

The First Century of Quaker Printers

NATHAN KITE in the middle of last century was the first to publish any study of Friends' printers, and his *Antiquarian researches* has been the starting point from which all later enquiries, whether on English or American activity, have begun. Since Kite's time the American material has been extensively documented, but for English craftsmen we can turn only to Anna Littleboy's *History of the Friends' Reference Library, with notes on early printers and printing in the Society of Friends*, the presidential address to this Society in 1920, and Charles M. Andrews's *The Quakers in London and their printers there*. It will be seen that neither of these works deal exhaustively with English printers and booksellers, and the information is of its nature still so incomplete that no connected narrative appears.

It is no easy task to follow up an interest in imprints and penetrate behind them to the lives of the men who made the books and were in double sense "publishers of truth." Little of this story has been told, and without long research into sources it would be difficult to give more than a fragmentary picture. For example, knowledge of Andrew Sowle's losses by the raids of Sir Roger L'Estrange's officers for printing unauthorized matter ("sufferings" which do not appear in Joseph Besse's classic tomes) comes almost exclusively from William Penn's testimony, which formed the basis of the account of Sowle given in *Piety promoted*. If so little can be brought to light for the Sowle press, which was the most important and (partly thanks to the long period of its existence) is the best known, no completeness can be expected for smaller men. It was the long existence of the Sowle firm which attracted P. H. Muir to use it as example for the study of the history of a printing business outlined in his *English imprints after 1640*.¹ Unfortunately Muir lacked knowledge of the manuscripts on which, equally with printed material, a study of Sowle and his heirs must be based—for it is only by full use of all resources that any fair survey can be achieved.

From the beginning, and even before the launching of

¹ *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 14, pp. 157-77.

the missions to the south of England in 1654, the printed output of Friends was considerable. It has been estimated that in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century over 6,000 publications were issued on their behalf,¹ and this in a period of press licensing, even allowing for the large number of small pamphlets which swell the total, requires explanation. During such times of difficulty and high feeling on religious questions, Friends' works would be published only by those who were in sympathy with them because of the risk involved.

Under the Commonwealth many of the advanced printers of the time had a hand in the work, but from the Restoration, when persecution drove off those workmen not closely allied to Friends, output soon became canalized. Printers' pleas of indifference to or ignorance of the matter in the books they printed were never accepted, and rarely ring true. This situation obtained for the next thirty years and after persecution was over, output decreasing, there was no great necessity to find new printers, and so the tendency to concentrate work in the hands of a few Friends continued.

With the onset of the Caroline persecution it had become of great importance for Friends themselves to secure orthodoxy in the works printed in their name so that no unnecessary cause of offence should be given. This became easier as those working for them were in closer touch and amenable to oversight, and dependent on Friends' approval for the satisfactory disposal of their productions. With the establishment of the Second Day's Morning Meeting of ministers in London (minutes extant from 1673) evidence is available of the oversight and control of the press which Friends exercised. In 1674 the meeting "Agreed upon that hereafter A.S. B.C. nor no other print any bookes but what is first read and approved of in this meeting & that the Tytle of each booke that is approved of & ordered to bee printed be entred in this booke, & that A.S. & B.C. & all others who print for freinds receive their bookes of E.H."² A year later, in more determined fashion, the meeting "Ordered that the paper . . . printed by B. Clerk being a Relation of the Warr in New-England be not dispersed, but

¹ *Journal F.H.S.*, vol. II (1914), p. 9.

² *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, 1673-1692, p. 1; 21.vii.74. A.S.=Andrew Sowle; B.C.=Benjamin Clark; E.H.=Ellis Hookes.

brought to John Osgoods there to lye till freinds see meet to deliver them back for waste paper & that B.C. print no bookes for the future but what are first read & approved of by this Meeting."¹

Friends, having their own printers, could feel secure in obtaining rapid production when required.² On one occasion Andrew Sowle was sent for at 8 p.m. in order to set some work forward. Nonetheless there were complaints about the lack of speed with which work was completed, and at the end of the century we find Bristol Friends cancelling a proposed introduction to their 300 copies of the new subscription edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology* "that Impression being delayed, not like to be Cleared of in several moneths."³ Although there were difficulties, Friends were fortunate in being able to ensure that good copy was provided and that directions concerning distribution were carried out.⁴

Moreover Friends were saved the work of central organization for distribution of their works. The printers undertook the clerical work, warehoused the stocks of books, and collected the money for books sent down to the counties. This latter was not always easy. Accounts for books sent down by Andrew Sowle were outstanding at the time Tace Sowle took over the business in 1691 and she appealed to the Morning Meeting for assistance in difficult cases. The Meeting asked some Friends to write to Barbados and Bristol for money owing.⁵ Bristol Friends had not settled five years later when Tace Sowle wrote to Charles Marshall then on a visit to the city, telling him of the sums unpaid since 1679. She instanced how "In several other Counties

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10, 20.x.1675.

² *The Lamentable Crye of Opression*, concerning the Fakenham sufferings was passed by the Morning Meeting (*minutes*, vol. 1, p. 29; 26.xi.1679), and the clerk was ordered "to Putt it to Andrew Sole to be printed without delay."

³ *Bristol Men's Meeting minutes*, vol. 2, p. 194; 9th September, 1700; see also p. 197.

⁴ Note the careful allocation of supplies to the counties, and more particularly the action of Morning Meeting, 26.ii.1675: "Ordred That Whatsoever papers or bookes are printed directed to the King or Parliament, that None be published or cryed about ye Citty etc. untill some daies after they are delivered to them they are directed to." (*Minutes*, vol. 1, p. 6.)

⁵ *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 146; 13.ii.1691.

Nearly a year later the Barbadoes account had not been settled and an appointment was made to examine the accounts (21.i.1691/2; *ibid.*, p. 164).

it was the same as with Bristol, the Men that were appointed by Friends to take the books failing, they willingly paid the mony—Warwick, a Poor Place to Bristol, I think paid it at ye second if not first time of writing to about it.”¹

The printers working in close co-operation with Friends provided those whose duty it was to authorize publication with first hand information on the state of the market demand for various types of books. The printers sometimes attended the Morning Meeting and on one occasion Tace Sowle proposed the issuing of a collection of Elizabeth Bathurst’s books “to Joyne to her Biggest Book called the Vindication” and the meeting gave consent, “she first Acquainting Charles Bathurst and his Wife of it.”²

During the early period the work of printing was given to sympathizers—even under the Commonwealth Friends’ books were probably not easy for the printers, being neither best sellers nor entirely free from risk. Later the work went solely to Friends, as the only printers willing to take the particular hazards involved. Friends’ control of the press was usually close. The Morning Meeting directed “That no old book be reprinted but by the Approbation of this Meeting.”³ They were meticulous in ensuring that books printed at Friends’ expense should be such as they could approve.⁴

Money difficulties were not frequent, but in 1689 Meeting for Sufferings ordered Andrew Sowle to print no more books or papers for the Meeting without an agreement on delivery of the copy, explaining “the Reason of this Minute is because that when Friends have come to pay him, for some things he printed, he hath demanded more than they could have it done for.”⁵ In 1676 the printer of Fox’s *Gospell-Family Order* (badly produced even for those times) was directed to correct the errors, “And that for the future he take Care to

¹ Bristol Friends’ Records, *Illustrations of discipline*, T. Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27th November, 1697.

² *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, p. 147; 13.v.1691.

³ *Minutes*, vol. I, p. 33; 23.vi.1680.

⁴ Thus we find the meeting, in reading Isaac Pennington’s *Treatise*, directed “that Head about the Soules food, to be left out, & not to be printed . . . [and] the seven underscored lines (in page 20th of ye book, entituled, A question to the Professors of Christianity) be wholly left out of all Impressions; Ben Clark to take Care therein.” *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. I, p. 35; 6.viii.1680.

⁵ *Meeting for Sufferings minute*, 5.v.1689; copied into *Morning Meeting book*, vol. I, p. 102; 8.v.1689.

make Errata's to all the bookes he prints for Friends for errors escaped the press."¹

It must not be thought that all the advantages were on the side of the Society. It was a help to the printer to have a committee to appeal to if there were difficulty with individuals. Help (as has been shown in one instance) was forthcoming in collecting accounts, and, most important, Friends' subscription method provided an assured market for the product of the press—either by individual proffer to take off a fixed number of a work, or by the quota system by which each county took a fixed proportion of each work produced. The Morning Meeting provided the labour in marking copy for the press, and served as reference centre for suggestions. The printers also received some protection against piracy. Disputes arose under this head and led the Morning Meeting to declare: "It is agreed & advised by this Meeting, That for ye future every Printer employed by Friends, have ye sole property & possession of his own Copy thats delivered to him, by this meeting, or ye order thereof; or by ye Author of ye same Copy. And that no other Printer or Bookseller employed by Friends shall reprint ye same; or dispose of it, without ye consent & agreement of ye Printer, to whom it is given or delivered as aforesaid. And this agreeable to the advice of ye Meeting for Sufferings of 11 of 12 m. 80. For ye Printers imparting their Books one to another as they can agree, And also to an agreement of this meeting of 23. 6 m. 80 For ye Author's having power to dispose of his Copy to ye printer. And for no old Book to be reprinted but by approbation of this meeting. . . . And that all books that are reprinted have ye date of their first edition inserted. And that no book be reprinted, without ye consent of ye Author, if living; & approbation of this meeting. And that also ye time of ye writing thereof be inserted, in ye new also, if it appear."²

For the Friends' printers these economic advantages were linked with the satisfaction of knowing that their work, amid the difficult times of persecution, was helping forward the spread of Truth, e.g. when such as Andrew Sowle

¹ This seems to refer to Benjamin Clark, 24.v.1676; *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 14.

² Good advice for the present day. *Morning Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, p. 71; 29.xi.1682/3.

laboured " a Faithfull and Chearfull Sufferer for Truth even to the Loss of all his outward substance in a maner."¹

* * * * *

GILES CALVERT of the Black Spread Eagle in St. Paul's Churchyard is the first to appear as bookseller for Friends. As early as 1648 he was selling for Isaac Penington, but it was not until 1653 that the spate of Quaker publishing commenced. In that year there is record of twenty works from his press. George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, Richard Farnsworth and Thomas Aldam, all were among the authors. He issued the first three accounts of Friends' sufferings—the beginning of a flow which was not to be stopped until the close of the century. *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, written against the priests in Lancashire, appeared in 1653, and then in 1654, significantly enough, the account of *The First New Persecution* of Mary Fisher and Elizabeth Williamson at Cambridge, and Richard Hubberthorne's *A True Testimony of the Zeal of the Oxford-Professors and University Men, who for Zeal persecute the Servants of the Living God*. With the spread of Quakerism in the south, Calvert's production on behalf of Friends advanced steadily from twenty in 1653, thirty in 1654 to seventy-six in 1655 and was seventy-five in 1656. In addition to those already mentioned, at this later time his authors included Edward Burrough, John Camm, William Dewsbury, James Parnel, John Stubbs (all 1654 and later); John Audland, Gervase Benson, James Lancaster, Thomas Lawson, Humphry Smith, Christopher Taylor and George Whitehead (1655 and later). Calvert's connections were not with northern Friends alone, for he sold works by others too. Priscilla Cotton's warning *To the Priests* (1655) bore his imprint and he issued works for Dennis Hollister and Thomas Speed, and the 1656 *Cry of Blood* account of Bristol sufferings. In each of the years 1655 and 1656 he published over a dozen works for James Nayler, and one or two for Martha Simmonds. This leaning towards the Nayler group did not imply any breach with other Friends, for in 1657, in a rapidly falling output, six of his productions were from the pen of Fox, including his *Catechisme for Children*, and *A Testimony of the True Light of the World*, and he also printed the Launceston sufferings

¹ T. Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27.ix.1697. Bristol Friends' Records, *Illustrations of Discipline* (C.17).

account *The West answering to the North*. Items issued for Friends during Calvert's declining years fell to twenty-eight in 1657, sixteen and seventeen in 1658 and 1659, eight, four and one in the years 1660-1662. The last work noted which bears Calvert's imprint is Howgill's *The Rock of Ages exalted above Rome's imagined Rock, on which her Church is builded* (1662).¹

THOMAS BREWSTER, of the Three Bibles in St. Paul's Churchyard, was (like Calvert) concerned in the publication of the seditious *Phoenix of the Solemn League and Covenant* in 1661. He, likewise, was not a Friend, but printed and sold two works by Anna Trapnel in 1654, *The Foot out of the Snare* and John Toldervy's *Snare Broken* (against Friends) in 1656, George Bishop's *Mene Tekel*, and *The Warnings of the Lord To the Men of this Generation*, in 1659 and 1660. Brewster seems to have died in 1664, shortly after another conviction for seditious publication.

THOMAS SIMMONDS, the second large-scale publisher for Friends, was most likely successor to Matthew Simmonds, the prolific publisher for the Independents. Matthew had died in 1654, and the earliest work which Thomas Simmonds appears to have issued for Friends, from his Bull and Mouth address in Aldersgate was Fox's tract *The Teachers of the World unvailed, Wherein the ground of their Ministry is manifested, both in doctrine and practice, to be out of the light which cometh from Christ* (1655). In the following year, among nearly a score of works, the names of George Fox, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill and George Whitehead occur. By 1657 Simmonds was printing more than Calvert, and his output included most of Fox's work and Burrough's polemics. The following year saw more than fifty items issued from Thomas Simmonds' press, including pamphlets by most of the leading Friends. At this time Simmonds was forced, like Calvert before him, to entrust to others some of his printing, and thus we find George Rofe's *Revelation of God* printed on his behalf by Roger Norton, junior. In

¹ With the Restoration Calvert found himself in trouble for issuing seditious books, and after his death (August, 1663) his widow, Elizabeth, who carried on the business, spent some months in the Gatehouse prison for similar practices. Elizabeth Calvert had scarcely any connection with Friends and her will (dated 19 October 1674) directed that her body be decently buried amongst the Baptists. For further information see *Giles Calvert*, Altha Terry's unpublished Columbia University M.Sc. (Library Science) thesis, 1937 (copy at Friends' Reference Library).

1659 Simmonds' total production for Friends was nearly a hundred and twenty items. This uneasy period evoked many outbursts from Edward Burrough, and a dozen of these were issued by Simmonds, but perhaps his outstanding publication of the year was Nayler's prison-writing, *What the Possession of the Living Faith is, and the Fruits thereof*. In the following year he printed in folio Fox's omnibus reply to hostile critics: *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded*. From the Restoration Simmonds' output fell away to sixty-nine in 1660, twenty in 1661 and one in 1662. During these years he continued to publish exhortations to those in authority, and accounts of sufferings. His final recorded imprint is on William Bayly's *Life of Enoch again Revived* (1662).

MARY WESTWOOD is one of whom little is known. There is direct evidence of her activity only between 1658 and 1660, when she issued nine works in all, for Daniel Baker, William Bayly, George Fox, Humphry Smith, Rebecca Travers, and the petition against tithes entitled *These several Papers was sent to the Parliament The 20th Day of the 5th Moneth, 1659. Being above 7000 of the Hand-maids and Daughters of the Lord, and such as feels the Oppression of Tithes*. This last item is stated to be "Printed for Mary Westwood, and are to be sold at the Black-Spread Eagle at the West-end of Pauls." The connection with Giles Calvert which this imprint betokens is obscure. Mary Westwood is herself thought to have written a testimony against tithes in 1663. She may well be the printer "W.M." who was responsible for seven items belonging to the years 1662 and 1663, among others (perhaps significantly in view of her printing other works for this author) *Sound Things Asserted*, by Humphry Smith (1662). Further, in the years immediately preceding and following the Restoration some forty Friends' books appeared, "printed for M.W." From the custom which this printer shares with Mary Westwood of giving date of printing in full,¹ it seems probable that they can be attributed to her. Included among the works of this printer was the 1661 French edition of Fox's *To all that would Know the Way to*

¹ e.g. Fox and Rous's *Sins of gainsaying and rebellious people laid before them*, was "Printed in the 4th Month 8th day for M.W. 1659." Compare Humphry Smith's *Man Driven out of the Earth*, "Printed in the 11th Month, 1658" and others of his works.

the Kingdome, entitled *A tous ceulx qui voudront cognoistre la voye au Royaume*, besides works for William Bayly, William Dewsbury, John Perrot and Ambrose Rigge.

When Thomas Simmonds' output began to fall after 1659 his place as chief publisher for Friends was straightway taken by ROBERT WILSON. The earliest works issued from this house for Friends include the discourse on church government *To all Friends and People in the whole Christendom* (1658 ?), Burrough's *Discovery of some part of the War between the Kingdom of the Lamb, and the Kingdom of Anti-Christ*, and the *Doctrines and Principles* concerning sufferings in Scotland, by George Weare and others (both 1659). Although the first edition of this last was published in 1657 by Giles Calvert, and despite the similarity of sign (Robert Wilson's address was the Black Spread Eagle and Windmill, in Martin's le Grand), there seems no evidence of connection between Calvert and Wilson. In 1660 Wilson was responsible for over a hundred and ten items, and in 1661 for seventy-five. He issued works in French and Latin, Fox's Epistles of greeting to The Turk, the Magistrates of Malta, the Emperor, the King of France, the Pope, and to the Emperor of China, but the most renowned of his productions, and one which is still a collector's piece, was *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural* in thirty-five languages (1660), planned by Fox, Stubbs and Furley, and printed in the form of a battledoor.

In 1661 Wilson was printing largely for George Bishop, Edward Burrough, John Crook, Isaac Penington, John Perrot and others. He issued Bishop's account of sufferings in America : *New England Judged, Not by Man's, but by the Spirit of the Lord*, and the *Appendex* (same year). In 1662 he issued the *Short Relation* of the imprisonment of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers at Malta—another of the classics of Quakerism which still lives. The last recorded dated work issued by Wilson was the 1666 reprint of William Simpson's *Going Naked, a Signe*, but there is Margaret Fell's *A Call unto the Seed of Israel, that they may come out of Egypt's Darkness and House of Bondage, unto the Land of Rest*, which may be dated a year or so later. Altogether Wilson is known to have issued over two hundred works for Friends, coming third in total number, as he was third in time of pre-eminence ; but his output is in no way inferior

in variety and interest to that of Calvert and Simmonds his forerunners.

Of SIMON DOVER little is known. He is perhaps the S.D. who printed an edition of George Fox the younger's *Noble Salutation and a Faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart, who art now Proclaimed King* (1660) for Robert Wilson. In 1663 Dover was sentenced to a fine of forty marks and the pillory, having been concerned in printing the *Speeches and Prayers of Harrison* the regicide and *The Phoenix*. In the following year his widow was in trouble, printing for Friends.¹

JOHN WHITE, bookseller "at the backside of the Old Exchange," is known to Friends only for his issue of Fox's *Declaration to the Jews*, and his paper *For the Pope, Cardinals and Jesuites* (1661).

WILLIAM WARWICK first appears as printer and seller of the *Testimony concerning the Life, Death, Trials, Travels and Labours of Edward Burroughs*, early in 1663. In that year he was responsible for half a dozen works by other Friends, including William Caton's translation of *Some Worthy Proverbs left behind by Judith Zinspenninck*. From other evidence it appears that Warwick was still at work in 1667, and was responsible for the second part of George Bishop's *New England Judged*.²

The printers' fear of prosecution for unlicensed work is most likely responsible for the omission of imprint details from Friends' books during the period of press licensing commencing in 1662. Thus evidence for periods of activity is lacking for nearly twenty years after.

Although the first imprint of BENJAMIN CLARK is not traced until found on Jacob Claus's Latin edition of Robert Barclay's *Apology* (1676), it is certain that he was accepting work from Friends at least two years earlier. Of all the early printers Clark appears to have had the broadest outlook and most scholarly connections. Among his first known productions is numbered Barclay's *An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice, To the Ambassadors of the several Princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen to Consult the Peace of Christendom*, and among schoolbooks Christopher Taylor and

¹ See *Extracts from State Papers*, Supplements 8 to 11 of this Journal, edited by Norman Penney, pp. 229-30.

² *Bristol Men's Meeting minutes*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 2a.

John Matern's *Compendium Trium Linguarum Latinae, Graecae & Hebraicae*, for use at Waltham Abbey school (1679). In the next five years he issued over sixty books for Friends, but his imprint does not appear after 1683.¹ Among his authors are numbered Robert Barclay, Steven Crisp, Thomas Ellwood, Thomas Lawson, Isaac Penington, William Penn and George Keith.

Contemporary with the appearance of Benjamin Clark in the minutes is that of ANDREW SOWLE. This Friend was the first in a firm which (under variations of name) was to last all through the eighteenth century. The main details of his life are known.² He was born in 1628, apprenticed in 1646 and apparently set up his own press at the Crooked Billet, Holloway Lane, Shoreditch, about 1660. At least as early as 1672 he was printing for Friends.³ By 1674 the Morning Meeting minutes reveal him firmly fixed as a printer for Friends,⁴ but it was not until 1680, when he had opened a bookshop in Devonshire Buildings, that imprints appear on his books. When Benjamin Clark ceased to publish in 1683 the Sowle press became the main channel through which Friends' work was issued, a continuity which was to last throughout the next century. From 1682 Sowle published extensively for William Penn, and commenced the run of collected works which marked Quaker production at the end of the century. His imprints commence with the address at Devonshire Buildings in 1680, but this ceases after 1682, and the Crooked Billet (introduced that year) continued to be used⁵ until Andrew's name disappears in 1691. From 1687-1690 some of his works were issued from the Three Keys in Nag's Head Court, in Gracechurch Street, over against the Conduit, an address also used in conjunction with the Crooked Billet.

¹ Arber's *Term Catalogues* (III. 57) mention Clark as publishing a reprint of Steel's *Short Writing* in 1698, but some uncertainty arises as the same entry states that the book is sold at Bristol by the author—and Steel died in 1684.

There was a Samuel Clark at work in George Yard, 1695-99. Perhaps Benjamin was dead by 1690, as the Ann Clark who died in 1691 aged 74, of Walham Green, Middlesex, may well have been his widow.

² *Short Journal*, pp. 321-322; Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200; *Antiquarian researches*, pp. 15-20; Littleboy, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

³ Evidence for this is in the letter from Tace Sowle to Charles Marshall, 27.ix. 1697, Bristol Friends' Records, (c.17). *Illustrations of Discipline*.

⁴ Minute of 21.vii.1674.

⁵ Except for some works in 1688 and 1689.

Of Andrew's two daughters, Elizabeth and Tace,¹ the latter alone concerns us here. She was born in 1666. When Andrew began to lose his sight Tace took over the management of the business, but probably did not enjoy full control until early in 1691. The press began to increase its production of Friends' works immediately, and the average of seven a year for 1687-1690 rose to twenty-three a decade later (1697-1700). The highest production in any year was thirty-seven in 1696. In the sixteen years during which her name appears on the title-pages, over three hundred works appeared—including the first part of *Piety Promoted*, that long-lived memorial of dying sayings which, in the *Annual monitor* survived until our own time. After Tace Sowle's marriage to Thomas Raylton (10.x.1706) the business was carried on in the name of her mother, although the management remained in Tace's hands.

Until 1694 she had used the Crooked Billet address alone, but in the latter year also gives an address near the Meeting House in White Hart Court, in Gracechurch Street, conjointly² or alone, 1694-96. This latter address is used (with variations in wording) until 1706. Between 1696 and 1701 an additional secondary address: "the Bible in Leadenhall Street, near the Market," is given occasionally. This imprint in fact occurs on the folio 1698 edition of George Fox's *Epistles*, after which the great third volume *Gospel-Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books* (1706), rounded off the issue of Fox's works which Friends had put in hand at his death. Jane Sowle, who appears on the title-pages of the Sowle works after Tace's marriage to Thomas Raylton, was the widow of Andrew Sowle who died 26.x.1695. From 1706 until her death 18.iv.1711 at the age of 80, and from that time in the name of her "Assigns," Jane's name continues to appear for over thirty years on the title-pages. We may assume that the management continued to rest with Tace. With the exception of John Kelsall's broadside *Testimony against Gaming* (1711), which was issued "at the Bible in Leadenhall Street; and sold

² Elizabeth had married William Bradford in 1685 and went with him to Pennsylvania, where he followed the printing trade, being Philadelphia's first printer. For Tace Sowle, see *Short Journal*, p. 322.

¹ As on the separate issue of Penn's Preface to George Fox's *Journal* (folio, 1694), and the small octavo reprint (same date, with order of addresses reversed).

near the Meeting-House, in White-Hart-Court in Gracious-street," Jane Sowle consistently used the White Hart Court address alone. In 1712 the "Assigns of J. Sowle," namely Thomas and Tace Raylton, continue at that address and use it until 1716. In 1714, however, a new address appears (in 1715-16 sometimes used conjointly with the former) at which business continues until 1739 when the Assigns are heard of no more. This address, the Bible in George Yard, in Lombard Street, was the one which continued in use through the century under the Hinde and Phillips management. Perhaps the printed work most characteristic of eighteenth century Quakerism was the "spiritual journal," and of these the Sowle press printed a considerable number.

In 1739 the last works were issued under imprint of the Assigns, but already in 1736 T. Sowle Raylton's name had appeared in conjunction with that of Luke Hinde on the sixth edition of Barclay's *Apology*, and from 1739 until 1749 these two names regularly appear on works issued from the George Yard address. With Tace's death on 1.xi.1749, however, the family connection was finally severed, for Thomas Raylton had died long before, 6.xii.1723.

The death of Tace Raylton is a convenient date at which to close a survey of early printing done for Friends. The story of developments in the second half of the eighteenth century is not without interest, and it is hoped that the activity of Luke Hinde and the rest, as well as that of the minor London printers and the provincial printers of this first century which have not received notice will be dealt with in a later issue.

RUSSELL S. MORTIMER