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Sir Thomas Cotton's Consumption of News in 1650s England

by

JASON PEACEY

ONE OF THE MORE UNFAIR COMMENTS penned by the seventeenth-century antiquary and MP, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, concerned the son of his fellow scholar, Sir Robert Cotton, owner of one of the most famous early modern libraries. Writing in his autobiography D'Ewes claimed that Cotton's son and heir, Sir Thomas Cotton, 2nd Bt (1594–1662), was 'altogether unworthy to be the master of so inestimable a library as his father'.¹ Although Sir Thomas was clearly no scholar or collector, the inaccuracy of this statement is now recognised by scholars who have demonstrated the efforts that Sir Thomas devoted to lobbying the government of Charles I to release the Cotton library, within two years of his father's death, from the sequestration that had been imposed in 1629.² Moreover, evidence suggests that he took great care to preserve and protect the collection, and to ensure that it remained available to be consulted, and borrowed from, in the decades that followed. Indeed, it was Sir Thomas who personally compiled parts of the catalogue of his father's great collection.³ Furthermore, evidence from Sir Thomas Cotton's financial papers indicates that he was himself an enthusiastic customer of London's bookshops, and that he acquired numerous new works as they emerged from the capital's presses, at least during the 1650s. However, in keeping with the profound transformation that both the publishing industry and political culture had undergone since Sir Robert's death, Cotton's own obsession can be shown to have been the political pamphlets and newspapers that appeared in such profusion during the decades of civil war and interregnum. It is the evidence regarding Cotton's consumption of such tracts, and particularly two bookseller's bills from 1659, with which this piece is concerned.

¹ *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, 2 vols (London, 1845), II, p. 43. Details regarding the life and career of Sir Thomas Cotton are drawn largely from the draft biography by Dr Andrew Barclay for the History of Parliament Trust.

² *C[alendar of] S[tate] P[apers] D[omestic], 1631–1633* (London, 1862), p. 224; *CSPD, 1633–1634* (London, 1863), p. 370. Sir Thomas sought to fulfil his father's wishes regarding the collection: see National Archives, PROB 11/159, fol. 520^r.

³ British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MS 36682. See Colin G. C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (London, 1994), pp. 29–30, fig. 14, and idem, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library* (London, 2003).

I

Scholarly interest in the consumption of print, and in bookseller's bills in particular, is clearly not new, given the light that they shed upon the interests and opinions of more or less prominent individuals, upon the workings of the book trade, and upon book prices in the early modern period. However, their comparative scarcity has ensured that the historiography on the subject remains severely limited.⁴ Known sources for book and pamphlet purchases during the seventeenth century are often frustratingly vague, for while they tend to indicate with some precision the date on which purchases were made, and the sums of money involved, they generally offer little specific information regarding the works acquired.⁵ Evidence regarding the purchase of named books and tracts tends to be fragmentary at best.⁶ Archival sources that are both extensive and detailed are rare indeed, and those that have survived, such as Humphrey Dyson's notebooks for the period 1610–30 and Richard Whitaker's bill for Sir Thomas Barrington, covering 1635–39, have rightly received detailed attention.⁷ Others, such as Sir Edward Dering's account books for the period 1619–27 and Henry Seile's bill for books supplied to the Prince of Wales and Duke of York in early 1642, deserve much greater scrutiny.⁸

Like so many of the sources related to the purchase of books and pamphlets in the seventeenth century, however, lists such as Barrington's are almost entirely devoted to works of a fairly substantial nature. In his case the majority of items ranged in price from a few shillings to over £1. Only a tiny handful were priced under a shilling, and only one — a royal proclamation — was priced at 1d.⁹ Barrington's list clearly does not relate to works at the more ephemeral end of the print spectrum, especially those brief political tracts and newspapers that were growing in importance, and in which Barrington himself displayed obvious interest during the period covered by Whitaker's bill.¹⁰

Archival evidence indicates that, at least amongst the gentry and the scholarly and political elite, such political literature was increasingly

⁴ F. R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book Prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, v, 5 (1950), 83–112.

⁵ BL, Add. MS 22466, fols 38^v–74^r; Add. MS 47787, fols 57^v–58^v, 65; and H. R. Plomer, 'A Cavalier's Library', *The Library*, n.s. 5 (1904), 158–72 (p. 161).

⁶ BL, Add. MS 35297, fols 181^r–82^v; Nottingham University Library, Pw2/Hy/121–22; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Late Reginald Rawdon Hastings*, 4 vols (London, 1928–47), 1, pp. 389–90; BL, Add. MS 70066, unfoliated; and Add. MS 70126, Misc. 18. I am grateful to Dr Stephen Roberts for drawing the last two references to my attention.

⁷ All Souls College, Oxford, MS 117, analysed in Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book Prices', and M. E. Bohannon, 'A London Bookseller's Bill: 1635–1639', *The Library*, iv, 18 (1938), 417–46.

⁸ Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, U350/E4, and Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.95/2. Dering's account book is currently being edited for publication by Letitia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁹ Bohanon, 'London Bookseller's Bill', pp. 440–41.

¹⁰ *Barrington Family Letters, 1628–1632*, ed. by Arthur Searle, Camden Society, 4th series, 28 (London, 1983), pp. 201–27. Barrington's family were regular readers of gazettes and corantos of foreign news.

popular in the two decades before the 1640s, although the accounts of individuals such as Sir Simonds D'Ewes are vague about specific titles.¹¹ Expenditure on ephemeral literature may have needed recording for accountancy purposes, but there is no reason to expect early modern gentlemen to accommodate modern scholarly interest in their taste in newspapers (D'Ewes) or playbooks (Dering) with what might reasonably be regarded as obsessive book-keeping. Likewise, both library and sale catalogues tend to be of limited value, since they offer imprecise evidence regarding the date and manner of the acquisition of printed works, and do not generally record the contents of composite volumes, thus providing an impression of the number of pamphlets, but not their nature.¹²

Fortunately archival sources survive to shed light upon the acquisition of tracts and newspapers in the 1640s, although the single best indicator of the vast scale on which newspapers were consumed during the 1640s and 1650s, the accounts of the Barrington family, offers little evidence about which journals were read.¹³ The expense book of the Kentish gentleman, James Master, provides valuable information regarding the consumption of political tracts, although it too is vague about which newspapers he was reading.¹⁴ Until now some of the most helpful evidence about the readership for individual newspaper titles has come from the archives of the Cecil family at Hatfield House, in the shape of the book bills submitted by Hugh and Catherine Perry.¹⁵ The Cecil book bills can now be supplemented, however, by evidence from the papers of Sir Thomas Cotton, contained in a volume that has hitherto been neglected because it has only recently been recognised as forming part of the Cotton family 'charters' in the British Library, and catalogued as such.¹⁶

II

Sir Thomas Cotton's career was a pale reflection of that enjoyed by his father, who was an MP and polemical author of note, as well as being a

¹¹ BL, Cotton Charter xvi.13, fols 5^v–14^r; BL, MS Harley 7660, fols 24^v–80^v; and *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London, 1966), pp. 249–67.

¹² J. L. Lievsay and R. B. Davis, 'A Cavalier Library, 1643', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 141–60. On sale catalogues, see Michael Mendle, 'Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth Century England', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 201–16.

¹³ Essex Record Office, D/DbA/A2, A3, A4, A5, A6, A7, A14, A18/2.

¹⁴ 'The Expense-Book of James Master Esq., AD 1646 to 1676', transcribed by Mrs Dallison and ed. by Canon Scott Robertson, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 15 (1883), 152–216, 16 (1886), 241–59, and 17 (1887), 321–52.

¹⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury*, 24 vols (London, 1883–1976), xxii (1971), pp. 215, 235, 249, 280–81, 285–86, 383, 385, and 389–90, and xxiv (1976), p. 282; Hatfield House, Bills 254/4, 5, 14, 16. I am exceedingly grateful to the Marquess of Salisbury for providing me with copies of the Hatfield bills.

¹⁶ BL, Cotton Charter i.17, formerly catalogued as Add. MS 8128. See R. C. Alston, *Handlist of Library Catalogues and Lists of Books and Manuscripts in the British Library Department of Manuscripts*, Bibliographical Society, occasional papers, 6 (London, 1991), p. 37. The volume comprises assorted bills and receipts from 1614 to 1661.

scholar and antiquary.¹⁷ Like a good country squire, Cotton junior served as a justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant from a relatively young age, but although he was elected to Parliament in 1624, 1625, and 1628, he made little or no impression upon proceedings. As Sheriff of Huntingdonshire in the late 1630s he worked assiduously to collect Ship Money, but once again he made little recorded mark upon the Short Parliament of 1640, to which he was elected as a knight of the shire for the same county. His reaction to the outbreak of civil war has been characterized as one of 'studied neutrality', and it is certainly likely that contemporaries would have been uncertain of his allegiance. Named by the king as a commissioner of array in 1642, he failed to support the royalist war effort, remaining instead within parliamentarian territory, where he was named to a series of local commissions in the early months of hostilities. That he failed to serve as commissioner for sequestrations or assessments, however, provoked allegations among the hotter sort of parliamentarians that he was a closet royalist, as well as wildly inaccurate stories of his having joined the king at Oxford and served in the cavalier army. However, that Cotton was not 'obnoxious to the Parliament', as John Aubrey later claimed, is evident from the fact that his many friends at Westminster were able to ensure that he evaded sequestration.¹⁸ Where Aubrey was more accurate was in suggesting that Cotton 'skulked in the country', and it is probable that he spent a great deal of the 1640s and 1650s at his estate at Eyworth in Bedfordshire. Having removed the Cotton library there from Westminster, he led, as his biographer has commented, 'an unremarkable and unremarked upon life'.¹⁹

However, the evidence from Cotton's accounts indicates that if he had absented himself from the nation's political crucible, he was not in the least disinterested in its affairs. If he was 'neutral', then he was very far from disengaged. Part of the importance of Cotton's financial accounts lies in confirming the extent to which contemporaries had developed a voracious appetite for pamphlets and newspapers by the 1650s. This much is known from the famous collections of the London bookseller, George Thomason, and of John Rushworth and William Clarke,²⁰ but is less well studied for those who lacked a professional interest in the press during this period. Cotton was evidently an avid reader of newspapers from their first appearance in large numbers in 1641,²¹ but it is the summary accounts of his

¹⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586–1631* (Oxford, 1979).

¹⁸ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by A. Clark, 2 vols (Oxford, 1898), II, p. 224.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ G. K. Fortescue, *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration Collected by George Thomason*, 2 vols (London, 1908); Frances Henderson, 'Posterity to Judge — John Rushworth and his Historical Collections', *Bodleian Library Record*, 15 (1996), 247–59. Clarke's pamphlets are preserved in the library of Worcester College, Oxford.

²¹ Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 61, fol. 181r.

expenses in later years, prepared for him on what appears to have been a biannual basis by his agent or solicitor in London, which indicate the extent of his expenditure on this relatively new form of political literature:

8 July 1652	newsbooks	£1.12.06 ²²
Nov. 1652	newsbooks	£0.16.02 ²³
4 Aug. 1653	newsbooks	£0.15.00 ²⁴
8 Nov. 1653	newsbooks	£1.00.04 ²⁵
16 May 1654	newsbooks	£1.15.06 ²⁶
16 Nov. 1654	newsbooks and other books	£1.15.00 ²⁷
c. 1654	newsbooks	£0.06.04 ²⁸
23 May 1655	newsbooks	£0.13.04 ²⁹
26 June 1655	newsbooks	£0.03.05 ³⁰
10 Nov. 1655	newsbooks	£0.14.08 ³¹
1 July 1656	newsbooks	£0.11.02 ³²
24 Sept. 1658	newsbooks	£0.04.10 ³³
Total		£10.08.03

Although the vast majority of these entries in Cotton's accounts refer to 'newsbooks', this appears to have been a means of denoting the kind of topical and brief pamphlets of which newspapers formed merely one kind. The one occasion when Cotton's accountant referred to 'newsbooks and other books' was probably telling, and evidence from the bookseller's bills from which such accounts were probably compiled, and which are reproduced below, indicates that 'newsbooks' referred to anything from newspapers to parliamentary speeches, proclamations, and Acts of Parliament, as well as treatises on foreign affairs, domestic politics, and political thought. That larger books were accounted for separately (and perhaps thus purchased from a different source) is evident from other entries in Cotton's accounts:

²² BL, Cotton Charter i. 17, fol. 23^r.

²³ *ibid.*, fol. 34^r.

²⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 42^r.

²⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 43^r.

²⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 46^r.

²⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 47^r.

²⁸ *ibid.*, fol. 100^r. This bill mentions Cotton's friend John Selden, who died on 30 November 1654.

²⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 49^r.

³⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 50^r.

³¹ *ibid.*, fol. 51^r.

³² *ibid.*, fol. 54^v.

³³ *ibid.*, fol. 72^r.

2 July 1653	1 book	£0.01.06 ³⁴
23 May 1655	1 book	£1.03.00 ³⁵
26 June 1655	1 book	£0.06.08 ³⁶
23 May 1655	3 books	£1.12.00 ³⁷
12 July 1659	3 books	£0.03.06 ³⁸
7 Oct. 1659	3 books	£1.00.00 ³⁹
Total (12 books)		£4.06.08

Thus far, however, such evidence merely confirms what is known from other sources, namely the contemporary appetite for news and politics, as represented in cheap print culture.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Cotton's accounts are also important for giving the lie to the idea that he led a disengaged and withdrawn life in Cromwell's England, and for demonstrating how well informed even a retired country gentleman could be in the 1650s. As such, they provide an impressive illustration of the claims made by those historians who suggest that distance from London was no great obstacle to the acquisition of news and print culture.⁴¹

The most important evidence from Cotton's papers, however, is provided by accounts for 1659, the year that saw the collapse of the Protectorate, the revival of the Rump Parliament, and the subsequent tussle between the military and civilian republicans in the months before the Restoration. Particularly important are two bookseller's bills from the same unnamed London stationer, who may have been Livewell Chapman (see below).⁴² Together with other portions of the Cotton accounts, these reveal expenditure on 'newsbooks' between January and mid-July 1659 to have been as follows:

³⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 40^r.

³⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 49^r.

³⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 50^r.

³⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 49^r.

³⁸ *ibid.*, fol. 81^r.

³⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 86^r.

⁴⁰ Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth Century England', *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60–90; F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550–1640', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1982), 11–34; Michael Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s', in *Serials and their Readers 1620–1914*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1993), pp. 1–25; and Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford, 1996), ch. 5.

⁴¹ Levy, 'How Information Spread'; Frearson, 'London Corantos'; Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 238–41; and Jason Scott-Warren, 'News, Sociability and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library*, VII, 1 (2000), 381–402.

⁴² BL, Cotton Charter i. 17, fols 79^r, 88^r. The first of these is a bifolium, each page of which measures 195 mm wide by 300 mm long, although it has been folded in half lengthways, with the accounts written in three columns. It is endorsed, on what would have become the outside (fol. 80^v), 'Sr Thomas Cotton his bill 1659'. The second bill is also a bifolium, made by folding a single sheet (180 mm x 300 mm) in half lengthways. It too is endorsed on the outside (fol. 89^v), 'Sr Thomas Cotton his bill'. There is evidence that both bills were folded in half upon completion, in order to conceal the text in an outer blank sheet, which then bore the endorsement.

30 Dec. 1658–17 Mar. 1659	£0.08.07 ⁴³
21 Mar. 1659–26 Apr. 1659	£0.05.02 ⁴⁴
26 Apr. 1659–9 June 1659	£0.11.09 ⁴⁵
9 June 1659–11 July 1659	£0.06.05 ⁴⁶
Total	£1.11.11

It is not entirely clear, however, whether these purchases were separate from, or somehow part of, other entries in Cotton's accounts during this period, namely:

c. Feb. 1659	newsbooks	£0.09.07 ⁴⁷
9 June 1659	newsbooks	£0.12.01 ⁴⁸
13 July 1659	newsbooks	£0.16.02 ⁴⁹
Total		£1.17.10

In any case, it is clear that further purchases were made later in the year, as recorded in subsequent accounts:

7 Oct. 1659	newsbooks	£1.06.08 ⁵⁰
[c. Jan] 1660	newsbooks	£0.16.02 ⁵¹
Total		£2.02.10

On this basis, Cotton can be shown to have spent over £3, and perhaps in excess of £4, on newspapers and political tracts during the tumultuous year of 1659.

In order to gain an impression of the volume of items being acquired, however, rather than merely the amount of money being spent, it is necessary to turn to the two bookseller's bills themselves.⁵² The first, covering 30 December 1658–17 March 1659, gives more or less precise details of thirty-six items, while the second, covering 26 April–9 June 1659, gives details of a further ninety-two items. Together these bills therefore itemize 128 items, acquired at a cost to Cotton of £1.00.04, an average price of 1.9*d.* per volume. If these accounts reflect Cotton's reading tastes throughout the

⁴³ BL, Cotton Charter i. 17, fol. 88^r.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, fol. 81^r (bill of 12 July 1659).

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, fol. 79^r.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, fol. 81^r (bill of 12 July 1659).

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, fol. 75^r.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, fol. 78^r.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, fol. 85^v.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, fol. 86^r.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, fol. 90^r.

⁵² For a transcription, see the Appendix, below. Numbers in square brackets within the ensuing discussion refer to the running numbers assigned to items in the two lists.

1650s, he could have purchased in excess of 1,300 political tracts and newspapers in the period 1652–58, to which he may have added over 400 more in 1659. To place this in context, it is possible that Cotton purchased in eight years some 1,700 tracts and pamphlets, or 28.6% of the 5,942 items amassed by the London stationer George Thomason over the same period. This would have been a startling achievement for a supposedly ‘neutral’ and retired gentleman, not least since this does not include Cotton’s purchases of more substantial books, of the kind that formed part of Thomason’s collection.⁵³

III

In terms of the substantive content of Cotton’s accounts for 1659, the importance lies less in identifying new pamphlets, or in revising our understanding of book prices during the late 1650s, than it does in shedding important light upon the reading habits of a seventeenth-century gentleman, both in terms of the items purchased and the manner in which they were acquired. There are relatively few unidentifiable items on the lists, and some of these arise as a result of the vague notation of the bookseller. One newsbook was recorded without any title [20], and the item regarding elections from January 1659 [6] is impossible to identify with any precision, although it may have been an official proclamation or order announcing the polls. Our bookseller was not always any more precise when noting which of the many works by William Prynn and James Harrington he had supplied [48, 55, 75, 114, 139], and gave little detailed information regarding which of the petitions addressed to the army grandee, Charles Fleetwood [47], and which of the works relating to the ‘good old cause’ [59], he had sold. More interesting is ‘Remarkable passages’ [108], a title not known from this period among either tracts or newspapers, as well as the first issue of the journal *Perfect Occurrences* [57], of which no copies survive. Most intriguing of all, perhaps, is the reference to Goldsmith’s almanac for 1659 [5], since this long-running work is not known to have begun before 1663.

In terms of book and newspaper prices the lists merely confirm what is known from other evidence, namely that broadsides and pamphlets of up to eight quarto pages tended to sell for 1d., while a work of twelve quarto pages would cost 2d.⁵⁴ However, the evidence from these lists indicates that prices were anything but standard in the way that the Stationers Company had once sought to insist. Scarcity and/or scandalous content could evidently have a profound affect. The *Exact relation* concerning Denmark and Sweden [14], a work of only sixteen quarto pages, cost Cotton 10d., some 4d. more

⁵³ Figures for Thomason’s collection are based upon Fortescue’s catalogue, which may not be entirely accurate. See Fortescue, *Catalogue*, 1, p. xxi, and Michael Mendle, ‘The Thomason Collection: A Reply to Stephen J. Greenberg’, *Albion*, 22 (1990), 85–93 (p. 90).

⁵⁴ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 260–64, 273.

than *Englands Confusion* [112], which contained twenty-four pages, while another work of sixteen pages, the notorious *Killing No Murder* [123] cost him a mere 3d. The most expensive item on the list, the *Second Narrative* of the 1656 Parliament [31], a work of fifty-six pages, cost a shilling.

When considering the nature of Cotton's purchases, the most striking fact is the overwhelming predominance of political news and opinion. There is little evidence that he was buying devotional works and sermons, aside from a statement by the congregational churches [22] and a work by John Flowre [32], or works of historical and literary interest. If Cotton was acquiring such works, then he was getting them from other booksellers, a hypothesis that might serve to confirm that readers were aware of where best to obtain different types of works.⁵⁵ Cotton turned to this particular bookseller for what we would now seek in a newsagent: for newspapers as well as other forms of political information and comment. During both Richard Cromwell's parliament (January–April 1659) and the restored Rump (from May 1659) Cotton displayed an interest in elections [6], as well as in speeches from Westminster [15, 19], Acts [70, 91, 111, 119], and declarations, orders, and votes [64, 68, 77], not to mention works that offered narratives of parliamentary sessions after their demise [31, 124]. He also acquired printed lists of the MPs sitting in the Commons [56, 118], as well as statements issued by Richard and Henry Cromwell after the collapse of the protectorate [102, 106], and some of the many petitions addressed to Parliament from around the country. In this last respect Cotton's collection amply reflects one of the most important developments in mid-seventeenth-century print culture [21, 71, 79, 80, 105, 121].⁵⁶ His interest in current affairs led also to the acquisition of works regarding plots against the government [35, 73], as well as a number of works regarding Continental affairs, particularly relating to Sweden and Denmark [10, 13, 14, 24, 25, 34, 39], then the most serious diplomatic issue for the English government.⁵⁷ However, the bills also demonstrate the extent to which readership for 'murder' literature extended up the social scale [30].⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Peter Lindenbaum, 'How and Where a Network Works: Religious Bookselling in Restoration England' (paper read at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 27 May 2004). I am very grateful to Peter Lindenbaum for providing me with a copy of this paper. Some bookbuyers, however, appear to have relied on a single stationer to supply all types of printed literature: cf. BL, Add. MS 70066, unfoliated.

⁵⁶ David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000), ch. 8.

⁵⁷ Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 190–217.

⁵⁸ Peter Lake, 'Popular Form, Puritan Content? Two Puritan Appropriations of the Murder Pamphlet from Mid-Seventeenth Century London', in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 313–34; and idem, 'Deeds against Nature: Cheap Print, Protestantism and Murder in Early Seventeenth Century England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Kevin Sharpe (London, 1994), pp. 257–83.

Cotton's taste in contemporary pamphlets also extended to political comment and criticism. This is most obvious in his acquisition of works by, or about, noted authors from across the political spectrum, including William Prynne [48, 75, 80, 90, 114], James Harrington [55, 139], Henry Neville [81], and John Streater [66, 97], as well as of the infamous *Killing No Murder* [123]. However, Cotton also acquired works of political economy, relating to the condition of the poor [99] and the advancement of trade [107], and he was an enthusiastic reader of tracts that analysed contemporary political divisions and offered advice about the shape of a future political settlement, both during the protectorate [16, 18, 29], and subsequently during the Rump [51, 52, 59, 60, 65, 72, 74, 86, 94, 103, 112, 116, 117]. As the army returned to political prominence in late April 1659, Cotton began acquiring dozens of the works that represented the opinions emanating from within the military, and which debated the legitimacy of their political influence [37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 54, 61, 62, 76, 82, 89, 95, 98, 101, 125].

Cotton's book bills demonstrate beyond doubt, therefore, the extent to which contemporaries had developed an appetite for news, indeed an appetite that could barely be satiated during the tumultuous events of 1659. Perhaps the greatest indication of this stems, however, from Cotton's consumption of newspapers, which also raises the understudied issue of readers' 'taste' during the early modern print revolution.⁵⁹ From September 1655 until early 1659 the protectoral government enforced a near monopoly of published news, which was dominated by two journals written by the leading journalist of the age, Marchamont Nedham — *Mercurius Politicus* and the *Publick Intelligencer*.⁶⁰ These journals were virtually identical, differing largely in the fact that the former appeared on Thursdays, while the latter was published on Mondays. The difference in their content sprang largely from their day of publication, and each tended to contain the same news.⁶¹ As one historian of the seventeenth-century press suggested, the patient reader needed to buy only one weekly paper, since the advantage of buying both journals lay merely in not having to wait three days for the latest intelligence.⁶² Until now there has been little or no evidence that individual readers were sufficiently impatient to purchase both titles, and so the fact that Cotton regularly did just this is particularly illuminating. It indicates that he treated the two journals almost as one title that appeared twice

⁵⁹ Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 253–56; Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth Century Britain', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 185–212.

⁶⁰ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers* (Aldershot, 2004), chs 4–5; Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, MA, 1961), pp. 253–67; and Joad Raymond, 'A Mercury with a Winged Conscience: Marchamont Nedham, Monopoly and Censorship', *Media History*, 4 (1998), 7–18.

⁶¹ Frank, *Beginnings*, p. 255.

⁶² *ibid.*

rather than once a week, and that he was highly impatient to learn of the latest developments both at home and abroad. However, the evidence from the two bills also indicates that readers of newspapers in the 1650s were not entirely satisfied with the news that the government's journalists provided, for as soon as new titles started to emerge in April 1659 Cotton began to experiment with the reborn unofficial news industry.⁶³ While continuing to buy *Politicus* and the *Intelligencer*, therefore, he also bought new titles as and when they emerged, such as Daniel Border's *Faithfull Scout* [44] and Henry Walker's *Perfect Occurrences* [57], as well as *Weekly Post* [67], *Weekly Intelligencer* [83], and *Mercurius Democritus* [85]. Some of these titles he liked more than others, and while he began to read the *Faithfull Scout* on a regular basis [44, 58, 93, 109], he may have had little enthusiasm for the semi-pornographic 'journalism' of *Democritus*. That Cotton was addicted to the news medium is evident from the fact that in the week between 10 and 17 May 1659 he acquired six different journals.

This addiction to news is evident not merely from the number of works acquired but also from the way in which they were purchased. Although it is difficult to be certain by whom the bills were sent, it is evident that Cotton — like Sir Thomas Barrington in the 1630s — was a sufficiently good customer to have been able to open an 'account', and that his London agent was able to take what he wanted as and when it appeared, settling the account every few months.⁶⁴ That the culture of book buying had changed since the 1630s, however, is apparent from the fact that Cotton's agent visited the shop on an almost daily basis in order to acquire the latest items from the press.

Moreover, the frequency with which Cotton's agent visited his favourite bookseller also facilitates observations about the nature of the collection acquired by Cotton's more famous contemporary, George Thomason. Cotton acquired seventeen items that are not part of Thomason's collection, including two items not known to be extant [5, 57], as well perhaps as one of the works by Prynne [48] and one of the works on the 'good old cause' [59]. Only two of these items were newspapers [57, 85], one of which was a new title that Thomason did not begin acquiring until the following issue [85]. Thomason evidently found it difficult keeping up with the incessant flow of brief petitions and tracts relating to the army, lacking seven in Cotton's collection [29, 71, 72, 82, 88, 95, 121], but his failure to acquire four titles relating to Continental politics may reflect a slight Anglocentric bias [10, 13, 14, 24]. Perhaps the most intriguing of Thomason's omissions are three tracts produced for Livewell Chapman [71, 72, 73], bookseller and

⁶³ *ibid.*, pp. 259–67.

⁶⁴ The Harley family did likewise, having remained loyal to the bookseller Philemon Stephens for over thirty years. Cf. BL, Add. MS 70002, fol. 82^r, and Add. MS 70066, unfoliated.

publisher at the sign of the Crown in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill, London.⁶⁵ Cotton acquired at least sixteen works for which Chapman was the bookseller, and that he acquired three that Thomason failed to obtain may indicate that Chapman was the bookseller whom Cotton patronized. This possibility is all the more intriguing given Chapman's status as one of London's most consistently radical publishers and booksellers of the 1650s. The publisher of Harington's *Oceana* and Milton's *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, he was also close to the Fifth Monarchists. In 1654 he was arrested for seditious publishing, and was regarded with some suspicion thereafter. Indeed he was reckoned by one prominent Cromwellian to be 'owner, or at least a sharer in the private press that hath done so much mischief'. By early 1660 he was clearly working closely with republican grandees such as John Disborow, for which he again faced arrest.⁶⁶

Aside from such differences in the content of the Thomason and Cotton collections, these two book bills also permit an assessment of the reliability of Thomason's dating of contemporary tracts. From the summer of 1642 Thomason famously annotated his copies with the date of acquisition, boasting that 'such exact care hath been taken that the very day is written upon most of them that they came out'.⁶⁷ This has proved invaluable to scholars who seek to contextualize Civil War politics and literature.⁶⁸ Until now, however, there has been little way of testing Thomason's dates, and Cotton's lists offer a fascinating opportunity to undertake such a task, even if only over a brief period.

Of the 108 items that both Thomason and Cotton acquired, thirty-three were newspapers, which Thomason did not date, although here Cotton's evidence is interesting because it suggests that journals tended to appear on the day that their title-pages suggested, at least during this period.⁶⁹ Three more items (all parliamentary declarations or Acts) were undated by Thomason [64, 70, 111], and one was acquired by Cotton twice [101, 104]. This leaves seventy-one items on which to base a comparison. Using the dating on Thomason's copies, rather than the unreliable Fortescue catalogue, it can be shown that Cotton made his acquisitions as follows:

⁶⁵ Henry R. Plomer, *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), p. 44.

⁶⁶ *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, ed. by Thomas Birch, 7 vols (London, 1742), iv, p. 379; CSPD, 1654 (London, 1880), pp. 378, 389; CSPD, 1657–8 (London, 1884), pp. 134, 339; CSPD, 1658–9 (London, 1885), p. 238; and CSPD, 1659–60 (London, 1886), pp. 409–11, 572, 575. For Chapman, see *Oxford DNB*, and Leona Rostenberg, 'Sectarianism and Revolt: Livewell Chapman, Publisher to the Fifth Monarchy', in her *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious and Legal Publishing, Printing and Bookselling in England, 1551–1700*, 2 vols (New York, 1965), pp. 202–36.

⁶⁷ Quoted in Mendle, 'The Thomason Collection', p. 86. On the dating of Thomason's pamphlets, see also S. J. Greenberg, 'Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641–1644', *Albion*, 20 (1988), 387–401, and idem, 'The Thomason Collection: Rebuttal to Michael Mendle', *Albion*, 22 (1990), 95–98.

⁶⁸ Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, passim.

⁶⁹ This was not always true: see Thomason's comment to the effect that one journal, *Mercurius Militaris*, 2 (10–17 Oct. 1648, E468/35), appeared almost a week after its stated day of publication.

Before Thomason	17
After Thomason	24
Same day as Thomason	30

Of those that Cotton purchased after Thomason, the vast majority (twenty) were purchased within one to three days [22, 46, 47, 55, 60, 61, 74, 77, 90, 91, 92, 94, 102, 103, 106, 112, 114, 115, 118, 125], and one other was acquired within five days [98]. The remainder were acquired at least a fortnight after Thomason added them to his mountain of tracts:

<i>A reply to the Danish papers</i> [34]	14 days
<i>A brief relation ... the arguments ... by the late protector</i> [19]	18 days
<i>Severall queries concerning the church of Jesus Christ</i> [32]	c. 3 months

More interesting, however, are those pamphlets that Cotton purchased before Thomason. Of these, seven were purchased one to three days earlier [15, 37, 40, 45, 99, 107, 120] and a further five were purchased four to seven days earlier [25, 30, 66, 86, 87]. The most intriguing cases are the tracts that Thomason acquired over a week later than Cotton:

W. Prynne, <i>Beheaded Dr John Hewytts ghost</i> [35]	11 days
<i>An Expedient for the preventing any difference</i> [18]	15 days
<i>XXV queries</i> [16]	16 days
<i>The Leveller</i> [11]	20 days
<i>A Second narrative of the late parliament</i> [31]	42 days

What this suggests is that there were occasions when Thomason acquired tracts significantly later than the day they were published, and this ought to serve as a caution to those who place significant weight upon the dates he provides. However, the bigger picture provided by the bookseller's bills is that Thomason's dates are remarkably reliable. This is particularly clear when the figures are presented in another way, in order to demonstrate that Cotton and Thomason acquired the overwhelming majority of their tracts within three days of each other:

Number acquired on same day	30
Number acquired +/- one day	47
Number acquired +/- two days	52
Number acquired +/- three days	57

Moreover, what these statistics mask is the fact that the widest discrepancies between the dates on which Cotton and Thomason acquired their tracts occur in the period before the collapse of the protectorate. For the period of

the second bookseller's bill, in which there are fifty-eight items for comparison, the figures are as follows:

Number acquired on same day	29
Number acquired +/- one day	45
Number acquired +/- two days	50
Number acquired +/- three days	54

When political tension mounted, and when the future of England and its government became markedly less certain, the London presses burst back into life after a relatively quiet period, and both Cotton and Thomason displayed a desire and a determination to acquire the latest pamphlets as early as possible, to a degree that had not been the case during the relatively calm months after Richard Cromwell's accession to the protectoral helm.

IV

The early modern 'news revolution' has largely been constructed from the printed texts that survive from the seventeenth century, including collections like Thomason's, and analysis of readership and reception has been hampered by the fragmentary nature of the archival evidence.⁷⁰ The survival of Sir Thomas Cotton's accounts, and of his book bills from 1659, permits study of this phenomenon to be taken in new directions, and for the period's greatest collector to be subjected to scrutiny and contextualization. Cotton's accounts provide an opportunity to assess how one seventeenth-century gentleman consumed political news during a key moment in that turbulent era, highlighting not merely that his fascination with contemporary politics led him to acquire vast numbers of ephemeral tracts and treatises, but also his methods of purchasing such works, and the nature of his taste in print culture. The amount of money spent, the frequency with which visits were made to London's bookshops, and the nature of the items acquired all indicate beyond doubt that Cotton was a seventeenth-century 'news junkie', and one who appears to have been conscious of the attraction of culling information from a variety of sources, and of the need to look beyond the news presented by the government. This obsession with news provides the key to understanding the light that Cotton's bills shed upon the Thomason collection. First, since the desire to keep up to date with the latest developments prompted Cotton or his agent to make frequent trips to the bookseller with whom he had an account, it is possible to suggest that the 'publication' dates recorded by Thomason were — with notable exceptions — remarkably accurate. Second, it is instructive to recognise that a politically inactive country gentleman might have acquired somewhere approaching a third of

⁷⁰ Levy, 'How Information Spread'; Frearson, 'Distribution and Readership'; Raymond, *Invention*, ch. 5; and Raymond, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable'.

the works that a prominent and very well connected London stationer amassed. Huge though it clearly is, the size of Thomason's collection may actually be something of an illusion, since little evidence has hitherto been produced with which to provide a contemporary frame of reference and scale. It may be that what was remarkable about Thomason was not so much his acquisition of huge numbers of pamphlets but his preservation of them.

London

APPENDIX

British Library, Cotton Charter i.17

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[1]	Thursday 30th December Polliticus	0-0-2 ⁷¹
[2]	Monday 3 day January Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁷²
[3]	Thursday 6 day Polliticus	0-0-2 ⁷³
[4]	Munday 10th day Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁷⁴
[5]	10 day Goldsmiths alminacke	0-0-4 ⁷⁵
[6]	13 day 2 sheets about elections	0-0-2 ⁷⁶
[7]	13 day Thursday Pollitticus	0-0-2 ⁷⁷
[8]	Munday 17th Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁷⁸
[9]	Munday 24th Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁷⁹
[10]	27th Relation about Duke Curland	0-0-2 ⁸⁰
[11]	27 day Levellers principalls	0-0-2 ⁸¹

⁷¹ 361.547: *Mercurius Politicus*, 547 (23–30 Dec. 1658, E760/20). In this and the following notes, newspapers are prefixed with catalogue references from Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700* (New York, 1987). Other works are prefixed with catalogue references from Donald Wing, *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed . . . 1641–1700*, 2nd edn, revised, 3 vols (New York, 1982–94). Where possible, items are also given their Thomason 'E' or '669' number from the British Library (for, respectively, pamphlets and broadsides), and the date on which Thomason acquired them. For ease of citation, a simpler form of reference on the model of E760/20 (as in this first case) is here preferred to the shelfmark as traditionally formulated, namely E.760.(20.).

⁷² 575.157: *Publick Intelligencer*, 157 (27 Dec. 1658–3 Jan. 1659, E760/27).

⁷³ 361.548: *Mercurius Politicus*, 548 (30 Dec. 1658–6 Jan. 1659, E761/2).

⁷⁴ 575.158: *Publick Intelligencer*, 158 (3–10 Jan. 1659, E761/1).

⁷⁵ John Goldsmith's almanacs are not known before 1663; see Wing A1792B–1799A.

⁷⁶ Unidentified.

⁷⁷ 361.549: *Mercurius Politicus*, 549 (6–13 Jan. 1659, E761/4).

⁷⁸ 575.159: *Publick Intelligencer*, 159 (10–17 Jan. 1659, E761/3).

⁷⁹ 575.160: *Publick Intelligencer*, 160 (17–24 Jan. 1659, E761/5).

⁸⁰ R837a: *A relation of the horrid injuries committed by the King of Sweden, upon the Duke of Curland* (London, for Simon Miller, 1659).

⁸¹ L1799: *The Leveller: or, The principles and maxims concerning government and religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called Levellers* (London, for Thomas Brewster, 1659, E968/3, 16 Feb. 1659).

[12]	Munday 31th Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁸²
[13]	31 day A relation of Gundamore	0-0-6 ⁸³
[14]	31 day An exact relation of danes	0-0-10 ⁸⁴
[15]	first February 2 speeches	0-0-6 ⁸⁵
[16]	4 day February 25 queries	0-0-2 ⁸⁶
[17]	Munday 7th February Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁸⁷
[18]	11th day An expedient &c	0-0-1 ⁸⁸
[19]	15 day Arguments by Protector	0-0-2 ⁸⁹
[20]	17th February A neues booke	0-0-2 ⁹⁰
[21]	17th Citty petition	0-0-1 ⁹¹
[22]	19th Declaration of the churches	0-0-6 ⁹²
[23]	21th Munday Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁹³
[24]	23 day 2 sheets about Swedes & Danes	0-0-2 ⁹⁴
[25]	28th day Prince Brandenburgs letter	0-0-1 ⁹⁵
[26]	28 day Munday Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁹⁶
[27]	3 March Thursday Pollitticus	0-0-2 ⁹⁷
[28]	Munday 7th day Intelligencer	0-0-2 ⁹⁸
[29]	7 day Answer to the expedient	0-0-2 ⁹⁹
[30]	7 day A relation of the murther of Mr Ffussell Attorney	0-0-4 ¹⁰⁰

⁸² 575.161: *Publick Intelligencer*, 161 (24–31 Jan. 1659, E761/7).

⁸³ S2083: *A choice narrative of Count Gondamor's transactions during his embassy in England* (London, for John Garfield, 1659).

⁸⁴ E3675: *An Exact relation of all the transactions and proceedings, between the King of Denmark, and the King of Sweden* (London, for Simon Miller, 1659).

⁸⁵ C7191: *The speech of His highness the Lord Protector . . . As also the speech of the right Honourable Nathaniel Lord Fiennes* (London, by Henry Hills and John Field, 1659, E968/1–2, 2 Feb. 1659).

⁸⁶ T3409: *XXV queries* (London, for L. Chapman, 1660, E968/5, 16 Feb. 1659).

⁸⁷ 575.162: *Publick Intelligencer*, 162 (31 Jan.–7 Feb. 1659, E761/9).

⁸⁸ E3873: *An expedient for the preventing any difference between His Highness and the Parliament* (London, for Giles Calvert, 1659, E968/9, 26 Feb. 1659).

⁸⁹ B4622A: *A brief relation containing an abreviation of the arguments urged by the late Protector* ([London], 1659, E965/4, 28 Jan. 1659).

⁹⁰ Unidentified.

⁹¹ H3474: *The humble petition of many thousand citizens and inhabitants in and about the City of London* (London, for Livewell Chapman, 1659, E968/6*, 17 Feb. 1659).

⁹² N1488: *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England* (London, for D. L., 1659, E968/4, 16 Feb. 1659).

⁹³ 575.164: *Publick Intelligencer*, 164 (14–21 Feb. 1659, E761/14).

⁹⁴ S5306: *The state of the case between Denmark and Sweden* ([London], 1658).

⁹⁵ F2109: *A letter written by His Highness the Prince Elector of Brandenbourg* ([London], 1659, E972/7, 5 Mar. 1659).

⁹⁶ 575.165: *Publick Intelligencer*, 165 (21–28 Feb. 1659, E761/16).

⁹⁷ 361.556: *Mercurius Politicus*, 556 (24 Feb.–13 Mar. 1659, E761/19).

⁹⁸ 575.166: *Publick Intelligencer*, 166 (28 Feb.–7 Mar. 1659, E761/18).

⁹⁹ N1195: C. Noble, *The inexpediency of the expedient* (London, for Tho. Pierrepont, 1659).

¹⁰⁰ U68: *The unhappy marksman. Or A perfect and impartial discovery of that late barbarous and unparallel'd murther committed by Mr. George Stranguayes* (London, by T. N. for R. Clavell, 1659, E972/10, 12 Mar. 1659).

[31]	9 The 2 narrative &c.	0-1-0 ¹⁰¹
[32]	14th March Severall queries	0-0-2 ¹⁰²
[33]	14 March: Munday Intelligencer	0-0-2 ¹⁰³
[34]	16 day Reply to the Danish papers	0-0-2 ¹⁰⁴
[35]	16 day Dr Hewitts Ghost	0-0-3 ¹⁰⁵
[36]	17th day Pollitticus	0-0-2 ¹⁰⁶
	l s d	
	sum is 0-8-7	

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	[Column 1]	
[37]	26th Aprill Address Westminster	0-0-1 ¹⁰⁷
[38]	27th A faithfull memoriall &c	0-0-2 ¹⁰⁸
[39]	27th Articles of peace France & Spaine	0-0-1 ¹⁰⁹
[40]	27th Seasonable advice to the souldiers	0-0-1 ¹¹⁰
[41]	28th Aprill Pollitticus	0-0-2 ¹¹¹
[42]	28th Reasons humbly propounded to the officers of the Army	0-0-1 ¹¹²
[43]	28th day Plaine proposalls	0-0-1 ¹¹³
[44]	29th day Faithfull Scout	0-0-1 ¹¹⁴

¹⁰¹ W1557: *A second narrative of the late Parliament (so called)* ([London], 1659, E977/3*, 20 Apr. 1659).

¹⁰² F1386: J. Flowre, *Severall queries concerning the church of Jesus Christ upon earth* (London, by T. Mabb for Edward Thomas, 1658, E2141/2, Nov. 1658).

¹⁰³ 575.167: *Publick Intelligencer*, 167 (7–14 Mar. 1659, E761/20).

¹⁰⁴ R1071: *A reply to the Danish papers presented to the members of Parliament* ([London], 1659, E972/2, 2 Mar. 1659).

¹⁰⁵ P3900: W. Prynne, *Beheaded Dr. John Hewyts ghost* (London, 1659, E974/2, 27 Mar. 1659).

¹⁰⁶ 361.558: *Mercurius Politicus*, 558 (10–17 Mar. 1659, E761/23).

¹⁰⁷ T1651: *To the right honourable the Ld. Fleetwood . . . the humble representation of divers well-affected persons of the city of Westminster and parts adjacent* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E979/5, 27 Apr. 1659).

¹⁰⁸ A1052: W. Allen, *A faithful memorial of that remarkable meeting of many officers of the Army in England, at Windsor Castle, in the year 1649* (London, for Livewel Chapman, 1659, E979/3, 27 Apr. 1659).

¹⁰⁹ A174: *An account from Paris of the articles of peace concluded betwixt the two Crownes of France and Spaine* ([London], 1659, 669.f.21/25, 27 Apr. 1659).

¹¹⁰ L75: T. L., *Huc ades, haec animo. Or A serious and (perhaps) seasonable advice, to the souldiery of the three nations* (London, 1659, E980/3, 30 Apr. 1659).

¹¹¹ 361.564: *Mercurius Politicus*, 564 (21–28 Apr. 1659, E762/7).

¹¹² S4574: *Some reasons humbly proposed to the officers of the Army* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E979/8, 28 Apr. 1659).

¹¹³ T3399: *Twelve plain proposals offered to the honest and faithful officers and souldiers of our English Army* (London, by J. C. for Livewel Chapman, 1659, 669.f.21/26, 28 Apr. 1659).

¹¹⁴ 151.001: *The Faithfull Scout*, 1 (22–29 Apr. 1659, E977/5).

[45]	29 day The advice of divers well affected to the good old cause	O-O-I ¹¹⁵
[46]	29th day Plaine word of truth	O-O-I ¹¹⁶
[47]	29 day Petition to Ld Fleetwood	O-O-I ¹¹⁷
[48]	30th day A sheet of Mr Prins	O-O-I ¹¹⁸
[49]	2 day May Munday Armies duty	O-O-4 ¹¹⁹
[50]	2 day Declarations of the souldiers	O-O-I ¹²⁰
[51]	2 day Honest designes	O-O-I ¹²¹
[52]	2 day Humble desires	O-O-I ¹²²
[53]	2 day Publique Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹²³
[54]	3 day 5 proposalls 1 sheet	O-O-I ¹²⁴
[55]	3 day Mr Harringtons 1 sheet	O-O-I ¹²⁵
[56]	3 day A List of all the Parliaments	O-O-6 ¹²⁶
[57]	3 day Perfect occurrences	O-O-I ¹²⁷
[58]	6 day Faithfull Scout	O-O-I ¹²⁸
[59]	6 day The good old cause	O-O-I ¹²⁹
[60]	6 day A seasonable word &c	O-O-I ¹³⁰

¹¹⁵ T1579: *To the officers and souldiers of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland. The humble petition and advice of divers well-affected to the good old cause* ([London], 1659, E980/1, 30 Apr. 1659).

¹¹⁶ P2372: *A Plain word of truth to all the officers and souldiers of the army* (London, 1659, 669.f.21/23, 26 Apr. 1659).

¹¹⁷ T2627: *A true copie of a paper delivered to Lt. G. Fleetwood* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E979/4, 27 Apr. 1659); or H3623: *The humble remonstrance of the non-commission officers and private soldiers of Major General Goffs regiment* (London, 1659, E979/6, 27 Apr. 1659); or T1350: *To his Excellencie the Lord Charls Fleetwood and the rest of the officers of the Army* (London, by J. C. for Livewel Chapman, 1659, 669.f.21/24, 26 Apr. 1659).

¹¹⁸ Perhaps E3833B: *An excellent receipt to make a compleat common-wealth-oleo* ([London], 1659); or C3934A: *Christi servus etiam in summa captivitate liber anno 1659. aetatis 55* (London, for Edward Thomas, 1659).

¹¹⁹ M28: *The Armies dutie* (London, 1659, E980/12, 2 May 1659).

¹²⁰ D667: *A declaration of the faithful soldiers of the army* (London, 1659, E980/7, 2 May 1659).

¹²¹ H2582: *The honest design: or, The true Commonwealths-man* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E980/11, 2 May 1659).

¹²² H3411: *The humble desires of a free subject* (London, for Fr. Coles, 1659, E980/8, 2 May 1659).

¹²³ 575.174: *Publick Intelligencer*, 174 (25 Apr.–2 May 1659, E762/8).

¹²⁴ F1118: *Five proposals presented to the General Council of the officers* (London, by J. C. for L. Chapman, 1659, 669.f.21/28, 3 May 1659).

¹²⁵ Thomason acquired one Harrington tract on 2 May 1659: H819: *Pour enclouer le canon* ([London], for Henry Fletcher, 1659, E980/6). This was not a single-sheet work, in the sense of being a broadside, although it was a single printed sheet. Perhaps the item is P3775: *A proposition in order to the proposing of a commonwealth or democracie* ([London], 1659), although this took the form of an address to parliament, and was unlikely to have been published before 6 May. Thomason acquired his copy on 14 June: 669.f.21/49.

¹²⁶ L2475: *A list of the names of the Long Parliament ... As also of the three ensuing Parliaments holden at Westminster in the years, 1653. 1654. 1656. (And of the late Parliament, dissolved April, 22. 1659)* (London, 1659, E1836/4, 3 May 1659).

¹²⁷ 521.101: *Perfect Occurrences*, 1. Not known to survive.

¹²⁸ 151.002: *The Faithfull Scout*, 2 (29 Apr.–6 May 1659, E980/2).

¹²⁹ G1078: *The Good old cause explained, revived, and asserted* ([London], 1659); or P3970: *The good old cause rightly stated, and the false un-cased* ([London], 1659), both of which are short enough to have been priced at 1d. Another tract, at 16 pp., was unlikely to have been so cheap: H3223a: *The good old cause briefly demonstrated* ([London], for Thomas Simmons, 1659).

¹³⁰ S2251: *A seasonable word* (London, by J. C. for L. Chapman, 1659, E980/17, 5 May 1659).

[61]	6 day A declaration of the souldiers	O-O-1 ¹³¹
[62]	7 day Declaration of the army	O-O-1 ¹³²
[63]	9 day Munday Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹³³
[64]	9 day Declaration of the parliament	O-O-1 ¹³⁴
[65]	10th day A seasonable word	O-O-1 ¹³⁵
[66]	10th day A continuation &c 2 sheets	O-O-2 ¹³⁶
[67]	10th day The weekly Post	O-O-1 ¹³⁷
[68]	11th day A vote of Parliament	O-O-1 ¹³⁸
[69]	12 day Thursday Pollitticus	O-O-2 ¹³⁹

[Column 2]

[70]	12 day An act Parliament	O-O-1 ¹⁴⁰
[71]	13 day Petition of citty London	O-O-1 ¹⁴¹
[72]	13th day The voyce of God	O-O-1 ¹⁴²
[73]	13 day Calumny condemned	O-O-1 ¹⁴³
[74]	13th day: 12 queries	O-O-1 ¹⁴⁴
[75]	13 day A Booke of Mr Prins	O-O-4 ¹⁴⁵
[76]	13 day The addresses of the Army to the Parliament	O-O-2 ¹⁴⁶
[77]	14th Declaration about a fast	O-O-1 ¹⁴⁷

¹³¹ D668: *A declaration of the faithfull souldiers of the army* (London, 1659, E980/18, 5 May 1659).

¹³² D731: *A declaration of the officers of the army* (London, by Henry Hills, 1659, E980/20, 7 May 1659).

¹³³ 575.175: *Publick Intelligencer*, 175 (2–9 May 1659, E762/10).

¹³⁴ E1490A: *A declaration of the Parliament assembled at Westminster* (London, by John Field, 1659, 669.f.21/30 [undated]).

¹³⁵ C442: J. Canne, *A seasonable word to the Parliament-men* (London, by J. C. for L. Chapman, 1659, E983/1, 10 May 1659).

¹³⁶ S5945: John Streater, *The continuation of this session of Parliament, justified* (London, 1659; E983/10, 16 May 1659).

¹³⁷ 704.01: *Weekly Post*, 1 (3–10 May 1659, E980/10).

¹³⁸ E2121: *Tuesday, May 10th. 1659. The Parliament doth resolve and declare* (London, by John Field, 1659, 669.f.21/31, 11 May 1659).

¹³⁹ 361.566: *Mercurius Politicus*, 566 (5–12 May 1659, E762/11).

¹⁴⁰ E1032: *An act for enabling and authorising certain persons to be justices of the peace and sheriffs* ([London], by John Field, 1659, E1074/1, undated).

¹⁴¹ H3471: *The Humble petition of many inhabitants in and about the city of London* (London, for Tho. Brewster & Livewell Chapman, 1659).

¹⁴² V718: *Vox Dei The voice of God to the officers of the army* (London, by J. C. for L. Chapman, 1659).

¹⁴³ B95: *Calumny condemned* (London, by J. C. for L. Chapman, 1659).

¹⁴⁴ T3402: *Twelve queries humbly proposed to the consideration of the Parliament and Army* (London, 1659, E983/3, 12 May 1659).

¹⁴⁵ Probably P4052: W. Prynne, *The re-publicans and others spurious good old cause* ([London], 1659, E983/6, 13 May 1659).

¹⁴⁶ H3428: *The humble petition and addresse of the officers of the Army* (London, by Henry Hills, for him and Francis Tyton, 1659, E983/7, 13 May 1659).

¹⁴⁷ C7183: *A declaration of the Lord Protector and both houses of Parliament* (London, by I. S., 1659, E983/8, 13 May 1659).

[78]	16th Munday Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹⁴⁸
[79]	16th Hertfordshire petition	O-O-I ¹⁴⁹
[80]	16th Petition against Mr Pryn	O-O-I ¹⁵⁰
[81]	16th day A game at Pickquett	O-O-2 ¹⁵¹
[82]	16th day Severall reasons	O-O-I ¹⁵²
[83]	17th day Weekly intelligencer	O-O-I ¹⁵³
[84]	17th day Weekly Post	O-O-I ¹⁵⁴
[85]	17th day Mercurius Democritus	O-O-I ¹⁵⁵
[86]	18th Observations & comparisons 2 sheets	O-O-2 ¹⁵⁶
[87]	18th 1 sheet about Guerzey	O-O-I ¹⁵⁷
[88]	19th day Severall proposalls	O-O-I ¹⁵⁸
[89]	19th Letter of addresse from Scotland	O-O-I ¹⁵⁹
[90]	19th day Character of Mr Prinne	O-O-I ¹⁶⁰
[91]	20th day: 3 Acts of Parliament	O-O-3 ¹⁶¹
[92]	20th A booke of Mr Harrington	O-O-2 ¹⁶²
[93]	20th day The Scout	O-O-I ¹⁶³
[94]	20th day An out cry &c.	O-O-I ¹⁶⁴
[95]	20th A booke Let mee speake too	O-O-2 ¹⁶⁵
[96]	23 day Munday Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹⁶⁶
[97]	23 day Streeters case	O-O-2 ¹⁶⁷

¹⁴⁸ 575.176: *Publick Intelligencer*, 176 (9–16 May 1659, E762/12).

¹⁴⁹ H3457: *The humble petition of divers inhabitants of the county of Hertford* (London, for Tho. Brewster, 1659, 669.f.21/32, 16 May 1659).

¹⁵⁰ T1723B: *To the supream authority of England, Scotland, & Ireland . . . the humble petition of the peaceable and well-affected people of the said three nations* ([London], 1659, 669.f.21/33, 16 May 1659).

¹⁵¹ N517: H. Neville, *Shuffling, cutting, and dealing, in a game at pickquet* ([London], 1659, E983/9, 16 May 1659).

¹⁵² S2809: *Several reasons why some officers of the army* ([London], 1659).

¹⁵³ 689.02: *Weekly Intelligencer*, 2 (10–17 May 1659, E980/21).

¹⁵⁴ 704.02: *Weekly Post*, 2 (10–17 May 1659, E983/2).

¹⁵⁵ 306.02: *Mercurius Democritus*, 2 (10–17 May 1659). Not recorded by Thomason until issue 3.

¹⁵⁶ N20: *An observation and comparison between the idolatrous Israelites, and judges of England* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E983/29, 25 May 1659).

¹⁵⁷ E3179: *An epitomie of tyranny in the island of Guernzey* ([London], 1659, E983/26, 23 May 1659).

¹⁵⁸ C5040: W. Cole, *Severall proposals* (London, 1659).

¹⁵⁹ L1564: *A letter of addresse from the officers of the army in Scotland* (London, by John Field, 1659, E983/19, 19 May 1659).

¹⁶⁰ C2032: *The character or ear-mark of Mr. William Prinne* (London, 1659, E983/16, 17 May 1659).

¹⁶¹ E988: *An Act enabling such Commissioners of Sewers* (London, by John Field, 1659, 669.f.21/34, 19 May 1659); E1140: *An Act empowering judges for probate of wills* (London, by John Field, 1659, 669.f.21/36, 20 May 1659); E979: *An act appointing judges for the admiralty* (London, by John Field, 1659, 669.f.21/37, 20 May 1659).

¹⁶² Probably H813: J. Harrington, *A discourse upon this saying: the spirit of the nation is not yet to be trusted with liberty* (London, by J. C. for Henry Fletcher, 1659, E983/12, 17 May 1659).

¹⁶³ 151.004: *The Faithfull Scout*, 4 (13–20 May 1659, E983/5).

¹⁶⁴ F2197D: *The out-cry! and just appeale of the inslawed people of England* ([London], by T. Fawcet, 1659, E983/17, 18 May 1659).

¹⁶⁵ L1329: *Let me speake too?* (London, 1659).

¹⁶⁶ 575.177: *Publick Intelligencer*, 177 (16–23 May 1659, E762/14).

¹⁶⁷ S5949: J. Streeter, *Secret reasons of state* (London, 1659, E983/24, 23 May 1659).

[98]	23 day: A publique plea &c	O-O-1 ¹⁶⁸
[99]	25th day A way propounded to make the poore happy	O-O-4 ¹⁶⁹
[100]	26 day Pollitticus	O-O-2 ¹⁷⁰
[101]	26th day Articles against Jones	O-O-2 ¹⁷¹
[102]	26 day Ld Henry declaration	O-O-1 ¹⁷²
[103]	27th day 18 queries	O-O-1 ¹⁷³

[Column 3]

[104]	27 day Articles against Jones	O-O-2 ¹⁷⁴
[105]	27 day Southampton petition	O-O-1 ¹⁷⁵
[106]	27 day Ld Richards Letter	O-O-1 ¹⁷⁶
[107]	27 day Trades Destruction	O-O-1 ¹⁷⁷
[108]	27th day Remarkable passages	O-O-1 ¹⁷⁸
[109]	27th day The Scout	O-O-1 ¹⁷⁹
[110]	30th day Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹⁸⁰
[111]	30th day Munday An Act	O-O-1 ¹⁸¹
[112]	first day June Englands confusion	O-O-6 ¹⁸²
[113]	2 day Thursday Pollitticus	O-O-2 ¹⁸³
[114]	2 day A sheet of Mr Prins	O-O-1 ¹⁸⁴
[115]	2 day A Lively Portrature &c	O-O-2 ¹⁸⁵

¹⁶⁸ P4156: *A publick plea, opposed to a private proposal* (London, for L. Chapman, 1659, E983/18, 18 May 1659).

¹⁶⁹ P2581C: *A way propounded to make the poor in these and other nations happy* (London, for G. C[alvert], 1659, E984/7, 28 May 1659).

¹⁷⁰ 361.568: *Mercurius Politicus*, 568 (19–26 May 1659, E762/15).

¹⁷¹ E3860: *Articles of impeachment of transcendent crimes, injuries, misdemeanours, oppressions, and high breach of trust, committed by Col. Philip Jones* ([London], 1659, E983/31, 26 May 1659).

¹⁷² C7038: *By the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Henry Cromwell* ([London], 1659, 669.f.21/38, 25 May 1659).

¹⁷³ E263: *Eighteen new court-quaeries* (London, 1659, E984/1, 26 May 1659).

¹⁷⁴ As above (n. 171).

¹⁷⁵ T1584: *To the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, &c. The humble petition and representation of divers well-affected of the county of South-hampton* (London, by R.W. for Francis Tyton, 1659, 669.f.21/40, 27 May 1659).

¹⁷⁶ C7185: *His late Highnes's letter to the Parlament of England* (London, by D. Maxwell, 1659, 669.f.21/39, 26 May 1659).

¹⁷⁷ C171: W. C., *Trades destruction is Englands ruine, or Excise decryed* (London, 1659, E984/6, 28 May 1659).

¹⁷⁸ Unidentified.

¹⁷⁹ 151.005: *The Faithfull Scout*, 5 (20–27 May 1659, E983/22).

¹⁸⁰ 575.178: *Publick Intelligencer*, 178 (23–30 May 1659, E762/16).

¹⁸¹ E1000: *An Act for appointing commissioners for bringing in the arrears of the revenue* (London, by John Field, 1659, E1074/2, undated).

¹⁸² A3167: *England's confusion* (London, 1659, E985/1, 30 May 1659).

¹⁸³ 361.569: *Mercurius Politicus*, 569 (26 May–2 June 1659, E762/17).

¹⁸⁴ P4015: W. Prynne, *The new cheaters forgeries* (London, for Edward Thomas, 1659, 669.f.21/42, 31 May 1659).

¹⁸⁵ L2594A: *A lively pourtraicture of the face of this Common-wealth* ([London?], 1659, E985/6, 1 June 1659).

[116]	2 day: 24: queries	O-O-1 ¹⁸⁶
[117]	2 day A word to purpose	O-O-3 ¹⁸⁷
[118]	3 day A List of the Parliament	O-O-1 ¹⁸⁸
[119]	3 day An Act about admiralty	O-O-4 ¹⁸⁹
[120]	3 day Invisible John &c.	O-O-1 ¹⁹⁰
[121]	4 day Citty Petition	O-O-1 ¹⁹¹
[122]	6 day Munday Intelligencer	O-O-2 ¹⁹²
	Sum is	O-11-1

[123]	9th June Killing is noe murther	O-O-3 ¹⁹³
[124]	9 A narrative of the late Parl	O-O-2 ¹⁹⁴
[125]	9th Sentinells Remonstrance	O-O-1 ¹⁹⁵
[126]	9 day Pollitticus	O-O-2 ¹⁹⁶

[O]-11-9

¹⁸⁶ T3410: *Twenty four queries touching the Parliament and Army* ([London], 1659, E985/8, 2 June 1659).

¹⁸⁷ W3566: *A word to purpose* ([London], 1659, E985/9, 2 June 1659).

¹⁸⁸ C1403: *A catalogue of the names of this present Parliament* (London, by D. Maxwell, 1659, 669.f.21/43, 2 June 1659).

¹⁸⁹ E1009: *An act for constituting commissioners for ordering and managing the affairs of the admiralty and navy* (London, by John Field, 1659, E1074/3, 3 June 1659).

¹⁹⁰ B812: *The first and second parts of Invisible John made visible* (London, 1659, E985/11, 4 June 1659); or B813a: *Invisible John made visible* (London, 1659). These tracts are merely variants.

¹⁹¹ H3549: *The humble petition of the Lord Major, aldermen and Common Council of the City of London* (London, by D. Maxwell, 1659).

¹⁹² 575.179: *Publick Intelligencer*, 179 (30 May–6 June 1659, E762/18).

¹⁹³ T1311: *Killing, no murder* (London, 1659, E763/1, 9 June 1659).

¹⁹⁴ B2077: S. Bethel, *A true and impartial narrative of the most material debates and passages in the late Parliament* (London, for Thomas Brewster, 1659, E985/25, 9 June 1659).

¹⁹⁵ B228: W. B., *The sentinels remonstrance* (London, 1659, 669.f.21/46, 8 June 1659).

¹⁹⁶ 361.570: *Mercurius Politicus*, 570 (2–9 June 1659, E766/1).