Bibliographic Essay for Research on Seventeenth-Century

Shop Signs and Printers' Marks of St. Paul's Churchyard

The following bibliographic essay covers secondary and primary sources that will be used to support the argument that publishers, booksellers and printers working in St. Paul's churchyard during the seventeenth century understood the importance of crafting their brand identity and that this identity was embodied in their printers' devices and shop signs. In the proposed research, booksellers, publishers and printers will be considered as a cohort. Though very real differences existed in terms of their actual activities, financial risk, and product or service, all utilized visual symbols to denote their locations and identities.

Seventeenth-century England and its Book Trade

The seventeenth century in England was filled with religious and political upheaval. Massive changes occurred in the way people wanted to be governed, what they wanted to believe (and what they wanted others to believe), and how they conceptualized their society. The book trade played a prominent role in these transformations.

The historical background on the century is best provided by reference books. The century began with an outbreak of plague in 1603 according to *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*, and plague would again visit London in 1665 in the year before the Great Fire. The disease was a constant companion to England through three centuries, starting in the mid-fourteenth century and finally ending in 1666. The fact that the end of the plague roughly coincides with the Great Fire is coincidental; no firm reason for its disappearance has been found.

Other shifts were political. According to *A Dictionary of World History* the Civil War lasted from 1642 through 1649. The war saw the country divided on religious, economic and

constitutional grounds. The struggle between supporters of the King, called Cavaliers, and supporters of Parliament, called Roundheads, eventually ended with the dissolution of the monarchy and the execution of Charles I. The Commonwealth period followed, beginning in 1649. It was England's republic between the reigns of Charles I and Charles II. After unpopular taxes to support Cromwell's battle with the Royalists and the start of the Anglo-Dutch War, Cromwell disbanded Parliament and took power, establishing the Protectorate. With the Protectorate, Cromwell made himself a dictator in all but name. The Protectorate years (1653-1659) were full of strife as Cromwell had difficulty with the first predominantly Puritan Parliament, thus dissolved it, and then attempted to rule through major-generals he placed in charge of declared military districts. This also failed and a new Parliament was elected. The Protectorate did not survive long after Cromwell's death. His son's removal from power heralded the Restoration, wherein Charles II (the son of executed monarch Charles I) took the throne to restore the monarchy in England and Scotland in 1660.

A. S. Hargreaves's article in *The Oxford Companion to British History* explains the previously mentioned Great Fire. It began on September 2, 1666 and devastated a huge expanse of London, included St. Paul's Cathedral and churchyard—the center of the book trade.

The century ended, according to *The Oxford Dictionary of Family and Local History*, with the final political shift that was the Glorious Revolution. James II, reviled by many or his Catholicism, was forced to abdicate, and the throne was then claimed by William of Orange and his wife Mary (James' daughter), ushering in a constitutional monarchy.

The role of the book trade in the century's tumult is effectively characterized by both reference books and specific scholarly articles. Per Joad Raymond in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, The Stationers' Company had monopolistic control over London presses

for much of the first portion of the century. This government-granted exclusivity was given in return for control of the press, the degree of which varied over the years. "As the book trade flourished, the Stationers' Company ostensibly oversaw who was apprenticed within the trade, what was printed (in theory, though not in practice), and who got to print the most lucrative titles in the business."[1] Publishers would list their books in the Stationers Register, which effectively gave them copyright over the work (regardless of whether or not its printing was imminent). These rights could be transferred between Stationers via additional entries in the Register. In 1641, the Long Parliament dissolved the court of the Star Chamber, which had given the Stationers' Company its monopoly on printing and related trades, and thus effectively reduced the Stationers' Company's control of the press. In the years following, publishers and printers could establish themselves outside of the purview of the Stationer's Company, though technically this was still illegal. Both the Commonwealth and Protectorate governments attempted to use the Stationers' Company to control the press and regulate the content of what was printed. However, the Company's actual authority dwindled during these years. Within the Company itself, the booksellers took power and prominence away from the printers over the course of the seventeenth century. The 1662 Licensing Act gave actual control of the press to James II's appointed Surveyor of the Press, Roger L'Estrange, who felt that the self-regulation of the Stationers' Company was ineffective. In 1679, the Licensing Act expired and so too did what little influence the Stationers' Company had left, though it still maintained its Register of copyrights until the Copyright Act of 1710.

Amos Tubb's article, "Independent Presses: The Politics of Print in England During the Late 1640s," explains the social, religious and political situation in England and the role of printers, publishers and booksellers in this arena. While he admits that the motivations of

printers, publishers and booksellers to print certain works versus other are complicated by personal relationships with individuals, government censorship and profit potential, the desire to support a particular religious or political view was also a significant factor for some. Tubb's methodology of describing the overall political, religious and economic considerations of publishers, etc. in the 1640s and then highlighting specific publishers, booksellers and printers as case studies is an effective approach—one that will be utilized in the planned research of publishers, booksellers and printers in St. Paul's. While Tubb's research clearly and persuasively explains the political motivations of certain publishers and printers, the proposed research will look at how a similar group of publishers chose to represent or identify themselves through their printers' marks and signs. Tubb's case studies include one prolific publisher, Giles Calvert, who was working in St. Paul's churchyard. Calvert's printer's mark and sign—the Black Spread Eagle—will be evaluated in terms of his political stance as a supporter of the Independents during the 1640s and then a Quaker supporter in the 1650s. As Tubb attests, the literate and politically involved public looked to "'the Press'" to learn the latest thoughts on religion and politics, and the publishers, booksellers and printers were well aware of their ability to "shape public opinion" through their output[2]. This understanding of their power may very well be echoed in the devices they chose to distinguish and identify themselves, as the planned research hopes to illustrate.

David Gants utilizes a quantitative analysis of books produced, their genre and format, the booksellers who sold them and printers' production capacity to piece together "an outline of business relations among printers, publishers, wholesalers, and retailers active during a specific moment in the trade."[3] A somewhat similar analysis is proposed in the current research, where the shop signs and printers' marks will be shown as representative of booksellers', publishers'

and printers' business identities and how those identities interact in the microcosm of St. Paul's churchyard. Gants's article, however, includes a depth of data that will not be available for the proposed research.

With the religious and political upheaval during the seventeenth century, it is apparent that symbols had power. And booksellers, printers and publishers needed to take care with the symbols they chose to represent themselves, especially if those symbols spoke in the language of monarchy or religion.

St. Paul's Churchyard

The Cambridge History of English and American Literature situates the center of the book trade in St. Paul's churchyard in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It explains that bookseller's homes/shops were of two kinds: more substantial houses that bordered the churchyard, and stalls put up against the cathedral itself. A description of the newly built shop of John Day is provided along with its construction cost of 40-50 pounds. The shop was a single-storied, flat-roofed affair, with a railed deck on the roof for viewing any public spectacle occurring in the churchyard. This description of the churchyard's importance as well as its appearance aids in the visualization of the churchyard during the time period covered by the planned research.

Walter Thornbury's tome, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places*, is referenced for his detailed and opinionated history of St. Paul's Cathedral. While his writing is eloquent, it can also be quite flippant, especially on topics and events that don't seem to meet with his approval. Interestingly, St. Paul's experienced near as many changes in the seventeenth century as did the city. Going from a well-funded refurbishment plan under Charles I and Inigo Jones, the Cathedral was ransacked under Cromwell. Vestments were burnt

to extract gold, which was then provided to poor Irish Protestants, and silver pieces were sold to purchase Cromwell's artillery. The Cathedral itself was used to house cavalry and rented to tailors and peddlers. Thornbury's disgust over such treatment is dripping. His regard for the cathedral and the monarchy's treatment of it is apparent in lines such as, "When the Restoration came, sunshine again fell upon the ruins." [4] Christopher Wren was brought in to plan a new cathedral and grounds. This effort was interrupted by the fire of 1666, and those booksellers who had stored their product in the vaults of St. Faith's lost all when the fire overtook the cathedral and churchyard. Wren wasn't able to make a serious effort at reconstruction until 1673.

Another perspective on St. Paul's and its environs comes from Sadie Watson and Jacqueline Pierce with Anne Davis, Geoff Egan and Alan Pipe in their article, "Taverns and Other Entertainments in the City of London? Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Finds from Excavations at Paternoster Square." While Watson, et al. review the historical background and seventeenth-century archaeological finds in Paternoster Square, not St. Paul's churchyard, given that Paternoster Square is immediately to the north of St. Paul's, some similarity can be assumed in terms of social behavior between the two areas, especially as taverns and coffee houses were present in St. Paul's as well (e.g., Child's Coffee House). The archaeological finds support the idea of a well-to-do professional class tavern or possibly residence. The researchers also explain that Paternoster Square was "associated with publishing, writers and bookselling"—inhabitants who would have been very similar, if not identical, to those of St. Paul's churchyard[5]. It's the understanding of marketing, promotion, and branding that's interestingly described in this article. Describing Dolly's, a chophouse off Paternoster Row, the authors explain: "The original landlady Dolly is said to have been aware of the potential to increase profits through the employment of attractive waitresses."[6] Certainly, the booksellers and publishers would have

been equally aware of promotional methods for increasing their own sales, including how they represented or branded themselves through their signs or devices.

Finally, the papers of Francis Cranmer Penrose will be utilized in the proposed research. The nineteenth-century drawings of this surveyor provide graphical representations of St. Paul's Cathedral and churchyard pre and post the Great Fire. While not incredibly detailed and a bit difficult to decipher with the new cathedral superimposed on the old, these drawings, in concert with the location data detailed by Price and Blayney (see below), will provide physical context for the arrangement of booksellers' shops around the churchyard.

Shop Signs and Printers' Marks

Printers' marks and their shop signs were often, though not always, identical or at least similarly themed. They were visual memory triggers and addresses by which booksellers, publishers and printers identified themselves to their audiences. While pictorial shop signs were initially used as aids to the illiterate, publishers, whose audience was both learned and literate, still understood the emotional value of these visual symbols and frequently included them on the title pages of their books as their printer's mark.

F. G. Hilton Price's article "Signs of Old London" is currently the data foundation of the planned research. Price, an amateur historian, presents a list of predominantly booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Only the seventeenth-century booksellers and publishers will be the focus of the planned research. Considering his work was presented at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the London Topographical Society, it is rather lacking in topographical detail. Equally, no map of the churchyard was included which seems another lack. It does, however, provide a list of 227 seventeenth-century booksellers and publishers, their signs and, for 50% of them, the general location of their shops around St. Paul's

churchyard (i.e., north side, south side, west side, east side). Little is provided regarding meaning or history of the signs, and just a smattering of information is presented that relates the booksellers to one another. Price does include verbatim copy of advertisements and other archival materials for a small number of the booksellers. This information can be used to locate primary sources, particularly seventeenth-century newspapers and collections of personal papers of prominent individuals who corresponded with certain printers (e.g., Samuel Pepys and Joseph Kirton). (When it becomes available, Peter W. M. Blayney's book *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* should further elucidate a more exact location of shops and the activities of booksellers in St. Paul's; it also includes maps of the churchyard.)

The historical development of signs is the focus of Larwood and Hotten's book *A History of Signboards: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Many aspects of this work will be foundational to the proposed research, especially as relates to why certain symbols became signs (e.g., During the Middle Ages, the nobility let their homes to travelers and the most obvious symbol in their coat of arms—which hung in front of the house—was used by travelers to denote the home. Innkeepers adopted these symbols for their own signs to leverage the existing reputation or brand established by the nobles' signs). Larwood and Hotten specifically call out the connection between printers' marks and their signs. The authors also provide a visceral and engaging description of London streets during the seventeenth century. The recitation of facts—thoroughly supported by many archival examples—is interspersed with entertaining interpretation and exposition of daily life. Further, while tracing the transformation of signs across time, Larwood and Hotten endeavor to provide reasons for the changes instead of merely relating those changes. Their arguments appear sound (e.g., strange combinations of symbols arose from misinterpretation or misunderstanding as well as from shopkeepers desire to

distinguish themselves from competitors). After reviewing the history of signs generally, the authors provide detailed histories by symbol.

Wheatley, an author, editor, indexer and Vice President of the Bibliographical Society, furnishes a listing of booksellers' signs and shop locations in his article "Signs of Booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard." He also admirably presents an overview of the topography of the churchyard, explaining the difference between actual shops and the many simple stalls that abutting the cathedral itself. He quotes archival materials related to the shop locations and signs—though these read more as a list of discoveries from the archives rather than as part of a thoughtful argument. The link between booksellers' signs and printers' marks is, however, clearly made. Wheatley goes further to explain that signs of a personal nature—and perhaps representational of the brand/identity the printer wanted to project—were typically taken with the printer when he/she moved. Whereas signs of a more general nature and not tied to a particular trade tended to stay with the shop and were passed on to later proprietors.

Lillywhite is an historical researcher and produced a reference book called *London Signs*. While specific printers' names are not mentioned, the listings do indicate if the sign was located in St. Paul's churchyard and typically also indicate the trade associated with the sign (e.g., bookseller). What Lillywhite does helpfully provide is a bit of history for each sign and often a description of its meaning or symbolism. Thus, in describing the Anchor, the author explains that it has long been a Christian symbol of hope. It was also a heraldic emblem and a popular sign in the seventeenth century. As another example, Lillywhite explains the complex history of the King's Arms in the seventeenth century. John Kirton, Pepys's printer, worked under this sign, and Lillywhite quotes Pepys as saying that many tradesmen hid away the lion and the unicorn during the Commonwealth, only to resurrect them during the Restoration.

Lucien Febrve and Henri-Jean Martin, in *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, provide a discussion of printers' marks that is brief but does recognize the marks as "a species of pictorial publicity." Febvre and Martin describe the very practical origin of marks as aids to the shippers/distributors of the unbound sheets and note how the symbols used developed originally from family crests and house signs and then transformed into complex allegorical signs in the sixteenth century. A similar overview of the printers' mark is related by Nicole Howard in her work *The Book: The Life Story of a Technology*. Her review of printers' marks makes the link between marks and shop signs as well as noting the use of marks/signs as marketing tools.

Printers' Marks and Their Significance by Douglas McMurtrie claims to relate the meaning of marks, this is only partially accomplished and then only to a superficial degree. Little archival material is directly referenced. Points regarding reasons that different printers selected different marks are handled perfunctorily. For example, McMurtrie seems to say that marks definitely came from signs, but doesn't offer proof or further explanation. It is equally possible that signs could have come from marks. He notes another inspiration for marks being visual puns on the printer's name (e.g., Androw Myllar of Scotland employed a mill as his mark), but doesn't delve into the significance of those symbols beyond mere identification. The planned research will attempt to show that such a symbolic mark always held multiple layers of meaning. Thus, while the mill represented the name Myllar, it also represented an idea of fecundity, sustenance, and nourishment, and, given that we are dealing with books, it would be the mind not the belly that is beneficiary. The author does rightly cite the printer's mark as an early type of trademark or logo, noting that imagery would more strongly drive public recognition than the printer's name alone.

William Roberts's book *Printers' Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography* is seminal for the topic of printers' marks, and is often quoted in later sources. Roberts claims printers' marks originated as trademarks to protect works from piracy, and later were recognized for their "ornamental value."[7] The current research moves a bit past both the idea of signs or marks as trademarks and ornaments, claiming for them a more fundamental role in the identity or branding of a bookseller, publisher or printer. Roberts's view is more artistic, looking at marks as part of book illustration, where the proposed research will be rather more functional, looking at the mark as a way of establishing identity. Roberts does reference early marks as following a trend established by early fifteenth-century traders and merchants to use a symbol or mark to identify themselves. Originally, a symbol, sign or rebus was used by those lacking a legitimate coat-of-arms. While Roberts's work concentrates on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he does touch on some of the foundational themes of the proposed research, including the connection between the mark and sign. Roberts includes one very telling example for use in the proposed research. He quotes the motto of sixteenth-century English printer Robert Copland as "A good name is better than much riches". This motto appears on one of Copland's marks as do representations of his shop sign, the Rose. In this one mark with have the core ideas of continuity of identity (i.e., from sign to mark) as well as the importance of identity and reputation (i.e., a good name).

Another, earlier book by Thomas Hartwell Horne called *An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, describes printers' marks as, like Roberts, ornamental. While Horne does indicate that the marks are instrumental for identifying printers, he seems to be referring to bibliographers of his own time rather than the printers' contemporaries and customers.

Jean Philibert Berjeau reproduces engravings of many printers' marks in his *Early Dutch, German, & English Printers' Marks*, however it appears only one falls within the timeframe covered in the planned research, that of John Norton working in London from 1593-1610, who uses an Anchor as his device. A John Norton also appears in Price's list of shop signs in St. Paul's churchyard, supposedly active from 1593-1603. However, he is working under the sign of the Queen's Arms. Perhaps these are the same printer? If yes, then Norton's printer's mark appears to be mismatched with his sign. It may be that Norton used multiple different marks, as was often the case and that the anchor version was simply what Berjeau could find. Berjeau's book is ultimately a reference work with engravings and textual descriptions of signs. There is no interpretation of symbols or any real discussion of the reason for or value of the marks.

For a series of years, *Library Quarterly* included as its cover design for each issue a different printer's mark. Edwin Eliott Willoughby wrote the descriptions and histories of each of those marks and reproduces many of them in his book *Fifty Printers' Marks*. His introduction to the printers' mark, its history, value and relation to signs coincides well with the proposed research. He notes marks as being used to identify as well as ornament. He traces their history from visual symbols necessary for the illiterate majority of the Middle Ages, and notes them as a way for merchants to identify themselves to customers and differentiate themselves from competitors. Willoughby explains that while many marks were plays on merchants' names, others were rough copies of heraldic emblems allowing the merchants to imitate, to an extent, the nobility. Willoughby specifically mentions printers using their shop signs as their marks and espouses more of an argument of aesthetics for the marks than will be taken in the proposed research. He does, however, explain the use of the mark as a trademark representing the printer's identity and vouching for the quality of goods. While Willoughby rightly recognizes that a

publisher's customers would be literate and able to read his/her name, he perhaps too quickly dismisses the inclusion of the printers' mark saying, "But the example of other craftsmen was not to be resisted."[8] The planned research will strive to show that the mark was not incidentally included through some sort of peer pressure, but carefully selected as a way of establishing a brand identity.

Garold Cole's short article "The Historical Development of the Title Page" is a frustratingly cursory review of title pages from the fifteenth century through modern times. His work is a chronological state of the title page by century and includes few examples and even fewer images of referenced title pages. The only interpretation as such appears to be an assessment of tastefulness for each century's output. Discussion of the printer's mark—arguably the most obvious element of the early title page save the title itself—encompasses all of two sentences. The reason given for inclusion of a mark is "distinction and pride in fine craftsmanship."[9] This doesn't capture the more complex reasons behind use of printers' marks.

Relating to Marketing, Branding and the Meaning of Symbols

To validate the claims made about printers' marks and shop signs establishing brand identity for the publishers, booksellers and printers of St. Paul's, a mixture of advertising history and discussions of branding and identity creation will be consulted. Further, in the planned research, the emotional and connotative value of the symbols used in the devices and shop signs will be evaluated for the select group of case study subjects.

Paul J. Voss's excellent article, "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," establishes the change in the book trade from patronage of the few and wealthy to advertising to the consumer. He situates this change as beginning at the end of the sixteenth century. For the proposed research, the use by publishers, booksellers and printers of

the advertising potential of the title page is directly tied to the branding potential of the printer's mark included on the title page. And the similarity of the mark with the shop sign is a logical extension of this brand identity; in fact, it's of vital importance, as motivating consumers to go to the shop to buy is the difference between successful and unsuccessful advertising. Voss explains: "Printers and publishers—the parties with the greatest financial stakes in the printing projects—employed many sophisticated forms of advertising specifically designed to persuade readers into buying books."[10] Voss continues, "these advertisements served a distinct number of functions, including promoting reputations," which is very much how the proposed research will attempt to frame the printer's mark and shop sign[11]. While Voss's research covers the sixteenth century, he's also elucidating the foundations of what occurred in the seventeenth century (i.e., the timeframe of the planned research). The following quote is particularly relevant to the proposed research: "The printer's name and device, along with shop location, informed the reader where the book could be purchased."[12] The title pages were also used as poster ads (as mentioned in Richardson's article, see below). While Voss discusses booksellers' advertising efforts related to particular books, the planned research will focus more on the printers' marks and shop signs as establishing a brand identity for the printer, bookseller or publisher. Voss argues that book illustrations are valued by sixteenth-century readers; they attract attention and immediate interest more so than mere text. The planned research will argue along the same vein that the printer's mark or shop sign provided a visual identity that words could not—even to the literate audience of the bookseller.

Mrs. Herbert Richardson, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, ably shares an overview of advertising from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries in her article "Early Commercial Advertising in England". Her coverage of the seventeenth century provides some

specific examples of both poster and newspaper advertising, and she specifically mentions booksellers' use of their title pages as a type of poster ad. Her discussion of shop signs as a form of proto-advertising is quite brief, and she seems to dismiss them as not true advertising in a modern sense. She does not, however, make any connections between the printers' marks used on title pages, bookseller shop signs and any sense of logo or brand identity either might convey. Granted, this sort of language may not have been in use in 1936, and Richardson's focus was on advertising, not branding.

Henry Sampson, an English newspaper proprietor and editor, explains the history of advertising as a way to understand the lives of the people exposed to advertisements in particular time periods. Through his book, *A History of Advertising from the Earliest Times: Illustrated with Anecdotes, Curious Specimens and Biographical Notes*, he intends to discover and present the reality of the people and behaviors exposed through the ads—pockmarks and all. He does an admirable job of it, for example, relating the history of England in the seventeenth century through advertisements placed by the likes of Charles II. In discussing street advertising, Sampson references signs as early advertising and traces them back at least to Roman times. He cleverly uses tomb engravings for what they tell about the *lives* of the deceased, noting many visual puns used to represent the names of those resting within, for example, the grave of Dracontius included the image of a dragon, and Leo's, a lion. He relates the argument of Larwood and Hotten's *The History of Signboards* (see above), noting that at first signs were simple representations of the service or wares the shop offered, but, as prosperity and consumption increased, shop owners felt the need to distinguish themselves from others in similar trades through their signs. Sampson is perhaps a bit too dismissive of the simple and often harsh lives of medieval and early modern eras and a bit too congratulatory of his own late

nineteenth-century experiences. On the whole, however, history as he describes it through advertisements is very real, very immediate and very human. In fact, his work is much more a history told through advertisements than a history of advertising.

An Associate Professor of Marketing at ESCP Europe's Paris campus, Benoit Heilbrunn's research focuses on branding. His detailed description of the psychological and semiotic underpinnings of logos in *The Encyclopedia of Semiotics*, while challenging for the layman, provides a twenty-first-century lens through which to view the proto-logos that were printers' signs and marks. Caution must be exercised in applying modern thinking to seventeen-century activities; however, much of the fundamental psychology behind the use of such identity marks should remain unchanged.

Alina Wheeler's *Designing Brand Identity* is a modern-day guide for creating brand identity or logos. Her description of the reasoning behind logos and their value, however, is key to interpreting printers' marks and signs of the seventeenth century. She is explaining the human need to identify oneself through symbols, and this need is fundamental and timeless. Wheeler states:

> "Mankind has always used symbols to express fierce individuality, pride, loyalty and ownership . . . a simple form can instantaneously trigger recall and arouse emotion, whether it is emblazoned on a flag, etched in stone or embedded in an email . . . The competition for recognition is as ancient as the heraldic banners on a medieval battlefield . . . what was once heraldry is now branding . . . Branding is about making an emotional connection. People fall in love with brands—they trust them, develop strong loyalties, buy them and believe in their superiority. The brand is shorthand: it stands for something and demonstrates it."[13]

Much of the same psychology described above would have influenced publishers, booksellers and printers in the seventeenth century—even though the concept of a brand was not yet defined. This would be especially true with certain publishers, like Calvert, who Tubbs (see above) says understood the power of their role in society and identified themselves with a certain ideology.

Peter Harrison compellingly illustrates the shift in thinking about animals over the course of the seventeenth century whereby they lose their "status as moral exemplars"[14] in his article, "The Virtues of Animals in the Seventeenth-Century Thought." Animals, whose most prominent traits were considered morally instructive—because the animals themselves were literally considered moral—in the likes of medieval bestiaries and church sermons, were increasingly seen as functioning from instinct rather than moral rectitude. With the shift towards scientific investigation, there was a separation of man and nature; Harrison uses Descartes' ideas to exemplify this transition. The planned research will draw on the long understood traits symbolized by these animals as the reason certain printers choose to use the animal's likeness on their signs and marks. It is assumed that the old folkloric meanings will still hold sway in the emotional realm of branding. Harrison does note this shift from literal to literary, as animal passions and virtues became symbolic only.

Udo Becker's work, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols*, is included as a reference for the meaning and history behind some of the symbols used on the shop signs and in marks. For example, he describes the Bell as symbolizing a connection between heaven and earth, as well as a talisman for preventing misfortune.

Primary Sources for Direct Investigation

The Stationers' Company Archive: An Account of the Records, 1554-1984, a finding aid produced by Robin Myers, Honorary Archivist to The Worshipful Company of Stationers &

Newspaper Makers, is a detailed guide to the company's records from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. Microfilm of the actual records accompanies the guide. According to a ProQuest summary found at http://www.proquest.com/en-US/catalogs/collections/detail/Records-of-the-Stationers-197.shtml, the latest edition includes 60 boxes of materials not previously available. The closest repository housing the guide and microfilm collection is at the University of Washington, Suzzallo and Allen Library in Seattle, Washington. The seventeenth-century materials will be reviewed to find mention of a yet-to-be-identified group of printers/booksellers/stationers doing business in St. Paul's churchyard. Any mention of the sign or mark under which a freeman, liveryman, warden, etc. worked will be noted. Any other mention relating to the business activities of the select group of printers will be noted as well.

Additional primary source documents will be investigated, though these reside at the British Library in London. They include correspondence between bookseller and publisher Moses Pitt—who worked under the sign of the Angel in St. Paul's churchyard—and various individuals. In particular, the Pell Papers (correspondence between Dr. John Pell and Pitt), Robert Hooke's Collection of Scientific Papers and Letters (letters relating to the English Atlas), the James Petiver Papers (more correspondence between Pitt and Hooke), and the Sloane 1674 Papers (which include a catalogue of the books of Moses Pitt found in a warehouse at St. Bartholomew's) will be investigated.

One additional primary source will be accessed through the website of Phil Gyford. Gyford has compiled this well organized and very helpful site for those interested in the diary of Samuel Pepys. The content is gleaned from a web version produced by David Widger for *Project Gutenberg*, which is in turn based on Henry B. Wheatley's transcription of the diaries in his 1897

book *The Diary of Samuel Pepys M.A. F.R.S.* The decision has been made to use Gyford's site due to its encyclopedia, interactive maps and enhanced browsing capabilities. Equally, the site links to other resources and includes commentary and articles from other secondary sources. The diary entries and letters of Pepys will be investigated for mention of booksellers' activities (especially those of Joshua Kirton), for a sense of the daily lives of a segment of seventeenth century London society, as well as for mention of the fire of 1666 and the Restoration. Possible pitfalls include the fact that the website was being rewritten in early 2013 and may be incomplete, and the fact that Wheatley's transcription of Pepys's original shorthand includes errors—many of which have been corrected by contributors to the website; however, their authority may be questionable.

NOTES

1. Raymond, "Stationers' Company," para. 3.
2. Tubb, "Independent Presses," 302.
3. Gants, "A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade," 186.
4. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, 248.
5. Watson, et al., "Taverns and Other Entertainments," 172.
6. Ibid., 174
7. Roberts, *Printer's Marks*, viii.
8. Willoughby, *Fifty Printer's Marks*, 3.
9. Cole, "Historical Development of the Title Page," 307.
10. Voss, "Books for Sale," 734.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 737.
13. Wheeler, *Designing Brand Identity*, 1-2.
14. Harrison, "The Virtues of Animals," 478.

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