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Norwich “Publishing” in the Seventeenth Century

David Stoker

When in January 1731/2 three men were arrested in Norwich for "publishing a seditious paper", those concerned had nothing to do with the production, finance, or sale of the item in question.¹ Their crime was either to circulate copies or possibly to read the contents aloud to an audience at a Coffee House or similar public place. The meaning of "publishing" was then related to the dissemination of information, not necessarily connected with printed matter, and bore little or no association with the financial responsibility for its production. The modern concept of a “publisher” as one who undertakes and organises the production and distribution of a printed work, acting as a middleman between the writer, producer, and retailer did not emerge until the late eighteenth century within large centres of book production such as London. The essential components of this role are that the publisher is investing in the publication directly, undertaking it on behalf of someone else for remuneration, and/or arranging for its distribution.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, members of the London book trade were beginning to specialise into the different functions of printer, bookbinder, stationer, wholesale bookseller, retail bookseller, or even financier, which was a precursor to the emergence of a publishing trade. There was far less such specialisation in the provinces. Most provincial towns had no printers, and their booksellers might be acting as stationers, bookbinders, newsagents, vendors of patent medicines and of other wares. Nevertheless, from the imperfect evidence contemporary imprints it is clear that some of the financial and distributive functions associated with publishing, were being carried out by large numbers of provincial booksellers at this time, albeit intermittently, and as one sideline along with other more profitable trades.

This paper will seek to examine such publishing activity in Norwich during the seventeenth century and discuss those printed items which have a local bookseller named in their imprints, either in the capacity of undertaker (usually designated by the phrase “printed for”) or distributor (designated by “sold by”). The works would of necessity have been printed elsewhere as there was no press in Norwich between 1572 and 1701. For want of a more precise term, they will be described them as “Norwich publications”. Imprints are not always reliable, and were sometimes used to mask complex financial relationships or disguise the

responsibility for controversial works. However, with respect to books sold in provinces during the seventeenth century, they are usually straightforward and mean what they say. It is noteworthy that once printing returns to Norwich in 1701, when the bookseller and printer were able to negotiate more easily, and local printers became part-time booksellers, the variety and complexity of imprints grows noticeably.

One hundred and twenty three Norwich publications dating from the seventeenth century have been identified out of a total of 701 known for England and Wales.² However, these numbers are inevitably approximate and it would be misleading to suggest that Norwich publications truly represent 17.5% of the total. The Norwich imprints have been collected over a thirty-year period using a range of library catalogues, and by examining items in local collections, whereas the remainder have been compiled only from online bibliographies and catalogues. An educated guess would be that Norwich represented between 12.5 and 15% of the overall total, and was easily the largest provincial centre for such publishing.³

An analysis of these 123 titles, shows that 72% were “printed for” a Norwich bookseller, and 37% “sold by” (9% have both forms). A number of the items are variant issues of London titles, published with different imprints, and several items exist in two “Norwich” states each one with the name of a different local bookseller. One hundred and twelve titles (91%) were printed in London, five in Cambridge, and one each in Oxford, Edinburgh and Rotterdam! Two-thirds (68%) were quarto, 28% octavo, and 4% duodecimo, (no larger or smaller formats are included). The average number of printed sheets used in these publications was 11.3, (ranging between one sheet only for *The history of the Protestant Reformation*, and 116 sheets (928 quarto pages) for John Collinges *The intercourses of divine love*, of 1683).⁴ Nearly 90% of the publications were on religious subjects, with 57 (46%) sermons or collections of sermons, 36 (29% works of religious discourse), 17 (14%) works of religious controversy, and one catechism. The remainder included three works of history, three on medicine, three auction catalogues, one masque, one narrative poem, one Latin textbook and a treatise on witchcraft.

All of the publications appeared between 1615 and 1700, with three discernible periods of activity. Only eleven titles were published in the quarter century before 1640. The following three decades saw a growth to 17 publications for 1641-1650, and 18 for 1651-1660, and then

a sharp decline to eleven titles between 1661 and 1670. Thereafter there is a steady increase with twenty or more items published in each of the last three decades.

These statistics do not however explain why particular titles are linked with Norwich booksellers, whereas other works – frequently by the same authors - are not. The following account of several titles and those who were responsible for their publication, will therefore seek to do so, examining each of these periods in turn.

Norwich Publishing before 1640

The bookseller Nicholas Colman is named on the imprint of two broadsheet ballads concerning a disastrous fire in Beccles, printed in 1586.⁵ Yet this local publishing venture was exceptional and apparently not repeated in nearly thirty years. The first significant item naming a Norwich bookseller was an English translation of Alexander Neville's, *De furoribus Norfolciensium* entitled *Norfolkes furies*, printed for Edmund Casson at the sign of the Bible in 1615.⁶ Casson became a freeman stationer of Norwich in 1613 having previously served an apprenticeship with William Firebrand a London bookseller.⁷ This book of 80 pages was aimed at a local market, and contained an account of the rebellion led by Robert Kett in 1549, which had taken control of the city. Spare pages were also filled with lists of mayors, sheriffs, and bishops, together with a brief account of notable happenings within the city. It was a wise choice, and in 1623 Casson undertook another edition.⁸

The next Norwich publication is puzzling since it was printed in Edinburgh for Christopher Ponder, at the Angel in Norwich, 1616. *The execution of Neschech* is a discourse on usury by James Spottiswood, a Scotsman, who was then rector of Wells in Norfolk.⁹ The connection with the Edinburgh printer Andrew Hart occurred through the author who was then staying in that city and saw his book through the press.¹⁰ The link with Ponder who apparently undertook the publication, is harder to establish.¹¹

Publications between 1617 and 1623 were all commemoration sermons by local clergymen. William Younger's *The nurses bosome* and *Judah's penance* were together printed for Edmund Casson, in 1617,¹² followed by the author's *The unrighteous judge*, for Henry Featherstone in London but sold by Ponder (1621).¹³ Two further sermons, both preached before the judges at the Norfolk assizes by Samuel Garey were *Jentaculum judicum* together with *A manuell for magistrates* printed for Matthew Law in London and sold in Norwich by Casson.¹⁴ Nothing seems to have been published during the succeeding eight years until two

further booksellers became involved as local distributors for works published in London. Thus, Thomas Carre's name appears on the imprint of a sermon by John Brinsley of Great Yarmouth, *The preachers charge and peoples duty*, in 1631,¹⁵ and similarly Edward Martin on *Three sermons ... delivered upon severall occasions in Norwich*, by Thomas Reeve.¹⁶

Edmund Casson's last such venture was one of two issues of Ralph Knevet's *Rhodon and Iris*, a satirical play in verse performed at an annual pageant in praise of Spring, organised by the Society of Florists, in Norwich in May 1631. The growing puritan element of the city government disliked the Florists' Feasts, and the play mocked many leading figures in the magistracy, who took offence at the performance. However, it was popular amongst most of the spectators and Knevet claimed that he published the work to show the population just how innocuous it was. A more likely reason for publication was to cash in on a small-scale local controversy.¹⁷

The next two early works are also puzzling work as there is no obvious connection with Norwich by their authors. George Foxle's, *The groanes of the spirit*, printed at Oxford in 1639, exists in four states with title pages naming booksellers in Leicester, Bristol, and London as well as Abraham Atfend, another bookseller recently arrived in Norwich.¹⁸ Atfend's second venture was *Christ's victorie and triumph* by the metaphysical poet Giles Fletcher, first published at Cambridge in 1610, and consisting of four narrative poems on Biblical themes. It was reprinted there in 1632, and again in 1640, with one issue of the later edition sold by Atfend.¹⁹

Thus, by 1640 five Norwich booksellers had become aware of the possibilities of undertaking small-scale publishing, and that the financial risks involved were not great. Both the range of subjects and types of book were surprisingly varied. Most, but by no means all, had some local connection that would commend them to readers in the city, and all of were literary works on a small scale. The precise reason why one particular title and not another had a Norwich imprint however is not always apparent and often must have been the result of entirely accidental factors.

The Civil War, Commonwealth and Restoration (1641-1670)

Norwich was not directly involved in any military action during the Civil War, but the city suffered economic disruption and there appears to have been no publishing activity from 1641 to 1646. The aftermath of the war saw an increase in local publishing, initially with a rash of controversial religious tracts, as the political and religious differences of the

community began to be reflected in the literature on sale, and the traditional controls on the press broke down. Several of these tracts reflect the growing division of the puritan party into the Presbyterian and Independent factions.

The differences were brought to a head in August 1646 by the publication in London of a vituperative pamphlet entitled *Vox populi, or the peoples cry against the clergy*, denouncing Presbyterian designs for reforming religious worship in Norwich, and blaming that party for creating the religious division in the city and driving a wedge between the people and the parliament.²⁰ The Norwich bookseller Edward Martin, sensing a major controversy, published a Presbyterian reply entitled *An hue and cry after Vox populi*,²¹ but some copies survive with the imprint "printed for William Frankling" pasted over the original.²² The controversy was still smouldering in October when William Franklin, published a second rebuttal *Vox Norwici, or the cry of Norwich*.²³ In 1650 an attempt was made to reconcile the differences between the Independent and Presbyterian concepts of religious reform with *A peace making jurie*.²⁴ Similar printed statements and proposals by groups of clergy for religious reforms regularly feature such as *The attestation of the ministers of the county of Norfolk and Norwich*, 1648.²⁵

Published sermons likewise begin to reflect the tide of religious and political events at this time. John Carter Minister of St Peter Mancroft preached a series of influential and controversial sermons before the municipal authorities in the 1640s. 'The nail hit on the head and driven into the city and cathedral wall of Norwich' was the first Guild-Day sermon to be preached in his church, following the desecration of the cathedral a few weeks before.²⁶ Carter assured his listeners that to support the Parliament was to oppose an evil Court circle but not the King. By 1647, he had become disappointed by the lack of religious reform, due to the inertia of the Municipal Assembly. In a surprisingly frank Guild-Day sermon 'The wheel turned by a voyce from the throne of glory', he turned against the local magistracy. His two sermons gained such fame that they were published jointly in London and Norwich in 1647.²⁷ In 1650 another controversial Guild-day sermon by John Carter caused a sensation. In "A rare sight or, the lyon: sent from a farr country and presented to the city of Norwich", he accused the magistracy of hypocrisy and failure to maintain good order.

Who amongst you will strike down a disorderly alehouse, if the brewer that serves it be an alderman, a rich man, or a friend?²⁸

Pressure from the authorities resulted in Carter's removal from St Peter's, and so when *A rare sight*, together with another of his sermons, was published by John Sprat, another Norwich bookseller, the author was described as "minister of the Gospell and as yet sojourning in Norwich".²⁹ Carter was however popular among the common people, and was soon elected by the parishioners of St Laurence church to be their rector, where he remained until his death in 1656. Carter's popularity is also reflected by the publication of his funeral sermon *Elisha's lamentation for Elijah.*, preached by his disciple John Collinges and printed for William Franklin.³⁰ Collinges was to become a prolific and voluminous local author before his death in 1690, and was an important figure in reviving and re-organising the Norwich City Library in the 1650s.³¹

The uncertainty of the times is also reflected in two sermons published by Franklin in 1650. On Christmas day 1646 and 4th January 1647, Thomas Rous preached sermons on the theme of Isaiah 9.6. At a time when the celebration of Christmas was discouraged, these innocuous sermons attracted criticism. Rous's enemies fomented and exaggerated the tale until it was widely believed that he had committed a serious heresy, and had his property sequestered. His sermons were therefore printed for William Franklin, "for the vindication of the author".³²

Religious controversy on a personal level also begins to appear particularly from the pens of the Presbyterian ministry. In 1652 Franklin published John Collinges' *Responsoria ad erraticam pastoris* a voluminous reply to *The peoples privelidges* by William Sheppard published in London.³³ Collinges followed this with *Provocator provocatus* 1654, attacking a sermon by a Mr Boatman. This drew a reply from Theophilus Brabourne, another local minister, but which was published at his own expense.³⁴ Collinges' many further controversial works from this period were published by London booksellers perhaps indicating that the dispute had broadened. Brabourne engaged in further religious controversy with *An answer to Mr Cawdry's two books of the Sabbath*, printed for Franklin, in Norwich, in 1654.³⁵

Other publications by Norwich booksellers during the 1640s included *A plaine and easie catechisme*,³⁶ John Robinson's *Miscellaneous propositions and quaeres*,³⁷ (one of three medical works) and a famous tract on witch hunting. During 1645 and 1646 a Matthew Hopkins the self-styled "Witch-finder General", lead a crusade throughout the eastern counties against hundreds of suspected witches. In fourteen months, he was responsible for

400 executions, but ultimately some enlightened members of society took issue with his methods of obtaining confessions. His enemies drew up a series of questions for consideration by the judges of the 1647 Norwich assizes, expressing reasoned doubts about “this torturing witch-catcher”. Hopkins published the questions together with his answers in *The discovery of witches* hoping to justify himself.³⁸ One of the two issues of this pamphlet was sold by Edward Martin in Norwich. However, his attempted vindication was unconvincing and he retired to Manningtree and died soon afterwards.³⁹

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 was the signal for celebration and relief by all sections of society. During, a brief honeymoon which followed, political, legal and religious problems and the bitterness created during the Civil War were shelved, and a rash of loyal sermons were preached in the churches up and down the country, including some by men who had previously censured the last Stuart administration. All of the small books published in Norwich during the early years of the Restoration reflect this combination of relief and loyalty felt by all sections of the community. Theophilus Brabourne wrote *A defence of the Kings authority* in 1660, printed for the author, but sold in Norwich by William Nowell, which was so popular that a second enlarged edition was published almost immediately.⁴⁰ He then wrote and published *God save the King and prosper him*, a "justification ... of the King's gracious proffer for liberty of conscience", also sold by Nowell.⁴¹ William Franklin, whose name is found on several Presbyterian tracts, published James Warwell's *Votiva tabula; or a solemn thanks giving*, and Henry White's *A thank offering to the Lord for the happy recal of our dread sovereign, in 1660*.⁴² The following year William Oliver, a young bookseller recently arrived from London, published two sermons by John Winter, celebrating King Charles' coronation and commemorating the anniversary of the execution of his father.⁴³

The year 1662 marked both the beginnings of the persecution of non-conformists (which was to last, in various degrees of severity, until 1689), and also the re-introduction of strict controls over printing in the form of the “licensing act”.⁴⁴ Much of the bitterness that had grown up amongst Royalist and Anglican sympathizers was poured on to the representatives of the non-conformist churches, who were initially denied opportunity to reply. This shift in attitudes is reflected in the tenor of local sermons. Thus John Winter's 'Honest plain dealing', published in Norwich by William Oliver in 1663, refers to the Presbyterians as;

the height of impudence, the depth of maliciousness, the length of wilfulness, and the breadth of licentiousness are the four dimensions of a fanatic body, which hath neither right side nor right end.⁴⁵

Thus, after 1664 there seems to have been a lull in such publishing activity for eight years, due to the licensing regulations and the silencing of the non-conformists in the city.

Norwich Publishing 1671-1700

The decline in local publishing during the late 1660s was relatively short-lived and the last three decades of the century saw a considerable increase in both the size and the number of books published, due entirely to the work three fairly prosperous bookselling businesses; those of the Oliver family, George Rose, and Edward Giles. Each of these men had a significant influence on the books published in the city.

William Oliver was an ardent Royalist and supporter of the Church of England, the son of a Somerset clergyman. Two of his three sons had distinguished careers in the post-Restoration church. He was also a friend of Sir Thomas Browne, author of *Religio Medici*, who bought books at his shop and used him as an agent for the supply of news.⁴⁶ He was a pious man, employed by the Corporation to provide hospitality on their behalf to those clergymen visiting Norwich to preach at the cathedral. This brought him into contact with many of the authors he published. Oliver's output of 22 titles before his death in 1689 were largely loyal sermons by local clergy, commemorating events of the Restoration or relating to the King or bishop of Norwich. Other works were of religious discourse such as two editions of Robert Conold's *Notion of schism stated*, (1676-7) or a *Discourse on the repugnancy of sin*.⁴⁷

After Oliver's death, his widow Elizabeth published two auction catalogues,⁴⁸ but once their third son, Samuel, was old enough to take over the business he followed the publishing tradition begun by his father. Samuel Oliver's name is found on the imprints of several local sermons, particularly those preached in Norwich cathedral, such as Erasmus Warren's *Divine rules*, or John Jeffery's *Duty and encouragement of religious artificers*.⁴⁹ He appears to have developed a working relationship with the Cambridge printer John Hayes, who produced five works for him. Samuel Oliver was also named as the distributor of a work in Latin printed in Rotterdam. This was *De naturali religione liber*, a substantial work by Pierre Chauvin the minister of the Walloon refugee church in Norwich.⁵⁰ This was one of the few local works advertised in the 'Term Catalogues' for Easter 1693,⁵¹ provoking an anonymous reply in French published in Rotterdam in the same year.⁵²

The bookseller George Rose was a far more worldly and less virtuous man than William Oliver, for example in 1695 he was convicted of fathering an illegitimate child, and then had to make a public apology for referring to the justices concerned as "two fooles and an

infidell".⁵³ However earlier in his career he was more respectful and the main supplier of books and stationery to the Norwich Corporation. He was a supporter of the established church, but more for reasons of convenience than any positive attachment to its principles. Rose's output was smaller than that of William Oliver, but also consisted mainly of local sermons. His first enterprise resulted from his connection with the city authorities, who drew up an agreement that he should publish at his own expense a sermon preached before the Mayor and Aldermen by Robert Conold.⁵⁴ Conold's sermon sold well and encouraged him to finance another book by the same author, *The notion of schism stated*, which he did in partnership with William Oliver in 1676.⁵⁵ His name is also found on the imprint of a curious work by John Harris called *The divine physician*, which claimed to provide rules, for the cure and prevention of most diseases by moral reform and strict adherence to the teachings of the Bible. This book exists in two states, one printed for Rose and another sold by him.⁵⁶ It could not have sold particularly well as in 1700 Rose published an auction catalogue which contained nine copies of this work.⁵⁷

By 1677 Rose had come to a working agreement with the London bookseller Robert Clavell the publisher of the *Term Catalogues*, who appears to have been active in the development of links between the London and provincial trades.⁵⁸ Sir Thomas Browne refers to "the new catalogue of bookes sett out by Clavell" in 1681.⁵⁹ He also took advantage of the arrangement with Rose when he wanted to transmit money to his son in London. Rose and Clavell also shared the costs involved in the publication of several items of Norfolk interest, including traditional commemoration sermons but also *A compleat treatise of preternatural tumours* by the Norwich surgeon John Browne.⁶⁰

By far the most important figure in Norwich publishing during the seventeenth century was Edward Giles, a man whose name never figures in the Corporation records as having been employed by the city, nor was he patronized by the Cathedral clergy.⁶¹ He was probably a Presbyterian but acted as the publisher for several dissident groups and their ministers. The tradition of non-conformity was so deeply ingrained in the population of Norwich that, despite official intolerance, the movement began to revive in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and their bookseller began to prosper. Giles began his bookselling and publishing career in 1678 when the worst of the non-conformist persecution had abated, but the difficulties he encountered were nonetheless considerable. His output concerned mainly the works of Norfolk Presbyterians such as John Lougher, Francis English, or James Oldfield and is said to have maintained a friendship with John Collinges, the most notable of them.

The difficulties experienced by the two main non-conformist groups after the Restoration brought them closer together, at least on an individual level. Thus, Giles' name is also found on the imprints of many works by Independent (Congregational) ministers such as Martin Finch, Thomas Allen, Timothy Armitage, and John Cromwell. These two religious groups constitute the major part of his output and consist mainly of sermons and bulky treatises on parts of the Bible, none of which were related to contemporary or local events.

In 1686 Thomas Grantham, a famous Baptist preacher, came to live in Norwich and formed a church there and at Great Yarmouth. In 1691 he published in London, *A dialogue between a Baptist and a Presbyterian* attacking the Presbyterians in general and their minister John Collinges in particular, over their practice of infant baptism. Collinges died before the attack was published but Giles published *An answer to Mr Grantham's book* by Collinges's friend the Congregationalist Martin Finch.⁶² The bookseller was interested in developing the controversy and so published Grantham's reply *A discovery-of audacious insolence*,⁶³ followed by Samuel Petto's *Infant baptism vindicated from the exceptions of Mr Grantham*. The controversy was only brought to an end by the death of Grantham in 1692.

One sect shared the contempt and intolerance of both the established church and the major non-conformist groups - the Quakers. The refusal of this group to compromise on any aspect of their conduct or belief served to incense their critics. Thus, Edward Giles published a virulent condemnation by Francis Bugg a former Quaker who had developed an obsessive hatred of the sect. *The Quakers-detected, their errors confuted, and their hypocrisie discovered* was published in 1686.⁶⁴ On a few occasions Giles published works by Church of England clergy, if they were of a conciliatory or friendly nature and tended to bridge the gap between the faiths. Examples of this type of work were Bishop Kidder's *Convivium caeleste* and Jonathan Clapham's exhortation to passive obedience in the sermon *Obedience to magistrates recommended*, reprinted for Giles within a year.⁶⁵

Some of the most interesting titles produced by Giles have not survived and are known only because of entries in his catalogues, and so have not been considered in the analysis.

Amongst these were three books for children, *Directions for learners to spell English right*, *The miracles of Christ*, and a catechism *The ordinary matter of prayer, drawn into questions and answers*.

During a thirty-three year career, ending in 1711 Giles published over fifty works, many of them of great volume, and nearly all by non-conformist authors. As such, he was probably the

most prolific provincial publisher of his time. However compared with most London booksellers, his output was relatively small – Robert Clavell’s name is found on nearly eight hundred imprints. John Dunton refers to Giles as an honest man, who “has met with very good success in his way but the booksellers in the country cannot in a settled way, either ruin or enrich themselves so soon as those in London”.⁶⁶

Therefore, a typical Norwich publication of the seventeenth century was a religious work such as a collection of sermons, written by a local clergyman, printed in London for a Norwich bookseller, in a quarto volume of about 90 pages. However there was a surprising range of other works published in the city. Many, but by no means all, of such publications would be of local interest, but well known local authors would not necessarily choose to have their works published locally. For example, Sir Thomas Browne knew and regularly used two of the principal booksellers of Norwich, but none of his works have their names on their imprint. The decision of a bookseller as to whether or not he should invest money in the publication of a book may have been influenced by a number of factors but was primarily an economic one. William Oliver may have published sermons by Anglican clergy who shared his views towards the church and the state, and Edward Giles published a large number of works by his friend John Collinges, but ultimately these works published only because the bookseller believed they would have a ready sale in the locality.

Notes

1. *Norwich Mercury*, 2 January 1731/2.
2. This figure does not include all provincial printing but only items where there is some publication statement in the imprint (thus “Bristol: printed by William Bonny” would not be included, whereas “Bristol: printed and sold by William Bonny” would). The 702 items identify 198 provincial booksellers working in 86 towns, mainly dating from 1630-1700.
3. The figures given do not include items printed in a provincial city, without any name of a local bookseller on the imprint, otherwise York and Newcastle would have been higher.
4. Based upon the two thirds of the books where detailed information was available about the pagination, compiled by dividing the number of leaves by the format.
5. Thomas Deloney, *A proper newe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles*, (London: Robert Robinson for Nicholas Colman, Norwich, 1586 and D. Sterrie, *A briefe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles*, London: Robert Robinson for Nicholas Colman, Norwich, 1586).
6. Alexander Neville, *Norfolkes furies or a view of Ketts Campe, necessary for the malecontents of our time*; (London: printed for Edmund Casson, Norwich, 1615).
7. Casson was in business in Norwich 1613-1635, David Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades - a biographical directory', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8, (1981), 79-125, 89.

8. Alexander Neville, *Norfolke furies and their foyle, vnder Kett, their accursed Captaine. With a description of the famous citie of Norvvich*, ([London]Printed for Edmund Casson, Norwich, 1623).
9. James Spottiswood, *The execution of Neschech and the confyning of his kinsman Tarbith. Or a short discourse, shewing the difference betwixt damned usurie, and that which is lawfull*, (Edinburgh: printed by Andro Hart, for Christopher Pounder, Norwich, 1616).
10. *Dictionary of National Biography* article on James Spottiswood.
11. Ponder was in business 1615-1624, Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 115-6.
12. William Younger, *The nurses bosome. A sermon within the Greene-yard in Norwich on the Guild-day when their Maior takes his oath.... [and] Iudahs penance, the sermon preached at Thetford before the judges*, (London printed for Edmund Causon, 1617).
13. William Younger, *The unrighteous judge: or, Iudex Cretensis, the iudge of Crete: A sermon preached within the iurisdiction of the arch-deaconry of Norwich, at a generall court, in April last past, 16. 1621*, (London: printed by G. Eld for Henry Fetherstone, ... solde by Christofer Puntar of Norwich, 1621).
14. Samuel Garey, *Ientaculum Iudicum: or, a breake-fast for the bench: prepared, presented, and preached in two sacred seruices, or sermons, ... before the two Assises at Thetford, at Norwich, 1619*, (London: printed by B.A. for Matthew Law, and ... sold by Edmond Casson at Norwich, 1623).
15. John Brinsley, *The preachers charge. and peoples duty about preaching and hearing of the word: opened in a sermon*, (London: printed for Robert Bird and are to be sold by Thomas Carre in Norwich, 1631). Carre was a bookseller in Norwich 1603-1645 (Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 88).
16. Thomas Reeve, *Three sermons ... delivered upon severall occasions in Norwich*, (London: printed by A. Mathewes for J. Grismond, sold by E. Martin [Norwich], 1632). The sermons were also issued as *The churches hazard delivered in a sermon*, also with Martin as local distributor. Edward Martin was a bookseller at the Upper halfe-moone in Norwich 1627-1654 (David Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 110).
17. Ralph Knevet, *Rhodon and Iris, A pastorall*, (London: printed for M. Sparke ... sold by E. Causon, Norwich, 1631). See also, Amy Charles, *The shorter poems of Ralph Knevet*, (Ohio, 1966 24-6), and R.W. Ketton-Cremer, 'The florists' feasts' *Forty Norfolk essays*, (Norwich, 1961), 13-16.
18. George Foxle, *The groanes of the spirit, or the triall of the truth of prayer*, (Oxford: L. Litchfield, sold by A. Atfend in Norwich, 1639). Atfend was in business in Norwich 1636-1653 (Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 81).
19. Giles Fletcher, *Christs victorie, and triumph in heaven, and earth, over, and after death*. (Cambridge: printed by Roger Daniel for A. Atfend, Norwich, 1640).
20. The Norwich authorities were quick to react to 'Vox populi', on 2nd September the Assembly unanimously passed a resolution condemning the pamphlet and calling for the punishment of its authors (Norfolk Record Office Norwich Assembly Book 6 (1642-1668) f.45) See also J.T. Evans, *Seventeenth century Norwich: politics, religion and government 1620-1690*, (Oxford, 1979), 157-65.
21. *An hue-and cry after Vox Populi, or, an answer to Vox Diaboli, or a libellous pamphlet falsly styled Vox Populi; reviling the Magistracy and Ministry of Norwich*, ([London] Printed by Ja. Cranford for Edward Martin, Bookseller in Norwich, 1646).
22. Franklin was a bookseller next to the George and at the upper halfe moone in Norwich 1645-1664 (Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 101).

23. *Vox Norwici: or, the cry of Norwich, vindicating their ministers ... from the foule and false aspersions and slanders, which arre unchristianly throwne upon them in a lying and scurrilous libell, lately come forth, intituled, Vox Populi*, (London: printed for W. Franckling in Norwich and sold by Richard Tomlins, 1646).
24. *A peace making jurie, or twelve moderate propositions, tending to the reconciling of the present differences about church-combinations*, ([London:] Printed by W.H. for William Franklyng, Norwich, 1650).
25. *The attestation of the ministers of the county of Norfolk, and city of Norwich, in vindication of the ancient truths of Jesus Christ*, (London: printed by R. Cotes, and sold by W. Franklyn, Norwich, 1648).
26. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the Civil War*, (London, 1969), 233/4 and 174.
27. John Carter, *The nail and the wheel. The nail fastyned by a hand from heaven. The wheel turned by a voyce from the throne of glory*, ([London: Printed by J. Macock for M. Sparke, and sold by William Franklin in Norwich, 1647). See Evans, *Seventeenth century Norwich*, 165-9.
28. John Carter, *The tomb-stone and a rare sight*, (London: printed by Tho: Rycroft for E.D. & N.E., and sold by John Sprat, Norwich, 1653). Sprat was a bookseller near the Norwich Guildhall 1653-1656 (Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades', 120).
29. Carter, *The tomb-stone and a rare sight*, (London: printed by Tho: Rycroft for E.D. & N.E., and sold by John Sprat, Norwich, 1653).
30. John Collinges, *Elisha's lamentation for Elijah. Or, the just cause of a peoples mourning upon the losse of a faithful minister, ... Discoursed in a lecture sermon, ... upon occasion of the losse of ...John Carter*, ([London:] printed by John Streater for W. Frankling in Norwich, 1657).
31. A.S. Hankinson 'Dr John Collinges of Norwich, 1623-1690', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xlii (1997), 511-19, for an account of his religious career and David Stoker, 'Doctor Collinges and the revival of the Norwich City Library 1657-1664', *Library History*, 5, (1980), 73-84, for his role as a librarian.
32. Thomas Rous, *Christ the saviour and governor of his church; or, two sermons on Isaiah 9. 6.*, (London: printed for W. Franklin, Bookseller in Norwich, 1650).
33. John Collinges, *Responsoria ad erratica Pastoris, ., the Shepherd's wandrings discovered, in a revindication of the great ordinance of God*. (London: printed for William Frankling, Norwich, 1652).
34. John Collinges, *Provocator provocatus. Or, An answer made to an open challenge made by one M. Boatman ... 13th of December, 1654. in a sermon*, (London, Printed for William Francklyng, bookseller in Norwich., 1654).
35. Theophilus Brabourne, *An answer to Mr Cawdry's two books of the Sabbath*, ([London: Printed for M.[i.e. W.] Franklin, in Norwich, 1654).
36. R.A. *A plaine and easie catechisme wherein the grounds and principles of Christian religion are briefly taught*, (London, printed for William Franckling, Norwich 1649).
37. John Robinson, *Miscellaneous propositions and quaeres*, (London: printed for R. Royston, and sold by Edward Martin, Norwich, 1649).
38. Matthew Hopkins, *The discovery of witches: in answer to severall queries, lately delivered to the Judges of Assize for the county of Norfolk*. (London: printed for R. Royston and sold by Edward Martin in Norwich, 1647).
39. Ketton-Cremer, *Norfolk in the civil war*, 308.

40. Theophilus Brabourne, *A defence of the Kings authority and supremacy, in the church and church-discipline*. (London: printed for the author, and are to be sold by William Nowell, in Norwich, 1660).
41. Theophilus Brabourne, *God save the King and prosper him; or, a justification of the word of God, of the Kings gracious proffer for liberty of conscience*, (London: printed for the author, and are to be sold by booksellers in London, and by William Nowell, in Norwich, 1660).
42. James Warwell, *Votiva tabula; or a solemn thanks giving offered up to God the mighty protector of kings, for the wonderful protection and happy restauration of our gracious sovereign Charles the II.*, ([London:] Printed for R. Royston ... sold by William Franckling, Norwich, 1660_.
43. John Winter, *A sermon preached at East Dearham in Norf. May 29 1661 being the day of the coronation of our most gracious sovereign*, (London: printed for William Oliver, Norwich, 1662).
44. 'An act for preventing the frequent abuses in printing' 14.Car.II. c.33.
45. John Winter, [Greek title - *Aplos kai kaloz*] *honest plain dealing: or, meditations and advertisements offered to publick consideration*, (London: printed by A. M. ... sold by William Oliver, Norwich, 1663).
46. Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades ', 111-3.
47. Robert Conold, *The notion of schism stated according to the ancients, and considered with reference to the non-conformists*, (London: printed by R.W. for William Oliver and George Rose booksellers in Norwich, ..., and Nath. Brooks ... in Cornhill, and R. Chiswell ... in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1676). (The second edition, 1677, had only Oliver's name in Norwich). Also *A discourse upon the repugnancy of sin*, 2nd edition (London: sold by William Oliver, 1682).
48. *A catalogue of valuable books ... which will be sold by auction ... at Mrs Olivers house ... 16th December 1689 by Edward Millington bookseller*, ([London: 1689]) and, *A catalogue of ancient and modern books ... which will be sold by Auction ..., at Mrs Olivers House, ... tenth of July 1693. by Edward Millington*, ([London, 1693]).
49. Erasmus Warren, *Divine rules for Christian unity opened and urged. A sermon preach'd in the Cathedral Church of Norwich*, (London: printed for Samuel Oliver bookseller in Norwich and sold by J. Robinson, 1692), and John Jeffery, *The duty and encouragement of religious artificers described in a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Norwich*, (Cambridge: printed by John Hayes for Samuel Oliver, Norwich, 1693).
50. Pierre Chauvin, *De naturali religione liber*, (Rotterdam: Apud Petrum vander Slaart, sumptibus Samuelis Oliverii, Norvincensis, 1693).
51. *The Term Catalogues* II. 455.
52. *Eclaircissimens sur un livre de la religion naturelle, compose par Mr P. Chauvin*, ([Rotterdam, 1693]). See also W. Moens, *The Wallons and their church at Norwich*, 2 vols. (London: Huguenot Society, 1887), II. 236.
53. Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades ', 117-8.
54. Norfolk Record Office Norwich Mayor's Court Book 24 (1666-77) fol. 306, and Robert Conold, *A sermon preached before the Maior of the City of Norwich in the Cathedral-church ... January 31. 1674/5*, (London: printed for George Rose in Norwich, ... and by Nath Brook, 1675).
55. See note 47 above.
56. John Harris, *The divine physician: prescribing rules for the prevention, and cure of most diseases, as well of the body, as the soul*, ([London:] Printed for George Rose in Norwich, ... and by Nath Brook & Will Whitwood in London, 1676), and (London: printed by H. B. for Will Whitwood, and sold by George Rose, Norwich, 1676).

57. *A catalogue of ancient and modern books ... which will be sold by auction (or who bids most) .. at Mr G. Rose's house, on Monday, Decemb. 2d. 1700, ([London, 1700]).*
 58. B.L. Sloane Ms. 1847, and Sir Thomas Browne, *Works*, 4 vols (London: Faber, 1964), iv. 149.
 59. Bodleian Library Ms. Rawl. D391 and Browne, *Works*, iv. 186.
 60. John Browne, *A compleat treatise of preternatural tumours both general and particular*, (London: printed by S. R. for R. Clavell, and sold by George Rose in Norwich, 1678).
 61. Stoker, 'The Norwich book trades ', 102-3.
 62. Martin Finch, *An answer to Mr Thomas Grantham's book; called, a dialogue between a Baptist and a Presbyterian*, (London: printed by T.S. for Edward Giles bookseller in Norwich, and Tho. Parkhurst in Cheapside, 1691).
 63. Thomas Grantham, *A discovery of audacious insolence*, London: printed by Tho. Snowden for Edward Giles, Norwich, 1691, and Samuel Petto, *Infant baptism vindicated from the exceptions of Mr Thomas Grantham*, (London: printed by Thos. Snowden for Edward Giles, Norwich, 1691).
 64. Francis Bugg, *The Quakers detected, their errors confuted, and their hypocrisie discovered*, (London: printed for the author ... sold by Edward Gyles, Norwich and Ralph Watson, St Edmunds-Bury, 1686).
 65. Richard Kidder, *Convivum caeleste. 2nd edition with additions*, (London: printed by John Richardson for Thomas Parkhurst and sold by Edward Giles in Norwich, 1684), and *Obedience to Magistrates recommended in a sermon preached upon Septemb. 9. 1683*: (London: printed by T. S. for Edward Giles, Norwich, 1683).
 66. John Dunton, *The life and errors of John Dunton*, (London, 1705), 316-7.
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