Prophecy on the page: the material texts of women's prophetic discourse, 1640–1660

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Contents

Abstract

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This thesis argues that the production and form of the material text influenced the communication and reception of women's prophetic discourse in England from 1640–1660. During this turbulent era, claims to divine inspiration enabled hundreds of women to participate in religious and political debate. The resulting discourse, broadly conceived as prophetic, was recorded and published in various print and manuscript texts, allowing readers to encounter the female prophet on the page. This thesis asks: how and by whom were these textual objects produced? Additionally, how might a prophecy's material textual features – such as its binding, typography and page arrangement – influence a reader's interpretation of the prophetic message? These questions are explored through four case studies focusing on Grace Cary, Anna Trapnel, Sarah Wight and Eleanor Davies.

Over the past forty years, critics have considered the ways in which prophetic texts framed women such as Cary, Trapnel, Wight and Davies as authoritative messengers of God's word. Much of this scholarship has focused on the signifying role of feminised bodies, since prophetic legitimacy is often associated with corporeal weakness and receptivity to the divine Other. This thesis, however, shifts this critical focus from the body of the female prophet to the body of the text by offering the first extended bibliographic study of seventeenth-century women's prophecy. This approach enables an extension and reframing of previous understandings of the mediation and authority of women's spiritual discourse.

An analysis of the material text reveals that prophecy's textual objects frequently contain signs of their co-creation by multiple bodies (including printers and readers) and stage plural interventions across various copies and editions. This thesis argues that these multiple, co-created texts are not neutral mediators. Prophecy on the page is received in ways shaped and revealed by the form and production of its material texts.

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Who has heard more about this thesis than my husband Mathew? Mathew, thank you so much for all your diligent proof-reading, motivational emails and cheesy grilled ziti dinners (all of which have been absolutely key to the success of this thesis). I love you and I am very glad that you agreed to come on this adventure to Lancaster with me- thank you.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my parents: John and Caroline McGann, without whom this thesis would never have been begun, let alone finished. Thank you both for your constant love and support, I am so very, very grateful.

List of figures

Textual note

Many early modern book titles are lengthy, and they were often printed using a mixture of capitalisation and italicisation. Therefore, for ease of reference, I have shortened some early modern book titles where necessary. Moreover, following MHRA referencing guidelines, I have italicised the entirety of book titles and capitalised initial letters of words in titles in accordance with modern convention.

Where I have quoted from early modern printed texts, I have maintained the punctuation, capitalisation, orthography and italicisation of the original copy consulted. However, to aid the reader, I have normalised the usage of ‘u / v’ and ‘i / j’. In early modern England the letters in these pairs were often used interchangeably, but this can make comprehension unnecessarily challenging for today’s readers.

Transcriptions from manuscript sources maintain all elements of the punctuation, capitalisation, orthography and italicisation of the original. However, scribal contractions have been expanded and thorns (þ) replaced with ‘th’ to aid readability.

Introduction: reading prophecy and the material text

This thesis examines the material texts of women's prophetic discourse produced in England during the mid-seventeenth century. Prophecy is a mode of religious discourse in which the speaker or writer claims to have been selected by God to communicate a divinely inspired message, scriptural exegesis or warning to others. From 1640–1660, in the midst of the turmoil of the Civil War and Interregnum, hundreds of English men and women framed themselves as prophets, thereby reviving a biblical precedent established by Old Testament figures such as Isaiah and Ezekiel. Claiming a direct relationship with the divine, these self-styled prophets presented themselves as mouthpieces or messengers for God's word, often articulating a sense of compulsion to speak or publish their discourse to seventeenth-century England.

Over the past forty years, this rise in prophetic discourse in the mid-seventeenth century has been highlighted and appraised by literary critics and historians, who have focused in particular upon the cultural politics of the genre and the complex constructions of agency and legitimacy located in the body of the female prophet. This thesis, however, asks how this period's surge in prophetic communication was also mediated through and by modes of textual production. As prophets and their supporters sought written forms for communicating divinely inspired discourse, how did the particular arrangements and features of these textual objects signify authority and meaning, and how did their readers respond to them?

These questions are to be investigated in four chapters. Each of these chapters offers a case study concentrated on a different woman prophet from the period: Grace Cary (fl. 1644), Anna Trapnel (fl. 1642–1660), Sarah Wight (b. 1631) and Eleanor Davies (1590–1652). By examining the material texts produced by and for these women, I am able to extend our understanding of the ways in which prophetic discourse was framed, authorised and mediated in relation to the gender of the prophet. As I will demonstrate, the construction of prophecy's textual objects (from single-sided sheets to thousand-page folios) frequently

required careful negotiation of cultural attitudes towards women and femininity, as textual producers shaped works that asked readers to accept women as authoritative sources of divinely inspired discourse.

The remainder of this introductory chapter will establish how this research project's theoretical foundations, methodologies and critical interventions underpin its central argument that an analysis of material textual form facilitates a greater understanding of the dynamics of seventeenth-century women's prophetic discourse. As I will discuss, this investigation of material textual form involves scrutinising oft-overlooked aspects of a work, such as the production and presentation of its pages, typography and binding. In this thesis, such analysis also entails examining the people and processes responsible for co-creating prophetic texts, as well as an exploration of the productional repetitions and revisions involved in generating multiple copies, versions and editions of a single prophecy.

To help to establish these methodological approaches and theoretical concerns further, I begin my introduction below with an example: an image of a seventeenth-century woman named Martha Hatfield. As I will demonstrate, Hatfield's printed portrait provides the opportunity to synthesise many of the questions and lines of enquiry to be developed throughout this thesis.

The prophet on the page

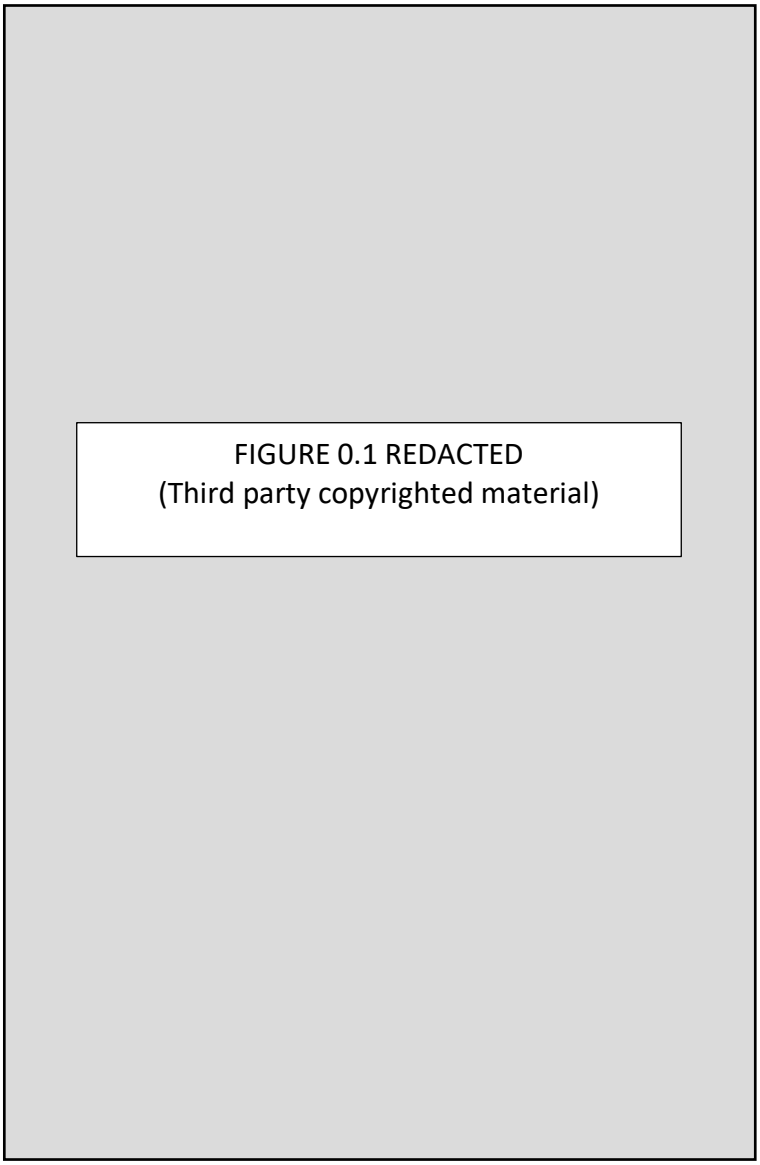

Figure 0.1 James Fisher, *The Wise Virgin* (London: 1653), facing title page. Cambridge University Library, 8.41.37.

Figure 0.1 is a full-page illustration that appears at the start of *The Wise Virgin* (1653), a two-hundred-page text authored by James Fisher, a nonconformist clergyman in Sheffield. The image depicts the work's titular '*Wise Virgin*': a young girl named Martha Hatfield from a

'Family of good Note' in West Yorkshire.[1] In 1652, at the age of just twelve, Hatfield experienced a period of debilitating 'stiff fits or congelations', which rendered her bed bound.[2] Between these fits, Hatfield delivered a series of religious speeches and 'sweet sayings afterwards set down' in the pages of *The Wise Virgin.*[3] According to Fisher, these speeches were a product of divine inspiration. He explains that 'God did specially help and guide her [Hatfield] in her expressions' and that 'there was a Divine hand that guided her tongue, and […] God was with her mouth, adapting her speeches to their necessities'.[4] Through these statements, Fisher connects Hatfield's orations to the biblical tradition of prophecy, whereby God is said to communicate 'by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began' (Luke 1. 70).[5] Thus, although the portrait that prefaces *The Wise Virgin* depicts only a girl lying alone in bed, the accompanying text works to present her diminutive body as a site of direct divine intervention and of the continuation of a well-established scriptural tradition of prophesying.

In seventeenth-century England, Martha Hatfield was far from the only woman perceived to be fulfilling God's scriptural promise that 'in the last days […] I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy' (Acts 2. 17). Phyllis Mack has listed over 300 women who were framed (by themselves and/or by others) as prophetic orators and writers between 1640 and 1665.[6] These women were contributing

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[1] James Fisher, *The Wise Virgin* (London: 1653), B4^{r}. James Fisher was married to Elizabeth Hatfield, who was the sister of Martha Hatfield's father, Anthony Hatfield. Martha Hatfield and her family lived in Laughton-en-le-Morthen, near to the town of Rotherham; see Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor and Jones, 1819), p. 163.
[2] Fisher, C7^{v}. Philip Barrough defines a 'congelation' as 'a sudden detention & taking both of mind and body, both sense and moving being lost', the sufferer of which 'lieth as he wer dead' in *The Methode of Phisicke* (London: 1583), B6^{r}.
[3] Fisher, C7^{v}.
[4] Ibid., D2^{r}, L3^{v}.
[5] For consistency, all biblical quotations in this thesis will be taken from: *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). By the mid-seventeenth century most writers demonstrate a familiarity with the King James Bible (first printed in 1611), however the Geneva Bible (first printed in 1560) continued to also be heard, read and quoted. Therefore, it is common to encounter writers quoting from multiple translations of scripture, and/or adjusting scriptural passages in ways that suggest a quotation was being reproduced from memory. For example, the multi-Bible use of Margaret Fell is discussed in Jane Donawerth, 'Women's Reading Practices in Seventeenth-Century England: Margaret Fell's "Women's Speaking Justified"', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 37 (2006), 985–1005. Additionally, see Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[6] See the appendices in Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Amanda L. Capern has analysed Mack's figures and notes that the bulk of women's prophetic discourse was printed after the regicide in 1649; see 'Visions of Monarchy and

to a marked increase in claims to divine inspiration in the mid-seventeenth century, which correlated with the social and political upheavals of the English Civil War. As Richard Bauman has described, this was 'an intensely prophetic period, in which many were convinced that a new spiritual day was at hand, presaged by the dissolution of the old order that seemed to be occurring around them'.[7] Many of this turbulent era's 'fresh wave of messiahs and seers' were 'ignored, dismissed, or imprisoned', yet, as Alexandra Walsham has also noted, even orthodox early modern theologians maintained a 'small but significant niche for divinely inspired personages' to arise at moments of extreme trouble.[8] Certainly, the turmoil of the Civil War period helped to justify and perpetuate the idea that the 'last days' had arrived during which, as the scripture had foretold, not only 'your sons', but also 'your daughters', might prophesy with an authority that deserved respect not dismissal (Acts 2. 17).[9] In *The Wise Virgin*, Fisher alludes to these beliefs as he reminds sceptical readers that God sometimes acts 'out of the ordinary course of instituted means […] especially in these last Ages of the World'.[10] Here, and throughout the text, Fisher asserts the divinely inspired legitimacy of Hatfield's utterances by framing her speeches as extraordinary prophecies delivered in response to the 'last Ages of the World' now arrived.

Nevertheless, despite Fisher's efforts to contextualise and authorise Hatfield's utterances, a nervousness remains about his printed text's ability to fully convey the spiritual

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Magistracy in Women's Political Writing, 1640–80', in *From Republic to Restoration*, ed. by Janet Clare (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 102–23.

[7] Richard Bauman, *Let Your Words Be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence Among Seventeenth-Century Quakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 84.

[8] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1999), pp. 205–6. For an account of theological attitudes to post-biblical prophecy, and their place in Calvinist and Reformation thought, see John Balserak, *John Calvin as Sixteenth-Century Prophet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 17–66.

[9] Critics have noted an increase in the overall number of radical religious texts (including prophecies) printed during the English Civil War period; see, for example, Joad Raymond, 'The Development of the Book Trade in Britain', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 59–75 (pp. 60–2) and Sharon Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution', in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. by James Holstun (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1992), pp. 14–44. It is difficult to ascertain whether this increase in publications is attributable to a lapse in censorship, since critics have shown that restrictions did still continue from 1640–1660; see, for example, Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).

[10] Fisher, A2^{v}.

authority and authenticity of her speeches. A man named John Firth provides a cautionary prefatory letter to *The Wise Virgin*, in which he writes:

> The Sentences she [Hatfield] uttered are in this Book recorded. And how canst thou read, and not wonder; wonder and not desire to read? And yet the manner of her speaking added Emphasis to the things she spake. Her eyes were fixed, as if she saw Christ, her countenance cheerfull, as if she imbraced Christ[.][11]

In this passage, the textual record is presented as a potentially inadequate medium, since its written sentences do not allow the reader to experience 'the manner of' Hatfield's 'speaking'. The printed 'Book' does not allow readers to hear the tone and emphases of the original oral utterances, nor to see how the woman's eyes and countenance evidenced her intimacy with Christ as she spoke. Thus, whilst Firth trusts that Fisher's book will elicit 'wonder', he remains concerned by the reader's physical absence from the site (and sight) of Hatfield's prophesying body.

The portrait of Hatfield positioned at the start of *The Wise Virgin* attempts to overcome the written prophecy's lack of visual, embodied corroboration. Incorporating this detailed portrait of Hatfield in *The Wise Virgin* is likely to have increased the cost and complexity of printing the work considerably, and thus the text's producers must have deemed the benefits of its inclusion sufficiently worthwhile.[12] In the printed image (Figure 0.1, p. 3), Hatfield's eyes are depicted looking at a subject beyond the reader's view: perhaps, as Firth suggests, exemplifying a gaze 'fixed, as if she saw Christ' at the side of her bed. Furthermore, the image matches the text's descriptions of Hatfield's frail physical condition. The work records that the young woman was regularly 'stricken all over stiff, all

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[11] Fisher, A8^{v}. John Firth signs his letter, 'Finningley, Jan. 25. 1652'. This John Firth may be the same man who became a minister in nearby Mansfield two years later in 1654; see *Calendar of the State Paper Domestic: Interregnum, 1654*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman & Co., 1880), p. 250.

[12] The image, with its visible surrounding plate-mark and crisp cross-hatching, appears to be an intaglio print produced from a copperplate engraving. Creating intaglio images required specialist equipment, and thus it is probable that the image and text of *The Wise Virgin* were produced in separate printing houses. Roger Gaskell suggests that adding one new copperplate image to a work could increase the machining costs for an edition by 10 per cent; see Gaskell, 'Printing House and Engraving Shop: A Mysterious Collaboration', *The Book Collector*, 53 (2004), 213–51 (p. 222).

her parts being extended, as if stretched forth', and, correspondingly, in the work's opening illustration Hatfield's arms are rigidly placed atop the blanket.[13] In this way, the portrait endeavours to elide a potential shortcoming of the written medium by granting the reader a means of visually assessing the signifying appearance of Hatfield's body for themselves.

However, in making Hatfield's absent body present on the page, the printed portrait also accentuates its viewer's distance from the immediate scene of her prophesying. Despite the engraver's attempts to produce a three-dimensional effect through cross-hatching, Hatfield's body is unnaturally flattened by this portrait's strangely aerial perspective.[14] In the seventeenth century, images of women alone in bed regularly illustrated death-bed testimonies and accounts of childbirth. However, in these depictions, the bed is most commonly viewed from the side and at an angle, so that the bed's surroundings and the woman's attendees might also be depicted.[15] In contrast, the artist of Hatfield's portrait views her from directly above, thereby producing an unusually unnatural perspective that suggests the viewer is suspended over the prophet's body, as though adopting a God's-eye view of the woman below.

Though it conjures this sense of hovering spiritual transcendence, the image's flattening aerial perspective also points to an earthlier materiality. This intaglio printed image was produced through compressing a sheet of paper on to a copperplate engraving. The intense downward pressure required by this process is traceable in the image's surrounding

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[13] Fisher, C7[r].

[14] The image of Hatfield is unsigned, therefore it is difficult to determine the identity of its engraver. Gaskell suggests that 'either the author or the publisher could commission engraved plates' for inclusion in seventeenth-century printed texts; Gaskell, 'Printing House and Engraving Shop', p. 217. The first edition of *The Wise Virgin* (1653) was printed for the publisher John Rothwell who may have commissioned the portrait of Hatfield. In the same year, another text was printed for Rothwell that featured an engraved portrait signed 'T[homas] Cross Sculpsit [carver]': Christopher Love, *A Treatise of Effectual Calling and Election* (London: 1653). Thomas Cross was a prolific engraver and Rothwell may have commissioned him to produce the portrait in *The Wise Virgin* too. Many of the engraved portraits attributed to Cross in the 1650s are characterised by the sitter's hands having splayed fingers lacking knuckle definition, which strikingly resemble those in Hatfield's portrait. A series of Cross's engraved portraits can be viewed on the National Portrait Gallery in London's website: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person?LinkID=mp10604&wPage=0> [accessed 24 November 2019].

[15] See, for example, Thomas Lanfiere, *The Wonder of Wonders, or, The Strange Birth in Hampshire* (London: 1675) and Anon, *A Hundred Godly Lessons. That a Mother on her Death-Bed gave her Children* ([London]: [1674(?)]). Prophetic texts by seventeenth-century women do not often contain illustrations. However, a woman is depicted from the side, lying propped up in bed, in the broadside ballad, Christian James, *A Wonderful Prophesie* ([London]: [1690]). Jonathan Green provides an account of the role of illustrations (but not portraits) in early printed prophecies in *Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change 1450–1550* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), pp. 85–108.

plate mark: a slight raised ridge, visible in Figure 0.1 (p. 3), which separates the unpressed page from the area flattened on to the plate.[16] The vertical compression exerted by the mechanical force of the printing press repeats and confirms the aerial perspective adopted by the image's artist. Subjected to both these flattening processes of production, the prophet's body is transformed into a series of black ink lines, which are revealed and concealed, and released and pressed, by the page-turning actions of the reader. Thus, though granting a greater knowledge of the appearance of the prophet's body, the portrait also has the potential to heighten a reader's awareness of the mediating intervention of textual production. For her readers, Hatfield can only be accessed through the material textual object and via the (potentially flattening) perspectives of its human and mechanical producers.

In this way, Hatfield's portrait highlights the material production processes involved in transforming women's prophetic experiences into printed texts in the mid-seventeenth century. It is also a portrait that prompts a consideration of the semantic implications of this mediation. What happens to a woman's prophetic message when it becomes a written text (either through her own act of writing, or through the involvement of a scribe like Fisher)? And how does the materiality of the resulting textual object shape interpretations of prophetic discourse?

As Roger Chartier has suggested, 'meanings are dependent upon the forms through which they are received' and 'there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches its reader'.[17] Chartier's statement provides a guiding axiom for this thesis, in which I closely examine the material 'forms' in and through which women's prophecies reached their readers, and the effects that these

[16] Intaglio printing from a copper plate required the application of a greater amount of pressure than printing from movable type. Thus, images like Hatfield's portrait required the use of a rolling press that, as Sarah Werner describes, squeezed 'the paper and plate between two large rollers, concentrating the pressure at a single line of contact and forcing the paper down into the plate's grooves'; Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450–1800* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), pp. 66–71. See also Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 156–8.

[17] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books,* trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 3, 9.

textual productions have upon the reception of prophecy's spiritual messages.[18] As Chartier encourages us to recognise, material textual 'forms' — with their particular arrangements of title pages, prefaces, marginal notes, illustrations, typography, paper and bindings — shape reader interpretations. As such, processes of textual production, such as the transformation of Hatfield's body and utterances into *The Wise Virgin,* were not simply a material means to a spiritual end. Prophecy's textual objects signify within the semantics of the genre, and their forms and features shape the available interpretations of this mode of women's religious discourse.

The study of seventeenth-century women's prophecy

This thesis is greatly indebted to the work of a community of scholars who have recovered and studied the texts of seventeenth-century women's prophecy over the past forty years. As Diane Watt has observed, prophetic discourse like Martha Hatfield's has provided a particularly 'rich field of study' for feminist critics 'given the dearth of early historical and literary texts written by and about women' from the early modern period.[19] Unusually, religious prophecy was a genre of speech and writing that appears to have been particularly accessible to women. Divinely inspired prophets were often framed as feminised figures, who gained their legitimacy through their purity, empty thoughts and acts of obedient submission to the will of another. Consequently, as Rachel Trubowitz has observed, even 'male prophets and preachers consciously emulated and appropriated qualities traditionally associated with women — passivity, self-sacrifice, receptivity and nurturing — in their

[18] As András Kiséry and Allison Deutermann have noted, 'form' is a 'term not only […] of book history' but also 'of formalism', and (somewhat confusingly) both of these fields examine the role played by "form" in mediating between text and its contexts: its production, reproduction, circulation, and reception'; Kiséry and Deutermann, 'The Matter of Form: Book History, Formalist Criticism, and Francis Bacon's Aphorisms', in *The Book in History, The Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text,* ed. by Heidi Brayman, Jesse M. Lander and Zachary Lesser (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), pp. 29–64 (pp. 38–9). Throughout this thesis, I employ the word 'form' in the same manner as Chartier and other book historians, i.e. to refer to the physical, material 'form' in which a literary work was conveyed to its readers.

[19] Diane Watt, *Secretaries of God: Women Prophets in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), p. 5.

posture towards the deity'.[20] Thus, prophecy in the early modern period represented a mode of spiritual discourse particularly congruent with the period's understandings of femininity, and prophecy's surge in popularity in the turbulent years of the mid-seventeenth century offered an opportunity for a number of women to produce authoritative religious discourse.

Since the early 1980s, much of the critical analysis of this mode of seventeenth-century women's writing has asked how prophetic texts might help to extend our understanding of gendered attitudes and experience in early modern England.[21] A recurring emphasis in this scholarship is placed on the body of the prophet, and a great deal of critical attention has been paid to exploring the ways in which corporeal womanhood could act as a signifier of prophetic authority. For example, scholars have examined how women such as Martha Hatfield evoked images of maternal reproductivity as their bed-bound bodies produced prophetic orations for gathered audiences.[22] Others have considered how frail prophetic bodies, in their trances and periods of prolonged fasting, offered extreme manifestations of a physical weakness and passivity often associated with women during this period.[23]

Scholars have often disagreed over the subversive or liberating potential of prophecy's authorising feminised bodies. For example, Teresa Feroli has suggested that the bodies of women prophets 'were sites of power' and 'real properties' through which 'they

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[20] Rachel Trubowitz, 'Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England', in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. by James Holstun (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1992), pp. 112–133 (p. 119).

[21] In 1981, Christine Berg and Phillipa Berry highlighted that 'the prophetic medium afforded several women a vehicle for imaginative self-expression', and likened the genre's ecstatic mode to theories of *Écriture Féminine*; see Berg and Berry, 'Spiritual Whoredom: An Essay on Female Prophets in the Seventeenth Century', in *1642: Literature and Power in the Seventeenth Century* (Colchester: University of Essex, 1981), pp. 37–54. Meanwhile, Phyllis Mack argued that (often negative) cultural perceptions of womanhood facilitated women's claims to prophetic status; see Mack, 'Women as Prophets During the English Civil War', *Feminist Studies*, 8 (1982), 18–45 and her book-length study *Visionary Women* (1992). Women's prophetic texts also began to be included in primary source anthologies and essay collections focused on early modern women's writing; see, for example, *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen*, ed. by Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby and Helen Wilcox (London: Routledge, 1989) and *Women, Writing, History 1640–1740*, ed. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1992).

[22] Mary Elizabeth Fissell discusses maternal bodily imagery in 'Henry Jessey, Sarah Wight, and the Struggle to Make Women's Bodies into Knowledge', in *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 115–134 (p. 119).

[23] Diane Purkiss examines themes of inedia and bodily weakness in 'Producing the Voice, Consuming the Body: Women Prophets of the Seventeenth Century', in *Women, Writing, History 1640–1740*, ed. by Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1992), pp. 139–58. See also Nancy Gutierrez, '*Shall She Famish Then?': Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

could establish their political identities' by appropriating qualities normally associated with feminine inadequacy or suffering.[24] Meanwhile, Diane Purkiss has cautioned that prophecy regularly features 'tropes of physical dissolution and disembodiment', which damagingly 'reproduced the ideology of women's bodily inferiority' and therefore the 'social inferiority which purported to be based on women's physical weakness'.[25] As Hatfield's 'stiff fits or congelations' and 'fixed' eyes and limbs demonstrate, prophetic discourse was often produced through a brutal denial, physical overpowering, and even destruction, of the female body. However, this bodily suffering and erasure could also generate spiritual authority for women, as testified by Fisher's interest in Hatfield's sickbed orations. Thus, critics have theorised prophecy as a genre in which feminine bodies could signify in ways that might enhance, reinforce, reveal or subvert the gendered positions of early modern women.

My thesis's focus on the material texts of women's prophecy significantly shifts the main object of critical study in this field away from the body of the prophet and towards the body of the text, whilst still exploring important intersections between these two modes of materiality. As my opening discussion of Hatfield's printed portrait demonstrates, a text's physical form and the processes used to produce it could mediate the prophet's corporeality in complex ways, as the textual object acted as material substitute (or analogue) for the body, but also increased a sense of distance from the embodied prophetic moment. Prophecy's material texts are also coded with signs of the bodies that produced and engaged with them in ways that have been underexplored in previous studies of the genre. For example, smudges of ink in a prophet's handwritten manuscript imply a careless or shaking hand; meanwhile, a printing error reveals the slip of a compositor's eye or action;

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[24] Teresa Feroli, *Political Speaking Justified: Women Prophets and the English Revolution* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), p. 33.

[25] Purkiss, 'Producing the Voice', pp. 151. Though similarly recognising that women's prophetic texts are abundant with imagery of physical dissolution, Hilary Hinds has helpfully noted that this dissolution can also result in positive depictions of bodily pleasure and a resultant revived and sanctified corporeality, in 'The Transvaluation of Body and Soul in the Spiritual Autobiographies of Anna Trapnel', in *Paradigms, Poetics, and Politics of Conversion,* ed. by Jan N. Bremmer, Wout J. van Bekkum, Arie L. Molendijk (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 107–121.

and the folding, or binding together, of two works in one volume records the embodied reactions and textual engagements of a prophecy's later readers. By attending to such features in the chapters that follow, my methods of analysis, and the new information and readings they produce, argue for a new critical approach to tackling the signifying bodies of seventeenth-century prophecy. In particular, my research illuminates and scrutinises the role of embodied agents beyond the prophet herself (such as those working in the printing house and the owners of prophetic texts) who also shaped the forms, meanings and interpretations of women's prophetic discourse.

In *God's Englishwomen: Seventeenth-Century Radical Sectarian Writing and Feminist Criticism* (1996), Hilary Hinds contends that women's prophetic texts 'cannot be understood outside the very specific contexts of their production'.[26] For Hinds, and for other critics in the field, this examination of 'specific contexts' has primarily involved examining the intersections between this genre of women's discourse and the age's religious and political issues, for example by asking 'in what ways were the changing political circumstances — the execution of Charles I, for example, or the rise of Cromwell […] — written into these prophecies'?[27] My own research extends this elucidation of the 'specific contexts' in, and through, which women's prophecies were produced by providing a detailed analysis of the materials and practices of early modern textual production. Conventions in typography and textual arrangement, as well as the practicalities of printing and the book trade, were all contextual factors that influenced prophecy's communication and its reception by readers.

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[26] Hilary Hinds, *God's Englishwomen: Seventeenth-Century Radical Sectarian Writing and Feminist Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 13.

[27] Ibid., p. 14. Rachel Rode Schaefer examines the Eleanor Davies's texts in relation to contemporary debates about political sovereignty in 'Animating the Machinery: Prophecy and Lady Eleanor Davies', *Prose Studies*, 38 (2016), 121–136. Similarly, Katharine Gillespie has discussed the treatment of sovereignty in Henry Jessey and Sarah Wight's *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* (1647) in *Domesticity and Dissent in the Seventeenth Century: English Women's Writing and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 166–214. Susan Wiseman attends to the specific religious context and 'political potential of Wight's experience of grace' in *Conspiracy and Virtue: Women, Writing and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 99. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Bouldin studies how Wight (and a number of other prophets) 'expressed a range of ideas about individual and collective election' in *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British Atlantic World, 1640–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 25. Whitney G. Gamble discusses Anna Trapnel's treatment of theological debates in 'The Significance of English Antinomianism for Anna Trapnel', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 17 (2015), 155–66.

By exploring these areas, this thesis offers the first extended bibliographic analysis of women's prophecy.[28] Thus far, critics have tended to overlook this genre's material and productional aspects, such as the typography and page gatherings in prophetic texts, and the people, techniques and materials that produced them.[29] However, by inspecting such features, and uncovering the labours and processes that shaped them, it is possible to extend, develop and revise our understanding of this mode of early modern women's writing. Crucially, scrutiny of the material text allows this thesis to offer new evidence regarding the contemporary reception and interpretation of women's prophecy. As Natasha Simonova has explained, 'the current evidence' for how prophetic women 'were received is scanty and focused on a brief period of controversy surrounding their active prophetic careers', thus leading to a perception that prophetic works were 'topical or ephemeral' and reliant on their immediate moment of production for their relevance.[30] However, a study of manuscript annotations, typographic details and the binding and arrangement of copies of prophetic texts within larger volumes all offer grounds to interrogate these assumptions. Indeed, my thesis suggests that prophecy's material texts offer evidence of far more sympathetic, sustained and detailed early modern engagements with the genre than has hitherto been assumed.

As well as helping to explicate and reframe prophecy's contemporary reception by readers, my thesis also seeks to scrutinise prophecy's textual multiplicity. In the seventeenth century, women's prophetic discourse was often published in multiple copies, versions and

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[28] There are, however, a number of recent scholarly works that use bibliographic methodologies to study other genres of early modern women's writing. For example, Gillian Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry, 1600–1730: Text and Paratext, Manuscript and Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) and *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing,* ed. by Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[29] Rebecca Bullard has published a journal article on *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London: 1654) in which she uses 'the text itself' as the 'starting point' for her discussion; see Bullard, 'Textual Disruption in Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea (1654)', *The Seventeenth Century*, 23 (2008), 34–53 (p. 34). Bullard's article is an important demonstration of the scholarly value of applying bibliographic analysis to women's prophetic texts. However, Bullard's study limits itself to examining one writer only, whereas this thesis synthesises multiple case studies. In Chapter Two, I will discuss how my research builds upon and diverges from Bullard's bibliographical interpretation of Trapnel's texts.

[30] Natasha Simonova, 'New Evidence for the Reading of Sectarian Women's Prophecies', *Notes and Queries*, 60 (2012), 66–70 (p. 66). Simonova's article challenges this perception by providing an account of a manuscript copy of three prophecies by Anna Trapnel and Anne Wentworth that includes an unusual 'memorandum to the reidar' dating from the late 1680s.

editions. Where critics have taken account of this productional and material multiplicity in the past, they have tended to investigate what these different textual objects might tell us about a woman's changing intention or agency. For example, Vanessa Wilkie has noted that the prophetic writer Lady Eleanor Davies (the subject of Chapter Four in this thesis) annotated and revised various copies of her printed texts over time. For Wilkie, these alterations demonstrate that Davies 'did not view her texts as static', but instead sought to change different copies in response to her own developing thoughts and in light of new political events.[31] Like Wilkie, my research will consider the fluidity and revisions enabled by multiple textual productions. However, I also argue that reproducing and dividing a divinely inspired prophecy between multiple texts revealed and signified things other than the changing intention of a singular authorial figure. In the case of Davies, her production of multiple versions of the same text often facilitated a defiant reiteration of the *same* intention. Additionally, the generation of several versions of the same prophetic text might reflect the desires and ambitions of other textual producers, such as printers or readers. Finally, the changes we can trace between different copies of a text might often be best understood as unintended or accidental, rather than as deliberate articulations of control and agency.

By closely contemplating the multiple editions and copies of women's prophetic texts in this thesis, I am applying to the genre of prophecy a style of comparative bibliographic analysis that has been employed (though to different ends) by genetic criticism. Genetic critics study authors' notes and manuscripts in order to trace the textual 'displacements, substitutions and transformations' involved in the writing process.[32] As Louis Hay has outlined, this style of analysis has the potential to reconceptualise each 'distinct work' as just 'one of the *possibilities* of the text', and draft texts are therefore valued as works that are 'neither integrated nor subsumed' in the 'final work'.[33] Whilst textual editors 'tend to see a

[31] Vanessa Wilkie, 'Reading and Writing Between the Lines: Lady Eleanor Douglas, a Midland Visionary and her Annotated Pamphlets', *Midland History*, 41 (2016), 168–83 (p. 173). Additionally, Rory Tanner argues that the textual differences between various versions of Grace Cary's prophecies reflect their producers' shifting political views in '"She mente well, and was a good woman": The Vision and Revision of Grace Cary', *ANQ*, 24 (2001), 81–88.
[32] Louis Hay, 'Does Text Exist?', *Studies in Bibliography*, 41 (1988), 64–76 (p. 73).
[33] Ibid., p. 75.

difference between two states of a work in terms of accuracy and error or corruption' (often linked to authorial intention), the 'genetic critic will see meaningful variation' and ask how observing this variation might provoke new interpretations of a literary work and the process of its writing.[34] This commitment to granting equal weight to different editions and versions of the same text is a valuable means of increasing the amount of literary material available for critical scrutiny. For the genetic critic, each textual object warrants its own individual analysis, but can also contribute to the interpretation of other surviving versions and editions of the same work through comparison.

In my own research, adopting this genetic approach of comparing, yet valuing the distinctness of, different textual witnesses allows me to contemplate the specific but also interconnected multiple material contexts through which readers encountered a woman's prophetic discourse. This approach marks a significant departure from previous critical studies of seventeenth-century prophecy, in which the emphasis has rarely been placed on the numerous textual forms in which many of the period's prophetic works circulated. Examining this textual multiplicity is valuable because it helps to challenge the assumption, as outlined by Simonova, that women's prophetic texts were somehow 'topical or ephemeral' and intrinsically tied to a single contextual moment.[35] Instead, my attentiveness to textual multiplicity allows for a new kind of examination of the cross-temporal and sustained ways in which a single spiritual discourse could be repeated, revised and restated through various copies, versions and editions.

In addition to exploring this textual multiplicity, my thesis also examines the co-creation of prophecy's textual objects. As a religious genre, prophecy's special spiritual authority is reliant on the purity and singularity of a direct, personal relationship between the divine and the prophet. Accordingly, Fisher is careful to state in *The Wise Virgin* that 'there

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[34] Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden, 'Introduction: A Genesis of French Genetic Criticism', in *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes*, ed. by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 1–16 (p. 11).
[35] Simonova, p. 66.

was a Divine hand that guided [Hatfield's] tongue, and […] God was with her mouth'.[36] This core duality (prophet and God) might give rise to the expectation that the involvement of any other participants in a prophecy's communication would undermine its claims to divine authority, but this often does not seem to be the case. In fact, critics of seventeenth-century prophecy have noted that this genre's texts often convey a sense of communal responsibility, and signs of a prophet being facilitated by a social network might help to bolster her authority. For example, Barbara Ritter Dailey has explored how the prophet's bedside often became a space for the 'intermingling of people and ideas in a highly unstable period', and prophetic texts frequently name the prophet's community of supporters as a way of anchoring and signalling the text's claims to authenticity.[37]

As James Fisher's scribal role in *The Wise Virgin* exemplifies, prophetic texts also often required the cooperation of amanuenses, responsible for recording and endorsing a woman's prophetic speech for her readers. Exploring the influential role played by such 'coaxers, interpreters, witnesses and other parties', Ramona Wray has highlighted that there are 'extensive systems of collaboration involved in bringing' a prophet's 'writings to light'.[38] Expanding our knowledge of these 'systems', this thesis will examine the ways in which printers, compositors, booksellers and other agents of textual production also contributed to these networks of collaboration.

In doing so, however, my research also argues that prophecy's co-creation is not always collaborative and sympathetic.[39] Typographic and presentational decisions made in the printing house might seem to contradict or ignore the spiritual message a prophet sought to convey, for example, by inserting decorative printing ornaments into a text that otherwise

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[36] Fisher, D2^{r}, L3^{v}.
[37] Barbara Ritter Dailey, 'The Visitation of Sarah Wight: Holy Carnival and the Revolution in Civil War London', *Church History,* 55 (1986), 438–55 (p. 454). See also Carola Scott-Luckens, 'Propaganda or Marks of Grace? The Impact of the Reported Ordeals of Sarah Wight in Revolutionary London, 1647–52', *Women's Writing,* 9 (2002), 215–32.
[38] Ramona Wray, '"What say you to [this] book? […] is it yours?": Oral and Collaborative Narrative Trajectories in the Mediated Writings of Anna Trapnel', *Women's Writing*, 16 (2009), 408–24 (p. 419).
[39] Wray's article also considers this, noting that scribes often expose their own 'fallibility and weakness' as collaborators, and, as such, co-produce prophetic texts that can convey a sense of incompleteness or 'partiality'; Ibid., p. 412.

condemns showy rhetoric. Furthermore, the prophet's discourse can sometimes be distorted by errors arising from seventeenth-century printing practices or careless workmanship. By paying attention to such discordant aspects of textual co-creation, I am able explore how the multiple participants involved in producing prophecy's textual objects could (inadvertently or otherwise) reshape, contradict or distort a woman's discourse too.

Unveiling the complex, interdependent network of textual co-creation has long been an important goal for scholars of book history and bibliography. For example, the influential bibliographers Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass have noted that 'if the physical body of the book is the work of pressmen and bookbinders, its soul is not the author's invention alone since it is co-created by the printers, compositors, and proof-readers' responsible for its form.[40] Similarly, Robert Darnton's famous 'Communications Circuit' diagram depicts the 'Author' as just one agent within a network of interlinked participants, who interact and intervene in various ways during a text's production.[41] Darnton's circuit includes the workers of the printing house; the suppliers of paper, ink and type; the booksellers who often funded and endorsed publications; and the readers and purchasers who defined the market and shaped the forms of their copies of texts through binding, annotating and other modes of interaction. In a similar way, my own bibliographic analysis will trace the reliance prophetic publications have upon a whole host of actors participating in the early modern 'communications circuit'.

However, prophetic discourse also provides a unique genre for testing and extending existing bibliographic models for mapping textual co-creation. This is a spiritual mode of discourse in which God (absent from Darnton's diagram) is perceived as the primary agent directing and commanding a text's publication and material form. Accordingly, my thesis asks what semantic tensions or opportunities might arise when a divinely inspired discourse

[40] Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass, 'What is a Book?', in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 188–204 (p. 188).
[41] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111.3 (1982), 65–83 (p. 68).

must take an earthly material form and be reliant for its creation on the labours of non-prophetic individuals and material processes.

To summarise, my thesis engages in revising and extending bibliographic approaches to texts in order to introduce new methodological and analytical contributions to the study of seventeenth-century women's prophecy. As I have suggested above, focusing on the body of the text allows for a creative re-examination of the manner in which modes of materiality signify meaning and authority in this genre. Moreover, by paying due attention to the multiple versions, copies and editions of women's texts I am able to argue that prophetic discourse repeated and changed over time, and for different readers. As I have discussed, the generation of this textual multiplicity involved a network of participants, and this co-creative production influenced the reception of women's divinely inspired discourse in ways that could be collaborative, but also disruptive.

Gender and prophecy

This is a thesis that not only examines the textual production and materiality of seventeenth-century prophecy; it also focuses exclusively on works originating with women. By undertaking this study of the textual materiality of seventeenth-century *women*'s prophecy I intend to establish new ways of thinking about the gendered significations of this genre. In *The Mystic Fable* (1992), Michel de Certeau suggests that the production of written accounts of mystic, divinely inspired discourse involves a gendered negotiation of textual space. For example, in an analysis of Teresa of Ávila's *The Interior Castle* (1577), de Certeau notes that the nun's account of her visions is initially addressed to an inner circle of women, yet the written record of her experiences is framed as an act of writing commanded, judged and glossed by men (namely, 'Doctor Velasquez, Teresa's confessor, and/or Father Jerónimo

Gracián, her counsellor').[42] Describing the inscription of *The Interior Castle*, de Certeau writes:

> Between the command to *write* and the appreciation of the writing, both of which are masculine, the feminine act of *speaking* unfolds: 'It is to these women that I speak (*hablar*) in what I am going to write (*escribir*).' The feminine spoken word insinuates itself within the masculine circumscription of writing. […] In this subtle combination, authority (of the Church) is masculine […]. Teresa offers to that authority her body in travail and the text that it produces: it is *for them* (*pour eux,* masculine). But the spoken word, a collective circulation, is *between them* (*entre elles,* feminine): *between us.* The masculine authority dissects, circumscribes, orders and judges *distinct* objects, but after all seems alien to the abundant and 'indistinct' speech that crosses over individual or scriptorial boundaries[.] [43]

Here, de Certeau describes an opposition between spoken and written communication, which is a distinction that also articulates for him the contrast between Teresa's mystical religious experiences and the 'distinct' textual objects in and through which they come to be ordered and circumscribed. For de Certeau, this is also coded as a gendered exchange, with the mystic's profuse inspired discourse being identified as 'feminine' in its collectiveness and abundance, and the act of writing as 'masculine' in its imposition of ordered judgements.

This notion of a culturally gendered textual binary also features in de Certeau's descriptions of the 'writing machine', which he posits as being 'charged "with putting back in order"' the religious discourse of mystic figures like Teresa of Ávila.[44] According to de Certeau, the writing machine's 'essential characteristic is that it is male […] masculine and

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[42] Michel De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, trans. by Michael B. Smith (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, [1982] 1992), p. 190.
[43] Ibid., pp. 192–3.
[44] Michel De Certeau, 'The Arts of Dying', in *Discourse on the Other*, trans. by Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 156–67, p. 164.

nothing but' in 'refusing to express the feminine'.[45] In particular, for de Certeau, the (feminine) excesses of prophetic experience are circumscribed by the distinct and exacting practice of (masculine) writing. Thus, he describes how the 'cutting refusal' of textual inscription 'shines like a blade', as it carefully 'emphasizes' the 'separation' between the voice of the mystic and the divine Other she channels.[46] It is the (masculine) written text that erects these distinctions and circumscribes the (feminine) collectiveness and abundance of a discourse arising from direct experience of the divine.

In my own analysis of the material texts of seventeenth-century prophets, I am also interested in identifying ways in which, as de Certeau suggests, there is a negotiation or tension between a written form's need to order and contain, and the potentially abundant and communal qualities of spiritual prophetic discourse. However, my thesis will also complicate and question the oppositional binary structures presented in de Certeau's writing. Indeed, I would argue that there are ways in which the material texts of written prophecy continue to signify in a feminine mode, which precludes de Certeau's notion of the 'masculine and nothing but' nature of written texts. Rather than being circumscribed or limited, I would suggest that a sense of feminine abundance and multiplicity is still maintained (or even generated) by the production of multiple copies of a single prophetic discourse. Moreover, along with this productional reiteration and revision, textual prophecies are also expressive of diffuse collective labour, and this co-creation is often revealed in their material form. By highlighting these modes of multiplicity and co-creation, my thesis suggests ways in which we might read the creation of textual objects as a negotiation that allows for the articulation of prophecy's feminine qualities, such as uncircumscribed abundance and collective production.

Importantly, however, for de Certeau, the femininity he perceives in mystic, divinely inspired discourse is not limited to works produced by women. For example, when discussing the ecstatic texts of the Carmelite friar John of the Cross (a follower of Teresa of

[45] Ibid., pp. 165–6.
[46] Ibid., p. 166.

Ávila), de Certeau notes that — although Teresa may be regarded as the 'mother' of mystic discourse and John its 'father' — the discourse of both parties is distinguished from the 'celibate and/or patrilinear genealogy of theological language'.[47] Indeed, the spiritual texts of both Teresa and John are identifiable for de Certeau as forms of religious discourse 'characterized […] by a precedence of the mother' and the 'fecundity' of the maternal.[48] Similarly, critics of seventeenth-century prophecy have noted a certain femininity to prophetic discourse that transcends the gender of its speaker or writer. Accordingly, Nigel Smith describes a prophetic text from 1653 that contains a 'degree of female role-playing'.[49] In this text, a ('probably male') apprentice describes receiving a vision of a child being placed in their arms, which reassures them of God's saving grace in a strongly maternal prophetic experience.[50] Similarly, conventional binaries of gender are transgressed by the feminine imagery found in the writings of the male, self-styled prophet Abiezer Coppe, who writes in one characteristic text: 'Oh Lord, our Lord […] *Man* is the *Woman,* and thou art the *Man*, the *Saints* are thy *Spouse*, our *Maker* is our *Husband*'.[51] Here, Coppe's ecstatic language feminises all of mankind, as he frames his adoring subservience to the Lord as an intimate relationship with a husband.

In the above examples, we can observe that both men and women might authorise their prophetic identities through feminised discourse, whether by presenting themselves as maternal figures or as dutifully submissive wives to the Other. Nonetheless, there still remain key differences in the ways in which this gendered semantics operates in the prophetic discourse of men and women. Most crucially, women prophets had to overcome particular societal prejudices against female rhetoric in order to prophesy. In the seventeenth century,

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[47] De Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, p. 135.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 80–81.
[50] Vavasor Powell, *Spirituall Experiences* (London: 1653), R5^{r}–8^{r}. Smith argues that, while there 'were female apprentices', details in this account suggest a young male narrator, for example the writer describes returning from their 'Master' to their father's house and falling asleep on a bench; see *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 80–81. Smith states that *Spirituall Experiences* is by Henry Walker. However, the copy of the text I have consulted is clearly attributed to Vavasor Powell on its title page, therefore I have cited it accordingly.
[51] Abiezer Coppe, *Some Sweet Sips* (London: 1649), E3^{v}.

various scriptural passages were cited as evidence that women ought to 'keep silence in the Churches' (1 Corinthians 14. 34) and not be suffered 'to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man' (1 Timothy 2. 12).[52] Exceptions to these rulings might be made for authentic divinely inspired discourse, since in this mode women expounded not as themselves but as the prophesying 'daughters' upon whom God had agreed to pour out his spirit (Acts 2. 17). Therefore, as Phyllis Mack explains, 'before they would accept [a woman's prophecy], people had to believe that her voice belonged to God, not herself', thereby increasing the importance of dramatic postures of feminine submission and receptivity in discourse produced by female prophets.[53] Unlike her male counterparts, the seventeenth-century woman prophet walked a high-stakes tightrope, whereby her 'only means of establishing her credibility in a public forum was to present herself as a defender of the natural order in which she was subservient'.[54] It was by utilising (whilst also perpetuating) conventions of weak and passive femininity that women could sidestep cultural edicts against their gender, and communicate prophetic discourse in ways that might be accepted as legitimate.

There is, therefore, something distinct about the texts of women's prophecy. Religious discourse in the mid-seventeenth century was governed by gendered restrictions and expectations, and a woman's ability to participate in this sphere was defined by a particular negotiation of cultural attitudes towards women and femininity. This thesis focuses on what role the material text played in this network of gendered signification and authorisation. Accordingly, in each of my case studies I investigate ways in which textual objects were produced and shaped in order to frame women as legitimate sources of spiritual authority. My research will also ask how a woman's gender might influence a reader's engagement with her prophetic discourse's material form. As I shall argue, the female body behind a prophecy continued to matter to readers, even after her feminine discourse became ink on the page.

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[52] The varying ways in which radical religious groups interpreted these scriptural edicts are discussed in Rachel Adcock, *Baptist Women's Writing in Revolutionary Culture, 1640–1680* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 79.
[53] Mack, 'Women as Prophets', p. 28.
[54] Mack, *Visionary Women*, p. 108.

Bibliography and the material text

In examining the semantics of the material form and production of prophecy's textual objects, my study of seventeenth-century women's prophecy owes much to the methods of bibliographic analysis developed by scholars including D. F. McKenzie and Jerome McGann. In *The Textual Condition* (1991), McGann argues that 'every literary work that descends to us operates through the deployment of a double helix of perceptual codes: the linguistic codes, on one hand, and the bibliographical codes on the other'.[55] Traditionally, literary scholars have analysed a work's 'linguistic codes', such as metaphor and rhyme. However, McGann argues that fully comprehensive textual interpretation must also consider the semantics of a work's 'bibliographical codes' by asking how 'the physical presentation of […] printed texts has been made to serve aesthetic ends'.[56] By way of example, McGann points to the 'historical allusion' established by the fifteenth-century styled typeface used in the Kelmscott Press printing of William Morris's *The Story of the Glittering Plain* (1891).[57] As Ruth Kinna explains, Morris's novel is set in an 'unspecified historical and geographical location' but one with a 'clear medieval flavour'.[58] McGann's analysis of Morris's text highlights the fact that this medieval atmosphere is produced and enhanced by the material form of his novel, which has a typographic style that resembles a medieval script.

Like McGann, I am interested in asking how aspects of material form participate in, and influence, the semantics of textual meaning. However, as his discussion of Morris's novel exemplifies, the 'bibliographical codes' McGann tends to highlight are those that collude with the 'linguistic codes' and 'aesthetic ends' established by the author. This focus on an affinity between medium and message was, in part, established in the field of bibliography by McKenzie's highly influential work *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1986). In this short study, McKenzie urges critics to explore how 'the material forms of

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[55] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 77.
[56] Ibid., p. 78.
[57] Ibid., pp. 78–9.
[58] Ruth Kinna, 'William Morris. The Romance of Hope', in *Visualizing Utopia,* ed. by Mary G. Kemperink and Willemien H. S. Roenhorst (Lueven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 57–72 (p. 58).

books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning', and justifies this approach by referencing a 'tradition of authors who thought about the smallest details of their work as it might be printed'.[59] For McKenzie, 'what writers thought they were doing in writing texts' remains a foundational issue, 'which no history of the book can evade'.[60] This stance has led Matt Cohen to observe that 'the touch or presence of the author in the printing house becomes, for McKenzie, the renewed, now physical foundation of intentionality'.[61] Thus, though McGann and McKenzie valuably highlight the meaning-making power of the material text, they often do so in ways that preserve a work's author as its ultimate signifying authority.

This valorisation of authorial intention and the quest to discover the influence of 'the author in the printing house' emerge as particularly problematic ideas when analysing women's prophecy.[62] Prophecy is a form of discourse that frequently relies upon disavowals of singular agency and productional intention for its meaning. For example, in Fisher's *The Wise Virgin*, Hatfield is told by a visitor, 'You have spoken very much, there be two Books written of what you did speak', to which she responds, 'Is there so […]? I wish they may look at a good end'.[63] Here, Hatfield articulates a sense of detachment from the production of the 'two Books' of her prophesying. Crucially, her obliviousness to this textual creation helps to confirm her status as a prophet who has recently been consumed by a trance, and who does not claim to have any control over the dissemination of the divinely inspired discourse she has been chosen to channel. Additionally, even those seventeenth-century prophets who wrote down their own prophetic discourse, or actively pursued its textual publication, still retained a complicated authorial relationship to their texts.[64] As Giorgio Agamben describes,

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[59] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: The British Library, 1986), pp. 8, 14–5.
[60] Ibid., p. 10.
[61] Matt Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 184, n. 30.
[62] Ibid., p. 184, n. 30.
[63] Fisher, M5^{r}.
[64] Hilary Hinds documents multiple examples of seventeenth-century prophetic women who 'lament, circumvent or deny' their role as authors in *God's Englishwomen*, p. 92.

the prophet is ‘first and foremost’ a figure who ‘receives a word from God which does not properly belong to him’.[65] The prophetic text is therefore never meant to appear to be the prophet’s own.

Consequently, my thesis considers how material texts might signify in far less authorial and intentioned ways than have traditionally been discussed by scholars such as McGann and McKenzie. This approach allows my work to participate in a burgeoning turn in contemporary bibliographic criticism. For example, Adam Smyth’s recent guide to studying early modern material texts pursues ‘anti-intentionalist readings of material form', by seeking ‘symbolic meanings that the agents (whether printers, binders, publisher or authors) never imagined'.[66] For example, Smyth’s study includes a chapter on ‘Errors and Corrections’, in which he argues that the era’s prevalent productional slips (though accidental) require attention from critics.[67] Adopting a similarly adventurous approach, in *How to Do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* (2012), Leah Price surveys practices of non-reading and addresses occasions where bibliographic and linguistic codes ‘pull apart, when (for example) an anticolonial manifesto is printed on paper imported from the metropole’.[68] In these recent studies, Smyth and Price both examine the semantics of material texts in a manner that moves beyond simply valuing features that can be attributed to a deliberate act or to the apparent intentions of a text’s producer. In a similar fashion, this thesis will demonstrate how, through its bibliographic codes and methods of textual production, seventeenth-century prophecy could generate meaning in ways that may seem contradictory or unintended. Accordingly, smudges in handwriting, printing errors in an index and the spacing of decorative headers are all features of prophetic texts scrutinised within my case studies.

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[65] Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans by Patricia Dailey (California: Stanford University Press, 2005), p. 60.
[66] Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 14.
[67] Ibid., pp. 75–136. Sally Bushell also discusses the potential for studying unintended meaning in the errors of manuscript drafts in ‘The Making of Meaning in Wordsworth's "Home at Grasmere": (Speech Acts, Microanalysis and "Freudian Slips")’, *Studies in Romanticism*, 48 (2009), 391-421.
[68] Leah Price, *How To Do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 35–6.

Defining prophecy

Seventeenth-century women's prophecy is a particularly valuable genre for applying, exploring and expanding bibliographic methodologies, and for investigating the intersections between material text and semantic meaning. As a form of divinely inspired discourse, prophecy is a mode of authorship that involves highly idiosyncratic and complex constructions of mediation and intention. It is also a genre that is intrinsically connected to acts of publication, since, prophecy is, in its very essence, a form of proclamation defined by its communication. In the Christian tradition, authentic prophets are required to publish their divine messages to others, and therefore matters of textual production, form and reception are of central importance to this form of religious discourse.

In early modern England, the words 'prophesying' and 'preaching' were sometimes used synonymously. During the Elizabethan era, gatherings of preachers assembled to practise sermonising to congregations on the same scriptural passage were called 'Prophesyings'.[69] Meanwhile, William Perkins's detailed guide to 'the sacred and onely true manner and method of preaching' was entitled *The Arte of Prophecying* (1607).[70] As Erica Longfellow has noted, since prophecy can generally be defined as 'speaking God's word', acts of 'prophesying' could include the oral expounding of scripture to listeners by a traditional Puritan preacher.[71] The level of divine inspiration involved in this dissemination of God's word through sermons was hotly disputed. In a text printed in 1608, the Laudian clergyman Martin Fotherby acknowledged that a preacher's exegetical sermon on a biblical text could express 'the truth of God' but that 'a Sermon rightly made is the word of a man […] not so the word of God as the text it selfe is, but a discourse framed upon it by the wit of man'.[72] In contrast, a year earlier, in *The Arte of Prophecying,* Perkins advised that a minister should use 'artes, philosophie, and varietie of reading, whilest he is in framing his

[69] See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 384.
[70] William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecying* (London: 1607), A1^{r}.
[71] Erica Longfellow, 'Prayer and Prophecy', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 135–50 (p. 147).
[72] Martin Fotherby, *Foure Sermons* (London: 1608), H1^{r}.

sermon' but then 'conceale all these from the people' when preaching.[73] Thanks to this method, Perkins claimed that 'even ignorant persons & unbeleevers may judge, that it is not so much hee [the preacher] that speaketh, as the Spirit of God in him and by him'.[74] Unlike Fotherby, Perkins presents the preacher as a more directly inspired prophetic figure, whose exegeses and public communications were a product of his own education and preparation, but also of God speaking his word 'in him and by him'.

This thesis is concerned with an even more direct style of divinely inspired communication than the mode of prophesying claimed by Perkins for preachers. In *The Wise Virgin,* Martha Hatfield's mother is reported to have affectionately said to her daughter 'Ah Childe, thou has been a Preacher of righteousness', to which Hatfield replies: 'Have I? Have I? me cannot tell, I can do nothing of my self; it was not me, it was the Spirit of God in me'.[75] Here, Hatfield depicts herself humbly, but her words also paraphrase the voice of Christ, who states 'I can of mine own self do nothing: […] I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me' (John 5. 30). As such, Hatfield's self-description abnegates her own agency, whilst also establishing her as an appointed ventriloquist of divine speech.

Claiming that she 'cannot tell' what she has said, Hatfield's prophesying, or preaching 'of righteousness', is not presented as a rhetorical art that she might practise or learn to control through published guides like Perkins's *The Arte of Prophecying*. Instead, her religious teaching and oral expounding of scripture are framed as being entirely reliant upon (and authorised by) a direct and special intervention by God. Fisher accentuates this further when he reports that, 'I cannot think that she ever had in her thoughts, or ever read many of those Scripture-phrases which she uttered, but God did specially help and guide her in her expressions'.[76] Unlike Perkins's preachers then, Hatfield's prophesying is not influenced by her own 'varietie of reading'. Instead, Hatfield's lack of education and experience are presented by Fisher as evidence of her true prophetic authority: this

[73] Perkins, I8^{r}.
[74] Ibid., I8^{r}.
[75] Fisher, B7^{v}.
[76] Fisher, D2^{r}.

prophet's simplicity means that she will not (or *could* not) interfere with the divine messages she is chosen by God to channel.

This style of directly divinely inspired speech flourished in England in the mid-seventeenth century as members of the period's radical religious groups increasingly stressed very close and personalised relationships with the divine. For example, in 1653, the clergyman Francis Higginson criticised an audience gathered to hear a Quaker preacher in the North of England, describing them as 'men astonished, listening to every word […] they believe them to be the very word and dictates of Christ speaking in him'.[77] In *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–1660* (1989), Smith documents how '[bearing] witness in expression and behaviour to the immediacy and *charisma* of the Holy Spirit' became common practice in various mid-seventeenth-century religious groups, including Quakers, Antinomians, Baptists, Seekers, Ranters and Fifth Monarchists.[78] Among these believers, the modes of prophetic discourse practised could vary. For example, Smith explains that sometimes the distinction between the inspired believer and the divine voice that communicated with and through them seems to collapse, so that 'the speech of the religious radical becomes the speech of the spirit of God' (as with the Quaker preacher Higginson observed).[79] In other prophetic rhetoric, the believer might describe receiving visions or recount an inner dialogue with God, thus 'giving the impression that he [God] is outside and around the prophet', communicating a message for them to later interpret and share with others.[80] Others might claim to produce divinely inspired exegeses of scripture, enabled by a special prophetic insight.

What unites these different modes of spiritual discourse is that the prophetic speaker or writer functions as a communicator of a divine message that has been entrusted to them

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[77] Francis Higginson, *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers* (London: 1653), C2^{v}. Higginson was heavily critical of the Quakers, but his description of their preaching accords with other accounts of the group from the period. See Hilary Hinds, *George Fox and Early Quaker Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 33.
[78] Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, p. 10.
[79] Ibid., p. 59.
[80] Ibid., p. 62.

so that they will disseminate it more widely. This privileged role as God's messenger is a defining attribute of the Christian prophet. As the theologian J. Lindblom elucidates:

> *Pro* in the Greek term *prophetes* does not mean 'before' but 'forth'. Thus the Greek term indicates the prophet is a preacher, a forthteller rather than a foreteller [...] That which distinguishes a prophet from other *homines religiosi* is that he never keeps his experiences to himself; he always feels compelled to announce to others what he has seen and heard.[81]

Countering modern associations that link prophecy with prognostication, Lindblom explains that a prophet is a figure who speaks *forth* and is required by divine compulsion to share the messages and insights they receive. Indeed, as Lindblom goes on to describe, 'a prophet is never allowed to be a private person; he is always a herald, who has to bring his Lord's message to men'.[82] As such, an authentic prophet is a communicator of a message and this defining heraldic role is strictly non-negotiable. Accordingly, there are many examples in scripture of prophets describing their inescapable compulsion to publish or publicise God's messages to others. For instance, during a spell of disillusionment, the prophet Jeremiah describes an intention to 'not make mention of him [God], nor speak any more in his name' (Jeremiah 20. 9). However, Jeremiah proves unable to abdicate his prophetic responsibility, and he describes how 'his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay' (Jeremiah 20. 9). Here, as elsewhere in the Bible, the prophet explains that they cannot resist the duty to speak forth on behalf of God, since any refusal to fulfil their communicative obligation results in punishment they cannot withstand.

In scriptural narratives, the prophet's compulsion to communicate a divine message might be fulfilled orally, but also by producing written texts. Indeed, Bernard McGinn has

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[81] J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), pp. 1–2. Mordecai Schreiber also explains that the 'common denominator' between prophets is their shared 'moral compulsion' and 'uncompromising need to speak'; see Schreiber, 'Rethinking Prophecy', *Tikkun*, 28.3 (2013), 13–17 (p. 14).
[82] Lindblom, p. 220.

noted ‘the “bookish”’ nature’ of much biblical prophecy and the numerous occasions on which prophets become the producers of textual objects.[83] For example, the prophet Habakkuk describes how:

> the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.
>
> For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie[.] (Habakkuk 2. 2–3)

Here, the form of the prophetic text is shaped to support the prophet’s duty to communicate. Habakkuk’s act of writing helps to preserve the words until an ‘appointed time’, but also to accelerate the message’s dissemination in the present. By transcribing the words in ‘plain’ letters upon ‘tables [or, stone tablets]’, God’s message can be read clearly by those passing by and the prophecy is no longer dependent upon Habakkuk’s presence for its wider communication. Importantly, this text’s material form is also authorised and directed by God, who has instructed Habakkuk on exactly how to mediate his prophecy through a textual object. In the mid-seventeenth century, the books that were produced to publish women’s prophetic discourse were continuing this scriptural tradition of ‘bookish’ prophecy, as established by the divinely authorised inscriptions of prophets like Habakkuk.

To conclude, although prophecy can generally be defined as ‘speaking God’s word’, it also frequently involves ‘writing’ that divine word through the production of textual objects. Prophetic discourse might claim to channel God’s word directly, it might describe and interpret messages and visions received from the Spirit, or it could proffer divinely inspired exegeses of scripture. At its core, however, prophecy is always an act of public communication, and prophets reveal and fulfil their prophetic identities through publications and proclamations. As such, Jonathan Green begins his study *Printing and Prophecy: Prognostication and Media Change 1450–1550* (2012) with the simple sentence: ‘The

[83] Bernard McGinn, ‘Early Apocalypticism: The Ongoing Debate’, in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature,* ed. by C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 2–39 (p. 5).

prophet is, first and foremost, a media phenomenon'.[84] Green then proceeds to explain that, whilst the prophet undoubtedly 'faces upward' to God in order to receive their divine messages, they also face 'outward, in order to transmit the divine communication'.[85] This definition leads Green to identify prophecy as 'a form of religious communication that seems especially promising for a media-historical study'.[86] In *Print and Prophecy*, Green presents his 'media-historical study' by focusing on the popularity and developing textual conventions of prophetic literature in Germany in the first century of print. In particular, Green scrutinises how and why printing houses elected to produce prognostications, astrological guides and almanacs, and explores what these texts might reveal about the practices, ambitions and shortcomings of early print production.

In this thesis, I concentrate on prophetic texts (both print and manuscript) produced at a later time and in a different geographical region to Green's *Printing and Prophecy*. Moreover, my research is interested in the significance of the prophet's gender, which is left largely unconsidered in Green's study. Nevertheless, my research shares Green's interest in examining prophecy as a form of communication that is reliant upon and shaped by its era's modes of textual production. As I will discuss, seventeenth-century prophetic texts often contain particularly detailed and self-reflective discussions of their journey into print or manuscript. Such works often open with descriptions of a compulsion to write and communicate, and they frequently contain attempts to explain and justify aspects of their textual format and style. These discussions offer valuable insights into the broader attitudes towards book production as a mode of spiritual communication. I will consider these wider cultural significations as I examine how individual prophetic women, and their supporters, navigated the processes of early modern textual production in order to continue a biblical tradition of 'bookish' prophecy in the seventeenth century.

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[84] Green, p. 1.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., p. 3.

Structure of the thesis

The bibliographic analysis in this thesis will be developed across four chapters, each based on a case study premised on, and testing, the value of applying my methodological approach to a variety of prophetic texts. The subject of my first chapter is Grace Cary, a widow residing in Monmouthshire, who received divinely inspired visions and warnings about England's fate. An account of Cary's religious experiences circulated in various manuscripts during the 1640s before being printed in a pamphlet entitled *Vox Coeli* in 1646. My chapter uses this range of print and manuscript material to ask: how do different textual formats mediate and frame the same prophetic discourse in different ways? Additionally, this opening case study allows me to concentrate on the readership (and anticipated readership) of women's prophecy. As I will demonstrate, Cary's works demonstrate how individual copies of prophetic texts might invite, and reveal evidence of, different modes of reader engagement.

In my second chapter, I begin to ask how individual copies of prophetic discourse might be interconnected and linked. In order to do so, I focus on the millenarian prophet Anna Trapnel, whose final volume of prophecies (printed in c. 1659) revises material already printed in one of her earlier publications. In this chapter, I document the productional interrelationship between these two works, whilst considering their typographic connection to a broader network of textual objects. Here, my analysis of Trapnel's textual communities also investigates the co-created nature of her works. In particular, this chapter establishes and explores the influential role that printers and compositors played in mediating women's prophetic discourse and its reception. Thus, in addition to tracing the printers and productional techniques that shaped Trapnel's publications, this chapter will also ask: how might a work's typographic features influence the semantic interpretation of women's prophetic discourse? Often, these aspects of the material text can appear to support a woman's spiritual message, but they also have the potential to introduce interpretative tensions and contradictions.

This appraisal of the complex connection between textual form and textual meaning is continued in my third case study. In Chapter Three, I assess the negotiations of mediated authority involved in producing prophetic works through a study of *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* (printed in seven editions between 1647 and 1658). In this text, the nonconformist minister Henry Jessey claims to offer a faithful relation of Sarah Wight's prophetic utterances. These productional circumstances enable me to ask: how might the form of a material text help to support (or undermine) a prophet and her relator's claims to authority? Moreover, this chapter is particularly interested in highlighting and examining the semantic implications of unintended textual features, and in contemplating ways in which a work's material form might signal modes of passive and inactive production. Finally, this chapter furthers my thesis's examination of prophecy's textual multiplicities through an analysis of the many successive editions of *The Exceeding Riches* printed in the seventeenth century.

The interventions staged by multiple acts of textual production are also scrutinised in my final case study chapter. Here, I discuss the prolific publications of Lady Eleanor Davies, whose prophetic discourse is characterised by dense typological exegeses that posit connections between events of the past, present and future. My chapter considers how these cross-temporal interpretations were supported and materialised by the forms of Davies's texts. In contrast to the previous chapter's emphasis on passive and unintended textual features, this chapter attends to careful and deliberate manipulations of type and defiant acts of publication that restated and recontextualised Davies's earlier discourse. In the course of this case study, I will ask: how did readers respond to Davies's printed exegeses, and were her texts effective in establishing her religious authority? As a remarkably industrious creator of texts, Davies is a fitting subject with which to conclude my study of prophecy's productional multiplicities.

The four prophets discussed in this thesis are all very different from each other. Eleanor Davies was a wealthy noblewoman, and Anna Trapnel was the daughter of a London shipwright. Sarah Wight was a bedbound fifteen-year-old when her prophetic discourse was recorded by Henry Jessey, whereas Grace Cary was a widow who travelled

across the country to deliver her prophecies to the King and who wrote down her experiences for herself. The forms in which these women's texts were recorded also vary: they range from presentation manuscripts to printed pamphlets, and from a 990-page folio to single-sheet printings of petitions. However, what unites these disparate case studies is that Cary, Trapnel, Wight and Davies all claimed to have a divinely inspired discourse to communicate to others. Moreover, each woman's mode of prophetic communication is characterised by some form of textual co-creation and multiplicity. Their discourses are mediated (and remediated) by a variety of different textual formats, copies and editions, which are shaped by readers, relators, compositors and printers.

Collectively, the case studies of this thesis allow me to argue that prophecy is a spiritual genre in which the material text and its production play an important signifying role. Whilst prophecy is framed as a product of direct divine inspiration, it is also a multiply mediated discourse, which is authorised and understood through multiple, co-created pages.

Chapter 1: 'It will come as well in Print, as it did before in writ': paratexts, juxtatexts and the different textual forms of Grace Cary's prophecy

Introduction

My thesis's four case studies begin here with an analysis of the prophecies of Grace Cary, a widow residing in Monmouthshire, on the border between England and Wales. Today, Cary's discourse survives in multiple manuscript and printed texts. In this chapter, these assorted textual witnesses will allow me to ask: how might a handwritten text mediate a prophetic discourse in a different way to a printed one? And, as critics, how should we seek to appraise a single prophecy's multiple textual forms?

Cary's religious experiences are recorded in the printed pamphlet, *Vox Coeli to England, or England's Forewarning from Heaven* (1646). This short text informs its readers that Cary received a series of divine messages in 1639, which included an ominous vision in 'the perfect shape of a Kings head and face without a body, which looked very pale and […] bloodie'.[87] *Vox Coeli* further explains that, following this gruesome revelation about the fate of the English monarch, Cary experienced a 'strong call from God both inwardly and outwardly, to follow the King […] saying to her, *The King, the King; The King, and Kingdome is in danger'* (B1^{v}). Obeying that call, Cary managed to present a written account of her warnings to King Charles I at Richmond in 1639, but, unfortunately, the distracted ruler was 'about to take horse' and so only 'slightly view'd over' the manuscript before 'he rendred her the said petition' back (B2^{r}). Cary is then reported to have felt a compulsion to follow the King and his Court across the country to York. However, arriving in the politically volatile city in the early autumn of 1640, Cary failed once again to obtain an attentive royal audience for her prophecy before the King returned South in October.[88]

[87] Theophilus Philalethes Toxander, *Vox Coeli to England, or England's Forewarning from Heaven* (London: 1646), B1^{r}. All further references to this text will be provided as in-text citations.
[88] I have inferred that Cary arrived in York in the autumn of 1640 on the grounds that *Vox Coeli* states she arrived only after 'the *Scots* had [...] taken in Newcastle' (B2^{r}). The Scots are reported to have seized the keys to the town of Newcastle on 30 August 1640 (see Dr. Pocklington's letter, London, The National Archives, SP 16/467, f.

Four years after these thwarted attempts to deliver her prophecies to the King directly, Cary was 'at last induced by divers persons of eminent qualitie' to instead 'relate in writ, and represent the truth […] to some select, zealous, and religious Christians which was done, and the Copy dated *Apr.* 1644' (A2^{v}). Two years after those 'writ' manuscripts were prepared, the pamphlet *Vox Coeli* was printed, because 'by some […] it is thought expedient to publish it [Cary's prophecy] for the common good' (A2^{v}). The title page of *Vox Coeli* declares that it was prepared not by Cary herself but 'by Theophilus Philalethes Toxander'. I have not discovered the identity of the figure behind this tongue-twisting pseudonym, who does not claim authorship of any other surviving early modern texts.[89] What Toxander's preface to *Vox Coeli* does reveal is that, following the initial visions Cary received in 1639, her prophetic message travelled across geographic terrain (from the West Country, to London, to York) and across multiple different textual formats (from the account briefly handed to the King at Richmond, to the manuscripts prepared for 'select' Christians in 1644, to Toxander's pamphlet printed for 'the common good' in 1646). In this way, Cary's texts demonstrate the capacity for a single seventeenth-century prophecy to be mediated through multiple different material forms over several years.

Several of the different textual accounts of Cary's prophecy still survive today. In addition to copies of Toxander's printed pamphlet *Vox Coeli* (1646) there are two complete manuscript copies of Cary's discourse extant. One of these manuscripts is held at

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127). Since King Charles I had left York and was on his return southward by 21 October 1640 we can assume that Cary lobbied him in York between the end of August and late October 1640 (see Secretary Vane's letter, London, The National Archives, SP 16/470, f. 56). Letters written from York during this period depict a highly volatile atmosphere, as residents feared that the Scots were now marching towards their city and the streets were flooded by 'unseasonably' bad weather (see John Lanyon's letter from 4 September 1640 and the Earl of Strafford's letter from 24 August 1640, London, The National Archives, SP 16/466 f. 175 and SP 16/464 f. 203). It is astonishing that Cary managed to travel to and stay in York during this period of turmoil. It is far less astonishing that the harried monarch did not have time to receive her whilst they were both in the city.

[89] Rory Tanner only notes that this is a 'colourful' pseudonym revealing 'the editor's characterization of himself as one who loves God and truth'; see Tanner, p. 87, n. 2. Like the pseudonymous author of *Vox Coeli*, many seventeenth-century religious writers adopted Theophilus (Greek for 'lover of God') as a pseudonym. For example, the religious polemicist Henry Hickman (c.1629–1692) published pamphlets under the name 'Theophilus Churchman', and a frank attack on Lord Digby was published in 1642 under the lengthy pseudonym 'Theophilus Philanax Gerusiphilus Philalethes Decius'; see Stephen Wright 'Hickman, Henry (*bap.* 1629, *d.* 1692)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press: 2008) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13212> [accessed 31 May 2017] and *An Answer to the Lord George Digbies Apology for Himself* (London: 1642). The name 'Philalethes' translates from the Greek as 'lover of truth'. However, the third component of *Vox Coeli's* authorial pseudonym, 'Toxander', is more difficult to account for. 'Toxander' may be the author's real name, however I have been unable to trace any further usage of it.

Cambridge University Library and the other at the British Library.[90] Internal evidence suggests that these manuscripts were produced in 1643 and 1644 respectively.[91] Notably, both volumes contain very similar text to *Vox Coeli*, which suggests that Toxander's later printed pamphlet was closely based on these (or, similar and now non-extant) handwritten predecessors. Both manuscripts contain an extremely similar text to each other, although the Cambridge volume does include some marginal glosses that are absent from the British Library's copy.[92] Both manuscripts are also bound in matching volumes with near identical seventeenth-century bindings. Each volume has two clasps, a simple frame of gold and blind tooling and the prophet's initials 'G. C.' set around a central golden fleuron of foliage. The two manuscripts are also written in a very similar italic hand, which strongly implies that both volumes were the product of the same writer.

The survival of these two handwritten volumes, along with the extant copies of the printed text *Vox Coeli*, provides a rare opportunity to read the same prophetic text in both manuscript and print. As such, Cary's works enable this opening chapter to examine the very particular semantic impacts produced by different material textual forms. In this chapter, I will assess what it means to encounter a woman's prophecy on a handwritten page, whilst considering how the printing press might mediate (or be perceived to mediate) the same spiritual discourse in an alternate way.

This chapter will also take account of the arrangement of textual materials within prophecy's textual objects. Here, I will argue that the materials presented at the beginning of a prophetic text, such as opening dedications and introductory prefaces, establish specific interpretative frameworks for understanding that prophecy as a reader. In addition to these contemporaneously composed texts, over time women's prophecies also come to share material textual space with other examples of writing. Inscribed in composite manuscript

[90] London, The British Library, Egerton MS 1044. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library CAMB ADD MS 32.
[91] The British Library manuscript is dated 'June: 1644' on fol. 3^{r}, but the Cambridge manuscript does not have a date on its title page. However, the Cambridge manuscript does state that Cary's visions in 1639 occurred 'foure yeeres since' (fol. 4^{r}), which suggests it was written in around 1643.
[92] The Cambridge manuscript also includes an additional acrostic verse on its final page, in which the initial letters of each line spell out the name of the biblical prophet 'Daniel'. The verse appears to be an original composition written in the same hand as the main narrative.

volumes, a prophetic discourse might later become neighbour to texts added by the book's owners. What might the presence and arrangement of these paratexts and juxtatexts (two terms I will define and explore in detail below) reveal about the reception, or anticipated reception, of seventeenth-century prophetic discourse? Moreover, how do these proximate textual materials mediate a prophecy for readers, by suggesting and encouraging different readings of a prophet and her discourse?

Dedications and the paratextual framing of Cary's prophecy

As I discussed in my thesis introduction, James Fisher's *The Wise Virgin* (1653) begins with a portrait of Martha Hatfield (Figure 0.1, p. 3). This image initiates the work with an evocation of the original moment of prophetic oration and is cropped to display the isolated body of the prophet. In contrast, both surviving Cary manuscript volumes begin with initial dedications to a reader, which focuses the opening emphasis in these texts on the reading recipients of the prophecy. The British Library's volume of Cary's prophecy opens with the following words:

> For the right worthy and worshipfull my
> much honored good friend Sir Beniamin
> Reager Knight these be presented:
> with all health grace and peace wished.
> Per me G:C:[93]

Meanwhile, the Cambridge University Library's text commences with the following statement:

> For his Excellence the Earle of
> Essex: generall of the Armye
> Raised for the Kinge and:
> Parlament.

[93] London, The British Library, Egerton MS 1044, fol. 2^{r}. All further references to this manuscript will be provided as in-text citations preceded by the acronym 'BL'.

G:C:[94]

Both ‘Sir Beniamin Reager’ and the ‘Earle of Essex’ probably represent two of the ‘select, zealous, and religious Christians’ for whom (according to *Vox Coeli*’s account) manuscript copies of Cary’s prophetic visions were ‘writ’ (A2^{v}).

The introductory dedications in Cary’s manuscripts might be labelled ‘paratexts’, a term employed by Gerard Genette to describe the ‘productions’ that ‘surround’ and ‘extend’ a text but that might not conventionally be regarded as forming part of the main text itself.[95] In his influential study *Paratexts* (1987 [English translation in 1997]), Genette catalogues examples of paratextual ‘peritexts’ that occupy the same volume as a work, including illustrations, title pages, prefaces, indexes and dedicatory inscriptions.[96] According to Genette, these apparently supplementary textual materials are in fact instrumental in enabling ‘a text to become a book and to be offered as such to readers’, and therefore paratextual material constitutes a ‘privileged place of pragmatics’ as a ‘threshold’ that influences and enables the reception of a text ‘as a book’.[97] Thus, to apply Genette’s terminology, the dedications that we find at the start of Cary’s prophecy form part of a peritextual scaffold that shapes her religious discourse into a material text ‘offered […] to readers’. These opening dedications, which declare Cary’s words to be ‘For […] Sir Beniamin Reager Knight’ or ‘For his Excellence the Earle of Essex’, are paratexts that explicitly confirm the transformation of Cary’s personal spiritual experiences into a textual object that is transferred from her (‘G:C:’) to particular readers. In his work on paratexts, Genette argues that, in order to understand these textual materials properly, the critic must consider the ‘place, time, substance, or pragmatic regime’ of the paratextual performance, for example by analysing when and to whom a work was dedicated.[98]

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[94] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library CAMB ADD MS 32, fol. 3^{r}. All further references to this manuscript will be provided as in-text citations preceded by the acronym ‘CAM’.
[95] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.
[96] Ibid., p. 5.
[97] Ibid., pp. 1–2.
[98] Ibid., p. 12.

In the case of the Cambridge manuscript volume of Cary's prophecy, the paratextual dedication is addressed to 'his Excellence the Earle of Essex: generall of the Armye raised for the Kinge and Parlament' (CAM, fol. 3^{r}). Later in the same text we are told that Cary's divinely inspired visions of 1639 were 'shewed foure yeeres' ago, which dates this manuscript to around 1643 (CAM, fol. 4^{r}).[99] At this time, the Earl of Essex (Robert Devereux, 1591–1646), was, as Cary's dedication states, the Lord General in charge of the parliament's military forces. By the end of 1643, Essex's forces had relieved the city of Gloucester from Royalist siege and defeated the King's forces at the Battle of Newbury in a pivotal victory. However, the phrasing of Cary's dedication frames the Earl of Essex's army as one 'raised for the Kinge and Parlament' (CAM, fol. 3^{r}). Described in this way, Essex's forces are carefully presented in Cary's manuscript as a body acting on behalf of both the Parliament *and* King, rather than as a force actively engaged in vanquishing Charles's royalist army.

This characterisation of Essex in Cary's dedication may be an astute reference to the fact that Essex was seen by many in 1643 to be using his power to attempt to broker a reconciliation between Parliament and King. In July 1643, Essex wrote a well-publicised letter to Parliament complaining that in order to supply his army it was 'impossible to keep the Countries from being plundered', and the 'Countries must suffer much wrong, and the cries of poor People are infinite'.[100] To end this suffering, Essex urged Parliament to 'send to his Maiestie to have Peace […] and to bring unto just Triall those chiefe Delinquents that have brought all this mischiefe to both Kingdomes'.[101] The disillusionment with military action articulated in this letter by Essex was viewed with suspicion in many quarters, and the historian John Morrill has suggested that these attitudes contributed to Essex's progressive 'eclipse' as commanding Lord General from 1644 to 1645.[102] Indeed, the printed version of

[99] A later hand has written 'Visions of Grace Carye. 1639' on the Cambridge volume's inside cover. However, this attributed date is clearly inaccurate given that the Earl of Essex did not become General of the Army until 1642.
[100] Robert Devereux, *The Earle of Essex: His Letter to Master Speaker July 9. 1643* (Oxford: 1643), A3^{r}.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Essex officially resigned in 1645 but long before this date the army's regional generals and officers (for example Sir William Waller) were acting outside of his command. See John Morrill, 'Devereux, Robert, third earl

Essex's July 1643 letter reports that when Essex's encouragements to make peace with the King were read aloud in parliament 'such a noise was made, and such a dust raised, both in the House, and among their faction' that 'abhorre the very name of Peace'.[103] This account suggests that Essex's calls for peace and reconciliation with the King were met with open derision and contempt by many members of parliament.

However, despite the public criticisms that Essex was garnering at this time, the dedication to him in Cary's manuscript certainly suggests some level of continued approval for 'his excellence' the Earl of Essex's conciliatory approach (CAM, fol. 3^{r}). Moreover, elements of the pacifist imagery and language used in Essex's controversial July 1643 letter are also echoed in Cary's prophetic manuscript. For example, some of the auditory and visual messages Cary receives from God are described in the volume as follows:

> diuers hidious shricks and outcries; as of people opprest […] as also
> a sound of war […] shew of bloud; and to her hearinge volues of
> shott as if manie Pystolls and musketts, had bin at once discharged[.]
> (CAM, fol. 9^{r})

In this passage, Cary is exposed to a terrifying soundscape of war. Like Essex's haunting observation that the 'cries of poor People are infinite', Cary recognises the 'sound' of war as one identifiable by the continued 'outcries' of suffering people. Cary also shares Essex's desire to seek reconciliation when she later prays for 'the allmightie maiestie of heauen to vnite the hart of King and parlament vnanamouslye as the hart of one man' (CAM, fol. 17^{r}). Here, Cary suggests that her disturbing vision of a chaotic crowd of diffuse suffering 'people opprest' must be resolved by the warring factions becoming united as 'one man' in the King. Similarly, in Essex's letter to the House, he advocates abating the nation's collective suffering through appeals to the King as an individual and unifying figure. Given their similarities in attitude and expression, the dedication of Cary's manuscript to the Earl of

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of Essex (1591–1646)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press: 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566> [accessed 9 May 2017].

[103] Devereux, B1^{r}. It should be noted that this text was a Royalist publication printed in Oxford, therefore it may have been more inclined to depict the parliament's MPs as a war hungry mob.

Essex appears to have been a considered act of textual association. Through its dedication to Essex, Cary's prophecy indicates its support for a public figure already known to be sympathetic to the political views Cary herself expounds.

In a similar way, the British Library's manuscript is also dedicated to a public figure who seemed to share Cary's outlook on contemporary affairs. The British Library manuscript is dedicated to 'Sir Beniamin Reager Knight' (BL, fol. 2^{r}). Given that my archival searches for a 'Sir Beniamin Reager' have all proved unsuccessful, it seems most likely that Cary is referring here to Sir Benjamin Rudyerd (1572–1658). Cary's British Library manuscript is dated 1644, in which year Rudyerd was a fairly prominent Member of Parliament. In other seventeenth-century manuscript sources, Rudyerd's name is spelt in a variety of ways by writers: for example he is often referred to as 'Rudyar', 'Rudgers', 'Rudiere' and 'Ridiar'.[104] These variant spellings suggest that the 'd' at the end of Sir Benjamin Rudyerd's surname was often unstressed or dropped, and that it was possible to hear the consonant cluster in the middle of his name as a 'g' sound. Thus, it is plausible that 'Reager' marks a further example of a phonetic or creative spelling of 'Rudyerd', in which the central vowel pairing of 'ea' is to be pronounced as an 'uh' sound (as found in the contemporary pronunciation of 'dearth'), and the 'ger' as a soft ending (as in 'badger' or 'merger').[105] Thus, I would propose that the British Library manuscript's 'Reager' is likely to be a phonetic spelling of 'Rudyerd'. Certainly, lists of the Knights and Members of the Houses of Parliament from this period contain no other Sir Benjamins with surnames that could more conceivably be rendered by Cary as 'Reager' than Rudyerd.[106]

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[104] See *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700*, <https://celm2.dighum.kcl.ac.uk/authors/rudyerdsirbenjamin.html> [accessed 10 January 2018].

[105] My theory might be challenged by Richard Grant White's suggestion that during this period 'ea' was frequently pronounced as a broad 'a' (with 'heard' sounding more like the modern pronunciation of 'hard'). However, Grant White also notes that this appears to have been variable, for example 'beard' often appears to have been pronounced '*burd*- the sound of the same letters in *heard* at this day'; Grant White is quoted in Alexander J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation, with Especial Reference to Shakspere* [sic] *and Chaucer*, vol. 3 (London: Asher & Co. 1871), p. 967.

[106] See, for example, Anon, *The Names of all the Knights and Burgesses in the House of Parl. Nov. 3. 1640* ([London]: [1654]).

Given the high-profile nature of Cary's other known dedicatee (the Earl of Essex) it seems unlikely that the British Library volume would have been addressed to someone obscure enough to be untraceable now. Fittingly, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd appears to have been fairly well known in the 1640s because his speeches to parliament were frequently printed and circulated in manuscript.[107] For example, in 1642, Rudyerd delivered an oration to the House that soon appeared in print in which he argued that 'propositions of peace' should be sent to the King since '*A Civill war is a two-edged Sword, it cuts and devoures on both sides'* and '*God will blesse us more in a Treaty, then in more Bloud'.*[108] With this exhortation for peace, Rudyerd's printed speech reveals a political stance that again echoes Cary's (and the Earl of Essex's) own support for reconciliation with the King as a means of ending the collective sufferings of war.

In order to identify Rudyerd and Essex as suitable, and potentially sympathetic, recipients for her prophecy, Cary (like me) may well have read the men's printed speeches and noted their articulation of political views similar to those expounded in her own prophetic discourse. If Cary did read and assess the writing of her dedicatees in this way, then her work's signed paratextual dedications to Rudyerd and Essex signify as requests for reciprocal reading. By dedicating her text to them, Cary asks Rudyerd and Essex to pay attention to her writing in a way that might mirror her own favourable assessment of their political publications. Thus, whilst Cary's dedications reveal an astute awareness of the attitudes and discourse of men in power, they also indicate her desire to participate in those debates, and to have her own discourse read and considered by the men with whom she had identified an ideological affinity.

However, Cary's signed dedications to Rudyerd and Essex are also radical in a way that goes beyond a woman requesting mutual esteem from male authority figures. By addressing her writing to the attention of these specific high-status writers Cary also seems

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[107] For a list of some of these speeches see Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. 3 (London: 1817), p. 456.
[108] Benjamin Rudyerd, *Rudyerd His Speech for Proposition of Peace to be Sent to His Majestie* (London: 1642), $A2^{v}$, $A4^{r}$

to be attempting to enact the political changes her prophetic discourse advocates. For example, when Cary prophesies in the text that God wishes that 'all gods faithfull ministers and seruants in suffering might haue their freedome', this is perhaps not merely a revelation of an injustice abhorred by God, but an active call to redress that wrong (BL, fol. 15^{r}). In 1644 (when the British Library's Cary manuscript is dated), the work's dedicatee, Rudyerd, had just been appointed to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which was a body responsible for restructuring the Church of England. Consequently, Cary's dedicatee was capable of legislating to grant the religious 'freedom' to 'all gods faithfull ministers' advocated for in her prophetic text. In this way, the dedications in Cary's volumes reveal her ambition to have her discourse read by those she admired, but they may also evidence a strategic endeavour to enact political and religious change through addressing the prophecy to men with the power to take action.

The dedications in Cary's manuscripts also signify a moment of power for the prophet herself. As Genette writes in *Paratexts*, 'the dedication always is a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual or personal, actual or symbolic'.[109] Accordingly, by directing her manuscript volumes to the readership of Rudyerd and Essex, Cary confidently assumes the right to name and address high-status men and to claim an association between herself and them. For Genette, these dedicatory proclamations also represent 'an extreme case of paratextual efficiency', since written dedications possess a performative 'illocutionary force' allowing them to enact what they describe.[110] In essence, by writing that her prophecy is 'for' Rudyerd and Essex, Cary makes this a reality, even if the men themselves never actually received or read her words. The prominent opening position of these dedications requires that readers begin Cary's manuscript in the knowledge that the ensuing text is addressed to the individuals she names as its readers.

[109] Genette, p. 135.
[110] Ibid., p. 12, p. 10.

In addition, there is a self-affirming power in the way in which Cary signs both of her illocutionary dedications with her own initials 'G: C:'. Genette notes that signed dedications like these represent 'exhibitionist authorial postures', with the answer to the question 'who dedicates?' revealing an authorial figure keen to assume public responsibility for a work they feel authorised to dedicate.[111] Notably, in both of Cary's manuscripts the prophet's initials are written using particularly large letter forms, which outsize the rendering of her dedicatee's names (See Figure 1.1, below, for the dedication in the Cambridge manuscript). This chirographic arrangement further accentuates the sense that Cary's signed dedication represents an exhibitionist demonstration of her proud authorial responsibility for a text that she frames and dedicates as she wishes.

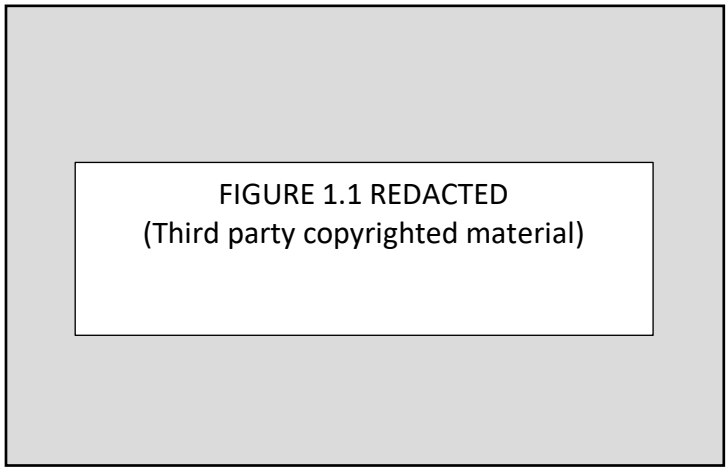

Figure 1.1 Cambridge University Library, CAM MS ADD 32, fol. 3^{r} (detail).

Perhaps this display of authorial ownership and dedication seems a surprising paratext to discover on the first page of a religious prophecy. Instead, we might expect a divinely inspired prophecy to be presented as a textual object belonging to God. Certainly, in the narrative that follows her manuscripts' dedications, Cary's personal responsibility for the prophecy's publication is heavily downplayed. For example, the text explains that Cary initially prayed to God to 'spare her' from the duty of communicating the divine visions and messages she received to others (BL, fol. 12^{r}). The reader is told that Cary only became a

[111] Ibid., p. 129.

public communicator of her religious discourse when she ‘saw manifestly that she must obey the heauenly call; though her owne brethren; kindred; and her owne disinclination; strongly diswaded her’ (BL, fol. 12^{r}). As such, Cary’s written prophecy is presented, like that of many biblical prophets, as a publication directed and instigated by God in contravention of her own inclination or agency. Nonetheless, by signing the dedications ‘G: C:’ and by rendering her initials in confidently large letters, Cary also openly asserts a personal responsibility for the manuscripts that claims a licence to govern their conveyance to particular readers.

In contrast, the printed text *Vox Coeli* constructs a very different paratextual framework for Cary’s prophecy. In print, Cary’s discourse is not aimed at any specific dedicatees or readers. Instead, *Vox Coeli*’s title page simply explains that the text is broadly ‘published to all that love Christ and his Kingdom in sincerity’ (A1^{r}). Following this title page, a preface is addressed simply ‘To the Christian Reader’ and begins ‘Beloved Brother, whosoever thou art […] thou needst not doubt of the truth of this Relation, nor foredeem it as a forgerie’ (A2^{r}). It was not uncommon for printed religious pamphlets during this period to include introductory dedications to specific individuals, or to list the identities of readers and any known supporters of the work. However, *Vox Coeli* openly declares its ignorance of any specific potential readership, and instead addresses its preface to ‘whosoever thou art’. This printed preface even states a disinclination to ‘name’ any of the individual readers who had requested the pamphlet’s publication, as it is ‘not fitting so to do without their consent’ (A2^{r}).

In part, the printed text’s reticence to name any specific addressees may originate from its stated awareness that the publication of Cary’s prophecy in 1646 (two years after her manuscripts, and seven years after her visions) is ‘somewhat late’ in communicating her message (A4^{r}). The Earl of Essex had been forced to resign as army general in 1645 and in September 1646 he died of a stroke. Since the British Library’s copy of *Vox Coeil* is dated by the book collector George Thomason as having been acquired by him on ‘Novemb: 16th 1646’, it would seem that Essex was no longer an active political power by the time Cary’s

prophecy became available to readers in this printed form.[112] Thus, the omission of the names of Cary's previous dedicatees was possibly a deliberate strategy of distancing Cary's printed text from the (now dated) political and temporal situation for which its manuscripts had been prepared.

Additionally, though, by relinquishing control of its readership, *Vox Coeli* claims a right to the attention of 'all that love Christ', and thus embraces an ability to widely disseminate Cary's prophecy. In this way, the lack of named dedicatees in the printed *Vox Coeli* allows for a dismantling of the intimate (and potentially problematically self-assertive) framing that the personalised dedications grant Cary's prophecy in its manuscript forms. In the manuscript volumes, the personalised paratextual dedications position Cary's prophecy as a textual object prepared by her for known and admired individuals already somewhat sympathetic to her message. Meanwhile, the printed pamphlet seems less assured of a welcoming readership, but nevertheless welcomes this opportunity to change numerous minds. Thus, *Vox Coeli*'s paratextual preface assures its unknown readers that the work is not a 'forgerie', and later requests that they 'lay aside prejudice, and read it over but with unbyassed affections […] if thou wilt be curious to put it so far to the triall' ($A2^{r}$). Despite this apparent awareness of the potential for a hostile response, the printed text still expresses a conviction that all members of this wider and unknown readership 'canst have nothing but edification' from its religious message ($A2^{v}$).

In this way, we can see how particular paratexts act, as Genette suggests, as a kind of 'threshold' that mediates and remediates a prophetic discourse in ways that both anticipate and influence a reader's reception. Cary's manuscript dedications seem to reveal this prophet's astute consciousness of contemporary political affairs, as through them her prophecy is framed as a discourse of interest to powerful figures who shared the same

[112] London, The British Library, E.362.(10.), $A1^{r}$. Thomason regularly annotated texts with the date on which he obtained them, and he regularly acquired texts shortly after they were printed. For more on Thomason's annotations and book-collecting, see Michael Mendle, 'Preserving the Ephemeral', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 201-26 (p. 210).

political outlooks as her and who possessed the powers to enact the changes she advocated for. However, the personalised manuscript dedications also function as exhibitionist displays of authorial responsibility, and this seems to contradict the prophet's claims regarding her discourse's divinely compelled and controlled authority. This tension may be lessened in the printed version of the same prophecy, which lacks the same intimate paratextual framing, and instead positions Cary's spiritual message as a beneficial text open to an unknown and uncontrolled readership.

Cary's prophecy in manuscript and print

Following their paratextual dedications, the two surviving manuscript volumes of Cary's prophecy provide a preface addressed 'To the wise godly reader'. Though this preface is only signed 'Amen', this opening missive is framed as Cary's own introduction to the work. Conventionally enough, the preface includes wishes for the reader's good health and enjoyment of the text. However, in addition, the paratext also provides an explanation for Cary's discourse being presented in a manuscript rather than a printed text. This passage provides an example of a prophet self-consciously detailing the attitudes and deliberations that shaped her prophecy's material textual form, and thus warrants quoting at length:

> To the wise godly reader:
>
> Concerning the reason why this truth was put in a forme with so large a preface, was with an intent by some to haue it publisht, but vpon more serious consideration; and zealous praiers to god, with aduice of gods people; by the principall herein, it was hindered, and that for two or three reasons: First thinking it very vnfit that such a diuine heauenly truth; should be made common in these times; wherin so many falsities and false printed papers are set forth, And Secondly comminge to the view of the meaner sort of voulgar people; by slanderous mouthes; it might somwhat eclipts the truth hereof: therefore vpon good advice, and the desire of many, worthy for

> wisedome, zeale, pyetye, and honor which although more in value for the writing; doe much desire it, in this forme and fashion[.] (BL, 5^{r})

Here, Cary indicates that there was originally a plan to have her prophecy 'publisht' to a wider audience. However, this intention was 'hindered' in favour of the copies prepared in the 'forme and fashion' of the current prefaced manuscript, aimed (as my analysis of its dedications has discussed) at a more select readership of 'worthy' individuals.

Cary's preface explains that manuscript publication was selected because the prophet and her supporters foresaw negative consequences if her 'diuine heauenly truth' was made 'common' and indistinguishable from the 'falsities and false printed papers' being issued by the press too. Additionally, print publication is unfavourably characterised in this preface as a form of textual production consumed by a lower class of reader. According to the preface, publication via the printing press would have damagingly exposed Cary's precious spiritual discourse to the slanders of 'the meaner sort of voulgar people'. These strong prejudices against print led to Cary's prophecy being communicated as a manuscript instead. Furthermore, Cary's preface states that the 'serious consideration' given to her prophecy's textual form also involved 'zealous praiers to god'. Thus, the preface suggests that divine guidance, and a distrust of print, contributed to shaping the final 'forme and fashion' of the textual object in the reader's hands.

Despite these preferences and 'praiers' cited in Cary's manuscript preface, a printed copy of her prophecy arrived only two years later. Unsurprisingly, this printed pamphlet, *Vox Coeli* (1646), omits the earlier manuscript's anti-print preface and replaces it instead with a letter from 'the publisher' addressed 'To the Christian Reader' (A2^{r}). The author of this preface appears to be the figure behind the pseudonym 'Theophilus Philalethes Toxander'. In the preface, Toxander confidently states that:

> there be many worthy Christians, to whose hands I doubt not but it [Cary's prophecy] will come as well in Print, as it did before in writ […] If then thou read this with a right disposition, for whose good I

> have published it, thou canst have nothing but edification from it.
>
> (A2^{r}–A2^{v})

With this assertion, Toxander dismisses the notion that different textual mediums could have the power to improve or weaken the reception and value of a woman's spiritual discourse. This new preface entirely omits the manuscript's paratextual concerns that Cary's 'diuine heauenly truth' might be corrupted by print production. Instead, Toxander casually states that the prophecy's edifying value will withstand its shift in medium.

Wendy Wall has observed that, since 'print and manuscript cultures coexisted' in the seventeenth century, 'writers, printers, and patrons negotiated and fashioned competing textual and cultural "authorities" through specific representations of publication'.[113] We can certainly observe this sense of competing authority in the way in which Cary's manuscript preface defends its work's handwritten mode as the more authoritative means of communication by denigrating the alternative medium of print. In contrast, however, Toxander seems to deny that any degree of negotiation or competition is involved in selecting a prophecy's textual form. The paratextual framing of *Vox Coeli* simply states that its printed pages will convey Cary's prophetic message 'as well' as the 'writ' manuscripts that came before.

The arguments about textual form presented in the two prefaces to Cary's prophecy have had a pronounced influence on how Cary's discourse has been understood by critics. For example, the way in which Toxander's preface seems to dismiss so casually the concerns about print propounded in Cary's manuscript has led Margaret Ezell to ask:

> In this war of words, does print push aside the habits of oral petition and manuscript copy? The appropriation of Grace Carrie's voice and text by an apparently male publisher would seem to be a case in point, even though for her, handwriting is sharply distinguished from

[113] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 8–9.

> print in terms of its effects on both the content of the materials and their effects on the audience.[114]

Here, Ezell characterises print as the stronger, more careless combatant, which can push aside the features of a manuscript text and the 'sharply' stated preferences of its author. Importantly, for Ezell, this 'war' of textual forms is gendered, as she portrays Toxander as 'an apparently male publisher' overpowering the voice of a woman. Throughout her scholarship, Ezell has advocated for the importance of studying early modern women's manuscripts.[115] Such manuscripts have often been neglected by a critical tradition that has prioritised studying print publications, which were far more likely to be authored by men during this period. Consequently, Ezell's gendered depiction of the 'war' between Cary's manuscripts and Toxander's *Vox Coeli* seems part of her broader feminist commitment to uncovering women's manuscript texts and battling against a canon dominated by printed texts produced by men.

Ezell's politically charged depictions of a fraught relationship between the print and manuscript forms of Cary's prophecy is also echoed in the scholarship of Rory Tanner. Adopting a similar tone to Ezell's, Tanner describes how 'Toxander seeks to remove the inspired message from the strict care of the prophet to whom it is initially given'.[116] To support this argument, Tanner highlights some of the textual variations between *Vox Coeli* and Cary's earlier manuscripts. For Tanner, these variants represent a 'host of alterations to Cary's text' that point towards Toxander's 'co-opting' of Cary's 'original appeal to Charles with an attempt to defend England's national Church'.[117] For example, whilst in the manuscripts Cary only warns Charles I to ensure that 'all gods faithfull minsters and seruants in suffering might haue their freedome' (BL, fol. 15^{r}); the printed text specifies that these ministers and servants are 'suffering […] under the tyranny and usurpation of Prelates,

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[114] Margaret Ezell, 'Performance Texts: Arise Evans, Grace Carrie, and the Interplay of Oral and Handwritten Traditions During the Print Revolution', *ELH,* 76 (2009), 49–73 (p. 58).
[115] See Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993) and 'The Laughing Tortoise: Speculations on Manuscript Sources and Women's Book History', *English Literary Renaissance*, 38 (2008), 331–55.
[116] Tanner, p. 83.
[117] Ibid., p. 81.

commonly called Anticonformists, Non-conformists, and Puritanes, and sometimes also Sectaries, and Schismaticks' (B3^{r}). This list of religious tyrants and usurpers does not feature in either surviving manuscript account of Cary's prophecy, and thus it appears to be an argument that originates with *Vox Coeli* (or another lost copy-text). For Tanner, this polemical passage, with its 'strategic insertions of new terms', is indicative of a campaign of deliberate 'appropriation' by Toxander, who manipulates Cary's prophecy to further their own political causes.[118] Thus, Tanner concludes that the printed pamphlet 'revises the original manuscript to such an extent that the reader would be mistaken to take Toxander's voice for Cary's own'.[119]

Both Tanner and Ezell depict the printed version of Cary's prophecy negatively, casting *Vox Coeli* as a deliberate and regrettable corruption or 'appropriation' of the female prophet's original voice and intentions. These critical arguments rely upon an understanding that the printed text is shaped by Toxander and the manuscript by Cary, and that both these figures are distinct from each other in terms of their voice, political persuasion and gender. However, such a binary opposition is challenging to support. We do not know for certain that Cary wrote the manuscript volumes of her prophecy herself, and these texts may well be the work of a scribe or amanuensis. Indeed, the narrative of Cary's prophesying is not written in the first person, which certainly complicates our ability to directly attribute this work to Cary's 'own' voice. Moreover, the manuscript's preface states that Cary was advised and influenced by a group of 'gods people', thus openly proclaiming this textual account to be a collaborative production, not the work of one woman. In a similar way, we do not know who Toxander was, or whether he/she (we never learn their gender) was writing under the direction, or perhaps with the full support, of Cary herself. As such, can we even be sure that Toxander and Cary are two separate people? At the very least, we cannot confirm that there was not another (now no longer extant) manuscript in circulation, which might have more directly matched the text in *Vox Coeli*.

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[118] Ibid., p. 85.
[119] Ibid., p. 81.

All these factors should make us cautious about attributing the textual and material differences between the manuscript and printed versions of Cary's prophecy to a dichotomy between two distinct and opposed perspectives. Furthermore, positing such a combative relationship between these two material textual forms has the potential to perpetuate a restrictively hierarchical view of early modern textual production. Indeed, staging *Vox Coeli* as a negative corruption of an earlier, and somehow more legitimate and valuable, manuscript version of Cary's prophecy risks simply reshuffling and repeating the kinds of critical biases against certain textual forms that scholars, including Ezell, have worked to challenge. I would argue that, whilst it is important to direct critical attention to the overlooked manuscripts of early modern women, it is counter-productive to do so by simply reversing and restating hierarchies between print and manuscript, or by making unsupportable claims regarding textual originality and authorial intention.

Admittedly, the anti-print sentiment in Ezell and Tanner is influenced by the preface in the manuscript version of Cary's prophecy, which articulates such strong opinions about textual form. The passion in Cary's manuscript preface has been interpreted as a summons to bear witness to what goes awry when the woman's prophecy is subjected to the printing press it claims to dread. However, I would suggest that we might also read Cary's manuscript preface as an invitation to consider more broadly the differences and semantic implications (rather than just the negatives) wrought by a shift in textual medium. What different interpretations are made possible and forwarded by the alternate textual forms of Cary's prophecy? And how do the handwritten and printed text establish the authority of the woman's prophetic identity in different ways?

In addition to the paratextual changes discussed in the previous section, a major difference between the manuscript and print versions of Cary's discourse is perhaps that the manuscript's rendering of Cary's prophecy more directly signals a single body's responsibility for having created the textual account. Seventeenth-century men and women often perceived a particularly intimate connection between body and text in manuscript writing. For example, in *The Pens Excellencie* (1618) the writing tutor Martin Billingsley

suggests that handwriting is 'the key which opens a passage to the descrying and finding out of innumerable treasures' and 'the very mouth whereby a man familiarly conferreth with his friend'.[120] Similarly, John Matlock's *Introduction (By Way of Dialogue) to the Best Forms and Proportions of All Letters* (1685) begins in praise of the way in which handwriting allows us to 'give direction for our Foreign business, though we stay at home' and 'confer with our absent Friend […] as if we should whisper in one anothers Ear'.[121] These descriptions reveal that manuscript texts were often believed to permit a particularly intimate and embodied connection between reader and writer. Indeed, Billingsley describes handwriting *as* the writer's 'very mouth', and Matlock suggests that manuscripts might manifest an author's physical presence by whispering in a friend's ear.

In both Matlock's and Billingsley's descriptions of manuscript communication, there is a conflation of the handwritten text and the body that produced it. This is also reflected in this period's frequent use of the word 'hand' to describe an author's writing style. Such anthropomorphised descriptions stem from the very obviously embodied processes required to produce handwritten texts. In his guide to writing, Matlock details these necessarily bodily motions, instructing the would-be writer to: 'place your Elbow close to your Body, and your Hand straight from you […] Then observe to sit upright […] Then hold your Pen between your two Fore-fingers and Thumb […] rested upon the end of your Second Finger close to the Nail', etc.[122] Here, the writer's whole body is engaged, as body, pen and page collaborate in a personalised act of textual production.

Thus, the handwritten form of Cary's prophecy signals the operation of a single physical body in the text's production: an elbow is held close, a hand extends straight and its fingers, thumbs and nail control the pen. This sense of a particularly personal and embodied style of textual mediation matches the physical ways in which Cary receives her prophetic

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[120] Martin Billingsley, *The Pen's Excellencie, or The Secretaries Delight* ([London]: [1618]), C2^{v}–C3^{r}. Billingsley is quoted in Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 130.
[121] John Matlock, *Fax Nova Artis Scribendi, or, An Introduction (By Way of Dialogue) to the Best Forms and Proportions of All Letters* (London: 1685), A2^{v}.
[122] Ibid., B3^{r}.

messages from God. For example, Cary is reported to have experienced a 'signe of gods presence […] expressed in the appearance of glorious I lights' and a 'vehement rushing wind; which entred euen into her eares; three seuerall tymes' (BL, fol. 10^{r}). We are also informed that 'she 'heard also very senciblely as it were whipping and lashing of' God's people 'to drive them from the Church' (BL, fol. 11^{r}). On these occasions, God does not deliver his warnings and messages in linguistic form, but by flooding the prophet's senses with sights, sounds and sensations. Thus, the manuscript's *hand*written form provides a fittingly embodied way to record prophecies originally communicated sensorially through the prophet's physical body.

Of course, this sense of an affinity between the textual form and the original delivery of Cary's prophecies is strengthened if we assume that the manuscript record was produced by Cary's own body. It is, though, possible that the extant manuscript volumes were not written by Cary but were instead produced by a scribe. However, I would argue that the appearance of the italic hand used in these manuscript volumes was likely to increase an early modern reader's conviction that Cary was personally responsible for writing the text. As Harold Love has noted, for early moderns 'it was a fixed article of belief among (male) writers that the secretary hand was too difficult for women' and thus women 'were usually taught only italic'.[123] Admittedly, by the 1630s italic hands were conventionally employed by both genders when preparing presentation manuscript volumes.[124] Nonetheless, these two surviving Cary manuscripts are written in a rather laboured and large italic hand, which I would suggest includes too many moments of hesitation, poor line-spacing and self-correction to have belonged to a professional scribe.

Furthermore, within the text itself, Cary is consistently presented as a prophet who wrote down her prophecies herself. For example, the narrative reports that King Charles I only 'slightly viewed' the written account of Cary's prophecy before 'he demanded if it were her owne hand' (BL, fol. 13^{r}). When Cary 'confest it was' written by her personally, the

[123] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 99.
[124] Ibid.

monarch is then said to have begun ‘viewinge it better’ (BL, fol. 13^{r}). Additionally, we are also informed that Cary received a prophetic vision of ‘a pen writing in a booke; appearing vnto her, intimating that what she saw and heard; she should commit to writing’ (BL, fol. 9^{r}). In part, the manuscript volumes of Cary’s prophecy gain their authority through a reader’s sense that these textual objects were written by Cary in fulfilment of that prophetic command to write.

Our sense of an intimate relationship between Cary’s body and the manuscripts of her prophecy are particularly emphasised in places where the chirographic rhythm of the textual account falters. On one such occasion, Cary is writing about hearing a voice ‘day and night […] euen to the interruption of her rest and sleepe: saying: Treason: And: Death’ (BL, fol. 9^{r}). In the British Library’s manuscript, the ink of the word ‘saying’ in this sentence has been smudged and the initial letter of the word ‘And’ appears to have been incorrectly begun as a ‘T’ (see Figure 1.2, below). Thus, the text’s description of the interrupting voice’s distressing warning is itself interrupted by marks from the writer’s own unsteady hand. These errors may indicate a writer who is tired and/or distracted, just as Cary must have been when her ‘rest and sleepe’ were disturbed by the prophetic voice. As such, the appearance of the words on the page helps to imbue this textual account with a sense of immediacy and authenticity that is facilitated by the manuscript form. The visual blemishes in the handwriting seem to signify a real human body struggling, just as Cary did, during the communication of these prophetic omens. Thus, the appearance of the page establishes a powerful alignment between the original moment of the prophecy’s communication and its embodied textual transmission to the reader.

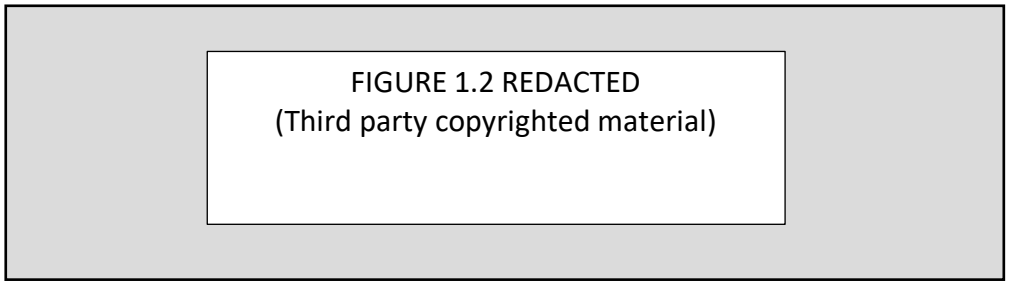

Figure 1.2 London, The British Library, MS Egerton 1044, fol. 9^{r} (detail).

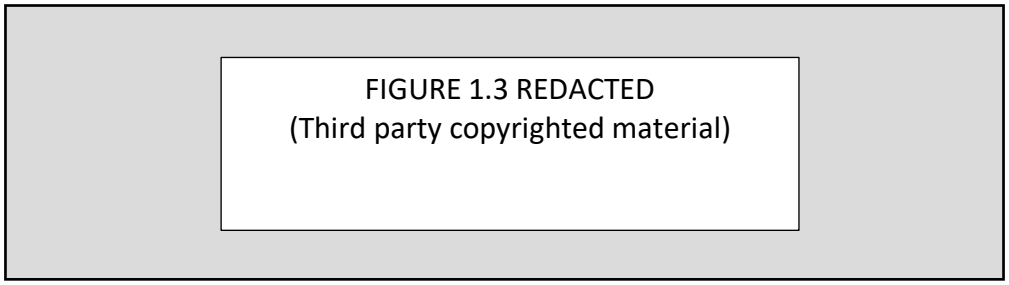

Figure 1.3 Oxford, Christ Church College Library, A. 124 (15), A4^{v} (detail).

In comparison, the printed pamphlet *Vox Coeli* mediates this same episode in a very different way. As Figure 1.3 (above) shows, the voice's ominous warnings of treason and death are italicised in the printed text and the words are neatly arranged together in the centre of a single line. This lexical presentation is enabled by the materials and mechanisms of the printing house, which the compositor has used to enforce an orderly and accurate alignment of letters and words. This page in *Vox Coeli* has no paragraph or section breaks, and therefore the voice's proclamation, '*Treason and Death; Treason, treason, death, death'*, stands out as the only italicised wording within the page's unified block of text (A4^{v}). Disrupting the homogenous typography of the page, the italicised words command a reader's attention in a manner that reproduces the way in which the voice of warning demandingly interrupted Cary's routine and sense of calm.

In *Vox Coeli,* the typographic differentiation of the voice's words of warning also helps to emphasise that this is an act of quotation. On the printed page, the italicised words,

'*Treason and Death*', are marked out as a record of those uttered by the divine voice that Cary heard. In this way, *Vox Coeli*'s typography ensures that the surrounding narrative is visually distinguished from the actual words of the divine message. This separation is less clear in the British Library manuscript, in which there is no adjustment in the style of lettering and the smudges and chirographic errors blur the distinction between writing prophet and divine voice. Indeed, in the manuscript, as we read the divine warning 'Treason: And: Death', the imperfect inscription of these words reminds us of the fallible human body communicating them, who cannot help but insert signs of their own (potentially distorting) mediation to readers. In contrast, the typographic variation and order of *Vox Coeli*'s printed page perhaps more readily permits readers to perceive this divine warning as a separate entity to the narrative that surrounds it.

Noting these semantic differences between reading the same prophetic passage in manuscript and in print, offers an opportunity to question Toxander's assertion that Cary's prophecy will function 'in print as it did before in writ' ($A2^{r}$–$A2^{v}$). As I have suggested, 'writ' and 'print' establish very different modes of authority by signalling a close connection to the prophet's body, or by using typographic differentiation to introduce a separation between the prophet and the divine voice she channels. Yet, Toxander may be right to suggest that both mediums could function as 'well' as each other. Marking differences between material textual witnesses does not require us to also seek signs of textual corruption, nor to organise versions of a prophecy into a hierarchy of authenticity. Instead, we can examine the particular features, arrangements and presentations of a prophecy's varying copies, asking how and why the same discourse's reception may be influenced by different material forms.

Sharing the page: divinely inspired discourse and domestic recipe writing

The dedications and prefaces that begin a text usually represent authorial paratexts that are produced contemporaneously with a work in order to deliberately influence its reception by readers. However, Cary's prophetic discourse was also semantically framed by its

arrangement alongside non-authorial and non-contemporaneous textual materials. For example, the British Library's manuscript of Cary's prophecy (Egerton MS 1044) contains multiple recipes for food and medicine recorded on the book's blank pages. These additional textual materials might be referred to as 'juxtatexts'. My coining of this neologism 'juxtatext' responds to the fact that these textual materials cannot readily be categorised as Genettean 'paratexts' to Cary's discourse, since, according to Genette, 'something is not a paratext unless the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it'.[125] Furthermore, authentic paratexts (such as the dedications discussed in the previous section) are always intended to be 'at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies)'.[126] Thus, my own term 'juxtatext' evokes Genette's term 'paratext' but signals a necessary departure from his expression's limitation to authorial texts produced with an intention to serve a main work. Instead, the 'juxtatextual' recipes inscribed in Cary's British Library volume were not produced deliberately in the 'service' of Cary's prophecy, nor necessarily in any accordance with her own wishes.

By appraising the semantic impact of the 'juxtatexts' to Cary's prophecy, I am extending a critical approach previously explored by Sally Bushell in *Text as Process* (2009).[127] In this study, Bushell analyses the 'material intertextuality in a single notebook' (DC MS 19) that contains an early draft of William Wordsworth's poetic work *Prelude* alongside various other writings, including journal entries, German grammar tables and prose written by both William and Dorothy Wordsworth.[128] In her analysis of DC MS 19, Bushell argues that hermeneutic potential lies in recognising the close proximity of two of William Wordsworth's texts within this composite notebook (the *Prelude* draft and his 'Essay on Morals'). Bushell observes that each of these Wordsworth texts 'bears upon the other', not only through their close physical juxtaposition within this notebook, but also in terms of

[125] Genette, p. 9.
[126] Ibid., p. 2.
[127] Sally Bushell, *Text as Process* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), pp. 85–90.
[128] Ibid., p. 86.

their argument and style. For example, Bushell notes that the poem and essay are both concerned with acting upon habit.[129] Here, Bushell's analysis is motivated by a desire to uncover Wordsworth's creative processes and compositional intertextuality, which results in a study that focuses almost exclusively on the proximate arrangement and content of Wordsworth's authorial texts in DC MS 19. In contrast, my own analysis will seek to attend to the full range of juxtatextual relationships present in prophecy's textual objects. This will enable me to assess how the presence of textual materials inscribed by different writers 'bears upon' Cary's prophecy, both physically and semantically.[130]

In the British Library manuscript dedicated to 'Beniamin Reager' (Egerton MS 1044), Cary's prophecy is written in an italic hand on the recto pages of the volume, whilst the verso pages are covered with recipes for food and medicine. These recipes are written in three distinct seventeenth-century secretary hands, each differing from the script used to write the prophecy. The versos' culinary and medicinal instructions continue for several pages after Cary's prophecy concludes, and a table of contents listing them is inscribed at the start of the volume under Cary's dedication to Sir Benjamin (see Figure 1.4, below). Occasionally, these recipes spill over onto the recto pages of the volume, where a roughly sketched line is sometimes drawn to separate the rhetoric of the kitchen from the spiritual imagery of Cary's discourse (see Figure 1.5, below). In this way, records of domestic method flow around Cary's prophecy and fill in the blank textual spaces that feature before, after, underneath and on the reverse of her text. Since the writer responsible for inscribing Cary's prophecy appears to have been concerned with neat presentation (using ruled margins and straight lines of text), it seems unlikely that they would have chosen to write on used paper. As such, it seems more probable that it was the recipe writers who later added their more informal

[129] Ibid., p. 88.
[130] This non-authorial approach to analysing juxtatexts is perhaps a particularly beneficial one to apply to early modern women's writing. During this period, women's textual production frequently involved contributing to and compiling manuscripts containing multiple texts produced by various writers. Consequently, the *Perdita Project* has produced a digital catalogue of over 500 surviving manuscripts involving 'some kind of "compilation" technique' performed by early modern women, which includes 39 account books, 19 culinary recipe books, 28 miscellanies and 114 receipt books. See 'genres of document' list provided on the *Perdita Project* website, <http://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/> [accessed 25 July 2017].

text to the pages of Cary's prophecy (probably after the volume was bound in its 'G C' emblazoned binding).

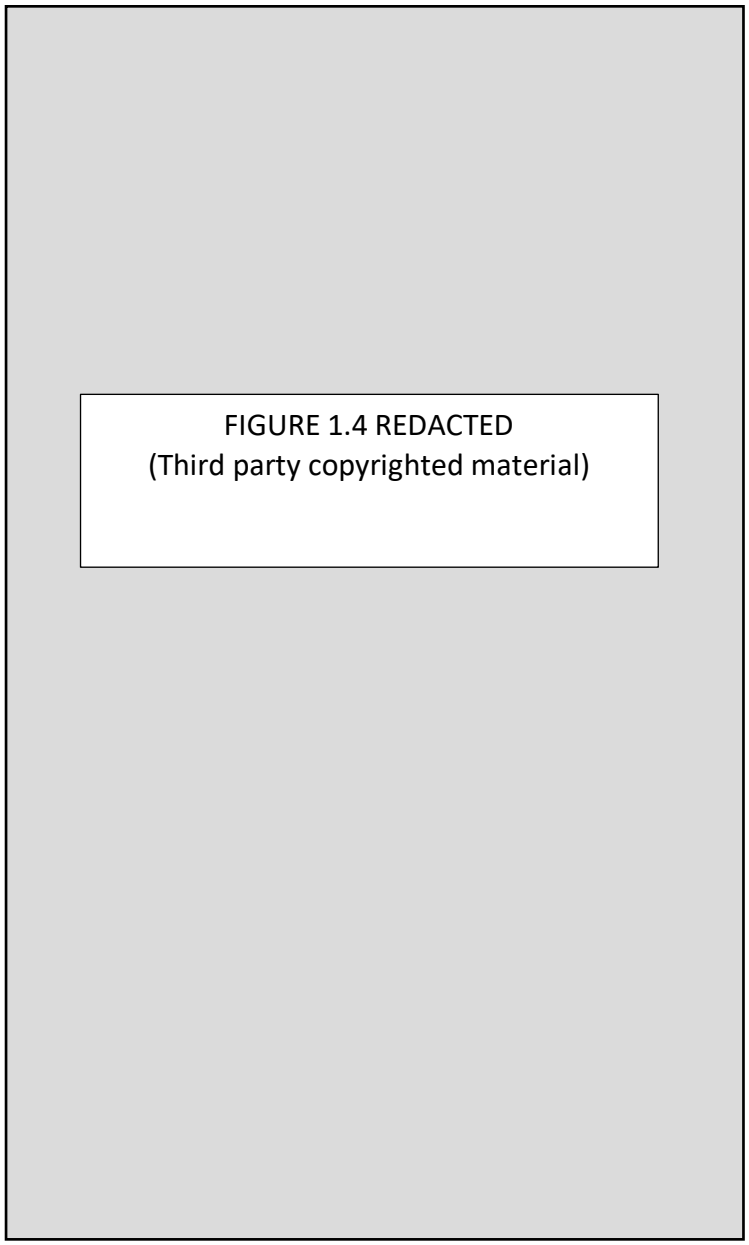

Figure 1.4 London, The British Library, MS Egerton 1044, fol. 2^{r}.

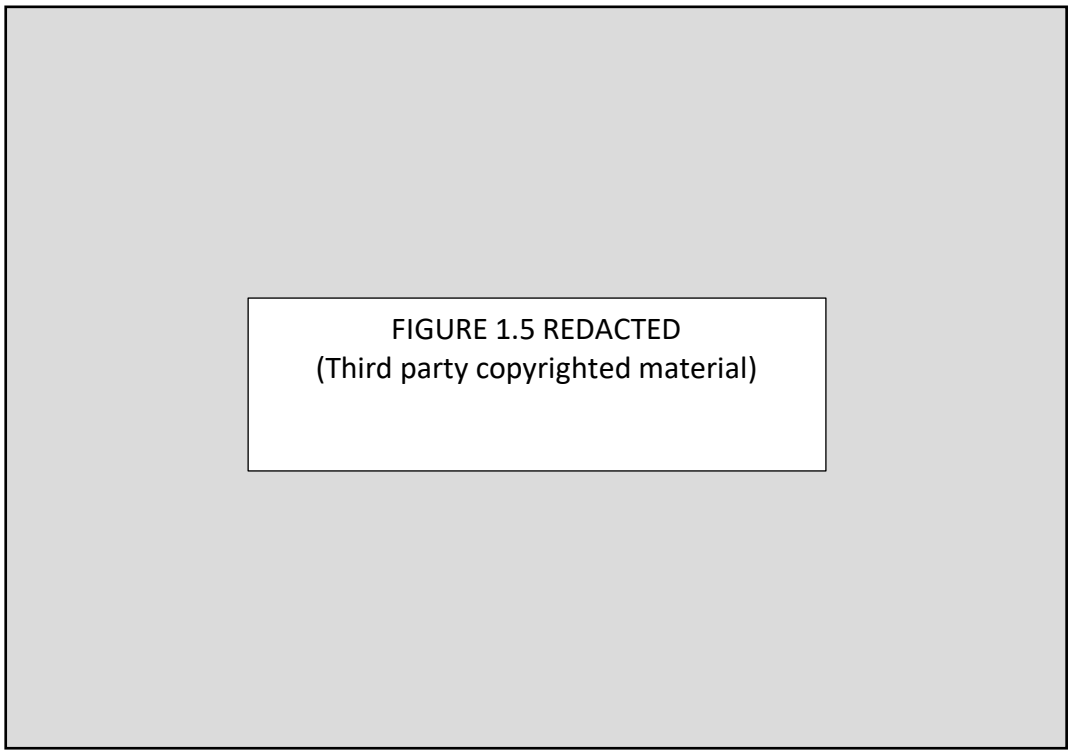

Figure 1.5 London, The British Library, MS Egerton 1044, fols 3^{v}-4^{r}.

Whilst their instructional texts certainly do crowd around Cary's spiritual discourse, the recipe writers also display a certain degree of respect for the prophet's inscribed words. As Figure 1.4 (above) shows, the recipe contents table has clearly been confined by its writer to the bottom half of the page so as not to overwrite Cary's dedication to Sir Benjamin. Likewise, as demonstrated in Figure 1.5 (above), the recipe writer has followed Cary's ruled margin and left an ample blank space between the end of her prophecy and the continuation of their directions for making 'Almons Cackes'. Thus, though the recipe writers do not annotate or refer to Cary's text directly in their writings, their chirographic arrangements do seem to express a respectful unwillingness to overwrite or obscure the prophecy already present on the page.

It appears that the recipe writers chose to maintain Cary's text in this legible condition over numerous years. The same hand that writes the contents table at the

beginning of the British Library volume has added a note to its final page that reads 'This booke tells you howe to preserue all sorts of plums […] 1673' (BL, fol. 44^{r}). Since Cary's text is dated 1644, this note from '1673' suggests that Cary's prophecy continued to form part of a 'booke', which was still being consulted, and added to, at least thirty years after her prophecy was first inscribed on its pages. This leads me to wonder whether the writers or users of these recipes ever stopped to read over Cary's prophecy when consulting the volume. If they had read Cary's text in 1673 (decades after the regicide) then they may well have been particularly struck by the prescience of Cary's vision of Charles I's 'head and face without a body' (BL, fol. 10^{r}). Here, Cary appears to prophesy a regicide not yet ocurred when her discourse was first recorded in the volume in 1644.

Of course, we cannot assume that Cary's prophecy was still being read or valued by the volume's later recipe writers. Certainly, the writer of the 1673 note only expressed an interest in the book's ability to advise on preserving 'all sorts of plums' (BL, fol. 44^{r}). Nevertheless, I would argue that it is notable that the later recipe writers maintained Cary's text intact and in a readable condition in a volume that was probably used often. As I mentioned in my thesis introduction, Simonova has explained that 'the current evidence for how' the works of women prophets 'were received is scanty and focused on a brief period of controversy' in the mid-seventeenth century.[131] As such, scholars have tended to assume that these prophecies were 'topical or ephemeral' and without relevance or interest to readers outside of the immediate context in which they were delivered.[132] However, the juxtatexts accompanying Cary's prophecy in the British Library volume provide evidence that textual accounts of women's prophecy could have longer afterlives.

With its multiple texts, written by multiple hands, the British Library's volume exemplifies what Elaine Leong has described as the 'multiple ownership and collaborative authorship' of typical seventeenth-century household recipe books.[133] Single pages in the

[131] Simonova, p. 66.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Elaine Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household', *Centaurus*, 55 (2013), 81–103 (p. 84).

book often contain two recipes written in different hands and frequently a writer's words are added to or amended by another. For example, an instruction to dry damsons on an 'earthen platter' is crossed out and replaced with 'puter platter' in a different hand (BL, fol. 27^{v}). Another recipe is annotated with the comment 'A made dishe', which perhaps indicates that the writer had successfully produced the dish described (BL, fol. 38^{v}).[134] Positioned amongst these co-created and cross-temporal juxtatexts, Cary's prophecy would have continued to be seen, and navigated around, whenever this volume was consulted or amended by its later users, and long after the prophecy's original inscription in the mid-seventeenth century.

We cannot be sure whether this particular volume's active textual community was an exclusive space for women's writing and reading. Even though 'historians have often connected the collection and use of household knowledge with the domestic sphere, housewifery and the female domain', Leong has cautioned that, whilst women were undoubtedly 'actively involved' in producing and using early modern recipe books, 'they were joined in these endeavours by their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons'.[135] Given that the British Library's Egerton MS 1044 volume does not include any contemporaneous ownership marks and its recipes all go unsigned, it is impossible to determine whether Cary's prophecy found itself preserved in a multi-authored volume of seventeenth-century women's writing. Nevertheless, several of the recipes in the volume are glossed as having been originally developed by women, for example the book includes a 'medicine ffor the ricketts by thee Ladie Vere' (BL, fol. 7^{v}) and a recipe for 'The Lady Wesmoreland white balme' (BL, fol. 40^{v}).[136] The volume also includes two pages of household accounts from 1676, in which the

[134] Alternatively, the annotator may have been expressing the opinion that this writer's method for making jelly was 'mad' (spelt here with a terminal 'e'). The word 'mad' could be used in this sense during this period; see, for example, the definition of 'brain-sicke' as 'mad, foolish' provided in Henry Cockeram's *The English Dictionarie* (London: 1623), C1^{r}. Textual works might also be described as 'mad', for example the Quaker George Whitehead is said to have labelled the '*confus'd & contradictory Discourse*' of his opponents […] 'mad, distracted Work' in Thomas Ellwood, *Forgery No Christianity* ([London]: 1674), H4^{r}.

[135] Leong, pp. 90, 84.

[136] Edith Snook has examined the many very similar remedies for rickets circulating in manuscripts at this time. These remedies were often credited to different named women, thereby forming a kind of collaborative and shared discourse. The medicine for rickets attributed to Lady Vere in the British Library volume appears to follow the same steps as one attributed to Lady Parsons in an early seventeenth-century recipe collection held at the Wellcome Library. See Edith Snook, '"The Women Know": Children's Diseases, Recipes and Women's Knowledge in Early Modern Medical Publications', *Social History of Medicine*, 30 (2017), 1–21 (p. 16).

writer records the dates on which two children ('John & deborah') 'went to nurs', accompanied by a breakdown of the regular payments made to that nurse (BL, fol. 18^{v}–19^{r}). Again, we cannot ascertain exactly who wrote these accounts, but they certainly deal with a domestic subject that was culturally coded as a woman's concern.[137] Thus, positioned alongside these particular juxtatexts, we can say that Cary's prophecy forms part of a textual community in which feminine advice and experience were shared.

Encountering Cary's prophecy in this specific reading context, might encourage readers and critics to seek ways in which the prophet's discourse overlaps with, and diverges from, the rhetorical patterns found in the feminine juxtatexts that surround it. Edith Snook has argued that the frequent corrections and annotations made to early modern recipe manuscripts signal this genre's valuation of 'proof, experience and observation'.[138] Catherine Field has also observed that recipe writing was 'particularly accessible to early modern women in their search for modes of self-expression', perhaps because it was a form of discourse that 'allowed the individual to certify the receipts in her collection using her body (or the bodies of those under her care[])]' without the need for formal academic learning.[139] In the British Library's volume, many of the recipes authorise their advice through citing observed and embodied evidence of their tested success. For example, one remedy is reported to have 'healed a Legg that had bene sore a Long time' (BL, 16^{v}), and another is said to have given 'great ease' to a child suffering from a 'hard belley' (BL, 42^{r}). In this way, the recipes disseminate guidance and advice through declarative methodologies that carefully document quantities, actions and sequences, which are then licensed through reference to personal experience and the observed behaviour of bodies. In contrast, their

[137] Texts from the period do suggest that fathers were often responsible for hiring and managing staff to assist with childcare (particularly if it was made necessary by the death of the mother in childbirth). However, many contemporary advice texts describe the decision to 'put out to Nurse' as being the mother's duty; see, for example, Thomas Sheafe, *Vindiciæ Senectutis* (London: 1639), M2^{r}–M2^{v}. Moreover, Nicholas Culpeper explains that (whoever hired and managed her) the child's nurse should 'not differ much from the temper of the mother'; *Culpeper's Directory for Midwives* (London: 1662), S1^{v}.
[138] Snook, p. 12.
[139] Catherine Field, '"Many hands hands": Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books', in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England,* ed. by Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 49–63 (pp. 59, 57).

juxtatext, Cary's prophecy, explains that its value is based on a woman having been 'in a extraordinarye way made senceable of those combustians, and disasters, which were to befall' (BL, fol. 9^{r}). Here, Cary's prophetic knowledge of her nation's future is authorised by its 'extraordinarye', rather than domestic, or tried and tested, provenance.

Phyllis Mack has analysed the constructions of authority found in women's prophetic texts. According to Mack, the new abundance of women prophets in the 1640s and 1650s operated within 'an extremely narrow sphere of expression and activity' that 'was limited by traditional beliefs about woman's passivity, her low social position, and her basic irrationality'.[140] Thus, the perceived legitimacy of Cary's knowledge of the 'combustians, and disasters' awaiting England rested on her reader's willingness to recognise her as sufficiently 'irrational, emotional, and unusually receptive to outside influences' to have received, in an 'extraordinarye way', her prophetic warnings (BL, fol. 9^{r}).[141] Mack has also posited that the explosion in women's prophetic texts in the mid-seventeenth century was facilitated by this being a particularly turbulent 'society which had repudiated reason and tradition' during the political struggles of the Civil War.[142] Once a different kind of social order began to be restored after 1660, the same cultural attitudes to gender that had facilitated women's prophetic discourse seemed once again to be used to discredit and limit female authorial voices. After the tumult of the Civil War years, feminine ecstatic receptivity, passivity and irrationality were perhaps no longer deemed such adequate authorisations of a woman's right to advise the nation, and thus we see the number of women's prophetic texts produced decline.

The juxtatextual arrangement of prophecy and recipe writing in the British Library's Cary volume might be read as an evocative material expression of Mack's argument about the shift in the authorisation of feminine expression during the course of the seventeenth century. The way in which this volume's later recipe writers shaped the forms of their texts

[140] Mack, 'Women as Prophets', p. 25.
[141] Ibid., p. 23.
[142] Ibid., p. 38.

carefully around the earlier presence of Cary's prophecy perhaps articulates the manner in which Englishwomen carved out new modes of authorisation for themselves later in the century. In this way, Cary's recipe juxtatexts might represent a recourse to domestic concerns and reflect a later need for women's discourse to authorise itself through less extraordinary, and more worldly, sources of knowledge.

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to over-emphasise the differences between the authorising strategies employed in Cary's discourse and those used by the recipe writers later in the century. Like its domestic juxtatexts, Cary's account also cites observational and experiential evidence to support her ability to dispense warnings and advice. For example, the text explains that, so 'she might be assured; that this was a diuine vision' from God, 'certaine rayes of glorie […] seemed to eradiate her from heauen' (BL, fols. 9^{r}–10^{r}). Furthermore, the reader is informed that, so 'her faith might be more confirmed' Cary 'was internally moued and directed, to fasting and prayer' for 'seuerall weakes', after which she 'received an extraordinarye signe of gods presence; and assistance expressed in the appearance of glorious shining lights' (BL, fol. 10^{r}). In these quotations, the text acknowledges that the truth and value of Cary's prophecy must be 'assured' and 'confirmed', and that this can be achieved through the woman's personal powers of observation (of the 'rayes of glorie' and 'glorious shining lights') and bodily experiences ('fasting and prayer').

Given these embodied and experiential strategies of authorisation, Cary's prophecy might actually seem to find itself in familiar company amongst the recipes of the British Library volume. Both prophecy and recipes demonstrate a similar logic of evidenced feminine advice-giving that appeals to the authority of the body as a site for testing and proving a phenomenon. Thus, by sharing physical space with these recipe juxtatexts, Cary's prophecy is revealed as a discourse connected both materially and rhetorically to other modes of early modern writing. In this co-created volume, Cary's prophecy maintained a lingering material presence long after its immediate moment of inscription, alongside modes of feminine discourse with which it shared an affinity.

Prophecy's reception: Cary's place in the Somers family commonplace book

In a different textual context, Cary's manuscript prophecy can be discovered in the presence of more spiritual juxtatexts than domestic recipes. Cambridge University Library holds a manuscript volume in which a portion of Cary's prophecy has been transcribed alongside extracts from other works of religious writing.[143] This commonplace book (Dd. XIV. 25. 3.) appears to have belonged to a family with the surname Somers, as pages bound within the volume record births and deaths occurring within a family of this name between the years of 1595 and 1659. The volume contains an extract from Grace Cary's prophecy, which is inscribed in the hand of a man named John Somers (1628–?).[144] John Somers's unnamed father (1595–1638) appears to have also been responsible for writing and transcribing some of the other texts included in the volume.[145] In this Somers manuscript book, only the initial three pages of Cary's prophecy are transcribed.[146] Nevertheless, these three pages are followed by a run of blank pages that would have been extensive enough to accommodate the rest of Cary's prophecy (Somers, fols. 107^{v}–134^{r}). This run of blank pages (which is not repeated elsewhere in the volume) suggests that John Somers may have originally intended to transcribe the whole of Cary's text, but, for some unstated reason, this work was not completed.

Based on the evidence provided by the three pages of Cary's prophecy that were transcribed, we can deduce that Somers was not copying from the 1646 printed text *Vox Coeli*, but probably from a version of the work that is not extant today. Somers reproduces the initial title page and the second page of scriptural quotations exactly as they appear in

[143] Cambridge University Library, Dd. XIV. 25. 3. Margaret Ezell points out the existence of this volume in 'Performance Texts', p. 55.
[144] John Somers's hand is characterised by its looped 'd' ascender. Folio 31^{r} in the volume is produced in this hand and is signed by John Somers. John Somers's birth date (21 April 1628) is recorded on fol. 3^{r} by his father. Despite the contextual material provided in the volume, I have been unable to trace the family who owned the book.
[145] John Somers's father's hand is older and heavier in style than John's. This hand has a clubbed ascender on its 'd' and an 'h' form with a descender that scoops below the line (see, for example, fols. 54^{v}–105^{v}). This hand does not copy out or mention any text published later than 1637 and John Somers records that 'My father departed this life: August the 10th 1638' (fol. 4^{r}).
[146] In Dd. XIV. 25. 3 the Cary text runs from fols. 106^{r}–107^{r}. For ease, all further references to this volume will be provided in the text and will be preceded by the word 'Somers'.

the complete Cambridge manuscript volume of Cary's prophecy (CAMB ADD MS 32, dedicated to the Earl of Essex). However, the third and final page Somers transcribes (Cary's preface to 'the wise godly reader') matches neither of the complete manuscript volumes surviving in the British Library or the Cambridge University Library. For example, Somers's copy matches the Cambridge text's phrase 'scandalous mouths' (whereas the British Library text reads 'slanderous mouthes'), but reproduces the British Library manuscript's 'heauenly truth' (whilst here the Cambridge manuscript has 'miraculous truth').[147] Unless Somers was a particularly poor copyist, these slight lexical differences — which consistently match neither surviving textual witness — strongly suggest that there was at least one other version of Cary's prophecies circulating in the 1640s.[148]

The fact that John Somers felt the need to copy out Cary's text in his commonplace book implies that he was not given a full presentation version of Cary's prophecy to keep, but was instead only temporarily loaned one. Thus, the presence of Cary's text in the Somers manuscript volume suggests that there were numerous copies of Cary's prophecy circulating during the mid-seventeenth century and that some of their readers may have fallen outside of the intended select audience for whom Cary had prepared presentation copies. John Somers's decision to copy out Cary's prophecy also implies that this was a text he wished to be able to consult in the future. Once again, this helps to refute the notion that women's prophecies were regarded only as ephemeral texts to be read at a particular moment in history.

The juxtatexts placed alongside Cary's prophecy in the Somers manuscript volume may also reveal something about how her religious discourse was received. In addition to Cary's prophecy, the Somers family also chose to transcribe passages from the popular works *Actes and Monuments* by John Foxe (1583) and *Emblemes* by Francis Quarles (1635). The presence of Cary's prophecy in juxtatextual proximity to the writings of these

[147] Dd. XIV. 25. 3, fol. 107^{r}; Egerton MS 1044, fol. 5^{r}; CAM MS ADD 32, fol. 6^{r}.
[148] I encountered nothing elsewhere in this volume to suggest that John Somers was a poor copyist. For example, fols 43^{v}–49^{v} in the volume contain passages copied from Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (London: 1635), and these accurately reproduce the work's printed text (including elements of its typographic layout).

high-profile male authors suggests that she was perhaps regarded as possessing an equivalent status and value as a writer. That said, the Somers family does not seem to have privileged religious discourse from sources of any particular gender or fame. This broadmindedness is charmingly illustrated by the book's inclusion of a transcript of some religious questions and comments uttered by John Somers's eight-year-old sister Ann in 1634, 'which made' her father 'admire very much' and were recorded by him for 'a rememberance' (Somers, fol. 136^{r}). In this period, the positive reception of a woman's prophecy relied upon a Christian understanding that valuable religious guidance could come from various, and sometimes surprisingly lowly, sources. This belief was supported by the biblical promises that God 'will pour out of' his 'Spirit upon all flesh' including 'sons', 'daughters', 'old men' and 'young men' (Acts 2.17), and that spiritual truths could spring from the humble 'mouth of babes' (Psalm 8.2). The presence of Cary's prophecy in the Somers's compendium of religious discourse from both high and low sources demonstrates that her prophecy did find its way to unprejudiced Christian readers. The Somers family seems to have been prepared to value the religious commentary of John Foxe, but also of an eight-year-old girl, and of a widow from Monmouthshire with a claim to divine inspiration.

The existence of a receptive audience for women's prophetic discourse has often been overlooked by critics in light of the many more eye-catching and hyperbolic condemnations of the genre that survive from this period. In *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), Walsham highlights the way in which 'the majority of self-proclaimed prophets were regarded by the clergy as witches, demoniacs, lunatics or charlatans'.[149] For example, in 1659 the preacher Thomas Willis warned his congregation that false prophets 'appear beautiful and glorious in the eyes of the simple' but 'their soft and silken words are *snares*' as they turn 'the grace of God into lasciviousness'.[150] Meanwhile, an anonymous text of 1656 described how a man's wife came home one evening claiming that 'shee was filled with REVELATIONS' and speaking 'as though shee had spoke with the Tongues of

[149] Walsham, p. 214.
[150] Thomas Willis, *A Word in Season* (London: 1659), R7^{r}, S5^{r}, T3^{r}.

ANGELS' but was later discovered to have been under the influence of evil witchcraft.[151] The prevalence of such texts may lead us to conclude that the reading and interpretation of religious prophecies was a controversial activity in the mid-seventeenth century, often incorporating fears of religious and sexual corruption. Susan Wiseman, for example, suggests that 'the figure of the rebellious female sectary, as an eruption into social space, became a clichéd focus of social anxiety about the potential of civil war to transform social relationships', and, accordingly, 'satire on female sectaries' was often used 'as a way of making a more extended critique of radical religion' and women.[152]

Nevertheless, John Somers was one early modern man who appears to have identified Cary's prophetic discourse as a suitable text to inscribe in his commonplace book. Indeed, Somers was willing to retain Cary's text's opening pages as a juxtatext to records of intimate family events (including births, deaths and illnesses) and the religious musings of his young sister Ann. This non-sensationalising incorporation of a woman's prophetic text within such a homely reading context perhaps indicates a far less scandalised and hostile reception for women's prophetic writing than is often supposed.

Of course, given the lack of commentary in the Somers volume, we cannot assume that John Somers endorsed or enjoyed Cary's text. Indeed, Somers failed to copy out the whole of Cary's prophecy, which — despite that remaining run of blank pages left after his partial inscription — may indicate that Somers changed his mind about the work's value and abandoned the project to record it. Moreover, Cary's mere inclusion in the volume does not guarantee that Somers approved of or agreed with her prophecy. In fact, the Somers commonplace volume confirms that its creators consciously read religious texts with which they might not agree. Indeed, on an early page in the manuscript volume, Somers's father records how he spent '2-years & more, readinge all the books of Controversie on both sides that euer came to my hands and so I remaine still serching and readinge to gett satisfaction

[151] Anon, *An Answer to a Scandalous Paper* (London: 1656), A4^{v}.
[152] Susan Wiseman, 'Margaret Cavendish Among the Prophets: Performance Ideologies and Gender In and After the English Civil War', *Women's Writing*, 6 (1999), 95–111 (p. 104).

in my doubts' (Somers, fol. 14^{r}). With this opening confession of a willingness to read books 'on both sides' of a religious argument, it is hard not to interpret this whole commonplace book as a textual manifestation of, and support to, the 'serching and readinge' practices of the Somers family. This volume's collection of textual extracts may include works found, read, assessed and copied out by father and son for the resolution of their inner religious 'doubts'. Thus, through its inclusion alongside juxtatexts used in this personal and interrogative way, Cary's prophecy is still framed as a potentially controversial work, but one with the power to influence, support or challenge inner issues of religious identity and belief.

The way in which prophetic discourse and textual production functioned on this personal level during this period is also wonderfully illustrated by the final page of the Somers manuscript volume. This page is entitled 'A dreame', and on it Somers's father records that on 'June 30th – 1617: at night' he dreamt of an 'Emperiall throne attended vpon with millions of Angells', in which God sat and 'spake in this manner. Now is the day & howre come which you haue been soe often forewarned of' (Somers, fol. 136^{v}). Somers's father concludes this page of text by writing that he 'thought there was a greuious cry: where at I did awake'. So much of this account echoes the discourse of seventeenth-century written accounts of women's prophecy: the specificity regarding the exact date of the vision; the transition into direct reported speech when relaying what God 'spake'; and the immediacy of the apocalyptic warning. Strikingly, in the account of her own experience of divine inspiration, Cary reports hearing 'the grieueous cries of gods persecuted people', and this description seems strikingly similar to the 'greuious cry' that Somers's father also records hearing (BL, fol. 11^{r}).

It is notable that John Somers's father recorded his dream in writing, and that his son and later owners of the volume deemed his written account worthy of preservation. As a juxtatext to Cary's own prophecy, the writing of John Somers's father serves to highlight the way in which Cary's text accords with a wider cultural discourse of personal religious experience. The language and imagery that John Somers's father employs to recount his 'dreame' suggest that women's prophecies were often being read by people already versed

in the style of the genre, and who could perhaps identify episodes of divine inspiration in their own lives. It should therefore be no surprise to discover that the title page of the printed version of Cary's prophecy labours to distinguish itself as something new and original for early modern readers, describing the work as 'a Relation of true, strange, and wonderfull visions […] having never been heretofore published' (A1^{r}). Even if, as *Vox Coeli*'s title page claims, Cary's visions had never been published before, the Somers commonplace book reminds us that the imagery and spiritual claims in Cary's discourse would not necessarily have seemed so 'strange' and new as the printed work contends. For John Somers's father, divinely inspired visions were special enough to warrant a written record but were not so very 'strange and wonderfull' to not have occurred in his own life.

Thus, nestled amongst the juxtatexts of the British Library's manuscript volume and the Somers commonplace book, we discover Cary's prophecy framed within two material textual communities of instructional recipes and family narratives of personal religious experience. In the British Library volume, Cary's prophecy is preserved in a feminine, co-created volume, in which its recipe juxtatexts reveal connections between the experiential modes of authority used in women's domestic advice-writing and prophetic discourse. Meanwhile, the Somers commonplace volume offers evidence of the extended manuscript circulation of women's prophecy, as well as the desire for this genre's readers to record prophetic discourse for future consultation. Whilst Somers's transcription of Cary's prophecy is incomplete, the opening pages of her narrative are permitted to remain within a volume that also records the intimate religious debates and experiences of a family. These material textual circumstances imply the existence of an accepting and non-scandalised readership for women's prophetic discourse in the seventeenth century. Critics have tended to overlook prophecy's juxtatexts.[153] However, by assessing this genre's juxtatextual arrangements, we

[153] The recipes in the British Library's manuscript volume are not mentioned at all in Tanner's 2011 article on Cary (cited above). Meanwhile, in the only other substantial critical account of Cary's texts, Margaret Ezell only summarises in a footnote the materials inscribed alongside Cary's prophecy in the Somers commonplace book; see Ezell, 'Performance Texts', p. 71, n. 32. The British Library's volume is not discussed in Ezell's article, whilst the commonplace book is not discussed in Tanner's.

are able to discover women's prophetic discourse habituated, without sensation or disapprobation, within domestic textual objects. In these material forms, prophecy retained a physical, textual presence, long after the focal point of the mid-seventeenth century.

Conclusion

With this first case study I have established some of the primary interests and methodological approaches used in this thesis. By considering each extant seventeenth-century version of Grace Cary's prophecy, I have begun to demonstrate the intimate relationship between a prophecy's material textual form and its interpretation. As I have shown, methods of production, and particular arrangements of paratextual and juxtatexual material, can reveal and influence the reception of women's discourse in specific ways. Moreover, as the anti-print preface to Cary's manuscript reveals, early modern prophets and their supporters were not oblivious to the semantic significations of textual form. Shifts in medium, and the construction of paratextual frameworks, indicate an awareness of readers and the power certain textual objects might have to authorise and disseminate a woman's spiritual discourse. In particular, I have noted how dedications and prefaces could frame a prophecy for a specified or general readership, whilst revealing the ambitions and cultural participation of a text's producer. Meanwhile, the appearance and production of the mise-en-page might establish a sense of bodily connection through smudged handwriting, or, conversely, typographic variation could distinguish the prophetic narrative from a quoted divine message.

My study of Cary's material texts has also demonstrated that, by heeding prophecy's textual multiplicities, we can expand our understanding of this genre's reception in the seventeenth century. Arranged within various composite volumes, a prophecy's juxtatexts can reveal this genre's engagement with other cultural modes of writing. Thus, the physical proximity Cary's prophecy shares with multiple recipes, and its place within a family's spiritual commonplace book, has led this chapter to assess prophecy's rhetorical

intersections with domestic advice giving and personal religious experience. Moreover, these material textual arrangements signal a more sustained, and perhaps less condemnatory, engagement with women's prophetic discourse in the seventeenth century than has otherwise been assumed.

In the next chapter, I shall work to develop and complicate some of the characterisations of prophecy's textual production offered thus far. In my analysis of Cary's texts, I presented printed typography as a mechanised contrast to the way in which manuscripts signify a more personalised and embodied mode of textual production. However, my discussion of the works of Anna Trapnel will examine the embodied significations of print, and take account of the printers and compositors whose actions also shape the form and meaning of prophetic texts.

Chapter 2: 'To print her discourse & hymmes': the printing house and the co-creation of Anna Trapnel's prophecies

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I adopted a non-hierarchical approach to inspecting the specific textual arrangements and bibliographic features of multiple surviving copies of Cary's prophetic discourse. I found that each of these textual objects produced its own distinct interpretations. Now, in this chapter, I shall consider how a series of distinct textual objects might be connected.[154] I will ask: how might the multiple textual forms associated with a prophet have been produced in relation to each other and to other works during the period? And, if readers are made aware of a text's productional multiplicity, how might that influence their reception of a prophet's discourse?

These questions will be explored in relation to the works of Anna Trapnel, one of the most well-known prophets of the English Civil War period. Trapnel's rise to public recognition, combative politics and passionate religious discourse have made her a focal point for studies of the literature of the English Civil War period. However, this critical attention has concentrated primarily on Trapnel's activities in the year 1654, when four different pamphlets were printed documenting her religious experiences and recounting the prophetic discourse she delivered during an ecstatic, divinely inspired trance at Whitehall.[155] In part, these texts from 1654 have so dominated the critical conversation because of the comparatively challenging format and inaccessibility of Trapnel's final extant volume of prophecies.[156] Whilst her 1654 texts are all relatively short, this later 990-page publication is

[154] Parts of this chapter have been published as Claire McGann, 'To print her discourses & hymmes': The Typographic Features of Anna Trapnel's Prophecies', *The Seventeenth Century*, (2020), 1–20 <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2020.1721312> [accessed 3 February 2020].

[155] The four 1654 pamphlets are as follows: Anna Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone* (London: 1654); Anna Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White Hall* (London: 1654); Anna Trapnel, *A Legacy for Saints* (London: 1654); Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London: 1654).

[156] A recent collection of essays on early modern women's writing includes a discussion of Anna Trapnel's 1654 publications, but the 'folio collection of Trapnel's writings' printed at the end of the decade is mentioned only briefly; see W. Scott Howard, 'Prophecy, Power, and Religious Dissent', in *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing,* ed. by Patricia Phillippy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 315–31 (p. 328). See also the strong emphasis on 1654 in the Trapnel coverage provided in *A Companion to Early Modern Women's*

a dauntingly long work that records divinely inspired verses orated by Trapnel to an audience of 'companions' between October 1657 and August 1658. Today, this large printed text survives in only one known copy, which lacks a title page and is held in the Bodleian Library under the shelfmark Arch A. C. 16. [157]

This chapter seeks to resituate Arch A. C. 16 as a text in community with the rest of Trapnel's print publications, thereby offering a significant revision to the 1654 focus of previous critical studies of Trapnel. Rather than regarding 1654 as the isolated high point of Trapnel's mediation in print, I am interested in how sustained modes of revision, collaboration and accumulation connect Trapnel's various textual objects. To this end, in the first section of this chapter I demonstrate the ways in which Arch A. C. 16 partially reproduces and edits an earlier publication: namely, Trapnel's *Voice for the King of Saints and Nations* (1658). Following this, I examine how certain typographic features reoccur in Trapnel's texts, thus indicating the affiliation these works share with each other and a broader community of printed discourse in the 1650s.

Studying Trapnel's works in this way allows me to take heed of how, and by whom, the textual forms of women's prophecy were produced. In the previous chapter, my analysis of Cary's works appraised their authorial paratextual framing and personalised handwritten production, and argued that a prophecy's textual form might suggest the prophet's own embodied responsibility for its creation. However, textual accounts of women's prophecy are also coded with signs of their co-creation by a wider network of agents. Multiple workers in the printing house could help to co-produce a single textual object, and the combination of their actions and decisions contributed to a prophetic discourse's mediation and

Writing, ed. by Anita Pacheco (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002) and *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550–1700*, ed. by Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).

[157] Critics have adopted various strategies for referring to Trapnel's final volume. Marcus Nevitt cites the text as 'Trapnel, Anna, *Poetical Addresses* (London, 1659)' in *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640–1660* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). Matthew Prineas simply refers to it as 'the Bodleian folio' in his article 'The Discourse of Love and the Rhetoric of Apocalypse in Anna Trapnel's Folio Songs', *Comitatus*, 28 (1997), 90–110. It is referred to as S 1. 42 Th (the shelfmark of the Bodleian's microfilm copy of the work) in Adcock's *Baptist Women's Writing*. Given this chapter's interest in the material text, I have elected to refer to the volume by the shelfmark of its physical copy in the Bodleian Libraries: namely, Arch A. C. 16.

interpretation in vital ways. Accordingly, in this chapter, I will ask what the orthography, pagination and typography in Arch A. C. 16 and the earlier work *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654) reveal about the co-creative production of these texts. Moreover, I will assess how these aspects of textual form might shape the reception of Trapnel's prophetic discourse. As I will discuss, the typographic features in Trapnel's texts are often expressive of a careful and collaborative co-creation, but they may also introduce tensions and potential contradictions.

Revising a prophetic text: Arch. A. C. 16 and *Voice for the King of Saints*

The opening fifty pages of Arch A. C. 16 record five separate prophetic verses, which are dated as having been orated by Trapnel between 11 October and 12 November 1657. Prior to their publication in Arch A. C. 16, these five prophecies had been printed within the much shorter Trapnel pamphlet *Voice for the King of Saints and Nations* in 1658. On its title page, *Voice for the King of Saints* declares that it offers its readers a record of verses 'poured forth by the Spirit through *Anna Trapnell*'.[158] This direct reference to Trapnel and the substantial textual doubling between *Voice for the King of Saints* and Arch A. C. 16 assist with the attribution of the latter anonymous volume to Trapnel.

Commenting on the textual affiliation between *Voice for the King of Saints* and Arch A. C. 16, Longfellow has observed that whilst there are 'numerous changes in orthography' between the prophecies shared by the two volumes, there are 'no substantial variants in the passages I have compared'.[159] Beyond this brief summary, critics have not explored the connection between Arch A. C. 16 and *Voice for the King of Saints* in detail. However, I would argue that a detailed collation of these two Trapnel works is valuable, since it reveals that Arch A. C. 16's first five prophecies are not simply a verbatim reiteration of the earlier pamphlet, but, instead, that certain interventions have been made to change the text. These acts of deliberate alteration and revision in the preparation of Arch A. C. 16 reveal that a

[158] Anna Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints* (London: 1658), A1^{r}.
[159] Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 171, n. 91.

prophecy's publication could be regarded as a project that developed over time, and that textual records of divinely inspired discourse could be returned to and revised.

The primary way in which Arch A. C. 16 revises the text of *Voice for the King of Saints* is by correcting errors featured in the earlier pamphlet. At the end of *Voice for the King of Saints*, there is a section entitled 'Faults escap'd the Press', which includes a list of thirty printing errors requiring correction by the reader.[160] All of the relevant 'faults' identified in this errata list are silently corrected in Arch A. C. 16. For example, in one of the prophecies shared by the two books, the lines 'The Box is opened, / wherein the pretious oyntment new' in *Voice for the King of Saints*, are changed in Arch A. C. 16 to 'The Box is opened, / Wherein the precious ointment was'.[161] This change from 'new' to 'was' in Arch A. C. 16 accords with the following instruction in *Voice for the King of Saints*'s errata list: 'p[age]. 25. l[ine]. 40. col[umn]. 2. for new, r[ead]. was'.[162]

Notably, in the above example, and in the case of many of the other textual 'Faults escap'd' amended in Arch A. C. 16, the changes made would not necessarily strike the reader as required corrections. The uncorrected lines about the 'pretious oyntment new' in *Voice for the King of Saints* still make sense before being altered to read 'precious ointment was'. The terminal words 'new' and 'was' are not involved in any rhyme scheme, thus the lexical change does not appear to serve poetic ends. As such, in order to know to change the word from 'new' to 'was' in Arch A. C. 16, the preparer of this volume's revised text must have been closely following the errata list in *Voice for the King of Saints* (or have been privy to the wishes of that earlier text's producers by some other means). Thus, through its consistent correction of the textual 'faults' in *Voice for the King of Saints* (even those that seem unnecessary), Arch A. C. 16 reveals itself to be a faithful and sympathetic refinement of the earlier text, carefully correcting all the concerns identified in that earlier work's errata list.

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[160] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints,* M4^{r}.
[161] Ibid., D3^{r}. Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, D1^{v}.
[162] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints,* M4^{r}.

Other textual differences between the duplicated prophecies in *Voice for the King of Saints* and Arch A. C. 16 reveal an even more diligent process of proof-reading and textual correction. Instances of erroneous punctuation in *Voice for the King of Saints* are rectified in Arch A. C. 16, even though these punctuation errors are not identified in the earlier text's errata list. For example, there are two confusing lines in *Voice for the King of Saints* that read 'The love of Solomon doth say? / Why are you so displeas'd,'.[163] In Arch A. C. 16, the question mark is correctly moved to the end of the second line: 'The love of Solomon doth say / Why are you so displeas'd?'[164] Here, the later volume amends and clarifies the text of its first five prophecies in ways that are not prompted by the errata list in *Voice for the King of Saints*.

In Arch A. C. 16, spelling and compositional errors that go unidentified in the list of 'Faults' in *Voice for the King of Saints* are also corrected. For example, the nonsensical lines 'He had not breath to breath / But then the Lord did it covay', are righted in Arch A. C. 16 to read 'He had not breath to breathe / But then the Lord did it convey'.[165] Identifying this error and correcting it — rather than simply composing the text directly from *Voice for the King of Saints* — must have taken time and effort. As such, Arch A. C. 16's correction of the earlier work's mistakes suggests a diligence and commitment to producing a more accurate and polished version of these five Trapnel prophecies. Additionally, these corrections might also suggest a greater availability of time during the later volume's production, which allowed for mistakes (beyond those already listed in the errata list) to be identified and corrected.

It is tempting to think that Trapnel herself may have been involved in correcting the text of *Voice for the King of Saints* prior to its publication in Arch A. C. 16. Indeed, there may be some precedent for Trapnel intervening in her publications in this manner. In her edition of Trapnel's autobiographical work, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654), Hinds suggests that Trapnel displays an 'acute awareness of the influence of authorial and editorial

[163] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints,* B2^{r}.
[164] Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, B3^{r}.
[165] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints,* G1^{v}. Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, E4^{v}.

decisions in the construction' of this text and 'shows herself quite willing to claim her place as "author"'.[166] Accordingly, the errata list in *Report and Plea* includes suggestive corrections that transcend simply amending spelling or grammatical mistakes. These changes may suggest some form of authorial decision-making involving the prophet herself. For example, the errata list in *Report and Plea* instructs readers to alter the printed phrase 'horrible fit I was in' to 'horrible pit I was in'.[167] This change does not seem to make any necessary correction to grammar or sense. However, the lexical substitution does enact a semantic change that shifts the focus from the prophet's physical behaviour (a 'horrible fit') to her spiritual turmoil (an emotional, hell-like 'pit').[168] Notably, in another of her texts, Trapnel laments the fact that her critics dismiss her prophetic trances as mere 'Convulsion-fits, and Sickness, and diseases', which are physical ailments that she might have suffered from before (or without) divine inspiration.[169] Thus, the requested change from 'fit' to 'pit' in *Report and Plea's* errata list seems revealingly consistent with the prophet's own self-proclaimed desire to avoid accusations that she was afflicted with physical 'fits'. Perhaps, then, the errata list's instruction to change 'fit' to 'pit' originated with the prophet herself.

Some of the textual variations between Arch A. C. 16 and *Voice for the King of Saints* also suggest the involvement of someone (potentially Trapnel) who was willing to make lexical alterations to shift the semantic nuances of the work. For example, in one of the prophecies shared by both texts, Trapnel ventriloquises a conversation between God and Jesus that includes a divine warning that 'disciples fly away'.[170] In Arch A. C. 16's reprinting of this passage, this line is modified to 'disciples flee away'.[171] This change enacts no particular alteration to the meaning or accuracy of the passage. However, Arch A. C. 16's verbal phrase 'flee away' appears much more frequently in the King James and Geneva

[166] Hilary Hinds, 'Introduction', in Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, ed. by Hilary Hinds (Toronto: Iter Press, 2016), pp. 1–40 (pp. 25–6).
[167] Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London: 1654), I2^{v}.
[168] Ibid., D1^{r}.
[169] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, D3^{r}.
[170] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints,* E3^{v}.
[171] Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, D4^{v}. All further page references to this volume will be given as in-text citations.

Bibles than the words ‘fly away’ featured in *Voice for the King of Saints*. The words ‘flee away’ are often used in scripture to describe shameful retreat, for example Laban says to Jacob in Genesis 31. 27, ‘Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me’. Thus, by using the phrase ‘flee away’ rather than ‘fly away’, God’s channelled voice in Arch A. C. 16 has a much more condemnatory tone that is more consistent with the divine lexicon of scripture. Later, in this same prophetic discourse, Trapnel expresses a concern that sceptics will ‘say ‘Tis a poor silly one / That her own words doth say’ (E2^{r}). Here, Trapnel reveals her anxiety that people may not believe that she is channelling God’s voice, and this nervousness may have inspired the revision of ‘fly’ to the more scripturally consistent ‘flee’ in Arch A. C. 16. Whether or not she was personally responsible for it, the lexical change from ‘fly’ to ‘flee’ certainly creates for Trapnel a prophetic voice that sounds more like God’s in the Bible. As with the requested shift from ‘fit’ to ‘pit’ in *Report and Plea*, this change from ‘fly’ to ‘flee’ in Arch A. C. 16 indicates the involvement of a textual editor willing to reshape the textual record of Trapnel’s prophecy in order to enhance its spiritual authority.

The way in which Arch A. C. 16 reproduces, but also revises and corrects, the text of five prophecies previously printed in *Voice for the King of Saints* suggests that the act of printing a woman’s prophecy was not necessarily regarded as a final and absolute act confined to one historical moment. As I have demonstrated, republishing an earlier text offered opportunities for correcting printing errors and adjusting semantic nuances. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which women prophets were involved in deciding upon these improvements. However, we do know that the production of any new printed edition involved the cooperation of a printing house; and the typographic variation between *Voice for the King of Saints* and Arch A. C. 16 indicates that both of these texts were produced using different sets of type, probably in different printing houses. In the next section of this chapter, I will examine how the typography in Arch A. C. 16 might help us to identify this new printer, who was entrusted with resetting and printing Trapnel’s revised discourse at the end of the 1650s.

Who printed Arch. A. C. 16?

Trapnel's final surviving work, Arch A. C. 16, lacks a title page and the contextualising paratexts discussed in the previous chapter. Missing the title pages, dedications and prefaces that introduce Cary's prophecy in its various textual forms, Arch A. C. 16 does not provide its reader with any preliminary material, but instead opens with the start of its first prophecy on a page marked B1^{r}. Large, isolated and disconcertingly lacking in paratextual framing, Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume poses interpretative challenges for the critic. For example, Longfellow has noted that Arch A. C. 16 'unfortunately has no extant title page or prefatory material, so we can only infer its purpose'.[172] Similarly, Paul Salzman has described the solitary surviving volume as 'something of a mystery', explaining that, 'given the lack of evidence on the fate of however many copies of the folio' were printed, 'it is impossible to determine just how Trapnel's final prophecies were received'.[173] Here, Longfellow and Salzman highlight areas in which Arch A. C. 16's material form seems to obscure understandings of the circumstances of the publication of Trapnel's final prophecies.

In contrast, this chapter approaches Arch A. C. 16 by demonstrating the hermeneutic potential offered by this volume's extant material form. Measuring thirty-one centimetres long, twenty centimetres wide and seven and a half centimetres deep, Arch A. C. 16 is an imposing textual object that must have required considerable ambition and labour to produce. Printing Arch A. C. 16's 990 accurate and neat pages would also have been a costly undertaking. However, as the daughter of a London shipwright, Trapnel was herself of modest means. Consequently, critics have tended to assume that the production of Arch A. C. 16 was funded and supported by more wealthy members of the prophet's religious community in London.[174] In addition, the scale and high production values of Arch A. C. 16

[172] Longfellow, *Women and Religious* Writing, p. 170.
[173] Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 121–2.
[174] See Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, p. 171 and Adcock, p. 150.

also suggest the support and involvement of conscientious and skilled members of the printing trade.

In his study of Arch A. C. 16, Salzman speculates that the booksellers Thomas Brewster or Robert Sele might have been involved in the volume's production.[175] Salzman's suggestion derives from the fact that two of Trapnel's 1654 pamphlets state that they were 'printed for' Brewster and Sele in their imprints.[176] Brewster also seems a likely candidate because he was a bookseller involved in funding and selling many radical religious texts throughout the 1650s. For example, a list of books sold by Brewster in 1657 includes works by Trapnel's associate Henry Jessey (an independent Baptist minister) and a collection of polemical pamphlets 'against the Quakers'.[177] Given these publishing interests, it seems possible that Brewster may well have become involved with publishing Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume, which is also a radical text that contains a 'Psalm against the Quakers' ($G4^{v}$). However, without a title page imprint, or any contemporary records documenting Brewster's involvement in Arch A. C. 16, it remains difficult to connect the bookseller conclusively to the project to publish Trapnel's discourse at the end of the 1650s.

Instead, I would suggest that Trapnel's final printed work might be more persuasively attributed to the labours of a specific printing house. By matching Arch A. C. 16's typeface and decorative printing ornaments with those found in contemporaneous works attributed to named printers, the likely creator of the typography in Trapnel's final work may be deduced. First, however, it must be acknowledged that this method of attributing a printer to an anonymously printed early modern work is far from straightforward. Derek Nuttall has documented the many difficulties involved in identifying and matching distinct seventeenth-century typefaces due to 'factors such as rough-surfaced paper, over-inking, worn letters,

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[175] Salzman, p. 121.
[176] *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London: 1654) was 'printed for Thomas Brewster'. *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White Hall* (London: 1654) was 'printed for Robert Sale' in its first edition and 'for Robert Sele' in its second. Bullard has noted that 'Robert Sale/Sele' may have been a pseudonym for Thomas Brewster as the name Sale/Sele appears in no other surviving imprints or Stationers' Company records from the period; see Bullard, 'Textual Disruption', p. 40.
[177] Trapnel declares that she is 'well known' to 'Mr. Henry Jesse, and most of his society' in *The Cry of a Stone*, $A2^{r}$. The list of Brewster's publications appears in Robert Purnell, *A Little Cabinet Richly Stored* (London: 1657), $II3^{r}$–$II4^{v}$.

and heavy impression', which can all 'badly distort the true letter form'.[178] Moreover, Adrian Weiss has cautioned that printing houses often shared founts and other equipment and that these 'sharing strategies frequently defy common-sense logic'.[179] Thus, even when we can isolate a distinct typeface or decorative ornament as characteristic of one particular printing house's type-stock, it is impossible to guarantee that those items were not shared with other printers upon occasion. Nevertheless, the well-printed pages of Arch A. C. 16 offer the possibility of positing a *likely* printer for the volume, provided that we can match multiple elements of their typography with those found in other works known to have been produced by a named printer.

To do this work accurately, it is necessary to compare Arch A. C. 16's typography with that found in texts printed at around the same time. The Bodleian Library catalogue attributes a publication date of 1659 to Arch A. C. 16.[180] The final prophecy recorded in the volume was delivered by Trapnel in August 1658, but the volume's lengthy text is likely to have taken a considerable amount of time after this date to prepare for printing. Moreover, once the copy-text was produced, there is no indication that the printing of the large work was then divided between different printing houses to save time: the work's typography and paper remain consistent throughout the volume. Thus, estimating a publication date of 1659 allows for the months of work required to print such a large volume of material in a single printing house.[181]

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[178] Derek Nuttall, 'English Printers and their Typefaces, 1600–1700', in *Aspects of Printing from 1600,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), pp. 30–48 (p. 31).
[179] Adrian Weiss, 'Bibliographical Methods for Identifying Unknown Printers in Elizabethan/Jacobean Books', *Studies in Bibliography,* 44 (1991), 183–228 (p. 203).
[180] The volume's catalogue entry can be viewed here: <http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=oxfaleph011000873&context=L&vid=SOLO&search_scope=LSCOP_ALL&tab=local&lang=en_US> [accessed 13 May 2019].
[181] Records of the Cambridge University Press show that 1,500 copies of a 954-page folio took the press twenty-two months to print from 1701–1703. Whilst these figures are indicative of the length of seventeenth-century printing times, D. F. McKenzie warns that they cannot be directly applied to other similarly sized printed works, since print runs varied and printing houses often worked on multiple texts concurrently. In the case of Arch A. C. 16, we do not know how many copies of the work were printed or how many other books were being printed by the press at the same time. Consequently, it is difficult to calculate exactly how long Arch A. C. 16 would have taken to print, making 1659 only a best guess. See D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1–75 (pp. 32–33).

A later publication date than 1659 also seems improbable. In the prophecies of Arch A. C. 16, Trapnel discusses current political affairs, including her disdain for Oliver Cromwell, that would quickly seem outdated following his death in October 1658 and the Restoration in 1660. Moreover, given the precedent set in 1654 for multiple Trapnel texts being printed in quick succession, it seems unlikely that Trapnel and her supporters would have allowed a long time to elapse between the appearance of *Voice for the King of Saints* in 1658 and the publication of the affiliated work Arch A. C. 16. Thus, in order to compare Arch A. C. 16 with its typographic contemporaries, it seems reasonable to situate it within a corpus of works printed in England in 1659.

The *English Short Title Catalogue* lists just over 2,000 works that were printed between January 1659 and 25 March 1660.[182] Examining this body of texts, I was able to identify consistent similarities between Arch A. C. 16's typography and that featured in multiple works stated to have been 'printed by' the printer James Cottrell in 1659. Aside from their use of the same typeface, one of the most striking similarities between Arch A. C. 16 and various publications attributed to Cottrell in 1659 is their use of matching decorative headers composed of scrolling motifs of the same design. To demonstrate this shared typography, Figures 2.1–2.3 (below) show the appearance of these headers in Arch A. C. 16, and Figures 2.4 and 2.5 (below) show headers in two named Cottrell printings from 1659. This style of decorative header appears nearly fifty times in Arch A. C. 16.[183] In my list of works printed in 1659, fifty-six texts stated that they were 'printed by' Cottrell or by a

[182] My search of the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) produced a list of 2,119 texts with the year 1659 in their imprints or with that publication year attributed to them by library catalogues. Necessarily, my list may include some works printed between January 1660 and 25 March 1660 (N.S.) as these works may have been given an imprint publication date of 1659 according to old style dating. Hosted by the British Library, the *ESTC* is searchable online at: <http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc> [accessed 6 October 2017]. I am grateful to Virgina Schilling, for sending me a CSV file of the catalogue's 1659 texts on 9 October 2017 upon my request. Attempts to reproduce my 1659 list will vary, as the catalogue is often updated, and searches can provide different results depending upon the system used. To compare them with Arch A. C. 16, I viewed copies of the texts on my list that were attributed to named printers using *Early English Books Online* and/or in the British Library when I needed to take measurements of type.

[183] Only one of Arch A. C. 16's fifty dated prophecies is preceded by a header containing a different style of motif; see Eeeee1^{v}.

printer with the initials 'J. C.' in their imprints.[184] Suggestively, of these Cottrell publications, one quarter contain decorative headers in which the constituent motifs directly match the design of those used in the headers in Arch A. C. 16.[185] Featuring with such consistency within named Cottrell printings in 1659, the scrolling ornamental motifs shown in Figures 2.1–2.5 (below) appear to have been a distinctive trademark of his printing house's output. Indeed, in my corpus of works printed in 1659, I did not find the same header style reproduced in works attributed to any other named printer that year.

FIGURE 2.1 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.1 Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, Arch. A. C. 16, G4^{r} (detail).

FIGURE 2.2 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.2 Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, Arch. A. C. 16, Zzzz3^{r}

FIGURE 2.3 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.3 Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, Arch. A. C. 16, Llll1^{r} (detail).

[184] Of these fifty-six texts, forty-two stated only that they were 'printed by J. C.'. It is possible that these initials may not always refer to James Cottrell. However, I have been unable to identify any other printers active in this year who might feasibly have been referred to by these initials.

[185] Further examples of Cottrell's decorative headers can also be found in the following texts: Thomas Pecke, *Parnassi Puerperium* (London: 'Printed […] by J. Cottrel', 1659), A2^{r}; James Harrington, *Aphorisms Political* (London: 'Printed by J. C.', 1659), A2^{r}; James Harrington, *The Art of Law-Giving* (London: 'Printed by J. C.', 1659), P2^{r}; Richard Gardiner, *XVI Sermons Preached in the University of Oxford and at Court* (London: 'printed by James Cottrel', 1659), A4^{v}.

FIGURE 2.4 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.4 James Harrington, *Virgil's Aeneis the Third Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books* (London: 'Printed by J. Cottrel', 1659), A3^{r} (detail). California, San Marino, The Huntington Library, RB131062.

FIGURE 2.5 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.5 John Gadbury, *The Nativity of the Late King Charls Astrologically and Faithfully Performed* (London: 'Printed by James Cottrel', 1659), A2^{r} (detail). Cambridge University Library, Syn.8.65.87.

Whilst early modern printing houses shared and copied each other's ornamental type pieces, as Ronald B. McKerrow has argued, 'the worse, the rougher, and more insignificant an ornament is, the greater use is it likely to be to the bibliographer' when attributing a work to a printer.[186] Since the more 'elaborate and better designed ornaments' were more often 'copied', or 'borrowed', or sold to more than one printer, it follows that simpler decorative pieces would more probably have been retained by one house.[187] The decorative motifs used in the headers throughout Arch A. C. 16, and in the works attributed to Cottrell in 1659, appear to be of the 'rougher' sort. As Figures 2.1–2.5 demonstrate, the decorative motifs are small and their design and execution are fairly unpolished. As such, it seems probable that the header motifs used throughout Trapnel's final volume match the appearance of those found within Cottrell's printings because these texts were produced by the same printing house, rather than because Cottrell's decorative type pieces had been shared with another printer during the same year.

[186] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1927), p. 114.
[187] Ibid., p. 114.

A further typographic indication of Cottrell's involvement in the printing of Arch A. C. 16 can be found in a more diminutive form than its decorative headers. Many of Cottrell's publications in 1659 are characterised by a distinctive imperfect capital G. Instances of this same blemished letter also appear frequently throughout Arch A. C. 16 (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7 below for examples). In his guide to attributing early modern works to printers, Weiss describes such 'gross features' as a potentially valuable means of identifying a particular printing house's output.[188] In Cottrell's publications, these flawed printed Gs have a small amount of ink connecting the serif at the top of the curve with that at the bottom. This conjoined appearance could occur if the matrix used to produce the pieces of metal type became flawed and uneven, thus producing irregularly cast pieces of type that made imperfect impressions when inked.[189] Whilst not all of the Gs printed in each Cottrell text demonstrate this flaw, it is clear that a certain number of malformed pieces of type had entered the type cases at this printing house and were consistently being used to print works attributed to Cottrell in 1659. Therefore, the presence of similarly flawed Gs throughout Arch A. C. 16 provides another suggestive typographic link between this anonymously printed publication and other Cottrell printings.

FIGURE 2.6
REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.6 John Gadbury, *The Nativity of the Late King Charls Astrologically and Faithfully Performed* (London: 'Printed by James Cottrel', 1659), C5^{r} (detail). Cambridge University Library, Syn.8.65.87.

FIGURE 2.7
REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.7 Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, Qqq3^{r} (detail).

[188] Weiss, p. 185.
[189] Described in McKerrow, p. 183.

To support the typographic evidence I have assembled, it is also important to confirm that Cottrell had the means to print Arch A. C. 16 at the end of the 1650s. According to Stationer's Company records, James Cottrell was apprenticed to the printer John Raworth in August 1638 before being freed eight years later by Raworth's widow Ruth Raworth in 1646.[190] From the 1650s onwards, Cottrell's name, and his premises on Addle Hill, began to appear in the imprints of texts.[191] By 1659, Cottrell had four officially registered apprentices of his own.[192] In my corpus of texts printed in 1659, the printers most frequently mentioned in imprints (John Field, John Streater and John Macocke) all boasted a similar number of registered apprentices to Cottrell, which may suggest that he could offer a similar level of service to these prolific printing houses.[193] Further evidence of Cottrell's capacity is provided by Robert L'Estrange's survey of printing presses in July 1668, in which 'Mr Cotterells' establishment is listed as possessing two printing presses, and one assumes that Cottrell must have had at least this number of presses in operation a decade earlier, before the restrictions that followed the Restoration.[194] Thus, in 1659, given Cottrell's supply of presses and apprentices, he would appear to have been equipped to handle a large printing project.

Moreover, the production of a volume of Arch A. C. 16's size would not have been unusual for Cottrell. In 1656, Cottrell was named as the printer of a 700-page edition of Thomas Moore's *An Explicite Declaration of the Testimony of Christ*, and, in 1658, Cottrell printed John Gadbury's *Genethlialogia*, which is a work that spans nearly 600 pages.[195]

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[190] See D. F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationer's Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974), p. 38.
[191] Cottrell's premises are identified as being located at Addle Hill on the title page of Matthew Coker, *A Whip of Small Cords, to Scourge Antichrist* (London: 'printed by James Cottrel, on Addle-Hill', 1654).
[192] Figure derived from McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, p. 38.
[193] John Field and John Streater are recorded as having three registered apprentices in 1659. John Macocke had four apprentices. Figures derived from McKenzie, *Stationer's Company Apprentices*, pp. 56, 160, 104.
[194] London, The National Archives, SP 29/243, f. 233. As Randy Robertson has explained, once the post-Restoration Licensing Act of 1662 was passed, the enthusiastic surveyor of the press Robert L'Estrange helped to reduce 'press production to levels not seen since the 1630s'; Robertson, *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p. 132. The Licensing Act restricted London to a total of twenty-two printing houses, with each to own no more than two presses each. However, Michael Treadwell argues that the Stationers Company did not enforce these restrictions, and that 1668 marked a nadir in London press numbers only due to 'plague and fire'; Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 755–776 (p. 767).
[195] Thomas Moore, *An Explicite Declaration of the Testimony of Christ* (London: 1656); John Gadbury, *Genethlialogia* (London: 1658).

These page counts are not of quite the same magnitude as Arch A. C. 16's, but they do provide a precedent for Cottrell's printing house working on large volumes. In fact, Arch A. C. 16's 990 pages may not have seemed particularly exceptional or prohibitive to any reasonably established mid-seventeenth-century printer. Amongst my list of works printed in 1659, Arch A. C. 16 is one of the largest surviving texts from the year. However, its page count pales in comparison with that of Andrew Moore's *A Compendious History of the Turks*, which had over 1,500 pages and was printed by the prolific John Streater.[196] In 1659, other works with over 800 pages were also printed by Peter Cole, Roger Daniel, John Fletcher, Roger Norton, Mary Simmons and Thomas Warren.[197] These similarly lengthy contemporaneous publications — and the range of different printers responsible for creating them — suggest that Arch A. C. 16's size would not necessarily have made it a highly unusual enterprise for this year, or for a printer such as Cottrell. Thus, to conclude, both typographic and contextual evidence suggest that James Cottrell's printing house may have been responsible for printing Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume at the end of the 1650s.

The style of typographic analysis, and process of printer attribution, demonstrated and explored in this chapter offer a methodology for demystifying the publication of spiritual discourse. As Cait Coker has recently argued, there is a need for book historians to resist depicting printing house workers as nebulous 'passive constructs' within a generic early modern printing process.[198] Instead, Coker recommends the value of trying to identify and contemplate 'specific individuals with their own agency to operate within a practical, rather than just a theoretical, system' of material production.[199] Accordingly, by attributing a named

[196] Andrew Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks* (London: 1660 [1659]). Although the imprint of Moore's text states '1660', the London bookseller George Thomason annotated his copy of the work with the date 'November 1659'; London, The British Library, E. 1742-45.
[197] Peter Cole printed Jeremiah Burroughs's *Four Books on the Eleventh of Matthew* (London: 1659). Roger Daniel printed John Pearson's *An Exposition of the Apostles Creed* (London 1659). John Fletcher printed Henry Hammond's *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (London: 1659). Roger Norton printed Robert Gell's *An Essay Toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (London: 1659). Mary Simmons printed Joseph Caryl's *An Exposition with Practicall Observations Continued* (London: 1659). Thomas Warren printed John Florio's *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, a Dictionary Italian & English* (London: 1659).
[198] Cait Coker, 'Gendered Spheres: Theorizing Space in the English Printing House', *The Seventeenth Century*, 33 (2018), 323–36 (p. 329).
[199] Ibid., p. 329.

printer to anonymously-printed works like Arch A. C. 16, we become able to reframe the textual accounts of women's prophetic discourse as constructed material objects, which contain legible signs of their dependence upon particular individuals, operating within an established system of production. In the next section of this chapter, I continue to inspect the place of prophetic texts within the many-peopled networks of seventeenth-century textual production, by asking how a prophecy's typography might signal intertextually to other works from the period.

Typography and textual community

Trapnel belonged to a group of Fifth Monarchist millenarians whose readings of the book of Daniel had led them to believe that a new fifth age was approaching, during which time Christ would reign with his saints in a final empire on earth. After the fall of the short-lived Barebone's Parliament in 1653, Trapnel's religious community had lost hope in formal political representation and increasingly turned to print as a way of criticising the country's leaders and of urging people to prepare for the imminent rule of Christ. For example, in August 1655, Fifth Monarchists in London are thought to have been involved in the publication and circulation of an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's Intentions Touching the Anabaptists in the Army*, in which Cromwell is urged to 'leave off' his 'wicked design of casting off the Interest of the People of God'.[200] Bernard Capp lists this pamphlet as one of the Fifth Monarchists' many 'deliberate attempts to subvert the army' by encouraging distrust of Oliver Cromwell.[201]

James Cottrell appears to have been involved in printing this rabble-rousing Fifth Monarchist pamphlet. Following the publication of *A Short Discovery* ([1655]), the bookseller Richard Moone was interrogated by Secretary Thurloe and confessed that one of Cromwell's

[200] Anon, *A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's Intentions Touching the Anabaptists in the Army* ([London]: [1655]), A4^{v}. Despite its lack of imprint, this text is usually attributed to 1655 due to its content and because Thomason annotated his copy with the date 'August 20 1655'. See London, The British Library, E. 852. (3).
[201] Bernard Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 113.

life-guards (a Baptist pastor named John Sturgeon) had paid him to arrange for the pamphlet to be printed.[202] Moone also revealed that (on the very same Saturday night that he was approached by Sturgeon) he immediately 'sent for mr. James Cotterel the printer, who forthwith came to him' at an 'alehouse near Puddle wharf'.[203] Moone reports that Cottrell then agreed to produce a thousand copies of the single-sheet pamphlet in two-and-a-half days and admitted that 'several' of the texts could be found 'in the streets the next morning' outside his bookshop.[204] Here, Moone's detailed testimony demonstrates that the publications of Trapnel's community relied upon networks of social interaction and labour. Within this network, Cottrell was clearly sought after as a reliable (or at least willing) printer, who might facilitate the group's textual productions despite the risks.

Like *A Short Discovery,* Arch A. C. 16 also includes multiple controversial passages that criticise Cromwell. For example, in one of the volume's prophecies, dated March 1658, Trapnel states that '*Cromwel* and his host they are such, / And do devour and tear / […] And are abominable ones,/ With cunning subtilty they come' (Nnnn4^{r}). There are also typographic similarities between Trapnel's volume and the anti-Cromwell pamphlet produced by Moone and Cottrell. As Figure 2.8 (below) illustrates, *A Short Discovery* contains the same style of decorative header featured in Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume. This shared typography suggests a shared place of production, and this implied material connection seems to elide the three-year temporal gap that divides these two anti-Cromwell publications. These matching motifs also form a visual parallel to the texts' articulations of a matching form of political dissent. In this way, the header motifs of Cottrell's printing house echo and highlight the ideological and material links between Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume and other anti-Cromwell tracts produced by her fellow religious radicals earlier in the 1650s.

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[202] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, vol. 3, ed. by Thomas Birch (London: 1742), pp. 738–9. Thurloe was made Secretary of State in 1652 and was placed in charge of Cromwell's intelligence service in 1653. Thurloe's papers are filled with accounts and reports from his extensive network of informants. See Timothy Noel Peacock, 'Cromwell's "Spymaster"? John Thurloe and Rethinking Early Modern Intelligence', *The Seventeenth Century*, 35 (2020), 3-30.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.

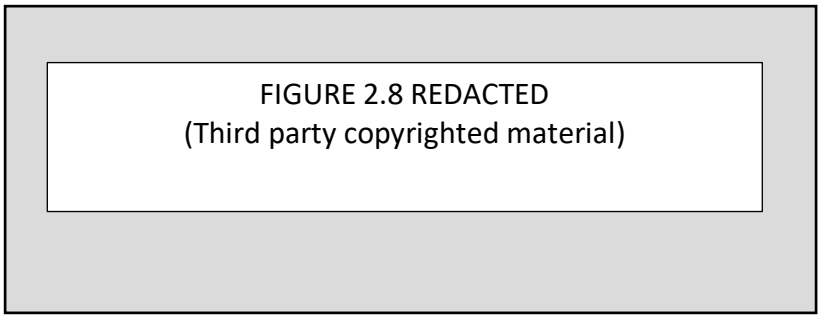

Figure 2.8 Anon, *A Short Discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's Intentions Touching the Anabaptists in the Army* ([London]: [1655]), A4^{r} (detail). Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Crawford.ET.s.1655/9.

Trapnel herself seems to have embraced the idea of participating in a community of shared spiritual ideas and collective experience. For example, in her autobiographical work, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, Trapnel expresses joy at being imprisoned in the same room in which Christopher Feake (a fellow, prominent Fifth Monarchist) had recently been confined:

> I was had to my Chamber, which was Mr. *Feaks* prison first; so that I was quickly raised in my Joy, in thinking of that prayer, which had been put up in that room, for the coming of King Jesus to raign on earth, and to throw down *Babylon,* for this did that dear servant of Christ cry earnestly, and the Lord made an unworthy handmaid to second those cryings, and to ring a peal to *Whitehall* ward, but they had not a mind to hearken, though the cry of a stone was brought near them again.[205]

In this passage, Trapnel stresses a close experiential and ideological affinity with Feake, which is confirmed for her by them inhabiting the same physical space of confinement (albeit

[205] Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, F3^{r}.

at different times). This description is one of many references to fellow imprisoned Fifth Monarchists in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea,* and Wray has argued that this repeated 'evocation of an imprisoned collective […] bonds Trapnel to others' and stresses 'the similarity of her life pattern to that of other group members' who share the same sufferings and physical spaces as her.[206]

The passage quoted above also alludes to Trapnel and Feake's shared commitment to warning others about 'the coming of King Jesus'. In particular, Trapnel depicts herself as 'an unworthy handmaid to second those cryings' already 'put up in that room' on that subject by Feake. By using the word 'cryings' here, Trapnel also evokes the title of one of her pamphlets, *The Cry of a Stone* (1654)*,* which records her prophetic orations delivered at Whitehall in 1654.[207] In the same year that *The Cry of a Stone* was printed, Feake produced a pamphlet entitled *The New Non-Conformist* (1654), which describes him as 'Crying, From his Watch-tower at W. C. [Windsor Castle] Unto his Little Flock at W. L. [Warwick Lane, London] With a loud voice'.[208] Thus, when Trapnel depicts herself as seconding Feake's 'cryings', she seems to simultaneously echo the title of her own pamphlet (*The Cry of a Stone)* and Feake's text's description of him loudly 'Crying' out to the city below. In this way, Trapnel's language works to intertwine her and Feake's religious proclamations and publications, just as she emphasises how their experiences intersect within the same geographic space of the prison.

[206] Ramona Wray, *Women Writers of the Seventeenth Century* (Tavistock: Northcote House Publishers Ltd, 2004), pp. 61–2.
[207] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*.
[208] Christopher Feake, *The New Non-Conformist* (London: 1654)*,* A1ʳ.

This strong sense of connection between Trapnel and Feake is further intensified by the typography shared by both of their publications. Notably, the scrolling motifs decorating Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 match the design of those found in Feake's *The New Non-Conformist* (see Figure 2.9 below).[209] Once again, these shared typographic elements provide a visual articulation of Trapnel's intimate and sustained connection to the members of her religious community over time. This was a group with whom she shared ideological thoughts and modes of expression, as well as the physical spaces of prison cells and printing houses.

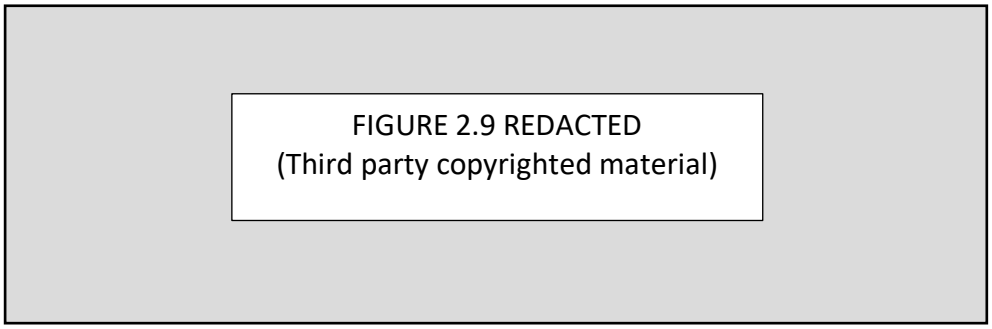

Figure 2.9 Christopher Feake, *The New Non-Conformist* (London: 1654), B1^{r} (detail). California, San Marino, Huntington Library, RB320794.

Throughout Trapnel's prophetic discourse, community and the sharing of material spaces and resources are a central concern. In Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 prophecies, she repeatedly references a group of 'companions' gathered together to hear her prophetic utterances. For example, in a typical passage, Trapnel concludes by saying 'Companions now go home and praise; / And those that do stay here / Will also return thanks to the Lord' (DDD3^{r}). On another occasion, Trapnel states, 'O Companions, now praise the Lord / […] And we that stay under this roof, / We also praise his Name' (HH4^{v}). In this way, Trapnel articulates a consciousness of her community's presence and location, as she verbally

[209] Ibid., G1^{r} and B1^{r}; See also the headers in Christopher Feake, *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle* (London: 1655), B1^{r}, B3^{v} and Q2^{v} and Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, [B]1^{r}.

acknowledges their shared worship in the same building. Fittingly, the prophecies that Trapnel orated in this shared communal space appear to have then been printed in a printing house that was another location shared by members of her community.

These rhetorical and typographic signifiers of community may have seemed especially significant in the late 1650s. Scholars have suggested that by late 1657 Trapnel was part of a radical faction of Fifth Monarchists who had broken away from John Simpson's open-communion congregation at Allhallows the Great following a dispute over whether to support Cromwell.[210] This has led Longfellow to suggest that Arch A. C. 16 may have been an attempt to provide this 'radical offshoot' of companions with a 'new Fifth Monarchist Bible' to rally around.[211] Indeed, Arch A. C. 16's heft and scale might plausibly have provided a reassuring anchor about which Trapnel's smaller faction could unite. In addition, as I have discussed, Arch A. C. 16's typeface and decorative headers also position Trapnel's prophecies in community with the publications produced by her associates earlier in the decade. The typography shared between Arch A. C. 16 and those earlier Fifth Monarchist pamphlets, written by Feake and others, may also have provided an authorising sign that Trapnel's religious faction was continuing to second the cries and spiritual mission of her religious group.

[210] See James Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (London: Verso, 2000), p. 298 and Adcock, p. 147.
[211] Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, p. 171.

FIGURE 2.10 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.10 Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London: 1654), A2^{r} (detail). London, Library of the Society of Friends, Box 579/4 Copy /17908.

FIGURE 2.11 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.11 Anna Trapnel, *A Legacy for Saints* (London: 1654), A2^{r} (detail). London, The British Library, 1419.c.29.

FIGURE 2.12 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.12 Anna Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone* (London: 1654), A2^{r} (detail). Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA. 1. 12. (38).

The typographic features in Arch A. C. 16 also assert a reassuring intertextual connection between this work and Trapnel's publications produced earlier in the decade. Printed in 1654, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (the work in which Trapnel describes being imprisoned in the same room as Feake) includes a decorative header with motifs matching the style of those used in Arch A. C. 16 (see Figure 2.10 above). *Report and Plea* was produced around five years earlier than Arch A. C. 16, but the visual connection between these two works suggests a continuity in the networks, places and materials of production utilised by Trapnel and her supporters throughout the decade. In addition, there are several further typographic resemblances to be discovered amongst Trapnel's other publications. For example, in Trapnel's *A Legacy for Saints* (1654) the classical woodblock ornament at the top of page A2^{r} appears to be identical to the decoration featured at the start of *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) (see Figures 2.11 and 2.12 above). Such points of typographic convergence imply the use of the same spaces and equipment of production in a way that reinforces the other affinities between these Trapnel works. All of these prophetic texts originate from the body of the same prophet, but their material forms are also coded with signs of being produced by the same printers and bodies of type too. In this way, shared typographic features weave a through line of visual continuity that links Trapnel's printed prophecies across the 1650s.

These intertextual typographic connections help to evidence and support Trapnel's frequent claims that her prophetic discourse is a continuing thread of sustained spiritual communication with God. For example, in the prophecies recorded in Arch A. C. 16, Trapnel frequently refers to the fact that she has been receiving prophetic visions for fourteen years, and so the verses in this volume should only be interpreted as the latest of 'those sealings of love / The which for fourteen years together / She hath had from above' (Hhh1^{r}).[212] Trapnel

[212] In 1643, Trapnel's mother died and Trapnel was told by her Aunt to 'labour to be married to Christ'; Trapnel, *A Legacy for Saints,* C1^{v}. Accordingly, in Arch A. C. 16's prophecies dated 1657, Trapnel frequently describes herself entering into a mystical marriage or 'sealing' with God fourteen years previously (i.e. in 1643 at the time of her mother's death). For example, Trapnel states that 'fourteen years ago I did / From King *Solomon* so find. / A lovely seal, a lovely seal,/ It's fresh upon my heart' (Ddd3^{r}). Trapnel's use of mystic marriage imagery in Arch. A. C. 16 is discussed in Adcock, p. 153 and Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, p. 168.

also presents the longevity of her religious experiences as proof of her prophetic authority, stating ‘It is glorious to look back to fourteen years sealing: O blessed be the Lord for it […] fourteen years shall experience and declare of thee’ (Y2^{r}). Here, Trapnel suggests that the fourteen-year duration of her experiences declares and evidences God’s glory and commitment to her. Therefore, although the verses in Arch A. C. 16 are all dated to specific days in 1657 and 1658, their repeated references to Trapnel’s fourteen years of prophetic experience remind the reader that the volume’s recorded visions are simply a selected portion of a more than decade-long line of sustained spiritual communication. The typeface used to print these prophecies, and the designs of the printer’s ornaments used to decorate them, functions as another way of ‘looking back’ to these earlier religious ‘sealings’. The recurrence of repeated typographic motifs, shared across Trapnel’s multiple publications, evokes a kind of cumulative visual authority. As such, the material textual form of Trapnel’s prophecies helps to articulate and support her perception of her own sustained and continuing religious authority.

In this way, we can see that the actions and decisions of early modern printing houses help to shape the interpretation of prophetic discourse. For example, a printer’s consistent use of the same decorative headers could, over time, introduce a sense of continuity and community between one prophetic discourse and other printed texts. By contemplating these productional and visual connections between works, we are able to recognise that the textual objects of women’s prophecy were not isolated interventions. Instead, its intertextual typography helps to establish, reveal and evidence a prophetic discourse’s communal and cumulative authority, which may have been particularly important at moments of disruption for a religious community.

Evidence of shared printing in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*

In the previous section I noted that the decorative header in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654) contains motifs that match the design of those used in the headers in Arch A. C. 16 ([1659]), thereby establishing a visual cross-temporal continuity between these two works. In this section, I want to explore a further way in which *Report and Plea*'s material form articulates a sense of textual community and cooperation thanks to the work of its printers. Unlike Arch A. C. 16, *Report and Plea* appears to be a product of multiple different printing houses, and, as I will discuss, the work's typography and pagination signal its co-creation in various ways.

In the first-person narrative of *Report and Plea*, Trapnel describes a journey to Cornwall in early 1654, her subsequent trial by magistrates at Truro's Quarter Sessions in April and then an imprisonment in Bridewell. Rebecca Bullard has convincingly argued that Trapnel adopted a particularly 'self-conscious attitude towards' this autobiographical work, which informed 'both the material form and the rhetoric of her narratives'.[213] Indeed, *Report and Plea* is notable for being voiced and signed by Trapnel herself, whereas her other two major works of 1654 (*The Cry of a Stone* and *A Legacy for Saints*) are mediated by a relator figure who simply provides an account of Trapnel's speech and behaviour on her behalf. In contrast, in *Report and Plea*, it is Trapnel herself who explains to the readers that 'I have left out some things that I thought were not so material to be written' and 'I shall begin to shorten my relation, least I should be too tedious to the Reader'.[214] In the work's preface 'to the Reader' (signed 'A. T.') Trapnel states that, 'a Declaration from my own hand shall follow, not being put on by any, save by the great Instructor'.[215] Such statements indicate Trapnel's own sense of authorial control and the self-conscious way in which she constructed this text with an audience in mind.

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[213] Bullard, 'Textual Disruption', p. 34.
[214] Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, d2^{v}, G3^{r}.
[215] Ibid., A4^{v}.

According to Bullard, Trapnel's confident authorial stance can also be traced in the typography and pagination of *Report and Plea*. In particular, Bullard takes account of an unusual two-leaf gathering of 'd' signatures, which appears in *Report and Plea* between the standard four-leaf gatherings of D and E. Whilst the text itself flows seamlessly across these pages, the two-leaf d gathering in their midst uses significantly smaller type than the D and E gatherings that surround it. Moreover, the d gathering disrupts the continuous pagination of the text by using page numbers 25–28, which are then repeated at the start of the E gathering. This leads Bullard to suggest that the d gathering may have been 'added to the narrative of the *Report and Plea* at a late stage in the production of this pamphlet', which would explain the rupture in pagination and distinct typographic shift wrought by these pages.[216] Whilst it is impossible to confirm exactly why or by whom this d gathering might have been 'added', Bullard conjectures 'that Trapnel's developing sense of her own importance as a writer' may have 'led her to insist that the material contained in the d gathering be inserted into the nearly finished printed copy of the *Report and Plea'*.[217]

It is appealing to suggest that the prophet herself intervened to finalise this part of her narrative. In the d gathering, Trapnel recounts her questioning by Truro justices, and perhaps she completed this account later than the rest of the writing, therefore necessitating the need to demand that it be integrated into the heart of the text. Bullard argues that, at the very least, the mere presence of this 'disruptive d gathering has a rhetorical impact that reinforces the posture of defiant self-assertion that Trapnel adopts throughout the *Report and Plea*'.[218] Just as Trapnel asserts her right to shape her own narrative and to confidently respond to the Truro justices' questioning, the d gathering in *Report and Plea* defiantly disrupts the material form of the text itself. In this way, Bullard's compelling analysis connects the material form of Trapnel's *Report and Plea* with the prophet's confident, authorial voice. The production of Trapnel's text is revealed as one shaped by disruption and

[216] Bullard, 'Textual Disruption', p. 42.
[217] Ibid., p. 48.
[218] Ibid., p. 49.

defiance: the prophet's words demanding to be heard, and the printed form necessarily being unsettled and broken to accommodate extra text.

However, contrary to Bullard, I would argue that it is possible to read *Report and Plea*'s d gathering as a signifier of collaboration and textual community, rather than as an articulation of Trapnel's authorial self-assertion or defiance. In her article, Bullard briefly notes that 'differences in typeface' suggest that two separate printers worked on *Report and Plea,* and that the printer of *Report and Plea*'s A–d gatherings was not the same as the printer of its final E–I gatherings. To this observation, I would add that the A–d group of gatherings in *Report and Plea* appear to be the product of Cottrell's printing house, due to their use of the same typeface and distinctive scrolling decorative motif design that I have identified as characteristic of his output (see Figure 2.10, p. 98).[219] In contrast, the E–I gatherings of *Report and Plea* appear to have been printed in a different typeface, which has far less pronounced head serifs (most noticeable when comparing the forms of the letters 'p' and 'd' throughout the text).

In addition to these typographic differences, there is also a marked disparity in the handling of words terminating in a double s in *Report and Plea*. In the first half of the text (the A–d gatherings), words such as 'witness', 'bless' and 'pass' are consistently rendered with a long s followed by a short s (for example,  ,  ,  and ).[220] In contrast, in the second half of the work (the E–I gatherings) these words are almost entirely spelt with a terminal e and a twin long s ligature (for example,

[219] James Cottrell was active in 1654 and many of the texts attributed to him in this year contain the same decorative motifs used in Arch A. C. 16 and *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654). See, for example, John Biddle, *A Twofold Catechism* (London: 'printed by J. Cottrel', 1654); Nicholas Culpeper, *Opus Astrologicum* (London: 'printed by J. Cottrel', 1654); William Erbery, *The Man of Peace* (London: 'imprinted […] by James Cottrel',1654); William Erbery, *An Olive-Leaf* (London: 'imprinted […] by J. Cottrel',1654); Anon, *More Warning Yet, Being a True Relation of a Strange and Most Dreadful Apparition* (London: 'printed […] by J. Cottrel', 1654).
[220] The word 'witness' is from page D1^{r}, 'bless' from page A2^{r}, 'pass' from page B4^{v}. All images of words in this paragraph are from the copy of *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* held by the British Library in London, shelf mark 489.a.5.

 ,  ,  and ).[221] The two sections also consistently differ in their spelling of Trapnel's name. Whilst the A-d gatherings render the prophet's name with a single L (for example, ) the E–I gatherings add an extra terminal consonant (for example, ).[222] Finally, there are suggestive differences in the text's rendering of the word 'Truro'. In the A–d gatherings the place name is printed with the correct spelling on nine occasions (i.e. ).[223] In contrast, the E–I gatherings do not include the word 'Truro' at all. However, on page H1^{r}, the text does mysteriously refer to the 'Inhabitants of *Fruroir*' (). Given this sentence's context, it is likely that it is referring to the inhabitants of Truro, rather than the non-existent place 'Fruroir'. Thus, Hinds has suggested that 'Fruroir' is probably 'the result of the compositor's misreading of the manuscript's "Truro"': a mistake that is notably not made in the first half of the text. [224] This orthographic disparity between the earlier and latter parts of *Report and Plea* strongly indicates the presence of two distinct compositors and printing-house styles. These pages were produced by different people acting independently according to their own orthographic preferences and differing knowledge (for example, the E-I gatherings' compositor seems to have been unfamiliar with Truro, leading to the location's erroneous spelling).

Furthermore, whilst consulting an unbound copy of *Report and Plea* held by the Library for the Society of Friends, I observed clearly defined, matching watermarks in the folds of the bifoliums H2^{v}–H3^{r}, I1^{v}–I2^{r}, G1^{v}–G4^{r}, F2^{v}–F3^{r}.[225] I could not identify any of these watermarks in pages used for the A–d gatherings. It seems probable therefore that the two

[221] 'righteousnesse' from page E4^{r}, 'witnesse' from page H1^{v}, 'blesse' from page G2^{v}, 'passe' from page G4^{r}. The only exception to these terminal e letters occurs occasionally with italic words, which sometimes end with a ß in the second half of the work.
[222] 'Anna Trapnel' from page D4^{v} and 'Anna Trapnell' from page E2^{r}.
[223] 'Truro' from page A1^{r}. For other instances of 'Truro' see D1^{v}, D2^{r} and d2^{r}.
[224] Hilary Hinds, '"Let the more loving one be me": The Paranoid and Reparative Dynamics of Editing Anna Trapnel's *Report and Plea*, *The Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017), <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/let-the-more-loving-one-be-me-the-paranoid-and-reparative-dynamics-of-editing-anna-trapnels-report-and-plea-1654/> [accessed 27 July 2017] (para. 14 of 29).
[225] London, Library for the Society of Friends, shelf mark Box 579/4.

sections of this text were produced using different paper stocks, which further suggests that the completed work is the co-product of two distinct printing houses.[226]

These discrepancies in watermarks, orthography and typography all indicate that the text for *Report and Plea* was divided between two different printing houses to be composed and printed separately prior to compilation as a single text. McKerrow explains that when single early modern books were produced by different printers, 'we find certain signatures omitted, though the text follows on without a break, or extra signatures are inserted'.[227] According to McKerrow, such irregularities are 'due to the fact that the amount of matter supplied to the various compositors has not filled exactly the space that was allowed for it'.[228] This is probably the case with the extra, shorter d gathering in *Report and Plea.* It is likely that the first printer was told to fit his allotted text on to pages signed A–D, and to finish with the catchword 'I'. Meanwhile, the second printer was instructed to begin their text (beginning with the word 'I') on a page signed E. Alas, the first printer discovered that their text was too large to finish on D4^{v} and was therefore forced to expand on to another two-leaf gathering. Not wishing to duplicate E signatures (which he knew were being used by his co-printer) the printer elected to use a lowercase 'd' signature for the 'overflow' material instead. As such, I would argue that *Report and Plea*'s mysterious d gathering can be interpreted as a consequence of cooperation between two printers, and as a sign that this text was a collective enterprise that had necessitated a creative solution to a problem.[229]

It seems probable that its contemporary readers would have recognised *Report and Plea* as a product of shared printing. As Bullard has argued, 'if binders used signatures to check that the copies of the books they handled were complete, it seems almost

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[226] It was common for a book's publisher to supply the printing house with paper. However, the records of the eighteenth-century Bowyers printers reveal that printing houses sometimes provided their own paper and included this in their charges. This may explain the differences in paper used by the two printers of *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*. See Keith Maslen, *An Early London Printing House at Work: Studies in the Bowyer Ledgers'* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1993), pp. 97–104.
[227] McKerrow, p. 129.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Cottrell didn't always combine extra material in such a subtle way. In 1654 (the same year that *Report and Plea* was published) Cottrell also printed a text by the Seeker clergyman John Brayne entitled *The Divinity of the Trinity* (London: 1654), which includes a penultimate page entitled 'This should have been inserted, page 5. between the 31 and 32 lines' (D4^{r}). Beneath this title are 32 lines of additional text that had not been 'inserted' in their proper place.

inconceivable that readers, paying for copies of a book, did not do likewise'.[230] It is likely then that Trapnel's seventeenth-century readers would have noted the disruptions in markings and typographical presentation in *Report and Plea* at the point of the extra d gathering. It would then only have taken a little bibliographic knowledge to interpret the volume's signatures and pagination as a consequence of the work being a product of multiple printers. Indeed, the book history scholar Peter Blaney has concluded that shared printing was 'extremely common' and well known in seventeenth-century England.[231] I have also discovered multiple references to shared printing in seventeenth-century texts, which imply that readers were expected to recognise and understand the textual consequences of this practice. For example, the lengthy preface to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio, *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), closes with a postscript apologising for the 'different Character' of its opening epistles and explaining that its publishers 'were forced (for expedition) to send the Gentlemens Verses to severall Printers'.[232] Similarly, James Harrington's influential work of political philosophy, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), feels obliged to warn its readers that they will find certain sections 'differently marked from what went before' due to the work being 'dispersed into three Presses'.[233] In both of these quotations, readers are expected to recognise the consequences of shared printing (namely, the 'different Character' of the work's typefaces and its 'differently marked' page signatures), but also to forgive these presentational quirks as understandable consequences of a common, collaborative method of production.

We might therefore assume that many of Trapnel's contemporary readers would have identified signs of shared printing in *Report and Plea*. Thus, whilst the typographic and orthographic differences between the start and finish of *Report and Plea* may seem discordant and disruptive, the way in which these pages come together to form a complete

[230] Rebecca Bullard, 'Signs of the Times? Reading Signatures in Two Late Seventeenth-Century Secret Histories', in *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Eve Patten and Jason McElligott (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 118–133 (p. 119).
[231] Peter W. M. Blaney, 'The Prevalence of Shared Printing in the Seventeenth Century', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* 67 (1973), 437–442 (p. 440).
[232] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (London: 1647), p. [52].
[233] James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (London: 1656), A4^{v}, A3^{r}.

readable work may also have been recognised as a sign of harmonious and resourceful shared labour. Thus, unlike Bullard, I interpret the d gathering in Trapnel's text as a signifier of this work's co-creative textual production: created through two printers compromising and working together as best as they could, rather than as a disruptive, self-conscious assertion of a single author's desire.

In *Report and Plea*, Trapnel does, as Bullard suggests, demonstrate a 'developing sense of her own importance as a writer'.[234] However, the prophet also continues to stress her reliance on the cooperation of others. In particular, *Report and Plea* includes frequent references to Trapnel's friends helping her to bed when she is overcome by the Spirit. For example, she explains that 'my friend that tended me, and some other maids, helpt me to bed […] And that time I had a vision […]'.[235] Later, at the start of her imprisonment in Plymouth, Trapnel explains that 'some women put me to bed, where I lay praying and singing […] and the maid that tended me said, she sate in the bed, wiping away the tears from my eyes'.[236] In these descriptions, Trapnel's spiritual experiences are depicted as being enabled by the physical manipulations of her body by others. In this way, Trapnel receives her prophetic messages because God chooses to communicate with her, but also because her friends help her to lie down and protect her when she is vulnerable. I would argue that this collaborative mode of prophetic publication is materialised in *Report and Plea* as the work's distinct d gathering and shift in typography and orthography signal that two printers manipulated type and pagination to accommodate the continuous flow of Trapnel's discourse. Thus, aspects of the way in which a prophetic work was printed — and the presentational features that reveal those circumstances — can seem supportive of the values expressed in a woman's discourse.

[234] Bullard, 'Textual Disruption', p. 48.
[235] Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, D2^{v}.
[236] Ibid., E4^{r}.

Reading the decorative headers in Arch. A. C. 16

Thus far in this chapter, I have discussed the ways in which a printing house's manipulation of type could revise an earlier publication, establish authorising intertextual and cross-temporal links between works and embed fitting materialisations of a prophet's positive evocations of co-creation and collaboration. However, in this section of the chapter, I want to ask how a printer's participation in shaping the publication of a prophet's discourse might not always seem so harmoniously supportive, and instead introduce moments of semantic tension and discord. In particular, I will return to examining Cottrell's decorative headers and ask how the design and presence of these motifs in Arch A. C. 16 might influence the interpretation of Trapnel's discourse in potentially disruptive ways.

Cottrell's distinctive decorative headers appear before each of Trapnel's recorded prophecies in Arch A. C. 16, thereby providing a pause and introducing each new oration with a visual fanfare. As I have discussed, these headers consist of a single line of baroque scrolling motifs. However, rather than each header being printed from a single block, each constituent motif in the headers appears to have been rendered from a separate piece of type. In Cottrell's printing house, these individual decorative motifs could be arranged in a row to produce headers of varying lengths, as demonstrated by comparing Figures 2.1–2.3 (p. 87) with the shorter headers in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 (p. 88). This method of production is further indicated by the way in which many of Cottrell's headers contain punctuation marks, which have been inserted between individual decorative motifs at varying points. For example, in Figures 2.1–2.4 (pp. 87–8) colons have been inserted between the headers' constituent motifs at different intervals, whilst Figure 2.5 (p. 88) shows a jaunty Cottrell header featuring six exclamation marks.

Cottrell's compositor probably inserted pieces of punctuation between individual decorative motifs as a form of 'furniture', which was a method of ensuring that the set header reached a desired line length.[237] These small adjustments to spacing may have aided the

[237] In his guide to printing, Joseph Moxon defines 'furniture' as pieces of wood (such as 'Head-sticks' and 'Foot-sticks') and explains that 'the office of these [pieces of furniture] […] are to *Lock* up the *Form, viz.* to wedge it up

mechanics of the printing process by making the decorative pieces fit more securely within the metal frame, thereby ensuring a more even impression. The inserted punctuation furniture was also a convenient strategy for aiding the overall aesthetics of the page by ensuring the header's length more pleasingly matched the surrounding text block.

In her analysis of early modern printing ornaments, Juliet Fleming explains that 'in the 1550s French and Italian printers started using types with individual design elements that, put side by side like the letters of a word, composed themselves into serial patterns'.[238] Fleming also notes that these header designs are constructed in a way that mirrors the composition of lines of writing and look 'as much like printed writing as it is possible to look without actually being it'.[239] Consequently, Fleming reads these decorative headers assembled from multiple motifs as an 'exploration and celebration of the intellectual and cognitive resources of the specific technology that is movable type'.[240] The punctuation furniture in Arch A. C. 16's headers seems to be a perfect extension of this 'exploration and celebration' of movable type. Rather than punctuating the written word, exclamation marks, colons and full stops are used by Cottrell's printing house as a playful way to punctuate rows of decorative motifs. As a result, units of language are recontextualised and exposed as objects with a physical heft and ability to insert a fixed space. In this way, Cottrell's punctuated headers celebrate the 'specific technology that is movable type' by highlighting how language gains a materiality through printing. Thus, the headers in Arch A. C. 16 help to signal the art, labour and creative resourcefulness of printing house workers.

However, upon occasion, these punctuated headers seem to pose a curious contradiction to the ideas expressed in Trapnel's discourse. In her prophetic verses, Trapnel frequently articulates a distrust of ornate and decorated forms of language. For example, on

[…] that every *Letter* bearing hard against every next *Letter,* the whole *Form* may *Rise*'; Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises Or, the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing*, vol. 2 (London: 1683), F1^{v}.
[238] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing after Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 63.
[239] Ibid., p. 65.
[240] Ibid.

28 November 1657, Trapnel declares that 'He [Jesus Christ] hath a high esteem of that / Which is sincere, though plain' (H4^{r}). Later that same day, Trapnel complains:

> Dear Lamb, this Generation is so proud,
> Because they hear spangled talk:
> But as for plain and pure Gospel,
> They care not after it to walk.
> They more delight in that which is
> But a vain empty shew: (I1^{r})

In this passage, Trapnel articulates a key component of Reformation rhetoric: the valorisation of simplicity and an attendant condemnation of ornateness. As Jo Carruthers summarises, simplicity as a form of 'stripping away' is a particularly 'Protestant aesthetic', which was 'intimately tied up with popular Reformation theologies of unmediated and direct access to divine revelation'.[241] Accordingly, Trapnel's condemnation of sinful 'spangled talk' centres on the way in which ornamented rhetoric stops listeners from following and delighting in the plainness and transparency of the Gospel.

In practice, this vehement commitment to 'plain' speech is challenging to maintain. As Carruthers also points out, there is something inherently self-contradictory about an ambition to achieve a 'non-aesthetic way of being in the world […] disentangled from affective experience, beyond the "allure" of the world's pleasures and riches', or, in Trapnel's words, beyond its 'vain empty shew'.[242] As a being in the material world, pure simplicity is impossible to attain. Frequently, even in expressing a preference for plainness, a writer's participation in the world and its hierarchy of aesthetics is revealed. Indeed, Trapnel's own discourse celebrates the 'plain and pure' style of the Gospel's writing in the notably un-plain and stylised form of rhyming verse.

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[241] Jo Carruthers, 'The Aesthetics of Simplicity', in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Religion,* ed. by Mark Knight (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 156–66 (p. 157).
[242] Ibid., p. 159.

Furthermore, in advocating rhetorical plainness, Trapnel also makes use of the poetic metaphor ‘spangled talk’. With this phrase, Trapnel disdainfully likens the ‘vain’ speech that people ‘delight in’ to luxurious ‘spangled’ fabrics embroidered with ornamental spangles. These metallic spangles and ‘oes’ (rounded, o-shaped embellishments) were early modern precursors of today’s sequins. The small metallic decorations were produced by hammering rings of gold or silver wire flat, or by punching shapes out of a sheet of metal.[243] Due to the attractive way in which the resulting embellishments glinted in candlelight, the word ‘spangled’ appears frequently in seventeenth-century descriptions of the night sky. For example, in 1633, the Jesuit writer Henry Hawkins described the stars as ‘siluer Oes, al powdred heer and there, or spangles sprinckled ouer the purple Mantle or night-gowne of the heauens’.[244] Consequently, when she metaphorically depicts ‘vain’ speech as ‘spangled talk’, Trapnel is likening elaborate rhetorical discourse to the frivolity and luxury associated with spangled textiles. However, in doing so, she also engages in her own form of rhetorical ornateness, as she constructs a visual metaphor using a word often utilised in the period’s poetic language.

In addition to this distinctly un-simple use of visual imagery, the pages of Trapnel’s Arch A. C. 16 prophecies are also ‘spangled’ with their own form of ornamentation. In fact, I would argue that there is a strong visual similarity between Arch A. C. 16’s decorative headers and the scrolling patterns of the spangled fabrics to which Trapnel dismissively compares un-plain speech (see Figures 2.13 and 2.14 below for examples). The period’s colloquial name for metallic embellishments (‘oes’) already acknowledges a certain visual affinity between decorated textile and textual typography. However, there are further forms of similarity here too. A pamphlet printed in 1658 discusses legislation introduced to protect against ‘Wyer drawers, Silkmen and others […] buying and selling of Gold and Silver’ and

[243] See Cristina Balloffet Carr, ‘The Materials and Techniques of English Embroidery of the Late Tudor and Stuart Eras’, *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (2010) <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mtee/hd_mtee.htm> [accessed 20 March 2019] (paras. 12–13 of 15). The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s website includes close-up images of metallic spangles, see: <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/28.220.3,.4/> [accessed 20 March 2019].
[244] Henry Hawkins, *Partheneia Sacra* ([n.p.]: 1633), H7^{v}.

'not bringing the same unto the *Mint, Exchanges and Goldsmiths* […] as they ought to have done' but instead converting 'the same to the making of Silver thred, Spangles and Oaes, and such like unnecessary things'.[245] Here, this concerned author highlights how the production of spangles involved the transformation of precious commodities into vain 'unnecessary things'. Similarly, the punctuation marks, which are dotted like spangles between the scrolling patterns of Arch A. C. 16's decorative headers, are also signifiers emptied of their grammatical and semantic value in the service of aesthetics. In this way, Arch A. C. 16's spangled/punctuated headers might be read as epitomising the 'vain empty shew' that Trapnel condemns so passionately in her prophecy.

FIGURE 2.13 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.13 'Forehead cloth, 1600-1630. British' (detail). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.101.1243.

FIGURE 2.14 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 2.14 'Pair of Gloves, 1620s. British' (detail). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 64.101.1248.1249.

[245] D. T., *A True Relation of an Imposition Layed by the Late King upon the Manufactures of Gold and Silver-Wyer* (London: 1657), A4^{v}.

On the other hand, the typographic 'showiness' of the headers, which are designed to attract and please the readers of Cottrell's printed products, can also be read as a perfect complement to the tone of Trapnel's orations. Like her mise-en-page, Trapnel does not always practise the plainness and humility she preaches. Opening with eye-catching decorative headers, Trapnel's prophecies frequently close with arresting rhetorical finales as the prophet attempts to appeal directly to an audience she wishes to maintain. Trapnel's verses often conclude with tantalising promises that God will deliver more prophecies soon. For example, one prophecy ends with the lines, 'And to morrow he will send down more, / To make our souls to thrive' (Zzzz2^{v}). Similarly, Trapnel's prophecy dated 'The twenty sixth day of the fourth moneth, 1658' concludes with the prayer: 'O to morrow let them come / Early and attend here / That so they may see what there shall / from *Zions* throne appear' (Uuuuu4^{r}). As advertised, the following chapter in the volume records a prophecy delivered the very next day, and the start of its record is signalled by a punctuated decorative header celebrating the verse's (and the reader's) return. Thus, with its spangled pages, Arch A. C. 16's typography might also be read as colluding with Trapnel's audience-seeking discourse, even whilst embedding a visual contradiction to her advocacy of plain speech.

It may, though, seem strange to 'read' anything at all in non-textual elements such as decorative headers, and to linger for so long on the spaces of the page that appear before Trapnel's speeches even begin. However, as this chapter has shown, there is semantic signification in these non-verbal spaces. In her earlier pamphlet, *The Cry of a Stone* (1654), Trapnel is questioned about the long periods of silence that fall between her prophetic utterances. She responds by describing how during these pauses she is 'swallowed up of the Glory of the Lord'.[246] Trapnel's scribe confirms that 'once she ended' her speech Trapnel cried 'Oh what brightness! What glory! What sweetness! What splendour! Which last word she hardly expressed in a full sound'.[247] Here, the soundless pauses that fall before and after Trapnel's prophetic utterances are characterised as special, productive moments of

[246] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, B4^{r}.
[247] Ibid.

communion with God. In printed texts, including Arch A. C. 16, it is to the workers in the printing house that these important silent spaces are entrusted. As I have shown, the non-textual features that the printing house add to a page of prophetic discourse can be read as productive signifiers within a woman's spiritual discourse: possessing a weight and meaning akin to the non-verbal silences that fall between prophetic utterances.

Conclusion

In February 1654, the journalist and informant Marchamont Nedham prepared a detailed report about a Fifth Monarchist meeting at Allhallows the Great, in London. The account describes the group's subdued atmosphere following the recent arrest of the congregation's leaders Christopher Feake and John Simpson.[248] Nedham records that one of the only figures left to raise the London Fifth Monarchists' spirits was Anna Trapnel. Indeed, the congregation was excited about 'a 2 fold designe now in hand, concerning the prophetesse Hannah who plaid her part lately in whitehall'.[249] The first part of this 'designe' was, according to Nedham, 'to print her discourses & hymmes; the other, to send her abroad all ouer England, to proclaim them, in the name of the Lord, vivâ voce'.[250] Nedham's report explains that Trapnel herself was 'daily perswaded' of this course of action 'by thousands of the ffanatick crew' and 'chiefly by those of Mr. Simpson's congregation'.[251] Nedham also saw the prophecies due to be printed 'in the hand of a man, who staid in the womans chamber when she uter'd them day by day in her trance, as they call it'.[252] Unfortunately, Nedham could not read the pages in full because the man was going 'in haste' to London, to 'confer with the woman her self, and with divers others of her ffriends, about the publishing' of them.[253]

[248] London, The National Archives, SP 18/66, f. 38.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Ibid.

Whilst it is likely that Nedham was exaggerating in his claim that ‘thousands’ of people were urging Trapnel to print her religious discourses, his wonderfully detailed report does indicate that a whole community of people were involved in Trapnel’s publication plans in 1654. Indeed, during his visit, Nedham discovered that the ‘designe’ to print Trapnel’s prophecies was a passionate group goal for the Fifth Monarchist congregation. For this community, Trapnel’s printed texts were conceived of as a project to be worked on collectively through conferences between the prophet, her scribe, the congregation and ‘divers others’.

In this chapter’s analysis of Arch A. C. 16, I have worked to revise our understanding of this collective ‘designe’ to publish Trapnel’s ‘discourses & hymmes’ in the late 1650s. My analyses have reframed Arch A. C. 16 as a careful revision of an earlier publication. I have also suggested that the printer James Cottrell may have been amongst the ‘divers others’ consulted and involved in facilitating the publication of Trapnel’s prophecies during the decade. As I have demonstrated, early modern printing houses such as Cottrell’s encoded the texts they produced with markers of their places of production. These markers (including matching decorative headers) could then signify a work and a prophet’s participation in a broader community of social, religious and textual affiliation. In this way, I have argued that the textual objects of women’s prophecy are not isolated interventions, unconnected to other works or temporal moments. Instead, the publication of a woman’s spiritual discourse could involve returning to an older text and revising it, and these publishing endeavours were often linked to the cumulative and co-supportive activities of a wider religious community.

This chapter has also considered the ways in which typographic features might shape the reception of seventeenth-century women’s prophecy in complex ways. In the case of Arch A. C. 16, Cottrell’s distinctive typography might seem to contradict Trapnel’s own desires to promote a religious rhetoric of simplicity. On the other hand, the volume’s eye-catching headers perhaps also collaborate with the prophet’s endeavours to engage her audience. Similarly, the signifiers of shared printing in *Anna Trapnel’s Report and Plea* (1654) could be interpreted as a disruptive consequence of independent authorial agency, or

as an evocation of shared labour and collaborative endeavour. Consequently, when we undertake an exploration of the connections between meaning and material form, we must be alive to the possibility that a work's typography might contradict, as well as support, a prophet's spiritual message. Thus, when religious communities had a 'designe' to publish a woman's prophetic discourse, its form was designed and directed in affiliation with the printing house.

Chapter 3: '*We are his workmanship'*: the role of the relator in Henry Jessey's and Sarah Wight's *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I investigated the ways in which workers in the printing house shaped the form and potential interpretations of Anna Trapnel's prophetic discourse. However, in addition to these printers and compositors, Trapnel's publications were also facilitated by the person (or people) responsible for writing down and relating the prophecies she delivered orally. This process of relation, and the way in which it both influences, and is revealed by, the form of prophecy's material texts, will be the focus of this chapter.

In Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume, the scribe's role is referenced in italicised asides, which are interspersed throughout the prophet's verses to explain, for example, that '*This is as much as was taken that day'* (Zzzzz2^{v}). Due to such references, the reader is repeatedly reminded that the extent and form of the words on the page are dependent upon how (and for how long) Trapnel's discourse '*was taken*' down by her scribe. Trapnel's scribe is also mentioned in Nedham's 1654 report from Allhallows the Great, in which he describes witnessing a transcription of Trapnel's orations clutched 'in the hand of a man, who staid in the womans chamber when she uter'd them day by day in her trance'.[254] This man was probably the anonymous 'Relator' who is frequently referenced in Trapnel's pamphlet *The Cry of a Stone* (1654). Like Arch A. C. 16, this text claims to record Trapnel's prophetic orations only '*as the Relator could take them',* and it admits that sometimes its textual record is incomplete due to 'the press of people in the Chamber', the 'lownesse of her [Trapnel's] voice', and because there was 'no light in the chamber' for the 'Relator' to write by in the evenings.[255] In these statements, the text confesses its dependency on material conditions beyond the control of its producers, and acknowledges that its accuracy was contingent

[254] London, The National Archives, SP 18/66, f. 38.
[255] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, F2^{r}, I1^{v}, G1^{v}.

upon the abilities of its relator to accurately hear and record the prophet. Nevertheless, the preface to *The Cry of a Stone* explains that its relator persevered, due to a desire that '*the things herein related may come to the knowledge, and reach the hand of them whom they especially concern*'.[256] In this way, transcriptions of oral prophecy acknowledge their potential shortcomings, whilst also celebrating their ability to place a textual record in the hands of readers.

Analysing the complex negotiations of textual authority involved in such prophetic texts, Wray observes that:

> Claims of ownership and forms of authorial identification are thrown into doubt by texts which illuminate […] the networks of collusion and revision, prompting and repression, through which she [the female prophet] is constituted. These are cultural productions which, sometimes as part of a self-confessed agenda, sometimes in spite of themselves, acknowledge the stages through which the 'I' must pass, the phases that contribute to the self's enunciability and viability.[257]

Here, Wray describes the complicated network of subject positions involved in many seventeenth-century prophetic texts. In divinely inspired discourse, the 'I' of the speaker is complicated by their claims to directly channel God's voice with their own. Moreover, if the prophet's inspired speech is then recorded by a scribe prior to its publication, then their spiritual discourse also passes through a further mediating lens of potential 'collusion and revision, prompting and repression' before reaching its reader. This scribal mediation constructs a more obviously complex and layered form of textual record than that found in the personally handwritten manuscripts of Grace Cary, which (as discussed in Chapter One) appear to have been inscribed by the prophet herself.

As the quoted passage from Wray highlights, prophetic texts can make readers aware of their layers of mediation through a 'self-confessed agenda' or 'in spite of

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[256] Ibid., a2^{v}.
[257] Wray, '"What say you to [this] book?"', p. 419. Wray is talking specifically about Anna Trapnel in this passage.

themselves'. Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* and Arch A. C. 16 self-confess their production by relators who struggled to transcribe Trapnel's words due to the conditions in her chamber. In contrast, other prophetic texts are far less transparent about the influence and failings of their scribes, and the role of mediating figures is often downplayed or indicated to readers inadvertently. This tension — between open confession and inadvertent exposure — will be appraised as part of this chapter's examination of the ways in which material textual forms could conceal, reveal or betray the influence of a prophet's relator.

To conduct this analysis of textual form and prophetic relation, this chapter will focus on *The Exceeding Riches of Grace,* a work in which the prophetic orations of Sarah Wight are recounted by her '*Relator*' and 'ear-witnes' Henry Jessey, a non-conformist minister in London.[258] First printed in 1647, and then published in seven different editions before the end of the 1650s, *The Exceeding Riches* relates how Wight was 'struck deafe, blind, and lame; and terrified beyond measure' in April 1647 (1647a, B2^{r}). Jessey explains that the paralysed, bedbound Wight entered a trance-like state and 'this was the time of love, when the exceeding riches of grace was advanced' to her by God (1647a, B8^{r}). The reader of *The Exceeding Riches* is informed by Jessey that once Wight awoke from her trance, '*the Lord enabled this* weak earthen vessell *to utter forth* ex tempore, *in* Soliloquies' from April until June 1647 (1647a, A6^{r}). Jessey's account stresses that Wight's ability to deliver these prophetic speeches was divinely 'enabled' (1647a, A6^{r}). For example, Jessey explains that Wight used to be 'slow of speech', but after receiving the riches of grace the frail young woman could be heard 'speaking as with a new tongue' and '*drawing out the Gospel*-Marrow […] *as if it had been by some ancient, experienced* Minister *of the Gospel, and not by a Childe'* (1647a, A6^{r}). A gift from God, Wight's newfound eloquence allowed her to 'testifie and minister that Grace of God that shee had received, unto others' (1647a, K4^{r}).

[258] Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, 1st edn (London: 1647a), A1^{r}. All further page references to this work will be provided as in-text citations. These in-text references will be prefaced with the date of the specific edition being referred to, i.e. 1647a for the first edition, 1647b for the second edition, 1648a for the third edition, 1648b for the fourth edition, 1652 for the sixth edition and 1658 for the seventh edition. No copy of the fifth edition is extant.

Meanwhile, Jessey's *The Exceeding Riches* is presented as a vital method for enabling and continuing that ministry.

Critics have been interested in examining the power dynamic between Jessey, who was aged forty-six in 1647, and Wight, who was only aged fifteen when she began to prophesy. Mary Elizabeth Fissell has suggested that both Jessey and Wight are 'actively involved in producing the book: Wight through her speech and actions, and Jessey through his writing'.[259] However, Susan Wiseman has observed that distinguishing between Wight's 'speech' and Jessey's 'writing' is not always easy in a text in which Jessey's involvement and frequent editorial interpolations prompt 'questions of agency and authorship' that leave us uncertain about 'whose will is at work' and 'who might be considered author of the text'.[260] For Marcus Nevitt, however, the dominant authorial will in this text is clear, and he argues that 'Jessey's heavy editorial hand can be felt throughout the pamphlet'.[261] Indeed, Nevitt notes that 'Jessey's guiding influence on Wight as spiritual leader, amanuensis and editor of the work are such that the influential radical preacher John Saltmarsh wrote approvingly to Jessey declaring that "I find in this spiritual Treatise *of yours* … things very experimental [exemplary]"'.[262] In this approving letter (which is printed among the paratextual materials at the start of *The Exceeding Riches*), Saltmarsh clearly identifies this work as Jessey's own production, rather than as a text belonging to Wight (or God).

Nevertheless, in this chapter, I will present an analysis of *The Exceeding Riches* that complicates Saltmarsh's and Nevitt's claims that Jessey controls this text with a 'heavy editorial hand'. Instead, my analysis will highlight ways in which a prophecy's textual form might signal (whether deliberately or in spite of itself) its relator's absence, abdicated responsibility and passivity. I begin this reframing by inspecting the semantics of the typographic schema in *The Exceeding Riches* and by suggesting ways in which italicisation could be used to indicate a relator's authorising refusal to interfere with a woman's prophetic

[259] Fissell, p. 119.
[260] Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, p. 99.
[261] Nevitt, p. 16. The italicisation of 'yours' is Nevitt's.
[262] Ibid.

discourse. I then turn to exploring more unintended textual features as I consider how printing errors might betray a relator's lack of control over his text's production. Here, I also discuss practices of printing from standing type and suggest that these methods produce textual forms that are expressive of non-work and inaction. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the multiple editions of *The Exceeding Riches,* during which I suggest that their repetitive production may articulate a desire for passivity and patience.

Italicisation and the authoritative relation of prophecy

On its title page, *The Exceeding Riches* declares that it is 'published for the Refreshing of poor souls, by an *Eye and Ear-Witnes of a good part thereof, Henry Jesse, a servant of Jesus Christ*' (1647a, A1^{r}). Elizabeth Bouldin has suggested that Jessey's involvement and 'ministerial status' were 'central to establishing Wight as credible', and that, by taking clear responsibility for publishing her discourse, the Baptist minister 'offered Wight protection from common accusations against female religious radicals, such as witchcraft or feigning'.[263] Nevertheless, it is not Jessey's 'ministerial status' or credentials as a preacher that are promoted on the title page of *The Exceeding Riches*. Instead, Jessey is introduced primarily as a reliable source, who is authoritative because he directly witnessed Wight's prophesying with his own eyes and ears. Accordingly, throughout the text, Jessey is most commonly referred to in the third person, as the 'relator' of Sarah Wight's words and experiences. This term 'relator' was widely used in the early modern period to refer to anyone responsible for 'relating' an account of an event. For example, in John Florio's *Worlde of Words* (1598) he translates the Italian term 'Relatore' as, 'a relator, a reporter, a declarer, a teller', thereby suggesting a synonymity between acts of relating and reporting, telling and declaring.[264]

Additionally, though, as Frances E. Dolan has observed, claiming the role of 'relator' also involved making a 'particular claim on the reader's trust or belief'.[265] In the seventeenth

[263] Bouldin, p. 31.
[264] John Florio, *A Worlde of Words* (London: 1598), Dd2^{v}.
[265] Frances E. Dolan, *True Relations: Reading, Literature and Evidence in Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 2.

century, hundreds of texts were framed as 'True Relations', and Dolan notes that these works 'often' attempted to 'present themselves as credible accounts of happenings they worry readers may find incredible' and frequently responded 'to other relations they disparage as inaccurate'.[266] This connection between producing a 'relation' and making a competed claim to accuracy and truth is exemplified by Anna Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* (1654). This work's preface complains that 'various reports' of Trapnel's trance at Whitehall have recently 'gone abroad' in which 'the things she [Trapnel] spake' are 'deformed and disguised with the pervertings and depravings of the Reporters'.[267] In contrast, the anonymous 'Relator' of *The Cry of a Stone* claims to 'present to publick view a true and faithful Relation' of Trapnel's orations.[268] Similarly, in *The Exceeding Riches,* Jessey laments that some other witnesses to Wight's prophesying 'did *distract* from, and wrested her Expressions; and then raised an *ill* report', which has '*spread* already'.[269] In this way, Jessey acknowledges that he is not the only source from whom readers might receive an account of Wight's discourse. Consequently, he must demonstrate that he alone is the relator who will not 'distract', or wrest the spiritual truth, from Wight's words in his relation.

In *The Exceeding Riches*, Jessey attempts to convince his readers that he has not deviated from Wight's prophetic utterances by detailing how his relation was produced. For example, in order to reassure us that we can 'beleeve what wonders are here mentioned' (1647a, sig. a1^{r}), Jessey uses his preface to explain that his account of Wight's discourse was created through first-hand observation and through testimonies from Wight's mother and maid:

> Of the expressions from *pag. 35.* To the end of the Book, the *Relator* was with them [Wight's mother and maid], an eare-witnes generally. (A great part of nine leaves, was taken by him from the Relation of

[266] Ibid., p. 3.
[267] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, A1^{r}.
[268] Ibid.
[269] 'To wrest' something means to distort or contort it, and this verb was frequently used to condemn writers or readers accused of misapplying or appropriating the words of others. For example, see the accusation that an opponent 'wrested a word from its proper and usual signification' in Richard Smith, *Of the Al-Sufficient External Proposer of Matters of Faith* (Paris: 1653), K1^{v}.

> them [Wight's mother and maid], or one of them, being writ as they spake, *Verbatim*; (*viz.* from *pag*. 19. To *pag.* 35.) Some of the *Repetitions* therein […] being taken with the rest; so passed to the Presse with the rest: which now the *Relator* likes not wishing they had been forborne. […]) (1647a, sig. a1^{r}–a1^{v})

Here, Jessey's references to page spans grant his claims to diligence a material heft, as he connects his sources to verifiable, physical pages within the book in the reader's hands. Meanwhile, Jessey defends the fact that 'nine leaves' of his account are a product of the 'Relation' of Wight's mother and maid, by asserting that the text was 'writ as' these witnesses 'spake'. This claim to a simultaneous production of speech and writing establishes a sense of authorising immediacy, implying there was no time for the accounts of these witnesses to be adjusted or altered. Moreover, Jessey also notes that certain repetitions in Wight's discourse 'being taken with the rest; so passed to the Presses with the rest' (1647a, a1^{v}). With this statement, Jessey conjures an image of a continuous and unstoppable process of textual production. Divinely inspired words are swiftly 'passed' from the prophet, to her witnesses, to her relator and then to the printing press without the possibility of them being forgotten, edited or changed. Thus, even though Jessey personally 'likes not' the '*Repetitions*' in the text of *The Exceeding Riches*, he did not, or could not, intervene to alter them before they went to press.

Evidencing Jessey's claims not to have interfered with Wight's words, the prophetic speeches recorded in *The Exceeding Riches* do contain (apparently unedited) '*Repetitions*' spoken by the prophet. For example, Jessey records that Wight proclaimed:

> *A dying Christ, for a denying* Peter; *a dying Christ, for a denying* Peter; *a dying Christ, for a denying* Peter. Peter *denied him, and yet he dyed for him*. *Goe tell* Peter! *Goe tell* Peter! *Ah* Peter! And then she paused a while, as admiring it: and proceeded thus: *For a Peter! For a* Mary Magdalen! (1647a, B8^{v}–C1^{r})

This passage exemplifies the polyvocality of *The Exceeding Riches.* Here, there is a stark stylistic difference between the repetitious exclamations that form the ecstatic cadences of Wight's prophetic speech and Jessey's much more sober intervening commentary on them. In this quoted extract, Wight's reiterated cries of 'Peter!' build to a dramatic crescendo that is then interrupted by Jessey informing his readers that the prophet 'paused a while' before proceeding. This rather anticlimactic editorial intervention demonstrates Jessey's commitment to recording every detail of Wight's discourse, even its silences. Moreover, Jessey's interruptions remind us of the presence of two voices in this text. Here, Wight's prophetic, repetitious phrases contrast so starkly with Jessey's sober, informative statements that it is hard to imagine the two become confused or intertwined.

The typography in this passage also works to reinforce the idea that Jessey and Wight's words are distinct and easily distinguishable from each other. Throughout the main text of *The Exceeding Riches*, when Wight's utterances are quoted directly they are usually italicised, whereas Jessey's words are depicted in roman lettering. This typographic binary is established very early on in the text when Jessey explains that on the 10 April 1647 Wight broke her silent trance and 'began to expresse the first expressions of comforts' she had received from Christ (1647a, B8^{v}). Jessey describes this commencement of Wight's prophesying in a passage of roman type that finishes, 'And thus shee began:'. The transcription of Wight's speech that follows is then printed in italics. Thereafter, when the text shifts from Jessey's descriptions and explanations to a purported direct quotation from the prophet herself, the appearance of the writing on the page shifts too. In this way, the letters on the page pitch forward at the arrival of Wight's divinely inspired voice, as though leaning into her discourse in imitation of the bowed heads straining to hear Wight's whispered orations, which we are told 'could be heard by none, but that were very neer her' *(*1647a, B2^{r}).

In the earliest days of printing (when black-letter type was commonly used for the main body of the text) both roman and italic type were used to mark textual difference. However, as Joseph F. Loewenstein explains, 'roman soon lost its emphatic quality' and

'when black-letter lost its dominance of the English printed page, roman took its place', whilst italics 'retained their alien aura […] as the type of quotation, of accuracy, obtrusion, assertion'.[270] On the seventeenth-century printed page, italicisation remained a differential type, which was commonly used to separate a work's preface from its main roman-lettered text, or to signal quotations or words in a foreign language. Additionally, in 1676, Joseph Moxon advised that 'if your Inscription be *Roman,* and the Names of Persons or Places fall in, you must make the Names *Italick* Letters'.[271] Thus, by the seventeenth century, roman typography was generally accepted as the style of lettering best suited to printing a work's main text, whilst italics were used to mark people, places and moments of textual difference.

The Exceeding Riches makes use of this established language of typographic distinction. Its pages rely on the capacity for italics to signal textual difference in order to mark a separation between Wight's divinely inspired utterances and Jessey's earthly commentary upon them. Moreover, as James Ramsey Wallen describes, italics also 'indicate an absence, at the very least the absence of whatever normal or 'standard' font they are being used to supplement'.[272] Thus, in *The Exceeding Riches,* the italicisation of Wight's speech is designed to signal 'an absence' of Jessey's voice on the page. In this way, the italics provide a typographic materialisation of Jessey's self-authorising claims to step back and not interfere with Wight's words, but instead to relate their channelled prophetic messages to the reader undistorted.

This use of differential italics in *The Exceeding Riches* also means that the text resembles the authoritative appearance of printed scripture. In the vernacular Bibles of the English Reformation, italicisation was used to indicate where translators had been forced to add words to make elliptical Greek and Hebrew phrases more comprehensible to English readers. The book historian Walter F. Specht has suggested that this practice of italicisation

[270] Joseph F. Loewenstein, '*Idem:* Italics and the Genetics of Authorship', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 205–24 (p. 224).
[271] Joseph Moxon, *Regulae Trium Ordinum Literarum Typographicarum* (London: 1676), B3^{v}.
[272] James Ramsey Wallen, '"Let Us Italicise": Blurring Form and Content in Derrida', *European Journal of English Studies*, 17 (2013), 41–53 (p. 44).

was first used in English Bibles in 1557.[273] In this year, William Whittingham prepared a revision of Tyndale's English New Testament that used italics to mark additions. Shortly after, the translators of the new Geneva Bible explained in their preface that wherever 'the necessitie of the sentence required any thyng to be added […] we have put it in the text with another kynde of lettre, that it may be easily discerned from the common lettre'.[274] Adopting this convention, the very first copies of the King James Bible (printed in 1611) were produced in black-letter, with roman type used for translator additions. By 1612, editions of the authorised Bible began to employ roman type for their body text and italics to signal any lexical additions made by their translators.

These vernacular Bibles established a style of mise-en-page that continued throughout the century, and for many English Protestants the interplay of roman and italic typography found in their Bibles became a proof of their Church's integrity. For example, in 1678, the Church of England clergyman Anthony Horneck wrote a text entitled *A Letter From a Protestant Gentleman to a Lady Revolted to the Church of Rome.* In this text, Horneck defends English translations of scripture by explaining that 'the Honesty of our Translators appears sufficiently from hence, because [...] where they do but in the least vary from the Original, they either discover it by the Italick Character, or give you a notice of it in the Margin'.[275] Here, the typography in English translations of the Bible provides Horneck with visible evidence of the 'honesty' and accuracy of Protestantism's scriptural translations. In a similar way, the systematic variation of typography in *The Exceeding Riches* is perhaps intended to assure its readers that the work is an accurate record of Wight's divine message. Like the word of God in English Bibles, Wight's words are typographically distinguished from the intercessions of her editor, suggesting that her discourse is perceived as spiritually important and worthy of particular distinction and protection.

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[273] Walter F. Specht, 'The Use of Italics in English Versions of the New Testament', *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 6.1 (1968), 89–109.
[274] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva: 1560), ***4^{r}–***4^{v}.
[275] Anthony Horneck, *A Letter from a Protestant Gentleman to a Lady Revolted to the Church of Rome* (London: 1678), C4^{v}.

Nevertheless, whilst the typographic schema in *The Exceeding Riches* might attempt to signal that Wight's words have not been manipulated or changed, this careful system of differentiation also serves to highlight just how heavily Wight's divinely inspired discourse is controlled and mediated by others. The responsibility for erecting the text's typographic distinctions probably fell to workers in the printing house. In his 1683 guide to printing, Joseph Moxon explains that 'it is necessary that a Compositor be a good English Schollar' so he knows '*when (to render the sence of the Author more intelligent to the Reader) to* Set *some Words or Sentences in* Italics *or* English Letters'.[276] Additionally, in 1688, Randall Holme suggested that it is the printing house's 'corrector' or proof-reader who instructs compositors where to italicise, explaining that, 'if words in Coppies are to be set in Italick […] they are to have a line or lines drawn under them'.[277] Such typographical decisions may also have been made by authors. Thus, in a pamphlet printed in 1657, the preacher Joseph Stalham denied allegations that he had dishonestly inserted an extra word into a passage quoted from one of his opponents by claiming that he had 'ordered it [the alleged extra word] to be printed as my own phrase, not his, in a differing letter from his; and accordingly it was so printed'.[278] Consequently, italics are the product of a sequence of decisions and actions taken by multiple people. In *The Exceeding Riches*, italicisation may attempt to signal that Wight's discourse is isolated, distinct and unchanged, but its typographic manipulation also reveals the extent to which the prophet's words are subject to the mediation of multiple figures.

At the start of *The Exceeding Riches*, Jessey himself openly reveals a personal responsibility for the work's typographic variation. In a letter to Wight's brother that forms part of the paratextual materials assembled at the start of *The Exceeding Riches,* Jessey admits that he has '*added*' to Wight's utterances '*where there seemed either to want two or*

[276] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises: or, the Doctrine of Handy-Works. Applied to the Art of Printing,* vol. 2 (London, 1683), Ee1^{v}.
[277] Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory* (Chester: 1688), P2^{r}.
[278] John Stalham, *The Reviler Rebuked* (London: 1657), K4^{v}.

three words' in the accounts provided by her witnesses (1647a, A6^{r}).[279] Jessey also explicitly states that any words that he has added to Wight's speeches were '*appointed to be put in a* differing letter' so that readers might distinguish them and '*see, how little, and how likely*' his editorial changes were (1647a, A6^{r}).[280] Here, Jessey reveals that the system of differing typography in *The Exceeding Riches* is a deliberate consequence of his own principles and diligence as its relator. Thus, in the process of defending himself against potential allegations of having silently interfered with Wight's words, Jessey also frames the entire appearance of this work's printed page as a manifestation of his overarching editorial control.

Hitherto, critics have tended to only briefly comment on the use of italicisation in women's prophetic texts, without contextualising these typographic decisions in relation to broader early modern printing practices.[281] However, as I have shown here, italic typography could function as an important site for a prophetic work's complex negotiations of textual authority and agency. In *The Exceeding Riches*, the volume's typographic system of textual differentiation allows its pages to evoke the prestigious and authorising appearance of vernacular scripture. Moreover, by italicising Wight's words, Jessey authorises his relation of her divinely inspired discourse by signalling his commitment to preserving her words intact and distinct from his own. However, such typographic schemas also rely on workers in the printing house for their execution and betray the number of decisions and hands responsible for shaping and mediating women's prophetic discourse in print. On these pages, Wight's words are italicised upon Jessey's roman-lettered command, and therefore their typographic presentation signals his ultimate control over their mediation.

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[279] Following the first edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, all subsequent editions of the work edit this letter so that it is addressed to Wight's mother rather than her brother. I have been unable to deduce any reason for this change, and the work's other references to Wight's brother are not removed in later editions.

[280] There is something self-aggrandising about Jessey's choice of the verb 'appointed' here, which was a legalistic term often used to describe decrees established by a monarch, parliament, the Church, or God. For example, a history text printed in 1652 explains that Pope Pious 'appointed Nuns, and that *Easter* should be kept on Sunday'; that 'Justices appointed Prince *Arthur*'s body digged out'; that 'London is appointed to be governed by a Mayor'; and that 'God hath appointed two Guides and Conductors of Mans life': Alexander Ross, *The History of the World: The Second Part* (London: 1652), Pppp3^{v}, Kkkk4^{v}, Qqqq1^{r}, a1^{r}–a1^{v}.

[281] For example, Font notes that the relator's words in Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* are 'written in italics in the original print to mark his [the relator's] commentary on the text' but does not consider the semantics of this in greater detail; Font, p. 121.

Printing errors in the indexes of *The Exceeding Riches*

Thus far in this chapter, I have suggested that the typographic arrangement of *The Exceeding Riches* is intended to signal an authorising distance between Jessey and the divinely inspired discourse he relates. However, in this section, I will discuss how the material form of *The Exceeding Riches* might inadvertently betray a distance between relator and text with the potential to be far less authorising. The opening of *The Exceeding Riches* includes a lengthy index to the scriptural passages referenced in Wight's orations. On the one hand, this index articulates Jessey's attention to detail and the comprehensiveness of his editorial control of Wight's discourse. On the other hand, the index also contains unintended signifiers of Jessey's weaknesses as a relator.

In the first edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, the opening index is entitled 'A TABLE of the Places of holy Scripture, that in this Book are opened, illustrated, and applied' (1647a, a5^{v}). This table includes almost 200 separate entries, which stretch across seven pages. The lengthy index is arranged so that a column on the left-hand side of the page lists scriptural references ordered according to biblical chronology. Each of these scriptural references is then followed by an accompanying gloss of the passage such as, '*Fear God most*' for Luke 12. 4–5 (1647a, a5^{v}). Finally, each of these scriptural references is then linked to a corresponding page number, which records where a particular biblical passage is 'opened, illustrated, and applied' in Wight's orations.

The second edition of *The Exceeding Riches* provides an extended version of this index, containing almost 300 citations (a fifty per cent increase on the first edition's list). In this updated version, many of the page references have also been expanded to include a letter notation, which indicates the location of the (correspondingly lettered) scriptural reference on the page cited. Jessey explains this enhanced referencing system as follows:

> Shee [Wight] neither cited *Chapter*, nor *Verse* now; nor usually afterward. Her own words being writ down by the *Relator* first, he then added (in a Parenthesis) such places of Scripture as were

> suitable to them, for better satisfaction to many: the *letter* [a], [b], [c] &c. with the proofs, are suitable to her own words preceding, where the like *letter* is. (1647b, C1[v])

Here, Jessey explains that Wight did not highlight her discourse's scriptural allusions herself, because she did not cite '*Chapter,* nor *Verse*' during her orations. Instead, it was Jessey's job as Wight's '*Relator*' to read through her divinely inspired words and identify their 'places of Scripture'. Jessey suggests that this encoding of Wight's discourse (using a system of superscript letters, parentheses and an accompanying index of 'proofs') was conducted for the 'better satisfaction' of readers.

This somewhat obtrusive indexical system may, however, also be designed to demonstrate the perceptiveness and diligence of Jessey's own reading and analysis. As Fissell notes, 'before the reader can get to Wight's words' and 'plunge in' to the text of *The Exceeding Riches*, they must first traverse extensive paratextual evidences of Jessey's editorial merits and 'assent individually to the truthfulness of what follows before he or she can read it'.[282] Thus, whilst, the introductory scriptural index asks new readers to assent to the biblical value and truth of Wight's words, it also asks them to acknowledge Jessey's aptitude for identifying this value. Of course, as Wiseman notes, by positioning this index of citations before Wight's prophesying, Jessey also 'invites a reader to take the Word first, not the event', and to navigate Wight's discourse according to the biblical chronology of its scriptural references.[283] However, at the same time, the index also positions Jessey first, as the ultimate guide to traversing the text's events. Readers have all 'the Places of holy Scripture' in this work identified for them by Jessey, and his lengthy index ensures that they are very aware that they are about to cover a textual terrain that has already been thoroughly explored and mapped by Jessey beforehand.

Nevertheless, I would suggest that the paratextual power-play staged by Jessey's scriptural index is most successful when contemplated from a distance. Whilst skimming its

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[282] Fissell, p. 132
[283] Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue*, p. 104.

pages, the index provides a reassuring sense of thoroughness and biblical intertextual richness, which is conveyed without a reader following every (or even any) of the citations recorded there. However, if a reader does attend closely to the citations in the index, then this could seriously shake their faith in Jessey's strong editorial hand. Indeed, my collation of the indexes printed in surviving copies of the editions of *The Exceeding Riches* printed between 1647 and 1658 reveals that several errors corrupt this manifestation of Jessey's scholarly diligence. These corrupting mistakes threaten to transform the index into a signifier of Jessey's lack of control over the accurate relation of Wight's prophecies.

Figure 3.1. Errors in *The Exceeding Riches,* example 1.
All images from Proquest's *Early English Books Online* [accessed 16 August 2018].

FIGURE 3.1(a) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, first edition (London: 1647), a5^{v}.

FIGURE 3.1(b) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, second edition (London: 1647), a6^{r}.

FIGURE 3.1(c) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, third edition (London: 1648), a5^{r}.

FIGURE 3.1(d) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, fourth edition (London: 1648), a5^{r}.

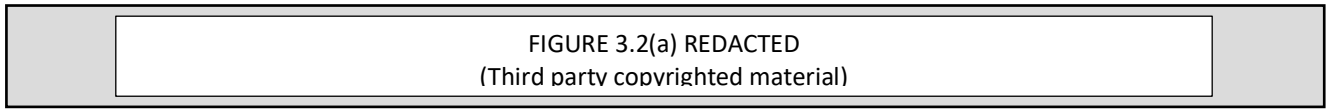
FIGURE 3.1(e) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, sixth edition (London: 1652), a4^{v}.

FIGURE 3.1(f) REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

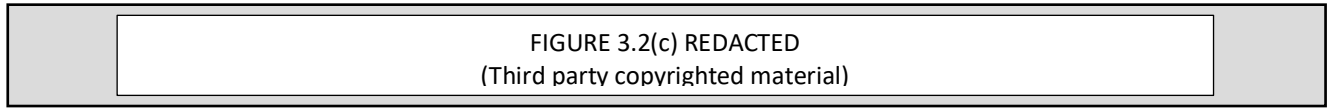
Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, seventh edition (London: 1658), a4^{v}.

Figure 3.2. Errors in *The Exceeding Riches,* example 2.
All images from Proquest's *Early English Books Online* [accessed 16 August 2018].



Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, first edition (London: 1647), a5^{r}.

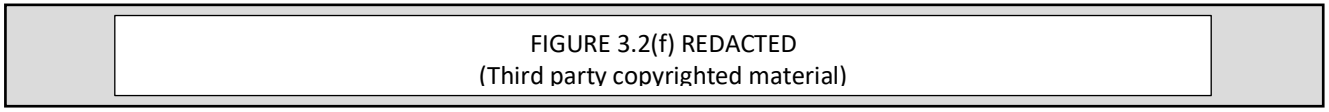
Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, second edition (London: 1647), a4^{r}.



Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, third edition (London: 1648), a3^{r}.

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, fourth edition (London: 1648), a3^{r}.

Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, sixth edition (London: 1652), a3^{r}.



Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, seventh edition (London: 1658), a3^{r}.

An example of a printing error in Jessey's index is shown in Figure 3.1 (p. 132). Here, each image shows a line from the indexes printed in each consecutive surviving edition of *The Exceeding Riches.* As shown by the top image, the index in the first edition of *The Exceeding Riches* (1647a) monosyllabically summarises the biblical passage Zechariah 1. 8–10 as '*Horses*'. In the second edition, this gloss was expanded to read, '*A vision of horses, (*sign. *Angels.)*'. This revised summary helpfully clarifies that Zechariah 1. 8–10 (and thus Wight's allusion to it on page 149) does not refer to horses, but to metaphorical equines signifying '*Angels*'. Unfortunately, however, the second edition's more informative gloss also makes this line of type much more crowded. The longer gloss now runs up against the page reference at the end of the line and the compositor has had to remove the white space between the closing bracket and the page number in order to adhere to the required line length.

This more crowded line in the second edition appears to have caused problems for later compositors. As the fourth image in Figure 3.1 shows, the index in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* wrongly cites Zechariah 1. 8–10 as appearing on page 49 rather than on page 149. This pagination error may have occurred due to the fourth edition's compositors using the crowded second or third editions' indexes for their copy-text. As I noted above, in the second and third editions' indexes, the closing bracket of the gloss is placed in very close proximity to the initial '1' of the correct page number '149'. The immediate proximity of these two visually similar characters (')' and '1') could easily have induced the eye of the fourth edition's compositor to skip over the crucial '1', thus resulting in the digit's accidental omission. Accordingly, we might suggest that Jessey's attempts to better guide the reader by expanding and clarifying his index's gloss to Zechariah 1. 8–10 in the second edition inadvertently overcrowded the line to such an extent that it prompted an error that distorted the page reference provided in the fourth edition.

This mistaken alteration of the page number from '149' to '49' was corrected in the sixth edition of *The Exceeding Riches*. However, as the sixth image in Figure 3.1 illustrates, the righting of this error did not protect against another mistake creeping into its place. In the

sixth edition of *The Exceeding Riches,* the index lists ‘Zach. 18. 10’ instead of ‘Zach. 1. 8. 10’. Since the book of Zechariah does not have a Chapter 18, readers of the sixth edition are being directed here to find Wight referencing a biblical passage that does not exist. Born of a missed punctuation mark, this Borgesian reference to a phantom biblical text is then perpetuated verbatim in the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* six years later. In this way, a typographic mistake is sustained over time as compositors unknowingly collude to lead future readers astray.

Another example of an error-troubled line in Jessey’s index is provided in Figure 3.2 (p. 132). As this series of images shows, in the sixth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* the entry for ‘Psalm 9.10’ was incorrectly printed as ‘Psalm 9.14’. This numerical alteration may have occurred because the scriptural citation listed directly below this one ended in the digit ‘4’ (‘Psalm 28.4’). It seems likely that the compositor, or the preparer of the new edition’s copy-text, erroneously substituted the ending of the proceeding line for the preceding one due to a momentary slip of the eye downwards. Thus, owing to a small lapse in concentration or eye movement, the index’s correct reference to Psalm 9. 10 deteriorated into an incorrect reference to Psalm 9.14 in the sixth edition. Unnoticed, the error then became part of the copy-text for *The Exceeding Riches* and was faithfully repeated into the seventh edition of the work six years later. Though small, this single, repeated numerical slip makes a nonsense of Jessey’s referencing work. The biblical passage Psalm 9. 14 concerns the daughters of Zion, and therefore does not match the gloss it is given in the sixth edition’s index (‘*They that know thy Name will trust*’), which instead describes Psalm 9. 10.

Moreover, to make matters worse, this line confuses the page number at which the correct passage (Psalm 9. 10) is alluded to by Wight. In the index to the first edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, Psalm 9. 10 is correctly cited as being referred to on page ‘33’. However, in the second edition, the page number for the same passage is incorrectly provided as ‘37’. Again, this error may have occurred due to the compositor using an earlier printed edition as a copy-text. As Figure 3.2 shows, a number 7 appears directly below the correct page number for Psalm 9. 10 in the first edition’s index, and another brief slip of the eye may well

have resulted in the substitution of a terminal ‘7’ for the correct ‘3’. Whatever the cause of the slip, the result is that the indexes of the sixth and seventh editions of *The Exceeding Riches* harbour a line consisting almost entirely of mistakes: ‘Psalm 9.14. *They that know thy Name will trust.* 37 [l]’. This entry sends the reader to the wrong page (37 for 33), and in pursuit of the wrong scriptural passage (Psalm 9. 14 for Psalm 9. 10). Any reader who fell victim to this error-riddled line would be alerted to a complete breakdown in accurate reading, proofreading and textual reproduction.

Tracing the minutiae of these textual errors serves to remind us of the fallible processes, actions and bodies responsible for producing printed works. As the book historian Adam Smyth has argued, printing errors represent ‘moments when the normally hidden work of the print shop can be reconstructed: the error here is a path, suddenly open, to the repressed labour of book making’.[284] Indeed, in this chapter, I have suggested that the errors in the indexes of *The Exceeding Riches* prompt a consideration of the deft eye and hand movements required of the compositor in the printing house. I have also shown that momentary slips in these processes produced errors that could develop and extend across editions. A single inadvertent slip could be repeated, as later compositors reproduced the same mistake across a series of editions. In this way, printing errors draw our attention to the ‘normally hidden work of the print shop’ at a particular moment, but they also reveal the ways in which single actions in the printing house had consequences that grew and repeated over time.

Thus, on the surface, Jessey’s scriptural index may appear to be an authorising signifier of his thoroughness, accuracy and textual control over Wight’s discourse. However, upon closer inspection, single lines in his citational system also signal error, imprecision and a perilously divided textual responsibility. Jessey is dependent upon compositors and copy-text compilers to accurately print the correct page numbers and scriptural citations in his index. As such, Jessey’s ability to guide a reader’s interpretation of Wight’s discourse, and to

[284] Smyth, p. 80.

demonstrate the abundant spiritual value of her words, is contingent upon the fallible eyes and bodies of printing house workers. Never does the precarity of this productional dependency seem more apparent than when we identify textual errors in a printed prophetic work.

However, would discovering printing errors have necessarily shaken an early modern reader's faith in the authority and accuracy of a printed prophetic text and its relator? It is possible that seventeenth-century readers were so conditioned to expect printing errors that any mistakes in a printed prophecy would not have signified as particularly grievous threats to a work's claims to provide an accurate relation. In his study of early modern printed errata, Smyth highlights the all-pervasiveness of printing errors during this period and concludes that 'early modern books were conspicuously fallen: authors, printers, publishers, and readers expected printed books to carry mistakes'.[285] Here, Smyth's use of the term 'fallen' alludes to the fact that printing errors were so ubiquitous that they were often linked metaphorically to sin in seventeenth-century England. For example, the preacher Francis Cheynell delivered a sermon to peers in the House of Lords in 1645, in which he stated that '*there are so many Errata's*' within any Christian's 'Book of Conscience' that the entire 'Book of Scriptures' is '*written to mend that one Book of Conscience*'.[286] Here, the inevitable faults of conscience in fallen man are presented as being akin to the '*Errata*'*s*' found in a printed book. For Cheynell (as for most early modern readers), only the Bible offered a perfect copy-text, which could be used to help mend the persistent faults in our own 'Book of Conscience'.[287]

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[285] Smyth, p. 77. David McKitterick also provides a comprehensive overview of the ubiquity of printing errors in the early modern period in *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 97–165.

[286] Francis Cheynell, *The Man of Honour* (London: 1645), A2^{r}.

[287] This is not to say that early modern readers were not anxious about errata appearing in printed copies of the Bible. In 1652, the clergyman Thomas Fuller published advice on reading scripture in which he explained that readers should ask 'Is it *truly printed?* This is quickly discovered, by comparing one Bible with another of a different impression'. Fuller also argued that such care was necessary since 'dangerous errata's unrecall'd, unconfess'd' have 'crept into many Editions' of printed scripture. See Thomas Fuller, *A Comment on the Eleven First Verses of the Fourth Chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel* (London: 1652), H6^{r}. The authorities attempted to control this problem by fining printers if their Bibles were discovered to contain unconfessed errata. For example, in February 1634, the King's printers Robert Barker and Martin Lucas were fined £200 and £100 respectively for printing Bibles containing errors; see *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles I, 1633–4*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1863), p. 480.

In *The Exceeding Riches,* Jessey references this cultural perception that printing errors were akin to sin in order to suggest that any mistakes in his own work should be pardoned by readers. In an opening 'Postscript to the reader', Jessey requests that we 'excuse' his work's repetitions 'and what other failings are, or appeare to be. Remembring [sic], *In many things wee all slip,* Jam. 3. 2. *Greek* Gal. 6. 1, 2' (1647a, a1^{r}). Here, Jessey cites Galatians 6. 1–2, which warns Christians of the need to be sympathetic to others who have committed faults 'lest thou also be tempted'. Jessey also paraphrases James 3. 2, which in the King James Bible reads 'For in many things we offend all' and in the Geneva Bible reads 'For in many things we sin all' (with the word 'sin' being glossed as 'or stumble' in the margin). Jessey's own paraphrase of the scripture inserts the word '*slip*' instead of the biblical verbs 'offend', 'sin' and 'stumble'. This lexical alteration introduces an evocation of the familiar phrase 'slip of the pen'.[288] As such, Jessey's plea to readers appropriates and alters scriptural warnings against judging the sins of others into a warning against condemning any productional 'slips' in his textual relation of Wight's discourse.

The Christian principles that Jessey appeals to here are also key spiritual motifs in Wight's prophetic orations, which regularly reference the shared universality of sin. For example, after 'hearing of her comforts', Wight is quizzed by a suspicious physician named Dr Cox, who asks her, 'Whether have you SIN in you?' (1647a, I2^{r}). To this question Wight simply responds 'Yes; a thorn in the flesh (as Paul had,) to humble me: but not to condemne me' (1647a, I2^{r}). Here, and elsewhere in the text, Wight repeatedly confirms her understanding that she remains susceptible to error despite having received the comfort of God's grace. This attitude accords with what John von Rohr has described as 'the gradual and growth character of sanctification' in seventeenth-century Protestant thought.[289] If a recipient of grace (such as Sarah Wight) had all their sins absolved immediately by Christ, this would threaten the doctrine of total depravity and minimise the severity of the threat

[288] The phrase 'slip of the pen' was in use in seventeenth-century England to describe mistakes in writing. See, for example, John Bramhall, *Castigations of Mr Hobbes* (London: 1657), F3^{r}.
[289] John von Rohr, *The Covenant of Grace in Puritan Thought* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 105–06.

continually posed by temptation and sin. Thus, as von Rohr observes in his study of seventeenth-century reformed theology, most writers during this period emphasise the 'continuance of sin in the midst of grace', and this doctrine explains Wight's repeated references to the continuation of a 'thorn' of sin in her side throughout *The Exceeding Riches*.[290]

Fittingly, the printing errors that persist and evolve across subsequent editions of *The Exceeding Riches* are a typographic 'thorn in the flesh' of this work, and the repetition and endurance of these mistakes over time echoes Wight's descriptions of the continuing presence of her own sin. As my analysis has shown, the misprints in Jessey's index continue to corrupt the work's paratextual opening in even its seventh edition, thereby humbling Jessey's claims to editorial control and accuracy. Thus, like the persistent thorns of sin that continue to blight God's chosen prophets, the textual errors in accounts of women's prophetic discourse might not necessarily weaken their authority for early modern readers. Errata may signal a relator's lack of control and agency over the accuracy of his text's production, but they also provide a demonstration and proof of the fallibility of mankind and the endurance of sin in grace.

Standing type and productive non-work

Given the ubiquity (and potentially forgivable nature) of printing errors in early modern England, it is perhaps unsurprising to discover that printed prophecies often contain errata lists, which openly confess their textual corruptions requiring correction. For example, as I observed in Chapter Two, Anna Trapnel's *Voice for the King of Saints* (1658) includes a list of 'Faults escap'd the Press', which were then corrected in Arch A. C. 16.[291] As William Sherman notes, such errata lists 'almost always [follow] the final 'Finis', directing readers

[290] Von Rohr, p. 107.
[291] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints*, M4^{r}.

back into the text, inviting them to rewrite it instead of ushering them out of it'.[292] Similarly, Ann Blair suggests that these paratexts 'mobilize' and acknowledge the role readers play in 'producing the final version of the text, which the author tried to direct, although he could never of course control it'.[293]

Thus, when included in a work of women's prophecy, these lists of corrections transform the reader from recipient of a divine message into a collaborator in its communication. Errata lists ask readers to intercede to ensure that a prophet's words are recorded in the correct textual form. Notably, at least one reader of Trapnel's *Voice for the King of Saints* appears to have been willing to cooperate in this process. In the British Library's copy of the pamphlet, many of the mistakes identified in the work's errata list have been carefully corrected in an early modern hand. For example, as shown in Figure 3.3, the reader has corrected 'And' to 'That' in the left-hand column and 'Lordly' to 'Loudly' in the right-hand column. Here, we find evidence of a reader intervening and taking control of the accurate relation of Trapnel's words. In this way, the prophecy's recipient takes on the editorial role and responsibilities of its relator.

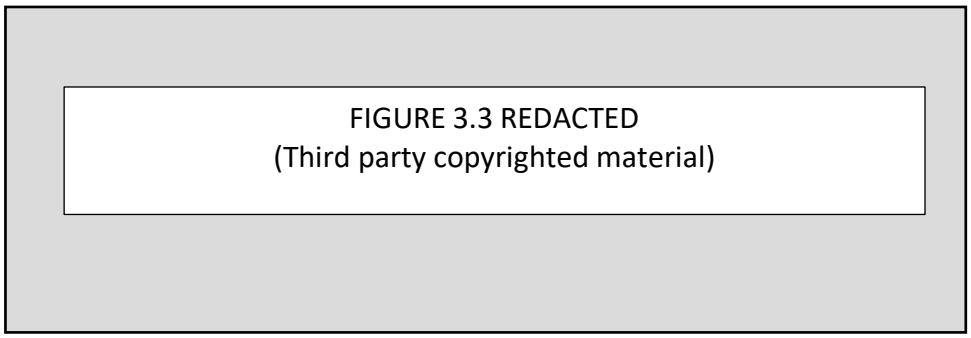

Figure 3.3 Anna Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints* (London: 1658), B1^{r} (detail). London, The British Library, BL T. 370 (7).

[292] William H. Sherman, 'The Beginning of "The End": Terminal Paratext and the Birth of Print Culture', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65–87 (p. 75).
[293] Ann Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein,* ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 21–41 (pp. 34–5).

Thus far in this chapter, I have discussed how the typography in *The Exceeding Riches* seeks to construct an authorising sense of distance between Jessey and the divine text he relates. I have also suggested that this work's typographic errors betray a very real separation between Jessey and the text on the page, as mistakes originating in the printing house reveal his inability to control and perfect every aspect of his relation's production. Now, in this section, I will examine the ways in which a work's errata list might act as a further textual space in which authorial agency and control are abdicated. Specifically, I will discuss the doubled errata lists featured in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, which function as particularly marked signifiers of the passivity and non-work of the work's producers.

Unusually, the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* (1648b) contains not one but two separate errata lists. The second of these errata lists appears on the work's final page and is identical to the errata list included at the end of the third edition printed earlier that same year (1648a). In the fourth edition, this errata list is entirely redundant, because the errors it identifies are relevant only to the third edition's text and have (for the most part) already been corrected for this new edition. Meanwhile, the fourth edition's other errata list, which is printed earlier on in the text, is new and (much more helpfully) records a list of fresh textual mistakes that *are* relevant to this updated edition.

Placed at the end of its preface, the fourth edition's functional errata list concludes with the following instruction, which explains the redundant extra errata list printed on the work's final page:

> Pa. 160. End. Cancel all those ERRATA; that last sheet being hastily printed off as the *Third Edition* was (p. 160. Li. 12.) before the *Author* knew. (1648b, A4^{v})

Here, readers are requested to 'Cancel' the work's erroneous second errata list, which was incorrectly 'printed off as the *Third Edition* was'. As such, the correct errata list is forced into a cannibalistic erasure of its predecessor, which (although physically positioned later in the text) is superseded by this new list of correct corrections. In this way, the fourth edition's

doubled errata lists make explicit the cycle of corruption, correction and change involved in the successive printing of editions of prophetic discourse. The previous edition's errata list is reproduced in the new text but is then explicitly cancelled out by a record of this edition's fresh list of mistakes. In so doing, the errata lists expose a production process that operates through a perpetual balancing of textual decline and improvement, over which the '*Author*' (Jessey) seems to have little knowledge or control.

Instead, this new errata list's command to 'Cancel' out its predecessor makes the reader complicit in this process of improving and revising the textual account of Wight's prophecy. Here, the reader's intervention is necessary since the text's relator, Henry Jessey, appears to have waived his diligence and control.[294] Indeed, the correct errata list notes that the fourth edition's incorrect final page was printed 'before the *Author* knew', thus framing the doubled errata lists as both a consequence and signifier of Jessey's lack of awareness and oversight of this work's production. Here, Jessey's strong editorial hand has slackened and consequently it is now down to the hand of the reader to intervene to ensure the accurate dissemination of Wight's prophecy.

In addition, the fourth edition's new errata list also informs us that its incorrect 'last sheet' was 'hastily printed off as the *Third Edition* was', which suggests that the mistake also arose from a particular mode of productional passivity in the printing house. Indeed, this confession seems to indicate that the accidental inclusion of the old errata list was probably a consequence of the printer's reuse of undistributed blocks of type left standing after the production of the previous edition.

[294] The copy of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* held at Cambridge University Library has no annotations or cancellations on its final page to suggest that readers obeyed the command to cancel out the incorrect errata list (Shelfmark: G. 15. 31). However, the copy of the fourth edition held by the John Bunyan Museum and Library in Bedford does have a small manuscript note written beneath its erroneous errata list on the final page (Shelfmark: BEDBM:1954.459). Unfortunately, this note has been crossed out so it is difficult to decipher; however, it does look like it might have once read 'mis this'. If so, then this early modern annotator may have been following the errata list's instructions to cancel the old list.

FIGURE 3.4 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 3.4 Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, 3rd edn (London: 1648), L8v (detail). London, The British Library, 873.d.29.

FIGURE 3.5 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 3.5 Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, 4th edn (London: 1648), L8v (detail). Bedford, John Bunyan Museum and Library, BEDBM:1954.459.

This use of standing type is supported by a careful examination of the typography in surviving copies of both the third and fourth editions of *The Exceeding Riches*. In the copies of the third and fourth editions that I have consulted, the final gathering in both works appears to have been printed using the exact same blocks of composed type.[295] First, all of the lines in the pages of this terminal gathering (which has the signature L) begin and end with the same word. Second, the measurements and position of dropped and blemished letter forms in the L gathering are identical in both editions. For example, as shown in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 (above), there are remarkable similarities in a line located eleven lines up from the bottom of the final page in both editions (1648a and 1648b, L8v). Here, the final 'o' in the word 'into' is similarly elevated in both texts, and there is an identical imperfection in the 'n' of 'in' towards the line's end. The fact that these irregularities occur in the same places in both editions offers a strong indication that the same configurations of composed

[295] The copy of the third edition I consulted is housed in the British Library in London, under the shelfmark, 873.d.29. The copy of the fourth edition I consulted is housed at the John Bunyan Museum and Library in Bedford, under the shelfmark, BEDBM:1954.459.

type-pieces were used to print both.[296] Consequently, the final pages of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* appear to indicate that a lack of new productional work was carried out by this work's compositors. Instead, the producers of the fourth edition elected (apparently without Jessey's knowledge) not to compose new blocks of type for the final gathering, but to rely upon reusing their past labours. This resulted in the incorrect, outdated errata list from the third edition appearing in the fourth.

This practice of printing from pre-prepared blocks of standing type was not uncommon in early modern printing houses. When printing a text, each page's block of type was assembled by compositors and then locked within a larger forme from which an unfolded sheet of multiple pages would be printed.[297] After all the sheets for an edition's number of texts had been printed using the assembled forme, the compositors could then unlock the frame and break up the type-pages so that their individual type-pieces could be redistributed back to their storage cases. However, upon occasion, compositors might delay redistributing type and leave certain assembled type-pages 'standing' to be used again. In the future, the reuse of these pre-prepared blocks of standing type would speed up production on a new edition and remove the likelihood of introducing new errors into a passage of text. This appears to have motivated the use of standing type in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches,* where the 'last sheet' was 'hastily printed off as the *Third Edition* was' using the same pages of standing type.

The bibliographer Fredson Bowers has explained that, when individual type-pages were to be stored as standing type, they were unlocked from the larger forme and tied around tightly with cord (to hold their lettering in place) and then wrapped up for future use.[298] Before wrapping the type-pages, the printing house would usually remove their

[296] In contrast, all of the other gatherings in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* appear to be the product of re-composed type-pages. Beyond the terminal L gathering, multiple variants in orthography and typography are observable within the main text and running-titles.
[297] Sarah Werner has produced a helpful guide to practices of imposition and the printing of sheets in early modern printing houses; Werner, 'Deciphering Signature Marks' (7 August 2012), <https://collation.folger.edu/2012/08/deciphering-signature-marks/> [consulted 6 August 2018]. See also the chapter on imposition in Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, pp. 78–117.
[298] Fredson Bowers, 'Notes on Standing Type in Elizabethan Printing', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 40 (1946), 205–24.

running-titles and direction-lines from their margins, because these areas used a lot of quads and furniture to produce their abundant blank spaces. These blank type-pieces were frequently used and so could rarely be spared to sit in storage as part of standing type for any sizeable length of time. Therefore, instead of retaining blank-filled head-lines and direction-lines, it was far more expedient for printers to preserve only the main body text of individual type-pages as standing type. It was also unusual for whole formes, containing multiple type-pages, to be left locked and standing for re-use. This was only practical if there was a plan for the standing forme to be employed again fairly soon. For an octavo volume, a forme would contain eight pages of composed type, which would probably use too high a percentage of the printing house's overall type-stock (particularly its blanks) to be preserved in this large, fixed arrangement for long. Moreover, few printing houses would have room to store whole formes for prolonged periods, even in the unlikely event that they could spare any of their limited supply of chases (the frame of iron bars that fixed the pages of type together as a forme).

Consequently, to determine whether printing from standing type involved just individual, preserved type-pages, or the more unusual use of a whole locked forme, one must pay careful attention to the typography at the edges of the work's pages. As Philip Gaskell explains, 'a new impression' produced from unlocked standing type-pages can be quickly identified as 'a result of small disturbances to the type caused by re-imposition in new furniture', whereas an intact forme should lack these discrepancies between printings.[299] In the case of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches,* half of its final L-gathering displays strong indications of having been produced using a whole, locked forme of standing type, rather than from preserved single type-pages. To be specific, the entire inner forme (used to print one side of this gathering's sheet) appears to have been left locked and standing at the end of the printing of the third edition of *The Exceeding Riches,* before being used again to produce the same pages in the fourth edition. Strikingly, these

[299] Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 117.

inner forme pages in the fourth edition's final gathering all have head-lines and direction-lines that exactly match the spacing of their counterparts in the third edition.[300] Indeed, my close comparison of the pages' margins in both editions revealed no tell-tale 'disturbances' perceptible to eye or ruler that would suggest that any re-imposition in new furniture had occurred before their use in the fourth edition. Thus, the inner forme pages in the final gathering of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* appear to have been produced using an entire locked forme, which had been left standing at the end of the printing of the work's third edition.

In contrast, there are some slight differences in the spacing of the head-lines in those pages in *The Exceeding Riches* printed on the other side of its final sheet. Whilst the body text in each of these outer forme pages appears to have been printed from type left standing from the third edition, it is likely that the third edition's outer forme had been unlocked before the fourth edition and that the preserved type-pages had (at least started to be) removed from the chase. This is evidenced by the fractional disturbances in the spacing of the head-lines in the pages arranged at the corners of the outer forme: page 157 (1648b, L7^{r}), page 156 (1648b, L6^{v}) and page 160 (1648b, L8^{v}). The slight differences in the head-line measurements of these pages in the third and fourth editions suggests that there was some re-imposition of standing type into new furniture required for the fourth edition's final gathering. The most noticeable of these disturbances is on the final page (1648b, L8^{v}), in which the head-line appears noticeably closer to the page edge in the fourth edition than in the third (compare the positioning of the word 'night' in relation to the page number in Figures 3.6 and 3.7 below). This evidence suggests that the outer forme pages in the fourth edition's L-gathering were produced using individual type-pages left standing after the third edition, which had been unlocked from their original forme and therefore needed to be reimposed into slightly new arrangements of blank head-line furniture type before printing.

[300] The pages produced by the inner forme are: p. 154 (L5^{v}), p. 151 (L4^{r}), p. 150 (L3^{v}), p. 155 (L6^{r}), p. 158 (L7^{v}), p. 147 (L2^{r}), p. 146 (L1^{v}), p. 159 (L8^{r}).

FIGURE 3.6 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 3.6 Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, 3rd edn (London: 1648), L8^{v} (detail). London, The British Library, 873.d.29.

FIGURE 3.7 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 3.7 Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, 4th edn (London: 1648), L8^{v} (detail). Bedford, John Bunyan Museum and Library, BEDBM:1954.459.

Just as Smyth describes the printing error as a 'path, suddenly open, to the repressed labour of book making', the spacing of the head-lines in the final gatherings of the third and fourth editions of *The Exceeding Riches* provide a means of revealing specific decisions and actions in the seventeenth-century printing house.[301] In the case of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, my analysis reveals that the production of this work's final gathering involved reusing type-pages already composed for the previous edition earlier that year. Moreover, the inner forme pages in this final gathering appear to have been a product of the same locked imposition of type-pages used for the third edition. For this to have been practical, we know that the production of the fourth edition must have commenced almost directly after the work's third edition. As I have discussed, the printing house could not have allowed that whole forme to stand idle for long before they required its disassembled type.

[301] Smyth, p. 80.

Meanwhile, the outer forme (which was used to print the other side of the same sheet) appears to have been unlocked after the third edition so that (at least some of its) type-pages had to be reassembled in new furniture. This appears to suggest that the decision to quickly begin printing the fourth edition was sudden or unplanned; otherwise, why would the printing house have bothered to begin removing the type-pages from the outer forme but not the inner?

These insights into the specific uses of standing type in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* are valuable because they allow us to better understand the responsive and developing way in which the publication of women's prophetic discourse proceeded. The apparent re-use of the whole locked forme from the third edition suggests that work on the fourth edition was begun quickly, thus corroborating the errata list's claims that the 'last sheet' was 'hastily printed off' (1648b, A4^{v}). This apparent haste may suggest that demand for copies of *The Exceeding Riches* was found to be suddenly, surprisingly high, or at least higher than could be catered for by the number of copies produced of the third edition. As such, by providing evidence of hurried back-to-back printing, the fourth edition's final gathering is suggestive of an imbalanced excess of reading and shortfall in production, which the printing house clumsily falls over itself to correct. To meet demand, the compositors did not carry out new work, but relied instead on existing standing type. By its very nature, printing from standing type indicates a printer's decision *not* to re-compose and amend. Thus, the final pages of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* also signify a responsive textual productivity that operates through non-intervention and inaction.

Accordingly, I would suggest that the use of standing type produces a textual form that materialises some of the religious ideas that are central to Wight's prophetic discourse. In *The Exceeding Riches*, Wight is framed as an icon of non-work, as she receives the 'riches of grace' during a state of extreme physical paralysis that embodies Calvinist teachings regarding the non-necessity of 'good works'. In a sermon on Ephesians 2. 8 ('For by grace are ye saved through faith: and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God'), Calvin glosses this biblical passage as an assertion 'that wee bee saued by grace, and that wee

doo nothing at all too it, but that God giueth us all'.[302] According to this influential Calvinist teaching, any suggestion that one might be able to earn God's grace through 'good workes' was a blasphemous undermining of the principles of divine omnipotence. In the seventeenth century, this concept of absolute, free grace was articulated, for example, in the John Milton sonnet that declares: 'God doth not need / Either man's work or his own gifts […] / They also serve who only stand and wait'.[303] Milton's poem is symptomatic of this period's interest in propounding the absolute freeness of grace. As the historian William Stoever has discussed, free grace became a particular 'rallying cry of assorted nonconformists' in the mid-seventeenth century 'whose common characteristic was unusual intimacy with the Holy Spirit, to the ultimate subordination of all creaturely activity'.[304]

The Exceeding Riches also participates in this cultural discourse propounding the unconditionality of grace, by repeatedly stating that the improvements in Wight's health, and her ability to proclaim God's teachings, were entirely attributable to divine causes rather than her own works. The following passage is illustrative of Wight's proclamations on free grace:

> *by Grace yee are saved through Faith--- not of works, least any should boast. We would boast, if we did any thing in it. He works, Faith, and he builds up still: he builds higher and higher, till his work be finished: We are his workmanship.* (1647a, H3^{v})

Here, Christ is depicted by Wight as the labouring worker, whilst the believer is objectified as a piece of 'workmanship'. In this way, Wight paraphrases Ephesians 2. 10: 'For we are his workmanship created in Jesus Christ unto good works, which God hath ordained, that we should walk in them'.

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[302] Jean Calvin, *The Sermons of M. John Calvin upon the Epistle of S. Paule too the Ephesians*, trans. by Arthur Golding (London: 1577), K3^{v}.
[303] John Milton, *Poems, &c. Upon Several Occasions* (London: 1673), D6^{r}.
[304] William K. B. Stoever, 'Nature, Grace and John Cotton: The Theological Dimension in the New England Antinomian Controversy', *Church History,* 44 (1975), 22–33 (p. 33).

Wight's repeated evocations of inaction are also modelled in this text by her body, which remains weak and unmoving during most of the narrative. For example, Jessey informs us that grace only arrived for Wight:

> when all mans help faild, and when all meanes before used could not doe it; and when now shee was made uncapable that way to receive it, being now struck both blind, and deafe: her eyes being fast closed up, wrapt up together. (1647a, B8^{r})

Blind, deaf and immobile, Wight's bodily weakness made it impossible for her to be brought to grace by means of the comforts and ministrations of the people around her, or by any actions of her own. Purkiss has observed the frequency with which the amanuenses of women prophets like Wight 'stress the closure of their senses to earthly stimuli', 'as though to be open to God […] meant to be closed to other sensations'.[305] Accordingly, in her own extreme state of sensory and physical deprivation, Wight's body is reported by Jessey to be incapable of receiving food, sight, sound or help: it can *only* receive God's grace. Moreover, as she is physically 'uncapable' of performing any good works of her own, Wight's recovery is consequently proven to be something that must have been achieved through the work and action of God alone. In this way, Wight's 'closed up' body becomes an authorising signifier of the work's theological argument about the absolute unconditionality of free grace.

The use of existing standing type to create the final pages of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* ensures that this work's textual form is similarly expressive of a mode of abundance generated by non-work. As Milton explains, 'They also serve who only stand and wait', and Wight is celebrated in Jessey's text as a passive figure who receives God's grace despite (or because) of her state of inaction. In her Calvinist embodiment of those who 'stand and wait', Wight also resembles the bodies of standing type that wait untouched to produce the final pages of her discourse's fourth edition. Just like Wight's immobile 'closed up' body, the final pages of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* are produced using a

[305] Purkiss, 'Producing the Voice', p. 150.

'closed up' locked forme of type, which the compositors do not work to alter or update, but which, nevertheless, still helps to generate the textual richness of a new edition.

As a consequence of its printing house's inaction and Jessey's editorial passivity, the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* reprints an old, redundant errata list from its previous edition. In this way, on its final page, the new textual production references its former self, and reveals its history of multiple publications to the reader. This reiterative textual richness is exposed thanks to the printer's use of standing type, which is a mode of production that operates through a decision not to work to alter old type-pages. In this way, the fourth edition's doubled errata list signals Jessey's absence and lack of control over his text's production. However, it also signifies that rich textual abundance can emerge from inaction, just as the riches of grace can be obtained through patient waiting.

Returning to a prophetic text: the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches*

The Exceeding Riches is a particularly remarkable work as its number of editions far surpasses that of any other text of women's prophetic discourse produced during this period. The text was reproduced in seven editions prior to 1660. Copies of six of these editions survive today, dating from: 1647(a), 1647(b), 1648(a), 1648(b), 1652 and 1658. The collation of these copies reveals that each of these new editions makes very few substantive textual changes to the edition that came before. As such, this series of texts indicates a striking non-interventionist desire in its producers to publish the same prophetic discourse, in a very similar form, again and again. In this final section of the chapter, I will ask what this reiterative form of textual multiplicity might reveal about the motivations for publishing (and republishing) a relation of women's prophetic discourse in the mid-seventeenth century.

The production of multiple editions of *The Exceeding Riches* marks a stark contrast to Anna Trapnel's publishing history, throughout which multiple new titles and textual arrangements were created to present Trapnel's experiences in varying formats. For

example, *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) and *Strange and Wonderful Newes from Whitehall* (1654) are both texts that document Trapnel's trance and orations at Whitehall. However, as Wray has highlighted, these texts frame Trapnel's experiences differently; for example, 'prefatory material which, in *The Cry of a Stone*, is presented as authored by a member of Trapnel's interpretative community is offered in *Strange and Wonderful News* as writing by her alone'.[306] This leads Wray to conclude that:

> given the uncertain contemporary political situation, its seems possible that the differences between the texts, and the two versions of Trapnel that emerge, are linked to a desire to test out alternative versions of her life, to launch two discrete attempts at her story in the contemporary marketplace.[307]

In the febrile political atmosphere of the mid-seventeenth century, a prophet's supporters might have sought to refashion and reframe her words in varying formats to seek a 'best fit' for appealing to audiences. Wray's theory might also explain why Arch A. C. 16 reprints a number of prophecies from Trapnel's *Voice for the King of Saints* (1658) in a larger and extended folio form. It might also explain why Toxander's *Vox Coeli* (1646) reframed Grace Cary's prophecies in a new medium, aimed at a broader readership than that targeted by her personalised presentation manuscripts. However, in contrast to these examples of market-testing, diversified textual multiplicity, very little changes between the first edition of *The Exceeding Riches* printed in 1647 and its seventh printing in 1658.

Nevertheless, one notable peculiarity in this series of very similar successive editions of *The Exceeding Riches* is the large interval between the publication of the text's sixth and seventh iterations. As I have discussed, the first edition of Wight's discourse was printed in 1647, with the second edition appearing in the same year. Shortly afterwards, the third and fourth editions were both printed in the next year (1648). The sixth edition of the work then followed four years later in 1652. Whilst no copy of the fifth edition is extant, we can assume

[306] Wray, '"What say you to [this] book?"', p. 418.
[307] Ibid.

that it must have bridged the gap between the fourth and sixth editions. Consequently, the first six editions of *The Exceeding Riches* were produced in the space of just five years. However, readers would then have had to wait six years before the appearance of the seventh edition of the work in 1658. This notable lacuna in the work's publication schedule is intriguing, though it has hitherto been overlooked by previous studies of *The Exceeding Riches*, which instead only tend to remark upon the large number of editions rather than the pattern of their production.

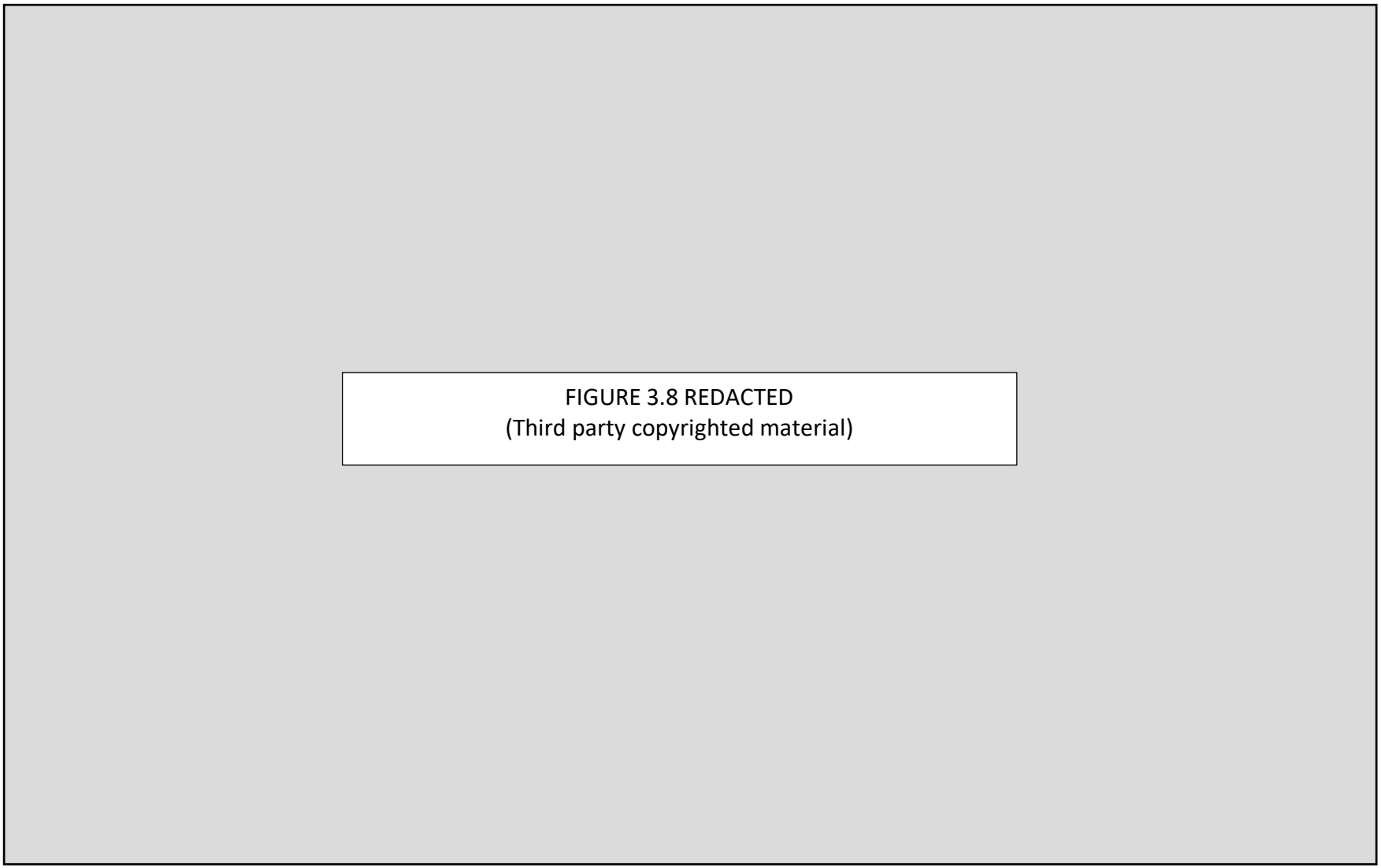
The temporal gap in the successive editions of *The Exceeding Riches* does not correspond with a particular period of inaction for this work's relator. Jessey authored multiple texts between 1652 and 1658.[308] Moreover, he continued to be an active presence amongst London's religious non-conformists during this time. Indeed, in February 1654, Nedham's report on the Fifth Monarchist community at Allhallows the Great notes that Jessey assisted with conducting this congregation's meetings.[309] Corroborating this report, Anna Trapnel (a prominent member of the community gathered at Allhallows) described herself as being 'well known' to 'Mr. *Henry Jesse* and most of his society' in one of her 1654 publications.[310]

Following her physical recovery from the events described in *The Exceeding Riches,* Sarah Wight may have participated in this same Fifth Monarchist community frequented by Trapnel and Jessey during the 1650s. In the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* (1658)*,* Jessey adds a brief update to the text, which is dated '*22. Sept. 1657'*. Here, Jessey records that, since the last edition, 'she [Wight] had better health' and 'went to *Alhallows*: and to other places to partake with others in the Word' (1658, A7^{r}–A7^{v}). In seventeenth-century London, there were multiple Allhallows churches, so Wight may not necessarily have been in attendance at Allhallows the Great. However, as Figure 3.8 (pp. 155–6)

[308] For example, Henry Jessey, *A Description and Explanation of 268 Places in Jerusalem* (London: 1653) and Henry Jessey, *A Narrative of Late Proceeds at White-Hall, Concerning the Jews* (London: 1656).
[309] Nedham dismissively states that 'Mr. Jessey being a soft low man, I could not hear him in the Crowd, and so departed'; London, The National Archives, SP 18/66, f. 38.
[310] Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone*, A2^{r}.

demonstrates, Allhallows the Great was the closest Allhallows to Wight's house on Lawrence Poultney Street where (as Jessey's update also informs readers) Wight continued to reside with her mother in late 1657. Additionally, in *The Exceeding Riches,* Jessey explains that, once Wight began to recover her strength back in June 1647, she 'went to *Great Alhallows* London, (it being neer *Lawrence Pountney*) and heard Mr *Jo. Simpson* there' (1647a, L2^{r}). Given this record of her previously having attended services at Allhallows the Great, it seems likely that Jessey's note in the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* is referring to Wight participating in the Fifth Monarchist community gathered there in the mid-1650s.

Figure 3.8 Map of Allhallows Churches. **(**See key on next page)



Information on Figure 3.8:

The map is an engraved ‘Map of London and Suburbs’, produced by Robert Pricke in 1667. The map is held at the British Library, under the shelfmark Maps Crace Port. 2.52. The British Library has made it available online here:
<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/a/007000000000002u00052000.html>
[Accessed 4 September 2019]

Key to the annotations added to the map (Figure 3.8):

A) Sarah Wight’s House (described as being located 'in Lawrence Poutney-lane, by Canning-street in London'; *The Exceeding Riches* [1647a, B3^{r}])
B) Coleman Street (Henry Jessey adds a letter signed at ‘Colman-street’ to the 7th Edition of *The Exceeding Riches* [1658, A7^{v}])
C) Allhallows, Barking
D) Allhallows, Bread Street
E) Allhallows the Great
F) Allhallows, Honey Lane
G) Allhallows the Less
H) Allhallows, Lombard Street
I) Allhallows, Staining
J) All Hallows on the Wall

It is possible that Wight's involvement in the same religious community as Trapnel and Jessey explains the time gap between the publication of the sixth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* in 1652 and its seventh edition in 1658. As discussed in the previous chapter, this congregation at Allhallows the Great was described by Nedham as being fixated on Anna Trapnel and preoccupied by a design to publish her prophecies in 1654. Thus, perhaps the lack of Wight editions produced after 1652 can be explained by a shift in the attention and admiration of her religious community towards a different female prophetic figure. Neglecting Wight's text, Jessey and others at Allhallows the Great were perhaps concentrating instead on disseminating the prophetic orations of Trapnel, as evidenced by the production of four relations of Trapnel's discourse in 1654.

If this hypothesis is correct, then what had changed by 1658 to prompt the publication of a seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* after a six-year hiatus? The answer may lie in the fact that when Jessey wrote his update on Wight's health in September 1657 for inclusion in the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* (1658) members of the Allhallows the Great congregation had become fragmented. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the group's leader John Simpson and his new-found support for the Protectorate. These splits in Trapnel's, Wight's and Jessey's shared religious community are documented in a report of a tumultuous meeting at Allhallows the Great in January 1657, which is housed amongst the papers of Secretary John Thurloe.[311] In this report, Thurloe's witness describes members of John Simpson's congregation preaching in support of moderation, 'lamenting over the misunderstandings, the rents, and divisions, that were fallen out among the churches'.[312] In contrast, Christopher Feake delivered an impassioned speech about the need for change, which Thurloe's informant claims inspired a rapturous reaction amongst some in the room. Indeed, the witness claims that he struggled to record proceedings due to his 'shoulders [being] laden with a croud of women riding over

[311] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe,* Vol. 5, ed. by Thomas Birch (London, 1742), pp. 755-9.
[312] Ibid., p. 755.

my head, upon the tops of the seats'.[313] There is no record of whether Trapnel was amongst these ardent, crowd-surfing supporters of Feake, but she had always presented herself as a passionate admirer of Feake in her 1654 texts.[314] Meanwhile, the informant reports that Jessey 'took occasion to declare his dissatisfaction touching that long and vehement discourse of Mr. Feake, about dividing and renting the churches'.[315] It is highly possible that this year marked a moment of divergence for Trapnel and Jessey, which prompted the relator's renewed interest in publishing Wight's discourse instead.

The hostile atmosphere amongst the Fifth Monarchist community, and Jessey's concerns about its factions turning to violence, may also have prompted his return to Wight's prophetic discourse for other reasons too. In the text of *The Exceeding Riches,* Jessey names more than sixty people who visited Wight to hear her prophesying in 1647. Barbara Ritter Dailey has suggested that the inclusion of these names transforms the work into 'a kind of petition' that unifies a whole host of 'Independents, Presbyterians, and sectarian radicals'.[316] Notably, these names also include both John Simpson and Anna Trapnel.[317] Ten years later, as members of the Allhallows community became divided during the events of 1657, Jessey's reissue of *The Exceeding Riches* may have been intended to remind these warring factions that they had once united around one woman's bedside. Moreover, Jessey's desire to quell violent action and to urge his community to wait patiently for Christ would also have been supported by Wight's prophetic discourse, in which the woman prophet functions as a far more pliable and quiescent figure than Trapnel. As I have already discussed in this chapter, the bed-bound Wight provides a figure of the unconditional

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[313] Ibid., p. 759.
[314] As discussed in Chapter Two, Trapnel rejoices over being imprisoned in a cell previously used by Feake who she describes as a man 'filled with the Spirit abundantly'; Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, F3^{r}, B2^{r}.
[315] *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe,* vol. 5, ed. by Thomas Birch (London, 1742), p. 759.
[316] Ritter Dailey, p. 452.
[317] Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches*, 1st edn (London: 1647), a1^{v}. In the sixth and seventh editions of *The Exceeding Riches* (printed in 1652 and 1658), Trapnel's name is removed from the list of Wight's visitors. It is possible that this indicates a rift between Trapnel, Jessey and Wight. However, the sixth and seventh editions do not omit two other passages in which Jessey likens Wight's experiences to those of a woman (probably Hannah/Anna Trapnel) named 'H. T.' who fasted, had visions and was of '*approved godliness*'; D6^{r} and K6^{r} in these later editions.

spiritual riches that can be obtained by waiting patiently, and the work's textual form articulates various modes of productive inaction and non-work.

In the previous chapter, I suggested that Trapnel's large Arch A. C. 16 volume may have been produced in response to this same moment of turmoil for the Allhallows the Great congregation in the late 1650s. Here, I noted that Arch A. C. 16's reassuring heft, provided by a vast number of new divinely inspired prophecies, may have been intended to provide Trapnel's community with fresh spiritual material to gather around in order to renew their resolve. In contrast, Jessey appears to have responded to the same crisis through a very different act of textual production. The seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* returns to a woman's prophetic discourse first uttered a decade earlier. This more regressive, reiterative mode of prophetic publication seems expressive and supportive of Jessey's own more conservative religious and political outlook, which sought calm and continuity with the past rather than change and action.

Strikingly, however, the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* may have been printed by the same printing house as Arch A. C. 16. In Chapter Two, I argued that Trapnel's final volume of prophecies was probably printed by James Cottrell, and suggestively the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* states on its title page that it was 'printed by J. C.' Inside, the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* contains several examples of typographic features characteristic of Cottrell's printings.[318] These shared features may suggest that Wight's and Trapnel's works were produced in the same printing house, where they shared a room just as Trapnel had once been present in Wight's chamber to hear her prophesying. Nevertheless, despite these shared typographic features and geographic spaces, both women's works pose very different textual interventions at the same moment. In particular, the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* stages a reiterative textual

[318] The seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* (1658) includes multiple examples of conjoined G letters (see, for example, B1^{r}). The seventh edition also includes a decorative header with motifs that match a header used in Arch A. C. 16 (see, Eeeee1^{v} in Arch A. C. 16 and B1^{r} in Jessey's text).

repetition, which seems motivated by a desire to restate and return to the past without the same impulse to revise or expand a prophecy in response to a new crisis.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how texts present themselves as truthful and authoritative relations of women's spiritual discourse. Critics of this genre have tended to focus on the ways in which relators such as Henry Jessey framed and controlled the discourse of prophetic women to produce works that demonstrate their strong editorial hand. In contrast, this chapter has scrutinised the ways in which prophetic texts also operate through signalling the passivity, weakness and non-work of their relators. Indeed, I have suggested that prophetic texts such as *The Exceeding Riches* often establish their legitimacy through openly confessing, or betraying, their relator's absence and refusal to intervene to change the words of a prophet.

The chapter has argued that these passive, non-interventionist editorial postures are supported and enhanced by the form of a prophecy's material text. For example, in *The Exceeding Riches*, the work's typography is manipulated to suggest an authorising distance between the relator and the divinely inspired words of the prophet he relates. Thus, on the page, the woman's prophetic speech is protected by its isolating italicisation, and this method of typographic distinction evokes the prestigious appearance of the period's vernacular scripture.

Even inadvertent printing errors may support and enhance the spiritual message and authority of a prophetic text. These accidental slips might help to materialise Christian ideas regarding the universality and ubiquity of sin, and, therefore, readers perhaps were willing to forgive the humbling presence of errors (even in a relation of divinely inspired discourse). Similarly, I have contemplated the positive semantic possibilities offered by printing from standing type. By producing a multi-edition textual richness from blocks of unaltered standing type, printing house practitioners enabled abundance to emerge from inaction. In

the process, the printers of the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* produced a textual form that echoed Wight's own embodiment of unconditional free grace.

Alongside these discussions of authorising signifiers of editorial absence, passivity and inaction, this chapter has also considered how a textual form might signal (or betray) a prophetic discourse's reliance on the mediation and editorial control of others. Thus, I suggested that the scheme of typographic differentiation established in *The Exceeding Riches* reveals the multitude of individuals responsible for relating the prophet's words. As Wray notes, prophetic texts often reveal 'the stages through which the "I" must pass' and 'the phases that contribute to the self's enunciability and viability'.[319] Accordingly, in *The Exceeding Riches,* Wight's divine discourse is italicised upon the commands of her relator, and its visual distinction is enabled by the actions of those in the printing house. Likewise, the work's printing errors, and the incongruous errata list in the fourth edition, expose this prophecy's precarious reliance upon the fallible bodies and actions (or inactions) of printing house workers for its transmission.

Moreover, I have suggested that the timing and production of the multiple different editions of Wight's discourse may have been directed by the interests and ambitions of its relator. In particular, the work's seventh edition appeared after a six-year hiatus, and this resurrection of Wight's text in 1658 may have reflected and supported Jessey's own desires to unite his religious community and promote the merits of patient, inactive waiting. In this way, the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* demonstrates a repetitive, and somewhat conservative, mode of textual production. Here, a decade-old prophetic discourse is returned to and made to repeat in a new historic moment. In the next chapter, I will expand upon this burgeoning discussion of the relationship between textual form and temporality through an examination of the form and publication of Eleanor Davies's pamphlets. Here, I will ask how modes of textual production might enable women's prophetic discourse to intervene, and

[319] Wray, '"What say you to [this] book?"', p. 419.

then re-intervene, in different historic moments, and to articulate complex connections between past, present and future.

Chapter 4: 'She thinks she untieth knots, and gives light to prophesies': time, typology and typography in the works of Lady Eleanor Davies

Introduction

No study of the material texts of women's prophecy in the seventeenth century would be complete without an analysis of the works of Lady Eleanor Davies (1590–1652). As Amanda L. Capern has observed, Davies 'wrote no less than thirty-seven of the fifty religious texts by women in the 1640s', and she 'produced around sixty tracts in her lifetime, or 10 per cent of the first editions written by women over the entire seventeenth century'.[320] As an extraordinarily prolific generator of prophetic texts, Davies provides a compelling final case study with which to culminate my analysis of this genre's textual multiplicities.[321] In this chapter, I will extend my previous discussions of revisionary and reiterative textual editions by observing further ways in which a woman's prophetic discourse might be reframed and recontextualised through republication at a later historic moment. Temporality will be a particularly key focus in this chapter, as I seek to synthesise a study of Davies's material texts with an analysis of her complex exegetical style that frequently seeks to connect and intertwine past, present and future events. Finally, this chapter will offer further scrutiny of the reception and perceived authority of women's prophetic discourse, as I explore ways in which Davies's material texts were engaged with by early modern readers.

[320] Capern, p. 107.

[321] Cope refers to Davies as 'Lady Eleanor' in her biography of her life. Davies often signed her works 'Lady Eleanor' and therefore Cope concludes that 'to address her [Lady Eleanor] by the surname of her father or, subsequently, her husband deprives her of part of the new identity she assumed when she became a prophet'; Cope, *Handmaid of the Holy Spirit* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 5. However, there are significant problems with referencing women by their first names. A recent study has suggested that those 'referred to by surname are judged as more famous and eminent': Stav Atir and Melissa J. Ferguson, 'How Gender Determines the Way We Speak About Professionals', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America*, 115 (2018), 7278–83 (p. 7278). Therefore, my decision to refer to Davies by her surname is consistent with my approach to other men and women studied in this thesis and ensures a non-gendered equality of citation practice. My use of the surname 'Davies' also accords with this surname's predominant usage in recent scholarship on Davies.

In 1625, Davies claimed to have heard 'a Voice from Heaven', telling her that '*There is Nineteen years and an half to the Judgement day*'.[322] Following this ominous warning, Davies believed she possessed a special knowledge of scripture's relation to her nation's present apocalyptic moment. According to Davies, the imminence of the final day of judgement was evidenced by the reoccurrence and accomplishment in early modern England of signs and types foreshadowed in the biblical past. Davies also inserted herself within this cross-temporal exegetical framework. For example, when several of her pamphlets were burned by Archbishop William Laud in 1633, Davies interpreted this as a sign that Laud was a fulfilment of the beast ascended 'out of the bottomless pit', whose emergence is described in Revelation as a precursor of Christ's second coming.[323] In this way, Davies presented a single event in her life as a moment that overlapped with the biblical past, and which could reveal the imminence of the ultimate spiritual future.

This chapter will examine how Davies's personalised vision of a divinely charged, interconnected temporality was also articulated through the form of her material texts. For example, I will begin by examining the typographic presentation of the anagrams printed in Davies's pamphlets, and will argue that these visual textual arrangements helped to support Davies's claims to possess an authorising connection with the biblical past. Moreover, this chapter considers how acts of republication allowed Davies to reveal the semantic and spiritual overlaps she saw existing between different temporal moments. In particular, I discuss the modes of reading encouraged and enabled by the mise-en-page, marginalia and title pages of later editions of some of Davies's earlier written works.

In this chapter, these material textual analyses are also interspersed with sections attending directly to the reception of Davies's discourse. Therefore, after my analysis of Davies's printed anagrams, I discuss the survival of a lengthy critical review of Davies's exegetical methods in which the prophet's anagrams are marked out for particular censure.

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[322] Eleanor Davies, *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), B1^{v}.
[323] See, for example, Eleanor Davies, *To the Most Honorable the High Court of Parliament* ([London]: [1643]), D1^{v} and *As Not Unknowne* ([London]: [1644]). The beast is described in Revelation 11. 7.

Moreover, following my discussion of Davies's acts of republication, I ask what the surviving copies of these later editions might reveal about reader responses to Davies's works. In this way, my chapter investigates some of the subtle and gendered ways in which women's prophetic discourse was assessed and engaged with during the seventeenth century.

As my final case study, Davies also offers a valuable opportunity to study an unusually independent female prophetic voice. Notably, Davies does not seem to have belonged to any particular spiritual community and her texts show few signs of being shaped by the wishes and involvement of known supporters. In Chapter One, I discussed how Grace Cary justified writing a manuscript account of her experiences in 1644 by referencing the 'desire of many' that 'do much desire' to have the text 'to lye by them to posteritie'.[324] Similarly, the orations from the late 1650s recorded in Anna Trapnel's Arch A. C. 16 volume regularly reference the presence of a supportive audience of 'Companions' for whom the discourse was delivered.[325] Meanwhile, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* (1647) was produced by the minister Henry Jessey to record the prophetic orations of Sarah Wight and included a list of the people who visited her bedside.[326] In contrast, in a pamphlet dedicated to her only surviving child, Lucy Hastings (the Countess of Huntington), Davies poignantly addresses her daughter as 'your mothers Copartner, even You, her alone and sole support'.[327] Here, and elsewhere in her works, Davies presents herself as an isolated figure who, necessarily, must take responsibility for arranging the publication of her prophetic discourse largely by herself.

Critics have suggested that this social isolation may have been perpetuated by, and have contributed to, the remarkably introspective and challenging style of Davies's discourse. For example, Carme Font has argued that 'the prophetic self that speaks in her [Davies's] texts operates from a strong sense of isolation from any institutional or communal

[324] London, The British Library, Egerton MS 1044, fol. 5^{r}.
[325] Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16.
[326] Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches,* 1st edn (London: 1647), a2^{r}.
[327] Eleanor Davies, *From the Lady Eleanor, her Blessing to her Beloved Daughter the Right Honorable Lucy, Countesse of Huntingdon* ([London]: 1644), E3^{v}.

support', and this lack of community and feedback ensured that Davies 'might not have been sufficiently aware or careful about how her readership would receive her messages'.[328] As a result, reading Davies's writing can be a 'daunting experience' due to its 'disruptive syntax, […] abrupt shifts in content, and dense allegorical references'.[329] Davies's prophetic discourse is cryptic and challenging and does not appear to have been revised by, or for, a supportive community of readers.

According to Font, a particularly 'significant factor' contributing to Davies's obscure writing style is her 'lack of a male mediator or printer-friend', who might have helped to shape and present Davies's discourse for a reading audience.[330] However, this chapter stages a challenge to this dominant critical perspective on Davies's writing in various ways. First, it presents new and hitherto overlooked evidence that some of Davies's contemporaries did in fact engage with her idiosyncratic hermeneutics and feel able to respond to her writing. Moreover, whilst it may be true that Davies lacked a 'printer-friend', her enormous textual productivity is testament to her collaboration with printing houses.[331] As I will discuss, Davies's works often involved creative and precise manipulations of type, which relied on printers and compositors to communicate the prophet's ideas in ways that are organised and clear. Thus, rather than marking a 'strong sense of isolation' and self-centredness in Davies's rhetoric, this chapter reads the materiality of Davies's texts as

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[328] Carme Font, *Women's Prophetic Writings in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 158, 156.
[329] Ibid., p. 153. For further commentary on the challenging nature of Davies's writing style see Megan Matchinske, *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 153–4 and Beth Nelson, 'Lady Elinor Davies: The Prophet as Publisher', *Women Studies International Forum*, 8 (1985), 403–09 (p. 403).
[330] Font, p. 158.
[331] Ibid. Davies criticised her printers and sometimes failed to pay them. In one of her pamphlets Davies describes being 'put to the charge for Imprinting' the same text again, which she regarded as an 'unjust Cut-Throat' action taken by a 'Broken Printer and his Consorts'. When Davies refused to pay her debt, the printer 'fain'd had lost the Copy' of the text he was printing in order to 'draw her thither' to his printing house where she was arrested. This episode is described in Eleanor Davies, *Hells Destruction* ([London]: 1651), B1^{r}–B1^{v}. Cope suggests that Davies was describing a dispute with the printer Thomas Paine here; Cope, p. 131. Diane Watt agrees and observes that Paine's printer's device can be found in a number of Davies's texts printed in or before 1646, but that their working relationship appears to have ended after Davies's arrest for debts in 1646; see Watt, p. 134. Nevertheless, Davies printed over thirty more pamphlets after 1646, so she clearly found other printers willing to work with her.

evidence of her discourse's mediation and reception by readers and printing house workers.[332]

Typology and typography: printing Davies's anagrams

In a pamphlet printed in 1643, Davies describes 'Jonas in the Whales belly' as a 'signe of the Resurrection'.[333] With this statement, Davies articulates the common Christian exegetical position that Jonah's emergence from the whale in the Old Testament (Jonah 2. 10) is a sign or 'type' that foreshadows the resurrection of Jesus (Jonah's 'anti-type') in the New Testament.[334] This typological mode of interpretation, which developed from early patristic and medieval hermeneutics, often positions Christ as the ultimate *forma perfectior*: the anti-type in whom the Old Testament's types (including Jonah) are fulfilled.[335] Thus, as Sarah Wight explains to her audience in *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*, '*The Law* [the old Mosaic Covenant] *was a Schoolmaster; by types it led out to Christ; But when Christ come* […] *we are no longer under that Schoolmaster'*.[336] Similarly, Anna Trapnel declared to her listeners in 1658: 'And now that the Son is so come, / All Types are done away, / No tables of stone doth appear, / In this clear Gospel-day'.[337] As these statements from both Wight and Trapnel exemplify, early modern people were familiar with interpretations like Davies's, in which Christ's incarnation is presented as a typological fulfilment of Jonah and other past biblical figures.

Importantly, though, the principle that the New Testament had, in Trapnel's words, 'done away' with Old Testament types did not preclude the idea that this fulfilment of biblical

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[332] Font, p. 158.
[333] Eleanor Davies, *The Star to the Wise* (London: 1643), B4^{v}.
[334] This typological exegesis is also supported by Matthew 12. 40: 'For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth'.
[335] The theologian Jean Daniélou has documented the history of Christological typology, which holds that 'all the outstanding persons and leading events of Scripture […] prefigure the mystery which is one day to be fulfilled in Christ'; Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, trans. by Dom Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), p. 11. However, as Joseph A. Galdon notes, 'whether typology must be strictly Christological or not is a disputed point and much involved in terminology'; see Galdon, *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975), p. 51.
[336] Henry Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace,* 1st edn (London: 1647), G7^{r}.
[337] Trapnel, *Voice for the King of Saints*, B3^{v}.

figures was still ongoing in the seventeenth century. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski has observed that Protestant writers frequently viewed 'their church and nation as antitypes of the Old Testament Israel, in that their inclusion within Christ's mystical body, the Church', permitted them to continue to 'participate in his fulfilment of the types *forma perfectior'.*[338] As members of Christ's body (his Church), Christian men and women could view their own lives as sites for the potential fulfilment of events and figures established in the biblical past. As Lewalski notes, this belief was further strengthened by Calvinist Protestantism's refocusing of typological thought, so that Christ's second coming (rather than his incarnation) became more heavily emphasised as the future 'supreme anti-type' to which 'both Old Testament types and New Covenant antitypes as a like referred'.[339] Thanks to this sense of outstanding typological anticipation, early modern men and women could view themselves as occupying the same continuum of semantically charged time uniting both the Old and New Testaments. Just like the people of the biblical past, the people of seventeenth-century England were also still anticipating the ultimate fulfilment to be provided by Christ's second coming, therefore they too could seek signs of typological signification in the world around them.

Typological exegesis and the divinely inspired identification of spiritually charged connections between self and scripture, and past and present, are key components of Davies's discourse. Moreover, in her writings, Davies often employs typological interpretation to authorise her own prophetic status, by suggesting that she herself is a seventeenth-century fulfilment of the biblical prophets of the past. In this section of my chapter, I will consider some of the typological arguments propounded by Davies's prophetic discourse and discuss how the typography of her texts helped to communicate and support these interpretations on the printed page.

Davies's complex typological worldview is established in her earliest extant text, *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625). In this pamphlet, Davies discusses an episode in the Old

[338] Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 129.
[339] Ibid., p. 128.

Testament during which the prophet Daniel experiences a vision of an angelic figure who informs him that 'the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: but lo, Michael one of the chief princes, came to help me' (Daniel 10. 13). A gloss accompanying this passage in the Geneva Bible explains that 'the prince of the kingdom of Persia' is usually identified by exegetes as Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, the King of Persia, who hindered the Jewish reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem.[340] The Geneva Bible also suggests that the angel 'Michael' is a type of Jesus, because his defence of the Jewish temple foreshadows Christ's establishment of the Church. Finally, the Geneva Bible's commentary on Daniel 10. 13 declares that 'thogh the prophet Daniel shulde end and cease, yet his doctrine shulde continue til the coming of Christ for the comfort of his Church'.[341] Thus, the gloss argues (with a typical Calvinist emphasis) that the significance of the types established in Daniel's prophecy extends beyond an immediate historical relevance and fulfilment in Christ's establishment of the Church, to point towards an ultimate fulfilment in Christ's future return to comfort and restore his Church in the last days.

In *A Warning to the Dragon*, Davies diverges from these established interpretations of Daniel 10. 13 to present her own, more personally inflected, typological exegesis of the same passage. Specifically, in this pamphlet, Davies argues that the biblical figure of Michael foreshadows King James VI/I:

> The Prince of the Kingdome of Persia (that Lord by whom the Lord of Lords was withstood), is Sathan the Divell, MICHAEL one of the first Princes that came then to helpe him; This is JAMES King of Great *Britaine* […] The one and twenty dayes […] are so many Hundred years, beginning at the Vision and ending this present, 1600. And so long the words of this Vision have been closed & sealed up; Even till now the time of the end[.][342]

[340] For more information on Calvinist interpretations of this passage see William H. Shea, 'Wrestling with the Prince of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10', *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 21.3 (1983), 225–50.
[341] *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva: 1560), Xxx1^{r} (notes h–k).
[342] Eleanor Davies, *A Warning to the Dragon* ([London]: 1625), H1^{v}.

This quoted passage closes with Davies suggesting that the 'now' of mid-seventeenth-century England is the 'time of the end', and that 'this present' moment marks the anti-typical fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy. According to Davies, the current English monarch 'is' the angel Michael. In this way, Davies's typological exegesis compresses linear timelines by simultaneously identifying the contemporary present with the scriptural past and the ultimate theological future (the 'time of the end').

Elsewhere in *A Warning to the Dragon*, Davies defends her cross-temporal interpretation by stating that: 'I owe no defence for the name of an Angell [Michael] given to a Mortall man [James VI/I]'.[343] To support this, Davies argues that if 'the Sonne of God sometimes called by the name of first ADAM' then why might she not, 'by the same Authoritie', give 'the name of MICHAEL […] unto this Prince'.[344] With this self-defence of her own typological readings, Davies notes that other Christian exegetes have long presented Adam as a type of the incarnated Christ. By the same 'Authoritie', Davies claims a similar legitimacy for the connection she posits between the historic biblical figure of Michael and England's contemporary monarch.

In addition to establishing these parallels between her age's political leaders and the spiritual figures depicted in scripture, Davies also inserts herself into her typological schemas. In particular, as Richard Pickard notes, Davies 'considered herself to be typologically related to the Old Testament prophet Daniel', in whose biblical book the battle between Michael and the Prince of Persia is described.[345] For example, in a text addressed to her daughter Lucy Hastings, Davies explains:

> your Mother became a Writer or Secretary, concerning the unsealing
> or interpreting this obscure piece to open the *Vission of Daniel* […]

[343] Ibid., H4^{v}.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Richard Pickard, 'Anagrams etc. The Interpretative Dilemmas of Lady Eleanor Douglas', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 20.3 (1996), 5–22 (p. 8).

> even in the yeere 1625. Undertaken this burthen, following his steps[.][346]

In this passage, Davies presents herself as a visionary writer walking in the 'steps' of Daniel and assuming his work as the interpreter of 'obscure' messages from God. This parallelism between Daniel and Davies hinges upon the 'yeere 1625', when Davies claims to have 'heard early in the Morning a Voice from Heaven, speaking as through a Trumpet these words; *There is Nineteen years and an half to the Judgement day*'.[347] Throughout her printed texts Davies repeatedly describes receiving this apocalyptic message, which instigated her compulsion to publish divinely inspired scriptural exegeses.[348] Since the prophet Daniel also produced a book of apocalyptic prophecy, Davies suggests that her divine inspiration and subsequent textual productions are evidence that she has 'undertaken' Daniel's 'burthen' in a new age.

This typological connection between Davies and Daniel is also expounded in a later pamphlet entitled *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* (1646). Davies concludes this text with the words:

> *O Father that hast hidden from them these these* [sic] *things* (of thy councel not made) *but to us reveald them.* Dan.2.19 *Then was the secret reveald to* Daniel, *Ver.* 21. & 28. & 47[.][349]

Here, Davies cites the scriptural passage Daniel 2. 19: 'Then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision. Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven'. Davies, however, also constructs a new statement (not present in the Bible) that adopts first-person plural pronouns to describe the experience from Daniel's perspective ('*O Father that hast* […] *to us reveald them*'). This addition allows Davies to ventriloquise the voice of the prophet speaking directly to God and also to include herself within the plural prophetic '*us*' to whom

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[346] Eleanor Davies, *From the Lady Eleanor, her Blessing to her Beloved Daughter* ([London]: 1644), A4^{r}.
[347] Eleanor Davies, *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), B1^{v}.
[348] It is this 'Voice from Heaven' that compels Davies to write, as she reports having instantly 'annex'd' the divine words she heard in 1625 'in a manuscript', which she 'immediately' sought to have 'published' in order to disseminate the warning to others; Ibid., B2^{r}.
[349] Ibid., E4^{v}.

the hidden things are '*reveald*'. In this way, Davies makes a claim for her own authority as a divinely inspired writer by suggesting an equivalency of perspective between herself and the biblical prophet who came before her.

This suggested authorising overlap between Daniel and Davies is also communicated through the typography and mise-en-page of Davies's text. Directly below the words quoted above, the pamphlet's final page concludes with a printed anagram that acts as a kind of signature (see Figure 4.1, below). Here, the phrase '*Reveale O Daniel*' is printed above Davies's maiden name '*Eleanor Audeley*'. These parallel pieces of text are then bracketed together with a brace and labelled 'Anagr.', which clearly signals the anagrammatic connection between these two lines of type lest readers should miss their shared significance.[350] This textual affiliation between Davies and Daniel is positioned as the triumphant finale to the whole work, as though it provides a decisive concluding proof of Davies's intrinsic connection to the prophet. Just as Davies claims to share Daniel's perspective and intimate relationship with God in the work's closing passage, this page's anagram sign-off reveals that writer and prophet can also be signified using the same set of graphemes. Davies is both a textual and typological fulfilment of Daniel, and, accordingly, both figures co-sign this seventeenth-century prophetic text together.

FIGURE 4.1 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Figure 4.1 Eleanor Davies, *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), E4^{v} (detail). Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, C 14.11 (14) Linc.

[350] The anagram works if Davies's surname is spelt with an extra 'e' ('Audeley' for 'Audley') and if an early modern approach to the interchangeability of 'u' and 'v', and 'y' and 'i', is allowed for.

As Erich Auerbach has explained, an effective typological reading must demonstrate that 'the first event [or figure] points to the second, the second fulfils the first', whilst still maintaining that both type and anti-type 'remain concrete events that have taken place within history'.[351] In the seventeenth century, this balance of contingency and concrete distinctness was often cited as a crucial means of distinguishing legitimate scriptural typologies from mere allegorical comparisons. For example, as the writer James Durham explained in 1668, 'Types suppose still the verity of some History' whereas allegories 'have no such necessary supposition' and it is not 'necessary as to the being of the Allegory, that ever such a thing was'.[352] Thus, when positing a connection between two figures or events, the typological exegete must preserve a sense that each element possesses an independent historic reality and signification separate to the other's. In essence, Jonah must not be framed as a fictional symbolic allegory for Jesus, but as a concrete historic figure in his own right (albeit one whose spiritual status was and is intrinsically contingent upon Christ's). Similarly, Davies's typological self-interpretations operate through maintaining that she and Daniel remain distinct and historically real individuals, but ones with experiences that point towards each other and that must be understood as interrelated.

The anagrammatic phrases '*Reveale O Daniel*' and '*Eleanor Audeley'* printed at the conclusion of *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* (1646) provide a way of representing this delicate balance of distinctness and sameness demanded of typological readings. Arranged on the printed page, both Daniel and Davies are signified by parallel lines of type that can be understood separately, but which are also visually connected by the single printed brace (see Figure 4.1, p. 172). Here, the phrase '*Reveale O Daniel*' is printed using an arrangement of fourteen letters, which could have been arranged by the compositor to produce the words '*Eleanor Audeley*' below. As such, an anagram printed using movable type provides a fitting way of communicating typological relationships. Both the printing

[351] Erich Auerbach, 'Figura', in *Time, History, and Literature: Selected Essays of Erich Auerbach*, ed. by James I. Porter, trans. by Jane O. Newman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 65–113 (p. 100).
[352] James Durham, *Clavis Cantici: or, An Exposition of the Song of Solomon* (Edinburgh: 1668), A4^{v}–B1^{r}.

house compositor and the anagrammatist utilise and reveal the hidden, but fundamental, interrelationships between separate words and phrases produced from the same interchangeable letters. Similarly, as a typological exegete, Davies seeks to reveal hidden connections between distinct events and figures in a way that demonstrates their deep affiliation but maintains their independent semantic value.

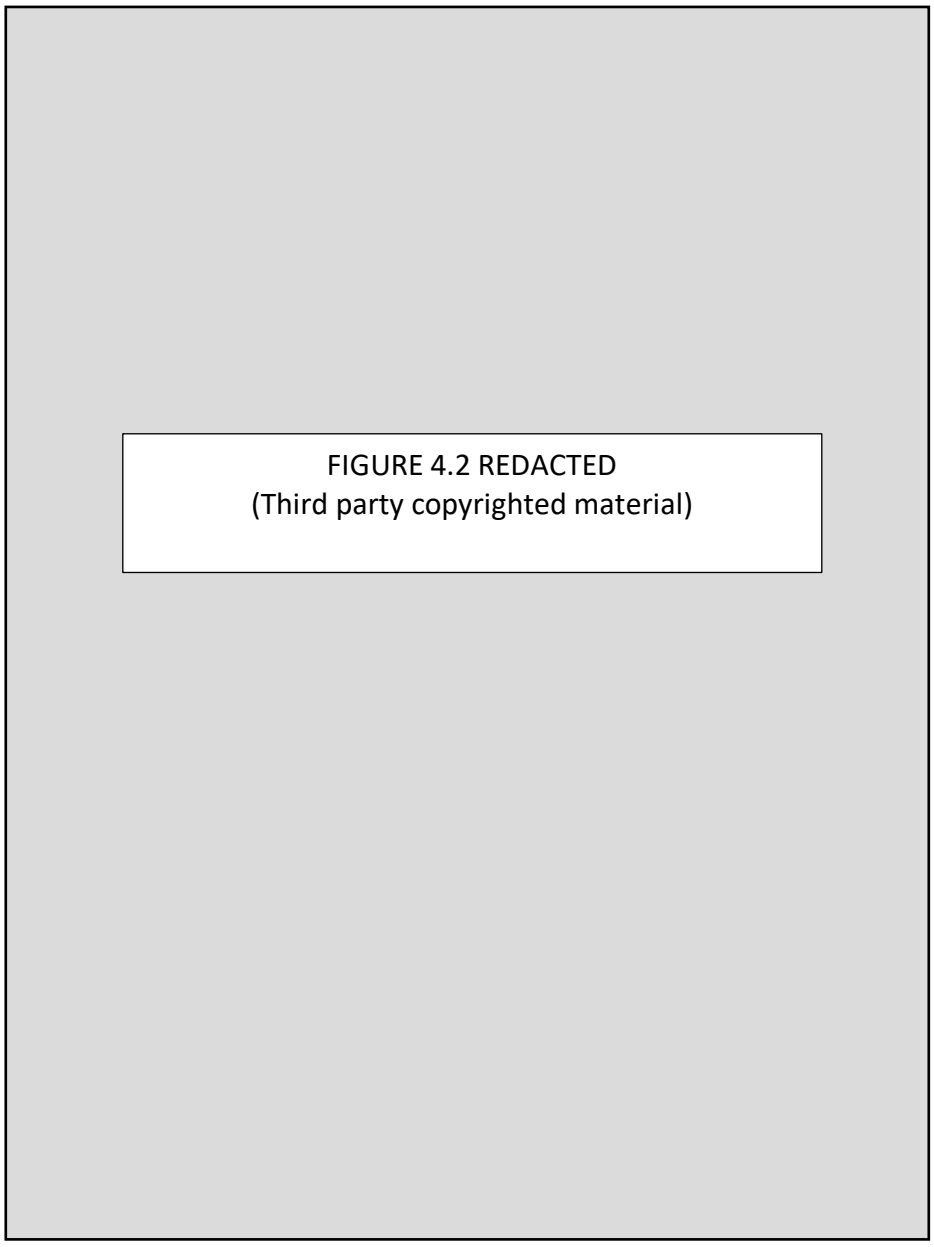

Figure 4.2 Eleanor Davies, *A Warning to the Dragon* ([London]: 1625), B1^{r}. London, The British Library, 1016.e.22.

Davies's 'Reveale O Daniel / Eleanor Audeley' anagram also appears in her very first printed pamphlet, *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625), where it is supported by another authorising typographic arrangement (see Figure 4.2, above). In *A Warning to the Dragon*, the capitalised phrase 'REVEALE O DANIEL' is printed below Davies's name 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' in enlarged letters at the start of the text, thereby providing an opening title to the work rather than a closing signature. In the preface that begins immediately below this printed anagram, Davies describes *A Warning to the Dragon* as a 'true looking-glasse' that will show 'no other things then the Prophets and Apostles did say should come to passe'.[353] This likening of her own publication to a 'looking-glasse' is literalised by the typographic arrangement of the anagram printed above it. Strikingly, the letters of the writer's maiden name are printed backwards and reversed, as though they are being read in a mirror.[354] In the page's title, these mirrored letters of Davies's name are then reflected and rearranged to produce the legible phrase 'REVEALE O DANIEL' below. This materialisation of textual revelation (operating here through a rotation and rearrangement of letters) provides a witty typographic articulation of Davies's self-authorising claim to be able to reflect and reveal the things that biblical prophets 'did say should come to passe'.[355]

The typographic mirror provided by Davies's backwards maiden name is formed of letters that closely resemble the design of those used on the rest of the page (see Figure 4.2, above). For example, in the capitalised title below Davies's reversed maiden name, the A in 'GREAT' is of an equivalent size to the A's in 'ELEANOR AUDELEY'. The 'A' in 'GREAT' has a slightly thicker diagonal stroke on the right-hand side of the letter. Meanwhile, in the reversed words of 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' this slightly thicker diagonal stroke is on the left-hand side of its letter A's. This reversal suggests that one of the printing house's conventional A type-pieces has been flipped along its vertical line of symmetry to be

[353] Ibid., A4^{v}, A4^{r}.
[354] Eleanor Davies, *A Warning to the Dragon* ([London]: 1625), B1^{r}.
[355] Ibid., A4^{r}.

used in the backwards printing of Davies's name. Similar mirroring in the position of serifs and thickened strokes suggests that the other letters in 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' were also produced by flipping equivalents of type-pieces used elsewhere on the page.

However, these transpositions of type-pieces could not actually have been produced using the standard movable type of the printing house. A conventional piece of L type could not have been flipped by a compositor to print its reverse (⅃), and the A piece used in the word 'GREAT' (with the thicker right-hand stroke) could not have been flipped to print the mirrored A (with its thicker left-hand stroke). Thus, instead of being composed from the same font of individual type-pieces used for the rest of the page, it seems clear that the mirrored letters in 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' were in fact printed together from a single block produced for this job. This custom block was designed to create the illusion that the backwards words were composed from individual type-pieces. However, the slight irregularities in the shapes of the letter forms, and the differing and narrow spaces between the individual characters, betray the fact that the reversed letters in 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' were actually cut in a single block before printing. Through this process, the printing house found a means of xylographically matching the creativity of Davies's own manipulations of language. This page conveys an illusion of 'mirrored' individual type-pieces, which suggests a hidden flexibility and potential in printed letters that transcends the capabilities of movable type. This creative xylography echoes the way in which Davies herself claims a special ability to reveal hidden spiritual value in scripture and the letters of her own name.

Davies's self-authorising 'Reveale O Daniel/Eleanor Audeley' anagram has been discussed by Teresa Feroli. In particular, Feroli notes the significance of Davies's use of 'her own aristocratic father's name as her prophetic signature' in an anagram that allows her to transform her nomenclature and genealogy into 'an important vehicle for communicating [her] divine authority'.[356] According to Feroli, the use of 'Eleanor Audeley' in this anagram evidences the value Davies places upon patriarchal and aristocratic systems of authority, in

[356] Teresa Feroli, 'The Sexual Politics of Mourning in the Prophecies of Eleanor Davies', *Criticism*, 36 (1994), 359–82 (pp. 366, 360).

which 'names possess a material reality and bestow the properties that they signify upon their owners'.[357] The spiritual significance of the 'Reveale O Daniel/Eleanor Audeley' anagram relies upon a codified system of language, in which a family name is understood as an important indicator of status and affiliation.

In her analysis, Feroli does not specifically discuss the typographic presentation of Davies's 'Audeley' anagram, however, I would argue that this plays a key role in the anagram's semantic signification. In *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace*, Davies's anagram functions as a 'prophetic signature' because it is printed at the bottom of the text's final page (Figure 4.1, p. 172).[358] Moreover, as I have discussed, in this signature, 'Reveale O Daniel' and 'Eleanor Audeley' are linked by a printed brace. This particular typographic arrangement recalls the presentation methods used in printed genealogies, in which similar braces signal relationships between two (usually aristocratic) names.[359] As such, the typographic rendering of the anagram seems to support Feroli's suggestion that Davies authorises her prophecy through referencing a privileged system of codified language and status-bearing surnames. Davies bases her typological connection to Daniel on her paternal surname, whilst the printed brace that connects that surname with Daniel on the page evokes the visual typographic rhetoric of the familial connections and hereditary power recorded in genealogies.

As Pickard notes, anagrams like Davies's also 'depend on a concept of language that can be shared as a bridge between the creator and the reader'.[360] Thus, in order for Davies's 'Reveale O Daniel / Eleanor Audeley' anagram to successfully endorse her claim to share a typological connection with the biblical prophet, Davies's readers needed to recognise and understand the wordplay at work, and to acknowledge this reflection and tessellation of language as a clever and authoritative proof of typological connection.

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[357] Feroli, 'The Sexual Politics of Mourning', p. 360.
[358] Feroli, 'The Sexual Politics of Mourning', p. 366.
[359] See, for example, the typographic arrangement of the genealogical tables in Giovanni Francesco Biondi, *A History of the Civill Wares of England* (London: 1641).
[360] Pickard, p. 10.

Additionally, Davies's anagrams are contingent upon others acknowledging that one's nomenclature is a meaningful basis for establishing status and connection to figures from the past. This chapter has also demonstrated that Davies's self-authorising anagrams operate by referencing an established mode of typological exegesis in which the events and people of seventeenth-century England were regarded as possessing the potential to fulfil historic biblical types. Finally, the communication of these anagrams is also dependent upon the actions and ingenuity of workers in the printing house. As I have discussed, compositors and printers sought creative ways to articulate the typological connection Davies believed existed between herself and Daniel. Thus, Davies's pamphlets provide further compelling examples of the ways in which typography could contribute to the modes of self-authorisation staged by women's prophetic discourse.

Reading Davies's anagrams: Edward Kellett's response

Hitherto, I have inspected the way in which Davies attempted to establish the authenticity of her prophetic discourse by framing herself as a typological fulfilment of the Old Testament prophet Daniel. This method of self-authorisation was supported by printed anagrams that linked Davies's name with Daniel's, and which were presented persuasively to the reader through creative typographic arrangements. However, just how persuasive were these anagrams, and how accepting would Davies's contemporary readers have been of these typological and typographic self-aggrandisements? In this section of the chapter, I will discuss one reader's lengthy review of Davies's first pamphlet, which helps to reveal the difficulties women faced as they attempted to establish the spiritual value and authenticity of their printed prophetic discourse.

Edward Kellett (c. 1580–1641) was a West Country clergyman who supported the controversial reforms of Archbishop William Laud that increased the ceremonialism and decoration in English churches in the early 1600s. In 1633, Kellett dedicated a text to Laud entitled *Miscellanies of Divinitie*, in which he discusses the nature of original sin, biblical

accounts of resurrection and errors in recent biblical translations. In addition to these eclectic subjects, Kellett also includes a lengthy passage in which he complains about a woman writer who has 'of late […] printed a book of her phantasticall crudities'.[361] Kellett never mentions the name of this offending female author, but the quotations and page numbers he includes from her 'phantasticall' book have allowed me to identify it as Davies's first published text, *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625).

In *Miscellanies of Divinitie* (1633), Kellett argues that Davies:

> hath printed a book of her phantasticall crudities, and by English anagrams expoundeth Scripure […] A new kinde of interpretation never thought of, fit for a woman to be the inventour of. She teacheth Daniel to reveal himself after a new fashion: and such things, which, were he alive and racked, he must say he never thought of. She thinks she untieth knots, and gives light to prophesies; but indeed misapplieth things past, and perhaps future contingents, to present times: and while she gathereth many excellent strains of words and sentences out of the divine Writ, in coupling them together she maketh such a roaring hotch-potch, as if she had vowed to write full-mouthed non-sense in loftie terms; others not knowing, nor perhaps herself, what she aimeth at.[362]

Here, Kellett mocks Davies's typological interpretations as a 'hotch-potch' of 'non-sense' and accuses her of confusedly misapplying and 'coupling […] together' events and figures from the past, present and future. In particular, Kellett is dismissive of Davies's claims to share a special affinity with the prophet Daniel. Indeed, Kellett claims that, even if Daniel was tortured and 'racked', he would deny that he 'thought of' any of the things that Davies attributes to him.

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[361] Edward Kellett, *Miscellanies of Divinitie* (Cambridge: 1633), O4^{v}.
[362] Ibid.

Kellett's review also singles out Davies's anagrams for particular disparagement. Following the scathing paragraph quoted above, Kellett invites his reader to 'take a taste of her anagrams', before printing several examples of the anagrammatic textual arrangements in *A Warning to the Dragon*.[363] This mocking list of Davies's anagrams includes the twinned phrases 'PRINCE OF PERSIA' and 'I CAN POPE FRIERS'. In *A Warning to the Dragon,* Davies uses this anagram to help support her suggestion (aforementioned in this chapter) that James VI/I was a typological fulfilment of the angel Michael who battles the 'Prince of the kingdom of Persia' in Daniel 10. 13.[364] According to Davies's typological exegesis, this 'Prince of Persia' is Satan, whose evil is embodied by the Catholic Church's pope and friars. This connection between the historic Prince of Persia and the modern Catholic church is evidenced, according to Davies, by the anagrammatic phrases 'PRINCE OF PERSIA' and 'I CAN POPE FRIERS'. Kellett, however, is unimpressed by this textual evidence, retorting, 'If Friers should come, and prevail, they would teach her to be more humble'.[365] Kellett further mocks the unlikeliness of Davies's claim that James VI/I is a fulfilment of the biblical angel Michael, joking: 'Holy, peaceable, and harmlesse King James, who would scarce hurt a worm, is now interpreted to be the greatest fighter among the celestiall host'.[366] Thus, for Kellett, Davies's typological interpretations appear laughably unconvincing.

At least in part, Kellett's refusal to value Davies's prophecies also originates from his awareness of her gender. Kellett particularly disparages Davies's anagrams as a 'new kinde of interpretation […] fit for a woman to be the inventour of'.[367] Perhaps Kellett is referring here to the fact that anagrams were a literary form frequently associated with poetry written for women. For example, in the bawdy, pseudonymously authored text *The Card of Courtship* (1653), a man explains that, since falling in love, he has learnt to produce 'anagrams' and 'can not sleep anights, for the multitude of Verses that are capering in my

[363] Ibid.
[364] Eleanor Davies, *A Warning to the Dragon* ([London]: 1625), H1^{v}.
[365] Kellett, O4^{v}.
[366] Ibid., O5^{r}
[367] Ibid., O4^{v}.

skull […] I allow my self set times to vent them, they would blow me up else'.[368] Mining a similar comedic vein, in his anti-pastoral tale *The Extravagant Shepherd*, Charles Sorrel depicts the hapless lover of a maid named Basilia crying, 'What explications did I not invent for this name? and what Anagrams did I not endeavour to finde out on it? […] When I try'd a pen, I thought I committed a crime, if I writ any thing but the word Basilia'.[369] Later, Sorrel mockingly retorts that the versifying lover 'spoil'd at least six Pens' and 'I believe all the Stationers shops in the County could not have furnished him' with enough to complete his anagrammatising.[370] These accounts of hapless lovers inspired to produce endless anagrams from women's names are rife with sexual puns about 'spoil'd' phallic 'pens' and late-night explosions of frustrated passion. Therefore, perhaps Kellett's suggestion that Davies's discourse is 'fit for a woman' references the anagram's reputation in this period as a (somewhat emasculating and comedic) mode of writing produced to seduce women.[371]

Moreover, during this period, anagrams, palindromes and other non-linear manipulations of text were often linked to forms of sexual excess and impropriety. As Patricia Parker has noted, John Bale claimed that Catholics were 'whoremasters & Sodomytes in euery corner' and evidenced this by observing that 'If ye spell Roma backwarde, ye shall fynde […] it is loue out of order or a loue against kynde'. [372] Here, the textual reversal from Roma to Amor acts as a textual signifier of homosexual love, which was often euphemistically described as 'backwards' or 'preposterous' during this time ('from *posterus* (after or behind) and *prae* (in front or before)').[373] A further example of this connection between perceived sexual subversion and textual disorder is provided by Thomas Heywood, who described the Ancient Greek poet Sotdes as a man 'addicted to

[368] Musophilus, *The Card of Courtship* (London: 1653), †2^{r}.
[369] Charles Sorel, *The Extravagant Shepherd, the Anti-Romance* (London: 1653), Bb2^{r}.
[370] Ibid., M3^{v}
[371] For more on the reputation of anagrams in the early modern period, see Katherine Hunt, 'The Art of Changes: Bell-Ringing, Anagrams, and the Culture of Combination in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 48 (2018), 387-412 and William H. Sherman, 'Of Anagrammatology', *English Language Notes*, 47 (2009), 139-48.
[372] John Bale, *The First Two Partes of the Actes of Unchast Examples of the Englysh* (London: 1551), A6^{v}; quoted in Patricia Parker, 'Spelling Backwards', in *Rhetoric, Women, and Politics in Early Modern England,* ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 25–50 (p. 29).
[373] See, for example, Thomas Taylor's description of 'that most preposterous and abominable sin, since called […] Sodometry', in *The Second Part of the Theatre of Gods Judgments* (London: 1642).

preposterous venery' whose 'verses were all to be read backward, lest their included nastiness might appear too plain and palpable'.[374] Here, once again, forms of 'backward' writing and textual non-linearity are read as signs of sexual extravagance, but also of a diversion from the heterosexual norm.

A bawdy undercurrent is perhaps also present in Charles Hopkins's quip that 'To understand some things by Woman said, Her Words, like Hebrew, must be backwards read'.[375] Here, though, notions of 'backwards' texts are also connected to the period's perception of languages read or written in the opposite direction to English. Another writer during the period described how 'the Turks […] haue many wiues & concubins to preuent adultery: they write bias and read backward, as the Hebrues'.[376] In this passage, another description of sexual excess is presented in close proximity to a comment on a 'backwardness' associated with Arabic, Turkish and Hebrew. Indeed, Parker has observed that early modern English writers frequently expressed fears of being forced to 'turn Turk', or to backslide in their religion and sexuality, using language that associated 'such preposterous or "backward" turning with a forbidden coupling or admixture' that frequently carried both sexual and textual connotations.[377]

Kellett's review of Davies's *A Warning to the Dragon* exemplifies many of these cultural fears about backwards and non-linear text. In his critique, Kellett insinuates that Davies's typological exegeses and anagrams reflect sexual disorder through 'a forbidden coupling or admixture' of ideas.[378] In particular, Kellett is appalled by the way in which Davies 'maketh such a roaring hotch-potch' in her text by 'coupling […] together' disparate 'words and sentences out of the divine writ'.[379] Here, Davies's exegesis is depicted as a textual confusion, which refuses to follow the correct chronology of the biblical text. Kellett's phrase 'coupling together' was also a euphemism for intercourse during this period, thus, by

[374] Thomas Heywood, *The Generall History of Women* (London: 1657), Ii1^{v}.
[375] Charles Hopkins, *The Art of Love in Two Books* (London: 1700), C5^{v}.
[376] Thomas Gainsford, *The Secretaries Studie Containing New Familiar Epistles* (London: 1616), P1^{r}.
[377] Patricia Parker, 'Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk, and its "Pauline" Rerighting', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 2.1 (2002), 1–34 (p. 4).
[378] Ibid.
[379] Kellett, O4^{v}.

applying it to Davies's text, the critic also insinuates a certain improper lustiness in Davies's exegetical approach.[380] Finally, the review concludes by declaring: 'Let the women rather go to their needle, and their spindle. *Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection,* 1. Tim 2. 11'.[381] According to this male reader (and, perhaps, to many others too), Davies transgressed the activities appropriate for her sex by writing works of prophetic discourse.

In addition to these gendered and sexualised criticisms of Davies's discourse, Kellett also disparages the woman writer's reliance on anagrams due to their association with foreign textual practice. Kellett explains to his readers that 'Rabbines have many mutuall oppositions of letters in the inverted alphabet' and practise 'Cabalisticall interchangeing of letters'.[382] However, he warns that such 'anagrammatical interpretations' are 'more nice and curious, then sound or religious', and thus their employment by Davies renders her hermeneutics a 'minglemangle-kinde of interpretation'.[383] Here, Kellett's arguments against the anagrammatic, non-linear modes of exegesis used by Davies seem to harbour fears about foreign influences corrupting Englishwomen and transforming their biblical readings into an uncontrolled 'minglemangle'. Kellett concludes his diatribe by declaring that any expounding of the 'sacred Originall by English anagrammes' represents 'the flashes and fire-works of luxuriant brains'.[384] Consequently, by imitating Hebraic anagrammatic methods in the English language, Davies reveals her dangerously brazen and 'luxuriant' mind, which produces writing that exceeds the boundaries of gender, nationality and accepted sexual propriety.

Conversely, though, not all seventeenth-century writers viewed Hebraic textual practices with the same level of disdain, scandal and fear as Kellett. Indeed, Smith has

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[380] Edward Phillips defines the word 'copulation' as 'a joyning, or coupling together, in *The New World of English Words* (London: 1658), K1^{r}.
[381] Kellett, O5^{r}.
[382] Ibid. As evidence of this 'Cabalisticall interchangeing of letters', Kellett cites the suggestion that the place name 'Sheshach' (mentioned in Jeremiah 51. 41) is a coded form of 'Babel', which can be deciphered using the Atbash cipher (a code that involves reversing the Hebrew alphabet). By disparaging this anagrammatic exegesis, Kellett takes issue with a fairly established and traditional Christian exegetical reading. For example, the Geneva Bible glosses the word 'Sheshach' as 'Meaning Babél' in Jeremiah 51. 41; *The Bible and Holy Scriptures* (Geneva: 1560), Mmm4^{r} (note y).
[383] Kellett, O5^{v}.
[384] Kellett, O6^{v}.

noted that many of this period's radical religious writers were intrigued by 'kabbalistic attitudes towards the Hebrew language', due to Hebrew's spiritual status as an original language of the Bible.[385] Smith offers the example of Thomas Tany, who was an eccentric prophetic writer who claimed to have 'received' a knowledge of Hebrew, 'not at your *Universities*' but directly from God over the course of seven days.[386] As Smith notes, Tany often wrote out Hebrew phrases phonetically in his pamphlets, as if 'removing the obstacle of unfamiliar characters for his readers'.[387] That said, Tany did also print plenty of untranslated approximations of Hebraic symbols on the title pages of his publications, arranging them in complex pentagrams alongside other pictorial signs.[388] This interest in Hebrew was undoubtedly connected to a sense amongst religious radicals that seventeenth-century England was a potential typological fulfilment of biblical Israel. This was an idea that Davies herself propounded in a pamphlet entitled *The New Jerusalem at Hand* (1649).[389]

Given this interest in Hebrew amongst religious radicals, Kellett may have been correct to assume that the anagrams in Davies's *A Warning to the Dragon* were conscious (though rather clumsy) attempts to emulate the methods of 'anagrammatistical interpretation' believed to be used by Jewish scholars.[390] Additionally, it seems possible that the mirrored printing of 'ELEANOR AUDELEY' in this work may also have been designed to echo the perceived 'backwards' orientation of Hebrew texts (see Figure 4.2, p. 174). As discussed in the previous section of this chapter the reversed appearance of Davies's maiden name requires the reader to comprehend it from right to left. This orientation was perhaps

[385] Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, p. 287. More information on the influence of Jewish modes of exegesis on seventeenth-century writers can be found in Noam Flinker, 'The Poetics of Biblical Prophecy: Abiezer Coppe's Late Converted Midrash', in *Varieties of Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context*, ed. by Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 113–127; Golda Werman, *Milton and Midrash* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1995); and G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).
[386] Thomas Tany, *Theauraujohn Tani his Second part of his Theous-ori apokolipikal* (London: 1653), C1^{r}. Smith describes Tany's philo-semitism as 'a significant factor in his attitudes towards language'; Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, pp. 299–307.
[387] Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, p. 303.
[388] See, for example, Thomas Tany, *Theauraujohn His Aurora in Tranlagornm in Salem Gloria* (London: 1655).
[389] See also, Eleanor Davies, *The Everlasting Gospel* ([London]: 1649), A2^{v}.
[390] Kellett, O5^{v}.

designed to reflect the direction in which the Hebraic writings of the prophet Daniel would originally have been read.

This theory of typographic Hebraic emulation is supported by the fact that Davies is likely to have been familiar with the appearance and structure of Hebrew. The uncle of Davies's second husband, Archibald Douglas, was Patrick Young, who was the Royal Librarian and a renowned scholar of Hebrew.[391] Although we cannot know for certain that Davies was aware of Young's work, Davies does complain that Young had taken possession of her house at St. James in London after she was evicted from the residence by King Charles I in the early 1630s.[392] Davies suggests that her usurpation by Young was later avenged by a fire at the house, which burned 'no few of his Majesties choyce Books' and papers written by Young's 'hand in Hebrew, Greek and Latine'.[393] This description demonstrates Davies's awareness of the work of polyglot scholars such as Young. As such, it seems possible that the backwards printing of Davies's name in *A Warning to the Dragon*, and her extensive use of anagrams throughout her publications, were attempts to harness the hermeneutical methods she knew were being practised by scholarly men in their (ill-gotten) libraries.

Kellett's criticisms of Davies's anagrams and typological interpretations reveal just how scandalous Davies's adoption of those exegetical approaches appeared to some of her contemporaries. Hitherto, however, I believe that Kellett's detailed review of *A Warning to the Dragon* has gone undetected (or at least unmentioned) by critics of early modern women's prophecy. Yet, as I have explored in this chapter, this contemporary record of the reception of Davies's writing offers many valuable insights into the ways in which women's prophetic discourse was assessed by seventeenth-century readers. Kellett's criticisms

[391] For a discussion of Young's involvement in translating the Alexandrian codex of the Septuagint, see Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 305.
[392] Davies describes being evicted from her house by Charles I's Groom of the Bedchamber George Kirke in *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), C2^{v}–C3^{r}. Cope notes that 'despite the absence of corroborating evidence for her allegation […] Lady Eleanor's story is in accord with Charles's interest in decorum at court and his penchant for privacy'; Cope, p. 52.
[393] Eleanor Davies, *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), C3^{r}.

confirm that women's prophetic exegesis was censured in relation to gendered cultural attitudes. In particular, Davies's use of anagrams and non-linear typological interpretations exposed her to sexualised allegations, which implied an improper 'coupling' together of ideas and an Englishwoman dangerously commingling with foreign influence.

However, the passionate nature of Kellett's review does signal that the clergyman was anxious that others might heed and emulate Davies's discourse. It is, therefore, a review that challenges the conclusion of Cope's biography of Davies, which states that the prophet 'had relatively little impact upon her contemporaries', who appear to have felt 'no need to respond to her'.[394] On the contrary, Kellett clearly felt the need to respond, and in so doing his review also disproves Pickard's suggestion that 'it is unlikely that her [Davies's] contemporaries would have been inclined to exert the necessary interpretative pressure' to decipher her complex spiritual discourse.[395] Kellett's very detailed review suggests that at least one reader was able to decipher the interpretations and parallels that Davies sought to convey. He recognises Davies's claims to have an affinity with the prophet Daniel, and understands her typological ambitions to relate 'things past, and perhaps future contingents, to present times'.[396] Overall, Kellett's response to this woman's prophetic discourse signals his fear (or, perhaps, awareness) that some seventeenth-century readers might take this mode, 'fit for a woman to be the inventour of', more seriously than him.[397]

Recontextualising a prophetic text: printing *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*

Kellett begins *Miscellanies of Divinitie* (the work in which he criticises Davies's pamphlet *A Warning to the Dragon*) with a flattering preface addressed to Archbishop Laud. In this preface, Kellett describes the 'manifold graces which God hath plentifully poured' on Laud, whilst self-deprecatingly presenting himself as 'a crazie, old, retired man, who never saw you

[394] Cope, p. 167.
[395] Pickard, p. 19.
[396] Kellett, O4^{v}.
[397] Ibid.

but once, and that long since'.[398] This self-portrayal suggests that Kellett was not a regular presence at court or in the city of London, and therefore it may have taken a long time for Davies's pamphlet (printed in London) to reach him. This may help to explain why Kellett's harsh review of *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625) was not published until eight years after that pamphlet was printed.[399] On the other hand, the timing of Kellett's publication might also be connected to its writer's proclaimed affection for Archbishop Laud. In 1633, when Kellett's attack on Davies was printed, Laud was embroiled in a heated conflict with Davies over her prophetic publications. Thus, Kellett may have deemed 1633 a particularly auspicious year in which to publish his own condemnations of Davies's modes of scriptural interpretation in support of his dedicatee William Laud.[400] In this section of the chapter, I will discuss this conflict between Davies and Laud in 1633, and examine the way in which Davies used the printing press to respond to it later in the century.

In 1633, Davies and her husband obtained a six-month licence to travel to a spa in Europe, but Davies appears to have used the licence to visit Amsterdam instead to arrange for a number of her unlicensed pamphlets to be printed.[401] Upon her return, Davies's illegally printed pamphlets were confiscated by Laud and on the 8 October 1633 she was summoned to appear before the archbishop and his commissioners for causes ecclesiastical.[402]

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[398] Kellett, A2^{r}.

[399] Kellett's *Miscellanies of Divinitie* is not entered in the Stationers Register, which makes it challenging to determine whether the 1633 printing was its first edition. However, this work displays no indication of being a revised or delayed edition of an earlier text.

[400] In the years between the publication of *A Warning to the Dragon* in 1625 and the printing of *Miscellanies of Divinitie* in 1633, Davies authored many other prophetic pamphlets. It is unclear why Kellett does not choose to reference any of these more recent publications in his attack on Davies.

[401] London, The National Archives, PC 2/43, fol. 57. The licence to travel is referenced in Cope, p. 60. Davies also describes her trip to Amsterdam in *The Everlasting Gospel* ([London]: 1649), A4^{v}. For more on Amsterdam as a popular destination for printing radical texts in in the mid-seventeenth century, see P. G. Hoftijzer, 'British Books Abroad: The Continent', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* vol. 4, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 735–43 (pp. 739–40) and Keith L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

[402] Davies reprints her summons in the broadsheet *As Not Unknowne* ([London]: [1644]). The three texts confiscated by Laud probably included a broadsheet entitled *Woe to the House* (Amsterdam: 1633) and a pamphlet entitled *All the Kings of Earth Shall Prayse Thee* ([Amsterdam]: [1633]). Both of these works survive in copies bound into the State Papers (London, The National Archives, SP 16/255, ff. 58-73). *Woe to the House* states in its imprint that it was 'Printed at Amsterdam' in 1633 and *All the Kings of Earth Shall Prayse Thee* has a preface signed 'Amsterdam 1633. September 13'. The third confiscated text was probably *Given to the Elector,* of which only later editions from 1648 and 1651 survive. These later editions both reference the fact that the work was initially printed in Amsterdam in 1633. A detailed account of Davies's 1633 Amsterdam publications is provided in Cope, pp. 59–63.

According to Davies's account of her trial, Laud and the commissioners condemned her works for containing 'scandalous matter, by way of *Anagram* or otherwise'.[403] The commissioners also criticised Davies for presuming '(which much unbeseemed her sex) not onely to interpret the Scriptures […] but also to be a Prophetess' and for having carried these texts 'with her beyond the Seas'.[404] Thus, Laud's confiscation of Davies's texts in 1633 was a direct reaction to their unlicensed and foreign printing. However, it was also a punishment for her use of 'scandalous' anagrams and divergence from behaviours that beseemed 'her sex'. Voicing these allegations, the commissioners echo the criticisms levelled against Davies by Kellett that same year in *Miscellanies of Divinitie* (1633). Like Kellett, the authorities highlight Davies's anagrams, which they associate with a kind of moral impropriety by labelling them 'scandalous'.[405] The commissioners were also anxious about how the 'prophetess' transgressed borders with her writing, as she travelled 'beyond the Seas' and acted in ways that 'unbeseemed her sex'. To punish this behaviour, the commissioners fined Davies £3000 and confirmed that her offending pamphlets should be burned.[406]

Before this trial, Davies had attempted to avoid such a negative verdict by appealing directly to King Charles I for help. A manuscript petition submitted by Davies to the monarch still survives amongst the State Papers for 1633.[407] In this petition, Davies asks Charles I to 'speak but the word' and save her Amsterdam pamphlets, which she explains have recently been condemned to be 'burned at Pauls Cross, where our Lord (pierced) was alsoe crucified'.[408] With this statement, Davies presents the burning of her publications as a tragic typological parallel to the crucified Christ, as she conflates the site of her books' burning

[403] Eleanor Davies, *The Blasphemous Charge Against Her* ([London]: 1649), A4^{v}.
[404] Ibid., B1^{r}.
[405] The adjective 'scandalous' suggests a subversion of accepted conduct, therefore it was often used during this period to describe religious infractions. For example, William Gouge writes about 'Idolatry, Superstition, Apostasy, or any other notorious and scandalous offences' in *A Recovery from Apostacy* (London: 1639), L4^{r}. The word 'scandalous' also often had sexual connotations, for example an anti-Catholic text reported that Catholic clergy 'maintained their strumpets, and lived scandalously'; see J. P. Perrin, *The Bloudy Rage of that Great Antechrist of Rome* (London: 1624), Ee3^{v}.
[406] Eleanor Davies, *The Blasphemous Charge Against Her* ([London]: 1649), B2^{r}. Cope has argued that the fine levied against Davies was unusually harsh; Cope, pp. 73–4.
[407] London, The National Archives, SP 16/255, f. 74.
[408] Ibid.

('Pauls Cross') with the cross upon which Christ was put to death. Additionally, Davies's manuscript petition articulates further typologically framed descriptions of her treatment by the authorities, as she describes Archbishop Laud as being 'Horned like a Lambe, like a wolfe harted' and refers to him as 'the B:Beast ascended out of the bottomless pitt, with seaven heads'.[409] Here, Davies presents Laud as a parallel of the two beasts prophesied to wreak havoc prior to Christ's second coming in Revelation 13. In this biblical narrative, John witnesses a beast 'rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns' that is served by 'another beast coming up out of the earth' with 'two horns like a lamb' (Revelation 13. 1, 11). Thus, according to the imagery of Davies's petition, Laud may outwardly appear like an innocent 'Lambe', but, like the beasts prophesied in Revelation, the archbishop also brings with him destruction and evil, as evidenced by his treatment of her Christ-like publications.[410]

Davies's petition to Charles formed part of a long-established tradition of English subjects petitioning their monarch for help. Since the thirteenth century, men and women had petitioned their leaders to show mercy and intervene on their behalf in trials or other moments of personal crisis.[411] However, the mid-seventeenth century saw a change in this petitioning culture, as there was a marked increase in the number of handwritten petitions being transformed into printed texts. David Zaret has argued that this shift in medium 'reoriented' the production of petitions 'so that their framers addressed themselves to public opinion' as well as to individual leaders.[412] Consequently, whilst the language of manuscript petitions had traditionally 'conveyed grievance as a privileged form of communication from the periphery to the political center', the explosion in printed petitions reframed the genre as a public airing of grievances.[413] In particular, if a petitioner's original manuscript text had

[409] Ibid.
[410] Davies's depiction of her destroyed publications is not dissimilar to John Milton's descriptions of book burnings in *Areopagitica*. In this text, Milton also personifies and deifies textual objects, arguing that it is 'as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book […] hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God'; Milton, *Areopagitica* (London: 1644), A3^{v}.
[411] The origins of petitioning are discussed in W. Mark Ormrod, 'The Language of Complaint: Multilingualism and Petitioning in Later Medieval England', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100–c.1500,* ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 31–43.
[412] David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 253.
[413] Ibid., p. 240.

been ignored or had received an unsatisfactory response then the publication of multiple printed copies of the text became an alternate means of seeking wider public support and of applying pressure to political leaders to overturn and rethink their decisions.

Contributing to this rise in printed petitions in the mid-seventeenth century, Davies also turned to the press to produce copies of her 1633 manuscript petition to Charles I. However, unlike many petitioners during this period, Davies does not appear to have approached printing her petition as a means of gaining reparation or pressurising Laud and Charles into changing their verdict on her Amsterdam publications. Indeed, the printed version of Davies's 1633 petition that I will be analysing here was printed at least ten years after Davies's Amsterdam texts had been burned. Consequently, the printed petition was produced long after Laud or Charles were in a position powerful enough to issue an apology or experience a change of heart. Instead, I would argue that by printing her petition many years later, Davies was able to return to the events of 1633, and to reframe and recontextualise them in relation to a later historical moment. Through print, Davies gained an opportunity to materialise her typological readings of past and present, and to reveal a prophetic value in her earlier petition that could only be revealed and understood in light of later events.

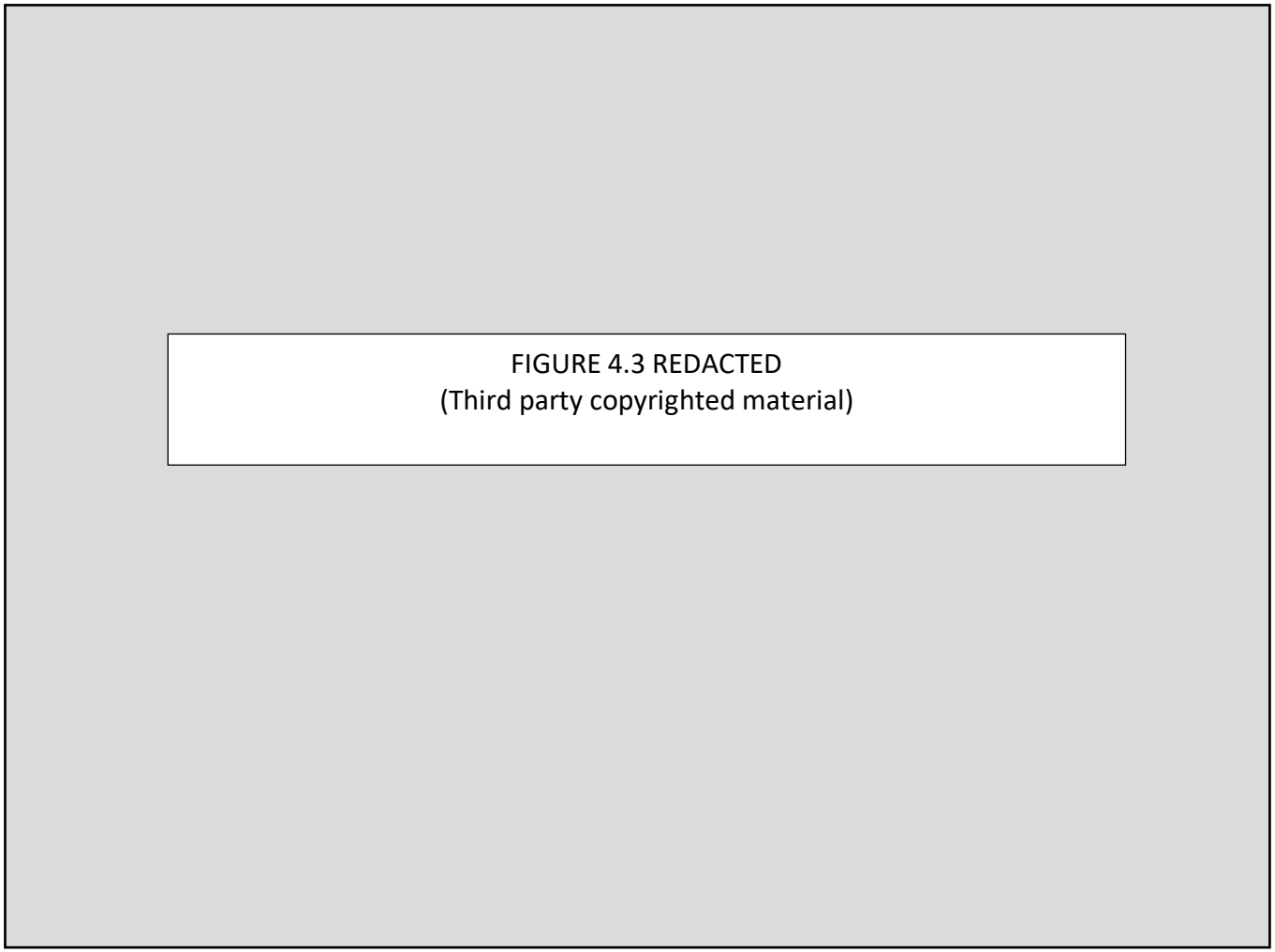

Figure 4.3 Eleanor Davies, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* ([London]: [1648]). Oxford, Worcester College Library, BB. X. 6 (2).

Figure 4.3 (above) shows the printed version of Davies's petition that will be discussed in this chapter.[414] This single sheet reproduces Davies's 1633 petition to Charles I above a transcription of the summons that Davies subsequently received to appear before Laud and the 'Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical'.[415] In this way, the page's textual collage reproduces the sequence of events in 1633, as Davies's appeal to the monarch is swiftly followed by a record of that document's rejection as a 'detestable Petition' by the authorities. This printing of Davies's 1633 petition does not have a title; therefore, I will refer to the work here by its opening words, '*To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*'.[416]

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty does not just reproduce the sequence of historical documents from 1633 without comment. Printed marginalia have also been added to the side of the petition text, and the contextual details provided by these notes help to date the broadsheet's publication to around 1648.[417] These new notes intervene to document developments in the lives of Davies's antagonists since the events of 1633. For example, the sheet's second gloss begins: 'And accordingly accomplished on both, as the King at his coming forth 47 […] and eight current Archbishop before his going into prison translated that was 1633'. Here, Davies seems to be referencing Charles I's brief escape from captivity in late 1647 and William Laud's imprisonment in the Tower of London in 1641 (eight years after Davies's 1633 petition). The gloss also suggests that these events

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[414] Eleanor Davies, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* ([London]: [1648]). Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA.1.12(2). Davies also reprints a version of her 1633 petition in the broadsheet *As Not Unknowne* ([London]: [1644]) and in the pamphlet *The Lady Eleanor Her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646). Additionally, the summons Davies received to appear before the court is reproduced in Eleanor Davies, *The Blasphemous Charge Against Her* ([London]: 1649).

[415] Although they are very similar in content, the version of Davies's 1633 petition reproduced in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* ([London]: [1648]) is not an exact match for the text of the original petition manuscript held in the State Papers (SP 16/255, f. 74). For example, in the original manuscript Davies describes her texts as 'Bookes sealed by the Prophets', whereas in the broadsheet they are labelled '*Certain Books* […] (*by the Prophets being authorized*:)'. The printed version also omits the manuscript's reference to Davies's works being burned at Pauls Cross. This omission may be an acknowledgement that the eventual burning did not take place in the public churchyard. This seems probable, since, as Mary Morrissey argues, 1625 was 'the last occasion on which books were burned at Paul's Cross'; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 111. David Cressy also notes the general infrequency of public book burnings during Charles I's reign in 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005), 359–74.

[416] Teresa Feroli also refers to the printed petition as *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* in *Eleanor Davies, Writings 1641*–1646, ed. by Teresa Feroli, The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile of Essential Works. Series 2: Printed Writings, 1641–1700*,* Part 4, Vol. 5.1 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 253.

[417] Feroli dates *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* to 1648 (ibid.).

'accomplished' a prophecy outlined in Revelation 17. 11, which Davies quoted from at the end of her original handwritten petition in 1633. In the printed sheet, that biblical quotation is reproduced and reads: 'the Beast that was, and is not, even he is Eight, and of the Seven'. The marginal note that accompanies this numerological scriptural passage highlights the significance of the numbers seven and eight in Laud and Charles I's recent biographies, and suggests that the monarch and archbishop are therefore typological fulfilments of the beast described in Revelation as being 'Eight, and of the Seven'. Importantly, this exegetical revelation is enabled by a publication that returns to Davies's 1633 petition and highlights the significance of its scriptural citation and the eight-year interval between its submission to the monarch and Laud's downfall.

Davies also uses the first marginal note in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* to update her readers on the fate of her nemesis Archbishop Laud. This note includes the following statement:

> (Fulfilling Rev.11. ver. 5.) 1644. He on a Friday morning Janu. 10. Beheaded or killed, who burnt that testimony with his own hand, in presence of so many[.]

Here, Davies records the precise date of Laud's execution in January 1644/5.[418] In addition, this gloss allows Davies to present Laud's death as an event 'Fulfilling' a passage from Revelation. In Revelation 11, it states that 'two witnesses' will arise and prophesy prior to Christ's second coming (Revelation 11. 3), but 'the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit […] shall overcome them, and kill them' (Revelation 11. 7). In Davies's 1633 petition, she framed her Amsterdam pamphlets as typological fulfilments of these two murdered witnesses in Revelation.[419] Davies explained to Charles I that her pamphlets had been 'overcome and killed' by Laud, who she described as having 'ascended out of the Bottomless Pit' like the witness-destroying beast in Revelation. Upon this petition's later printing in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty,* Davies returns to the same typological

[418] Davies's marginal note states that Laud died in January 1644 because she is using the Old Style calendar.
[419] London, The National Archives, SP 16/255, f. 74.

exegesis in the margin, by presenting Laud's execution in 1644 as a further fulfilment of the Revelation narrative. In Revelation 11. 5 it explains that 'if any man will hurt them [the two witnesses], he must in this manner be killed'. Accordingly, Davies's marginal note informs readers that Laud was executed 'on a Friday', which matches the manner in which her pamphlets were burned/'killed' by Laud 'upon Friday' (as described in her petition). In this way, Davies's marginal note glosses the imagery of the two witnesses employed in her 1633 petition and extends that typological reading to incorporate later events. Thus, the marginal glosses printed at the side of Davies's 1633 petition in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* serve to demonstrate how Charles's escape and Laud's imprisonment and death confirm and fulfil the types already established in Davies's original appeal to the monarch.

Despite their proclaimed ability to expose the prophetic significance of Davies's earlier text, the revelatory marginal notes in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* are depicted with much smaller type than the reproduced petition on the same page (see Figure 4.3, p. 191). Owing to this variation in type size, the older petition is granted a visual precedence over the newer accompanying updates that Davies provides alongside it. Given this typographic disparity, past might appear to be prioritised over present, as the more recent events are relegated to the margins as a supplement to the reproduced historic document.

However, relationships between a main text and its associated marginalia rarely operate through such simple hierarchies. In his study of Renaissance printed glosses, William Slights observes that readers of marginated texts tend to 'absorb the supplementary information *along with* the centred text' and that 'special kinds of information webs are created when a reader shuttles between a text and its notes'.[420] In *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty,* there is no line and very little blank space distinguishing the marginal notes from the reprinted 1633 petition. Due to this lack of visual separation, the broadsheet's typographic arrangement invites a simultaneous co-absorption of both texts, allowing

[420] William W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 69, 62.

readers to shuttle easily between the 1633 petition and the more contemporary events clustered close to its edge. The mise-en-page asks us to comprehend past events in direct relation to those that took place later, thus encouraging readers to share Davies's exegetical vision of a web of simultaneous, cross-temporal significances and typological fulfilments.

In this way, the printed marginal notes in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* enable a mode of cross-reading and co-comprehension that imitates the way in which Davies combines different temporalities in her typological interpretations. As Giorgio Agamben explains, Christian typological interpretation establishes a 'tension that clasps together and transforms past and future, *typos* and *antitypos* together in an inseparable constellation'.[421] This description perfectly defines the way in which Davies constructs a spiritually charged interpretation of the burning of her books in her 1633 petition and its later printed edition. Davies clasps the events and figures of her treatment by Laud together with biblical types — such as the crucifixion of Christ and the protagonists prophesied in the book of Revelation — and suggests that these spiritual interconnections transform the significance of the events of 1633 and later history, whilst also revealing the imminence of the future end times.

The mise-en-page of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* provides a textual articulation of these inseparable constellations of meaning. The sheet's new marginal notes stay separate from Davies's old 1633 petition. However, to produce this textual arrangement, the compositors in the printing house would also have needed to achieve a tension between all the page's type-pieces, by clasping and locking them together securely in one forme. Thus, the textual mosaic of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* brings together blocks of separate text, from past and present, in a single typographic constellation, which materialises the hermeneutic and temporal tensions Davies attempts to convey in her typological exegeses.

Davies's printed petition demonstrates that acts of prophetic publication could involve and enable a return to an older discourse in order to recontextualise and authorise it in a

[421] Agamben, p. 74.

new temporal moment. The margin and visual rhetoric of the printed page could help to articulate perceived connections between past and present, whilst also revealing an older text's hidden prophetic significance. For Davies, the production and arrangement of a new printed text enabled her to reframe a traumatic episode in her life as a nationally significant event charged with spiritual meaning, newly relevant over ten years later.

William Clarke's sammelbands and Davies's reprinted prophecies

Hitherto in this chapter, I have suggested that the mise-en-page of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* materialises and conveys Davies's typological readings of past and present by reproducing and recontextualising her earlier petition. However, did the readers of this print reproduction recognise the prophetic significance of Davies's 1633 petition, or comprehend the dense typological and cross-temporal readings Davies sought to convey by reprinting it? Unfortunately, Kellett does not mention Davies's 1633 petition in his lengthy review of her writing. However, in this section of the chapter, I will argue that the juxtatextual arrangements of surviving copies of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* provide an alternative source for understanding the reception of Davies's prophetic discourse by early modern readers.

All three extant copies of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* are held at Worcester College Library in Oxford within three different sammelband volumes. Within these Worcester College sammelbands, every copy of the broadsheet *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* is bound immediately after the three extant copies of another of Davies's texts: a pamphlet of prophetic verse entitled *Given to the Elector- Prince Charles of the Rhyne* ([1648]). In *Given to the Elector*, Davies cautions that seventeenth-century London is a typological fulfilment of biblical Babylon and employs an anagram to suggest that '*Charles Be: Belchaser*' (King Belshazzar).[422] In the Bible, Belshazzar receives a warning that 'God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it' (Daniel 5. 25). Davies references this prophecy

[422] Eleanor Davies, *Given to the Elector- Prince Charles of the Rhyne* (Amsterdam [London]: 1633 [1648]), A2^{v}.

in *Given to the Elector*, declaring, 'God numbered thy Kingdom hath / ended; the Hand points here […] At Hand, the Hand bids it adieu, / finish'd thy Majesties'.[423] Accompanying these cryptic lines is a printed marginal note that begins 'Crowned and married 1625. was defeated 1645'.[424] This note numbers dates from the reign of King Charles I in England, who was the uncle of Prince Charles (the ruler of the Rhine Palatinate) to whom Davies dedicates *Given to the Elector*.[425] In a similar way to in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty,* the margin in *Given to the Elector* highlights the contemporary significance of Davies's discourse. In particular, in this text, Charles I is linked to Belshazzar in a prophetic typological compression of contemporary politics and past biblical narrative.

The copies of *Given to the Elector* housed in the Worcester College sammelbands each have a title page with an imprint that reads: 'Amsterdam: Printed by Fredrick Stam. 1633' (see Figure 4.4, below). This imprint has led Cope to conclude that *Given to the Elector* is 'probably' one of the Amsterdam publications that Laud burned in 1633.[426] Consequently, although their title pages may state that they were produced in Amsterdam in 1633, the copies of *Given to the Elector* in the Worcester College sammelbands also contain a preface stating that they are a new edition, 'Reprinted. 1648'.[427] Thus, the 1633 imprints on the title pages of the Worcester College copies of *Given to the Elector* are false, and the marginal notes inside the pamphlet (with their references, for example, to Charles I's military defeats in 1645) do not attempt to hide the fact that these works are a later reprint of the earlier text from 1633.

[423] Ibid., B2^{v}.
[424] Ibid.
[425] Davies's dates are accurate. King James I died in March 1625, leaving his son Charles to rule. Charles married Henrietta Maria shortly after the death of his father that same year. Charles's royalist army was largely defeated during the course of 1645, with the Battle of Naseby in June 1645 marking a particularly devastating blow.
[426] Cope, p. 60. No copies of the original 1633 printing of *Given to the Elector* are extant.
[427] Davies, *Given to the Elector*, A2^{r}, B2^{v}.

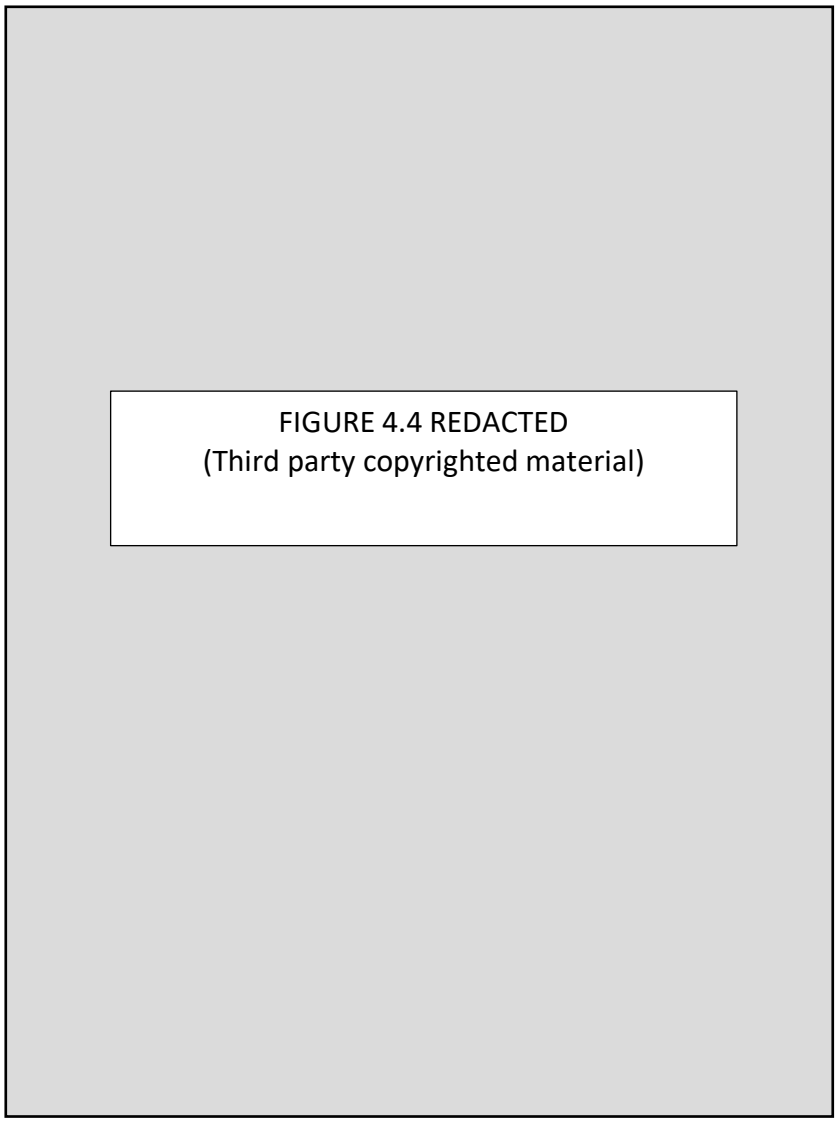

Figure 4.4 Eleanor Davies, *Given to the Elector* (Amsterdam [London]: 1633 [1648]), A1^{r}. Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA. 1. 12 (1).

Rather than being an accident, I would argue that the 1633 imprints of *Given to the Elector* are deliberate anachronisms. These outdated imprints enable Davies to signal that her earlier prophetic discourse has now outlived its enemies. In 1648, the burned publication could be safely resurrected, just as Davies's rejected 1633 petition could be reproduced and reframed in the broadsheet *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*. The old 1633 imprint is maintained on the title page of *Given to the Elector*'s 1648 reprint in a way that memorialises

and recalls the version of the work violently destroyed by Davies's enemy, thereby allowing the ghost of that textual ancestor to emerge in a new present.

The later editions of Henry Jessey's *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* betray the existence of their earlier textual iterations too. As discussed in the previous chapter, a printing house's use of unaltered standing type resulted in an earlier errata list being mistakenly reproduced in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches* '*before the author knew*'.[428] In this case, the new text contained a signifier of its earlier edition due to editorial and productional passivity. In contrast, the title page of Davies's 1648 reprint of *Given to the Elector* invokes and reproduces its earlier iteration in a more active and defiant way. On these title pages, the older imprint is reproduced without any explanation or retraction in an errata list. Instead, the imprint seems to signal a very conscious generation of self-referential textual multiplicity, which acts here as a triumphant expression of one prophetic discourse's endurance over time. Although Laud attempted to overcome and destroy Davies's 1633 pamphlet, it can now rise again. In this way, the conventional space of the title page imprint is transformed into a signifier of the resilience of one woman's prophetic discourse. This is achieved not through textual alteration, or the addition of dense glossing marginal notes, but simply by reproducing a single line of text first printed fifteen years earlier.

This sense of defiance is perhaps supported by the juxtatextual proximity shared by extant copies of *Given to the Elector* and the broadsheet *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* in the Worcester College sammelbands. The reprinted petition and summons provided in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* provide the historical context necessary for understanding the textual resurrection being performed in the 1648 reprint of Davies's burned pamphlet, *Given to the Elector*. However, the pairing of these two texts in the three Worcester sammelbands is also somewhat disorienting. In this arrangement, Davies's reproduced 1633 petition is bound so that it is read immediately after a pamphlet with a title page that implies that it is one of the texts that the same petition attempted (but failed) to

[428] Jessey, *The Exceeding Riches,* 4th edn (London: 1648, A4v).

save. And, yet, this same pamphlet also reveals itself to be a later reprint, which was produced after the textual destruction described in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* (although, here, the reprint is bound before the failed petition that necessitated its production).

When navigating this material arrangement of two of Davies's texts in the Worcester College sammelbands, it is the job of the reader to untangle the complex connections these documents have to each other and to their (past and present) temporal contexts. In this way, the physical proximity of these two prophetic juxtatexts invites the reader to act in the manner of a typological exegete. As we seek to understand the connections between these two documents, we are required to grasp a constellation of textual pasts that recur and repeat in relation to each other.

Figure 4.5 Eleanor Davies, *Given to the Elector* (Amsterdam [London]: 1633 [1648]). Oxford, Worcester College Library, BB X. 6 (1), A4^{v}–B1^{r}.

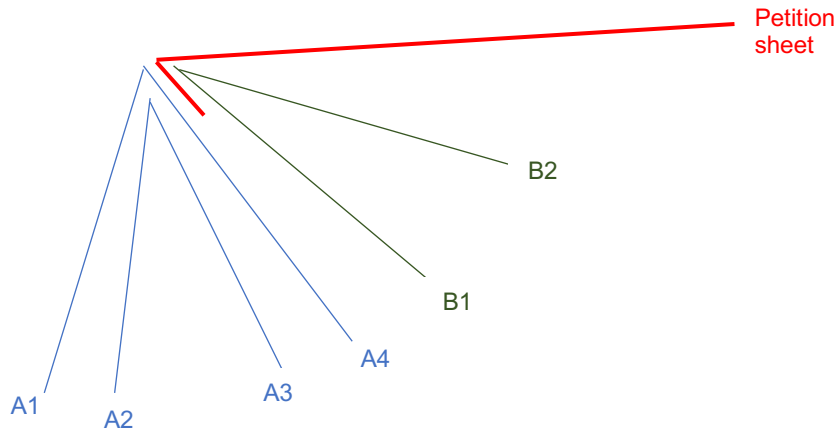

Figure 4.6 Diagram showing collation of Oxford, Worcester College Library, BB. X. 6 (1).

Although consistently paired together in the Worcester College sammelbands, *Given to the Elector* ([1648]) and *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* ([1648]) are not conterminous texts. Figure 4.5 (above) shows pages A4^{v} and B1^{r} in one of the Worcester College copies of the *Given to the Elector* (shelfmark BB. X. 6 (1)). In the gutter between these two sequential pages, a particularly prominent intervening stub of paper is clearly visible. This stub is the outer, left-hand edge of a copy of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*, which has been tipped in between the A and B gatherings of the *Given to the Elector* pamphlet prior to binding (see Figure 4.6 above for a diagrammatic representation of this collation). The broadsheet, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*, also has wider pages than *Given to the Elector*, so its copies had to be folded to allow them to be bound next to the smaller pamphlets in the three Worcester College sammelbands (see the fold marks in Figure 4.3 , p. 191). This evidence of the broadsheet's insertion between the continuous gatherings of *Given to the Elector,* and the folding necessitated to place the two differently sized works together, strongly suggests that these publications were perceived and produced as separate entities. Certainly, deliberate interventions and actions have been

required to bring pamphlet and broadsheet into such close material proximity across three Worcester College sammelbands.

The agent responsible for this textual manipulation was probably Sir William Clarke (1623/4–1666). Clarke was a member of the parliamentarian army's secretariat; he was amongst those who recorded the Putney debates in shorthand in 1647 and he attended the execution of Charles I in 1649 in order to record the monarch's final words.[429] During the 1650s, Clarke was stationed in Scotland but remained in touch with events in England by requesting copies of printed newsbooks and pamphlets to be sent to him by his correspondents in London. In total, Clarke amassed a collection of over 7,000 Civil War-era pamphlets and newsbooks, which he arranged within around one hundred thematically bound volumes now held at Worcester College Library. As Michael Mendle explains, the Clarke volumes housed in the Library today still 'preserve almost entirely the collector's original design' and reflect Clarke's 'cost-conscious' approach, which frequently involved 'folding large-format items into his quarto volumes'.[430] Clarke's personal engagement with Davies's texts is evidenced by his signature appearing on the title page of one of the library's copies of *Given to the Elector*, where his handwriting shares the page with annotations in Davies's own hand (see Figure 4.4, p. 198).[431] Moreover, the folding of each copy of the broadsheet *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* evidences that they were subject to Clarke's money-saving method of combining differently sized texts in one volume. Thus, on three separate occasions, in three separate volumes, Clarke appears to have been responsible for arranging copies of *Given to the Elector* to appear directly before his copies of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty.*

[429] Mark Bainbridge, 'On the Scaffold with a King', *Treasures of Worcester College Library,* (2016) <https://worcestercollegelibrary.wordpress.com/2016/01/30/on-the-scaffold-with-a-king/> [accessed 17 June 2019].
[430] Mendle, p. 209.
[431] Many of Davies's surviving pamphlets contain her annotations. Davies's hand can be identified by her d characters in which the ascender curves over (almost like an @ sign) and in which the majuscule T has a curved descender (almost like a J). Vanessa Wilkie describes the features of Davies's hand (based on her analysis of Davies's personal papers at the Huntington Library in California) and compiles useful pictorial references in Wilkie, 'Reading and Writing Between the Lines'.

I would argue that the manner in which Clarke bound together his copies of Davies's pamphlet and broadsheet is a subtle, yet significant, form of material textual evidence, which can reveal how contemporary readers engaged with women's prophetic texts. Of course, just because Clarke owned three separate copies of Davies's *Given to the Elector* and *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*, does not necessarily prove that he enjoyed reading these texts. In fact, his ownership of multiple copies of Davies's works may only indicate that there were plenty of unwanted copies of the works available in London, which made it easy for Clarke's contacts to send him so many. Moreover, Clarke does not annotate his copies of the broadsheet or pamphlet in any way that indicates he had read or appreciated them. Furthermore, Clarke's parsimonious desire to fit differently sized pamphlets into a single volume resulted in his copies of Davies's *Given to the Elector* being trimmed at their edges. As Figure 4.4 (p. 198) shows, this adjustment in size has resulted in the edge of Davies's manuscript annotation on the title page being cut short. Consequently, Davies's triumphant handwritten claim that her pamphlet contains 'the worde of the Lord of Hosts accomplished', is interrupted so that it bathetically concludes only 'accomplis[…]'. Evidently, Clarke had no qualms about cutting Davies off in the middle of a handwritten declaration of her text's prophetic fulfilment.

Nonetheless, Clarke does appear to have engaged with Davies's works on some semantic as well as material level, and to have been somewhat sympathetic (whether consciously or not) to the ways in which Davies attempted to frame her publications. Two of Clarke's pairings of *Given to the Elector* ([1648]) and *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* ([1648]) are bound into separate sammelband volumes housing copies of printed petitions.[432] This arrangement suggests that Clarke may have taken into account the nature of the document reproduced in *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty*, and have recognised *Given to the Elector's* corresponding connection to Davies's petitioning in 1633. Meanwhile, the third pairing of the two texts is bound into a sammelband of works pertaining to

[432] Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA. 1. 11, and B. B. X. 6.

prophecy, thus making Davies's broadsheet and pamphlet juxtatexts to a copy of Anna Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) and other prophetic publications.[433] In this way, Clarke seems aware of Davies's claimed prophetic status. Moreover, Clarke's placement of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* alongside other more overt works of prophecy seems to recognise and respond to the way in which Davies uses this text to reframe her petition as a work with prophetic significance.

The way in which Clarke binds together his copies of *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* and *Given to the Elector* facilitates these two works being read in conjunction. As such, Clarke's establishment of this material juxtatextual proximity cooperates with the typological, cross-temporal interpretations Davies presents in her prophetic discourse. Clarke's act of binding materialises a connection between two separate textual objects, in apparent recognition that these works signify in relation to each other. Similarly, Davies's typological exegeses articulate hidden contingencies between separate events and figures, and between past, present and future. Thus, Clarke's textual arrangement of Davies's works appears to demonstrate a certain sympathy with the female prophet's method of interpretation, by reflecting and facilitating her conception of the interconnectedness of distinct temporal moments. Whilst Kellett disparagingly suggested that Davies 'misapplieth things past, and perhaps future contingents, to present times', Clarke's sammelbands suggest that at least one reader was able to grasp the typological and temporal constellations that Davies attempted to convey in and through her prophetic texts.[434]

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[433] Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA. 1. 12. This sammelband contains forty-three texts. *Given to the Elector* (AA. 1. 12. (1)) and *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty* (AA. 1. 12. (2)) are the first works in the volume, which also includes five other Davies publications: *The Blasphemous Charge Against Her* ([London]: 1649), AA. 1. 12. (3); *The Word of God, to the Citie of London* ([London]: 1644), AA. 1. 12. (29); *As Not Unknowne* ([London]: [1644]), AA. 1. 12. (30); *For Whitsontyds Last Feast* ([London]: 1645), AA. 1. 12. (32); and *The New Jerusalem* ([London]: 1649), AA. 1. 12. (34). The volume is not chronological and includes a range of different materials, including the Fifth Monarchist publication John Archer, *The Personall Reigne of Christ Upon Earth in a Treatise* (London: 1642) (AA. 1. 12. (17)), and multiple works by the New England clergyman John Cotton and the astrologer William Lilly. Anna Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* is the thirty-eighth work in the volume (AA. 1. 12. (38)).

[434] Kellett, O4^{v}.

Conclusion

In 1644, in a text dedicated to her 'sole support', her daughter Lucy Hastings, Davies described the material format of her printed texts:

> And since a pleasing Theame (as tis said) makes a good Orator, and sure I am a worse time then this never known or ever heard of, so then the time the end discovered, although *pend* somewhat hastily or unperfectly, […] so much for being not voluminous, especially when the time so short too[.][435]

Here, Davies suggests that there is something deliberate and semantically significant about the form of her texts. Her own knowledge of the rapidly approaching 'end' meant that her works were necessarily '*pend* somewhat hastily or unperfectly' in pamphlets that are 'not voluminous'. Thus, the writer draws a correlation between the length of her material texts (the vast majority of which are under thirty pages long) and the length of time remaining before the final judgement. Though she produced over sixty pamphlets, each of Davies's individual works is short because time is 'short too', and consequently her material texts possess a signifying brevity.

In this chapter, I have documented various other ways in which the material forms of Davies's texts articulate conceptions of time. For example, the typographic arrangements of printed anagrams in Davies's pamphlets articulate and evidence her typological self-identification as a seventeenth-century fulfilment of the biblical prophet Daniel. Movable type composed on parallel lines and joined with a brace, might communicate both the separateness and connectedness of Davies and Daniel on the page. Furthermore, I have discussed how Davies's printing house created an illusion of reversed, mirrored typography, which echoed Davies's claims to reveal and reflect new significations in old prophetic texts. The printing press also enabled Davies to return to and recontextualise the past in the present, as she reproduced older documents with accompanying anachronistic imprints and

[435] Eleanor Davies, *From the Lady Eleanor, her Blessing to her Beloved Daughter* ([London]: 1644), E2^{v}, E3^{v}.

contemporary marginal glosses. The cross-temporal connections that Davies believed existed between the Bible and her own life, and between past, present and future, found material expression in the material form of her works. As I have discussed, the binding, typography and mise-en-page of Davies's texts encouraged and suggested ways for readers to follow and emulate the prophet's non-linear interpretations of temporality.

However, this chapter has also presented new evidence that some of Davies's readers did not appreciate Davies's typological readings. Edward Kellett's criticisms of Davies's hermeneutics reveal the way in which non-linear readings and 'backwards' typographic presentations could be criticised as practices associated with immoral sexual practice and foreign religion. On the other hand, the presence and arrangement of Davies's texts in William Clarke's collection of pamphlets may be suggestive of a less critical reception. The juxtatextual relationships Clarke enables through his binding suggest an empathy for the kind of connections that Davies sought to establish in her discourse. As such, both Kellett and Clarke provide evidence of the different and individuated ways in which readers engaged with the material texts of seventeenth-century women's prophecy.

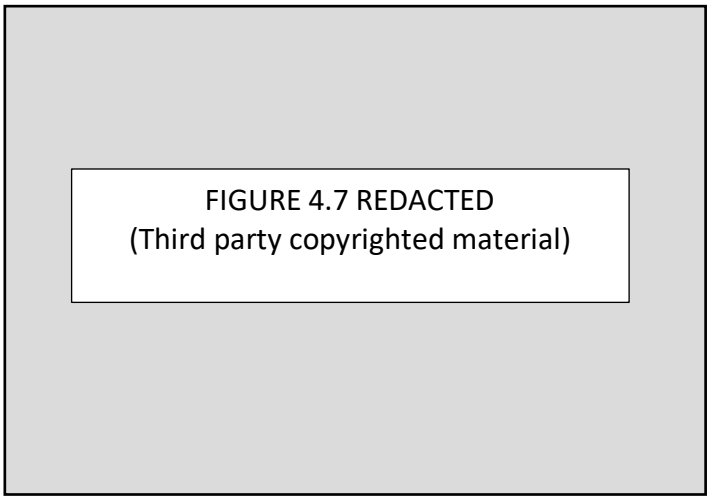

Figure 4.7 Eleanor Davies, *From the Lady Eleanor, her Blessing to her Beloved Daughter the Right Honorable Lucy, Countesse of Huntingdon* ([London]: 1644), E3^{v} (detail). London, The British Library, Tab. 603.a.38(3).

In the British Library's copy of Davies's pamphlet addressed to her daughter, the passage quoted at the start of this conclusion has a single hair caught in the dried ink of the

word ‘time’ (see Figure 4.7, above).[436] We might suppose that this hair fell into the wet ink glistening on a newly printed page, which then dried and fixed the hair in ‘time’ for the next four hundred years. This sign of a person’s presence, preserved in the textual form they may have helped to produce, serves to remind us of the co-creation of women’s prophetic texts. Just like Davies’s readers, the workers in the printing house bowed their heads over the pages of Davies’s discourse, as they sought ways of understanding and communicating her complex prophetic exegeses.

[436] London, The British Library, Tab. 603.a.38(3).

Conclusion

New interpretations of Cary, Trapnel, Wight and Davies

Between 1640 and 1660, women's prophetic discourse flourished in England and was communicated to readers in many textual guises. From single-sided broadsheets to 990-page folios, and from personalised presentation manuscripts to multi-edition printed pamphlets, women's divinely inspired discourse was mediated through pages of diverse form and feature. This thesis has contended that these varying textual arrangements should not be considered neutral mediators of a spiritual message. Instead, the particular production, structure and appearance of this genre's material texts has the capacity to influence the reception and interpretation of women's prophetic discourse in crucial ways. For example, the use of italicisation, or particular paratextual and juxtatextual configurations within a volume, might help to bolster the authority of a woman's claims to divine inspiration, or provide a materialisation of (or contradiction to) the ideas articulated in her text. Thus, critical understandings and interpretations of women's prophetic discourse can be significantly expanded, nuanced and altered by examining the semantic implications of material textual form.

Across four case study chapters, this thesis has explored and demonstrated the hermeneutic potential of applying bibliographic methodologies to the study of women's prophetic discourse. Through analysing features such as title pages, prefaces, indexes, marginal notes, typography and binding, I have offered new arguments about why, how and by whom prophetic texts were produced and received in mid-seventeenth century England. For example, by tracing the dedicatees of Grace Cary's manuscript volumes, I was able to suggest that the identities of these men reveal Cary's political astuteness and ambitions for her prophecy's publication. Moreover, by surveying the presence of Cary's discourse in domestic, multi-authored and cross-temporal volumes I was able to challenge the notion that women's prophetic discourse had a very short period of relevance. Instead, Cary's prophecy was quietly preserved as a juxtatext to recipes for preserving plums, and thus her discourse

maintained a textual presence in a volume consulted long after the prophecy's initial inscription.

Bibliographic analysis has also enabled me to identify the probable printer of Anna Trapnel's final volume of prophecies, Arch A. C. 16. In Chapter Two, my attribution of this text to James Cottrell allowed me to reframe Trapnel's work as one that is visually and materially connected to a broader community of textual production, thereby countering a critical tendency to neglect and isolate this anonymous and untitled volume. In Chapter Three, I then continued this exploration of the hermeneutic potential of typographic analysis by analysing the printing mistakes and doubled errata lists within editions of *The Exceeding Riches of Grace*. Although *The Exceeding Riches* is often discussed as a work strictly controlled by its relator Henry Jessey, I suggested that some of this text's typographic slips also betray a sense of productional absence and non-work. Similarly, my fourth chapter also challenged established critical readings of women's prophetic works. Whilst Font has suggested that Eleanor Davies lacked a 'mediator or printer-friend' and was not 'sufficiently aware or careful about how her readership would receive her messages', my analysis of Davies suggested that the form and production of her texts reveal a conscious and collaborative effort to communicate her dense typological exegeses clearly to a reader.[437] Additionally, my discussion of Edward Kellett's lengthy critical review of Davies's hermeneutical style allowed me to challenge the notion that Davies's printed texts did not provoke detailed engagement and response from contemporary readers.

In this way, by being mindful of the production, form and reception of material texts, my case study chapters have all offered new interpretations of the discourse of Cary, Trapnel, Wight and Davies, thereby extending and reframing previous critical analysis of these four women. In addition, this thesis has also helped to establish a more nuanced picture of the overall production, interpretation and authority of women's prophetic discourse in the mid-seventeenth century. Now, in this concluding chapter I will synthesise these over-

[437] Font, pp. 158, 156.

arching findings under three sub-headings: ‘Textual co-creation’, ‘Textual multiplicity’ and ‘Textual form and textual meaning’. After establishing these conclusions, this chapter will then consider the scope of this present project and suggest how future research might seek to build upon my work. Finally, I will close by taking one last look at the prophet on the page.

Textual co-creation

In her landmark study of seventeenth-century women’s prophecy, *Visionary Women* (1992), Mack suggests that scholars of this genre ‘might view themselves as restorers of a venerable painting or tapestry, illuminating individual figures that had formerly been visible only in shadow’.[438] For Mack, these shadowy figures requiring illumination are women, including Cary, Trapnel, Wight and Davies, whose claims to divine inspiration and prophetic discourse survive in a series of seventeenth-century texts awaiting critical analysis. Reading Mack’s description of the scholars ‘illuminating’ these ‘individual figures’ I am reminded of the aerial portrait of Martha Hatfield in *The Wise Virgin* (1653) that I discussed in the introduction to this thesis (Figure 0.1, page 3). In this engraving, the artist illuminates the ‘individual’ figure of the bedbound prophet, but the rest of the scene of Hatfield’s prophesying falls beyond the frame. In this way, both Mack’s quotation and Hatfield’s portrait point to a tendency to depict prophetic women as individual venerable figures requiring illumination in their own isolating spotlights.

However, bibliography and book history encourage a different kind of illumination. Bibliographers frequently seek to reveal how multiple individuals are linked and connected, so that the texts they produce are co-creative ventures shaped by various people’s desires and actions. For example, in the introduction to my thesis, I cited Chartier and Stallybrass’s declaration that: ‘if the physical body of the book is the work of pressmen and bookbinders, its soul is not the author's invention alone since it is co-created by the printers, compositors,

[438] Mack, *Visionary Women*, p. 3.

and proof-readers' responsible for its material form.[439] This description of co-creative textual production has been tested and applied throughout this thesis, as I have used bibliographic analysis to ask how and by whom women's prophetic texts were co-produced. By taking this approach, I have demonstrated that women like Hatfield are never alone on the pages of their texts (despite what their isolating portraits might suggest). Instead, the processes of early modern textual production ensure that the discourse and spiritual authority of prophetic individuals are shaped by the actions of various figures, including relators, compositors, printers and readers. Consequently, as critics, we must understand that the discourse and authority of early modern women prophets do not result from single isolated figures channelling the word of God alone. Instead, prophetic publications are generated by a whole tapestry of figures whose roles and influence must also be illuminated by scholarship.

As this thesis has argued, the texts of women's prophetic discourse signal their co-creative, many-peopled production through aspects of their material form. For example, in Chapter Three, I suggested that typographic errors in *The Exceeding Riches* expose Henry Jessey's reliance on the eye-movements and hand-actions of printing house compositors for the accuracy of his text's relation of Sarah Wight's prophecies. In Chapter Two, I also suggested that the cooperative labour of two separate printing houses is traceable in the shift in paper, orthography and typography in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654). In addition to these signs left by compositors and printers, the readers of prophetic texts also helped to shape the genre's textual forms. As I discussed in Chapter One, several of the surviving copies of Grace Cary's manuscripts are added to and changed by the inscriptions of the volumes' owners. Moreover, I noted in Chapter Four that copies of Eleanor Davies's pamphlets can be read alongside other connected works, due to their arrangement by the collector William Clarke within his sammelbands. Supported by these examples, I have argued that the form of a material text could indicate that it was shaped by the actions and influence of multiple people beyond the prophet herself.

[439] Chartier and Stallybrass, p. 188.

Whilst discussing these signifiers of co-creation in prophetic texts, I have also considered how early modern readers might have interpreted these aspects of textual form. For example, I asked whether seventeenth-century readers of *The Exceeding Riches* would have been critical of this work's errata, or have understood these mistakes as inevitable (and forgivable) results of printing's reliance on imperfect human bodies and actions. Moreover, whilst analysing the printing of *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea,* I suggested that this work's contemporary readers may have been familiar with the practices of shared printing and have been capable of recognising the material consequences of a division of labour. Thus, I have suggested that material features in seventeenth-century prophetic texts signalled to their readers in ways influenced by cultural attitudes towards, and understandings of, textual production.

However, if a prophetic text's co-creation is revealed (or betrayed) to readers by its material form, what might that mean for the interpretation of women's prophecy? Since divinely inspired discourse gains its value and legitimacy from the directness of the relationship between God and his chosen prophet, then material evidence that other people have interceded to mediate and shape a prophecy's textual form might jeopardise a reader's sense of a work's divinely sanctioned authority. Indeed, as I discussed in Chapter One, the handwritten personalisation of Cary's manuscripts seems to imply an authorising connection between the text's production and the body of the prophet that is, perhaps, lacking in the printed pages of *Vox Coeli* (1646). Instead, the typographic errors found in early modern printed works (such as those I documented in the indexes of *The Exceeding Riches*) reveal the intrusion of non-divinely inspired bodies whose actions and slips have the potential to distort a prophet's message. With co-creation can come error or contradiction. For example, as I noted in Chapter Two, the attractive headers arranged by printers throughout Arch A. C. 16 seem to pose a visual contradiction to the advocations of plain and unornamented speech found in the prophecies they decorate. In this way, the contradictory and accidental features produced by the printing house serve to remind readers that the prophetic

discourse on the page has been co-shaped by labourers who do not share the perspective and status of the prophet herself.

On the other hand, however, this thesis has also argued that the co-creation of prophecy's material texts offered opportunities for enhancing the authority and spiritual messages of women's prophetic discourse. For example, in the case of *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, the evidence of two printing houses working together to produce a single text materialises the affectionate descriptions of productive collective labour often expressed within Trapnel's prophecies. Even printing errors might be read as a supportive articulation of a prophet's message. As I discussed in Chapter Three, the compositors' mistakes in *The Exceeding Riches* offer exemplifications of Wight's statements regarding the continuing corruption of sin. Meanwhile, Davies's printers cooperate with her attempts to articulate her self-proclaimed connection to the prophet Daniel, by printing her anagrammatic proofs in creative typographic arrangements. Finally, the recipe texts inscribed within one of Cary's manuscript volumes maintain a respectful distance from the words of her prophecy, thereby subtly establishing a lingering sense of authoritative textual presence for her discourse.

Consequently, this thesis has argued that the authority of a woman's prophetic message does not rely on its text appearing to have been directly mediated and shaped by the prophet alone. Instead, prophecy's textual objects openly offer evidence of the involvement of others in their production, and their forms frequently signal that they were shaped by the participation and engagement of multiple figures. Whilst this co-creative production might sometimes appear to pose tensions and challenges to a text's manifest claims to prophetic legitimacy, I have more often concluded that these signs of co-creation can function collaboratively and help to support a prophet's authority and spiritual message.

Textual multiplicity

In her recent study, *Women's Prophetic Writings in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (2017), Font suggests that women pursued textual publication for their prophetic discourse as a means of intervening and enacting change in national politics and religion. Thus, Font

characterises the textual production of these women as 'a form of activism' and suggests that by 'seeking a reaction from an audience' female prophets '[show] a degree of conscious public intervention'.[440] Like Font, I am also interested in examining how the publication of prophetic discourses responded to and participated in particular historic moments. For example, in Chapters Two and Three I suggested that Arch A. C. 16 and the seventh edition of *The Exceeding Riches* staged interventions into the same period of turmoil and fragmentation for London Fifth Monarchists at the end of the 1650s.

Importantly, though, both Arch A. C. 16 and *The Exceeding Riches* are not singular interventions, responding to only one moment. As discussed in Chapter Two, Arch A. C. 16 revises and corrects material published in an earlier Trapnel pamphlet, and *The Exceeding Riches* was printed in seven successive editions between 1647 and 1658. In both these cases, textual production functions through modes of revision or repetition, and these aspects of prophetic publication have been marked and scrutinised throughout this thesis. For example, in Chapter Four, I examined how Davies used the printing press to defiantly reprint *Given to the Elector* in 1648 (a work burned by Archbishop Laud in 1633) and to recontextualise a failed petition in a later historic moment. By reproducing *Given to the Elector*'s 1633 imprint on the title page of its 1648 edition, and by reprinting her former petition alongside marginal notes documenting its prophetic perspicacity, Davies and the printing house co-created textual interventions that were new, but which also returned to older acts of publication. Thus, rather than conceptualising textual production as a singular 'intervention', the analyses in this thesis have suggested that textual production often enabled women's prophetic discourse to stage multiple material interventions, which revised, reframed, or repeated the past in fresh temporal moments.

This productional multiplicity is frequently not hidden from prophecy's readers and the genre's material texts openly signal their connections to other textual objects. For example, in Chapter Two, I noted that shared typographic motifs link Trapnel's publications

[440] Font, p. 40.

throughout the 1650s, whilst also connecting them to other works produced during the period. This visual intertextuality helps to corroborate Trapnel's claims to possess a long and enduring prophetic authority, whilst also supporting her frequent references to the material and spiritual experiences shared by her religious community. Meanwhile, the words 'seventh edition' on the title page of *The Exceeding Riches,* and 'Reprinted 1648' in Davies's new edition of *Given to the Elector*, freely indicate that these are works with textual predecessors. Similarly, the printed version of Cary's prophecies uses its preface to document its previous textual iterations before confidently declaring that Cary's discourse 'will come as well in print as it did before in writ'.[441] As such, the material texts of women's prophecy studied in this thesis rarely attempt to construct a sense of one-off singularity. Instead, I have argued that the production of multiple editions and versions might help to bolster a prophet's status by constructing a sense of cumulative and shared authority, or by allowing a discourse to be defiantly restated or recontextualised in new historic moments.

This thesis has also paid attention to the fact that prophetic texts were usually produced in multiple copies, and that each of these textual objects has the potential to be engaged with by readers in different ways. For example, in Chapter Four, I discussed how three copies of Davies's *Given to the Elector* were sent to the collector William Clarke. Clarke catalogued and bound these texts in his sammelband volumes in a manner that suggests he was aware of their genre and typological ambitions. Meanwhile, a copy of another of Davies's texts travelled to Exeter, where it was subjected to the more censorious review of the clergyman Edward Kellett. Some copies of women's texts were also annotated by their readers. For example, in Chapter Two, I noted that the printing errors in a copy of Trapnel's *Voice for the King of Saints* have been corrected in a seventeenth-century hand, thus revealing at least one reader's willingness to help perfect a record of prophetic discourse. In contrast, the partial inscription of Cary's prophecy in the Somers family commonplace book might suggest a less active and dedicated readership. Even so, this

[441] Toxander, A2^{r}.

incomplete copy provides evidence of the circulation of women's prophetic texts, whilst revealing that these works could play a role in personal practices of religious reading and thought. Thus, by assessing the particular forms and arrangements of individual copies of prophetic texts, we are able to uncover new evidence about how and by whom women's prophetic discourse was received.

In this way, this thesis has highlighted and explored prophecy's textual multiplicities. It has taken into consideration the production and reception of different copies of the same text, whilst also inspecting the modes of revision and repetition involved in creating new versions and editions of an older work. Doing so has allowed me to extend and reframe Font's characterisation of prophetic publication in the mid-seventeenth century. Instead of focusing on how women sought 'a reaction from an audience' and made a 'public intervention' through acts of publication, I have identified ways in which individual textual objects intervened and were responded to by particular readers in ways uncontrolled by the prophet.[442] Moreover, I have suggested that textual production often facilitated interventions rather than a singular planned intercession into one temporal moment. Women's prophetic discourse was often produced in textual forms that sought to revise, restate or recontextualise the past, and these modes of productional multiplicity often functioned as an important means of bolstering the spiritual authority of women.

Textual form and textual meaning

As Elaine Hobby notes, 'it is arguable that prophecy is the single most important genre for women in the early modern period: with God's permission, a woman could write, and, for a while at least, could insist on having a hearing'.[443] These claims to prophetic status were supported by a sense that women were 'especially likely to be used by the Lord since the obedience and self-effacement normally required of them [in patriarchal early modern

[442] Font, p. 40.
[443] Elaine Hobby, 'Prophecy', in *A Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. by Anita Pacheco (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 264–281 (p. 279).

society] made them especially responsive to divine possession'.[444] Nevertheless, as Mack cautions, even if these female divine messengers 'were free to express feminine religious symbolism in their own way during the Civil War', they still remained 'constrained by the weight of symbolic baggage' associated with their gender and the widely held view that 'a woman could not even speak in church, much less preach'.[445] Thus, in order to 'insist on having a hearing' in early modern society, women needed to prove and authorise the legitimacy of their prophetic discourse.

As I outlined in the introduction to this thesis, many critics have surveyed the ways in which authority and semantic meaning are established in women's prophetic discourse. For example, Wiseman has discussed the ways in which prophetic texts often frame women as empty and passive vessels, thereby presenting their 'feminine identity as a cipher' and ensuring that the authority of the text is 'derived from God' who imbues it with a spiritual meaning and status not possessed by the woman herself.[446] Longfellow has also observed that prophetic women's discourse often emerges from a semi-respectable 'liminal space' between the private and public spheres, as, for example, when Wight and Trapnel prophesy from their chambers in apparent obliviousness to the listeners gathered around them.[447] Additionally, Longfellow argues that women often utilise gendered biblical imagery in order to authorise their prophetic status; for example, 'Trapnel employs the language of mystical marriage to describe her private relationship with God' in conventionally feminised terms.[448] Finally, a great deal of critical attention has been paid to the signifying and authorising role played by the woman prophet's body. Indeed, Wray suggests that the female body 'is always to the fore' in prophetic texts, where it functions as 'the defining symbol of the authenticity' of the prophet and her discourse.[449] This legitimising 'corporeal modality' often operates

[444] Ibid., p. 265.
[445] Mack, 'Women as Prophets', p. 27.
[446] Susan Wiseman, 'Authority in Seventeenth-Century Women's Prophetic Discourse', in *New Feminist Discourses*: *Critical Essays on Theories and Texts*, ed. by Isobel Armstrong (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 176–96 (pp. 185–6).
[447] Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, p. 164.
[448] Ibid., p. 168.
[449] Wray, *Women Writers*, pp. 56–7.

through depictions of 'illness, trembling, fainting and bodily incapacity' in texts that frequently dwell upon a physical weakness culturally coded as feminine.[450]

In addition to the language, location and body of the prophet, this thesis has argued that the material text should also be numbered amongst the defining material symbols of authorisation and semantic signification involved in women's prophetic discourse. My analyses have demonstrated that the reception of women's prophecy could be influenced by textual features such as typographic ornaments, italicisation, the appearance of the mise-en-page, the binding together or arrangement of different works and the paratextual framing staged by dedications, prefaces and title pages. As Jerome McGann argues, every work or genre has a 'double helix of perceptual codes: the linguistic codes, on one hand, and the bibliographical codes on the other'.[451] These 'bibliographical codes' should not be overlooked when we consider the ways in which women's prophetic discourse conveyed meaning and attempted to establish spiritual authority in the mid-seventeenth century.

This is not to say that a prophetic text's bibliographical and linguistic codes are always in happy accord. For example, in Chapter One, I noted that a smudge in one of Cary's handwritten manuscripts distorts this text's quotation of a divine voice of warning, thereby exposing this spiritual text's reliance on the mediation of a fallible human body. Moreover, within the same manuscript volume, the opening dedication signed by Cary functions as a declaration of authorial ownership, which perhaps problematically contradicts the prophet's later claims that the work's publication is controlled and commanded by God alone. Meanwhile, in the fourth edition of *The Exceeding Riches*, a mistakenly doubled errata list appears to arise from Henry Jessey's absence from the printing house and his compositors' failure to assemble new blocks of type. Here, signifiers of the passivity and lack of control of this text's producers indicate a disconcerting lack of care and thoroughness, which might jeopardise a reader's trust in the accuracy of this relation of Wight's prophetic discourse. Additionally, the spiritual authority of a prophet and her text might be contradicted

[450] Ibid., p. 57.
[451] McGann, p. 77.

or undermined by a printer's use of decorative typography. For example, as I noted in Chapter Two, the scrolling patterns of the header motifs in Arch A. C. 16 closely match the design of the extravagant spangled fabrics that Trapnel heavily criticises in her orations.

Thus, the form and typographic features of women's prophetic texts might introduce semantic tensions that threaten claims to accuracy and authority. Nevertheless, my thesis has also offered many examples of textual form supporting and authorising women's prophetic discourse in subtle but important ways. For example, in *The Exceeding Riches* italicisation is used to visually distinguish the divinely inspired words of Wight from the glosses of her relator Jessey. Here, the work's textual form evokes the prestigious typographic schemas used in vernacular scripture, thereby elevating the status of Wight's discourse by marking it out as a text worthy of preservation and special distinction. Similarly, the typography in Davies's early pamphlet *A Warning to the Dragon* (1625) seems supportive of the prophet's message. This pamphlet's mirrored letterforms help to materialise and evidence Davies's self-authorising claims to reflect and reveal the discourse of the biblical prophet Daniel.

Even those aspects of textual form that seem to stage potential contradictions or tensions can be read from other perspectives too. For example, the distorting smudge in Cary's handwritten manuscript might also create a legitimising sense of immediacy, helping to evidence the prophet's physical distress upon receiving a disturbing prophetic warning. Moreover, in Arch A. C. 16, the ornamental headers that adorn the start of each of Trapnel's prophecies might be read as a visual support to the way in which Trapnel opens her orations by passionately greeting her listeners. In *The Exceeding Riches*, the accidentally reproduced errata list is created using fixed standing type and this consequence of productional non-work may be read as a fitting parallel to the icon of passivity and non-work offered by Wight's paralysed, bedbound body.

Thus, the materiality, production and structure of women's prophetic texts signify and produce meaning. As I have discussed, sometimes these semantic impacts are produced through a conscious manipulation of the textual form, for example when Davies's printers

carved blocks to produce the reversed lettering of her anagrams, or when Jessey established a schema of typographic differentiation to distinguish Wight's words from his own. However, on other occasions the authorising (or undermining) impacts of a prophecy's textual form can seem to be produced inadvertently. Indeed, the compositor who follows convention by decorating the blank spaces in Arch A. C. 16 with decorative headers is unlikely to anticipate the range of potential semantic implications introduced by the ornaments they insert. Moreover, the slip of the pen in Cary's manuscript, and the errors that creep across the indexes of *The Exceeding Riches,* are both examples of evocative textual features born of accident.

By probing the complex connection between textual form and textual meaning, my thesis has helped to illuminate the tapestry of women's prophetic discourse in the mid-seventeenth century. Across my four case studies, I have demonstrated that women's prophecy intervened through modes of textual production that were co-created and multiple. Moreover, I have argued that prophecy's material texts helped to establish (and sometimes to undermine) women's claims to spiritual authority. When early modern readers were asked to value the prophetic discourse of women, their interpretations were (at least in part) shaped by the bibliographical codes of the genre's texts.

This project's scope and directions for future study

This project has focused on the period in the mid-seventeenth century when prophetic discourse flourished as a genre of female expression. As Mack has noted, 'religious radicals viewed the period of the Interregnum as a "world turned upside down," and they welcomed prophets of both sexes as a kind of supernatural intrusion into a society which had repudiated reason and tradition'.[452] However, Mack suggests that, once 'revolutionary doctrines of equality lost credibility' and law and order were restored after 1660, the 'feminine symbols of diffuse, inchoate power' that had authorised and supported women's

[452] Mack, 'Women as Prophets', p. 38.

prophesying were discredited too, and therefore the number of women's prophetic texts published diminished.[453] Consequently, this project has limited itself to analysing works produced between 1640 and 1660, which has allowed me to examine that narrow temporal window in which women's prophecy thrived in England.[454]

In particular, I have sought to understand the ways in which women's prophetic discourse responded to, and intervened in, this particular twenty-year period through acts of textual production. As a result, the subjects of the four case studies in this thesis were selected to facilitate an exploration of the wide range of different textual objects that mediated women's prophecy from 1640–1660. As I have shown, some women recorded their visions and divinely inspired warnings in presentation manuscripts, whilst others sought print publication instead. In other cases, women's prophetic orations were recorded by relators and scribes. As my chapters on Trapnel and Wight demonstrated, these scribal relations could then be printed in single-issue, or multi-edition, pamphlets, or perhaps even in large folio volumes. These various textual formats were all produced at broadly the same moment in the history of textual production in England. Thus, thanks to the compressed temporal scope of my study, I have been able to compare contemporaneous textual objects, and to consider why particular forms of publication might have been selected to communicate a woman's prophecy to a 'world turned upside down'.

Of course, the textual mediation of women's prophetic discourse is not exclusively limited to the period in the mid-seventeenth century under scrutiny in this thesis. Prophecy's long history is evidenced by Watt's *Secretaries of God* (1997), which traces the textual records of women's ecstatic religious experience from Margery Kempe (c. 1373–1438) through to Eleanor Davies (1590–1652).[455] Similarly, Longfellow contextualises her analysis of Anna Trapnel's 1654 pamphlets by observing that, in Cambridgeshire, in 1629, a

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[453] Ibid.
[454] In Chapter Four, I briefly expanded my project's scope to discuss two texts produced earlier in the seventeenth century by Eleanor Davies: *A Warning to the Dragon* ([London]: 1625) and her manuscript petition to the King in 1633. However, these early texts represent fairly isolated outliers, or precursors, to the many more prophetic texts by women produced in the 1640s and 1650s.
[455] Diane Watt, *Secretaries of God* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997).

bedbound woman named Jane Hawkins lay prophesying in a trance as local men recorded her religious discourse 'with the intent to have it printed' (just as Trapnel would in London twenty-five years later).[456]

Furthermore, critics have also noted that women's prophetic discourse continued after the abundance of texts produced during the 1650s. Thus, Font concludes her study of women's prophetic discourse by highlighting the number of texts produced by Quaker women after 1660, which include the evocatively entitled, *God's Mighty Power Magnified as Manifested and Revealed in his Faithful Handmaid Joan Vokins* (1691).[457] Additionally, in the late seventeenth century, the prophetic visions and teachings of Jane Lead were published in a series of texts, and Ariel Hessayon and other critics have argued that these works continued to have a lasting influence on religious thought into the eighteenth century and beyond.[458] Consequently, as Christopher Burdon summarises, 'seventeenth-century popular millenarianism never completely died out'.[459] Indeed, prophecy revived in England after the French Revolution in 1789, with groups gathering 'around isolated prophetic female figures', including Joanna Southcott, Sarah Flaxmer and Dorothy Gott.[460]

It is also important to note that this chronology of prophetic discourse extends beyond England's shores. In *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British*

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[456] Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing*, p. 155. Hawkins's prophecies appear never to have been printed. However, accounts suggest that several men 'excerpted many of these Sayings in Verse from the Mouth of the said *Jane*'; see John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (London: 1693), F4^{r}.

[457] Font, pp. 188–202. Joan Vokins, *God's Mighty Power Magnified as Manifested and Revealed in his Faithful Handmaid Joan Vokins* (London: 1691). For more on Quaker women's writing in the late seventeenth-century, see Catie Gill, *Women in the Seventeenth-Century Quaker Community: A Literary Study of Political Identities, 1650–1700* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005).

[458] See, for example, Jane Lead, *The Revelation of Revelations* (London: 1683); *The Laws of Paradise, Given Forth by Wisdom to a Translated Spirit* (London: 1695); and *A Fountain of Gardens* (London: 1696). For more on Lead's prophetic language and cultural impact, see Julie Hirst, 'Dreaming of a New Jerusalem: Jane Lead's Visions of Wisdom', *Feminist Theology,* 14 (2006), 349–65 and the essays collected in *Jane Lead and her Transnational Legacy*, ed. by Ariel Hessayon (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[459] Christopher Burdon, *The Apocalypse in England: Revelation Unravelling, 1700–1834* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), p. 99.

[460] Ibid. See also Nancy Jiwon Cho and Matthew Niblett, 'Daughters of Eve: The Labouring-Class Autobiographical Hermeneutics of Two Romantic-Era English Prophetesses, Dorothy Gott (c.1748–1812) and Joanna Southcott (1750–1814)', *Romanticism,* 22 (2016), 107–21 and J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780–1850* (Abingdon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979), pp. 31–6. Gott and Flaxmer produced some printed texts, for example, Dorothy Gott, *The Midnight Cry* (London: 1788) and Sarah Flaxmer, *Satan Revealed* (London: [1795(?)]). Meanwhile, Joanna Southcott's discourse 'eventually filled sixty-five books and pamphlets, published from 1801 until her death in 1814'; James K. Hopkins, *A Woman to Deliver her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), p. xvii.

Atlantic World 1640–1730 (2015), Bouldin argues that 'at a collective level, shared influences existed between English Quakers and German Pietists, as well as between French Prophets and English Philadelphians'.[461] Thus, whilst the Quaker writer Hester Biddle published prophetic warnings to the cities of Oxford in 1655 and London in 1660, she also travelled and ministered in Newfoundland, the Netherlands, Barbados and Alexandria.[462] Foreign prophets also influenced spiritual communities in Britain. For example, the writings of the Flemish mystic Antoinette Bourignon were translated into Dutch, German, Latin and English and proved particularly influential in the North East of Scotland in the early eighteenth century.[463]

This extended timeline and geographic range of women's prophetic discourse might be fruitfully analysed using the bibliographic methodologies explored, developed and demonstrated throughout this thesis. By paying close attention to the material textual forms used to publish the ideas, visions and experiences of these women, scholars could survey new forms of continuity and change across this extended and global history of female discourse. One might ask, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, how did the paratextual framing or typographic arrangement of prophetic texts alter, or maintain, the same strategies of authorisation? Moreover, do later and earlier prophetic works openly demonstrate their co-creation and productional multiplicity in ways akin to the mid-seventeenth-century publications discussed in this thesis? And, are there regional or national differences in the ways in which these texts were presented to readers? As my thesis has shown, the form and arrangement of the material text — including its mise-en-page, typography, binding and paratextual arrangements — could help (or hinder) a

[461] Bouldin, p. 3.
[462] Hester Biddle, *Wo to the City of Oxford* ([London]: [1655]) and *A Warning from the Lord God of Life and Power Unto Thee O City of London* (London: 1660). For details of Biddle's travel, see Elaine Hobby and Catie Gill, 'Biddle, Hester', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press: 2004) <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/45809> [accessed 15 February 2020]. For more on eighteenth-century Quaker women's travel, see Sarah Crabtree, 'In the Light and on the Road: Patience Brayton and Quaker Itinerant Ministry', in *New Critical Studies on Early Quaker Women, 1650–1800*, ed. by Michele Lise Tarter and Catie Gill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 128–45.
[463] See Bouldin, pp. 174–5 and Geoffrey Rowell, 'Scotland and the "Mystical Matrix" of the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: An Exploration of Religious Cross-Currents', in *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church,* 14 (2014), 128–44.

woman's claims to produce authoritative, divinely inspired religious discourse. This suggests the importance, and hermeneutic potential, of expanding the timespan and geographic range under scrutiny in this project in order to consider how the page mediated and authorised women's prophecy both before and after the mid-seventeenth century.

For scholars of early modern writing, the material discussed in this thesis also opens up new avenues for appraising the important relationship between orality and textuality in the early modern period. As Ezell has observed, prophetic texts serve to 'highlight the conventions for representing oral ecstatic performance on the static page' in the seventeenth century, and 'draw our attention' to the way in which 'oral performance […] continued to function and give meaning during the time in which, as has been rightfully claimed, there was a simultaneous revolution in print culture'.[464] As my chapters on Anna Trapnel and Sarah Wight have documented, many seventeenth-century women delivered their prophecies orally and their material texts were therefore often produced through the assistance and intervention of scribes. Accordingly, in Arch A. C. 16, the relator of one of Trapnel's prophecies apologises in an italicised aside that the prophet's voice was '*so swift, that the writer could not take all*', but he nevertheless recommends that the reader should '*read it again and again*' in its incomplete textual form.[465] Here, we discover a tense interplay between orality and the written word. Trapnel's text interrupts itself to document the style of the prophet's original oration and acknowledge its own comparative incompleteness, but it also celebrates its ability to enable readers to experience the same discourse '*again and again*' through its pages.

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[464] Ezell, 'Performance Texts', p. 50. The most influential study of the 'revolutionary' rise of print in the early modern period remains Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Since Eisenstein, many critics have worked to expand our understanding of how print's rise revolutionised modes of communication and thought. For example, Andrew Pettegree has observed that this print revolution was one managed by booksellers who developed new (often shorter and cheaper) textual forms; Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010). Moreover, Adrian Johns has challenged Eisentein's emphasis on the 'fixity' of print by noting the fears of piracy and inaccuracy that attended the seventeenth-century printing boom; Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Other critics have questioned the totality of print's revolution by highlighting the continuing importance of orality in the period, see, for example, the essays in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850,* ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[465] Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, H1^{r}.

Critics have long been interested in inspecting this complex (and often overlapping) relationship between orality and textuality in the early modern period and its potential implications for religious discourse. Hitherto, however, that research has concentrated primarily on early modern sermons and the period's debates regarding the relative merits of reading or hearing a preacher's words. For example, Arnold Hunt has argued that 'many early modern Protestants were adamant that only the Word preached — not the Word read — could suffice for salvation'.[466] Meanwhile, James Rigney has noted that some preachers embraced the way in which the 'format of the printed page, especially the margin, increased the pedagogical resources of the sermon', and thus a 'comparatively high number of sermons from 1600 to 1640' were printed without apologetic prefaces lamenting the reader's loss of an aural experience.[467]

These (usually male-author-focused) explorations of early modern attitudes to orality could be expanded to encompass the field of women's religious discourse using the bibliographic methodologies developed in this thesis. For example, my approach to reading the semantic implications of italicisation and typography could enable an examination of how the material forms of prophetic texts attempted to reproduce, or improve upon, aspects of women's oral discourse. Given this period's oft-cited precept that women should 'keep silence in the Churches' (1 Corinthians 14. 34), did textual production silence the spoken performances of prophetic women, whilst also simultaneously providing them with a (potentially more acceptable) means of communicating?

In this thesis, however, rather than concentrating exclusively on prophetic texts that navigated shifts from oral delivery to the page, I have also analysed examples of works that originated as written texts. Thus, whilst two of the case studies in this thesis inspected textual accounts of orally delivered prophecies (Sarah Wight's orations in *The Exceeding*

[466] Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 25.
[467] James Rigney, 'Sermons into Print', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 198–212 (pp. 202–3).

Riches and Anna Trapnel's verses in Arch A. C. 16), my other two case studies examined women who recorded their prophetic visions and divinely inspired exegeses in writing. First, Chapter One assessed the works of Grace Cary, who saw a vision of 'a pen writing in a booke; appearing vnto her, intimating that what she saw and heard; she should commit to writing'.[468] Meanwhile, in Chapter Four, I considered Eleanor Davies, who, after she heard a 'Voice from Heaven', instantly 'annex'd' those words 'in a manuscript' that she 'immediately' sought to have 'published' via the printing press.[469]

In these choices of case study, I have chosen not to frame my thesis as a study of material texts emerging from, and intersecting with, the female spoken voice alone. An approach of this kind would necessarily have concentrated on how written texts attempted to recreate or stand in for an original oral delivery. This focus would perpetuate the emphasis in previous critical studies of this genre, which have hitherto prioritised the semantic implications of the embodied and timebound performances of women's prophecy. Instead, my approach has enabled me to move beyond the conception of prophecy as a single moment of inspired delivery in order to reframe women's prophetic discourse as a form that could intervene and signify in multiple and cross-temporal ways. My thesis has demonstrated that a woman's prophecy could be mediated through multiple textual objects, which were engaged with by readers in different ways and at different times. The forms and features of these material texts influenced the way in which readers interpreted a woman's prophetic discourse, allowing them to read her words '*again and again*', rather than attempting to recreate one moment of performance.[470]

[468] London, The British Library, Egerton MS 1044, fol. 9^{r}.
[469] Eleanor Davies, *The Lady Eleanor her Appeal Present this to Mr. Mace* ([London]: 1646), B1^{v}–B2^{r}.
[470] Oxford, the Bodleian Libraries, Arch A. C. 16, H1^{r}.

Prophecy on the page

FIGURE 5.1 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

FIGURE 5.2 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

FIGURE 5.3 REDACTED
(Third party copyrighted material)

Clockwise from top left:

Figure 5.1 Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA. 1. 12 [1], A1^{r}.

Figure 5.2 Oxford, Worcester College Library, BB. X. 6 (1), A1^{r}.

Figure 5.3 Oxford, Worcester College Library, AA.1.11 (17), A1^{r}.

I began my thesis by examining the printed portrait of Martha Hatfield in James Fisher's *The Wise Virgin* (1653), and shall finish by briefly considering another copperplate engraving. This image depicts a hand inscribing the words 'Mene peres' on a wall, and it appears on the title page of Eleanor Davies's pamphlet, *Given to the Elector* ([1648]). As I explained in the previous chapter, this work states in its imprint that it was printed in '1633', but it is actually a later 1648 reprint of an earlier destroyed publication. Today, this illustrated edition of *Given to the Elector* is extant in only three copies, which are all held at Worcester College Library, Oxford. On the previous page, I have reproduced the title pages of these three surviving copies (Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3).

This triptych of title pages allows me to synthesise some of the ideas articulated in this thesis. Assembled together in this way, these copies of *Given to the Elector* exemplify prophetic discourse's potential for textual multiplicity. Here, the printing press has allowed Davies's words to be reproduced across multiple textual objects. During the course of this thesis, I have demonstrated that each of these objects deserves our critical attention, as every copy of a work prompts its own particular readings. For example, of the three title pages pictured here none is identical: one copy has its owner's name written on it (Figure 5.1), but the others do not. Moreover, Davies has annotated each copy with different manuscript comments. As such, each of these texts might be viewed as its own unique edition, carefully constructed as a hybrid print-manuscript text co-created by the hand of the prophet and the workers of the printing house.

The image of the writing hand on these title pages references the biblical story of Belshazzar's feast, at which a 'man's hand' appeared 'and wrote […] upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace' (Daniel 5. 5). The prophet Daniel was called upon to decipher the hand's writing, which read 'Mene', 'Tekel' and 'Peres' (Daniel 5. 26–28). On Davies's title page, the word 'Reveale' is added to the disembodied hand's wrist. Perhaps this inscription is intended to identify this hand as Davies's own, since, as I discussed in Chapter Four, Davies often noted that her maiden name was an anagram of 'REVEALE O DANIEL'. Moreover, the title pages of these pamphlets are heavily annotated with Davies's own

handwriting. For a reader, these manuscript inscriptions commingle with the printed writing of the engraved hand, which is inscribed on a roughly sketched ‘wall’ that is not clearly distinguished from the rest of the page. Evocatively, the disembodied hand emerges from a cross-hatched hole in the pamphlet, as though reaching out from the body of Davies’s own text. Notably, the hand also appears to have an identifying freckle or mole at the base of its thumb. Thanks to this feature, the image does not seem to be a generic emblem but instead appears to depict the appearance of someone’s real, distinctive and individuated hand.

If we are meant to recognise the hand on *Given to the Elector* as Davies’s own, then this printed image enables a seventeenth-century woman to claim to write a text of similar prophetic importance to that deciphered by Daniel in the Bible. As such, this striking image of the writing hand exemplifies the creative ways in which the material text could enable women to make bold claims about the value of their own spiritual discourse. Here, it is the art of the engraver and the labours of the intaglio copperplate printers that allow Davies to emerge from this page as a new fulfilment of the biblical past. An arresting title page image, this hand also serves to remind us of the central role that writing and textual production play in prophetic identity. In the mid-seventeenth century, the divinely inspired discourse of women was revealed, not on the wall, but on the page of the material text.

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