Publishing with a Purpose: The Writings of Seventeenth-Century English Authors Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson at Goddaeus Publishing House in Rotterdam

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Abstract

Browsing through the archives of the Rotterdam Public Library, I discovered that the historic book collection contains a single publication by an English woman at the seventeenth-century Rotterdam publishing house of Goddaeus, that of Katherine Sutton. Asking myself why this was the only book by a woman to be published at Goddaeus' publishing house, my curiosity was aroused to find out why this English woman chose to publish a book in the Netherlands. It challenged me to discover if more women found their way to Rotterdam to publish their work and what their motives were. I found out that in the second half of the seventeenth century, more English women travelled to the Netherlands to seek refuge and two of them had their work published by Goddaeus: Katherine Sutton (1630-63) and Mary Hampson (1639-1698). Although they migrated in different time periods and for different reasons, they both seized the opportunity to publish their life experiences at a Dutch publishing house. Although the historical archives offer little to no information on the reason for their connection to Goddaeus, the fact that both women took their chance to publish their works while in exile, in their native language at a Dutch publishing house, triggered me to find out more. What follows here, is an overview of the cultural-historical context of the seventeenth century; an overview of connections and differences between English and Dutch society; the social impact of the seventeenth century printing industry; the position of women and their position to write; and ultimately how this culminates in the aim of these two women in particular, to pursue truth by making their life experiences public by means of print.

Introduction

In the seventeenth century, many non-conformist English emigrated to the Netherlands in search of religious tolerance.[1] Among them were Katherine Sutton (1630-1663) and Mary Hampson (1639-1698). These women each moved to the Netherlands for different reasons: Katherine Sutton migrated together with English Baptist minister Hanserd Knollys and other members of his congregation to Rotterdam in 1660. The reason for her migration was to escape religious prosecution in England. Mary Hampson moved to the Netherlands in 1680 for domestic reasons, to get away from her abusive husband. Both women were determined to bring their personal stories into the world, and both claimed they had to do so because their sufferings were part of God's design. Although these two women had different and very personal motives to move to the city of Rotterdam in the Netherlands, they both turned to a publisher in Rotterdam to print their autobiographical writings. Through their narratives, much can be discovered about society at that time, and about the position of women in particular. What is more, the reason for these two women to turn to a Dutch publisher sheds light on the differences between English and Dutch society and print cultures.

Research Aim

Although motives for migration from England to the Netherlands differed between Sutton and Hampson - Sutton moving on religious grounds and Hampson for domestic reasons - their writings are not merely typified by the religious and the domestic. In fact, they represent the self by means of personal convictions and life experiences. Their purposes in writing and publishing indicate that for them the personal is tied in with the political. These women were

[1] This research focuses on the relations between England and the Netherlands. Although Scotland played an important part in religious and political conflicts, and many Scots migrated to the Netherlands, aspects and developments concerning Scotland will be left out of scope, unless otherwise stated. For insights in Scottish-Dutch relations in terms of religion and the printing business in the seventeenth century, Keith L. Sprunger's provides an overview of Scottish developments alongside the Anglo-Dutch relations. Keith Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Boston: Brill, 1994), pp. 178–189.

convinced that their work should be published, partly to advise and inspire others, partly to pursue truth and justice. They did so with awareness of gender, emphasising the connections of the private and the domestic to the public and the political.[2] For that reason, research into the writings of these women can be distinctive in three regards.

Firstly, this research engages with Katherine Sutton's and Mary Hampson's political positions. Secondly, it examines their decisions to record their experiences and to publish their personal accounts outside of their native territory. These choices form the basis to explore how these writings are interrelated with political and religious identifications with the aim to shed light on the social environment. Therefore, as a third concern, this research refocuses contemporary understanding of the meaning and function of women's life-writings in the seventeenth century by broadening the idea of the political to include the religious and the domestic sphere.[3] In my analysis, I expand the idea of the political by claiming that the religious and the personal is also political. Placing these works in their cultural-historical context helps to consider how these narratives go beyond the religious or domestic. Looking at these works through the lens of their own time, I will cross the gap between the Early Modern Period and the present-day to identify these works as both personal and political.

Outline

To substantiate these assertions, the historical context of both England and the Netherlands helps to understand how notions of politics and religion were perceived. The chapter on

[2] Elspeth Graham describes that this sense of gender awareness involves expressions of defiance and delights in details of clothing, for example. Elspeth Graham, *Her Own Life Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth Century Englishwomen (*London/New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 23.

[3] The term life-writing is explained by Alan Stewart, who states that life-writings are not the equivalent of what we now know as (auto)biographies, nor do they come in forms we would now recognize as life-writings. Stewart explains that "Early modern life-writings describe themselves in a bewildering variety of terms: memoir, memoirs, epitaph, memorial, journal, course of examination, observation, receipts and payments, confessions, history, adventures, juvenile rambles, minutes, vocation, book of accounts and remembrances, book of songs and sonnets, true historical relation." Alan Stewart, *The Oxford History of Life Writing*, Volume 2, Early Modern, First edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 5-6.

historical context sets out to give insight not only into the resemblances and differences between the English and Dutch social climate, but also to shed light on what it meant to be geographically mobile in a time when borders were firmly placed. In addition, an overview of the English and Dutch printing climate reveals why these women choose to publish their work and why they chose to do so at a printing house in the Netherlands: Goddaeus' publishing house in Rotterdam. Drawing from that, the aim is to establish whether their choice to publish their work, and to do so abroad, was a political choice to pursue the freedom to express their ideas and convictions. By extension, historical context provides grounds to identify if, for these women, the personal was indeed political. To uncover this, a close reading of the texts will identify political meaning in their writings. Subsequently, an interpretation of their political stances needs to be placed both in historical context as well as in the Anglo-Dutch context. This will clarify how the politicized mode of production resonates with the politics of church and family.

I will examine the writings of Mary Hampson and Katherine Sutton within the context of the Anglo-Dutch connection of the second half of the seventeenth century, emphasising the political aspects of their texts and the possibilities of the Dutch printing climate. Although their writings have been studied before, albeit in limited ways, the political aspects of their work and the context of the Anglo-Dutch connection in terms of tolerance and liberalism has received little to no attention. Their narratives function as a lens to look at the politics, religion, and culture of seventeenth century England and the Netherlands. This research will fill the gap by looking into the accounts of these female authors in relation to transnational Early Modern domestic and religious life and politics.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

The research methodology involves a comparison of texts by Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson in terms of shared and distinctive features. Also, the cultural-historical context will be reconstructed by looking into autobiographical elements, their accounts of contemporary society, and their political standpoints. A cultural-historical analysis of these works can shed light on the impact of religious reformation, while the analysis of the political aspects of these works can tell us about the formation of identity. Not only can the study of the micro-histories of Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson from a cultural-historical perspective help to draw a larger picture of society at that time, but it also provides clarity on their intellectual backgrounds.

The conclusions that are drawn from the cultural-historical research create an understanding of the cultural construction of Early Modern society. Kevin Killeen's theories provide insight into the rhetoric of religion, clarifying that political thinking in Early Modern times was very much connected to the Bible. Killeen explains that during the seventeenth century, pushed by religio-political circumstances, it became more common to put sermons into print. Therefore, print was considered as a form of preaching and sermons could then be interpreted politically by a wide, anonymous readership. In that way, sermons started to function in the public sphere.

The function of print in the public sphere is subject to the theory by Jürgen Habermas, which involves the idea that print functioned as a catalyst for public debate and the development of democratic processes. I will investigate the concept of the public sphere through Alexandra Halasz' study of the marketplace of print and her interpretation of Habermas' theory. The marketplace of print deals with the materialisation of information by print. Spreading that piece of information allows for many people to take notice of it and to

give value to it: either by forming their own opinion, or by discussing it with others. With that value, the bit of information is turned into capital. Habermas' theory on the public sphere is useful to illustrate that there is no longer a stream of information that comes just from authorities, but also from the public. Interaction with information makes information - and the formation of opinion - into a commodity.

While Habermas' theory provides insight into why Sutton and Hampson made the deliberate choice to print their life-writings and to do so in the Netherlands, Ulrike Tancke's study interprets Early Modern female self-writing as a strategy of identity formation. According to Tancke, women's writing in Early Modern times deals with a complex tension between patriarchal norms and self-assertion. She explains that this tension comes about because women in the seventeenth century intended to produce convincing and subjective narratives even though society constrained them from doing so. In fact, in the seventeenth century women were considered to belong to a separate sphere, which was limited to the household.[4] According to Tancke, the Early Modern development of the distinction between the private and the public sphere was meaningful for women's identity formation.

David Randall's work provides the basis to understand that, with the rise of print culture, new notions of credibility came to exist with the transformation of writing in the public sphere. From the framework of the political and public sphere, symbolic capital is developed by the medium of print. Discourse is produced and circulated and is therefore able to reach a broad and socially diverse audience.[5]

These theories that deal with the public, with new standards of credibility, and with female development of the self by life-writing, will first be analysed in relation to print. Following from that, the texts that are subject to this research will demonstrate how these

[4] Patricia Crawford, 'Women's Published Writings', in *Women in English Society 1500-1800*, ed. by Mary Prior (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 211-282 (p. 214).
[5] Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 191.

theories work in these cases specifically. In-depth analysis will prove that Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson deliberately chose to publish their life-writings in the Anglo-Dutch connection to make their truth public and to seek justice, making use of the medium of print to reach a broad and socially diverse audience, creating social capital within the public sphere.

Chapter 1: Historical Context

The Social, Political, and Religious Climate of Seventeenth Century England and the Netherlands

An overview of the Dutch and English historical context explains the strong religious and political connection between England and the Dutch Republic, and how this was established through Protestantism and royal marriage. Impactful religio-political developments explain the development of the Dutch sense of tolerance and freedom. The following outline of events clarifies that the Netherlands offered an attractive climate for immigrants and religious exiles, which had a subsequent effect on the development of the print and publishing market. Many English migrated to the Netherlands during this time.

For both England and the Netherlands, the sixteenth and seventeenth century were marked by religious and political tumult with great impact on the social, political, and religious climate.[6] The Reformation caused a significant shift in religion throughout Europe. England had become officially Protestant under the rule of Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and the reformed doctrine of Calvinism was adopted. In the Netherlands, the Reformed church and the Lutheran church together formed the Protestant movement. Emperor Charles V (1500-1558), who extended his Spanish and Habsburg empire towards the Netherlands, fought against Protestantism in the Netherlands, and promoted the Inquisition to pin down heresy. Charles V was succeeded by Catholic King Philip II (1527-1589) who married Catholic Mary Tudor of England (1516-1558), also known as Bloody Mary for her merciless killings of Protestants in England. Since the reign of Charles V, the Netherlands struggled for freedom and tolerance of religion. In the early 1570s, the Netherlands were supported by England's Elizabeth I in their conflict against the Spanish. During his reign, Willem II of Orange (1626-

[6] Extensive documentation on European history and the Reformation is found in the work of Diarmaid MacCulloch, which has been the source for the summarised exposition of events I have included here. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London, Allen Lane, 2003).

1650) married the English Mary Stuart (1631-1660), daughter of Charles I (1600-1649), connecting the English and Dutch by marriage. After the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish from 1572, William II converted from Lutheranism to the Reformed Church, paving the way for tolerance and religious pluralism. William II and Mary Stuart give birth to a son, William III (1650-1702) who later led the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and issued the Bill of Rights (1689),[7] granting religious freedom. He declared the liberty of England, marking the beginning of social, governmental, and religious changes in England.

Although these events had great impact throughout Europe, the Anglo-Dutch connection was then firmly established. The conflicts between the Dutch and the Spanish during the Eighty Years War (1568-1648) caused large numbers of Dutch religious refugees to flee to Protestant England to avoid religious persecution. Under the reign of Elizabeth I a Calvinist consensus existed within the English Church. When Charles I ascended the throne, the Calvinist agreement was shattered because he supported the anti-Calvinist Laudian movement. This caused great alarm among Puritans, who favoured more formal Protestantism. Their main concern was with the extent of Protestantism, fearing that Laudianism would bring them back to Roman Catholicism.

The religio-political developments under the rule of Charles I limited freedom of speech and publication. After the collapse of censorship in 1641,[8] the Licensing Order was issued in 1643 by Parliamentarian government in London to facilitate pre-publication censorship: "for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in Printing".[9] John Morrill describes that during this time there was a tendency in this period for "a passionate

[7] The Bill of Rights formed the basis of the constitutional monarchy in England.
[8] In 1641, the political and religious crisis induced an unprecedented number of publications, with over 2.000 titles published in Britain in 1641. McElligott states that "from 1641 print was an important signifier of turmoil and crisis, and that it both contributed to those crises and helped to prolong them'. Jason McElligott, '1641' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 599–608 (pp. 600-601).
[9] Licensing Act 1643, https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp184-186

advocacy of religious liberty, and then the claim that there could be no religious liberty until there was political liberty"[10] in reaction to the political upheaval in the 1640s. With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Anglican church was favoured by the government. Britain's liberal religious regime was replaced by what Hugh Dunthorne describes as a hard-line, persecuting one.[11] The Restoration of the monarchy caused non-conformists and Baptists to flee to the continent of Europe or North America to avoid persecution and to live in religious freedom. The Restoration restricted printing and publishing by Protestant movements and traditions, among which were Covenanters, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Non-conformists: all those who did not conform to the then established Church of England.

While in England religio-political conflicts reigned and lack of tolerance and religious freedom restricted non-conformists, Dutch tolerance and religious pluralism formed the foundation of great cultural and economic production. This had its effect on the Anglo-Dutch connection in various ways.[12] During the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the political and religious events in both England and the Netherlands caused streams of immigrants on both sides.[13] By the time of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands provided a more tolerant climate than England.[14] England offered a hostile climate for Nonconformist Protestants until the Toleration Act in 1689. Large-scale migration took place between England and the Netherlands, both for religious and economic reasons. The exposition of events illustrates that

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[10] John Morrill, 'The Causes and Course of the British Civil Wars', in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* ed. by John Morrill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 13–31 (p. 28)

[11] Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 170.

[12] Helmer J. Helmers elaborates on economic and religious connections between The Netherlands and neighbouring nations. Helmer Helmers and Geert H. Janssen. *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 146-247. Within the scope of this research, I refrain from providing in-depth information on the economic ties between the nations, other than those that affected the bonds in context of religious migration and the printing climate.

[13] For extensive context on the mutual immigration between The Netherlands and England I refer to the entire work of Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt 1560–1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[14] A comparative view on Dutch and English tolerance and freedom of religious pluralism is offered by M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Limits and Debates: A Comparative view of Dutch Toleration in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* ed. by Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan I. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden/New York/Köln: BRILL, 1997), pp. 37-47 (37-47).

both England and the Netherlands dealt with similar circumstances. Although the two nations were geographically divided by the sea, a firm Anglo-Dutch connection existed.

Geographical Mobility

The seventeenth century Republic of the Netherlands had a large number of non-native Dutch inhabitants.[15] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen explain that migration was most often for a short period of time, varying from months to years.[16] Nevertheless, although most 'strangers', as immigrants were then considered, moved to the Netherlands for economic prosperity, many sought refuge in the Netherlands for the tolerant and liberal climate that had come to exist with the existence of the Republic in 1573.

The Netherlands - Holland and Zeeland in particular - provided an attractive environment for asylum, and the Dutch encouraged migration to stimulate their economy. The flow of refugees from England to the Netherlands got in motion from the sixteenth century onwards. Over time, communities of exiled English were built in the Netherlands. For church life, this meant that clergymen were often refugees who had been trained in Oxford and Cambridge,[17] or Dutchmen who prepared sermons in English to accommodate the English refugees. At the same time, English clergymen preached to Dutch congregations. In general, Dutch public opinion created a friendly and welcoming environment for English refugees.[18]

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[15] Geert Janssen describes the context and implications of migration in the seventeenth century to great extent in the chapter on migration. Geert Jansen, 'Migration' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. by Helmer Helmers, pp. 49-66 (49).

[16] Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, 'The Netherlands', in *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities*, ed. by Klaus Bade (New York: Cambridge University Press 2011), pp. 34-43 (p. 34).

[17] James Walker elaborates and goes into detail on English trade and religious communities in Holland, providing information on origin, and professional and educational background of prominent refugees. James Walker, 'The English Exiles in Holland During the Reigns of Charles II and James II', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1948), 111–125 (p. 112).

[1818] Walker explains that the situation changes for political exiles after the treaty of alliance between England and Holland in 1662, and political refugees were easily extradited because of the adapted treaty. For religious exiles, there were no such consequences. Walker, 'The English Exiles in Holland During the Reigns of Charles II and James II', p. 114.

The English sought refuge in the main cities, such as Amsterdam, Leiden, and The Hague.[19] Rotterdam was similarly an attractive place of refuge because of its position as a central trade centre. The city was also known as 'Little London', which, Sprunger explains, derives from its stakes in commercial trade, but also because of the vast community of English military immigrants that moved to Rotterdam over time.[20] Rotterdam had several English and Scots churches, the first established in 1619. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the main English church was located at Haringvliet. This church received payments from the burgomaster, which indicates that there was close involvement and acceptance between the receiving and the migrant community. Towards the second half of the seventeenth century, the members of the Scots and English communities registered at Rotterdam churches each numbered around a thousand. The total number of citizens in Rotterdam at that time was around thirty thousand.[21] The city of Rotterdam thus housed an immigrant community that was attracted to the city for various reasons, varying from economic grounds to religio-political reasons. The church communities did not account for the entire immigrant community. Whereas in other cities immigrants very much shared ideologies, in Rotterdam the community was less connected by religion.

The Dutch liberal climate attracted a vast number of refugees and exiles for religious or religio-political causes and by extension, numerous religio-politically motivated immigrants accounted for a booming printing and publishing trade to distribute their ideologies in print. Within that context, in which the printer and a transnational reading

[19] Keith Sprunger provides elaborate accounts of various church congregations in the Netherlands in Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: a History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), pp. 13-40.
[20] Ibid., p. 427.
[21] These results are calculated from various paragraphs from Piet Lourens et al. *Inwonertallen van Nederlandse steden ca. 1300-1800* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1997).

audience come together, the ideologies of that particular group are shared and allow for a wide reading community to develop.

Goddaeus' Printing House in Rotterdam

The works by Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson that are examined in this study were both published at Henricus Goddaeus' publishing house in Rotterdam, which he ran from 1663-1682. It was located at Nieuwstraat from 1663, after which his company moved to Jacobsstraet for the period from 1665 to 1666, and Oppert from 1673 to 1682.[22] After his death, his widow Johanna Snoek ran the publishing House from 1684 to 1690 at Lombertstraat in Rotterdam.[23] Interestingly, these locations are all within walking distance of the main English church at Haringvliet.

From Goddaeus' publishing house, thirty-one publications are known from the period between 1663 and 1682 and eleven more by his widow between 1684 and 1688. Three works are known to be translated from English into Dutch: a religious tract by Johannes Brown in 1676, an anonymous *True short story of the sea battle between His Majesty's and the Dutch Fleets* (1666),[24] and a religious work by Benjamin Furly (1636–1714) in 1665. Furly was a Quaker who moved to Rotterdam to be a merchant.[25] Furly published other works in English, at Goddaeus' publishing house and at different publishers in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Goddaeus' motives for publishing English works, and non-conformist religious works in particular, are not crystal clear. Whereas Hoftijzer claims that a network of like-minded

[22] J. Gruys listed the addresses of Goddaeus' printing house. The period between 1666 and 1673 has not been documented. J.A. Gruys et al. *Adresboek Nederlandse drukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700*. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1999.
[23] These dates are provided by: Gruys, *Adresboek Nederlandse drukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700*. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1999.
[24] This title is translated into Dutch as: Een oprecht kort verhaal, van het zee-gevecht tusschen zijn majesteits, en de Hollantsche vlooten. STCN 840309619.
[25] A. C. Bickley, 'Furly, Benjamin (1636–1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: University Press, n.d.)

publishers and booksellers supported English Puritan theology,[26] Somerset explains that Henricus Goddaeus published for mere commercial reasons with no clear ideological motivations.[27]

The Printing and Publishing Climate in England and the Netherlands

The Dutch printing industry offered a welcome climate of tolerance for religious refugees. Andrew Pettegree explains that during the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic had a wide and inclusive market to publish religious texts and the Dutch printing market grew to be the 'bookshop of the world', printing and trading (religious) writings both nationally and internationally.[28] It was the liberal environment that stimulated the market for political print in the Netherlands. Propaganda regimes, news communication, and rebellious political print exchange appealed to new audiences, both in and outside of the republic. The rise of print culture in the Netherlands led to a vibrant printing industry with many printing and publishing houses. The transnational span of the business is illustrated by Helmer Helmers, who explains that trade networks of publishers, engravers, and translators were established to stimulate international circulation of propaganda. He confirms that the broad print infrastructure was induced by the Dutch Revolt (1566-1648), which brought much freedom and tolerance for the Dutch.[29]

The international and liberal printing trade of the Netherlands stood in stark contrast to that of England. Although England experienced a printing revolution similar to that of the

[26] P.G. Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de beurs: de geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637-1724*, (Amsterdam: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 1987), p.40.
[27] Somerset explains that Goddaeus published works of both Covenanters and Jesuits, indicating that he was not a particular religious sympathizer. D.W.B. Somerset, 'Scottish covenanting, Jesuit, and Quaker printing in Holland, 1664-1684', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal, 10* (2020), pp. 82-113 (p. 82).
[28] Andrew Pettegree, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 3.
[29] Helmers, *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*. p.129.

Netherlands during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, England experienced censorship and control over print, while the Netherlands had different licensing constraints. Although the Netherlands did have restrictive censorship, this meant that books could only be banned after publication. Contrastingly, the English government intended to regulate the printing industry and had programs for press control. The previously mentioned Licensing Act of 1643 came into force to do so.

English Non-Conformist Printing in the Netherlands

The Netherlands became a place of refuge for religious dissenters and a breeding ground for English non-conformist groups. Keith Sprunger has written extensively on English Puritan communities in the Netherlands.[30] He explains that during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch provided possibilities for English dissenters to set up churches, schools, and print shops for non-conformist communications and activities. Many Puritans used the media of print to express their ideas and collaborated with Dutch publishers to do so. The mobility between England and the Netherlands allowed for English Puritans to smuggle books and prints from the Netherlands overseas almost daily. Puritans were convinced that they were disciples of God's word, and the printing industry facilitated them to spread the religious truth. The liberal Dutch climate and the flourishing printing industry helped them to distribute their ideologies by means of expatriate print.

[30] Sprunger defines Puritans as an umbrella term including Separatists, non-Separatists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists or Independents, and Baptists. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower,* p.33.

Print, Politics, and Credibility

With the development of the printing industry and the dissemination of Puritan beliefs, credibility becomes an important criterium to validate information. Credibility can come about by creating emotional involvement with the audience, by attestation of a socially credible source, or by including eye-witness accounts.[31] According to David Randall, credibility also influences how news was perceived.[32] In fact, Randall argues that new standards of credibility came to exist with the transformation of news writing.[33] Randall explains that news inherently deals with matters of the public. By publishing the news, the subject matter evidently becomes a matter of larger public interest.[34] Randall further states that these standards of credibility apply more broadly. With any source of information that is of public concern, the concern of trustworthiness rises. Credibility here separates valid news from rumour and gossip. Also, when information is labelled to be of public concern, that in itself is a political act.[35] Therefore, to be the subject or transmitter of information that is of public concern, is to enter the political field.

For women, matters of credibility had very different implications. Women were generally considered less credible and for that reason validation of their writings was essential. Patricia Crawford underlines that women's need for validation on the one hand derives from fear that men would doubt the authenticity of their writings, particularly if their writings were good.[36] At the same time, men considered women to be inferior and were therefore reluctant to take women's words seriously. The social climate for women's writing was thus hostile or negative. As a result, women show awareness of gender in their written

[31] David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), p. 97.
[32] Ibid., p.2.
[33] Ibid., p. 3.
[34] Ibid., p. 4.
[35] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[36] Crawford, 'Women's published writings 1600-1700', p. 218.

work. They do so either by seeking validation to gain credibility, or by directing their writings to their own sex. However, there were exceptions for religious texts. Protestantism in particular encouraged women to write and to justify their work by the Bible. Women belonging to sects, women prophets, and Quaker women could publish more freely, because their congregations allowed them to take up an active role in religious life. In fact, many women thought they were divinely ordained to write to deliver the word of God and publication helped them spread the gospel.

Circulating Sermons: "Printing is a Kinde of Preaching"

As Thomas Jackson stated in 1622, printing is a kind of preaching. Jackson underlined the wide reach and the memorability and longevity of print:

> It is a true saying, that Printing is a kinde of Preaching; and though not so plausible and effectuall to perswade; (wanting the habit and gesture of a living man, the life of Oratorie) yet is it both of larger extent, (seeing a man may preach to move with his penne, than he can with his tongue, and be further heard out of the Presse, than the Pulpit) the matter delivered more memorable, (affording greater leave to pause and consider) and also of longer continuance; for a dead man may live in his bookes, and by them preach to the living, though unborne, when he dieth.[37]

Jackson's statement suggests that print functioned as an analogy to preaching, with the difference that the extent of print is larger than the spoken word. By means of print, sermons came to exist in the public sphere. In line with Randall's idea that publication appeals to a larger public interest, printed sermons could be interpreted in a political way. However, not just the act of printing was political. Here we have to take into consideration that seventeenth century politics and religion were very closely connected, and the rhetoric of the bible helped to make political matters become understandable. Sermons dealt with issues of biblical events

[37] Thomas Jackson, *Judah Must Into Captivitie* (London: 1622, STC.14302), sigs. A1r-A1v

that could be interpreted from a political angle, ranging from falling kingdoms to principles of justice and injustice. Political thinking thus proves to be very much connected to the Bible.

Killeen's study explains that religious culture was in fact political, and people naturally looked at contemporary events with an ingrained interpretation of the world from a religious point of view. This is where we must cut loose from twenty-first century views and understanding to contextualise seventeenth century religious and political culture, because the one did not exist without the other. Killeen explains the religio-political connection by stating that the scriptural was political long before that what it refers to seemed to be secular. Political events and ideas were put into biblical language to make people understand politics, because they understood the word of religion. Preachers provided people with ideas in religious language they could then interpret themselves. With the intention to reach a wide audience, the printed sermon could be considered to be a way of preaching, because it can be widely spread and reiterated.

Killeen analyses how factors such as the rise of print, mobility, and shifts in religio-political context had significant impact on the political undercurrent of religious texts. The popularity of printed sermons increased, while political ideas were increasingly expressed in scriptural language. In fact, the availability of print made biblical language increasingly political, although the use of this idiom is, as Killeen states, neglected political language.[38] Killeen's studies prove that seventeenth century print culture made that the Bible became a source to think about politics. What is more, the rise of the public sphere allowed for a broad social audience, men and women alike, to do so.[39]

[38] Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 12.
[39] Ibid., p. 13.

Printing and the Public Sphere: a Catalytic Agent for Public Opinion

Drawing on Randall's notion of publication as a political act, the medium of print allows for information to enter the public sphere. This goes for sermons, news, and other sorts of writing. In fact, the rise of print culture is brought into connection with the emergence of the public sphere according to Habermas' theory, meaning that print functioned as a catalytic agent for public opinion. Print puts information in a material form, which allows for it to be more easily distributed to a broad audience. The audience can then give value to the information by publicly discussing it. That public value turns the information into capital. Ultimately, print distribution not only indicates the development of the public sphere by means of its ability to spread information widely, but it also allows for public participation and opinion forming and develops social capital. Alexandra Halasz places the notion of social capital in context of the marketplace of print. The marketplace of print involves various different parties: the stationer's company, the author, the textual property, and the readership. When these parties are combined by the chain of print, they become in sum greater than each part individually. The notion of capital in this sense reaches beyond economic capital and involves social formations. In fact, the emergence of the Habermassian conception of the public sphere cannot exist without the formation of socioeconomic or social capital.[40]

In essence, the social sphere involves a divide between authority and the public. Once information began to be spread spatially, it was able to reach people from outside the traditional organisational networks to make them aware of what went on in the world. Print in that way allows for information to become a commodity: materialised communication can be distributed among people and then news and opinion can be debated and exchanged, and public opinion develops. Print thus demystifies as a force that enables people outside of the political elite to discuss the actions and happenings of the hierarchical political sphere. In

[40] For theory on Habermas' public sphere and capitalism, I rely on Alexandra Halasz' study. Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print,* pp. 18-45.

addition, print also enables people to distribute their own ideas and to oppose authority in the opinions they share. Therefore, print has democratic and emancipatory implications for the public sphere.

Helmers places the emergence of the Dutch printing and publishing industry in the frame of Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public space. He explains that the possibilities of print meant that matters of politics and religion could be publicly discussed in coffeehouses and other public spaces where people gathered to read printed news.[41] According to Habermas, with the foundation of coffeehouses, print, and library culture, symbolic sites of the 'public sphere' came into being. In practical terms, this meant that people got together to read the news and debate it. The demand for news grew and the printing industry grew accordingly and Helmers explains that the infrastructure of the Dutch Republic was equipped for far and wide distribution. Although the public sphere is by definition not spatially bound, symbolic sites allowed for a mediation between powers of the state and the public. The distribution of the printed word provided conversational material in a publicly accessible realm where public opinion was be formed. This public realm thus stimulated the printing industry by a growing interest in news and debate.[42]

The freedom and tolerance of the Dutch Republic attracted English non-conformists who were restricted by the religio-political climate in their own nation. They established communities in the Netherlands and geographical mobility made it possible not only for people to travel back and forth, but also for print publications to be exchanged. Considering the printing restrictions that were posed on non-conformist authors in England, it could be stated that their decision to publish in print in the liberal climate of the Netherlands was a deliberate one. To publish in print enabled a wide audience to be reached to provide a feeding

[41] The first coffeehouse was opened in Amsterdam in 1663. Before, public bookshops were sites for discussion of news and debate, explains Helmers in "Popular Participation and Public Debate" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, 124-146 (p. 134).
[42] Ibid., p. 134.

ground for opinion and discussion. News exchange in the seventeenth century became more public, which changed perceptions of credibility on the one hand and grew to be more political on the other hand. Print publication allowed to enter the public sphere because ideas could be spread more widely. Choosing the medium of print undeniably meant that the general public could access the text. For those who chose to publish beyond borders and risk the threat of punishment, printed text could even be considered to represent heightened social capital, because an increased number of people accessed and dealt with the print. The Puritan printing industry played an important role in this context. Non-conformists made deliberate use of the printing possibilities of the tolerant Dutch climate to disseminate their religious ideas. The language of the Bible was commonly used to understand politics and print functioned as a form of preaching to disseminate religio-political ideas to a broad audience. The trans-national Puritan printing industry existed on the dividing line of religion and politics and could easily become more political because of the different social climates between England and the Netherlands. By extension, Helen Ostovich states that female non-conformists took the opportunity to openly express their views and, in that way, established visibility in the public sphere.[43] Although matters of credibility were more prominent for women than for men, non-conformist women had more options to write and publish and the Anglo-Dutch connection broadened their possibilities.

[43] Helen Ostovich, *Reading Early Modern Women: an Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700* (Florence: Routledge, 2004), p. 132.

Chapter 2: Women's writing in the 17th century

The Possibility for Women in the Seventeenth Century to Publish their Work in Print

For a long time, women had restricted opportunities to publish, but their publishing activities gradually developed. During the seventeenth century unprecedented numbers of writings were published by women in both England and the Netherlands, with an increasing number of publications from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. Following the civil wars (1642-1651) and the interregnum (1649-1660), the number of publications by women grew significantly. Women who wrote for print publication specifically, however, remained a minority.

Many women still chose to write in manuscript at this time and just some published in print. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a third of all publications by women were written with the objective of print production. Most of these publications were by upper-class women because their social situation and wealth made it easier for them to publish in print. For a long time, the group of female writers was limited, as was the female audience for the consumption of their work.[44] Social norms, inequality and, consequently, lack of education were important factors to restrict women from publishing. Women remained self-conscious to speak or write for themselves. However, Alan Stewart explains that during the Early Modern period life-writing expanded because of increased literacy rates and a climate that enabled the exploration of the self: "with the accepted stress on the individual which accompanied the Reformation, and with the rise of scientific empiricism, there was more curiosity about the mainsprings of the human character".[45] Stewart provides various reasons for life-writing by women. One reason was for women to explain their personal religious conversions. Other reasons were the desire to employ writing for moral self-examination, or to tell of one's own

[44] Patricia Crawford states that female literacy reached 10% of the population in 1640 and grew up to 30% in the early eighteenth century. Crawford, 'Women's published writings 1600-1700', p. 216.
[45] Alan Stewart, *The Oxford History of Life Writing*, p. 5.

or one's family's fortunes and misfortunes or to preserve what otherwise would be transient and forgettable. Another reason for life-writing was the desire to create new communities. While Stewart connects the development of life-writing to the rise of individualism, Elspeth Graham clarifies that it enabled and promoted a focus on individual experiences and extensive writing about personal beliefs and activities.[46] Life-writing increased because of the end of censorship and government control of print during the civil war (1642-1652). A reason for this is that printing became possible for women. However, although women were no longer excluded from the possibility to print, manuscripts remained a common form of circulation of texts.

The writing climate for women in the Netherlands developed differently from that in England. Similar to England, the Reformation initially provided an opportunity for women to write. However, the conflict between the Netherlands and Spain complicated writing opportunities. This changed when the Dutch Republic gained independence and a secular bourgeois cultural circuit offered opportunities for women writers.[47] Particularly in the northern parts of the Republic, an interest in the classics and a desire for cultural maturity and intellectualism meant that an important cultural position for women was acknowledged and female authorship was encouraged. The southern parts of the Netherlands remained under Spanish rule, which impacted the literary climate in the sense that texts produced by women were restricted to religious subjects.

[46] Graham, *Her Own Life Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth Century Englishwomen*, p. 1.
[47] Lia van Gemert, *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200-1875*, 1st ed. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p. 39.

Religious texts and Conversion Narratives

Women who wrote for publication generally focussed on particular genres. Principally, religion played an important role in women's autobiographies.[48] Quaker women started writing in the 1650s, accounting for nearly twenty percent of all publications by women in England. Graham explains that many women were convinced that they were directly connected to God, and therefore that their message was God's message. Graham further explains that many women's writings serve "a direct political purpose, aiming to influence the reader's understanding not only of their personal behaviour, but also of the wider social implications of accepting their message as God's".[49] Female non-conformists in particular wrote religious tracts to share their message of conversion. In terms of gender restrictions, Quakers were more especially welcome to accept female activities and both men and women were directed by the spirit of God to convince others of His word.[50] These conversion narratives involve individual experiences of spiritual development. These conversion narratives are to be considered printed sermons and that way the medium of print serves a way of preaching in the sense that their word is spread. In fact, in a time when non-conformists could not preach because of the risk of religious persecution, print publication of their sermons and teachings served as an alternative to preaching.[51] Puritanism and printing are closely associated, and Puritans are believed to have used the medium of print as a strategy of effective and long lasting communication. In fact, Laurence Sasek labelled their

[48] Graham, *Her Own Life*, p. 2.
[49] Ibid., p. 2.
[50] Jacqueline Eales explains the role of women in Quaker and Fifth Monarchist congregations, stating that in the 1650s half of all books published by female authors were by Quaker women and their writings illustrate that women could take a leading role in religious groupings. Jacqueline Eales, 'Religion in Times of War and Republic, 1642–60', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 84-101 (p. 98).
[51] Rosemary Dixon explains that non-conformists offered their printed sermons sufficiently cheap to be accessible. Rosemary Dixon 'Sermons in Print, 1660–1700' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. By McCullough et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460–479 (p. 472).

strategy as 'the literary temper' of Puritanism, because they were assumed to believe that a printed sermon was more effective in its evangelical purpose and gave a wider currency to the oral sermon.[52]

In line with the earlier mentioned political essence of these printed sermons, women expressed political thoughts and ideas of resistance in their writing. Non-conformist conversion narratives involved a resistance to church government because they deliver God's message that was brought through them. However, the resistance that was expressed by women in their writings was not merely directed towards church. In their life-writings, women showed resistance against oppression by the state, and by their husbands. Graham mentions Anne Wentworth (1652-1693) and her account written in reaction to oppression by her husband, stating that her work involved a public meaning by representing "a class of the oppressed, her husband a class of oppressors".[53] According to Graham, Wentworth was not alone in expressing her marital miseries: various women are known to have done so. In the seventeenth century, women were subject to men and secular law followed divine law. This implied that women were hierarchically inferior to men and had no identity of their own. In fact, women were restricted in many ways. Women were restricted by social expectations, by the law, and by marriage. This also meant that women were limited in their freedom of movement. Geographical mobility in the seventeenth century was incomparable to present-day mobility. For seventeenth-century women, travelling and migration was very much constrained. Limits to travelling were imposed by law and social norms. Over the course of the century, women seized more freedom of movement. Unmarried women experienced more autonomy to do so, because the common law merged a woman's identity with that of her

[52] Hunt explains different views and assumptions on the function and use of printed sermons, underlining wide currency. Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 117-119.
[53] Graham, *Her Own Life*, p. 3.

husband.[54] Again, non-conformists derive more freedom from their faith: they travelled to testify their beliefs.[55] For non-conformist women, their faith outweighed the disapproval of men. In general, women were not accepted to travel alone or without their husband's permission and self-determination for women was limited.

Developing the Sense of Self: "I Write Myself, Therefore I Am"

Ulrike Tancke explains that over the past decades, increased interest of scholars in Early Modern women's writings has substantially contributed to the current knowledge about their lives.[56] Tancke states, however, that the female writer's sense of self is often considered from a post-modern and feminist perspective. Contrary to this, the self-diminishing aspect is often interweaved in the work, for example by making apologetic remarks on being female, or claiming awareness of being of the 'weaker sex'. Tancke underlines that this ambiguity is inherent to their time that involves "their fear of overindulging the self but simultaneously their appreciation of their individuality".[57] Quoting Graham: "I write myself, therefore I am": life-writing for women validated their existence and worked to empower them, as for women writing made the sense of independent self tangible.[58] Unpicking these arguments to shed light on the paradox between self-diminishing and self-expression, the development of the self is connected to and in fact derives from religious context. Tancke explains that expressions of individuality uncover what God has created. In that light, women could more easily express themselves within the idealised image of the divinely conceptualised, rather than expressing themselves according to their own self-image. What is more, is that self-diminishing in that sense leads to the idea of divine perfection. Stephen Greenblatt adds that the individuality that

[54] Mary Prior, *Women in English Society,* (London/New York: Routledge, 1985), p. 102.
[55] Graham, *Her Own Life*, p. 10.
[56] Tancke, *'Bethinke thy selfe' in early modern England: writing women's identities*, (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 1-2.
[57] Graham, *Her Own Life*. p. 3.
[58] Ibid., p. 23.

is meant here does not involve self-reliant individualism, but a sense of individualism that comes about by relying on an external source or authority.[59] Drawing from Tancke and Greenblatt, the female self-image was based on imposed moral principles, but by writing the self women could create authorship and agency.

The works of the women that are central to this research indicate that their writings go beyond the domestic in relation to the sociable in the sense that they deal with the domestic in how it is connected to power structures. Mary Hampson is very explicit in saying that her writings deal with those power structures. Her domestic struggles are central to her writings, and she clearly states how her private concerns are also a public concern and how they are connected to structures of power. Therefore, by looking into the works of Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson and their reasons for publishing their writings, this thesis challenges that there is a political and public sphere in which these women seek the medium of print that inevitably involves the rhetoric of publicity that fits their intention to spread the word.

[59] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 1-2.

Chapter 3: Case Study: Katherine Sutton

Little is known of the life of Katherine Sutton (1630-1663).[60] Sutton published her work in 1663 and just this one publication in her name is known today. Her publication consists of forty-four pages of her personal experiences, songs, and prayers. Her writings in *A Christian woman's experiences of the glorious working of Gods free grace Published for the edification of others* are complemented by a three-page preface by Hanserd Knollys and a short list of errata. Although just one record of Sutton has survived until today, the textual and material evidence of that work indicates that her work was deliberately printed to reach a wide audience.

The autobiographical accounts in her only publication are the only sources to gather information on Sutton's life: no secondary literature or archival material on her existence seem to exist. Sutton says that she worked as a governess and became a prophetess later in life. Although her origins and life-course are largely untraceable, some information on her family life can be obtained from her autobiographical accounts.[61] That way, it is understood that she was married to a non-religious man, but the marriage did not last:

> I was stirred up by my friends to change my condition, to be married to a husband; upon which I did earnestly beg of God that I might have one that did fear the Lord, that he might be a furtherance to heaven, and indeed so hee was. For I married with a man that was much in practical diuties, yet some difference there was in our judgments, which often caused no small trouble in my spirit.[62]

Sutton emphasises that her marriage caused trouble in her spirit, which in turn made her turn to seek spiritual salvation. Also, the marriage brought at least one child, but in her text, she tells of the child's death: "Also the Lord was pleased by death to take away a child from

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[60] Michael Davies, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography' https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-69336?rskey=Zu7pH7&result=2 [accessed 10 May 2023]

[61] Both the Rotterdam City Archive, Church Archives in Rotterdam, and London, as well as British archives have been consulted for this research, but to no avail.

[62] Katherine Sutton and Hanserd Knollys, *A Christian Womans Experiences of the Glorious Working of Gods Free Grace Published for the Edification of Others, by Katherine Sutton*. (Rotterdam: Goddæus, 1663), p. 3.

mee…the Lord gave me a son, he gave me his own son".[63] The death of her child is a reason for Sutton to reflect on her relationship with God. She is convinced that the child was saved by God and that in return, she gained a closer connection with God. Little as her work reveals on her personal life, as much does it reveal about her religious convictions.

Sutton on Religion: A Testimony of God's Free Grace

According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sutton was a member of the London Particular Baptist congregation gathered by Hanserd Knollys (1598–1691). The context of the congregation is useful because it reflects on the community she speaks to and from. Therefore, the ideology of the Fifth Monarchists might be a way to read her texts. Fifth Monarchists opposed any other authority other than Christ. They were very critical of Cromwell and his regime and believed that the coming of New Jerusalem would create order.[64] Also, her connection to Knollys' congregation explains her travels to Rotterdam. Although the exact dates of Knollys' travels cannot be drawn from the archives, he has documented a chronology of facts in his own writings from 1672:

> In the space of 40 years, that I and my dear faithful Wife Lived together; we removed several times with our whole family, whereof once from Lincolnshire to London, and from London to New-England; Once from England into Wales, twice from London to Lincolnshire, once from London to Holland, and from thence into Germany, and thence to Rotterdam, and thence to London again.[65]

Knollys was imprisoned for eighteen weeks in 1660 in Newgate prison for refusing oaths of allegiance and supremacy after the Restoration. After his release, Knollys moved to the European mainland and stayed in Rotterdam for some time. Knollys' personal accounts state

[63] Ibid., p. 5.
[64] Debra Parish, 'Anna Trapnel: Prophet or Witch?', In *Women on the Edge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Aidan Norrie, Lisa Hopkins (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 113–36 (p. 115).
[65] Hanserd Knollys and William Kiffin, *The Life and Death of That Old Disciple of Jesus Christ and Eminent Minister of the Gospel Mr. Hanserd Knollys Who Dyed in the Ninety Third Year of His Age* (London: Printed for John Harris, 1692), p. 28.

of his journey to the continent after his release from Newgate in 1660: "After I was set at Liberty out of Prison, I went to Holland, and thence up into Germany",[66] and later "After we were come to Rotterdam, and my Wife, and Son, and Daughter, were come to England".[67] Although a direct connection between Sutton and himself is not mentioned in his own texts, it is likely that they moved to the Netherlands around the same time, because he wrote the preface to her text.

Sutton's Reason for Publication

The work Sutton published in 1663 is based on earlier manuscript writings of 1656, which were largely lost when Sutton was shipwrecked on her journey to the Netherlands. She did not publish her manuscript in 1656 but chose to do so in 1663. She considered God's mercy after she was shipwrecked an indication that her experiences must be told, convinced that they were God-given. In fact, she states that she was ship-wrecked for the particular reason that she did not put her words into print before:

> Then by his hand of providence I was removed again out of England into Holland, and I brought the papers of my experiences with mee: which (the ship being cast away) were lost, with the trunck in which they were in. Then was it much set upon my heart, that God was displeased with mee, for not putting them into print…and I was troubled; for the which I sought, and did beg, that if he were offended at mee, for not printing, and leaving them behind mee, that he would pardon it unto mee, and that, if it were his good pleasure, I should write them again.[68]

She attempted to accurately rewrite her accounts from memory and turned to Goddaeus in Holland for publication. Her book includes songs, religious verses, and prophesies. Additionally, she included autobiographical descriptions to explain her reasons for writing. These explanations are essential not only to get an understanding of her life's course, but also

[66] Knollys, *The Life and Death of That Old Disciple of Jesus Christ*, p. 25.
[67] Knollys, *The Life and Death of That Old Disciple of Jesus Christ*, p. 27.
[68] Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, p. 22

to gain insight into her reasons for publication. Sutton was convinced that she had to distribute the truth of God, because God guided her in her works. Her work is thus to be considered as a religious teaching. What is more, Sutton presents a narrative of resistance to the established church government. In effect, she explicitly claims that the message she conveys is in fact God's message brought by her.

The Politics of Sutton's Work

Regarding the political views that Sutton expressed in her religious works, George Southcombe explains that Sutton's prophecies could be interpreted from a political perspective because of her membership of Hanserd Knollys' congregation.[69] This congregation was associated with Fifth Monarchists.[70] Jacqueline Eales explains that the Fifth Monarchists were considered to be "particularly dangerous to society because of their belief that secular government would have to be overthrown by force, if necessary, before the rule of Christ could begin".[71] The political ideas that were supported within the congregation are underlined by Knollys' part in the insurrection in London, after he was imprisoned for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the state.[72] The warnings and comments Sutton has included in her writings could be considered from the political perspective by association with the congregation. Southcombe suggests that it is possible that Sutton's references to those 'in

[69] George Southcombe, 'English Nonconformist Poetry I Volume 1' *English Nonconformist Poetry, 1660–1700*. (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), p. 318.
[70] The Fifth-Monarchist movement of the early 1650s was perceived as quite radical in their criticism of Cromwell. The Fifth Monarchists are also names the Millenialists, because they were convinced that reform was needed to enter the new millennium. Also, Fifth Monarchists envisioned the imminent coming of the 'New Jerusalem' where a new order would overrule all other powers. More on this by Parish, 'Anna Trapnel: Prophet or Witch?', p. 115.
[71] Jacqueline Eales, 'Religion in Times of War and Republic', p.100.
[72] https://www.pbpress.org/blog/hanserd-knollys-ca15991691-is-the-4th-essay-in-the-british-particular-baptists-volume-1-revised-edition/

high places' were directed at the Protectorate.[73] Additionally, Rachel Adcock explicitly connects Sutton to the Fifth Monarchists and labels her a radical Puritan with her heavy criticism of the traditional Christian church. Indeed, Sutton's songs and prayers seem to structurally follow political events. For example, Sutton claims in February 1655 that "on a sudden I was indued with the gift of singing".[74] It is worth noting that she has reproduced this from memory and feels the urge to mark this moment with a very specific time indication, unlike many other passages in her work. Specifically, because this date closely follows the dissolution of the Protectorate in January 1655. The Fifth Monarchists opposed the Protectorate and were in conflict with the regime. Cromwell's act to dissolve the Protectorate thus must have been a hopeful event for the Fifth Monarchists. The song that came to Sutton indeed sounds an optimistic note: "come home, come home, thy work is done / My glory thou shalt see / let all the meek ones of the earth / come home along with thee".[75] Sutton's song suggests glory and the victory of God, which inspires her to continue her evangelical work: "I will appear in my glory, and see a perfect light / Admire, admire, the thing that I will do / All nations shall it hear, and know".[76] The sense of victory after the dissolution of the Protectorate might explain both her upbeat note as well as her specific mention of the date. In fact, one other example in which Sutton dates a song can similarly be linked to a political event. On 20 November in the year 1656, shortly after the second Protectorate assembled, a song came to her that is much more downbeat.[77] This song has a more consolatory subject: "although afflictions should hold on / and troubles should arise / Yet God will own his precious one /

[73] During The Protectorate Oliver Cromwell was the Lord Protector of the English commonwealth. Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, p. 16. On Fifth Monarchism see B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Millenarianism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), pp. 1-3.
[74] Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, p. 13.
[75] Ibid., p. 13.
[76] Ibid., p. 13.
[77] In the same year, on the 24th of October, Quaker James Nayler was arrested for enacting the arrival of Christ on earth, which is part of the main philosophy of the Fifth Monarchists. This could equally have been reason for Sutton to write this song. William Tomlinson, *Copies of Some Few of the Papers Given into the House of Parliament in the Time of James Naylers Tryal There, Which Began the Fifth of December, 1656*. London: s.n, 1657.

Their prayers he'll not despise".[78] Sutton refers to Zion as the theme of the song, which symbolises a place of protection by God. Although not explicitly, these examples feed the assumption that Sutton indeed followed Fifth Monarchist ideology, because she seems to respond to political events by specifically dating these passages. Her writings can from that angle be considered to carry political value, written in the guise of religion.

Sutton describes that the "Spirit of prophecy" was upon her in the year 1658: "Then by His hand of providence I was removed again out of England into Holland, and I brought the papers of my experiences with me[e]: which (the ship being cast away) were lost".[79] Sutton here explains that she left for the Netherlands to escape religious prosecution after the Restoration, or 'was removed'. The passive tense she uses here could imply that her move was involuntary, or that she ascribes it to providence. The boat she was on shipwrecked and many of her writings were lost to the sea. Sutton considered her survival an act of God: "if he may have done more honour in drowning of me[e], then by preserving me[e], his will be done".[80] To draw on her beliefs, God preserved her experiences by preserving her. In fact, she states that like her deliverance was of great importance to teach and instruct: "so shall England be, when they are brought to greatest heights, then will deliverance be from God".[81] She reproduced the lost writings from memory and in doing so, she touches upon her intellectual capacity. The fact that she was divinely saved from the shipwreck thus functioned to doubly legitimize her work. Her intellectual capabilities contribute to her self-awareness. It also obscures the process because her accounts are from reproduction of memory.

A validation of Sutton's mnemonic accounts is provided preceding her story. As previously said, Hanserd Knollys wrote the preface of her published work. Not only does his preface add to the validity of her writings, but his attestation as a socially reliable source also

[78] Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, p. 43.
[79] Ibid., p. 22.
[80] Ibid., p. 23.
[81] Ibid., p. 23.

improves the credibility of her work. In fact, he is very explicit in making her trustworthiness clear to the reader. He starts by providing three arguments to substantiate that God has chosen Sutton to distribute his word among his disciples. He states that Sutton is one of God's handmaidens "who gathered up the Crumes of that spiritual Bread".[82] Knollys here directly refers to John 6:12, which speaks of Christ's disciples with whom Christ shares his bread and who then see the truth of the prophet that should come into the world. Knollys suggests that Sutton is one of Christ's disciples who is appointed to tell Christ's truth: "Now there are three Arguments whereby it may appear, that God would not have these Fragments (which she hath gathered into her Basket) to be lost".[83] His three arguments involve, firstly, that God gave Sutton the blessing 'crumes of spiritual bread', which she received in her heart and shared with others in her family and among other 'young virgins'. Secondly, although Sutton had lost the manuscript in a storm when she was shipwrecked, God preserved both her life as well as her spiritual experiences, the 'crumes of spiritual bread' she shared before and preserved those in her heart. In fact, he claims that it was as if these experiences were written in her heart, not with ink, but by God's spirit. Thirdly, Knollys asserts that Sutton was pressed in spirit to communicate her experiences publicly, because the Lord's spirit brought her experiences into her remembrance, and she has been willing to publish them as her testimony and witness of free grace.

Knollys stresses that the reader may take notice of three things that are worthy of her Christian observation and wit. Again, he sums up a number of arguments. He starts by saying that Sutton faced several hardships in life, but God waited to be gracious on her soul. She is now capable of sharing extraordinary teachings of God by his holy spirit and words, which she can convey unto others. He emphasises that he does not mean to praise her personally, because she needs no praise of man. Yet, he sees that she makes her experience public, and he

[82] Ibid., Preface.
[83] Ibid., Preface.

hopes that others will follow her example. Lastly, he testifies that Sutton presents the gift of singing spiritual songs and hymns. The performance of songs and hymns is indeed a gift because it is considered to be the epitome of spirituality. He compares this kind of great worship to the sons and daughters of Zion, for the reason that prayer in songs will make the lord return to Zion and the children of Zion will be joyful for their king. Knollys' remarks on the importance of song seems to be a direct reference to the Fifth Monarchist conviction of Christ's second coming, thereby overtly rejecting Catholicism:

> And although many nay most Godly Christians do not believe there is any such spiritual gift of singing as I here have intimated, yet some few poor gracious humble soules have good Experience, that there is sometimes a measure of the holy spirit powred upon them, whereby they are so filled with the Spirit, that they break forth into singing: Pray therefore that thou mayest sing, and praise the Lord, when the Redeemed of the Lord shall return and come with singing to Zion.[84]

Although Knollys considers Sutton to be a chosen disciple and praises her gift of singing, at the same time he is apologetic for her writings. He claims that these are just fragments and asks of the reader not to be offended by their brokenness: "Christian Reader, as a basket full of fragments, be not offended with the broakenness of any matter, which thou mayest meet with the reading thereof".[85] Also, he apologises that her text contains many unexpected transitions, as she goes from one thing to the other without apparent coherence: "In the Reading of her Book, thou wilt meet with some suddain and unexpected Transition from one thing to another, (and thou mayest think it to be some what abruptly), yet Censure not too harshly".[86] He compares these unexpected transitions to divine changes in tides, seasons, and weather. He explains that these are all by the hand of God and by doing so, he justifies her work.

[84] Ibid., Preface.
[85] Ibid., Preface.
[86] Ibid., Preface.

Sutton's Self-Awareness: "God's Strength Was Made Perfect in my Weakness"

In addition to Knollys' attestation of credibility, Sutton seeks divine authority to justify her work. Despite her deliberation to convey the word of God publicly, Sutton articulates anxiousness and a self-diminishing note in her text. She expresses her weakness and claims to have gained strength by God: "Then the Lord was pleased to lay upon mee a sore affliction, which I finding my self vary unable to bear, did as it were repent mee that I in any measure had chosen my condition, and did not rather wholy submit to the will of God; but the Lord did mee good by it, and his strength was made perfect in my weakness".[87] Here, the paradox between self-diminishing and self-expression becomes evident from the expression of the self in religious context. In line with Tancke's claim on self-expression, Sutton's awareness of her individuality uncovers what God has created. Sutton explicitly points towards the idealised image that is divinely constructed. She uses her own image not to place emphasis on her individual being, but she employs a strategy of self-diminishing to illustrate an image of divine perfection. In line with Greenblatt's arguments, Sutton's notion of individuality does not involve self-reliant individualism, but comes about by relying on the external source of divinity.

A different aspect of self-awareness comes about as she makes an intellectual claim that involves her capacity of writing from her memories. Sutton explains that her experiences were once fresh in her memories, but old age deteriorates her memory. Although Sutton does not apologise for being a woman specifically, Adcock explains this passage as "Sutton expressing the modesty that was expected of a woman publishing, but it also testifies to the truth of her expressions: although much diminished, she implies that the memories have not been tampered with".[88] The fact that Sutton reproduced the work she lost in the shipwreck

[87] Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, pp. 14-15.
[88] Rachel Adcock, '"Gather up the Fragments, That Nothing Be Lost": "Memorable" Women's Conversion Narratives.' *Early Modern Women* 6, no. 1 (2011), pp. 209–15. (p .4).

proves that she values self-expression. Whether her motives to do so are justified by her faith in God or by the construction of her own identity, the double effort to write her life experiences underlines awareness of her individuality.

The validation of her publication in relation to gender awareness is further underlined by the justification on the title page, which she makes by her quotation from Luke 24:24: "And they found it even so, as the woman had said". The gospel of Luke is about the female disciples that have witnessed Christ's body in the tomb. Not only does this gospel acknowledge the female perspective, but it also signifies the female witness account. That way, the aspect of credibility is underlined: women are reliable witnesses. The reference to the gospel of Luke is clearly a way for Sutton to claim credibility, but in a way connected to the divine. She is a female disciple of Christ and therefore she can give convey God's word from her own, reliable, womanly perspective.

Since little information can be found on Sutton in secondary sources or in the archives, the materiality of her work can fill a gap, particularly because her publication is finished to a high-quality standard with rich decorations. For example, the title page shows a large and highly decorated printer's mark. Michael Durrant asserts that the material features of her book have social implications, in addition to the mere literary and even spiritual aim.[89] He considers Katherine Sutton's account to be sophisticated and aesthetically crafted and explains that the physical appearance of the book enhances the spiritual message that she conveys. The printer's mark and the detailed finish of Sutton's work provide information in terms of validation, contents, and function. Durrant explains that a printer's mark validates the authenticity of the text's provenance and functions as a mark of quality.[90] Durrant claims that this specific mark has not been used for other publications by Goddaeus and attests additional

[89] Michael Durrant, ''Herschept het Hert' Katherine Sutton's Experiences (1663), the Printer's Device and the Making of Devotion' in *People and piety* edited by Robert Daniel and Elizabeth Clarke (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2020), pp. 43-60 (pp. 44-45).
[90] Durrant, 'Herschept het Hert', p. 47.

value to Sutton's work from that. However, a book by Joannes Min-el on the education of logic and reason, published by Goddaeus in 1663, carries the same mark. Although it is not certain if the mark was designed for one or the other, the design leaves room for assumption. The mark depicts a woman kneeling before a man, which is very specific and refers to the biblical passage of John 20:15. This passage tells of Mary Magdalene being the first to see Christ: the kneeling woman in the picture represents Mary Magdalene and the man resembles a gardener but is in fact Christ. According to the verse of John, Mary Magdalene tells the disciples that she had seen Christ and to pass on his word. Because of this interpretation, the depiction of this particular verse can be brought into relation to Sutton specifically. Sutton can be associated with Mary Magdalene, being the one in contact with the Lord and being appointed by God to spread the gospel to His disciples. What is more, is that the printer's mark includes a text: "Herschept het Hert", which is Dutch for "recreate the heart". Durrant considers the connection between the printer's mark and Sutton's text to be a statement of credibility, for it asserts a precedent of a reliable witness report.[91] Indeed, the richly decorated printer's mark could be brought in direct relation to Sutton, marking the effort to produce a valuable and durable printed work to be widely distributed. Since the mark has no contextual association to the work by Joannes Min-el, an unsubstantiated assumption can be made that the mark was designed for Sutton and was reused for Joannes Min-el.

Thus, Katherine Sutton moved to the Netherlands to avoid religious persecution and made a deliberate choice to publish her work. The tolerant Dutch climate allowed for her to issue her experiences in print. An endeavour that would have had fateful consequences if she had done so in England. Similarly, she took up an active role to teach the public with her writings, which can be considered to be a form of preaching in print. Sutton's affiliation with the Fifth Monarchists in itself involves a political stance, as does her choice to publish despite

[91] Ibid., p. 50.

social limitations. Her choice to publish must have been a deliberate one, which is evidenced by Hansard Knollys' preface, her own statement, and the material form of her publication. Just as Knollys writes in the preface that Sutton was pressed to communicate her experiences publicly, there is evidence that Sutton herself was very deliberate in getting her work published. The opening page of *A Christian Womans Experiences of the Glorious Working of Gods Free Grace* provides multiple justifications of her aims. Firstly, the title page states that she "[p]ublished for the [e]dification of others". This makes clear that with the publication of her work she aims to gain social impact by educating others. Sutton's choice to publish is a purposeful action to enter the public sphere. Sutton shows self-awareness, which she justifies by validating her credibility and by using the rhetoric of the Bible to underline her credibility as a female disciple of Christ. Her self-awareness is emphasised as she appeals to her intellectual capacity, for she claims to have reproduced her earlier manuscript from memory. Sutton shows perseverance by reproducing her experiences and to publish them in a high-quality finished book to educate others. This all indicates that Sutton intentionally entered the public sphere to reach a large audience.

Chapter 4: Case Study Mary Hampson

Mary Hampson's written legacies are more extensive than those by Sutton.[92] Hampson's autobiographical writings have survived, along with letters and court tracts. The court tracts involve testimony, providing a level of apparent objectivity and alternative views on Mary's writings. What is more, is that Mary's husband Robert has responded to Mary's claims in writing.[93] The written evidence on Mary's life tells us about her well-to-do social rank, her family situation, and most of all her married life. The marriage between Mary and Robert Hampson is the main topic of all documents that have survived on Mary's life. What becomes clear is that their marriage was troubled and that her disturbed marital bond prompted Mary to document her experiences and to make them publicly available. In doing so, Mary pursued justice and deliberately entered the public sphere.

The Role of Religion in Mary Hampson's Life: Rights and Accusations

Although religion is not a dominant theme in Mary's writings, it becomes clear that Mary was a Protestant, which is a useful context for interpretation of her texts. In fact, the importance of religion is underlined by various public accusations from Robert that she was a Roman Catholic. It was common to use such slander in marital disputes.[94] Mary herself makes her Protestant beliefs clear in her writings and expresses her enduring faith in God: "But my

[92] Because Mary Hampson and Robert Hampson go by the same surname, I will use either Mary Hampson in full, or her first name. Similar for Robert Hampson.
[93] Robert's reaction is titled: "A Relation of the Design of Mrs Hampson to Poison or Stab her Husband". No record of this pamphlet is to be found, other than a mention of its existence in *A Catalogue of the Library of the Corporation of London Institute* in the Guildhall Library in London. The catalogue dates Robert's pamphlet 1685.
[94] Jessica Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson: Her Story of Marital Abuse and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 83.

confidence is in the eternal Judge, before whom the impure shall not stand".[95] Her religion gives her strength and foundation for her publication:

> And I do look upon it as a very great mercy from the Almighty that he hath given me strength to bear so many crosses, and to undergo so great and many afflictions without falling into a destracted condition, and hath learned me in my tryal, to know that the glory of this world is only vanity and vexation of spirit, and hath let me see the folly of those that commit crimes to profess them, and have reason to hope that I may say, It is good for me that I have been afflicted. And if it is not the Almighty's will to restore me any worldly comforts, he will as the last justifie me, to those that are as Jobs Comforters to me, judge me guilty because of my sufferings. But my hope and comfort is that the Lord God shall judge me who knows my integrity, and in whose mercy I trust.[96]

Mary here implies that her sufferings were imposed on her by God by means of a trial and to provide honest claims of her suffering. In essence, Mary says here that she hopes to gain justice and truth. Truth here, however, is not the truth of God's word, but the truth that will provide justice in her personal case, as this is the subject of her account.

Mary Hampson's Freedom and Mobility

Mary Hampson experienced severe limitations in her potential. By marriage, Mary was restricted in her freedom and mobility, as becomes clear from her own accounts. As a woman, Mary had to fulfil a subservient role, because husbands traditionally had authority over their wives. This affected Mary's social and geographical mobility. According to law, their marital status meant that Robert Hampson had to give permission for Mary to travel. Indeed, Mary writes about this in *The Case of Mrs. Mary Hampson*: "he had consented for my health to let me go unto France".[97] However, in addition to the marital constraints on her mobility, Robert Hampson enacted additional limitations. Firstly, when she left for France, he reported that she

[95] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson' in *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson: Her Story of Marital Abuse and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century England,* ed. by Jessica Malay, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2014), pp. 23- 54 (p.46).
[96] Ibid., pp. 52-53.
[97] Ibid., p. 30.

had run away: "I was so trouble[d] that Mr. Hampson had reported that I went away from him".[98] Given the social position of women, accusations such as these were particularly harmful, which is underlined by arguments of credibility that are also touched upon in this analysis. Mary explicitly mentions the effects of this when they appear in court:

> The time appointed, Mr. Hampson brought in none, but desired another week's time, which was granted, after which time he had composed an allegation of an old lye, how that I had gone into France some years before, without his consent. This allegation could not be lawfully admitted, had it been as true as I could then prove it to be false.[99]

These examples make clear that by marriage, Robert limited Mary's movements both geographically and socially. What is more, is that Robert Hampson had complete control over Mary and literally restricted her from moving by locking her up: "he went out and locked me up until he had dined".[100] In fact, Robert involved other people to control Mary's movements. He made an agreement with the maid servant to lure Mary out of the house, to then lock her out. Once Mary managed to get away from Robert and reaches France, she took on her maiden name Wingfield. Taking up her maiden name was very unusual at the time; therefore, this suggests that Mary aspired to independent status.[101] However, Mary had to return to Robert by order of the Church, thus limiting her mobility as a married woman.

The social-historical context becomes even more evident from Mary's accounts, when she writes about the unofficial dissolution of their marriage. Mary states that in 1671, Robert forcefully made Mary consent that he could live on his own, while she would have, as she put it, the "liberty to live where I pleased".[102] Shortly after, Robert Hampson remarried. The social context of the time entails that, given Protestant influences and as described by John

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[98] Ibid., p. 32.
[99] Ibid., p. 40.
[100] Ibid., p. 32.
[101] Froide states that "And second, all unmarried women, or femes soles, enjoyed an independent legal. status that wives, or femes coverts, surrendered upon marriage". Amy Froide, *Never Married*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 15.
[102] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 47.

Milton in his divorce tracts, spouses should be able to divorce and remarry.[103] Milton's tracts typify the controversy around marriage that existed in the seventeenth century because of Protestant reform. Milton advocated the right of divorce, claiming that marriage is meant to fulfil mental wellbeing. Milton emphasises that marriage should not be forced by common law. In fact, Milton distinguishes common law from natural law. The latter is meant to bring man spiritual well-being, while common law goes against nature by forcing people to maintain contentious marriages:

> Yet there remains in them also a burden on it as heavie as the other two were disgracefull or superstitious, and of as much iniquity, crossing a Law not onely writt'n by Moses, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquity and deeper ground then marriage it selfe; which Law is to force nothing against the faultles proprieties of nature: yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a stony rigor, inconsistent both with his doctrine and his office; and that which he preacht onely to the conscience, is by Canonicall tyranny snatcht into the compulsive censure of a judiciall Court; where Laws are impos'd even against the venerable and secret power of natures impression, to love what ever cause be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbarisme both against the honour of mariage, the dignity of man and his soule, the goodnes of Christianitie, and all the humane respects of civilitie.[104]

The intent of Milton's doctrine is illustrated by Mary Hampson in one of her letters: "for besides the duty he owes to God as a husband he is obliged to me for the releasing of my jointure and other obligations which my duty did not oblige me to, only my kindness to him".[105] This passage directly resonates with the ideas Milton advocated for in his doctrine of divorce, as she explicitly states that her only obligation to Robert was to be kind to him. In addition to the previous passage on the lawful bounds of marriage, Milton asserts that "God in the first ordaining of marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in words expresly implying the apt and cheerfull conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him against the

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[103] John Milton, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce', in *The Complete Poetry and Essential Prose of John Milton*, ed. by William Kerrigan (New York: Random House, 2007), 853-921.
[104] Milton, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce', 867.
[105] Mary Hampson to William Trumbull, 20 October 1680, in Malay (ed.), pp.130-131.

evil of solitary life".[106] According to these Protestant notions of marriage, Robert is obliged to release her from their marital bonds, because their marriage does not provide the fellowship and emotional wellbeing that God intended for marriage. Her letters suggest that she may have read John Milton's work on divorce and imply her intellectual spirit. Also, Mary not only strongly expresses Protestant views; she was aware of the controversies on marriage - as Malay asserts - and she was also very much aware of the rights she had as a woman.[107]

Testimony and Credibility: Claiming Rights by Ascertaining Truth

To claim her rights, Mary turned to high-ranking people to get help as well as to gain credibility to support her case and testimony. Mary is clearly aware of her disadvantaged position, and experiences these disadvantages:

> Mr. Hampson had the advantage to know, the Bishops, Common Lawyers, and Doctors, he choosed for his delegates, by which means he informed them what he pleased, and they never would hear me, for which most of them gave an account not long after. For in a short time they appeared before the great Tribunal, and about two of twelve left, which have been my judges for many years.[108]

Mary's awareness of her disadvantaged position is similarly evident in the 'unnatural' language she uses in her depositions to give weight to her testimony, in which she specifically names involved persons to ascertain truth.[109] Robert Hampson deliberately impaired Mary's credibility by slanderous accusations. For example, Robert Hampson told shopkeepers that his wife had run away: "The next day was Sunday, and on the M[o]nday morning there came some gentlemen into Mr. Guin's Shop, and told the news, that Mrs. Hampson was run away from her husband".[110] At another instance, Robert undermined Mary's credibility with others

[106] Milton, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce', 866.
[107] Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson*, pp. 117-118.
[108] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 43.
[109] Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson,* p. 58.
[110] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 34.

by approaching other shopkeepers and telling them to distrust Mary: "Upon his refusal he left me, and forbid the baker, brewer and butcher to trust me".[111] Robert was successful in negating Mary's credibility, and Mary states in her accounts that "Mr. Hampson had caused so strongly to be reported that I was gone from him, that until he came to the court, no person did credit what I said".[112]

Gender awareness connects the events in Mary's life as a common thread, from finding ways to evade limited mobility to seeking testimony with well-established witnesses. Mary finds safety in God's authority to keep her safe and to justify her actions:

> For I was no other when he betrayed me to himself, and out of all my worldly goods into a strange country, where I lived without spot, and truly innocent of that sin which is the dishonour of my sex, for which my soul doth bless the Lord, and all that is within me praise his holy Name, who hath preserved my life from destruction, and crowned me with loving kindness, and tender mercies.[113]

"I Think it is Necessary to Put the Case in Print": Mary Hampson's Reason for Printing

Mary exchanged letters with William Trumbull, who was a lawyer and an ambassador. The epistolary exchange between them can also be considered as an act to create credibility. The reason for Mary writing to Trumbull is for her to "employ persons of several judgments to find where is the faithful man that is a lover of truth and justice".[114] This proves that Mary not only seeks credibility, but similarly looks for truth and justice. These are similarly motives for her to flee from England. Mary's letters to Trumbull provide much evidence for her reasons to leave England for the Netherlands and for choosing to put her work into print.[115] Mary writes to Trumbull that:

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[111] Ibid., p. 38.
[112] Ibid., p. 40.
[113] Ibid., p. 46.
[114] Mary Hampson to William Trumbull, 5 June 1680, in Malay (ed.), p. 90.
[115] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 50.

> I [live] in a strange country, for if it be possible I would not live in England where my husband by his false reports hath so stained my reputation that I think it not safe for me to live there, for what ever affront is put upon me I find no justice therefore I desire to live where I am judged by my life and conversation and not by the report of a second Mahomet, whom would do as the first did destroy me.[116]

Mary here validates her move to the Netherlands by trusting that there, she can be free, and her word will be freely accepted. In another letter to Trumbull, Mary explains her reason for publication: "I think it will be necessary for me to put the case, as it is betwixt Mr. Hampson and my self, in print in all countries that the world may know the true reasons of our difference".[117] What is even more striking, is that Hampson first writes 'in writing' but crosses this out and replaces it with the phrase 'in print'.[118] Malay explains that Hampson evidently wants to put her story in print as a last resort or extreme measure.[119] However, these instances emphasise the deliberate choice Hampson made to print her life story and prove that her decision to do so is a political act.

Although this suggests that Mary had sufficient reason to share her experiences with the world, additional motives follow that prove that even in the Netherlands Mary was hampered in her objective. Other than Mary's own account that she printed her work in Rotterdam in 1680, no evidence of the publication is known. In fact, her first publication at Goddaeus in Rotterdam was destroyed by the order of Robert Hampson. While Mary lodged at the house of her printer,[120] one of Robert's informers - Edmund Everard[121] -was sent to Rotterdam with the clear objective to do so. Mary writes that Robert threatened her that he would not send her money, unless she retracted the printing: "he would not pay unless he

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[116] Mary Hampson to William Trumbull, 1 August 1680, in Malay (ed.), pp.85-86.
[117] Mary Hampson to William Trumbull, 20 October 1680, in Malay (ed.), p. 131.
[118] An image of this letter is attached in appendix I.
[119] Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson,* p. 17.
[120] Ibid.*,* p. 99.
[121] Alan Marshall, 'Oxford Dictionary of National Biography', https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-67394 [accessed 10 May 2023]. In addition, Malay describes Everard to be "one of the most notorious government informers of the late seventeenth century", given authority by the Ambassador to license print. Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson,* p. 99.

know the place and house where I lived, and that I should call in this Relations which I caused to be printed at Rotterdam about the year 1680".[122] By that point, there was no reason for Robert to pose this threat, as Mary states: "when I sent to a merchant to pay the remainder of the moneys due, and send me my books, the merchant sent word that Mr. Everard had caused all to be burned".[123] Strikingly, Everard was an agent for the English government and had the authority to force printers to burn political writings. This implies that Mary's pamphlet was indeed considered to be political. Because of the destruction of her first publication, no books are to be found from Goddaeus publishing house. However, Mary decided to publish her work upon her return to England in 1684. Not only does this demonstrate her perseverance, but it also underlines Mary's purpose to share her experiences in the pursuit of truth and justice.

For Mary Hampson, the women's concern of being unequal in marriage is important as is what abuse can lead to. In having her work printed, Hampson rejects the idea that women should not publish. With her publication, Mary Hampson intentionally enters the public sphere to bring her experiences under the attention of a large audience. She has made her intention explicit in her writings, stating that she pursues justice. Mary appeals to various attestants of credibility to achieve fairness. What is more, her writings suggest her readership of John Milton's divorce tracts. This implies that she supports Protestant notions of marriage and divorce on the one hand. Even more so, it suggests that Mary is determined in her pursuit of truth and justice and taps into all resources she has at her disposal to achieve that. Mary's incessant determination is in itself a political act to purposefully create an audience by materializing her experiences.

[122] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 54.
[123] Ibid., p. 55.

Chapter 5: The Politics of the Medium of Print for Sutton and Hampson

The analysis and comparison of the works of Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson makes clear that both women address awareness of social norms for women. What becomes evident is that they use rhetoric from the Bible to express not only religious, but also social and political ideas. From that point of view, their writings can be considered as conversion and resistance narratives. Sutton's work implies that print can serve as a form of preaching, while she interweaves political ideas from the Fifth Monarchy ideology into her work. The Fifth Monarchy doctrine includes resistance to church and government authorities. For Mary Hampson, the emphasis is on resistance against the oppression by state and marriage. She deals with this by making use of the rhetoric of the Bible. Through these narratives, these women develop their sense of self and validate their existence by pursuing the truth, each in their own way. They do so in a time that was subject to religious, political, and social changes.

Both women show awareness of social restrictions and norms. In the case of Mary Hampson, these deal with mobility and credibility. Her narrative indicates that she was limited in her ability to move both by law and by social norms because of her marital status. Her example illustrates the precarious position of women in seventeenth century society. The impact of social norms is particularly evident by the slander and discredit brought upon her by her husband. Robert Hampson explicitly speaks evil of Mary to others, telling shopkeepers not to trust her and convincing other to lock her in- or outside of the house.

For Sutton, however, social restrictions are very different. Firstly, Sutton is not constrained in her mobility by marriage.[124] As an assumed Fifth Monarchist or non-conformist, religion justified her travelling. Hanserd Knollys testifies to this in the preface, by means of providing extensive substantiation for her reasons to do so. Knollys' preface fulfils

[124] Katherine Sutton was married, but the marriage was ended by mutual consent. Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, p. 8.

an essential role in the validation of Sutton's work in terms of credibility. Katherine Sutton could use the medium of print as a form of preaching, because the Fifth Monarchist convictions allowed her as a woman to take up an active role in religion. Although she and her fellow congregation members support this role, the spirit of the age and the general opinion were still very restrictive for women. Helen Ostovich explains that at this time, gender hierarchy was based on the postlapsarian relationship between Adam and Eve and women needed male authority and were not expected to speak, preach, or teach in public.[125] As a member of a dissenting group, Sutton had more freedom to express her opinion, although - according to Ostovich - toleration was restricted to the non-conformist community. Therefore, she needs credible validation for her writings to become widely accepted. The preface by Hansard Knollys provides validation by means of credibility, which her work requires to indeed reach a wide audience through the medium of print. Knollys provides this validation by explicitly stating that Sutton is chosen by God to spread his word. He gives her works strength by stating that her manuscript was lost, but that God has written her experiences in her heart: "Yet God, who preserved her life, did also preserve these experiences in her heart, where it seemeth they were written, not with ink, but by his holy spirit…because she being pressed in Spirit to communicate them more publikely".[126] Knollys here explicitly mentions the intention of her message to reach a wide audience. It is clear that the medium of print allows her work to reach a wide variety of people and validation is required to convince the readership not only of her religious convictions, but also of her credibility as a woman to do so. The political act of Sutton's works therefore serves a double function. She expresses her Fifth-Monarchist views, which are both religious and political. In fact, she conveys the political in the language of religion, which corresponds with Killeen's notion of the religious being political. What is more, Sutton conveys a political stance by

[125] Ostovich, *Reading Early Modern Women,* p. 132.
[126] Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences*, preface.

taking up the role of preaching in print and even more so by doing so as a woman. By validating Sutton's work, Knollys does the same.

Mary Hampson's writings are more personal. However, when her story is considered through the lens of her time, her work becomes more overtly political. Firstly, because she battles against the authority of her husband to gain justice. The justice she aims for involves both financial and personal issues. She is very aware of her husband's misuse of power over finances, as she writes about in her case: "The said man told me he had authority from my husband to seize upon what money or goods my mother had in that house".[127] She resists his power abuse and explicitly tells of her doing so: "I denyed him my mother's bonds and moneys".[128] In a similar way, she resists his abuse and oppression. In a letter to William Trumbull, Mary says: "I must proceed for I can no longer live as slave".[129] Mary clearly airs bravery and determination, which becomes even more evident from the fact that she does not avoid court procedures. Court procedures must have been very intimidating for women. Her taking up legal activities and litigation against her husband is to be considered a political act, for the reason that common law prescribed that women were to leave legal affairs to their husbands.[130] Jessica Malay describes the course of events of court procedures:

> She would have been brought to a room or chamber, surrounded by men, where a court official would have asked her the set questions of the deposition. A legal clerk would have taken down her answers and recast them into a third-person narrative. He would also add legal terms and repetitions, and he would have phrased her responses according to legal convention. Mary would then have been shown the written text containing her answers. At times there is evidence she added information, which the scribe then wrote into the margins. This situation would have been stressful enough for Mary.[131]

[127] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 37.
[128] Ibid., p. 40.
[129] Mary Hampson to William Trumbull, 4 April 1681, in Malay (ed.), p. 132.
[130] Ostovich, *Reading Early Modern women,* p. 15.
[131] Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson,* p. 59.

Mary seeks credibility with high-ranked persons to back her up and help her in her endeavours to get justice. What is more, is that she too, uses religious language to affirm her point. This again indicates that the rhetoric of the Bible was used to make the non-religious understandable, by explaining the world through the Bible. In fact, Mary's understanding of events can be drawn to texts such as those by John Milton, to confirm that this was indeed the rhetoric of the age. A striking example of Mary's use of this language is in her pamphlet, when she appeals to justice of the tribunal in her case against Robert: "For having thoroughly examined my case, they must sacrifice their conscience or condemn him".[132] Mary's choice of the words 'sacrifice', 'conscience', and 'condemn' all allude to religious language. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, these words were most often used in religious context, at least until the end of the seventeenth century. What is more, is that they resonate with Milton's language:

> What greater good to man then that revealed rule, whereby God vouchsafes to shew us how he would be worshipt? And yet that not rightly understood, became the cause that once a famous man in Israel could not but oblige his *conscience* to be the *sacrificer*, or if not, the jaylor of his innocent and only daughter…What thing more instituted to the solace and delight of man then marriage, and yet the mis-interpreting of some Scripture directed mainly against the abusers of the Law for divorce giv'n by Moses, hath chang'd the blessing of matrimony not seldome into a familiar and co-inhabiting mischiefe; at least into a drooping and disconsolate houshold captivity, without refuge or redemption.[133]

Her understanding of divorce law and her appeal to this does not only indicate the Protestant religion she professed but is also indicative of the changes that society experienced. This, too, underlines the power of print to spread these ideas to become interpretable among a wide audience. This becomes clear from the connection to Milton's divorce tracts. In sum, these women prove to be very conscious of themselves and their position in society and they use the medium of print to affirm their intentions.

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[132] Mary Hampson, 'the case of mrs. Mary Hampson', p. 43.
[133] Milton, 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce', 865-866.

Self-Awareness, Construction of Identity, and Credibility

Both autobiographical narratives show self-consciousness and gender awareness in terms of self-diminishing and validation by credibility. Within this context, Sutton seeks validation in the preface by Hanserd Knollys. His validation then supports her claims and refutes any doubt on the authenticity of her work. However, Sutton also very explicitly justifies her writings by means of her religious ideology. The point that she was chosen by God to convey His word to others is the predominant justification of her writing. For Sutton, gender awareness and the need for validation to gain credibility is very much related to the religious context, confirming that women were encouraged to write and to justify their work by the Bible. Hampson seeks validation elsewhere, although her accounts prove strongly not only that validation of her writings is essential, but also that validation of her being is even more fundamental. Besides her faith in God, Mary involves persons with socially accepted credibility to help her and testify for her. That way, her accounts provide in-depth cultural-historical insight into the position of women.

In line with Randall's study on credibility, the accounts by Sutton and Mary Hampson indicate the new standards of credibility that came to exist with the transformation of printed, public discourse. Following Randall's definition of news and public discourse, both Sutton and Mary Hampson deliberately make their writings a matter of public concern. The public circulation of their accounts certainly touches upon the notion of credibility. Patricia Crawford highlights the importance of validation for women in particular. Indeed, Sutton's work includes authentication by Hanserd Knollys. For Mary Hampson, validation was required on a level beyond her publication, starting with credibility and validation of her as a person. Mary appealed to various credible sources for attestation. Mary shows awareness of gender in a very different way than Sutton. Not only does Mary seek authority by means of sources of credibility, but Mary also adds self-diminishing remarks to her writings. She talks

about her ‘simplicity’ as a woman, although she immediately adds that this provides no grounds for a man to treat her in a bad manner.

A comparison between the two authors clearly highlights the paradox between the self-diminishing aspects and the desire for self-expression. Although Sutton shows several instants of gender-awareness and self-diminishing statements, she simultaneously shows a strong development of the self by placing herself in religious context. The feminist perspective that Ulrike Tancke explores sits uneasily with “the self-diminishing stance”,[134] that Sutton and Hampson both express in their writings, alongside their shared submission to divine authority.[135] From a postmodern perspective, their writings present ambiguous versions of themselves: both self-diminishing, and keen to publish their works to a wide readership. Similar to what Tancke states, Sutton’s identity is constructed by her strong sense that she is a divine creation and that her purpose is to evangelize. Her religious convictions facilitate her self-expression. However, her self-image is constructed on her evangelical task and her notion of being divinely ordained. In that light, women could more easily express themselves within the idealised image of the divine, rather than expressing themselves according to their own self-image. Sutton displays not so much a personal identity as a divine individualism. Based on the theories by Tancke and Greenblatt, the identity that Sutton constructs in her narrative is prototypically set on external moral, and in particular divine, principles.

For Mary Hampson, identity construction works very differently and is far less reliant on the divine. Although Mary does gain strength from religion, her self-construction on religious grounds is not so evident. For Mary, the sense of self is very much connected to her marital bond and the lack of autonomy she has by marriage. In addition to the dependence she has by marriage, Robert’s abuse and oppression deconstruct her identity by restricting her mobility. In her narrative, Mary proves to have a profound desire to develop her autonomous

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[134] Tancke, *'Bethinke thy selfe' in early modern England: writing women's identities*, p. 2.
[135] Ibid., p. 2.

self. Taking up her maiden name whilst being married is one example, challenging Robert in court and facing a patriarchal legal sphere is another. In her struggle for truth and justice, Mary goes through great difficulty to cut loose from social norms to achieve acknowledgement of the validity of her identity. Drawing from religion to gain strength and justification to do so, is evidently part of the religious narrative of the time that was commonly used to understand the world.

The construction of identity in relation to politics is indicative of the cultural-historical context. Whereas the language of religion functioned to understand the world, it similarly functioned to understand the self and in fact even to construct the self. For these women, their reliance on the divine and the identity they construct drawing from the divine empowers them to move beyond the socially acceptable towards the public sphere for acknowledgement and self-expression.

The works of the women that are central to this research indicate that their writings go beyond the domestic in relation to the sociable in the sense that they deal with the domestic in how it is connected to power structures. Mary Hampson is very explicit in saying that her writings deal with those power structures. Her domestic struggles are central to her writings, and she clearly states how her private concerns are also a public concern and how they are connected to structures of power. Therefore, by looking into the works of Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson, their reasons for publishing come to light. This thesis argues that there is a political and public sphere in which these women deliberately seek the medium of print. Their choice inevitably involves the rhetoric of publicity that fits their intention to spread the word.

Publishing for a Reason

In female sociable networks in the seventeenth century, the most obvious way to distribute a story was in manuscript. Two questions therefore arise: why did Sutton and Hampson choose the medium of print, and why did they print in the Netherlands? For both women, their choice to publish was to do with the specific medium of print. Printing and publishing mean that in theory a large number of people can access the text and interact with it, and this is a primary objective for both Sutton and Hampson. Sutton aimed to convey the word of God and the medium of print allowed her to do so to a wide audience. In line with Randall's statement on the political act of labelling information as matter of public concern, both Sutton and Hampson claim political standpoints. However, the political meaning that is conveyed in their writings is quite different.

For Sutton and Hampson, print has a rhetoric of publicity. The choice of this medium points towards an intention to address multiple, anonymous readers. For these women, the rhetoric of print thus involves the rhetoric of presenting their case in a politicized way. What is more, is that Hampson turns court tracts into social capital by writing deliberately for print and publication. Everard's actions to destroy Mary's prints could be seen as a political act, although this can only be based on assumption. Everard was authorised by the English ambassador to prevent print and distribution of political pamphlets by the English community in the Netherlands, although it could equally be that he misused his power by order of Robert Hampson.[136] However, the effects of her print as well as Robert's effort to prevent publication points towards a political effect. Malay writes that "his decision to publish any response at all indicates that he felt Mary's pamphlet did so much damage to his reputation that he had to respond in print".[137] This indicates that for Mary Hampson, it is the women's concern of being unequal in marriage and what abuse can lead to that prompts her to publish. This has

[136] Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson,* p. 99.
[137] Ibid., p. 103.

nothing to do with the triviality of feminizing women's writings and with stigmatising the feminine. In doing so, Hampson rejects the idea that women should not publish.

Addressing an Audience: Printing and Public Sphere

By choosing the medium of print, Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson intended for the general public to access and consume their life experiences. Both women are very explicit in their aim to do so. Sutton explicitly mentions on the title page that she shares her experiences "for the edification of others" and the preface by Knollys repeats and emphasises her deliberate act of publication. The materiality of her book accentuates the value and the intended longevity of her accounts. Sutton must have had the intention to publish for the English market. Other English works published by Goddaeus are known to be translated for the Dutch market, implying that Sutton could have chosen to do so. Instead, her work is published in English and contains direct references to England, inferring that the English were her target audience. Having fled from England from the religious regime of censorship and licensing, her choice to publish beyond borders involved the threat of punishment. From that perspective, Sutton's printed text could even be considered to represent heightened social capital, because an increased number of people accessed and dealt with print.

For Mary Hampson, social capital is constructed in a different manner. Mary similarly intended to reach an audience for her writings, and in fact disregarded the existence of borders altogether: "I think it will be necessary for me to put the case, as it is betwixt Mr. Hampson and my self, in print in all countries that the world may know the true reasons of our difference".[138] Mary took the risk of being abused by her husband, being cut off from financial support, and of becoming a social outcast by interfering with social norms. Despite

[138] Ibid., p. 131.

this, Mary constructed a circle of socially credible persons to validate her narrative and extended social capital by addressing a wide and varied range of audiences.

The analysis of the works by Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson points out that these women very deliberately chose the medium of print to publish their life experiences. They were clearly aware of their gendered status and turned to credible sources for validation of their work. The fact that both women experienced the loss or destruction of their initial work stresses their determination to publish the work altogether. Their perseverance and determination to share their work with a large public by the medium of print indicates self-awareness. Given the context, these women performed a political act by deliberately entering the public sphere.

Conclusion

The historical context of the Anglo-Dutch connection sheds light on the differences between the political and religious climate in England and the Netherlands. The distinction between the two nations included that the printing climate in the Dutch Republic was very different from that in England. The Netherlands offered more freedom of expression. Like many other non-conformists, Sutton and Mary Hampson found refuge in the liberal climate of Rotterdam and they made a deliberate choice to publish their works there.

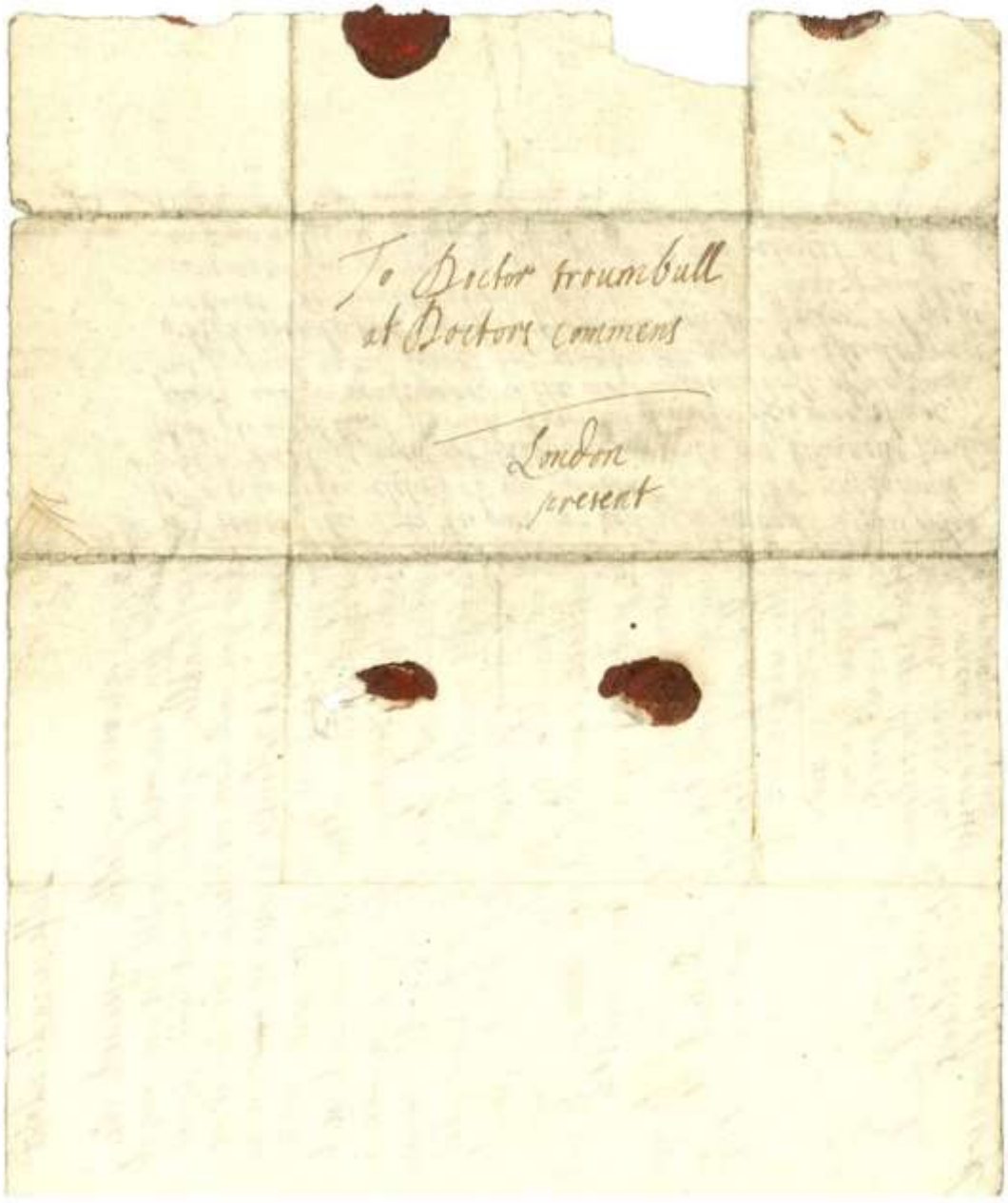
The historical context in which both women compiled their work allows a way of reading their works that crosses the gap between the seventeenth century and the present-day. The notion of religion being political provides understanding that the rhetoric of the Bible was the go-to way for these women to understand the world on the one hand, but also to justify their pursuit for truth and righteousness on the other. They apply this rhetoric to give form to the justice they sought in a society that was subject to major religious, political, and social changes. Both Sutton and Hampson use the medium of print to tell their stories and to convey their notions of the truth. That way, they built commercial, social, and discursive networks.[139]

On a superficial level, Katherine Sutton wrote religious songs and Mary Hampson accounted of her marital issues. However, it is important to consider the writings in the context of their time. In fact, their work function as a lens to look through to get a grasp of the religious and political culture of the second half of the seventeenth century. The cultural-historical context indicates that church and state were closely connected, and the history of religion points out the impact of religious reformation, while the history of politics sheds light on the formation of identity. They wrote their texts as instruments to communicate about the things that were important to them in society. Print functioned as that instrument and the politics in their works is telling of their identity politics. These are not just two women who

[139] Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, p. 169.

migrated to the Netherlands and published their life-writings for recreation and amusement. These women publish deliberately, and they very thoughtfully entered the public sphere with their life experiences. They took estimated risks and opposed authority by doing so and they challenged the tension between patriarchal norms and self-assertion. The examples of these two women prove that the rise of print and the public sphere was meaningful for their identity formation. They sought truth, whether religious, political, or personal, and appealed to the world in their pursuit. Katherine Sutton opposes church authority; Mary Hampson opposed the legal and social system. The works of Katherine Sutton and Mary Hampson go beyond the personal and the domestic in relation to the sociable since they address personal issues in connection to power issues.

Appendix I


To Doctor Trumbull
at Doctors commons

London
present

sir Delfe ce 20 de octobre

at my returne too delfe I reseaued the letter you fauvored me with but noe news of mr franklin too whom I wrot twis I desier that you will doe me the fauvoir too let me knowe what Authoritie is nessesar ~~pour~~ for me too giue for I was in soe grate passion too be out of the place whear I had reseaued such barbarrous treatment that I gaue noe order in my bussenes only desierd mr franklin too reseaue the fefty pounds if he hath not if I knew what forme it is too be vessed I shall doe it I thought if mr franklin reseaued the mony and gaue his aquittance it would haue bien ~~[illegible]~~ enoufe and the marchants aquitance too mr franklin I understand nothing of finnes which is the reason I am soe abused but I giue god thanks that I can suffer rong rather then doe any which is the satesfection of

sir

your most humble seruant and much obliged cliant
Mary Hampson

if thear be any way too reseaue my mony heare I would pay the thord part of my allemony for much I abhore the place whear that monster of ingratatud dous abid

for besids the duty he ows too god as a husband he his obliged too me for the releting of my Jointear and other obligations which my duty dees not oblige me too only my kindnesse too him that he might not parish knowing him too be a man of noe parts and by consequance the most contemtable of men with out fortune and I feared too weake too suporte the desgrace which atends the want of fortune you see Doctor how he requits the consideration I had for him, I thinke it will bee nessesarey for me too pat the case ~~as~~ as it is betwext mr H and my selfe in print ~~[illegible]~~ that the world may knowe the treasons of our deferance

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Images

Fragment of a letter by Mary Hampson to William Trumbull (both sides), 20th October 1680, from the archives of Berkshire Record Office, reference number FS-Case-514135689.