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THE TEXTUAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE
STATIONERS' REGISTERS,
1554-1605

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Bath Spa University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The Stationers' Registers are paradoxical objects. The Stationers' Company is well-known amongst early modern scholars and the Stationers' Registers are frequently cited; together, they played a significant role in the narratives of book history that emerge throughout this period. However, given that the Stationers' Registers are such important texts there have been very few studies concerned solely with them. This thesis, as an individual study of the Stationers' Registers between 1554 and 1605, aims to redress this absence from the established work in this field.

Its fundamental purpose is to explore the textual sociology of the Stationers' Registers in order to examine its position as a cultural artefact in its own right, with particular emphasis placed upon the social dynamics that were instrumental in shaping the narratives and discourses that surround the registers. Chapters One and Two consider the ways in which concepts of 'text' and 'authorship' inform and fashion the material and social constructs of the Stationers' Registers. Very little is known of the procedural aspect of the Company's record-keeping systems during this period, so Chapter Three is an investigation of the daily procedural and cultural environment of the Stationers' Company. Chapter Four examines the social function of the Stationers' Registers, and their role as social documents. For the London book trades the registers had a value beyond that of the commercial, a worth that extended into cultural, social, and political spheres; and in Chapter Five I explore what the registers tell us about the values ascribed to texts.

DECLARATION

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PREFACE

This work is the culmination of three years research into the Stationers' Registers. I had initially planned for a sizable portion of this to be conducted in the Stationers' Company Archive, the Guildhall Library, and the London Metropolitan Archives. Unfortunately, however, events outside of my control have meant that it has not been possible to access many of the records which would have been valuable for this research. I am very grateful to Prof. Tracey Hill who very generously shared some of her images of these records with me, and this has allowed me to broadly continue with the intended research plan for this project.

None of the work included in this thesis has been published elsewhere, but I have been fortunate enough to present some of the material at conferences throughout the course of my study. I would like to thank the organisers of the following conferences and study days for providing me the opportunity to speak about my research: Medievalism Transformed Conference at Bangor University (June 2019); The People of Print Conference at Sheffield Hallam University (September 2019); the Stationers' Company Archive Evening (online, July 2020); the Stationers' Company Study Day at Newcastle University (online, October 2020); SHARP 2021: Moving Texts at WWU Münster (online, July 2021); History of the Book Conference at Durham University (online, 8-9 September 2021).

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ABBREVIATIONS

Arber	Arber, Edward, ed., <i>A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers 1554-1640 AD</i> , 5 vols (London and Birmingham, repr. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967)
Blayney, <i>SCPoL</i>	Blayney, Peter, <i>The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
BL	The British Library
ESTC	The English Short Title Catalogue
GL	Guildhall Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
McKenzie, <i>BSoT</i>	McKenzie, D.F., <i>Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
Myers, <i>Archive</i>	Myers, Robin, <i>The Stationers' Company Archive 1554-1984</i> (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary online</i>
SCA	The Stationers' Company Archive
STC	<i>A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640</i> , ed. by Pollard A. W. and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine Pantzer, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991)
TSC	The Stationers' Company

CONVENTIONS

TRANSCRIPTION

In order to give a better sense of the complexities of the registers the capitalisation, italicisation, punctuation, and orthography of their entries have been retained. Manuscript abbreviations and contractions have been expanded, with supplemental letters indicated by italics. Superior letters have been lowered to the line, but are retained when used with numerical forms. I have enclosed interlineal insertions with upper and lower half brackets; caret marks are used in accordance with the manuscript. Editorial additions are enclosed within square brackets, as are cancellations. The long ‘s’ (/) has been modernised throughout. Modern spellings have been supplied for names, unless they are referenced in direct quotation from the registers.

NOMENCLATURE

The identification of the individual volumes of the Stationers’ Registers has often been a thorny issue. Whilst Edward Arber’s arbitrary renaming of the volumes is an easier form of identity, for many scholars of the Stationers’ Company it is unsatisfactory and historically inaccurate. I have elected to use Wardens’ Accounts for the first volume (Register A), as its label dictates. This eloquently summarises the textual nature of the volume and places it within the broader context of record-keeping by London’s livery companies. I refer to the second volume as Liber B and the third as Liber C, which is likewise dictated by the books themselves.

Throughout the thesis distinctions are made between the cultural artefact of the Stationers’ Register (singular) and the material texts of the Stationers’ Registers (plural). Likewise, where distinctions are case sensitive, ‘Registers’ denotes the cultural artefact and

‘registers’ the material texts. Capitalisation of initial letters in respect of corporate affiliation denotes membership of the Stationers’ Company; for example, Stationer (Company member) as opposed to stationer (a practitioner of the book trade), this distinction also applies to other companies referred to in the thesis. Likewise, the capitalisation of Company indicates a specific reference to the Stationers’ Company.

DATING

The accounting year usually commenced in July and therefore spanned two calendar years, throughout the thesis individual accounting years are formatted to indicate this; for example, 1557/58. A hyphen is used between dates to specify longer periods of time. I have taken the calendar year’s start date as 1 January rather than 25 March.

INTRODUCTION

THE STATIONERS' COMPANY: FROM PRE-PRINT TO INC.

The origins of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers can be traced back to 12 July 1403. In a petition presented before the Court of Aldermen and John Walcote, the Lord Mayor of London, a request was made for the power to annually elect Wardens for the 'good rule and governance' of the trades of 'text-letter, lymenours, and other folks of London, who are wont to bind and to sell books'.¹ Text and image were brought together with the granting of this request, as the misteries of both the Text-writers and the Limners were joined to create a single 'corporate' body to oversee the trades and the crafts associated with book production in London.² An obvious omission from the petition was the name of this new body, and over the course of its establishment its identity took several forms, which were mainly variations upon the Limners or Textwriters. The first appearance of the word 'Stationer' in connection with the name of the mistery can be found recorded in the City of London Letter Books, with the swearing in of Thomas Bowlond and John Asshe as the new Wardens of the mistery of Textwriters and Limners and Stationers on 11 June 1417 (5 Henry V.) This was a tentative association until 1441, when the defining identity of this trade body became that of the Stationers' Company.³

¹ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (London and Birmingham, 1875-94—repr. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), Vol. I, p. xxiii. Reproduction of the 'Ordinance of the Writers of Text-letter, Limners, and others who bind and sell books', 4 Henry IV. A.D. 1403, Letter-Book I. fol. xxv from 'Memorials: 1403', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1868), pp. 556-558. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp556-558> [accessed 22 September 2021].

² Peter Blayney has highlighted that by the middle of the fourteenth century most practitioners of the book trades and crafts in London would have been affiliated with either the Scriveners' Company, the mistery of Text-writers, or the mistery of Limners. Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), vol. 1, pp. 1-4 (p.1). His own translation of the petition does contain slight differences to that of Arber and Riley, 'All the good people free of the said City of the misteries of Writers of Text Letter, Limners, and other good people of London who also use to bind and sell books', Blayney, *SCPoL*, p.5.

³ An entry in the City of London Letter Book K records that Robert Chirch and John Pye were appointed as 'Gardianorum de Stacioners', Wardens of the Stationers, on 22 September 1441. Reproduced in Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 8-9. LMA, COL/AD/01/010—City of London Letter Book K, 1422-1461, fol. 195^r. Reproduced in Blayney, *SCPoL*, p.9. London Metropolitan Archives, COL/AD/01/009—City of London Letter Book I,

As Christopher Barker's account of the Company in 1582 makes clear, the craft of printing was still relatively small in scale during the reign of Henry VIII, but did experience a period of growth throughout Edward VI's reign.⁴ Before its incorporation the Stationers' Company was, for Arber, a 'voluntary and informal Association or Brotherhood of Printers, Bookbinders, Publishers, and the like' which had organised itself in a manner similar to that of a City Company; and given the overall size of the craft in this period it is perhaps unsurprising that many early print practitioners associated themselves with this 'Brotherhood' of Stationers.⁵ Blayney contends that the number of printers who were members of the Stationers' Company after Edward's reign was critical in its ability to seek incorporation.⁶

Incorporation had been a long held goal for this precursive Stationers' Company, as it would have received royal and civic recognition of its right to exist as an institution (amongst other benefits). Its first attempt to become an incorporated company, in March 1542, was unsuccessful.⁷ After a very carefully organised campaign it finally obtained its royal charter in 1557, and this granted the Company a number of new rights. For example, it was now able to hold and trade in property, and to conduct lawsuits. Prior to its incorporation such rights had been exercised by individual members of the Company, as Blayney highlights, but the charter meant that this could now be done on behalf of the Stationers' Company.⁸ The incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557 was momentous because it finally brought the craft of printing into its fold with its award of a

1400-1422, fol. 189^f. In his introduction to the transcript of Register B, Arber included a number of examples, ranging from 1520-49, that illustrate how 'stationer' was used as an identifier by members. Arber, Vol. II, pp. 7-10.

⁴ Christopher Barker, *A note of the state of the Company of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookebynders comprehended vnder the name of Stationers, with a valuation also of all the lettres patentes concerning printing*. British Library, Lansdowne MS 48/42 (1582). Reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, pp. 114-116; 144 (p. 114).

⁵ Arber, Vol. I, p. xix.

⁶ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 934-5.

⁷ Other livery companies may have objected on the grounds that it would have impinged upon their own rights and interests. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 514.

⁸ Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 14, 848.

near monopoly over the craft. Conditions for the Stationers' Company's incorporation were created through a combination of its history and customs, and the unexpected and consequential events of the 1540s and 1550s. Incorporation effectively established the Stationers' Company as a privilege holder, and from this position it was able to create a Register.

THE STATIONERS' REGISTERS

Governance of the London book trades was given to the misteries of the Textwriters and the Limners in 1403 with the granting of their right to form a single trade association. In addition to its new regulatory role over the craft of printing, the Stationers' Company also gained other rights with its incorporation in 1557; for example, the right to own property, to conduct national searches, to conduct lawsuits, and so on. As such, the Company's remit encompassed far more than just books and the book trade, as Ian Gadd has argued:

as a London livery company, it oversaw training and the labour market, provided financial support and welfare, arbitrated disputes, and acted as an extension of the city's own administrative infrastructure. The history of the Stationers' Company is not the same as the history of the English book trade, English printing, English copyright, English censorship, nor the "History of the Book in England"; it impinges on all but cannot be subsumed entirely within any.⁹

The new legal identity conferred by incorporation required the Company to expand upon its existing systems of record-keeping to account for its new responsibilities, and in this respect the Stationers' Registers were one of the most significant administrative innovations introduced by the newly incorporated Company. They were intended initially to establish a more consistent system of recording the financial transactions of the Stationers' Company; but within a few decades the Stationers' Registers had become a

⁹ Ian Gadd, 'A Companion to Blayney', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, (2017), 111 (3), pp. 379-406 (p. 387).

dedicated system for the management of publishing rights. The balance between these two functions is a central concern of my thesis.

Although often called ‘the Stationers’ Register’, for the period with which my thesis is concerned, 1554-1605, this refers to three volumes. Each of these registers has its own distinctive identity. The naming of these volumes has a complicated history, which I address at various points throughout this thesis, but it was Edward Arber’s publication of *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.* (1875-94) that had the most enduring impact. Arber adopted a system of identification that was more commonly associated with City court books. The status and identity of the ‘Stationers’ Register’ was repositioned within the context of the Company’s own lettered court books by Arber’s decision to attribute letters to these early registers. Consequently these are the names by which each register is now more commonly known. Arber’s transcripts of the Stationers’ Registers were a work of monumental effort. Although not permitted to include certain sections of the registers in these volumes, he more than compensated for this with a detailed commentary upon the Company and the Registers, which also included transcripts of related ‘illustrative documents’ from many other City records of the period. The significance of his work on the Stationers’ Registers can be explained by this level of detail, and his decision to format the pages of the transcripts to match those of the Registers, which effectively created surrogates. For many scholars of this period Arber’s transcripts are still a hugely influential source, and quite often the primary source, for the study of the Stationers’ Company.

‘Register A’ was the foundational volume of the Stationers’ Registers, and it was compiled between the years 1553 and 1596. Although Arber’s designation of Register A for this volume is its most common form of reference, throughout my thesis I refer to it as the Wardens’ Accounts. I have done this in order to re-align the volume with its intended purposes and functions. As part of their official duties the Wardens were charged with

keeping daily records of the Company's transactions and these were probably kept as a combination of both daybooks and 'informal notes, vouchers, and loose sheets'.¹⁰ At the end of each accounting year these records were, as far as we know, sorted into their respective categories and presented to the Clerk, or copyist, to transcribe into the register as the fair copy of the accounts to be audited. Broadly speaking, the Wardens' Accounts were concerned with the Company's receipts; its apprenticeships; the fines levied upon its members; admissions to the Company; the entrance of copies; and the Company's disbursements. Although the volume is a book of accounts these were not presented as complex daily financial minutiae recording the Company's profits and losses. Wardens' Account books were a familiar aspect of record-keeping amongst the City's companies, and the general purpose of these books was, as C.H.R. Cooper has summarised:

to show and justify the wardens' handling of the moneys entrusted to them so that they could obtain a discharge at the annual (or biannual) audit meeting of the court. Because they were compiled by men usually appointed in rotation regardless of their liking or talent for the task, they tend to be variable in coverage and quality and sometimes have wrongly added totals.¹¹

One of the distinguishing features of this volume, as Blayney has indicated, is that between 1557 and 1571 it contains 'undated *copies* of records, whose sole purpose was to tell the auditors how the recorded payments came into the accounts'.¹² Blayney's observation on this point incidentally highlights the most distinctive aspect of this volume, that there were three definite phases in its construction. The first of these phases consists of records from between 1554-57, which show the Company's journey towards its incorporation. These are not exhaustive accounts but provide a summary of the Company's

¹⁰ Blayney, 'If It Looks Like a Register ...', *The Library*, 7th series, Vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2019), pp. 230-242 (p. 238).

¹¹ C.H.R. Cooper, 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies and Related Organisations' in *Archives*, Vol. 16, No. 72 (Oct, 1984), pp. 323-353 (p. 339). In this example, Cooper is citing Guy Parsloe, *Wardens' Accounts of the Worshipful Company of Founders of the City of London, 1497-1681* (London: Athlone Press, 1964).

¹² Blayney, 'If It Looks Like a Register ...', p.238 [Blayney's own italics].

important milestones, its holdings, and the scope of its business at that point. The second phase marks the commencement of the Stationers' Register itself, with the detailed and audited 'fair copy' of the Company's annual accounts from 1557-71. Concise annual summaries of the accounts from 1571-1596 comprise the remainder of the volume. This register's configurations engendered the social functions and narrative functions of the Stationers' Registers.

'Register B', otherwise known as Liber B, was the second volume in this sequence of registers. The Wardens' Accounts for 1576/77 recorded that the Company paid 6s. for a 'booke of entrances for the clarke', and Arber noted that 'this was undoubtedly Register B'.¹³ Although the volume spans the period 1575-1605, the detailed records entered into the register from folio 17^r date from 1576 onwards. The first sixteen folios of this volume consist of what Arber termed 'occasional notes'. These date from between 1575-1600 and relate to the Company's attendants at the Lord Mayors' feasts, seizures of books, regulations for searches, and receipts (mainly for the letting of the Hall for wardmotes and weddings). The ordering and organisation of the records is the most notable difference between the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B. Whilst the two registers were synchronous, the dating of the volumes indicates a gap in the Company's detailed records between 1571 and 1576. This is largely attributed to changes in the Company's practices introduced by its new clerk, George Wapull. Between 1571 and 1596 the Company's accounts were divided between the audited summaries, included in the Wardens' Accounts, and the detailed records contained in the 'clerk's book'. Bridging the gap between the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B, it is Wapull's book that is the missing volume in the sequence of Stationers' Registers.¹⁴

¹³ A fragment which reads 'Lib. B' was pasted into the prefatory pages of this volume, and it attests to Blayney's claim that it was 'certainly once known as 'Liber B''. Blayney, 'If it looks like a register ...', p.237. TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554-1596; 1576/77, fol. 222^r. Arber, Vol. I, p. 475.

¹⁴ Arber notes that this was a significant period in the Company's history as many of the signatories to the Company's charter had died. With new personnel assuming the mantle 'the old spirit' of the Company was gone, which heralded a period of controversy. Arber, Vol. II, p.13.

Liber B commences with notices of Richard Collins's translation from the Goldsmiths' Company, his appointment to the clerkship of the Company, and his 'charge' in relation to the keeping of the register (see figure I.2).¹⁵ The annual format of the accounts established in the first register was discarded in favour of classification, and the categories used throughout Liber B correspond with those used in the Wardens' Accounts. Consequently, it is a volume without a singular terminal date, since the space allocated for each category also situates it within its own time frame. It is evident that the disordered chronologies of Liber B mark a significant development in the evolution of the registers. The focus of the registers was moving away from the measured periodic ritual of the annual account to that of the practical, referential volume that was more closely aligned with the workings of the Company's Court.

my charge is to enter as foloweth. viz .		
Presentmentes of prentizes	— 17 . [†]	
Lycences for pryntinge of copies	134	et revertitur ad fol <u>130</u> . [‡]
Admissions of brethren & freemen	319	
ffynes for breakinge of orders	.405.	/ et Reuertitur ad 393.
Decrees and ordennances	.427	
Admyttinge of men into the Lyvery	.415.	et continuatur 418
[†] The foliation in this column was added at a later date [‡] The commentary on the foliation was added at a later date		

Figure I.1: Richard Collins's Charge. Liber B, 1575, fol. 2^r.

¹⁵ Fol. 1^r contains a number of rough notes dating between 1581 and 1594. These relate to book entries, elections to office, and an excerpt transcribed by Collins's from the Company's charter. Fol. 1^v is a list of the Company's attendants at the annual Lord Mayor's feast between 1583 and 1595. The condition and dates of these entries suggest that the first folio was initially left blank, perhaps in anticipation that it would have been needed for informal notation.

The final register of this period was ‘Register C’, or Liber C. The Wardens’ Accounts for 1594/95 record that 12s. was paid to Thomas Man for 2 paper books, one of which was ‘Mr Nortons legacie &ces’ and the other was for ‘the entrance of copies’.¹⁶ This entry reveals the increasing specificity of purpose with each new book, having moved from the ‘accomptes of this howse’, ‘booke of entrances for the clarke’, through to the unambiguous intention of Liber C being for the ‘entrance of copies’. Aside from a few folios at the end of the register listing the Company’s attendants at the Lord Mayors’ feast and the balances of the Renter Wardens, this volume is significant for being the first which was solely concerned with the entry of copies. Its records commenced on 4 July 1595 and continued through to 11 July 1620. Register entries had a stable familiar format, which was established in the previous volume. Unlike Liber B, however, it was sequenced chronologically from beginning to end, and where possible blank pages were left between the changes in the financial year (as can be seen in the previous registers). Whilst its focus was centred upon the entrance of copies, Liber C is also notable for being the first register where entries were not retrospective, but added in real time.

These changes illustrate the shift in focus for the Company’s record-keeping practices. At this point the rationalisation of the Company’s records was well under way, and each of the categories on Collins’s list would eventually have their own books. The separation of the identity of ‘the Stationers’ Register’ from the broader corporate contexts and identity of the accounts is suggestive of the Company’s recognition and acceptance that ‘copy’ had expanded into an area with an autonomy and authority in its own right, which is reinforced by the registers’ referential utility and history.

The dates of the first three volumes of the Stationers’ Registers extend from 1554 to 1620, and my own study is concerned with the years between 1554 and 1605. This

¹⁶ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596); 1594/95, fol. 270 v.

timeframe spans the incorporation of the Stationers' Company by the crown and the commencement of the registers, through to the Company's foundation of Liber C as a 'register book of copies'. In respect of the Stationers' Company's record-keeping, 1605 marks the 'end' of what was a significant period of evolution.

DO TEXTS HAVE SOCIOLOGY?

Peter Blayney's statement that 'texts can have no sociology' was the spark of inspiration for this project. Throughout my own reading of Edward Arber's transcripts of the registers I had seen developments and evolutions in the patterns of networks and the relationships of Stationers' Company members on every page. These suggested to me that the Stationers' Registers were (and indeed were perceived to be) social objects. The Stationers' Registers were one of the most significant means by which the Company's membership interacted with its institutional systems of governance, and this form of sociality is key to understanding why the registers are such complex texts and why their textual functions do not necessarily conform to expected patterns of behaviour. Being able to study the Stationers' Registers in varying formats has been one of the advantages of conducting research throughout the pandemic. For the main part I have been working with high resolution digital images of the registers, which has been invaluable for close reading; and this has been supplemented by the informed commentary provided by Arber's Transcripts and also (for too brief a period) my work with the material texts in the Stationers' Company Archive. Consequently, this mode of research has been a regular and valuable reminder of how influential the forms and formats of texts can be to the production of meaning.

The primary theoretical frameworks and methods that form the basis of this thesis were set out by D. F. McKenzie in his foundational work *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999). This work combines aspects of bibliography, critical theory and textual

scholarship to explore the relationships between the forms of texts and their meanings. Despite his own personal and scholarly interest in the early history of the Stationers' Company the implications of McKenzie's work have not yet been applied to the records of the Stationers' Company.¹⁷ Drawing on his theory of the 'sociology of texts' I will examine the textual identity of the Stationers' Registers in this chapter, both as forms of record and as 'recorded forms'. A crucial line of reasoning in McKenzie's thesis concerns the significance of physical formats to the creation of meanings. In making the case for an expansion of bibliographical praxis McKenzie extends a definition of 'text' to illustrate the new material that would fall within the scope of the discipline. After an etymological exploration of the word, McKenzie concludes that:

in each case, therefore, the primary sense is one which defines a process of material construction. It creates an object, but it is not peculiar to any one substance or any one form. The idea that texts are written records on parchment or paper derives only from the secondary and metaphoric sense that the writing of words is like the weaving of threads.¹⁸

His argument is notable because it allows non-literary texts to fall within the bounds of critical practice, and although McKenzie's focus attends to configurations of texts that are graphical and cinematic it is just as relevant for documentary formats which do not conform to accepted literary or visual conventions.

I have used this theoretical framework to evaluate the Stationers' Registers because it addresses directly many of the issues that are relevant for understanding the intricacies of the registers' textualities and the complex social systems that produced them. McKenzie's inclusion of non-traditional formats is significant for records such as the Stationers'

¹⁷ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). McKenzie's publications on the Stationers' Company include: *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640* (Charlottesville, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961); *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700*, (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1961); *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1701-1800* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1978); 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia' in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade, 1550-1990*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997); 'Apprenticeship in the Stationers' Company, 1555-1640', *The Library*, 5th series, Vol. 13, No. 4 (January 1958), pp. 292-299.

¹⁸ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.14.

Registers. Through a combination of their material forms and their perceived functions the Registers are located within a liminal space between book and ‘non-book’ texts. By investigating the processes involved in the creation of the Registers’ textual identity I will foreground what McKenzie terms the ‘human motives and interactions’ that were influential to their forms and formats.¹⁹ The ways in which the Company conceptualised the registers, their ideological frameworks, and their material construction were crucial in shaping how the Stationers’ Registers were, and still are, perceived as both media objects and cultural artefacts. Examining the registers through the filter of McKenzie’s theory highlights the ways in which context and agency, both institutional and individual, were instrumental in determining the definitions and boundaries of their textual identity; but this methodology also demonstrates how the interplay of these relationships could have far wider implications for the information contained within the Registers.

Placing the registers within McKenzie’s theoretical framework emphasises the significance of their construction and materiality, and it suggests that they were far more complex textual entities than the chronological enumerative lists of events that documentary records are often perceived to be.²⁰ Changes to their forms, functions, and utilisation demonstrate that the registers were valuable sites for investigating and trialling administrative practices, and as such these sites of experimentation bear witness to the impacts of historical change. How the Company adapted to its new status and responsibilities as it sought to create an authoritative identity, both for itself and for the Stationers’ Registers, is illustrated by these changes in the forms and procedures of

¹⁹ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

²⁰ Such perceptions are being challenged by recent scholarship dedicated to study of the material culture of early modern archives, systems of knowledge production, and the social history of archives. For example, *Archives & Information in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Social History of the Archive: Record-keeping in Early Modern Europe’, *Past & Present*, Supplement 11 (2016); Randolph C. Head, *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe: Proof, Information, and Political Record-Keeping, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); and *The Paper Trade in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Materials, Networks*, ed. by Daniel Bellingradt and Anna Reynolds (Netherlands: Brill, 2021).

keeping the registers.²¹ Attitudes and viewpoints relating to the norms and practices of record-keeping and archival practice are revealed by the presence of authorial and editorial influences within the registers, but they also provide evidence of the value that was placed upon the preservation of information, its storage, and its utilisation. Relationships between the materialities and textualities of the Stationers' Registers and the forms of agency that shape them were instrumental in the creation of the registers' cultural significance and authority. The structural discursiveness that underlies the Stationers' Registers is significant for ascertaining the motivations and intentions that shape their narratives, but it also has a far wider relevance for discussions that re-evaluate the apparent neutrality and impartiality of archival materials.

McKenzie's definition of sociology draws upon the work of Herbert Spencer, who explained the discipline of sociology in terms of its relationship to forms of 'social development, structure and function'.²² This is a useful marker for measuring the relevance of McKenzie's concepts as they relate to the functionalities, the textualities, and the utilisation of the Stationers' Registers. A notable counterpoint to McKenzie's theory was proffered by Blayney in his introduction to *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557*, in which he states that, 'since texts are neither sentient nor social they can have no sociology'. Whilst the semantics of 'sociology' appear to be problematic in relation to textual matters, and particularly in their application to bibliographical praxis, it is perhaps more fruitful to consider Theodor Adorno's summation of what he considers to

²¹ There is a suggestion in the register that the Stationers' Company did look at other companies' records in order to negotiate its pathway through the incorporation process. For example, a register entry in the accounts for 1554-57 states: 'Item payde to mr Rastelles clerke for the copyinge of the clerkes Corporation v^s'. Blayney discusses the possibility that this referred to the records of the Parish Clerks, which had recently been recognised as a 'fraternity or gild'. This register entry was omitted from Arber's transcript. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596), fol. 12^r. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 918. Arber, Vol. I, p. 55.

²² Spencer, Herbert, *The Study of Sociology* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873), p.59, cited in McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.14.

be the chief principle of the discipline of Sociology, in that ‘it is an essential part of sociology to concern itself with the relationship between the system and human beings’.²³ In regards to the Stationers’ Registers this principle is fundamental to their very existence. They were the record of the relationship between the institutional systems of the Stationers’ Company and members of its community. My research has focused upon the ways in which these relationships were expressed within the Stationers’ Registers, and their role in forming narratives of the early modern book trade. Comparisons between the Stationers’ Company’s record-keeping practices and those of other livery companies have reiterated the significance of studying the links between formats, contexts and agencies. The sociology of texts is significant for the study of the Stationers’ Registers as it reveals the extent to which these networks of relationships create and manipulate the textual meanings and narratives of documentary records. In doing so it also demonstrates just how crucial these interactions are in the creation of cultural artefacts.

THE TEXTUAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE STATIONERS’ REGISTERS

The subject of my thesis is the first three books of ‘registers’ held by the Stationers’ Company of London. They record the registrations of texts by publishers and are one of the primary sources of our knowledge of London publishing. As a whole these records tell us a great deal about the early modern book trade and its personnel, for which they are also an important primary source. Between the years 1554 and 1605 we can chart the Stationers’ Company’s negotiation of its incorporation, and subsequently its new corporate identity, through its record-keeping practices. The Stationers’ Registers were implemented as part of this process, and their evolution from being a record of the Company’s annual accounts to becoming a dedicated system of ‘copyright’ demonstrates that they were a distinctive

²³ Adorno, Theodor W., *Introduction to Sociology*, ed. by Christophe Gödde, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 152.

and significant element within the Company's information system. Consequently, this was a remarkable period in the history of the Stationers' Company.

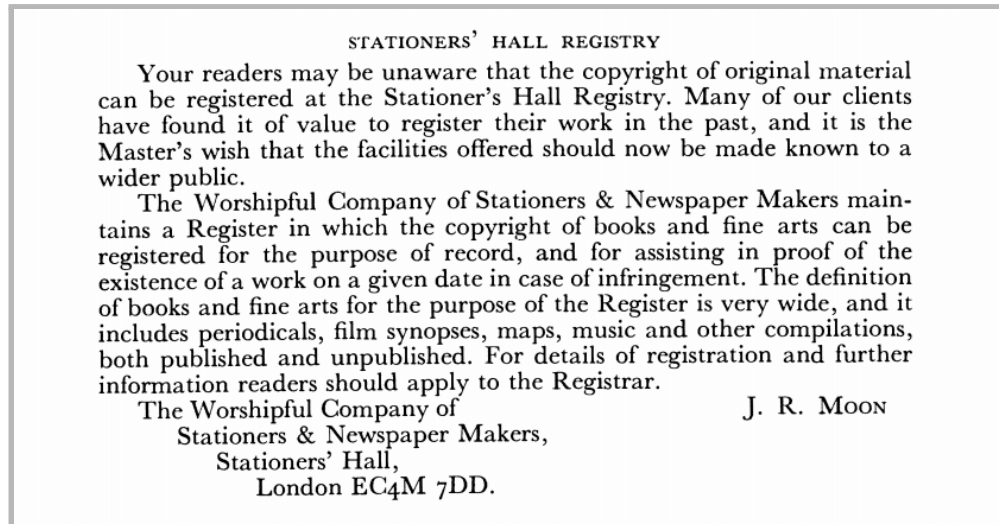


Figure I.2: Stationers' Hall Registry Notice, 1976.²⁴

In 1976 the Stationers' Company's clerk, J. R. Moon, placed a notice with an academic journal dedicated to musical scholarship (see figure I.3). As the opening statement makes clear, this was aimed at increasing awareness of the Company's services in regards to the registration of copyright. It was framed through the long association and tradition that the Stationers' Company had of performing these services for its members, and the value that the act of registration held in this respect. He included a brief explanation of the Register's function and purpose, which was followed by a broad definition of the types of material that could be registered with the Company. In many ways this notice encapsulates the issues and themes I am exploring in this thesis; from definitions of text, the functions and purposes of the Stationers' Registers, procedures of registration and issues of copyright, questions of access to records, and through to the value of texts. This notice draws a useful parallel between the registers of the newly

²⁴ Moon, J. R., 'Stationers' Hall Registry', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (July 1976), p.344.

incorporated Stationers' Company in 1557, and their modern equivalent in 1976, and it shows how social relevance and cultural activity was still seen to be a crucial element for the authority of the Stationers' Registers.

In order to adequately reflect the questions and issues that are integral to my argument I have structured the chapters thematically, rather than sequentially. My decision to focus on the period 1554 to 1605 is linked to the coherent, contained narrative of the Stationers' Registers, which commends a thematic analysis rather than a chronological one. Every aspect of the Stationers' Company's early registers is covered within these chapters, and structuring the thesis in this way demonstrates the cumulative effect of the register entries. Organising the material in this fashion makes clear the dialogics of the Stationers' Registers, not only between the individual volumes but also the information that they contain. Register entries that are seemingly formulaic (and very easily overlooked) impart new perspectives by means of their relationships with other entries and with the materialities of the Registers. The insights provided by these connections are invaluable for contributing to and advancing our knowledge of the Stationers' Registers.

In this thesis I explore the distinct particularities of each volume of the Stationers' Registers through the framework of McKenzie's theory of the sociology of texts. The Wardens' Accounts is a complex and often overlooked volume in the sequence of the Stationers' Registers. This is partially due to the breadth of its subject matter, and how the narratives of the Registers have become fixed within the minds of later scholars. 'Censorship' and 'copyright' are the dominant filters through which the Stationers' Registers are viewed, and these are pervasive narratives to dismiss in relation to what is regarded as a turbulent period of history. My intensive close reading of this volume provides a major contribution towards the originality of this project.

Chapter One is an introduction to the Stationers' Registers as material texts. My discussion begins with a general overview of the Stationers' Company's record-keeping

practices prior to its incorporation and the types of documentation that this involved. This provides the contextual setting for the Company's foundation of the Stationers' Registers. Many assumptions are made about the status and functions of non-literary texts, and it is my aim in this chapter to show why the materialities and textualities of documentary records are important for the narratives they create.

Chapter Two explores concepts of authorship in relation to the Stationers' Registers. This chapter examines the forms of authorship associated with the registers and what they tell us about the ways in which ideas of authorship can be defined in consideration of such liminal texts. I explore the multi-layered forms of authorship that were essential in the formation of the Stationers' Registers, and their importance in the creation of the Registers' narrative voices. Authorship is a process of construction and examining this process in relation to the production of documentary records is not only vital for determining 'who' is speaking through these records, to whom, and for what purpose; but also for considering those voices which are subordinated, or hidden.

The everyday functions and utilisation of the Stationers' Registers which were fundamental to their textual identity and authority are addressed in Chapter Three. I explore the clerical structures and processes required for conducting Company business and for keeping the registers. The interactions and intersections of various networks of intention, especially in regards to how the registers' purpose was conceptualised, provide valuable indications of where the authority to decide 'good practice' resided; but the ways in which the registers were used is significant for understanding how cultural capital is created.

Chapter Four analyzes the Stationers' Registers as social documents. Many entries within the registers demonstrate the collaborative nature of book production in this period. As both the Registers and 'copy' were closely bound to the actions of the community, the social relationships, dialogues, and lived experiences of the Company's members were

integral to the Company's record-keeping practices. Whilst this was crucial for constructing and augmenting the authority of the Stationers' Registers, the ways in which the community related to the Registers prove that they mediated a vital textual space for social negotiation.

In Chapter Five I investigate what the registers tell us about the value of texts. This includes the implied values of the Stationers' Company's systems of record-keeping, and the documentation they produced. The Stationers' Registers recorded the direct financial benefits of copy to the Company; but they also demonstrate how value was assigned to the texts registered. In this chapter I reflect upon the role of the Stationers' Registers in determining the cultural value of texts, and the ways in which the Registers mediated these values in relation to their own status. Whilst the Stationers' Registers not only provided a record of the financial and cultural values assigned to texts, their medial space created a means for members of the Stationers' Company to negotiate those values.

Viewing the Stationers' Registers through the framework of the sociology of texts provides a far more detailed perspective upon the early modern book trade. It is one which embraces far more than the prescribed narratives of censorship and 'copyright'; they show a bustling community of Stationers negotiating their own individual pathways through the Company's administrative systems, and making their mark upon these structures. In many ways the Stationers' Registers defined more than the texts they recorded, they defined the relationship between the Company and its community. This is the basis of the cultural artefact that is the 'Stationers' Register'.

CHAPTER ONE

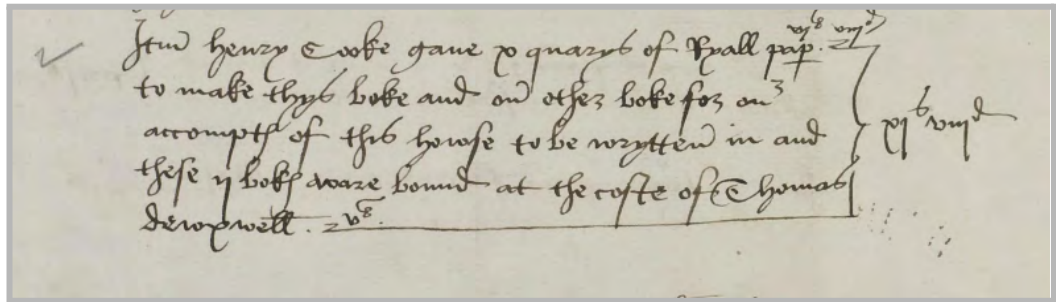
DEFINING TEXT(S)

On 4 May 1557 the Stationers Company obtained the letters patent from King Philip and Queen Mary which signalled its incorporation by royal charter. As the phrasing of the charter suggests, this was considered to be a remedial action against the daily publication of ‘seditious and heretical books, rhymes, and treatises’.¹ With its incorporation the Company gained a monopoly for the regulation of the London book trade in a period of history that is often characterised as one of political and religious upheaval. Henry Cooke was Under Warden for the Company in the period leading up to its incorporation and he provided ten quires of Royal paper to make ‘thys boke and one other boke’, the bindings of which were supplied by fellow Stationer Thomas Dewyxsell (Figure 1.1).² The gifting of these books to the Company marked the foundation of the Stationers’ Registers, one of the most significant innovations to emerge from the Company’s incorporation. This chapter will explore how the Company conceptualised, constructed and organised these ten quires (and the paper books that followed) to establish a series of authoritative texts that not only defined its corporate identity but also ensured the registers’ significance as cultural artefacts. I have structured the chapter in three parts: the first is an appraisal of the Stationers’ Company’s archival record, which establishes the contextual setting for the foundation of the Stationers’ Registers; the second reflects upon how these might be considered texts; and finally, in the third, I apply textual analysis to the records themselves. Three volumes form the basis of the Stationers’ Registers for this period: the first is the Wardens’ Accounts, which covers the years 1554-1596; the second is Liber B, from

¹ Latin and English text versions of the charter are reproduced in Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), vol. 2, pp. 1015-1026 (p. 1022); and also in Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers 1554-1640*, 5 vols (London and Birmingham, 1875-94 – repr. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967), vol. I, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

² Election to the Company’s offices in 1554 was delayed by its plans for incorporation. Blayney surmises that John Cawood, as the Queen’s Printer, was appointed to the position of Upper Warden with Henry Cooke assuming the role of Under Warden. Blayney, *SCPoL*, vol. 2, p. 844.

1575-1605; and finally, Liber C which covers the period 1595-1620. The Stationers' Registers are a valuable primary source of information on the early modern book trade and civic London, and as such they still continue to play a central role in defining the textual identities of texts.



Item Henry Cooke gaue x quarys of Royall paper ^{1vj^s viij^d}
 to make thys boke and one other boke for our
 accomptes of this howse to be wrytten in and ^{xj^s viij^d}
 these ij bokes were bound at the coste of Thomas
 dewxwell ^{1v^s}

Figure 1.1: The Gift of Books. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57, fol. 15^v.

The Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596). All images from the Stationers' Company Archive are reproduced with permission of the Stationers' Company.

INCORPORATING THE WRITTEN RECORD

1557 marked a significant point in the Stationers' Company's history. Its long-held goal of incorporation was finally achieved with the award of the letters patent from Phillip and Mary.³ Whilst this secured national search rights for the Company and a near monopoly over printing, the charter of incorporation also conferred upon it the rights to own property, to issue ordinances, and to conduct lawsuits. And accordingly, with its incorporation the Stationers' Company gained a new legal identity. This conceptual change affected a

³ A book for the incorporation of the Stationers Company was presented before the Convocation of Canterbury on 10 March 1542. Lambeth Palace, MS 4395, 150. Blagden and Blayney differ in their opinions as to whether the entry, 'The Prolocutor exhibited a Book, for the Incorporation of the Stationers, written in Parchment to be refer'd to the Kings Majesty', indicates that the case for the Stationers' incorporation was debated at the Convocation, or merely that the book was shown. Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History*, p. 28; Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 514-15 (p. 514).

contextual shift for the Company's records but on a more pragmatic level the acquisition of new rights necessitated the implementation of additional administrative structures and practices. References in the registers relating to the other forms of institutional records indicate that the Stationers' Registers were but one component of an expanding information system.⁴

The Stationers' Company's Hall was an important factor in its ability to maintain an active archive. In the Wardens' Accounts for 1554-57 it was noted that the Company repaid 20s. to Henry Cooke, the Company's warden, 'that he lente towards the payment of the purchase of the hall'. This refers to Peter College, a former residence for chantry priests located in the precinct of St. Paul's Cathedral, which was the Stationers' Company's first hall.⁵ It is evident from the accounts for 1554-57 that the building needed refurbishment. The majority of the 'benevolences and gyftes gyven to our hall' in this section of the register list the payments given by members of the Company for the provision of glass windows and wainscot, and there are also entries recording the Company's disbursements to various workmen and labourers for improvements to the hall.⁶ This refurbishment of the building suggests that it did not correspond with the Company's vision of its working environment (particularly in terms of plentiful light it would seem), so it would be reasonable to assume that throughout the purchase and renovation of the Hall the matter of how the Company's records were to be stored would

⁴ As the fair copy of the Company's annual accounts, the Wardens' Accounts were transcribed from the daybooks kept by the Company's appointed wardens. Books of collection, which detailed the money received by the renter wardens for the quarterages and arrears, were usually recorded in the registers with the phrase 'as apereth by thayre accumpes' (e.g., Arber I, p. 129), but when the Company were making payments these 'accumpes' were more usually called the 'Renters Book'.

⁵ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-1557, fol. 11^r; fols 15^r-15^v. An entry in the Wardens' Accounts for 1559/60 records that the Company had 'a box of evidence co ntainyng vij pieces for the purchase of our hall'; and the importance of the Company's purchase of the hall is underlined by its storage of these records in their own distinct box, but it also indicates that the Company needed to consult these records frequently (and without delay). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1559/60, fol. 56^r. Anne Saunders, 'The Stationers' Hall' in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550-1990*, ed. by Myers, Robin and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 1-10 (p. 2). Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 847-51.

⁶ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-1557, fols 11^r-12^v. The accounts suggest that a great deal of work was done to ensure that the building was weatherproof, that the floors were paved, and that the drainage and waste systems were suitable for purpose. Security of the building was also paramount as the accounts also included a payment to the smith for 'Lockes keyes hinges dogges, bolte barres of Ioron and Casementes', and the Company's purchase of these items featured regularly throughout the following accounts.

have been foremost in its plans. The acquisition of the Hall signified the Company's intentions and aspirations as it pursued incorporation, particularly in regards to improving its status and position amongst other City companies. It is notable that those companies which were incorporated within a few years of the Stationers' Company had already occupied their Halls for some time before they were granted their charters: for example, the Broderers' Company received its royal charter in 1561, but had had a Hall in Gutter Lane since 1515; and the Bricklayers and Tylers' Company, which was incorporated in 1568, had also occupied its Hall since 1538. C.R.H. Cooper has noted that some companies without a hall were able to secure storage spaces for their records in the places where they met, citing the example of the Woolmen's Company being permitted to store a chest at Founders' Hall in the seventeenth century, otherwise the alternative option was for a company's officers to take personal charge of the records and keep them at home.⁷ Whilst the Stationers' Company's purchase of the Hall shortly before its incorporation is suggestive of an active strategy to secure the charter, it also signifies that the Company expected its practices to change once incorporation was attained and recognised that in order to successfully build upon its business it was crucial to have a permanent and secure archive space.⁸

The Wardens' Accounts and Liber A are the earliest of the Stationers' Company's books to survive, and the auditing procedures that form the basis of the Wardens' Accounts provides evidence of other official books and documentation which were used regularly by the Company in the administration of its business. It is possible to surmise from these records, and also from the practices of other city companies in this period, the types of book that the Company would have kept before its incorporation as Peter Blayney outlines:

there would almost certainly have been a bound volume of ordinances and perhaps a book of memorabilia. There would also

⁷ C. H. R. Cooper, 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies and Related Organisations', *Archives*, Vol. 16, No. 72 (Oct 1984), pp. 323-353 (p. 328).

⁸ Whilst the Stationers' Company had certainly reached a size suitable for incorporation, this time the Company was leaving nothing to chance. The sense of permanence and corporate identity that ownership of a Company Hall bestowed was possibly recognised by the Company as being a crucial aid in its quest for incorporation, and this investment was the major difference between the attempts made in 1542 and 1557.

have been a freedom roll, probably in codex form. The collectors might have kept a book for their own use, though it is unlikely that their annual accounts were preserved for long, and their other working records would have been even more ephemeral. And while the wardens' accounts were kept for longer, they may never have been bound into volumes for long-term preservation. So long as the Stationers' remained homeless, any substantial archive would have been more of a nuisance than a heritage.⁹

However, this statement bears little relation to the actual practices employed by London's livery companies throughout this period, since bound Wardens' Account books exist for many of the City's companies.¹⁰ Although the Company purchased the Hall three years before its incorporation it is difficult to ascertain just how far it had been able to develop its archives during these three years, particularly in light of the Hall's refurbishment. However, Blayney's summation provides an idea of the types of the books that would have been kept by the Stationers' Company before it received its charter. These books were largely in keeping with the traditional guild records held by many other of the City's companies, and these lineages of archival practice were significant for the development of the registers. I will now briefly introduce the various books and records kept by the Stationers' Company which provide the textual contexts for the Stationers' Registers, and these consequential textual relationships will be explored in greater detail in later chapters of this thesis. This textual landscape of the Stationers' Company was instrumental in informing the decision to add the 'great bookes' to its expanding information system; but it also shows how distinctive the Register itself was, as it could not easily sit within any other 'usual' category of record.

⁹ Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 863-70 (p. 867). Blayney is overstating this point slightly, as many of the City's companies have a vast array of documentary materials that pre-date both their incorporation and ownership of their Hall. And as Cooper has highlighted, the absence of a permanent residence does not necessarily signify that a company was without the means to store its records.

¹⁰ For example: the Company of Brown Bakers 'Audit Book' of 1517-1613, which was a pre-incorporation volume of accounts (the Company was not incorporated until 1621), Guildhall Library, City of London, (CLC/L/BH/D/001/MS05203-Masters and Wardens' Accounts of the Worshipful Company of Brown Bakers', 1570-1613); the Company of Armourers and Brasiers 1497-1563 (incorporated in 1453), GL, (CLC/L/AB/D/001/MS12065/001-Wardens' Account Book of the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Brasiers', 1497-1563); and Ironmongers 'Register' (Wardens' Accounts) ['2'] 1539-1592 (incorporated in 1463), GL, (CLC/L/IB/D/001/MS16988/002-'Register' (Wardens' Accounts) ['2'] of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers', 1539-1592); GL, (CLC/L/CK/D/001/MS14346/001A - Boards detached from CLC/L/CK/D/001/MS14326/001 in 1973, Worshipful Company of Curriers).

The Book of Ordinances

Whilst the award of a royal charter recognised a company's right to operate as an incorporated trade body, the acceptance of its ordinances by the City Corporation recognised its role within the City's political and administrative systems.¹¹ Ordinances were the laws, rules and regulations that governed a company and its commonalty. Whilst they were necessary for regulating crafts and trades they were also a valuable means of codifying communal behaviours. Accordingly, the earliest of the Stationers' Company's ordinances to survive were more concerned with matters of internal structure and discipline than the practices of the book trades and crafts.¹² On quarter days ordinances were usually read before the assembled company and served to remind individuals of their duties and responsibilities as active members of the community.¹³ In the late medieval period many companies and guilds began to collate these regulations to form their own ordinance books. Although ordinances could be generic in their basic forms they were a vital part of a company's identity as they defined the very nature of its trades and crafts, and the behaviours that the community was expected to uphold. Ordinances, as material texts, also performed another function. Matthew Davies has argued that they were a testament to the efficiency, reputation, and authority of the institution, and as such:

¹¹ Cooper, 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies', p. 332.

¹² In the Wardens' Accounts for the period 1554-57 there are several entries listed where the ordinances were invoked for behavioural issues: as in the case of Thomas Geminus 'stranger for transgressynge the ordenaunces of this howse callynge a brother of the company flaske knaue' (fol. 6^v); and also John Sherman 'for mysnamynge of our brother william hill contrary to the ordennances of this howse' (fol. 7^r). But they were also directly cited in the register to reinforce the correct order of the Company's procedural practices; for example, 'Also yt ys agreed for an offence Donne by master wallye / for conselynge of the pryntyng of a breafe Cronacle contrary to our ordenances before he Ded presente the Copeye to the wardyns' (fol. 7^r). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fols 6^v-7^r.

¹³ Ian Gadd, '“Being Like a Field”: Corporate identity in the Stationers' Company 1557-1684' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1999), p. 93. 'At all which times all the Orders and Ordinances of the said Society, or so many of them as shall be held necessary, shall be then and there distinctly read and published before the Members of the said Society, which shall be there Assembled, the better to acquaint them with the same', *The Orders, Rules, and Ordinances, ordained ... by the Master and Keepers ... of the Mystery and Art of Stationers of the City of London for the well governing of that Society*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1678)
http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026737875.0x000001. Reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 18.

As the identities and aspirations of the crafts became more and more invested in guilds as institutions, there was increasingly a need (as in 1388-9) to create and produce documentary evidence, and a premium was therefore placed on each guild's ability to organize its affairs, to promote its role within the craft, and communicate concerns to the City and beyond.¹⁴

So whilst an ordinance book would have been invaluable for the good governance of the Stationers' Company, there is the possibility that it was also used to demonstrate to the relevant authorities that the Company possessed all of the qualities that befitted a corporation. The earliest ordinances of the incorporated Stationers' Company to survive are from the late seventeenth century so we can only infer the rules and regulations enforced in the earlier period of the Company's history from the ordinances of 1678, and from references in other records.¹⁵ For this reason, comparing the practices of Stationers' Company to those of other City companies has a greater importance because it shows the range of possible forms that the ordinances could have taken.

As a matter of procedure companies were required to present their ordinances for inspection and approval to the Mayor and Court of Aldermen before they were enacted, to ensure that they did not infringe any royal prerogatives and that they conformed with the City's customs.¹⁶ Blayney has stated that there is no evidence to show that the Stationers' ordinances were 'either inspected or approved by any authority, civic or national, before the 1560s', or that they were examined and revised by the Court of Aldermen, as was the experience for many other companies during the sixteenth century. However, he has identified from the chamberlain's records that the Company's regulations had received at least some form of approval before 1557:

¹⁴ Matthew Davies, "Writyng, making and engrocyng": clerks, guilds and identity in late medieval London' in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, ed. by Allen, Martin and Matthew Davis (London: School of Advanced Study, 2016), pp. 21-41 (pp. 23-24).

¹⁵ The Company's ordinances are discussed in further detail in Chapter Three.

¹⁶ The ability of guilds and craft companies to impose fines for minor offences was regulated by a Parliamentary Act of 1437, requiring all patents and charters held by companies to be registered and their ordinances to be approved to ensure that royal prerogatives were not adversely affected by them. This act lapsed with the death of Henry VI and a second Parliamentary Act was introduced in 1504, which remained active in the 1680s. Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 856-57.

It is, indeed, certain that some such rules existed by 1518, when Robert Copland paid a fine of 6s. 8d. that was shared between the City and the Company's wardens 'for breking an ordenaunce of his feliship'.¹⁷

In allowing the Limners and the Text-writers to form a united trade body on 12 July 1403, the Mayor and the Court of Aldermen established the ordinances that governed this precursive form of the Stationers' Company. The fine imposed upon Copland in this instance was in accordance with the ordinance which directed that:

the same Wardens, in performing their due office, may present from time to time all the defaults of the said bad and disloyal men to the Chamberlain at the Guildhall, for the time being; to the end that the same may there, according to the wise and prudent discretion of the governors of the said city, be corrected, punished, and duly redressed.¹⁸

In consideration of the relative absence of records detailing the Chamber's imposition of penalties upon members of the Stationers' Company, especially when compared with other institutions, the appearance of Copland's fine in the Chamberlain's accounts suggests to Blayney that the Company must have had some degree of autonomy over its regulations and disciplinary measures before incorporation.¹⁹

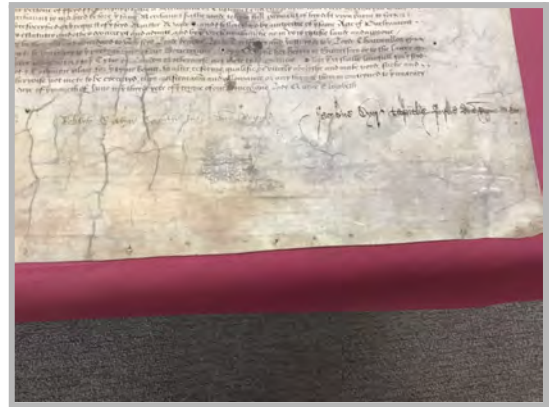
¹⁷ Blayney is citing the Corporation of London's Book of Fines. London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CHD/CM/10/001, 3^r. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 857.

¹⁸ Arber, Vol. I, p. xxiii. Reproduction of the 'Ordinance of the Writers of Text-letter, Limners, and others who bind and sell books', 4 Henry IV. A.D. 1403, Letter-Book I. fol. xxv from 'Memorials: 1403', in *Memorials of London and London Life in the 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1868), pp. 556-558. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/memorials-london-life/pp556-558> [accessed 22 September 2021].

¹⁹ Alternatively, it is possible that the Court of Alderman did not consider the Stationers' Company to be of significant importance. Documents relating to the Company's formation and its petition of 1645, and which contain references to the ordinances, are reproduced in Arber's Transcripts. In the case of the 1645 petition we can see how the Company narrativised its governance and its records. Arber, Vol. I, p. xxiii; I, p. 593.



Broderers' Company Ordinances, 4 December 1562.



Coopers' Company Ordinances, 10 June 1561.

Figure 1.2: City Company Ordinances.

Guildhall Library, City of London, CLC/L/BG/A/007/MS14789A—Ordinances of the Worshipful Company of Broderers, 1562; and CLC/L/CI/A/005/MS05808—Ordinances of the Worshipful Company of Coopers, 1561. Images courtesy of Prof. Tracey Hill.

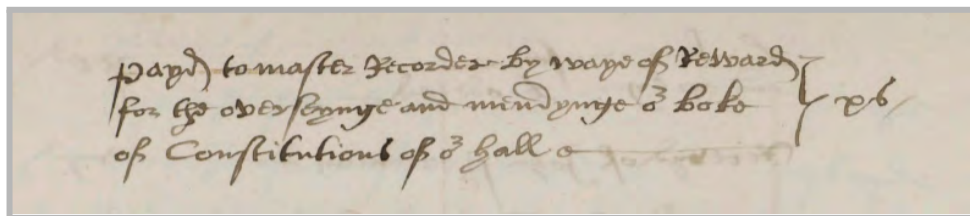
The written record of companies' ordinances was not always limited to the codex.

Cooper recounts that once ordinances had been approved by the relevant authorities:

They were specially engrossed on a parchment or vellum membrane, or a number of membranes sewn together at the bottom, over the seals (in ivory capsules) and signatures of the Crown officers who ratified them. These membranes were originally rolled and stored in long narrow boxes with hinged lids and three rounded protrusions on one side to accommodate the seals, all covered with elaborately tooled leather. However the text of the ordinances was usually also entered in the oath and ordinance books.²⁰

²⁰ Cooper, 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies', p. 332. An entry in the Wardens' Accounts for 1557/58 notes 'one longe case with lock and keye couered with lether', which does suggest that in addition to the 'Book of Constitutions' the Stationers' Company also had similar rolls of ordinances which were kept in a custom 'case'. However, the accounts for 1559/60 records an 'Item in the Chest with iij Lockes in the Counsell chamber - longe case with our corporation with the Renewynge', which links the case to the Company's charter SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01—Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 29^v; 1559/60, fol. 56^r (see Chapter Five, p. 244, *n.* 12).

Ordinances of the Broderers' and Coopers' Companies, from 1561 and 1562, are good examples of this procedure (see figure 1.2). Both sets of ordinances take the form of a single piece of vellum and have features that hint at their functionality and utilisation: the visible pattern of damage to the Broderers' ordinances indicates that it was stored as a roll, and the heraldic devices in its borders imply that it was a presentation copy; whilst it is also likely that the Coopers' ordinances were initially in the form of a roll, the holes that edge the document indicate that at some point in its history the ordinances were framed for public display within the Coopers' Hall.

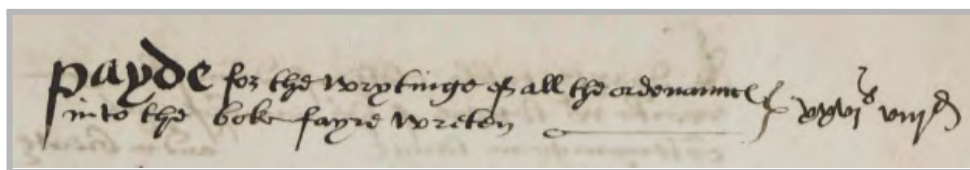


Payd to master Recorder by waye of Reward
for the overseynge and mendinge our boke
of Constitutions of our hall

xs/

Figure 1.3: The Book of Constitutions. Wardens' Accounts, 1558/59, fol. 37^v.

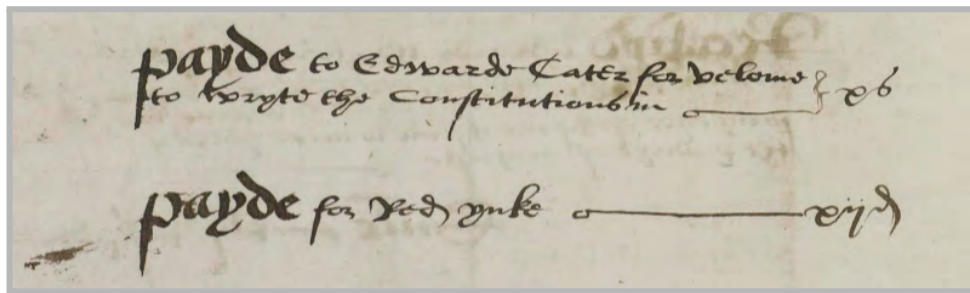
SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).



payde for the wryttinge of all the ordonaunces
into the booke fayre wreten

xxvj^s viij^d

1562/63, fol. 96^r.



payde to Edward Cater for velome	
to wryte the Constitutions in	x ^s
payde for Red ynke	xij ^d

1562/63, fol. 95^v.

Figure 1.4: Writing of the Ordinances. Wardens' Accounts, 1562/63, fols 96^r; 95^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

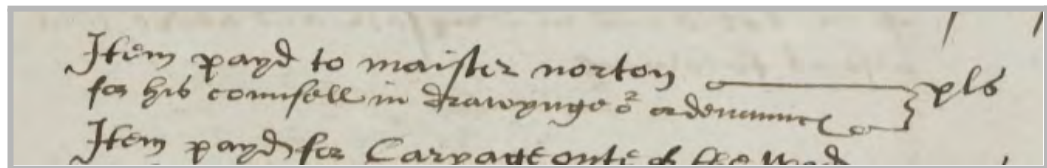
Any book of ordinances kept by the Stationers' Company before its incorporation is likely to have been the copy presented to the Mayor and the Court of Aldermen.²¹ Scriveners were usually employed to produce presentation copies of ordinances for submission to the City's authorities, and the Wardens' Accounts for 1562/63 record that the Stationers' Company paid a sum of 26s. and 8d. for the 'wrytinge of all the ordenaunces into the boke fayre Wreten' and it also made payments for the supplies of vellum and red ink to do so (see figures 1.3 and 1.4).²² This was the Company's Book of Ordinances, and the book that was otherwise known as the Book of Constitutions. The Wardens' Accounts of 1558/59 note that 10 shillings was paid to the City's Recorder, Ranulph Cholmeley, for his services in overseeing and amending the Stationers' Book of Constitutions. This is the first direct reference in the registers to shed light upon the record-keeping procedures followed by the Company in connection with its ordinances (see figure 1.3).²³ Cholmeley's

²¹ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 864.

²² SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1562/63, fol. 96^r; fol. 95^v.

²³ The Recorder of London was a senior office of the judiciary. Sir Ranulph Cholmeley (c. 1517-1563), lawyer. Cholmeley was an influential figure in the history of the Stationers' Company, he provided occasional counsel for the Company and is thought to have been instrumental in the procurement of its charter of incorporation. He was married to Elizabeth Pickering, the widow of the printer Robert Redman. Similar entries in the 1554-57 accounts detail the paperwork and the costs associated with the Company's pursuit of incorporation.

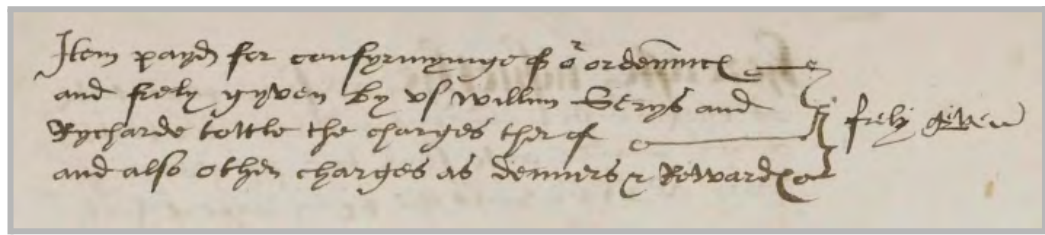
‘mending’ of the constitutions updated the Company’s existing Book of Ordinances in keeping with its new status and responsibilities as an incorporated institution, if only for a brief period. In 1561/62 new ordinances were drawn up by Company’s counsel Thomas Norton, who received 40 shillings for his work. Following the mayoral precept of 1 February 1560 which awarded the Livery to the Stationers Company, these ordinances were swiftly prepared and implemented to reflect this recent change in the Company’s status and the additional responsibilities that it brought.²⁴ The financial investment, and the time spent in the preparation and groundwork to change and confirm the ordinances in 1561/62 shows just how much the Stationers’ Company fully embraced its new legal identity (see figure 1.5).



Item payd to maister norton
for his counsell in drawinge our ordenaunces xl^s

1561/62, fol. 79^r.

²⁴ The Livery added a new strata to the social composition of the Stationers’ Company and created a new form of record to be added to the registers. The precept from the mayor, William Hewett, and the Court of Aldermen, granted that ‘from hensfourth shalbe permyttyd and suffred to have vse and were a lyuery and lyuerey hodes in suche Decent and comely wyse and order as the other Companies and felowships of this Cytie after ther Degrees Do comenly vse and were And that they, the sayd Stacyoners shall cause all suche and asmeny of their said felowship as conveniently may and be hable to prepare and make redy the same lyuerys with sped So that they may from hensfurth attend and wayet vpon the lorde mayour of this Cytie at all comen Shewes hereafter to be made by the other Cytezens of the said Cytie’. LMA, COL/AC/17/1372–Repertory 14, fol. 287^v, reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 138. John Day; William Cooke; Edward Sutton; John Whitney; William Norton; and Humphrey Toy were the first admissions to the Company’s livery to be recorded in the Stationers’ Registers. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, fol. 65^r.



Item payd for confyrmyng of our ordenaunces
and freely gyven by vs william Serys and
Rycharde tottle the charges there of freely giuen

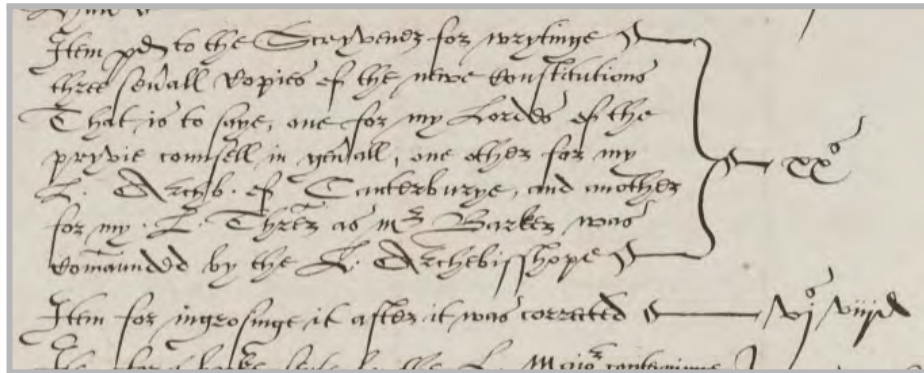
1561/62, fol. 79^v.

Figure 1.5: Redrafting and Confirming the Ordinances. Wardens' Accounts, 1561/62, fol. 79^r; fol. 79^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

The Stationers' Company's ordinances once again required amendment following the Star Chamber Decree issued on 23 June 1586.²⁵ In the accounts for 1585/86 it was recorded that the Company paid 20s. to the Scrivener for three copies of the 'newe Constitutions' to be presented to the relevant authorities for approval; one was intended for the Privy Council, the second for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the third for the Lord Treasurer. The accounts also note that a further 6s. and 8d. was spent upon 'ingrosinge it after it was corrected', in other words, to produce a fair copy of the approved ordinances (see figure 1.6). It is notable that the sum paid by the Company for the three copies and the 'ingrosinge' in 1586 is equal to that paid 'for the wrytinge of all the ordenaunces into the book fayre wreten' in 1563 (figure 1.4), which could suggest that three copies of the ordinances were also produced for approval on that occasion but were considered to be more a matter of procedure rather than worth recording individually. If not, then the pricing structure indicates that it was indeed a 'golden age' for the Company in its procurement of notarial and clerical services.

²⁵ 'The newe Decrees of the Starre Chamber for orders in printinge./'. Arber, Vol. II, pp. 807-812.



Item paid to the Scryvener for wrytinge
three seuerall Copies of the newe Constitutions
That is to saye, one for my Lordes of the
pryvie counsell in generall, one other for my
Lord. Archb. of Canturburye, and another
for my Lord. Threasurer as mr Barker was
Commaunded by the Lord. Archebisshope

xx^s

Item for ingrosinge it after it was corrected

vj^s viij^d

Figure 1.6: The New Constitutions. Wardens' Accounts, 1585/86, fol. 242^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

The Collectors' Books

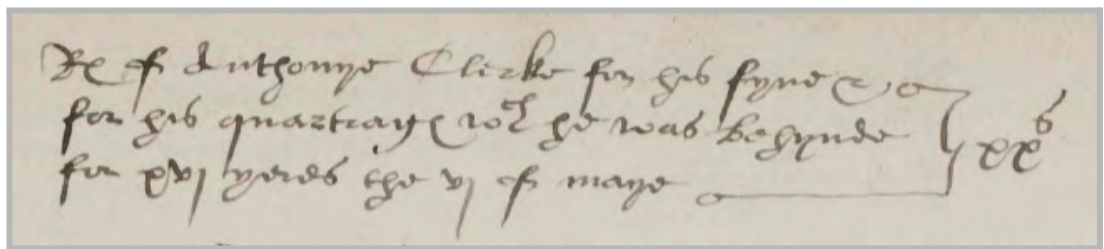
Collecting all of the quarterages and arrears due to the Stationers' Company was the responsibility of its appointed Renter Wardens and, as the Ordinances made on the 17 August 1681 mandated, they had to submit

a true, plain, perfect and just Account in Writing, of all such Money which they or either of them have received, and Disbursements which they, or either of them made, during their time of being Renter-Warden, for the use of this Company, And shall speedily make Payment of what shall remain in their or either of their Hands, due upon such Account, And deliver the Books and all other Papers and things whatsoever, which may concern this Company, to the Master and Wardens.²⁶

²⁶ Although these ordinances date from a much later period, the procedure they describe bears a similarity to those recorded at the end of each annual account in the Wardens' Accounts. The ordinances of 1681 are reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 22. Thomas Purfoot and Nicholas Boreman provide an early example of the failure to perform this task. They were the Renter Wardens for 1558/59, and the register records that they were fined for failing to submit the accounts on the day appointed for the audit: 'thay Ded not gyve up thayre Accompte at a Daye appoynted iij^s iij^d'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596), fol. 31^r.

The keeping of books (and ‘all other papers and things’) was a vital part of the Renter Wardens’ duties, and as such collectors’ books were practical, everyday books. For all of their essential function in the daily running of the Company, the collectors’ books rarely survive.

Renter Wardens were elected annually (on March 26) and customarily those appointed served consecutive terms as junior and senior Renters. The accounts of the Renter Wardens were submitted upon completion of their term of service on 6 May, the feast day of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gates.²⁷ Blayney has proposed that as part of their duties the Renter Wardens compiled ‘checklists for quarterage’ on a quarterly or annual basis from the Company’s freedom roll, and suggests that these ranged from being ‘little more than a “document”’ to the ‘single bound or stitched codex’.²⁸ Whilst the short life-span of collectors’ books can partially be attributed to the limited terms of office served and the nature of their materialities, the very act of transcribing the book’s contents into the fair copy of the accounts was also responsible for the diminishing of their status. Consequently books of collection are viewed as largely ephemeral.



Receaved of Anthonye Clerke for his fyne &
for his quarterages which he was behynde xx^s
for xvi yeres the vj of maye

Figure 1.7: Settling of Debts. Wardens’ Accounts, 1560/61, fol. 64^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596).

How these books functioned within the scheme of the Stationers’ Company’s operations is suggested by a register entry made in the Wardens’ Accounts of 1560/61. On

²⁷ Gadd, “‘Being like a field’”, pp. 76-78.

²⁸ Blayney argues that ‘boke’ was used ‘to mean little more than a ‘document’’, and unlikely to be an annual ‘single bound or stitched codex’. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 865.

6 May 1561 Anthony Clerke submitted a fee of 20 shillings to the Company for his fine and his quarterages. It was recorded that Clerke was ‘behynde for xvj yeres’ in payment of his quarterages, which indicates that his debt had been accruing since 1545 (see figure 1.7).²⁹ Blayney has argued that the annual accounts of the collectors were not kept for too long, and that their other daily records ‘would have been even more ephemeral’. The time frame related to the recording of Clerke’s debt does suggest that either these accounts were preserved for much longer periods than is usually assumed or, more likely, that a system of rolling accounts was in place. It does indicate that a continuous record of Clerke’s non-payment was kept within the various collectors’ books for this period, hence the certainty that he had not paid his fees for sixteen years. So, it is likely that each Collectors’ Book would have contained a section for recording all of the unpaid accounts from the previous year to allow for the balancing of the accounts at the year end. However, as Arber has noted, Clerke’s eventual payment of the fine and the quarterages does not equate to the sum that he failed to pay over these sixteen years. As 1560/61 was the year in which the Stationers’ Company became a livery company, it is possible that the capping of Clerke’s fine and dues could have been act of leniency on behalf of the Company as it cleared all of the old accounts in order for it to fully embrace its new status. Equally it suggests the possibility that the accuracy of Clerke’s details was corrupted through their repeated transmission between these temporary collectors’ account books, and as a result it was necessary for the Company to implement a reasonable assessment of his debt.

²⁹ Arber notes that this entry is ‘incontestable proof that the Brotherhood existed at that time, to say the very least : and also that its Organization then was virtually the same as after the Company had been incorporated’. By his calculation the sum that Clerke should have paid for these 16 years of non-payment was 21s. 4d. Arber, Vol. I, p. 159. Clerke was not included in the charter’s list of Stationers, although he was a freeman of the Company. Blayney argues that Clerke’s omission was largely due to his failure to pay his quarterages. Since fines were entered into the Register, Blayney argues, it is only because of this entry that it is possible to deduce non-payment as the reason why some Stationers were not listed in the charter; otherwise, as arrears, details of this would have remained in the Collectors’/Renters’ Books (and therefore lost). Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 900, 904.

The Great Books

As noted above, two books were gifted to the newly incorporated Stationers' Company in 1557 by the stationers Henry Cooke and Thomas Dewyxsell, an act which was dutifully recorded within one of those books (see figure 1.1). Collectively these two volumes are known as the Company's 'great Bookes', and, as the entry makes clear, they were presented with the purpose of being account books.³⁰ The first volume mentioned ('thys boke') is the Wardens' Accounts which comprised the fair copy of the Company's annual accounts. These were transcribed from daybooks kept by the Company's appointed wardens during the term of their office, and as such the Wardens' Accounts provide a window into the daily life of the Company's activities. The second of these volumes (the 'one other boke') has been identified as Liber A. Although the entry in the Wardens' Accounts states that this was intended to be another account of 'this howse', McKenzie has noted that:

its function was almost certainly that of a book of precepts as communicated to the Company in letters from the Town Clerk on the order of the Lord Mayor, conveying decisions or instructions from the Court of Common Council.³¹

For the main part, McKenzie's summary is correct, but the Company's own definition of 'our accomptes of this howse' perhaps more accurately reflected its purpose. Liber A was a memorandum book into which notes and transcriptions of material related to the running of the Company, from both internal and external sources, were entered. As McKenzie outlines, this included copies of precepts issued to the City's companies and the Stationers' Company's responses to these, but there are also transcripts of wills with bequests and annuities that benefited the Company (or were expected to do so), copies of court decisions regarding the assignation of printing privileges, regulations regarding the election of

³⁰ SCA, TSC/01/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 250 v.

³¹ D. F. McKenzie, 'Stationers' Company Liber A: An Apologia' in *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550-1990*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 35-63, (p. 44). Peter Blayney was able to identify Liber A as the companion volume to the Wardens' Accounts through comparison and calculation of the paper stock mentioned in the entry that records their gifting, as McKenzie notes in this section of his essay.

Company officers, and so on. So whilst the account of the Hall, the Company, and its membership provided by Liber A was still largely focused on institutional administration, it did place the Company's operations within the broader context of civic society. Both of these books were founded as 'acomptes of this howse' but it is evident from the types of record, and the ways in which they were kept, that the purposes for each volume were notably different.

Overseeing the London book trade was an extensive enterprise for the Stationers' Company, the breadth of which is demonstrated by the range of regulatory functions and business recorded in the Wardens' Accounts. This volume constitutes a chronological compilation of the Company's annual accounts. In keeping with account books kept by officers of many of the City's other companies for the period, the Wardens' Accounts were not presented as complex daily financial minutiae, as Cooper remarks in his summary of the generic form of these type of accounts:

The accounts are not profit-and-loss accounts, nor balance sheets, nor a day-to-day financial record. Their aim was to show and justify the wardens' handling of the moneys entrusted to them so that they could obtain a discharge at the annual (or biannual) audit meeting of the court. Because they were compiled by men usually in rotation regardless of their liking, or talent for the task, they tend to be variable in coverage and quality and sometimes have wrongly added totals.³²

As the fair copy of the Company's accounts, the records for each year were categorised and ordered according to the type of transaction they recorded. These classifications included the binding of apprentices, the licencing of copies, the judicial administration of its rules, the admission of members to the Company, the collecting of quarterages, arrears and rents, and the additional outgoing payments made by the wardens during the term of their office. The sections detailing the payments received by the Company for the registration of

³² Cooper, 'The Archives of the City of London Livery Companies', p. 339. In this example, Cooper is citing Guy Parsloe, *Wardens' Accounts of the Worshipful Company of Founders of the City of London, 1497-1681* (London: Athlone Press, 1964).

publishers' rights to copy are significant because these identify the Wardens' Accounts as being the first volume of what became known as the Stationers' Registers.

The purpose of the Registers was to record accurate and factual information (to provide an account) of the Company's financial activity, and in recognition and appreciation of this status they have proved to be valuable resources for academic research. Whilst the Registers are comprised of the collective histories, narratives, and discourses of the Company and its members, they also contain the individual histories, narratives, and discourses of each volume, and an aspect often overlooked by scholars is that the Stationers' Registers are texts within their own rights. It is a significant oversight in consideration of the ways in which the Registers' own textual functions influence the narratives and discourses that are derived from their records. McKenzie's theory of the sociology of texts emphasises the importance of the 'social processes of transmission' of texts in relation to how they are received and their potential cultural signification, and argues that the word 'texts' should encompass all forms of text as this

accounts for non-book texts, their physical forms, textual versions, technical transmission, institutional control, their perceived meanings, and social effects. It accounts for a history of the book and, indeed, of all printed forms including all textual ephemera as a record of cultural change, whether in mass civilization or minority culture.³³

Interrelations and interactions between the materialities and textualities of the Stationers' Registers, and the ways in which they functioned and were utilised, demonstrate the considerable influence that the registers' textual nature and identity had upon how they were perceived and reflects the 'social processes' of their transmission. Analysing the interplay of the materialities and textualities of the Stationers' Registers reveals not only the institutional influences upon their modes of production, transmission and reception, but also the networks of intention associated with their creation and development. The 'sociological processes' which produced the text of the Stationers' Registers are vital to

³³ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.13.

understanding the ways in which their authority was disseminated, and the significance of the registers as records of cultural change.

DEFINING TEXTS

The value of the Stationers' Registers as documentary sources is often underestimated. This is due, for the main part, to a combination of the dominance of their narratives of 'censorship', and the selective ways in which scholars engage with their content. Consequently, the Stationers' Registers are often contextualised and utilised in ways which ignore their own textual functions, and in which they are regarded as mere mechanical recording devices. Owing to its range of associated concepts, 'text' is a complex term and it is a phrase that requires a degree of careful consideration. Although many scholars have tried to define 'text', I am considering the scope and concepts of text through the framework of McKenzie's theory of the sociology of texts. Since the Stationers' Registers are non-literary texts, the breadth of this approach is useful for exploring the social processes and agencies that influence the narrativity, dialogics, authority, and identity of the Stationers' Registers. McKenzie's initial definition of text illustrates the plasticity of the boundaries of its terminology. Textual creation is central to his explanation. He draws attention to the significance of the various acts of construction responsible for producing a physical object, and which are influential upon the forms that it inhabits.³⁴ McKenzie's focus upon these forms of 'authorship', rather than their 'engagement', exposes a detachment of textual form from textual function. This would appear to impose restrictive boundaries upon a text's potentialities for social interaction. Whilst McKenzie's thesis is concerned with the importance of reading the material object to comprehend how the form dictates its interpretation his initial exposition of 'text' fails to account fully for the role of readers within the process of dissemination. An alternative approach is offered by Michel de Certeau, who argues that text 'becomes a text only in its relation to the exteriority of the

³⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 13-14.

reader'. His model locates a text's existence entirely within the reading experience and, by implication, texts which are written but unread cannot be considered texts until the process is completed.³⁵ In his emphasis upon the necessary interactions required between the two worlds of text and reader Roger Chartier clarifies de Certeau's process of 'actualization', and through his deduction that 'their meanings are dependent upon the forms through which they are received and appropriated by their readers (or hearers)' he moderates the positions held by McKenzie and de Certeau. Chartier's statement reflects the thrust of McKenzie's main argument regarding the limitations of bibliographic discipline, in that consideration should be given not only to 'the technical but also the social processes of their transmission.'³⁶

As this small sample of definitions demonstrates, ideas of what constitutes a text can be both wide-ranging and remarkably specific. Variabilities in respect of material inclusivity and the constituent elements of communication systems illustrate the difficulties of determining textual identity, and indeed how it was conceptualised. McKenzie's initial definition of text may seem limited, but it does serve a particular purpose - whilst it broadens the scope of material that can be included within bibliographical analysis, it also emphasises the idea that texts are structures which are actively constructed. McKenzie may not indicate the role of the reader at this point in his argument, but he does acknowledge that the creation of texts and textual forms is the result of an ongoing process of consideration and mediation. This is a valuable proposition which highlights the ways in which textual structures are actively contrived, and how ideations of text can extend beyond the material objects and influence the ways in which readings and meanings are made.

³⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1984), quoted from Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 2.

³⁶ Chartier, *Order of Books*, p. 3; McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 13.

Within McKenzie's statement, however, there is another crucial detail which acknowledges that 'text' is defined by more than the written word alone. This issue is considered by Thomas Bredehoft, in *The Visible Text*. Bredehoft contends that problems of interpretation are often generated by the application of a 'singular' definition of 'text'. His discussion centres upon the 'gaps' created between the seeing and the reading of texts, and declares that comprehension of textual identity is complicated by the very act of reading:

we often conceptualize reading as an operation that is somehow directly opposed to seeing: although we must of course see a text that we read (and I refer here only to the common case, and pass over exceptions such as Braille writing), the very process of reading assigns importance or significance not to the visible aspects of letters, but to the linguistic entities that lie behind them. Once we reach beyond the visible signs to their linguistic meanings, we feel free to discard or ignore the visible component.³⁷

Reading is a learned interpretive process, and a means of negotiating systems of signs and creating meanings from their associated linguistic structures. It is also a hierarchical process, as Bredehoft argues, which gives precedence to linguistic forms over the visual. Bredehoft contributes his own binary definition of text to mitigate disconnections between the act of seeing and the act of reading, often as a result of reading strategies that promote the value of one experience above the other, noting that:

on the one hand, as we shall see, a text is a media object, that which is reproduced or otherwise caught up within an economy of reproduction; on the other hand, a text must be understood as that which is bounded and defined by paratext.³⁸

The texts that constitute the Stationers' Registers can be defined as media objects, in so far as they are material texts which operate in media and medial roles, but is it possible that their textuality can be adequately defined within Bredehoft's theoretical framework?

Restricted access and limited transmission of the registers between 1557 and 1605 would indicate that they fail to meet Bredehoft's qualifications as objects that are reproduced,

³⁷ Thomas Bredehoft in *The Visible Text: Textual Production and Reproduction from Beowulf to Maus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 2.

³⁸ Bredehoft, *The Visible Text*, p. 4.

which was a criterion that the Company did not intend the registers to fulfil. And in this respect the registers are dissimilar from other forms of manuscript culture, such as literary manuscripts, which relied upon the reproduction, amendment, and circulation of texts. However, the participation of the Stationers' Registers within the 'economy of reproduction', I would suggest, is far greater than that of many other texts.

The registers' function in documenting the Company's financial transactions places them firmly within Bredehoft's definition of the media object, as this does include recording the licences granted to publishers for the right to print. Arguably, their recording of the finances of the print industry *is* a recording of that economy of reproduction. From the third volume of the Registers onwards (i.e. Liber C, 1595-1620) the registers could be identified wholly as media objects under Bredehoft's terms, as the structural changes in their functions and utilisation from this point fully engages them within this economy. Accordingly, the different forms and functions of the first two Registers limit their participation within this economy. However, through their engagement with an entirely different economy of reproduction, the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B can be said to fulfil Bredehoft's requirements for media objects.

The Wardens' Accounts (1554-96) constituted a fair copy of the annual accounts, and it is possible therefore to view the contents of this register as reproductions. Jacques Derrida has argued that the goal of 'the copy' is to be an identical reproduction, and the implied failure of 'the copy' resides in its replacement of the source's 'essence' with a 'difference' (as 'the copy' itself has no essence other than to replicate)³⁹. Derrida's resolution to this issue repositions the copy as 'a thing in itself'. Whilst Liber B (1575-1605) fulfils the same function as the first Register in its reproduction of the Company's accounts, structural changes were implemented during the construction of this

³⁹ 'Having no essence, introducing difference as the condition for the presence of essence, opening up the possibility of the double, the copy, the imitation, the simulacrum—the game and the *graphē* are constantly disappearing as they go along.' Jacques Derrida, 'Plato's Pharmacy' in *Dissemination*, trans. by Barbara Johnson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981). Reprinted in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Vincent B. Leitch (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), p. 1866. Bredehoft, *The Visible Text*, p. 4.

volume that repositioned its status and relationships. The replication of the accounts remained the central focus for Liber B, but changes to the ordering of its information provided it with additional functionalities, which encouraged new forms of engagement with the volume and expanded the range of possible ways in which it could be utilised. Under the terms of Derrida's argument it is possible to view the differences between the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B as a tacit recognition of the failure of 'the copy' and the subsequent repositioning of it as an entity in itself.

Bredehoft's analysis of Derrida's argument constructs a framework for differentiating between those texts which are subject to the logic of the copy and those which can be termed textual artefacts. Acknowledging the difficulties with deciphering this difference, Bredehoft notes that:

the act of reading (aloud) appears always to reposition the script as medial: certainly the script lies outside the reader, and to the degree that it also lies outside the writer, the script seems inherently medial.⁴⁰

Texts were frequently read aloud within the environment of Stationers' Hall, as indeed they were amongst other livery companies. The Stationers' Company's ordinances decreed that they were to be read aloud to members on every quarter day, and this is just one example of how texts perpetuate the terms of their engagement.⁴¹ In accordance with Bredehoft's assertion, this form of reading placed the Company's ordinances as external to both the 'reader' and the 'writer' and repositioned them as medial 'scripts'. This mediality asserted their authority and autonomy, but it also created an independent voice for the 'system'. As a consequence, the ordinances were a vital element in the soundscape of the Hall and this shifted the boundaries of their materialities. The argument made by Bredehoft emphasises

⁴⁰ Bredehoft, *The Visible Text*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *The Orders, Rules, and Ordinances, ordained ... by the Master and Keepers ... of the Mystery and Art of Stationers of the City of London for the well governing of that Society*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1678) http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026737875.0x000001. Reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 18.

the importance of the Stationers' Registers' textual function, and its modalities, in their ability to influence the meanings that we create from the narratives they construct.

McKenzie draws attention to the border between bibliography and textual criticism and that of literary history and literary criticism, but states that:

In the pursuit of historical meanings, we move from the most minute feature of the material form of the book to questions of authorial, literary, and social context. These all bear in turn on the ways in which texts are then re-read, re-edited, re-designed, re-printed, and re-published.⁴²

The registers portray how they were utilised within the Company's day-to-day operations, but recognising that they are officially sanctioned fair copies derived from other, more informal and disorganised source materials, would lead us to question perhaps what aspects of the Company's daily routines have been omitted from the official record. The registers are the 'medial script' between the original sources and the readers, and errors that occur in the fair copies signal potential discrepancies, accidental or intentional, which have implications for how much authority is given to the registers as forms of record. This has a significance for the ways in which we define their textualities, and assess their social impact.⁴³

THE STATIONERS' REGISTERS 1554-1605: 'A PERFECT ORDER IN HOLDING AND KEEPING OF ACCOMPTE'S'?⁴⁴

Textual function is vital to the formation of textual identity, and for the Stationers'

Registers that textual identity is significant for defining and determining both the forms

⁴² McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.23.

⁴³ The role of the registers within the daily life of the Stationers' Company will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

⁴⁴ Hugh Oldcastle, *A Brief Instruction and maner hovv to keepe bookes of Accomptes after the order of Debitor and Creditor, & as well for proper Accomptes partible, &c. By the three bookes named the Memoriall Iournall & Leager, and of other necessities appertaining to a good and diligent marchant. The which of all other reckonings is most lawdable: for this treatise well and sufficiently knowen, all other wayes and maners may be the easier & sooner discerned, learned and knowen. Newly augmented and set forth by John Mellis Scholemaister. 1588.* (London: John Windet, 1588) [https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99848662e, \(A2'\)](https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99848662e, (A2')).

and the styles of social interactions that shape their forms and narratives. ‘Forms effect meaning’ is a crucial argument in McKenzie’s theory; and a point which is also central to Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio’s study of early modern book use, as they note ‘a book’s format shapes the body’s interaction with it’.⁴⁵ The ways in which the material text affects its physical and intellectual interactions are important considerations for determining the sociology of a text, and in this section I will examine the materialities of the individual volumes to highlight the role that they play in defining the textualities and narratives of the Stationers’ Registers. As media objects, their visual impact has shaped the ways in which their readers approached them as texts, establishing different kinds of expectations regarding their function and utility depending on the ‘reader’. To a certain degree, their referential function dictated the physical characteristics of the registers and the forms of interaction that were made with them. Ascertaining the degree to which the registers’ materialities could influence meanings created from them is equally as complicated as attempting to define their textual nature. Nonetheless, bibliographical studies provide an intriguing insight into the Stationers’ Registers, particularly with the ways in which their materialities can be read and intersected with broader social commentaries to enrich the textual identity of the registers.

Wardens’ Accounts / Register A (1554-1596)

The Wardens’ Accounts, otherwise known as Register A, was the first of the Stationers’ Registers. As we have already seen, the register entry that recorded the donation of the book by two of the Company’s members provided a physical description of this volume. This statement is, in essence, the first bibliographical description we have of the Stationers’ Registers.

⁴⁵ Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005), pp. 8-9.

Item henry Cooke gaue x quarys of Royall paper ^rvjs viij^d
 to make thys boke and one other boke for our
 accomptes of this howse to be wrytten in and ^{xj}s viij^d
 these ij bokes ware bound at the coste of Thomas
 dewxwell ^rv^s146

A much later bibliographical account of the volume is supplied by Robin Myers in *The Stationers' Company Archive: An Account of the Records 1554-1984*:

REGISTER A, labelled on spine 'Wardens' Accounts'
 Entries of Copies 9 December 1554 to 2 August 1596
 Folio, wrap around calf binding. 276 ff, numbered.
 Includes binding of apprentices, orders of the Court. ⁴⁷

The 'wrap around calf binding' is, for the most part, the original binding that was paid for by Thomas Dewyxsell; and although the faded label on this book's cover bears the legend 'Wardens' Accounts' the conceptual change that this volume has undergone since its foundation is evident from Myers's summary, as the volume is identified by the now more common sobriquet of Register A. ⁴⁸ The renaming of the registers was a consequence of Edward Arber's transcription of the volumes in the late nineteenth century. Arber designated this book as being Register A on the page preceding his transcription of the accounts, but he did note that:

this First Register is not actually lettered A, though it was so considered; the next letter being lettered B. The only external lettering, &c. is "wardens accounts" written on a small piece of paper and pasted at the top of the back of the volume. ⁴⁹

This volume contains details of the receipts and expenditures of the Stationers' Company for the period 1554-1596. It was the 'fair copy' of the Company's accounts, which were transcribed from daybooks and papers kept by its elected Wardens, and these accounts

⁴⁶ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-1557, fol. 15^v. See figure 1.1. A quire was usually 24 or 25 sheets of paper, and Philip Gaskell notes that the smaller number was more typical in England, (*A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p.59).

⁴⁷ Robin Myers, *The Stationers' Company Archive: An Account of the Records 1554-1984* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 21.

⁴⁸ Blayney notes that 'the volume was dismantled in August 1991, cleaned, repaired, resewn, and rebound using as much as possible of the original boards and leather'. Blayney, 'Introduction', *Liber A* (London: Bibliographical Society, forthcoming). I am grateful to Peter Blayney for allowing me to cite his unpublished work. Arber, Vol. I, p. xvii. Edward Arber's intervention in the naming of the registers still continues to be a contentious issue.

⁴⁹ Arber, Vol. I, p. 31.

were presented annually for audit. From the techniques and procedures used in the compilation of this register it is clear that there were three distinct phases to its development.

Folios 1^r -18^r mark the first phase of the Wardens' Accounts which consists of records dating from before the Company's incorporation in 1557. These are not exhaustive accounts but an encapsulation of the Company's transactions that occurred in the three years before it received the letters patent from Philip and Mary. The second phase of the register can be found between folios 19^r - 209^v and this contains detailed annual accounts commencing from the year of incorporation which form an unbroken run of records continuing through to the year 1571. The Company's accounts for 1571-1595 constitute the remainder of the volume (folios 210^r-271^r), and this was the final phase in the development of this register. Its records assume the form of concise annual summaries, so the range of material in this section is far less comprehensive. Although it was a period in which the Company was exploring ways of recording information in the registers, from its categorisation of the types of material that were processed it is evident that a suitably stable format emerged swiftly to facilitate the order and (re)organisation of its records. I have already noted that the accounts were broadly sorted according to the transactions they recorded, and these included: the receipts for the presentation of apprentices; the fines for copies, whereby the Company issued licenses which granted the rights to publish the specified titles; the fines levied for the breaking of good orders, i.e. the Company's ordinances; the receipts for the admittance of freemen and brethren to the Company; the taking of quarterages, arrears and rents; and finally, 'all other such payments' that the Company's wardens had made for that year. Although the accounts had a relatively stable structure they were also flexible enough to include the exceptional expenditures that the Company was occasionally expected to meet: such as, charges for supplying men and hiring equipment for musterings and wardmotes, costs associated with maintaining the

Hall, and expenses for conducting searches for unauthorised and prohibited goods.⁵⁰ This change to the format coincided with the Company's appointment of a dedicated full-time clerk, George Wapull, to take charge of the Company's daily administration and to replace John Fayreberne, the Company's beadle, as the compiler of the fair copy of the Wardens' Accounts for auditing.



Figure 1.8: Wardens' Accounts, 1554-96.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Myers notes that the binding provided by Thomas Dewyxsell was a wrap-around calf-skin binding, this was durable and offered a good degree of protection for the accounts (see figure 1.8). Tackets were a commonplace feature of account books, since they made it possible for additional quires to be added. This would have been done, as Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass outline, 'by removing the spine tackets (strips of parchment or leather thongs), then sewing the new quire to the text block, and finally, reattaching the text block

⁵⁰ For example: In 1558/59 accounts included (amongst several blank pages) distinct sections concerning, 'The charges of the Denners the sondaye the ij^{de} Daye of Julye and mondaye ye iij^{de} Daye of July Greenwich muster, 'Paymentes for setting fourth of xij men to the quenes maiestie hyr muster'; SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fols 38r-39r; fol. 40^v.

to the spine with the tacket'.⁵¹ Whilst this was a possibility for the Warden's Accounts it would seem that the opposite actually happened, as by Blayney's calculations a few of the registers' original leaves are missing.⁵² The register entry recording the dual gifting of both the binding and the paper, suggests that Cooke and Dewyxsell presented the 'great books' to the Company as bound volumes. As subsequent references to the Company's other registers attest, this was unusual for account books of the period, as both Liber B and Liber C were paper books that remained unbound until their completion.⁵³ At 395mm x 290mm x 70mm, the Wardens' Accounts is a substantial volume, but its dimensions were not an impediment to its portability. The immediate visual impact of the Wardens' Accounts as an object enables us to read its functionality and utility within this environment, but it also demonstrates that the material object, like its textualities, is also the result of an ongoing process of consideration and mediation and is therefore an act of textual construction in its own right (and with its own narrative structure). This is evident in the blind-tooled decorative features of the binding, which add a further layer of materiality, narrative, and value to the material texts of the Stationers' Registers. Repeated scenes of animals hunting amidst the foliage were impressed upon the leather (see figure 1.9), and this degree of decoration on what was the Stationers' Company's book of accounts is unusual in comparison with other City company audit books of the period.⁵⁴ Although the original binding to Liber A has long been replaced, it would be reasonable to assume that it also had a similar degree of decoration as the companion volume to the Wardens' Accounts. The aesthetic aspect of this register emphasises the status and value of the 'great bookes' to

⁵¹ Heather Wolfe & Peter Stallybrass, 'The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England' in *Archives & Information in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 179-208 (p. 187).

⁵² He identifies the missing leaves as being the third blank leaf of the twelve preceding the text; a single leaf each before fols 1, 15, 79, 96, 220, 223, 258, and 275; and a pair of leaves each before fols 92, 109, 167, and 233. Blayney conjectures that their removal was more than likely done when they were still unused, although 'one or two' were possibly removed to resolve unsightly copy errors. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 869 (and note A).

⁵³ Peter W. M. Blayney, 'If it Looks Like a Register ...', in *The Library*, 7th series, Vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2019), 230-242, p. 236.

⁵⁴ Although other companies' books were far more decorative on the page than seems to have been the case for the Stationers' Company.

the newly incorporated Company; but it also underlines their distinctiveness from the Company's existing documentary records.



Figure 1.9: Decorative Binding. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-96.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

It may seem oblique, but my purpose in comparing Myers's bibliographic description of the Wardens' Accounts to the register entry recording its gifting is to show how seemingly fixed, definable material features can be affected by differences in material perspectives. Both descriptions of the Wardens' Accounts present subtly divergent senses of the physical nature of the volume. Myers's account, for example, provides us with a measured sense of the volume's size, 'Folio, wrap around calf binding. 276 ff, numbered'; however, the register entry's statement, 'x quarys of Royall paper', offered an altogether different measure of its size but also managed to impart a sense of its tactile nature.⁵⁵ It is evident from both of these examples that implied values, both personal and cultural, are instrumental in framing the language used to describe the registers.

⁵⁵ There is an element of linguistic shift to the terminology used in both descriptions. For Stationers the term 'royal' would have been everyday technical parlance, which implied very specific forms and qualities. Gaskell includes a useful table as a guide to the paper sizes and terminology of the hand press period, which also indicates how these varied according to the country of origin. Gaskell, pp. 73-75.

Liber B / Entries of Copies / Register B (1575-1605)



Figure 1.10: Liber B, 1575-1605.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Liber B is the second of the Stationers' Registers, and in Myers's account of the Stationers' Company's archive this volume is listed as being:

LIBER B

Entries of Copies 1576 to 1595

Folio, calf rebound. 487 ff, numbered.

Contains binding of apprentices from 1 May 1583 (ff 1-129), entries of copies 1576 to 1595 (ff 130-318), admission of Freemen 1576 to 1605 (ff 319-414), calls on the Livery 1576 to 1604 (ff 415-427), Orders and decrees 1576 to 1604 (ff 427-487).⁵⁶

Its cover identifies this volume as being the 'ENTRIES OF | COPIES | 1576-1595 | — | LIBER B' but, as with the Wardens' Accounts, this is a later attribution as both Liber B and Liber C were rebound in 1977. Edward Arber's assignment of alternative names for the registers has proved effective and enduring, therefore, as is the case with Register A, this book is more commonly known as Register B. The title page that precedes Arber's transcript for this volume notes that the large letter 'B' is transcribed from a fragment of paper that was pasted onto the first page, and that this is in modern handwriting (see figure 1.11). He continues to record that on the front of 'the original leather cover' of the book

⁵⁶ Myers, *Archive*, p.21.

there is a ‘similar paper slip with | Lib. B | written on it.’ On the spine it reads ‘B | ENTRYs. OF: COPIES | 1576: TO: 1595 | · B’, and it is noted that the dated title is on a ‘leather label stamped in gold in figures of the Seventeenth Century’. Arber concludes this title page with the statement that ‘All these endorsements are evidently subsequent to the time when the Register was in daily use. It apparently at that time had no label or distinguishing mark, and is designated at I. 475 as ‘a booke of entrances for the clarke.’”⁵⁷

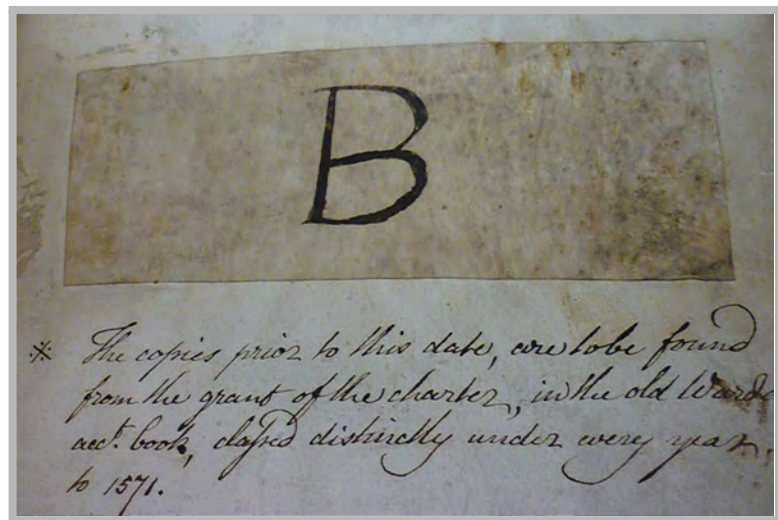


Figure 1.11: Liber B ‘Title Page’. Liber B, 1575-1605.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

It is generally accepted that the ‘booke of entrances for the clarke’ recorded in the Wardens’ Accounts is Liber B.⁵⁸ As the date range of this volume indicates, between 1576 and 1595 both the Wardens’ Accounts and Liber B were used concurrently. As there was no direct replication of material between the two registers it is probable that the Company saw each book as having very different and distinct functions. This is borne out by the register descriptions of each volume, with the Wardens’ Accounts being for the purpose of the ‘accomptes’ and Liber B noted as a ‘booke of entrances’, and this difference indicates a shift in focus for the Company’s record-keeping procedures, and by implication the balance of their activities. As I’ve noted previously, the third phase of the Wardens’

⁵⁷ Arber, Vol. II, p. 31.

⁵⁸ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1576-77, fol. 222 r.

Accounts contains a streamlined collection of annual summaries for this period, and the corresponding detailed entries covering the period from 1576 to 1596 can be found within Liber B. This modification to its customary practices could indicate that it was a transitional period for the Company's oversight of London book trade, with the Company recognising that it needed to adapt its administrative systems to reflect the changes and developments within the industry. Whilst the restructuring of the records can be seen as an institutional response to external stimuli, it is also possible to perceive that there were more personal motivations for the changes.

George Wapull's appointment to the clerkship in 1571 is a sign that the Company was developing a more structured approach to its administration. Wapull was a Scrivener and, perhaps more significantly, he was an 'outsider' to the Stationers' Company. The restructure of the Company's record-keeping procedures implemented shortly after his appointment suggests that Wapull found the Stationers' Company's auditing practices to be inefficient and consequently he initiated a system of keeping the accounts in accordance with his training and experience. Blayney's account of the survival of the Company's early entrance records states that:

The entrance records for 1557-71 survive because, having invented an unnecessarily complex and inefficient system of managing their monopoly, the inexperienced Stationers devised an even less efficient way of documenting and auditing their finances.⁵⁹

Whilst his description of the Company's inefficient auditing process holds the Stationers to account, the indirect connection to the date of Wapull's appointment does also suggest that it is logical to infer that his 'outsider' status and relative inexperience of the Company perhaps had a far more influential role to play in the engineering of these changes. However, it should also be acknowledged that many of the Stationers' Company's practices were standard amongst the City's livery companies. The decision to replace the comprehensive audit with concise annual summaries in the Wardens' Accounts also

⁵⁹ Blayney, 'If it Looks like a Register ...', p. 239.

warranted the establishment of a new book to represent the change in administrative personnel and practice. Used by Wapull for recording detailed entries, this book no longer survives. However, the symbolism of Wapull, a new clerk, initiating a fresh volume to distinguish between the old and the new systems was impressed upon Richard Collins, and this practice continued under his clerkship. In Liber B Collins maintained the auditing procedures instigated by Wapull, but he was also prompted to introduce some organisational changes of his own to the Stationers' Registers.⁶⁰

The appointment of Richard Collins to the clerkship in 1575 marked the start of a new volume, and heralded another major restructure of the Stationers' Company's records. In the Wardens' Accounts the first order of each year's accounts concerned the division of the records of the Company's receipts, and those which recorded its expenditure. These sections were then subdivided into specific categories related to the various aspects of the Company's business, such as apprentices, admittance to the livery, licences for copies, and so forth. Upon completion of the annual audit the incoming master and wardens and the auditors signed the register to close the accounts and mark the commencement of the following year's accounts, and in this respect the Stationers' Company was following what was a standard practice amongst the City's livery companies.⁶¹

From the outset Liber B (1575-1605) was closely identified with Collins as he clearly, and very helpfully, laid out his duties regarding the register, (see figure 2.7, p. 102). The streamlining of the auditing process implemented during George Wapull's term of office was continued in Liber B, and the order of categorisation established in the Wardens' Accounts was retained. However, Liber B dispensed with the annual chronological format, and the sense of linearity and continuity that the documented ritual

⁶⁰ For as Blayney states, 'Between them, those two Clerks dragged the Stationers' book-keeping (probably kicking and screaming) into the sixteenth century, *SCPoL*, pp. 239-40.

⁶¹ For example, the accounts included in the Pewterers' Company's 'audit book' for the same period have a similar structure to those of the Stationers' Company's annual accounts. (eg. 1557/58: Edward Catcher, Master, fols 214^v-217^v) Casual Receipts, 'receipts of our landes', Quarterages, Receiptes for opening of shops, Fines, Presenting of apprentices, payments made and done by us'. Guildhall Library, CLC/L/PE/D/002/MS07086/002-Fair Copy Audited Master and Wardens' Account Book of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers ('Audit Book'), 1530-1572.

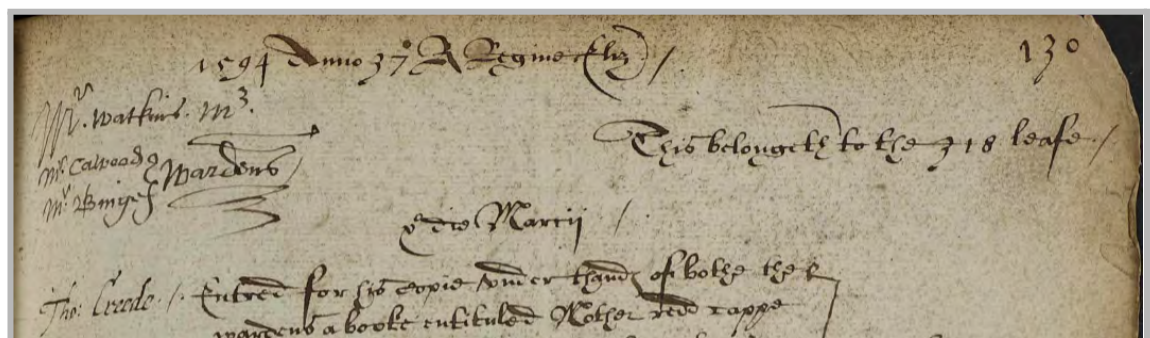
of the changeover provided, which is the notable difference between the two registers.⁶²

Without the evidence of Wapull's own book it is difficult to state with any certainty whether this was indeed Richard Collins's own contribution, or an inherited consequence of Wapull's reorganisation. Instead of being entered according to their specific year, the records were reordered in Liber B according to their categorisation. This applied throughout the whole volume, and the effect of this was to relocate each category within its own individual time frame. So, as Myers indicates, there is no single terminal date for the accounts that are recorded in this volume: therefore the entries for the binding of apprentices end in 1605, the entries of copies in 1595, the admission of freemen in 1605, calls on the livery in 1604, with the orders and decrees drawing the volume to a conclusion in 1604. This may well be read as an indicator of behavioural trends within the book trade, with the earlier end date for the entry of copies in this volume suggesting that, as the century progressed, the registration of titles was gaining more significance as an activity. However, the restructuring of the chronological signatures of the Company's accounts required Collins to actively anticipate and visualise the structures of Liber B as a whole in order to construct the template for its compilation, and it is fair to say that in this respect he was not entirely successful.

⁶² The handover ritual remained part of the account summaries in the Wardens' Accounts.

includes blank pages between each financial year, as was the practice established in the Wardens' Accounts. Folio 134^r was Collins's envisaged start of the section for the entrance of copies and the space allocated for this was fully exhausted before the entries could reach the end of 1595, and consequently he had to return to folio 130^r to add the remaining entries for that year.

Each section of Liber B was apportioned a different amount of space, and this suggests that Collins was trying to gauge the volume of records that each category would generate. In his conceptualisation of this volume the underestimation of space required for entries, and the resulting disrupted chronologies, perhaps shows Richard Collins's inexperience of the book trade. This may have been a failure on his part to predict the behaviours of the community and anticipate movements within the trade, but equally unforeseeable shifts within the trade itself and the additional pressure of external legislation could also partially explain the disordering of the volume's structures. The structural modifications implemented to the Company's record-keeping practices in the transitional period between the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B provide valuable evidence of the shifting positions in the priorities that governed the registers, and the effects that this had upon Company's value systems.



1594 Anno 37° Regni Reginae Elizabethae /

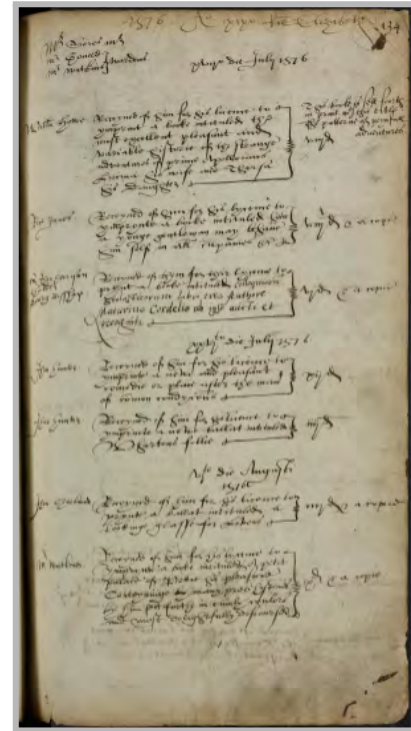
Mr watkins. master.
mr Cawood
mr Binge } wardens/

This belongeth to the 318 leafe./

1595 Copies.
Liber B, 1595, fol. 130^r.



1595 Copies.
Liber B, 1595, fol. 133^v.



1576 Copies.
Liber B, 1576, fol. 134^r.

Figure 1.13: Disrupted Copies. Liber B, 1576-95.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Liber C / The Entry Book of Copies / Register C (1595-1620)



Figure 1.14: Liber C, 1595-1620.

SCA, TSC/1/E/06/02–Liber C, 1595-1620.

The binding on the third volume in this sequence of registers bears the title ‘ENTRIES OF | COPIES | 1595-1620 | — | LIBER C’, and this volume is otherwise known as Register C.

In her account of the Company’s archives, Myers states that this book is :

LIBER C

Entries of copies 4 July 1595 to 11 July 1620.

Small folio, calf rebound, boxed. 325 ff, numbered.

Contains entries of copies (ff 1-315v), accounts and memoranda (ff 316-325).⁶⁴

Both Liber B and Liber C were both rebound in 1977, as can be seen in figures 1.9 and 1.13, and this action had an impact upon the received knowledge of the registers. The rebinding of Liber C revealed the presence of parchment strips that were used by the original binder, and which were sourced from a document bearing the date of 1604 (see figure 1.15). Peter Blayney discusses the rebinding of Liber B and Liber C and concludes that ‘the “original” cover of what was bought as one of two “paper bookes” in 1594-95 (Arber I: 572) was not put on until it was full (in 1620)’.⁶⁵ The presence of this post-dated ‘waste’ in the binding is an indication that the process of constructing the material object of Liber C was already very different from that of the Wardens’ Accounts. Blayney is also mindful to reiterate the differences in the reader experiences of these registers, reminding us that when this register is referenced by Edward Arber and W. W. Greg they are describing the ‘Entry Booke of | Copies | ∴ | Liber | C’ as a material object before this rebinding was done.⁶⁶ Arber noted that there was no title page for Liber C, and that the title page he created for this volume of his transcription is derived from an inscription that was written in ink ‘on the side of the still existing original leather cover of the Volume’, adding that Liber C ‘is smaller in size than either A or B; and is almost entirely occupied with the Entrances of Publications.’⁶⁷ The current physical dimensions of the registers still support Arber’s observation, (*A*: 395mm x 290mm x 70mm; *B*: 360mm x 225mm x 80mm;

⁶⁴ Myers, *Archive*, p. 21.

⁶⁵ Blayney, ‘If it Looks Like a Register ...’, p. 236.

⁶⁶ Blayney, ‘If it Looks Like a Register ...’, p. 236.

⁶⁷ Arber, Vol. III, p. 33.

C: 320mm x 215mm x 63mm), but it is difficult to estimate the degree to which their proportions were affected by the rebinding process. The fragility of the paper quality in Liber B suggests that the trimming of its outer borders was minimal and this would seem to be supported by the loss of some text to the gutter, as occasional differences between Arber's transcription and the current status of the register demonstrate.

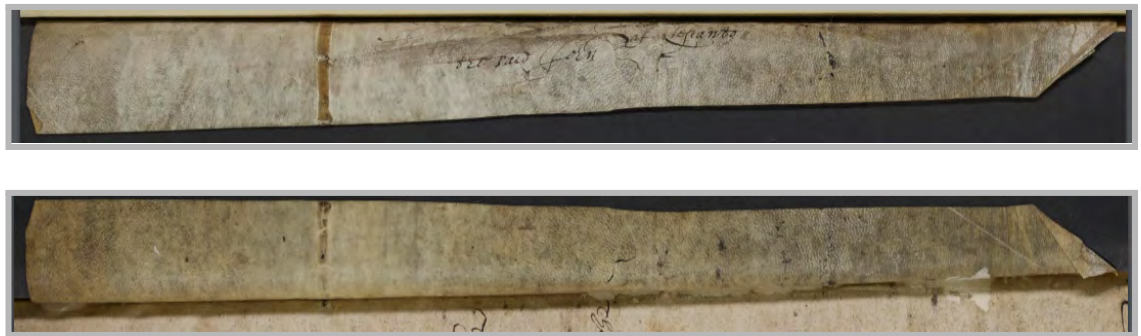


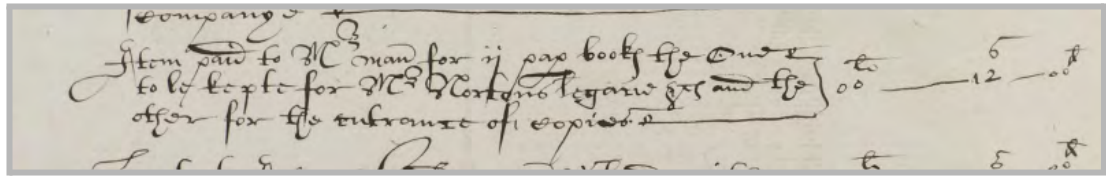
Figure 1.15: Binding Waste. Liber C, 1595-1620.

SCA, TSC/1/E/06/02–Liber C, 1595-1620.

In accordance with the precedent established by the first two volumes of the Stationers' Registers, the purchase of this book was also entered in the Wardens' Accounts (see figure 1.16). This entry reveals that the Company's intended purpose for the registers was becoming more specific with each new book; having moved from the Wardens' Accounts being the '*accomptes of this howse*' and Liber B the '*booke of entrances for the clarke*', the intended function of Liber C was unambiguously for '*the entrance of copies*'. As the Company's purpose for the registers became more focused, so did the means of recording this information. Liber C marked the changing point for the procedure of registering titles with the Company. This volume was the first, as Blayney argues, '*that can realistically be called 'the Register of copies''*'.⁶⁸ Whilst the focus of Liber C was restricted solely to the entrance of copies, this was not the only significant change introduced to the Stationers' Registers. The procedure of transcribing entries from other forms of

⁶⁸ Blayney, '*If it Looks Like a Register ...*', p. 236.

documentation to produce a fair copy of accounts ended with Liber B, and Liber C was the first of the registers that was centred upon the contemporaneous recording of entries.



Item paid to M^r man for ij paper bookes the One
to be kept for M^r Nortons legacie & ces and the
other for the entrance of copiers 00^{li} 12^s 00^d

Figure 1.16: Liber C. Wardens' Accounts, 1594/95, fol. 270^v.

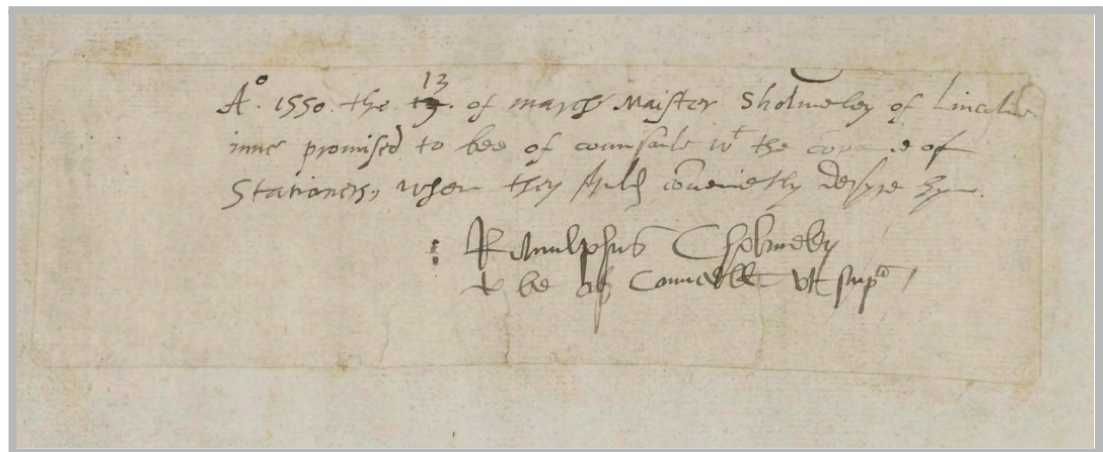
SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554–1596.

THE ART OF CONSTRUCTION

In accordance with McKenzie's theory, the importance of perceiving the Stationers' Register as a textual construction lies in its ability to disclose the various interactions between its form, its contexts, and the manifestations of agency that were involved in its production. This awareness is valuable for highlighting the potentialities for pluralised readings of the registers, allowing us to identify the occasions and circumstances where such readings have occurred, but it also makes visible the ideological influences upon the formation of their textual identity. In this section I will investigate the textual nature of the registers with regards to McKenzie's 'primary sense' of 'material construction'. This will illustrate that acts of construction are never entirely disengaged from the contexts that surround them, for as Roger Chartier reminds us, 'all texts, far from being fixed in their final form once and for all, are variable, unstable, and malleable'. This is an especially crucial consideration when examining the material forms of the registers.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, p. 33.

The very first ‘entry’ of the Wardens’ Accounts is a slip of paper that has been pasted into the volume (see figure 1.17). It is a fragment that is dated *anno* 1550 and, as Blayney has indicated, this note was cut from another document, and it is possible that this fragment could have been excerpted from an earlier account book.⁷⁰ Although the volume was gifted by Cooke and Dewyxsell to mark the incorporation in 1557, the presence of this fragment may indicate that the Company did not perceive its incorporation as being the singular origin of this book. The note records the agreement of Ranulph Cholmeley to provide legal counsel for the Stationers’ Company, and it is apparently in Thomas Berthelet’s hand who, with William Bonham, is recorded in the Wardens’ Accounts as being one of those involved with the handover of the accounts to the incoming wardens in 1554. It is therefore understandable that the Company attached a value to the preservation of this document, but its presence in the Wardens’ Accounts also indicates that the Company understood the importance and the value of context.⁷¹



Ann^o. 1550. the [49] 13¹ of march Maister Sholmeley of Lincolne
inne promised to bee of counsaile *with* the companie of
Stacioners., when they shuld conueniently desyre hym.
: Ranulphus Cholmeley
to be of Councell vt supra /

Figure 1.17: ‘To bee of counsaile’. Wardens’ Accounts, facing fol. 1^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts), 1554-1596.

⁷⁰ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 715.

⁷¹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/02–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1550, facing fol. 1^r.

The arrangement of this fragment is germane to theories of textuality. The prominence of its position establishes it as a valuable signifier of the various layers of construction that were employed in the compilation of the registers from their very beginnings. As material constructs, and in consideration of McKenzie's primary definition of text, the Stationers' Registers were in the process of being structured specifically as financial documents. However, the location of this fragment illustrates that the registers also exemplify his 'secondary sense' of written text as the 'weaving of threads'. This fragment illustrates the emanation of the Wardens' Accounts as a material object from the archival remains of the 'Brotherhood', and its inclusion and positioning instils the volume with the sense of textual progression which is closely aligned with the corporate identity.⁷² Incorporation of old material into this new system reveals it is not only the text that is in the process of construction here, the fundamental narrative of the Wardens' Accounts is also being created. Its presence shows that the registers' textual construction was multi-layered, and each of these were significant in forming the cultural artefact of the 'Stationers' Register'.

As the first official 'entry' of the volume the positioning of this fragment provides a very specific context for the register, and it presents the book within the framework of familiar company traditions and practices. It is not yet possible to ascertain with any certainty when the agreement was included in this volume, but its location is indicative of the intentions that lay behind its inclusion. If it was affixed when the volume was completed then it would seem an incongruous addition, and it is possible to suggest that the Company would have had more appropriate books available to receive this class of document. The Wardens' Accounts has many pages which have remained blank, and if the register's archival function is considered to be the only motivation for this fragment's

⁷² Although founded in 1403, Stationers' Company was not adopted as its name until 1441. The origins and development of the Company will be covered in the introduction. Here I am using the term 'Brotherhood' to distinguish the pre-incorporation company from the corporation.

inclusion, then the blank pages that follow the accounts from 1554-1557 may have been a suitable location. Its placement is appropriate, chronologically, but from the uniqueness of its subject matter in relation to the register we can infer the possibility of other motivations for its inclusion. This initial positioning of the fragment can be interpreted as the formative action to create a recognisable textual identity for the new administrative system and, in conjunction with the records from the pre-incorporation period (1554-1557), it would seem to indicate that the Company desired to establish a relationship between this volume and its archival lineage. The fragment establishes the tone, the authority, and the provenance of this volume (in a similar fashion to the Cooke and Dewyxsell entry), and the positioning is important because these qualities are bestowed upon the volume from that very first encounter with the written text.

The contents of this fragment, however, indicate that its inclusion in the Wardens' Accounts may have a more profound significance for the construction of the register's textual identity. Signed by Ranulph Cholmeley, this document detailed his agreement to provide the Company with legal counsel. Its position within the volume could suggest that the Company was seeking to establish a legal imperative for the Wardens' Accounts within the minds of the Stationers' community, and by doing so endow an unquestionable authority to the register. With particular reference to an epigraph that William Congreve wrote to his XXX edition of his plays, McKenzie highlights how the interplay of forms and intention was used to guide directed readings:

most of the forms we have in that edition were intended. To that extent, the meanings were implied and controlled [...]⁷³

According to this line of reasoning, the positioning of the fragment indicates that it was a mechanism intended to direct and control potential readings and meanings that could be made from the register. The incorporation of this fragment within the Wardens' Accounts tells us about so much more than the services Ranulph Cholmeley provided to the

⁷³ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.35.

Stationers' Company. It demonstrates the value of the associative qualities of texts, and the various ways in which these could be repurposed to confer these same values to other documents. Within working environments texts were not isolated entities, their functionalities and utilisation required them to be collaborative objects. The level of artistry involved with the construction of the Stationers' Registers foregrounds the importance of these forms of textual contextualisation and collaboration to the dialogues of the Company.⁷⁴

NARRATIVES OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

I have drawn attention to some of the complexities and inconsistencies associated with using bibliographical description to evaluate the materialities of the Stationers' Registers, particularly in regards to their textual identity. Such issues demonstrate what McKenzie contends is the failure of bibliography to fully account for the social processes that lie behind the production and the transmission of texts, in that:

it is the only discipline which has consistently studied the composition, formal design, and transmission of texts by writers, printers, and publishers; their distribution through different communities by wholesalers, retailers, and teachers; their collection and classification by librarians; their meaning for, and – I must add – their creative regeneration by, readers. However we define it, no part of that series of human and institutional interactions is alien to bibliography, as we have, traditionally, practised it.⁷⁵

Although bibliography is invariably concerned with surveying the range of human activities involved with textual production, for McKenzie the discipline has failed to develop adequately the means of communicating the semiotics of social interaction. The separation of textual identity from the circumstances of its production is a significant oversight for McKenzie, since it obscures the 'role of institutions' and other forms of

⁷⁴ I explore these themes in greater detail in Chapter Four.

⁷⁵ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.12.

agency in this process. Consequently, this limits the ability of bibliography to be fully employed as an indicator of cultural change.⁷⁶ Through a comparable oversight McKenzie's initial definition of text similarly undermines his own argument. In its failure to fully acknowledge the role of readers in the dissemination process it divorces textual form from textual function, which obscures the full range of social processes and agencies involved in textual production and imposes restrictive boundaries upon the social potentialities of 'text'. As a parallel to his own argument, this example demonstrates why definitions of text matter, since they establish the boundaries through which interpretive strategies are constructed. To be 'alert' to the institutional and social motivations involved with textual production, as McKenzie advocates, we need to be aware of where these boundaries are placed and the purpose which they serve. One of the principal resolutions offered by McKenzie for this issue is succinctly summarised by Adam Smyth:

McKenzie's sociology of texts can be understood as what McKenzie's editors nicely call a study of 'the intricacies of intention', with the implication that we need to read bibliographic codes rather as we read linguistic codes, in pursuit of intended meanings, with the crucial emphasis that intention is spread across multiple sources.⁷⁷

For Smyth, the decoding of bibliographic description is important for the delineation of intentions, but the application of comparative bibliography as a methodology is equally valuable for explicating the social processes involved with cultural production. As diverse bibliographical accounts of the registers' materialities demonstrate, careful examination of what is stated, and also of what is left unsaid, within these commentaries can prove insightful when assessing the means by which cultural markers change and social values are assigned.

Representations of the Wardens' Accounts would seem to epitomise McKenzie's perception of the social void within the bibliographical praxis. As I have already discussed,

⁷⁶ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 15, 13.

⁷⁷ Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 14.

direct comparison of Myers's description of the volume with the register entry recording its donation to the Stationers' Company presents an excellent example of McKenzie's observation. The differing approaches adopted by these two statements, in respect of the text as a social construct, demonstrates the effects of its influence in defining the physical object. Myers provides a practical description for locating and identifying the volume, her summary tells you about its appearance, its date range, and a brief account of the contents. As an account it is the essence of abstraction, and even its visual structure and use of the paratextual devices on the page ensures that each element of the description is self-contained. It contextualises the register within the structure of the Stationers' Company's archive, and its relationship to other Company documents is defined by its position in the list. References to the registers' social contexts are in broad, general terms; for example, 'Wardens' Accounts', 'apprentices', and 'the Court', which places the register within the 'canon' of livery company documents. In its intent this portrayal is very much focused upon the objectification of the register and its physical characteristics.

Myers's portrayal of the Wardens' Accounts is a concise representation of the material object, and from this we can discern the gap between the hierarchical structure of the bibliographical summary and the textual experience of the register. Although dealing with what Bredehoft terms 'the visual experience' of the text, Myers is also providing a reading of the register as a media object. This can be seen in the linguistic framework that she uses; for example, she leads with the name 'Register A' as opposed to the Wardens' Accounts, although Myers does state that neither term would be her personal choice:

because the term *Register* invites confusion with the membership registers, I prefer to use *entry book of copies*, a term which also more accurately describes their function for the early period.⁷⁸

Myers's choices indicate an implied readership for her work in relation to the registers, but it also suggests that for this implied 'reader' the volume has a specific function. The emphasis placed upon the entries of copies in both her personal appellation of the volume

⁷⁸ Myers, *Archive*, p. 21.

and the bibliographical account is significant because they are *not* the dominant feature of this register. This description of the Wardens' Accounts is a teleological narrative which reflects how the Stationers' Registers have been read by scholars since the eighteenth century. Positioning the summary within this particular narrative strand of the Registers illustrates Bredehoft's argument that the practice of reading (even if applied to a material object) attaches an importance to the linguistic entities that lie behind the visible signs of a text. Whilst this example highlights the gap between the visual and textual experiences of the register, it also shows the role of narrative function in defining its textualities.

The entry in the Wardens' Accounts recording its donation to the Company is a valuable bibliographical contrast to Myers's description of the register. Whilst it documented the material constituents of the volume, an emphasis was also placed upon the social connections involved with the production and presentation of this book. The inclusion of such information would seem to indicate that it was considered to be especially significant and valuable to the Company. The naming of Henry Cooke and Thomas Dewyxsell as the benefactors of the volume was an important recognition of their contributions towards the Company's incorporation, but it can also be viewed as a means of promulgating a collective ethos for the company. Such benevolences were a common feature within livery company records of the period and they were seen to reinforce the mutual bonds between corporate structures and individual enterprise, and in this particular instance the recognition of Cooke and Dewyxsell's gift within the official accounts foregrounds the centrality of communal identity to the Stationers' Company's operations. This record of the book's donation not only provides a useful insight into the connectivity and co-operation of early modern stationers' networks in their acquisition of materials for the volume, but also illustrates the processes involved with its construction. The entry presents an inextricable link between the materiality of the volume and its donors, stating that this book did not exist as a single entity until the agency of Cooke and Dewyxsell brought together the necessary components to create that physical object. Although it

details the individual monetary value of each member's contribution towards the book it would seem that these sums were later additions, with their supralineal appearance disrupting the regularity to the form of the entry (figure 1.1). Recording of the personal associations of these material contributions suggests that such information possessed a value for the Company that was beyond the purely pecuniary.

TEXT : CONTEXT : IDENTITY

The Wardens' Accounts was not Cooke and Dewyxsell's only contribution to the Company's archive. As the register entry records, two books were made from the ten quires of royal paper, and the volume known as Liber A is generally understood to be the companion book to the Wardens' Accounts. Together these two volumes are often referred to as the company's 'great Bookes'.⁷⁹ The social contexts for the origins of these volumes were supplied by the register entry in the Wardens' Accounts, but this entry also locates and defines the register within the framework of its 'familial' relationship to Liber A. It established that both volumes were for the 'accomptes of this howse', highlighting both their similarities and their divergences in purpose, and whilst it indicates the textual hierarchies that operated within the Company's archives it also reveals the textual dialogics of the Stationers' Company's documentation. The Wardens' Accounts and Liber A present the Company's interior and the external dialogues, and the relationship between the two volumes not only situates the Stationers' Registers within a broader social context but brings them into conversation with different historical narratives (chronotopes). Since each volume of the Stationers' Registers had a period of overlap with its successor such textual relationships were a feature of the Company's records throughout this period. As can be seen with the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B between 1576-1596, although they occupy the same timeframe and both present the Company's financial accounts, the differences in

⁷⁹ As they are, indeed, referred to in the Wardens' Accounts. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1588-89, fol. 250^v.

the way they present this material forms a dialogic relationship between the two volumes, and likewise with Liber B and Liber C between 1595-1605. It was vital for the Stationers' Registers that these relationships existed since they ensured some measure of continuity to the record sequence, even during periods of restructure. So, whilst the detailed records from Wapull's clerkship are lost, the annual summaries in the Wardens' Accounts supplied a perfunctory overview of the Company's endeavours. However, as these dialogic spaces represent the boundaries between texts and textual functions they were important sites for negotiating and shaping the textual identity of the Stationers' Registers.

Contextualisation of the Wardens' Accounts, through its foundational and functional associations with Liber A, suggests that the Company's responsibility for assuring the provenance of texts was expected to extend through to its own documentation. Whilst the social provenance of the Warden's Accounts was verified by the register entry regarding its gifting, its presence in the volume also provides a guarantee for the authority of the register itself and this was essential for the enactment of its function. For the Stationers' Company textual authority was crucial for the success of the registers, not only in relation to the trustworthiness of its financial records, and its system for the licensing of copies, but also for the Company's right to regulate the London book trades and crafts. Although concerned with the status of the Stationers' Registers in the late seventeenth century, Adrian Johns considers their textual 'nature' as heavily reliant upon authority being an inherent quality. For Johns, this was a result of the 'power of Company custom', which was supported by the 'customary respect owed by Stationers to their Company and court.'⁸⁰ He argues that the persistence of the Stationers' Register's authority beyond its regulatory function can be attributed to the value of entering texts into the register, as 'those that were gained a powerful genealogy of recorded legitimacy.'⁸¹ Elements of Johns's argument can be seen reflected in the symbolism of the 'entrance' of the

⁸⁰ However, such customary practices and obligations were essential to the running of all companies, new or old. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 213, 217.

⁸¹ Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 214.

Company's 'great bookes' in the Wardens' Accounts. It is significant that they were not the first items recorded in the volume, since this emphasises the importance of establishing their textual integrity and their prominence within the company's administrative structure as a matter of procedure. It demonstrates that primacy was given to the process, and the books were registered through this process in order to become more active participants within it. The Stationers' Registers therefore had to be invested with an authority in order to bestow authority to the texts that were registered. This is supported by the entries recording the provision of Liber B and Liber C, which also express the close connections between the material forms, the textual functions, and the human interactions for those volumes; Liber B is noted as the 'booke of entrances for the clarke', and Liber C is a paper book for the entrance of copies which was supplied by Thomas Man.⁸² The phraseologies of these register entries suggest the texts were viewed as social products, with the implication that practices connected with the reading, writing, reproduction and distribution of texts were valuable forms of social activity. Therefore, the networks and functions associated with material texts had an importance in locating and legitimising its position within a societal framework. Social connectivity was of intrinsic value to the registers, not only in relation to their status as media objects, but also as representatives of the Company. Consequently, their sociations were instrumental to the formation of their textual identity.⁸³

The interconnectedness of the Stationers' Registers contributes to problems in determining their textual nature. The borders of their relationships between form, function and agency would appear to be fluid, which is a trait that can also be discerned throughout the Company's systems of record-keeping. One such example can be seen in the nomenclature of the registers for the period that immediately followed the Company's incorporation. As Ian Gadd has noted, the Stationers' Registers could be identified by a plethora of names:

⁸² SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1576/77, fol. 222^r; 1594/95, fol. 270^v.

⁸³ Social aspects of the Stationer's Registers are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

At this stage, it was not yet known as the 'Register'. The Company talks of the 'Book of copies', the 'clerk's books', the 'hall book', the 'book of entrances for the clerk', and the 'entry book of copies', and the earliest references to a 'register' date from 1599 ('Registrum Copiarum') and 1605 ('Register of Copies').⁸⁴

This would seem to indicate that the Company itself was uncertain as to how to cement the textual identity and function of the registers, and define the boundaries of their forms, functions and sociability. Gadd's observation concerning the multitudinous names of 'the Register' is a valuable reminder that, in these early years, it was defined by the relativity of its function to the people and the spaces that surrounded it. It is possible that the Stationers' Company's own exploration and comprehension of its new identity as a corporation, coupled with an on-going process of assessment regarding its position within London's civic structure, found expression through the ways in which it kept its records. As such, changes within the social, spatial and temporal relationships have instilled a mutability to the textual identity of the Stationers' Registers. This indeterminacy has a wider significance for the social codes that operated within the Stationers' Company as it allows us to see the shifts in its dominant ideologies, and the behaviours of its members in negotiating their relationships with the registers. So, occasionally, the register was acknowledged solely in relation to its function; however, its alternative identification as 'the clerk's book' indicates that it was perceived to have a particularly close association with that individual, which would also imply that for the clerk there was a high degree of personal investment in the text. As the clerk had an almost exclusive possession and access to the register, this relationship was an essential determinant of its identity. It could be argued, therefore, that the appointment of George Wapull in 1571 as the Stationers' Company's salaried clerk marked a point at which the textual identity of the Stationers' Registers began to crystallise.

⁸⁴ Ian Gadd, 'The Stationers' Company in England before 1710' in *Research Handbook on the History of Copyright Law*, ed. by Isabella Alexander and H. Tomás Gómez-Arostegui (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016), pp. 81-95 (p.90).

Whilst ‘the clerk’s book’ was an unequivocal expression of the connection between the clerk and the registers, it provided the texts with a dualistic identity - they existed as books of the individual (the clerk), but they were also books of the many (the Company). Establishing the close association of the registers with the clerks within the minds of the community was valuable because it identified an ‘author’ who had personal responsibility for the keeping and the accuracy of the records. This association masked the mechanisms of ‘state’, the regulatory and governance functions of the register, whilst emphasising the archival features of conducting business. It therefore made it possible for members of the Stationers’ community to interpret the registers as a means to add their personal histories to the corporate framework, as it offered them a verification and justification of their actions and decisions.

The association of the Registers with the clerk is also valuable for promoting the idea that they possessed an inbuilt (functional) autonomy, since as factual records documenting the Company’s daily transactions they invoke ideas of independence, authority and incorruptibility. How the membership perceived the relationships between the clerks and the Company is an important factor for understanding the ways in which these qualities were instilled into the registers, and how they were maintained.⁸⁵ Did the Company’s appointment of a professional clerk change perceptions of the registers from the time of Fayreberne’s dual role as both Beadle for the Company and copyist for the Wardens’ Accounts? The duty of responsibility for the register’s upkeep and the freedom

⁸⁵ Although the evidence is slight, it is possible to access these perceptions through the more ‘informal’ sections of the registers. For example, in the ‘occasional notes’ of Liber B, Thomas Nelson took two titles to the Hall, and the record of this in the register gives an indication of how he perceived the Clerk’s role in the registration process. Arber made a small error in transcribing the first of these, which does subtly change the tone of the ‘entry’ in his volume; Arber’s transcript reads ‘which the saith master Coldock doth alowe vnto him’, whereas in Liber B this reads ‘*which* he saith mr Coldock doth alowe vnto him’. Although obtaining the Company’s approval was a matter of procedure (and in this case a formality before gaining the Archbishop of Canterbury’s allowance), this aspect of the note implies that for Nelson it was equally as important to verbally declare his interest in registering the title to the clerk. And likewise, with his second title the entry states, ‘whereof he saith he hath the *perfectest copie which* he nowe shewed forth’. The conversational nature of this entry highlights that the Clerk was both the access point for Company’s administrative systems, and their mediator, but also a means through which Stationers could negotiate their appearance in the registers. This is an instance where we are reliant on Arber’s transcription to some degree, as the rebinding of the volume has resulted in a loss of legibility on the left side of this entry (see figure 1.12). SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 27 November 1588, fol. 1^r. Arber, Vol. II, p. 33.

to access its information were considered to be valuable, and the creation of the clerkship does suggest that the Company thought the keeping of the register had grown beyond the stewardship of Fayreberne. As one of the few positions available within the Company that was held on a long term basis the role of the clerk was important, and in regards to its security and influence it was a highly desirable post (as the battle to succeed Richard Collins demonstrated).⁸⁶ That it was known as the ‘clerk’s book’ also demonstrates the importance of concepts of ‘authorship’ to the registers, especially in connection with the writing of official documentation, and the ways in which responsibility for the text and the authority of the written word are established, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

Perceptions of the registers as the ‘clerk’s book’ locate the textual identity of the registers within the social sphere since they denote specific relationships and forms of interaction. However, their identification as ‘the hall book’ expanded their textual identity to embrace the physical environment of the texts.⁸⁷ The identification of the registers as the ‘hall book’ extends the functionalities of the text to incorporate a greater range of material and social contexts, which is valuable for establishing the precise spatial and social relationships of the registers. Through these repositionings of the Registers’ associations and sociations to incorporate the topography of the spaces which they inhabited, the microcosms and macrocosms of the register’s textualities are revealed.

⁸⁶ Greg recounts that towards the end of Collins’s service, some thought was given to his successor. Initially the reversion was awarded in 1592 to Thomas Purfoote junior, who had been apprenticed to Collins, and had the backing of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was rescinded in 1599. In 1602 Edward Ledsham, a servant of the Bishop of London, was granted the reversion. Ledsham died in 1604, leaving Collins with a further 9 years of service as the Stationers’ Company’s Clerk. W. W. Greg and E. Boswell (eds.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company 1576-1602 ~ from Register B* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930), pp. xi-xiii.

⁸⁷ Further discussion of the connection between the registers and their environment is included in Chapters Three and Five.

CONCLUSION: MATERIAL CONTEXTS AND TEXTUAL IDENTITY

Since its origins in 1403, the Stationers' Company had worked towards the reinforcement of its position and reputation as the trade body representing London's book trades and crafts. To this end, the process of incorporation presented the Company with an opportunity to secure both civic recognition and status as a regulatory body, and also the right to operate as a legal entity. As a trade body of long standing it would have already generated a fair degree of documentation related to its activities, and formed the essential core of an archive. The purchase of a Hall in 1554 gave the Stationers' Company a strong basis to develop both its systems of record-keeping and pursue its goal of incorporation. Having failed in its first attempt to obtain a royal charter, the Company's eventual incorporation in 1557 marked a turning point in its history, as Ian Gadd has noted:

from at least 1557 onwards, the Company developed a form of archive specific to the situation of the book trade, that would define the subsequent history — and indeed the historiography — of the Company: the so-called "Register".⁸⁸

The Stationers' Registers were introduced into a rich textual landscape. As references in the Wardens' Accounts alone reveal, the Company required a prodigious number of books to conduct its everyday business; including the Renter books, the 'white book', account books, ordinance books (or the book of Constitutions), the 'red book', and so on.⁸⁹ From the descriptions and the contextualisation that the Registers provided for these books, it is evident that many had overlapping functions.⁹⁰ This is a significant reminder that although the Company's records and books were initiated for a particular purpose they did not operate in isolation, they were components in a far more extensive information system. The first two volumes of the Stationers' Register, the Wardens' Accounts (1554-1596) and Liber B (1575-1605), record the details of apprenticeships, freedoms, calls to the livery, the breaking of ordinances, the accounts and audits, and such like. These records themselves

⁸⁸ Gadd, "*Being like a field*", p. 87.

⁸⁹ 'Item paid to the Clerke for wrytinge the decrees of ye starre chamber into the red booke, by order of ye companye x^s'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01—Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1591/92, fol. 262^v.

⁹⁰ And allowing for the fact that some books had many names.

were part of a shared documentary heritage amongst the City's livery companies. However, it was the inclusion, and subsequent development, of sections related to the licencing of copies that was the singular defining characteristic of the Stationers' Registers.

It is a testament to the Stationers' Company that it created such iconic texts from an administrative procedure. They are used for reconstructing the discourses of the titles recorded within their pages, and as such the Registers are valuable resources within the field of literary studies, and their significance for the history of publishing has had a formative effect upon narratives of the early modern book trade. This usage makes it easy to overlook the fact that the Stationers' Registers are textual constructions with their own discursive functions. The relationships and interactions between their forms, their contexts, and the types of agency involved in their production extends the range of narratives and readings that can be made from the Registers. Small changes in any of these relationships and interactions indicate far more than is perhaps generally assumed.

The process of incorporation allowed the Company to reconfigure its practices in line with a long-term approach to record-keeping, and also to conceptualise how the forms and functions of Company books could be developed to establish and substantiate its new identity. As we have seen, each significant stage in the Company's corporate development was accompanied with a review of its practices and the introduction of small modifications to reflect the changes in its status. Whilst efficiency may have been one driving factor in these adjustments, the projection of a 'professional', authoritative identity was also important for both the Stationers' Company and the Stationers' Registers. As regulatory mechanisms the Registers were a self-sustaining system, and it was crucial that the Stationers' community accepted their authority and accuracy in order to encourage their continued use and viability. Consequently there were distinct differences in the textual complexion of each register, which are also mirrored within the microcosms of each individual volume, as the textual mutability of the Wardens' Accounts demonstrates. These differences bring the constructed nature of the Stationers' Registers into sharper focus. The

material and textual constructions of the Stationers' Registers have played an integral role in the formation of their narratives and discourses, which raises important questions as to 'who' was responsible for creating the Stationers' Registers.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING AUTHOR(S)

The power to shape the narratives of an institution, its community, and its people, resides with its authors (and author-figures); and for the Stationers' Company, they were key to the production of the Stationers' Registers and for the ways in which the registers were actualised. In 'What is an author?' Michel Foucault acknowledged that Samuel Beckett's line, "“What does it matter who is speaking,” someone said, “what does it matter who is speaking”", was influential in the formation of the theme of his study. He therefore presents an apposite question regarding the Stationers' Registers, *what does it matter who is speaking?*¹ With its incorporation in 1557 the institutional identity and voice of the Stationers' Company changed. Under the terms of its charter the Stationers' Company gained a near monopoly over printing, since the setting up and operation of presses was restricted to its members and the holders of royal privileges, but it also conferred the rights to conduct lawsuits, and to buy and sell property. These rights gave the Company, as a trade body, a legal presence and voice that it had not had previously. Consequently, the voice and identity of the Stationers' Company moved away from the collective to become that of a singular legal entity, and this was a significant conceptual change that altered the contexts of the Company's records. So, whilst incorporation was an important milestone in the history of the Stationers' Company, it was also a momentous event in the history of its archives.

The foundation of the Stationers' Registers was the Company's logistical response to the change in its status; and the materialities of the Wardens' Accounts reflected that it was a media object of some significance.² Establishment of the purposes and functions of the two great books within the Company's system of administration was achieved through

¹ Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1984, repr. 1991), p. 101. Also in *The Book History Reader*, edited by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 281.

² I discussed in Chapter One how unusual it was for new account books to be bound in this fashion, as the register entries for the paper books of Liber B and Liber C indicate (see pp. 47-8, 57-8). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1576-77, fol. 222^r; 1594/95, fol. 270^v.

the explanation of their gifting as being ‘for *our* accomptes of this howse to be wrytten in’.

Whilst this statement encapsulates the Company’s movement from the collective voice (‘our accountes’) to that of the singular, intangible entity of the Company (‘this howse’), its phrasing also allows us to infer an admission of authorship over texts which are not usually considered to be authored.³ McKenzie asks us to consider the motivations and interactions that texts are involved with at every stage in their ‘production, transmission, and consumption’, and the association of the construction of the Stationers’ Registers with their conceptual author(s) suggested by the register entry recording the gifting of the books raises important questions in respect of documentary records and author/text relationships.⁴ Reflecting upon the ideological status of the author Foucault identifies it as ‘the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning’, whereby the author is

a certain functional principle by which, in our culture, one limits, excludes, and chooses; in short, by which one impedes the free circulation, the free manipulation, the free composition, decomposition, and recomposition of fiction.⁵

Whilst Foucault’s focus is concerned with works of fiction, as the Stationers’ Registers demonstrate, the role that authorship plays in the production of documentary texts is no less relevant. The Stationers’ Company’s efforts to create an authoritative textual identity for the registers foreground institutional modes of authorship, but the individual clerks tasked with compiling the registers, and also the interactions of the Stationers’ community, reveal the complexities of institutional structures and the hierarchies of agency involved with the production of records. Since they show the dynamic relationships between institutional and individual authors, the strategic visibility and effacement of authors, the constructed ‘neutrality’ of texts, and emerging patterns and definitions of authorship, in this respect the Stationers’ Registers are valuable windows into the various modes of authorship and their discursive functions in this period.

³ This entry appears towards the end of the pre-incorporation sequence of records, in the accounts covering the period 1554-57 (SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 15 v°).

⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

⁵ Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’, pp. 118-9.

In this chapter I am focusing upon the modes of authorship that produced the Stationers' Registers but I will also consider how changes within the book trade, and in society at large, influenced more general perceptions of authorship throughout this period. At a fundamental level the Stationers' Registers exhibit a dualistic ideation of authorship. The first is the notional presence of an institutional author figure directing the forms and the content of the registers, and the second presents the daily reality of the individual clerks charged with creating the material texts. This dualism foregrounds the interoperable forms of human and organisational agency required to produce the Stationers' Registers, and the dynamics of their relationships to the texts. As regulator of the London book trades and crafts, the substance of the Stationers' Company's business ensured that its accounts also recorded a variety of intricate and nuanced perspectives upon authorship, from the differing levels of recognition and regard afforded to authors throughout the registration procedure, through to the strong sense of personal association and responsibility to the registers displayed by the Company's Clerks. The forms, formats, and narratives of the Stationers' Registers were shaped by a combination of both institutional and individual acts of construction throughout their formation and establishment. Accordingly, these forms of authorship were instrumental in giving voice to the 'howse' and its community, but they also underpinned the social and cultural significance and value of texts in London's early modern book trade.

INTENTS AND PURPOSES

Defining the textual nature and identity of the Stationers' Registers raises important questions as to how ideas of authorship relate to the production of non-literary, corporate texts; and the essence of the relationship between authorial intention and textual meaning in these forms of record. Examining the role of authorship in the production of the Stationers' Registers, and indeed of institutional documentation more generally, uncovers the forms of author/text relationships and intentions evinced by long-term record

sequences, but it is also valuable for demonstrating the impact of these relationships upon the material forms and narratives of official information. Within the process of textual production the ‘author’ is commonly viewed as the most active agent, and authorial intention is seen as crucial for understanding issues that surround textual identity and function. The precise nature of the relationship between author and text therefore has very real consequences for the ways in which texts are conceptualised and idealised.

The ‘author’, and the associated problems of discerning intention, is framed by McKenzie through the outlining of two concepts of text.⁶ The first of these relates to texts that are authorially sanctioned and historically definable, and his second profile presents a theory of text that is defined by its openness, instability, and inevitable incompleteness. His discussion emphasises the importance of understanding the role of authorial intention in textual production, for in order to recover information objectively from the authorially sanctioned text

we must have some concept of authorial meaning, consider carefully the expressive functions of the text’s modes of transmission, and account for its reception by an audience or readership.⁷

McKenzie’s argument foregrounds the significance of the author to the process of textual construction, but it also extends the range of authorial agency to the process of textual interpretation. Generation of a text’s potential meanings is influenced by the ways in which readers are able to conceptualise authorial intention, and indeed perceive the signifiers of this intent within the text. McKenzie declares that the recovery of authorial voice and intended meaning are confounded by the ‘fashion’ for studying textual synchronic structures at the expense of historical process, reducing meaning to ‘not what is meant, but what we agree to infer’.⁸ The inception of the registers represented an origin point for the Stationers’ Company’s records, at a time in which it was inhabiting a new identity, and any

⁶ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 55.

⁷ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 55.

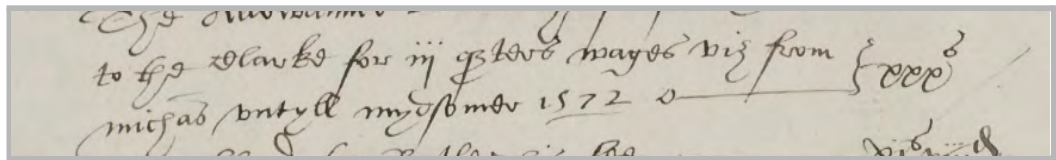
⁸ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 34-35. Some would argue that this is a tautologous statement, since what we agree to infer *is* meaning.

analysis of the Stationers' Registers as material objects is underpinned by the acts associated with their construction. Studying the synchronic structures that were particular to each individual register is valuable for foregrounding the ways in which the authorial voices and the languages of the registers were constructed for the purposes of this system.⁹ This can be seen not only in relation to the registers themselves but also to the texts registered within their pages. As non-literary texts the registers reveal a range of authorial voices and intentions that complicate the accepted version of how modern notions of authorship originated. Although the registers were not bound to the concept of the individual author their alternative frame of reference provided a means through which this position could be approached. Otherwise known as 'clerks' books', they were closely associated with an identifiable figure from a particular social strata within the Company's hierarchies; accordingly this association, combined with distinctive idiosyncrasies within the volumes, means that each individual register can be strongly identified with a specific clerk.¹⁰ Responsibility for the material presentation of the Company's accounts gave a degree of autonomy to the copyists and clerks, and through the personal choices they enacted as they compiled the registers they fully inhabited the role of the authors/author-figures of the Stationers' Registers. Whilst on the one hand there was a degree of autonomy involved with the individual forms of authorship enacted by the Company's Clerks, on the other hand they were also subject to the heteronomy of the Stationers' Company, the 'institutional author'. In addition to the institutional and scribal authors, other forms of authorship are revealed in the registers, and these were engendered by the ways in which registrants interacted with the Stationers' Company's procedures. All of these were active agents throughout the construction of the Stationers' Registers, and

⁹ Synchronic structures have specific relational properties which are particular to one time and defined within their own system, i.e. they form a contained interiority; as opposed to diachronic structures which relate to the differences and developments that materialise over time.

¹⁰ Three clerks were involved with producing the Wardens' Accounts, but in terms of its compilation it is more closely associated with John Fayreberne than George Wapull or Richard Collins. Liber B was unequivocally Richard Collins's register; and although Liber C was compiled by both Collins and Thomas Mountford, that volume is also identified as Collins's. Wapull is closely associated with the 'lost' volume that bridged the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B.

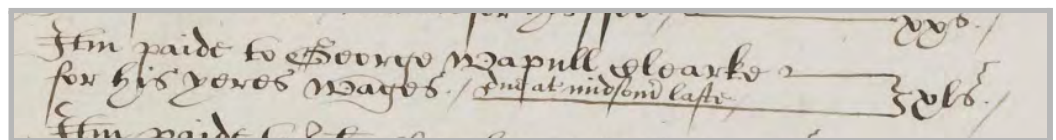
capable of implementing changes to the forms and the narratives of the records. So, correspondingly, they can also be viewed as active authors/author-figures of the texts. The actions and small acts of construction contributed by each of these actors ensured that the production of the Stationers' Registers, and by extension those of equivalent corporate documents, was a truly collaborative process.



to the Clarcke for iij quarters wages viz from
michaelmas vntyll mydsomer 1572 xxx^s

Figure 2.1: The Clerk's Wages. Wardens' Accounts, 1571/72, fol. 214^v.

The Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596). All images from the Stationers' Company Archive are reproduced with permission of the Stationers' Company.



Item paid to George wapull Clearke
for his yeres wages./ 'paid at midsomer laste¹ xl^s./

Figure 2.2: George Wapull's Wages. Wardens' Accounts, 1572/73, fol. 217^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Establishing the boundaries and the interrelations of both the textual and the social constructs of the author/author-figure highlights the discursive function of the Stationers' Registers, and their role as social objects, but it also reminds us of the importance of who is speaking in non-literary texts and why we must be mindful of this at any given time. With perceptible multi-layered forms of authorship evident in the Stationers' Registers we cannot always assume that a singular voice is speaking at any one time. Register entries related to the payment of wages to the Company's Clerks demonstrate the ways in which

individual voices and identities were subordinated in order to speak on behalf of ‘the Company’ (see figures 2.1 and 2.2). References to the clerks in the registers mainly appear via the title of the office, or written from a third person perspective. As figure 2.2 shows, George Wapull was placed in the position of having to obliterate his own authorial presence to speak with an institutional voice.¹¹ In this instance, we can see that the customary practices of record-keeping affected the effacement of one form of ‘author’ to project another; and it illustrates how seemingly simple procedures of recording information often have more intricate implications and consequences for the voices they represent.

Since they documented a wide range of social interactions, through their recording of the transactions of the Stationers’ Company and the community’s actions and intentions, the polyphonous nature of the Stationers’ Registers was guaranteed. Their status, as long-term sequential texts, has an appreciable influence upon their textual forms and functions, and this also extends to the circumstances of their authorship. Foucault underlines the mediatory role of the author in resolving textual contradictions, but when presented with the multi-layered forms of authorship that are evident within the Stationers’ Registers we are confronted with the issue of how contradictions between authorial voices are mediated and resolved. As we have already seen, this enmeshment of authorial voices serves to effect both an effacement and a projection of authorial presence within the Stationers’ Registers, which highlights the dichotomy of the author/author-figure function in relation to (corporate) documentary texts.

Textual and social discourses related to the Stationers’ Registers have been shaped by the ways in which the registers have been read (and, indeed, misread), by Stationers and scholars alike. The diverse voices and narratives that emerge from what is supposedly a

¹¹ Notices of the payment of Fayreberne’s wages are presented in a similar fashion, these relate to his services as the Company’s Beadle, although in 1561/62 there is an atypical entry that simply states, ‘Item payd to John for his hole yeres wages xl^s’. It is a striking entry for its curious mix of informality and the self-referential third person voice. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596: 1561/62, fol. 79^r). The individual authorial voices and personas of the Company’s Clerks will be discussed later in this chapter.

series of straightforward documentary records underscores McKenzie's statement that in order to comprehend and account for the processes involved with their transmission and reception 'we must have some concept of authorial meaning'. Whilst the forms of authorship presented within these three volumes are important for understanding the evolution of the Stationers' Registers' textualities throughout this period, they also shed light upon the procedures responsible for the creation, establishment, and promotion of the registers' authority.

The dualistic nature of the registers, demonstrated via their status both as individual volumes and also as part of a continuous series of records, constructed a space where multiple layers of authorship could co-exist. Each individual layer had its own degree of authorial intention to facilitate its own circumstances, contributing to what Hayden White described as 'the problem of the relation between narrative discourse and historical representation'.¹² Operational hierarchies within the text of the Stationers' Registers are revealed by the intersections of their various layers of authorship and the ways in which they mediate the text. Ken Hirschkop discusses Cesare Segre's identification of two distinct 'programmes' conflated within Bakhtin's conceptualisation of polyphony, which were namely:

the separation of the author's voice from those of the characters, which makes narrative possible; and the representation of the linguistic stratification of a society.¹³

The separation of the authorial voices within the Stationers' Registers offer differing narrative perspectives, both upon the Registers as texts and the information they contain.

¹² The basis of the distinction between discourse and narrative, for White, lies in the grammatical traits of subjectivity and objectivity. He argues that whilst discourse is driven by the 'subjectivity' of an 'ego', 'the objectivity of narrative is defined by the absence of all reference to the narrator'; and therefore the problem of narrativising discourse is that it creates the impression that 'real events' relate their own narrative. White, Hayden, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. 2nd printing, 1989), p. ix.

¹³ Ken Hirschkop, 'Introduction: Bakhtin and cultural theory' in *Bakhtin and Cultural Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 1-38 (pp. 11-12). This is particularly pertinent to Richard Collins's interactions with the Registers. His use of a range of languages in the register entries and his marginal annotations displays a stratification in the types of language suitable for particular tasks; for example, the use of the vernacular for the entries, common Latin phrases were used in relation to the Court's decisions, and for some entries he also added French commentary in the margins. This not only demonstrates the skills that were necessary to be a successful clerk, it also reflects upon the Company's social stratification.

As we have already seen, the third person voices of the Company's Clerks placed them as observers, seemingly occupying a space of neutrality. Their presentation of the Company's business, the daily rituals, and the actions of the community, linked with the functions of the Registers projected a sense of reportage. The institutional voice of 'this howse' had a more didactic sense of purpose, with an emphasis placed upon upholding certain traditions, codes and behaviours. Registrants, however, present a more complex form of authorial intervention. They occupied a very different space to the Stationers' Company, and its Clerks; they represented simultaneously the individual and the communal intentions of the Company's membership, and for the Registers they constituted the chaos of heteroglossia.

It is important to recognise that the attribution and motivations of authorship play a significant role within textual dynamics. The symbiotic relationship that is often perceived to exist between the author and the text is generally regarded as the source of a text's authority. But, as McKenzie recognises, textual authority is a quality that has to be constructed. In contrast to literary works, the textual authority of documentary texts has a much more immediate and palpable importance, whilst at the same time such texts are usually overlooked. As one of the Company's regulatory mechanisms, and the one which is most closely aligned with the publication of texts and the management of their rights, the textual authority of the Stationers' Registers was essential for the legal and commercial framework within which the book trade functioned. As an indirect consequence of the registration process, this function of the registers closely connected them to the discourses of censorship. It is possible that the Company failed to anticipate this outcome, since there is a relative lack of references in the Stationers' Registers to forms of external licencing and authorities until the 1580s. Over the years these discourses have been amplified to become the dominant narrative of the Stationers' Registers which, in the main part, is due to the ways in which the registers have been represented and interpreted. The relationship between narrative discourse and historical representation identified by White is significant for the Stationers' Registers as it throws light upon the divergences in the narrative

discourses of the original records and subsequent representations and narratives of the Company's accounts.

Interpreting authorial intention, particularly in relation to official documentation, is a complex and imprecise process, and one in which McKenzie's statement of 'meaning is not what is meant, but what we agree to infer' would readily apply. However, an understanding of the institutional codes and behaviours of the Stationers' Company enables us to plausibly infer the institutional and personal motivations behind changes to the forms and formats of the records. The Stationers' Registers were, in part, a consequence of aesthetic choices having been made throughout their compilation, both in terms of their written content and their visual forms. It is often very easy to elide the meanings presented by the 'visible text' in favour of those contained within linguistic structures, as Bredehoft reminds us, and in doing so we can overlook more *recherché* forms of authorship. Whilst it is important to consider the matter of who is speaking in non-literary texts we must equally be sensitive to the voices speaking through the construction of the material text, since the art of construction *is* the art of authorship.

For the Stationers' Registers, their materialities, textualities, and narratives are invaluable for identifying the forms and the hierarchies of authorship involved with their production, transmission, and reception. The key to where the ability and authority to affect social discourses resided within the Registers lies in the boundaries of their authorial intentions. Relationships between authority and authorship were integral to official documentation and, as White states, to 'perceive the extent to which the truth claims of the narrative and indeed the very right to narrate hinge upon a certain relationship to authority *per se*.'¹⁴ The Stationers' Registers were one of the principal mechanisms used to regulate and police the 'legality' of book trade transactions, and as such they performed an important function in establishing and managing the reputation of London's early modern book trade as a whole. In order to fulfil this purpose it was necessary that they were widely

¹⁴ White, *The Content of the Form*, p. 19.

regarded to be authoritative texts and that the truth of their ‘narratives’ was believed to be unquestionable. This is one of the most crucial ways in which the Stationers’ Registers were different from other livery company documents, where authority was present, but chiefly internally. It was therefore essential for the Company that this authority was placed to the fore throughout the structures of the registers. The issue of authorship in relation to the registers is central to understanding the nuances of their textualities, and the ‘author’ is the pivotal figure through which the external networks and agency of authority can be revealed. Mirroring the dualistic nature of the registers, the author/author-figures function in both authoritative and medial modes. They have an individual presence which is expressed through the construction of the registers as material texts (and on occasion personally within the margins). But the polyphony of voices that are integral to the registers’ existence as media objects are also mediated by the authors/author-figures - synthesising the external and social voices of authority, beyond that of the individual (the writer), and which ‘authors’ the Stationers’ Registers as both cultural artefacts and as social objects.

GHOSTS IN THE SHELL

For Foucault, the ‘author’ represents a ‘privileged moment of individualisation in the history of ideas’, which was made possible by the absorption and preoccupation with two tropes.¹⁵ He identifies the first of these tropes as symptomatic of the reflexive nature of ‘modern’ writing, forming an ‘interplay of signs arranged less according to its signified content than according to the very nature of the signifier’, and whereby the written is no longer held to be representative or expressive but rather becomes an environment that is interwoven with its subjectivity. The second is concerned with the relationship between

¹⁵ Foucault, ‘What is the Author?’, p. 101.

writing and death, as Foucault highlights how traditional notions of writing as immortality move towards those that emphasise its ability to bring about the ‘death of the author’:

using all the contrivances that he sets up between himself and what he writes, the writing subject cancels out the signs of his particular individuality. As a result, the mark of the writer is reduced to nothing more than the singularity of his absence.¹⁶

Within this scenario the author is notable by both his presence and his absence; he is everywhere, but also nowhere.¹⁷ The constant subliminal presence of the author for the reader – always being read both consciously, and unconsciously – leads to the acceptance that in writing, the author is the written. Although Foucault is addressing the act of an individual within a literary context, we have already seen how this process of effacement and projection was implemented within the confines of the Stationers’ Registers.

Foucault’s assertion that ‘the author is also the principle of a certain unity of writing — all differences having to be resolved, at least in part, by the principles of evolution, maturation, or influence’ is tested by the textualities of the Stationers’ Registers, particularly in consideration of their periodicity and agency, but as media objects their forms illustrate the value of having a strong author figure in place to create an authoritative text.¹⁸ The form of the annual accounts demonstrates that there is a steady progression towards stylistic unity in the Wardens’ Accounts. It is by no means rigid or prescribed but there is a degree of stability from quite an early stage in their development, which is perhaps a consequence of the Company’s comprehensive mandate for the volume to document the ‘*acomptes of this howse*’.¹⁹ Likewise for Liber B, after an initial phase of disrupted accounts (fol. 1^r-fol. 9^r), the structural reorganisation of the records implemented in this volume imposes a measure of formal stability to its record-keeping. It is evident from the scope, the functions, and the utilisation of its records that the Company needed

¹⁶ Foucault, ‘What is the Author?’, pp. 102-103.

¹⁷ In referring to the notional author here I am using the masculine pronoun in accordance with Foucault’s argument.

¹⁸ Foucault, ‘What is the Author’, p. 111.

¹⁹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596), 1554-57, fol. 15^v.

the registers to have a formal uniformity, which was only reinforced through their usage as a referential tool. For the years that immediately followed the Stationers' Company's incorporation it would be reasonable to expect some variation within the form of the accounts as it adapted to the change in its status, especially considering that the Company did not have a salaried clerk until 1571. Responsibility for transcribing the annual accounts was soon handed to John Fayreberne, the Company's Beadle, and with this appointment of an 'author' the overall structural integrity of the accounts was given stability and authority.

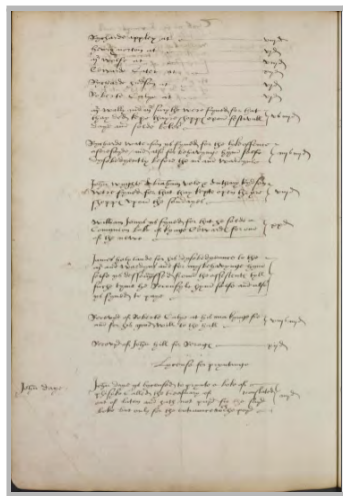
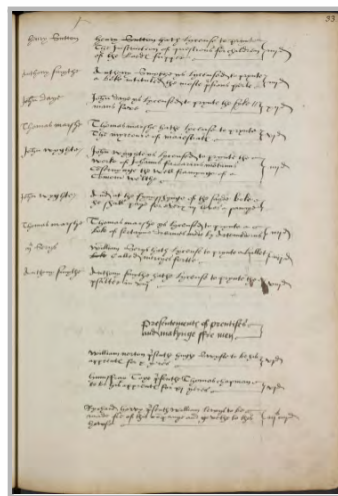
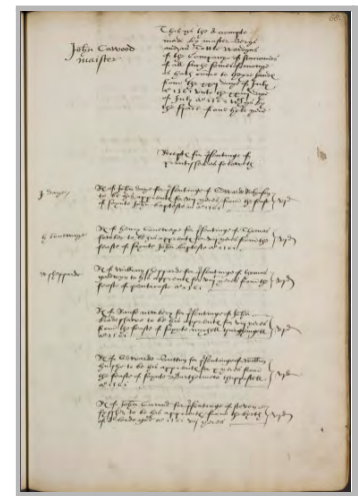
1558/59, fol. 31^v.1558/59, fol. 33^r.1561/62, fol. 68^r.

Figure 2.3: Experiments with Marginal Names. Wardens' Accounts, 1558-62.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts, 1554-1596).

Stylistic unity within the Stationers' Registers is a valuable indicator of the presence of individual authorial intervention – the corporate body may have dictated the type of material to be recorded, and to some degree its categorisation, but the visual impact of the information on the page was in the hands of the scribes/clerks, from the choice of pen stroke to the spatial structures incorporated in the layout of the text. Techniques used by the clerks to record information and ensure that the registers functioned as clear and easily consultable sources of knowledge reveal an ongoing process of experimentation with the form of the records. For example, as we can see in figure 2.3, occasionally trials

were made using names as headers in the left margins of the Wardens' Accounts, first occurring in 1558-59 at fols 31^v-33^r, and again in the accounts of 1560-61 at fol. 61^v, and once more (with only three names added) at fol. 68^r (1561-62). The periodic appearance and disappearance of this format suggests that John Fayreberne was experimenting with the structure of the register but still uncertain as to the value of this system. At its introduction names were only added to sections concerning the licencing of copies, but in 1561/62 (from fol. 71^v onwards) the marginal names became an integral feature of the registers and were eventually extended to other sections of the registers.²⁰ Whilst the presence of the institutional author is 'clearly visible and enduringly present' within the text, the experimental features of the registers allow us to infer the environment of the Hall and the clerk's conditions for writing and thus provide a valuable insight into the individual author and the personal inspirations and motivations behind the adoption (or abandonment) of such practices.

The transient variations in form show how each register's author/s visualised its textual structures. It is evident from the presence of these experimental sites within the registers, the fair copy of the Company's accounts, connecting the construct of the register with its usage occasionally created problems. This disconnection between the writing of the registers and their functionalities are a sign of behavioural shifts, and possibly indicate that traditional codes and practices of the book trade were in the process of reformation. The degree to which these changes impacted upon the Company's daily working practices is demonstrated by the incorporation of these experimental features, but they also show that both the Company and its clerks were meticulous in deciding how best to adapt their systems in response. It is evident that both the institutional and individual authors of the Stationers' Registers were aware of the crucial role that material forms played in the

²⁰ It suggests two possible explanations. First, that the register's referential function was gaining significance within the Company and its community, increasingly being consulted to ensure the provenance of copy, to resolve disputes amongst its members, and so on. The addition of names was Fayreberne's response to these issues in order to make the register easier to use. Second, it indicates that conditions within the book trade were changing and their inclusion marks the point at which the Company identified that the entrances of copies were anticipated to be a much more significant feature of the registers.

functionality, utilisation and authority of the registers. Inclusion of experimental methodologies in the fair copy of the accounts signifies differing levels of authorial intention. Whilst they emphasise the Company's objective that the register should be an authoritative 'living text', in order to create that living text inscribed in functionality the clerk had to identify and resolve the issues arising from its temporalities, agency, and systems of recording.

Regarding their duty to compile the Stationers' Registers the first three 'Clerks', John Fayreberne, George Wapull, and Richard Collins, occupy an equivalent position. In respect of their representation and status within the Stationers' Company's history, each man occupies a very different station.²¹ For documentary sources, difficulties of equating the work of clerks with authorship stem from the ideations of individual creative genius which are usually associated with authorship; but the assimilation of individual responsibility into the corporate identity also masks their authorial role. It is evident from the Stationers' Registers that the role of each of these men is distinctly more than that of copyist; as can be seen in Fayreberne's experimentation with the marginal names, which had a lasting impact on the Registers since they became the model for the entrances of copies in 1561/62 (and from 1562/63 they were extended to the sections concerned with apprentices and admittances to the Company). The experimental features accentuate the Clerks' roles in mediating (and curating) the text of the registers, and such activities were identified by Foucault as being an essential function of the author:

The author serves to neutralize the contradictions which may emerge in a series of texts: there must be - at a certain level of his thought or desire, of his consciousness or unconscious - a point where contradictions are resolved, where incompatible elements are at last tied together or organized around a fundamental or originating contradiction.²²

Producing the fair copy of the Company's accounts was the clerk's responsibility, and this involved combining information from a number of sources. Insofar as the Wardens'

²¹ I am including Fayreberne in the list of clerks for simplicity. I discuss each individual clerk later in this chapter, and matters related to their status within the Company will be explored further in this discussion.

²² Foucault, 'What is the Author', p. 111.

Accounts were concerned the name is self-explanatory as they were transcribed from the journals and daybooks kept by the wardens, but references within the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B to other Company books highlight the scale of the Clerks' task of weaving the Registers from a variety of documentary sources within the Company's records, and also those from external sources, to create a fair copy that accurately reflected the year's business.²³

The benefit of maintaining the experimental sites in the fair copy of the accounts lies in the registers' referential function. As circumstances and personnel changed over time so did the value of these practices. Although their permanence was not intended in the way that the fair copy of accounts would be, these trials are significant indicators as to how the Company's Clerks developed the registers to be practical, utile objects; not only for recording the Company's business, but also for informing future clerks about the history and development of the registers, good practices, and the potentialities of authorship. Whilst these sites indicate the presence of the 'author' in the text they also acknowledge an implied reader. The careful consideration that is given to a book's utility is primarily directed at guiding readings, and as Cormack and Mazzio argue:

when writers and printers reflected on the ways in which a particular book was useful, they were in effect inventing book theory, by theorizing this or that book in terms of the efficacy of its material features.²⁴

These stages in the development of the registers' paratextual devices and technologies reveals how the Company's Clerks theorised the utility of the Stationers' Registers in regards to increasing the practical efficiency and effectiveness of the registers to its

²³ Text, as McKenzie states, 'derives, of course, from the Latin *texere*, "to weave", and therefore refers, not to any specific material as such, but to its woven state [...] Indeed, it was not restricted to the weaving of textiles, but might be applied equally well to the interlacing or entwining of any material'. McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 13-14. So, for example: Robert Holder and Thomas Purfoot were the Collectors in 1557/58, and they submitted sums related to the assessment 'for settinge fourthe of men in the quenes affayres as appereth in thayre bokes of accomptes', and for 'for quarterages as appereth by thayre boke of collection'; and in the accounts for 1576/77 the apprenticeship entries started to make reference to apprentices' indentures, 'Thomas Bright sonne of ffrauncis Bryghte Late cytyzen and mercer of London Deceased hath putt him self Apprentyce to Jhon Bisshop Statyoner for Seven yeres begynnyng on the Day of the Date of th[e] indentures which Doo beare Date the xxvth of marche 1576'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 20^v. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1576/77, fol. 21^r.

²⁴ Cormack and Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700*, p. 9.

‘readers’/users. Unsurprisingly, in their duties as the ‘primary author’ of the registers, on behalf of the Company, the Clerks were also the primary readers of the registers, and it is possible to consider these experiments as personal interventions that created a utility which operated to their own specific codes. Marginal connections and updates to the entries which were made during Richard Collins’s time as the Company Clerk can be seen to structure the records in a way that suited his working practices, and this is particularly evident from the prefatory material of Liber B (1575-1605). The use of the volume’s flyleaves to record a miscellaneous, anachronistic selection of notes indicates that they were reserved for the benefit of the Clerk, and matters of clerical process. How Collins conceptualised the use of the paper book in his compilation of Liber B demonstrates the material hierarchies of the Stationers’ Registers, as it reveals the books that existed within books; but it also shows that boundaries established within official documents are not always a consequential effect of their records. Since Collins detailed the terms of his responsibilities and the form of the text in this section of Liber B it would seem reasonable to suggest that he personally viewed these notes as a liminal space, they existed outside of the official record but were also close enough to engage with the corporate corpus. Likewise, similarities between the incorporation of the brief annual accounts that constitute the final phase of the Wardens’ Accounts and the single page summaries that were included in the Weavers’ Account and Memorandum Book suggest the possibility that Wapull’s restructuring of the accounts in 1571 was enacted to introduce familiar professional practices that he had learned throughout his training as a Scrivener; which would also have ensured the Stationers’ Company records were kept in accordance with customary civic conventions that he had experienced.²⁵

The restructure of 1571 created a division in the recording of the annual accounts and introduced the system of concise annual summaries (in the Wardens’ Accounts) and

²⁵ GL, CLC/L/WC/A/027/MS04646–Worshipful Company of Weavers, Account and Memorandum Book 1489-1741. For example, the accounts for 1563/64 can be found at fol. 31^r which are followed by the accounts for 1564/65 at fol. 32^r, and at fol. 33^r are the accounts for 1565/66 and so on.

detailed records (such as can be seen in Liber B) which had far wider implications for concepts of authorial intention. The implementation of this system created two distinct coterminous texts that processed exactly the same information, which continued with the introduction of Liber B under Richard Collins's clerkship.²⁶ This change in the Company's record-keeping practices not only foregrounds the inherent hierarchies associated with the issue of authorial intention, but also the measures taken to resolve contradictions between them. McKenzie discusses the matter of revised texts - where two or more versions survive - and the implications that this has for both textual identity and interpretations of authorial intention:

In textual criticism, the most obvious case of the unstable and open text is created by revision. Where an author revised a text, and two or more versions of it happen to survive, each of these can be seen to have its own distinct structure, making it a different text. Each embodies quite a different intention. [...] The old idea that we should respect an author's final intentions no longer compels universal assent.²⁷

Whilst it may be stretching definitions to classify the restructure of the registers as a revision of the text it did constitute a reassessment of authorial practice, which created similar conditions to those described by McKenzie. The issues of authorial intention and textual revision raised by McKenzie are complicated by the multi-layered authorships evident throughout the Stationers' Registers, and also by their textual duality as both individual and sequential volumes. It is possible that the aggregation of documentation was necessitated by the particular conditions of the corporate environment, but the periodic changes in personnel would introduce differing perspectives upon the efficiency and efficacy of the Company's record-keeping practices. Since each of the early volumes has its own clearly distinct structures, and particular associations, in McKenzie's terms the individual volumes would be considered different texts. However, their place within the

²⁶ Although the detailed records kept by Wapull no longer survive, the clear lineage between the register entries of the Wardens' Accounts and those of Liber B suggests that in all probability they were not wildly divergent.

²⁷ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 36-37.

sequential record expands the boundaries of what they were as texts in relation to their structures, associative practices, and ultimately their intention. McKenzie's consideration of the 'author within' as a characteristic feature of stable texts can be seen, to a certain degree, in the Stationers' Registers, since their forms of authorship operate within particular boundaries. However, the presence of many authors also foregrounds that they were heavily mediated texts, and the content, the forms, and the narratives of the Stationers' Registers were contingent upon the ways in which the intentions of these 'authors within' were negotiated.

'TO ORDER HIM SELFE IN HIS ACCOMPTES AND WRITINGES'²⁸

It is a complex process to ascertain the attribution of authorship and the authority for institutional texts such as the Stationers' Registers, since it is complicated by factors such as the levels of agency involved with their production, the duration of record sequences, and trade secrecy. Authorship, as it relates to the Stationers' Registers, is an important issue for understanding the nature of the power relationships at the heart of the Stationers' Company and the potential range of influences that could affect its executive procedure, record-keeping practices, and ultimately its narratives. Although they were founded as books of account, and concerned primarily with the Company's financial activities, the structures and practices associated with the compilation of the Registers established them as valuable historical records. Since they chart the history of the institution through the actions of its members, the Stationers' Registers were instrumental to the Company's historical narratives. Consequently they were vital constituents of, and contributors to, the Stationers' Company's historiography.

The Company's initiation of the registers upon its incorporation, and the subsequent rationalisation of their structures, indicates that information and its collation was important

²⁸ Hugh Oldcastle, *A Brief Instruction and maner hovv to keepe booke of Accomptes* ... (London: John Windet, 1588), Sig. A7^v. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99848662e>.

for institutional bodies in this period, not only in terms of creating repositories of knowledge but also in how this knowledge was utilised. Since the concept of the ‘Stationers’ Register’ involved the long-term collection of information, it necessitated the production of multiple volumes. Over time, changes within the Company’s personnel, and likewise with those of the City, Church, and Court authorities, heralded a continual renewal of the relationships and contexts that shaped the discourses of the registers. As we have already seen in Chapter One regarding the materialities and the bibliography of the Stationers’ Registers, there is a complex sociological aspect to the authorship of these texts and the creation of their identity, which demonstrates that a series of collaborative authorial efforts was required to produce the Stationers’ Registers.

The Institutional Author

Compared to the creative ‘genius’ of the individual author, the nature of institutional record-keeping, with its own sense and scale of time, changes in personnel, and the particularity of its information, demonstrates quite a different connotation of authorship. For the Stationers’ Registers, their authority as texts resided in their functionality, their usage, and, indeed, in how their purposes were perceived.

Under the terms of its charter of incorporation the Stationers’ Company was granted the authority to create ordinances, which were important for establishing the company’s operational guidelines and providing a code of conduct for its members.²⁹ Ordinances were familiar instruments of regulation amongst the City’s livery companies, and a valuable means of codifying communal behaviours. The Stationers’ Company’s ordinance books for the years that immediately followed its incorporation no longer survive but their possible formats can be conjectured from the near contemporaneous

²⁹ The ability of guilds and craft companies to impose fines for minor offences was regulated by a Parliamentary Act of 1437, requiring all patents and charters held by companies to be registered and their ordinances to be approved to ensure that royal prerogatives were not adversely affected by them. This act lapsed with the death of Henry VI and a second Parliamentary Act was introduced in 1504, which remained active in the 1680s. Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 856-57.

examples of other livery companies, such as the ordinances of the Broderers' and the Coopers' Companies that we saw in Chapter One (see figure 1.2, p. 26). Frequent reference is made in the Stationers' Registers to the Company's ordinances and from this information it is possible to surmise the regulations and procedures which governed the Company's activities throughout these formative years. Whilst the regulations were primarily concerned with the business and behaviour of members, the ordinances of 1678 provide a useful illustration of how these rules may have been used to determine the nature of the Company's record-keeping. Positioned before the Master's Oath, these ordinances contain a clause which states that:

And be it further Ordained, That for the Future shall be kept by the Clerk of this Company, two Books; In one of which shall be fairly written such Informations given to the Master or Wardens as aforesaid; and in the other shall be fairly written, what Seditious, Scandalous, Treasonable and unlicensed Books and Pamphlets shall be seiz'd, and Discoveries thereof made, together with the Number of them, and the Persons from whom they were seiz'd: which Books shall be shoven to Roger Lestrangle Esq; when he shall think fit.³⁰

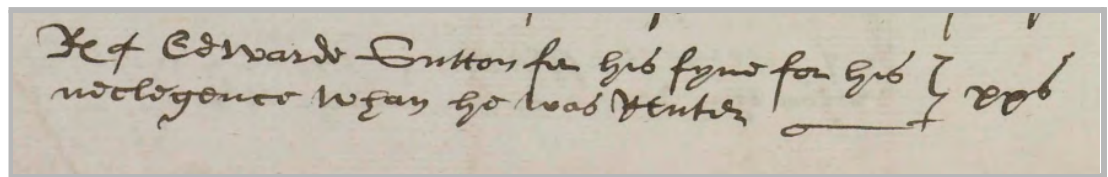
Although Roger L'Estrange's interference and influence regarding the Company's activities in this period was exceptional, and it is clear that the ordinances here relate to a very different society than those of 1557 would have done, this clause does indicate that the 'correct' keeping and preservation of documentary sources was considered to be integral to an institution's 'well-being'. However, the similarity of its language to that used in the charter of incorporation locates it within a long tradition of proclamations and statements against these forms of text. The latent connections with the Company's charter accentuates that it was merely a continuance of its customary regulation of the book trade (a device which can also be seen within the 1566 'ordinaunces' decreed by the Star Chamber) but with an added emphasis upon the necessary paperwork.³¹ This reinforced the

³⁰ Stationers' Company (London, England), *The Orders, Rules, and Ordinances, ordained ... by the Master and Keepers ... of the Mystery and Art of Stationers of the City of London for the well governing of that Society*, (London: 1678). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026737875.0x000001. Reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 18.

³¹ 'Ordinaunces decreed for reformation of diuers disorders in pryntyng and vtteryng of Bookes.' (London: s.n., 1566) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm20065400e>. Reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 322.

message that meticulous record-keeping was crucial for effective regulation, and it is possible that the foundation of the ‘great books’ at the time of its incorporation would attest that this was an idea which was already fully appreciated by the Company.

The formalisation of administrative practice within the code of conduct permitted the Company to take punitive measures for any failure to keep records as stipulated. This approach to record-keeping was further reinforced in the Ordinances of 1681, whereby the second clause states that the Renter Wardens should render ‘a true, plain, perfect and just Account in Writing ... And deliver the Books and all other Papers and things whatsoever, which may concern this Company, to the Master and Wardens.’ Failure to submit resulted in a fine of five pounds for every month’s delay after the summons. Inclusion of these articles within the Stationers’ Company’s ordinances presents its unequivocal position on the importance and value of good documentation to the corporate well-being. The Company’s promotion of good practice in the regularity and accuracy of documenting the daily minutiae was aimed at ensuring that its records were authoritative; but this approach also increased the volume of the records that it kept and was perhaps a driving factor in the ongoing rationalisation of its practices.



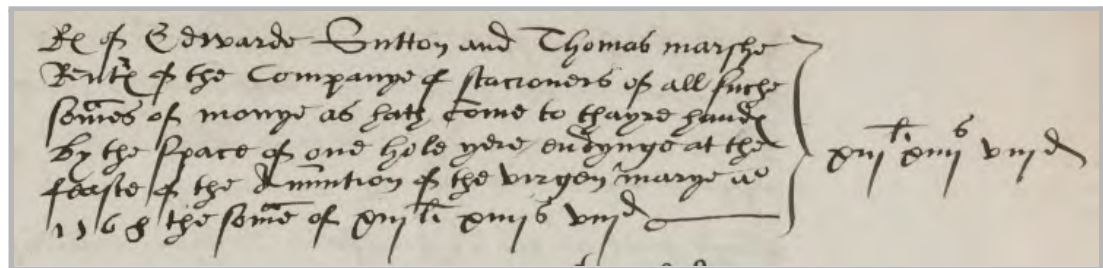
Receaved of Edward Sutton for his fyne for his
neclegence whan he was Renter xx^s

Figure 2.4: Sutton’s Negligence. Wardens’ Accounts, 1567/68, fol. 168^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596).

A two line entry in the Wardens’ Accounts of 1567/68 notes that a twenty shilling fine was imposed upon Edward Sutton, ‘for his neclegence Whan he was Renter’ (see figure 2.4). Although there are earlier records of fines being levied for failing to present the

accounts upon the required day, this is the first entry in the register to claim that a serving official had been negligent in office. Sutton and Thomas Marsh were appointed as Renter Wardens for the year 1567/68, as such they were responsible for collecting the rents and quarterages due to the Company, as was recorded in the Wardens' Accounts (see figure 2.5).



Receaved of Edward Sutton and Thomas marshe
 Renters of the Companye of stacioners of all suche
 sommes of monye as hath come to thayre handes
 by the space of one hole yere / endynge at the
 feaste of the Annuntion of the virgen marye anno
 1568 the somme of xiiij^{li} xiiij^s viij^d

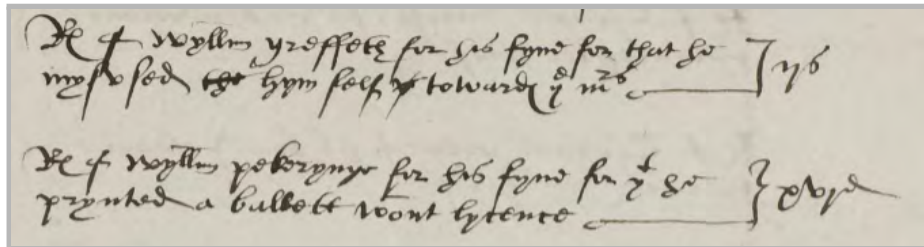
Figure 2.5: Renter Wardens' Accounts. Wardens' Accounts, 1567/68, fol. 169^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

As Renter Wardens they had their own books in which they were required to keep an account of their duties throughout the year. The Renter Books were submitted to the Company's Clerks and their balances checked and transcribed for inclusion in the fair copy of the accounts for audit, and entered into the Stationers' Registers. It is possible that Sutton was fined for a general carelessness in the execution of his duty; however, within the context of the register there is a noticeable disruption to the stylistic unity of the 1567/68 accounts. Some entries are devoid of the customary level of detail, and there are also inconsistencies with the type of information recorded, which is particularly evident when compared with the surrounding accounts (see figure 2.6).³² Whilst Edward Sutton's

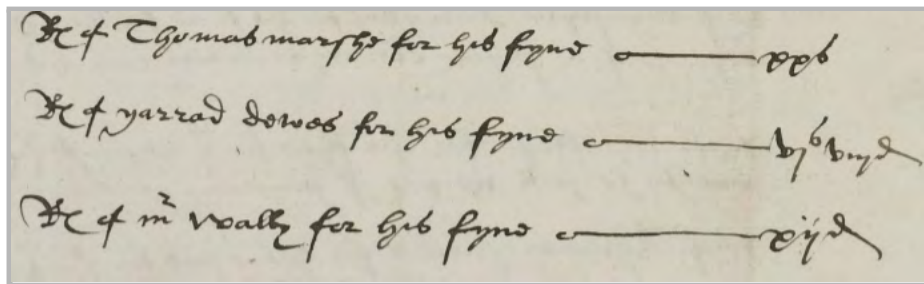
³² The section concerned with admittances to the Company in this year's accounts saw a change in the language used for the freedoms (from fol. 167^r), and this was not used in subsequent accounts - 'admyttinge freman of this Cetie'. Arber notes that 'in this and a few following entries 'Cetie' stands for 'Companye.' It seems to be merely a verbal variation'. Arber, Vol. I, p. 365. The section for admittances is disordered and has register entries which belong to other categories: for example, 'Receaved of mr Wallye for a dyxcionary

negligence in this year may simply have been a failure to perform his duties in accordance with the Company's expectations, the distinctive deviations from the usual record-keeping practices of the register that are evident in this year suggest that he did not keep the renter book in accordance with the ordinances.



Receaved of William greffeth for his fyne that he
mysused [the] hym self [-] towardes ye masters ij^s

Receaved of William pekerynge for his fyne for yat he
prynted a ballett without lycence xvj^d



Receaved of Thomas marshe for his fyne xx^s
Receaved of garrad dewes for his fyne vj^s viij^d
Receaved of mr Wally for his fyne xiij^d

Figure 2.6: Loss of Detail. Wardens' Accounts, 1567/68, fols 168^r; 168^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Sutton's behaviour had an immediate impact upon the register and the Company's practices. Changes were made to the sections dedicated to the receipts of the Company's quarterages and arrears for the following three years. These sections had been a regular

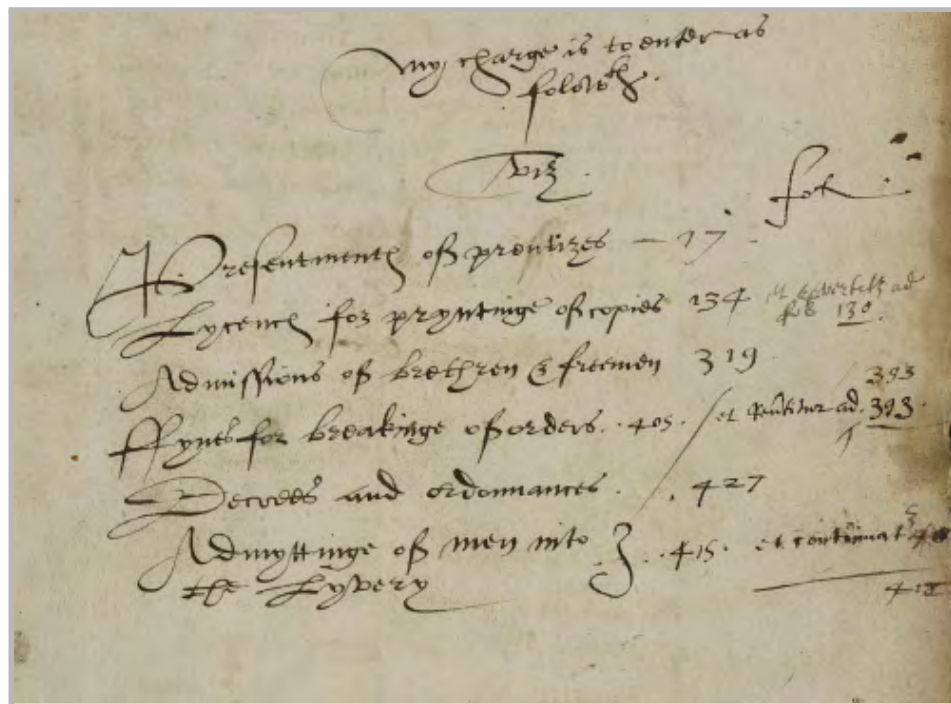
xx^s; 'Receaved of mr Cawod for the herse clothe xiij^d'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1567/68, fol. 167^v. It is possible that these were last minute entries, particularly given their brevity, but the uniformity of script style with surrounding entries and the space they were allocated does suggest that these were mistakenly placed with the freedom records prior to the writing up of the accounts.

feature of the register since their establishment in the accounts of 1560/61. Needless to say, in the accounts of 1567/68 there was no distinct section for quarterages and arrears, since the entry recording the submissions from the Renter Wardens followed that of Sutton's fine. In 1568/69 a greater emphasis was placed upon the auditors' verification of the renters' remittances, and the sections for the quarterages and arrears were re-titled 'Receyved of the Renters', and this remained the format until the restructure of the Wardens' Accounts in 1571/72.³³ The Company's reaction to Sutton's perfunctory performance in this instance provides an example of the ways in which it used the registers to craft authority. The renaming of these sections removed the anonymity of corporate procedure, and this placed a greater emphasis upon the personal responsibility of the Company's appointed officials towards their duties and the well-being of the Company. This change not only served as a reminder of the internal hierarchies within the Company, and their inherent power structures, but it also indicated the importance that the Company placed upon procedures that ensured its records were incontrovertible.

As I discussed in the first chapter, the initial description of the Wardens' Accounts as an 'account of the howse' gives a general sense of the form and the function that the Stationers' Company expected of the register. However, the appointment of Richard Collins as the Company's clerk in 1575 presaged another period of administrative restructuring for the Stationers' Company, and this furnished a more detailed breakdown of its requirements for the registers. In what was presumably one of Collins's first actions following his appointment, he took the opportunity to record the terms of his duty in Liber B (see figure 2.7). Its clarity and directness suggests that Collins copied this entry into the register from an official directive, either directly from the Court of Assistants or from the company's ordinances. Whilst this list of Collins's 'charge' does not detail the entirety of his duties for the Company it is significant in that it pertains to the compilation of the registers, and more specifically with the writing of Liber B. Its position within the

³³ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, fol. 78^r; 1568/69, fol. 179^v; 1569/70, fol. 194^v; 1570/71, fol. 208^v.

prefatory material (which Arber entitled ‘Occasional Notes’) establishes that it was an important statement, but it was not necessarily information that belonged in the accounts. Its inclusion in Liber B suggests that there was a widespread re-organization of the Company’s records, and that the register was an identifiable repository for significant notes that could easily be lost. As far as the creation and maintenance of the Company’s documentation was concerned, Collins’s statement demonstrates that a greater emphasis was being placed upon more clearly defined functions and good practice. There was no equivalent statement of procedure noted in the Wardens’ Accounts beyond ‘for o *ur* accomptes of this howse’, and the appearance of these guidelines in the second volume of the Stationers’ Registers suggests that Collins had made the decision to include it here in order to strengthen his personal association with the volume and underline his authority, particularly given its proximity to the record of his translation from the Goldsmiths’ Company. Collins’s placement and arrangement of this statement lends it a prominence that not only illustrates its own value, but also foregrounds the forms of information which were valued. Whilst this entry foregrounds Collins’s association with the volume, it also reveals the role of the Stationers’ Company in the authorship of the Stationers’ Registers; since it reflects the institutional conceptualisations of the registers and how they should function in order to maintain the ‘well-being’ of the company. Collins’s use of ‘my charge’ indicates the scope of his role as clerk, but it also creates a division between the individual and the institutional author. The statement is structured in a manner that affects to counter any claims or complaints that could be made concerning the extent of personal influence and the self-interests of the Clerk regarding the keeping the register, and it frames his authorial role through his corporate responsibility for its form and content. Through the emphasis upon ‘his charge’ Collins was accentuating the authority of the Company, and this delineation and dissociation of the two distinct author figures established the Company as the primary author of the register.



my charge is to enter as foloweth.

Viz.

Presentmentes of prentizes
 Lycences for pryntinge of copies
 Admissions of brethren & freeman
 Ffynes for breakinge of orders
 Decrees and ordonances
 Admyttinge of men into the Lyvery

Figure 2.7: The Clerk's Duties. Liber B, 1575, fol. 2^r.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Authority Without

The Stationers' Company was given a more prominent platform as a corporate body through the rights it gained upon its incorporation; from its capacity to buy and sell property through to its participation in electing city officials. These activities expanded its networks and the nature of the relationships it could forge with other institutions. Its status as one of London's livery companies, in conjunction with its role as the regulator of London's book trades and crafts, placed the Stationers' Company within an extensive network of legal, religious, and civic institutions. These institutional connections had a

more subtle role to play in the form and the functions of the registers. The influence of these networks was not unique to the Stationers' Company and the book trade; however, Ian Gadd has noted that:

what does seem to be notable was the extent to which these alternative regulatory authorities encroached upon aspects of the trade that, in other companies, were part of the corporate prerogative. In fact, the experience of the book trade in the century and a half after incorporation was increasingly more dictated by the actions and decisions of other institutions and officials than by the Company itself. Statute, proclamation and so forth remained appropriate means of regulation throughout the period, but the Star Chamber and what would ultimately become known as the Court of High Commission as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the individuals named as licensors of the press became increasingly important presences for the trade.³⁴

Although some of the Stationers' Company's early records, which are now lost, could have shed more light upon the systems and networks involved with the licensing of books, the registers do provide a record of how these procedures were enacted on a daily basis.³⁵ Authorisation, or allowance, had to be given for a text before a publisher could proceed with its publication. Consequently it was necessary for a publisher to negotiate a number of bureaucratic systems in order to gain the requisite permissions for publication.³⁶ Many register entrances of copy contain explicit references to forms of authority which were outside of the Stationers' Company, but empowered to sanction the publication of texts. Article 51 of the injunctions issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, and subsequently published as *Iniunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie* by the Queen's Printers Richard Jugge and John Cawood, provided an order of the correct authorities to decide the suitability of a text for publication. A marginal gloss states that 'heretical and sediscious bokes' were the motivation for its inclusion in the injunctions, and the article itself

³⁴ Gadd, "*Being like a field*", pp. 88-89.

³⁵ Which I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter Three.

³⁶ Although expected, the procedure was not always followed to the letter. In the 1580s the formula for register entries adapted to reflect this; since more entries began to incorporate conditional clauses. For example: William Howe's entrance of 20 November 1587 required 'yat he procure yt to be orderly and laufully authorised and alowed to the print'. Which is also seen in register entries for Henry Denham and Edward White in the same year. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber A, 1575-1605; 1587, fols 223^v, 224^r, 224^v.

condemns the purely profit-driven business model of publication for disregarding its potential social impact.

Item because there is a great abuse in the printers of bokes, which for couetousnes chiefly regard not what they print, so thei may haue gaine, whereby arriseth great dysorder by publicatyon of vnfrutefull, vayne and infamous bokes and papers: The Quenes maiestie straitly chargethe and commaundeth, that no manner of person shall print any manner of boke or paper, of what sort, or nature, or in what language soeuer it be, excepte the same be first licenced by her maiestie by expresse wordes in writynge, or by .vi. of her priuy counsel, or be perused & licensed by the archbishops of Cantorbury & yorke, the bishop of London, the chauncelours of bith vnyuersities. the bishop beyng ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where any suche shalbe printed, or by two of them, wherof the ordinary of the place to be alwaies one.³⁷

And to all appearances the authorities listed, representing the State, the Church, and the Universities, provided a suitable counterbalance to the excesses of corporate ideology.

The injunctions reiterate and emphasise the Church's active role in the perusal and licensing of copies, and this vigorous involvement in the licensing process provided its designated officials with a conspicuous presence within the records of the registers. For the main part, this visibility was a consequence of publishers specifying in their register entries that allowance had been sought and granted for their titles. In the years immediately following the Company's incorporation details of a title's external authorisation were not required elements in the formula of the Register's entries, however, some publishers did consider this information worth including.³⁸ By the mid 1580s (and certainly by 1586) it had become a more routine activity for the clerk to record that allowance had been granted by either of the Archbishops of Canterbury or York, or the Bishop of London, and sometimes this information was added after the initial entry had been made.

³⁷ *Iniunctions geuen by the Quenes Maiestie*, (London: Rychard Jugge and John Cawood, 1559), Sig. D1^r. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99855716e>.

³⁸ For example, 95% of the registered entries of copies in 1569-70 made no mention of having received external authorisation. This issue is discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

1569/70.
Wardens' Accounts,
fol. 183^v.

Receaved of henry bynneman for his lycense for
pryntinge of a boke epistola cambrigiensium iiij^d
by 'ye' lorde of canterbury

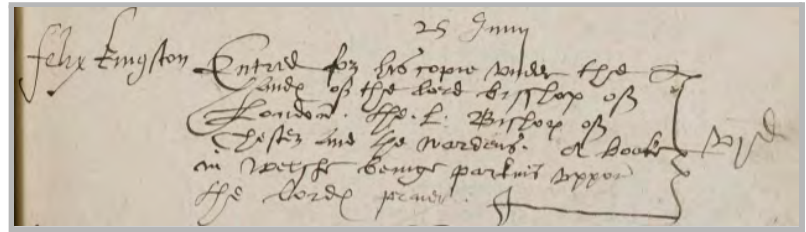
1588.
Liber B, fol. 227^r.

Alowed to him for his Copie A declaracion
vnto ffraunce of the miseries that it
sufferethe, and the remedies that are
necessarie for the same / Provided
alwaies that he shall not put it in printe
before he procure yt to be sufficientlie
authozised for a booke lawfull to be
Printed.
This booke is nowe authozised vnder my Lord of
Londons hande /

1589.
Liber B, fol. 247^r.

Alowed by direction from Sir
fraunces walsingham //

1599.
Liber C, fol. 51^r.



Entred for his copie vnder the
handes of the lord bisshop of
London . the .Lord. Bishop of
Chester and the wardens. A booke
in Welshe beinge parkins vpon
the lordes praier vj^d

Figure 2.8: External Authorities, 1569-1599.³⁹

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596); TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605; TSC/1/E/06/02–Liber C, 1595-1620.

There is no evidence to show that the Stationers' Registers were ever checked by anyone external to the Company, since direct access to the registers was restricted.⁴⁰

Through their participation in the licensing process, however, the actions undertaken by these named officials (or their representatives) had a palpable impact upon the material conditions of the Registers' text. For example, in the Wardens' Accounts the appearance of these names made a striking visual impact because they were an infrequent variation in the formula for register entries. External authorities were a perennial presence in the background of the Company's daily life, and since these authorities were integral to the Company's procedures, they were able to effect the compilation and construction of the Stationers' Registers in more subtle ways. The Company's Clerks would have been mindful of procedures which were beyond their control and duly made allowances (for the 'allowances'). And so, spaces were left for additional clauses to be appended to register entries; the Company's phraseologies were expanded to account for the shifts and

³⁹ This sample, which includes key figures of the Elizabethan government and church, illustrates how the presence of external authority figures was represented in the Stationers' Registers in terms of their role and influence in the licensing procedure. However, the presence of authorities representing areas outside of London is a valuable reminder that the Company's jurisdiction extended far beyond the City.

⁴⁰ In the 1617 Chancery case between John Barnes and Cuthbert Burby, Thomas Mountford's evidence consisted of written extracts of the relevant register entries which recorded the assignment of Rider's *Dictionary*. C. J. Sisson, 'The Laws of Elizabethan Copyright: the Stationers' View', *The Library*, 5th ser., 15 (March 1960), pp. 8-20 (p. 18).

subtleties of external procedures; further proofs were required of Stationers before the entering of copies; and additional conditions were applied to some entrances. All of which underline the importance of reading the Registers' paratextual devices, because they signal more indefinite forms of influence.

The Hired Hand

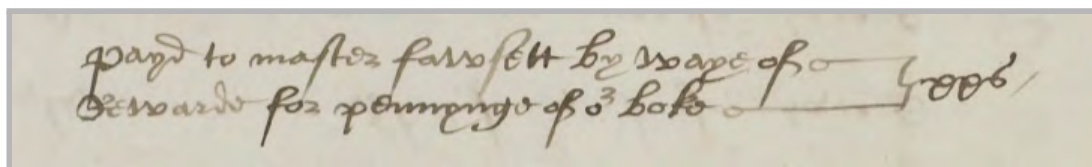
As a result of the rights the Stationers' Company gained upon incorporation its interests expanded into new areas of activity, such as legal action/lawsuits and property holdings. Administration of these activities produced additional documentation which required the Company to implement new systems of record-keeping. Consequently, the Stationers' Registers were initiated in a period that saw the Stationers' Company embrace its new legal status and begin to craft a corporate identity to reflect its aspirations. The proliferation of books and documentation was not unusual amongst the City's companies following incorporation as they moved to 'incorporate' these new fields of activity into their daily lives. A vital element in this development involved the appointment of company clerks; and their agency was crucial in providing the necessary order, efficiency, accountability, and authority for record-keeping practices. Salaried clerks were increasingly employed by guilds in the early fifteenth century, and this movement gained momentum as the century progressed, as Matthew Davies has noted:

The general trend, however, especially among the greater guilds was towards the employments of professional writers: men described variously as scrivener, 'writer of court hand', clerk, or less frequently, as notary.⁴¹

Those guilds which were 'lower down the economic scale', however, tended to appoint their own members to these roles.⁴²

⁴¹ Whilst making this point, he does also include the caveat that most companies did not have permanent clerks but adopted 'a more flexible approach'. For example, he cites the fair accounts of the Carpenters' Company which 'were generally written up by a different person each year, who was paid six or eight pence to do so'. Davies, "Writying, making, and engrocyng", pp. 31-33.

⁴² As the Stationers' Company did with John Fayreberne.



Payd to master fawseth by waye of
Rearde for pennyng of our boke xxs/

Figure 2.9: Payments for Writing. Wardens' Accounts, 1558/59, fol. 37^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

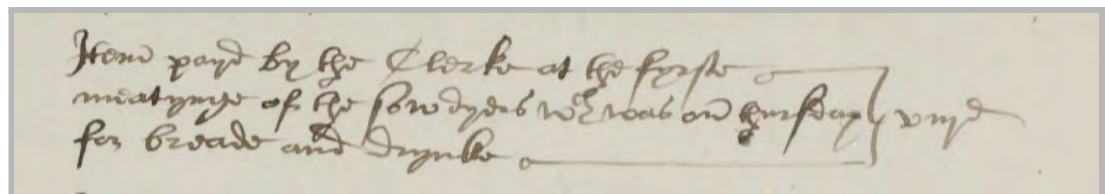
Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the nature of its business, the Stationers' Company was remarkably conscientious in recording the names of those it appointed to the clerkship. Between the years 1571 and 1631 there were three Company Clerks responsible for the keeping of the Stationers' Registers.⁴³ One of the common narratives regarding the duties of company clerks, and perhaps one of the most misrepresented, concerns their expertise in legal matters. Arber noted in his introduction to 'Register A', 'With the Livery we associate - but without any specific authority - the Clerk and Solicitor, from the nature of his office'. This viewpoint was further developed by Adrian Johns stating that 'he was expected to be a trained attorney' as 'he it was who drew up and oversaw the Company's legal documents and transactions'.⁴⁴ It is likely that Arber's transcription has been a contributing factor in this respect, since references to the annual stipends received by Thomas Norton (1562-84) and Richard Grafton (1584-at least 1591/92) for their 'counsell' were frequently omitted from the detailed records.⁴⁵ Early entries in the Wardens' Accounts indicate that the Stationers' Company employed scribes and notaries for the provision of specialised forms of writing; and this perhaps reflects the limitations of John

⁴³ It is, however, much more difficult to state with any certainty the number and the names of those who were charged with penning the Wardens' Accounts before the clerkship became a salaried position within the Company. For the main part, the Company's Beadle John Fayreberne wrote up the fair copy of the accounts. Very early entries in the register indicate that the Upper Wardens were responsible for at least some small part: for example John Jacques in 1558/59 (see figure 2.11).

⁴⁴ Arber, Vol. I, p. xliii. Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, p. 198.

⁴⁵ Arber's process in this matter was arbitrary. For example, Norton's annual fee of 40 shillings is transcribed in the summarised accounts of 1577/78, and then again in 1580/81. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1577/78, fol. 223^v; 1580/81, fol. 229^v. Ian Gadd and Karen Waring, '[One entry omitted.]' What Edward Arber left out of the Stationers' Company's 'Register A' in *Liber A* (London: Bibliographical Society, forthcoming).

Fayreberne's role as the 'copyist' of the Company's accounts. One recurrent name is that of Fawsett. In 1558/59, it was recorded that the Stationers' Company paid 20 shillings to Fawsett 'by waye of Rewarde for pennynge of our boke' (see figure 2.9).⁴⁶ He received a further 3s. 4d. for the services he provided in 1559/60 and, according to 'the mony layd out agaynste the suete of mr kylylgrew', he was employed by the Company upon another three occasions in 1560/61.⁴⁷ Whilst these examples pre-date the Company's official clerkship, it is apparent from its frequent hiring of Fawsett that precise formal, technical, and legal documentation was a matter of necessity for the Company. However, as periodic payments for counsel and the annual retainers to Norton and Grafton suggest, the extent of the Clerk's legal expertise was limited to the production of correct documentation rather than advocacy.



Item payd by the Clerke at the fyrst
meatynge of the sowdyers which was on thursday viij^d
for breade and drynke

Figure 2.10: Company Clerk. Wardens' Accounts, 1558/59, fol. 39^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Although the Stationers' Company decided to formalise the position of Company Clerk in 1571 there are hints within the Wardens Accounts that it did exist, at least as an informal position, within the company structure before this date. An entry in the Wardens' Accounts for 2 July 1559 recorded an 'Item payd by the Clerke at the fyrst meatynge of the sowdyers which was on thursday for breade and drynke viij^d', (see figure 2.10), and Arber conjectured that the Clerk referred to in this entry was employed upon piece-work terms

⁴⁶ The Company's Ordinance Book, or 'boke of Constitutions', which was overseen and amended in 1558/59 (see figure 1.3, p. 27). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fol. 37^v.

⁴⁷ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1559/60, fol. 50^r; 1560/61, fols 66^r-66^v.

since there was ‘no regularly salaried Scribe of the Company till George Wapull.’⁴⁸ John Fayreberne’s penmanship became firmly established as the recognisable hand of the Wardens’ Accounts, but it is worth noting that there are also variations in the scribal style on display. Their presence indicates that the compilation of the Stationers’ Registers was very much a collaborative effort. Since this volume constituted the Wardens’ Accounts its upkeep was the responsibility of the Stationers’ Company’s elected officials. And whilst the Wardens did indeed put their hands to the register at the conclusion of each year’s account, these were only brief statements confirming the veracity of the account. Aside from these declarations, one of the most sizable contributions made to the text of the register by someone other than John Fayreberne was the 1558 description of the contents of the chest in the Council Chamber; and this was set down by the incoming Upper Warden for 1558/59, John Jaques (see figure 2.11).⁴⁹

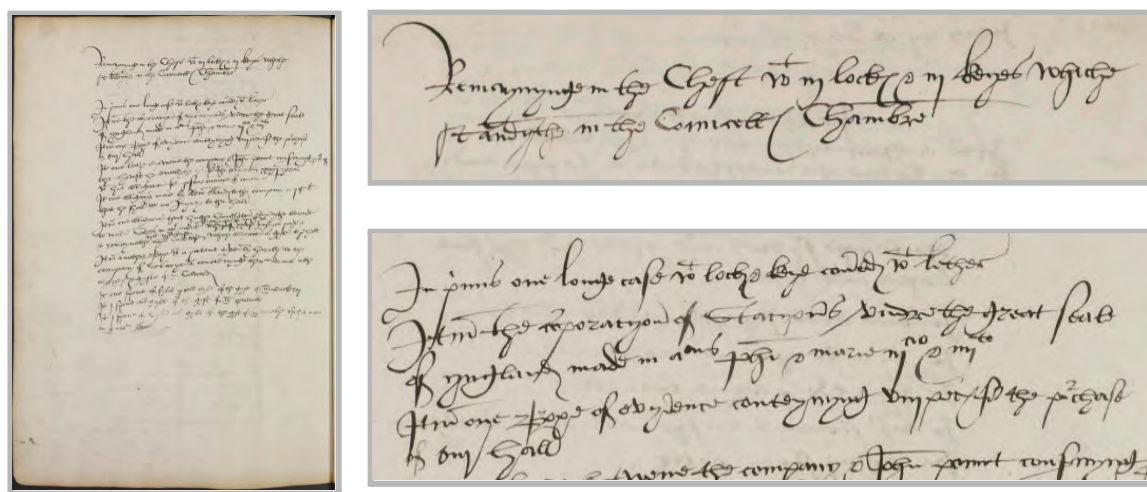


Figure 2.11: The Hand of John Jaques. Wardens’ Accounts, 1557/58, fol. 29^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596).

Evidently it was soon recognised that the register needed to be a legible stable text, with regular formatted procedures, and as a result the Company tasked its Beadle, John Fayreberne, with the compilation of the volume. This gave Fayreberne long-term personal responsibility in the production of the Wardens’ Accounts, which continued through to

⁴⁸ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/02–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1558-59, fol. 39^r. Arber, Vol. I, p. xliii.

⁴⁹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 29^v. Arber, Vol. I, p. 90.

George Wapull's appointment to the newly inaugurated clerkship in 1571. Fayreberne's management of the volume established an important protocol for the Stationers' Company. There were two positions within the Company that were both long term and unelected. The first of which was that of the Beadle, and the second was the Company's Clerk. These offices were significant for the Company because information and its transmission was fundamental to the operation of both.⁵⁰ The longevity and permanence of these positions provided a stable base for the Company's operations, particularly given the regularity with which the elected officials charged with the Company's governance changed. As the only unchanging official representatives of the institution, in matters of security and authority, the roles of the Beadle and the Clerk bridged these transitory terms and provided a sense of continuance; as both were company procedure (and tradition) embodied.

The growing practice of City companies in the fifteenth century to hire professional writers to produce the fair copy of their accounts could, as Davies highlighted in the case of the Carpenters' Company, result in different clerks being employed from year to year.⁵¹ References to clerical piece-work(s) are peppered throughout the Wardens' Accounts, as we have already seen in relation to the Company's payments to Fawsett (see figure 2.9), and this continued even after the Company had installed its own Clerk.⁵² It cannot be overstated how important the employment of a permanent Clerk was to the Stationers' Company; not only in relation to the management and administration of the Company's expanding documentary realm, but also for the stability that it gave to the textual authority of the Stationers' Registers. The Clerk gave a 'consistency' to the voice of the Company in the procedures and formulaic structures of the Registers, developing what Bakhtin termed the 'unitary language' of the Stationers' Company. The order brought about by the Clerk in this respect achieved, 'a certain maximum of mutual understanding, and crystalizing into a

⁵⁰ The Beadle's role in the Company's communication systems is discussed further on p. 114.

⁵¹ Davies, "Writyng, making, and engrocynge", pp. 31-33.

⁵² For example: 'Item paid in fees to our learned counsell, To Clerke for Copyinge of Draughtes and other charges concerninge a bill preferred into the parlament howse towching matters requysyte for this Cumpanie, As by the *particulers* of the same Charges appereth, and to mr Grafton and his man for their paynes. vj^{li} x^s/. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1584/85, fol. 239^r.

real, although still relative, unity — the unity of the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, “correct language”.’ This was by no means fixed, as the changes in the phraseologies of the Registers demonstrate, the language had to accommodate the shifts within the trades and practices of the community and ensure that there was a ‘maximum of mutual understanding’.⁵³

Four individuals were responsible for compiling the first three volumes of the Stationers’ Registers between 1557 and 1620; and therefore instrumental in the creation of the Registers’ textual authority and narratives. From the Beadle John Fayreberne’s realisation of the Wardens’ Accounts (1557-1571), the appointment of the Scrivener George Wapull and his reorganisation of the Company’s records (1571-1575), the former Goldsmith and scrivener Richard Collins’s succession to the clerkship and his initiation of Liber B (1575-1613), through to the appointment of Thomas Mountford and his completion of Liber C in 1620 (1614-1630). In respect of the timeframe of my thesis, I will focus on the first three of these ‘clerks’.

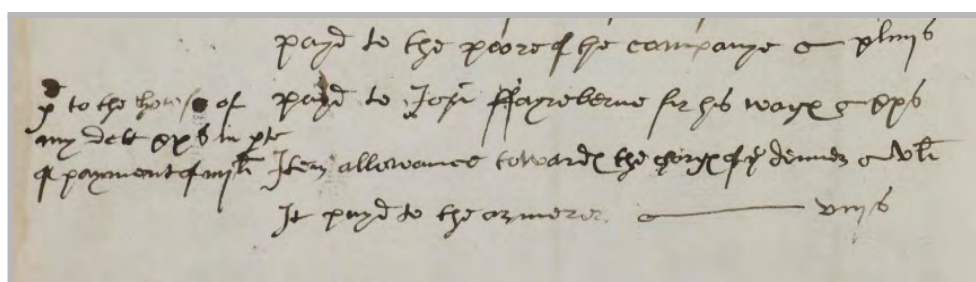
THE STATIONERS’ COMPANY’S CLERKS

John Fayreberne (1557-1571)

The Stationers’ Company’s decision to appoint George Wapull as its first official clerk in 1571 could lead us to imply that the formation of the register in the fourteen years following its incorporation was, to some degree, achieved without clerical administration. Despite some variations in hand for the early accounts, for the main part the chirography of the Wardens’ Accounts does suggest that a single person was primarily responsible for producing the fair copy of these accounts. Two marginal notes in the Wardens’ Accounts identify John Fayreberne as the scribe of this volume. The first was placed next to an entry which recorded the payment of 20 shillings as wages to John Fayreberne. The marginal

⁵³ Bakhtin, M. M., *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. by M. Holquist. ‘Discourse in the Novel’ reproduced in *Modern Literary Theory: A reader*, 2nd edn, ed. by Rice, Philip and Patricia Waugh (London: Edward Arnold, 1992), p. 198.

note alongside this entry states that this was ‘payd to the howse of my debt xx^s in parte payment of iiij^{li}’, and this is the first direct connection between John Fayreberne’s name and the writing of the Wardens’ Accounts (see figure 2.12).⁵⁴ A second marginal note was added to the summation of the accounts in 1571/72 (fol. 214^v). These accounts were not entered into the register by Fayreberne; however, the similar forms used in the words ‘allowance’ (fol. 208^v) and ‘allowed’ (fol. 214^v) (see figure 2.12), especially in consideration of the note’s resemblance to the script style established throughout the rest of the volume, does indicate that this note was added by Fayreberne. This marginal annotation is the second direct (and personal) identification of Fayreberne as the writer of the accounts between 1557 and 1571.

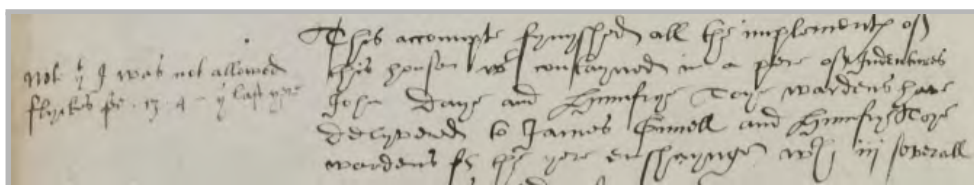


payd to the howse of
my debt xx^s in parte
of payment of iiij^{li}

payd to John ffayreberne for his wages xx^s

1570/71, fol. 208^v.

⁵⁴ Although, there is an earlier register entry in 1561/62 in relation to the wages that states, ‘Item payd to John for his hole yeres wages xl^s’. Its informality implies a more personal connection, albeit indirectly, than the usual ‘to John Fayreberne for his yeres wages’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1561/62, fol. 79^r. For Arber, this marginal note is significant, ‘For though not signed, it is evidently written by John Fayreberne [...] This being true, an inspection of the handwriting of this Register is at once convincing that the greater part of it, down to the end of p. 452, is in the same handwriting as this side note; and consequently that Fayreberne was to a large extent the Transcriber of all entries of an ordinary character from the several books of first entry into this one single Volume.’. Arber, Vol. I, p. 448. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1570/71, fol. 209^v appears to be Fayreberne’s final contribution to the ‘copying’ of the register.



Note yat I was not allowed
flyckes fee . 13 . 4 - ye last year

1571/72, fol. 214^v.

Figure 2.12: John Fayreberne. Wardens' Accounts, 1570-72.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

John Fayreberne was one of the original members of the Stationers' Company at its incorporation, and was the 44th member listed in its Charter of Incorporation. He served as the Company's Beadle, and communications would have been at the forefront of his duties. An important aspect of the Beadle's role was to act as an intermediary between the Wardens (and Assistants) and the Company's membership, as both Arber and Blayney note, this involved the relaying of messages and summoning members before the Court.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the keeping and transcribing of 'some' Company records and books was considered by Arber to be integral to Fayreberne's responsibilities as Beadle, with which Blayney concurs, describing Fayreberne as the 'copyist' of the accounts even though he 'has occasionally been identified as the Stationers' first clerk, but he never held that office'.⁵⁶ Fayreberne's role as the Company's Beadle has perhaps unfairly influenced how his relationship with the Stationers' Registers is regarded, and diminished the extent to which his influence is perceived upon the structure and organisation of these records.

Whilst Fayreberne may not have held the office of clerk for the Company, his role in the

⁵⁵ 'The Beadle was the pivot upon which the Company worked. Under the orders of the Master and Wardens, he issued notices for meetings, kept or transcribed some of the Records and Books of the Company. On occasions of repairs to the Hall he made himself useful looking after the workmen: and was doubtless a standing referee for all the members of the Company, and was a useful assistant to its executive officers.' Arber, Vol. I, p. xliii. 'Before the Hall was acquired only a single unelected officer is known: the beadle John Fayreberne, whose original duties probably consisted mainly of notifying the relevant parties when meetings were to be held, delivering messages from the wardens and assistants, and summoning malefactors when necessary.' Blayney, *SCPoL*, Vol. 2, p. 855.

⁵⁶ Arber, Vol. I, p. xliii. Blayney, *SCPoL*, Vol. 2, pp. 869-70.

compilation of the Wardens' Accounts, and the decisions he made regarding their form and structures, does not appear to have been too far removed from those demonstrated by the Clerks that followed.

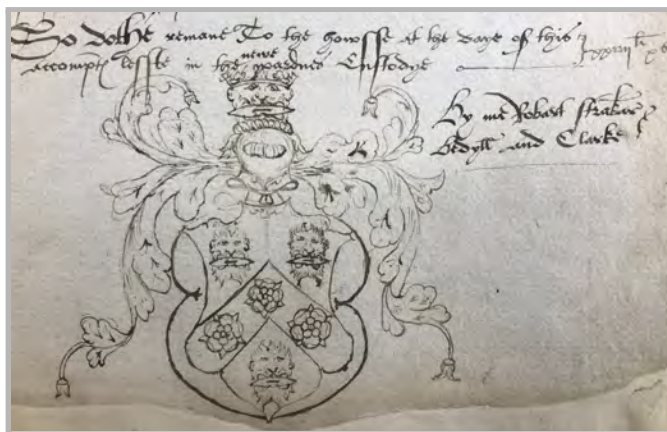


Figure 2.13: Beadle and Clerk. Weavers' Company Account and Memorandum Book, 1575, fol. 305^r.

Guildhall Library, City of London. CLC/L/WC/A/027/MS04646–The Worshipful Company of Weavers, Account and Memorandum Book 1489-1741. Image courtesy of Prof. Tracey Hall.

Although it was rare to hold the posts of Beadle and Clerk simultaneously, Robert Strakar held a comparable position to Fayreberne within the Weavers' Company.⁵⁷ Strakar was similarly responsible for compiling the annual accounts in the Weavers' Company's Account and Memorandum Book, and this is known because he almost always included a statement indicating that his position at the Company was 'Bedyll and Clarke' (see figure 2.13). The congruence of Strakar and Fayreberne's positions for their respective companies, and their roles in producing the annual accounts, is significant for issues concerning the authorship of non-literary texts. A valuable insight into the formulation and fashioning of corporate records is provided by the ways in which each man differentiated their Company roles, and how both Strakar and Fayreberne understood and enacted their record-keeping duties.

⁵⁷ The Beadle had an authority within the trade, with the powers to search and apprehend; whereas the Clerk's authority lay in the reliability and accuracy of the record-keeping. Merging the two positions risked a possible conflict of interest, as the specifications of both posts were divergent. You would have to be absolutely certain about a person's character before tasking someone whose role was mainly disciplinary in nature with the responsibility for record-keeping.

An example of Strakar's working practices is shown in figure 2.13. This may be an exceptional illustration of how he approached the Weavers' Company's Account and Memorandum Book as a media object, but the accounts compiled by Strakar are characterised by his use of flourishes and illustrations. It would seem likely that Strakar envisioned the accounts as a creative space not only on a personal level, which allowed him to demonstrate his professional and technical abilities as a clerk, but also at an institutional level, through which he could create a distinctive corporate identity for the documents. As the example above shows, the accounts were closely bound to the corporate identity through his replication of the Weavers' Company's arms. But his decision to include this added an aesthetic dimension to the Company's accounts, which returns us to those ideas of authorship that exist beyond the conventional. Strakar's incorporation of decorative elements into the Weavers' Company's accounts contrasts to the simplicity of Fayreberne's rendering of the Stationers' Company's accounts, which reiterates Bredehoft's point about forms of authorship beyond linguistic structures. The differences in the visual forms of these accounts show how each man conceptualised the volumes as media objects, and the ways in which they were intended to function and be utilised. These highlight the significance of authorial intention to the production of documentary records, and its role in guiding meanings and forms of engagement, for as McKenzie stated, understanding authorial meaning and the expressive function of a text's modes of transmission are vital for the objective retrieval of information from an authorially sanctioned text.⁵⁸ However, it is worth remembering that the two companies were at very different stages in their histories. The Weavers' Company received its first royal charter in 1155, so it had had a much longer experience of being an incorporated company and, perhaps, a far greater appreciation of the subtleties and nuances of such texts.

The aesthetic qualities that Strakar brought to his role in producing the Account and Memorandum Book for the Weavers' Company also served to elevate the status of his

⁵⁸ See above, page 79. McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 55.

office, and was a reminder that the Clerk's duties were beyond that of 'mechanical' record-keeping. Strakar's example illustrates the possibilities and the extent to which clerks were able to individualise corporate documentation. The decorative elements incorporated into the Weavers' accounts may be an indication of Strakar's priorities in his role as both Beadle and Clerk for the Company, with Strakar taking far greater pleasure in his role of Clerk than that of Beadle – which may be the difference between Strakar and Fayreberne. For the duration of Fayreberne's term of compiling the fair copies of the annual accounts there were very few signs of flourish and artistry. His seeming lack of penmanship and clerical nous, in comparison to Strakar, perhaps contributes to the viewpoint that he was simply a 'copyist'. This perspective makes it far easier to dismiss Fayreberne's influence in establishing the forms of the Stationers' Registers. His responsibility for the Register so soon after its commencement gave it a degree of stability and consistency as a text, but that is not to say that it was a static text under his guardianship. He laid out the procedural etiquette for the entering of the accounts, which adapted as circumstances dictated. Although the Wardens' Accounts largely conformed with the traditions of other livery company account books Fayreberne's experimentation with the paratextual devices and forms of entry established the protocols which were particularly efficient and effective for the Stationers' Company. Whilst it takes a great deal of effort to discern a sense of Fayreberne's personality from the Wardens' Accounts, the fact that he was responsible for transcribing a large proportion of the volume suggests that it was very much his book.

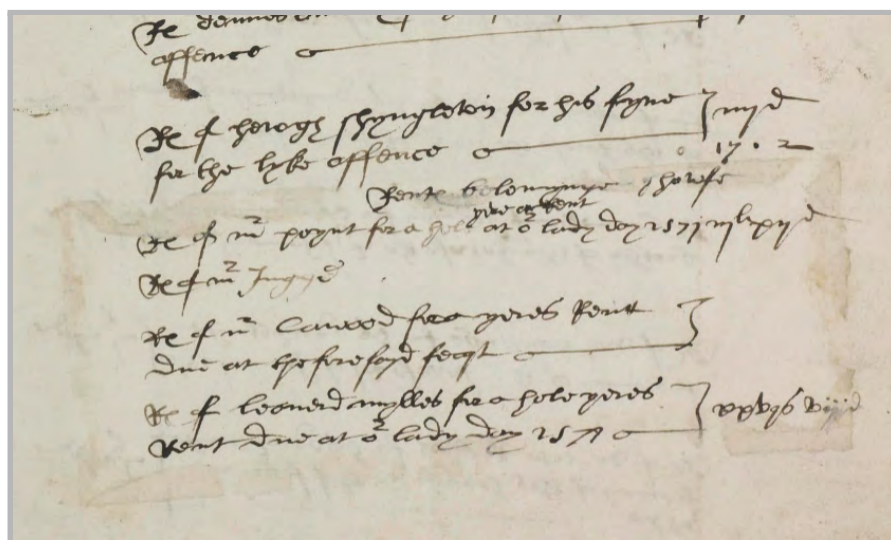
George Wapull (1571-1574)

Figure 2.14: Fayreberne's Final Year. Wardens' Accounts, 1570/71, f. 207^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Towards the end of Fayreberne's period as compiler of the Wardens' Accounts there was a marked deterioration in the stylistic unity and condition of the entries in the register. For example: in the accounts of 1570/71 the penmanship was far more cursive, less attention was paid to the justification of entries, there was significant amount of ink damage, and also evidence that the section relating to rents paid to the Company was pasted over (see figure 2.14).⁵⁹ Whilst these were by no means extraordinary features throughout the register, their cumulative effect in the accounts of 1570/71 suggests that the Stationers' Company's circumstances were changing. This could simply be attributed to the condition of John Fayreberne's health, which would have made his dual role within the Company difficult to sustain, but equally it could signal that there were shifts taking place in the book trade which would have affected the ways in which the register functioned. It is possible that this deterioration in the fair copy of the accounts suggested to the Company that its

⁵⁹ The pastedown suggests that the entries for the rents were misplaced here, but it is equally possible that the rents were added to another of the Company's books at a later date and these entries were pasted over to avoid confusion. Other examples of pastedown within the Wardens' Accounts include: fols 9^r-9^v, which were used to repair a torn page; fol. 95^r, as this is overwritten it seems to be a corrective measure for a substantive error. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fols 9^r-9^v; 1562/63, fol. 95^r.

administrative structures were no longer suitable for the increased volume, frequency and types of business it was required to engage with. A decision was made therefore to employ a clerk to assume responsibility for the Company's record-keeping and general administration. And so, in 1571 the Stationers' Company appointed George Wapull as its first salaried Clerk.

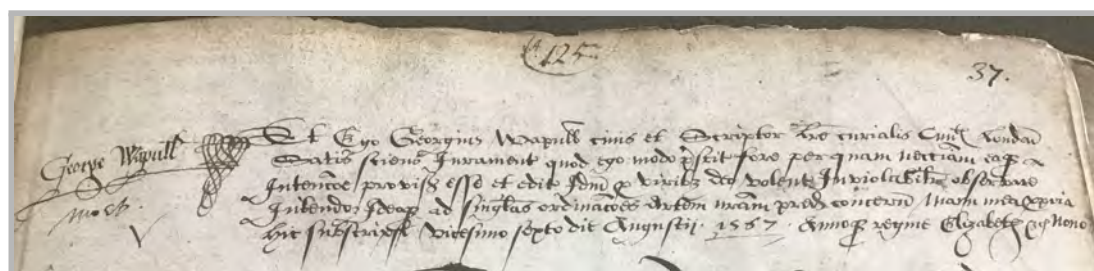


Figure 2.15: George Wapull's Subscription to the Oath of the Scriveners' Company.

Guildhall Library, City of London. CLC/L/SC/A/005/MS05370–'Common Paper' containing articles and ordinances relating to the administration of the Worshipful Company of Scriveners, 1392-1627, f 37r. Image courtesy of Prof. Tracey Hill.

The Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company contains a list of sixty-three scriveners who were members of the company in 1573. These names were placed in order of their seniority, and the fifty-first name to appear in this list was that of George Wapull.⁶⁰ Four years before his appointment as the Clerk of the Stationers' Company, Wapull was admitted as a freeman to the Scriveners' Company in 1567, and his position in this list would suggest that the Scriveners' Company considered him to be still a relatively junior member in 1573. References to Wapull within the Scriveners' records are few and far between but his name does appear on two other occasions in the Common Paper. The first of these references, appears in the Subscriptions to the Oath, 1417-1613, records Wapull's admittance to the company on the 26th of August 1567 (see figure 2.15).⁶¹ The second mention is also recorded in the Company's Subscriptions to the Oath, and this was related

⁶⁰ 'The Common Paper: Apprentices and servants, 1478-1573', in *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628 With a Continuation to 1678*, ed. Francis W Steer (London, 1968), pp. 12-19. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol4/pp12-19>.

⁶¹ 'The Common Paper: Subscriptions to the oath, 1417-1613', in *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628 With A Continuation To 1678*, ed. Francis W Steer (London, 1968), pp. 20-49. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol4/pp20-49>.

to the freedom of another Scrivener, John Miller. The details of Miller's admittance to the Scriveners' Company on the 13th of October 1578 record that he had been apprenticed to George Wapull in 1566. Although it was not unusual for apprentices to be freed by the widow or fellow master of the deceased individual, the notice of Miller's admission is significant because it could indicate that George Wapull was still active in 1578. Arber highlighted an entry in the Wardens' Accounts for 1584/85 that recorded the Court of Assistants' award of 10s. to George Wapull 'toward his voyage unto Norembegue' (see figure 2.16), and the corresponding entry in Liber B was discussed by Greg who noted of Wapull that:

Nothing certain is known of him for the next ten years, but since his name was an unusual one it is reasonable enough to suppose that he was the George Wapull whose moral play *The Tide Tarrieth no Man* was printed in 1576. Then on 2 Feb. 1585 we find a grant of 10s. 'to further him in his voiage which he purposeth into Norenbegue', with the curious proviso that 'Yf he goo not in that voiage he is to restore the monny' (p.17). The sum was duly paid by the Wardens, and there seems no evidence of its having been recovered. Norumbega was a division of Canada lying between Nova Scotia and Virginia, and Arber conjectures that he may have sailed on the second Virginian expedition, sent out by Raleigh in April 1585.⁶²

There is, however, a counterpoint to the statements of Arber and Greg. Blayney asserts that Wapull died in office in 1574, and claims that it was 'another namesake who was given 10s. by the Stationers in 1584-5'.⁶³ This discrepancy between the accounts of Wapull's fate is significant for how we consider the status of the clerkship within the Stationers' Company. Blayney's argument reinforces the viewpoint that it was essentially a job for life; whilst the parting of the ways between the Stationers' Company and George Wapull, suggested by Arber and Greg, could indicate that it was possible to negotiate much shorter terms of service.⁶⁴

⁶² Arber, Vol. I, p. 509; SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554–1596): 1585, fol. 239 r. Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Court*, p. x, p. 17; SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, fol. 437v.

⁶³ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 616 (note A). He does provide more detail concerning Wapull's death in a later article, which notes that, 'He was buried in St Gregory's on 9 October 1574'. Blayney 'If It Looks Like a Register...', p. 239.

⁶⁴ I must also thank Joe Saunders for alerting me to the baptismal records of St Andrews Undershaft, where a George Wapull was listed as the father of a child baptised on 2 February 1577.

breakdown of the Company's annual accounts were removed from the volume and replaced with brief annual summaries. For this reason, George Wapull has often been held responsible for the archival gap in the Stationers' Company's records between 1571 and 1576.⁶⁵

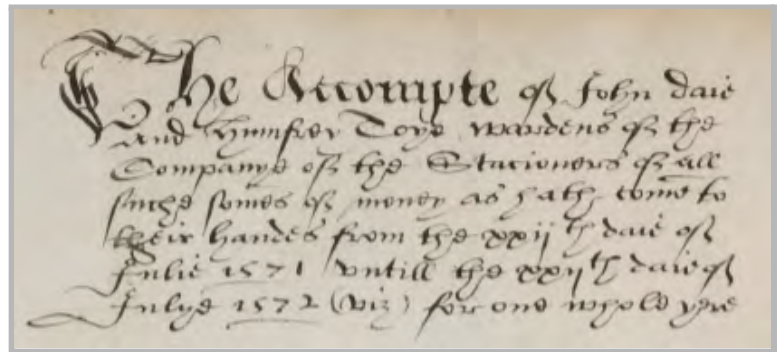
The 'authorial' persona of George Wapull was introduced in the register entries relating to the payment of the clerks' wages. As I discussed earlier, the customary conventions of the Registers established that references to clerks were largely anonymous and predominantly restricted to the title of the office. John Fayreberne did occasionally identify himself as the compiler of the Wardens' Accounts, as can be seen by his clarification of the entry at fol. 208^v, but these interventions were incidental and appeared very rarely (and he certainly never claimed to be a clerk), (see figure 2.12). However, in the accounts for 1572/73 there was a departure from these cursory references as George Wapull's name appeared in connection with the position, 'Item paide to George Wapull clearke for his yeres Wages' (see figure 2.2).⁶⁶ This may be seen as an official declaration of Wapull's position as the first salaried Clerk for the Company, but it is also a deliberate choice made by Wapull to be a visible presence within the Company's records; and particularly in circumstances, as we saw earlier, where the individual authorial voice was subordinated to the corporate identity. As a Scrivener, Wapull was an outsider to the Company, and this small change to the usual form can be viewed as being in a similar vein to the declaration made by Richard Collins at the beginning of Liber B. Its inclusion was a means of legitimating his authority to keep the Company's records. But there is also a sense in which this change to the Company's accepted practice was an active renegotiation of how the clerkship and clerks should be regarded within the Company's structure; to be

⁶⁵ In his transcript of the Wardens' Accounts, Arber added a note under a register entry recording the payment of 30 shillings to the Clerk in 1571/72, stating that: 'George Wapull was the new clerk [...] and it is probably to this change that we are indebted for the loss of five years of the Book Entries.' Arber, Vol. I, p. 460. Blayney has noted that Wapull's daybook continued to be used by Collins in the first year of his service, before initiating Liber B, adding that 'Wapull has sometimes unfairly been blamed for the 'gap' in the Registers—but Tokefield could not rescue everything, and Liber B was obviously more valuable than whatever Collins had inherited from Wapull.' Blayney, 'If It Looks Like a Register...', p. 239.

⁶⁶ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1572/73, fol. 217^r.

viewed no longer as a ghostly presence in the hinterland of corporate administration, but as living, breathing people at the heart of its functioning.

1571/72, fol. 210^r.



1572/73, fol. 216^r.



Figure 2.17: Creative Accounting. Wardens' Accounts, 1571-1573.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

With the incorporation of decorative initials into the headings for each year's accounts, Wapull also brought a degree of flair and artistry to the Wardens' Accounts. His introduction of these elements is reminiscent of Strakar's work for the Weavers' Company, and indeed of many other livery company clerks, since these were creative spaces in which Wapull could demonstrate his technical accomplishments and proficiency in the art of court-letter. Whilst these decorative features elevated the volume from being that of a purely functional text, that is not to say that they were without function. In the context of the register's development they were a vital paratextual device; as the detailed annual accounts became summaries they were essential markers for indicating the start of each year's accounts. For Wapull's term of office each of these initials were stylistically distinct, which is an indication that the referential function of the Registers had gained far more importance under Wapull's charge. However, these decorative features also illustrate a

significant difference between how John Fayreberne and George Wapull conceptualised the Wardens' Accounts as a media object. Unlike Fayreberne, Wapull had a far greater awareness of the role that a text's visual impact played in imparting its textual authority, especially regarding official forms of documentation. The Stationers' Company's appointment of Wapull, and the subsequent restructure, may have been a direct result of an upturn in the Company's activities, but the perspective that Wapull brought to the compilation of the Wardens' Accounts signified a shift in the Registers' status within its institutional systems. Wapull's changes brought an efficiency to the Company's accounting procedures, ensuring that Wardens' Accounts still operated within the bounds of its original function; but the emphasis placed upon the volume's appearance looking (to all intents and purposes) like a legal document was a sign that this function was already in the process of changing. Although the Stationers' Registers had no actual legal standing, as the business of 'copy' gained traction the changes introduced by Wapull helped to reinforce their status and authority amongst the community.

Richard Collins (1575-1613)

Richard Collins's appointment to the clerkship of the Stationers' Company marked a pivotal moment in the development of the Stationers' Registers. He succeeded George Wapull to the post in 1575 and served a term of office that spanned thirty-eight years, until his death in 1613.⁶⁷ Accordingly, his duties as the Company's Clerk gave him the responsibility for the production of the Wardens' Accounts, Liber B, and Liber C. Needless to say, Collins's service marked a period of singular influence for the Stationers' Registers.

Collins's association with the Company, and its members, can be traced before his appointment to the clerkship. One of the earliest references to him in the Company's

⁶⁷ The clerkship, or more precisely the issue of who was to succeed Collins as the Company's Clerk, was a matter of concern in the 1590s/1600s. Thomas Purfoot Jr., who had been apprenticed to Collins, was granted the reversion of the Clerkship on 6 May 1592 but this decision was rescinded by the Court of Assistants on 3 December 1599. Edward Ledsam, a servant of Richard Bancroft (Bishop of London), was awarded the reversion on 6 September 1602. He was admitted to the Stationers' Company on 27 February 1604, but seemingly died later in that same year.

documentation can be found in Liber A, the companion volume to the Wardens' Accounts.

Included in this volume is a transcribed copy of Arthur Pepwell's testament, which concluded with the following statement:

... here vnto I have put my hand and Seale the day and yere fyrste a bove
[wretten] sayd these beyinge present whose names are vnder wrytten / by
me arthure pepwell gabryell newman and Rychard Collyns servaunte to
andrewe palmer Scrivener⁶⁸

Away from the context of the Stationers' Company, an earlier record can be found for the period in which Collins was still learning the art of the court-letter. In 1565 it was documented that 'Thos. Peeke and Rich. Collins, apprentices to Andrew Palmer, scrivener' were witnesses to the execution of an assignment of items as security against a loan.⁶⁹ The partial nature of freedom records in the premodern period is discussed by Patrick Wallis, and he outlines the patterns of progression offered by apprenticeships. As a general rule, youths were entered into an agreed term of service with masters who then taught them their craft or trade. Wallis notes that freedom (and therefore citizenship) was not an inevitable immediate reward upon conclusion of training for many apprentices. Limitations were placed upon trades and crafts which created conditions whereby:

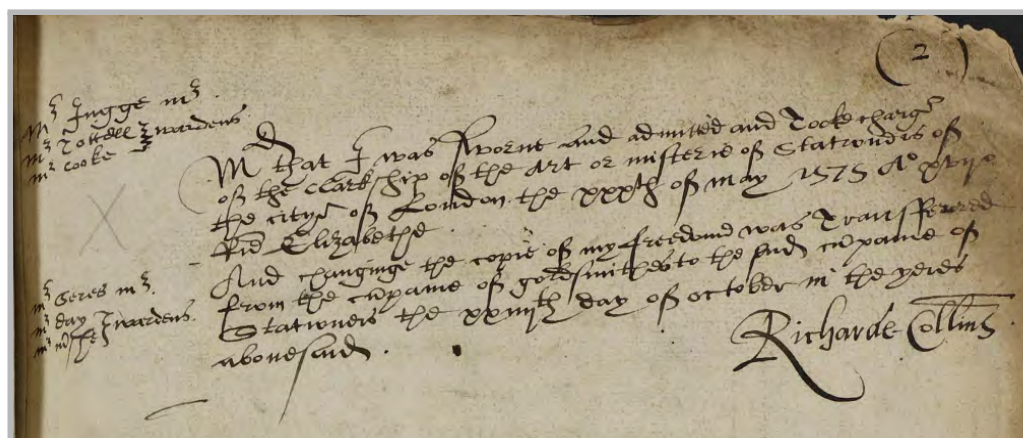
even if they completed their apprenticeships, many aspirant freemen would then have to struggle to gather the resources to establish their own business. Therefore, it was not an uncommon practice for freedom to be granted several years after the end of the apprenticeship.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Arthur Pepwell (d. 1568), Stationer. This testament was written shortly before his death in 1568; probate was granted on 15 January 1569. The will had three portions: the first to Joan his wife; the second divided equally between his two sons, Henry and Humphrey, upon condition that if both died before they reached the age of majority then 100^{li} from the portions would be bequeathed to the Stationers' Company for the purpose of forming 2 year loans for five young men of the Company; and finally charitable and familial bequests. The National Archives: PROB 11/51/9. SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771: 1568, fol. 13^v.

⁶⁹ 'Assignment by Joan Edwards of London, widow, to James Bradshaw of London, merchant tailor, of certain silver plate and wearing apparel mentioned, to secure the repayment of 28*l*. at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1573. Executed in the presence of Thos. Peeke and Rich. Collins, apprentices to Andrew Palmer, scrivener.' *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580; Elizabeth 1601-1603; with addenda 1547-1565*. ed by Robert Lemon, Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman & Co., and Trübner & Co., 1870), Vol. XII; 1565: Nov 13, 85., p. 572.

⁷⁰ Wallis, Patrick, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sep., 2008), 832-861 (p. 838).

Wallis suggests that the actual time taken to attain freedom in London was much shorter than elsewhere, and perhaps even more so for stationers.⁷¹ Differences in the descriptors of Collins's status in these two documents chart his advancement in his career as a scrivener; first listed in 1565 as being an apprentice to the Scrivener, Andrew Palmer, but then subsequently described in Pepwell's testament as his 'servaunte'. The difference in Collins's designations in the records could indicate that the terms of his apprenticeship had been completed in the three years between 1565 and 1568, so that by the time he was witnessing Pepwell's testament he was employed as a journeyman in Palmer's service (and in all probability, earning the money that would enable his eventual transfer to the Stationers' Company).⁷²



Memorandum that I was sworne and admitted and Tooke charge
of the clarkship of the Art or misterie of Stationers of
the city of London the xxxth of May 1575 Anno xvijº
Rie Elizabethe

And changinge the copie of my freedom was Transferred
from the cumpanie of goldsmithes to the said cumpanie of
Stationers the xxiiijth day of october in the yeres
abovesaid

Figure 2.18: Richard Collins's Translation. Liber B, 1975, fol. 2^r.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

⁷¹ The 1563 Statute of Artificers formally required apprentices to serve a minimum term of seven years. Seven or eight years appear to have been the most frequent terms of service for the Stationers' Company's apprentices, although the records show that indentures could range to thirteen years. Claiming freedom by patrimony gave apprentices an opportunity to cut short their time in service.

⁷² The terminology of the period was fairly fluid; and since 'servant' could be used in reference to both apprentices and journeymen it is difficult to say with any certainty whether this was indeed the case.

On 30 May 1575 the association between Richard Collins and the Stationers' Company became a permanent relationship. Demonstrating the skills that the Company required of him, Collins recorded in full the details of his appointment to the clerkship in Liber B. In his statement Collins proclaimed that he had been admitted to the Stationers' Company and had sworn the oath before taking up his office (see figure 2.18). Whilst this declaration recorded his admission to the Stationers' Company on the 30th May, the entry following this statement indicates that full transferral of his freedom from the Goldsmiths' Company did not take place until 24 October. Collins's translation to the Stationers' Company appears to have been an unusual move for a scrivener. Although referring to freedom practices from a slightly earlier period, Davies notes that for many clerks:

In most cases they had been apprenticed as London Scriveners and were full members of that guild rather than those they served as clerks.⁷³

It is possible that the cruciality of the clerkship to the administrative functioning of the Company was accentuated by the reordering of its records, and the restructure of the Registers, during Wapull's term of office. Consequently, it would appear that the Stationers' Company decided this position was far too important to be trusted to outsiders. In this respect, that early connection Collins had with members of the Company was a valuable consideration when it came to judging his suitability for the position. Certainly after Wapull's term of office it seems to have been a necessary requirement for those charged with the duty to be members of the Company, as the examples of Collins and Ledsham demonstrate (see p. 124, *n.* 67). Having changed the 'copie' of his freedom,

⁷³ Davies, "Wrytyng, making and engrocyng", p. 32. In Collins's case this would seem to be complicated by the fact that he was a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company, and not the Scriveners. However, the convention of freedom which dictated that apprentices were freed of their master's Company does seem to be one likely explanation for his affiliation (besides familial connections), as Palmer was also a freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company. The clear division between the Text-writers (the Stationers' Company), and the practitioners of Court-letter (the Scriveners' Company) which was evident at the foundation of the Stationers' Company suggests that there may have been deep-seated cultural reasons for why so few Scriveners became members of the Company.

Collins's subsequent actions show that there was more to his translation than just being a Stationer in name.

The occasional notes at the start of Liber B contain excerpts taken from the Stationers' Company's charter of incorporation by Collins, and Arber concluded that this note was made for Collins's own use (see figure 1.12, p. 54).⁷⁴ Entitled 'The name of the corporacion', these excerpts relate to the formation of the 'perpetual community incorporated', the role of the executive body of the Company, namely the Master and Wardens, the appointments of 'A. B.' (Thomas Dockwray) as Master and 'C D' (John Cawood and Henry Cooke) as Wardens. Its presence in this section of the register does suggest that, at this stage of Collins's career, it was a valuable aide memoire on the history of the Stationers' Company and its chain of authority. Collins seems to have had a far more active role as a Stationer than Wapull did, certainly in respect of taking on apprentices throughout his term of office; and it is possible that the Company encouraged this activity in order for him to better understand the core function of the Company's business and its community.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Arber notes that these excerpts were 'out of the original Charter', but the date of 10 November identifies Elizabeth's 1559 confirmation of the charter as the source. Arber, Vol. II, p. 33.

⁷⁵ It is probably an unfair comparison to make given the paucity of records for Wapull's term of office. Occasionally Collins put his apprentices to other Stationers to learn their trades; perhaps most notably Richard Browne, who was bound to Collins on 2 May 1586 with the Court agreeing to the Grocer John Jackson taking responsibility for Browne's service in order that he could learn the trade of printing. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1586, fol. 53^v. Collins was appointed Renter Warden in 1594 and fined £3 for not performing this duty. In consideration of his services as the Clerk, the Court granted him exemption from having to serve the rentership. Collins paid the final instalment for this fine and discharged his debt on 1 July 1598. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1594, fol. 458^r; 1598, fol. 466^r.

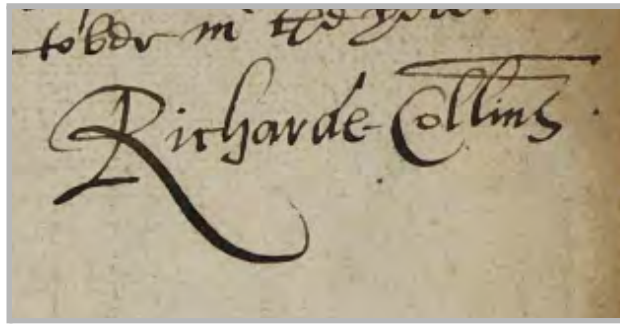
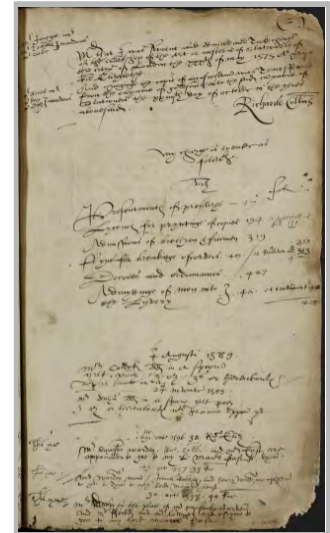



Figure 2.19: Richard Collins. Liber B, 1575, fol. 2^r.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

The appearance of the introductory notices in Liber B serve both as an official and formal announcement of Collins's appointment as clerk and as a statement of intent in the compilation of the volume, but they also introduce Collins as the author(figure) of the text. Collins's credentials and suitability for the post were established through these notices. The statements attest to his position and authority within the company, and indicate that his transfer from the Goldsmiths' Company was conducted according to procedure, all of which was unquestionable. How Collins constructed these entries on the page gave them a visual impact that exemplified and promoted his brand of authorship. The positioning of the statements asserted his authority and relationship to the register, and established the boundaries of his duty to the text; but it also emphasised that this was very much his book (see figure 2.19). The three statements occupy just over half of the page, and the section detailing his duty is given a generous amount of space, to make very clear the procedures and order to this volume. Collins' signature is notable for its space, size, and expressiveness, particularly considering that following entries were squeezed into what remained of the page. His signature was an official mark to confirm the veracity of the statements and his consent to the terms laid out. Its visibility and legibility not only stamped his authority on the volume, it also signalled his personality and sense of

self-image. Explaining the conventions to his transcript of the Stationers' Registers, Arber remarked that:

How Richard Collins would have opened his eyes could he have foreseen that three hundred years after he had penned his entries, the magnifying glass would be used to ascertain whether he meant a particular D or W for a capital letter or not; and that those superfluous strokes / / /, the labour of an idle moment, would also be reproduced!⁷⁶

There are plentiful instances throughout the Registers where Collins embellished entries with additional flourishes, particularly in entries that related to his own interests. Whilst we can never be certain whether he was adding emphasis or simply taking enjoyment in his penmanship, it is evident from the ways in which Liber B was compiled and ordered that Collins's conceptualisation of the Stationers' Registers took a far longer view of their functionalities and purposes, and he constructed these volumes with their futures very much in mind. The sense of Collins's personality that can be perceived from the Stationers' Registers certainly suggests that he would have been quite pleased to see his work receive such enthusiastic study.

Comparing the initial statement made by Collins which laid out 'his charge' to the contents of the first register would seem to suggest that in terms of structure there was no great divergence between the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B. The material covered is broadly the same, but the ways in which the organisation is visualised and enacted is very much different. This may be a development that was forced upon Collins by the paperwork left behind (or not) by Wapull, but it does indicate that Collins was continually rationalising the documentary structures of the company, and producing records that were efficient and utile. Greater focus was placed upon ordering the register by record type, which made it an easier text to navigate for finding specific information, suggesting that Liber B was less of an 'account of *our* howse' and more of a working text under Collins's guardianship. This can be seen with the introduction of more visible referential structures

⁷⁶ Arber, Vol. I, p. 28.

in the registers, as Collins included markers within the margins to indicate important or connected entries, which were also extended to the Wardens' Accounts. Court dates were also noted for certain entries which not only emphasises the referential function of the Stationers Registers but also their utility and centrality to the everyday functioning of the Company. Liber B is also notable for its multilingualism, French and Latin were frequently used in the marginal annotations, and dates were occasionally Latinised (see figure 2.20). Collins's interpolations demonstrate the linguistic stratification of the Stationers' Company, with particular languages serving specific purposes throughout. Davies has noted that:

language mixing and tri-lingualism were characteristics of the records of many of London's guilds in the first half of the fifteenth century [...] It seems likely that this was a major encouragement for the guilds to employ professional, skilled scribes to write and organize their records, and to deal with the linguistic diversity of communication with the City, the crown and their own members.⁷⁷

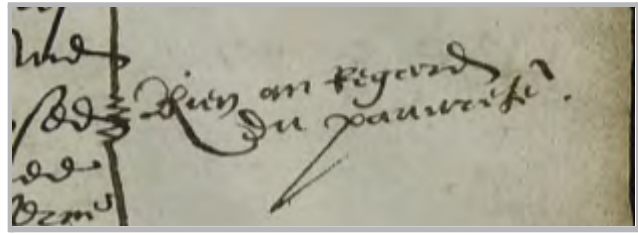
It is uncertain to what extent this applied to daily life within the Stationers' Company, or whether it was restricted solely to those circles responsible for the Company's record-keeping; but with only some book titles and copies of legal documentation appearing in languages other than English, multilingualism was not a notable feature of the Stationers' Registers' own fabric until Collins's appointment.⁷⁸ Although this was a professional aspect of his duties, it is also possible that the languages on display in Liber B were a far more personal feature which certainly contributes to the overall sense that Liber B was very much Richard Collins's book.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Davies, 'Writyng, making and engrocyng', pp. 28-9.

⁷⁸ For example, a copy of the document establishing Thomas Norton's annuity as counsel for the Stationers' Company was included in the Wardens' Accounts. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1562, fol. 81^r.

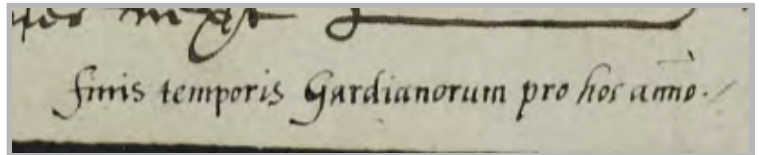
⁷⁹ Collins's use of French, Latin, and English emphasises his training as a scrivener, and the language skills that were required for mastering the art. The loss of detailed records for the Stationers' Company between 1571 and 1576 does add an element of doubt as to whether Collins was wholly responsible for this feature of the registers, or if Wapull had also compiled the lost records in this way.

8 April 1583
Liber B, fol. 45^r.



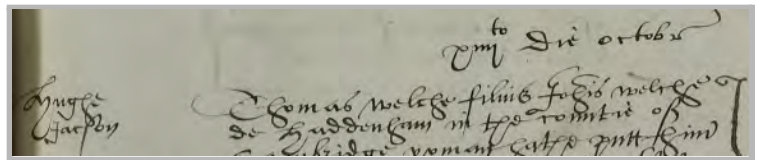
Rien au Regard
du pauvrete!⁸⁰

21 June 1577,
Liber B, fol. 23^r.



finis temporis Gardianorum pro hos anno ./

14 October 1577,
Liber B, fol. 24^r.⁸¹



xiiiij^{to} Die octobris
Thomas welche filius Johannis welche
de Haddenham in the countie of [...]⁸²

Figure 2.20: Collins's Trilingualism. Liber B, 1577-83.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

CONCLUSION: MAKING NARRATIVE POSSIBLE

With ‘What is an Author?’ Foucault posited important and complex questions concerning the relationship between author and text, and the ‘manner in which the text points to this “figure” that, at least in appearance, is outside it and antecedes it’.⁸³ Although his study

⁸⁰ Arber transcribed this as ‘Rien au Regard Du panwieke’. However, given the context of the entry, I read this as ‘Rien au Regard de pauvrete!’, indicating that no payment was submitted due to poverty. Arber, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁸¹ This is a section of the Register where there was a small deviation in its foliation. There are two folios numbered 24 (of which this is the second). An earlier error had occurred with the misnumbering of fol. 11 as fol. 12, and this adjustment corrected that error and restored the order of the sequence.

⁸² This is the second of only two instances in Liber B where ‘filius’ was used instead of ‘sonne’. The first occurs on fol. 23^r, where John Thomas placed himself as apprentice to Christopher Butler on 26 May 1577. Its usage does suggest that these were occasions where Collins was writing reflexively.

⁸³ Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’, p. 101.

considers these relationships within a literary framework, they are no less relevant questions to ask in relation to the production of documentary records. For as McKenzie has argued, we have to consider ‘the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission and consumption.’⁸⁴ Concepts of authorship and intention are key issues when examining non-literary texts in terms of understanding the content and form of their narratives, and the ways in which they were controlled, because it really *does* matter ‘who is speaking’. It is equally important to be aware of the reasons why they are speaking in order to recognise the full range of ‘social realities’ that shape their social discourses.

For this period in the Stationers’ Company’s history, the ‘authors/author-figures’ of the Stationers’ Registers represent the source, the mediator, and the functional principle of these texts. Their unifying function in bringing together a diverse range of social, and transactional material to form a single cultural entity is also a mirror for the Stationers’ Company’s incorporation. Connecting the Registers to the everyday lived experiences of Stationers gave them a social relevance for the community, but for the Company to uphold its duty for regulation of London’s book trades and crafts they also had to operate within the broader context of London’s civic society. Within this environment, the authors/author-figures of the Stationers’ Registers were responsible for ensuring they were functional, utile texts.

The textual identity and status of the Stationers’ Registers allowed multi-layered forms of authorship to develop, from that of the institutional author, the indirect forms of external authority, through to the individual scribes. Each ‘author’ curated the voices and cultures relevant for their own particular aims, and created the ideal conditions and spaces for their narratives to emerge. The dominance of the narrative of censorship, which is often at odds with the function of the volumes, demonstrates why it does matter who is speaking and who controls the narrativity of the Stationers’ Registers. But as to the specific cultures

⁸⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

narrated by the authors of the Registers we need to return to the issue of the codes and behaviours of the Stationers' Company. The key to understanding the enduring power of their narratives lies in the centrality of the Registers to the everyday life of the community. The ways in which members interpreted the functions of the Registers were significant in shaping their engagement with them, and these interactions were vital contributors to the authority and cultural identity of the Stationers' Registers.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DAILY REGISTER

Having explored in the previous chapters what the foundation and compilation of the Stationers' Registers tells us about notions of texts and authorship in relation to the Stationers' Company's record-keeping practices, and how these concepts were defined and redefined through the conceptualisations and materialities of the individual registers, I will now turn my focus to the registers' function within the environment of the Hall and how they were used on a daily basis. The utility and functionality of the registers were consequential factors in their evolution as many of the modifications implemented during this period were connected to ideas of their purpose and performance. Delineating the roles of institutions and individuals associated with the registers reveals the hierarchies and social relationships which were integral to their textual and material forms, and investigating how the registers were used in the everyday life of the Company allows us to trace the ways in which these relationships and networks had a direct influence upon the registers and their narratives.

Function and utility were fundamental to the textual identity of the Stationers' Registers. Valuable indications of where the authority to decide 'good practice' resided are provided by the interactions and intersections of their various networks of intention, especially in regards to how the purpose of the registers was conceptualised. In this respect McKenzie's methodology is useful for foregrounding the forms of authorship which were crucial to the Registers' compilation, but it also underlines how environmental conditions and social contexts could influence the decisions that affected the production of the individual registers and the framing of their narratives. Although intention is a problematic field, as I discussed in Chapter Two, investigating (or agreeing to infer) the range of possible intentions expressed within the registers offers us a means of ascertaining which

social actions and interactions were crucial to their development as business accounts, archival records, media objects, and cultural artefacts.

Reading these forms of social activity is very much at the heart of McKenzie's theory, as he declares that:

sociology simply reminds us of the full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve, from receipt blanks to bibles. But it also directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption. It alerts us to the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affecting the forms of social discourse, past and present.¹

Evidence of the 'full range of social realities' experienced by the Stationers' Company and its members is demonstrated in how the registers documented their own function and utilisation, and the actualities that each of these volumes were crafted to address. On a purely practical level it was necessary for the daily business of the Company (and the book trade in general) to be recorded, and that this was done in an efficient and intelligible manner. Recovering the motivations that account for the Company's particular processes, systems, and rituals, and also those which were influential in shaping the characteristics of the registers helps to shed light upon the Register's auxiliary purposes and usages that do not fit easily within the narratives of censorship and control. McKenzie emphasises the importance of prevalent codes and conventions as they are indicators which enable the recovery of 'significant meanings we should otherwise miss or misinterpret'.² Via the records of the Company's transactions in the registers we can deduce some of the codes and conventions that were observed by the Stationers' Company. Differences to the ways in which they were documented indicate that these were subject to a degree of individual interpretation, which also extended to how the registers were perceived by members of the community. The utilisation of the registers beyond their intended purposes not only

¹ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

² McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 32.

illustrates the human idiosyncrasies within this particular community, it also serves to inform us about the culture of the Stationers' Company during this period.

In this chapter I will examine what the registers tell us about the day to day business of the Stationers' Company. Incorporation gave the Company the monopoly for regulating the London book trade and a new legal identity, and the foundation of the Stationers' Register reflected the Company's aspirations regarding this new status. But what did this mean for the intended function of the individual registers and their utilisation? Differences between the prescribed use and the actual usage of the Stationers' Register are significant for comprehending how the narrative of their functionality was constructed. How the registers were employed at both an institutional and an individual level provides an insight into the ways in which the narratives of the registers were established, developed, and disrupted, and demonstrates that they represented far more than a straightforward factual account of the Company's daily business. As the Company negotiated its new status and responsibilities its conceptualisations of corporate identity evolved, and the ways in which this process was manifested in the Stationers' Registers proved them to be valuable sites for the writing and recording of identity. In turn, the registers advanced and reinforced a sense of communal identity amongst its membership by way of their biographical function. As the means and the measure of the actions and interactions of the Stationers' Company, the functionality of the registers and the ways in which they were utilised demonstrates just how vital a contribution they made to the social discourses of the Stationers' Company.

A SENSE OF PURPOSE

The Stationers' Registers are complex, composite texts (to use McKenzie's expression) in terms of both their material forms and their authorial structure.³ They were the product of a

³ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 50.

carefully considered process of construction and refinement. Recognising the ways in which they functioned as individual volumes and also as contributors to a continual series of records is valuable for understanding how they were perceived and utilised throughout their history, and this dualistic nature reveals a considerable array of underlying intentions and objectives that the registers were expected to fulfil. Whilst the individual volumes have their own particular specificity of chronology and purpose, their position within a sequence of books extends the relevance of each volume and subtly alters the ways in which their functionality and utility were interpreted and developed. As we have already seen regarding their material forms and stylistic unity, there was a deliberate procedure of construction that underpinned the function of the registers which was also subject to continual revision.

McKenzie's definition of 'sociology' is central to his theory of the sociology of texts. In his discussion of the term's history he cites the work of Herbert Spencer, who stated that 'to recognise truths of social development, structure and function' was the role of sociology.⁴ Spencer's emphasis upon structure and function provided a crucial focus for McKenzie's theory, because these centre the human experience rather than the 'logical inference from printed signs'. For McKenzie, admitting the full range of social realities into bibliographical praxis brings us closer to understanding how forms of social discourse can be manipulated by 'human motives' and 'institutional structures'.⁵ Having a sense of the purpose for which the Stationers' Registers were intended is useful for comprehending the institutional structures of the Stationers' Company, its community, and its development. Understanding how the registers functioned within these structures is crucial for recovering the codes and practices that were once commonplace and essential for regulating the London book trade. Primarily, the Stationers' Registers were the Company's books of

⁴ Spencer, Herbert, *The Study of Sociology*, (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873), p. 59, quoted in McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 14. Spencer states, 'so Sociology has to recognise truths of social development, structure, and function, that are some of them universal, some of them general, some of them special.' In true nineteenth-century fashion there are problematic contextual issues associated with Spencer's quotation, since it is excerpted from a passage concerning science, race and civilisation.

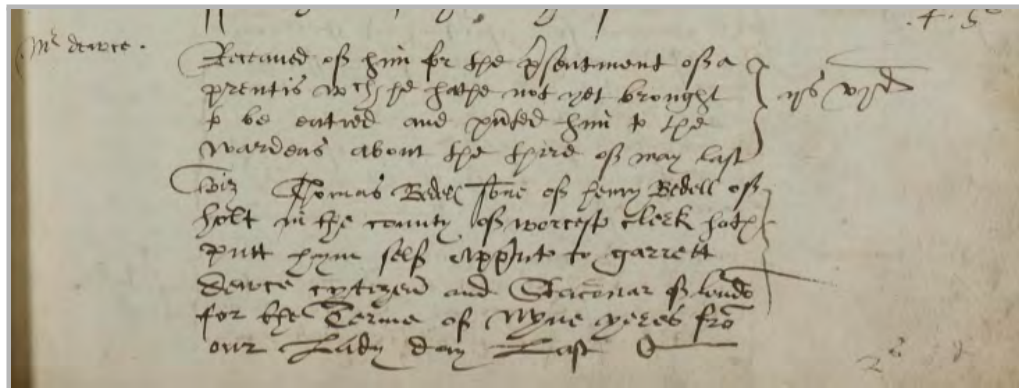
⁵ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 14-15.

account and they provide a valuable insight into the financial networks associated with the early modern book trades and crafts. Consequently, the scope of this function ensured that the registers recorded the principal performative aspects of the Company's business which included the annual audit of the accounts, decisions of the Court of Assistants, the taking of inventories, elections of the Company's officials, the presentation of apprentices, the taking of fines, admissions to the Company, admissions to the livery, and the entrances of copies. Each of these categories illustrate the rituals and the procedures that were an essential part of life for members of the Stationer's Company, and the structures of the registers reflect just how social and dynamic these activities could be.

Many company ordinances were grounded in performative behaviours, for example, admittance to the membership, pledging of allegiance, and the swearing of oaths. Sections of the registers related to the presentation of apprentices and for the breaking of the Company's ordinances demonstrate how essential these types of formal, ritualised procedure were to the daily life of a livery company. Whilst the apprenticeships were documented in the registers to account for the Company's receipts, they also served a secondary function of certifying that all necessary requirements for entering the trade had been met, and that the associated administrative procedures were conducted to the Company's satisfaction. The City had ordained in 1294 that the 'better and more discreet engaged in the several trades of the City shall cause a register to be made of all the names of masters, their apprentices and servants', and as such the recording of apprenticeships were a customary feature in the administrative records of the City's companies.⁶ In accordance with the City's customs, a new apprentice of the Stationers' Company had to be presented in person before both the Chamberlain at the Guildhall and the Court of Assistants at Stationers' Hall for the binding to proceed, and these presentations had to be

⁶ *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: B, 1275-1312*, ed. Reginald R. Sharpe (London, 1900), pp. 232-248. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-letter-books/volb/pp232-248>. Letter-Book B, fol. 106^v (xxxij b), p. 241.

performed and registered within a certain time frame if their masters were to avoid being penalised for infringing the Company's ordinances.⁷



Receaved of him for the presentment of a
 prentis which he hathe not yet brought
 to be entred and presented him to the
 Wardens about the third of may last
 viz. Thomas Bedell sonne of Henry Bedell of
 holt in the county of worcester clerk hath
 putt hym self Apperth to garrett
 Dewce cytizen and Stacioner of london
 for the Term of Nyne yeres from
 our Lady day Last

Figure 3.1: Presentation of Thomas Bedell. Liber B, 1580/81, fol. 36^r.

The Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605. All images from the Stationers' Company Archive are reproduced with permission from the Stationers' Company.

Thomas Bedell was bound as an apprentice to Garrat Dewes on 4 July 1581. The first reference to this binding in the register can be found in a marginal annotation to a crossed through register entry which recorded Bedell's binding to Richard Day on 27 June 1580; and this note stated 'bound nowe to mr dewce as appereth . 4 Julij 1581 in hoc

⁷ The City's livery companies were required to present apprentices before the Chamberlain so that their service (and the terms of) could be authorised. The apprenticeship registers from before 1786 no longer survive, but the Chamberlain's Account of 1584/85 records the income that the City received from these enrolments, 'The receipts of enrolments of apprentices this year as appears by the paper book signed with the letter P (£211.16s.9d)'. 'The Chamberlain's Account 1584-5: Nos. 1-67', in *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Betty R Masters (London, 1984), pp. 1-30. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol20/pp1-30>. [accessed 23 January 2022] The 1606 ordinances of the Barber-surgeons stipulated that presentation had to take place within a month of the apprentice's placement. Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-surgeons of London, compiled from their records and other sources* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1890), p. 118. On 7 March 1580 Thomas Man was fined five shillings for 'kepinge his prentis hancocke before he presented him about the tyme apointed by th[e] ordinance'. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1579/80, fol. 408^r. Hancock was also fined 2s. 6d. 'for that he was not orderly presented'. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1579/80, fol. 408^v.

libro.’⁸ Dewes’s payment for Bedell’s presentation was recorded at the end of the accounts for 1580/81 and its position on the page, following the running total, suggests that the entry was added after the accounts were closed (see figure 3.1).⁹ The enclosing braces indicate that it was an entry of two parts. The first part detailed the rituals of the binding, ‘Receaved of him for the *presentment* of a prentis *which* he hathe not yet brought to be entred and *presented* him to the Wardens about the third of may last’, and in doing so it also recorded that Dewes had deferred the entrance of Bedell’s name to the register of apprentices. This register entry illustrates the procedural hierarchy associated with recording apprenticeship bindings, and the ways in which stationers could interpret the relative urgency of each stage. In order for the binding to be formally accepted the apprentice had to be presented in person before the Wardens, and for Bedell this took place two months before Dewes’s payment for the presentation was recorded.¹⁰ At the time of this entry Dewes had still not brought Bedell to the Hall to record his entrance into the Company’s apprenticeship register, and the interim between Bedell’s presentation and his entrance provides an insight into Dewes’s own perceptions of the Company’s procedures and how he interpreted the relative importance of each stage in this process.¹¹ The second part of this entry takes the more customary form associated with the apprenticeship records entered into the

⁸ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605, fol. 32^v. This entry is not crossed through in Arber’s transcript, although he did present another expunged register entry on this page (Abraham Cotton/Nathanaell Rowse) as such. This example does serve as a valuable reminder that, despite its excellence and attempt to capture the ‘mind of the Text’, Arber’s transcript is not a facsimile of the Stationers’ Registers. Arber, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁹ As Arber remarked, ‘The following entry was evidently made after the closing of this Annual Account’. Arber, Vol. II, p. 105.

¹⁰ The registers indicate that the late presentation of apprentices was a common practice. For example, Thomas Marshe was fined for keeping his apprentice for half a year ‘and ded not presente him’; and Marshe was again fined ‘for yat he kepte a stranger and ded not presente hym contrary to the orders of this howse’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554–1596): 1564/65, fol. 122^v; 1565/66, fol. 142^v. On 6 May 1587 Roger Ward paid the 2s. 6d. fee for ‘presentinge nicholas Dyos beinge nowe out of his apprenticeship before he was *presented* to the *master* and Wardens’; and on 1 July 1587/88 the register entry of the apprenticeship of William Blowre to Richard Tottell has an additional statement recording that ‘And yt is resolved that *master* Tottell shalbe Amerced accordinge to the ordenances for keping this Apprentise two yeres vnpresented /’. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1586/87, fol. 56^v; 1587/88, fol. 59^v. The registers also record the concealment of apprenticeships: for example, Henry Denham was fined by the Court for having ‘receved William mygchell into his service not makynge the mr and wardens prevy therof’; and also Thomas Hackett ‘for his fyne for yat he bought a pryntes of dennice hymslay & made not the *masters* ~~pre~~ prevy therof’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554–1596): 1564/65, fol. 123^f; 1567/68, fol. 168^v.

¹¹ There is no indication in the Registers’ apprenticeship records to suggest this behaviour was commonplace. This is the only register entry to express a demarcation between the presentment and the entrance elements of the procedure, so it is highly likely that Dewes manipulated the distinction for his own benefit.

Stationers' Registers and included the name and occupation of his father, the statement that he had 'putt hym self' as apprentice to Dewes, and the terms of his service (which was two years longer than the terms stipulated in his initial binding to Richard Day). Its presence here emphasises the significance of the formulaic entries in the registers, in that they (re-)aligned the very human behaviours and interactions of the Stationers' community with the structural systems and procedures of the Company. Inclusion of the apprenticeship records in both the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B serves as a valuable reminder that the Stationers' Company's regulation of the London book trade encompassed far more than the recording of ownership rights. These records show the active presence of the Company, its systems of administration, and its books in the daily lives of its members.

Amendments made to the structures and the procedures of the Stationers' Registers highlight critical moments within the Company's socio-economic landscape, and these changes signify the Company's responses to alterations in its conditions and circumstances. The documented systems and procedures of the Stationers' Company attest to the lived experiences of its membership, as they demonstrate the particular social realities that the community encountered. The social connectivity of the Stationers' Registers is foregrounded in the register entry that records the gifting of the Company's great books, as being 'for our accomptes', and with the acknowledgement of Cooke and Dewyxsell's role in their founding of these books the registers were established as an embodiment of communal action.¹² It is evident from this account of the founding of the Wardens' Accounts, and the emphasis placed upon its social nexus, that the Stationers' Registers were not perceived or intended to be passive records (a static chronicle of things past). They were invested with an administrative agency that demonstrated the Company's maintenance and management of both its 'code' and the community; but they also showed that social activity, at both individual and communal levels, was central to the Company's administrative function.

¹² SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 15^v.

Lost records are a consequential and complicating factor in the reconstruction of the daily working practices and codes of the Stationers' Company from this period. In Chapter One I discussed the ephemeral and transient nature of the Company's pre-incorporation written record, and in respect of understanding the Company's codes and behaviours the Ordinance Book is the most significant of these lost documents. This would have contained all of the rules and regulations which formed the basis of the Stationers' Company's governance. Although the ordinance books no longer exist for this period of the Company's history, copies of its ordinances do survive from the late seventeenth century onwards. Some of the Company's early regulations can be surmised from these, and from references included in other source materials; but through their sequential nature and longevity the Stationers' Registers, as socially active texts, have ensured that the community's lived experiences of these codes has survived.¹³ Documenting the actions and interactions of Stationers as they negotiated the Company's structures, the registers portray a sociology of bureaucracy. The Stationers' Registers were, therefore, far more than a passive record of procedure.

The broad array of records contained in the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B allows us to see an extensive and more interconnected field of social exchange than the later registers which focus solely upon the entrance of copies. As financial journals of the everyday practices and behaviours connected with the Stationers' Company and its regulation of the London book trade, the circumstances of the registers' production (and their functions) resonate, to a certain degree, with McKenzie's discussion regarding the instability of play-texts in relation to theatrical performance:

As Thomas More pointed out in Book I of his *Utopia*, if audience and actors fail to observe the conventions which allow this complex text to come into being, there is utter confusion. The range of codes

¹³ For example, a meeting of the Court of Assistants held on 2 October 1581 established the regulations concerning the election of Wardens, their duties and the penalties for refusing office, and similarities between the record of this meeting in Liber A and guidelines issued as part of the ordinances in 1678 suggests a lineage between the two. SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771; 1581, fol. 43^r. *The Orders, Rules and Ordinances, Ordained, Devised and Made by the Master and Keepers or Wardens and Comminalty of the Mystery or Art of Stationers of the City of London, for the well Governing of that Society*, in Arber, Vol. I, p. 7.

and subcodes at work here is extremely wide. They function in movement, space, costume, make-up, setting, architecture, rhetoric, as well as in the idiolectal ways in which individual actors work, and in the dialectical relationships of the play's themes, or of the company which performs it, to the community for which it is written.¹⁴

His argument that play-texts are 'notoriously unstable' and 'never more than a pre-text for the theatrical occasion' provides a theoretical proposition for considering the relationship of the Stationers' Registers to the Company's operations. For McKenzie, the sociological dimension of the production and reception of texts 'confirms the textual nature of each element in a play', and as such texts are never 'fixed determined artefacts' but only ever 'partly perceived and realised' by any one element.¹⁵ In reading the Stationers' Registers as the 'play-texts' to the 'theatrical' staging of the Stationers' Company we are reading the conventions of its corporate performance.

Between 1554 and 1605 the Stationers' Registers captured a wide range of the 'codes and subcodes' that were in effect throughout the Stationers' Company, and these prescribed certain activities and behaviours that the community were expected to perform. As regulatory mechanisms, the registers themselves were vital elements in the Company's range of codes and subcodes. Whilst the quotidian nature of the records shows us how the registers functioned within the environment of Stationers' Hall, they also reveal the ways in which this 'stage' was set. Inventories and benevolences provide us with details of the objects held by the Company, the Hall's furnishings, and the topography of Stationers' Hall (and indeed, they suggest a sense of movement through this space); in addition to the material environment, sections of the registers that catalogued the fines, the entrances of copies, and the court records supply the Company's principal 'actors', and the community for which they were written.¹⁶ The inclusion of pre-incorporation material in the Wardens'

¹⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 50.

¹⁵ McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁶ For example, SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 16^r, 'Item ij syde tables paynted Rede and blacke one of them *with* a Leave and a staye of Ireon *with* vj tresselles to them'; 1554-57, fol. 16^v, 'Item a grene carpet of ij yarde & ij quarters longe'; 1562/63, fol. 96^v, 'A grene Carpytt clothe for the longe table in the hall *contenyng* so many yarde of the gyfte of dyvers of the *masters wyffes*'; 1560/61, fol. 65^v, 'Item payd more to the skavynger for that quarter *which* shuld have bene payd by

Accounts established the dialectical relationships of the registers. This is the portal through which we enter the inner speech of the Stationers' Company at a crucial point in its history and it provides us with glimpses into the conventions and circumstances that brought these texts into being. The records of members' transgressions, and the subsequent adjudications of the Court of Assistants, foreground those occasions where observance of the Company's protocols failed. Although generally these did not result in the 'utter confusion' highlighted in McKenzie's citation of More, they do emphasise the complexities and nuances of the registers as texts.¹⁷

Changes implemented to methods of recording entrances of copies in the 1580s indicate that there were fundamental problems with the Company's operations and its systems; and although there was no complete failure to observe the Company's conventions, the community did find issue with many of its practices. Disputations regarding privileges, working restrictions, and elections to office began to attract a greater level of scrutiny into the running of the Company from state officials concerned with the increasingly fractious and disruptive nature of its community, culminating with Lord Burghley commissioning Christopher Barker to produce a report on the Stationers' Company in 1583. By 1579/80 the established form of the register entries that recorded the licencing of copy was as such:

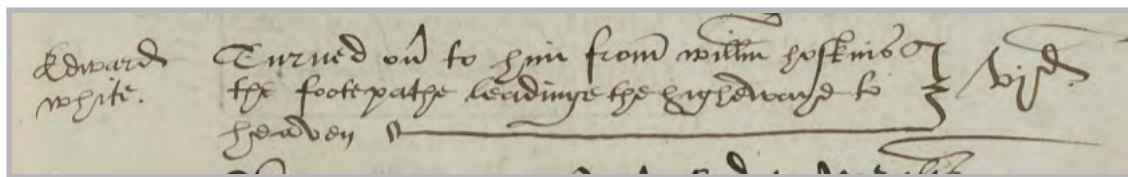
The name of the Stationer | 'Licenced unto him' | the authorisation for publication (usually the Wardens, the Bishop of London, or the Archbishop of Canterbury) | the form of the text being registered (for example: a book, ballad, epitaph, and so on) | the title of the text being entered | the additional conditions required by the Company (if necessary) | the sum received by the Company for the license to print the title.

At this point, the inclusion of authorisation for titles was not a widespread practice, and conditional entries were still relatively uncommon. However, variations started to appear in

the fore sayde wardens vj^d; 1560/61, fol. 66^r, Item payd for makynge ^rclene¹ of the prevye by *master* Jugge and *master* Judson which contened xij tonne the xvij daye of decembre xxvjs viijd^s; 1560/61, fol. 67^r, 'Item the armes of englonde gravyn in stone and sett in a frame / standynge in the vpper ende of *our* hall'.

¹⁷ However, a series of disputes and controversies in the 1580s suggests a state of 'utter confusion' was very nearly achieved.

the register entries of this year which suggest that ownership of titles was being contested much more frequently and vigorously.



Edward White	Turned ouer to him from william hoskins the footepathe leadinge the highwaye to heaven	vj ^d
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Figure 3.2: The Footpath Leading to the Highway of Heaven. Liber B, 1579/80, fol. 168^r.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

An entry for Edward White in Liber B records that *The footepathe leadinge to the highwaye of heaven* was ‘Turned ouer to him from william hoskins’. The process of ‘turning over’ was more commonly associated with the transferral of apprentices, usually in the event of a master’s death, and this is the first register entry to use this phrase in connection with the transferral of copy. Its usage could be an indicator that practices within the book trade were changing. Using existing civic terminology in this case does suggest that this procedure was somehow different from the Company’s customary business. It is a notable phrase in this context as it signifies the intervention of the Court of Assistants in assigning the rights of this title.¹⁸ The phrase was employed once more (on the verso to this

¹⁸ ‘The footepath of ffaith leadinge the highe waye to heaven’ was licenced to Hoskins on 23 July 1578. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1578/79, fol. 150^r. It is possible that this was not the end of the Court’s involvement with the title, as on 9 January 1581/82 it was called upon to adjudicate on a dispute between Edward White and Henry Denham in respect of Denham’s reprinting of sections from *Footepath of Faith leading the Highwaie to Heauen* in *The Diamond of Devotion*: ‘whereas the said .H. Denham taken out of a copie of ye said Ed. whites Called the footepath of faith. That the said .h. denham shall pay vnto the seid Edward in Recompence of the Iniury by yat occasion growen to ye said Edward. iij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d. before ye 25th of marche next. And yat at the Reprintinge of the said dyamond of devocion the said henry and his Assignes shall Leave out all yat was taken out of the said copie of the said Edward And so ye said Edw. to enioye the said footpath as heretofore he did. And the said henry and his assignes to enioy the said Diamond. Leavinge out at all impressions thereof hereafter. asmuche as was taken out of the said copie of the said Edw.’. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1581/82, fol. 435^v. On this matter W. W. Greg noted that ‘I can only trace *The Diamond of Devotion* in print as the general title of a collection of treatises of Fleming’s, the first of which is ‘The Footepath to Felicitie’ (Herbert 961; cf. STC 11041-4), a work distinct from ‘The Footepath of Faith’ [...] If it is, then possibly Fleming had been plagiarizing from himself and planting the stuff on a different publisher [...] It is true that I have not observed anything common to the two Footpaths’. Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Court*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

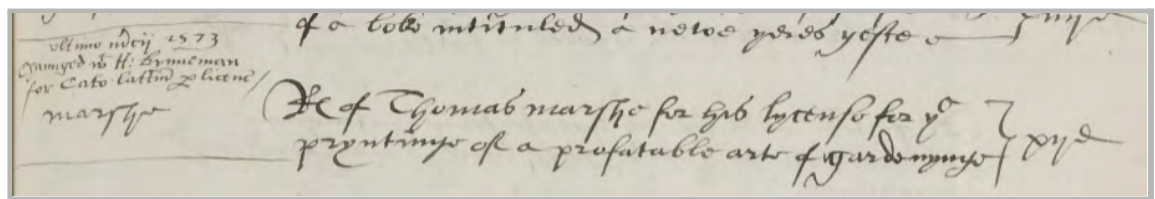
leaf) in connection with a dispute between John Day, and the partnership of John Harrison junior and Thomas Man, ‘Turned ouer vnto them from *master* Day th[e]lder the treatise of the fast for *which* there was late controuersie betwene *master* Day and *Thomas* man vjd’.¹⁹ Whilst it marks a short-lived change in the standard phraseology of the register entries, it is indicative of a shift in how the Company was conceptualising its structures and procedures. It is possible that the phraseology, in this instance, suggests that the relationship between an individual and a responsibility was just as important an aspect of copy as the right to have something. The Company’s innovation in extending existing terminology used for other procedures within its administrative systems to manage potentially new issues related to copies and texts implies that the Company was already reviewing the specificity of its language, particularly in relation to the efficacy of its methodologies, and for precluding any possibility of its members wilfully interpreting and negotiating ways around the Company’s ordinances.

INTENTIONS AND INFERENCES

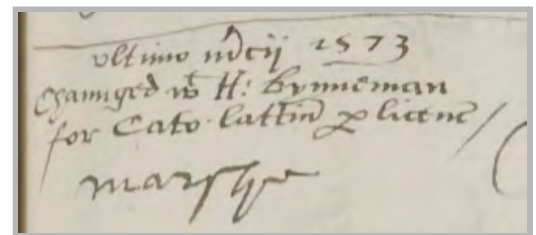
At the gifting of the ‘great Bookes’ the sense of purpose assigned to the Wardens’ Accounts specified the narratives this volume was intended to relate. As a book of account it recorded the Company’s financial transactions, but the ways in which the Wardens’ Accounts and Liber B were compiled and utilised expanded upon this function to become a general history of the Stationers’ Company. This shows the extent to which the Stationers’ Registers were, to coin a phrase, ‘embedded in story’. Inclusion of the pre-incorporation records in the Wardens’ Accounts in addition to other forms of documentation, as either transcripts or fragments, positioned the Stationers’ Registers within the genealogical

¹⁹ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 1579/80, fol. 168^v. It was recorded in Liber B that on 6th May 1580: ‘Thomas man. he is fyned for printinge the holie faste vnduly and without order / to the house v^s paid Also he is ordered no further to deale with th[e] imprintinge of the said booke And to pay to master Daie for A Recompece : x^s paid Also the said Thomas Man is to sell this impression of the said booke by him already printed And likewise master Daie to be at libertie to enioye the said copie and sell those that he hath already printed’. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 1579/80, fol. 408^r.

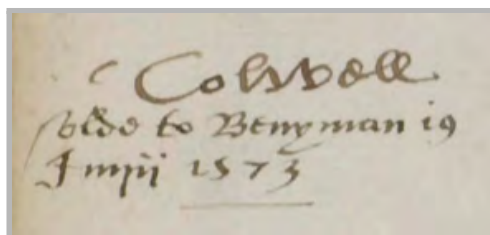
lineage of the Company's record-keeping, and this was crucial for constructing their textual authority. But as we saw in Chapter One, the ways in which these records were integrated into the structure of this volume provides evidence that a narrative and narrative voice for the Company's records was also in the process of being constructed.²⁰ The inclusion of those records not only provided the history for that specific volume, it also established the official 'movement, space, costume, make-up, setting, architecture, rhetoric' of the Company's administrative system.²¹



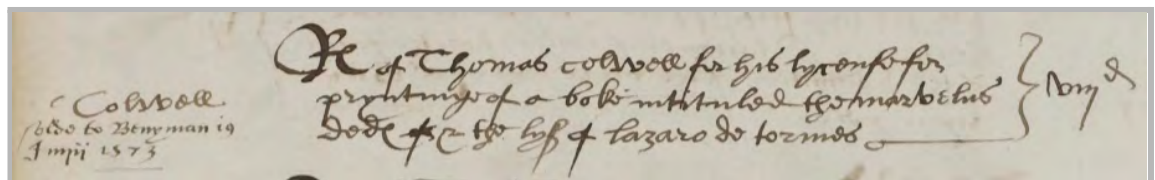
ultimo marcij 1573
 Changed with H: bynneman
 for Cato . latin per licence /
 marshe



1567/68, fol. 164^r.



Colwell
 solde to Benyman 19
 Junij 1573



1568/69, fol. 173^v.

Figure 3.3: Marginal Provenance. Wardens' Accounts, 1567-69.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

²⁰ c.f., Chapter One, pp. 61-2.

²¹ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 50.

Cooke and Dewyxsell's gifting of the 'great books' assigned a general sense of purpose for both the Wardens' Accounts and Liber A. According to the register entry, both were expected to function as account books, and in this respect it would seem that the intended purpose of the Wardens' Accounts as an individual volume was assured. Likewise with Liber B, Richard Collins's statement regarding his 'charge' in relation to the register not only established his role within the Company's administrative system but also assigned a specific function to that volume (see figures I.1, 2.6). So, Liber B was given a defined sense of purpose by Collins's declaration, and although the volume was notably different from the first Stationers' Register its functionality was connected to practices initiated in the Wardens' Accounts. These introductory announcements established the functional boundaries of each register, but they also suggest that the dualistic nature of the Stationers' Registers was recognised by the Company and its Clerks. As the intertextualities of the registers demonstrate, the volumes were valued both for their individuality and for being textually 'social' objects.²² However, each volume's position within the continuous series of registers effected a subtle alteration in their associated relationships. The functions and utilities of each particular volume were shifted from the boundaries of its own chronology and circumstances and relocated to negotiate and engage with chronologies and exigencies beyond its intended measure. An explicit example of this in action can be seen in the restructure of the annual accounts that resulted in the synchronous usage of the Wardens' Accounts for annual summaries and Liber B as a book of entrances. These changes reconfigured the functions, utilisation, and the time signatures of the first Stationers' Register. Richard Collins's marginal annotations provide more subtle indicators of the

²² The positioning of these statements within their respective registers is a useful indicator of authorial intent, and narrative. For the Wardens' Accounts, its position at the end of the 1554-57 sequence of records marked the end of the Company's pre-incorporation period; but it also served to connect these records to the Company's new account 'of the howse' as a corporation, which formed an administrative genealogy for the Company's new identity. Collins's statement at the start of Liber B emphasised his relationship and responsibilities to this register, and signified that this volume was a new beginning both in terms of the clerkship and record-keeping practices.

power structures - even if only visually) (see figure 3.4). Variations in the phraseologies, languages, and formulas used to record transactions also indicate the presence of descriptive content, after all they are *account* books (and not only in a financial sense).²⁴ Occasionally, there is an informal sense of communication and narrative voice employed which provides the entries with a greater level of social detail than appears in the pared down transactional statements. This can sometimes be seen from the ways in which the Company's Clerks record the names and titles of Stationers. Some register entries exhibit signs of closeness and familiarity, with only a forename used in the record, whereas others maintain a strict formality and distance, and these are signs that in some small way personal histories were being recorded.²⁵ The registers also record the 'physical actions' of the society through their portrayal of the Company's ritualised norms and practices. For example, these included the presentations of apprentices, the searches for 'unlawful books', the frequent travels between the Hall and Lambeth by boat, the movement of books and presses to and from the Hall, attendances at dinners, and so on. The Stationers' Company was therefore a decidedly dynamic community which, in accordance with McKenzie's argument, reiterates that the Stationers' Registers functioned 'in movement, space, costume, make-up, setting, architecture, rhetoric, as well as in the idiolectal ways in which individual actors work'.²⁶

²⁴ Occasionally new phrases appear that are short-lived, and others fluctuate in their form before eventually becoming the standard phraseology. These give a sense of the Company grappling with language to convey new concepts and practices, but their appearances also suggest that constructing a suitable voice for the Registers was an important consideration in structuring their languages.

²⁵ Usage of the designation 'mr' in the registers was used by Pollard to estimate the early constitution of the Company's executive body. He argued that its use was restricted to those members who had served as Wardens for the Company and constituted the Company's Assistants, although Blayney does highlight a few exceptions to this 'rule'. Graham Pollard, 'The Early Constitution of the Stationers' Company' in *The Library*, 4th ser., 18 (December 1937), 235-60. Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 875-77. Whilst it was a term of respect with official connotations it was not always used in the register entries, which does suggest that on occasion familiarity could take precedence over formality.

²⁶ For example, the first detailed account of a search conducted by the Company was recorded in 1566/67 included the costs for Thomas Purfoote and Hugh Singleton's journey to York for the hearing of the High Commission in a case against five York booksellers. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1566/67, fols. 157^v, 158^r. 'Item paid 19^o Aprilis for a dynner in searche for Penryes bookes', SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1592/93, fol. 256^v. On 6 May 1591 the Company paid 37s. and 6d. for a dinner at 'the polls head' for the livery ('the poleheard' in 1587/88 when two dinners were held there). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1590/91, fol. 257^v; 1587/88, fol. 248^v. In 1589/90 29s. was paid 'for goinge by water to Lambeth pursuyvantes fees, my lordes graces porters fees, and other travelles diuerse tymes this yere, as by the particulars appeareth'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1589/91, fol. 254^v. 'Item gyven to my

What is demonstrated constantly and consistently throughout the registers is the value of narration and narratives, and this is significant for understanding the underlying networks of intention involved with the production of the Stationers' Registers. The narrativity and narrative voices of the registers were consequential in engendering the creation of identity, and the ability to situate that sense of self within society; this applied not only to the newly incorporated Stationers' Company, and its collection of documentary records, but also to every member of its community.²⁷ The Stationers' Registers have a very active textual function, and it is a salient factor in why such enduring narratives are constructed from them. In accordance with McKenzie's theory, codification of the Company's cultures and landscapes was ensured through the ways in which the registers functioned, irregardless of whether these functions were intended or perceived. These codes and behaviours, and their ordering within the registers, were essential components of the Stationers' Registers' narrative power. Since registering titles with the Company was a fairly universal experience for its members the Stationers' Registers, through their recording of these common acts, provided a unifying focal point for the community. Consequently, a crucial space for the construction and legitimation of corporate, social, and individual identities emerged from the functionalities of the registers.

THE SOCIAL EDIFICE

Introduced as part of the Stationers' Company's regulatory procedures the Stationers' Registers were swiftly established as bureaucratic structures. They recorded members' interactions with the Company's institutional mechanisms, and therefore became a valuable mediatory interface between the Company and its community. In addition to their

Lord mayor, he sendinge for our mayster and the two wardens to Dynner in the behalfe of the Cumpanie', SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1584/85, fol. 239^r. 'Item paid for bringinge Orwins presse and lettres to ye hall', SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1591/92, fol.262^r.

²⁷ I explore this issue further in Chapter Four.

primary function as books of account for the Stationers' Company, the registers also provide a valuable record of the relationships between 'the system and human beings'.²⁸ Contrary to Blayney's assertion 'since texts are neither sentient nor social they can have no sociology', it is my contention that through their recording of these interactions the registers demonstrate sociology to be a vital and integral feature of their function, which is fundamental to the establishment of the authority of the Stationers' Registers.²⁹ Register entries regarding the gifting of the great books, Liber B (and Collins's duty for keeping it), and Liber C indicate that the intended functions of the registers were recorded as each volume was conceived.³⁰ These entries present the institutional viewpoint of the functions that the registers were expected to fulfil. How the community made use of the registers, however, reiterates the importance of McKenzie's argument concerning 'implied and controlled' meanings and that what readers bring to texts 'can quite easily elude the subtlest forms of direction', which he acknowledged is partially due to cultural determination.³¹ The range and the nature of the content in both the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B reflects a broad sociological engagement that was inherent to their functionalities and utilities. It is also conceivable that the progressive reorganisation of their contents which directed the registers to focus upon a singular aspect of the Company's business, namely the entering of copies, resulted in their utilisation having more intensive sociological implications for the community.

Through the process of recording the entries of copies, the court proceedings, the apprenticeship bindings, the fabric of the Hall, the flow of finances, and so on, the Stationers' Registers documented the interactions of Stationers' community with the Company, and the social realities that were particular to the London book trades and crafts.

²⁸ Adorno, Theodore W., *Introduction to Sociology*, ed. by Christophe Gödde, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 152. For Adorno, these interactions are essential to Sociology as a discipline.

²⁹ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. xvi.

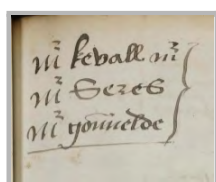
³⁰ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-1557, fol. 15^v; 1576/77, fol. 222^r. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1575, fol. 2^r.

³¹ Although McKenzie's discussion is concerned with a different period, and framed through the works of the playwright William Congreve, the ideas he presents are equally as relevant to the Stationers' Registers. McKenzie, *BSoT*, pp. 34-35.

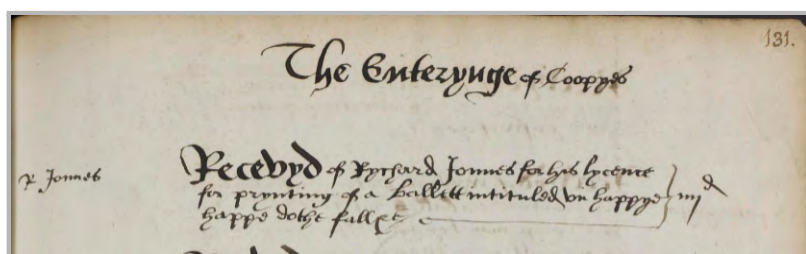
The ways in which these realities were recorded in the registers is significant because they show the conceptual movements that were instrumental in establishing the Company's structures and practices. Simona Cerruri's work with Italian legal documents from this period has led her to conclude that they are significant for their ability to show

the ways in which social edifices, reasons, forms of logic and norms are built, but also the moments when these edifices, reasons, logic and norms are legitimated. They incorporate interpretation of the possibility of things shifting, and of the possible ways in which positions can be legitimated. Seen in this way, the relationship between practices and norms really changes profoundly.³²

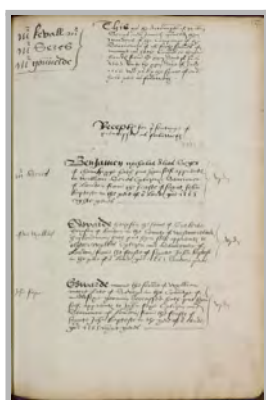
Through their functions the Stationers' Registers portray and legitimise the various 'social edifices, reasons, forms of logic and norms' that were connected with London's book trades and crafts, and they show the Company's institutional role in shaping the social discourses of this community.



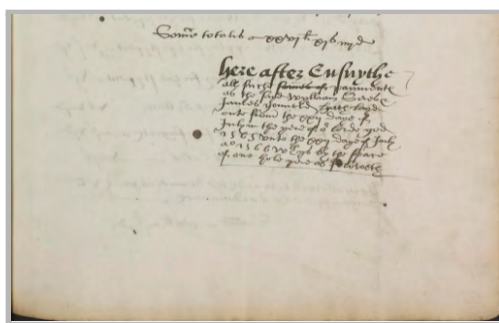
fol. 127^r.



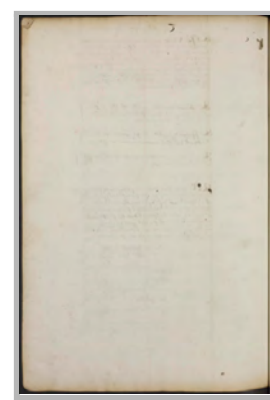
fol. 131^r.



fol. 127^v.

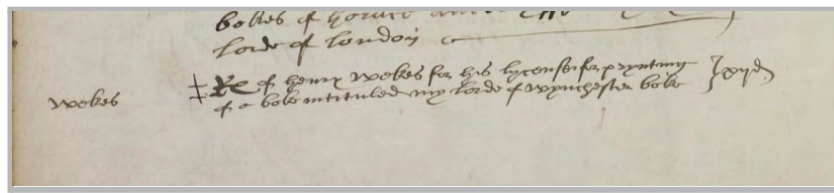
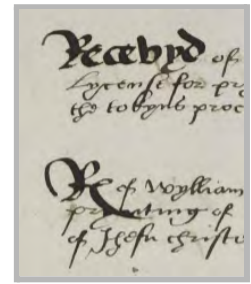


fol. 144^r.



fol. 145^v.

³² Simona Cerurri, 'Microhistory: Social Relations versus Cultural Models?' in *Between Sociology and History: Essays on microhistory, collective action, and nation-building*, ed. by Castrén, Anna-Maija, Markku Lonkila, and Matti Peltonen (Helsinki: SKS/Finnish Literature Society, 2004), pp. 17-40 (p. 27).

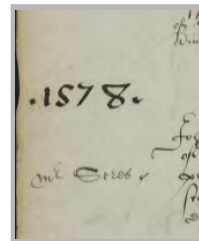
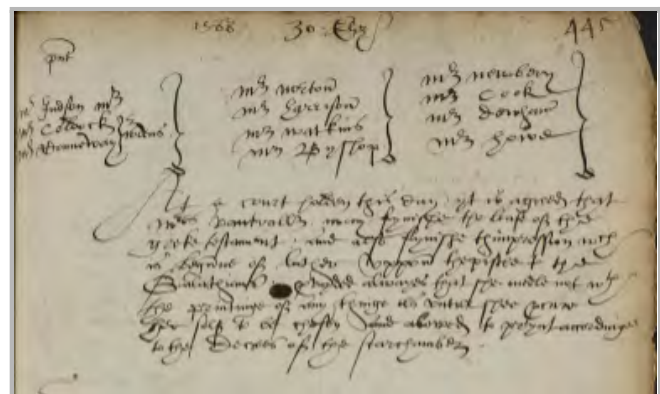
fol. 140^v.fol. 136^r.Figure 3.5: Paratextual Organisation. Wardens' Accounts, 1565/66.³³

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Structural changes introduced to the Company's systems of record-keeping, as is evidenced by the differences between the individual volumes of the registers, and variations within the formats of register entries also illustrate that this process of legitimisation was not bound to a rigid framework. In spite of the Company's intended functions of the Stationers' Registers, the ways in which individual members of the Stationers' Company interpreted those functionalities of the registers, and negotiated their utilisation, ensured that this process allowed for the possibility of shifting positions. Given the sequential nature and the intended longevity of the Stationers' Registers, it is a possibility that such movements would have been anticipated and accounted for. The materialities of the registers show the various strategies that were developed for handling these. For example, the allowance of generous margins and the (p)reservation of blank pages within the registers, not only provided a clear visual structure of organisation but also seemingly took into consideration the individual behaviours of stationers and the flurries of activity that imminent deadlines for producing the accounts would have entailed

³³ The accounts for 1565/66 were particularly well ordered. Emboldened sectional headers started to emerge in the 1558/59 accounts, but their usage was not uniform or consistent. Since white space was the primary form of division in the register they were experimental features; they were used occasionally, and usually only the first word of the header was emboldened. The form seen here first appeared in 1561/62 (fol. 78^v) and became a firmly established practice in the accounts for 1562/63, which also introduced an emboldening of the first word of each entry. These features were written in the register before the body text of the entries were added; possibly as a means of optimising the space for register entries, but it does show some consideration was given to the presentation of the accounts. This was the final year of this format, and from 1566 onwards the usage of these features was once again inconsistent.

(see figures 3.5 and 3.6).³⁴ However, these paratextual elements can also be appraised through their position within the serialised structure of the registers. The Clerk's allowances of these blanks provide an insight into the long-term value of the registers' material structures for mitigating disruption emanating from external sources (which would undoubtedly have generated more paperwork).³⁵

fol. 355^r.1591/92, fol. 456^r.1577/78, fol. 25^v.1586/87, fol. 218^v.1600, fol. 477^v.1587/88, fol. 445^r.

³⁴ Fols. 18^v; 30^r-30^v; 41^v-42^v; 56^v; 67^v; 81^v; 97^v-97^v; 107^v-108^v; 126^v; 145^v; 159^v; 181^r-181^v; 199^v; 215^r-215^v; 217^v; 221^v; 224^v; 226^v; 228^v; 232^v; 256^v; 260^v; 263^v; 266^v; 269^v; and 272^v (discounting the endsheets) were left blank in the Wardens' Accounts. Blank folios were less dispersed in Liber B, but a substantial section can be found between fols 352^r-392^v.

³⁵ For example, although the reconfirmation of the Stationers' Charter was enacted fairly swiftly following the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne, the charges for all of the paperwork associated with the procedures that enabled this to happen so quickly were given their own section in the Wardens' Accounts. TSC/1/D/02/01—Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596); 1559/60, fol. 51^v.

1576/77, fol. 319^r.

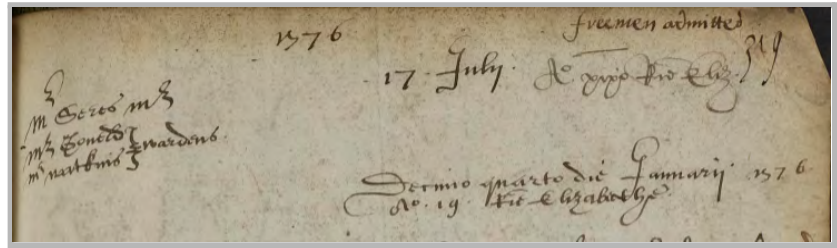


Figure 3.6: Paratextual Organisation. Liber B, 1576-1600.³⁶

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Changes in the Company's clerkship were not wholly responsible for the comprehensive reorganisations of the registers' structures. Restructures of the record-keeping practices could also signify changes taking place within the book trade. Most notably, the Wardens' Accounts did not contain a distinct category for entrances of copy in the section for 1554-57, and for the first few years of the Register it had a precarious presence as a distinct classification in the annual accounts. This gives a sense of the Stationers' Company's exploration of the rationale behind the concept of copy, and its attempts to discover a suitable and succinct way to represent this information within the confines of the accounts; and figures 5.7 and 5.8 (see Chapter Five, pp. 250-1) demonstrate the pattern of growth that this area of the Company's business experienced between 1557 and 1571, both in terms of the number of register entries and the physical space that these occupied within the Register. Evident changes in how members of London's book trades and crafts perceived the merit and value of registering their rights to print throughout this period were, therefore, significantly influential upon the constituent structures of the Stationers' Registers.³⁷ Beyond the restructuring of the Registers, the responsiveness of the

³⁶ The first of these figures is a representative sample from folios 352^r-392^v in Liber B which were left blank. These blanks form a significant sectional division between the register entries of admittances to the Company and its receipts from the levying of fines; and it is possible that these were the result of either a miscalculation in Collins's sectional division of the Register, or his overestimation of the numbers expected to be admitted to the Company.

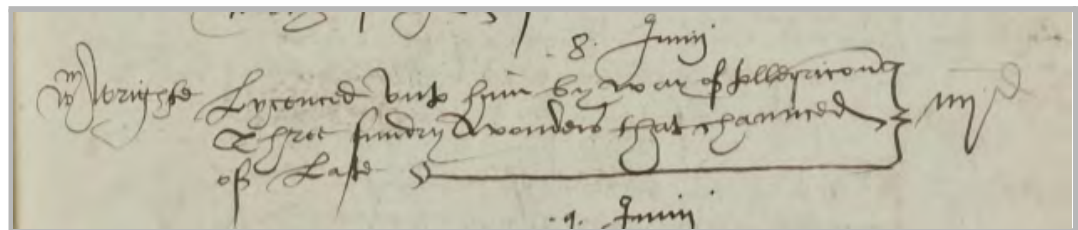
³⁷ Trends and periodic bursts of activity indicate particular areas which were of concern for members of the Company. For example, ballads were a constant presence in the Stationers' Registers and there was an incremental growth in the numbers entered into the Register for the first half of the 1580s. In 1586, however, a total of 180 ballads were licenced within the space of a week. Arber noted that most of these had been in print for 'a long time before; and there must have been some strong reason occasioning their now being entered, re-entered, or filed at Stationers' Hall'. Arber, Vol. II, p. 450. Whilst it could suggest that Stationers

Company's administrative systems to shifts in the book trade can also be traced through changes in the phraseologies and terminologies which were used in the Stationers' Registers.

'Toleration' was one such example of this. Its addition to the language of Registers occurred at a significant transitional stage in the Company's history. In the 1580s there was a generational shift in the composition of the Stationers' Company. Most of the Stationers responsible for securing the Royal Charter for the Company were either deceased or were no longer active participants within the community, and as a result detailed knowledge of the early history of the Stationers' Company (and the intricacies and nuances of textual provenance) started to fade from its 'living memory'. Consequently, this was a period of the Company's history which was beleaguered by controversies, disputes, and a growing dissatisfaction with the privilege system. Throughout the 1580s the increasing number, and fractiousness, of disputations regarding rights and practices were a major area of concern for the Stationers' Company, and these provoked a marked alteration to the ways in which register entries were recorded in Liber B. Consequently, this led to both an increased specificity of the Registers' languages, which became more technical, and greater inclusion of conditional requirements in register entries. The Stationers' Registers had a significant role within the Company's regulation of the book trade, and these changes to the languages, functions, and structures of the Registers were enacted to ensure that their textual authority was incontrovertible.

considered these texts to be especially vulnerable to the predatory acts of opportunistic publishers in this year, which would be a valuable indication of how Stationers perceived the trade (and its regulation) to be operating; it is much more likely that the Stationers' Company had identified weaknesses in its regulation of this area, and was actively encouraging publishers to register their holdings in order to audit the general conditions of the ballad market.

1580 (see figure 3.8). The phraseology of Wright's entry is notable for both its deviation from the standard form, and for what it tells us about 'toleration'. Firstly, it is the only register entry that explicitly used the word 'licenced' in conjunction with 'toleration', which is implicit knowledge in the other entries. Secondly, and more significantly, the inclusion of the phrase 'by way of' suggests that toleration was far more than just a simple statement indicating the Company's provisory acceptance of the publisher's rights. Toleration, by implication, was therefore its own distinct and specific form of licencing procedure.



.8. Junij

william Wrighte Lycenced vnto him by way of tolleracion
 Three sundry wonders that chaunced iiiij^d
 of Late

1580, fol. 169^r.

Figure 3.8: By Way of Toleration. Liber B, 1579-80.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Although the Stationers' Company's clerical practices were never subjected to external review, in order to function effectively as a corporation its working practices had to align with the customs of the City, Church, and State; and on occasion the Company was called upon to reform and expand upon its regulatory obligations by these bodies.³⁹ Whilst

³⁹ For example: 'The newe Decrees of the Starre Chamber for orders in printinge' were issued on 23 June 1586. Although they addressed the usual concerns such as the excessive number of printers, printing without authority, setting up of presses, and so on, they were, in part, a response to the number of cases proceeding through the courts that challenged royal privileges. The decrees not only upheld the status of these privileges, they also reasserted the authority of the Stationers' Company by expanding the range of punitive measures that it could employ. These were heavily focused upon the defacement of presses and, as the annual summaries show, the costs associated with this activity became a regular feature of the Company's accounts. David John Harvey, *The Law Emprynted and Englysshed: The Printing Press as an Agent of Change in Law and Legal Culture 1475-1642* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 53. Arber, Vol. II, pp. 807-12. And more significantly with the Star Chamber Decrees of 1637, which required all new texts to be entered into the Stationers' Registers.

these customs required the Company to keep key information and record particular details, the exact wording and form that this information took was left to its own discretion. Regarding its systems of record-keeping, the Company's process of rationalisation illustrates the value that it placed upon order, efficiency, and finding the procedures that ensured effective regulation of the book trade; and those places where the registers were restructured demonstrate the Company's shifts of position in relation to their function. This is perhaps most notable in the Wardens' Accounts. After the reorganisation implemented in 1571, in which detailed records were replaced by two page summaries of Company's income and expenditure, the Wardens' Accounts effectively ceased to be a register and became an straightforward account book. These conscious decisions to remove certain types of information from the pages of the registers to create new forms of record would eventually transform the recorded form of the Stationers' Registers from that of the Wardens' Accounts into an 'Entry Book of Copies'.

Changes in the materialities of the registers indicate the positional shifts in their perceived functions, as both individual volumes and as part of the long-term record sequence, but the forms of the registers were also significant in determining how they could be utilised. The sociology of the Stationers' Registers is rooted in their function of recording the interactions of this community with the Company's institutional regulatory systems. The formulaic textual structures (and the associated performative rituals) suggest that the registers had limited sociological scope as their formats restricted these interactions to certain forms of engagement, but in order to reach that conclusion you would have to overlook the nuances which shape the Stationers' Register as a dynamic text. Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio's analysis of the interconnections between material texts and their utility emphasises the ways in which the material object dictates how it should be used:

Far from being secondary to content, the physical forms of the book generate content by making it available for particular kinds of use. A book's format shapes the body's interaction with it - is it small

enough to fit in a pocket or light enough to be carried; is there room in its margins for a hand to write in; does pagination or indexing inform the hand's movement from page to page; does the page require the reader to unfold or manipulate the paper; does the layout direct the eye in particular ways in order to facilitate the processing of information?⁴⁰

Cormack and Mazzio's study raises the question of how did the physical forms of the Stationers' Registers shape the ways in which they were used? Both Liber B (1575-1605) and Liber C (1595-1620) were recorded as being paper books therefore, as a result of being fully bound at its gifting to the Company, the Wardens' Accounts was a markedly different volume from the registers that followed.⁴¹ Whilst this emphasised the register's significance as the first account book to reflect the Company's new status and identity as a corporation, it also implies that everyday usage of this volume could have presented certain challenges. These difficulties may simply have been related to the physical conditions of writing, or possibly even connected to its increased usage as a reference tool. With the Company's initiation of the Clerkship subsequent volumes remained paper books until their accounts were completed, and this brought the Company's record-keeping practices into closer alignment with those of other livery companies and City institutions with similar forms of account books.⁴²

As a Company book, the status of the Wardens' Accounts can be discerned from the detailed consideration given to its materiality, but as a physical object its substantiality also suggests that it was intended to be housed and used in a specific space within the Hall.

⁴⁰ Cormack, Bradin, and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005), pp. 8-9.

⁴¹ Blayney, 'If it Looks Like a Register...', p. 237.

⁴² For example, the Chamber Accounts for 1563/64 record a payment to the stationer William Prestwood, 'for binding of two great books containing the accounts of George Medley, Thomas Hayes and John Sturgeon, late chamberlains £3.3s.0d', fol. 112v; and in 1585/86 Hugh Singleton was paid for 'boards, skins, girdling, bosses, plates and new binding for the new written book of oaths and for ink of divers colours for the same 22s.; to him for stuff and workmanship in binding and making up a book in parchment containing the acts of common councils into one volume (since the charter *de condendis legibus*), and for like stuff and workmanship for one book in paper as calendar to the former book, 53s.4d.' 'Appendix: Extracts from the Foreign Charge', in *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Betty R. Masters (London, 1984), pp. 123-131 (p. 124). British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol20/pp123-131>. [accessed 23 January 2022]; 'The Chamberlain's Account 1584-5: Nos. 1-67', in *Chamber Accounts of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Betty R. Masters (London, 1984), pp. 88-104 (p. 89). British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol20/pp88-104>. [accessed 23 January 2022].

The degree of protection offered to the volume by its wrap-around binding suggests that durability was an essential quality, and emphasises that the Wardens' Accounts was very much considered to be an active 'working' book. Despite its folio size the Warden's Accounts is a portable volume, and this portability, in conjunction with its archival function, could have recommended its suitability for the taking of the Company's inventories. Whilst there is a high probability that the inventories included in this volume were transcribed from another of the Company's daybooks, they do display textual and stylistic instabilities which suggest that in each instance the conditions for writing were not constant. Only three inventories were included in the Wardens' Accounts, and this could indicate that any procession of the register throughout the Hall may soon have proved too time-consuming and wieldy to incorporate into the annual accounting procedure. However, if the register was used to form a contemporaneous record rather than a transcribed report of the Hall's belongings it is more likely to have demonstrated to the Company that the inventory was a very different form of account that needed its own distinct format. Inventories no longer contributed to the overall form of the Stationers' Registers after 1561, although with frequent reference made to them in the annual summaries they still maintained a small presence in the annual accounts. In this respect, with the transferral of the accounts and books to the incoming Wardens (usually in conjunction with the obligations and leases), inventories were no longer regarded as an integral feature of the register but as one of the Company's other documents of value.⁴³ Relocation of the inventories, and the subtle redefinition of the registers' purpose demonstrates the Company's shift of position as it refined its procedures to establish the norms and practices applicable to the register, and which were essential to the construction of its narratives.

The registers portray the Stationers' Company as a dynamic community. They recorded the actions and intentions of the Company alongside those of its individual

⁴³ For example, 1573/74 'All the ymplementes plate and goodes belonginge to the howse and conteyned in an Inuentoire indented William Norton and John Harrison theelder have delyvered to Richard Tottle and william Cooke Wardens fro the yere insuinge'.

members, and these interactions and dialogues are significant for understanding the ways in which the registers were used. Viewing the Stationers' Registers through the framework of McKenzie's theory resonates with Cerurri's argument that:

there is nothing automatic or unreflective about action, nor about the strategies used to legitimate it. The social world - that is to say, the world of actions - is an interpretive world. Action and interpretation cannot be separated.⁴⁴

Although the Company may have established the general purpose of the registers and the specific function of each volume, recorded behaviours of the community did not always conform with its desired administrative practices. So on occasion there are entries, notable for their atypicalities, that exhibit highly individualistic interpretations of the registers' function and utility which raise questions as to why they were entered as such and not adapted to follow the established standard.⁴⁵

One such notable atypicality is an undated note which was included in the prefatory material to Liber B (see figure 3.9).⁴⁶ It recorded that Gabriel Cawood received 6d. from Richard Jones for 'a booke called Polyhymnia of the laste tryumphe'. Its position in the volume lends it a questionable status. It does not fall within the accepted bounds of the record sequence or take the form of an official entry, indeed, it actively states that the title is 'not entred'. The presence and location of this note is indicative of hierarchical

⁴⁴ Cerurri, Simona, 'Microhistory: Social Relations versus Cultural Models?' in *Between Sociology and History: Essays on microhistory, collective action, and nation-building*, ed. by Castrén, Anna-Maija, Markku Lonkila, and Matti Peltonen (Helsinki: SKS/Finnish Literature Society, 2004), pp. 17-40 [p. 28].

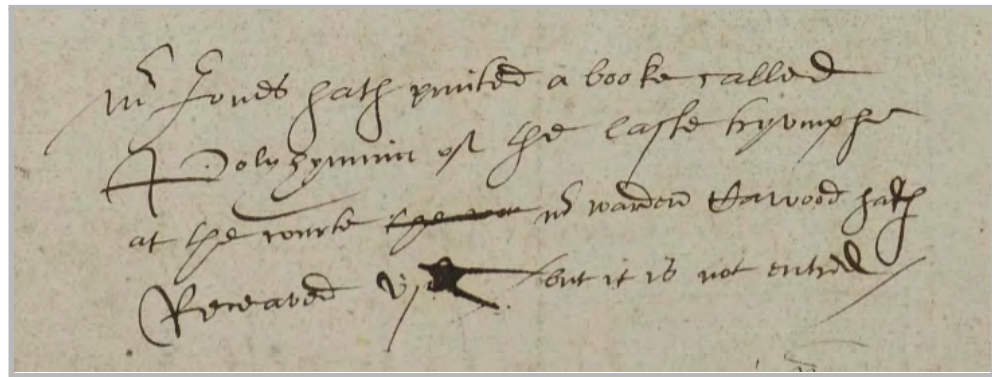
⁴⁵ For example: on 3 February 1590, Sampson Cotton was contracted as an apprentice to James Askew. The description of Askew in the register entry went above and beyond the standard 'citizen and stationer', he was 'James Askewe citizen and stacioner of London and one of the merchantes of Spain Portugall, and Barbarie'. By 1 May 1593, upon taking Richard Maydewell as his apprentice, this statement was changed to read 'James Askewe citizen and Stacioner of London and one of the merchauntes of Barbarie, Spaine, Portugall and the East Cuntreies'. These statements not only give a sense of Askew's personal priorities and values, they show his conception of the registers as social spaces in which identity could be built. Askew used these opportunities to emphasise the scope of his trade and his global connection; as the first of these appeared a year before he joined the ranks of the livery, it may have served as a timely reminder of his suitability. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber B, 1575-1605: 1589/90, fol. 67^v; 1592/93, fol. 76^v.

⁴⁶ At the top of the page the heading reads 1586, and the two entries below recording the Company's attendants at the Lord Mayor's feast are dated 29 October 1599 and 29 October 1600. However, the publication of George Peele's *Polyhymnia describing, the honourable triumph at tylt, before her Maiestie, on the 17. of Nouember, last past, being the first day of the three and thirtith yeare of her Highnesse raigne. With Sir Henrie Lea, his resignation of honour at tylt, to her Maiestie, and receiued by the right honorable, the Earle of Cumberland* (London: Richard Jones, 1590) would seemingly identify the date of this entry as being 1590, coinciding with Cawood's second term as the Company's Under Warden.

structures of the volume; not only in relation to its textualities, but also to its underpinning networks of intention. Although the prefatory material served an archival function it does raise questions regarding the sections of the registers in which authority is an imperative, and those which serve a more referential function. This note executes the intended purpose of the Stationers' Registers, to be a record of the Company's accounts, and the 'entry' of this transaction would have been useful in the production of that year's final account. However, inclusion of that final statement 'but it is not entred' introduces a very different aspect as to the intention and purpose of the note, particularly in relation to Jones's action (or more precisely, inaction) of not entering the title and the Clerk's recording of it in the register. This is significant in that it demonstrates explicitly the two distinct stages in the Company's licencing procedure: authorisation and entrance. It is also a reminder that titles which are missing from the Stationers' Registers were not always a matter of accident, or 'lost', their absence was often intended. Differences in form highlight the hierarchical structures of intention behind the registers' construction and are suggestive of an interpretive gap affecting the transmission of the Stationers' Register, as McKenzie notes regarding Congreve's readers:

most of the forms we have in that edition were intended. To that extent, the meanings were implied and controlled [...] And readers themselves of course bring such different styles of readings to texts that they can quite easily elude the subtlest forms of direction.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 35.



mr Jones hath printed a booke called
Polyhymnia of the laste tryumphe
at the courte [the war] mr warden Cawood hath
Receaved vj^d / but it is not entred /

Figure 3.9: 'But it is not entered'. Liber B, [1590], fol. 2^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Through their regulatory function the registers were a vehicle for imposing order upon the London book trade, intended to implement and uphold standardised codes of behaviour. Richard Collins's statement in Liber B makes clear that the Company had an unequivocal sense of what information the registers were to record, and the seemingly formulaic nature suggests that the Company also had an ideal form for register entries. The clarity of Collins's statement presents an ideation of the unity of form and function conferred by corporate authorship. Recurring phrases associated with particular procedures and the templates used for register entries are illustrative of what Bakhtin termed 'unitary language', as they constitute:

the theoretical expression of the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language. A unitary language is not something given [*dan*] but it is always in essence posited [*zadan*] – and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia. But at the same time it makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystallizing into a real, although still relative, unity – the unity of

the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, 'correct language'.⁴⁸

The corporate language of the Stationers' Registers was, for the main part, in keeping with those used by other livery companies; and this is not only suggestive of the prescribed nature of incorporation throughout this period, it also signals the City Corporation's own unitary language. However, in recording the daily activities specific to the Stationers' Company and its community the registers reveal movements within the unitary language of the Company. Typically, in the Wardens' Accounts for 1564/65 the formula for entering apprenticeship details in the registers left very little room for other voices to appear:

[apprentice's name] | 'the sonne of' | [father's name] | 'in the Countye of [name]' | [father's occupation] | 'hath put hym self apprenes to' | [stationer's name] | 'Cytizen and stacioner of London from' | [date - usually a feast day] | [length of service] | the Company's receipt of the fee (6d.).

And likewise, the entering of copies took the form of:

'Receved of' | [name] | 'for his lycense for pryntinge of' | [type of text] | 'intituled' | [title] | the fee received by the Company.

The uniformity of these records exemplify how the application of unitary language was used to mediate communal forms of social interaction with institutional systems. Their consistency in 1564/65 demonstrates the Company's desired 'stable linguistic nucleus' for the community, illustrating Bakhtin's argument that:

a unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of sociopolitical and cultural centralization⁴⁹

However, the fluidity of the form and formats of the records over longer time periods complicates any attempt to 'imply and control' the meanings of the registers. Whilst

⁴⁸ M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. by M. Holquist. 'Discourse in the Novel' reproduced in *Modern Literary Theory: A reader*, 2nd edn, ed. by Rice, Philip and Patricia Waugh (London: Edward Arnold, 1992), p. 198.

⁴⁹ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, p. 198.

atypicalities may signal areas which the Company's record-keeping had yet to process and formalise, they do illustrate the gaps between intention and interpretation and the subtle ways in which some Stationers could 'elude direction'.

FROM INNOCENCE TO EXPERIENCE

As the fair copy of the Company's annual accounts (and therefore suitable to present for audit), the initial conceptualisation of the Wardens' Accounts imposed a practical means of using the volume. Common traditional structures and formulaic aspects in the account books of more established livery companies provided the Stationers' Company with an immediate template for how this form of record-keeping was expected to be conducted. Whilst these formulas were useful, the changes introduced to the structures of the registers also suggest that these models failed to fully encompass the particularities of the Stationers' Company's business.⁵⁰ The value of the Stationers' Registers to the Company's administrative system depended upon their functionalities and the effective organisation of their information, which Cormack and Mazzio identified as the crux of book use:

Although a book's value was in part defined by its ability to make knowledge accessible and usable; the very technologies that accomplished this could be seen, in other terms, to oversimplify the learning process and so undermine the book's use-value.⁵¹

Although their discussion is primarily concerned with the production of educational books, it foregrounds the importance of accessibility and utility as features that grant value to texts, and their essential roles in motivating the development and employment of

⁵⁰ It would appear that the Stationers' Company was particularly eager to conform with accepted procedural standards. Blayney argues that the register entry which recorded an 'Item payde to mr Rastalles clerke for the copyenge of the clerkes Corperation v^s' was related to the Company's procurement of a copy of the Parish Clerks' 1442 charter, which was seemingly obtained for the purpose of guiding it through its own process of incorporation. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 12^r. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 918. It is therefore entirely possible that the Company gained some degree of insight into how other institutions enacted their procedures and maintained their records from the clerks it hired, and members who were freemen of other Companies.

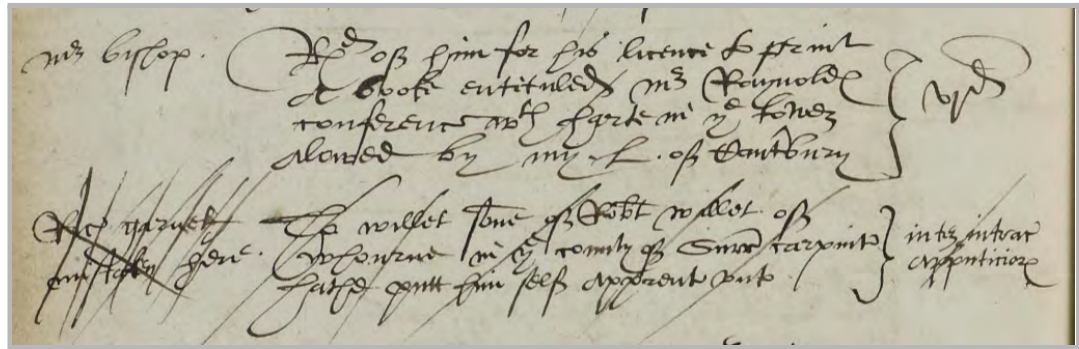
⁵¹ Cormack & Mazzio, p. 12.

information technologies. The interconnections of the textual formats and the functions of the Stationers' Registers are suggestive of the Company's attitudes towards the use of these structures. Experimentations with forms and visual structures emphasise the degree of consideration that was given to ensuring that they were indeed 'accessible and usable' texts (see figures 3.5 and 3.6). But whilst the textual complexities of the registers necessitated the employment of technologies that made consultation of the text easier, the implementation of these structures could also undermine their value. So it is possible, for example, to interpret the restructuring of Liber B as compromising the functionality and utility of the Stationers' Registers. Disrupted chronologies were introduced to the records by its reorganisation, which increased the opportunities for error and the misplacement of entries. Consequently there was a greater employment of 'remedial technologies' to restore the integrity and utility of its information - so cancellations, strike throughs and marginal notes became a regular feature of the register.

In the accounts of 1583/84, for example, amongst the entrances of copies there is a misplaced entry recording the apprenticeship terms of Thomas Willet (see figure 3.10). Discovery of the error prompted its subsequent cancellation, which resulted in the headings and the body of the entry being struck through with the addition of a marginal commentary explaining the reasons for the cancellation. The crossing through of Richard Garnett's marginal name was done much more heavily than in the body of the entry, which emphasises the practicalities involved with consulting the registers and the significance of these headers in terms of locating references.⁵² As the misplaced entry of Willet's apprenticeship demonstrates, the sectional restructuring of Liber B enabled substantive errors to arise more frequently within the register, and in turn promoted the development of its 'remedial technologies'. However, the gradual reliance upon these features to restore order shifted their status within the registers from the remedial to the integral. Whilst these

⁵² The correct entrance of Willet's apprenticeship details can be found at SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber B, 1575-1605; 1583/84, fol. 45^v. Misplaced entries also provide evidence of how other books and documentation were employed in the compilation of the register.

features functioned as correctional strategies it is also discernible that their presence subtly altered the registers' boundaries as they opened conversations with other areas of the registers and records and re-contextualised the information.



[Ric garnet
mistaken here]

[Tho willet sonne of Robert willet of
whourne in ye county of Surrey carpinter } inter intraciones
hathe putt him self apprentice vnto } apprenticiores]

Figure 3.10: Misplaced Apprentice. Liber B, 1583/84, fol. 199^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Synchronous usage of the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B between the years of 1576 and 1596 relocated the focus of the Stationers' Registers, and with the division of the account summaries from the detailed records new forms of engagement were instituted. Shifting the function of the Wardens' Accounts to become a straightforward book of account gave Liber B primacy as the Company's register/entry book, and as a consequence the Stationers' Registers became more than enumerative documents. The restructure engendered an active construction of the Company's information, and this required a more involved engagement from the clerks in envisioning the connections between the documentary forms and the procedural rituals.⁵³ The bridging of the two volumes created new hierarchies of information, which formed new connections between the record sets

⁵³ I am including George Wapull alongside Richard Collins in this instance. Whilst the segregation of the account summaries from the detailed records commenced under Wapull's Clerkship, the archival gap introduces a degree of uncertainty as to whether the form of restructure seen in Liber B was Collins's own design or if it was following Wapull's example.

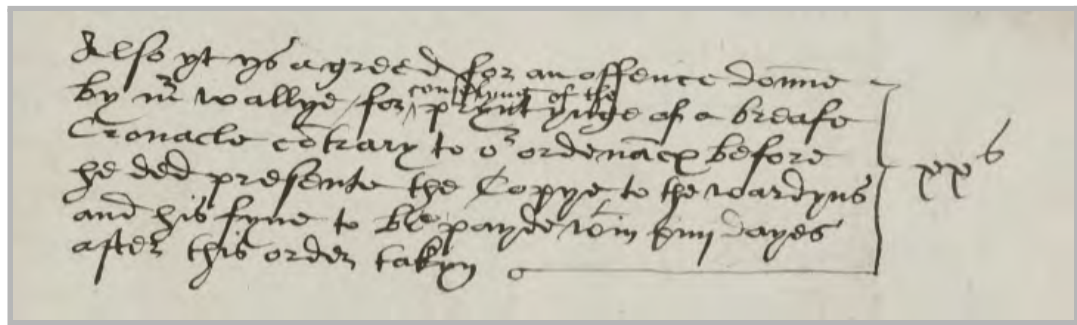
and relocated their social interactions within new discourses. These changes increased the frequency, range and diversity of the registers' narrative strands.

The differences in the textual identities of the registers does suggest that there was a maturation in attitude concerning their functionality and utility. The experimentation with forms and format indicate that with each subsequent volume the Company was in the process of 'knowing itself better', it was gaining an understanding of administration and of the measures that could effectively be tailored to meet the specific requirements necessary for regulating the book trade. The evolution of the Company's archival structures reflected this growing assurance, demonstrating that the Company was beginning to fully appreciate the potential value of its records and documentation and envisaging how it could structure and use them advantageously.

THE SUBSTANCE OF GOOD ORDER

Spencer's and Adorno's definitions of sociology emphasise that the discipline's focus should be concerned with understanding forms of 'social development, structure and function', and the various ways in which people interact with institutional mechanisms. The Stationers' Registers, as a key feature of the Company's regulatory apparatus, provide valuable evidence of how this community interacted with these systems on a daily basis. It is evident from the records that these interactions were not a one-way process, as they also reveal how the development of the registers was influenced through this engagement with the community. Decoding the working environment in which the Stationers' Registers were produced is crucial for determining their sociology as texts. Assessing the impact of the physical surroundings, and the interplay of the various processes involved with compiling the registers is important for understanding the ways in which the narratives, identities, materialities, and values of the registers (and also their associated texts) could be influenced by their topographies and procedures.

A Due Order of Process



Also yt ys agreed for an offence donne
by master wallye / for ^{conselynge} of the¹ pryntinge of a breafe
Cronacle contrary to our ordenances before
he ded presente the Copye to the wardyns
and his fyne to be payde within xiiij dayes
after this order taken

xx^s

Figure 3.11: An Offence Done. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57, fol. 7^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

It cannot pass without mention that the first reference to a printed book in the Stationers' Registers was in connection with the breaking of the Company's regulations. An undated entry recorded that John Walley was fined 20 shillings for printing 'a breafe Cronacle contrary to our ordenances', and this is a significant entry because it provides an insight into the Stationers' Company's regulation of texts prior to its incorporation.⁵⁴ The entry stipulated that Walley was fined for failing to present a copy of the Chronicle to the Wardens, and it indicates that the Company's Wardens had to receive a copy of the book before a licence could be granted to a publisher. Whilst this was seemingly an incontrovertible aspect of the Company's procedures, Blayney has noted that the phrasing of this entry is responsible for a number of erroneous interpretations regarding the Stationers' Company's pre-incorporation licencing procedures, and specifically the 'myth

⁵⁴ *A breuyat chronicle contayning al the kynges, from Brute to to [sic] this daye, and many notable actes, gathered out of dyuers chronicles, from William conquerour, vnto the yere of Christ. M.D.L.VI. with the mayors, and shirriffes of the cytye of London, newly correcteed [sic] and amended* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1556). [ESTC S115516]. This is the closest extant edition of the title in the English Short Title Catalogue. According to STC, Walley was fined for arranging to print an edition of the chronicle without a licence; however this could be due Pollard's interpretation of 'conselynge', for as Blayney notes 'Greg has been the only commentator yet to realize that the first interlined word is not *counselling* but *concealing*'. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 860.

that the Stationers had rules governing the ‘licence’, ‘entrance’, and even the ‘copyright’ of books before they obtained their charter.’⁵⁵ Blayney charts the evolution of the original hypothesis posited by Pollard in this respect, namely that the provision of a copy to the Wardens was for the purposes of checking for infringements of texts already registered with the Company, which continues by way of Blagden’s assertion that the ordinance ‘made it an offence for a Stationer to put out a book before he had shown it to the Wardens and had entered it in the register’, and concludes with Cyndia Clegg’s statement that the ordinance secured ‘the right of a printer to the work that he printed – an early form of copyright – by recording the title with his name in a register book’.⁵⁶

For the post-incorporation period, however, the process of registration had a number of requirements which necessitated potential rights holders to engage with a certain degree of social and institutional negotiation. Firstly, authorisation, or allowance, from state approved commissioners was needed to certify that the text was indeed suitable for publication. Register entries in the early years record that the offices of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London were largely responsible for authorising texts for publication. However, this form of authorisation was only acknowledged in approximately 5% of register entries. Changes made to methods of recording in the 1580s ensured that the inclusion of authorisation, and indeed the name of the licenser, became a much more commonplace feature of the Stationers’ Registers. As a consequence of these changes the Registers began to document a much broader range of authority, revealing the extent of the external social networks and connections that were necessary for the licencing of copies.

⁵⁵ Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 859-60. The deadline imposed upon Walley for the payment of his fine is a strong indication that the Stationers’ Company was in the process of getting its ‘books’ in order before the actual commencement of the Stationers’ Register.

⁵⁶ Graham Pollard, ‘The Early Constitution of the Stationers’ Company’ in *The Library*, 4th ser., 18 (December 1937), 235-260, p. 255; Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers’ Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1960), p. 33; Clegg, ‘The Stationers’ Company of London (*London 1557-1710*)’, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 170: *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*, ed. by James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), pp. 275-291 (p. 275). Cited in Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 860-61. Blagden’s supposition of the existence of a pre-incorporation register is unequivocally discounted by Blayney for a lack of supporting evidence.

The second stage of registration involved obtaining a licence, and this was awarded by the Stationers' Company. A licence denoted that the Company had given its permission for a Stationer to print a specific text, and whilst a licence helped to smooth the process of publication it did not automatically grant ownership of the copy, since the book usually had to be printed before the copy could be claimed. Subtle changes to this procedure started to appear in the 1580s as the phrasing of entries began to conflate the award of the licence with conferral of ownership, as Blayney has noted:

When combined in the early 1580s, what we call a register entry became the entry of record that proved ownership. But it also continued to serve its original purpose of recording that the license fee had been paid.⁵⁷

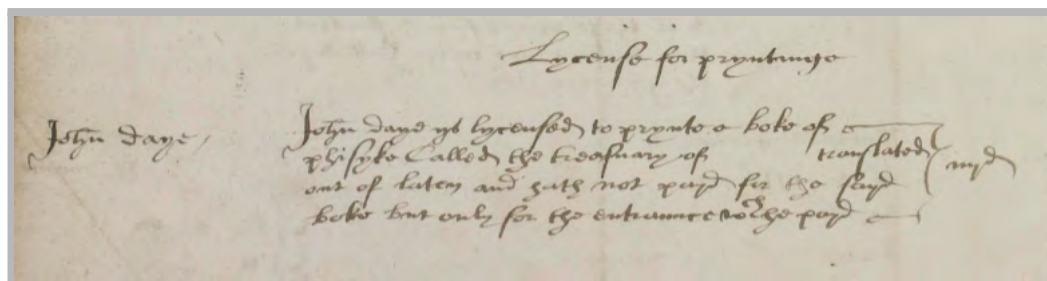
And this can be seen in an entry in Liber B which records that 'ij copies' were licenced to Toby Smith on 9 June 1580. This is the first chronological entry in the register that confirms this dual confirmation of licence and ownership. Whilst at this stage it was an unusual and infrequent form of entry, in 1588 its usage was more commonplace and eventually became the standard mode of entry with the phrase of 'Entred for his copie'.

Until 1637 entering a title in the Stationers' Register was not viewed as a mandatory requirement but, as Blayney remarks, it was an 'insurance policy' against matters of piracy, contested claims, and infringements.⁵⁸ An atypical register entry which is highly revealing of the Company's procedures appeared in the accounts for 1558/59. The first title in the 'Lycense for pryntinge' section of these accounts, *The treasure of Euonymus* by Konrad Gesner, was entered into the register by John Day (see figure 3.12). This entry illustrates the division between the various stages of registration, and indeed shows how entrance was used as a form of protection. Whilst the entry recorded that Day was 'lycensed to prynte' this title it also states that Day did not pay for the 'sayd boke but only for the entraunce'. Its subsequent publication in 1559, however, does confirm that Day did submit a payment for the licence. In terms of the Company procedure for entrance,

⁵⁷ Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 400.

⁵⁸ Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 404.

payments for both the register entries and licences were made to the Clerk, which also involved remittance of an additional fee to the Clerk for his entering this information into the Register.⁵⁹



John Daye	John Daye ys lycensed to prynte a boke of phisyke Called the tresuary of [.....] translated out of laten and hath not payd for the sayd boke but only for the entraunce which he payd	iiiij ^d
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Figure 3.12. Only for the entrance. Wardens' Accounts, 1558/59, fol. 31 v.⁶⁰

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Access and accessibility

The possibilities available for individuals to have direct access to the Stationers' Registers were largely determined by the corporate culture of the Company, but also by the environment in which the registers were compiled. The physical locations and the social spaces of the Hall evoked by the registers are valuable considerations as to how these spaces affected the working practices which had a major influence upon the forms and formats of the registers. This would allow us to identify the direct social interactions that contributed to the textual materialities of the registers as they were formed.

⁵⁹ The terms of Richard Collins's employment were discussed before the Court of Assistants on 29 October 1602. The entry in Court Book C records that he was to receive 'L^s a quarter to be Charged in the renters account over and besydes the vsuall duties of entries apperteyninge to his office'. Blayney notes that these 'duties of entries' were 'personal fees for any entries that benefit individual stationers'. SCA, TSC/1/B/01/01–Court Book C, 1602-1655, fol. 1^r. Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 404.

⁶⁰ Arber identified the blank in this entry as Philiatrus Evonymus '(i.e. Conrad Gesner)'. Arber, Vol. I, p. 94. Konrad Gesner, *The treasure of Euonymus, conteyninge the vvonderful hid secretes of nature, touchinge the most apte formes to prepare and destyl medicines, for the conseruation of helth: as quintesse[n]ce, aurum potabile, hippocras, aromatical wyne, balmes, oyles perfumes, garnishing waters, and other manifold excellent confections. Whereunto are ioyned the formes of sondry apt fornaces, and vessels, required in this art. Translated (with great diligence, [et] laboure) out of Latin, by Peter Morvvyng fellow of Magdaline Colledge in Oxford*. (London: John Day, 1559) [ESTC: S103098].

I discussed in Chapter Two the importance of concepts of authorship to the registers, and the potential influences that the clerks and the Beadle could exert upon their forms and formats. This discussion foregrounded two of the key positions within the Company that were involved with developing its administrative structures, but I should provide a reminder here that they were part of a body of staff which was responsible for the Company's record-keeping, and for ensuring its efficient administration. The variations in hand and style that are evident in each volume of the registers demonstrates the presence of these personnel and, despite the emphasis upon them being the 'clerkes bookes', it does suggest that the entering of information was performed by more than a single individual. It is possible, however, to detect other personnel that may have assisted the Clerk and the Beadle with their daily tasks.

On the 13th of October 1578 John Miller was admitted to the Scriveners' Company. The entry, in the Scriveners' Company Common Paper, which registers his admittance also records that he had been apprenticed to George Wapull in 1566. Although there is a small discrepancy between the dates noted which would appear to suggest that this apprenticeship commenced before Wapull was made a member of the Scriveners' Company in 1567, which would have prevented him from keeping apprentices before this date, it would be reasonable to assume that Wapull's admission on the 26th of August was quickly followed by Miller's apprenticeship binding. It is possible that Miller embarked upon some form of service in contravention of the ordinances, as similar incidents can occasionally be seen in the records of the Stationers' Company, but he could only be presented as an apprentice following Wapull's admission. The notice of Miller's admission is significant because its date coincides with Wapull's appointment to the clerkship of the Stationers' Company. It could indicate that during his apprenticeship Miller may have learnt his craft, at least for a period, as one of the clerical staff at the Stationers' Company. Assuming that he had served the term of seven years, which was the average length of service for apprentices, Miller would have completed his apprenticeship in 1573, and two

of those years could potentially have been spent in service at the Stationers' Company. It is also possible that his service was extended, with Miller being further employed by Wapull as a servant/journeyman for the following five years before his eventual admission to the Scriveners' Company.

Miller's example illustrates an important aspect of apprenticeships, in that they represent hidden institutional labour, and this has particular repercussions when considering the role of clerks in constructing the Stationers' Registers. Richard Collins was fairly active in taking on apprentices during his time at the Stationers' Company, eleven in total, which does raise questions as to the type of training that they would have received under Collins.⁶¹ Thomas Purfoot Junior was the first of Collins's apprentices to gain his freedom, and this was obtained on 8 October 1590 via patrimony rather than servitude. Although he had the advantage of his father's business through which he could learn the art of printing it is likely that under Collins's tutelage Purfoot was trained in the arts of accounting and record-keeping, which would have provided him with a good grounding in the Company's administration - and could partially explain why he was considered to be a suitable successor to Collins. Blayney's research into Liber A has identified a number of distinctive entries for which, he claims, Purfoot was responsible. And indeed, in Liber B there are a number of entries in a comparable hand that can be found.⁶² The presence of different hands in the registers, and the number of apprentices employed in the service of the Company's Clerks suggests that there could have been a far wider range of access to the Stationers' Registers than is usually assumed. It is probable that a good proportion of those who had direct access to the registers in this period were learning the arts of

⁶¹ Although some of Collins's apprentices were later contracted to serve their terms with other masters. For example, Richard Browne was immediately placed within the service of John Jackson in 1586; and after three years service with Collins, John Heathcot was re-bound to Edward Romney in 1599. Heathcot presents an intriguing study: he was apprenticed to Collins for seven years in 1596, and then bound to Edward Romney (a former apprentice of Collins) for another seven years in 1599. The rebinding would have extended the overall length of his service as an apprentice to ten years.

⁶² In Liber A, Blayney identifies fols 47'-48', and the second entry on 52' as being in Purfoot's hand. He argues his case persuasively; and whilst there are some similarities, a comparison of these entries to Purfoot's signature present a number of differences within the letter forms and a degree of accomplishment which make it difficult for me to state definitively that these entries are indeed in Purfoot's hand. Blayney, 'Introduction', *Liber A* (London: Bibliographical Society, forthcoming). I am grateful to Peter Blayney for allowing me to cite his unpublished work.

clerkship, as copy errors, misplaced entries and accidental damage to the fabric of the registers would seem to attest.

11 August 1600,
Liber B, fol. 108^r.

11 September 1587,
Liber B, fol. 443^r.

15 April 1585,
Liber A, fol. 47^r.

Figure 3.13. Thomas Purfoot's Hand. Liber B and Liber A, 1585-1600.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605; TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771.

In Chapter Two I discussed that the Company's Beadle had an important role to play in the compilation of the first register. For the most part, John Fayreberne is seen as the 'author' of the Wardens' Accounts, occupying the dual role of the Company's Beadle and the 'copyist' of the accounts, which obviously necessitated his direct access to the registers. However, it is also possible that the Beadle's responsibility for writing up the fair copy of the accounts was not wholly removed when the Company appointed an official clerk. Arber advanced this idea in his transcript of Liber B, in relation to an entry for 2 August 1595. This entry recorded the binding of John Hall as an apprentice to John Wolfe, and it is a notable entry because it is personally signed by John Wolfe. This signature led Arber to state that, 'It is evident that this Memorandum was written, with many of the

entries in this Volume, by John Wolfe, who here gives us his signature.’⁶³ John Wolfe had been appointed to the position of Company Beadle in 1587, at a point in his career when he was also printer to the City. Whilst this comparison makes it possible to see Wolfe’s hand appearing in some sections of the register, Arber’s assessment is perhaps slightly too generous. Wolfe’s presence in the registers contrasts with the activities of Fayreberne, whose appearances were largely restricted to his engagement with Company business, in his role as the Beadle, and the copying of the accounts. However, Wolfe was an active printer and a regular registrant, to the point of operating his printing house out of Stationers’ Hall, which suggests that in addition to his duty as Beadle this personal work may well have occupied more of his time and energies than the registers.⁶⁴ It would seem, however, that Wolfe’s contributions to the compilation of Liber B were not overly involved with inscribing the entrance of copies as this section of the register is, predominantly, in a formal notarial hand which can reasonably be attributed to the clerk, Richard Collins.⁶⁵ Unlike the Wardens’ Accounts there is a far wider range of scribal style on display in Liber B so it is possible to conclude that a single person was no longer responsible for the entering of information.⁶⁶

However, the Company’s Clerks and Beadle(s) were not the only people to make their mark upon the pages of the registers. It was an essential requirement that the Company’s records were audited on an annual basis, and this process was integral to the registers’ function and authority as account books. The order of procedure for the audits is suggested by the closing statements of each year’s accounts. As the fair copies of the

⁶³ Arber, Vol. II, p. 205.

⁶⁴ ‘Yt is agreed at this court, That a convenient printinghouse beinge provided for Iohn Wolf out of the hall/ Some allowance to ward the charge thereof shalbe yielded of the common charge of this house accordinge to the discretion of the mr wardens & Assistentes for the tyme beinge’. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1 February 1591, fol. 451^r. Arber, Vol. I, p. 248. Arber reproduces the Bishop of London’s 1583 survey into press ownership, which stated that ‘John Wolf hath iij presses, and ij more since found in a secret Vau[l]t.’ A second survey conducted in 1586, transcribed in Liber A, listed Wolfe as having ‘iiij presses’. SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771, fol. 51^r.

⁶⁵ This is particularly noticeable at the start of each new accounting year, with more care and attention having been given to the presentation and layout of the accounts.

⁶⁶ As we have already seen with the possibility of Thomas Purfoot Junior having had a hand in the Registers’ construction. This variety of scribal styles would imply that the Stationers’ Company’s production of records had expanded beyond what one person could reasonably manage, and that clerical services had developed into its own distinct branch of the Company’s business.

Company's annual accounts, the Wardens' Accounts were inspected by the people who were appointed to verify that they were an accurate representation of that year's business. If the details and the balances contained therein were found to be correct the Wardens signed the accounts and handed over the responsibility for the forthcoming year's accounts to the new incumbents, who also signed the statement in acknowledgement of their receipt of the Company's accounts and money, and any discrepancies in the accounts were brought forward and included in the following year's records. The phrasing of these handovers in the registers suggests that there was an element of performance connected with this process. So, the physical transfer of the accounts (and the ready money) to the incoming Wardens emphasised the responsibilities and duties connected with taking office, it also served to reiterate the authority and the value that the community invested in the registers and its officials.

Thomas Docwray
 per me Richard Way
 By me Reginalde Wolffe
 James holiland
 John cawod
 per me henry Cooke
 per michell loblay
 per me jhon judson
 per me Thomam dewyxsell
 per me Rychard Jugge
 per me william Seres
 per me Antony Smythe
 per my steuen keual
 Teste John Jaques
 by me Johan Turke
 per me johan Waley

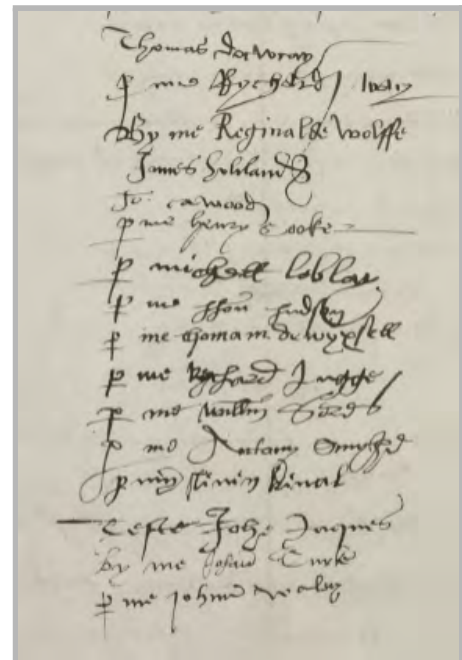


Figure 3.14. Signatories to the Inventory. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57, fol. 17^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Before the commencement of the post-incorporation series of records in the Wardens' Accounts there is an inventory of the Company's holdings which was compiled in 1557. This inventory concludes with a list of sixteen signatories who witnessed the taking of the inventory, and provides the first evidence of other figures of authority within the Company who had some form of direct access to the volume (however limited). This list of signatures represents the body of authority for the Company and at its head was Thomas Dockwray, who had been appointed Master of the new corporation. The Stationers' Company's charter provides an analogous example of the significance of listing named individuals, particularly as it included the names of a sizable proportion of its membership that, as Blayney remarks, although 'they were in fact less than three-quarters of the commonalty: they *represented* the Company'.⁶⁷ This list of ninety-seven representatives is often assumed to be ordered according to precedence within the Company's structure, and the members who signed the inventory in the Wardens' Accounts can be found located amongst the first twenty-five names on the list. The signatures of these sixteen individuals recur frequently throughout the registers which would suggest that they did indeed constitute the authority of the Company. Pollard argues that the list of signatories to this inventory represented the first Court of Assistants for the Stationers' Company.⁶⁸ Since many of the names listed in the 1557 inventory were either appointed as Masters, Wardens, or auditors throughout the formative years of the Stationers' Registers they were frequent signatories to the Company's accounts.

The accounts for the Company's first official year as a corporation detail the process of accounting and auditing.⁶⁹ The signatures indicate that there were five auditors appointed for this year, all of whom had previously signed the inventory; Reginald Wolfe, Michael Loble, Richard Jugge, William Seres, and John Judson. It is unclear as to whether the signatures of the auditors were included because these formed the Company's first

⁶⁷ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 871. [His italics.]

⁶⁸ Pollard, Graham, 'The early constitution of the Stationers' Company' in *The Library*, 4th ser., 18 [3] (1937), pp. 235-260 (p. 243).

⁶⁹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 27 v.

accounts as a corporation. Their inclusion would seem to be noteworthy, especially in consideration of the following year's accounts which contained no signatures other than the incoming Wardens.⁷⁰ The performance of handing over the accounts at each year's end served an important purpose as a visual transference of authority, but the inclusion of signatures in the registers provided proof that the Company had checking mechanisms in place to ensure that that authority was not abused.

The apprenticeship records of Liber B contain signatures of members who were not employed by the Company in an official capacity. Although this was not a wide-ranging practice, it did mark a change to the clerk's conventional routines of record-keeping, and it could signal a shift in the Company's perceptions concerning the registers' function and their value for preserving information. It is possible that these signatures indicate a growing communal investment in the authority of the registers as material objects. Although they had no formal legal standing it is clear that within the Stationers' community the registers' function gave them an unquestionable authority. As a store of information the registers were viewed as vital witnesses, being a source of proof and verification for transactions (past, present, and future), and the inclusion of these signatures reinforces this form of textual authority. Whilst it is possible that the signatures were perhaps nothing more than a record of a person's mark to be used at a later date, to confirm other documentation or in the settlement of disputations, the infrequency of their appearances in the registers would suggest the possibility of other motivations for their inclusion. The signing of the registers in person, in imitation of legal documents, demonstrates the value that the Company placed upon the ritual of procedure, and the associations evoked by this process were essential for reinforcing the authority of the registers to its members. The physical act of signing an object which has restricted access conveyed a special meaning to those who were permitted to do so. Since it was something

⁷⁰ Although the closing statement in the accounts for 1558/59 does note the presence of ten officials besides the incoming and outgoing Wardens. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01—Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fol. 41'.

that so few people did it is likely that the action of placing a mark in the Register, and the status of the object itself, were afforded a significance and value through these direct and tangible connections to the history, the traditions, ideology, and ethos of the Company.

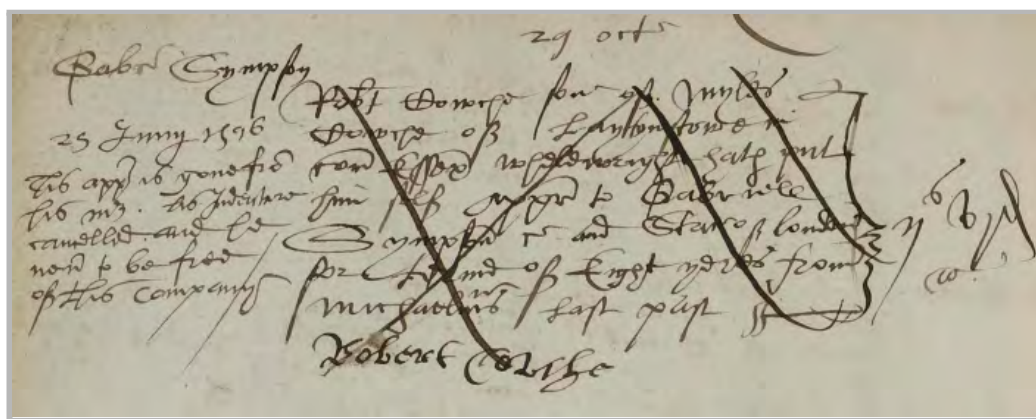


Figure 3.15: Indenture Cancelled. Liber B, 29 October 1594/25 June 1596, fol. 82^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

This small change in practice could suggest that it was a new phase for the records which concerned the reassignment of apprentices. Signatures, however, were not present on all cases of turning over events. It is possible that the signed entries could have had a greater potentiality of dispute - and therefore a signature was needed to verify an agreement between all parties on the terms laid out in the entry. An entry for 29 October 1594 records the binding of Robert Couch, which was subsequently struck through on 25 June 1596 (figure 3.15). A note was added to the left margin of this entry, stating that ‘This apprentice is gone from his master . his Indenture cancelled . and he neuer to be free of this company /’.⁷¹ Whilst this phrase is not an unusual addition to the apprenticeship records, the presence of Couch’s signature is. Earlier examples of signed entries in the register have included the signatures of the masters, but this is the first occurrence of an apprentice signing the register. There is a noticeable difference in the ink quality of the signature which raises questions as to when it was added, and it would certainly be an exceptional

⁷¹ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 29th October 1594, fol. 82^v.

entry if it had been signed when the binding was first entered in 1594. The signature is much darker than the body of the entry, and also than that of the marginal note, and this creates an uncertainty as to which event required Couch's signature. However, it would appear that the ink quality of the signature is comparable to the lines used to cross through the entry. This is emphasised by what seems to be slight water damage and smudging on one of these lines, which shows clearly that the strikethrough was overlaid by the signature. Typically in those cases where an apprentice was 'gone' and the indentures cancelled the register entries are not signed by the apprentice, so the addition of Couch's signature would seem to suggest that this was an unusual event within the Company's administration. Its presence could indicate that Couch had sought the approval of the Court to break the terms of his binding (for whatever reason), and that his signature was required to signify his agreement with the court decision and with the expunging of his entry from the register; but its appearance does illustrate the distinct stages that were necessary for the recording of information in the register. Firstly, for this type of entry, there would have to be an indication given to the Company that this was required so that it could be tabled for discussion in a meeting of the Court. The record of the meeting would be taken by the clerk, who was present at the Court, and the decision made by the Assistants would then have been recorded in the register once the meeting was concluded (being placed in the margins of the entry which concerned Couch's binding as an apprentice). It is possible that the next stage would have been the physical cancellation of the indentures, which Couch may have needed to produce for the clerk in order to have this entry from the register expunged. Couch would then have signed the entry to indicate that he had witnessed, and was in agreement with the cancellation and the crossing through of the register entry.

CONCLUSION: CUSTOMARY ACTIONS

Henry Cooke and Thomas Dewyxsell's gifting of the great books was intended to fill a perceived gap in the Stationers' Company's existing administrative system. As it embarked upon its incorporation a new volume was required to convey the momentousness of this occasion, and one with a purpose to match the Company's new status and identity. The first of these books, the Wardens' Accounts, was designed to be books of accounts that recorded the Company's financial transactions. The Stationers' Registers were therefore founded with a seemingly clear sense of purpose in mind.

As a measure of the daily social interactions between the community and the Company, however, the registers reveal a far more interconnected network of intentions and agency that were influential upon the forms and functions of the registers. As we have seen, there were many subtle differences between how the registers were intended to be used and the ways in which they functioned in the daily life of the Company and its members. How the registers were employed, at both an institutional and an individual level, shaped the ways in which the narratives of the Stationers' Registers were established, developed, and disrupted. And so, the registers portray a far more complicated picture of the Company's everyday life than its seemingly straightforward factual account would suggest. As the Company negotiated its new status and responsibilities, its conceptualisations of its corporate identity evolved and developed, and this process was manifest in the Stationers' Registers as the practices they recorded were gradually refined. It was not only the Company that found the registers to be valuable sites for the writing and recording of identity. Many registrants were also able to negotiate the Company's procedures to create their own sense of self within the official records. Through their biographical function the Stationers' Registers advanced and reinforced a sense of communal identity amongst the Company's membership.

The intricate balance between the accounts and the social accountability of the records is indicative of how the registers were expected to function within institutional

structures, but it also reveals the ways in which the particular idiosyncrasies of individuals were able to negotiate and influence these practices. How the Stationers' Registers were perceived to function and how they could be used exposes the 'dialectical relationships' of the London book trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The ways in which the registers recorded these perceptions and relationships indicate the extent to which they were interwoven and embedded throughout the various branches of the Company's activities. Ultimately, however, these connections and conversations demonstrate the registers' influence in bonding the Stationers' community through customary action.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL NEXUS

Performative rituals were a vital component of the Company's record-keeping practices and they ensured that the functionality and utility of the Stationers' Registers was central to the lived experience of its membership. In this chapter I will examine this relationship and the forms of social negotiation that the community's interactions with the registers engendered. The Stationers' Registers inhabited a remarkable position within the social nexus of the Stationers' Company. By way of their social construct, and how they functioned as social documents, the Registers were far more than a financial record. They were a conduit for the actions and intentions of the Company and its members. The Registers' state of connectedness, reciprocity, and forms of agency are all significant for understanding the ways in which the Stationers' Registers developed as cultural artefacts.

McKenzie notes in his foreword to *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* that:

a book is never simply a remarkable object. Like every other technology it is invariably the product of human agency in complex and highly volatile contexts which a responsible scholarship must seek to recover if we are to understand better the creation and communication of meaning as the defining characteristic of human societies.¹

His emphasis upon the complexity and interdependence of the relationships and circumstances that lie behind textual production is significant for the Stationers' Registers because the Company's agency and contexts define the registers' character and substance as texts. The Stationers' Registers were implements of trade regulation, and as such their textual authority was closely bound to the activities of the Company's membership. For the authority of the registers to be maintained they needed to be socially relevant documents. It is evident from their primary function of recording the financial transactions of the Stationers' Company that the registers were afforded status and value by the institution, but

¹ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 4.

from the details that the registers furnish it is also possible to distinguish the scope and influence of the social networks associated with London's book trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the significance of the registers to the social discourses of this community. The registers provided the Stationers' Company with an overview of book trade dealings and relationships, but they also required it to re-think and restructure its record-keeping systems so as to perform its duty as a regulator efficiently and to meet the needs of the community. How the registers were constructed and utilised provides a valuable window into the social ideations that informed their creation, their production, and their transmission.

The Stationers' Registers were central to the Company's administrative system and communal acceptance of their ideological principles and authority was expected in order for their function to be fulfilled. Examination of the textual and material forms of the registers allows us to recover the social contexts of the registers, and to connect with the human experiences that lie behind their forms and functions, for as Filipe Carreira da Silva reminds us:

pragmatic sociology needs to approach the lives of books and the lives of people as fundamentally entangled.²

With Henry Cooke and Thomas Dewyxsell's gifting of the great books to the Company, the Stationers' Registers were devised and perceived as social entities from the outset — as they were given 'of' and 'for' the benefit of the community. In order for the Stationers' Company to conduct its regulatory responsibilities efficiently it needed to cultivate a cohesive communal environment, and although the registers were just one of the mechanisms employed in its regulation of the book trade it is apparent that the Company considered them to be fundamental in the promotion of a communal sensibility. The administrative function of the Stationers' Registers facilitated an individual's participation with the Company's corporate procedures, and such interactions were crucial to the

² Filipe Carreira da Silva, 'Following the Book: Towards a Pragmatic Sociology of the Book' in *Sociology*, 50(6), 2016, pp. 1185-1200 (p. 1193).

construction of the registers' authoritative status; but the registers also provided members with a means of representation within the official records of the Company, and as such gave them the opportunity to fashion their identities as Stationers.³ In order to maintain their social relevance and integrity it was vital that the Stationers' Registers were flexible and responsive to shifts in social circumstances and changes within society. The ways in which the registers integrated and interacted with society were key to upholding their standing and authority in the face of such vicissitudes, and this sociability was crucial for the Company's negotiation of tradition and innovation within both its administrative and regulatory roles.

A PERPETUAL COMMUNITY OF STATIONERS

To understand how the Stationers' Registers functioned as social documents requires some knowledge of the community that produced them. In this section I will focus on the 'perpetual community' of the Stationers' Company, which includes the pathways into the Company, its social composition, and the opportunities that were available for progressing through the Company's ranks.⁴ Whilst each of these elements of communal life had significance for the forms and functions of the registers, they are also crucial for determining the ways in which the community valued the registers. It is evident in the charter of incorporation granted to the Stationers' Company in 1557 that from its inception the language and conceptualisation of community was central to the Company's identity.⁵

The charter proclaimed that:

³ The Stationers' Registers were by no means exceptional in this respect, especially as the Stationers' Company's ongoing rationalisation of its records resulted in the proliferation of Company books. For example, a new book was initiated solely for the apprenticeship and freedom records in 1605 (SCA, TSC/1/C/05/01/01); and another for admissions to the livery in 1606 (SCA, TSC/1/C/01/06/01).

⁴ The Stationers' Company was described as a 'perpetual community' in Arber's transcription of the Stationers' Charter. Arber, Vol. I, p. xxviii. Blayney however is much more reluctant to interpret 'communitas' as community, so his transcription of the charter presents this phrase as 'perpetual company'. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 1022.

⁵ Although established in 1403 it was not until 1441 that it became more commonly known as the Stationers' Company. As I noted in Chapter One (p. 62, *n.* 71), 'Brotherhood' proved to be an enduring term for the Company, and is still a useful differentiation between the Company's pre- and post-incorporation incarnations.

that they shall henceforth be in fact, deed, and name, one body of themselves forever, and one perpetual company incorporating one Master, and two Keepers or Wardens, and one commonalty of the same mistery or art of stationery of the foresaid city, and that they shall have perpetual succession.⁶

Such clauses were a standard inclusion within charters, and in this set of circumstances it was necessary for the formalisation of the Company's incorporation. Despite their formulaic nature these statements are significant for identifying and defining the nature of a company's commonalty. In this example the Stationers' Company's relationship to the City was established by the clause, but it also outlined the Company's administrative structure and social essence. Furthermore, this clause constituted a distillation and formalisation of the Company's communal ethos, which continued to find expression throughout its administrative practices. With the inclusion of 97 names, the charter listed a considerable proportion of the Company's membership but it was not a comprehensive register of its members by any means, as Blayney's discussion of the representative nature of its signatories makes clear:

All told, then, on 4 May 1557 the Stationers' Company consisted of at least 133 freemen, 81 apprentices, and 25 brothers for a total of 238 – plus an unknown number of Stationers' widows.⁷

Nonetheless, in respect of the London book trade the charter provides an important portrayal of notable figures within the Company at the point at which it embarked upon its journey as a corporation.

⁶ Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp.1017, 1022. I am using Blayney's translation here but it should be noted that he has a specific rubric for translating 'communitas'; i.e., it becomes 'company' when referring to the Master and Wardens and 'commonalty' when they are excluded. (note C, p. 1022) However, Arber's translation of the charter favours 'community' on these occasions, which allows for far greater social inferences to be read. So, whilst there is a subtle distinction in tone between these two translations they highlight a couple of important issues: first, they illustrate the blurring of the linguistic and conceptual borders of the words 'company', 'commonalty', and 'community'; and second, they accentuate McKenzie's argument that 'every society rewrites its past, and every reader rewrites its texts', *BSoT*, p. 25.

⁷ Although Blayney's calculations of the size of the Company's membership is comprehensive, only freemen would have been eligible for inclusion in the charter. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 410.

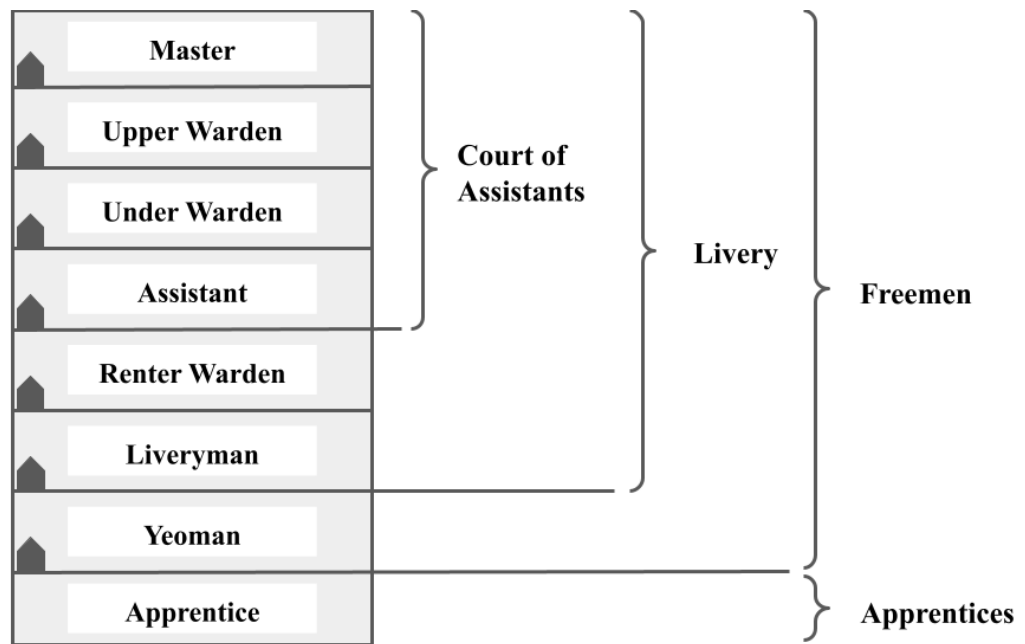


Figure 4.1: The Structure of the Stationers' Company.

Image adapted and reproduced from Ian Gadd, *"Being like a field": Corporate identity in the Stationers' Company 1557-1684*, p. 67, with the permission of Ian Gadd.

The hierarchical structure of the Stationers' Company was organised along similar lines to many of the City's other livery companies (see figure 4.1). A Stationer's expected career progression through the Company's ranks is reflected in the structural organisation of the Stationers' Registers, and the ways in which equivalent record types were categorised and presented illustrates the pathways of social mobility within the Company's hierarchy. Between 1554 and 1559 'Receptes' were the first sections recorded in the Company's annual accounts, and although the order of the Wardens' Accounts was by no means fixed throughout this period, the entries relating to apprenticeship bindings were never far behind these sections. So, for the pre-incorporation period of 1554-57, the 'presentementes of prentisses and brethren of the mesterye of stacioners as foloweth' (fol. 3^r) immediately followed the 'Receptes', a section 'for the presentemente of prentisses of the mesterye of stacioners as foloweth' (fol. 21^r) was also placed after the 'Receptes' in the accounts of 1557/58, and the 'Presentementes of prentises and making ffre men' (fol. 33^r) followed the sections for 'Receptes', 'All these ware fyned for that thay Camme not to the

hall vpon the quarter Daye, and ‘Lycense for pryntinge’ in the accounts for 1558/59.

Although these categories were concerned primarily with apprentices, it is notable that they also included records for admissions to the Company.⁸

The City’s granting of the livery to the Stationers’ Company in 1560 brought about another change in the Company’s recording practices and an additional degree of textual stability to the order of the Wardens’ Accounts. From this point onwards, and until the appointment of George Wapull in 1571, the apprenticeship bindings were the first class of records to be entered into the register. Separate categories for the admission of freemen and brethren, and for those admitted to the Company’s livery were also introduced. Following the award of the livery to the Company the membership records in the registers were given primacy, and this shift indicates a subtle change in the ways in which the registers were used; it suggests that there was an increasing need to consult these records and positioning them near the opening of the annual accounts would have made it far easier and faster to access the records of individual Stationers, particularly if being done retrospectively. Although there is an archival gap in detailed Company records for the period that spanned Wapull’s term of office, the summarised accounts present the categories as following the order of receipts, licences for copies, presentment of apprentices, admission of freemen and brethren, and fines for the breaking of orders. For the main part, this order continued throughout the remainder of the Wardens’ Accounts, but with the initiation of a new volume (Liber B) the order initiated in the accounts of 1560 was re-established. And so, as Collins itemised in his list of duties, for Liber B (1575-1605), the apprenticeship records were the first order of business for the new register, with the sections for the admission of freemen and calls to the livery following the entrances of copies.

⁸ I have included a comparative breakdown of the sectional organisation of the Wardens’ Accounts for 1554-57 with those of the 1557/58 accounts in the Pewterers’ Company’s Audit Book as an appendix.

my charge is to enter as foloweth. viz .		
Presentmentes of prentizes	— 17 .	
Lycences for pryntinge of copies	134	et revertitur ad fol <u>130</u> .*
Admissions of brethren & freemen	319	
ffynes for breakinge of orders	.405.	/ et Reuertitur ad 393.*
Decrees and ordennances	.427	
Admyttinge of men into the Lyvery	.415.	et continuatur 418*
* Due to a miscalculation about the amount of space allocated, register entries for this category were continued in earlier blank spaces.		

Figure 4.2: The Order of Entering. Liber B, fol. 2^r. (see Chapter Two: figure 2.7, p. 102.)

Completing a term of apprenticeship was one means of obtaining freedom and becoming a citizen of London, and this provided an initial entry point into the community for the majority of stationers. Although many contracted terms of apprenticeship were never completed, it was by far the most common means by which members of the Stationers' Company obtained their freedom.⁹ Apprentices were bound to a master for a contracted number of years, and in return for their service they were instructed into the art or 'mystery' of stationery. Many regulations relating to apprenticeships in this period were established by the 1563 Statute of Artificers, as Patrick Wallis has explained:

This set out basic national rules for apprenticeship, which were largely based around London's existing practices -- all householders

⁹ Ian Gadd has calculated that prior to 1700 83% of Company members had achieved freedom through apprenticeships, although less than half of those bound successfully completed their apprenticeship to be admitted to the Company. Ian Gadd, *"Being like a field": Corporate identity in the Stationers' Company 1557-1684* (Unpublished thesis, University of Oxford, 1999), p. 67. Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sept., 2008), 832-861, pp. 834, 836. Steve Rappaport estimated that 'two-thirds of all men in sixteenth-century London served apprenticeships'. Rappaport, Steve, *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 294.

over 24 years of age could take apprentices, the term of service should be at least seven years, apprentices should also be 24 years or older when they finished, and so on.¹⁰

Most of the Stationers' Company apprenticeships listed in the Stationers' Registers in this period fall within the range of 7-9 years duration, and whilst seven years was the minimum term that could be served very occasionally apprentices were contracted for 12 years service.¹¹ Restrictions were placed upon the number of apprentices that a master could keep, and consequently not every apprenticeship recorded in the registers was officially sanctioned, or indeed following the Company's protocols.¹² Register entries of the Court's decisions provide details of those which were found to be operating, initially at least, outside of the Company's knowledge. So, for example, Roger Ward decided to present Nicholas Dyos as his apprentice on 6 May 1587, which was the same day as he made him free and the very latest point at which Dyos's service could be 'revealed' in the record, Robert Waldegrave was fined in 1578 for 'that he tooke a prentis and bound and inroled him without lycence and presenting him not', and on 3 September 1582 William Hoskins was 'awarded to prison for iij daies. and to pay x^s for kepinge a prentise aboue vij yeres vnpresented contrarye to all order', and in this case the Company decided that 'the said apprentis shall neuer be admytted to be free in this Cumpany'.¹³

Apprenticeship records in the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B demonstrate the opportunities that were available for training and learning the various skills associated with the book trade in this period. These records are valuable for revealing the extent of the

¹⁰ Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and Training in Premodern England', p. 834.

¹¹ Apprentices achieved freedom at the age of 24, which was three years beyond the age of majority of 21 years. However, by taking advantage of familial affiliations and gaining freedom through patrimony many apprentices could secure the benefits of citizenship at the earlier age of 21.

¹² Article 8 of the Star Chamber Decree of 23 June 1586 established that, 'Everye person that hath been or shalbe master or vpper warden of the Cumpanye whereof he is free to keepe three apprentices at one tyme, and not above / And everye person that is or shalbe vnder warden or of the Lyvery of the Cumpanye whereof he is free, to keepe twoo Apprentices, and not aboue / And euery person that is or shalbe of the yeomanry of the Cumpanye whereof he is or shalbe free, to keepe one apprentice (yf he himself be not a Journeyman) and not aboue.' Arber, Vol. II, p. 812.

¹³ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 6 May 1587, fol. 56^v; 1 December 1578, fol. 406^v; 3 September 1582, fol. 409^f. Hoskins appears to have been a frequent offender. Although James Lufman was named as Hoskins's apprentice on this occasion, on 2 September 1583 it was noted in the register that Hoskins paid his fine for this offence and was also fined a further 20 shillings 'for kepinge James Bowringe vnpresented aboue seven yeres contrary to order'. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 2 September 1583, fol. 410^v.

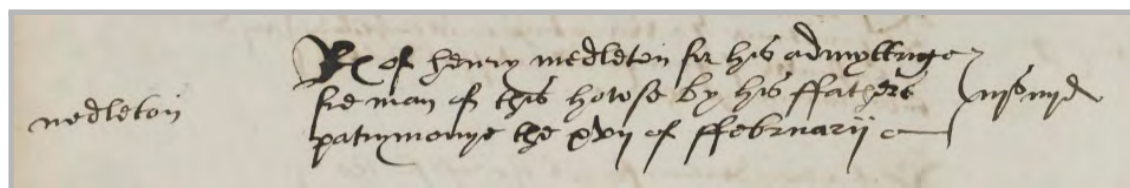
Company's reach and influence beyond London's boundaries, and they also provide a useful starting point for understanding the complexities and nuances of the Company's social composition. McKenzie's analysis of the apprenticeship data for 1562-1640 outlines the migratory patterns for the Stationers' Company, and illustrates that whilst Londoners did indeed constitute the largest regional intake a significant number of new apprentices were also drawn from places such as Yorkshire, Shropshire, and Northampton. Generally this was not uncommon, as migration rates into London exceeded those of second and third generation inhabitants. McKenzie notes that many of these apprentices arrived from densely populated centres, but he also identifies that the patterns of migration are indicative of the agency of familial networks, as was evidenced by Shropshire's seemingly disproportionate representation in the figures.¹⁴ In addition to recording the regional origins of its newest members, the Stationers' Company's apprenticeship records also included details of their fathers' occupations, and these provide a more detailed picture of the Company's broader social background and contexts.¹⁵ Prior to 1640 'yeoman' had been the predominant occupational identifier for fathers (listed in approximately a quarter of the records), so for this period a significant number of the Company's apprentices were 'the middling sort'.¹⁶ In respect of the composition of the Company, as Ian Gadd has identified,

¹⁴ McKenzie, 'Apprenticeship in the Stationers' Company, 1555-1640' in *The Library*, 5th ser., 13 (1958), pp. 292-299 (p. 298). C. Y. Ferdinand also discusses the same issues for the seventeenth century in the essay, 'Towards a Demography of the Stationers' Company 1601-1700 in *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 22 (1992), pp. 51-69.

¹⁵ Gadd, "Being like a field", p. 70-71. This information had not always been recorded in the registers. In the Company's first post-incorporation accounts of 1557/58, the apprentice's name (as a header) | his master's name | the date of presentation | and the fee paid was all the information that was recorded in the register entry. The format changed slightly in 1558/59, whereby the individual headings were removed and the order was the Stationer's name | the apprentice's name | the length of service | and the fee paid. In 1559/60 this had become the master's name | the apprentice's name | the length of service | the starting date | and the fee paid to the Company. The format of the apprenticeship entries was changed again in the accounts of 1562/63 to include the apprentice's name | the name of the father | the county of origin | the father's occupation | the name of the apprentice's master | the starting date | and the duration of the term of service.

¹⁶ William Harrison, 'divide our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeoman, and artificers, or laborers [...] Our yeomen are those, which by our lawyers are called *Legales homines*, free men borne English, and may dispend of their owne free land in yearlie revenue, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling'. *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, 4pts, New Shakspeare Society, 1877-1908, quoted in Palliser, D. M., *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors 1547-1603* (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1983, 3rd impression, 1985), pp. 67-68.

the social significance of this category diminished as the number of sons of ‘gentlemen’ and ‘citizens’ taken on as apprentices increased.¹⁷



medleton	Recevyd of henry medleton for his admyttinge fre man of this howse by his ffathers patrymony the xvij of ffebruarij	iijs iiij ^d
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Figure 4.3: ‘By his Father’s Patrimony’. Wardens’ Accounts, 1566/67, fol. 156^v.

The Stationers’ Company Archive, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596). All images from the Stationers’ Company Archive are reproduced with permission from the Stationers’ Company.

Patrimony and redemption offered alternatives to servitude as means of entering the Stationers’ Company. Admission by patrimony enabled potential Stationers to claim freedom of the Company through their father’s affiliation, and by joining the Company in this way they could avoid having to serve an apprenticeship.¹⁸ There were certain advantages to claiming patrimonial admission, not least in that citizenship could be attained at the age of majority, 21 years of age (see *n.* 11). It also allowed them to circumvent the civic and social restrictions that were placed upon apprentices; so, for example, it gave them the freedom to marry at an earlier age. Humphrey Toy was the first Stationer to be recorded in the register as obtaining his freedom via this route, being ‘made free by his fathers Copey’ in 1557/58.¹⁹ For the early years of the Wardens’ Accounts this was the standard phraseology used to denote those freedoms obtained through patrimonial

¹⁷ Gadd argues that whilst this may be attributable to wider societal changes, it also indicates a possible change in the wealth and status of the Company. Gadd, “Being like a field”, p. 71.

¹⁸ Proportionally these were much smaller sections of the community in comparison to those who were admitted through servitude.

¹⁹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 20^r. See also: Isack Turke, ‘makynge free of this Companye by his fathers Copey’, SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, fol. 64^v; John Foster, ‘Admyttinge to be freman of this Companye by his faythers Copey’, SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1561/62, fol. 77^v; Michael Clerke, ‘makynge fre man of this Companye by his fathers Copey’, SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 123^v; and John Sutton, ‘by his fathers Copey’, SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1565/66, fols 142^r, 143^r.

means. However, this changed in 1566/67 with Henry Middleton's admittance to the Company; this register entry marks the first recorded usage of patrimony in relation to this procedure in the Stationers' Registers (see figure 4.3). Arber remarked, if a son had reached the prescribed age he could claim admission 'by virtue of being freeborn'.²⁰ It is generally accepted, although not definitively proven, that Henry Middleton was the son of the printer William Middleton who died in 1547. As Middleton's case demonstrates, it was key to this form of admission that the father was a freeman on the applicant's birth date, because it allowed admission by patrimony to be claimed long after the father was deceased. This is further substantiated by the example of John Gybkin, which demonstrates an even longer period between the death of the father and freedom by patrimony. John Gybkin senior died in 1552, and in his will he left his 'Naturall sonne John Gybkyn fourtie poundes sterling for satisfaction of his patrimonye'. John Gybkin junior eventually used this money to obtain his freedom of the Stationers' Company by patrimonial means on 11 April 1586; which, as Blayney has noted, would have made him at least thirty-five years old.²¹

Freedom of the Company could also be obtained by redemption, or purchase. Via this route, the applicant was required to remit a fee to join the Company which was usually set at a much higher rate than for other methods of freedom, although discretion was exercised on occasion by the Company's executive body.²² The Wardens' Accounts record that George Buck was the first to be admitted by this means on 13 September 1560, having

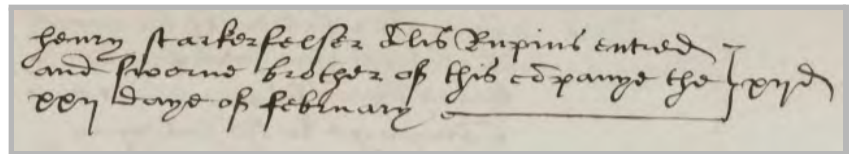
²⁰ Henry Middleton (c. 1546-1587), printer; William Middleton (d. 1547), printer. Arber, Vol. I, p. xxxix. Middleton was one of two that were recorded in the Wardens' Accounts as being freed by patrimony; the other was John Walley, admitted to the Company on the 10 December 1568. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1568/69, fol. 180^r. John Keyle's admission on 13 January 1578 was the first recorded patrimonial entry in Liber B, and it was accompanied by a change in the phraseology employed. These entries were subsequently recorded throughout the rest of this volume as 'per patronagium', which also highlights the subtle changes which were introduced to the registers by the Company's salaried Clerks.

²¹ This entry of his admission is also notable for recording that Gybkin did not swear the freeman's oath, 'quia surdus et mutus est' – because of his deafness and muteness. Will of John Gybkyn, 2 June 1552, TNA, PROB/11/35/210. Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 657. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber B, 1575-1605; 1586, fol. 33^v.

²² Arber cites the case of Sir Thomas Smith, a member of the Privy Council, who was admitted by redemption on 23 April 1571 with payment of the usual fee of 3s. 4d. The register entry for Smith's admittance does not record that he was freed by redemption, but he did pay a higher sum for his freedom – 4s. 4d. (and not the 3s. 4d. fee claimed by Arber). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1570/71, fol. 208^r. Arber, Vol. I, p. xl.

paid the sum of 30 shillings for his freedom. Abraham Harte was the next on 5 September 1569 for the freedom fee of 3s. 4d., and was soon followed in the records by Thomas Ensor on 6 July 1570 who also submitted the usual fee of 3s. 4d. The first identified redemptioner in Liber B was Robert Crowley ‘preacher of gods woord’, who was admitted to the Company ‘per Redemcionem’ on 27 September 1578. Since the register entry contains no record of the Company having received payment for Crowley’s admission, it is possible that this was an occasion on which the Master and Wardens exercised their discretion.²³ There was a steady flow of numbers joining the Stationers Company via redemption throughout the 1580s, which also contributed to the tensions experienced by the community throughout this period.²⁴

1554-57,
Wardens’ Accounts
fol. 6^r.

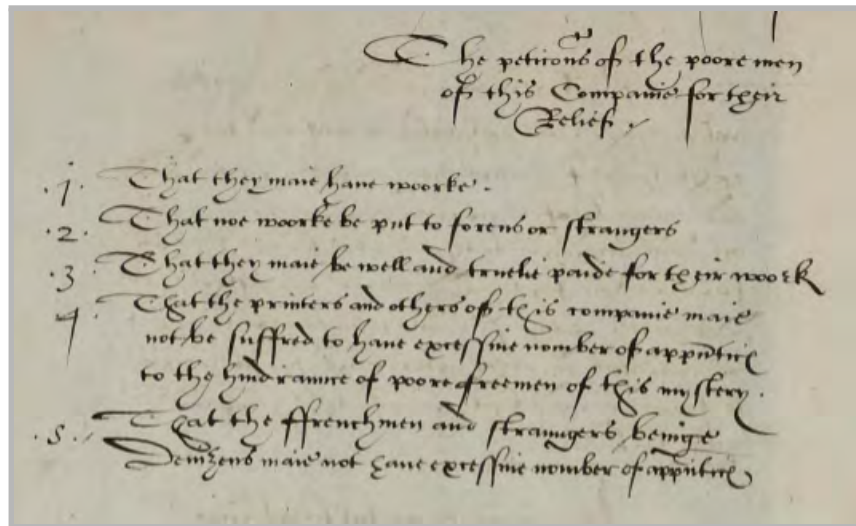


henry starkerfelser Alias Rupius entred
and sworne brother of this companye the xij^d
xxij Daye of february

²³ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, fol. 64^r; 1569/70, fol. 194^r; fol. 194^v. Christopher Paine’s freedom by redemption in 1584/85 is noted in the annual summaries, along with his surety of 20s., but a detailed account of his admittance is given in Liber B. This stated that he was a Joiner admitted by ‘virtue of an order of the lord maiour’; and this was also the case with the Buttonmaker William Parry, ‘by order taken in the lord maiours Court. ys sworne and admitted a freman of this Company by Redemcion’. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1584/85, fol. 329^v; 1585/86, fol. 330^r. Robert Crowley was later named in the 1588 list of permitted licencers. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1578/79, fol. 322^r; 1587/88, fol. 446^r.

²⁴ One such notable figure was John Wolfe, who was recorded as ‘Admitted a freman of this Cumpanie per Redemptione’ on 1 July 1583. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/09–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1582/83, fol. 326^v. From 1581 he seems to have engaged in an organised campaign of infringement upon the existing system of printing privileges which involved a running battle with the Queen’s Printer, Christopher Barker. Wolfe’s translation from the Fishmongers’ Company was one of the terms negotiated as part of the ensuing discussions to resolve the ‘controversy’, although it took several attempts before Wolfe finally conceded and became a member. Ian Gadd, “Wolfe, John (b. in or before 1548, d. 1601), bookseller and printer.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29834>. [Accessed 2 January 2022.]

of the freemen and the brethren were afforded their own section in the registers until 1605, when the membership records were given their own dedicated volume. Whilst the Brethren constituted a relatively minor strata of the Company's community, occasionally changes in social and political conditions brought their presence to the fore.



The petitions of the poore men
of this Companie for their
Relief./

1. That they maie haue woorke.
2. That noe woorke be put to forens or strangers
3. That they maie be well and truelie paid for their woorke
4. That the printers and others of this companie maie not be suffred to haue excessiue number of apprentices to the hindraunce of poore freemen of this mystery.
5. That the ffrenchmen and straungers beinge Denizens maie not haue excessiue number of apprentices

Figure 4.5: Petitions of the poor men. Liber B, 1577/78, fol. 429^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Complaints were submitted to the Stationers' Company on the behalf of bookbinders in 1577, and at a meeting of the Court held on 21 October the Assistants ruled that 'the bookebinders that be Englishemen and fremen of this citie shall haue Woorke before strangers & foryners' provided that they could offer the same quality, rate and price for this work. A very similar petition for relief was also submitted by the 'poore men of

this Companie', which was heard by the Court of Assistants on 27 January 1578 (see figure 4.5).²⁷ Together these give a sense of the scale of the tasks that lay before the Stationers' Company regarding regulation of London's book trades and crafts, and the building of its own community. With the poor mens' request that no work should be given to foreigners or strangers, and that denizenized Frenchmen and strangers should not be allowed an 'excessive number of apprentices', points two and four on their list demonstrate the difficulties often faced by members of the brethren. In this case, the Court's robust response to both grievances served to remind the petitioners that these workmen were very much a welcome and valuable part of the stationers' community. Replying to the second point on the list the Court stated that:

This in the negatiue cannot reasonable be graunted and is a matter verie *preiudiciall* to the companie and speciallie to the saide poore woorkemen because yt will Drawe gent. learned men and other buiers of bookes themselves to buie in quires and put their bookes to such forens and strangers Dwellinge out of the liberties. Alsoe this *peticion* is needless so longe as the firste order be kepte (as yt is faythfullie intended) that the saide poore bretheren shall haue sufficient woork in fourme aforesaid. /²⁸

Its decision focused upon the detrimental effects that implementing such a course of action would cause to the Company and underlined the likelihood that their own situation would be worsened. By framing its reply in this way the Court reiterated the ethos laid out in the Company's charter of incorporation, emphasising that the commonalty in all of its breadth *was* the Stationers' Company. Replying to the fifth petition there is a weary frustration that the regulations regarding strangers and foreigners had to be restated, in that 'such strangers have noe Apprentices bounde to them but haue apprentices of other men appointed to serue with them to learne their arte', and the Court again emphasised the disruption to the Company this action would cause and the possibility of other companies taking these

²⁷ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 21 October 1577, fols 428^r-428^v; 1577/78, fols 429^v-430^v (which also includes copies of documents upon the same matters from the Court of Aldermen and the Lord Treasurer, William Burghley).

²⁸ The decision does suggest a tacit understanding that customers were particularly capricious, therefore it was better to keep their custom and trade in London with the efforts of its own foreigners and strangers. In consideration of this, it is worth remembering that the term 'foreigner' did not apply to brothers who were members of other City companies. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1577/78, fol. 429^v.

apprentices 'and soe those of other Cumpanies to become the best woorkmen and disperse the arte'.²⁹

This example is by no means unique, as similar forms of protest find regular expression throughout the Company's records. However, these are not common elements within the framework of the Stationers' Registers and their presence, such as it is, can be attributed largely to the decision of Richard Collins to include records of Court decisions in Liber B. Despite the rarity of these instances within the Registers they are a valuable reminder of the extent to which the Court of Assistants was involved with the management of the personal and interpersonal relationships of the Company's membership. Although the Company was instituted to bring together the various book trades and crafts into one representative body it is evident that there were deeply divisive issues amongst the Stationers' community, particularly in relation to social status, ownership of privileges and rights, and sometimes just the sheer force of contrasting personalities. Entries such as these show the Company's procedures of negotiation, and the ways in which they manoeuvred a pathway through different referential frameworks to reach a resolution that preserved the integrity of the institution. One of the most vital elements in this respect was the shared experience of the corporate routines and rituals that were essential for providing an area of common ground between its members.

SOCIAL AND SOCIABILITY

The registers form a near-continuous record of book trade dialogues, whereby the various agencies and intentions associated with the industry were given a voice. In its strictest sense 'dialogue' implies communication between two speakers and in this respect the medial role of the registers is important because they record the exchanges between the institutional body and individual members of the community, but at a microcosmic level

²⁹ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 1577/78, fol. 430^r.

and interwoven throughout there are traces of the communications of stationers and the interrelations of texts that are brought into conversation through the forms of the registers. Although the registers were primarily books of account recording the Company's financial transactions, their function was a crucial commonality between its members. The sociability of the registers enabled the Company to balance the importance of communal tradition with the necessity of innovation, as the adaptability of their forms to developments within the book trade demonstrates, but it was also significant in the negotiation and establishment of boundaries within trade relationships.

McKenzie's theory of the sociology of texts provides a constructive methodological framework for exploring the various ways in which relationships were represented within the texts, and to what purpose. Whilst the framework proves valuable for recognising the inherent power relationships within the Stationers' community as they were documented by the registers, and the forms of social negotiation that were necessary to ensure communal cohesion, it also reveals how the dynamics and agency of these voices inform those of the registers. Restrictions placed upon direct access to the registers would seem to limit their possibilities as social texts, however the inherent social agency of the registers is demonstrated by their dualistic status as structural mechanisms and as intermediaries between the communal and executive bodies of the Stationers' Company. The ways in which they were constructed (and enacted) invested the Stationers' Registers with a sociality that was fundamental for cementing the corporate forms of sociability.

In this section I will be considering the concept of texts as social entities, and its relevance in understanding the evolution of the forms of the Stationers' Registers and the ways in which their cultural significance was developed. This will touch upon the ways in which the registers' textualities are defined in order to explore the procedures and strategies that were implemented to maintain their social relevance to the community. As I have indicated in previous chapters, although relatively stable forms and practices were adopted at an early stage in the compilation of the registers it did not mean that there was a

rigid adherence to these prescribed procedures. Whilst the formulaic procedures of entering information into the registers provided them with an essential stability, they were also a significant source of commonality between each of the different volumes and as such a valuable means of negotiating different structural and material forms. These procedural and textual familiarities provided practical guides for readers of the registers, as they presented active demonstrations on how to read, compile, and navigate the documents, and in addition they created a distinct identifying link between each of the volumes which furnished the registers with a textual lineage.³⁰ Whilst the Company's established conventions of inscription were essential to the functionality and the life of the registers, the deviations from these forms illustrate the sensitivity (and reactivity) of Company procedures to the processes of negotiation and mediation. Within certain parameters, although the wording of the entries may have been formulaic, the variations to this formula foreground the ways in which the various expectations of the court, clerk, and the individual were negotiated. As the registers were initially constructed to serve the particular needs of the Stationers' Company at incorporation, frequent modification was required to ensure they continued to engage with the community (rather than its governing elite) and to maintain their relationship and common meaning to its members. This responsiveness and adaptability of the registers to shifts in their social circumstances demonstrates that context was equally as important to the registers' forms as functionality, but it also indicates that the registers were far from being inert documents.

At Cooke and Dewyxsell's gifting of the 'great bookes' to the Company the Wardens' Accounts and Liber A were designated as account books, although each served a different purpose.³¹ However, whilst the definition between the two books is distinct the register entry lacks specificity, and it permits a degree of interpretation as to what is meant by the Company's use of 'account' in this instance. Once more we can see dualistic aspects

³⁰ Since direct access to the Registers was restricted they did not have many active readers, and these were, for the main part, the Company's Masters, Wardens, Auditors, and clerical staff.

³¹ TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554-1596: 1554-1557, fol. 15^v. (See figure 1.1 (Chapter One, p.19.))

to the register in its operation as both a detailed factual record of the Company's transactions (which locates it as a non-literary text), but also as a narrative of the Stationers' Company and its community (which actively engages with literary tropes and devices). This duality is significant for the Stationers' Registers since it shows an incipient conceptual connectivity of the documentary and literary forms. This connection plays an important role in the development of both the narrativity and the sociality of the Registers. In 'The Socialization of Texts', Jerome McGann delivers a critique of G. Thomas Tanselle's discussion of editorial policy in relation to literary texts. Tanselle states that 'no clear line can be drawn between writing which is "literature" and writing which is not', which McGann finds to be an unsatisfactory conclusion. For McGann, there is a clear distinction between texts that are literary and those that are documentary which is demonstrated through their modes of transmission, and literature has a speciality that lies in its ability to 'multiply' via 'the means and modes of production'. McGann argues that this social promulgation of literary texts is achieved in two ways:

First, literary works tend toward textual and bibliographical dispersion (signalled at the earliest phases of the work by authorial changes of direction and revision, which may continue for protracted periods). Second, they are committed to work via the dimension of aesthesis (i.e., via the materiality of experience that Blake called 'the doors of perception' and that Morris named 'resistance').³²

Taking into consideration the differing intentionalities involved with producing literary and historical/documentary texts, McGann adjudges that this manifestation of socialisation is the defining distinction between the two forms of text. Textual and bibliographical dispersion is significantly affected by the influences of time, society, and personnel, which the long-term sequential record-keeping of the Stationers' Registers demonstrates, but this documentary procedure also shows that McGann's features of dispersion and aesthesis are not wholly confined to the domain of literature. The status and the longevity of the registers, as both individual volumes and a continual series of records entailed frequent

³² McGann, Jerome, 'The Socialization of Texts' in *The Book History Reader*, eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 66-73 (pp. 66, 72).

revision and changes within their authorial direction, the most dramatic illustration of which is the reorganisation of the registers implemented by George Wapull. The transition from detailed records to 1-2 page summaries indicates a significant shift in the authorial direction of the registers, and the subsequent archival gap for the years between 1571 and 1576 created by this change still impacts upon our knowledge of the Company's activities during this period. As we have already seen in previous chapters, careful consideration was invested by the Company in the materialities and the material experience of the registers. The calf-skin binding of the Wardens' Accounts is a significant material feature and, in respect of books produced in the hand-press period, Philip Gaskell relates that 'the finer a binding, the better chance it had of survival'. Unlike Liber A the Wardens' Accounts still retains much of its original binding, in light of its everyday usage, indicating that the volume was given a fine binding for the practical advantages that it bestowed.³³ However, the blind-tooled binding supplied by Dewyxsell incorporates ornamental panels which are densely populated with animals and foliage, and this decorative binding implies that the Wardens' Accounts was also fulfilling an aesthetic purpose as well as a practical one (see figure 4.6). Whilst the care and attention that was given to the details of the binding established some degree of sensory experience as an integral feature of the volume, it also conferred the cultural status of the Stationers' Registers.

³³ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972; repr. 1979), p. 150. Although the volume retains its original binding, Blayney notes that in August 1991 this was removed for cleaning and repair, and the volume rebound with much of this binding (and with added endpapers). Blayney, 'Introduction', *Liber A*, (London: Bibliographical Society, forthcoming). I am grateful to Peter Blayney for allowing me to cite his unpublished work.



Figure 4.6: Binding of the Wardens Accounts.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Although McGann's identification of the vital role that aesthesis plays in ensuring the speciality of literary texts is a useful theoretical means of distinguishing between literary and documentary forms, his position in this respect is undermined slightly by the aesthetic dimension that was given to the Wardens' Accounts during its production. This aspect was not essential to the volume's function, but it was obviously considered to be a requisite factor for the creation of a culturally significant document. So, for example, whilst the volume's paratexts were vital tools for organising and negotiating the registers' structures they were also used to ensure that the page made a visual impact (see figure 3.5, (Chapter Three, pp. 154-5)). All of which foregrounds McKenzie's argument regarding the importance of considering the ways in which non-book texts communicate meanings. His discussion of *Citizen Kane* raises an important issue that has a significance for the aesthetic qualities of the Stationers' Registers, namely that their function is to 'create meanings by the skilled use of material forms'.³⁴ For the Wardens' Accounts these aesthetic qualities relate the authority of the volume to the community, and since direct access to the volume

³⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 68.

was restricted this was an important message to convey even with just a momentary glimpse. And for those fortunate enough to sign the book the associated sensory element not only created a physical connection between the individual and the system, it promoted an emotional connection. This underscores the role that the forms and textual functions play in communicating the full range of social transactions that the Stationers' Registers were engaged with on a daily basis.

The ways in which texts are socialised is the primary focus of McGann's discussion, but he also draws attention (perhaps unintentionally) to another important issue, namely the social agency of texts. McGann's model of socialisation is a passive process for texts (regardless of their classification) and concerned with the dispersal of texts in society rather than their active engagement with it. A more pragmatic approach to the sociology of the book is offered by Filipe Carreira da Silva.³⁵ Silva's objective is to achieve a better understanding of 'how people operate' through an exploration of the 'social lives of things', and his process involves re-evaluating G. H. Mead's neo-Hegelian theory of the subject-object relationship in its regard for the 'materiality of meaning-production'. Mead's recognition of the relationships that inform material objects underscores the significance of his work for studying the sociology of texts, as Silva remarks:

Mead's chief insight is that objects such as books are first social and only then physical entities. They have agency not because of their thing-ness, so to speak, but because of their sociality.³⁶

The 'pragmatic sociology of the book' that Silva presents is both a critique and an advancement upon McKenzie's sociology of texts. The significance of a text's materialities (and the reader's experiences of these) is accentuated by both of these approaches, as each professes the centrality of materiality in the process of creating meanings. In doing so the

³⁵ Silva, Filipe Carreira da, 'Following the Book: Towards a Pragmatic Sociology of the Book' in *Sociology*, 50(6), 2016, 1185-1200

³⁶ Silva, 'Following the Book', Abstract, p. 1185. George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), American philosopher, sociologist (and proponent of pragmatism).

two methodologies also embrace aspects of McGann's process of 'aesthesis', alongside the ideological dimensions of this relationship between materiality and meaning. In the pragmatic approach advocated by Silva the material text is identified as the locus of the dialectic 'between people and things', which allows a more active subject-object relationship to be seen. Within this relationship the text has an equal standing, stake, and voice, and is removed from the form of passivity demonstrated by McGann's process of socialisation. The text is therefore afforded a more dynamic form of sociality, as Silva emphasises:

books as things, no less than books as social objects, are thoroughly inter-subjective entities. They emerge as a result of people's engagement with the environment in a relationship of mutual determination³⁷

This dialectic is important for determining the actors, agency and actions necessary for creating cultural capital.

Conceptually, the sociology of texts, and their sociality, are essential for understanding the intricacies and nuances of the forms of agency that coalesced to construct the registers as media objects. The relevance of these concepts is not limited to the identification of social networks involved with the registers' construction, they are also valuable for determining the registers' own agency as material objects. Whilst the contextual environment that enables the production of texts is crucial to understanding the range of their social actions, it is also worth recognizing that their sociability is not limited to the particular circumstances involved with their production. The ways in which texts are ideated by their authors, and actualised by their readers, suggests that context is a fluid construct and that the process of recontextualisation is just as (if not more so) instrumental upon textual forms and their social and cultural value. In consideration of the sociology of texts, the dialectic of contextualisation and recontextualisation is not lost upon McKenzie as he states:

³⁷ Silva, 'Following the Book', pp. 1193-94.

For us, the texts in context quickly deconstruct and lose their 'literal' authority - no book was ever bound by its covers. The book, in all its forms, enters history only as evidence of human behaviour, and it remains active only in the service of human needs.³⁸

Social engagement, therefore, was vital for the registers to negotiate transience of context, whilst also successfully maintaining their authority. The ongoing process of the Registers' sociality is demonstrated through their shifting forms and the longevity of the record sequence, which enabled the recontextualization and promotion of the Stationers' Registers' service and status within the Company. So, far from being static documents within the Company's administrative structure, the registers were active texts and very much connected to the needs of the community.

'A BOOK MUST FIRST BE A SOCIAL OBJECT' ³⁹

The significance of the materialities of the Stationers' Registers to the production of meaning foregrounds the complexities of the registers as media objects, and this section will centre the ways in which the registers functioned as social objects for the community. Despite restricted access to the Stationers' Registers throughout this period there were a number of ways by which members of the Company could engage with the registers as implements of regulation, the most direct of which was through the 'obligation' of entering their 'rights to copy'. In accordance with Adorno's sociological perspective, this was a procedure that exemplified the ways in which the Company's membership interacted with institutional systems of government, but this form of engagement was also a social act that held a common meaning for the community. The centrality of the registers to the administrative function of the Company, and the communal acceptance and recognition of

³⁸ McKenzie, D. F., 'The Sociology of a Text: Oral Culture, Literacy, and Print in Early New Zealand' in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 126.

³⁹ Silva, 'Following the Book', p. 1193.

their authority as documents ensured that the registers were social objects invested with social agency.

An object is initially invested with agency by way of its social capacity and capabilities rather than through its ‘thingness’, as Silva emphasises in his summarisation of Mead’s work, proceeding to note that:

Yet in order to be a physical object, Mead argues, a book must first be a social object (i.e. a book must have a common meaning to participants in the social act).⁴⁰

Through the actions of stationers entering their rights, and the associated performative rituals, it would seem that the registers were performing a vital communal function. In respect of protecting their interests and upholding the quality and reputation of the trade registration was considered by the community to be an essential social act but, as Blayney remarks, ‘an entry was an insurance policy: paid for, it provided the best possible protection, but the price had to be weighted against the risk.’⁴¹ Obtaining a licence to print necessitated a certain degree of social and institutional negotiation on the behalf of potential rights holders, which required permission from both the Company and authorisation from the approved commissioners prior to publication.⁴² However, as Maureen Bell reminds us, not all of the titles that received approval were entered into the registers.⁴³ Titles which are conspicuous by their absence, and equally those instances where Stationers made a deliberate choice to enter their titles, are suggestive of the ways in which individual members of the Company interpreted the administrative and social

⁴⁰ Silva, ‘Following the Book’, p. 1193.

⁴¹ Blayney, ‘Playbooks’, p. 404.

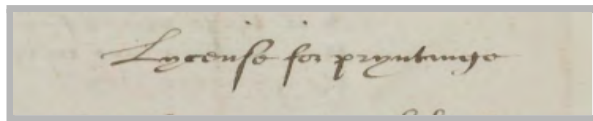
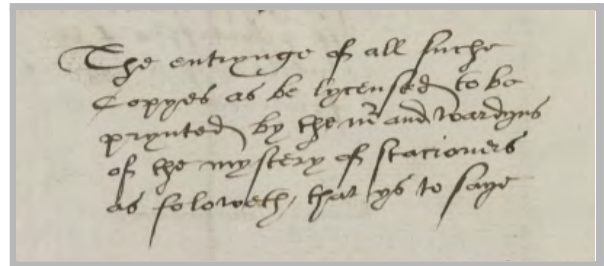
⁴² ‘... by her maiestie by express words in writynge, or by .vi. of her privy counsel, or be perused & licenced by the archbishops of Cantorbury & yorke, the bishop of London, the chauncelours of both vnyuersities, the bishop beyng ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where any suche shalbe printed, or by two of them, wherof the ordinary of the place to be alwaies one.’ Article 51, *Iniunctions geven by the Quenes Maiestie*. (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1559), sig. D1^r.

⁴³ As Bell indicates, there were certain classes of books that were never entered individually, many of which were covered under the terms of patents and privileges. Maureen Bell, ‘Entrance in the Stationers’ Register’ in *The Library*, 6th ser., 16 (1994), pp. 50-54 (p. 53). This is a point which is corroborated and expanded upon by Blayney, ‘paying for a license without registering the copy was not only possible and legal but openly accepted’. Blayney, ‘Playbooks’, p. 403.

functions of the registers, and of how they viewed their own particular relationship to this form of communal interaction.

The entrynge of all suche
Coppes as be lycensed to be
prynted by the master and wardyns
of the mystery of stacioners
as foloweth that ys to saye

1557/58, fol. 21^v.

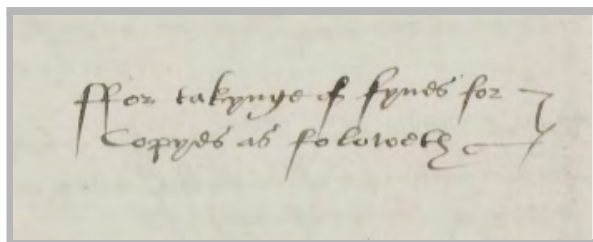
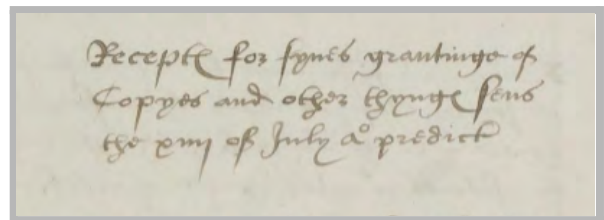


Lycense for pryntinge

1558/59, fol. 31^v.

Receptes for fynes grantinge of
Coppes and other thinges sens the
xiiij of July Anno predicto

1559/60, fol. 46^r.



Ffor takynge of fynes for Coppes
as foloweth

1560/61, fol. 59^r.

The Enterynge of Coopyes

1565/66, fol. 131^r.

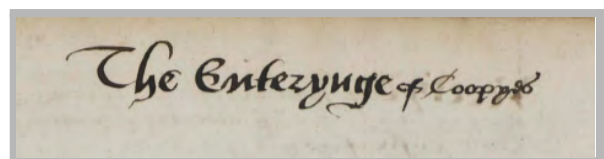


Figure 4.7: All Such Copies. Wardens' Accounts, 1557-1566.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

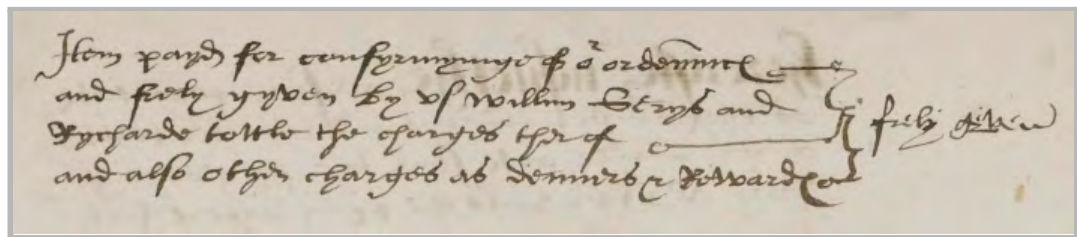
The ways in which copies were represented and managed in the registers provides some indication as to how the Company was conceptualising copy, but the structures of these sections also shed some light upon the social agency of the registers. The first volume of the Stationers' Register contains accounts for the pre-incorporation period of

1554-57, and although there is order and categorization to these accounts it is notable that there is no dedicated section for copies. This provides evidence that there was no copy system in practice until the Company's incorporation. A system was initiated in the accounts of 1557/58, the Company's first as a corporation and the official commencement of the Stationers' Register, with the section 'The entrynge of all such Copyes as be lycensed to be prynted by the *master* and wardyns of the mystery of stacioners'. This was renamed as 'Lycense for pryntinge' in the following year, and in the accounts of 1559/60 copies were once again integrated into a miscellaneous section entitled 'Receptes for fynes [,] grantinge of Copyes [,] and other thinges'. A small degree of stability was achieved between 1560 and 1565 with the 'Taking of Fines for Copyes', and for the remainder of John Fayreberne's term with the register it was simply listed as 'The Entering of Copyes'. The fluctuations in phraseology illustrate the fluidity of form in these early years of the register and Fayreberne's experiments in finding the means of articulating the Company's business precisely and efficiently. This signifies a staged removal from the highly formalised language of the first incorporated accounts to the simplicity of 'entering' copy, which indicates both the Company's movements towards administrative efficiency and its growing assurance in its role. These changes in phraseology also relocate agency from the institution to the individual stationer. The institutional role in the process of registering copy is gradually minimised through the descriptive headers and more emphasis is placed upon the actions of the community, so that the 'entering of copyes' is presented as a consensual participatory process (and far removed from the coercive tone of the 'taking of fines').⁴⁴

As social objects the registers mediated the interactions between the institution (of the Stationers' Company) and the individual Stationer, and in doing so they provided a constructive space for social negotiation which members soon recognised was valuable for

⁴⁴ Blayney has argued that due to the differences between the records in the Wardens' Accounts and the forms which appear in later volumes these are not 'entrances' of copy in the same sense. Blayney, 'If it Looks Like a Register...', p. 238.

creating social identity. The value of the Stationers' Registers as social objects can first be seen in the gifting to the Stationers' Company of the two great books, the Wardens' Accounts and Liber A, by Cooke and Dewyxsell. Even before the functionality of the Wardens' Accounts could be enacted, the existence of the volume was contrived to facilitate the Stationers' Company's anticipated progress as a corporation in London's civic society. The volume's materialities emphasised its differences from other forms of Company documentation, and it marked a new approach for the ways in which the Company engaged with its activities. There was a widespread culture of gifting amongst London's livery companies, and this made a vital contribution to the wealth and the furnishing of many institutional halls during this period. Although, as Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin notes, there was a 'considerable scope for an individualised and competitive dimension' to the act of corporate gifting, it was also an esteemed social act that held a common meaning for members of London's guilds and companies.⁴⁵



Item paid for confyrmyng of our ordenaunces and frely gyven
by vs willim Serys and Rycharde tottle the charges therof
and also other charges as denners & Rewardes

frely gyven

Figure 4.8: 'Freely given'. Wardens' Accounts, 1561/62, fol. 79^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554-1596.

Giftng was a performative action that demonstrated a donor's participation and commitment to the idea of the community whilst emphasising the Company's duty and responsibility to serving and protecting the commonalty and its members. Whilst

⁴⁵ Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London', in *The Historical Journal*, 60, 4 (2017), pp. 865-887 (p. 874).

occasionally donation may have involved a greater level of compulsion than consensus, as is perhaps suggested by the ‘benevolences to the hall’ included in the Wardens’ Accounts, gifts provided a symbolic opportunity to recognise the individual contribution to the community and reinforce a sense of shared commonality.⁴⁶ The Wardens’ Accounts of 1561/62 recorded that costs incurred by the confirmation of the Company’s ordinances were paid by the incumbent Wardens, William Seres and Richard Tottell (see figure 4.8). The register entry notes that this was ‘frely gyven’ by Seres and Tottell, and this is the first usage of this phrase in the register in relation to gifting. The reiteration of this phrase in the right margin, in the hand of Richard Way (one of the auditors of the accounts), not only suggests that they made a declaration to this effect before the auditors which was confirmed and recorded, but also indicates that there was a particular social dimension and significance attached to this statement. The repetition removes the possibility that Seres and Tottell were compelled to provide the gift as part of their service, and it is an indication that for both men it was important the gift was seen and recorded in the register as a willing act on their part. This act is analogous to the gifting of the registers by Cooke and Dewyxsell, and whilst both illustrate the individuals’ level of commitment to their community they also emphasise the social significance of the documents involved. The payment of the charges for the ordinances and the presentation of blank books/paper for the keeping of accounts ensured that the gifts were fundamental to the daily routines of the Company, but it also guaranteed that they would remain within the community unlike other

⁴⁶ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-1557, fols 15^r-15^v. This list of ‘benevolences and gyftes given to our hall’ is included in the pre-incorporation accounts, but as a category it was not a regular feature within the register for the post-incorporation period. Similar categories were reinstated in the Wardens’ Accounts for 1569/70; for example, ‘here foloweth the gyfte & charge of m^r Jugge for the hole furniture of the Doore’, ‘here foloweth the gyfte of m^r Cawod’, ‘A benevolence of dyvers of the m^{rs} & others towards the inlargynge of o^r hall’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1569/70, fols 198^r-198^v. Since the Hall was in the process of being expanded and refurbished, the renewed presence of these sections in the register could indicate that some of these contributions were not freely given; and these formal acknowledgements of donors in the register may have offered some form of encouragement. Kilburn-Toppin notes that in such instances supplies were conceptualised as gifts, often as ‘obligatory donations, offerings which were still framed as ‘gifts’ in the court minutes and accounts’. Kilburn-Toppin, ‘Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London’, p. 870.

portable objects, such as the gilt spoons usually donated by the wardens at the end of their service for the year:

The particular significance of the gift of silver plate lay in its intrinsic material value and potential for mutability and exchange. Collections of silver formed essential reserves of ready bullion and at times of political and financial pressure, or extraordinary expenditure, guilds sold or melted down their collections of plate, accumulated through generations of individual donations.⁴⁷

Gifts of silver-gilt plate and spoons that were listed in the inventories and the annual accounts were high value items, and usually with some degree of personalisation (either through inscription or arms), and which were given to the Company after serving a term of office, or bequeathed upon death.⁴⁸ This aspect of the gifting process highlights the cultural sociology that is embedded within material objects, as Kilburn-Toppin remarks:

These objects also played an active role in the ritual and social life of the company, observed on the buffet or table in the hall or parlour and touched and utilized by company elites at feasts and dinners. Records of inscriptions on silver and pewter plate speak of the significance of sociability and affective bonds between citizens, and how these objects facilitated convivial interactions.⁴⁹

However, the recording of these acts of gifting at the end of each year's accounts not only emphasised their monetary value as transferable assets, especially with the attention paid to the material object in terms of its weight and materialities, but also accentuated the social

⁴⁷ Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London', p. 874. Occasionally they provided a much needed source of 'ready money' for the Stationers' Company, as was the case in May 1643. Gadd, "Being Like a Field", pp. 144-145.

⁴⁸ For example, in 1557/58, 'Remaynyng in the Chest w^t iij lockes and iij keyes which standyth in the Councelles Chambre' there was a spoon of silver parcel gilt given by Master Dockwray, a gilt spoon given by Master Cawood, and a silver spoon (all gilt) given by Master Walley which was engraved with his name. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 29^v. There were more gifts of spoons in 1559/60 from Richard Waye, John Jaques, John Turke, Reginald Wolfe ('w^t the pycture of saynt John'), Michael Loble ('all gylt w^t his name on the ende of yt'), and Thomas Dewyxsell ('all gylte w^t the Armes of the Companye vpon the ende'). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1559/60, fol. 53^v. And in 1561/62 'A salte with a cover of the gyfte of mr John Cawod to ye company or mystery of stationers Wayinge xix onces and a halfe Duple gylte with the stacioners armes on yt' and spoons from William Seres and Richard Tottell were gifted. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1561/62, fol. 79^v. Although only three of the Company's inventories are included in the Wardens' Accounts, the recording of 'end of service' gifts was an integral component of the annual audit and continued to be a regular feature of the accounts.

⁴⁹ Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London', p. 875.

and cultural value of these acts to the community.⁵⁰ Their inclusion in the Stationers' Registers memorialised the service that these individuals dutifully rendered to the Company, offering a permanent record of their communal status and value, whilst at the same time they reinforced the importance of the Company's ethos of community and commonality to its members.

In contrast to the gifts of finery which were reserved for feast days and display, there was a more intangible practicality associated with the gifting of books. Although the volume for the Wardens' Accounts was established with the intention of recording the financial transactions of the Stationers' Company, it was a crucial component within the Company's knowledge systems. It provided an account of 'this howse', brought order to its record-keeping practices, gave form to the Company's histories and narratives, and became an integral part of its memory. The functionalities of the register ensured that it was intrinsically intertwined with the activities and the lives of stationers both within and beyond the walls of the Hall. The centrality of the Stationers' Registers to the Company's operations, and their ability to capture and preserve the daily life of the Company through the actions and interactions of individual members, suggests that the Wardens' Accounts had a very different material value and perhaps a very different social value than the usual gifts of furnishings and plate that they recorded.

The transition of the Stationers' Registers from account books into specialised registers illustrates the importance of the social imperative at the heart of its systems. The subsequent accretion and diversification of documentary sources within the Company's archives resulting from changes to the forms of the registers substantiates Silva's reflection that the lives of books and the lives of people are fundamentally entangled.⁵¹ This procedure of refinement suggests that there was not only an increase in the volume of

⁵⁰ The stored capital and transient nature of these items can be seen in the accounts of 1582/83, which recorded the Company's payment of 6d. to a Goldsmith 'for weyinge of the spones of the Hall'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1582/83, fol. 234^r.

⁵¹ The registers themselves provide valuable evidence for the variety of documentary sources that formed the Company's archives, and give some indication of the scale of paperwork that was necessary to function as a livery company, especially as most of these supplementary documents are now lost.

financial transactions during this period, but also in their concomitant social transactions.

Widespread acceptance and conformance to the registers' form of governance, whether by general consensus or imposition, implies that their functionalities affirm the registers' position as social objects through their reification of the social acts performed by the members of the Stationers' community.

PERFORMATIVE BELONGING

In taking issue with McKenzie's theory of the sociology of texts (in so far as it applies to bibliographic praxis), Blayney's assertion that it is impossible for texts to have a sociology presents a perspective that orientates texts as passive objects (very much like McGann).⁵²

Although my discussions on the development of the Stationers' Registers as media objects cannot claim sentience for the texts, I am arguing that it is possible to construe their sociology through the ways in which the registers were perceived as social objects and the interactions that formed the basis of their sociality. As we have already seen, the creation and evolution of the Stationers' Registers required the Company to have a much broader and deeper conceptualisation of their textual nature, which went beyond that of their specific administrative purpose. The collective endeavour that is usually associated with the production of books ensures that they, as products, are firmly located within the social realm, as Silva argues:

The thing we call a 'book' has a well-documented history. But what books do, the ways in which they shape and drive interaction, is still very little understood. [...] Books are the product of the collective work of this specialized ensemble of writers, printers and publishers. Independently of their paper or electronic form, books provide one type of physical support that offers a text for reading. No work exists independently of the forms in which it reaches its reader. As a result books have agency.⁵³

⁵² Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. xvi.

⁵³ Silva, 'Following the Book', p. 1187. An elaboration of Chartier's point 'that there is no text apart from the physical support that it offers for reading (or hearing), hence there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches the reader'. Chartier, *The Order of Books*, p. 9.

The evolution of the registers, and the variations in their construction, serves as a reminder that each individual volume was a product of its society and reflected its own particular social imperatives. The considerations made by the Company in respects of the forms, formats, and functions of the registers were not strictly confined to the bounds of the clerk's office; as social entities they not only required a collective effort with regards to their production, but also with their reception. The 'common meaning' had to be constructed and in order to achieve this it was necessary for the Company, as the regulatory body representing London's various book trades and crafts, to incorporate a wide range of cultures, codes, and behaviours. This does not mean however that the decision making process behind the Stationers' Registers accounted for every feature, as copy errors would attest, but may have reflected the process that Chris Gosden highlights, in that:

Decisions taken when making objects may simply occur without deliberate reflection on meaning, but never without some overall cognizance of the prevailing social context of the material forms.⁵⁴

By envisaging the registers as a continuous series of records the Company recognised the value of incorporating their social contexts to augment and maintain the authority and longevity of the registers. In doing so the Stationers' Company not only emphasised the centrality of the registers to the daily life of the book trade, but it also created an administrative genealogy that gave the registers a past, present and future that was 'fundamentally entangled' with the lives of that community.

Outside of the functional boundaries of regulation, the registers presented an opportunity for the Company's members to be visible as individuals within the communal record. Whilst there were external pressures and a societal obligation for members to engage with the registers, the forms of information included by publishers (and the clerks) would suggest that, for some, their interactions with the registers had meanings other than

⁵⁴ Chris Gosden, 'What do Objects Want?', in *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol.12, no.3 (Sep. 2005), pp. 193-211 (p. 196).

regulatory necessity. The materialities of the registers, as I have discussed in previous chapters, were valuable indicators and influences upon their perceived functionalities and the ways in which they were utilised. By the same measure, their material forms and formats were also able to inform the social authority and sociality of the registers:

For an object to be socially powerful in a recognized manner, the form of the object lays down certain rules of use which influence the sensory and emotional impacts of the object.⁵⁵

Whilst the criteria for recording information in the registers may appear to be clearly defined, the appearances of Reginald Wolfe within the Wardens' Accounts show how these 'rules of use' could be interpreted, the 'emotional impact' of the registers, and the possibilities that they afforded for members to negotiate problematic social contexts.

Originally from the Netherlands, Wolfe learned the art of printing in Strasbourg before his arrival in England in the 1530s. Although he was predominantly a bookseller by this point, he obtained a patent of denization in 1533 which permitted him to continue practising within the book trade.⁵⁶ When the Stationers' charter of incorporation was drafted he was seventh in the list of members and Blayney suggests that his position within the first names to be listed indicates his service to the Company as a warden, with the order reflecting the timing of his first election to office.⁵⁷ Sixteen Stationers signed the inventory of 1557, and Reyner Wolfe was the third witness to put his hand to this list. His signature provides an insight into how Wolfe viewed his identity when officiating on behalf of the Company. On the occasions when he was required to sign the register (as auditor, Warden, Master) he signed as Reginald(e) Wolf(f)e (see figure 4.9). The anglicisation of his name in these instances indicates that Wolfe perhaps still felt keenly his 'otherness' and sought to emphasise his denization and his membership rights within the official record, or that it was a persona more befitting of officialdom. However, this was not the only form of

⁵⁵ Gosden, 'What do Objects Want?', p. 193.

⁵⁶ The letters of denization had a subtle, but crucial, impact upon his role within the Stationers' Company. It meant that he could join the Company as a freeman rather than a mere brother.

⁵⁷ Blayney, *SCPoL*, p. 872.

identification for Wolfe to appear in the register. Although ‘master’ seems to have been a frequent and useful coverall term within the marginal names and entries (see figure 4.9) which reflected his term of service in office, the register also records that Wolfe also had a more informal social identity within the Community.⁵⁸

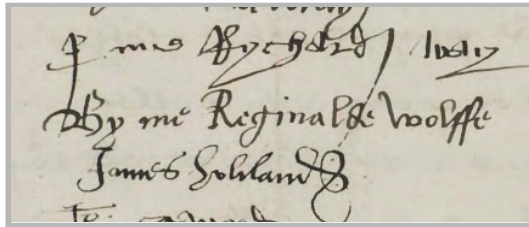
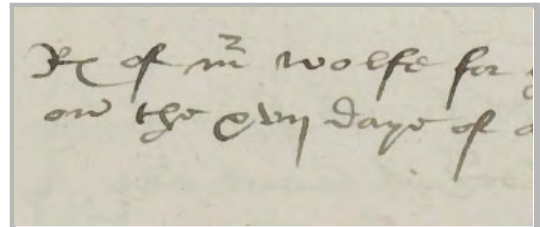
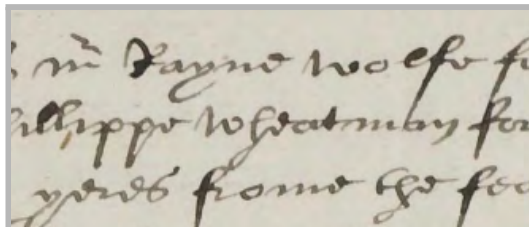
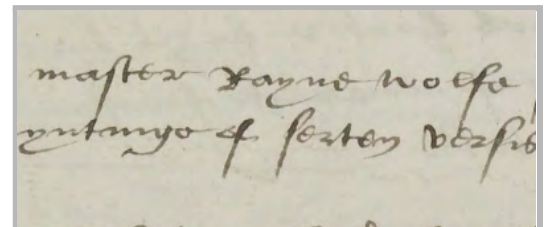
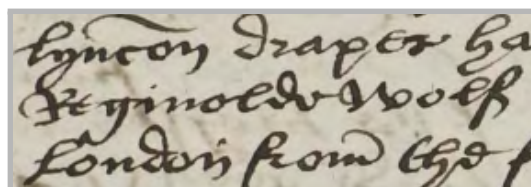
1557, fol. 17^v.1560/61, fol. 63^r.1560/61, fol. 59^r.1560/61, fol. 60^r.1564/65, fol. 113^v.

Figure 4.9: Reynier/ Reginald Wolfe. Wardens' Accounts, 1557-65.

SAC, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554-1596.

The references to Wolfe in the Wardens' Accounts that were written by John Fayreberne are perhaps illustrative of the multilayered social purposes of identity. These

⁵⁸ Pollard, 'The Early Constitution of the Stationers' Company', in *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 18, no. 3 (December, 1937), pp. 237-260. Pollard's article contains a lengthy discussion of the use of 'master' as a term of reference within the Company, pp. 238-244. Blayney, however, is less convinced by Pollard's hypothesis and its implications for the court, stating that 'it is perhaps simpler to conclude that in 1557 the original court formally decided that until further notice, all ex-collectors would automatically become assistants.' Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 875-877 (p. 877).

were entries where Wolfe had no direct influence over the ways in which he was presented in the register. They were concerned with his business and his conduct as a member of the Stationers' Company and, on the occasions that his forename was used, he was usually listed as Rayne/Rayner Wolfe (see figure 4.9). The differences between Wolfe's direct interactions with the registers and Fayreberne's representations seem to suggest that 'Rayne' was a far more familiar and active name amongst the community at large than the official denomination that Wolfe employed when auditing the accounts. An examination of Wolfe's imprints reveals that there were similar fluctuations in the appearances of Reyner and Reynold on his printed works until 1553, when the name Reginalde started to appear. Although this seems to have quickly become his favoured denomination there were still variances until 1562, when Reginalde became the only forename to appear on his imprints. This pattern of activity corroborates those that appear in the registers. In the accounts for 1564/65, the apprenticeship records show that two apprentices were taken on by Wolfe, and in these entries he is listed as Reginolde (see figure 4.9). Methods of recording apprenticeships in the registers had changed in the intervening period between the example shown at fol. 59^r (1560/61) and those at fol. 113^v (1564/65), with the form (and phraseology) of the record having changed from masters 'presenting' their apprentices to the apprentices 'putting' themselves to masters. The entry in the accounts for 1564/65 suggests the possibility that it was directly sourced from (or a transcription of) the apprenticeship indentures, rather than relying solely upon the records of the Court, increasing the likelihood that in these instances the inclusion of 'Reginolde' was a result of Wolfe's personal interaction with the apprenticeship agreements.

The creation and the politics of identity demonstrated by Wolfe's appearances in the Stationers' Registers illustrate the complexities of the social structures associated with them. It is possible to see that Wolfe's direct interactions with the registers were intended to emphasise his authority within the trade and his right to belong to the community and the Company's executive body, but it was also a valuable means of asserting his 'brand'

amongst his peers. Wolfe's actions foreground Cerruri's argument concerning the ways in which actors legitimate positions not only through social knowledge and interpretation, but also through the manipulation of material and cultural resources. It is Wolfe's knowledge of the community, its governance, and its 'material and cultural resources' that gave him the opportunity to legitimise his 'official' identity within the Company's records, and therefore the ability to negotiate how his relationship to the Company and its community could be perceived. Social hierarchies, in both the real and the textual realms, allow for the possibility that Stationers were engaging with the registers in dimensions that were beyond the wholly official. The disquietude expressed in petitions, and the frequency with which acts that were introduced to regulate the trade activities of strangers, illustrates that there was a certain degree of fear concerning their position, status, and inclusion within civic society.⁵⁹ Whilst Wolfe's experiences may indicate the presence of a particular set of circumstances that affected members of the Company who were denizens or brothers, the opportunities afforded by the registers to construct identity in this way also demonstrate that an aspect of their sociality (and 'officialdom') was connected to a performative sense of belonging.

Henry Bynneman's entrances in the registers are also notable for their demonstration of a variant form of this performative belonging. The entries show a predominant emphasis upon Bynneman's titles being granted the authorisation of the Bishop of London, at a time before its inclusion became commonplace occurrence in register entrances. In 1566, the year of Bynneman's freedom, 139 entries for copies were listed in the Wardens' Accounts, and 95 per cent of these entries make no mention of having received external approval for publication. Two of the seven entries which recorded their authorisation were licensed to Henry Bynneman.⁶⁰ This would appear to be a common

⁵⁹ *C.f.*, pp. 198-9.

⁶⁰ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1566/67, fols. 152^r, 152^v. There were 139 entries for copies for this year. Henry Denham was responsible for a significant proportion of registrations (at 10%), closely followed by Bynneman (7.1%), and Thomas Purfoote (7.1%). 95% of the entries do not mention any authorisation for the text. 4.3% were authorised by the Bishop of London, and 0.7% by the Archbishop of Canterbury. For the 5% of entries (7) that mention authorisation Denham and Bynneman account for two-thirds of those permitted by the Bishop of London (with each man entering 2

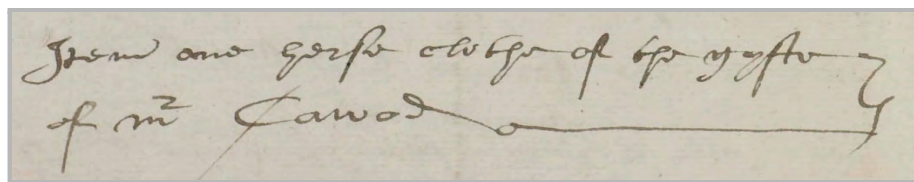
feature of Bynneman's interactions with the register. Whilst for many other publishers this information was an occasional addition, the regularity and prominence with which Bynneman includes these details in his entrances would seem to suggest that it had a particular function and meaning for him. It may have been employed as an intimation of his character and professionalism, and the frequency with which it appeared in his entrances would have emphasised his regard and adherence to official procedures. It was not only a demonstrable sign of his quality as a printer/publisher, but also a statement of his acceptance and compliance with the Company's communal codes of conduct, and its frequency served to remind the Company of that fact. After a notable absence from the company records, which dated from the death of his master Richard Harrison in 1563 until his own freedom in 1566, Bynneman's activity and presence in the registers in 1566 may have been a useful means of eliding this period. However, the fact that he was one of the top three publishers (in terms of register entries) in the year of his freedom suggests that he was also using the register as a means to construct a formidable network of social relationships within both the community at large and within the administration of the company. Bynneman's emphasis upon receiving external authorisation for his titles also serves to construct (and reiterate) Bynneman's social relationships with authorities that lie beyond those of the Company.

Active engagement with the registers increasingly proved to be a valuable investment for publishers. It provided a vehicle for promoting their projects and social standing within the community to the Company's governing body; and as Bynneman's notable presence in the register for 1566 demonstrated it was possible to create a name for oneself and have a significant impact upon the company records. It also shows that Bynneman had perhaps recognised the potential of the new system earlier than other stationers. Whilst for Bynneman this activity may have presented his promise to the

authorised texts), Richard Jones and Humphrey Toye entered the remaining texts that were allowed by the Bishop of London, and Thomas Marshe was responsible for the text that was authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Company's higher echelons as a future liveryman, such appearances within the registers could also exhibit the 'competitive dimension', as identified by Kilburn-Topping in reference to gifting practices.

Returning to the idea of the registers as social objects, with their own 'culturally embedded biographies', it is possible that this is a concept that has always been recognised/acknowledged by their users. As we have seen with Reyner/Reginald Wolfe's determination to create his official identity in the records, other individuals have also viewed the registers as an opportunity to construct and write their personal significance to the history of the Company. An inventory was included in the accounts for 1559/1560, which, as Arber notes, was a repetition of an earlier inventory 'with some additional gifts, especially from that evidently practical man William Seres.'⁶¹ The inventory lists seventy-six items; ten of these are noted as being the gift of William Seres, two were donated by Mrs. Toye, and the hearse cloth was given by John Cawood (figure 4.10). A notable feature of the entries concerning the gifts given by Seres is that in almost every case the attribution seems to have been added to the inventory after it had been compiled which demonstrates not only the competitive aspect of his gifting, but also the personal significance that he attached to the act of being recorded within the register (see figure 4.11).

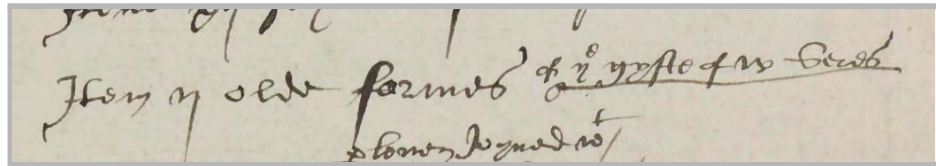


Item one herse clothe of the gyfte
of master Cawood

Figure 4.10: The Gift of Mr Cawood. Wardens' Accounts, 1559/60, fol. 54^v.

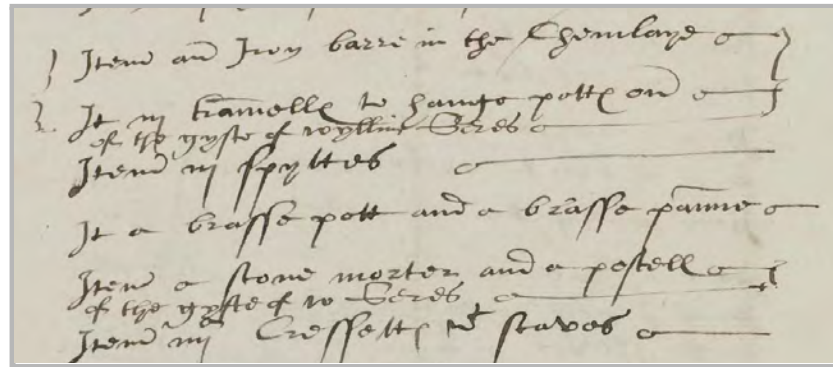
SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

⁶¹ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1559/60, fols. 54^r-55^v. Arber, Vol. I, p. 139.



Item ij olde formes of ye gyfte of w Seres

1559/60, fol. 54^v.



Item an Iron barre in the Chemlaye

Item iij tramelles to hange pottes on
of the gyfte of wyllim Seres

Item iij spyttes

Item a brasse pott and a brasse panne

Item a stone mortar and a pestell
of the gyfte of w Seres

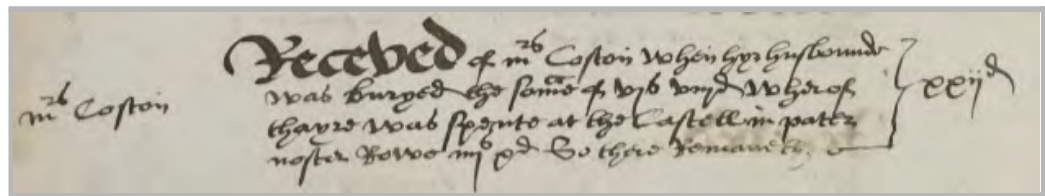
Item iiij Cressettes with staves

1559/60, fol. 55^v.

Figure 4.11: The Gifts of William Seres. Wardens' Accounts, 1559/60.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

The seeming determination for Seres's generosity to be recognised in this manner did have consequences for the form of the register since the 'fair copy' of the inventory had to be amended through the use of interlineation, extensions to the braces, and marginal sigils and marks in order to accommodate Seres's presence. As a result these entries not only assert Seres's position within the Company's history, and the materiality of its Hall, but also the material forms of the Registers – Seres is a truly embedded biography.



mrs Coston	Receved of mrs Coston When hyr husbunde was buried the somme of vj ^s viij ^d Wherof thayre was spente at the Castell in pater noster Rowe iij ^s x ^d So there Remaneth	xxij ^d
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Figure 4.12. Simon Coston's funeral. Wardens' Accounts, 1564/65, fol. 122^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Letting the Hall provided the Stationers' Company with an additional source of income, and it was one that was bound to the social contexts of the Company and its members. John Cawood's gift of the 'herse clothe' accentuates the Company's social responsibilities to its members (figure 4.10). Register entries show that many Stationers hired Stationers Hall to mark major life events such as weddings and funerals, and these activities emphasise the significant role that the Company played within its members' lives.⁶² The accounts of 1564/65 show that the Stationers' Company received a payment of 6 shillings and eight pence from the wife of the Stationer Simon Coston (see figure 4.12). This was for 'When hyr husband was buried'. Beyond the hiring of the hearse cloth this entry reveals more of the Company's practical role in the organisation of his funeral. The register records that 4^s 10^d of Mrs Coston's payment was spent at 'the Castell', and that this money was used to arrange a dinner for Coston's mourners at a local tavern reveals the wider social and cultural contexts of the Company. Whilst the provision of this dinner would have been a communal expression of loss and solidarity it could also have served another function, by way of offering an inducement to ensure the attendance of prominent

⁶² For example: Margery Berthelet paid 13s 4d 'for a Rewarde to the companye for commynge to the sayde thomas barthelettes his buryall'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 2^r. Likewise, Mistress Toy paid 20s for exactly the same purpose (and was entered on the same page). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 2^r. Thomas Dockwray hired the Hall for the wedding of his 'kynswoman' in 1558/59. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fol. 35^v. In 1589/90, Thomas Man paid 5s 'for a weddinge in the hall'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1589/90, fol. 253^r.

members of the Stationers' Company. There was obviously a regular demand for these services as the dedicated section 'ffor occupyng of the herse Clothe' in the accounts for 1558/59 demonstrates, since this section of the register listed the Company's receipts for the hiring out of the hearse cloth for funerals and the Hall for weddings (and 'the wardmote inqueste').⁶³ As the 1558/59 accounts show, the use of the Hall was not a privilege restricted solely to Stationers. Wardmote meetings were frequently held at Stationers' Hall, and entries in the register relating to these events are valuable reminders of the broader social responsibilities of the Stationers' Company.⁶⁴ The Company's role in facilitating a sense of occasion for these important moments in the lives of its individuals was culturally important for both the Company and the community, since they were public platforms they offered an opportunity for enacting performative belonging and unity. Whilst the presence of such entries in the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B reified these social acts, their contribution to the financial well-being of the Company also served to commodify them.

PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY

One of the major narratives that subsequently emerged from the growth of the English early modern print industry concerned its ability to make available and accessible a vast array of unchecked printed materials, and the threats that were posed to social stability and authority by such activity. The charter of incorporation that was granted to the Stationers' Company included a dramatic, and probably exaggerated, portrayal of a society constantly undermined by the daily publication of 'seditious and heretical' texts:

Know that we, considering and manifestly perceiving that no lack of seditious and heretical books, rhymes, and treatises are daily published, printed, and impressed by divers scandalous, malicious, schismatical, and heretical persons, not only moving our subjects

⁶³ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fol. 35^v.

⁶⁴ For example: Stationers' Hall was let for the wardmote in 1575/76, fol. 220^r; 1578/79, fol. 225^r; 1580/81, fol. 229^r; 1581/82, fol. 231^r; 1582/83, fol. 233^r; 1584/85, fol. 238^v; 1588/89, fol. 250^r; 1593/94, fol. 267^r; 1594/95, fol. 270^r; 1595/96, fol. 273^r. The Company received the exceptional sum £2 for 'lettinge of the hall to the wardmot inquest' in 1592/93. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1592/93, fol. 264^r.

and lieges to sedition and disobedience against us, our crown, and dignity, but also to renew and move very great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of the holy mother church, and wishing to provide a suitable remedy in this behalf, [...]⁶⁵

This portrayal demonstrates that there was a social rationale for the control and regulation of the industry from a relatively early point in its development, which has led to a prevailing narrative of censorship in association with the Stationers' Registers. In regards to the conduct of its responsibilities, the charter proclaimed the authority of the Company over the regulation of the London book trade and, as I discussed earlier, it detailed the guiding principles for the commonalty, but it also established and placed these rights within their societal context. In 1559, following her accession to the throne, Queen Elizabeth confirmed the terms of the Stationers' Company's charter. This confirmation took the form of an *inspeximus* document, which reproduced the full text of Philip and Mary's original charter with the addition of new introductory and concluding passages. The relationship between the original charter and the confirmation provides a useful illustration of the textual dialectics of contextualisation and recontextualisation. Whilst the inspection sought to verify the document's legality and correct any potential conflicts of interest that could arise for the new monarch, the confirmation also accepted and reaffirmed the Marian portrayal of the book trade and society at large but recontextualised it for the new era. The charter and, subsequently, the confirmation demonstrate how the socialisation and the sociology of texts were conceptualised. From the wording of the text itself we can see that connections were drawn between the processes of textual production, transmission, reception, and the possibility of acts of civil disobedience, all of which emphasises that this was a society that fully acknowledged the social agency of texts. Given the perspective of English society that was encapsulated in the charter, and

⁶⁵ Blayney, *SCPoL*, pp. 1015-1026 (p. 1022). The original charter was lost, presumably in the Great Fire. Here Blayney reproduces the text from a Privy seal warrant (PRO, C82/1027/[30]) as the closest descendent of the original but with the addition of the final paragraph from Elizabeth I's 1559 confirmation of the charter, which is absent from the warrant.

perceptions of the book trades' flagrant abuses, to what extent can we identify the Stationers' Registers as archetypal products of this society?

Although the primary function of the Stationers' Registers does not engage specifically with this narrative of censorship, the dominance of narratives of censorship, authorship, and canonicity have tended to overshadow the Company's administrative role in regulating the book trade, and in particular the ways in which the registers functioned within this system. As we have already seen, matters of censorship were not the primary purpose of the Stationers' Registers when they were founded. However, the costs associated with the Company's enactment of the search rights that were granted by the charter of incorporation can be traced through the registers, and these indicate the occasions when the Company's wider social responsibility to control the excesses of the book trade were pressed into action. Under the terms of the charter the Company was entitled to:

make search whenever it shall please them in any place, shop, house, chamber, or building of any printer, impresser, binder or bookseller whatever within our realm of England or the dominions of the same of or for books or things printed, or to be printed, and to seize, take, hold, burn, or convert to the proper use of the foresaid company, any and all of those books and those things which are or shall be impressed or printed contrary to the form of any statute, act or proclamation, made or to be made.⁶⁶

The right to search properties for prohibited goods was not unique to the Stationers' Company, as it was a common (and an essential) mechanism for many of London's companies to regulate and uphold the reputation of their trades. However, this clause in the Stationers' charter was significant as it gave the Company jurisdiction over the 'realm of England', a privilege that was only granted to a small number of livery companies, and reflected the extent to which it was expected to pursue illicit activity and exercise control

⁶⁶ Arber, Vol. I, p. xxxi.

over the book trade.⁶⁷ It is notable from the detailed accounts in the Wardens' Accounts that these powers were not invoked to any great extent during this period.

The accounts for 1566-67, however, include an exceptional section which related the costs incurred by Thomas Purfoot and Hugh Singleton as they conducted their search. This search was engaged on two fronts: first, they attended a hearing of the High Commission in York relating to the trade of prohibited books; and, subsequently they searched properties in St Paul's Churchyard based upon the information provided by the York booksellers. The register shows that written authority was obtained at the cost of 2s 6d before this search was enacted, and that Purfoot and Singleton incurred costs amounting to £5 while they 'rode abroad'. In this instance, the evidence provided by the records demonstrates that London's book trade was not an insular entity. They highlight the national networks of the book trade, and emphasise the importance of the decision to award the Stationers' Company national jurisdiction. The search records of 1566-67 were a rarity in terms of register entries in the Wardens' Accounts. It was not until the controversies of the 1580s that such expenses began to appear in the registers once more, and with much more formality. These later entries form a connection with the occasional notes at the front of Liber B, which included more detailed records of the Company's framework for conducting searches.⁶⁸ Records that show the relationships between the individual volumes of the registers, as can be seen here, are important indicators of the sociality and the dialogics of the Company's documents.

⁶⁷ The Goldsmiths' Company and the Pewterers' Company being perhaps the most notable examples. For further details on companies with national jurisdiction see Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, 'Reaching Beyond the City Wall: London Guilds and National Regulation, 1500-1700', in *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy 1400-1800*, ed. by S. R. Epstein and Maarten Prak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 288-315.

⁶⁸ 'The names of suche as are appointed to serche together. Agreed on the iij of September. 1576. and appointed to vse the serche once euery weeke.' SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber B, 1575-1605: 3 September 1576, fol. 5^v. 'The names of suche as are appointed to serche together. agreed of the Day and yere abouesaid. and apointed to vse the serch as often as nede shall Require'. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01-Liber B, 1575-1605: 11 January 1586, fol. 5^v.

TEXTUAL DIALOGICS

The relationship between the Stationers' Company's charter and its 1559 confirmation provides a valuable demonstration of the sociability of documents, and the ways in which texts can form dialogic relationships. This is an important concept not only for understanding the textual connections that exist between each individual volume of the Stationers' Registers, but also for recognising their dialogic relationships with other forms of text. Functioning within the contexts of the Stationers' commercial and regulatory transactions, the registers were a component of a much wider administrative system at a time when there was a growing appreciation and value placed upon the habitual keeping of records and documentation. Possessing and maintaining comprehensive archival resources was considered to be an important aspect of the daily life of a livery company, and this reveals much about the nature of a society where the gathering and accumulation of information is considered essential. As a regulatory mechanism for the Stationers' Company the registers were required to engage with a broad range of other administrative systems, both internal and external, and each with their own specific manifestations of documentation.

The registers were intended to be authoritative texts, and it can be seen that their authority was not only bestowed by the Company and their authors, but also derived from the ways in which they interacted with other documentary forms. Discursive contributions of court records, apprenticeship indentures, precepts from civic, ecclesiastical and royal authorities were all instrumental in shaping the textualities of the registers and constructing their authority. Atypicalities within the registers present disruptions to the formulaic modes of entry, and often exhibit languages and forms that were external to those of the registers.⁶⁹ These forms of textual sociability reinstate Cerruri's argument concerning the

⁶⁹ A particularly notable example in this case is the inclusion of English and Latin copies of a memorandum concerning the Company's annuity to Thomas Norton. This form of record and entry is more typical of those entered into the Company's other great book, *Liber A*. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 22 January 1563, fols 80^v-81^r.

legitimizing of positions, whilst also highlighting that documentary records possess their own networks and discourses.

Frequent referrals are made within the Stationers' Registers to other Company books, showing that they had a sociality that existed on a textual basis, and the language and phrases used in relation to other forms of documentation indicate the hierarchies and interplays of this textual realm. But is it possible to say that these are dialogic relationships; i.e. do the books 'talk' to each other? In this respect, the absences within the Company's documentary records are key. For the Stationers' Registers, the archival gap between 1571 and 1575 has had a lasting impact upon the record sequence, and the ways in which their information is processed. And likewise, the loss of so many Company books as a result of the Great Fire has had a similar effect. These losses highlight the cavernous silence of an incomplete record sequence. Some aspects of the registers are problematic by reason of not having possession of the full corpus of the Company's paperwork, particularly in relation to Company protocols, which emphasises the enmeshment of the various documentary forms within the Stationers' Company's administrative system.

CONCLUSION: THE SOCIAL NEXUS OF THE STATIONERS' REGISTERS

By giving voice to the various agencies and intentions associated with the London book trades and crafts, the Stationers' Registers were a vital social nexus for the Stationers' Company. As instruments of regulation, and also as intermediaries between the institutional entity of the Stationers' Company and the body of its community, the dualistic position of the registers is significant for understanding their forms of social agency. The functions of the Stationers' Registers were central to their sociality, and these subsequently contributed to their longevity as a sequence of records, for as Silva remarks:

The death of a book entails its demise as a social object.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Silva, 'Following the Book', p. 1196.

The materialities and the idiosyncrasies of the individual registers demonstrate their status and sociability as media objects, but to be social objects they ‘must have a common meaning to participants in the social act’.⁷¹ The process of licencing and entering copy positioned the registers as the interface between the authority of the institution and communal social action. As the Stationers’ Registers and copy were both closely bound to the actions of the community they needed to be dynamic entities to maintain social relevance and integrity. The transition of the Stationers’ Registers from books of account to specialised entry books of copy not only charted the institution of the concept of copy as a vital textual commodity, it also ensured that the Stationers’ Registers were recognized as authoritative texts. Communal acceptance and acknowledgement of their authority in the performance of this procedure established the registers as social objects invested with social agency.

The Stationers’ Registers were far more than a record of ownership rights, however, and their fundamental grounding in the social acts of the Stationers’ Company is evident in their origins. From their initiation the registers were central to the administrative structure of the Stationers’ Company, and their financial directive was integral to their function within this system. But the Stationers’ Registers were also consequential in capturing the complex social realities that Stationers experienced throughout their working lives (and sometimes their non-working lives).⁷² Corporate cultures and procedures, such as gifting and benevolences, which encouraged the engagement of its members with the communal ethos of the Company placed the Stationers’ Registers as witnesses to the social acts of the community. However, their own agency brought about a gradual shift in perceptions of the social space that the Registers offered to Stationers, and the possibilities that they presented as sites of negotiation and autobiography.

⁷¹ Silva, ‘Following the Book’, p. 1193.

⁷² For example: on 1 March 1596 Abell Jeffes’s application for charitable relief was heard by the Company’s Court of Assistants, which duly approved and provided him with 2s. At the time of his request he was in prison at the Company’s behest. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1 March 1596, fol. 461^r.

Changes to the structures and systems of the Stationers' Registers throughout this period renegotiated and recontextualised their value to the Company, its membership, and society at large. These were not only necessary to uphold the authority of the registers as documentary records, but also to maintain their sociability and social relevance as texts. The Star Chamber decrees of 1637 brought about a major structural change to the record-keeping procedures of the Stationers' Registers. By stipulating that all new titles were to be entered into the Company's registers, the individual 'choice' of a Stationer as to whether or not to engage with this aspect of licencing procedure was restricted. It is possible that the imposition of this enforced interaction with the Company's procedures altered the 'natural' social behaviours of the community in respect of registration, and eventually changed how the Stationers' Registers were perceived as social texts.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VALUE OF TEXTS

From its statement regarding the gifting of the Wardens' Accounts, as being 'for our accomptes of this howse to be wrytten in', the financial and organisational motivations behind the Stationers' Company's initiation of the Stationers' Registers were evident. The Company's intended objective was to maintain an accurate record of its finances, but through this function the Stationers' Registers also became an invaluable compendium of the social and cultural values associated with the early modern book trade. In this chapter I will explore the ways in which these values were expressed throughout the Stationers' Registers, and how conceptualizations of value contribute to the authority of the registers. At a fundamental level, through their purpose of recording monetary transactions they demonstrate the explicit financial value of regulating the London book trade for the Stationers' Company. However, within the Company's value systems the agency and influence of the Stationers' Registers was far more wide-ranging and enduring than the purely financial. As I discussed in Chapter Four, the Company's procedures for the licencing and registration of texts established a communal act which held a specific meaning for the stationers' community, and the registers not only record its cultural value but also reinscribe it. This process was a significant factor in fashioning perceptions of textual value amongst stationers, which not only affected the status and evaluation of both the product (the text) and its copy, but also the Stationers' Registers themselves. That they speak directly to the financial, social and cultural values of texts, 'copyright', regulation, and censorship reiterates the importance of the registers as determinants of financial, social, and cultural value.

As an instrument of trade regulation the Stationers' Registers provided the Company with an overview of the relationships and dealings associated with the London book trades and crafts, but, as I have shown in the previous chapter, the registers were also

grounded in the social acts of the community and its members. The ways in which individual Stationers negotiated their own relationship with the Stationers' Registers illustrates that they were more nuanced documents than a simple record of financial transactions would suggest. During his first year as a freeman of the Stationers' Company Henry Bynneman embarked upon an active strategy of licencing and entering copy into the Stationers' Registers.¹ His campaign is enlightening for the glimpses that it offers of the ways in which members of the Company conceptualised the registers, and also of how the community perceived the value of the registers. Based solely upon the number of register entries for Bynneman in the Wardens' Accounts of 1566/67, his usage of the register positioned him as one of London's leading publishers for that year. Out of 140 register entries Henry Denham was responsible for the largest number, with 14 to his name. Not too far behind, with 10 entries each, were Thomas Purfoot and Henry Bynneman.² This extensive activity as a new freeman suggests that Bynneman viewed it as a suitably expedient strategy for promoting his status and entitlements as a practitioner within the book trade, and also as a means of swiftly establishing his professional identity (his *marque*) and reputation within the Company's administrative structures and hierarchy. The frequency of Bynneman's entrances in the Wardens' Accounts at this stage of his career not only illustrates the scope of his ambition and business nous, it also suggests that he recognised that the register possessed intrinsic values beyond the purely financial.

McKenzie's argument that 'the concept of a text creates a context for meaning' is corroborated by Bynneman's activities in his first year as a freeman, since his

¹ Henry Bynneman (c. 1542-1583), printer and bookseller. Bynneman was apprenticed to the printer Richard Harrison on 24 June 1559. Harrison died in 1563, and although there is no record in the Stationers' Registers of Bynneman having been turned over to another master after Harrison's death, it is generally assumed that he served with Harrison's former partner, Reginald Wolfe. Bynneman obtained his freedom on 15 August 1566, and was subsequently admitted to the livery of the Company on 30 June 1578. A list compiled for the bishop of London in 1583 recorded him as having three printing presses, indicating that his business had been sizable, albeit financially precarious prior to his death. Maureen Bell, "Bynneman, Henry (b. in or before 1542, d. 1583), printer and bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004; <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4266>. [Accessed 25 Nov. 2021]

² Henry Denham's activity accounts for 10% of the register entries; Thomas Purfoot and Henry Bynneman for 7.1% each; with Thomas Marshe and Alexander Lacy for 6.4% each. Although when calculating by the number of titles registered, there are entries for Marshe and Lacy that record multiple titles. So with each having entered 11 titles, in this respect they can be placed ahead of both Purfoot and Bynneman.

conceptualisation of the registers created a context for his interactions with them.³ The entries for 1566 demonstrate Bynneman's engagement with the normative practice of recording the Company's permission for him to print these titles. However, the volume of his entrances, coupled with the number of register entries in which external forms of authorisation were emphasised, also suggests that Bynneman sought to create a highly visible (and well-connected) presence within the Company's records. What Bynneman's use of the registers in 1566 demonstrates is how individuals could use their agency to affect subtle changes to the textual functions of the Company's official record. The structural and contextual nuances of the registers highlight the importance of considering human motivations in relation to the production, transmission, and reception of texts, as Bynneman's activities in 1566 illustrate. His practices, however, also reveal the interconnectedness of conceptualisations, contexts, and meanings of the Stationers' Registers with networks of value systems.⁴

Value systems germane to the London book trade in this period were, in part, a product of the prevailing social and cultural environment of the Stationers' Company. The communal milieu of financial, social, and cultural values was influential in shaping the form and formats of the registers, but it also had a significant impact upon the ways in which the registers could be conceptualised and read as media objects. This was very much a reciprocal relationship, since readings and interpretations derived from the registers and their functions (at both communal and individual levels) contributed to the development and furtherance of these value systems. All of these factors highlight a key principle of McKenzie's theory, namely that the 'human motives and interactions' associated with textual production should 'alert us' to the role of institutions in shaping social discourses. Whilst this notable tenet underpins his theory of the sociology of texts we should, by the same measure, be attentive to the role of value systems in shaping the narratives and discourses associated with the Stationers' Registers.

³ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 66.

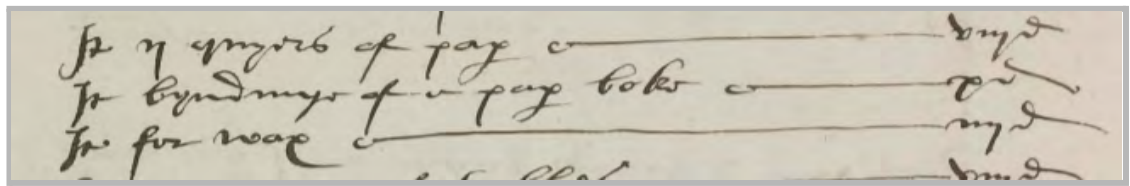
⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

VERY NECESSARY

Forming a near continuous record of the Stationers' Company's pecuniary activity from 1554 onwards, the Stationers' Registers were valuable not only in terms of measuring its financial well-being, but also for the information they contained about the state of the book trades and crafts in London.⁵ Changes made to the material structures and textual functions of the registers during this period are symptomatic of more fundamental positional shifts taking place within the community and society at large. The shifting ways in which knowledge was structured and stored are useful indicators of how notions of value were attributed, measured, and negotiated. As social documents, the Stationers' Registers provide us with much more than a purely financial perspective of the Company during this period. They not only document the social processes of their own transmission, but also those of the texts that were entered into the registers; as such, they foreground the customary codes, behaviours, and attitudes associated with textual production to form a record of 'cultural change'.⁶ Consequently, variations within the Stationers' Company's own administrative practices not only reveal how information was perceived and valued by the community, but also how its value systems were shaped.

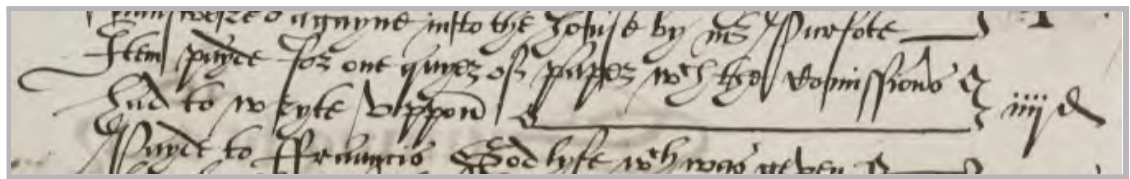
⁵ One of the most prominent indications of the value of the Stationers' Registers to the Company was demonstrated during the Great Fire of 1666. The Stationers' Company's then Clerk, George Tokefield, removed the most essential records to his home beyond the walls of the City. His decision ensured the Registers' survival, and was striking given the light that they shed upon the range of Company books and documents which were lost to the fire.

⁶ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p.13.



Item ij quyers of paper	viiij ^d
Item byndinge of a paper boke	x ^d
Item for wax	iiij ^d

1566/67, fol. 158^r.



Item payde for one quyer of paper which the Commissioners had to wryte vppon	iiij ^d
--	-------------------

1582/83, fol. 234^r.

Figure 5.1: Supplies of Stationery. Wardens' Accounts, 1566-1583.

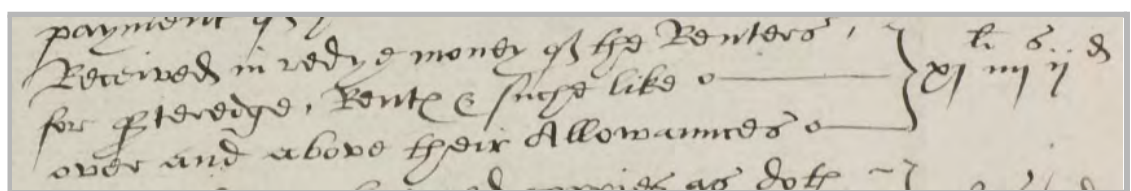
The Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596). All images from the Stationers' Company Archive are reproduced with permission from the Stationers' Company.

Details of the costs associated with producing documentary records provide us with some sense of their inherent material value. In the first chapter I discussed the Company's acquisition of the books which formed the first three volumes of the Stationers' Registers; and, as indicated by their relevant register entries and the ways in which they were used, the associated social contexts of each individual book invested these volumes with a cultural value as both media objects and as texts in potentia. The Company, however, needed to invest in far more than ownership of a book to be able to keep its records. At a fundamental level the purchase of materials such as ink, paper, parchment, wax, and so on, were occasionally documented in the Stationers' Registers (see figure 5.1), but these register entries were not as frequent as one would reasonably expect from a Company of

Stationers.⁷ The annual summaries that form the later part of the Wardens' Accounts provides a possible explanation for this. In 1571/72 the register records that the Company received the sum of £11 4s. 2d. from its Renter Wardens for 'quarterededge, Rentes & suche like over and above their Allowaunces' (see figure 5.2). In this context 'allowances' implies that a particular sum was set aside in each accounting year for the Renter Wardens to meet the everyday costs associated with the running of the Company. Arber notes that these were

stated and ordinary petty disbursements which were made by the Renters; and deducted from their receipts, before paying their annual balance to the Under Warden. So that these amounts are no absolute criterion of the prosperity of the Company⁸

Purchases of ink, paper, and such like, which were necessary for the Company's administration, were therefore managed under the terms of these allowances. Consequently, it is more likely that records pertaining to these items would only have been recorded in detail in the Renters' Books. Therefore, having already been reckoned in the Renters' accounts submitted for the annual audit, it would seem that the Company's outlay in this respect was only considered worthy of noting in the Register in exceptional cases.



Received in redye money of the Renters
for quarteredge, Rentes & suche like xj^{li} iiij^s ij^d
over and above their Allowaunces

Figure 5.2: 'Above their Allowaunces'. Wardens' Accounts, 1571/72, fol. 120^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

⁷ Most of the register entries related to such paraphernalia appear to have been associated with particular events; for example, the Company's incorporation records in 1557, or, as in 1583, provided to the High Commissioners for writing their reports (shown above in figure 5.1). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fol. 12^v; 1582/83, fol. 234^r.

⁸ Arber, Vol. I, p. 451.

Besides its expenditure upon writing materials, the status and value of the Company's texts were reflected through its investment in the furniture and fittings required to store its records. Michael Clanchy's discussion of the preservation and use of documents in medieval England raises the often overlooked issue of the environmental conditions associated with keeping records. As he states:

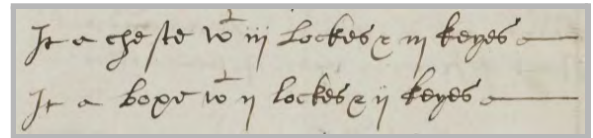
It is worth attempting to answer such questions as precisely as possible, because the physical conditions in which documents were kept indicate contemporary attitudes towards them and also help explain why some types of document have survived better than others. It is also appropriate to consider archives and libraries together because, although all kinds of distinctions were made between different types of writings in the Middle ages, the twofold modern division between books and records is an anachronism.⁹

This is an important hypothesis for the Stationers' Registers because the settings in which they were written and stored is crucial for understanding their textual sociology. Their surroundings were vital to their function and utility, and considering the role of the physical environment in their construction may help to explain the principles of preservation that applied to the Company's archives, and also account for the loss of certain records. The accounts for 1554-57 contain a number of register entries related to the refurbishment of the Stationers' Hall; and these provide us with a sense of the Company's vision and aspirations for this space, and also shows the essential environmental features needed for the conduct of its business. I have already mentioned in Chapter One that the Company received many benevolences to provide glass for the windows of the Hall, which indicates that it was important for there to be adequate natural lighting. Greentree, the carpenter, provided weatherboards and weather-boarded the South end of the Hall, gutters were soldered and mended by the plumber, the roof was sealed, and a plasterer was employed to seal the Council parlour and the Hall. So, it seems that every effort was taken by the Company to ensure that Stationers' Hall was weatherproof. And this drive to provide for a stable 'dry' environment is also substantiated through the

⁹ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), p. 154.

Company's purchase of a large amount of paving stones and tiles.¹⁰ It is significant that both the Hall and the Council Parlour were the only rooms noted as being sealed, since it indicates that they were crucial to the Company's day-to-day operations. By implication therefore these were, most likely, the locations in which the Stationers' Company stored its records.

Item a cheste with iij Lockes & iij keyes
Item a boxe with ij lockes & ij keyes



Item a Courte Cubberde with ij stayes
of Iron

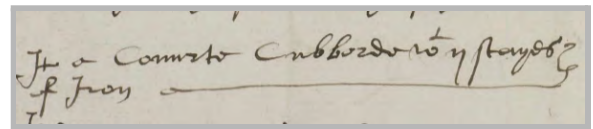


Figure 5.3: In the Council Parlour. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57, fol. 16^v.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

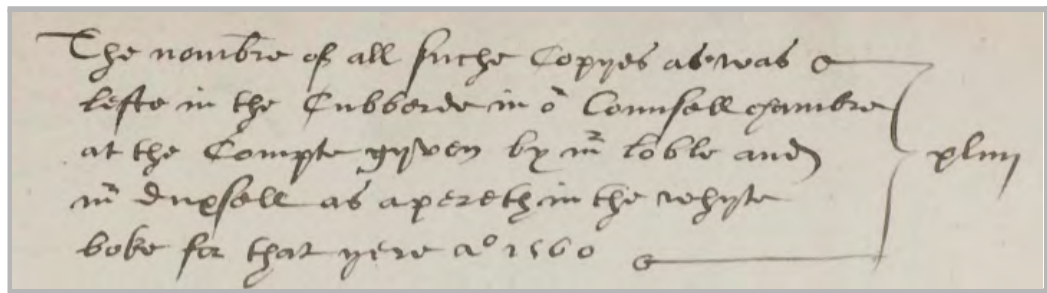
Representations of these areas throughout the Stationers' Registers provide a sense of how the Stationers' Company used these spaces to store its documents. Some of the most dynamic records to be included in the registers were the inventories. These are not only an excellent resource for indicating the ways in which people directly interacted with (and influenced) the registers, they are also immensely valuable for communicating the topography of Stationers' Hall. The inventories were documentary representations of the physical environment as it was experienced by the Stationers, and through their structure and function they codified the landscape of the Hall (and incidentally provided an administrative topography of the Hall). Contextualised within the bounds of the Wardens' Accounts the inventories not only reveal the relationships of that particular register to its environment, they also show the material and cultural value of these spaces to the Company. Inventories for 1554-57, 1557/58, and 1559/60 show there was very little

¹⁰ It would seem that not all of the tiles were used, as the inventory of 1559/60 notes that 'a thousande of Tyle' remained stored in the Hall's cellar (alongside two hundredweight of old lead and 12 locks and keys). SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fols 11^r-12^v; 1557/58, fols 28^r-29^r; 1559/60, fol. 55^v.

change in the furniture of the Council parlour; since each inventory documented the presence of a chest (with three locks and keys), a box (with two locks and keys), and a Court cupboard (see figure 5.3).¹¹ The contents of the chest with three locks were itemised in John Jaques's supplemental list to the 1557/58 inventory (see figure 2.11 (Chapter Two, p. 110)). From this we learn that the chest was used to store the Company's charter of incorporation, the Company's Arms, a box containing documentation pertaining to the purchase of the Hall, records of all leases and obligations owed to the Company, and the silverware by the outgoing Master and Wardens.¹² Mentions of locks and keys within the registers are important indicators of the Company's attitude towards the security of the Hall and its contents, and by implication of the value it placed upon its material possessions. References to these items occur frequently within the Wardens' Accounts, and from the differing levels of security that applied to its storage facilities we can see the institutional values of the Stationers' Company in operation. Items stored in the chest with three locks had a definite financial value, but it is also clear that some of these items, such as the Company's charter, its arms, and its seal, were just as equally prized in terms of their significance in the cultural status and identity of the Stationers' Company.

¹¹ The most notable difference in the Council Parlour's furniture between the inventories of 1554-57 and 1557/58 was an entry in the latter recording 'one vysser and ij whippis for reformacyon'. The addition of this means of correction, in its first year as an incorporated company, is a stark reminder of the Company's attendant rights and responsibilities.

¹² The list also records that the chest contained, 'Inprimis one longe case *with* lock & keye couered with lether'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 29^v. This would seem to match Cooper's description of the typical storage cases used by the City's livery companies for their ordinances (see Chapter One, p. 26). However, in the accounts for 1559/60 the chest was referred to in connection with the 'Longe Case *with* our corporation *with* the Renewynge', so it is reasonable to assume that the Company's charters were kept in this long case. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1559/60, fol. 56^r. Arber erroneously transcribed this entry as a 'Large Case', which implies a distinctly different object. Thomas Dockwray (*d.* 1559); John Cawood (*c.* 1514-72); and John Walley (*d.* 1586) were the outgoing Master and Wardens in this year.



The nombre of all suche Copyes as was
 lefte in the Cubberde in our Counsell chambre
 at the Compte gyven by mr loble and xliij
 mr Duxsell as apereth in the whyte
 boke for that year anno 1560

Figure 5.4: Left in the Cupboard. Wardens' Accounts, 1559/60, fol. 56^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

We know from the accounts of 1559/60 that the court cupboard in the Council Chamber was used to store copies, and at the handover of the accounts the cupboard contained forty-four copies (see figure 5.4). Whilst this entry gives us a sense of how the Stationers' Company handled and stored its copies, it also suggests that besides the Wardens' Accounts there was another book in which all of the titles licenced by the Company for publication were recorded. Indeed, Arber conjectured that:

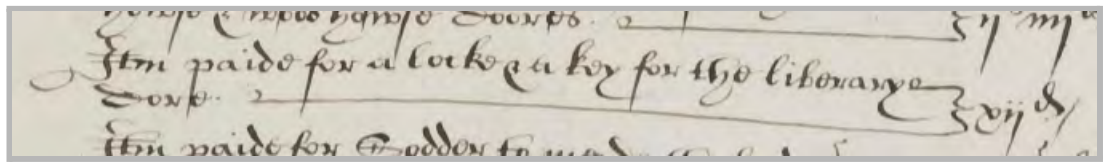
This White Book was evidently, at this time, the true and original List of books licensed by the Master or Wardens for the press; and only such of its entries as—by the Book of Constitutions, now lost—involved the payment of a fee were subsequently translated into this annual monetary account rendered at first by the two Wardens; but later on by the Under-Warden alone.¹³

Arber may be correct in this matter, however, a different context is suggested by the register entry that immediately followed; which stated, 'Item in ballettes the same Daye vij^o iiij^{xx} and xvj'. These two entries are particularly distinctive. Their ink quality, justification, and legibility are quite different from surrounding entries, and as such their form suggests that these two entries were pre-written. Reading these entries conjunctionally emphasises the significance of the first entry's specification of the year. In

¹³ Arber, Vol. I, p. 143.

February 1560 the Stationers' Company was made a livery company by the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, which marked another stage in the Company's development and in the evolution of its record-keeping practices.¹⁴ It is possible that the 'White Book' was similar in nature to the Renter Books, and was used for a short-term, annual inventory of copies. However, the date and the singularity of these two entries also suggests that the 'White Book' could have been a single purpose volume for the listing of every copy held at the Hall. This form of stocktake was a familiar strategy for the Stationers' Company, as we saw earlier in connection with Anthony Clerke's debts (see Chapter One, pp. 32-33). In this instance it would have provided a means for the Company to order all of its old accounts and review its holdings and practices in preparation for its new status as a livery company. The 'White Book' would therefore have represented a transitional point in the Company's development as it embarked upon the next stage of its corporate identity. It would have been a valuable text by way of its itemisation of the Company's copy holdings, and this would have provided an important overview into the state of the Stationers' Company and the book trade in 1560; but as a source of reference it would also have been invaluable for the Company's record-keeping practices. Whilst this is one interpretation of this book's function, it is also equally possible that the 'White Book' was the 'Rough' account book for 1560. As a 'working' book of accounts this would have been covered with vellum rather than leather, hence its name the 'White Book'. Unfortunately, its loss means that we can never be entirely certain how this book operated within the Company's administrative systems.

¹⁴ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1560, fol.53v. LMA, COL/AC/17/1372–City of London Repertory, 14. fol. 287^v; reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 138.



Item paide for a locke & a key for the liberarye
Dore

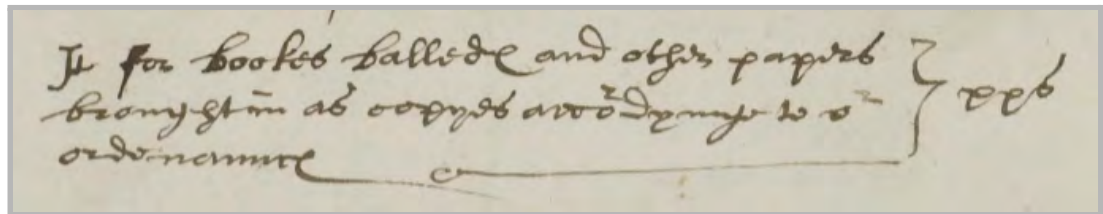
xij^d/

Figure 5.5: The Library. Wardens' Accounts, 1572/73, fol. 217^r.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

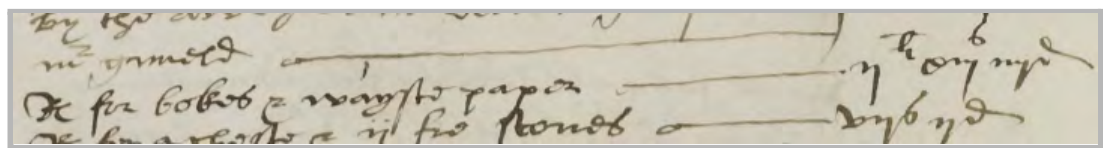
Returning to references of locks and keys within the registers, an entry in the Wardens' Accounts for 1572/73 provides a further sign of the material and cultural value of texts within Stationers' Hall (see figure 5.5). It recorded that the Company paid 12 pence for a lock and key for the library door, and this register entry provides the first evidence that Stationers' Hall had a dedicated library space. The inventories included in the Registers' provide no indication that a library was part of the fabric of the Hall, so it is not unreasonable to infer that this was installed in the years between 1560 and 1572. If the library did exist at the time of the inventories, its non-appearance in the records would suggest that its holdings were not considered directly relevant or valuable for the annual audit. This, however, would seem to be unlikely since the purchase of a lock and key for its door shows that it was another secure space within the Hall, which implies that it contained items that were of value to the Company. Through its foregrounding of the importance of storage to the procedure of licencing copies it is possible that Jaques's supplement to the inventory of 1559/60, and its account of the 44 copies held in the court cupboard, made some small contribution to the Company's decision to establish a library (see figure 5.4). According to the number of register entries made, 1560 was a fairly moderate year in terms of trade activity (see figure 5.7). However, as the figures show, throughout this period there was a gradual increase in the number of entrances in the register, and these had distinct peaks of activity in 62/63, 65/66, and 1569/70. The incremental growth seen in the

number of registrations and, by implication, the depositing of copies with the Company appears to have necessitated the foundation of a dedicated library space. This correlation between the topography of the Hall, the Company's procedures, its record-keeping practices, and the subsequent rationalisation of its records reveals that sometimes the ordering of the Stationers' Registers affected far more than just the page.



Item for bookes ballades and other papers
brought in as copyes accordynge to our xx^s
ordenaunces

1561/62, fol. 78^v.



Receaved for bokes & wayste paper ij^{li} xiijs iiij^d

1569/70, fol. 194^v.

Figure 5.6. Sale of Books. Wardens' Accounts, 1561-70.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Space within the Hall was a limited and valuable commodity, and copies, like the gifts of silverware and plate, were also valuable disposable assets for the Company.¹⁵ It was recorded in the Wardens' Accounts that the Company received 20 shillings from the sale of 'bookes balledes and other papers brought in as copyes accordynge to our ordenaunces' in 1561/62 (see figure 5.6). Likewise, in 1567/68 the Company 'Receaved for serten Copyes which was gathered of the companye in the tyme of mr tottle and mr

¹⁵ On the status and disposal of the Company's plate see Chapter Four, p. 216-17.

gunelde the somme of xxxj^s xj^d, and again in 1569/70 a sum of £2 13s. 4d. was raised from the sale of ‘bokes and wayste paper’.¹⁶ From a cultural perspective these books and papers were valuable because they created a physical corpus of the collective actions and labours of the Company’s members, and formed an alternative (intellectual) history of the Company. But they were also a material representation of the systems that the Stationers’ Company implemented in its role as a regulator. Whilst these items were significant to the Company’s communal culture and the sense of its corporate identity, their monetary value was crucial to these systems. As these examples illustrate, sometimes there were points in the Company’s history at which their cultural value was surpassed by the pressures of financial need.

VERY NECESSARY AND PROFITABLE

The ways in which the Stationers’ Registers were structured (and restructured) foreground the mutable values of each recorded aspect of the early modern London book trade. Sections which recorded the payments made by publishers for their licences to print demonstrate that throughout this period they were becoming increasingly valuable to the Company. Registration of copy was not a principal feature of the Company’s accounts in the early years, as in the Wardens’ Accounts more space (and focus) was apportioned to the register entries which related to the presentation of apprentices and the taking of fines. Throughout the Wardens’ Accounts and Liber B the entering of copies expanded incrementally, becoming both a significant aspect of the Company’s business and a dominant feature of the registers until copy became the sole concern of the registers with the commencement of Liber C. For the accounts of 1557/58 registrations of copies were recorded between folios 21^v-24^r and this amounted to a total of 35 entries (one of which

¹⁶ Arber remarked that, ‘From this entry it is clear, that what we now call ‘copyright copies’ and send to our five principal national Libraries; were, at this period, by the ordinances of the Company, sold from time to time for the general benefit of the Society’. Arber, Vol. I, p. 188. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1561/62, fol. 78^v; 1567/68, fol. 167^v; 1569/70, fol. 194^v.

included the registration of 32 ballads by John Whalley and Mistress Toy). By the same measure, in 1562/63 copies were entered into the register between folios 84^r-92^r and this totalled 124 entries (including Giles Godet's entrance of 27 items). In the accounts of 1569/70 copies were entered between folios 183^v-194^r and this section of the register constitutes 204 entries.¹⁷

Wardens' Accounts: Entrances of Copies			
Year	Foliation	Span	Number of register entries
1557/58	21 ^v -24 ^r	6 pages	35*
1558/59	31 ^v -33 ^r	4 pages	33*
1559/60 ¹⁸	46 ^r -49 ^r	7 pages	28
1560/61	59 ^r -63 ^r	9 pages	77
1561/62	72 ^r -75 ^v	8 pages	83
1562/63	84 ^r -92 ^r	17 pages	124*
1563/64	100 ^r -104 ^r	8 pages	61
1564/65	114 ^r -121 ^r	15 pages	91*
1565/66	131 ^r -142 ^r	23 pages	189
1566/67	148 ^r -156 ^r	17 pages	140
1567/68	161 ^v -166 ^v	11 pages	110
1568/69	173 ^r -179 ^r	13 pages	126
1569/70	183 ^v -193 ^v	21 pages	204
1570/71	202 ^r -206 ^v	10 pages	91 [†]
<p>* Includes lists of titles under a single entry heading. I have included these as single register entries rather than counting each individual title.</p> <p>† This includes a cancelled entry for Thomas Hackett. However, I have discounted the reference to Thomas Marsh's 69 copies since it takes the form of a note rather than that of a register entry.</p>			

Figure 5.7: Space Allocated to the Entrances of Copies in the Wardens' Accounts, 1557-71.

¹⁷ John Whalley (Wallye) and Mistress Toy (Toye), Wardens' Accounts, 1557/58, fols 22^r-22^v (Arber, Vol. I, pp. 75-76, SRO8). Giles Godet (Godhed), Wardens' Accounts, 1562/63, fols 90^r-91^r (Arber, Vol. I, pp. 211-213, SRO360).

¹⁸ Entrances of copies did not have their own dedicated section in the register in 1559/60. They formed part of a miscellaneous section, which also included the fines levied for the breaking of the Company's ordinances.



Figure 5.8: Correlation of Register Entries to Register Space, 1557-71.

I should indicate at this point that this was not exponential growth on an annual basis—as in some years fewer copies were entered—but the overall picture from the Wardens' Accounts shows a gradual growth in this activity. Consequently, the greater prominence given within the accounts to the licencing of copies demonstrate its increased centrality and importance to the Company's sense of corporate identity. This expansion appears even more pronounced in Liber B. Structural changes were introduced to the organisation of these accounts, which created a dense aggregation of entrances as categories replaced the year as the first order of classification, until the registers, with the commencement of Liber C, finally ceased to be general account books and categorically became 'books of entry'. These movements in the focus of the registers demonstrate the shifts in position regarding the value of registering copy, not only in respect of the Company's role as regulator but also within the book trade as a whole.

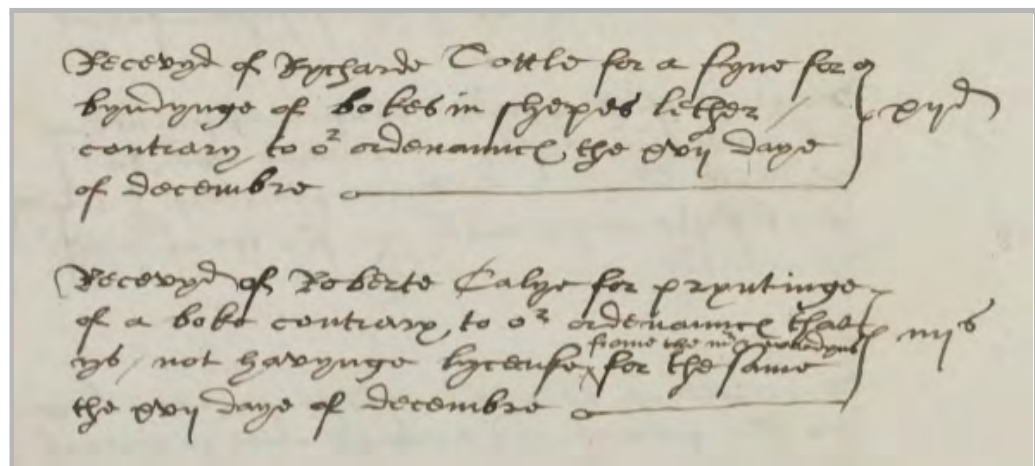
The transition of the Stationers' Register from being books of account to becoming specialised records for the licencing of copies implies that this area of activity had a more fundamental value for the Company, one which was not only concerned with its monetary worth but also tied to the sense of corporate identity it created. Within the wider framework of the Company's rationalisation of its records, it would perhaps be an

overstatement to claim that this transition was a result of the Company's recognition of the exceptionality of this aspect of its business. Changes made in the material spaces and structures of the registers when juxtaposed with the shifts in their functionalities and procedures indicates the Company's approach to the entrance and licencing of copy had altered. The Stationers' Registers were increasingly called upon to fulfil a referential function—and this may well have been a contributory factor in the separation of the entrances of copy from the Company's general accounts—but it also suggests that copy was an area of expertise that the Company could confidently and categorically call its own.¹⁹

The Stationers' Registers were grounded within broader social and cultural dimensions than their immediate financial motivations and functions. This can be seen, for example, in the Company's charter of incorporation, which foregrounded the particular corporate values associated with the Stationers' community. Leading with an acknowledgement of abuses in the book trade, and the subsequent 'remedy' that the incorporated Company would provide, the charter positioned the Stationers' Company as an arbiter of social justice. In keeping with other City companies, a major part of its responsibilities as a regulatory body was to guarantee and uphold the quality of its associated trades. The company's ordinances provided the framework for ensuring that these responsibilities were met, and these established the acceptable codes and practices which governed London's book trades and crafts. Although the earliest surviving list of ordinances for the Stationers' Company relate to its governance in the late seventeenth century, they do suggest the possible range of structural mechanisms that the Company could employ to enforce standards across the book trades and crafts it represented. Since these ordinances were divided accordingly into institutional and communal orders, it is

¹⁹ Records pertaining to apprenticeships, freedoms, calls to the livery, the breaking of ordinances, accounts and audits, and so on, were all part of a shared documentary heritage of the City's livery companies. As the 1554-57 section of the Wardens' Accounts demonstrates, the Company had no existing system in place for dealing with copy. Development of these volumes to effectively become this system suggests that the Company gradually accepted that this activity was an essential feature of its corporate identity.

clear that notions of reputable trade practices applied just as equally to the executive body of the Company as it did its trade practitioners. It is not only possible to recover some semblance of the ordinances that governed the Company, the book trade, and the stationers' community from the Stationers' Registers, but also to detect those values which underpinned the early modern book trade.



Recevyd of Rycharde Tottle for a fyne for
byndyng of boke in shepes lether /
contrary to our ordenaunces the xvij Daye of Decembre

xij^d

Recevyd of Roberte Calye for pryntinge
of a boke contrary to our ordenaunces that
ys / not havynge lycense ^ from the master & wardyns¹ for the same
the xvij Daye of Decembre

iiij^s

Figure 5.9: Contrary to the Ordinances. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57, fol. 19^v.

The Stationers' Company Archive, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

An obvious starting point for unpicking the desirable (and undesirable) practices and behaviours can be found in the sections of the registers that detailed the fines levied by the Company's Court of Assistants. Fines were issued for offences that contravened the Company's ordinances, and these offences included such matters as the failure to attend the Hall on quarter days, the printing of other mens' copies, the use of uncourteous language, the keeping of unrepresented apprentices, and so on. In the accounts for 1554-57 it was

recorded that Richard Tottell paid twelvepence for his fine for binding books in sheep's leather, and similarly in 1558/59 Richard Harvey and Randolph Tyer (Randall Tyrerer) were fined for this same act. Whilst these examples may appear to be questionable infringements of the rules, the fine received by William Hill in 1560/61 provides some element of clarification of the Company's actions in this respect. Hill was fined twelvepence for 'that he bounde premers [primers] in parchment contrary to the orders of this howse', and this entry indicates that rules were in place to ensure that certain types of book received particular forms of binding.²⁰ It would seem from Tottell and Calye's examples that the Court was empowered to penalise members who failed to produce items which met an acceptable standard of quality. Looking at the wider picture, the Stationers' Company's role in upholding the quality of London's book trades and crafts was part of a process of engendering public trust in the City's systems of governance. Through its management of apprenticeships, administration of the trade, and the regulation of the behaviours of its members the Company was expected to create a stable and thriving community that was fully engaged with ideas of the 'commonwealth'. Such communities were considered to be valuable contributors to the reputation of London's civic structures, whether financial, judicial, or social. This was not only important for the Company's own status within London's civic society, since it contributed to wider perceptions of the Company's role and responsibilities in regulating the London book trades and crafts, it was also consequential at a corporate level and helped to augment the authority of the registers. The ability of the Stationers' Company to guarantee and uphold certain standards was also beneficial at a communal level - in determining socially acceptable behaviours and enforcing these codes the Company could foster a strong, cohesive community.

²⁰ In terms of quality, sheep's leather is much coarser than that of calfskin and less robust. It was a cheap material therefore more commonly used for what Phillippa Marks terms 'the lower end of the market'. P. J. M. Marks, *The British Library Guide to Bookbinding* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1998) p. 44. David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2008), pp. 18-19. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01-Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, fol. 63 v.

RISKY BUSINESS

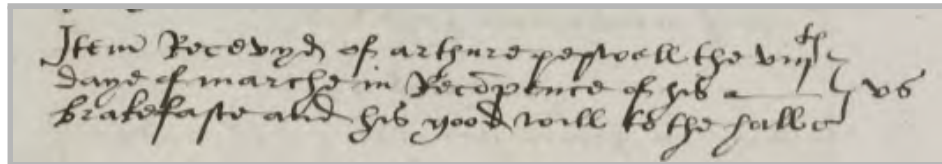
Publishing throughout this period was very rarely lucrative. The market for playbooks, as Blayney has argued, required a good deal of investment and a great deal of luck, and by his estimation:

The great majority of plays, however, were published by booksellers, and a bookseller would normally have to sell about 60 percent of a first edition to break even. Fewer than 21 percent of the plays published in the sixty years under discussion reached a second edition inside nine years. What this means is that no more than one play in five would have returned the publisher's initial investment inside five years. Not one in twenty would have paid for itself during its first year — so publishing plays would not usually have been seen as a shortcut to wealth.²¹

Whilst this may be true of the market for playbooks, and for publishing more generally, it is also possible to see similar degrees of precarity amongst other areas of London's book trades. Records relating to the court decisions of the Stationers' Company's Court of Assistants are useful sources for revealing the lengths to which some Stationers would venture in the pursuit of profit, and as such they illustrate the points at which the value systems of the institution, the community, and the individual diverged. One such example of a particularly pervasive contravention of the Company's ordinances that came before the Court concerned the sale of books on holy days, and these breaches were frequently recorded in the Wardens' Accounts and Liber B. And for the early years of the Stationers' Registers it would seem that there was no more habitual transgressor than Arthur Pepwell.²²

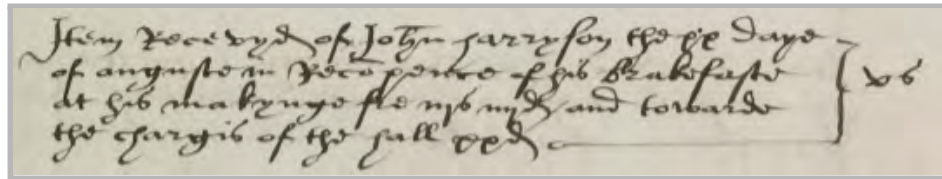
²¹ Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', p. 389. The sixty years under discussion here span the years 1583-1642, and Blayney's approach treats these as three distinct twenty-year periods.

²² Arthur Pepwell (*d.* 1568), Stationer. E. G. Duff relates that 'for the first few years almost all the entries in the Registers relating to him refer to fines for various misdemeanours'. Duff, E. G., *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of all Printers, Stationers, Book-binders, and others connected with it from the first issue of the first dated book in 1547 to the incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557*. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905), pp. 118-19.



Item Recevyd of arthure pepwell the viijth
Daye of marche in Recompence of his v^s
brakefaste and his goodwill to the hall

1554-57, fol. 3^r.



Item Recevyd of John harrisson the xix Daye
of auguste in Recompence of his brakefaste v^s
at his makynge fre iij^s iiij^d / and towarde
the chargis of the hall xx^d

1554-57, fol. 2^r.

Figure 5.10. Second Breakfast. Wardens' Accounts, 1554-57.

SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596).

Between 1556 and 1567 there are twenty-two references to him in the Wardens' Accounts which chart his career as a Stationer and his interactions with the Company, from his freedom through to his terms as the Company's Renter Warden in 1565/66 and 1566/67. Pepwell's first appearance in the register relates to his admission to the Company as a freeman on 19 August 1556, and the entry recorded that he paid 3s. and 4d. for 'his brakefaste at his makynge fre'. Somewhat confusingly, however, there is also a second entry regarding his freedom which notes that on 8 March 1557 Pepwell paid 5s. 'in Recompence of his brakefaste and his goodwill to the hall'.²³ Edward Arber considered there to be a mistake with this second entry, noting that on 6 May 1557 Pepwell presented an apprentice to the Company and thereby implying that the second freedom entry and the presentment event were connected.²⁴ Pepwell's payment of 3s. 4d. in the first entry relating

²³ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fols 2^r, 3^r.

²⁴ Arber, Vol. I, p. 37.

to his freedom was in keeping with those of his peers. However, the second would appear to share similarities to the entry of John Harrison, who also obtained his freedom on 19 August 1556 (see figure 5.10). In ‘Recompence of his brakefaste at his makynge fre iij^s iij^d / and towarde the chargis of the hall xx^d’ the entry records that Harrison paid a total of ‘v^s’; which was commensurate with the sum recorded in Pepwell’s second entry. Surrounding entries suggest that Harrison was unusual in paying both the fee for the ‘breakfast’ and the ‘goodwill’ in a single payment. The registers record that many new freemen gave their benevolences to the Company either a short period after obtaining their freedom, or that these donations were entered via a different procedure. The phraseology of Pepwell’s second entry is equally unusual in its usage of ‘goodwill’ rather than ‘benevolence’ or ‘for the chargis of the hall’. Whilst not all of Pepwell and Harrison’s peers are recorded as giving payments for goodwill or benevolence following their freedom in this year (which is possibly down to a question of means and ability), the records of these payments highlight both the individuality of the action and their communal and cultural value.

As we have seen, the first two register entries that recorded Pepwell’s activities were related to his freedom of the Company. A further ten entries detail his failure to comply with the Company’s ordinances, six of which were concerned with trading on Sundays and holy days. The first of Pepwell’s recorded misdemeanours was dated 27 June 1558, and it states that he sold books contrary to the ordinances.²⁵ The register entry does not furnish further details of exactly how the ordinances were contravened but Pepwell’s subsequent record would imply that this involved keeping his shop open on Sundays. Whilst he was fined for giving ‘vnsemelye and unsettyng wordes to the maister wardyns and assystantes’ in 1558/59 (which was probably a direct result of the Court’s punitive action against him), for keeping another man’s apprentice in 1562/63, for the illicit binding of books in 1564/65, and for the stitching of books against the Company’s ‘orders’ in 1560/61 and once more in 1564/65, it would appear from the records of Pepwell’s

²⁵ ‘Recevyd of arthure pepwell for sellynge of bokes contrarye to ordenaunces the xxvij Daye of June iij^s iij^d’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1557/58, fol. 20^v.

transgressions that trading on Sundays was his forte.²⁶ The frequency of his activity in this respect suggests that he considered it to be a worthwhile strategy, despite the risk of being penalised by the Court of Assistants. For Pepwell the economic value of opening his shop on a Sunday far outweighed any sense of communal propriety, and that any resulting atonement was an acceptable price to pay. Patrick Wallis's research into the court systems of London's livery companies confirms that Pepwell's attitude was not unusual:

Companies' actions are best understood as attempts to reform present and future behaviour and to reintegrate offenders, all of which relied on a broad range of interventions and sanctions: final judgements and heavy punishments were pursued only when the dialogue between offender and court broke down. This allowed more flexible and diverse forms of economic behaviour (and misbehaviour) than the ordinances might suggest.²⁷

The registers record that nineteen offenders were fined for opening their shops on St. Luke's Day 1564 (18 October), Pepwell being one of those named, and this list demonstrates that he was not alone in thinking that the reward for contravening the ordinances was worth the penalty (see figure 5.11).²⁸ At this point I should emphasise that sections of the registers that record the levying of fines were primarily concerned with the receipts of money due to the Company as a consequence of its members' acts of transgression, and did not constitute the minutes of the Company's Court of Assistants.

²⁶ 'Arthure pepwell ys fyned for that he gave vnsemelye and unsettyng wordes to the maister wardyns and assystentes iij^s iiij^d'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1558/59, fol. 31^r. 'Recevyd of arthure pepwell for his fyne for that he Ded kepe an apprentice which was Robothums ij^s'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1562/63, fol. 92^v. 'Receved of arthure pepwell for his fyne for that he bounde bookes in skabertes contrary to the orders of this howse x^s'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 121^v. 'Recevyd of Arthure pepwell and William norton for stytyhyng of bokes whyche ys contrary to the orders of this howse viij^d'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1560/61, f. 63^v; 'Receved of those persons foloweinge for thayre fynes for Stechen of bookes which ys contrary to the orders of this howse &c / [...]. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, f. 123^r. Fines for trading on the Sunday accounts for 26.1% of the entries related to Pepwell, which is closely followed by his presentation of apprentices, at 21.7%.

²⁷ Wallis states that this was 'a pragmatic retreat in the face of both the commercial realities and the political uncertainties that frequently surrounded company authority'. The operations of the Stationers' Company's own Court of Assistants during this period do seem to corroborate Wallis's hypothesis. Patrick Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies' in *Guilds, Society & Economy in London 1450-1800*, ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp. 85-100 (pp. 86-87).

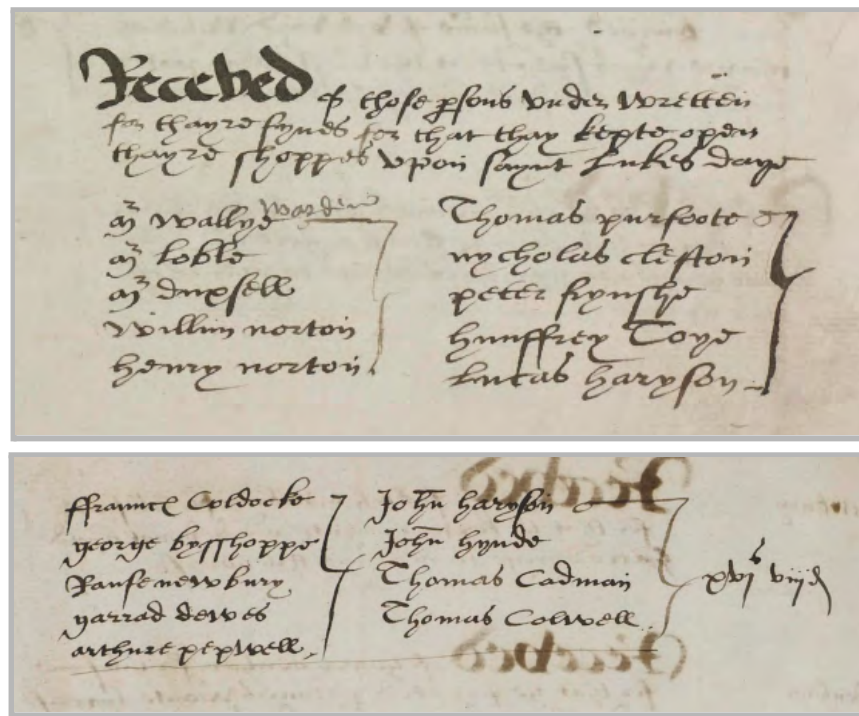
²⁸ The presence of 'yonge Wolfe', Reginald Wolfe the younger, on the list of seventeen fined for stitching books suggests that the fines were levied after 18 May 1565, which is when Wolfe obtained his freedom of the Company. Arber, Vol. I, p. 277 (fol. 123^r); I. 280 (fol. 124^v).

As the entries listed under ‘Decrees and Ordonnances’ in Liber B demonstrate, the Court minutes were a very different form of record.²⁹ These instances in the register where similar offences were grouped together to form a mass entry provides an insightful glance into the Company’s treatment of such cases, and it is possible that the form of the register entry reflected the Court’s process. Since all of these offences took place on a single day it would seem to have been a straightforward matter, and perhaps more efficient, for the Company to treat them as a whole. On this occasion the register recorded that the Company received a total of 16s 8d from the group, which Arber estimates came to an average of 10½d each.³⁰ This particular example is also noteworthy for showing that it was possible to be a serving official of the Company and to transgress against its regulations. The first name listed was that of the serving Upper Warden for 1564/65, John Walley, and this was emphasised by the later addition of ‘Warden’ alongside his name, and he was in illustrious company since many of the names on the list were also senior Company figures. This entry serves to reiterate Wallis’s argument that there was an ‘ongoing importance within corporate life of an idiom of fraternity marked by compassion, confession and forgiveness’.³¹

²⁹ As Arber noted, the Stationers’ Company’s Court of Assistants did not give him permission to transcribe the ‘Decrees and Ordonnances’ detailed in Liber B, between fols 427^v-486^r. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605. He surmised that these records were ‘chiefly the decision or arbitrations of the Executive of the Company upon complaints of or disputes between individual Stationers, and concluded that ‘they are certainly not the Court Book of the Company from 1576 to 1603 A.D. which has apparently perished; and which is succeeded by another series of Volumes now extant lettered C. D. E., &c.’ That they record decisions rather than provide a minuted account is a distinction that is not always appreciated by scholars. Arber’s assertion is contested in Greg and Boswell’s *Records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company 1576-1602*, which touches upon the Company’s (lost) Court records before 1576. Arber, Vol. II, p. 879. Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Court*, pp. v-vii.

³⁰ Which is not to discount the possibility that this entry was calculated and formatted to minimise the space they would take as individual entries. This may have been the most likely option if the entries had been destined for Liber B, where each section had a predetermined amount of space allocated. But as the cases concerning the publication of Nostradamus in 1562/63 illustrate, John Fayreberne did not shy away from listing connected transgressions individually. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1562/63, fols 92^v-93^v.

³¹ Wallis, ‘Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies’, p. 87.



Receved of those persons vnder wretten
for thayre fynes for that thay kepte open
thayre shoppes vpon saynt Lukes Daye

mr Wallye 'Warden'	Thomas purfoote	
mr Loble	nycholas clefton	
mr Duxsell	peter frynshe	
Willim norton	humffrey Toye	
henry norton	Lucas haryson	
ffraunces Coldocke	John haryson	
george bysshoppe	John hynde	
Raufew newbury	Thomas Cadman	
garrad dewes	Thomas Colwell	xvj ^s viij ^d
arthure pepwell		

Figure 5.11: St. Luke's Day Fines. Wardens' Accounts, 1564/65, fols 122^r-122^v.

SCA, TSC/01/D/02/01—Register A (Wardens' Accounts), 1554-1596.

Whilst such register entries are useful for understanding how the hierarchies of value systems operated within the Company, they are also a valuable reminder of how individual need was weighed against that of the community.³² There was a method to

³² For the individual certain actions were considered valuable in terms of their immediate financial gain, however, the Company had to measure the long-term effects of such actions upon the book trade as a whole to ensure its security and reputation. For example: in 1561/62 Henry Sutton was fined for selling 'serten bokes in frynshe and Englesshe which was taken goynge hawkyng aboute the stretes which ys Contrary to the orders of the Cytie of London - iiij^s iiiij^d'. Whilst this would have garnered business for Sutton (and perhaps a small degree of profit), for a Company that had just been admitted to the livery by the City it was

Pepwell's actions in opening his shop on Sundays. His shop was located in St Paul's Churchyard, opposite the Great North Door of the Cathedral, therefore opening on a Sunday would have attracted a healthy market of church attendees and given him the opportunity to make a profit.³³ The frequency with which he appeared before the Court for this offence suggests it was a strategy that worked for him, in that he made enough gains to offset any fine imposed by the Assistants. Whilst Pepwell's behaviours in this respect demonstrate his own personal levels of acceptable risk his example also illustrates that, despite the Company representing the people and trades associated with book production, sometimes corporate identity and values were not always the same as communal identity and values (or those of the individual). That it was possible for trading to take place on Sundays and on holy days indicates that there was a willing and eager market, which speaks volumes about the opportunities for obtaining books in this period, and the values that audiences and publishers attached to them.

LITERARY PROPERTY

The Mess of Privilege

The Stationers' Registers were not a comprehensive record of all books produced during this period, and nor should it be inferred that unlisted texts were published illegally. Many titles were subject to the terms of patents and privileges which, as Maureen Bell states, 'although never individually entered in the Stationers' Registers, were printed quite legally.'³⁴ Bell's work makes the distinction between titles that were printed 'officially', through patents or monopolies, and those printed 'legally' according to the register entries.

perhaps thought wise to rein in Sutton's behaviour in this respect. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1561/62, fol. 76^v.

³³ The location of Pepwell's shop, The Holy Trinity (later The King's Head), has been tentatively identified by Blayney. Blayney, *The Bookshops in St Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990), pp. 20-21.

³⁴ Bell, Maureen, 'Entrance in the Stationers' Register' in *The Library*, 6th ser., 16 (1994), 50-54, p. 53. The types of books covered by privileges included bibles, prayer books, school books, and almanacks.

She estimates that an average of 20% of all titles were issued under patent and licence without entrance in the registers. Whilst privileges and patents proved to be of great individual value to a publisher, on occasion they could be problematic for the Company.

A number of events transpired between 1577 and 1586 which contributed to a period of unrest for the Stationers' Company. Arber identified the death of the then Queen's Printer, Richard Jugge, in July 1577 as the starting point for the Company's 'Controversy'. In the following month a petition by 'printers, glass sellers and cutlers' was submitted to Lord Burghley complaining about the awarding of longer term privileges to 'privatt persons'. These privileges had led to the consolidation of the rights to a number of profitable titles, formerly in common use, into the hands of a small group of Stationers.³⁵ Further complaints concerning the deleterious effects of the privileges were made in October 1577 by bookbinders and in January 1578 by the 'poore men' of the Company. At which point the Company was faced, as Arber explained, with the problems of having 'a large number of apprentices coming to their freedom, a stationary production of books, and the constant tendency to sweep all best paying works into patents framed in the widest possible terms'.³⁶ There soon followed a concerted campaign of piracy, led by John Wolfe, which was established with the aim of undermining this system of privileges. This sequence of events ultimately ended in 1586 with the issue of the Star Chamber decrees, which reasserted the rights of the privilege holders and the authority of the Stationers' Company.

In December 1582, Christopher Barker was called upon to compile a report for Lord Burghley. This was a brief summary and evaluation of the Stationers' Company, which also included a commentary upon the estimated value of the patents and privileges for printing that were held by its members. It is a significant document because it provides an insight into the ways in which these awards were assessed and appraised by the Company and its members. As the Queen's Printer and the holder of several major

³⁵ Arber, Vol. I, p. 111.

³⁶ Arber, Vol. II, p. 17.

privileges himself, as Arber reminds us, Barker's own self interest in these matters may ultimately have had a bearing upon the conclusions that were drawn; and so a degree of 'allowance must be made' in its reading.³⁷ Nonetheless, Barker's evaluation of the patents and privileges of other members indicates the degree of tension and possible conflicts that these grants could provoke. This can be seen especially in the assessment of John Day's privileges with respect to '*the Psalms in Metre*', whereby Barker made the claim that it 'being a parcell of the Church service, properly belongeth to me'. And likewise, with Day's '*The small Catechisme alone*' which Barker asserted:

is taken oute of the booke of common prayer, and belongeth to me also which master Jugge solde to Master Daye, and is likewise included in this patent procured by the right honorable the Earle of Leicester, and therefore for Duties sake I hold my self content therewith This is also a profitable Copie for that it is generall / and not greatlie chargeable³⁸

Although it is possible that Day's personality could have been a contributory factor in Barker's grievances, this articulation of the perceived injustice of Day's privileges illustrates just how fiercely contested and open to interpretation the boundaries of textual categories and genre could be.³⁹ Andrew Pettegree has noted that when Day's rights were challenged in 1580 it was thought that two titles alone, the *ABC with Little Catechism* and *the whole booke of Psalmes* (by Sternhold and Hopkins), provided him with an annual profit of between £200 - £500. There is little doubt therefore that Day's privileges were indeed profitable, and that their value was widely recognised amongst the community.⁴⁰

³⁷ Barker held the privileges for Statutes of the Realm, Proclamations, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Bible. His report for Burghley, '*A note of the state of the Company of Printers, Bookesellers, and Bookebynders comprehended vnder the name of Stacioners, with a valuation also of all the l[ett]res patentes concerning printing*', is reproduced as an illustrative document in Arber, Vol. I, pp. 114-116, 144, (p. 114). A version can also be found in BL Lansdowne MS 48/82.

³⁸ Arber, Vol. I, p. 116.

³⁹ Day's privileges had met with serious challenges in 1580 leading to a number of lawsuits.

⁴⁰ [*The A B C with the catechism that is to saie, the instruction ... to be learned of euerie childe.*] [London] : Newlie imprinted by [H. Denham for] the assignes of Iohn Daie, and are to be sold [by H. Denham] at the signe of the Starre in Pater noster Rowe, [1582]. *The whole booke of Psalmes, collected into Englysh metre by T. Starnhold, I. Hopkins, & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt notes to synge the[m] with al, faithfully perused and alowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions. Very mete to be vsed of all sortes of people priuately for their solace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly songes and ballades, which tende only to the norishing of vyce, and corrupting of youth.* (London: John Daye, 1562). Andrew Pettegree "Day [Daye], John (1521/2–1584), printer and bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004;

‘For thending and determyninge of all controuersies begonne or that maie hereafter growe’

Matters concerning the printing of other men’s copies without licence was a frequent order of business for the Stationers’ Company’s Court of Assistants, and these transgressions were included in the Wardens’ Accounts and Liber B. For the main part, the fines issued in relation to these offences were simply detailed in the registers as ‘for printinge of other mens copies’ or ‘contrary’ to the ordinances.⁴¹ However, as Barker’s report illustrates, the personal interpretations of the particularities pertaining to certain privileges could be a source of discontent amongst members, and the Company was required to act when encroachments threatened to undermine the system, and the well-being of the community. When the Court of Assistants met on Monday 28 January 1580 to resolve a dispute between John and Richard Day, and William Seres and Henry Denham, Day’s privileges seem to have already been a long standing source of contention. The meeting was convened with the ‘assente’ of both parties for ‘thending and determyninge of all controuersies begonne or that maie hereafter growe betweene the saide *parties* or anie of them concerninge the printinge of annie booke or bookes Copie or Coppies Claimed or to be claymed by the said *parties* or anie of them by reason or meanes of their or annye of their priueledge’.⁴² Whilst the court record which notes that the meeting was to resolve ‘all controuersies’ (past, present, and future) evinces a sense of the monetary value connected with these titles, it also suggests that relations between the Days and Seres and Denham had become particularly toxic because of the threat that the infringements posed to their trade (see figure 5.12).

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7367>. [Accessed 26 January 2022].

⁴¹ For example: the Wardens’ Accounts recorded that the Company ‘Recevyd of John Sampson [Awdeley] for his fyne for pryntinge of other mens copyes xx^d’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1563/64, fol. 104^r; Alexander Lacy paid 12d. as he ‘prented ballettes which was other mens copyes’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 121^v; Henry Denham ‘prynted premers *withoute* lycense and also contrary to the orders of this howse’ which cost him 40s. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 122^r; and finally, in this same list Owyn Rogers was fined for printing William Pickering’s copies, although there is no record of the fine being paid. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 122^r.

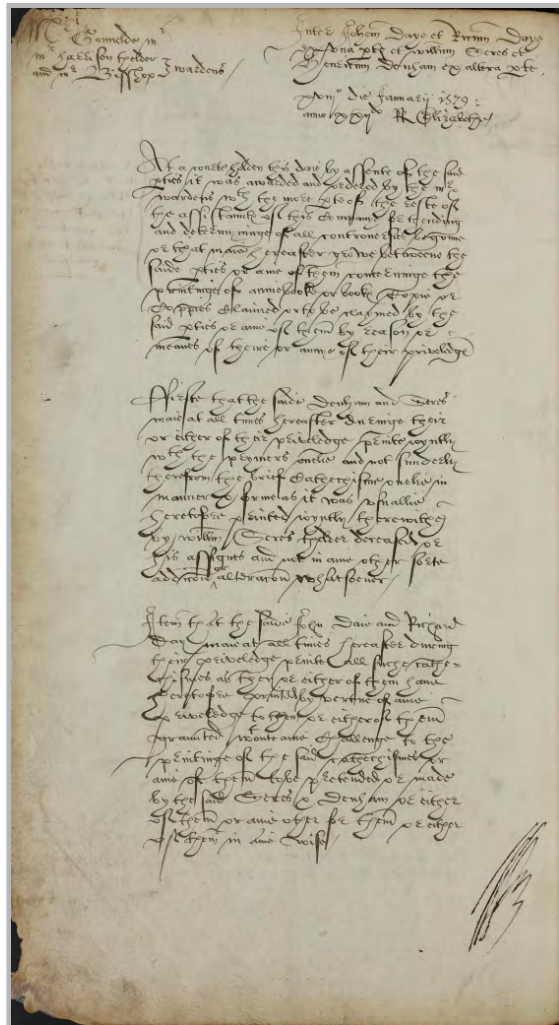
⁴² Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Court*, pp. 9-10; SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1579/80, fol. 433^v.

Mr Gonnelde master
willim

Mr harrison thelder
and mr Bisshop wardens /

Inter Iohem Daye et Ricum Daye ex vna te et

Seres et Henricum Denham ex altera te ,
xviij^o die Ianuarij 1579: anno xxij^{do} RR Elizabethe /



At a courte holden this daie by assente of the said parties it was awarded and ordered by the m^r wardens with the more parte of the reste of the assistauntes of this Companie for thending and determyninge of all controuersies begonne or that maie hereafter growe betweene the saide parties or anie of them concerninge the printinge of annie booke or bookes Copie or Coppies Claimed or to be claymed by the said parties or anie of them by reason or meanes of theire or annye of their priueledge

ffirst that the saide Denham and Seres maie at all times hereafter during their or either of their priueledge printe ioyntly with the prymer onelie and not sunderly therefrom the brief Cathechisme onelie in manner & forme as it was vsuallie heretofore printed ioyntly therewith by william Seres thelder deceased or his assignes and not in anie other sorte addicon [^]or¹ alteracon whatsoever /

Item that the saide John Daie and Richard Day maie at all times hereafter during their priueledge printe all suche cathchismes as they or either of them haue heretofore printed by vertue of anie priueledge to them or either of them graunted withoute anie Challenge to the printinge of the said cathchismes or anie of them to be pretended or made by the said Seres & Denham or either of them or anie other for them or either of them in anie wise /

Figure 5.12: Determining the Catechisms. Liber B, 1579/80, fol. 433^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

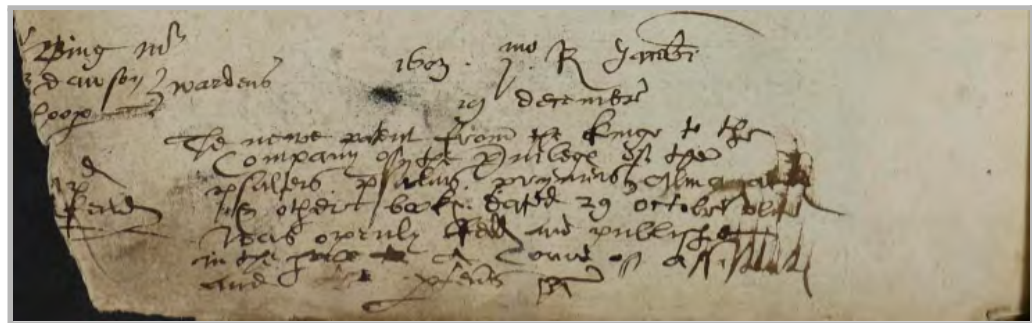
As a result the court was required to delineate the boundaries relating to the privileges of the primers and catechisms. Its decision illustrates the respect and value that the Company placed in tradition, with Seres and Denham ordered to maintain the ‘manner & forme’ without addition or alteration of as it had been ‘vsually heretofore printed ioyntly therewith by william Seres thelder deceased or his assignes’. The restrictions placed upon Seres and Denham in respect of printing of these texts were a disincentive for predatory behaviour, which is indicated by the warning against the creep in definition that Denham had employed (or ‘pretended’) in challenging the Days’ rights, but they also act to contain the privileges within very specific bounds that are firmly tied to trade practices of the past.⁴³ This may have been an unconscious action on the Court’s behalf, but it is possible to see the ways in which such rulings highlight the inflexibility of a system which, perhaps, failed to develop in line with the trade.

Dissatisfaction with the awarding of privileges had already been expressed in a complaint of 1577, whereby many practitioners of the trade argued that their business was hindered by the granting of longer privileges to fewer printers.⁴⁴ The Court’s decision in this case merely strengthened the existing rights and boundaries in relation to these texts. Such court rulings, however, could have been a contributory factor to the general restlessness of the community, which led to the drafting of Barker’s report upon the Company, the implementation of changes to the methods of entering copies, and the issuing of the Star Chamber decrees in 1586. In all likelihood the Company knew that its own position was compromised as far as the privilege system was concerned. Many of the

⁴³ The opportunity for Denham and Seres to exploit this aspect was provided by the open wording of the privileges themselves. They had challenged Day’s privilege to the *Psalms of David in meter with notes* in 1578, ‘by meanes of certen doubtfull woordes conteyned in a previlege’. SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A 1559-1771: 29 October 1578, fol. 37^r. It certainly appears to have been Denham’s favoured strategy with potentially disputable texts, as it had also previously been employed in this year against Thomas Dawson over the rights for William Hunnis’s *A Handfull of Honeysuckles*, which I will discuss in the next section of this chapter.

⁴⁴ Lansdowne MS. No. 48, fols 180-181. *The griefes of the printers glasse sellers and Cutlers susteined by reson of priviledges granted to privatt persons* /, reproduced in Arber, Vol. I, p. 111. Blagden highlights the particular issue of privileges awarded for groups of books rather than specific titles, and which were ‘capable of expansion’: for example, almanacks, primers, psalters, and so on. Blagden, ‘The English Stock of the Stationers’ Company: An account of its origins’ in *The Library*, 5th ser., 10 (1955), pp. 163-185 (p. 164).

Stationers' Company's executive body personally benefited from these privileges, and would have been reluctant to surrender their advantages.



<m>r Bing mr

1603 . j^{mo}. R Jacobi

<m>r Dawson

19 decembre

<mr> hooper wardens

The newe patent from the King to the
Company of the priuilege of the
psalters. psalms. prymers, Almanackes
& other bookes. dated 29 octobre vlt'
was openly Redd and published
in the hall to A Court of assistentes
and the partens &c

Figure 5.13: The New Patent. Liber B, 1603, fol. 485^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

In the wake of these issues, a new structure began to emerge which gradually incorporated patents and privileges under the corporation banner, for ‘the use of the Company’. In Liber B, a register entry dated 19 December 1603 recorded that a new patent for the ‘priuilege of the psalters. psalms. prymers. Almanackes & other bookes’ was awarded to the Company; and this entry marks the formal beginnings of the centrally administered system known as the English Stock (see figure 5.13).⁴⁵ Shares in the stock were divided in accordance with the Company’s ranks and issued to members, as William Jackson notes:

The shares originally consisted of fifteen assistants’ parts valued at £200, thirty livery shares valued at £100, and sixty yeomen’s shares valued at £50. When the stock was organized some of the assistants acquired livery and yeomanry shares as well as assistant’; likewise

⁴⁵ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1603, fol. 485^v. Blagden, ‘The English Stock of the Stationers’ Company’, p. 163.

some livery shareholders also bought yeomen's shares, but apparently no one had more than one share of each class, and, later, only one share of any class at one time. The demand for shares was such that yeomen's shares were often divided between two suitors in equal halves.⁴⁶

The Stock's first issue raised the sum of £9000, some of which was spent on obtaining the royal patent for the 'psalters. psalms. prymers. Almanackes & other bookes'. Titles published as part of the Stock were managed by the Company, and in addition to financial administration this involved selecting printers, supplying the paper from its own warehouse, and checking that final products corresponded with the materials issued to the printer. As Jackson states 'great care had to be taken that extra copies were not printed and retained for private sale'.⁴⁷

The Rights (and Wrongs) of Interpretation

On 10 August 1579 the Court of Assistants met to resolve a 'controversy' between Henry Denham and Thomas Dawson over the rights to publish a book entitled, *A Handful of Honeysuckles*. Whilst the details of this dispute provide a valuable illustration as to the potential influence of individual interpretation and manipulation in relation to seemingly straightforward systems, an issue that McKenzie says we must be sensitive to, this case also provides an insight into how the value of texts affected individual perceptions and behaviours. In this example, arbitration by the Court was necessitated by Thomas Dawson's publication of *A Handful of Honeysuckles* in 1579 and Denham's subsequent actions.⁴⁸

Thomas Dawson had entered his licence to print *A Handfull of honnie sucles gyven for a newe yeres gift vnto the Ladies and gentlemen of the privie chamber* on 11 December 1578, and the entry notes that the book was authorised by the Bishop of London (Edmund

⁴⁶ Jackson, *Records of the Court*, p. viii.

⁴⁷ Jackson, *Records of the Court*, p. x.

⁴⁸ Dawson's edition of the text does not appear to have survived, therefore, I am adopting Greg and Boswell's standardisation of the title.

Grindal) and the wardens (John Harrison and George Bishop).⁴⁹ Dawson's printing of this text led Denham to claim that his patent had been infringed. *A Handfull of honnie sucles* was authored by the musician William Hunnis. Hunnis was appointed Master of the Children of the chapel in 1566, and in this role he was not only responsible for their education but also for presenting plays and performances by the children at court. Hunnis's connections to the royal court appear to be corroborated by the full title entered into the register, and, in consideration of his office, would also suggest that this book contained music, songs, and readings, features that would have made *A handfull of honnie sucles* a highly marketable commodity.⁵⁰ Previous to this title, Hunnis's published work included *Certayne Psalmes Chosen out of Psalter of David* (1550). This particular title would have fallen under the auspices of Denham's privilege, and is suggestive of Denham's expectations and outlook as a publisher. It is possible that he viewed author exclusivity and genre as part and parcel of his privilege, which would explain his course of action in regards to *A handfull of honnie sucles*.

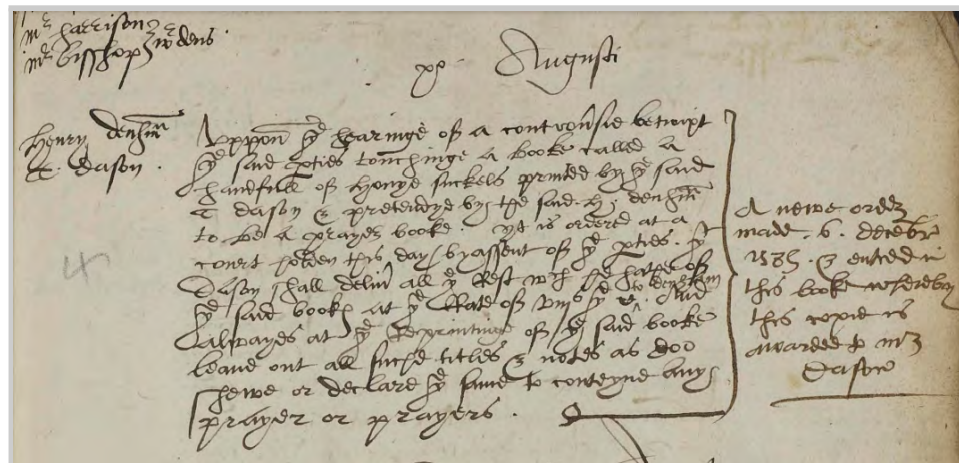
The privileges to print psalters, primers, and private prayer books in Latin and English had been held by William Seres until 1574, when due to age and ill health he assigned these rights to Henry Denham.⁵¹ Liber B recorded that a meeting of the Court was called, 'Vppon ye hearinge of a controuersie betwixt ye said parties touchinge a booke called a handfull of honye suckels printed by ye said T Dawson & pretendyd by the said .H. Denham to be a prayer booke' (see figure 5.14). This entry is striking because the

⁴⁹ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 1578/79, fol. 155^r.

⁵⁰ Although Richard Farrant appears to have been performing these duties between 1575 and 1581. Ashbee, Andrew, "Hunnis, William (d. 1597), musician and conspirator." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14187>. [Accessed 26 February 2021]. 'The Chapel Royal: The children and their masters', in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660–1837*, ed. R O Bucholz (London, 2006), pp. 291–297. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp291-297> [accessed 27 February 2021].

⁵¹ The rights obtained by Seres on 11 March 1553, were revoked by Mary shortly afterwards. He regained these privileges on 3 July 1559, following Elizabeth's accession. Evenden, Elizabeth, "Seres, William (d. 1578x80), printer and bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 24 Feb. 2021. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25094>. [Accessed 27 February 2021].

Court's decision appears to have acknowledged that Denham's argument in this case was nothing less than sophistry but, nevertheless, it found that the book did indeed infringe his rights. Dawson was ordered to hand over his remaining copies to Denham at a rate of 8s. per hundred and to omit any material resembling a prayer from subsequent reprintings.



Vppon ye hearinge of a controuersie betwixt
ye said parties touchinge a booke called a
handfull of honye suckels printed by ye said
T Dawson & pretendyd by the said .H. Denham
to be a prayer booke. yt is ordered at a
court holden this day / by assent of ye parties. yat
Dawson shall deliuer all ye Rest which he hathe of
ye said bookes at ye Rate of viij^s ye C ^ 'to Denham'. And
alwayes at ye Reprintinge of ye said bookes
leaue out all suche titles & notes as doo
shoue or declare ye same to conteyne any
prayer or prayers.⁵²

A newe order
made .6. decembre
1585. & entred in
this booke whereby
this copie is
awarded to mr
Dawson

Figure 5.14: A Handful of Honeysuckles. Liber B, 1579/80, fol. 433^r.

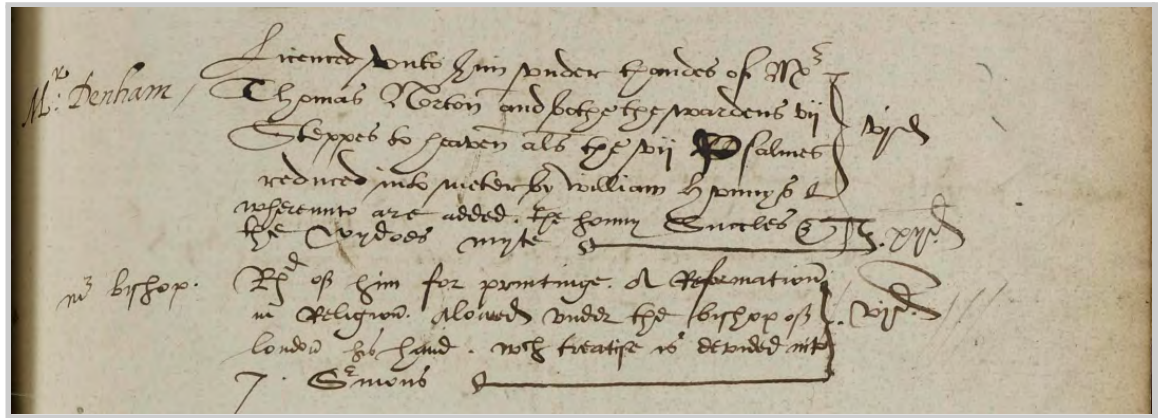
SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

This was a period where the boundaries between genres were still in the process of being defined, and disputes concerning privileges were a substantial influence upon this process. As a result of the open wording of some privileges an increasing part of the Court's business in these disputes involved deciding between particular categorisations of

⁵² SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1579/80, fol. 433^r.

text, and it is possible that there could have been some form of codification of traits and characteristics in order for these decisions to be made. Under the privilege system the popularity of *A Handful of Honeysuckles*, taken in conjunction with its potential to be categorised as a book of devotional song, private prayer, meditations, or poetry, suggests that it was a text that was likely to be challenged. That Denham's 1583 edition appears to be the earliest incarnation is problematic for analysing the rationale behind the court's decision.⁵³ It is conceivable that Denham carefully evaluated the court's ruling and assessment of his case, and produced an edition to emphasise the closeness of its material to that of a private prayer book. However, it is evident that the Assistants considered Denham to have exaggerated his claim to the title. Insofar as he was able to extend the definition of what constituted private prayer books in his pursuit of this case, it is likely that he also saw an opportunity to utilise the authority of the court, and therefore the register, to reinforce his position and authenticate his actions in exercising his rights to the title. Denham's entrance of *vij Steppes to heaven* on 7 November 1581, published as *Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne*, illustrates that the security of his claim to *A Handful of Honeysuckles* was still an ongoing issue for him.

⁵³ William Hunnis, *Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne comprehending those seuen Psalmes of the princelie prophet David, commonlie called Poenitential framed into a forme of familiar praiers, and reduced into meeter by William Hunnis ...; wherevnto are also annexed his Handfull of honisuckles, The poore widowes mite, a dialog betweene Christ and a sinner, diuers godlie and pithie ditties, with a Christian confession of and to the Trinitie*. (London: Henry Denham, 1583)



Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of Mr
 Thomas Norton and bothe the wardens vij
 Steppes to heaven als the vij Psalmes
 reduced into meter by William Hvnny
 whereunto are added . the honny Succles & vjd
 the wydoes myte xijd

Figure 5.15: Seven Steps to Heaven. Liber B, 1581/82, fol. 185^r.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

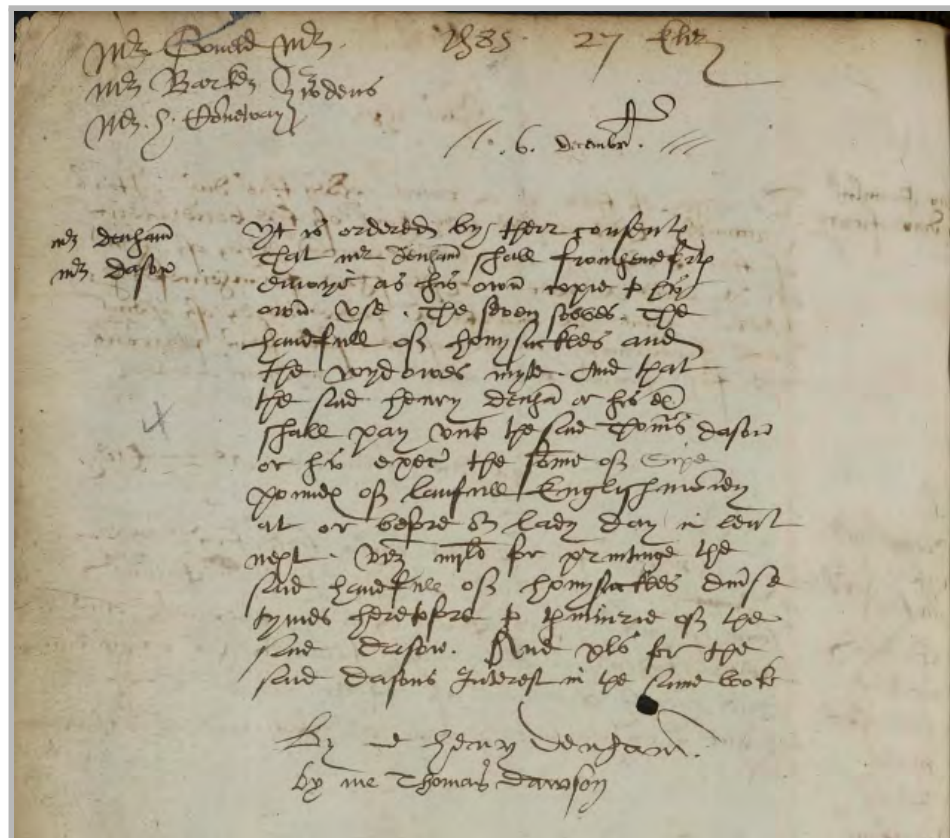
It is recorded that Denham paid 6d. for his licence for *vij Steppes to heaven* and ‘the vij Psalmes reduced into meter by William Hvnny’ (see figure 5.15). These two texts form the main body of the register entry, as is indicated by the standard enclosing brace on the right hand side. This is followed by an appended clause stating that ‘whereunto are added. the honney Succles & the widoes myte’, and this was probably added some short while afterwards given the positioning and compactness of these lines. The chirography suggests that the addition is contemporary with the main entry, although the ink quality and scribal style suggests that the sum paid for these was received at a later date. However, it is worth noting the expressiveness of the braces in this entry. They clearly denote that the record consists of two distinct entries, but the very faint inclusion of a further brace indicates that these are also connected. The style and ink quality of this brace appears to correspond with the sum placed alongside the additional clause; and whilst this suggests that an additional fee of sixpence for *A Handfull of Honeysuckles* and the *Widow’s Mite* was added to the sixpence paid for *Seven Steps to Heaven* and *Seven Psalmes* to confirm

that Denham paid a total of twelve pence for these titles, the brace also serves to unite both clauses as a single entity. The texts listed in this entry constitute the edition of *Seuen sobes of a sorrowfull soule for sinne*, published by Denham in 1583, and in consideration of the court's decision in 1579 they raise questions as to why the entry takes this form. Although unknowable, it is likely that there was still an air of uncertainty over the precise extent of his rights to the title. Equally, at the time of entering Denham may have been considering the possibility of integrating these texts into a single volume, and it is even conceivable that the awarding of these licences were heard at different times, therefore making it possible to enter one portion before the other. That these texts are listed together and unified by the brace emphasises the connection between *A Handful of Honeysuckles* and *the vij Psalmes in meter*, which strengthens the close association between the subject matter and genre of the texts, and reinforces the validity of Denham's claim upon *Honeysuckles* under the terms of his patents. It is imaginable that Denham may have requested that the clerk append 'the honney Succles & the widoes myte' to the entry relating to the *vij Psalms in meter* so that these assertive and associative traits would not be lost by affording each title their own space.

It has been suggested by Greg and Boswell that Denham was emboldened by the court's ruling and proceeded to interpret the decision as allowing him the right to 'treat the copy as his own', rather than it being a recognition of the infringement, and Denham's actions following the court's decision in 1579 appear to have been of some concern to the Company.⁵⁴ The Court of Assistants was once more called upon to settle the dispute between the two men concerning the rights to this title on Monday 6 December 1585, and in the margin of the entry recording the original court decision a note was added which stated that, 'A newe order made .6. december 1585. & entred in this booke whereby this copie is awarded to mr Dason', which appears to have been added as a clarification of the copy's status before a further decision upon this dispute could be issued by the court. The

⁵⁴ Greg and Boswell, *Records of the Court*, p. lxvi.

ruling from this meeting appears to encapsulate the frustration felt by the Company that this was still an ongoing issue between Denham and Dawson. By getting both men to put their signatures to the entry there is a sense that it was intended to be the final word upon this matter, and it marks their personal acknowledgement of this closure.



Yt is ordered by their consentes That mr Denham shall fromhenceforth enioye as his own copie to his own vse . The seven sobbes. The handfull of honysuckles and the wydowes myte. And that the said henry Denham or his executors shall pay vnto the said Thomas Dason or his executors the somme of Sixe poundes of lauffull English money at or before our lady Day in lent next. Viz iiij^{li} for printinge the said handfull of honysuckles diuerse tymes heretofore to thiniurie of the said Dason. And xl^s for the said Dasons Interest in the same booke

By me henry Denham
by me Thomas Dawson

Figure 5.16: By Their Consents. Liber B, 1585/86, fol. 438^v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

The fierce contention between Denham and Dawson over the rights of this title is a sign that both men saw it as a valuable commodity.⁵⁵ By awarding the copy to Denham, subject to buying Dawson's 'interest' in it and payment of compensation for 'injuring' Dawson's rights to publish the title, the Company appeared to accept that Denham's behaviour in regards to this title was unlikely to change. Indeed, this would have been a heightened concern to the Company due to the series of challenges to privileges that he and Seres had embarked upon. The imprecision and lack of definition in the language used in the awarding of privileges illustrates the individual's power of interpretation, which in this case ultimately affected the ownership of this particular text.⁵⁶ Such examples in the Stationers' Registers give an indication of the personal value systems with the potential to influence the official records. Denham's relentless pursuit of the *Honeysuckles* illustrates the value that he personally attributed to that title and also to the privilege of private prayer books. The value that Denham placed upon the privilege for private prayer books was seemingly at odds with Barker's assessment. In his report to Lord Burghley, Barker indicated that the privileges had little value in themselves, other than they 'kepe back the infinite number of vnfrutefull prayer bookes, which vnskilfull persons do contynually offer to make'.⁵⁷ The distinction that Barker makes between the nominal monetary value and the substantial social value of these privileges does suggest that the Company's assessment of worth was not entirely focused upon the financial to the exclusion of social and reputational considerations.

⁵⁵ Whilst the court records concerning this book suggest that the dispute between Denham and Dawson was highly competitive, it has been proposed that it may also have become physical. Greg & Boswell note that 'The same day Denham was fined 12d. for arresting a freeman of the Company without leave of the Court [...]. Had he gone so far as to lay hands on Dawson before the Court intervened?'. Greg & Boswell, *Records of the Court*, p. lxvi, n. 2.

⁵⁶ A possible early example of this occurred in 1566/67. The accounts for this year record that the Company, 'Recevyd of henry bynnyman for his fyne for [~~vndermy~~] vndermydinge & procuryng as moche as in him ded lye a Copye ffrom wylliam greffeth Called the boke of Rogges iij^s'. The use of 'lye a Copye' in this instance does suggest parallels with Denham's strategy of stretching definitions to obtain the rights to certain titles. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554–1596): 1566/67, fol. 157^r.

⁵⁷ Arber, Vol. I, p. 116.

Trading titles

Unsurprisingly, copy became a commodity not just in terms of the material object produced, but also for its own value. In his report Barker provided a brief history of printing in England that explained the problems that he perceived to be at the heart of the 1570s/80s Controversy; namely, that any potential financial reward derived from printing had to be balanced against the costs of production. The necessities of the press, such as type, raw materials, labour, and so on, were all valuable commodities, but also had associated costs that required regular investment in order to maintain productivity and to reap financial reward. It would appear that publishers were quick to appreciate the advantages of copy as transferable items of value, and early entries in the registers suggest that an informal ‘market’ existed between stationers which involved the leasing of rights, the trading of titles, and the surrender of rights (possibly for the repayment of debts and obligations).⁵⁸ As time went by, this element of the book trade demanded a greater level of involvement from the Company. Effectuating its regulatory responsibilities, it became a more active agent in brokering arrangements between stationers for the transferral of titles. This ensured that the Company could effectively maintain an accurate record of members’ rights, and secure the authority of the registers as a source of information.

Thomas Marshe paid twelve pence to the Stationers’ Company in 1564 for a licence to print ‘dygges pronostication and his tectonicon’.⁵⁹ The Clerk noted in Marshe’s

⁵⁸ For example: In 1566/67 Leonard Maylard paid twelve pence to enter ‘the style and mannour of inditynge any manour of epesteles of letters to all Degrees and states by fulwood’ in the Register. A marginal note that was added by Richard Collins subsequently recorded that ‘Maylarde gave it to Austin Lawghton & Lawghton solde yt to henry myddleton’. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1566/67, fol. 152^v. *The enimie of idlenesse: teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose and write all sorts of epistles and letters: as well by answer, as otherwise. Deuided into foure bokes, no lesse plesaunt than profitable. Set forth in English by William Fulwood marchant, &c The contentes hereof appere in the table at the latter ende of the booke.* (London: Henry Bynneman for Leonard Maylard, 1568) [ESTC S102757]. Also, *The enimie of idlenesse [...]* (London: T. East and H. Middleton for Augustine Lawton, 1571) [ESTC S112809]; and *The enimie of idlenesse [...]* (London: Henry Middleton, 1578) [ESTC S92609].

⁵⁹ Leonard Digges, *A prognostication euerlasting of right good effect, frutefully augmented by the author, containing plaine, brief, pleasant, chosen rules to iudge the weather, by the sunne, moone, starres, cometes, raynebow, thunder, cloudes, with other extraordinary tokens, not omittin the aspectes of planetes, with a brief iudgemente for euer of plentye. lacke, sicknesse, death, vvarres .&c. openinge also manye natural causes worthy to be knowen. To these and other now at the last are adioyned diuers general pleasaunt tables, with many compendious rules, easye to be had in memorye, manifolde wayes profitable to all manner men of vnderstandine: once againe publyshed by Leonarde Digges Gentleman, in the yeare of our Lord 1564.* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1564) [ESTC S111674]. Leonard Digges, *A boke named Tectonicon. briefly shewyng the exacte measuryng, and speedy rekenyng all maner lande, squared tymber, stone, steaples,*

register entry that these were texts ‘which he boughte of Lucas haryson’, and Arber identifies this as the first reference in the registers to the purchase of a book’s ‘copyright’ between printers.⁶⁰ Since the *Prognostication* was an almanack ‘profitable to all manner of men’, and the *Tectonicon* a book devoted to ‘mensuration’, or surveying, both titles belonged to popular genres of text. A survey of the extant copies of Digges’s *Prognostication* indicates that prior to Marshe’s 1564 edition there were two imprints issued by Thomas Gemini in 1555 and 1556.⁶¹ Likewise, there were three editions of *A booke named Tectonicon* published before Marshe’s, the first of which was printed by John Day for Thomas Gemini in 1556. Gemini himself printed the subsequent editions in 1561 and, again, in 1562. The imprint to *A booke named Tectonicon* provides some indication of its value to Gemini, as it states:

Imprinted at London : by Iohn Daye, for Thomas Gemini: dwellyng within the blacke friers: who is there ready exactly to make all the instrumentes apperteynyng to this booke.⁶²

His professional life as an engraver, printer, and instrument maker encourages us to view *A booke named Tectonicon* as a highly appropriate text for Gemini to print, and it was certainly one which would call upon and promote all aspects of his trade. It afforded Gemini the opportunity of engraving the plates, printing the book, and crafting and selling the instruments needed to fully actualise the text. It not only demonstrates the interconnectivity of each of Gemini’s trades, but also illustrates the value of practical texts and their potential to create a market for other products.

pyllers, globes. [and]c. Further, declatyng the perfecte makynge and large vse of the carpenters ruler, conteynyng a quadrant geometrical, comprehendynge also the rare vse of the squire. And in thende a lyttle treatise adioyned, openynge the composition and appliancie of an instrument called the profitable staffe. With other thinges pleasaunt and necessary, most conducible for surueyers, landemeaters. Joyners, carpenters and masons: published by Leonard Digges Gentleman, in the yere of our Lord. 1556. (London : Thomas Marshe, 1566) [ESTC S91744]. Arber dates the entry as being made between 22 July and 4 September 1564. Arber, Vol. I, p. 259.

⁶⁰ SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554–1596): 1564/65, fol. 114^r. Arber, Vol. I, p. 259.

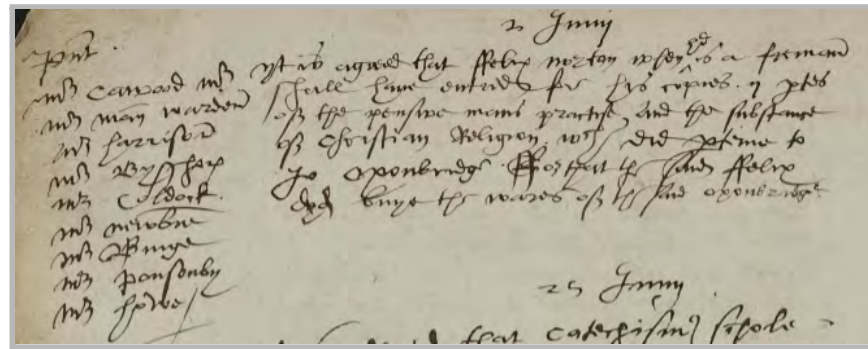
⁶¹ Peter Murray Jones, “Gemini [Geminus, Lambrit], Thomas (fl. 1540–1562), engraver, printer, and instrument maker.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10513>. [Accessed 25 November 2021]. The second edition was ‘augmented by the author in the yere 1556’.

⁶² Digges, *A booke named Tectonicon* (London: John Day, 1556) [ESTC S124813]. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99898641e>.

Considering the narrative of the registers as instruments of control and censorship, and as authoritative records of book trade activity, the hidden social networks and agency involved with the production of texts are underscored by the publishing history of the *Prognostication* and *A boke named Tectonicon* before Marshe bought the rights from Harrison. The registers record two mentions of Gemini, the first of which notes that he paid a fine of twelve pence to the Company on 28 July 1555 for calling ‘a brother of the companye flaske knaue’. In the second, he is included in the list of contributors to the collection for ‘the howse of brydewell’, to which he donated the sum of twenty pence.⁶³ In his list of London publishers Arber supplies the period of Gemini’s activity (1553-1559) rather than any specific dates for book entry.⁶⁴ Gemini’s editions of the *Prognostication* were published before the inauguration of the registers, so their absence is not too surprising. Likewise, the 1556 edition of the *A boke named Tectonicon* printed for him by John Day predates the incorporation of the Stationers’ Company, and also cannot be found in the Stationers’ Registers. However, Gemini’s own editions of this title were eligible for inclusion in the Registers, therefore it does appear that he made a deliberate choice not to enter the *Tectonicon*. Since his business was not solely restricted to the book trade, his decision not to enter the *Tectonicon* into the register may have been a failure to appreciate the full value of the Stationers’ Registers in relation to all aspects of his own profession.

⁶³ He is listed as Thomas Gemyne in these entries. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens’ Accounts 1554-1596): 1554-57, fols 6^v, 8^v. Arber, Vol. I, pp. 44, 48.

⁶⁴ Arber, Vol. V, p. xcii.



present.	2 junij
mr Cawod mr	
mr man warden	yt is agreed that ffelix norton when ^{he} is a freman
mr harrison	shall have entred for his copies. ij partes
mr Bysshop	of the pensive mans practise, and the substance
mr Coldock	of Christian Religion. which Did perteine to
mr newberie	Iohn Oxonbridge. ffor that the said ffelix
mr Binge	did buye the wares of the said oxonbridge
mr Ponsonby	
mr howe	

Figure 5.17: The Pensive Man's Practice. Liber B, 1600, fol. 475v.

SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605.

Trading copies was not just a question of individual negotiation and agreement, as the marginal notes in the Registers indicate, these deals had to receive the Company's approval. However, as the market in copies grew, so did the Company's role. On 2 June 1600 the Court of Assistants met to hear the case of Felix Norton. Norton had bought two parts of *A Pensive Man's Practise* and *The Substance of Christian Religion* (see figure 5.17).⁶⁵ The entry in Liber B recorded that these parts 'Did perteine to Iohn Oxonbridge. ffor that the said ffelix did buye the wares of the said oxonbridge'. The comparability of copies and parts to 'wares' in this entry is a tacit acceptance that by the turn of the century they were important commercial products in their own right. But the entry is also significant because it tells us that Norton was not yet a freeman of the Company when he

⁶⁵ John Norden, *A pensiuue mans practise. The second part, by Iohn Norden* (London: printed by John Windet, for John Oxenbridge, 1594) [ESTC S125872]. Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf, *The substanec [sic] of Christian religion, soundly set forth in two bookes, by definitions and partitions, framed according to the rules of a naturall method, by Amandus Polanus professor of diuinity. The first booke concerneth faith. The second concerneth good workes. The principall points whereof are contayned in a short table hereunto annexed. According to the third edition, lately corrected and augmented by the author.* (London: by Arnold Hatfield for Felix Norton, 1600) [ESTC S114921].

bought these parts. Admittedly, this meeting was held only five days before Norton was awarded his freedom (on 7 June 1600), and therefore he did not have too long to wait before he could enter the titles into the Register as his copies.⁶⁶ Norton's purchase of the parts is perhaps suggestive of his attitude towards becoming a freeman, and what he considered necessary to build a career as a successful Stationer. The purchase shows a degree of forward planning, in that these parts gave him a potential source of income as he embarked upon the next stage in his profession. But as Jackson has highlighted, parts were also considered valuable forms of security and were often used to secure loans, and for Norton the prospect of being able to secure a sum of money to invest in equipment would have been especially advantageous starting out in business.⁶⁷

Post-Mortem

Copies represented an important source of potential capital. Their transferability, the ease with which they could be traded, was one of their most valued qualities.⁶⁸ As we have already seen with the sale of John Oxenbridge's parts in *A Pensive Man's Practise*, and the *Substance of Christian Religion*, death was no barrier to the trade of copies. The Stationers' Company recognised that a sizable part of its role in regulating this aspect of the book trade was concerned with the administration of copies after the death of their

⁶⁶ John Oxenbridge had entered the *A Pensive Man's Practise* on 2 April 1595, and *The Substance of Christian Religion* on 25 October 1594. The titles were not immediately entered as Felix Norton's copies, it was a further three months before they were added to the register, on 1 September 1600. SCA, TSC/1/E/06/02–Liber C, 1595-1620: 1600, fol. 64^r.

⁶⁷ Jackson, *Records of the Court*, p. ix. Felix Norton (*d.* 1603), Bookseller. Both Oxenbridge and Norton had served as apprentices to George Bishop, although not simultaneously. The register entry for Norton regarding these texts recorded that they 'Did parteine to John Oxonbrydge Deceased'. SCA, TSC/1/E/06/02–Liber C, 1595-1620: 1600, fol. 64^r. In addition to these titles Norton also succeeded Oxenbridge to his shop, the Parrot, in St Paul's Churchyard.

⁶⁸ As can be seen above in the example of Leonard Maylarde (*n.* 58). A marginal note in the register recorded that Thomas Marshe 'chaunged' his rights in Stow's *Chronicle* in return for those of Henry Bynneman's *Terence*. This was approved by the Master and Wardens, 'per licem magistri et guardianorum'; and Arber noted that this was 'the earliest instance of the exchange of one work for another, in the Registers'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 120^v. Arber, Vol. I, p. 272. Likewise, in 1565/66, the Registers recorded that the Company 'Receaved of John kyngeston for his lycense for pryntinge of Calvyns Cathechesme which he boughte of Wylliam Coplande for the some of v^s vjd'. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1565/66, fol. 137^v. As Arber states, this is the first entry that provides 'the value of the copyright of a book'. Arber, Vol. I, p. 306.

owners. Liber A contains a transcript of ordinances entitled ‘for enterynge of Copyes after determenation of *privileges*’, and it recorded that:

yf any freman or brother of this company havynge the empression of any Copye peculier to hym by any graunte of the *quenes maiestie* hir progenitors heires or succussers, or by the ordenaunces of this Companye do happen to dye, or the yeres of his previlege or interesse to expire / It shall not be Lawfull for any freman or brother of this Companye or any other *person* to emprente or Cause to be emprented the same Copye *Withoute* especiall lycence obtayned of the *master* Wardens and assestauntes of the sayd Companye.⁶⁹

Whilst these detailed the rules governing the impressing and entering of copies, they also contained a section dedicated to the rights of widows and executors, which implies that there was a predatory market for the titles of the recently deceased. Licences were not issued by the Company until

a convenyent tyme be fyrste considered graunted and signified to the *parties* their executors or administrators for vttering of suche bookes of that copye as were emprented or begonne to be emprented during ye life or enterest of any such *partie*⁷⁰

Widows were allowed to keep any lifetime interest in copies, provided that their husband (and any future husband) was a freeman of the Company. The convenient period noted here appears to have been two months; after which time

the title of every suche Copye and the nombre of bokes *with* thayre valves then Remyning in thayre handes prynted or begonne & not vttered and that after euery such death all suche bokes so Remyninge be vewed & praysed by ij *persons* to be thervnto assigned by the sayd *master* and wardens within the sayd twoo moneths.⁷¹

There was a tangible cultural value for the Stationers’ Company in attending to such matters, not only in terms of its civic duty in regulating London’s book trades and crafts but also in its promotion of the communal ethos. Likewise, there was a definite financial value for the Company in that these titles would need assigning, re-licencing and

⁶⁹ SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771: 17 December 1565, fols 8^v-9^r.

⁷⁰ SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771: 17 December 1565, fol. 8^v.

⁷¹ SCA, TSC/1/A/05–Liber A, 1559-1771: 17 December 1565, fols 8^v-9^r.

re-entering, so it could claim the usual revenue from these procedures. But it is possible to view the period of grace afforded to widows and executors as a means of providing an opportunity for the family to reap the income that would have been expected from the titles, and thus ensuring a sense of continuance and purpose, but it was also beneficial to the Company in the deferral of any immediate claims upon its charitable relief.

Whilst the procedures set out in these ordinances establish the Company's conventions for managing copies in the event of death, what the Registers tell us about how these worked in practice is not always so straightforward. The Stationers' Registers are a valuable source of information for scholars, and particularly for establishing the provenance of texts. To return to Digges's *Prognostication* and *A booke named Tectonicon*, however, the 'journey' undertaken by these texts following the death of Thomas Gemini exemplifies the complexities involved with using the Stationers' Registers to track the holders of licences to copy and the ownership of titles. This issue is particularly pertinent for the earlier years of the registers, and the problems of interpreting the information that those entries contain. Lucas Harrison's entry for the *Prognostication* in 1562/63 states only that the Company 'Recevyd of lucas haryson for his lycense for pryntinge of dygges pronostication & his Tyctonycon xij^d'. The presence of this entry in the register would seem to indicate that Harrison intended to publish these books. However, the publication lineage demonstrated by the extant editions of both of these titles directly connect the editions produced by Gemini to those issued by Marsh, and whilst the survival rates of books from this period does not rule out the possibility that Harrison did indeed produce an edition, the timeframe between his entering of the titles and their subsequent sale to Marshe suggests that this was unlikely. This successive relationship in the publication record for both the *Prognostication* and *Tectonicon* indicates that, in all probability, Harrison's entrance of the titles in the register was for the purpose of authenticating his ownership of the copy rather than his intention to publish. Harrison's actions in this instance suggest, in a manner reminiscent of Bynneman, the ways in which he

conceptualised the registers. It is evident that there is an obscured chain of provenance for Digges's *Prognostication* and *A booke named Tectonicon*, illustrating the complications that hidden social networks could pose for the authority of the registers as sources of information. Thomas Gemini's will does not mention the bequeathal of these copies (being a very short will with few bequests), which raises questions as to how Lucas Harrison came to enter them in the register.⁷² Whilst Harrison may have purchased the rights to the titles from Gemini prior to his death, or from his widow post mortem, it is evident from the way Harrison used the Stationers' Registers in this instance that he valued them for their authority, and their ability to confer a certified status, ownership, and value to the texts.⁷³

CULTIVATING CAPITAL

In the broadest terms, the Stationers' Registers are cultural artefacts by the very nature of the 'products' that they record. Their role in regulating and documenting London's book trades and crafts has often granted them a cultural status and importance that is both guaranteed and assumed. Whilst, for the main part, this is a result of the Registers' textual identity and the ways in which they contribute to, and shape, the narrative discourses that surround the early-modern book trade, it also demonstrates the effects of different value systems and the measures of equivalency that they employ to determine worth. But, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the codes and behaviours of the Stationers' Company ensured that the Registers' own cultures were socially embedded. Textual and social hierarchies are revealed by subtle differences in the way that information was entered into the Stationers' Registers, and these structures of authority are significant for how the Registers were, and

⁷² I am grateful to Joe Saunders for very generously discussing these issues with me. Joe is currently conducting valuable research on the social network analysis of Stationers' wills as part of his PhD at the University of York.

⁷³ Even following his own death it was a strategy that continued to confer status, value, and provenance to his titles. Entries dated 15 July 1578 record that Thomas Woodcock entered 'theis Copies hereafter mencioned *which* are sold by mrs harrison wief vnto mr Luke harrison Deceased and *which* apertenied vnto mr harrison in his lief Tyme', and 'the *parte* of theis Copies folowinge *which* mr Luke harrison had therein Duringe his lief and *which parte* mrs harrison wief vnto the said mr Luke harrison hath assigned and sold vnto Thomas woodcock'. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1578, fols 149^r-149^v.

came to be, perceived. For Pierre Bourdieu, ‘hierarchization’ highlights the power struggle between the principles of heteronomy and autonomy; i.e., those who have economic and political power, and those ‘who are least endowed with specific capital’. According to Bourdieu, the autonomous ability to impose ‘its own norms and sanctions on the whole set of producers’ is vital to the state of any cultural field, and central to this principle is

the value which the specific capital of writers and artists represent for the dominant fractions, on the one hand to conserve the established order, [...], and on the other hand in the production and reproduction of economic capital.⁷⁴

The various petitions and challenges to the privileges seen throughout the 1570s and 1580s not only highlight the internal power struggles amongst individual Stationers, they also show how these were connected to a far more fundamental battle for control of the ethos the Stationers’ Company and the right to shape the ‘field of cultural production’.

The state of this field was set forth by Christopher Barker in his report for Lord Burghley concerning the patents for printing. His assessment of the privileges, their holders, and their potential social value presents the features and traits of texts that were considered to be valuable by publishers (or at the very least by Barker personally). In the summation of John Day’s privileges he expressed his own frustrations with the system through his claim that *The Psalms in metre* and *The small Catechisme alone* were rightfully his by dint of their associations with church services and the *Book of Common Prayer*, which were his own patents. However, it is clear that the profitability of these texts, and their cultural position within society were a significant factor in his objections to Day’s privileges. As he stated in relation to the *Psalms in Meter*, it was ‘occupied of all sortes of men women and children, and requiring no great stock for the furnyshing thereof, is therefore gaynefull’.⁷⁵ Barker’s comments throughout this document underscore the

⁷⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. by Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993). Reproduced in *The Book History Reader*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 2nd edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 99-120 (p. 99).

⁷⁵ *A note of the state of the Company of Printers, Bookesellers, and Bookebynders comprehended vnder the name of Stationers, with a valuation also of all the l[ett]res patentes concerning printing*. Arber, Vol. I, pp. 114-116 (p. 116).

importance of a text's audience in generating capital, and, generally, his perception of a successful text was not only linked to the financial rewards it made but also how broad its readership was. Whilst Christopher Barker's report is a valuable insight into the prevailing conditions and cultures of the Stationers' Company during this period, it is also informative as to the state of London's book trade since it illustrates the anxieties of its participants who were faced with the daily struggle of chasing the zeitgeist.

There were certain times of the year where the market could be guaranteed. So, for texts such as almanacks, prognostications, and new year's gifts there were recurrent seasonal groupings of entries. Although entries in the Wardens' Accounts were undated, the presence and close proximity of these titles in the Registers would seem to indicate that they were expected to be sold at the end of the calendar year.⁷⁶ In a similar manner, these patterns of register entry also appeared following newsworthy events such as earthquakes, outbreaks of plague, and notable battles.⁷⁷ Sometimes, however, there were groupings that indicated something much more intrinsic to the trade.

In 1585 a number of titles relating to surgery were successively entered in Liber B, at fol. 205^r. The first of these was entered by Ralph Newberry on 13 August, which was followed on 6 September by the respective entries for Thomas East, and the partnership of John Harrison the elder and Thomas Mann.⁷⁸ Only four entrances were made on this folio, and it is possible that the presence of three entries relating to medical books was

⁷⁶ For example: 1563/64, almanacks and prognostications entered by John Walley, Richard Serle, Thomas Marshe, Abraham Veale, and James Rowbotham all appear on fol. 101^r. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1563/64, fol. 101^r. Likewise in 1564/65, those for Griffith, Alde, Newberry, and Veale appear on fol. 116^v. SCA, TSC/1/D/02/01–Register A (Wardens' Accounts 1554-1596): 1564/65, fol. 116^v.

⁷⁷ A number of entrances were quickly made following the 1580 earthquake in London. On 8 April, John Alde and Henry Bynneman entered their titles; and John Kingston and Richard Jones made entries on 9 April; but further entries of titles relating to earthquakes were made throughout May, June, and October of that year. SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575-1605: 1580, fols 167^v, 168^v, 169^r, 169^v, 173^r.

⁷⁸ Horatius Morus, *Tables of surgerie, brieflie comprehending the whole art and practise thereof in a maruelous good method, collected and gathered out of the best physicians by Horatius Morus a Florentine physician: and faithfullie translated out of Latine into our English toong, by Richard Caldwell doctor of physicke*. (London: Henry Denham, 1585) [ESTC S107527]. Thomas Gale, *Certaine workes of chirurgerie, nevvlie compiled and published by Thomas Gale, master in chirurgerie*. (London: Thomas East, 1586) [ESTC S123111]. Johann Jacob Wecker, *A compendious chyrurgerie: gathered, & translated (especially) out of Wecker, at the request of certaine, but encreased and enlightned with certaine annotations, resolutions & supplies, not impertinent to this treatise, nor vnprofitable to the reader: published for the benefite of all his countrey men, by Ihon Banester maister in chyrurgerie*. (London: John Windet for John Harrison the elder, 1585) [ESTC S102710].

coincidental. However, Newberry's presence as an interested party at the entrance of East's title would seem to indicate that these entries were something more than coincidence. The terms of East's licence was subject to additional conditions, in that:

provyded alwaies and yt is agreed that
the parteners in theimprintinge of yat booke
of Johannes De Vigo which the said Tho
East ^{^is^} in printinge / shall buye of
mr norton Ratably amonges them all
those numbers of the said booke of surgery
of Johannes De vigo as the said mr
norton hathe in his handes of the
former impression thereof.⁷⁹

Whilst these prerequisites illustrate how the Company's systems worked to prevent new publications from damaging the trade of other Stationers, they do also indicate East's involvement in the printing of another medical book, and therefore introduce another addition to this cluster.⁸⁰ The entrance of Wecker's work by the partnership of Harrison and Mann, 'Receaued of them for their licence to print A compendious Chirurgerye published by John Bannyster &c', implies that the two men collaborated to produce a single book. Examination of the publication details, however, reveals that two distinct imprints were produced in this instance, which again (silently) increases the size of this cluster of entries.⁸¹

Although this grouping of entries is an intriguing example for study of the trade practices and the chronologies of entrance, they also present a complex picture of the

⁷⁹ SCA, TSC/1/F/02/01–Liber B, 1575–1605: 1585, fol. 205^r.

⁸⁰ Giovanni da Vigo, *The vvhole worke of that famous chirurgion Maister Iohn Vigo: newly corrected, by men skilfull in that arte. Wherevnto are annexed certain works, compiled and published by Thomas Gale, Maister in Chirurgerie*. (London: Thomas East, 1586) [ESTC S107484]. East had a long connection with the work of da Vigo, since he and Henry Middleton had previously published it in 1571. Giovanni da Vigo, *The most excellent workes of chirurgerie, made and set foorth by maister John Vigon head chirurgien of oure tyme in Italie, translated into english. Whereunto is added an exposition of straunge termes and vnknownen symples, belonging to the arte*. (London: Thomas East and Henry Middleton, 1571) [ESTC S539].

⁸¹ Johann Jacob Wecker, *A compendious chyrurgerie: gathered, & translated (especially) out of Wecker, at the request of certaine, but encreased and enlightned with certaine annotations, resolutions & supplies, not impertinent to this treatise, nor vnprofitable to the reader: published for the benefite of all his countreyemen, by Ihon Banester maister in chyrurgerie*. (London: John Windet for T. Man and W. Brome, 1585) [ESTC S95755]. Johann Jacob Wecker, *A compendious chyrurgerie: gathered, & translated (especially) out of Wecker, at the request of certaine, but encreased and enlightned with certaine annotations, resolutions & supplies, not impertinent to this treatise, nor vnprofitable to the reader: published for the benefite of all his countreyemen, by Ihon Banester maister in chyrurgerie*. (London: by John Windet for John Harrison the elder, 1585) [ESTC S102710].

financial networks associated with book production. The conditions attached to Thomas East's entry recorded that he had to buy the copies of the former impression of John de Vigo's work from 'mr norton', at the rateable value. William Norton was a senior figure within the Stationers' Company in 1585, and his presence in connection with this entry provides an illustration of the forms of financial systems that were necessary to the Company's operations.⁸² The buying of 'former' impressions was a valuable method of ensuring that new editions and titles were not injurious to the trade of other Stationers, and therefore it was a vital means in promoting communal cohesion. Norton's presence in the Stationers' Registers was largely restricted to his official duties for the Company or related to apprentices, indeed there is no direct record of him having entered a title in the register. The English Short Title Catalogue suggests that the copies of the 'former impression' that Norton still had in his possession were the 1571 edition, published by Thomas East and Henry Middleton. East's entrance of the new edition is therefore significant for revealing the direct financial connection between the text and William Norton. Similarly, the entry for Harrison and Mann also reveals the complexity of trade relationships between registration and publication. From the Register entry, the partnership between John Harrison the elder and Thomas Mann would appear to be a straightforward agreement for both men to produce the book and share the costs of publication. However, the extant editions show that two editions were printed by John Windet. One of these was imprinted for John Harrison, and the other for Thomas Mann and William Broome. These few register entries alone highlight the networks of indirect relationships that were associated with publication, and these forms of relationship not only show the financial networks at play in the field of cultural production, they also identify their capital actors.

⁸² William Norton (1526/7-1593), bookseller. He served as Master of the Stationers' Company in 1581/82, and again in 1586/87; a member of the Common Council from 1583; and was treasurer of Christ's Hospital from 1581/82 to 15593. Ian Gadd, "Norton, William (1526/7-1593), bookseller." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bathspa.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20360>. [Accessed 30 January 2022].

CONCLUSION: MEDIATING RETURNS

The primary function of the Stationers' Registers was to provide an account of the Company's financial transactions. These accounts demonstrate the particular financial value of the various branches of the Stationers' Company's interests, from the income derived from quarterages and rents through to the entrances of copies. The detailed records that form these accounts are valuable in what they reveal about London's book trade during this period, and in particular the monetary value of the licencing the rights to copy. But the accounts also show a far wider range of institutional, communal and individual values that were associated with these forms of activity.

It is worth remembering, however, that the value of texts was not only monetary. For every Stationer recorded in the Registers there was also an emotional investment and return. The daily interactions of the community were documented in the Stationers' Registers, this included the ways in which the Company's members engaged with its systems of administration, and also the various trade and social relationships which underpinned the Company's communal ethos. Whilst these relationships demonstrate the value of the social space that was afforded by the Company's official and administrative documentation, they also provide an insight into how the exchanges between various value systems constructed and mediated the textual space of the Stationers' Registers.

CONCLUSION: WRITING SOCIETY

I was first made aware of the Stationers' Registers during the course of my Master's degree project. As I sought to trace the publishing history of my chosen text I was directed towards Edward Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*. Having only a basic understanding of their purpose, in my naivety I endeavoured to use them to construct a timeline for the various editions and soon found myself frustrated by the apparent failure of the registers to record all of the 'rights to copy' of this particular text. Whilst these absences were concerning they were also deeply intriguing, and suggested to me that there was something extraordinary about the ways in which the Stationers' Registers functioned as primary sources.

Arber's transcripts are wonderful objects in their own right, and a great deal of time, thought and planning was invested in conveying 'the mind of the Text'.¹ His introductions were incredibly detailed in their scope and range, and they provide an excellent starting point from which to get to know the registers better. Although he did not receive permission to include every section of the Registers, the level of care and attention that Arber gave to the volumes created a comprehensive and near faithful representation of the text of the Stationers' Registers, insofar as he was allowed to.² The testament to what Arber achieved with these volumes lies in their continued authority amongst the scholars that study this period.

In reading further about the Stationers' Company I soon found that my own interpretations of the Stationers' Registers differed notably from other commentaries about them, and for me this raised a number of questions and issues. First, how did the Registers 'write' about the community, the contexts, and the society that produced them, and how do

¹ Arber, Vol. I. p. 28.

² 'It is to be quite understood that in the preparation of this *Transcript* we are not permitted to see any other Register or Book whatever belonging to the Company besides those we reprint herein'. Arber, Vol. I. p. xxii [his italics]. 'With the exception of the Extracts reprinted on the next four pages, permission has not been granted by the present Court of the Company to reprint this section of this Register, occupying from folio 427 to folio 486.' Arber, Vol. II, p. 879.

the ways in which they document their world influence the ways in which ‘our society’ writes the Registers? In order to establish the answer to those first questions it was important to distinguish what the Stationers’ Registers meant to the people who conceived, compiled, and used them. This is crucial for appreciating the variations in their textualities and how they complicate the broader narratives associated with the Stationers’ Registers. Finally, in this respect, what was it about the Stationers’ Registers themselves that allowed the generation and perpetuation of such powerful and specific narratives to frequently re-purpose them as particular media objects/artefacts? Through his comprehensive study on apprenticeships within the Stationers’ Company, D. F. McKenzie was already an influential scholar of its history, and although his theory of the sociology of texts had not yet been constructively applied to the Company’s records it provides a suitable framework for exploring the sociological aspects of the Stationers’ Registers in more detail. The strength of McKenzie’s theoretical framework lies in its emphasis upon material forms to the construction of meaning, and in relation to the Registers it suggests that they were far more complex textual entities than documentary records are often perceived to be. And this is reinforced by the different reading experiences that the various forms of the Registers offer. Reading the material texts of the Stationers’ Registers in the archive at Stationers’ Hall is a far more immersive experience than Arber’s representation of the texts, and the forensic examination that the digital images allow. Being able, for the most part, to access all of these reading experiences has been invaluable for uncovering the nuances of the Stationers’ Registers.³

The primary purpose of this project, therefore, has been to explore the textual sociology of the Stationers’ Registers in order to examine their position as cultural artefacts in their own right. As a record of registration they are a valuable research resource for recovering biographical, historical and literary information, and such use asserts that the Registers have an authority, veracity, and a utility that is certain and defined. By

³ Although I should indicate that due to the pandemic access to the Stationers’ Company Archive, Guildhall Library, and London Metropolitan Archive has not been possible for the larger part of this project.

shifting the focus from this particular aspect of study towards a more material analysis of the textualities and sociology of the Registers, we can see the subtle ways in which their production, transmission and reception were influenced by a range of social dynamics. This examination of their sociology, their materialities, the contexts, and the forms of agency involved in their construction reveals the predominant networks and motivations that were instrumental in shaping the narratives of the Stationers' Registers. These narratives still have the power to shape the social discourses associated with the early modern book trade.

My close reading of these volumes for this thesis has illustrated the importance of looking beyond the accepted narratives to find the 'social realities' that lie behind textual production. This is key to retrieving the everyday human experiences and institutional activities that affect the forms of their social discourse, and, as McKenzie states, 'the motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption'.⁴ My research has involved a great deal of intricate and detailed examination of the Stationers' Registers, and as such this thesis really only just skims the surface of this subject. There is so much here that could usefully be applied to other forms of civic and documentary records. By the same measure, this methodology could equally be extended to examine the titles that were registered with the Stationers' Company; particularly in respect of how the registers defined the cultural values associated with authorship, their definitions and refinements of textual properties, identifying the networks of agency that were essential to book production, and the ways in which institutional procedures were used to create other forms of capital besides the financial.

'Censorship' and 'copyright' are the dominant filters through which the Stationers' Registers have been viewed, and for this reason the complexities and the subtleties of these early volumes have often been overlooked. Whilst these narratives are sometimes at odds with the portrayal of the daily life that these registers show, the cumulative effects of the

⁴ McKenzie, *BSoT*, p. 15.

changes made in their materialities, their modes of entry, and the Company's procedural codes throughout these post-incorporation years, indicate a movement towards a period in which these particular narratives belong.

APPENDIX I:

Comparative Accounts of the Stationers' Company and the Pewterers' Company

I have included the following table to locate the Stationers' Registers within the context of other, more established, livery companies' Wardens' Account books. Here, the format of the opening accounts in the Stationers' Registers are compared against those for the same year from Pewterers' Company, which had received its royal charter in 1473.

Stationers' Company Wardens' Accounts 1554-57		Pewterers' Company Audit Book 1557	
fol. 1 ^r	Opening statement of the Master and wardens Receiptes	fol. 209 ^r	Opening statement of the Master and wardens with the sum received from the previous year
fol. 3 ^r	presentmentes of prentisses and brethren of the mesterye of stacioners as foloweth	fol. 209 ^v	Casual Receiptes Receiptes of <i>our</i> landes in fanchurch strete
fol. 6 ^v	hereafter foloweth the names of all those that have payde thayre fynes for thayre Late Comynge to the hall vpon the quarter dayes / and also for merstmentes and for vncurtis Langagis one to a nother that ys to saye	fol. 210 ^r	Receiptes of our landes in Lymestreate Receiptes of our landes at Crepull gate called Gregory Alley
fol. 7 ^v	A collection to be gathered of the companye by the commandement of the Lorde the maior and the Court of aldermen for the howse of brydewell	fol. 210 ^v	Quarterage for the Clothing this year
fol. 8 ^v	A benevolence gyven to towards the chargis of or hall in <i>anno</i> primo & ro phillipi et marie by dyvers of or companye as foloweth / that ys to saye	fol. 211 ^r	Quarterage for the yemandry
fol. 9 ^r	The benevolence gyven towards <i>our</i> corperation as <i>parteculerly</i> doth appere that ys to saye	fol. 212 ^r	Receiptes for openyng of shopes
fol. 10 ^v	<blank>	fol. 212 ^v	Receiptes for fynes this yeare Receiptes of certayne of the company towards the setting forth of xx men

fol. 11 ^r	here after ensueth all suche dyschargis and paymentes <i>which</i> the sayde John Cawood and henry Cooke hath layde oute from the ixth daye of Decembre in <i>anno</i> 1554 vnto the xvijth daye of July in <i>anno</i> 1557	fol. 213 ^r	Receiptes for presenting of prentices Sum total of all the whole Receptes this yeare
fol. 12 ^v	The chargis Layde oute for our Corporation	fol. 213 ^v	Payments made and done by us the said accomptauntes this present yeare Charges for mr Ashlyns obbyt at abchurch the third day of october
fol. 13 ^r	The chargis of <i>our</i> denner as foloweth that ys to saye	fol. 214 ^r	Charge at al/hallowes in Lumberstreate on our Lady Daye the Assumption
fol. 14 ^v	The chargis for settinge forthe of iiijor men the xiiij daye of July <i>anno</i> 1557	fol. 214 ^v	Paymentes of Quytrentes The charge of the Tenne Harness men whiche were Charged to serued in <i>Anno</i> Quarto & Quinto Regis of Regine Philipi et Marie the forth of January Anno 1557/
fol. 15 ^r	Benevolences and gyftes gyven to <i>our</i> hall as foloweth	fol. 215 ^r	The Charge of the xx men which went to serue the Quene at Callyre set out the xiiijth of January Anno 1557 / of the <i>which</i> x went out
fol. 16 ^r	These <i>parcelles</i> folowyng dothe belonge to the halle of the mesterye of the <i>companye</i> of stacioners as foloweth [Inventory]	fol. 216 ^r	Necessary Charges for the hall
fol. 18 ^r	These be the names of all them that have any Roomes wthin this howse	fol. 216 ^v	Charges for arerages demanded of the quenes highness in her exchequier for certayne land presented by mr John Sherwyn mr Robert taylor and Robert Blackwell wardens
fol. 18 ^v	<blank>	fol. 217 ^r	Allowinge this yeare Sum of all the payments
		fol. 217 ^v	that this account was audyt the xxij day of decembre. Anno 1558

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Digital Resources

The Stationers' Company Archive, City of London

Digital images of:

TSC/1/D/02/01	Wardens' Accounts
TSC/1/F/02/01	Liber B
TSC/1/E/06/02	Liber C
TSC/1/E/06/03	Liber D
TSC/1/A/05	Liber A

Online Resources

Adam Matthew Digital: Literary Print Culture

<https://www-literaryprintculture-amdigital-co-uk.bathspa.idm.oclc.org/>

British Book Trade Index (BBTI): <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>

British History Online: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk>

British Library: <https://www.bl.uk>

Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL) thesaurus:

<http://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/>

Copac National, Academic and Specialist Library Catalogue: <https://copac.jisc.ac.uk>

English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC): <http://estc.bl.uk/>

History of Parliament Online: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/>

JISC Historical Texts: <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/>

LEME: <https://leme.library.utoronto.ca/>

London Metropolitan Archives: <https://search.lma.gov.uk/>

London Book Trades, 1554-1830 (LBT): <http://lbt.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>

Lost Plays Database: https://lostplays.folger.edu/Main_Page

Middle English Compendium:

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Oxford Database of National Biography online (ODNB): <https://www.oxforddnb.com>

Oxford English Dictionary online (OED): <https://www.oed.com>

Records of London's Livery Companies Online: <https://www.londonroll.org>

The National Archives (TNA): <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk>