PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH INTO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SHOP SIGNS AND PRINTERS' MARKS OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

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Abstract

The seventeenth century in England was a time of religious and political upheaval, and the book trade played an important role amidst the discord. As a center of the book trade, St. Paul's churchyard was chosen as the site for this research into the shop signs and printers' marks of booksellers, publishers and printers. Much past research into signs and marks recognizes them as directional or ornamental, with a few modern scholars seeing a link to marketing and publicity efforts. The proposed research intends to illustrate the sophistication of this group of professionals in the crafting of their brand identities and the embodiment of those identities in shop signs and printers' marks. A key deliverable of the research will be a topographical, chronological, and symbolic map that relates shop locations, owners, signs and marks across the century. The symbols utilized in the signs and marks will be examined to produce an interpretation of their emotional underpinnings and psychological implications thus revealing the semiotic discourse of St. Paul's churchyard, which is expected to mimic that of London society as a whole. This research is valuable in that it provides a re-evaluation of the sophistication of these professionals as marketers and develops a fuller understanding of their lives and the lives of their customers.

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Introduction

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 preferred 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 century began with an outbreak of plague in 1603, and plague would again visit London in 1665. The disease was a constant companion to England through three centuries, finally ending in 1666. Political struggle was also a constant companion. The Civil War lasted from 1642 through 1649 and saw the country divided on religious, economic and constitutional grounds. The struggle between supporters of the King and supporters of Parliament eventually ended with the dissolution of the monarchy and the execution of Charles I. The Commonwealth period followed—England's republic between the reigns of Charles I and Charles II—and was soon replaced by Cromwell's Protectorate, a dictatorship in all but name. The Protectorate did not survive long after Cromwell's death, and its end heralded the Restoration, wherein Charles II took the throne to restore the monarchy in 1660. The century ended with the final political shift that was the Glorious Revolution. James II, reviled by many for his Catholicism, was forced to abdicate, and the throne was claimed by William of Orange and his wife Mary, ushering in a constitutional monarchy. [1]

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1. *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*, s.v. "Plague," by David Hey, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); *A Dictionary of World History*, s.v. "English Civil War", ed. Edmund Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); *A Dictionary of World History*, s.v. "Commonwealth"; *A Dictionary of World History*, s.v. "Protectorate"; *A Dictionary of World History*, s.v. "Restoration"; *The Oxford Companion to Family and Local History*, s.v. "Glorious Revolution," by David Hey.

While the motivations of printers, publishers and booksellers to print certain works versus other were complicated by many things—personal relationships, government censorship and profit potential—the desire to support a particular religious or political view was a significant factor.[2] Often this support was displayed through the symbols used in their shop signs and printers' marks. Symbols held significant power in an age when many were illiterate and were often very blunt reflections of the religious and political persuasion of their bearers.

St. Paul's Churchyard

St. Paul's churchyard in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the bustling center of the London book trade.[3] 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, the Cathedral was ransacked under Cromwell with the Cathedral itself used to house cavalry and rented to tailors and peddlers. Christopher Wren was brought in to plan a new cathedral and grounds.[4] This effort was interrupted by the fire of 1666, and those booksellers who had stored their product in the vaults of St. Faith's for safekeeping lost all when the fire overtook the cathedral and churchyard.[5] Wren wasn't able to make a serious effort at reconstruction until

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2. Amos Tubb, "Independent Presses: The Politics of Print in England During the Late 1640s," *The Seventeenth Century*, XXVII, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): doi: 10.7227/TSC.27.3.3.

3. *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, s.v. "St. Paul's Churchyard" eds. A. W. Ward, A. R. Waller, W. P. Trent, J. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren (New York: Putnam, 1907-1921).

4. Walter Thornbury, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places* (London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, 1873-1878).

5. *The Oxford Companion to British History*, s.v. "London, fire of," by A. S. Hargreaves (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

1673, but that did not prevent the booksellers, publishers and printers from resurrecting their businesses as quickly as possible.[6]

Problem Statement

Were booksellers, publishers and printers haphazardly selecting the symbols used in their shop signs and printers' marks? Were the shop signs considered merely addresses and the marks considered merely decoration? Much previous research tends to disregard the symbolic power in the signs and marks and doesn't seem to recognize booksellers, publishers and printers as engaging in sophisticated marketing and branding efforts. The proposed research will examine the shop signs and printers' marks employed by booksellers, publishers and printers in St. Paul's churchyard in an attempt to understand the reasons certain symbols were chosen and how they contributed to the creation of a brand identity. This evaluation will take into account the meaning of selected symbols to the seventeenth-century audience given the religious and political upheaval of the day. The interplay of these symbols and meanings within St. Paul's churchyard itself will also be considered as a microcosm of a larger semiotic discourse. Importantly, 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 not only their locations but also to craft their business identities. This research is valuable in that it provides a re-evaluation of the sophistication of these professionals as marketers. The intent is to also uncover the meaning behind the symbols utilized and therefore the psychological implications and revelations of those symbols, developing a fuller understanding of the mental and emotional context in which these individuals and their customers lived. The results should appeal to several groups of historians and scholars as well as

6. Thornbury, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places.*

lay people, as they will touch on aspects of book history, semiotics, advertising/branding history and the history of St. Paul's churchyard.

Literature Review

Shop Signs and Printers' Marks

Printers' marks and shop signs 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—understood the emotional value of these visual symbols and frequently included them on the title pages of their books as their printers' marks.

Two secondary sources are foundational to the planned research: F. G. Hilton Price's article "Signs of Old London" and Peter W. M. Blayney's work *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*. Price presents a list of predominantly booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. His work provides a list of over two hundred 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). Blayney, a book history scholar, shares a very detailed topography and chronology of St. Paul's Cross Churchyard (i.e., the northwest corner of the churchyard near Paul's Cross and Paul's Gate), locating individual booksellers by sign at specific shop around yard. His detailed review of archival materials, including surveys taken before and after the Great Fire, allows him to provide brief histories of the proprietors and their shop signs. Both authors include primary sources that will be consulted for the proposed research (e.g., seventeenth-century newspapers, surveys and collections of personal papers). To aid in the visualization of the churchyard, the description of bookseller's shops/homes included in *The Cambridge History of English and*

American Literature will be utilized. A typical shop was a single-storied, flat-roofed affair, with a railed deck on the roof for viewing any public spectacle occurring in the churchyard.[7]

Several authors make the connection between shop signs and printers' marks and discuss the origination of the symbols used in both. Larwood and Hotten's arguments relating to why certain symbols became signs and marks will be important to the proposed research.[8, 9] Wheatley furnishes a listing of booksellers' signs and shop locations in St. Paul's and a helpful overview of the topography of the churchyard.[10] The link between booksellers' signs and printers' marks is 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, illustrating the value of the symbol, though not tied to a particular businessman. Lillywhite produced a reference book called *London Signs*, which helpfully provides a bit of history for each sign and often a description of its meaning or symbolism.[11]

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7. *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, s.v. "St. Paul's Churchyard."

8. Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten, *A History of Signboards: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1900).

9. For example, 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.

10. H. B. Wheatley, "Signs of Booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard," in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Vol. IX (London: Bibliographical Society, 1908).

11. For example, Lillywhite explains the complex history of the King's Arms in the seventeenth century. Joshua Kirton, Pepys's printer, worked under this sign, and Lillywhite

Other researchers have recognized printers' marks as ornamental or proto-trademarks, noting the marketing or publicity potential of these graphics. The proposed research intends to move 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. Lucien Febrve and Henri-Jean Martin provide a discussion of printers' marks that is brief but does recognize the marks as "a species of pictorial publicity."[12] Febvre and Martin note how the symbols used developed originally from family crests and house signs and were then transformed into complex allegorical signs in the sixteenth century.[13] A similar overview of the printers' mark is related by Nicole Howard wherein she makes the link between marks and shop signs as well as noting the use of marks/signs as marketing tools.[14] William Roberts's book claims printers' marks originated as trademarks to protect works from piracy and later were recognized for their "ornamental value."[15] Edwin Eliott Willoughby wrote descriptions and histories of printers' marks 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

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records Pepys as saying that many tradesmen hid away the lion and the unicorn during the Commonwealth only to resurrect them during the Restoration.

12. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1990), 83.

13. Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book.*

14. Nicole Howard, *The Book: The Life Story of a Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2009).

15. William Roberts, *Printer's Marks: A Chapter in the History of Typography*, viii (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893).

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 co-opt, to an extent, the reputation of the nobility. 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."[16] 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.[17]

Relating to Marketing, Branding and the Meaning of Symbols

To validate the claim that printers' marks and shop signs established the brand identity of the publishers, booksellers and printers of St. Paul's, a mixture of advertising history and discussions of branding and identity creation were consulted. Important to this understanding is the value and meaning of the symbols utilized in the signs and marks.

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16. Edwin Eliott Willoughby, *Fifty Printer's Marks* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkley, 1947), 3.

17. Other works were investigated for this research, and they either argue that printers' marks were used as ornaments and trademarks or provide reproductions and descriptions of select marks. Their value to the proposed research is supplemental only. Douglas McMurtrie's *Printers' Marks and Their Significance* (Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1930) doesn't delve into the significance of the chosen symbols beyond mere identification. 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; Thomas Hartwell Horne's *An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography* (London: Cadwell and Davies, 1814) describes printers' marks as ornamental; Jean Philibert Berjeau's *Early Dutch, German, & English Printers' Marks* (London: E. Rascal, 1866) 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; Garold Cole's short article "The Historical Development of the Title Page," *The Journal of Library History* 6, no. 4 (October 1971): http://www.jstor.org/stable/25540320 is a cursory review of title pages from the fifteenth century through modern times. 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.

Sadie Watson and Jacqueline Pierce with Anne Davis, Geoff Egan and Alan Pipe describe seventeenth-century archaeological finds from Paternoster Square.[18] Given that Paternoster Square is immediately to the north of St. Paul's, some similarity can be assumed in terms of the inhabitants' behavior. It is the understanding of marketing, promotion, and branding that is interestingly conveyed 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."[19] 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.

Paul J. Voss's excellent article establishes the change in the funding model of the book trade from wealthy patronage to consumer advertising, which occurred at the end of the sixteenth century.[20] 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 that page. The similarity of the mark with the shop sign is a logical extension of this brand identity; in fact, it is of vital importance, as motivating consumers to go to the shop to buy is the difference between successful and unsuccessful advertising. Voss explains:

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18. Sadie Watson and Jacqueline Pearce, with Anne Davis, Geoff Egan, and Alan Pipe, et al., "Taverns and Other Entertainments in the City of London? Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Finds from Excavations at Paternoster Square," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 44, 1 (2010): doi 10.1179/174581310X12662382629337.

19 Ibid., 174.

20. Paul J. Voss, "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal 29*, no. 3 (Autumn 1998): http://www.jstor.org/stable/2543686.

"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."[21] 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.[22] The planned research will argue that the printer's mark or shop sign provided a visual identity and emotional connection 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.[23] 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.

Henry Sampson explains the history of advertising as a way to understand the lives of the people exposed to those advertisements.[24] In discussing street advertising, Sampson references signs as early advertising and traces them back at least to Roman times. He repeats 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

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21. Voss, "Books for Sale," 734.

22. Ibid.

23. Mrs. Herbert Richardson, "Early Commercial Advertising in England," *Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts* 84, no. 4369 (August 14, 1936): http://www.jstor.org/stable/41360799.

24. Henry Sampson, *A History of Advertising from the Earliest Times: Illustrated with Anecdotes, Curious Specimens and Biographical Notes* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874).

consumption increased, shop owners felt the need to distinguish themselves from others in similar trades through their signs. History as he describes it through advertisements is very real, very immediate and very human.

An Associate Professor of Marketing, Benoit Heilbrunn's research focuses on branding. His detailed description of the psychological and semiotic underpinnings of logos in *The Encyclopedia of Semiotics* provides a twenty-first-century lens through which to view the proto-logos that were printers' marks and signs. 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 . . . The competition for recognition is as ancient as the heraldic banners on a medieval battlefield . . . . Branding is about making an emotional connection."[25]

Much of the same psychology 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 who understood the power of their role in society and identified themselves with a certain ideology.

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25. Alina Wheeler, *Designing Brand Identity* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 1-2.

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."[26] The planned research will draw on the long understood traits symbolized by these animals as the reason certain printers choose to use the animals' likenesses on their signs and marks. It is assumed that the old folkloric meanings will still hold sway in the emotional realm of branding. Harrison notes 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 symbols used on the shop signs and in marks.[27]

While printers' marks and shop signs were visual memory triggers and addresses by which booksellers, publishers and printers identified themselves to their audience, they were also sophisticated marketing and branding tactics. The proposed research intends to illustrate that, though initially used as aids to the illiterate, publishers, whose audience was both learned and literate, understood the value of these visual symbols and used them to speak to their audiences on a symbolic and emotional level.

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26. Harrison, "The Virtues of Animals," in the Seventeenth-Century Thought," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 59, no. 3 (1998): http://muse.jhu.edu.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/journals/journal_of_the_history_of_ideas/v059/59.3harrison.html, 478.

27. For example, he describes the bell as symbolizing a connection between heaven and earth, as well as a talisman for preventing misfortune.

Research Plan

Objectives and Hypothesis

The goal of this research is to reassess the marketing savvy of seventeenth-century booksellers, publishers and printers in St. Paul's Churchyard. The intent is to also uncover the meaning behind the symbols utilized in their shop signs and printers' marks and the psychological implications of those symbols thereby developing a fuller understanding of the mental and emotional context in which these individuals and their customers lived. Such results should appeal to several disciplines, including book history, semiotics, advertising/branding history and the history of St. Paul's churchyard. The proposed research will argue that publishers, booksellers and printers working in St. Paul's churchyard understood the importance of crafting their brand identity and that this identity was embodied in their shop signs and printers' devices. Further, the research will attempt to illuminate the semiotic discourse of St. Paul's Churchyard through the symbols used in the signs and marks.

Assumptions

It is assumed that the selected primary sources will contain information relating to the shop signs and printers' devices of booksellers, publishers and printers. References are, however, expected to be tangential instead of direct (e.g., a newspaper advertisement for a particular book would reference the shop sign of the bookseller as the address of the shop; the sign or mark is not expected to be the main subject of the advertisement).

Definitions

Several terms can benefit from brief definition as detailed below. Most definitions have been adapted from entries in *Merriam-Webster* online.

- Marketing is the process or technique of promoting, selling and distributing a product or service. Seventeenth-century booksellers, publishers and printers engaged in marketing activities to promote and sell their books.
- Branding is the promotion of a product or service by identifying it with a particular brand. Booksellers, publishers and printers promoted their products through branding.
- A brand is a class of goods identified by name as the product of a single firm or manufacturer. Seventeenth-century booksellers, publishers and printers promoted their products and services by creating brands for their businesses.
- A brand identity or logo is a symbol that is used to identify a company and that appears on its products. Symbols used in shop signs and printers' marks served as proto-logos.
- Symbology refers to the study or interpretation of symbols utilized in the shop signs and printers' marks.
- Semiotics is the theory of signs and symbols that focuses on how they function in artificially constructed and natural languages. This theory will inform not only the interpretation of the symbols used in shops signs and printers' marks, but also the interplay and discourse of those symbols in the microcosm of St. Paul's churchyard.
- Booksellers, publishers and printers are defined as a single cohort for the purposes of this research, though their actual activities could vary significantly. They each played a complementary role in the production and sale of books and utilized their shop signs and printers' marks in similar ways. Importantly for seventeenth-century England, official booksellers, publishers and printers would have been registered with the Stationers' Company of London.

Method and Analysis

Primary and Secondary Sources

Existing archival sources, such as the Stationers' Company archives and the diary of Samuel Pepys, will be plumbed for mention of marks and shop signs as well as any sense of a particular printer's personal, religious or political ideology. Primary and secondary sources describing St. Paul's churchyard and the shops in it will be explored with the goal of producing a multi-layered map of the yard.

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, and the latest edition includes 60 boxes of materials not previously available.[28] 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 partially identified group of printers, booksellers and publishers 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.

Another 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*

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28. *ProQuest*, "Records of the Stationers' Company, 1554-1920," http://www.proquest.com/en-US/catalogs/collections/detail/Records-of-the-Stationers-197.shtml.

Gutenberg, which is in turn based on Henry B. Wheatley's transcription of the diaries.[29] 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, the authority of those contributors may be questionable.

Additional primary source documents will be investigated, which 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 between Pitt and Hooke 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.

The nineteenth-century drawings of surveyor Francis Cranmer Penrose 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,

29. Phil Gyford, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, http://www.pepysdiary.com/encyclopedia/.

these drawings will provide physical context for the arrangement of booksellers' shops around the churchyard.

A combination of the above primary sources in concert with the location data detailed by Price and Blayney will aid in the production of a multi-layered map of the yard. The map will be topographical, chronological, and symbolic, relating shop locations, owners, signs and marks across the century, showing successive inhabitations of individual shops and any changes to proprietors and their signs. Through the symbols used in shop signs and marks, the map will also provide an overview of the semiotic discourse of the yard. Further, marks and shop signs always held multiple layers of meaning. Thus, while an image of a mill represented the name Millar, it also represented an idea of fecundity, sustenance, and nourishment, and, given that the products are books, it would be the mind not the belly that is beneficiary. The hope is that such an analysis will reveal both competition and cooperation throughout the yard as a microcosm of London social interaction, allowing access to the emotional and psychological underpinnings of the time.

Methodology

Amos Tubb's methodology of describing the overall political, religious and economic considerations of publishers 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. The emotional and connotative value of the symbols used will be evaluated for a select group of case study subjects. 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.[30] 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."[31] 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.

Resources

At least two additional funding sources have been identified. *National Endowment for the Humanities* (NEH) Fellowships are intended to support "individuals pursuing advanced research that is of value to humanities scholars, general audiences, or both."[32] One of the strengths of the

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30. Tubb, "Independent Presses," 302.

31. David L. Gants, "A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614-1618," *Studies in Bibliography* 55 (2002): doi: 10.1353/sib.2005.0004, 186.

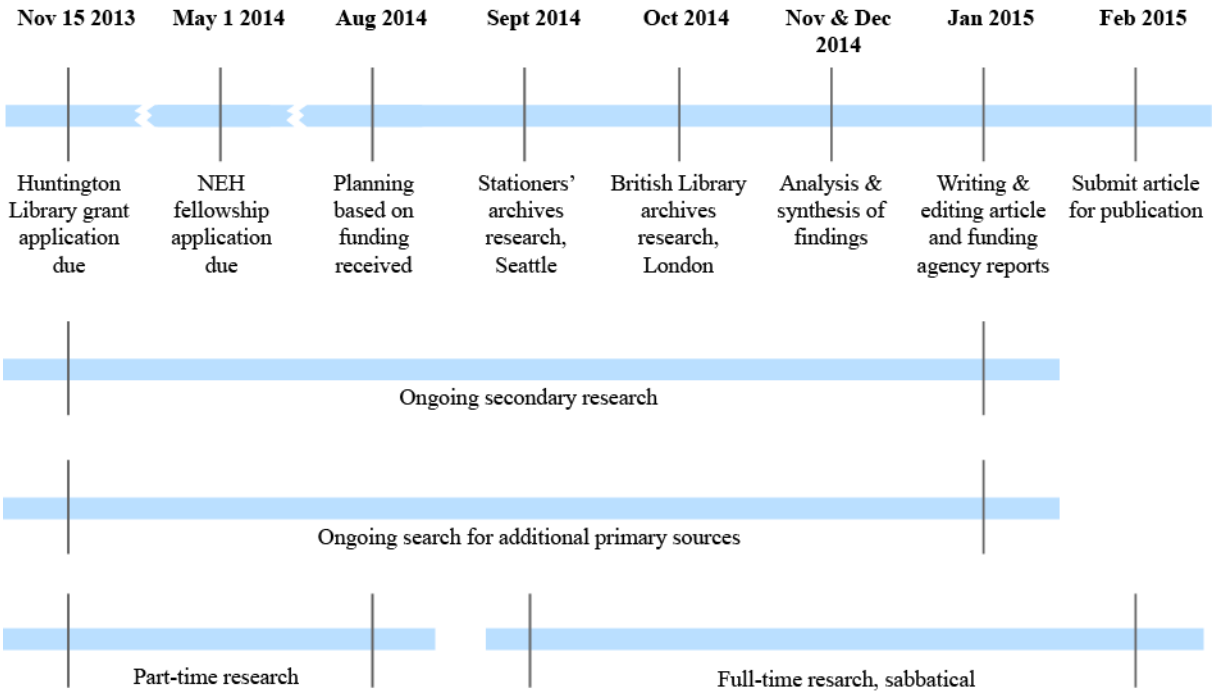
32 *National Endowment for the Humanities*, "Fellowships," http://www.neh.gov/grants/research/fellowships.

proposed research is that it is applicable to multiple humanities disciplines, including book history, the history of London and St. Paul's, advertising, marketing and design history, and semiotics.

The Huntington Library's Short-Term Travel Grants and Exchange Fellowships for Study in Great Britain are also appropriate for the proposed research. The topic falls generally into British history and, to some degree art history, which are focus areas of the Huntington Library collections. It is likely that at least a few of the printers, publishers, or booksellers highlighted in the research will be represented in the Huntington's collection of 413,000 rare books, so the research will add breadth to the institution's discussion of British book history. Equally, the focus on London and St. Paul's churchyard in the 17th century will add to the scholarly discussion of British history in general.

Timeline

The timeline below has been crafted based on the thought that both of the above additional funding resources would be available for the proposed research.



Budget

Item	2014 Q1	2014 Q2	2014 Q3	2014 Q4	2015 Q1	2015 Q2	2015 Q3	2015 Q4
Researcher's Salary								
Six-month sabbatical (@$60k/year)			$ 5,000.00	$ 15,000.00	$ 10,000.00			
Office Supplies								
Paper	$ 25.00				$ 50.00			
Pens	$ 20.00			$ 20.00				
Notebooks	$ 20.00		$ 10.00	$ 10.00				
USB storage devices	$ 40.00		$ 40.00	$ 40.00	$ 100.00			
Secondary Source Materials								
Elliot, *A History of Early English Advertising*	$ 45.00							
Weatherhill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*	$ 42.00							
Keene, Burn, & Saint *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*	$ 97.00							
Conway, *Logo, Identity, Brand, Culture*	$ 15.00							
Bruce-Mitford, *The Illustrated Book of Signs and Symbols*	$ 20.00							
ARAS, *The Book Of Symbols: Reflections On Archetypal Images*	$ 32.00							
McKenzie & Bell, *A chronology and calendar of documents relating to the London book trade, 1641-1700*	$ 166.00							
Primary Source Materials								
Copies/scans			$ 50.00	$ 50.00				
Library Subscription to Early English Books Online	TBD							
Travel								
Airfare			$ 2,000.00					
Accomodations				$ 4,000.00				
Miscellaneous and unforseen expenses	$ 200.00		200	500	200			
Quarterly Totals	$ 722.00	$ -	$ 7,300.00	$ 19,620.00	$ 10,350.00	$ -	$ -	$ -

Limitations

Expert and exhaustive psychological and semiotic analysis of the symbols used in s signs and marks will not be possible in this research due to limitations in the researcher's knowledge. The analysis provided should, however, offer fodder for future expert and in-d research or rebuttal by experts in these fields.

Given limits on time allotted to the research and the expectation of limited pri source materials, the multi-layered map and case studies resulting from this researcl certainly not represent a complete and exhaustive picture of all booksellers, publishe printers working in St. Paul's churchyard during the course of the seventeenth centu

Anticipated Results

This research is anticipated to provide a new perspective on the marketing savvy o seventeenth-century booksellers, publishers and printers in St. Paul's Churchyard by illust the sophisticated branding efforts that went into their selection of symbols for their shop si and printers' marks. It will move a bit past the idea of signs or marks as merely trademark ornaments, claiming for them a more fundamental role in the identity or branding of a bookseller, publisher or printer. Through the development of the multi-layered map of the churchyard along with case studies of individual booksellers, the results should provide a understanding of the mental and emotional context in which these individuals and their customers lived. It is expected that much of the religious and political upheaval of the cent will be reflected in selection of symbols for shop signs and marks. It is also anticipated tha understanding of competition and cooperation between booksellers, publishers and printer churchyard will be apparent through the topographic, chronological and symbolic overvie the multi-layered map will provide.

This research is valuable in that it provides a re-evaluation of the sophistication of these professionals as marketers. The intent is to also uncover the meaning behind the symbols utilized and therefore the psychological revelations of those symbols, developing a fuller understanding of lives of the booksellers, publishers and printers and their customers. The results should appeal to the fields of book history, semiotics, advertising/branding history and the history of St. Paul's churchyard, offering future research topics to each of these disciplines.

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