Networks in Stationers' Wills, 1624-1641

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Abstract

Throughout studies of the early modern English print trade the term ‘network’ has been used to describe the web of relationships connecting the people who practised the manufacture, sale and distribution of texts. This metaphor has often been used casually, with little regard to its meaning, particularly the operation and construction of such a network. Studies of contemporary early modern trades and communities including for the print trade itself have established the importance of networks to the functioning of mercantile and social activity. The present study aims to contribute to this growing area of scholarship which endeavours to understand the print trade as a network, exploring how numerous relationships formed a structure that facilitated the creation and exchange of print in seventeenth-century England. This time and place have been chosen as a period of relative calm at the height of the powers of the Stationers’ Company which controlled the trade in England for more than a century during the early growth of English print culture. As a small group closely bound by marriage, guild allegiance and geography this has always been considered a tightly knit and interconnected community. For this reason, the Stationers of London offer an ideal sample with which to conduct network and will analysis, as a well-defined social group with a wealth of supporting source material available from the ESTC and records of the Stationers’ Court and *Registers*. This was first achieved by transcribing all 59 wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury between 1624 and 1641 which we know belong to members of the Stationers’ community. The data from these wills were then transcribed into a database which could be analysed and then transferred into Social Network Analysis software. Using a combination of quantitative bequest analysis, individual qualitative case studies and SNA strong family links and weak ties of social capital can be identified as forming a network of kinship and credit within the Stationers’ community. This approach enables us to consider the Stationers’ network from several perspectives, especially the real-world relationships with which it was constituted.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

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Those who have had the privilege to read the last will and testament of an early modern person will be aware of the sheer humanity they contain. It is easy to forget when deciphering handwriting and formulaic terms and applying our own technical language and analysis that these were people with their own hopes, faults and strengths. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Definitions, Abbreviations and Conventions

The Worshipful Company of Stationers- Commonly known as the Company of Stationers or the Stationers' Company both of which are used here. Where used, the 'Company' is always a reference to this institution.

Stationer/s- When capitalised this always refers to a member of the Company or someone we know to have operated within the stationers' trade in or around the Company, such as widows, regardless of their own self-identification. The plural 'Stationers'' is a reference to the community generally.

Copy-Right- Refers to the legal right of ownership over a book or other text which may or may not have included a physical object and may or may not have been correspondingly recorded in the Stationers' *Register*. The contemporary term 'copies' is predominately used.

SNA- Social Network Analysis, meaning the quantitative assessment of data using software to extract network metrics. In this case the programme *Cytoscape* was used

PCC- Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the highest court in the southern half of England where a will could be proved.

ESTC- English Short Title Catalogue

SRO- Stationers' Register Online

LBTD- London Book Trades Database

Dates

As there were no wills relevant to this proved in the PCC in the first three months of 1624 or 1642 the date range of 1624-1641 is inclusive of both modern and Lady Day dating. All dates used for wills are given as recorded by *The National Archives* and all extant texts as recorded by the *ESTC.* The date for the *Registers* and Court records are those given by Arber and Jackson respectively, all other dates can be assumed to be modern.

Naming

The usual issues with language modernisation have been compounded in this study by database functionality requirements so early in the project the following naming rules when transcribing wills were employed:

i) The name form most used in their will has been adopted for testators
ii) The name form used most across the sample has been adopted for non-testators
iii) Where there was a short version of a name this has been favoured i.e. Mathew and Ann rather than Matthew and Anne
iv) Modern spelling has been used i.e. i for y and u for v

All other quotes have similarly been modernised for database functionality.

1. Introduction

The present study proposes that from their wills the Stationers of early seventeenth-century London can be viewed as an active network of kin and credit.[1] Their bequests demonstrate a cultural sense of duty toward their dependants as well as wider connections based on affection and social capital. The result was a loose network of close family ties within broad kin associations as well as weaker ties of credit particularly vested in key connecting 'hubs' of people or institutions. The network mediated between the individual and wider society and while it overlapped with innumerable others a 'Stationers' network' can be broadly identified.[2] It required cultivation by its members and was subject to change over time. In the long term it appears to have become more interconnected while the role of social hubs reduced, except for the Company itself which emerged as the central point in the period 1638-41. By examining this network our study aims to employ the 'network approach' recently advanced by Hinks whereby a balance is sought between Social Network Analysis (SNA) and the 'network' metaphor commonly used to describe early modern print trades. The purpose is to study the people rather than the products of the trade and understand that the community in question was part of the wider socio-economic world of early modern England

Testators often adopted a pragmatic approach in response to circumstance and used the trade and position in their networks to benefit themselves and their family. The importance of kinship and credit in early modern English communities and trade networks across time has been well established and the findings here tie into this wider scholarship. There is also a common understanding of a trend toward centralisation in the London companies in our period. These similarities reinforce the case for viewing the Stationers Company detached from the products of their trade from the perspective of their personal lives in keeping with these other approaches. It supports the 'Socialisation of Texts' which proposes that texts are best understood as a product of their society which may be extended to literally mean a study of the Stationers' society.[3] By placing the individual Stationer and their personal lives at the

[1] John Hinks, 'Introduction. Beyond metaphor: A personal view of historical networks in the book trade' in John Hinks and Catherine Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks in the Book Trade.* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2017). pp1-13. p1

[2] Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families.* (Tavistock Publications, London, 1957). p100

[3] Donald F. McKenzie, 'The Book as an Expressive Form' in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader.* (Routledge, New York, 2006). pp35-46, 45; Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition.* (PUP, Princeton, 1991). pp69-87; Harold Love, 'Early Modern Print Culture: Assessing the Models.' in *Parergon*. Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 2003) pp45-64. pp56-7

forefront we come closer to the reality of the trade which in early modern England had no clear line between personal and professional. Our study therefore supports the argument of Smith who identified the 'genealogical networks' that structured the trade, Johns who believed the Stationers' community consisted of family-based households bound to each other through credit and Muldrew who saw early modern England generally as a 'network of credit' rooted in personal ties such as kinship and social capital.[4] Informal and personal networks of kin and credit underlay public and professional lives in early modern England including the Stationers' community and even the Company itself.

1.1 The history of the English print trade

Scholarship of the print trade in early modern England originated in the nineteenth century when the first Bibliographers began to analyse different versions of 'canonic texts to recover original authorial intention. They developed an interest in how printers, publishers and editors shaped the form and content of works. In order to account for their influence Bibliographers began to study the quality of an individual's work, usually a printer, judging them on their character, workmanship and the prestige of the texts they produced. By doing so they believed that the likelihood of interference, either deliberate or accidental could be assessed. The first time that the agency of the English print trade and its members was considered in scholarship was therefore as a negative influence. The field was brought into the modern era largely through the work of Blagden and Plant who were both heavily influenced by the Bibliographical tradition but analysed the trade in a historical sense. Blagden's history of the Stationers' Company was a somewhat whiggish history of its 'great men' and processes and charted a narrative of conflict and change in a London guild.[5] While originally published in 1939, Plant's *The English Print Trade* was in many ways an economic history ahead of its time with her focus on the forms and structures of the trade as an economic area.[6] It was re-published in 1965, a mark of its influence on later social and economic analyses of the trade. The publications of the records of the Stationers' Court reflected the growing interest on the workings of the trade, as did the *English Short Title Catalogue*, which together created a foundation for further study of the trade in addition to

[4] Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England.* (OUP, Oxford, 2012). p14; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and knowledge in the making.* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1998). p113-4; Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England' in *Social History.* Vol. 18, No.2 (May 1993). pp163-183. p169; Craig.Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. (Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1998)

[5] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: a history, 1403-1959*. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960)

[6] Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1965)

the *Registers* published by Arber in the nineteenth century.[7] By the 1960s the study of the English print trade was increasingly historical and could be considered as part of the wider social historical interest in print.

Modern studies of the print trade in Europe appeared in the middle of the last century with the advent of social history and a refocusing upon the thoughts, objects and experiences of ordinary people in historical research. Books properly began to be considered for their role as material objects influencing and influenced by society, a trend heralded by Martin and Febvre's *L'Apparition du Livre* in 1958 which identified 'The Book' as an actor in society, attributing to it an agency in the development of culture and ideas.[8] At least as influential in English-language scholarship was Eisenstein's work on the 'Unacknowledged Revolution' of print in which she argued for the importance of print in formulating ideas regarding the Reformation.[9] She similarly saw the print trade as an important factor in social change and as the result of human processes. The impact of print became particularly pronounced with the 'cultural turn' which led to works such as the consideration of the role of print on early modern France by Davis and Burke on early modern European popular culture.[10] There developed an interest in concepts of readership and popular literacy such as Spufford who pondered what might happen 'if the man behind the plough could read.'[11] Social historians of all stripes began to consider print more generally in their work as an accepted part of early modern English life.[12] Though print was considered within a wider context with very little said about the trade itself this scholarly shift did much to advance acceptance of the study of books. The modern study of the print trade still draws on the tradition of social history in the

[7] Edward Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640.* 5 Vols. (Blades, East and Blades, London, 1875-94); William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640.* (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1957)
[8] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: the impact of printing, 1450-1800*. [Trans. David Gerard, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton] (New Left Books, London, 1976)
[9] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*: *Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe* (CUP, Cambridge, 1979)
[10] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France: eight essays.* (SUP, Stanford, 1975); Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe.* (Temple Smith, London, 1978)
[11] Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (CUP, Cambridge, 1979); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Methuen, London, 1981); David Cressy, *Literacy and the social order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1980); Carlo Ginzburg, *The cheese and the worms: the cosmos of a sixteenth-century miller*. [Trans. Anne and John Tedeschi] (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1980); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700.* (OUP, Oxford, 2002)
[12] e.g. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England.* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973); Christopher Hill, *The world turned upside down: radical ideas during the English Revolution.* (Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1972); Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement.* (Cape, London, 1967)

consideration of books as material objects and as a part of a wider cultural milieu, though historians of the book now make bolder claims about its role.

By the 1980s book history was described as a 'jungle' by Darnton with many separate stands of scholarship from a range of disciplines with potentially 'competing methodologies.'[13] The 'New Bibliography' of the 1980s was the conscious inheritor of all previous print scholarship but also aimed to transcend it in the revisionist tradition, re-assessing the role of books in culture. There emerged a process of self-evaluation which led to a conscious effort to develop book history as a distinct field, rather than being relegated to place of 'the servant of the humanities' or 'hand-maiden' to other disciplines.[14] There was an effort to reconcile 'the social historian who studies books and the bibliographer informed by social history,' the two main strands of scholarship.[15] The combination of the close material and literary analysis of bibliography and the social historical appreciation of the wider agency of books in culture was undoubtedly a success and has continuing influence. Desire for simplicity also led to the development of theories and models which sought to explain the role of print in past societies. Darnton's 'Communications Circuit' remains perhaps the most important of these ideological frameworks, as was his desire to shift attention to lesser known authors and texts. The two key theories of the 'Sociology of Texts' and 'Socialisation of Texts' were also developed, hoping to 'show the human presence in any recorded text' and that 'literature is socially generated.'[16] Darnton and others continued the focus on authors through a text-led approach, however, though there was an increasing interest in understanding a text within the context of its creation and reception.

Within the New Bibliographical school there were significant contributions to the history of the book in England. Interest in the role of the print trade was renewed, leading to a re-assessment of the original records, including Myers' account of the Company archives, Ferguson's transcription of the Company loan book and Blayney's work on the 'bookshops' in Paul's Cross Churchyard.[17] Studies by Johnson also assessed individual Stationers as

[13] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of books?' in *Daedalus,* Vol. 111. No. 3. Representations and Realities (Summer, 1982). pp65-83. pp67-9
[14] Fredson Bowers, 'Bibliography, Pure Bibliography' in Finkelstein and McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*. pp27-34. p30; Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker. 'A New Model' in Finkelstein and McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader*. pp47-65. p48
[15] Adams and Barker. 'A New Model.' pp50-1
[16] McKenzie, 'The Book as an Expressive Form.' p45; McGann, *Textual Condition.* pp69-87
[17] Robin Myers, *The Stationers' Company Archive: an account of the records 1554-1984.* (St. Paul's Bibliographies, London, 1990); Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the book trade, 1550-1990.* (St. Paul's Bibliographies, Winchester, 1997); Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard.* (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1990); W. Craig Ferguson, *The loan*

drivers in the print trade as Bibliographers had done through article-length biographies but using modern analytical historical methods and a return to original sources.[18] The refocus on primary sources established new avenues for research within the records and encouraged the development of new methodological approaches which included efforts to reconstruct the provincial trade.[19] By far the most important contribution was the publication of the revised and updated Short Title Catalogues.[20] The STC as it is known and its modern digital counterparts in all countries are without doubt the cornerstone of the field, enabling an understanding of all the printed material which survives for the early modern period.[21] Between the documentation and the theoretical work done within 'New Bibliography' the groundwork for work on the print trade as a positive agent in itself was laid. Without them it is certain that modern 'Book History' emerging in the 1990s as an analytical and comparative field would not exist. Two prominent examples of such studies on the early modern English book trade are Watt's *Cheap Print* and Adam's *The Nature of the Book.*[22] Clegg's trilogy on Press Censorship under Elizabeth, James and Charles is another noted example of this approach.[23] Works such as these drew strongly on the work of the New Bibliography, assessing aspects of the trade thematically across time and place, led foremost by an interest in the people and processes of the trade, particularly printers and booksellers.

In recent years Book History has become a research-focused modern discipline with its own conferences, publications, postgraduate courses and Centres. SHARP one of the leading societies of the movement formed in the early 90s defines 'Book History' as;

book of the Stationers' Company with a list of transactions 1592-1692. (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1989)

[18] Gerald D. Johnson, 'The Stationers Versus the Drapers: Control of the Press in the Late Sixteenth Century' in *The Library.* Vol. s6-X (March, 1988). pp1-17; Gerald D. Johnson, 'John Busby and the Stationers' Trade, 1590-1612' in *The Library.* s6-VII, Issue 1 (March 1985). pp1-15; e.g. Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601' in *The Library.* Vol. s4-XIV, Issue 3 (October 1933). pp241-287. p242

[19] Peter Isaac (ed.), *Six centuries of the provincial book trade in Britain.* (St. Paul's Bibliographies, London, 1990); John Feather, *The provincial book trade in eighteenth-century England.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1985)

[20] Katherine F. Pantzer (gen. ed.), *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*. 3 Vols. (Bibliographical Society, London, 1976-91); D. G. Wing (gen. ed.), *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700.* 4 Vols. (Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, New York, 1972-98)

[21] http://estc.bl.uk/ [Accessed 31/10/19]; https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ [Accessed 31/10/19]

[22] Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1991); Johns, *Nature of the Book*

[23] Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*. (CUP, Cambridge, 1997); Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*. (CUP, Cambridge, 2001); Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*. (CUP, Cambridge, 2008)

> *The interdisciplinary study of the composition, mediation, reception, survival, and transformation of written communication in material forms, from the ancient world to the present day.*[24]

Darnton's 'jungle' has been embraced and there has developed a wide church for all manner of scholarship with influences drawn from across disciplines with the belief that 'there cannot and should not be one type of the history of the book.'[25] In recent years the field has included large projects on broad sweeps of English print history such as the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* series as well as Blayney on the early Stationers' Company in the Sixteenth century and McKitterick's study of the history of the Cambridge press.[26] Such works have re-assessed the state of the field and previous literature and lead a growing scholarship which has placed the 'trade' part of English book history firmly in a principal position.

The strong analytical and qualitative research that has become the hallmark of modern Book History has been defined by an ability to combine separate strands of scholarship as well as understanding them in a reciprocal relationship. Moreover 'theories' of print have been built upon with studies on the 'realities' of print using source material from the STC and the Company records. The English trade has been explored in new directions using various methodological and ideological frameworks, such as in the promising work embracing the 'spatial turn' in the humanities.[27] There has also been renewed interest in the book as material culture.[28] Others have applied new ideological frameworks such as to recover the role of women in the trade.[29] In his recent assessment of the state of the field, Raven has emphasised the need for international scholarship and postcolonial interpretations as ideological barriers continue to be challenged.[30] This is all in the context of resurgent social histories of print culture with works on 'popular' and 'cheap' print coming to the fore in recent years and the

[24] http://www.sharpweb.org/main/constitution/ [Accessed 31/10/19]
[25] Raven, *What is the History of the Book.* (Polity Press, Cambridge, 2017). pp141-2
[26] John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. *Vol. 4: 1557-1695.* (CUP, Cambridge, 2008); Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501—1557*. 2 Vols. (CUP, Cambridge, 2013) and David McKitterick, *A history of Cambridge University Press*. 3 Vols. (CUP, Cambridge, 1994-2002)
[27] Miles Ogborn and Charles W.J. Withers (eds.), *Geographies of the Book.* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2010); James Raven, *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800 (The Panizzi Lectures, 2010).* (The British Library, London, 2014)
[28] Tara Hamling, 'Living with the Bible in post-Reformation England: The Materiality of Text, Image and Object in Domestic Life' in *Studies in Church History*. Vol. 50 (2014). pp210-239
[29] e.g. Maureen Bell, 'Women in the English Book Trade 1557–1700' in *Liepziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*. Vol. 6 (1996). pp13–45; Smith, *'Grossly Material Things'*; Valerie Wayne (ed.), *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England.* (Bloomsbury, London, 2020)
[30] Raven, *What is the History of the Book.* pp16-40, 140

relationship between trade and consumer being further explored.[31] The work of the Centre for Printing History and Culture and of the 'Library of the Written Word' series have aided in the development of social histories of the book trade.[32] Hill's study of lost books and printing in London from 1557-1640 is a further step in our understanding of the trade in general and the Stationers' Company in particular.[33] One of the most important shifts has been toward a study of the book trade as a social and economic process which has led to the 'Business of Books' approach by Raven which has in turn been adopted by Pettegree among others who has discussed the 'Commercialisation of Knowledge.'[34] Their work builds on a tradition begun by Plant in the 1930s when she began to reverse the fact that the social and economic impact of printing in England and the form and structure of the trade had been 'strangely neglected.'[35] The centring of the individual and the social experience into histories of the trade has resulted in a positive argument for the history of print to be one of human agency, community and culture.

1.2 The print trade in early seventeenth-century England

The early seventeenth-century sits between two of the most studied periods in English print history and is often seen as a time of relative calm and stability. Understanding our period it is important to assess many of the shared characteristics and issues of the periods adjacent, neither of which began or ended in a vacuum. The early seventeenth-century should also be studied as the 'halcyon' days of the English print trade when the Stationers and their Company were at the height of their powers and print was changing and increasing despite controls. Studies often consider the period as part of a wider development of print culture which broadly occurred between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.[36] On consideration much of this analysis appears justified. The later sixteenth century has been studied as a period of great importance to print ranging from Shakespeare to the Puritan

[31] Watt, *Cheap Print,* Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660.* Vol 1. (OUP, Oxford, 2011); Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution.* (CUP, Cambridge, 2013)
[32] https://www.cphc.org.uk/ [Accessed 31/10/19]; Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost books: reconstructing the print world of pre-industrial Europe.* (Brill, Leiden, 2017); Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: single-sheet publishing in the first age of print.* (Brill, Leiden, 2017)
[33] Alexandra Hill, *Lost Books and Printing in London, 1557–1640* (Brill, Leiden, 2018).
[34] James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade.* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007); Raven, *History of the Book*. p5; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World, Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age.* (YUP, New Haven, 2019). p7; Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself.* (YUP, New Haven, 2014)
[35] Plant, *The English Book Trade.* p7
[36] Barnard, McKenzie and Bell (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*; Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*.

movement and was a 'golden age' for local government in London, including the livery companies.[37] There were few changes in structure or operation of the trade between the introduction of the English Stock in 1603 and the breakdown of censorship in 1642 and the 'complete chaos' and 'sudden explosion of books' brought by the war.[38] Likewise, the major controversies of the puritan and anti-puritan movements of Elizabeth's reign and the violent emergence of popular print debate in the Civil War overshadow the print debates of Charles' reign.

There is a wealth of work on print during the middle of the seventeenth century, particularly on the impact on consumers led in recent years by Peacey and Raymond among others.[39] Many scholars have traced across Europe in the seventeenth-century the development of a 'print culture' marked by the development of news publication, a growth in 'cheap print' and the emergence of a pre-Habermasian Public Sphere.[40] The development of public engagement in politics through newsprint in England has been charted at least to 1641 with Braddick calling the sedition of that year 'popular agency' and claiming the existence of 'an increasingly luxuriant print culture.'[41] By this time bookshops and printing houses were places where print could be discussed and debated and early modern people often greeted each other by asking 'what's the news?'[42]

The early seventeenth-century in contrast has been called an 'unthinking normality,' a period of peace and prosperity and though print quantity rose the volume was kept artificially low by restrictions on the number of Master Printers while quality remained static or even declined.[43] It is understandable that the early seventeenth-century has been considered

[37] e.g. Maria Straznicky, *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography*. (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2012); Watt, *Cheap Print;* Blayney, *The Stationers' Company;* Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1989). p183
[38] Plant, *English Book Trade.* p33, Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War: A People's History.* (Harper Perennial, London, 2007). p285
[39] Raymond (ed.), *Popular Print Culture,* Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and pamphleteering in early modern Britain.* (CUP, Cambridge, 2002); Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, newspapers, and society in early modern Britain.* (Cass, London, 1999); Peacey, *Print and Public Politics,* Jason Peacey, *Politicians and pamphleteers: propaganda during the English civil wars and interregnum*. (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004); Jason McElligot, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England.* (Boydell & Brewer, Suffolk, 2007)
[40] Raymond (ed.), *Popular Print Culture,* Peacey, *Print and Public Politics,* Peter Lake & Steve Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', in *The Journal of British Studies,* Vol.45, No.2, (April, 2006); Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World,* Phil Withington, 'Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England' in *The American Historical Review.* Vol. 112, Issue 4. (October 2007). pp1016-1038. p1019
[41] Braddick, *God's Fury, England's Fire*. (Penguin, London, 2009). p148, 154
[42] Purkiss, *English Civil War*. pp409-10
[43] Braddick, *God's Fury.* p56; Plant, *English Book Trade.* p32; Phyllis M. Handover, *Printing in London, From 1476 to Modern Times.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960). pp46-7; Purkiss, *English Civil War*. p7

mainly as part of a longer development of print culture and trade in England. In some ways it is the only period in which to consider the early modern English print trade in its settled, ideal form. At no other time between the Incorporation of the Company in 1557 and the lapsing of the Copyright Act in 1695, when its power was significantly reduced, did the trade see so many years of stability. Not that it was a period without interest or movement, just one of slow growth and consolidation rather than upheaval and radicalism. There were no major internal struggles in the print trade between the Monopolist debates of the 1580s and the conflict over Company government in the 1640s.[44] The Company was increasingly close-knit with the introduction of the Stock in 1603.[45] There was little innovation in content with 'brakes' on the supply of information through print news until 1642.[46] In his history of the Company Blagden described it as a continuation of the period beforehand marked by the slow growth and 'life of an ordinary middle-sized gild.'[47]

It seems likely that the relative calm we see in the trade during the period was the result of deliberate management and that many of the problems of the earlier and later periods existed here also. The restrictions were considerable and were likely in response to the Stuart kings' growing unease politically as well as the growth in print output which tripled between 1600 and the early 1620s.[48] State management of the trade is evident with King James in 1623 confirming the Company's right to pre-publishing licensing arrangements and right to search while extending the penalties for illegal publishing and circulation for the first time since 1586.[49] In 1637 Star Chamber endorsed all the ordinances relating to print since 1559 including the need to licence a book at Stationers' Hall, and attempted to restrict the number of letter founders to four and printing houses to 25 in London (plus the two universities).[50] Between 1640-2 the social and political circumstances of printing were 'transformed' in the face of the breakdown of the previously strict controls from which the trade was 'liberated.'[51] There was also a period of book price stagnation up to the late 1630s compared to other products and wages making them more affordable.[52] Although any change in consumption would have been qualified at the time by falling wages and a corresponding decreased

[44] Handover, *Printing in London*. pp45-61
[45] Ibid. p47
[46] Braddick, *God's Fury.* p173
[47] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* p110
[48] Raven, *Bookscape.* p14 (Acknowledging increasing survival rates and the doubling up of title pages)
[49] Raven, *Business of Books.* p71
[50] Ibid.
[51] David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640–1642*. (OUP, Oxford, 2007) p281; Purkiss, *English Civil War*. p408
[52] Watt, *Cheap Print.* p261

demand for non-agricultural goods.[53] The Thirty Years War was changing the nature of the print trade across Europe, especially regarding content with a growing market for news and the first printed English-language news periodical appeared in Amsterdam in 1620, before the first in England a year later.[54] The case can be made that not only was there increasing innovation in the type and quantity of English print in keeping with wider European changes in taste and demand but that this was recognised by the government who attempted to curtail growth.

1.3 Early modern trade communities

For a social history of the Stationers there is a wealth of studies from which to take inspiration, especially those of the London guilds and other trade networks. Looking at the Stationers through this framework allows for shifting the focus from contents to trade. In doing so it is possible to identify three common themes which are apparent in other early modern trade communities which can inform analysis of the print trade. The first is the growing sense of change across all trade and conflict in trade guilds in the early seventeenth century, which studies of the Stationers have previously explored. The second is the importance of family which is apparent across all studies of other trade communities, particularly network studies, and has often been accepted *de jure* as important to the Stationers but with little analysis. Thirdly and intimately related to family is the importance of credit which has been identified as a key factor across early modern Europe's communities and trade networks. In our study these trends are apparent in the identification of a changing network over time bound by strong family ties and weaker ties of social and economic capital. In turn this thesis aims to contribute to the broader scholarship of early modern trade communities and networks beyond just the print trade.

Early modern guilds existed to protect the interests of their own members against non-members and other guilds.[55] The Stationers particularly were in the unique position whereby they were tasked by the Crown to control the trade but in doing so came into conflict with the traditional right of City Freemen to practice any trade.[56] While the Company may be said to have occasionally 'made common cause to defend itself from external threats… it was

[53] Braddick, *God's Fury.* p57
[54] Raven, *Business of Books.* p59
[55] Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds' in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol. 28, No. 4 (2014). pp169-192. pp171-3
[56] Johnson, 'Stationers Versus the Drapers'

increasingly a house divided against itself.'[57] This was a trend across the early modern period when the London companies were increasingly divided, after a relative golden age in the sixteenth century, between increasingly specialised sub-sets of trades while the interests of ordinary freemen diverged from those of the elites.[58] These changes can be seen most clearly in the narrative of conflict between printers and booksellers in the Stationers' Company with booksellers in ascendance until the civil wars.[59]

Arguably the most important aspect of the growing conflict in the guilds was over the principles and realities of control. Dissent was 'for decades' aimed by ordinary members at the Court of Assistants which in most companies chose the Master and Wardens and took influence from the ordinary membership and placed it in the hands of a 'self-perpetuating oligarchic system.'[60] In 1624 English corporations became the only legal form of monopoly and it is here that guilds began to diverge from their traditional nature as craft associations and become more like modern trading companies.[61] Ogilvie has identified that from 1600 onwards companies were 'redeployed towards sociability and business networking' to the point at which they increasingly became 'exclusive organizations for middle-class businessmen.'[62] Ordinary liverymen in the Stationers were 'bitterly opposed' to the control by members of the Court of Assistants who by 1600 owned most of the books made in London in a 'centralised oligopoly.'[63] By the 1640s many companies were riven with agitation over the control of the trade including the Stationers, Watermen and the City

[57] John Feather, 'Book trade networks and community contexts' in Hinks and Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks in the Book Trade.* pp14-28. p20
[58] George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London*. (Methuen, London, 1925). p258, 266, 331, William F. Kahl, *The Development of London's Livery Companies.* (Baker Library, Boston, 1960); Celeste Chamberland, 'Honor, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London's Barber-Surgeons' Company, 1570–1640' in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. Vol. 64, Issue. 3, (July 2009). pp300-332; for work on late sixteenth-century livery companies and the argument for their role in an overlapping and cohesive London see Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London*. (CUP, Cambridge, 1991); Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*
[59] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp63-75; Handover, *Printing in London.* p52
[60] Norah Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities in the English Revolution: The Politics of London Artisans' Protests, 1635–1659' in *International Review of Social History*. Vol. 39, no. 2. (1994). pp223–54. p227; Nigel Victor Sleigh-Johnson, *The Merchant Taylors Company of London, 1580-1645 with Special Reference to Politics and Government.* (PhD thesis, University of London, 1989). p11
[61] Unwin, *Gilds.* p294
[62] Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds'. pp169-192. pp171-3
[63] Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities.' p235; Blagden, *Stationers' Company,* pp130-151; Feather, 'Book trade networks.' p19

government itself which has been said to have undergone a 'revolution' between 1640-3.[64] This translated also to two years of disorder from apprentices and journeymen labourers.[65]

In communities across early modern England kinship was an important social factor with family ties acting as 'agents and facilitators.'[66] Bott argues that in urban environments the family retained the freedom to govern its own affairs within their social networks.[67] Evidence from petitions for poor relief shows that support from one's kin 'carried important emotional weight' and that where available it was 'an expected social norm.'[68] Kinship support can be extended to trade and especially long-distance trade which required strong ties of which there were none that could 'operate more forcibly' than between relatives.[69] Family bound together many liverymen at the centre of Companies, who were a privileged and interrelated minority.[70] It may even be said that the 'informal networks' of kinship were more important than company membership to the social life of many members.[71] The importance of family connections has also been identified in the recruitment of apprentices in the early modern period.[72] The evidence suggests however that kinship ties were diluted by the impact of migration and that the household played an increasingly important role in lieu of kinship support.[73] While it would therefore be an overstatement to suggest that every liveryman owed their status to family ties, kinship both within and outside of guilds offered important networks of support and influence.[74]

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[64] Valerie Pearl, *London and the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, City Government and National Politics 1625-43.* (OUP, Oxford, 1961); Christopher O'Riordan, 'The Democratic Revolution in the Company of Thames Watermen 1641-2' in *East London Record*. No. 6, (1983). pp17-26; Unwin, *Gilds.* pp335-6; Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp130-7; Cressy, *England on Edge.* pp281-2

[65] Purkiss, *English Civil War*. p121, p279

[66] Peter Laslett, 'Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the 'nuclear-hardship' hypothesis' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 3, Issue 2. (August 1988). pp153-175; David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England' in *Past & Present.* No. 113 (November 1986). pp38-69

[67] Bott, *Family and Social Network.* p100

[68] Jonathan Healey, 'Kin support and the English poor: evidence from Lancashire, c.1620–1710' in *Historical Research.* Vol. 92, Issue 256. (May 2019). pp318-339. p326

[69] Albane Forestier, 'Risk, kinship and personal relationships in late eighteenth-century West Indian trade: The commercial network of Tobin & Pinney' in *Business History*. Vol. 52, No. 6 (October 2010). pp912–931; Aaron Graham, 'Mercantile Networks in the Early Modern World' in *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 56, Issue 1 (March 2013). pp279-295. p280, Bott, *Family and Social Network*. p102

[70] Sleigh-Johnson, *Merchant Taylors.* p37; Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities.' pp227-8

[71] Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities. pp227-8

[72] Tim Leunig, Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships,1600-1749' in *The Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 71, No. 2 (June 2011). pp413-443

[73] Richard Wall, 'Economic collaboration of family members within and beyond households in English society, 1600–2000' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 25, Special Issue 1 (May 2010). pp83-108. p98

[74] Sleigh-Johnson, *Merchant Taylors.* p127

While family would have been practical sources of credit and patronage in trade, kinship also provided a shared social capital, trading on the family name. Life across early modern Europe was 'largely rooted in interpersonal interactions' and so personal and family reputations 'had to be continually monitored, cultivated, and maintained.'[75] Tadmor has shown how the concept of the 'family' was often invoked as the basis of authority and work.[76] Grassby similarly emphasises the domestic character of business community in seventeenth-century England.[77] One detailed study has shown the relationship between family, household and social capital to have underpinned trade in seventeenth-century Rome where family ties were deliberately fostered by living in the same household, members had their debts guaranteed by patrimony and their 'family name conferred direct advantages on them.'[78] The practical advantages of kin structures here left no need for a Company structure demonstrating that early modern trade could be successfully conducted outside of guild frameworks.[79] The relationship between family and credit was complicated however and rested often within a household more than wider kinship. It was ultimately gendered, resting squarely on the reputation of the Head, usually a man.[80] The role of both in regard to trade was if anything more complex with social capital shared between households and families which were rarely concurrent. As noted by Johns the household was the basic unit for the print trade and so credit within the trade would have rested within the household as well as within a family.[81]

Trust, respect and honour have all been identified as key requirements for early modern trade across Europe in and outside of guilds beyond the family.[82] The judgement of a person's credit was critical in the cash-poor early modern economy and enabled the conduct of trade as well as creating an important social role for the 'community broker.'[83] In many ways

[75] Courtney Thomas, 'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House' in *Cultural and Social History.* Vol. 10, No. 3. (2013). pp329-45. p329
[76] Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England' in *Past & Present.* Vol. 151, Issue. 1. (May 1996). pp111-140. 113, 124
[77] Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580-1740.* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press and CUP, Cambridge, 2001)
[78] Benedetta Borello, 'Being Brothers or Pretending To Be: Merchants, Artisans, Inn-keepers, Painters & Brothers in Seventeenth- Century Rome' in *European History Quarterly.* Vol. 49, No. 1. (2019). pp5-27. p6
[79] Sleigh-Johnson, *Merchant Taylors.* p37; Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities.' pp227-8
[80] Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'Women, Credit, and Family Relationships in England, 1300-1620' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 30, Issue 2. (April 2005). pp143- 163. p144
[81] Johns, *Nature of the Book.* p114
[82] Borello, 'Being Brothers.', Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market'. p177
[83] Shani D'Cruz, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker.' pp181-207 in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800.* (Macmillan, Hampshire, 1994). p182

guilds were ‘a shining example of social capital’ which brought major economic and social benefits to their members.[84] In other words:

When applied to groups or networks such as merchant guilds, the notion of social capital typically refers to cohesion and trust among members, and to their resulting ability to enforce group norms and engage in effective collective action.[85]

As Tadmor acknowledged a decade ago, historical studies ‘increasingly highlight the importance of social networks and social capital in early modern society’.[86] This study assesses social networks and does so with use of the term social capital. Though a disputed term it is a valuable one for our purposes.[87] At best it is a term used to describe the ineffable value of a person with a society, which they are known to possess but which cannot be seen or measured. At its worst it has been used a kind of catch-all descriptor of social value applied at will. It is the former which this study aims to employ. Two main strands of thought have emerged on the issue. One is the tradition of Coleman and Putnam which sees social capital as a pooled resource produced and deployed within a community.[88] Another comes from Bourdieu that social capital derives from the environment of a person and networks and in tandem with other forms of capital, such as cultural capital.[89] This study adopts the view of Gaggio who argues that only social capital in the tradition of Bourdieu can be of value to social historians as something which is ‘the property of individuals and networks, as a resource that is constructed in the arena of political deliberation’.[90] By social capital we

[84] Roberta Dessi and Salvatore Piccolo, ‘Merchant guilds, taxation and social capital’ in European Economic Review. Vol. 83 (April 2016). pp90-110. p90
[85] Ibid. p91
[86] Naomi Tadmor, ‘Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change’ in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 25, Special Issue 1. (May 2010). pp15-48. p26
[87] See especially the Farr/Fine dispute, e.g. Ben Fine, ‘Eleven Hypotheses on the Conceptual History of Social Capital: A Response to James Farr’ in *Political Theory.* Vol 35, Issue 1 (February 2007). pp47-53; James Farr, ‘In Search of Social Capital: A Reply to Ben Fine’ in *Political Theory.* Vol. 35, Issue. 1 (February 2007). pp54-61
[88] James S. Coleman, ‘Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital’ in *American Journal of Sociology.* Supplement (1988). pp95-120; Robert D. Putnam, ‘Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital’ in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 6 (1995). pp65-78
[89] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1977); Alejandro Portes, ‘Social capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology’ in *Annual Review of Sociology*. Vol. 24 (August 1998). pp1-24; Marjorie K. McIntosh, ‘The Diversity of Social Capital in English Communities, 1300–1640 (with a Glance at Modern Nigeria) in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol. 29, Issue 3. (Winter 1999). pp459-90
[90] Dario Gaggio, ‘Do social historians need social capital?’ in *Social History*. Vol. 29, No. 4 (November 2004). pp499–513. p510

therefore mean something which is the product of social environments, developed by trust and networks.[91]

Social capital, trust and respect were fostered within company life as confidence and cohesion amongst members helped strengthen the company from within and promote it from without. Bad language to fellow members and especially to those further up company hierarchies was punished and attendance at funerals and the honouring of one another's contracts and debts were strictly enforced. In the Stationers' Company the term 'brother' was used during the seventeenth-century as a form of respectful address as it was across London corporations as part of 'rituals of fraternity.'[92] Recent work on the cultures of gift-giving has illustrated just how ingrained and ritualised many processes were, providing regular opportunities for an individual to foster their own standing in the group and the 'ideals of civil society.'[93] Gifts were 'tools through which citizens established and sustained their status' within guild hierarchies.[94] Johns has said that the print trade was 'representative of a society conceiving of itself as an aggregate of patriarchal households, held together by fragile attributions of credit.'[95] For the Stationers Blagden also identified the need for trust in a man 'in his fellows' and the Company while Pettegree and der Weduwen have shown the importance of credit in the contemporary Dutch print trade as part of the wider culture of credit and respect amongst tradesmen.[96]

1.4 This thesis

In recent years the early seventeenth-century English print trade has seen significant scholarship on its people and processes but even for the relatively well-documented and well-studied Stationers' Company there remains a considerable amount to be done. Not only do the wealth of Stationers' records cover just one part of the English print trade (albeit a large part) but the depth of our understanding is misleading. The records were formal evidence created by the Stationers themselves and were disproportionately skewed in favour of the most active in trade or Company governance. Young has highlighted how we still have only a 'limited insight into their interactions with colleagues and the book market' and

[91] Carolyn Downs, 'Networks, trust, and risk mitigation during the American Revolutionary War: a case study' in *Economic History Review.* Vol. 70, Issue 2 (2017). pp509-528. p512
[92] Johns, *Nature of the Book.* pp76-8; Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities.' p223
[93] Dessi and Piccolo, 'Merchant guilds, taxation and social capital.' p90; Smith, *'Grossly Material Things.'* pp127-30
[94] Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century London' in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 60, Issue. 4 (2017). pp865-887. pp865-7
[95] Johns, *Nature of the Book.* pp113-4
[96] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* p44; Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World.* p19

how they are 'rarely captured in their personal lives.'[97] While many relationships were recorded formally and mediated through the structures of the Company we know that the personal and professional were not just intertwined but often one and the same in early modern England and that much trade occurred beneath the surface of the formal record.[98] The tendency to see the Stationers through a professional lens is understandable as they are of interest precisely because of their textual output. There is a further holdover from bibliography which always framed Stationers as only of importance through their work. Practically, the wealth of resources for the Stationers Company and for the trade generally through extant texts has provided ample material for scholars to process and perhaps create a misleading sense of completeness. This can also lead to an impression of insularity and uniqueness, partly because the Stationers wished to see themselves as exceptions and fought for control of their corner of the trade and special privileges. Barnard and Bell for example questioned why Henry Bynneman borrowed money from his brother-in-law, an armourer, rather than from inside the trade.[99] We should not accept that the Stationers were a narrow community or the false dichotomy between professional relationships and personal lives. It is for this reason that the personal lives of Stationers should be taken to inform our understanding of the trade as the personal was part of the professional and vice-versa.

The present study of the Stationers' community during the 1620s and 30s is decentred away from the trade and onto their personal lives. By studying the print trade as a social environment with the focus on the personal it is therefore hoped to enhance our understanding of the trade overall. Wills provide ideal sources for looking beneath the formal surface of the trade. For example we see here the role of women highlighted through their own wills and those of their community showing them to have been 'a very real and dynamic factor' within their families and wider community structures.[100]

In order to analyse our sample of wills a 'network approach' is adopted to advance beyond the common network metaphor used to refer to the print trade and to allow the data from network analysis to be 'intelligible as the result of human work.'[101] By using wills and a

[97] Jennifer Young, 'Evidence for identifying the handwriting of Thomas Cotes, Seventeenth-century Stationer and Parish Clerk' in *Notes and Queries.* (2014). pp357-8. p357
[98] Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market.'
[99] John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): a preliminary survey' in *Publishing History.* Vol.29 (January 1991). pp5-46
[100] Cathryn Spence, 'Women and Business in Sixteenth-century Edinburgh: Evidence from their Testaments' in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 1 (2008). pp1-19. p1; Karen O'Brien, 'Intimate Worlds: Kinship Relations and Emotional Investment among Nantwich Women 1603–1685' in *Journal of Family History*. Vol. 4, No. 2 (2016). pp131-143. p132
[101] Love, 'Assessing the Models.' p56

network approach Stationers can be understood as social actors within a network undergoing the forces of centralisation, pull of kinship ties and influence of social brokers. It is hoped that the present research will contribute to a growing scholarship which has centred the individual at the forefront of studies of the print trade, while also understanding that a collective community of individuals shaped the Company and print culture. Studies of women have especially shown how a network approach offers a reassessment of otherwise obscured agents.[102] In a similar study on social networks in a trade community Martilla says that 'the structure of the personal connections forming the community' must be known as extensively as possible in order to consider the impact of various factors upon it.[103] Such conditions are present for Stationers' Company which was a small, clearly defined community with a well-established social structure 'to enable detailed microhistorical study' with enough supporting source material 'to map local connections extensively.'[104]

1.5 A network approach

The fundamental principle of network analysis is that 'connectivity is key in understanding how the world works.'[105] This thesis will use both SNA and more informal approaches to networks to show the roles of kin and credit. A network is analysed by looking at actors (nodes) and ties (edges) to identify patterns and anomalies. Rather than full Social Network Analysis (SNA) networks are usually employed as metaphors for an abstract web of interactions around an individual or within a society. While it is a mark of how far our world has been permeated by the concept of networks the metaphor lacks the depth of network analysis.[106] Invocations of networks create 'a metaphorically rich argument devoid of any real substance' which often limits the value of the point in question.[107] There is some merit in taking a metaphorical approach which allows networks to be included broadly in discussions of society. When an impression of a network will do, the outlay in data tidying,

[102] Kim Overlaet, 'Replacing the family? Beguinages in early modern western European cities: an analysis of the family networks of beguines living in Mechelen (1532–1591)' in *Continuity and Change*. Vol. 29, Issue 3 (December 2014). pp325-347. pp335-6, 340; McIntosh, 'Women, Credit, and Family Relationships', 145; Jessica L. Malay, 'Constructing Families: Associative Networks in the Seventeenth-century Cases of Mary and Katherine Hampson' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 40, Issue 4 (2015). pp448-61. pp448–50

[103] Juuso Martilla, 'Beyond the Family and the Household: Occupational Family Networks' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 35, Issue 2 (April 2010). pp128-146. p129

[104] Ibid. p129

[105] Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan and Scott Weingart*, The Historian's Macroscope.* Under contract with Imperial College Press. Open Draft Version, Autumn 2013, http://themacroscope.org. p57; Barry Wellman and Charles Wetherell, 'Social Network Analysis of Historical Communities: Some Questions from the Present for the Past' in *The History of the Family.* Vol.1, Issue. 1 (1996). pp97-121

[106] e.g. Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World.* p1, 39, 69; Raven, *History of the Book.* p3; Braddick, *God's Fury.* p174

[107] Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Historian's Macroscope.* p58

learning how to conduct formal network research and executing SNA can be unnecessary and time-consuming, especially given the complexity of formal network theory.[108] Often, establishing whether 'something is significantly common or significantly rare' is more useful than full quantitative analysis.[109] This has been reinforced for the print trade by Feather who has warned that we ought 'not to think solely in terms of systems and structures' as is the danger of network analysis.[110] Conway similarly is wary of 'the seductive nature of network visualization' which obscures issues with SNA and the network perspective overall and can replace the 'richness' of the discursive approach.[111] Practical and theoretical limitations have therefore led Hinks to advance a 'network approach' which endeavours to accept the network as a methodological framework to identify a broad outline of patterns somewhere between metaphor and close theoretical detail.[112] A 'network approach' is therefore a pragmatic way to focus study on the actual construction and operation of networks in past societies which adopts the best aspects of SNA and the network metaphor.

A concerted effort to use the sociological method of network analysis in history was pioneered by Wellman and others during the 1990s leading to several studies of networks in past communities such Padgett and Ansell on the Medici.[113] In recent years network analysis has become increasingly accessible and can be conducted online, through software on personal computers and interactive databases on websites.[114] SNA has been particularly popular with studies of trade where it has been established that social networks and informal relationships were precursors to formal trade alliances and agreements and ultimately underpinned them.[115] Ogilvie has defined guilds as social networks with 'multi-stranded' relationships which allowed for exchange and collective responsibility and action.[116] There has been a positive role attributed to them as moveable, rejuvenating and flexible entities,

[108] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' p1, Wellman and Wetherell, 'Historical Communities.' p98
[109] Michael C. Alexander and James A. Danowski, 'Analysis of an Ancient Network: Personal Communication and the Study of Social Structure in a Past Society' in *Social Networks*. Vol. 12, No. 4 (1990): 313–335. pp313-4
[110] Feather, 'Book trade networks.' p21
[111] Steve Conway, 'Revealing and mapping networks: Potential opportunities and pitfalls for book trade history' in Hinks and Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks in the Book Trade.* pp29-43. p43
[112] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' p1
[113] Wellman and Wetherell, 'Historical Communities.', John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell, 'Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434' in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 6 (May 1993). pp1259-1319
[114] e.g. www.poms.ac.uk [Accessed 31/10/19]; https://histecon.fas.harvard.edu/visualizing/index.html [Accessed 31/10/19]; http://hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio/ [Accessed 31/10/19]; http://www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com/ [Accessed 31/10/19]
[115] Anna Simmons, 'Trade, knowledge and networks: the activities of the Society of Apothecaries and its members in London, c.1670–c.1800' in *The British Journal for the History of Science.* Vol. 52, Issue 2 (June 2019). pp273-296. p289
[116] Sheilagh Ogilvie, *In A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany*. (OUP, Oxford, 2003). p21

not just as characteristics of trade communities but agents which required cultivation and management.[117]

Networks in the early modern British print trade have been addressed in several essay collections, particularly those coming out of the *Print Networks* series edited by Isaac and McKay, and then Armstrong and Hinks. These developed from the British Book Trade Seminar series during the 1990s and have been followed by the annual Print Networks Conference. From them has developed a small sub-field seeking to analyse the networks which have often been considered by historians of printing 'as an after-thought.'[118] Networks were necessary for the production and distribution of print in the form of long-term partnerships and temporary collaborations.[119] Studies such as by Petta on the Milan trade consider the construction of 'patterns of circulation' and the active role that printers and booksellers played in creating regular connections.[120] As well as being curated by individuals in the trade networks may also be said to have taken on agencies of their own as they 'provided for' the trade and influenced decisions.[121] Emmett's study of Robert Waldegrave has demonstrated that Stationers were constrained by the 'often competing and occasionally complimentary needs' of the networks in which they operated.[122] Consequently, the 'network of print' has been described as an informal and multi-layered 'web' of connections which was ultimately made up of individuals with their own agency, though they were constrained by the agency of others in the network as well as their own past actions.[123]

As with other studies of economic networks it has been established that the networks in the print trade were largely drawn from wider society. Many overlapping networks mediated between the individual and society and any Stationers' network would have had no clear boundary and shared its members with networks across England and beyond.[124] It may also be said that there were three broad networks connecting authors and the trade, the trade

[117] David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade' in *The Business History Review*. Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn 2005). pp467-491. p478, 489; Malay, 'Constructing Families'.
[118] Rebecca J, Emmett, *Networks of Print, Patronage and Religion in England and Scotland 1580-1604: The Career of Robert Waldegrave.* (PhD thesis, Plymouth University, 2013). pp30-31; Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' pp1-2
[119] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.*'* pp1-2
[120] Massimo Petta, 'Networks of Printers and the Dissemination of News: The Case of Milan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' pp64-84 in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World.* (Brill, Leiden, 2015). p64
[121] Emmett, 'Networks of Print.' p14
[122] Ibid. pp16-7
[123] Ibid. p34; Victoria Gardner, 'Introduction.' in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (eds.), *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*. (Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, London, 2014). ppvii-xvi. pviii
[124] Bott, *Family and Social Network.* pp98-9

within itself and the trade and readers.[125] Many communities form naturally into networks which raises the question of whether Company structures were in fact secondary to and underpinned by social networks.[126]

The probably unresolvable disagreement over whether community or networks formed first is also present in scholarship of the English print trade. Hinks has said that it is 'sensible to regard the community as coming first and being a longer-term entity' while Feather states that these 'were not book trade networks at all, but well-established trading systems which were adopted.'[127] He has questioned the extent to which there even was a print trade community in early modern England and believes that it was the networks of the trade which 'allowed it to present itself as a cultural community.'[128] He has also criticised the assumption that 'the book trade was a networked community while actually describing it as a supply chain' in the model of Darnton's Communications Circuit.[129] Hinks has somewhat squared the circle when he draws on the work of Delanty and his 'communication community' of social relation based around communication rather than 'authority, status or ritual' as being 'a point particularly relevant to book history.'[130] As such the network would in fact be the community, though of course ignoring the fact that authority, status and ritual were critical for the operation of the Stationers' Company. The answer at least in the case of the Stationers appears to be that communication and authority were both important. In the early seventeenth-century there can be broadly identified a co-dependent Stationers' community and network, though they were not strictly defined or coterminous and overlapped with other communities and networks.

It has been said that SNA presents itself as an ideal method to study kinship 'because kinship researchers had long been referring to the objects of their study as 'kinship networks.'[131] Though an over-simplification there is certainly some truth to this statement. The network acts as a mediator between the family and the 'total social environment' which is best considered not as the local area in which they live, but rather as the network of actual social relationships.[132] The denser the network of kinship relations the greater the 'trust and

[125] Emmett, 'Networks of Print.' p9; Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' p4
[126] Simmons, 'Trade, knowledge and networks.' p289; Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks.' p478, p489; Malay, 'Constructing Families.'
[127] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' p3; Feather, 'Book trade networks.' p18
[128] Feather, 'Book trade networks.' p14, 26
[129] Ibid. p14
[130] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor.' p3 citing Gerard Delanty, *Community.* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2003). p115
[131] Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell, 'Households and kinship networks: the costs and benefits of contextualization' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol.18, Issue 1. (May 2003). pp49-76. p57
[132] Bott, *Family and Social Network.* pp98-9

reciprocity,' mutuality being one of the key aspects of a network for the exchange of goods, services, information or credit.[133] In early modern Europe such exchanges were an important facet of life and so networks permeated throughout society. In particular, networks bounded by kinship could be nurtured such as through marriage and therefore can be said to have been 'socially constructed networks of exchange.'[134] Familial networks continued to be important even as newer 'modern' methods of trade and networking developed alongside them.[135] Of course, the 'natural assumption' of the importance of families should not lead us to exaggerate their role and 'surprisingly few extensive and tightly knit kinship networks have been found' in studies of pre-modern economies.[136] Nonetheless, kinship has been shown to be the most important factor in networks in twentieth century America and early modern England.[137] In many cases artisan and trade networks were 'doubly knit' with relationships formed through occupational association alongside kinship, with 'strong' ties of kin and 'weak' ties of kith.'[138] Kinship has often been cited as a source of connections in the print trade with Emmett making clear that the networks of the late sixteenth century around St. Paul's Churchyard were largely connected by marriage and kinship in additional to their professional and geographical associations.[139] Family has proved to be important, as one element in the creation of trade networks. Smith has called print networks 'constitutive', formed of genealogical, ideological and material networks among other things.[140]

Early modern trade networks were also built from credit, with power and influence in a community being significantly important socially and economically. Credit and capital often meant the same thing with credit providing access to capital and vice versa.[141] As we have seen the creation of a network was an active process and likewise social capital was fluid and could be gained such as through 'responsible participation or office holding' which would enhance a reputation.[142] It is particularly true of the early modern middling sorts with their sense of civic duty, and in the companies with their opportunities to aspire to positions of power. Such positions could include occupation, which could be an important source of

[133] Graham, 'Mercantile Networks.' p286
[134] Sandro Lombardini, 'Family, kin, and the quest for community: A study of three social networks in early-modern Italy' in *The History of the Family.* Vol. 1, Issue 3. (1996). pp227-257. p244
[135] Bott, *Family and Social Network.* p102, Maria Fusaro, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean' in *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 65, Issue 2. (2012). pp701-718. p702
[136] Martilla, 'Occupational Family Networks.' p128
[137] Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties' in *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol.78, No. 6 (May 1973). pp1360-1380, Healey, 'Kin support'
[138] Martilla, 'Occupational Family Networks.' p132; Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks.' p474
[139] Emmett, 'Networks of Print.' p31
[140] Smith, 'Grossly Material Things.' p9, 14, 116, 129
[141] Martha Howell, 'Credit Networks and Political Actors in Thirteenth-Century Ypres' in *Past & Present. Vol. 242, Issue 1.* (February 2019). pp3-36. p6
[142] Berry, 'Social Networking.' p203

social capital, especially within tightly knit trade communities where status was inherently bound to work.[143] Social capital is fundamentally based on trust, an important element in any kind of transaction but particularly long-distance trade in the pre-modern world where it has been repeatedly identified as a key part of network operation.[144] This led to the creation of what Graham has called 'trust linkages' which were strengthened in shared membership of a network which led to the 'circulation of information concerning credit, reputation, and conduct.'[145] Muldrew has discussed a 'network of credit' which bound communities together through creditworthiness and trust and argues that the 'increasingly complex' transactions from the sixteenth century onwards meant that 'the need to maintain trust was emphasized even more strongly.'[146] Howell has extended this further back to the thirteenth century wool trade and Downs forward into the eighteenth century demonstrating the strength and longevity of such networks of credit.[147]

For the present study social capital is inherently involved in the process of making a will, where networks would have passed on who were 'respectable' because executors and supervisors needed to be trustworthy and witnesses had to have sufficient standing for their testimony to hold up in court, if necessary.[148] Social capital in the print trade has been noted by Gardner to have been important in a 'credit-based society in which personal reputation constituted social capital, securing a network of trusted contacts provided avenues through which to gain credit.'[149] The complement to this however is that trust can be abused and more generally networks based upon any kind of personal relationship are difficult to construct and maintain.[150] Another problem is the tendency of historians to create a 'fallacious boundary between a pre-modern world of trust and a modern world of impersonal institutions.'[151] Many early modern relationships and exchanges existed outside of networks of social capital, just as today many of our connections and exchanges are still predicated upon trust and credit.

[143] Martilla, 'Occupational Family Networks.' p134
[144] Carolyn Downs, 'Networks, trust, and risk mitigation during the American Revolutionary War: a case study' in *Economic History Review.* Vol. 70, Issue 2 (2017). pp509-528; Graham, 'Mercantile Networks.'; Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks.'; Howell, 'Credit Networks.'; Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks.'
[145] Graham, 'Mercantile Networks.' p280
[146] Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market'. p169
[147] Howell, 'Credit Networks.', Downs, 'Networks, trust, and risk mitigation.'
[148] Berry, 'Social Networking.' p204
[149] Victoria Gardner, 'Introduction.' pxii
[150] John Haggerty and Sheryllynne Haggerty, 'Networking with a Network: The Liverpool African Committee 1750–1810' in *Enterprise and Society.* Vol. 18, Issue 3 (September 2017). pp566-590. p567
[151] Maria Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks.'p701. note 2

The main issue with historical SNA is that we are severely restricted in the type and quality of data that survives which causes the artificial imposition of boundaries.[152] As Wetherell has noted, 'SNA's data requirements are formidable' necessitating a broad range of high-quality records' to support a study.[153] Because of incomplete historical records and imperfect understandings of past social relations, 'HSNA [Historical Social Network Analysis] remains an inherently problematic enterprise.'[154] Only in a community as richly documented and well-defined as the Company of Stationers can SNA be attempted however we are still merely studying 'subsets of networks from the past that we have constructed.'[155] Whether because of data loss, inaccessibility or methodological choices to limit the scale of the study, SNA never represents networks 'as they really were' but how they are shaped by the decisions of the analyst.[156] It is important to consider that the periphery of any historical network is either where the data ends or where the researcher decides it ends. The decision here to analyse source material from PCC wills therefore defines the parameters of the study and limits it. The other major problem is how to assess a network over time.[157] The solution here is a 'sliding window', which moves over the periods 1624-7, 1628-37 and 1638-41.[158] One static network representing the entire span of time from 1624-41 will also be considered in order to analyse the network over the whole period, as well its evolution. However, as with any historical network analysis it must be said that our study is a small glimpse restricted by what was recorded, what has survived and the parameters of our sample.

The computer programme used for this SNA was *Cytoscape*, a software recommended by Peace in his introduction to Social Network Analysis for historians.[159] While other programmes were available this was user friendly and ran well on the author's computer. Its main limitations are the basic quality of its network visualisations which does not affect core functionality.

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[152] Conway, 'Mapping networks.' p43
[153] Charles Wetherell, 'Historical Social Analysis' in *International Review of Social History.* Vol. 43, Supplement. (1998). pp125-144. p125
[154] Ibid.
[155] Martilla, 'Occupational Family Networks.' p129; Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Historian's Macroscope.* p58
[156] Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Historian's Macroscope.* p58; Thomas Peace, 'Six Degrees to Phillip Buckner? An Accessible Introduction to Network Analysis and its Possibilities for Atlantic Canadian History' in *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region.* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Winter/Spring-Hiver/Printemps, 2015). p123-144. p133 note 19
[157] Graham, Milligan, Weingart, *Historian's Macroscope.* p58
[158] Ibid.
[159] Peace, 'Six Degrees to Phillip Buckner?'; the particular version was www.cytoscape.org/ version 3.7.1.

1.6 Using wills

There are several sources of information upon which to base a study that considers the members of the print trade whilst treating the nature of their profession as a secondary consideration. The sources often used for early modern tradespeople are inventories, correspondence and other legal documents. There are also sources of general use in recovering the lives of all lower and middling sorts of people in early modern England such as wills. Such sources particularly aid research into those outside the remit of formal Company records, particularly women and regional stationers. They are also the most personal insights we can get, mediated the least by professional concerns and can be used both in addition to 'formal' sources as well as when they are the only evidence available. By placing individual human experiences at the forefront wills can also be used to examine the thoughts behind testation and when considered within a community help identify general cultural trends. Taking precedence from studies of inventories which have made significant contributions to our understanding of the English print trade they offer 'a snapshot' of a Stationers' life at the time death.[160] While wills do not provide the same level of comprehensive detail on possessions, their strength is that they may be seen as an inventory of relationships.

Wills have been used throughout the study of Stationers including in the early *Dictionaries* of Plomer and McKerrow.[161] Plomer was the first to consider wills in their own right, albeit in light only of their value in relation to literature.[162] These early works are of limited use to the modern historian, with their prime focus to highlight the wills of 'printers of note' linked to canonical works. They only comprise a token number of wills and those that are included are presented as abstracts only. In a 1979 article Phelps added several abstracts to Plomer in the same style.[163] The first modern and historical attempt to study the wills of early modern English Stationers was Elder's study of Wynken de Worde's bequests, which offered the

[160] John Barnard, 'The Inventory of William Norton (1527–1593), Master of the Stationers' Company' in *The Library*. Vol. 16, Issue 2 (June 2015). pp179-194; Barnard and Bell, 'Henry Bynneman.' p5

[161] R. B. McKerrow (gen. ed.), *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of foreign printers of English books, 1557-1640.* (For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, London, 1910); Henry. R., Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1642-1667*. (For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, London, 1907).

[162] Henry R. Plomer, 'Books Mentioned in Wills' in *The Library.* Vol. TBS-7, Issue 1. (January 1902). pp99-121; Henry R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English printers and stationers, from 1492 to 1630*. (For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, London, 1903); Strickland Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Binders, Printers, and Stationers of Oxford, from 1493 to 1638*. (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1907)

[163] Wayne H. Phelps, 'Some Sixteenth-Century Stationers' Wills' in *Studies in Bibliography*. Vol. 32 (1979). pp48-59

possibility of using a will to trace business and personal relationships.[164] This model has been followed in several studies of wills and of inventories, particularly on Henry Bynneman, William Norton and Jacob Tonson the Elder and Younger.[165] They have demonstrated how death documents can be used to advance our understanding of Stationers, especially within the context of wider historiography and source material. Wills are also being used to good effect to recover past relationships in other early modern studies such as those of William Wiseman and Jerome Francis Gahory.[166]

Considerable effort has been undertaken to understand how testators were bound by their desire to adhere to social protocols and how scribes mediated the form and content of their wishes. Individuals and societies past and present made the act of dying a complex procedure, with inherent social and cultural considerations for all involved. In early modern England dying 'had become a cultural ritual.'[167] We should therefore use wills carefully as their simplicity often 'cloaks a complex of laws and customs and a tenuous link between precept and practice.'[168] This is most notable in the process of bequeathing large portions of an estate. The testators of this sample almost entirely adhered to the Germanic custom of leaving one-third of their moveable property equally among their children, and another third to their widow.[169] The various interpretations of this custom in our sample demonstrate the disparity between theory and reality. The residue is particularly problematic with many possessions often left once all other debts, tokens and obligations had been paid to the eldest son or widow. Within this usually passed some of the most valuable things such as leases and so it can be difficult to trace the passage of many important items as they are often not named. The movement of the residue is also difficult to determine as while standard practice in our sample was to bequeath to the eldest son or widow there are occasions where this was circumvented or not stated explicitly. Methodologically, the strength of the bond that a bequest represents is difficult to interpret especially given that a will comes from one specific

[164] Mary C. Elder, 'Wynken de Worde's Will: Legatees and Bequests*'* in *The Library.* Vol. s6-X, Issue 2 (June 1988). pp107-121
[165] Barnard and Bell, 'Henry Bynneman', Barnard, 'William Norton', Stephen Bernard, 'Establishing a Publishing Dynasty: The Last Wills and Testaments of Jacob Tonson the Elder and Jacob Tonson the Younger', in *The Library*. Vol. 17, Issue 2 (June 2016) pp157-166
[166] Andrew Hadfield, 'The will of William Wiseman, Edmund Spenser's son-in-law' in *Notes and Queries.* (2013). pp37-40. p38; Moira Goff, 'The testament and last will of Jerome Francis Gahory' in *Early Music*. Vol. 38, No. 4, Three centuries of music in England (November 2010). pp537-542. p539-40
[167] J. D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History.* Vol 40, No. 1 (January 1989). pp19-27. p19
[168] Jeff and Nancy Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800: a system in Transition.' in Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England.* (Leopard's Head Press Limited, Oxford, 2000). pp14-37. p14
[169] Ibid. pp19-20

point in a testator's life cycle.[170] The social norms and expectations of the testator's world must also be considered as a fundamental part of the creation process. Spufford and others have led us to understand that much of the language in a will was deferred to a scribe who adhered to legal standards and their own formulas, though of course it is likely that they held 'the same general opinions' as the testator.[171]

By their very nature wills are testator-focused and present unilateral viewpoints which lack perspective, especially regarding the reciprocity of a relationship. We must also acknowledge that they are a snapshot of relationships which had survived to the end, not the ones which had faltered or disappeared along the way. They show a minimum of relationships as with Humphrey Lownes who did not name his strongest familial and business tie, his brother Mathew, as he had predeceased him, though he is prominent in Mathew's will.[172] Perhaps the most important negative is that making a will was a deliberate choice that only around 30% of people in early modern Europe chose or were able to make; incidentally the same proportion as today.[173] To make one was an active choice requiring time and energy, the content of which was determined not just by desire but also by having possessions worth bequeathing and people to leave them to. The proportion of those who made a will is therefore skewed to the richest and those within a higher social milieu.[174] Women were much less likely to make a will and although the proportion was rising only around 20% did so, and a married woman could only do so with her husband's consent.[175] Wills must therefore be understood as limited sources presenting an idealised vision of a community and are at best only broad evidence for belief and social structure.

It is in this context that a 'last will and testament' exists, as quite literally the last effort of the testator to secure their legacy, whether it was to provide for their family or to endeavour to live on in the thoughts of their friends.[176] In seventeenth-century England the primary desire of a will was to secure for one's dependants the things necessary for life; a place to

[170] Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source.' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part.* pp38-71. p64, p71
[171] Margaret Spufford, 'Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire, 1570-1700.' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part.* pp144-157. p157; Julia Fernández Cuesta, 'The Voice of the Dead: Analyzing Sociolinguistic Variation in Early Modern English Wills and Testaments' in *Journal of English Linguistics.* Vol. 42, Issue 4. (2014). p330-358
[172] Will of Humphry Lownes [24th June 1630 PROB 11/157/733]; Will of Mathew Lownes [3rd October 1625 PROB 11/147/29]
[173] Goose and Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source.' pp44-5
[174] Ibid. p38
[175] Ibid. pp46-7
[176] Leslie Moscow McGranahan, 'Charity and the Bequest Motive: Evidence from Seventeenth-Century Wills' in *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 108, No. 6 (2000). pp1270-1291. p1272

live, the means for work and other profits of one's labour to guard against recourse to the poor law. Secondary were considerations of sentiment to family and friends; often clothes and household items expressing affection, to a friend your best coat, your father's ring to your brother or your best cooking pot to your daughter for example. Lastly were tokens of affection, small amounts of money or items such as rings or gloves often given 'in remembrance of my love.' They would often go to friends, neighbours and cousins, as well as to the poor (usually in the form of money for bread), especially of the parish a testator lived in or grew up, to hospitals and schools. Far from universal the latter category seems to have represented a sense of 'responsibility for the stewardship of God's creation' and civic duty.[177] A will therefore is an invaluable resource for studying the lives of people who otherwise leave little or no trace of their lives and so offer otherwise lost information on the middling sorts. The decisions made here over assistants and executors reveal just as much about the social networks of the testator as item bequests.

In many ways wills are 'a sequencing of actors and activities' which Love believed was how 'print culture' should be perceived and is how a social history of the print trade should operate.[178] Testamentary data lends itself to network analysis because it maximises the greatest advantages of a community study of wills which is their documentation of the 'range of interactions between a testator and their social group.'[179] It is possible to draw on a scholarship of early modern trade communities which has successfully deployed network analysis. Many have similar findings to the present study, stressing the importance of family and social capital with strong ties of kin and weak ties of credit, how trade networks existed as part of wider society and the false dichotomy between the personal and professional. Wills have been chosen for the access they provide to Stationers without the mediation of trade sources. The source of wills chosen was the Prerogative Court of Canterbury where the richest wills in the southern half of England were proved at this time. Almost all of the Stationers who made a will in our period, that I have been able to identify, had it proved in this court.[180] It was decided to retain the bounds of the sample at these wills so we could

[177] Caroline Litzenberger, 'Local responses to changes in religious policy based on evidence from Gloucestershire wills (1540-1580)' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 8. Issue. 5 (1993). pp417-4. p433
[178] Love, 'Assessing the Models.' pp56-7
[179] Charlotte Berry, ''To Avoide All Envye, Malys, Grudge and Displeasure': Sociability and Social Networking at the London Wardmote Inquest, c.1470–1540' in *The London Journal.* Vol, 42, No. 3 (November 2017). pp201-217. p204
[180] Stationers' wills in most of the lower church courts of London can be searched through the London Metropolitan Archives. This includes the Consistory Court of London, the Commissary Court of London, the Archdeaconry courts of London, Middlesex and Surrey and the Peculiar Court of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. The only wills here for our period are Simeon Woodcocke [August 1624, DL/C/0362/001/069r] and Matthew Selman [September 1627, DL/C/0361/001/219v]. There are jurisdictions not covered in the LMA including the Peculiar Court of the Deanery of the Arches. Elsewhere in the country Stationers' wills for our

assess Stationers of a similar social standing who would have been expected to have left similar number and type of bequests. One issue with this is that by using wills we are looking at the slightly better off in society and so there is an over-representation of elites in our sample which has a higher than average proportion of Assistants, those at the top level of Company governance.[181] This in itself shows the correlation between wealth and being amongst the elite of the Company.

Our sample is 59 wills from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PROB 11) proved between January 1623 and December 1641. 54 are identified by the epithet 'Stationer' including Jacomine Langford who is returned in the search probably due to her refences to her husband, brother and father who were all Stationers. Four widows of those in the original results were found under the same timeframe and have been included as members of the community regardless of their apparent level of work within the trade. One 'printer' found under the same terms was John Haviland who was a Stationer and has been included.[182] In order to isolate a sample which represented the Stationers' Company it was decided to exclude two regional 'booksellers' with no apparent connection to the Company.[183] A further study of print trade wills would ideally encompass wills from across the country and those with less wealth proved in ordinary courts such as the Consistory Court of London. This sample captures almost all of the Stationers of this time and so can be said to be a decent view onto the networks of the London trade around the Stationers' Company. In addition to the material from our sample of wills supporting information has been taken from other sources. This includes transcriptions of the Stationers' Company *Register* (and its next-generation version, *Stationers' Register Online*) and Court Book, the ESTC and the London Book Trades Database.[184] Each of these sources allows further interpretation of individuals in the will

period appear to be few, for example there was just one proved in the PCC's northern counterpart the Prerogative Court of York, William Rockett [10th August 1625, Borthwick YDA/11 Vol. 39, fol. 409].

[181] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* pp421-7/ fol. 140a-142b, pp428-33/ fol. 144a-146b has lists of membership for 1632 and 1638 which averages at 229 in total with 63.4% Yeomen, 28.9% Liverymen and 7.8% Assistants compared to this sample where there were 62.7% Yeomen, 20.3% Liverymen and 16.9% Assistants.

[182] Haviland was an important Stationer throughout our period, however shortly before his death he had been deprived of his position as a Master Printer, so it is likely that his identification as 'printer' was in protest. See, Henry R. Plomer, 'Some petitions for appointment as Master Printers called forth by the Star Chamber decree of 1637' in *The Library*. Vol. s3-X, Issue 38. (January 1919). pp101-116. p106

[183] Will of Edward Jorden [2nd August 1637, PROB 11/174/581]; Will of Bryan Hardinge [8th October 1624, PROB 11/144/242]

[184] Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers*; Stationers' Register Online, Giles Bergel and Ian Gadd. (eds.) http://stationersregister.online (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, CREATe); Jackson (ed.), *Court Book;* http://estc.bl.uk/; Turner, Michael (2007) Index for the London Book Trades database. [Dataset] (Held by the School of Advanced Study at the University of London, https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/348/)

sample by working out their involvement in Company life, a sense of the work in the trade and other information such as records of apprentices and debts.

Any study of Wills requires an understanding of their provenance and purpose to understand them. We especially to appreciate the inherent familial preference they present whereby family are always prominent in such studies and so to use wills effectively we must look for nuance within these dominant patterns. The desire to provide for one's dependants after death is best understood within a wider framework of custom, law and social expectation.[185] The line between what was expected and practice was often blurred, for example there were different interpretations of the longstanding custom of the City of London that widows should receive at least a third of an estate.[186] Legacies to dependents were another example where affection and responsibility were largely inseparable and combined so that a testator's widow and children received between them most of the estate. Other bequests were motivated by decreasing degrees of sympathy through wider family and community with some testators exhausting any sense of commitment with their dependents, while others gave generously to friends and charities. Such bequests can be understood as expressions of 'love and benevolence', which is how wills from Rome's contemporary artisan 'brother's companies' described non-family bequests, a principle which appears to have underpinned the social networks and legal basis for Stationers also.[187] Johns has made similar assessments for the concept of the Stationers' Company as a 'brotherhood' and several testators here named fellow Stationers 'brother.'[188] Most wills in our sample follow the same pattern, supporting a model for bequests which was broadly altruistic, with the main estate usually being split between dependents with emphasis on widows and eldest sons who would become head of the family. Following were tokens of affection and remembrance to extended family and friends and occasionally some small bequests to charity which

[185] Amartya K. Sen, 'Rational Fools: A Critique of the Behavioral Foundations of Economic Theory' in Philosophy & Public Affairs. Vol. 6, No. 4 (Summer 1977). pp317-344. p326; Elisabeth Salter, 'Women's Last Wills and Testaments in Hull, England (c.1450-1555) in *Early Modern Women.* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Spring 2018). pp33-55. p35

[186] Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in and English village: Terling, 1525-1700.* (OUP, Oxford, 1995)**.** pp97-8; Jeff and Nancy Cox, 'Probate 1500-1800: a system in Transition' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part.* pp19-20. One key difference being whether this third was of just moveable property.

[187] Eleonora Canepari, ''In signum amoris et benevolentiae.'' Liens entre generations dans les milieux artisanaux (Rome, 1595–1650)' in Anna Bellavitis, Laura Casella and Dorit Raines (eds.), *Construire les liens de famille dans l'Europe moderne* (Rouen 2013). pp87-108. pp94-8

[188] Johns, *The Nature of the Book.* p76, there are 11 instances in our sample where a person is described as 'brother' that we can be reasonably sure it was meant metaphorically.

demonstrated a wider social circle of varying sizes and composition which loosely bound family units into the wider community.

Bequest motivation in early modern wills can be explained as sense of duty driven by conscience.[189] This has been set out in behaviouralist economic theory and social histories such as those by McGranahan and Sen and is best expressed by the understanding that people in early modern England 'believed that conscience, not force of habit or self-interest, was what held together the social and political order.'[190] Bequest motivation can therefore be interpreted as the result of conscience imposing a cultural sense of duty upon heads of household, to provide for their households and dependants. The social ideal of 'duty' toward dependants during life was in wills extended to provision for widows and children as the primary concern. It translates in our sample to bequests of the key trade possessions of shops, copies and stock passing solely to dependants, or in their absence the primary heir. In this interpretation of the bequest motive there is allowance for a secondary consideration of sympathy which could be extended to those the testator had no obligation toward but felt affection for. This was wider family mostly but could include friends and charities and was expressed in deference to the requirements of a testator's duty. In our sample sympathy led to shares and tools being bequeathed secondarily to friends and extended family. Other books with little ability to fulfil a testator's duty passed purely according to sympathy which were bequeathed as tokens of affection rather than as items related to a testators' trade.

The most valuable possessions including property, money and items critical to the conduction of trade were usually passed in early modern England to dependants. The line of succession was typically pre-determined with inheritors made aware of their reciprocal duty toward the business before a testator's death.[191] Often these items did not appear in the will and were included within the residue of the estate, reflecting ingrained social norms of responsibility and of the primacy of the family. They could also be transmitted gradually during the course of a testator's lifetime.[192] The residue was normally left in early modern

[189] Peter Laslett, 'Interconnections over Time: Critique of the Concept of Generation' in *Journal of Classical Sociology.* Vol. 5, Issue 2. (July 2005). pp205-13; Patricia Crawford, 'Public Duty, Conscience, and Women in Early Modern England' in John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G.E. Aylmer.* (OUP, Oxford, 1993). pp57-76; Leslie Moscow McGranahan, 'Charity and the Bequest Motive: Evidence from Seventeenth-Century Wills' in *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 108, No. 6 (2000). pp1270-1291. p1271

[190] McGranahan, 'Bequest Motive.' p1271; Sen, 'Rational Fools.' p326; Keith Thomas, 'Cases of Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England' in Morrill, Slack, and Woolf (eds.), *Public Duty and Private Conscience*. pp29-56. p29

[191] Benedetta Borello, 'Being Brothers or Pretending To Be: Merchants, Artisans, Inn-keepers, Painters & Brothers in Seventeenth- Century Rome' in *European History Quarterly.* Vol. 49, No. 1. (2019). pp5-27. p15

[192] Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin.* (W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1977). p64

England to a dependant or divided between several and in the absence of a named heir it would pass to the executor.[193] Most wills in our sample felt the need to explicitly state the direction of the residue anyway, usually because it was split between several people as well as many cases with no widow or children where a primary heir, usually another close family member, was named. The executor of a will was therefore an important choice and they would need to be trusted by the testator to help fulfil their wishes and by the wider community.[194] Often they would have to collect debts, make sales and organise support for young children such as schooling. Ann Lownes left instruction for a succession of three executors in case her request was refused, such was the importance of the work involved.[195]

Wills describe 'numerous human relationships' but they are weighted toward the relationships that were most important to the testator 'in the last few moments before death' and the larger the sample and the longer the period examined the more reliable the results.[196] The cultural expectations which shaped the making of a will also influences the findings from our study of them. Family are always heavily represented and in this way our study confirmed the expected finding. The family links of Stationers have long been touted from indications in formal records of the trade, though this study offers the evidence to support this through a study of wills, which say this explicitly and underline familial importance. It is hoped that this study centres the family within the discussion of the trade in a way and adds nuance to this understanding though detail into what these familial relationships actually entailed. For example, in the passage of trade items and the familial clustering. Also, as Salter has argued, though 'the richest information we can gather' from a will concerns the maker and their close family, we also gain insights around this.[197] So while the kinship-bias must always be borne in mind a will contains detail about many non-kin relationships also.

1.7 Summary

[193] Richard T. Vann, 'Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury, 1550-1800' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 4, No. 4 (Winter, 1979). pp346-367. p347; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*. (Routledge, London, 1993). p162

[194] Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source.' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part.* pp38-71. p64; Shani D'Cruz, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker.' pp181-207 in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800.* (Macmillan, Hampshire, 1994). pp182, 189

[195] Will of Anne Lownes [17th April 1626 PROB 11/148/625]

[196] Carmel Biggs, 'Women, Kinship, and Inheritance: Northamptonshire 1543-1709' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 32, Issue 2. (April 2007). pp107-132. p109

[197] Salter, 'Women's Last Wills'. p36

Our study of the wills of Stationers uncovers a network of kin and credit underpinning their social and economic structures. These structures and their operation are examined through a combination of SNA which identifies patterns within this sample and across time, quantitative analysis of trade bequests and qualitative case studies of three testators. Throughout each approach the importance of kinship and credit ties is apparent, marking this trade community as part of the wider cultural and socio-economic world of early seventeenth-century England. Through use of wills and a network approach we are able to identify trends, patterns and actors which are underrepresented in the formal record, for example the role of social capital, women as network hubs and the influence of credit and institutions. The first chapter uses Social Network Analysis to look at the sample in its entirety. It suggests many of the findings confirmed in later chapters and suggests other community-wide characteristics demonstrated by this network, especially in the analysis of the network over time. The role of credit through social hubs or brokers is demonstrated, as is the pervasive importance of family ties. The following chapter of our study assesses bequests of trade possessions such as premises and books by identifying patterns across the sample. It is possible to examine motivations behind bequests generally and understand the movement of items of importance through the community which heavily emphasised the sense of duty to provide for one's dependants with a secondary consideration of affection to other family and friends. The final chapter takes the model developed by the print history tradition of biographical studies of Stationers.[198] By doing so the variation is demonstrated between Stationers in their careers, backgrounds and will-making and so each case-study draws attention to the different ways in which a Stationer could conduct themselves in the trade. The studies suggest that family, social capital and credit could each be important in forming relationships, but which are hard to identify in Company records or extant texts. Overall, our study proposes that there was a loose network of Stationers drawn from wider networks of kinship and credit in early seventeenth-century England.

[198] e.g. Henry R. Plomer, 'Thomas East, Printer' in *The Library.* Volume s2-II, Issue 7 (July 1901). pp298-310; David R. Adams, 'The Secret Printing and Publishing Career of Richard Overton the Leveller, 1644-46' in *The Library.* Vol. 11, Issue 1. (March 2010). pp3-88; R. B. McKerrow. 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer' in *The Library*. Vol. s4-X., Issue 2 (September 1929). pp121-162

2. Social Network Analysis

Social Network Analysis of our will sample demonstrates the existence of a Stationers' network based primarily around family units connected by social hubs and joined by 'weak ties' of trust and credit. Our period can be seen within a long-term decline in the importance of the local parishes as cohesive points as well as a steady increase in the centrality of the Stationers' Company and a general rise in connectivity between Stationers. Additionally, there was a drastic reduction in density caused by the plague in 1625-6 and a significant demographic shift over the following decade. These SNA findings are initial investigations rather than comprehensive analysis but concur with broader themes established throughout studies of early modern trade communities including the Stationers themselves.[1] Understanding the construction and operation of this network advances an understanding of the Stationers' community as one built upon family relationships, credit and social capital. Such connections were raised upon wider concepts of kinship and trust drawn from wider English society, as was the structure of the network. SNA enables a series of relationships to be read as metrics, which measure the size, density and key points of a network and underlying community structure. The first section will explore the prominence of family and importance of social hubs. The second section will evaluate the change in network quality generally and status of the social hubs and Stationer interconnections in the network structure over time.

The structure identified here reflects a similar pattern to other early modern European trade communities as well as to trade networks in other periods where kin and social capital were the foundations.[2] It can also be understood within a framework of 'weak ties' and 'primary clusters' outlined by Granovetter and others. Such communities are usually loose and formed of dense primary clusters within which most exchange and co-operation occurs, which are

[1] Roberta Dessi and Salvatore Piccolo, 'Merchant guilds, taxation and social capital' in *European Economic Review.* Vol. 83 (April 2016). pp90-110; Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds' in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol. 28, No. 4 (2014). pp169-192; Norah Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities in the English Revolution: The Politics of London Artisans' Protests, 1635–1659' in *International Review of Social History*. Vol. 39, no. 2. (1994). pp223–54; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making.* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998)

[2] David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade' in *The Business History Review*. Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn 2005). pp467-491; Maria Fusaro, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean' in *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 65, Issue 2. (2012). pp701-718; Martha Howell, 'Credit Networks and Political Actors in Thirteenth-Century Ypres' in *Past & Present. Vol. 242, Issue 1.* (February 2019). pp3-36; Juuso Martilla, 'Beyond the Family and the Household: Occupational Family Networks' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 35, Issue 2 (April 2010). pp128-146

connected by bridges that allow for a secondary level of exchange.[3] Studies of the Livery Companies have shown a centralising pattern across the early modern period which the present study confirms.[4] Analysis of the London companies has also established the devastating impact of the plague on these communities.[5] The 'network approach' to the print trade advocated by Hinks, Feather and others has aimed to advance studies of print trade networks beyond the over-used and weak 'network metaphor.'[6] Networks have often been considered by historians of printing but 'as an after-thought.'[7] They were necessary for the production and distribution of print with long-term partnerships and temporary collaborations.[8] Studies such as Petta on the Milan trade and Emmett on Robert Waldegrave have identified 'patterns of circulation' and an active role that printers and booksellers played in creating a 'web of connections' which could even catch printer trade members between the 'often competing and occasionally complimentary needs' of the networks in which they operated.[9] Feather believes that the networks of the book trade in early modern England existed before print and the Stationers Company and 'allowed it to present itself as a cultural community.'[10] The existing scholarship therefore enables understanding of the findings of this chapter as concurrent with the nature of the Stationers' and other Companies and of early modern trade networks at large.

Social Network Analysis is a methodology with a strong theoretical foundation and dedicated scholarship. While this thesis adopts SNA it does so in a non-specialist manner, eschewing the more complex calculations and theory which have been used successfully in

[3] Mark S. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties' in *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol.78, No. 6 (May 1973). pp1360-1380; Barry Wellman, 'The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers' in *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 84, No. 5 (March 1979). pp1201-1231

[4] Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London' in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 60, Issue. 4 (2017). pp865-887; George Unwin, *The Gilds and Companies of London.* (Methuen, London, 1925)

[5] Unwin, *Gilds*; Tim Leunig, Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships,1600-1749' in *The Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 71, No. 2 (June 2011). pp413-443

[6] John Hinks and Catherine Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks in the Book Trade.* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2017); Rebecca Jane Emmett, *Networks of Print, Patronage and Religion in England and Scotland 1580-1604: The Career of Robert Waldegrave.* (PhD thesis, Plymouth University, 2013)

[7] Emmett, *Networks of Print.* pp30-31; John Hinks, 'Introduction. Beyond metaphor: A personal view of historical networks in the book trade' in Hinks and Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks*. pp1-2

[8] Hinks, 'Beyond metaphor*.'* pp1-2

[9] Massimo Petta, 'Networks of Printers and the Dissemination of News: The Case of Milan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' pp64-84 in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World.* (Brill, Leiden, 2015). p64; Emmett, *Networks of Print*. pp14-7, 34; Victoria Gardner, 'Introduction.' in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (eds.), *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*. (Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, London, 2014). ppvii-xvi. pviii

[10] John Feather, 'Book trade networks and community contexts' in Hinks and Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks.* pp14-28. 14, 26

other historical studies.[11] Instead the benefits of network analysis are used in addition to broader qualitative approaches in the following two chapters with the aim of understanding the actual structure and operation of the network. The focus is on metrics which relate most closely to real world social structure and are best understood by those from a print history background, although they will be rather basic to the experienced SNA practitioner. Even so the terminology and concepts require some explanation which will be attempted here.

Network theory in the social sciences and humanities is essentially an analysis of people and relationships which are portrayed as 'nodes' and 'edges.' This is within a group determined by the researcher which may be based on geographical location, membership of a society or participation in a shared activity for example. Often group members share several qualities as is the case in the present study; here we can expect a stronger network with a greater number of shared connections. A network can also be analysed around a point in what is called an 'ego-centric' or 'star' network. Wills are by their very nature an ego-centric network around a central 'spoke.' When considering a network sample it is best to think of it as a series of people (nodes) connected by a series of relationships (edges). Network data is recorded and analysed as a series of relationships; our sample for example contains 1,084 distinct relationships. Often networks are visualised in diagrams which can be particularly useful in studies such as ours where combined with a more qualitative approach. In such visualisations the network appears as a 'web' of nodes connected by edges.

The sample, once it has been extracted from the data, can be analysed as a complete entity, illuminating characteristics of the population, or individual nodes can be analysed in relation to one another. The first approach uses 'global' metrics and is concerned with overall network qualities such as cohesion. The second uses 'local' metrics and usually focuses on identifying the 'central' and other important points. There are four global metrics used here. The most straightforward are the counting of connected components and diameter. In most network samples of historical societies, whether by design of the community at the time or due to missing data, the group will have separate networks within it that are unconnected to the others. Sometimes there will be many smaller networks or a few large ones which can be used as a measure of overall connection within the network, with the basic principle that

[11] John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell, 'Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434' in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 6 (May 1993). pp1259-1319; Charles Wetherell, Andrejs Plakans and Barry Wellman, 'Social networks, kinship, and community in Eastern Europe' in Journal of Interdisciplinary History. Vol. 24, Issue 4 (March 1994). p639; Carolina Lipp, 'Kinship Networks, Local Government, and Elections in a Town in Southwest Germany, 1800-1850' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol 30, Issue 4 (October 2005). pp347-365

the fewer the number of components the greater the connection. Any network analysis can consider the sample overall or focus on particular connected components. The diameter is the distance between the two furthest nodes in a connected component and so is a measure of connection within each component with the smaller the distance the greater the suggested overall connection.

While numbering connected components and measuring diameter provides a rough guide to a network it can be analysed in greater detail by measuring density and the global clustering coefficient (**GCC**). Density is a calculation of all the connections in a network compared to the total possible number of connections (if all nodes were connected to one another). The higher the density the more interconnections within a network and therefore theoretically a greater intensity and community cohesion. GCC is a measure of how much clustering there is in a network which it does by calculating the number of triads in a sample compared to the total possible number. A triad is when three points are connected to one another and it is generally considered a sign of greater network cohesion as it identifies the degree to which nodes shared connections. Like GCC the local clustering coefficient (**LCC**) measures the possible compared to actual triads around an individual node and therefore whether that node is within its own cluster with increased cohesion. A node with a high LCC is one whose neighbours are also connected to one another. More generally a group of nodes is said to form a 'cluster' when there are more interconnections between them than between that group and the rest of the network. Clusters in our network appear when multiple members of the same family have wills in our sample and so there are several connections between them and their co-legatees but fewer from that group to others in the network. While difficult to quantify, clustering is an indication of high cohesion within that group, with high exchange and cooperation within it.

For the present study, as with many network analyses of historical communities, the evaluation of individual nodes probably has the most impact. It is easy to relate the importance of a particular node or type of node to a real-world role and often the nodes which stand out most in a network analysis are those identified when considering the same data in other ways. The ability to compare individual nodes in their comparative positions within the network adds a further dimension with the identification of trends and anomalies. Nodes are measured with 'local' metrics of which average shortest path length known as 'path length' is probably the most straightforward to understand, partly through the work of

pioneer network analyst Stanley Milgram and his 'Six Degrees of Separation' theory.[12] **Path length** is the average number of edges between a node and every other node in a network. It can be thought of as how many relationships it takes for that person to connect with any other. A high path length indicates a position on the edge of the network where there is considerable distance to many other nodes while a short path length reflects a more central position. The other local metric used here is **betweenness centrality** which is the importance or influence of that point overall and how 'central' in the network it is. The higher the betweenness centrality the closest it is to the centre of a network and based upon the principle that information and resources are likely to take the short possible route the more likely they are to pass through that node. Path length and centrality metrics are often at similar levels in the same nodes as they are good measures of importance within a network. Two important terms for our network are descriptions of types of nodes. A **bridge** is a node filling a structural hole, providing a link between two individuals or clusters. A **hub** has a similar role but is more important as it is a crucial link between many poorly or unconnected individuals or clusters.

2.1 Full network findings

Conducting Social Network Analysis on our will sample suggests that the family was the fundamental social unit and that a select few individuals with high social capital were central. The Stationers' network was loosely formed around the family unit, linked by key connecting points of credit and capital. These trends have been identified in other studies of early modern trade communities and in the print trade specifically.[13] By extension it can be concluded that the Stationers' community was based upon family clusters where cohesion and exchange primarily occurred, with an important connecting role of social capital. When social capital was vested in certain individuals or institutions, they were central to the community, which is reflected in their network centrality. Together they were the product of a generally loose network. This is understandable as the network was drawn from the wider patterns of early modern England, not just culturally but also from actual social networks of family, capital and credit. One of the striking things about the print trade when viewed as a network is that the structural roles of women become more pronounced as bridges for their

[12] Stanley Milgram, 'The Small-World Problem' in *Psychology Today*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (May 1967). pp61-67.
[13] e.g. Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. (YUP, Yale, 2019); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*. (CUP, Cambridge, 1991); Johns, *Nature of the Book.*

families and as hubs across the system, showing their importance within the networks of kinship and credit in a way that is not seen at the ‘‘official’ face of trade history’.[14]

Low-density networks built upon kinship and social capital are characteristic of trade communities across time and place, including early modern England. Family and social capital were important aspects of English culture at the time and the foundations upon which communities functioned.[15] Loose, family-oriented trade networks operating upon social capital have been identified in studies ranging from the thirteenth-century wool trade in Ypres to nineteenth-century smiths in Finland.[16] For our period studies of the Atlantic Madeira trade and the Anglo-Ottoman network in the Mediterranean establish each as key strengths in long-distance trade networks.[17] It has also been seen over distance for the Milanese print trade and the recruitment of apprentices by the London Companies.[18] In studies of the Stationers’ Company itself kin and credit have been well-identified both by network and non-network methods.[19] The position of women in particular has been shown to have been a key in the network of the Company by Smith who called them genealogical anchors.[20] Each study makes clear the nature of trade communities and networks in pre-modern times as being fundamentally loose, based upon kinship and social capital and drawn from their wider societies, all of which can be identified as patterns here.

2.1.1. Family

For Stationers provision for immediate family was a driving motivation in making a will and they displayed affection for kith and kin beyond. This reflected their lives as heads of household with obligations to their children and wives, operating within a wider social network, chiefly of family. Social Network Analysis shows each testator in the network was

[14] Maureen Bell, *Women Publishers of Puritan Literature in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*: *Three Case Studies* (PhD thesis, Loughborough, 1987). p5
[15] Peter Laslett, ‘Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the ‘nuclear-hardship’ hypothesis’ in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 3, Issue 2. (August 1988). pp153-175; Naomi Tadmor, ‘Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change’ in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 25, Special Issue 1. (May 2010). pp15-48; Shani D’Cruz, ‘The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker.’ pp181-207 in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800.* (Macmillan, Hampshire, 1994); Craig Muldrew, ‘Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England’ in *Social History.* Vol. 18, No.2 (May 1993). pp163-183
[16] Howell, ‘Credit Networks’; Martilla, ‘Beyond the Family.’
[17] Hancock, ‘Trouble with Networks’; Fusaro, ‘Mercantile networks’
[18] Petta, ‘Networks of Printers’; Leunig, Minns and Wallis, ‘Networks in the Premodern Economy’
[19] Hinks and Feely (eds.), *Historical Networks*; Johns, *The Nature of the Book;* Watt, *Cheap Print*; Emmett, *Networks of Print.*
[20] Helen Smith, ‘*Grossly Material Things’: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England.* (OUP, Oxford, 2012). p105

situated within a cluster of their own legatees most of which connected only to them. We can see this trend also in the clustering of kin where multiple relations had wills in our sample and several key instances where family members acted as bridges to the wider network. SNA, as wills themselves do, presents testators as part of their immediate social world, who in most cases existed independently of the trade with family clusters connecting in greater intensity within themselves than to the wider network. The other key characteristic of family here was that between the clusters were several instances of weak-tie bridges where family members connected testators to other areas of the network. There were often siblings and partners who connected through virtue of their own references in the wills of others, sometimes without their own testaments. SNA reveals the nuances in familial relationships as they existed within the wider community and demonstrates the importance of family in forming the base units and connections across the trade.

The centrality of the family in the Stationers' community is demonstrated by the position of testators within ego-centric 'stars', and a wider clustering around kin. All testators, apart from those with nuncupative wills, were at the centre of their own ego-centric 'star' network. The nature of wills in representing relationships emanating from a central node means each testator naturally formed their own star. However, in our network most of their legatees were connected only to them and therefore they were mainly insular clusters. In practical terms it represents close exchange and cooperation within each star, and many legatees would have had relationships between them not documented in the source material. For example, the family of a testator may be assumed to have had relationships with one another but we only have evidence for their links to the testator.

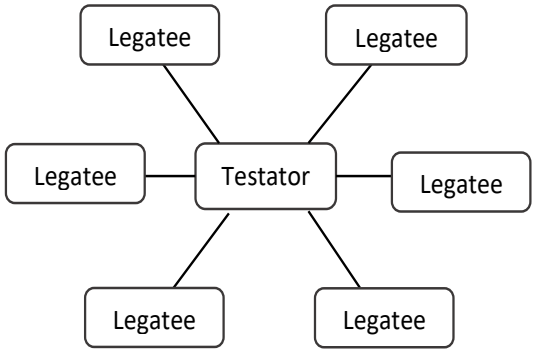

Figure 1- A 'Star' Network

For a legatee to have had a connection beyond this star depended upon their appearing elsewhere in the will sample. Otherwise, the network is formed of many unconnected stars. While the 'main' connected component contained 39 of 59 wills, all of which were connected in some way, eighteen of the remaining twenty testators formed their own independent star networks with links only to those in their wills, mainly family. The relative insularity of testators within family can also be seen in the main connected component where multiple testators from the same family were better connected to each other than to those outside, therefore forming extended family clusters. This can be seen in several instances with the Lownes cluster particularly prominent containing Stationers from the Man, Lownes, Grantham and Latham families and formed of four testators and nineteen nodes connected to two or more of them. Within this dense cluster there would have been considerable exchange of resources and cohesion. By virtue of this there are family members who were among the best connected in the network, such as the child Ann Lownes Jr who had an average path length of 3.9 and by this measure was the 39th most connected of all 1098 nodes in the network. She is there by virtue of her bequests from three of these four testators and her high connectivity underlines the density of the cluster and the importance of family within the immediate networks of Stationers. Her promotion is an effect of a wills-led network study which demonstrates the importance of such individuals to the Stationers' network despite being otherwise unrecorded and seemingly unimportant. Rather than anomalies such points should be seen as important mutual connections. Primary clustering within families has been identified by Wellman, Granovetter and others in studies of twentieth-century Toronto and Boston as the unit within which resources are most tightly retained and cooperation mostly occurs.[21] It is clear that within our network the family was the most important unit, with clustering both immediately around each testator and beyond.

[21] Granovetter, 'Weak Ties'; Wellman, 'Community Question.'

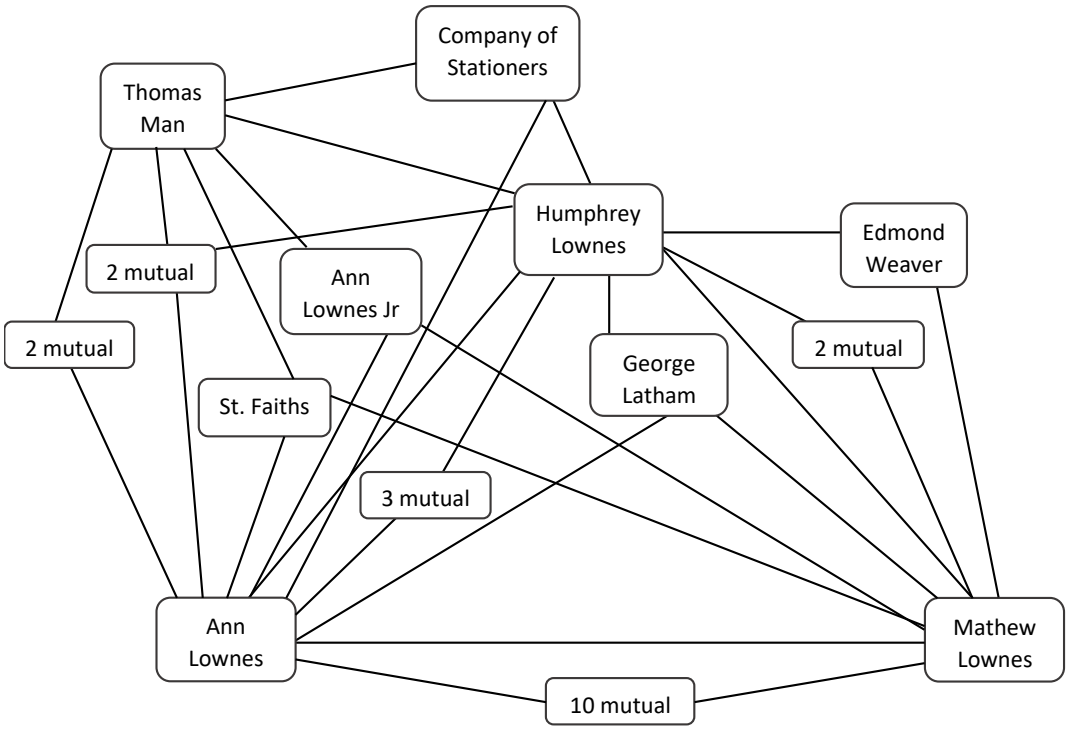

Figure 2- Lownes Family Cluster

As well as connecting amongst themselves family also provided important links across the network and commonly acted as 'bridges' tying kinship clusters to otherwise disparate parts of the system. Often a husband-wife or sibling link connected to different parts of the network, representing the role of 'weak ties' secondarily connecting family clusters to other parts of the community. Granovetter and others have demonstrated the importance of weak ties in the exchange of resources between otherwise insular clusters. Some linked otherwise unconnected primary clusters to the network such as Bartholomew Downes who was only connected to the rest of the network through his non-testator brother, Thomas. Incidentally, Thomas stated elsewhere that his brother was 'merely a bookbinder' who worked for him, which is here supported by Bartholomew's lack of links across the trade.[22] The greater extent to which family bridges connected the network is seen in the role of Jacomine Langford linking her (albeit nuncupative) husband Bernard to the network through her father, Michael Sparkes. This was a position women often occupied. Ann Boler was the only link between her husband and the rest of the network while Ann Lownes was one of the points in her family cluster with the most ties to the rest of the system. It is likely that many women did serve as bridges in life as well as in the network metrics, connecting their kin to other parts

[22] R. B. McKerrow, (gen. ed), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*. (For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, London, 1910). p94

of the community. The bridges seen here likely represented other relationships which are not present in the evidence and so a bridge should not necessarily be seen as a weak link but instead as a minimum with many parallel links not apparent. Such a pattern might not be visible when considering wills individually. It offers a sense of the importance of family bridges across the trade and emphasises the importance of the family as a force for connection.

Women in particular are key figures in our network conceptualisation of the trade. We see them as central figures within their family groups but also with connectivity across the system. In our network analysis we see four of these five women as important connective points, or 'hubs' within their families such as Jacomine Langford who connected her husband Bernard, father Michael Sparkes senior and brother Michael Sparkes junior. Similarly, Anne Lownes was a member of an extended Lownes-Man family clan formed in this sample by the wills of Thomas Man, his son-in-law Humphrey Lownes, his brother Mathew and Ann, Mathew's wife. This group of wills forms a cluster which is a group with a greater number of internal connections than ties between the group to the rest of the system. Clusters occur in this web in most cases where two or more family members have wills in the sample because of the shared connections between them. In the Lownes-Man cluster, the largest in our sample, Ann is the most important point with twenty-three connections, five more than the second most, her husband who had eighteen links.

2.1.2. Social hubs

Another element illuminated here by SNA is the importance of a few social hubs within the community due to connections beyond familial circles, reflecting connective roles. Network Analysis highlights several key individuals who were similarly well-connected, including Adams and Weaver, who would have been forces for cohesion and exchange. Such key points are best understood using wills or Company records to explain their positions which is why SNA is best articulated as one tool in concert with others. SNA illuminates social hubs whose importance is only apparent across the data, for example nodes who were not testators but appear in many wills. This is seen best in the role of institutions such as parishes and the Stationers Company, which was the central point in the network by virtue of its references across the sample. Highly connected establishments featured prominently in the network reflecting cohesive roles within the community as practical and ideological loci. We also see this with the network conceptualisation demonstrating how women were important hubs. Together several key institutions and people connected the network as important hubs,

based on their social capital, and would have been rare shared points of mutual value in the Stationers' loose trade community.

SNA suggests the role of social capital and credit in connecting individuals across the trade beyond family confines and demonstrates the centralising power of a few social hubs in connecting separate parts of the system and acting as conduits for exchange within the trade. Edmond Weaver for example appears prominently within the network as arguably the second most important point and had an average path length of less than 3 (i.e. three relationships). He also had the second highest betweenness and closeness centralities meaning that he was an important conduit across the network. It seems that this high level of connectivity was the result of his high social capital.

While there were other members in the network who worked for the Company it raises the question of whether such positions were the result of high social capital or created it. For example, Thomas Montfort, who was Clerk at the beginning of our period, is a testator here but was an isolated node. In contrast Henry Walley his successor was one of the best connected despite featuring in only four wills at the end of our period. Walley had a very short average path length with 3.46 and one of the highest betweenness centralities. Another key figure was Thomas Downes who appears like Walley in several key wills and therefore took a prominent position in the network. Court records show he was repeatedly chosen to mediate disputes and to sit on committees and was a warden three years out of a possible four between 1636 and 1640.[23] Altogether, there were several key figures in the network who were social hubs, mutually valued by their peers as points of connection in the community. Social hubs with important positions within the network can be identified by SNA and understood in the context of will and Company records. Together, they suggest that those with high social capital were important hubs connecting the community.

[23] William Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640*. (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1957). The index lists 16 instances where he was an arbiter.

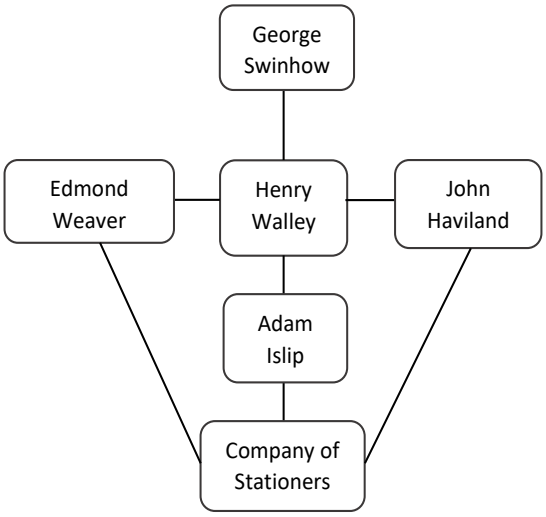

Figure 3- 'Core' Network of Henry Walley

Several institutions were also social hubs, most importantly the parish of St. Faiths and the Stationers' Company itself. Bequests to charities and parishes made them important connecting points in the network and while bequests to St. Bartholomew and Christ's Hospitals reflected a shared sense of community, others indicated a real-world cohesive role. Parish churches were points of unity as physical places and the focus of local government where Stationers might meet as well as identifying them within a shared geography and therefore having a greater propensity for other connections. They could also be points of fixity and shared allegiance. Early bibliographers thought that when Stationers served as churchwardens it was important enough to be recorded.[24] St. Faiths, the parish church underneath St. Pauls and the most important parish, was a key social hub with an average path length of 3.23, the fifth lowest in the whole sample and a betweenness centrality of 0.17, the fourth highest, demonstrating an important role as conduit for exchange. Several parishes were bridges such as St. Dunstans and St. Sepulchres which also had high betweenness centralities, showing important secondary roles. They would have been practical points of contact with Stationers meeting weekly in them, as well as suggesting other shared links through geographical proximity.

[24] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: a history, 1403-1959.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960); McKerrow, *Dictionary*

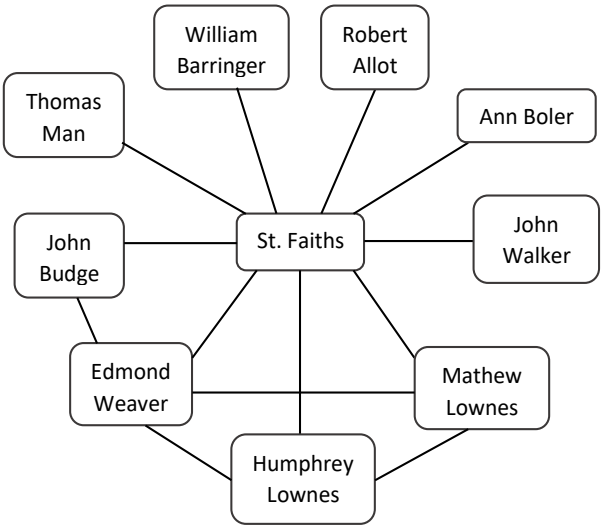

Figure 4- Network of St. Faiths

The most important institution was the Stationers Company which was the network's central point with the top-ranked average path length and centrality. There is justified debate over the practical role of the Company as an institution and to what extent Stationers fostered a shared culture and identity which suggests that it had considerable emotional pull.[25] The Company was central in the network due to bequests by many of the best-connected testators most of whom were Company 'elites', members of the governing Court of Assistants. This may have been due to an over-representation of elites in our sample which has a higher-than-average proportion of Assistants.[26] They mainly bequeathed money for dinners for the Livery or Assistants reinforcing a sense of elite cohesion, and also acted in a charitable role toward the poor and the widows of the Company. These bequests suggest a wider cultural gifting similar to that identified by the elites of the Armourers' Company, and indeed a cup given by Ann Lownes fits the pattern of prestige gifts identified by Kilburn-Toppin and Smith.[27] Breaking down the role of the Company elites within the wider community network calls for further work but the centrality of the Company is in keeping with a broader pattern of institutions as important social hubs.

[25] Blagden, *Stationers' Company*; Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London' in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 60, Issue. 4 (2017). pp865-887; Johns, *The Nature of the Book;* Feather, 'Book trade networks.'
[26] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* pp421-7/ fol. 140a-142b, pp428-33/ fol. 144a-146b has lists of membership for 1632 and 1638 which averages at 229 in total with 63.4% Yeomen, 28.9% Liverymen and 7.8% Assistants compared to this sample where there were 62.7% Yeomen, 20.3% Liverymen and 16.9% Assistants.
[27] Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures'; Helen Smith, '*Grossly Material Things',*pp127-30

Women in this network are shown to have been social hubs in a way suggested by their prominence throughout our will sample. This has been long argued by work on women in the trade because the social network of the Stationers' community was genealogical and therefore women were necessarily in leading structural positions within the entire system.[28] Using the metric of betweenness centrality which measures the degree to which pathways across the structure flow through a point we see this. Four of the five testatrixes in our sample by this metric score ahead of their husbands. Lownes, Boler and Ann Bird place eleventh, sixteenth and nineteenth respectively across this sample. A similar way of assessing a person's prominence within the system is to see how well connected they were using average path length which is the average distance between a point with every other. By measuring their individual connectivity within the grid Lownes and Boler also score well in ninth and tenth place respectively with 3.33 and 3.39, just above Thomas Man at 3.30 and only half a relationship more than the top score which was the Company of Stationers' itself at 2.87. While only a rough guideline the fact that women in this system take up 20% of the top ten best connected points, compared to only 8.5% of the will sample suggests that women were comparatively better connected than men, inviting further study.

2.1.3. A low-density Stationers' network

A characteristic of our network was its low density, representing a community loosely connected and with little cohesion, although with a core network of Stationers identifiable within it. Family clusters and social hubs were characteristics of the Stationers' community however; they are only possible or necessary in a low-density network. This is demonstrated by a lack of clustering, low density metrics and high path lengths, as well as the high number of connected components and wide diameter. Together they reflect a relatively low connectivity and therefore of cohesion and exchange across the system. Within the network, however, a denser 'core' network can be extracted by removing from the data all nodes with fewer than two edges linking to them, leaving only the points which actively connected the network.[29] The core consisted primarily of other Stationers and the reduced dataset demonstrates a slightly higher density in the same metrics. Therefore, while the network overall was loosely connected there can be identified a distinct 'Stationers' network' within it, though compared to other network studies of communities the density was still low.

[28] Smith, *'Grossly Material Things'*, p93
[29] Based on the model used in Sandro Lombardini, 'Family, kin, and the quest for community: A study of three social networks in early-modern Italy' in *The History of the Family.* Vol. 1, Issue 3 (1996). pp227-257. p234

Wellman has suggested that 'the density of active and intimate networks ranges between 0.3 and 0.5' i.e. between around a third to half of all possible ties are present.[30] In Lombardini's study of inter-married families in early modern Italy 50% of the network was connected by more than one point, around the same levels established by Wellman.[31] The density for this network (0.002) falls far below that expected of an intimate network as does the percentage of nodes connected by more than one point (19.4%) suggesting that by both standards it was loosely connected. This suggests that the dominance of legatees came at the expense of other connections.

Our network from first glance had low density and connectivity as indicated by the prominence of family clusters and social hubs, characteristics of networks with low density.[32] The result would have been within the network a relatively low ability to cooperate and slow rates of exchange and communication which would have occurred primarily within family clusters and through the mediation of social hubs and bridges. Alongside the opportunities provided by the Company itself for cooperation and communication as recorded in the Stationers' records and indicated by the importance of the Company as the central hub in this network. This is demonstrated by the density metric which measures the level of mutual interconnectedness overall and was only 0.002 and 0.003 for the main connected component. The measure of clustering, GCC similarly is only 0.03 and for the main component only rises to 0.04. The average path length which is a good bellwether of connectedness was 4.73, almost five relationships. The diameter similarly is a rough indication of connectivity which here was 10 indicating a wide as well as loose network. The very low density is therefore clear across our analysis and indicates a community with little cohesion and slow exchange. This characteristic has been identified by Hancock and others as a strength in early modern trade networks in order to make them flexible across distance and in the face of ever-changing demographics.[33]

Within the loose overall network can be identified a 'core' of denser connections which were formed between testators, other Stationers and social hubs. This eliminates the 'star' clusters representing each testator's immediate social circle leaving 213 nodes consisting of testators and those connecting them, most of whom were Stationers. It is a striking demonstration that the network was only loosely connected, bound only by a very small number of individuals

[30] Barry Wellman, 'The Place of Kinfolk in Personal Community Networks' in *Marriage & Family Review.* Vol. 15, Issue 1-2 (1990). p195-228. p202
[31] Lombardini, 'Quest for community.' p234
[32] Granovetter, 'Weak Ties'; Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks'
[33] Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks'; Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks'

and that testators existing primarily within their own, non-Stationer social worlds. From the core network however, we see a greater degree of connectivity. In comparison with the full network, density increases from 0.003 to 0.033 and GCC from 0.04 to 0.32. Perhaps most striking is the move of average path length down to 3.56, more than an entire relationship less than the 4.73 of the main network. The small rise in connection from the network overall demonstrates greater connectivity and cohesion within the core. The full sample also consisted largely of Stationers but that most of this core were Stationers suggests that a distinct 'Stationers' network' did exist as a feature of the community and the trade, although it was still relatively loosely connected.

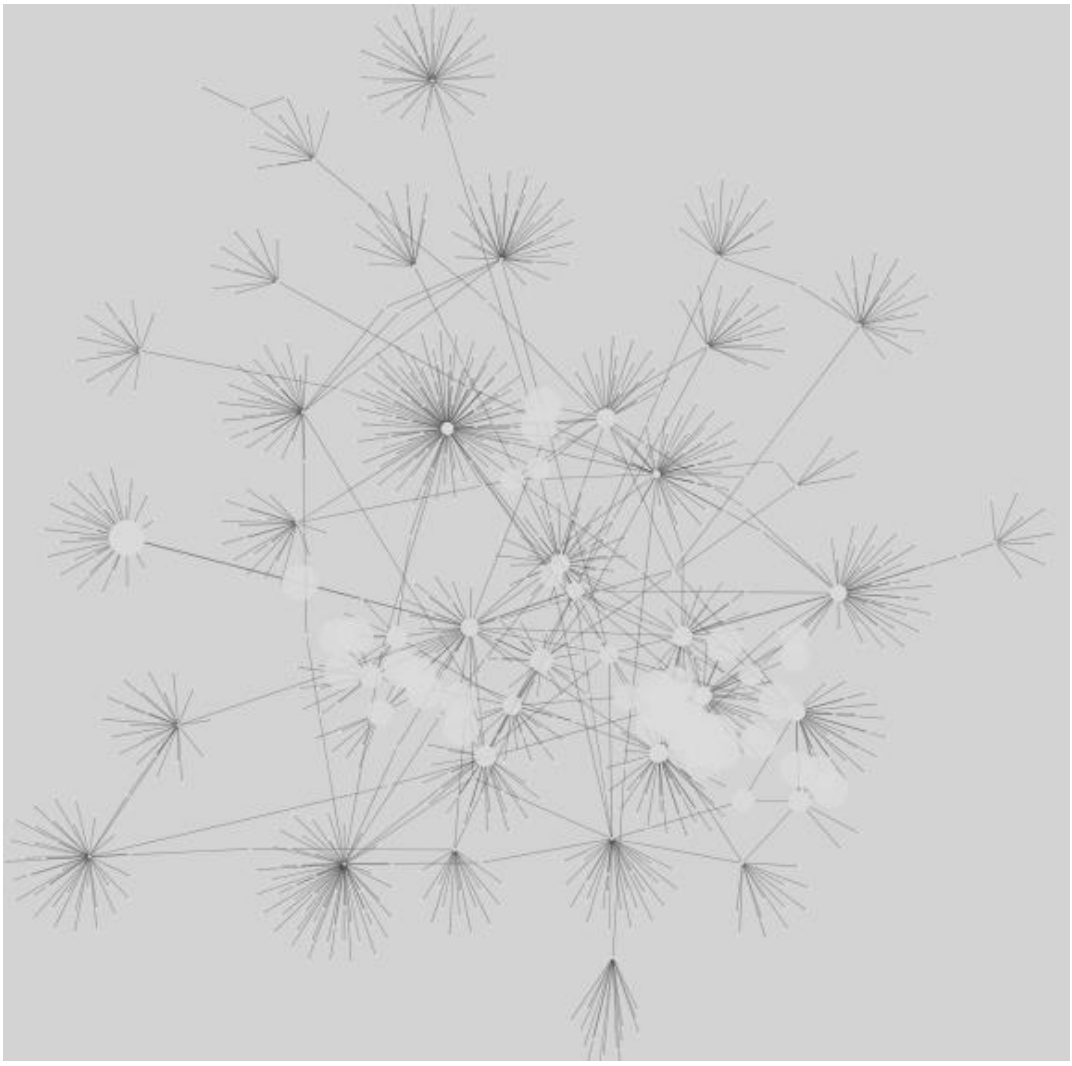

Figure 5- Full 1624-41 Network

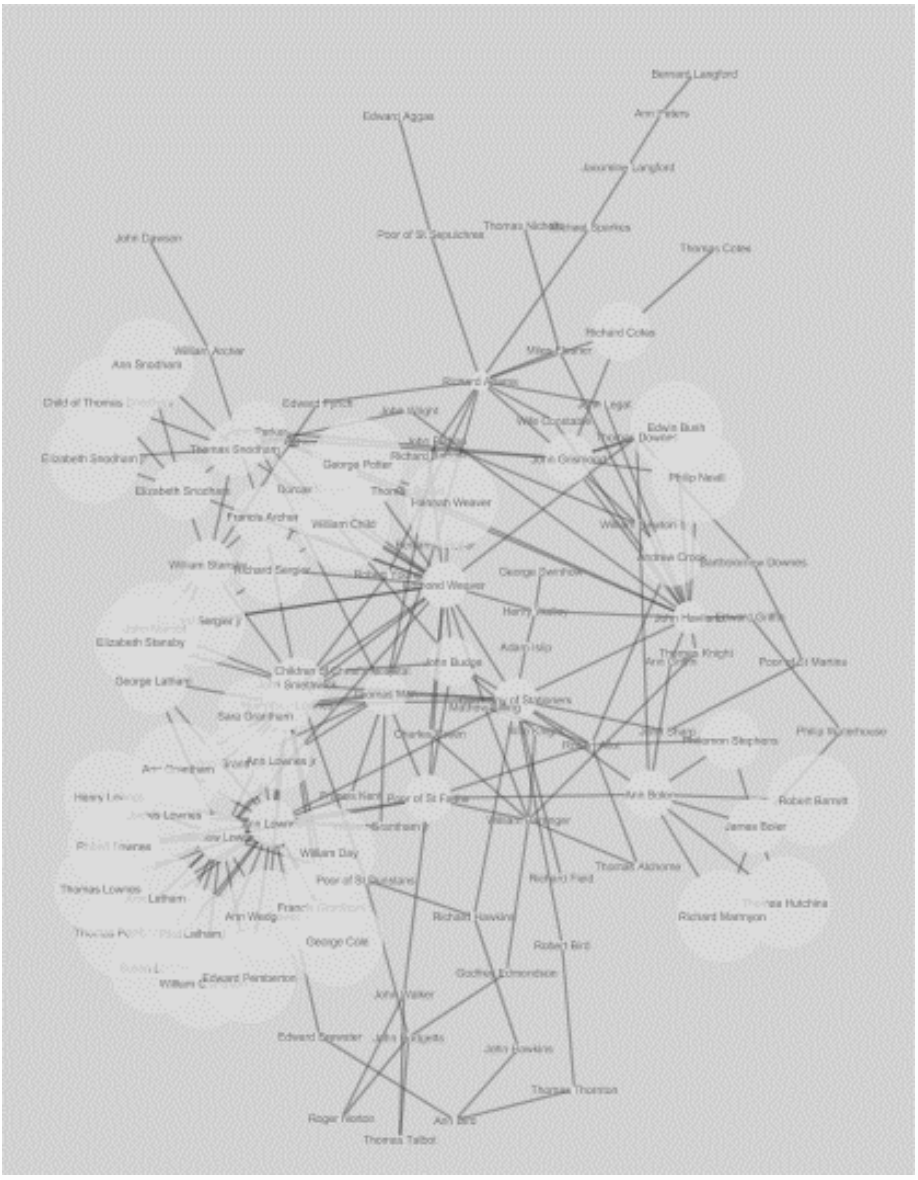

Figure 6- Core 1624-41 Network

2.1.4. Conclusion

Conducting SNA on our entire will sample demonstrates the existence of a loose network consisting primarily of family clusters and connected by individual and institutional social hubs within which can be identified a Stationers' network. By assessing relationships collectively these patterns can be seen and understood. Such qualities in turn reflect common understandings of early modern trade networks and will be elaborated on in subsequent chapters. For the Stationers' community and the print trade more generally, it indicates the need to understand them as products of kinship and trust. Relationships based on kinship and credit would have been primary factors determining co-operation in business, exchange and Company cohesion. While SNA is a useful tool, we must appreciate that it only provides a

partial snapshot of the wider community structure and culture and must be used within a wider methodological context. Likewise, wills provide only a subset of a testator's connections. Nonetheless it is clear that the network and the Stationers' community was typical of contemporary trade networks in that it was fundamentally drawn from the wider social and cultural structures of early modern England.

2.2 Network change over time

Analysis of the network over time demonstrates changes within the trends already identified and suggests a long-term centralisation as well as a short-term fluctuation in density. Our findings demonstrate how the network was subject to internal and external pressures causing long and short-term changes. The shift away from bequests to parishes and increase in bequests to the Company may be unrelated but do appear to present a society which was increasingly less rooted in the traditional centres of the print trade such as the parish of St. Faiths, while identifying more with the institution and community of the Company itself. There seems here to be a change in the network structures of the Stationers as well as a growing sense of a shared identity. The same trend is seen in the increase in inter-stationer connections suggesting growing cohesion within the trade. There was also a drastic reduction in density and connectivity in the middle period compared to the adjoining two periods which would have ended many relationships and indicated how susceptible the network was to sudden changes, particularly in periods of high mortality. By assessing the metrics over time we add to the overall network analysis and therefore counter the justified criticism that SNA is restricted by the failure to account for the passage of time.[34]

Such short and long-term change were features of the community and while inviting further study this section does suggest a short-term reduction in density around 1630 alongside a broader centralisation of the network. By dividing the period into three sub-networks it is possible to get a sense of change over time from 1624-7 to 1628-36 and 1638-41. They are judged to be the natural separations in the sample divided by periods of around a year without a will. While the middle period is the longest in length it does in fact have the smallest number of wills of the three sub-networks, while the periods at either end had high mortality. The main trend identified is a change toward greater centrality and inter-connectivity of Stationers and the emergence of the Company itself as the main central institution. While our study is a snapshot of a long process it is possible to suggest an increase in cohesion and

[34] Charles Wetherell, 'Historical Social Analysis', in *International Review of Social History,* Vol. 43, Supplement. (1998). pp125-144

co-operation in the trade, the community and Company hierarchies. This may have influenced the exchange of ideas and resources, a sense of identity and the way in which trade partnerships were formed and the trade itself policed. Centralisation and increasing elite power during the early modern period has been identified within the Stationers' as with London companies more generally as part of a seventeenth-century shift in trade and community structures.[35] Alongside was a decline in the importance of the local parishes, which was likely part of a broader mental shift in allegiances and identity. In the short term the network's susceptibility to impacts such as the plague of 1625 is clear with a rapid decrease in network density following. This may have delayed or invigorated the trend to centralise in the medium term, but the immediate impact was clearly a dramatic reduction in trade connectivity.

[35] Unwin, *Gilds;* Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1969).*;* Ogilvie, 'Economics of Guilds'; Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities'; Blagden, *Stationers' Company;* Adams, *Nature of the Book*; Christopher O'Riordan, 'The Democratic Revolution in the Company of Thames Watermen 1641-2' in *East London Record*, No. 6 (1983). p17-26; Celeste Chamberland, 'Honor, Brotherhood, and the Corporate Ethos of London's Barber-Surgeons' Company, 1570–1640' in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. Vol. 64, Issue 3 (July 2009). pp300-332

	Wills	Bequests	Nodes	Connected Components	Diameter	Av. shortest path	GCC	Density
1624-7 (Early)	16 [11]	388 [313]	360 [280]	6	7	4.06 [4.1]	0.058 [0.08]	0.006 [0.008]
1628-36 (Mid)	21 [9]	308 [215]	317 [213]	12	10	4.88 [4.99]	0 [0]	0.006 [0.01]
1638-41 (Late)	22 [15]	485 [423]	474 [407]	7	8	4.34 [4.36]	0.018 [0.02]	0.004 [0.005]
1624-41	59 [39]	1181 [989]	1098 [887]	20	10	4.72 [4.73]	0.03 [0.04]	0.002 [0.003]

Table 1- 1624-41 Global Network Metrics [Core component in brackets]

	Av. shortest path		LCC		Degree		Closeness centrality		Betweenness centrality	
	High	**Low**	**High**	**Low**	**High**	**Low**	**High**	**Low**	**High**	**Low**
Early	4.92 [4.92]	1.0 [2.57]	1.0 [1.0]	0 [0]	48.0 [48.0]	1.0 [1.0]	1.0 [0.39]	0.2 [0.2]	1.0 [0.4]	0 [0]
Middle	7.38 [7.38]	1.0 [3.15]	0 [0]	0 [0]	58 [58]	1.0 [1.0]	1.0 [3.17]	0.14 [0.14]	1.0 [0.66]	0 [0]
Late	5.51 [5.51]	1.0 [2.62]	1.0 [1.0]	0 [0]	99 [99]	1.0 [1.0]	1.0 [0.38]	0.18 [0.18]	1.0 [0.6]	0 [0]
Full	7.83 [7.83]	1.0 [2.87]	1.0 [1.0]	0 0.0]	99 [99]	1.0 [1.0]	1.0 [0.35]	0.13 [0.13]	1.0 [0.36]	0 [0]

Table 2- 1624-41 Local Network Metrics [Core component in brackets]

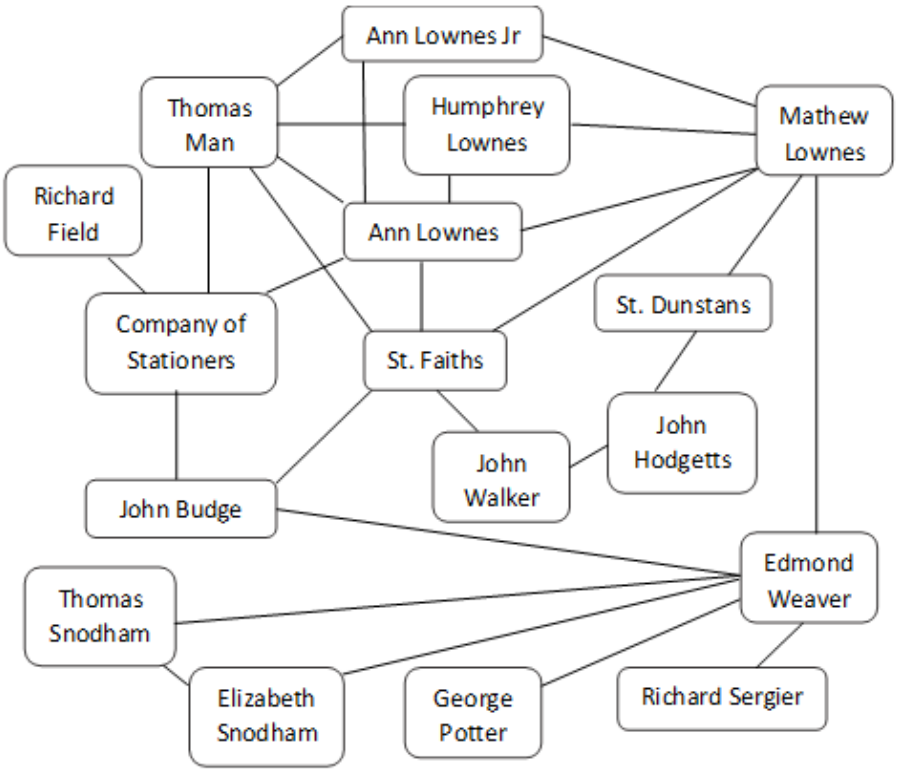

Figure 7- Core Network 1624-7

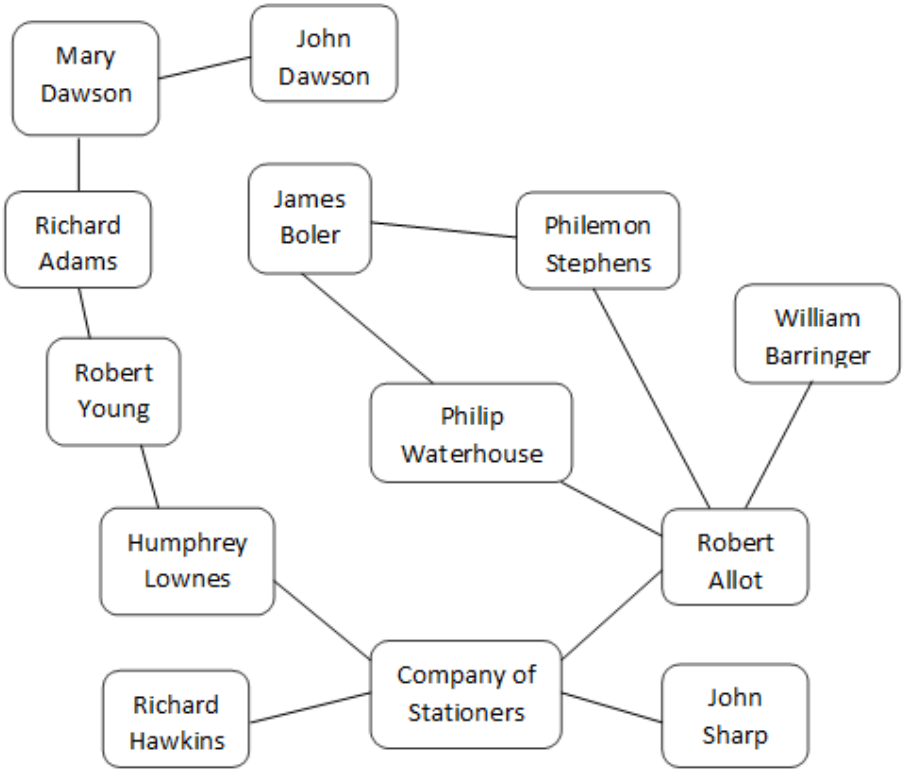

Figure 8- Core Network 1628-37

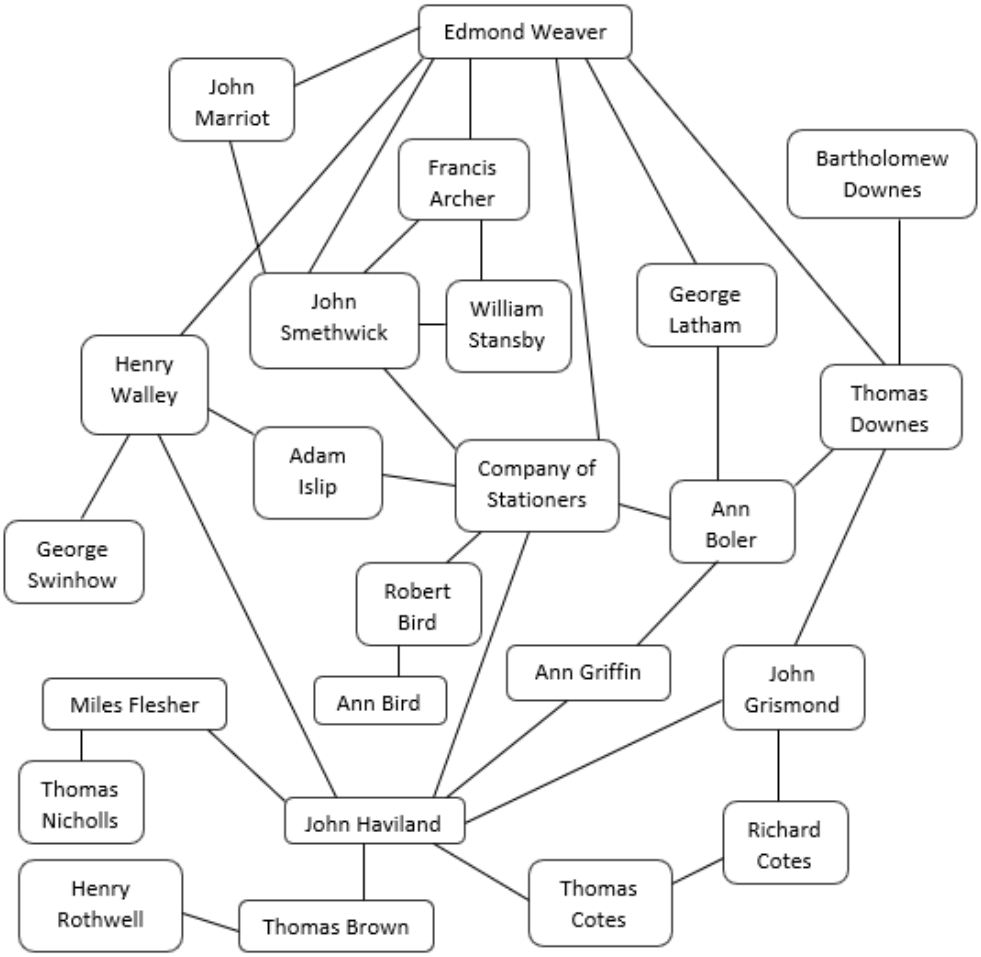

Figure 9- Core Network 1638-41

2.2.1. Institutional shifts

Over time a shift in the centrality of institutions as social hubs can be identified, with the importance of parishes decreasing while that of the Company increased. It probably reflects a movement away from the traditional locus of the trade around St. Pauls and the parish of St. Faiths while the institution of the Company itself remained important. As a longer-term trend it requires an extension of the present study at either end of our period to understand fully. It has been demonstrated in the previous section that parishes were important social hubs in the network overall. By tracing changing roles across time however we can see a general decrease in their importance. In the early period St. Dunstans and St. Faiths were important points with seven connections altogether while neither parish had more than one connection in the later periods. In contrast the Company had four connections in each of the first two periods before rising to six in the last. From such changes we can judge that while the Company grew in importance across time parishes decreased. While more research is required institutional hubs appear to have acted as unifying forces in different ways and there

was a broader shift in allegiance away from local parishes at the same time as a growing association to the Company itself.

Parishes were important hubs and bridges within the network but with a declining centrality across time. This would have partially been due to a movement away from the Stationers' traditional location around St. Paul's Churchyard and across our period the number of different London parishes receiving bequests rose from 5 to 7. The parish featuring most prominently was St. Faiths which was a key hub within the entire network, but its centrality decreased over time. Initially it had the shortest average path length which fell to the 108th shortest in the last period. Similarly, the parish had the third highest betweenness centrality in the early period, reducing to 12th and then 22nd. It would have been a drastic change and reveals that for the early period the parishes around St. Paul's, particularly St. Faiths were central hubs linking the network, but this reduced sharply in the two later periods. It was possibly the result of the death of many in the older generation who had retained ideological closeness to the traditional sixteenth-century centre of the trade while newer generations were more dispersed geographically. The prominence of the parishes at all despite being theoretically non-Stationer institutions demonstrated their great importance to the trade community at the beginning of the period. Branch has identified that livery companies had strong religious elements such as peace, charity and brotherly love which continued at least through to the end of the sixteenth-century.[36] However, while parishes remained as bridges they were less central in the later periods, especially St. Faiths which appears to have been increasingly reduced. The effect would have been a significant change in the way community cohesion occurred as Stationers were geographically more disparate and the local parishes served a reduced function as practical points of connection.

The Stationers' Company was consistently amongst the central nodes in each sub-network and in the last period was one of the most well-connected. Such a trend likely reflects a steadily centralising power of the Company at the same time as a reduction in the pull of the traditional Stationers' parishes. The metrics place the Company statistically at the very heart of the network by the end of our period though it was very close to this previously. It moved from having the fifth shortest average path length to the second shortest in the late period. The shift was from 3.02 to 2.63 demonstrating an overall reduction in average path length despite a general decrease in connectivity across the network. Similarly, the Company was

[36] Laura Branch, *Faith and fraternity: the London Livery Companies and the Reformation c.1510-c.1600.* (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2011)

the 10th highest ranked in betweenness centrality in the early period, rising to the second most in the latter two. An increasing centrality suggests a growing sense of community in our period, in keeping with a wider centralisation in London guilds.[37] The bequests to the Company appear part of a culture of close association and community especially to the poor of the Company, widows and for dinners for the Company elites. Most were by other elites suggesting a reciprocating and self-serving pattern of bequests within the governing party of Assistants as a direct effort to promote unity. The introduction of the English Stock in 1603 was argued by Handover to have had a cohesive effect on the Company.[38] To a large extent Handover was assuming increased cohesion as the expected result of the introduction of the Stock and work would be required on the intervening decades between 1603 and the present study to properly chart this. At most we can suggest that the introduction of the Stock was likely an earlier stage in a centralising trend which we have seen through the 1620s and 30s. The Stock itself would have also contributed to this process, binding the elites of the Company closer together economically and culturally through shared goals and acting as a marker of success and prestige.

By the end of our period it would seem that the local parishes, especially St. Faiths were greatly reduced by a changing landscape of the trade and some of the deficit in cohesive power may have been replaced by the Company, perhaps with a conscious effort to counter the loss. However, further work is required to tie in with general assessment of the London Companies as increasingly centralised. Altogether, it is possible to identify an increase in the centrality of the Company over time as in the beginning of the period it was competing with St. Faiths but by the end had won out as the network's central hub.

2.2.2. Middle dip

During the middle sub-network density was considerably lower than the contiguous periods which likely reflected a sharp drop in connectivity and cohesion. A change can be seen in all the key metrics such as density, centrality and average path length. It can also be shown in visualisations with a lack of inter-connection and a collapse from a web-like to chain-like structure before shape was regained in the latter period. During the middle period there was a reduction in interconnections which placed emphasis on a few key points even more so

[37] Unwin, *Gilds;* Plant, *English Book Trade;* Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds'; Carlin, 'Liberty and Fraternities'; O'Riordan, 'The Democratic Revolution'
[38] Phyllis M. Handover, *Printing in London, From 1476 to Modern Times.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960). p47

than either other period. It would have likely reduced the ability for cohesion and exchange across the network as well as making key central points particularly important. The shift was the result of the high mortality rate of the early period which corresponds with an outbreak of plague in the city. This was the 'worst attack of plague in the early seventeenth century' and 35,417 people died in London from May to November 1625.[39] Using the Court records in 1632 and 1638 which give the numbers of members in these years we can estimate there were around 229 members in the 1630s which we can use as a rough estimate for the figure in 1625.[40] Between December 1624 and December 1625 we have twelve Stationers wills proved in the PCC, making this a year of high mortality generally, with seven of these proved during the plague months of May to November. Using Goose and Evan's assessment that only 30% of people left wills then we can estimate that the seven deaths during the plague months represent 23 deaths, roughly 10% of Company members.[41] Slack estimated 20.1% of the population of London and its liberties died in 1625 so if anything 10% could still be an underestimate.[42]

That the network was so susceptible to demographic change, resulting in significant fluctuations in the social structure in the immediate term, highlights just how fragile it was and dependant on actual inter-personal connections rather than formal structures. It is important to note that wills, as records of death, were particularly sensitive to disruption by plague such as through death at a younger age when dependants were young and the death of potential legatees and executors. The return to the earlier situation in the end period shows some signs of longer-term resilience in the face of change. However, the last period had an even higher mortality than the first which suggests a similar drop in connectivity in the short term from 1641, though further study would be required to investigate. While a shift is somewhat crudely shown in the metrics, thisis undoubtedly due to the use of three consecutive sections rather than a more nuanced approach, such as a sliding network. With a greater length of time this might also be shown to have been part of a natural cycle of density rise and fall. Though the limited representation of links in wills means that we cannot be definite when drawing conclusions, it is possible to identify a general trend. Overall, the shift demonstrates both an immediate weakness in the network around 1630, as well as a wider susceptibility to demographic change and significant drops in cohesion and

[39] B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642*. (CUP, Cambridge, 1964). p99
[40] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book*. pp421-7/ fol. 140a-142b, pp428-33/ fol. 144a-146b
[41] Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, 'Wills as an Historical Source.' in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part.* pp38-71. pp44-5
[42] Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1985). p151

connectivity. The evidence from wills is only a minimum of actual relationships however and a fuller study of this period including evidence from extant texts and the *Registers* would offer a better understanding of this.

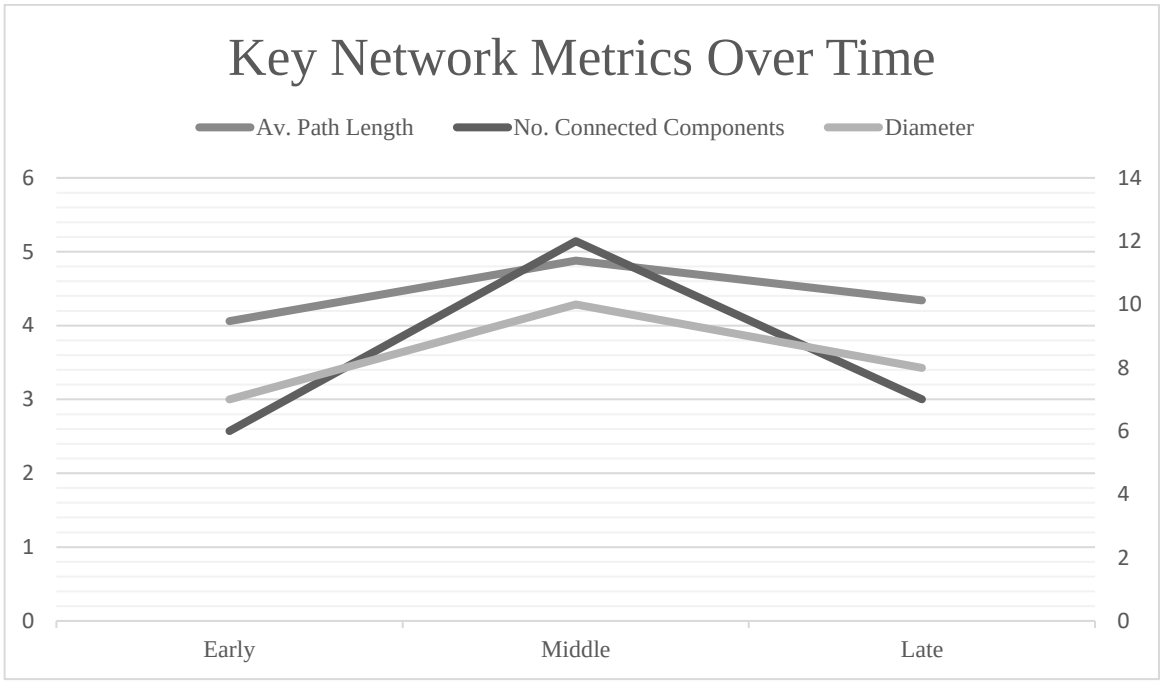

Figure 10- Key Network Metrics Over Time

The change in connectivity is represented as a movement in the metrics sharply up and back to a point of similar levels in the end as in the beginning. The drastic reduction in density and cohesion followed by a near-recovery likely reflects a period of uncertainty and lack of control within the trade and governance of the Company. The distance between the two furthest points in the main connected component, the diameter, moved from 7 to 10 in a sharp increase before returning to 7 and the number of Connected Components shifted from 6 to 12 to 7. Similarly, average path length moved from 4.06 to 4.88 and down again to 4.34. The metrics present a widening and fracturing of the network in the middle period before what appears to have been a return to a 'normal' level. The plague years of 1625-6 were particularly bad in London and would have hit all communities and fundamentally changed all trade for a time. We know that the Companies took on more apprentices to counter this in the following years.[43] Rather than an anomaly we should see such change as part of the natural rhythm of community life and network change, although in the short-term such shifts would have wrought havoc on trading relationships including the passing of resources, information and credit. We know that the impact of the plague in Italy in 1631 was a

[43] Leunig, Minns and Wallis, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy'; Supple, *Commercial Crisis.* pp98-102

significant negative factor on network cohesion of the publishing industry.[44] In addition, there would have been the weakened power of the Company to police the trade and its members. We know that in 1636 the government introduced measures to curb the trade which was perhaps the result of still low cohesion and control.[45] Additionally, the last sub-period is also a snapshot of a period of high mortality, with many of those most connected in that network being removed here. The logical conclusion is that from 1641 the trade network would have been similarly weakened and the community lacking in cohesion. Though this theory requires further study of the 1640s, what can be surmised is a dramatic breakdown of network density followed by a similarly swift recovery, demonstrating that the network was vulnerable in the short but resilient in the longer-term.

2.2.3. Rising Stationer interconnectivity

Assessment of the network overall shows a generally low connectivity but over time can be identified a small rise in connections between Stationers themselves, represented as an increase in the percentage of Stationers connecting directly to each other rather than mediation through hubs. This trend probably reflects a growing cohesion which can only be seen by evaluating the sub-networks over time. It is clear in visualisations where there was increasingly a web of connections due to a growing proportion of inter-stationer relationships and in the metrics Stationers were becoming the most connected nodes in the network. This is supported within the wills with Stationers using the affectionate 'brother' and also 'friend' to describe each other.[46] While slight the trend suggests a long-term reduction in the importance of hubs and bridges, as seen with the parishes, and an increasingly even network of connections directly between Stationers. This requires further analysis and is difficult to ascertain in the context of the turn away from the parishes and general fluctuations in connectivity. However, in addition to the increasing centrality of the Company the move toward increasing Stationer interconnectivity fits well within a pattern of guild centralisation.

Over time the growing degree of inter-Stationer connection is apparent. Links between Stationers were increasingly prominent, especially in the middle period with the almost total absence of hubs and it may have been that a conscious effort toward greater inter-Stationer connections was made in response to the network changes caused by the plague and decline

[44] Petta, 'Networks of Printers'. p80
[45] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp128, 132
[46] At least 11 instances in our sample where 'brother' was used metaphorically.

in parish importance. In the last sub-network Stationers were at their highest proportion amongst the most central nodes. In this period John Haviland had the shortest average path length, the first time in the three sub-networks that a Stationer achieved this position. He also had the highest betweenness centrality marking him as the most important central figure. Taking average path length and betweenness centrality across the three periods and judging the twenty highest ranked nodes in each we can see an increasing proportion of Stationers who were the most connected members of the network, despite average path lengths decreasing across each period.[47] In the first two sub-networks Stationers made up 45% of the top twenty nodes, increasing to 75% in the later sample alongside a corresponding increase in betweenness centrality from 65% to 90%. While there was only a slight rise in testators the number of non-testator Stationers increased significantly from only two in the first period to seven in the latter.[48] Altogether the metrics suggest the Stationers' network was increasingly based on links between them. With further research over a greater amount of time the trend could be better understood as part of broader changes in institutional importance. However, the sharp increase in inter-Stationer connections throughout this period suggests greater equality in exchange and communication across the trade.

[47] Taking the same top twenty nodes. Early: 2.57- 3.44, Middle: 3.15- 4.16 and Late: 2.62- 3.61
[48] Early: Seven testators and two further Stationers, Middle: Six testators and three further Stationers and Late: Eight testators and Seven further Stationers

Early		Middle		Late		Full	
St Faiths	2.57	Company of Stationers	3.15	John Haviland	2.62	Company of Stationers	2.87
Mathew Lownes	2.58	Robert Allot	3.17	Company of Stationers	2.63	Edmond Weaver	2.93
John Budge	2.78	Humphrey Lownes	3.46	Henry Walley	2.98	John Haviland	3.10
Edmond Weaver	2.85	Thomas Alchorne	3.63	Edmond Weaver	2.98	Humphrey Lownes	3.19
Ann Lownes	2.86	Mathew Billing	3.63	John Smethwick	3.14	St Faiths	3.23
Company of Stationers	3.02	St Faiths	3.63	John Grismond	3.24	John Budge	3.25
John Walker	3.14	Robert Young	3.97	Thomas Downes	3.30	Thomas Man	3.30
Thomas Man	3.17	Philip Waterhouse	3.98	Robert Bird	3.33	John Smethwick	3.30
Humphrey Lownes	3.18	Richard Hawkins	4.00	Ann Boler	3.35	Ann Lownes	3.33
Ann Lownes Jr	3.18	John Sharp	4.00	Adam Islip	3.36	Ann Boler	3.39
St Dunstans	3.26	William Barringer	4.09	Ann Griffin	3.43	Mathew Lownes	3.40
William Grantham	3.44	Philemon Stephens	4.09	John Parker	3.51	Robert Allot	3.42
William Day	3.44	Wife Nallry	4.16	Philip Nevill	3.51	Henry Walley	3.46
Thomas Pemberton	3.44	Thomas Allot	4.16	Edwin Bush	3.51	John Grismond	3.51
Thomas Lownes	3.44	Susan Allot	4.16	Andrew Crook	3.51	Thomas Downes	3.53
Susan Latham	3.44	Siblings of Robert Allot	4.16	Thomas Cotes	3.52	Richard Hawkins	3.66
Susan Lownes	3.44	Robert Somers	4.16	Thomas Brown	3.54	John Parker	3.66
Robert Lownes	3.44	Richard Thrale	4.16	Miles Flesher	3.56	Mathew Billing	3.68
Paul Latham	3.44	Richard Hawley	4.16	John Legat	3.61	Richard Badger	3.69
Mary Lownes	3.44	Criggleston	4.16	Edward Griffin	3.61	Thomas Snodham	3.71

Table 3- Top 20 Average Path Lengths

Early		Middle		Late		Full	
Mathew Lownes	0.4	Robert Allot	0.66	John Haviland	0.6	Company of Stationers	0.36
Edmond Weaver	0.37	Company of Stationers	0.62	Company of Stationers	0.46	John Haviland	0.31
St Faiths	0.34	Humphrey Lownes	0.51	Robert Bird	0.27	Edmond Weaver	0.28
John Budge	0.32	William Barringer	0.45	Edmond Weaver	0.24	St Faiths	0.17
John Walker	0.29	Richard Adams	0.42	Henry Walley	0.22	Richard Adams	0.15
Thomas Man	0.25	Robert Young	0.37	John Smethwick	0.19	William Barringer	0.12
Ann Lownes	0.21	Richard Hawkins	0.15	Ann Bird	0.17	Thomas Man	0.11
George Potter	0.2	Philip Waterhouse	0.14	George Swinhow	0.16	Robert Bird	0.10
John Hodgetts	0.18	John Sharp	0.14	Ann Boler	0.13	Henry Walley	0.10
Company of Stationers	0.14	Thomas Alchorne	0.13	John Grismond	0.13	John Walker	0.09
Richard Field	0.09	Mathew Billing	0.13	Bartholomew Downes	0.12	Ann Lownes	0.08
St Dunstans	0.09	St Faiths	0.13	Adam Islip	0.09	John Budge	0.08
Elizabeth Snodham	0.07	James Boler	0.06	Bartholomew Downes	0.09	John Smethwick	0.08
Richard Sergier	0.06	Mary Dawson	0.06	Thomas Cotes	0.09	Mathew Lownes	0.08
Thomas Snodham	0.04	John Dawson	0.05	Francis Archer	0.09	Robert Allot	0.08
Humphrey Lownes	0.03	Philemon Stephens	0.03	William Stansby	0.08	Ann Bird	0.08
Ann Lownes Jr	0.03			Thomas Brown	0.07	George Swinhow	0.08
William Grantham Jr	0.004			Henry Rothwell	0.06	John Grismond	0.08
Sara Grantham	0.004			Miles Flesher	0.05	Ann Boler	0.07
Francis Kent	0.004			Thomas Nicholls	0.04	George Potter	0.06

Table 4- Top 20 Betweenness Centralities

2.2.4 Conclusion

It is possible to identify nuances over time not apparent when considering the whole network. It appears that our period was part of a long-term centralisation of the membership of Stationers Company around each other and the institution itself as the binding force in the Stationers' network. It may have caused or been in response to a corresponding decrease in centrality of the local parishes and the significant fluctuation in density following the plague of 1625-6, though both trends require further analysis to understand. For the community generally this change likely meant greater co-operation and exchange with a reduced influence of key social hubs in the trade community, especially the local parishes. The

susceptibility of the network short-term changes is highlighted by the rapid fall in density after the plague of the mid-1620s which caused a period where exchange and co-operation would have been relatively slower before a partial recovery. The implication is that despite significant demographic change the network would re-adjust into the best possible structure. In the short term such as following the periods of high mortality at the beginning and end of our periods however, there could be drastic reductions in network density and community cohesion. Importantly our findings fit within a wider historical framework which has identified similar changes for contemporary livery companies as well as the Stationers' Company.

2.3 Conclusion

Social Network Analysis is a useful tool with which to understand the structures of historical trade communities which were fundamentally constructions of relationships. SNA demonstrates that the Stationers' network was broadly loose and consisting of strong family clusters which often connected to one another though 'weak ties' and social hubs. The role of these hubs was critical in binding the network and could take the form of figures with high social capital, or institutions of shared allegiance, most notably the Company itself. By adding a time dimension, it is possible to counter one of the main issues with SNA that it presents merely a static snapshot of a network. The network faced both long and short-term variations with a sharp decline in connectivity for the decade around 1630 and a growing Company centralisation while the role of the local parishes decreased sharply.

Although further research around the network is required some conclusions may be suggested from our findings. Generally, the Stationers' network and therefore the community heavily emphasised family ties which extended from each household to large kinship clusters throughout the period. Much of each Stationers' social network was therefore outside of the trade and within it their strongest connections were usually to family members. Between family clusters there existed social hubs who could broker information and resources across the network, some of which were important institutions, some were 'Company men' and others held such positions by virtue of their own credit. While the daily conduct of trade and formation of trading links would have operated strongly within extended family units, these social hubs would have provided secondary connections and therefore played a cohesive role across the trade and in Company affairs. There was also a long-term increase in inter-Stationer connections as they increasingly acted as social hubs and a reduction in the power of parishes as hubs suggesting a greater centralisation and

identification within the Company. Additionally, in the middle of our period there was a demographic collapse that would have caused a drastic reduction in network connectivity and cohesion. However, it appears that the network was largely resilient to such changes and there was a near-recovery in the later period. Any real change would therefore have occurred over a longer period with a natural rhythm of rise and fall expected, while broadly the community would have naturally formed into the system which worked best. While the use of SNA is illuminating it requires far more work to develop a comprehensive analysis and the findings we have are heavily reliant on supporting information to understand them. Nevertheless, the conclusions of family and social capital importance and a loose but identifiable network with some growing centralisation reflect the understandings of the rest of our paper and fits within the wider interpretation of early modern trade communities.

The 'network metaphor' is so often applied to communities where we believe there to have been a web of connections. Testing the existence of this network with SNA is just one way of advancing us beyond this metaphor. Though this chapter has outlined a Stationers' network, metrics and statistics are just bones which require flesh to see what this network was made of and what it did. So far, relational information from wills has been largely stripped from its context and used to create a secondary set of data which has then been analysed separately from its provenance. Wills of course have long been used by historians for their content, for example considering religious belief, material culture and social relations. Returning to our original sample of wills we can adopt some of these approaches to add colour to this network. Using the findings of our network analysis we are particularly directed toward questions over how this network was formed and how it worked in practice. In the next chapter we will trace bequests of trade items to gauge the different types of relationship across this society. Here we can see several of the themes noted in the network analysis given greater detail, such as how the importance of close familial ties in forming the network can also be seen in the passage of key trade bequests. Following this we will look at three social hubs identified in the network analysis, analysing them as testators. In this way we can see how members of the community relied on different types of relationship and therefore better understand the intricacies of these social hubs. In these subsequent chapters it is hoped that the Stationers' network we have identified can be understood as a living, breathing social structure.

3. Trade Bequests

One way of looking at relationships through wills is to study bequests. In this chapter we will look at bequests to see how close familial ties and other looser connections formed the network we have identified. While we would ideally study all bequests to find the fullest picture, for this research on the Stationers' Company the logical reduction is to consider trade bequests. Trade related bequests in our will sample were primarily bequeathed to a testator's widow and children. Network analysis of this sample has shown the importance of family within the Stationers' network. The goods in most wills usually passed to dependants as part of the residue of the estate and so any explicit bequests were exceptions. Trade items were specifically bequeathed usually in the case of a divided or uncertain inheritance but were still passed on to widows and children, or in their absence the primary heir. The provision for dependants can be understood as part of a need to fulfil a wider sense of duty socially imposed upon heads of household, which most of these testators were. There was also some allowance for sympathy as a motivation when goods which had outlived their possible use to dependants were left to wider kin and community. Suggested as a result are two further interlinked features of a 'Stationers network' which we began to measure in the previous chapter. Firstly, that the network like the rest of early modern England was formed of personal ties consisting of strongly connected family and household units which were linked by weaker ties to one another. Secondly, that Stationers were eminently practical business-owners whose primary function was to provide for themselves and their family and they saw the trade network to that end. Across these two points we see the common bequeathing of trade items to widows who would have been the most important trade partner a Stationer had during their life and who were entrusted with the business after death. The findings of this paper sit within a scholarship of family networks and trade in pre-modern England, and studies of the Stationers' Company which have long attested to both a metaphorical 'network' and the prominence of the family within the trade.[1] The few bequests of trade items were exceptions but they were attempts to make circumstances fit the rule

[1] e.g. David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early-Modern Madeira Trade' in *The Business History Review*. Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn 2005). pp467-491; Maria Fusaro, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean' in *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 65, Issue 2. (2012). pp701-718; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640.* (CUP, Cambridge, 1991) on the 'Ballad Partners'; Stephen Bernard, 'Establishing a Publishing Dynasty: The Last Wills and Testaments of Jacob Tonson the Elder and Jacob Tonson the Younger', in *The Library*. Vol. 17, Issue 2 (June 2016) pp157-166; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making.* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998); James Raven, *The Business of Books; Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007); Helen Smith, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England.* (OUP, Oxford, 2012); Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century' in *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 6 (1954). pp161–80

which was the desire to primarily provide for their dependants and secondarily as gifts to a wider circle of kith and kin. They therefore offer a paradigm by which to understand the network they built and operated.

When items were bequeathed it was because a testator, for reasons which may not be apparent, chose to explicitly outline their desire. Within our sample five testators left premises, five left copies and eight left stock or debts from it. All were bequeathed to the testator's dependants if they were living and to the primary heir where they were not. Ten testators left shares of which nine went to dependants or their primary heir. Four left tools two of which went to dependants and two to apprentices even though there were widows who could have inherited. There are instances where shares and tools were bequeathed to other family, friends and apprentices after the death of the testator's widow. Twelve testators left products of the trade which were bequeathed to eleven different types of relation including cousins, great-grandchildren and the children of the local parish. Overall, we see a trend toward providing primarily for dependants with some allowance for others to receive bequests of trade items as tokens of affection, though it was usually in the absence of dependants and only apparent in the least valuable, the products of the trade. It must be remembered however that these were a few exceptions with trade items usually bequeathed as part of the residue due to their value to a testator's dependants, and it was toward this ideal that bequests continued to strive.

3.1 Premises, copies and stock

Examination of bequests of three of the most important trade possessions Stationers could own demonstrates that the primary motivation of testators was to provide for their dependants. It will be shown that bequests of premises, copies and stock went primarily to widows and children although in their absence they passed to another close relative who was the primary heir. In doing so, we begin to see how the network of familial ties identified in the previous chapter came to be formed. The motivation behind bequests will also be examined, demonstrating how testators mentally engaged with how each might be deployed to fulfil their perceived duty to their dependants. Testators desired valuable business goods to be used to provide for their dependants in a very practical way, often in response to individual circumstance. Other studies have also shown that the primary motivation for bequests in the early modern period was to provide for children and widows.[2] This in turn

[2] McGranahan, 'Bequest Motive'; Sen, 'Rational Fools.' p326

was a reflection of a wider cultural sense of responsibility imposed upon heads of household, usually adult men, to provide for their households and dependants. Nonetheless, widows were far from passive actors in this process and would have engaged with the trade before and after their husband's decease.[3] The few bequests of these items here reflect the more usual process of including premises, copies and stock in the residue of the estate to the primary heir, usually a dependant. The common practice of bequeathing such items to widows as well as sons shows an expectation that women could run a business and engage in the social network of the trade.

Network analysis of this sample has shown the importance of family within the Stationers' network. The pattern and motivation of bequests likely indicates a broader mentality of Stationers whereby the trade's primary function was to provide for their families. Such bequests were therefore both a cause and effect of how the family unit was a key factor in the social network of the Company. The same pattern has been identified in the work of Bernard, Watt and other others for the book trade in seventeenth-century England, and Europe more generally, with the development of family 'firms' and dynasties.[4] Other studies of early modern England have also shown the importance of immediate family to networks of the middling sorts and trade.[5] Bequests give some sense therefore of how this important trend was formed and reflected at ground-level, captured here as testators attempted to provide for their dependants even after their decease.

3.1.1. Premises

A printing house or book shop was among the most important possessions a testator could bequeath. As would be expected of such key items they were bestowed entirely on dependants or in their absence to the primary heir of the estate. Such buildings were dually important as places of business and as homes, where a Stationer, their family and workers

[3] Cathryn Spence, 'Women and Business in Sixteenth-century Edinburgh: Evidence from their Testaments' in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*. Vol. 28, No. 1 (2008). pp1-19. p1, 19; Karen O'Brien, 'Intimate Worlds: Kinship Relations and Emotional Investment among Nantwich Women 1603–1685' in *Journal of Family History*. Vol. 4, No. 2 (2016). pp131-143. p134; K. Tawny Paul, 'Accounting for Men's Work: Multiple Employments and Occupational Identities in Early Modern England' in *Historical Workshop Journal*. Issue 85. (January 2018). pp26-46. p39

[4] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print,* Bernard, 'Publishing Dynasty'; Johns, *Nature of the Book;* Raven, *Business of Books*; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age.* (YUP, Yale, 2019); Massimo Petta, 'Networks of Printers and the Dissemination of News: The Case of Milan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' pp64-84 in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World.* (Brill, Leiden, 2015)

[5] David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England' in *Past & Present.* No. 113 (November 1986). pp38-69; Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England' in *Past & Present.* Vol. 151, Issue. 1. (May 1996). pp111-140; Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks'

lived with each other alongside the products and tools of the trade. Johns has interpreted the house of a Stationer to have been foremost a household where private power structures interplayed intimately with trade.[6] Yet inventories such as William Norton's show a clear demarcation of spaces in his house between the shop and home.[7] The complex relationship between home and business underlined the significance of any bequests of property, with potential impact on all of their dependants, and not just the recipient. In our sample, unless there were no dependants, widows and children always inherited a shop or house. It is also likely that they were expected to run the business and take up position as head of the household. While the preference was to bequeath premises to a dependant, we see some testators make a choice between multiple candidates where the most in need such as widows and younger sons were chosen over more established children. Therefore, while bequests were motivated by social duty toward dependants, they were a nuanced and practical response to situation and social norms.

In our sample nineteen testators (32.2%) made explicit reference to property, naming at least 37 individual houses, messuages or tenements, most of which would not have been business premises.[8] Nine testators bequeathed an unstated number meaning that we cannot determine exactly how many properties were included. Additionally, many of the remaining 40 testators likely left property within the residue of their estate. To further complicate the issue freehold property usually went to the heir without being mentioned in a will meaning that we cannot determine what proportion of property was owned or rented and used directly in the trade. The wider social expectation that property would go to the heir is seen here. Twelve bequests of property (32.4%) were left to widows and ten (27%) to children with other close family accounting for the few alternative beneficiaries including a mother, brother, grandchild and brother-in-law. Only five properties were certainly shops or printing houses all of which were bequeathed to dependants to or the primary heir of the will and would have caused the retention of shops within the testator's immediate family, usually in linear descent.

Testators were clearly aware of the value of a premises and the potential effects of the bequest, and in making bequests they considered which dependents were most in need. As noted, of the five testators under consideration the four with living dependants each

[6] Johns, *Nature of the Book.* pp76-8, 109-115
[7] John Barnard, 'The Inventory of William Norton (1527–1593), Master of the Stationers' Company' in *The Library*. Vol. 16, Issue 2 (June 2015). pp179-194
[8] A 'messuage' being a house with outbuildings and land assigned to its use and a 'tenement' being property such as land or buildings.

bequeathed them their premises. The remaining testator was John Haviland, who without living dependents requested his printing house be leased out and the profits along with the residue of his estate to go to the children of his brother, who had recently died.[9] Another example was Edward Aggas whose son Samuel owed him money and, perhaps for this reason, was left nothing in his will; instead Aggas' widow Elizabeth was left his shop and asked to provide for Samuel's children.[10] These bequests of premises show a careful and considered sentiment which reflected what a testator thought best in their circumstances, as well as a fundamentally practical attitude toward their premises. The bequeathing of them to widows demonstrates the confidence testators had in their wives to continue the business. Overall, the motivation behind bequeathing a premises to a testator's dependants reflects the powerful social and cultural expectation of duty toward them, a perceived value of shops and conscious decisions of how best to make provision for all dependants, particularly the ones in most need. Testators kept control of premises within the family, and encouraged businesses to be continued also, reflecting a trend which existed more generally in the Stationers' community toward the creation of dynasties.

3.1.2. Copies

Copy-rights or 'copies' were another foundational possession of the Stationers' trade and were bequeathed with the same motivation of duty for dependants resulting in their universal bestowal upon children or widows. The right to print a copy had been a crucial part of the trade since Incorporation in 1557, although the argument over the principle of ownership was still being fought within living memory during the anti-Monopoly movement of the 1580s.[11] The legal obligation placed upon the Company to regulate the print trade had led to the creation of the Stationers' Register where for a fee the right to publish a text could be recognised, and afterward sold, exchanged or bequeathed. Copies were therefore of central importance to the trade. In 1631 the Court even took the opportunity to preface a declaration regarding illegal printing of the *Book of Martyrs* with a general warning against printing another man's copies.[12] As with premises, it is apparent that heads of household felt bound to ensure their copies were available for their widows and children to use. Similarly, these

[9] Will of John Haviland [20th November 1638 PROB 11/178/459]; Henry R. Plomer, 'Some petitions for appointment as Master Printers called forth by the Star Chamber decree of 1637' in *The Library*. Vol. s3-X, Issue 38. (January 1919). pp101-116
[10] Will of Edward Aggas [21st January 1625 PROB 11/145/69]
[11] Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601' in *The Library.* Vol. s4-XIV, Issue 3 (October 1933). pp241-287
[12] William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640*. (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1957). pp236-8/ fol. 118a-b

bequests also demonstrate a consideration for the best inheritor within their dependants and with detailed understanding of their value. Additionally, unlike the multifaceted potential of property a copy was inseparable from the Stationers' trade and so we can be surer that the recipients of a copy bequest were the intended business successor.

Five testators explicitly bequeathed copies: two to their widows (40%) and three to their sons (60%) including by one female testator. All were general references to copies except for one which gave details of specific titles. The small number of bequests and prevalence of dependants as legatees closely mirrors that of premises and can be seen more broadly in the table of copy-registrations to 1640 compiled by Arber.[13] However, Arber's table gives only a rough guideline, due to low survival rates and the lack of formal method for transference within the systems of the Company. To give a sense of the scale of the problem it has been estimated that for around a third of extant texts we have do not have a corresponding entry in the *Register*.[14] Using the Stationers of our sample it is only possible to trace fifteen testators whose copies were re-registered after their deaths. Eleven (73.3%) were by widows to a third-party Stationer which shows that most copies passed initially to a dependant and were then sold or transferred away. Of the testators who left specific instructions for their copies only Weaver had both a spouse and children living so we cannot judge here a preference for who received copies between widows and children or sons and daughters. The primary desire for the provision of dependants was clear, however.

Copies were bequeathed entirely to a testator's dependants with the desire that they would provide for them after death in fulfilment of the testator's social duty. Testators demonstrated considerable understanding of the value of their copies and of the effects of bequeathing them when considering how to provide for their dependants in the best way possible. The giving of copies regardless of age or gender shows a broad desire for testators to provide for their widows and children in all circumstances. Adam Islip, with no children, left his copies to his former apprentice, assistant and 'kinsman' Kenelm Islip but only after the death of his wife Susan.[15] As seen in the statistics from the *Registers* bequests were supported by a system of copy exchange built through generations of use, and one which essentially respected the ability of widows to inherit and transfer texts. Ann Boler specified that her copies were to be 'signed and set over to the master and wardens [of the Company] in trust'

[13] Edward Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640.* Vol. V. (Privately Printed, London, 1875-77). pplxxix-cxi
[14] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960). p44
[15] Will of Adam Islipp or Islip [25th September 1639 PROB 11/181/164]; Plomer, 'Some petitions.'

a request which was granted and appears in the *Register.*[16] Boler's ability to acquire additional copies in her career after her husband's death is seen in her will and Company records where in both the distinction between hers and her husband's is made.[17] Bequests of copies were carefully measured by testators within the scope of their obligation to provide for their dependants, with the value of the copies and needs of the legatee considered.

3.1.3. Stock and debts

Book stock was the other key possession a Stationer required and in our sample was bequeathed like premises and copies, entirely to close family, with a preference for dependants. This was logical as stock, the finished printed material ready for sale, was the result of a premises and copies to work from. While titles or amounts were not given we know from Henry Bynneman's inventory of 1583 that he had stock in two of his own shops and that of a fellow Stationer totalling some 19,125 items with a value of all his books and paper of £611 16s 9s.[18] The value of stock was therefore considerable and it is understandable that it was bequeathed to dependants in order to fulfil a testator's duty toward them. Unlike copies and premises the thought behind these bequests appears to have been minimal with mention of stock circumstantial. They were assets which could be liquidated quickly and as such there does not appear to have been much variation dependant on circumstance, with stock always going to the primary heir. Similarly, while some stock appears to have been in the possession of a testator it could also be held by another as part of a business arrangement. All stock could therefore have a related debt, either owed by or to the testator, with early modern England operating trade based on credit exchange.[19] Three testators named debts relating to stock and where money was owed to them it appears to have been bequeathed wherever possible to a dependant. Although it was done with apparently less consideration than premises or copies stock bequests were also intended to provide for a testator's widow and children.

The bequeathing of stock and related debts broadly follows the pattern of the other two key trade goods with a total of seven (11.9%) testators all passing to a dependant or in their absence the primary heir. Only Edmond Weaver had both a child and widow living at the

[16] Will of Anne Boler [3rd February 1638 PROB 11/176/126]; SRO 9955
[17] Will of Anne Boler, Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* p307/ fol. 154b
[18] John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): a preliminary survey' in *Publishing History.* Vol.29 (January 1991). pp5-46. p8. Table 3
[19] Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England' in *Social History.* Vol. 18, No.2 (May 1993). pp163-183. pp171-3

time of his death and so we cannot determine a preference for children over widows or men over women. The debts here relating to book stock appear to have been between fellow Stationers as the result of joint partnerships and inter-trade exchange. Of the eight people involved 75% including the testators can be identified as Stationers, all of whom were booksellers, apart from the Kings Printing House, indicating that it was primarily exchange between booksellers. Overall, book stock and debts from it can be clearly seen to have been bequeathed where possible to dependants.

As with copies and premises the passing of stock where possible to a dependant underlines the desire of testators to provide first and foremost for their children and widows. While it was not done in the same considered way in which premises and copies were bequeathed it is logical to surmise that testators saw stock as moveable and transitory, valued for short-term liquidation. It is likely that this indicated wider attitudes by Stationers toward stock whereby trade goods were distinctly a means to an end with little sentimental value. The consideration over the bequests of book stock were chiefly practical and manifested by considering stock as physical items existing in temporal space, usually in a testator's own home and ready to be sold in order to provide immediate economic benefit to the household. John Smethwick for example leaves to his son his shares in books and 'also all my Books in Quires [unbound sheets of a book] at home or elsewhere.'[20] Additionally, the debts were noted in a will as the lowest form of debt, oral agreements, which were usually fairly long-term and remembered or recorded in account books both of which are referred to by John Walker.[21] The bequeathing of debts to dependants may be seen as a way of testators fulfilling their social obligation to provide money, as well as potentially passing over those credit and exchange arrangements which would have been necessary for the continuation of the business. The multifaceted value of these bequests therefore marks them out as key aspects of the Stationers' trade, which were used to assist in executing a testator's duty to their dependants in the short-term. The motivations here also indicate broader patterns within the trade where the family 'firm' existed beyond the individual.

3.1.4. Conclusion

Premises, copies and stock were arguably three of the most important items a Stationer could possess and were each in their own way valuable for the long-term continuation of the business or short-term sale. In most cases they were included with the residue of an estate

[20] Will of John Smethwicke [15th July 1641 PROB 11/186/520]
[21] Will of John Walker [28th September 1625 PROB 11/146/526]; Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market.' p173

without mention, which demonstrates their importance as the default was to retain them for the primary heir or heirs. In the exceptions where these goods were explicitly bequeathed, they were bestowed upon dependants or in their absence were left to another primary heir. The wider attitudes toward them can be seen in the significant value attached and consideration taken over how to bequeath them. Together, these factors demonstrate the influence of societal duty to provide for dependants which also had a real-world impact on the passage of such trade assets by retaining them within as tight a family circle as possible which in turn perpetuated the primacy of the family unit within the Stationers' cultural community. Over time families became entrenched within the trade as protectors of inherited assets, privileges and social positions excluding outsiders and competing with fellow Stationers. While wills had an important role to play in this exchange, we must appreciate that they are best used as an insight into a wider culture and practices of which the bequests here are just one part.

3.2 Shares, tools and books

While shops, premises and stock were bequeathed by testators primarily to dependants, shares, tools and books were mainly bestowed similarly, but could also be bequeathed to legatees within wider kin and the community. Although there was some consideration for dependants most of these items were bequeathed due to affection and in a wider dispersal. These represent ties which also formed the Stationers' network. Many were considered bequests made with individual circumstances in mind and demonstrate the practical attitudes of testators toward fulfilling their duty and bequeathing to those they felt sympathy for, while working within the possibilities of the trade. To do so it will be shown that bequests of tools and shares were bequeathed primarily to dependants in order to provide for them but were secondarily bestowed upon friends and family once this function had been fulfilled. Products of the trade were left primarily to wider family and friends outright. A key difference from premises, copies and stock was also that shares, tools and books were bequeathed in greater number and so we can determine that it was less certain that they would be included in the residue by default. Motivation will also be examined with all these possessions bequeathed with considerable engagement practically and emotionally in line with the principle of sympathy. This broadly explains bequests which did not fulfil the need to provide for dependants and which were often emotional 'tokens.'[22] The relationships which a testator

[22] McGranahan, 'Bequest Motive.' p1271; Sen, 'Rational Fools.' p326

chose to honour in their will were the wider kin and community connections, as they existed beyond their immediate family and dependants.[23]

Analysis of these bequests enables an outline to be drawn of the wider social network around a testator which would have been an important further circle of associates secondary to their immediate family. The importance of wide social circles has been identified for the early modern print trade generally as well as for the Stationers' Company particularly.[24] Studies of early modern England have discussed the importance of this breadth of relationships, especially for the middling sorts and trade and the wider cultural sense of sympathy and community felt across society.[25] These bequests therefore demonstrate that testators existed within a wide social network of people who were of secondary importance to dependants and acted as a further level of support and exchange. Social networks were made up of many overlapping communities, but the Stationers' network was a key part of the overall network of our testators. In fact, we see testators drawing upon their trade network in order to provide goods and services for themselves, their dependants and others. This suggests a wider understanding by Stationers that their trade network was a practical social tool from which they took what they could and gave back once they and their family had been taken care of.

3.2.1. Shares

Shares in stocks were bequeathed primarily to dependants but were in several cases entailed afterward to a range of family members, and even to friends. The motivation behind bequests appears to have been led by duty with sympathy as a secondary consideration. The Stationers' Company centrally administered joint stock ventures were made up of popular titles (such as psalms and textbooks) collectively owned by shareholders. The number of shares a Stationer could own was dependant on their position within the hierarchy (i.e. Yeomanry stock, Assistant's stock etc.) with 'election' to take up shares as they became available, usually when a holder died or was promoted. It was a recent innovation under the mastership of Thomas Man in 1603 originally as the 'English Stock' with short-lived 'Irish' and 'Latin' stocks to follow.[26] The English Stock had a capital of nine thousand pounds and

[23] Peter Laslett, 'Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support in pre-industrial Europe: a consideration of the 'nuclear-hardship' hypothesis' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 3, Issue 2. (August 1988). pp153-175; Tadmor, 'The Household-Family'; Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction'
[24] Hancock, 'Trouble with Networks'; Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks'; Johns, *Nature of the Book';* Petta, 'Networks of Printers'
[25] David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction'; Fusaro, 'Mercantile networks'
[26] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* p44

105 subscribers with 'considerable potential for financial gain.'[27] While shares were an important aspect of membership of the Stationers' Company at the time, their value could only be realised by a Stationer, and such ownership was restricted to members and their widows.[28] Shares were therefore not a core trade item but one with considerable prestige attached due to the limited and hierarchical access to them, with their worth disproportionate to monetary value. Therefore, in the absence of inheritors who were neither a testator's widow nor a Stationer shares were greatly reduced in worth which explains their secondary bequeathing to friends and family after the death of a testator's dependants. Practical consideration determined that shares could fulfil a secondary function after providing for dependants by being sold and the profits bequeathed along sympathetic lines.

Most bequests of shares in our sample were to a child or widow, although some were bestowed to the primary heir in the absence of living dependants. Two testators stipulated that after the death of their dependant that their shares did not proceed to the primary heir but instead went to their cousins. Ten testators (16.9%) in the sample bequeathed shares, which is twice the number of those who bestowed premises, copies or stock, reflecting that a greater number of them were bequeathed beyond the residue. This is enhanced by the fact that a lower proportion of Stationers would have held shares due to the restrictions placed upon ownership. It would also have been partly because they could not by default pass to the primary heir of the will due to Company rules and partly because their worth decreased significantly when the added value of their social prestige was neutralised. Seven (70%) testators left their shares primarily to a dependant, four to wives and three to sons while two of the remaining three testators bequeathed their shares to their primary heirs. John Sharpe was one of those to bequeath his shares not to a dependant but instead his four cousins, Edward, Thomas, John and Henry.[29] Two entailed that after the death of their primary legatees (their widows) that their shares were to be bestowed upon other kin including William Stansby whose wife was to have use of it until her death whereupon it was entailed to his 'kinswoman' Ruth Sherborne.[30] Humphrey Lownes was the exception as he left most of his stock to his granddaughters with a small bequest to the Company, thereby bypassing

[27] Anna Simmons, 'Trade, knowledge and networks: the activities of the Society of Apothecaries and its members in London, c.1670–c.1800' in *The British Journal for the History of Science.* Vol. 52, Issue 2 (June 2019). pp273-296. pp280-1, citing Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp92-109, pp178-205
[28] Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp92-109; by 1644 more than 25% of the shares in the Stock would be held by women, Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds' in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives.* Vol. 28, No. 4 (2014). pp169–192. p172; Johns, *Nature of the Book.* p260
[29] Will of John Sharpe [2nd July 1634 PROB 11/166/15]
[30] Will of William Stansbye or Stansby [14th September 1638 PROB 11/177/699]

his primary heir (his daughter) altogether.[31] Overall, while the preference was to bequeath shares to dependants there were several instances, especially with secondary bequests, where wider family were legatees because in the absence of any dependants who could lawfully hold them they were reduced greatly in value.

Shares were bequeathed primarily to dependants although there was some consideration for sympathy, including three instances where testators initially or ultimately bequeathed their shares upon cousins, granddaughters and the Company. Due to their nature as non-core parts of the Stationers' trade, prestige items and with ownership restricted to Stationers and their widows, shares were both a trade asset and a source of cash to be mobilised. This duality is best highlighted by John Smethwick who requested that;

> *my said son shall not at any time hereafter mortgage sell assign or set over the same part [and]… upon his election shall submit and subscribe unto such order to that purpose as the then Master and Wardens and Assistants shall think fit.*[32]

Even Smethwick's son who was also a Stationer was in the eyes of his father capable of liquidating such assets, though Smethwick himself clearly believed the value of shares was greater than the money they could be bought and sold for. This explains how bequests of shares could be driven by both duty and sympathy as once their value to dependants had been exhausted alternative legatees were sought within a wider social circle motivated by affection. At this point their secondary nature was revealed as sources of readily liquidated credit though not fully because of desire but due to necessity. The bestowal by three testators of their shares reflects a forced pragmatism whereby they had to accept that shares would eventually have to be sold and so decided on legatees motivated by sympathy. In each instance legatees who were not within the immediate family were chosen, demonstrating a considered effort to bequeath the profits from their stock where they most desired, not just to other dependants. Therefore, while the priority remained to pass shares along with the business wholly to widows and children there was also consideration of sympathy with shares passed to others. The aim was to provide the shares as part of the business to dependants where possible and where this was not required to transfer them into money to give to friends and family as tokens.

[31] Will of Humphry Lownes [24th June 1630 PROB 11/157/733]
[32] Will of John Smethwicke

3.2.2. Tools

Tools in our sample were bequeathed like shares primarily to provide for dependants with some concession to sympathy whereby they could be directly gifted or entailed to apprentices. In one instance tools were bequeathed directly to an apprentice albeit with some payment and in another, tools were bestowed on the condition that the legatee work for the testator's widow until after death. There was therefore a complex balance between duty and sympathy for which we can see a considered thought-process. As items which were essentially useless without the right training and skills tools were like shares, worth far more to a Stationer than for their resale value anywhere else. Testators appreciated that they held little value to a legatee who was not working within the trade and therefore considered this when making their bequests. In two instances testators wrote in service to their widow as a condition for receipt of the tools, thereby fulfilling both their duty and sense of sympathy in a single stroke. Of course, any un-bequeathed or unsold tools would have gone to the executor for use or sale, so these bequests were deliberate circumventions of that. These limited examples were all from testators without living children. Overall, the bequests of tools in our sample continue the theme of all major trade items whereby preference for dependants was the leading motivation. However, as with shares sympathy could motivate the bequeathing of tools with the common practice of bequeathing them to apprentices, even non-directly, showing the importance of the apprentice in the social world of the master.

In the sample were four bequests of tools; two of which were bequeathed to a dependant and two of which were passed to an apprentice. They all appear to have been bestowed whole rather than divided, or so it would seem, and the common phrase used is 'all my working tools.' Both dependants who received tools were widows and none of these testators had living children so comparison between children and widows and across gender cannot be assessed. In the examples where tools were bequeathed directly to an apprentice there were living dependants (widows) who could have received them. Additionally, one of the bequests to a widow was to later be received by an apprentice on the condition that he work for her during her life. Therefore, three of the four tool bequests went initially to an apprentice or were entailed to do so after the death of the primary inheritor. The apprentices were all working for the testator in their shop, some as journeymen. The bequeathing of tools to apprentices was clearly a preference over passing to another member of family or primary heir after the decease of all a testator's dependants. The reasons for bequest would have been specific to each instance but seems to have been motivated as a means to pay an apprentice

for their continued service to a widow and to fulfil any obligation a testator may have felt as part of the master-apprentice relationship as well as simply a pragmatic approach to their equipment. Tools were therefore only bequeathed in the absence of children and were passed to the testator's widows or apprentices and sometimes both or otherwise they were included in the residue.

The motivation for bequests of tools was to provide for a testator's dependants foremost, although there was room for sympathy around such considerations. While the desire to use tools to provide for a dependant was strong it was also necessarily tempered by the social expectation that women could not operate a press. That none of these testators had living children indicates that in any cases of living sons tools would usually pass to them. Testators who left behind only widows had to find the best way they could for the execution of their duty. Widows would have lost a partner in the trade rather than inherited an unfamiliar business, but it would have been socially impossible for them to operate the tools within a workshop, even if it was, physically possible , so some level of assistance would have been required for the widow to continue to conduct her business.[33] One testator asked for half of the value of their tools to be paid by the apprentice who received them while another was promised the tools in return for working for a testator's widow during her life.[34] There was a theme of bequests where an apprentice or journeyman was asked to stay on at an agreed rate or in receipt of a sum of money, in order to continue the business for a widow. Such provision for apprentices was very limited and conditioned by duty to widows but nevertheless it demonstrates a sense of sympathy toward them by testators, who saw a practical way of helping trusted young men, rather than allow these items to be included in an estate at-large to be sold by executors. They were considered bequests from tradesmen who appreciated the value of their tools as one of the signifiers and enablers of the trade, above and beyond their simple financial value. While only in a small number (although many would not have had any tools) the sentiment here represents real sympathy and practicality, as well as arguably the deep master-apprentice bond which could exist. Bequests of tools demonstrates a practical approach, likely reflecting wider attitudes where tools, apprentices and the trade were secondary to a testator's provision for their family.

[33] Maureen Bell, 'Women in the English Book Trade 1557–1700' in *Liepziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte*. Vol. 6 (1996). pp13–45. p18

[34] Will of Oliver Churton [13th October 1625 PROB 11/147/89]; Will of Francis Archer [25th April 1638 PROB 11/176/535]

3.2.3. Products of the trade

Products of the trade were bequeathed across kin and community motivated solely by sympathy. Stationers carefully considered these bequests, as they had done in their own lives regarding using the trade to acquire them. This in turn reflects wider attitudes of Stationers who saw the trade's primary function to benefit themselves. Bibles, prestige texts and manuscripts appear to have been items acquired by testators for personal use and bestowed in the expectation that they would be appreciated by their legatees. The bequeathing of products of the trade outside of the immediate circle of dependants demonstrates an awareness that they were worth little in the effort to provide for widows and children and therefore a consideration of sympathy was possible. The way in which such goods were bequeathed, by a small number of testators, usually with multiple bequests of books of a similar type demonstrates that these were often conscious efforts by keen bibliophiles to bestow valued texts to those they believed would similarly appreciate them. It is also supported by the finding that no testators can reasonably be traced to the publication of the texts they were bequeathing meaning that these were texts they had themselves purchased or exchanged for personal use. The conclusion drawn is that Stationers where desired could utilise their positions within the trade, through a network of credit and exchange to acquire books. As well as suggesting how this network worked it supports the general finding that Stationers' used the trade to provide for them and their family first and foremost. The trade network was just one part of the secondary circle of people around each testator and their dependants.

Products of the trade were bequeathed in twelve wills (20.3%) with the majority bestowed to members of a testator's wider kin and community, including cousins and charity and so were less likely to be included in the residue. This was the highest number of any type of trade bequest in our sample and is in line with the bestowal of tokens of affection such as gowns (22%) and personal rings (23.7%). This proportion also compares broadly with studies on early modern Newcastle, Birmingham and London where book ownership in wills and inventories ranged from 18-31%.[35] Three testators bequeathed their own personal Bible, and nine (88.9%) left several books, indicating that while some were simply bequeathing the one book a testator might have been expected to own the others had personal investment in

[35] Gwendolynn Heley, *The Material Culture of the Tradesmen of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1545-1642: The Durham Probate Record Evidence* (British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, 2009). p157. Table 5.8a; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760.* (Routledge, London, 1996). p44. Table 3.1, p76. Table 4.1; Jacqueline B. Geater, *Birmingham Wills and Inventories 1512-1603.* (The Dugdale Society, Stratford-upon-Avon, 2016). p25; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour.* p26. Table 2.1

them. Nine testators (75%) left their book or books to just one person suggesting a deliberate direction of passage rather than a wide dispersal. Most appear to have been for the testator's personal use, with only two (16.7%) bequeathing books that were certainly otherwise, Adams who states that they should be bought after his death, and Potter who asks for 11s from his sister for a Bible he got for her.[36] These bequests were of Bibles that appear to have been purchased specifically for their recipients at the time of death.

Overall, products of the trade were bequeathed to a range of family and members of the wider community. There were eleven different forms of relation in receipt of a Bible or other book including a great-granddaughter, the children of the parish, and friends. The most common were cousins, unknown relations (probably friends) and brothers or brothers-in-law. For example, Richard Ockould bequeathed several books of history and religion to friends and cousins, William Howe left three Calvinist tracts to his brother and Edward Aggas left his collection of manuscript books between two cousins.[37]

Trade products were considered bequests motivated by sympathy which would have had limited use providing for a testator's dependants but did have significant emotional value attached. The books here were bequeathed in the hope they would be appreciated by their legatees on a personal level. We know so because they appear to have been acquired through a testator's position in the trade network and were all prestige items for reasons of type or value. It has been argued that Bibles were generally given as sympathetic bequests in wills rather than the residue with the belief that their gift would be appreciated and as a 'fundamental, dynamic element of social, economic, and political relations.'[38] Likewise personal books appear to have been bequeathed as prestige items and within themes of texts a testator enjoyed. They were given it seems in the expectation that a legatee would also appreciate them. Additionally, testators used trade terms and prices and referred to or inferred pre-existing arrangements where books were acquired for them.[39] This reflects the fact that they would have viewed texts as part of their everyday lives and understood them

[36] Will of Richard Adams [8th November 1636 PROB 11/172/190]; Will of George Potter [17th April 1627 PROB 11/151/491]
[37] Will of Richard Ockould [20th November 1634 PROB 11/166/522]; Will of William Howes [2nd July 1638 PROB 11/177/403]; Will of Edward Aggas
[38] Tara Hamling, 'Living with the Bible in post-Reformation England: The Materiality of Text, Image and Object in Domestic Life' in *Studies in Church History*. Vol. 50 (2014). pp210-239. p232; Lena Cowen Orlin, 'Fictions of the Early Modern English Probate Inventory', in Henry S. Turner (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Properties, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Routledge, New York, 2002). pp51-8; Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Gifting Cultures and Artisanal Guilds in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London' in *The Historical Journal.* Vol. 60, Issue. 4 (2017). pp865-887. p867
[39] Will of Richard Ockould; Will of Ann Boler; Will of Richard Adams

also in terms of the work put into them and their value to the market and were therefore bequeathing them as such. It also suggests how testators seem to have viewed the trade as being in service to them and that this pragmatic attitude carried across in all their business. Overall, these bequests show thought and care in both the acquiring of texts during life and sympathy at the time of bequeathing to the best recipient of their valued trade products within a wide social circle.

3.2.4. Conclusion

Shares, tools and books were bequeathed to a range of legatees with testators considering the role each could have in assisting the fulfilment of their duty to their dependants before allowing for secondary considerations of sympathy. They reveal the real social circle of a testator beyond their dependants, as it existed at the time of their death and were less exceptions to a *de facto* process of inclusion in the residue but rather deliberate bestowals considered on an individual basis. Most shares and tools passed to dependants and were only bestowed on others when there were none which demonstrates how a Stationer's considerations were primarily for their widows and children and that the wider social network was of secondary importance. Part of the social circle was their trade network as seen in bequests of trade products. While exchanges both to and from a testator clearly operated based on sympathy and desire, we can see how Stationers used the trade to acquire products for themselves and their families. It was likely to have reflected wider attitudes and use of the trade whereby a Stationer took what benefits they could from it. Overall, these bequests highlight the wide social networks of testators. They also demonstrate that sympathy could motivate the bequest of trade goods to non-dependants but only where the benefit to dependants was exhausted, and that the trade and their wider social circle was always secondary to their interests and those of their dependants.

3.3 Conclusion

The present chapter has considered bequests of trade possessions, suggesting bequest motives which can be understood as firstly to provide for a testator's dependants followed by some allowance for bequests based on affection. It has shown how family networks revealed by Social Network Analysis were maintained. The result was that most valuable items were bequeathed primarily to a testator's dependants or primary heir and less valuable goods were passed to those who would have appreciated them most, regardless of family relationship. Bequests of the more valuable premises, copies and stock were the exception

as they were usually included in the residue to go to the testator's primary heir. The less valuable tools, shares and books were bequeathed in greater numbers though they were also often included in the residue, as they were more individualised based on circumstance. This is turn helps to inform a general understanding of the attitude of Stationers toward their trade and the relationships they had within it as being primarily concerned with providing for themselves and their families and saw the trade as means to this end. There does however appear to have been some sympathy toward apprentices and instances of genuine interest in books, as well as a broad social circle of friends and family constituting the social world of a Stationer.

The passing of premises, tools, stocks, shares and copies was a process which underpinned the running of the trade and all were required to run a business. It was desired where possible to retain these items to maintain the testator's family within the trade. The business that one Stationer had built up, through hard work and reputation could be measured in both financial and social capital and were fiercely guarded. For bequests of items necessary for the conduct of the trade, premises were always kept within the family as their dual use as a home, as were copies and stock. Tools and shares were left to those most in need, usually to dependants first and in order of where they would be best used and most appreciated. Only with products of the trade were personal sentiments and consideration dominant, moving beyond commitment to the family unit. Altogether it was their economic value which caused them to be included in the will, where it was necessary to lay out clear and legally binding instruction. A Stationer who had worked hard to gather the items to conduct a successful business in the trade was loth to see them pass out of the hands of their dependants, even if it required a complex arrangement and even if the competitors were other family members, close friends and apprentices. Ultimately the maintenance of wealth and resources within a family was expected to be security for their future, with the last act of a testator being to provide for them. Even though the Company of Stationers and the community of the print trade provided a network within which a Stationer's professional and private lives played out it was an added layer upon the family network. Indeed, we see the degree to which the trade relied on mutual exchange within the business community, underscored by 'tangled webs of economic and social dependency', of credit interchange and good-faith arrangements.[40] The social world of the print trade, however, like most of early modern England, began and ended within the family.

[40] Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market.' p174

4. Case Studies

In this last chapter we will explore the lives and wills of three Stationers; Thomas Man, Edmond Weaver and Richard Adams who are in many respects typical of this sample with average length, focussed on provision for dependants, each bequeathing tokens to extended family, friends and communities. Social Network Analysis suggested the importance of social hubs within the Stationers' network. The following case studies add colour to our understanding of these hubs from different perspectives, using three key points within the Stationers' network, as identified by SNA. Two of these men were Masters of the Company which is a significant over-representation in this sample and the trade. Edmond Weaver's translation into the Company was unusual, as was Richard Adam's near absence from trade records. For the purposes of this study however irregularities can also serve to demonstrate the range of careers possible within the trade, reinforcing the different ways connections could be made. These relationships could be expressed in a range of ways also including as bequests, in a debt and nomination as an executor or overseer. There has been a growing interest in the biography of Stationers in recent years such as a book on John Day which demonstrates how a biography-led study of a Stationer's life can be beneficial to understanding the trade community 'driven forward by biographical and, less frequently, bibliographical narrative.'[1]

These studies show in turn the role of family, social capital and credit in forming relationships within the trade and in becoming social hubs within the Stationers' network. The will of Thomas Man highlights the importance of family as a connecting force within the trade through his bequests to kin many of whom were Stationers, including his sons Jonas and Paul. We can see little division between private and professional. Edmond Weaver was a key community hub with high social capital which can be seen in his nomination for numerous roles of responsibility, in his position as Treasurer and the many bequests to non-family Stationers in his own will. Richard Adams demonstrates the role of credit in forming relationships across the community with a list of debts owed to him by Stationers marking him as a kind of financial backer, controlling the credit exchange which underpinned the trade. These three Stationers used personal relationships and qualities such as trust and affection to facilitate the exchange of goods, services and information across their networks.

[1] Jason McElligott, 'Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History) by Elizabeth Evenden' in *The Review of English Studies*. New Series, Vol. 61, No. 251 (September 2010). pp635-636. p635

The importance of family, credit and social capital found in these case studies is representative of this sample at large and sits within a broad scholarship on the formation of trade and community relationships in early modern Europe. This scholarship includes a long historiography of the prominence of credit, family and social capital within social networks in early modern England as leading causes of community creation and social interaction.[2] The same has also been demonstrated in networks of trade communities, especially early modern guilds and including the Stationers' Company.[3] References to the importance of kin also appear within wider studies of the print trade and have been discussed in depth of the Stationers Company.[4] The current chapter therefore adds to analysis of the Stationers' Company as a socio-economic trade community based upon kinship, where family, social capital and credit exchange determined the shape and operation of their network.

4.1 Thomas Man (d.1625)

The will of Thomas Man demonstrates the centrality of his close family to his personal and professional networks and shows how his private and public worlds were deeply intertwined. It is apparent that family was an important factor in the construction of a network of Stationers, particularly the relationship with their dependants, following the model of provision of duty explored in the previous chapter. In Man's case his considerable bequests to a wide family, many of whom were also Stationers, and especially the provision for his son Jonas demonstrate the key role of kinship as a social foundation in the trade. By outlining Man's career through ESTC and Company records we can get a sense of the central social

[2] Naomi Tadmor, 'Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change' in *Continuity and Change.* Vol. 25, Special Issue 1. (May 2010). pp15-48; David Cressy, 'Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England' in *Past & Present*. No. 113 (November 1986). pp38-69; Courtney Thomas, 'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House' in *Cultural and Social History.* Vol. 10, No. 3. (2013). pp329-45; Karen O'Brien, 'Intimate Worlds: Kinship Relations and Emotional Investment among Nantwich Women 1603–1685' in *Journal of Family History.* Vol. 4, No. 2 (2016). pp131-143; Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England' in *Social History.* Vol. 18, No.2 (May 1993). pp163-183

[3] Maria Fusaro, 'Cooperating mercantile networks in the early modern Mediterranean' in *The Economic History Review.* Vol. 65, Issue 2. (2012). pp701-718; Roberta Dessi and Salvatore Piccolo, 'Merchant guilds, taxation and social capital' in *European Economic Review.* Vol. 83 (April 2016). pp90-110; Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds' in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol. 28, No. 4 (2014). pp169-192; Martha Howell, 'Credit Networks and Political Actors in Thirteenth-Century Ypres' in *Past & Present. Vol. 242, Issue 1.* (February 2019). pp3-36

[4] James Raven, *The Business of Books; Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2007); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998); Victoria Gardner, 'Introduction'. ppvii-xvi in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (eds.), *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*. (Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, London, 2014). pxii; Stephen Bernard, 'Establishing a Publishing Dynasty: The Last Wills and Testaments of Jacob Tonson the Elder and Jacob Tonson the Younger', in *The Library*. Vol. 17, Issue 2 (June 2016). pp157-166; Wayne H. Phelps, 'The Leakes of St. Dunstan's in the West: A Family of Seventeenth-Century Stationers' in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. Vol. 73. (January 1979). pp86-89

position he had secured for himself and his family within the trade. While his family connections were not dominant in records of his career his will leaves no doubt of the broad connections he had across the trade through blood and marriage. While it can be inferred that his family connections had likely assisted in securing his position at the pinnacle of the Company, his will highlights the importance of family connections to others within the trade, especially his sons Jonas and Paul. He appears as the patriarch of a clan of Stationers who would have been a cohesive force within the trade network at the time of his death. Through these kinship relations the family unit was the basis upon which the network of Stationers operated, with the strongest ties and movement of goods within kinship circles and linear descent especially.

Man was in many ways the epitomical turn-of-the-century English Stationer as a man from the provincial middling sort who made a successful career publishing theological books in Paternoster Row at the centre of the trade. During his 47-year career he became a leading figure within the Stationers Company, serving as Master on four occasions. His extant output surpassed any contemporary and he has been described as a 'first-rate' Stationer regarding publishing output and influence within the government of the Company.[5] His case is therefore an excellent study of a Stationer who fits many of the 'norms' of the print trade in this period, and did so successfully. Such an important figure has left a well-documented life allowing for comparison between the information from his will, Company records and extant texts. Yet even for such a well-documented Stationer testamentary evidence can add colour to what we already knew about him.

Through Company records we know much about Man's life. He was born in Westbury in Gloucestershire and was the son of a butcher, with such provincial and middling origins being the typical background for Stationers of the late 1500s.[6] In 1567 he was apprenticed to John Harrison, and through Harrison, and more generally during his early career, Man would have worked with many who had been in the trade prior to Incorporation in 1557.[7] The generation to which Man belonged was the first in which Stationers joined a Livery Company and not a guild, and along with this important advancement in formal status it was

[5] Gerald D. Johnson, 'John Busby and the Stationers' Trade, 1590-1612' in *The Library*. s6-VII, Issue 1 (March 1985). pp1-15. p14-5
[6] McKerrow, R.B. (gen. ed.), *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers.* p184, McKenzie, D.F. (ed.), *Stationers' Company apprentices; 1641-1700.* (OUP, Oxford, 1974). passim.*;* Tim Leunig, Chris Minns and Patrick Wallis, 'Networks in the Premodern Economy: The Market for London Apprenticeships,1600-1749' in *The Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 71, No. 2 (June 2011). pp413-443. pp413-4
[7] LBTD 7614

during Man's career that the Company became truly the judge and jury of the trade.[8] He was an active Stationer during the major crisis of the Spanish Armada and sold books for Robert Waldegrave, the printer of the Marprelate tracts.[9] It has also been suggested that he later became Richard Bancroft's 'familiar'; employing four printers who the bishop encouraged to produce prints for English Catholics to promote factionalism during the Archpriest Controversy.[10] Man himself made a significant contribution to the centralisation of the trade through his leadership during the creation of the English Stock.[11]

Man sold books at 'the sign of the Talbot' in Paternoster Row from at least 1579 until his death, and as well as being a pillar within the Stationers community the Talbot would certainly have been known to the reading public as a constant source of theological literature for nearly half a century.[12] As well as a son who predeceased him Man had two sons who succeeded him in the trade and together the Man name would have been prominent on the market during the later years of his life.[13] Elected Master of the Company in 1604, 1610, 1614 and 1616, Man was a significantly well-esteemed member of the community. In December 1613 the Stationers' Court chose him to go with the Wardens and Master to the Lord Mayor's dinner which highlights the degree of respect in which he was held, as he was chosen to represent the Company outside of their community, even when not holding office.[14] He was rare among Stationers in leaving no record of professional misconduct or reprimand during his long career, beyond the ubiquitous late fines for meetings.[15] The ESTC indicates that he was one of the most prominent booksellers of the period with 353 extant texts attributed to him (including reprints and multiple copies), which was 1.9% of all extant

[8] Signified by increasing control over the trade especially regarding illegal printing, see Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601' in *The Library.* Vol. s4-XIV, Issue 3 (October 1933). pp241-287; Gerald D. Johnson, 'The Stationers Versus the Drapers: Control of the Press in the Late Sixteenth Century' in *The Library.* Vol. s6-X (March, 1988). pp1-17

[9] STC2 24504 [1587]; A. J. Mann, 'Robert Waldegrave' in *ODNB.* (2004)

[10] Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England.* (OUP, Oxford, 2003). p99; Ironically Emmett has suggested that Man was the real driver behind the Marprelate Tracts, Rebecca J, Emmett, *Networks of Print, Patronage and Religion in England and Scotland 1580-1604: The Career of Robert Waldegrave*. (PhD thesis, Plymouth University, 2013).

[11] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960)

[12] STC2 4439 [1579]; STC2 4303.5 [1578]; STC2 5763 [1625]

[13] McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers.* p184

[14] Arber, Edward (ed.), *A transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640*. Volumes I-V. (Privately Printed, London, 1875-77). Vol. V. plxiii-lxiv; William A. Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640.* (The Bibliographical Society, London, 1957). p63/ fol. 33a

[15] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* passim. Blagden cites two examples early in his career where he was charged with involvement in publishing contrary to copyright and uses this to mark him as an anti-monopolist, though Man denied the charges and they were dropped. Blagden, *Stationers' Company.* pp39-44

texts for the period of his career.[16] Over the course of his 47 years this amounts to one at least every two months, and one in every fifty books printed between 1579 and 1625 had Man's imprint. Poor survival makes this number a bare minimum, but it is clear Man had a significant contribution to the overall print output of the era.

By the end of Man's career, he had several relationships with family in the trade, many of whom owed part or all their position within it to him. While it was difficult to quantify, he saw the entry of three sons into the Company as well as a son-in-law and grandson-in-law who in turn were part of the wider Lownes dynasty. His will shows the importance of his family generally with them receiving most of his bequests. There were 42 bequests with 57.1% to family of some description. When family has a stricter meaning of just descendants and their families (including in-laws) this is 45.2% of the total. Roughly equal number of Man's bequests were to his close family and to others (mostly friends and servants). Just Man's four sons were dependants (9.5%), two of whom had succeeded him into the trade. However, they each received significant bequests including between them his shares, properties and a quarter each of the residue. In comparison bequests to other family members were much smaller than to his sons and most of these were to the family of his deceased daughter Ann Lownes.

While most of Man's estate therefore went to his sons, there was a considerable breadth of legatees across his large extended family, including significant token bequests to his stepchildren, son-in-law and grandchildren. The picture which emerges from his will is of a head pre-occupied with the fortunes of a large family. Man's will places him primarily within a Stationer's network which was made solely of family members, with bequests to his son-in-law and grandson-in-law Humphrey Lownes and William Grantham.[17] The best examples of this primacy of family relationships were his attempts to secure the career of his younger and less-established son, as one part of a (rather controlling) strategy to protect the interests of his family. He would certainly not have been the only individual who tried to dictate how his business would be run after his death, but he took considerable care to provide specifically for Jonas at the expense of the others. The first way he did so was to bequeath his shop to him, above three elder brothers. The other was to leave instruction that the elder Stationer son Paul was to 'permit and suffer' Jonas to have 'the whole benefit and profit'

[16] ESTC search for 'Thomas Man' [Publisher] 1578->1625 has 353 hits. 'All documents' has 18,750 hits; John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds.) with Maureen Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain.* IV (CUP, Cambridge, 2014). pp781-2. Table 1 puts the number at 18,336

[17] Will of Thomas Man [16th June 1625 PROB 11/146/50]

from several copies.[18] The informal recording of these copies in the body of the will text, with the use of surnames only and short or no titles means that Man thought them to be well-known by his sons and the community which would enforce his wishes and is suggestive of the oral and memory-based nature of the print trade. Man appears to have chosen them for their professional worth as most appear on Green's list of bestsellers and all ran into multiple editions during his life.[19] Using a later record in the Court book it is possible to calculate that the named copies came to about a quarter of the overall value of Man's copies.[20]

It is because of Man's concern for his family and their continued position at the pinnacle of the print trade that this evidence exists and it is at the juncture of family and trade, personal and public that his will must be placed. Indeed, in itself Man's will shows that in a Stationer's life there was little delineation between private and professional. The insights into his business arrangements from his will add to the existing understanding of his life and to the trade generally. Critically they re-orient his life as a part of the extended Man family dynamics as it existed within the Stationers' community and show that a Stationers' networks in the trade could be significantly built upon familial ties. The family unit in Man's case formed his primary connections within the Stationers' Company, as it did in communities across early modern England.

4.2 Edmond Weaver (d.1638)

The case of Edmond Weaver demonstrates how an individual with high social capital could become a central figure within the community of Stationers. The importance of trust and respect in the creation and operation of the Stationers' network is also suggested and is shown through the key connections within the trade in his own will and his repeated featuring in the wills of his peers in positions of responsibility. The important social cohesive role Weaver must have had can be judged to some degree from the Company records where his position as Treasurer of the English Stock gave him a significant position in the community. His election to and retention of this valuable position would have required support from across the Company elites which can be understood as the result of his social capital which is also seen in his will sample where he was named in more testaments of his peers than any other, usually in a position of trust. Whatever personal qualities he possessed we can see that for much of his career Weaver was a respected member of the community with a wide range

[18] Ibid.
[19] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. (OUP, Oxford, 2000). p173
[20] Will of Thomas Man, Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* p181/ fol. 88b

of social ties across the network. Those Stationers who cultivated high social capital would have been able to secure their own position within the trade and in turn became central figures in the network, respected and relied upon by their peers.

Weaver's career was ostensibly outside of the 'norm' as he was originally a member of the Drapers' Company and as such there is no information on his origins. He was one of twelve Draper-Stationers to transfer in 1600 after a period of considerable antagonism between the two companies.[21] Although he was a junior member of the twelve he had shown desire and initiative by separately but unsuccessfully petitioning the Stationers to be translated in 1598 while still an apprentice.[22] Until 1631 his bookshop was between the Great North Door of St. Pauls and the church of St. Faiths, to which he left a large bequest.[23] He was a prolific publisher with more than 74 extant texts for him between 1603 and 1638, with his son Thomas taking over some and then all of the business from the mid-1620s.[24] He was clearly held in considerable esteem, as he appears throughout the Court records in various roles as witness and arbiter of arrangements and was elected to be Master in 1638, a crowning achievement late in life.[25]

His most important role within the Company was as Treasurer from 1610-38, a position of responsibility which required significant moral and financial standing.[26] We know from the one instance during his incumbency in 1635 when he was required to provide security that he and Thomas could put up a joint bond for £1000 and a further £400 in the English stock, a considerable amount.[27] His positions within the Company indicate a man who was important in the community, with considerable respect and influence. That it took until he was in his 60s to be elected Master, despite spending most of his career in the Company as a liveryman, is telling of his soft power within the community and may indicate a lack of desire either by himself to hold the highest office or by his peers to elect him to it. In the Company hierarchy he was certainly among the elite, having been a liveryman since 1607 and an Assistant since 1623.[28] He seems to have been in many ways what D'Cruz described as the sort of 'friend' one wanted in a society of the middling sorts, an influential social

[21] Johnson, 'Stationers Versus the Drapers.' p2
[22] Ibid. pp14-5
[23] Arber, I. pxiv; Will of Edmond Weaver [12th June 1638 PROB 11/177/292]
[24] ESTC search 'Weaver' [Publisher] and 'Weauer' [Publisher], 1600->1639 combined total 84 hits
[25] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* p106/ fol. 54a, p166/ fol. 81a, p164/ fol. 79b
[26] Ibid. p276/ fol. 37a, p42/ fol. 23a, p321. note 2, pp265-6/ fol. 132b
[27] Ibid. pp265-6/ fol. 132b
[28] Ibid. p30/ fol. 15b, p160/ fol. 78a

broker.[29] While his social capital, credit and professional status earned him a secure place within the community, he would likely have also retained some marks of an outsider.

Throughout his career Weaver seems to have possessed significant social capital leading to his advancement to positions of wealth and influence. His will proved in 1638 demonstrated that while his close family were a significant minority in receiving his bequests, including provision for his son who inherited the business, most of his bequests were to non-family. It follows that while family ties were important, he had a wide social circle which connected him to the trade network. He left 30 bequests with 43.3% to family of some description. When family has a stricter meaning of just descendants and their families (including in-laws) this is 26.7% of the total. He left significant bequests of money and goods to his wife and four children who made up five of the eight total close family bequests. He did have some Stationer-relatives with marriage links to the Sergier and Downes families placing him within an extended family of Stationer in-laws common amongst the Company elites and as seen with Thomas Man.[30] Additionally, upon his death his copyrights were transferred to his son Thomas who was Weaver's strongest connection in the trade and executor.[31] He left three bequests to servants and three to friends as well as several unknowns who were likely friends and neighbours. He also left bequests to three 'friends' in the trade, Smethwick, Hoath and Marriott demonstrating that even at such a late stage in his life he maintained social prominence beyond the formal strictures of his official roles.[32] While there is evidence to suggest genuine friendship between Weaver and other Stationers it was first and foremost a community of breadth rather than depth of connection. Though many bequests were to his close family, including some in the trade, most were within the wider community supporting the argument that many of his relationships, including most of those in the trade, were the result of friendship and respect.

In a world where credit was both financial and social, reputation was the foundation upon which position within a community was built.[33] Company records and Weaver's own testament corroborate the sense of a figure with a pivotal yet complex centrality within the Stationers' community. The selection of Weaver so often in the wills of his peers reinforces the concept of a moral code of 'fraternity' separate from that of friendship and family which

[29] Shani D'Cruz, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker.' pp181-207 in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800.* (Macmillan, Hampshire, 1994). p189
[30] Will of Edmond Weaver
[31] Arber, iv. 449
[32] Will of Edmond Weaver
[33] Muldrew, 'Interpreting the Market'

bound the loose Stationers network together. [34] The high value of social capital in the trade is demonstrated here, placing emphasis on the role of impersonal 'friendships', word of mouth and respect. Men like Weaver would have been important figures within a society that valued moral integrity and financial stability and his case may be indicative of many who occupied similar 'hidden' positions as hubs of the Stationers community. These would have been individuals who were part of the Company elite yet exercised power as connectors, influencers and brokers, rather than as outright leaders. Of the 40 wills proved in the PCC between 1623 and Weaver's death he is named as a witness, executor or overseer in 17.5% of them. Between 1624-7, when plague devasted London and 16 Stationers left wills, this rose to 31.3%. We also know of at least two further instances in 1607 and 1631.[35]

Weaver's key role in so many wills cannot be explained solely by business, family, or personal relationships. His cross-current of business and personal relations demonstrates how personal and professional contacts were not strictly delineated. Of these he published with only Thomas Snodham and Richard Sergier and so business relationships likely do not account for his selection to administer most of the wills he was chosen to.[36] ESTC and Company records show a moderately successful Stationer who must have been seen in the community as financially and morally solvent which placed him repeatedly in positions of trust. As Berry has noted 'executors and supervisors were expected to be trustworthy and to have experience in handling money' which Weaver clearly was and so we can determine that he would have been considered 'respectable' in the community.[37] Weaver's position relied on his personal relationships and professional roles but most of all his standing was the result of his social capital; a fundamental knowledge in the community that he was trustworthy. In the complex world of the Stationers these wills demonstrate that Weaver's relationships transcended definition as simply professional, familial or friendship bonds as his personal and professional life were one and the same. His repeated election to positions of trust within the Company and on behalf of his deceased peers reveal him to have been an important broker, with broad appeal past his own inner network of family and friends. He was an important social agent, holding a central position with a degree of power and the moral integrity deemed necessary to administer the last will of his peers. His case demonstrates the potential influence those with much social capital could exert and

[34] Johns, *Nature of the Book.* pp76-8
[35] McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers.* p285; Jackson (ed.), *Court Book*. pp232-3/ fol. 116a
[36] STC2 1958 [1610]; STC2 3429 [1611]; STC2 3254 [1638]; STC2 3234 [1638]; STC2 5465 [1637]
[37] Charlotte Berry, ''To Avoide All Envye, Malys, Grudge and Displeasure': Sociability and Social Networking at the London Wardmote Inquest, c.1470–1540' in *The London Journal.* Vol, 42, No. 3 (November 2017). pp201-217. p204

highlights the need to examine the connective power of such 'middling' Stationers whose real depth of influence is not revealed by numbering business connections or the heights they reached in the Company hierarchy.

4.3 Richard Adams (d.1636)

Richard Adams' will shows how a Stationer could operate by providing financial capital to the trade community. The importance of credit in the Stationers' network is explicit in Adam's will with the list of debts he includes, the vast majority of which were due from known Stationers. The exchange of financial capital and credit would have been both a cause and effect of the network, creating connections beyond the family and friendships, as well as flowing along pre-existing lines. It cannot be understood through Company records and the ESTC as it was based upon orality, memory and non-verbal understanding. For this reason, Adams, Stationers like him and the network of credit upon which they operated is largely lost to posterity. By using his will in conjunction with these records it is possible to partially reconstruct his career by assessing both his list of debts in context and his other bequests which mark him out as an involved member of the trade, financing book production. This study makes clear the importance of credit in forming relationships within the Stationers' community with Adams using his financial capital to place himself within a web of credit exchange at the centre of the trade. Even more so than family and social capital it is very difficult to trace credit within the Stationers' network, although it was fundamental to the entire conduct of trade.

If nothing else, Adams is an important reminder of how much we do not and may never know about the early modern print trade. It is a well-known problem regarding printers and booksellers who operated outside the official Company hierarchy and considerable work has been done, especially in recent years, to remedy this scarcity in regards to regional stationers, itinerant chapmen and the women of the Company.[38] To such efforts of recovery may be added the cases of men like Adams. Using these records little can be done other than to confirm there was a Richard Adams who was a Stationer during the period of study and that he neither registered a copy nor appears in any extant imprints.[39]

[38] e.g. Tessa Watt 'Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: The changing character of the broadside trade, 1550-1640' pp61-82 in Robin Myres and Michael Harris (eds.), *Spreading the Word; The distribution networks of print 1550-1850.* (St. Paul's Bibliographies, Winchester, 1990); Maureen Bell, 'Women Writing, Women Written' in Barnard and McKenzie with Bell (eds.) *History of the Book in Britain.* pp431-451

[39] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book*. p189/ 92b, p221/ fol. 108b, p263/ fol. 130b

From surviving texts and Company records Adams does not appear to have registered, printed or sold a text, nor does he appear to have ever been bound as an apprentice. Bearing in mind possible lack of record survival it is likely he translated into the Company and that he may have published or printed texts. In fact the first time he appears in the Stationers records is when he bound Abraham Bradshaw as an apprentice in 1619; the first of eight apprentices in total.[40] Five were bound between 1630 and 1636, which account for one of the three references to him where in 1630 he was fined 2s 6d for 'keeping his apprentice contrary to order.'[41] Three of his apprentices were named in his will; George Sherwood who had been bound earlier that year was a witness, and Abraham Bradshaw was given the £10 Adams owed him.[42] He also named as his apprentice Mathew Cotes, who had been bound back in 1633 and Adams cites twice that a 'Mr Coates' owes him money and leaves 40s for a ring and forgives the debts of 'Richard Coates Stationer' who likely was the father of Mathew.[43] Of all of his apprentices only Thomas Wright appears in more than one surviving imprint and so it would appear that Adam's apprentices were just as evasive of the official record as he had been.[44] Considering that an apprentice bound to a master learnt their version of the trade, usually printing or bookselling, it would seem logical that Adams' apprentices would follow his mould.

From the Court book we also know that Adams won the election for Thomas Dewes' half yeomanry part in the English Stock in September 1626.[45] The only other reference to him is in December 1634 when with Miles Flesher, John Haviland and Robert Young he was brought before the Stationers' court on the charge of printing 'the Companies Psalmes in Scotland' contrary to the allowed ordinances.[46] His relative invisibility may therefore be explained by the possibility that he could have run a business using provincial and Scottish printers to work with. We know that Robert Young worked at this time in Scotland. Intriguingly the next mention of this misdemeanour isn't until April 1636 when the other three were fined and spared imprisonment. Adams though is not named even though the fine is divided into four with each of the other three men assigned a quarter portion. The editorial note states that Adams appears to have been forgotten in the records, but that he must have been fined also.[47] He may have been unable to attend or perhaps he was unknown to the

[40] LBTD 9239; LBTD 9243
[41] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book*. p221/ fol. 108b
[42] Will of Richard Adams [8th November 1636 PROB 11/172/190]; LBTD 9243; LBTD 9239
[43] Will of Richard Adams; LBTD 9240
[44] LBTD 9246, McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers.* p303
[45] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book*. p189/ fol. 92b
[46] Ibid. p263/ fol. 130b
[47] Ibid. p280. note 1

Clerk, he may even have been a member of another Company. His connection to these three men who together acquired several printing businesses in the 1630s reinforces his possible position as a financial backer as they would have required considerable funds for their enterprise.[48] In her discussion of the business of the triumvirate, which she deemed to have been one of the most important of the period Handover says 'how they raised the considerable sums that were needed… remains a mystery.'[49] Perhaps Adams is the answer.

The role of credit in forming Adams' relationships was significant, with the vast majority of all his bequests relating to the 27 debts owed to him. Even excluding his list of debts owed to him family were a small minority of his bequests. Such a wide breadth of relationships indicates someone well-connected socially and professionally outside of his family. Adams left 23 bequests with 21.7% to family of some description. When family has a stricter meaning of just descendants and their families (including in-laws) this was just his wife. Therefore, most of Adams' bequests were to non-family and those that were to kin were mainly to extended family.

Adams' will is unique evidence of his life and offers insight into the entire trade as part of the current historiographical effort to uncover such 'hidden' stationers. It is likely that with further study the role of Adams and those like him, existing beneath the operations of the printers and booksellers may be increasingly revealed. Certainly, he appears here as one of the most connected Stationers of the period, which of itself is of note. That he does so without apparently printing or selling a text is deserving of further analysis. His case also serves as a reminder that not only were there alternative methods for the study of Stationers outside of the ESTC and Company records, but that an over-reliance on them has indeed obscured research on every level, not just widows, journeymen and provincial stationers but those theoretically within the mandate of official trade records. While much of this verbal and memory-based world has been lost forever sources like wills may offer some small recoveries. It is this fascinating network obscured behind the main records and leading men of the Company which would have powered the everyday trade, and that is where studies of people like Richard Adams offer hope of a wider understanding.

One example of this remembered and verbal world can be seen in his bequest of seventeen Octavo Bibles to the poor children of St. Sepulchres, to be distributed by his Stationer

[48] Arber, III. p701
[49] Phyllis M. Handover, *Printing in London, From 1476 to Modern Times.* (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1960). p56

brother-in-law Augustine Mathews. This bequest shows Adams to have had an intimate knowledge of the trade as well as close family in it. Among those he left bequests to were the Stationers Michael Sparkes and Richard Cotes and his will also contains a list of debts owed to him and that he owed, of which 22 of the 27 people named were known Stationers. It includes debts owed by 'Mr Danyell' (Roger Daniel) and 'Mr Turner' (William Turner) the printers at Cambridge and £23 by 'Mr Lichfield of Oxford' (probably Leonard who took over the business in 1635).[50] From this information some sense of Adams' role in the trade can be suggested and one which accounts for the discrepancy between the official record and his apparent centrality in the Company.

'A Schedule of such debtes' recorded by Richard Adams.[51]

Myles Fletcher £19

Thomas Harper £30

Mr Payne £16

Mrs Hawsby £10

Mrs Constable £5

John Legatt £45

Mrs Dawson £20

Marmaduke [deliberate blank] £12 10s

Mr Fisher £10

Mr Sparkes £200

Mr Willmore £10

Mr Grismond £100

Mr Coates £100

Mr Edwards £50

Mr Lawrence Lee £150

Mr Badger £50

Mr Coates £65

Mr Young £22

Mr Lichfield of Oxford £23

Mr Danyell £8

Mr Young £13

[50] Ibid.; Henry. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1642-1667.* (For the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, London, 1907). p117

[51] Will of Richard Adams

Mr Miller £13

Mr Turner £5

Mr Oakes £8

Debts owed:

Symon Turner £83 13s 4d

Nathaniell Camfield between £5 and £8

Abraham Bradshawe £10

From his list of debtors, it would seem that Adams provided capital for Stationers whose 'assets were locked up in unsold stock' as the 'financial backing for any individual book may well be hidden.'[52] This was not just limited to London but to the other places where there were approved presses in Oxford, Cambridge and Scotland. As well as being unusual in their large number and wide range, incomparable to any other evidence in this sample, we see Adams handling a significant amount of money. This list totals more than the £1000 bond that Edmond Weaver had to put up in 1635 during the dispute over the English Stock. Adams was at the centre of a credit network that had a significant amount of money moving within it. For this alone we can say that Adams was an important part of the trade at his death, and one of which there is little suggestion in the official record.

The ability of Adams to affect such a complex exchange mechanism after his death suggests a trade system which he must have been sure could handle such a bequest. This is a reminder that the apparent reality of the trade presented by the extant texts and Company records is only one perception. It is also possible that in 1617 the Court book notes that 'mr Adames lent vnto the Company the somme of one hundred and three skore poundes' which is attributed by the editor to Thomas Adams who was a prominent member at the time.[53] However the entry does not give a first name and could reasonably have been Richard. The other likelihood is that Adams was 'a procurer of manuscripts' who took them to other publishers for help in financing and selling the editions at their shops.[54] That he felt the need to record his debts and debtors here demonstrates that they were probably not written elsewhere. It is a fascinating record of the kinds of verbal credit exchanges which would have underpinned all trade in early seventeenth-century England's cash-poor society. Whatever Adams' specific role was, there was clearly room for people to operate within the print trade behind the usual printer, publisher and bookseller roles. The use of credit here to

[52] John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): a preliminary survey' in *Publishing History.* Vol.29 (January 1991). pp5-46. pp22-4
[53] Jackson (ed.), *Court Book.* p93/ fol. 47b
[54] Johnson, 'John Busby.' pp14-5n

form so many relationships with other Stationers is perhaps an extreme example but in principle the exchange of credit would have been ubiquitous throughout the trade and a critical underpinning of the Stationers' network.

4.4 Conclusion

The wills here have been chosen for their individual interest, including their prominence within the network identified through Social Network Analysis, yet they are also indicative of wider attitudes and behaviours, informing our understanding of the entire trade. The present chapter demonstrates how family, social capital and credit were the basis for most of the relationships found in the bequests of this will sample. It is achieved by using three case studies to highlight how links were expressed between Stationers with one testator very connected through family, one through social capital and another through credit. By looking outward from the lives of individual Stationers it is possible to place them within a network which was bound by kin, capital and credit. These case studies suggest that a large part of the exchange of finance, physical texts and intellectual property was in part done outside of 'official' channels, reliant on kinship, mutual understanding, memory and verbal communication. Exchange of all kinds rested on complex networks of social and financial capital, highlighting the need for examination of the ways the community used these networks. The formation of relationships is not always easy for the modern observer to understand yet in collecting as much data as possible there is some hope of a sense of this world coming back to us. In many cases this recovery is possible due to circumstances out of the ordinary which required the translation of the mental to the scribal, such as Thomas Man's desire to set out his copies for his son, or Richard Adams whose decision to leave his list of debtors precisely because he had never felt the need to write them anywhere else. The case of Edmond Weaver demonstrates how a wide breadth of evidence can be employed just as effectively as depth, as the use of many wills in conjunction serves to reveal what a single will cannot.

This was a network of which we can see only the outline of in the extant text and Company records as it was largely conducted based on verbal or even non-verbal understanding and agreement. Yet we can get a sense from these case studies of the role that personal connections had in placing testators within the wider community. From the personal relationships seen in these wills it can be understood that the Company and its social network were connected at their strongest by inter-kin relations but were also based upon the

exchange of credit and social capital. It can be surmised that in a myriad of ways the Stationers were a society which operated through individuals and human agency.

5. Conclusion

This thesis took as its starting point the network metaphor commonly employed by historians, aiming to test whether we could reasonably call this community a network. To do so we have taken data about relationships from a sample of wills and conducted Social Network Analysis. SNA is a system which enables us to conceptualise data as a network and then identify and calculate the qualities of this network. It is the only way to practically test the network metaphor but it also helps us take the term network seriously as a theoretical framework to study a community. We have found that there can be said to have been a Stationers' network within the wider social networks of early modern England. This study sought also to take the bare bones offered to us by the metrics and statistics of SNA and to contextualise them using other evidence from our will sample. In doing so we aimed to find out more about how this network was constructed and how it operated. We did this first by assessing bequests of trade items and then through case studies of individual members of the community. Through these different approaches to the same source material we confirmed the findings of the network analysis, particularly the importance of kinship and social hubs and in doing so have begun to try and better understand the qualities of the relationships which formed this network which were largely close ties of kinship and looser bonds of social capital.

As a snapshot of a person's life a last will and testament is both a record of a testator's existence in the moment of death and a statement of where they felt their place in the world to be. While there would have been many relationships in an early seventeenth-century tradesperson's life only the strongest and longest surviving of these were represented in a will. As the tip of a myriad of interconnections they represent not only the most personal relationships but also act as a skeleton of connections, around which we can imagine a body of smaller, weaker and more ephemeral associations. Before exploring this wider body however this study lays out this first level of most important connections. As long as we consider the drawbacks such documents have; their legalistic and formulaic nature, and their very purpose as a standing legacy of a person designed to present the best possible version of themselves, then they are an ideal way to get into otherwise inaccessible lives. For the men and women of the middling and lower sorts in history, who so often leave very little evidence of themselves, a will can often be the only way to uncover their world. This small study of the print trade hopes to inform the whole, by gaining an understanding of not only how the social networks of the print trade were formed, but how they functioned. As this

network of credit and the Stationers' community operated on memory and orality it can never be fully recreated, but a sense of its nature can be gained in these bequests as we see the thin edge of orality pressed against the written record. Ultimately all records of the trade are reflections, not the trade itself.

Our study has applied a network approach to the Stationers of early seventeenth-century London, testing the network metaphor often used to describe the print trade at the time. It has identified a 'Stationers' network' which consisted of strong family connections loosely bound together through weak ties of credit and capital. This was one of many such networks in early modern England which overlapped with one another and had no defined boundaries. It was constructed and operated upon society's cultural norms. Particularly clear was a sense of duty toward dependants which significantly influenced the passage of bequests and the practical operation of trade within close kin circles. Additionally, credit was important in creating ties between people and enabling exchange as well as placing particular people or institutions in positions of high importance as shared focal points. This network of close-knit kin and loose associations of credit was an active agent which enabled and constrained its members, who in turn had some ability to influence and manage the network and their place within it. Testators often adopted a pragmatic approach in response to circumstance and used the trade and their networks to benefit themselves and their family. There were changes over time as we can see in the short-term impact of the 1625 plague and long-term coalescing around the Stationers' Company and increasing inter-Stationer relations. In using wills and networks rather than relying on Company sources and texts it was hoped also to follow the principle that the trade is best understood as the product of its social environment. The use of wills and network methodology has allowed the study of the personal lives of Stationers in a way that reflects the fact that print was fundamentally a product of people. Because early modern England operated informally through orality and memory, outside of official structures and formal arrangements, the personal and professional cannot be divided. Trade networks were extensions of personal networks. The public and professional aspects of early modern life such as trade, the Stationers' community and even the Company itself were ultimately based upon networks of kin and credit.

The scope of the present research has focussed on a short period of time and a small source sample and so an extension of the timeframe and source type would be the most straightforward way to develop this research. In particular, there is scope to extend research backwards toward 1600 and beyond. Such a study would expand our assessment of this

‘halcyon’ period of the trade and particularly the influence of the Stuart monarchies and the English Stock on changing the nature of the trade. It would also include many Stationers’ who like Thomas Man had been of that first generation after Incorporation. This author suspects that the trends seen in the study of Man’s will and the network over time such as the emphasis on familial links and the parishes around St. Pauls may reflect generational characteristics. The timeframe may also be pushed forward from 1641 into the period of the Civil Wars where the Stationers struggled to maintain their control of the trade as print came to influence the fortunes of the country. A study of this period would trace the Stationers’ and their network through this period where the social world of England was ‘turned upside down’ with their trade at the forefront. We know that the trade and the Company underwent considerable external pressure and internal upheaval and it is suspected that a greater fracturing of the network may have occurred, alongside a strengthening of the inner oligarchic ‘core.’ It would be particularly interesting to assess the implications of the period of high mortality in 1638-41 to see if it had the same effect as the plague of 1625 in reducing network cohesion. If so, it may be that a weak Stationers network in the years from 1641 onwards may have contributed to the breakdown in trade control over censorship and the subsequent ‘print explosion’ of the Civil War.

Alongside the extension of the timeframe further study may also include a wider consideration of source material. The wills used here from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury represent only the richest members of the society and so an inclusion of wills from local courts such as the Consistory Court of London would be the logical next step. To continue in the trend of decentring the Stationers’ Company there are also local sources which may be used in further network studies such as churchwardens accounts and the London Book Trades Database project. To extend this even further studies could consider not only the wills of those who can be identified as members of the Stationers’ community but the wills of those who they refer to, thus placing the Stationers’ within their wider social network. In addition, there is scope to turn inwards to the records of the trade with the ESTC, *Register*s and Court Book all offering opportunities for concerted network study. While each in their own right would be of interest a comparative assessment would provide a fascinating insight into the relationship between overlying network structures. Any future network study of the Stationers has also to address the opportunities provided by digitisation to place an understanding of the Stationers’ community as a network right at the heart of all scholarship on the early modern English print trade. The author believes there is considerable space for

a large, collaborative project using a core database and an online visualisation tool to collate multiple studies of print trade networks into a searchable tool.

Conceptually, there also remains further scope for research. The role of women has been indicated here as something revealed by wills and the network approach, in line with other studies of early modern women. This could be much more deeply explored. The concept of family here is used in general terms but nuance existed within this and further work is needed on the difference between types of family relation, in particular between blood and marriage. The term 'social capital' has also been used with little sense of the complex arguments around it. Future studies of wills and networks of the Stationers' Company would be useful ground from which to contribute to our understanding of its operation in guilds, trade and early modern life more generally.

These wills show testators living within a community of Stationers, in a world of cooperating printing houses, stacks of unbound quires, Company stocks and a sense of place in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Stationers of London in any age lived lives of interest because of their contribution to print culture, and it is the very nature of their work that has led to documentation of their professional lives and our historical interest in them. While they may sometimes have liked to see themselves as separate or special cases, as can those who study them, they made and traded knowledge and information in much the same way as a Merchant-Taylor or Wood Turner went about their craft. Their lives and trade were fundamentally the products of their social environments and material circumstances. To study early modern Stationers from this personal perspective is to understand that we cannot separate the personal from the professional and that they were each part of a web of kinship and credit far greater than that recorded on the small imprints made on Company records and extant texts. Their culture, their horizons and their daily lives would have primarily been not as members of the Company, the Stationers' community or the print trade but as citizens of London and members of England's middling sort. Their concerns were for their children but also for nieces and nephews in their hometowns, widowed neighbours, water-carriers and their 'friends' who were Scriveners, Tailors and Tallow-chandlers. A study of their wills enables us to see that print was the product of individual Stationers and that any Stationers' network such as it was, would have been socially, culturally and economically far more than simply a network of the print trade.

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[1] Does not form part of our sample

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