like daily news of the war. 73 Publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Collins, Grace	Bookseller	1675-76	Northampton	Widow of Thomas Collins	Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Constable, Alice				Wife of Francis Constable, worked with her daughters,		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index

				Francis, Mary, and Rachell		
Contstable , Maria	Bookseller	1647- 60	London	possibly a daughter		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Cooper, Mary	Bookseller	1662- 71	Hereford	Widow of John Cooper I, succeeded by her son, John Cooper II		BBTI
Cotes, Ellen	Printer	1653- 78	London	Widow of Richard Cotes. Had 7 apprentices and worked with her son, Andrew	Religious. 145 Publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Courant, Marie	Printer	1631- 1945	Rouen	Widow of Nicholas	Religious	McKerrow- -1557-1640 Dictionary
Cripps, Susan	Bookseller	1661- 64/168 2	London/O xford	Widow of Henry Cripps, later remarried a man named Peter Parker.	Secular. Around 10 publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Crooke, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1694- 97	London	Widow of William Crooke	Religious. 2 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Crooke, Mary	Bookseller /Printer	1670- 92	London	Widow of John Crooke, later married Benjamin Tooke. Worked with 3 apprentices.	Politics	Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Crosley, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1613	Oxford	Widow of John Crosley	1 Publications .	Pollard/Re grave
Crumpe, Margaret		1674	London	Wife of James Crumpe		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index

Curteyne, Alice	Bookseller	1650-1652	Oxford	Widow of Henry Curteyne	3 known Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Curtis, Elizabeth		1683-84	London	Relative of Langley Curtis. Wife of Richard Ebbles		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Curtis, Jane	Bookseller	1679-90	London	Wife of Langley Curtis. Maiden name was likely Evans	Politics	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Daniel, Mary		1671-73		Likely the widow of Roger Daniel	3 Publications .	Morrison Index
Darby, Joan	Bookseller /Printer	1663-86	London	Widow		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Davies, Eleanor	Bookseller	1683	Oxford		1 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Dawks, Ann	Printer	1689-92	London	Widow of Thomas Dawkes and William Ryland. Maiden name was Brooker		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Dawson, Gertude	Printer	1649-66	London	Wife of John Dawson. Had 6 apprentices.	88 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Dawson, Mary	Printer	1635-37	London	Widow of John Dawson Sr.	Religious	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Dewe, Eleanor		1689-96	London	Widow. She had 1 apprentice.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix

Dight, Anne	Bookseller	1668	Exeter			BBTI
Dochen, Rebecca		1651-58	London	Widow of Henry Dochen. She had 1 apprentice.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Dowsinge, Mrs.		1606-1611	London	Widow of Robert Dowsinge. She had 1 apprentice, who was her son.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Dunton, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1682-97	London	Widow of John Dunton. Maiden name was Annesley.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
East, Lucretia	Bookseller /Printer	1608-1626	London	Widow of Thomas East. 4 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Edwards, Mrs.	Bookseller	1647-49	London	Widow	1 Publications .	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Ewster, Joane				Wife of Thomas Ewster		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Fabian, Mary	Bookseller	1698-1701	London	Widow of Thomas Fabian	15 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Fairbeard, Sarah	Bookseller	1636	London	Widow of George Fairbeard, also	2 Known Publications .	Pollard/Re grave

				linked to a print house at the North Door of the Royal Exchange		
Faulkner, Margaret		1653-56	London	Widow		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Firby, Sydonia		1663-67	London	Widow of Thomas Firby. 2 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Fletcher, Elizabeth	Printer	1670-95	London	Widow of James Fletcher and the daughter of Cornelis Bee, a bookseller. She likely printed under E.F. 2 apprentices.	Religious. 85 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Forrester, Susanna	Bookseller	1683-87	London	Possible Widow of Andrew Forrester	7 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Fowler, Mistress	Bookseller	1624	London	Likely Widow of an unnamed stationer		McKerrow-- 1557-1640 Dictionary
Frere, Elizabeth		1650-55	London	Wife of Daniel Frere		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Garbrand, Anne	Bookseller	1609	Oxford	Widow Richard Garbrand. She was also a wine merchant.		BBTI
Gard, Lidia du				possible connection to William du Gard		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index

Garret, Mary				Possible connection to either William Garret or John (J.G)		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Garthwaite, Mary	Bookseller	1670-73	London	Widow of Timothy Garthwaite. Maiden name was Latham, her father, George Latham, was also a bookseller.	4 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Gellibrand, Obedience		1677-1700	London	Widow of Samuel Gellibrand. 3 apprentices.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Godbid, Anne	Printer	1678-86	London	Widow of William Godbid. 2 apprentices.	32 Publications .	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Gosson, Alice	Bookseller	1600-01/1622	London	Worked with her son, Henry. Widow of Thomas Gosson. Had 4 apprentices, 2 were her sons.	Publications : 1	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Graisby, Jane		1657	London			Williams--1640-1708 Index
Grantham, Sarah				Wife of Gater Grantham, maiden name was Alderley		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Greene, Joane	Bookseller	1613-17	Cambridge/ London	Widow of Leonard Greene, possibly worked	Religious	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary

				with Anne Boler		
Griffin, Anne	Printer	1624-57	London	Widow of Edward Griffin I, worked with her son. Had 6 apprentices.	Religious and Secular. Over 80 publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Griffin, Sarah	Printer	1648-79	London	Widow of Edward Griffin II. Had 10 apprentices.	Religious/political, leaning towards daily news. Over 80 publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Grove, Anne		1621	London	Wife of Thomas Slater		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Grover, Anne	Bookseller	1682-87	London	Possible connection to Robert Grove, likely the same person as Francis (Anne) Grove. 2 apprentices.	1 known Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Hamond, Judith		1637-44	London	Widow of John Hamond. She had 1 apprentice.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Hancox, Penelope	Bookseller	1685-86	Hereford	Widow of Thomas Hancox I, succeeded by her son, John Hancox		BBTI
Hardestry, Lucie		1658	London	Wife of John Hardestry		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Harding, Bridget				Daughter of Thomas Harding		Williams--1640-1708 Index

Harford, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1666	London	Likely widow of Ralph Hartford	Religious	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Harford, Mrs.	Bookseller	1695- 1710	Portsmouth	Widow of Robert Harford		Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Harris, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1683- 1711	London	Widow of John Harris	religious/co ntemporary work (dictionaries and such). 7 Publications during the 17 th century.	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Harris, Sarah	Bookseller	1686- 91	London	possible connection to either John or Benjamin Harris		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Harrison, Martha	Bookseller	1649- 60	London	Likely widow of John Harrison/mothe r of John Harrison Jr.	Religious/p olitical. 8 Publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Hart, Mrs. (widow)	Bookseller /Printer	1632- 42	Edinburgh		Religious	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Hayes, Bridgett	Bookseller	1652- 57	London	Wife of Lawrence Hayes		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Hayes, Joane		1670	Cambridge	Possible connection to John Hayes		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Hayes, Rachel				Wife of Edward Hayes		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Helme, Anne	Bookseller	1617- 27	London	Widow of John Helme, after her husband's death, she signed her copyrights to her apprentice,	13 Publications .	McKerrow- -1557-1640 Dictionary

				William Washington. 2 apprentices.		
Heyrick, Ann		1668	London	Relative of Matthew Walbanck		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Holden, Susana		1652	Middlesex /London	Wife of John Holden		Williams-- 1640-1708 Index
Holt, Elizabeth	Printer	1689-1700	London	Widow of Ralph Holt, possibly worked with William Holton. She had 1 apprentice.	Secular/humanism. ¹⁴ Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Hoskins, Mary	Bookbinder	1640-55	London	widow of Robert Hoskins. Had 5 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Howell, Mary		1689-99	Oxford		4 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Hunt, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1688-1719	Devon		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Hurlock, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1673-77	London	Widow of Benjamin Hurlock. She had 1 apprentice.	practical navigation-- nautical. 6 Publications .	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Hutchinson, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1674	Durham		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Isaac, Jane		1654-61	London	Widow. Had 2 apprentices.		Bell-- Women in

						the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Islip, Susan	Printer	1641-61	London	Widow of Adam Islip	3 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Jaggard, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1623-26	London	Widow of John Jaggard. Maiden name was Weaver.		McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Jakin, Ellen	Bookseller	1680	London			Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
James, Eleanor	Printer	1687-1719	London	Widow of Thomas James. She had 1 apprentice.		
Janeway, Elizabeth	Bookseller /Printer	1697	Chichester	Widow of Richard Janeway. She had 3 apprentices.	Religious	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Jarrit, Mary						Williams--1640-1708 Index
Jones, Constance	Printer	1647	London	Wife of William Jones		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Jordan, Anna	Bookseller	1680	Gloucester		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Keirton, Mary	Bookseller	1671-1673	London			Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Kettlewell, Jane		1699	London	Possible connection to Robert Kettlewell		Williams--1640-1708 Index

Kirton, Mary				Relative of William Kirton		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Larkin, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1684	London	Possible connection to George Larking		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Latham, Susan	Bookseller	1658	London	Wife of George Latham. Maiden Name was Lownes		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Legate, Agatha		1658	London	Wife of John Legatt, maiden name was Barker		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Leigh, Sussana	Bookseller	1687-89	London	Wife of John Leigh	7 Publications .	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Lichfield, Anne	Bookseller	1657-69 possibly worked until 1699	Oxford	Widow of Leonard Lichfield, worked with her son	religious and grammar. 58 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Limpany, Judith				Wife of Thomas Limpany, her maiden name was White		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Lincoln, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1675	Leicester	Widow of Stephen Lincoln	Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Lownes, Elizabeth		1607-1615	London	Widow of William Lownes. She had 2 apprentices; one was her son.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix

Macham, Joyce	Bookseller	1615-28	London	Widow of Samuel Macham I	no clear indication, possibly secular work. 24 Publications	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Maddox, Katherine		1687-1702	London	Widow of Thomas Maddox. 3 apprentices.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Magnes, Mary	Bookseller	1677-90	London		54 Publications	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Mallet, Elizabeth	Bookseller /Printer	1682-1702	London	Likely related to David Mallet. 2 apprentices.	contemporar y news/politic s. 68 Publications	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Malpas, Joan	Bookseller	1661	Sturbridge / Worchestershire		Religious. 1 Publications	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Mann, Joane	Bookseller	1631-37	London	Widow of Thomas Mann. She had 1 apprentice.		McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Marriott, Anne	Bookseller	1687-89	London	noted as a mercury woman.	Speeches	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Martin, Bridget	Bookseller	1697	Bristol			Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Martin, Sarah				Relative of John Martin, a widow		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Mascall, Elizabeth	Bookbinder	1657-64	London	Widow. Had 2 apprentices.		Bell--Women in

						the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Maxey, Anne	Printer	1656-58	London	Widow of Thomas Maxey	14 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Maxwell, Anne	Printer	1660-84	London	Widow of David Maxwell. Had 12 apprentices	98 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
May, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1693-1712			Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Medcalfe, Mrs.				Wife of Theo Medcalfe		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Meighen, Mercy	Bookseller	1642-54	London	Widow of Richard Meighen		Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Michel, Anne	Bookseller	1672-75	Chichester		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Miller, Anne	Printer	1650	London	Wife of George Miller		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Miller, Susannah	Bookseller	1689-1706	London	Married William Miller	likely religious works	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Millington, Joan	Bookseller	1604	London	Widow of Thomas Millington	Pamphleteering	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Mitchell, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1647-53	London	Wife of Thomas Mitchell, executrix of Henry Jackson		Williams--1640-1708 Index

Moone, Susannah	Bookseller	1667-1674	Bristol		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Moore, Susanna	Bookseller	1667	Bristol	Possibly worked with Elizabeth Calvert		Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Moseley, Anne jr.	Bookseller	1661-75	London	daughter	18 joined publications with her mother.	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Moseley, Anne sr.	Bookseller	1661-75	London	Single woman, later possibly married Humphrey Mosely, worked with her daughter, Anne jr.	18 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Mountford, Anne	Bookseller	1677	Warwick	Widow of Richard Mountford, died six months after inheriting the shop		BBTI
Nealand, Rebecca	Bookseller	1644-59	London	Widow of Samuel Nealand. She had 1 apprentice.	controversial pamphleteering	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Neile, Anne		1656-70	London	Widow. She had 1 apprentice.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix

Nevil, Sarah	Bookseller	1677	London	Widow of Joseph Nevill. Her maiden name was Skinner.	published <i>The Judgement of Mr. Francis Bampffield.</i>	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Newberry, Joan (I)	Bookseller	1605- 1617	London	Widow of Thomas Butter & John Newberry. Had 3 apprentices.	2 Publications .	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Newberry, Joan (II)	Bookseller	1637- 55		Widow of Nathaniel Newberry, her shop was passed to her husband's apprentice, Samuel Enderby (Shop was located at Star in Pope's Head Alley	7 Publications .	Bell-- Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Norton, Alice	Printer	1641- 46	London	No Clear connection to any other Nortons in printing	political pamphleteering and broadsides. 18 Publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Norton, Joyce	Printer	1632- 42	London	Widow of John Norton. 2 apprentices.		McKerrow- -1557-1640 Dictionary
Oakes, Mary	Printer	1643- 46	London	Likely widow of John Oakes	5 Publications .	Plomer-- 1641 to 1667 index
Oliver, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1689- 1704	Norwich	Widow of William Oliver	Humanism	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index
Ovens, Mary	Bookseller	1699	Kannersh mead		sold schoolbooks	Plomer-- 1668 to 1725 Index

Overton, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1648	London	Wife of Henry Overton	Politics. 1 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Owens, Ms.	Bookseller	1655-57	Shrewbury	Daughter of Thomas Owens, Married William Harrison, likely succeeded her father's business		BBTI
Pakeman, Margaret	Bookseller	1664		Widow of Daniel Pakeman		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Parsons, Mrs.	Printer	1639-1641	London	Widow of Marmaduke Parsons		BBTI
Paske, Sarah	Printer	1698	London	Widow of Robert Paske		BBTI
Passinger, Sarah	Bookseller	1663-92	London	Widow of Thomas Passinger. Her maiden name was Hill. She had 1 apprentice.	religious/daily news. 2 known publications in 1689.	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Pawlett, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1687-1692	Grantham	Widow of Edward Pawlett I, remarried Edward Sadler in 1692.		BBTI
Pindley, Mrs. (Alice?)	Printer	1613	London	Widow of John Pindley, Maiden name was possibly Wolfe		BBTI
Purslowe, Anne	Printer	1675-77	London	Widow of G. Purslowe. Had 4 apprentices.	Secular. 6 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Purslowe, Elizabeth	Printer	1632-46	London	Widow of George Purslowe. She had 5 apprentices.	religious and poetry. Prior to the 1640s, she published 142 printed work. 14 publications	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index

					between 1643-1649.	
Raworth, Ruth	Printer	1643-1655	London	Widow of John Raworth, later married Thos. Newcombe. Had 4 apprentices.	Political. 30 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Rayney, Anne				Wife of Edward Rayney		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Redmayne , Elizabeth	Printer	1683-1702	London	Possible relation to John Redmayne(Red maine)	Grammar. 13 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Rockitt, Katherine	Bookseller	1602-16	London	Widow		
Rookes, Mary	Bookseller			Wife of Thomas Rookes		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Sawbridge , Hannah	Bookseller	1682-89	London	Widow of Geroge Sawbridge, the elder. She had 2 apprentices.	her husband printed political and medical work. 51 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Seile, Anna	Bookseller	1661-7	London	Likely Widow of Henry Selie	38 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Sheares, Margaret	Bookseller	1663-72	London	Likely Widow of William Sheares. She had 1 apprentice.	contemporar y/ her husband printed political work. 6 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Sherleaker , Mrs.	Printer	1630-1632	London	Widow of Richard Sherleaker	Picture Printer	BBTI
Sherley, Rebecca	Bookseller	1666	London	Likely Widow of John Sherley		Plomer--1641 to 1667 index

Short, Emma	Printer	1603-4	London	Widow of Peter Short, 2nd husband was Humphrey Lownes	Theological	McKerrow--1557-1640 Dictionary
Simmons, Bridget	Bookseller	1681-85	London	Wife of Bennet Simmons, relative of Neville Simmons		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Simmons, Mary	Printer	1655-87	London	Widow of Mathew Simmons	1 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Smith, Eleanor	Bookseller	1650	London	Daughter of Francis Smith	Religious	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Smith, Eleanor jr	Bookseller		London	Daughter		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Smith, Eleanor sr	Bookseller	1660-83	London	Widow		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Smith, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1682-1691		second wife of Daniel Gregory, her maiden name was smith.	23 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Smith, Hannah		1679-95	London	Widow. She had 5 apprentices.	1 known publications under her name.	Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Sowle, Tace	Printer	1695-1746	London	Daughter of Andrew Sowle, married Thomas Raylton.	Religious (Quaker) over 100	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index

				Worked with her mother. She had 2 apprentices.	Publications .	
Sparke, Mary		1646	London	Wife of Michael Sparke Sr.		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Stampe, Mrs.	Bookseller	1663	London			Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Stephens, Priscilla	Bookseller	1672-75	Bristol		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Stone, Amy	Bookseller	1699-1710	Nantwich			BBTI
Taylor, Jennett	Bookseller	1640-1643	Wakefield			BBTI
Taylor, Judith	Bookbinder	1629-36	London	Widow of Richard. 3 apprentices.		Bell--Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700 appendix
Thomas, Mary	Bookseller	1642	London		Political. 3 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Thompson, Mary	Bookseller /Printer	1671-98	London	Widow of Nathaniel Thompson. She had 1 apprentice.	Religious (Catholic). 10 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Thornton, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1679	Derby		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Thrale Dorothy	Bookseller		London	Wife of Richard Thrale.		Williams--1640-1708 Index

				Daughter of Edward Allot		
Timlinson, Widow	Bookseller	1679-1685	Liverpool			BBTI
Tompson, Ruth	Bookseller	1675	Lutterworth		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Trundle, Margery	Bookseller	1626-1629	London	Widow of John Trundle. Her shop was located at Smithfield.	Publications : 12	Pollard/Regrave
Tuthill, Mary	Bookseller	1687	Norfolk		Possibly sold medical prints (also worked in the Pharmaceutical Trade)	BBTI
Tyus, Sarah	Bookseller	1665	London	Widow of Charles Tyus	secular literature. 4 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Underhill, Jane	Bookseller	1660-75	London	Likely Widow of Thomas Underhill	religious work. 9 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Unsworth, Ann		1642			2 Publications .	Morrison Index
Vavasour, Mary	Bookseller	1653	London	Wife of Nicholas Vavasour (2nd husband), 1st husband was Leonard Becket		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Vincent, Anne	Publisher	1633-1637	London	Widow of George Vincent	Publications : 6	BBTI
Walbanck, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1663-77	London	Possible connection to Mathewe Walbanck. She	possibly political work. 2	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index

				had 1 apprentice.	Publications .	
Warren Alice	Printer	1659-64	London	Widow of Thomas Warren	Grammar, worked with translation Latin to English. 9 Publications .	Plomer--1641 to 1667 index
Warren, Elizabeth	Printer		Woodbridge		Religious	BBTI
Waterson, Isabella	Bookseller	1641-63	London	Wife of John Waterson		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Webster, Elizabeth		1689			2 Publications .	Morrison Index.
Westwood , Mary		1658-1660			10 Publications .	Morrison Index
White, Margaret	Bookseller	1678-89	London	Widow of Robert White. She had 2 apprentices.	Religious. 23 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
White, Sara	Bookseller	1613-15	London	Widow of Edward White I, mother of Edward White II. Shop location was North Door at St. Paul's	Publications : 4	Pollard/Redgrave
Whittington, Martha	Bookseller	1649-51	London	Widow	2 Publications .	Williams--1640-1708 Index
Whitlock, Elizabeth	Bookseller	1693-98	London	Widow of John Whitlock	Political. Roughly 109 Publications .	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index
Widdowes , Margaret	Bookseller	1676-80	London	Widow of Giles Widdowes. Her maiden name was Crowch	political/religious	Plomer--1668 to 1725 Index

Williams, Eden	Bookseller /Bookbinder	1671	Lincoln			BBTI
Williams, Edith	Bookseller	1665	Lincoln			BBTI
Wilson, Anne	Bookseller	1640	London	Widow of Robert Wilson. Her shop was located at Gray's Inn gate at Holborn	Publications : 1	Pollard/Regrave
Wingfield, Anna				Relative of John Wingfield		Williams--1640-1708 Index
Wolfe, Alice	Publisher	1602-1612	London	Widow of John Wolfe		Pollard/Regrave
Wright, Mary	Bookseller	1662-71	London	Possible connection to either Sir Robert Wright, Thomas Sr. or Thomas Jr. She had 1 apprentice.	political	Williams--1640-1708 Index

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