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Panel ✓

Day 1 edits

Slide 1

This project seeks to understand how the use of data-driven visualizations of sixteenth and seventeenth-century title page imprint information can illuminate aspects, of the recusant printer network in the era of high-recusancy (c.1558-1640). Just a quick note of definition, Recusants were English Catholics illegally practicing their faith during the Tudor and Stuart monarchies following the Recusancy Acts of 1593. ~~There will be more to help clarify this as I go, but I wanted to strike out a quick framing note from the top.~~ This is largely a project of Slide 2 remediation with the goal of investigating whether new insight into an established field can be gained by collating, analysing, and graphically displaying like information—in this case Recusant literature—that ~~is~~ ^{may be} distinct from traditional forms of scholarship. I argue that by ~~striking~~ removing the impediments of shelf-bound and geographically separated volumes and by quantifying elements of their creation, the network and nature of recusant literature is made more immediate by illustrating trends and anomalies at the same level of access and visibility and thereby potentially opening new avenues of research.

Additionally, the aim is to combine methodological approaches of traditional book history—in this case merging bibliographic studies with quantitative history—and also utilizing new methods of corpus mining and data visualization to help make the obscure known. Slide 3

While much has been written about recusancy, there are still new stories to be told by investigating new forms of evidence made available through newer methods of humanities scholarship. New methods can potentially lead to new evidence to help settle old historiographical debates, such as the John Bossy and Christopher Haigh debate that still, despite the age of this debate, consumes much of the scholarship on recusancy.

It is important to also address what this project is not, at least at this stage. This project deals with a very particular set of title page imprint data and seeks not rhetorical analysis, but network and geographical analysis —to learn, in other words who constituted the recusant print network, and from where were they printing. ~~At a later stage, it will be interesting perhaps to dig into the corpus of the texts themselves and learn more about the nature of recusant literature and the variety of forms.~~ It is also important to stake out a note of definition in the use of the term “recusant literature.” I am relying on the scholarship of ~~A.F.~~ Allison and ~~D.M.~~ Rogers in their construction of the term as they used it in their 1956 study *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640* and in the subsequent 1970 collection of facsimile ^{texts} by Rogers *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, which consists of Catholic literature such as Edmund Campion’s *Rationes Decem* which serve as instructive literature for the self-education or self-catechism (using Eamon Duffy’s phrase) and maintenance of the faith. Often this literature is translated from Spanish, Italian, French, Latin, and others. This is, therefore, primarily European literature. As John Roberts notes in his important critical introduction to his anthology of English recusant devotional literature, “the Recusants were primarily men of action” who did not, as Roberts continues, have the “time nor the leisure needed for composing books of devotion.”¹ Roberts adds that there was not an urgent need for English-origin material because there was such a ^{glut} ~~surfeit~~ of continental material available. The question remains, however, in understanding ^{in English} how and where this material was printed and if there existed a more robust printing network than has been previously analysed.

This project assumes a program of counting, of making connections and drawing conclusions based on numbers, rates, and trends. ~~While I believe the term quantitative history is~~

¹ John Roberts, Introduction to *A Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose, 1558-1603*, by John Roberts (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1966), 45.

~~a useful and descriptive term, this project does not fit comfortably within the standards set by~~
~~Annales historians.² This is not a project of economics (in the mode of Labrousse, for example),~~
~~however, and the use of the term quantitative does not indicate a use of the numbers to inform~~
~~pure social history trends. In fact, the numbers used in this project, with one exception, have little~~
~~to do with the social history of the recusant groups discussed. This is instead a project utilizing~~
~~numbers to tell a different story;~~ *in order to find new stories*
 to indicate through occurrence rates and network connection
 who the members of the recusant print network were, where they were located, and how much
 they printed. ~~That said, this project does not fit neatly with other text mining project dealing with~~
~~large sets of texts either despite the use of similar tools and visualization methods.~~

In Franco Moretti's essay "Network Theory, Plot Analysis," ~~for example~~, Moretti
 describes many of the features and methods that this projects works with and some of the
 justifications for using this form of analysis ~~—more typically used in data and hard science~~
~~contexts~~ *used* in a humanities-based project. While Moretti ~~is using~~ Network Theory to analyse plot
 and character connection and this project seeks to connect real-world historical actors, both
 projects seek to find the clusters and connective edges that illustrate the, in Moretti's words,
 "uncanny rapidity with which one can reach any vertex in the network from any other vertex."³
 Importantly, these connections are referred to as the "six degrees of separation," a term cleverly
 utilized by the "Six Degrees of Francis Bacon" team. The Six Degrees project is very important
 in the development of the recusant network project in that both projects aim to pull out from
 obscurity the contemporaneously known connections —that is, the social network of writers and
 patrons in the Six Degrees project or recusant printers in this project— but of which the evidence

² Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929-89*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 53.

³ Franco Moretti, "Network Theory, Plot Analysis," in *Distant Reading* by Franco Moretti (London: Verso, 2013), 212.

is obscured by the inaccessibility of vast and dense archival material.⁴ Creating a tool to better see not only the large important connections but also to see the general “gloop” that, as Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore discuss in the context of identifying trends in the rhetorical language of Shakespeare, hold the network together.⁵ This is important because as we will see, there are stand out characters in the history of recusant printing, but as this project demonstrates, there is a much higher rate of unknown and unaccounted for printers. These unknown printers constitute this project’s “gloop;” the binding agent that provides the shape of the recusant printing network.

As the Six Degrees project illustrates and as van de Camp and van den Bosch discuss, making meaningful connections between historical actors outside of direct kinship networks is incredibly complex. Relational data from a social network extraction model can be used to determine related entities and sentiment analysis can be used to model the nature of that relationship. These methods are more typically used in data sciences and in the development of social media algorithmic predictions. In their ground breaking work with Marian letter networks, however, Ruth and Sebastian Ahnert develop an important “betweenness” model that functions more robustly as a predictive system for historic network analysis.⁶ In their work they are able to determine not only connections but also originator or hub-influencer relational data by measuring the distance between nodes and their weighted importance to the network using modern algorithmic scoring tools. This work has been very important in the field of humanities-centric network analysis and a similar focus on statistical predictive modelling is being used by the Six Degrees project. As briefly mentioned above, the recusancy print network functions as an

⁴ Christopher N. Warren, Daniel Shore, Jessica Otis, et. al. “Six Degrees of Francis Bacon: A Statistical Method for Reconstructing Large Historical Social Networks,” *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 10 no. 3 (2016)

⁵ Jonathan Hope and Michael Witmore, “The Hundredth Psalm to the Tune of “Green Sleeves”: Digital Approaches to Shakespeare’s Language of Genre,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61 no.3 (2010) : 361.

⁶ Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian Ahnert, “Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach,” *ELH* 82 no. 1 (2015) : 14-17.

illustrative model to demonstrate the known connections, that is the association of title page information with the specified places and people contained. As the project develops and becomes more sophisticated, however, there will be further need for predictive modelling and analysis to map speculative and derived alias data with the potentially false imprint information ~~(a trend I will address in the next section).~~

In designing a visualization and quantitative digital humanities project, the questions of exigency and importance to the humanities are always present. Johanna Drucker poses the challenge as the need to “construct systems of graphic designs to show the humanistic values and methods within the visualization and interfaces of our work.”⁷ It is important, in other words not to let the tools of other disciplines or of business obscure the goals of the humanities and to use these tools to expand our abilities as humanists. Willard McCarthy puts a finer point on this challenge taking on the notion that digital humanities projects do not address argumentation and thus may have diminished intellectual value. McCarthy notes, however, that as the projects become increasingly sophisticated and the novelty of the tools diminish, the level of evidence-based argument development and support increase.⁸ Moretti’s 2003 work “Graphs, Maps, Trees,” had already, perhaps, gone some distance in addressing, though not directly, this challenge. Moretti’s essay discusses the use of “distance reading” to gain perspective on a field and to see elements and trends that may otherwise have been missed out.⁹ This argument goes a long way to justify the need for quantitative digital humanities in that these projects seek more to

⁷ Johanna Drucker “Graphical Approaches to the Digital Humanities,” in *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 249.

⁸ Willard McCarthy, “A Telescope for the Mind?” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew Gold, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 119.

⁹ Franco Moretti, “Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History distant reading,” *New Left Review* 24 (2004) : 86.

illustrate the gaps in scholarship than fully determine an answer. They work to help scholars develop new and interesting questions that can be addressed using more traditional methods.

Slide 5
This project aims to highlight areas for new questions within the deep and vast extant historiography of English Catholicism and recusancy. ~~In particular, by focusing on the print network indicated by the title page imprint information, what can be added to the known information about the trade and production of singularly recusant literature?~~ To explore the networks of recusant literature communities is to enter, as Nancy Brown wrote, "uncharted territory."¹⁰ Brown's study of the manuscript networks of the recusant community is very important for understanding both recusancy in general and for understanding the place of literature within this community. As both she and Alexandra Walsham have discussed, for the lay-Catholic community authoritative and instructive works were of critical importance as they were, as Brown writes, "the means of spiritual sustenance when no priest was available and no mass heard."¹¹ This made England something of a special case in the post-Tridentine Catholic world. In other areas and at other times, print was seen as secretive, potentially harmful, Protestant, and of less importance than spoken mass and the rhetorical iconography of ceremony. Without an alternative for most Catholics, however, the silent preacher of the text was of the utmost importance. Walsham highlights this in a number of studies looking at the impact of the recusant literature on lay-Catholics and the potential for danger not only in the radicalization of a beleaguered population, but also of the misinterpretation of texts and the possibility, to echo the sentiment of the period, of the "silent heretic."¹² Walsham additionally notes that the instantiation of print had a great effect in creating what she credits Brian Stock as terming a

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Slide 7

¹⁰ Nancy Brown, "Paperchace: The Dissemination of Catholic Texts in Elizabethan England," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700 vol. 1*, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 120.

¹¹ Ibid, 120.

¹² Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past and Present* 168 no.1 (2000) : 74.

“textual community.” Not only did print provide a fairly uniform edition of a text, it was generally, and this is one of the points of debate that this project addresses, printed by an authoritative source such as the English College at Saint-Omer and others.¹³ ~~Alternatively, hand written manuscript copies provided an immediacy to the text and allowed greater circulation, but ultimately did not fill the same need that the printed material did.~~

~~In the vacuum created by the absence of legal mass, a new form of religious tutoring that Ellen Macek discuss as spiritual direction became an important component of the larger recusant network. Importantly as we look at the nature of the recusant community and the traditional understanding of the active recusant actors which John Roberts described as men too busy to engage in the creation of spiritual literature and caught up by the idea that there were “so many battles to be waged by pen and by sword,” we see in Macek’s article the role of women actively engaged in spiritual direction by an invisible priest.¹⁴ These “Ghostly Fathers,” were both textual and corporeal priests harbored in the homes of the gentry existing, however, as fugitives escaping from the priest hunters of the crown.¹⁵ In Macek’s article, many of the women she describes were martyred such as Margaret Cliterow, Dorothy Lawson, and Mary Ward. Curiously, one of the priests associated with spiritual direction, John Mush, appears in the data as the author of one of the recusant works associated with a clandestine press in London and the printer Jacobum Molaeum. If we consider the recusant print network as a theoretical “textual community,” we understand the importance of the printed material to the construction not only~~

¹³ Alexandra Walsham, “Preaching Without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent,” in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 212.

¹⁴ John Roberts, *English Recusant Devotional Prose*, 45.

¹⁵ Ellen Macek, “‘Ghostly Fathers’ and their ‘Virtuous Daughters’: The Role of Spiritual Direction in the Lives of Three Early Modern English Women,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 90 no. 2 (2004) : 213.

of the recusant Catholic community identity, but can also understand the nature of the community itself.

As will be illustrated ~~in the discussion~~, this project highlights centres of printing as well as illuminating printers themselves. One such printer that rises through the vast corpora of data is William Carter. Carter is a romantic and typifying character of the high-recusancy period in that his story is one of both centrality and of martyrdom. According to Ian Gadd's ~~Oxford Dictionary of National Biography~~ ^{ODNB} entry, William Carter was the son of a draper and an apprentice printer under the tutelage of John Cawood. Cawood was the printer to Queen Mary and whose own mentor (Grafton, printer under Edward VI) was executed as a traitor for his support of Jane Grey.¹⁶ In the apprentice-printer network surrounding Carter, therefore, we see in miniscule the turbulence of the period in sharp detail. Carter was recruited into the recusant cause and was a figure of some importance printing at least fourteen books.¹⁷ As a result, he was imprisoned, tortured, and eventually hanged, drawn, and quartered thus becoming a recusant martyr¹⁸. Carter is of particular importance to this project because of his associations with multiple pseudonyms as well as the clandestine Greenstreet House press which he operated with the similarly important John Lyon. These figures are representative of the aims of the project in that they constitute key players in the recusant print network. ~~In Thomas McGoog's recent work, he expands on Gadd's original scholarship on Carter and places him within the clandestine print era that predates the Jesuit print mission of c.1580. McGoog importantly discusses the nature of this mission and the Pope's removal of the requirement for all literature to be published with full~~ ^{Additionally recent} ^{Carter} ^{as illustrated in the example}

¹⁶ Alec Ryrie, "Cawood, John (1513/14–1572)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, (Oxford: OUP, 2004) : online ed.

¹⁷ Thomas McCoog, "'Guiding Souls to Goodness and Devotion': Clandestine Publications and the English Jesuit Mission" in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, ed. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, Jolanta Rzegocka, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 97.

¹⁸ Ian Gadd, "Carter, William (b. in or before 1549, d. 1584)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004) : online ed.

imprint information.¹⁹ This is important because as we will see, this ~~(along with the nature of~~
~~Early Modern printing in general and the required secrecy of the presses)~~ allows for the ^{high rates} ~~volume~~
of what the *English Short Title Catalogue* describes as “false imprint” information and the high
number of records cataloged as “S.N.” or *sine nomine* (without a name). Interestingly, Walsham
provides evidence of this form of clandestine practice, but from the perspective of persecuted
Protestants and other nonconforming sects under ^{Queen Mary} ~~previous and especially the Marian monarchy.~~
Walsham gives the example of John Day who, in an effort to mislead the ever encroaching
authorities, creates works under the pseudonyms Nichlas Dorcaser and Michael Wood both,
importantly falsely recorded as printed in Rouen.²⁰ Additionally, to support the *ESTC* thesis of a
large-scale (as will be clarified in the data) English clandestine operation, Ceri Sullivan, in
analysing the arguments of F.S. Siebert and W.W. Greg, finds that despite the high cost of
printing and the scarcity of material, other, non-ideological printers may have printed recusant
material as a supplemental income away from the eyes of the Stationer, thus, potentially accounting
for a large portion of the false imprint information. While they may have felt inclined to print the
material, it is highly doubtful they would want to associate themselves with these prints.²¹
Recusant printers would, however, move from a clandestine press in England to free presses in
Europe if the authorities suspected their shop or location of housing illegal material or an illegal
press. One example that McGoog gives is Stephen Brinkley, another high occurrence name
within the dataset, who after being imprisoned in England for printing illegal material fled to
Rouen and continued his work with the mission. This larger print mission has been described by
Stefania Tutino as the “Empire of Souls” and it is in this work that Tutino —in a discussion of

¹⁹ Thomas McGoog, “Clandestine Publications and the English Jesuit Mission,” 101.

²⁰ Alexandra Walsham, “Preaching Without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent,” 214.

²¹ Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580 to 1603*, (Madison: Associated University Presses, 1995), 38.

Cardinal Bellarmine— writes about the de-centralization and the complexities of Early Modern Catholicism at large.²² This resonates with the recusant print network as discussed in Macek that concessions needed to be made to account for the localized need with the English mission, (i.e. the flexibility and the preaching through the print that was necessary despite the refocus on pastoral Catholicism after the Council of Trent).

While the high-profile recusants such as those involved in the multiple conspiracies against Elizabeth I, the Gunpowder Plotters, the musician William Byrd, or the families of the recalcitrant gentry who remain proud of this history even today, there remains a history to be told about the unknown, or at least less well known recusants who constituted the vast network of literature during the era of high-recusancy. It should be noted, however, that this project is illustrative and not predictive. The data derived from the imprint information gives us a quantitative account of a history that is well accounted for in qualitative historical works. Despite some humanists' fears that this form of history obscures historical actors, the use of visualization brings from obscurity names and connections that may have otherwise been lost.

Transition to showing the actual project

Slide ⁸~~9~~: slow and careful origins, hand copying from the ~400 vol. set (began with a small manageable set we have in the library)

Slide ⁹~~10~~: Illustration of the process. Distracting and tedious. Started to isolate trends, however.

Slide ¹⁰~~11~~: Example of OCR issues

Slide ¹¹~~12~~: Gifted a large set of scraped data from Eng. Short Title Catalogue (ESTC).

²² Stefania Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 6-8. This also echoes John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Slide ¹²~~12~~: Start to visualise the data. Within the first, small sample set, the first indications of the data point towards the traditional understanding of the nature of Recusant literature; that is European origin as part of the Jesuit (and other) print missions—indicated by the locations, St. Omer, etc.

Slide ^{13/14}~~14/15~~: So again, this is coming from the title imprint information. So the basic recurrence of ENGLAND sticks out first and foremost, but (SLIDE 15) zooming and breaking these locations out a bit, we see other related English locations.

Slide ¹⁵~~15~~: So, taking that idea and extrapolating using the larger dataset, we actually see the trend continue with a high proportion of the imprint data located as “London” and associated English locations. There is a reason to pause over this data however. Within the ESTC, the cataloguing standards do not have a subject heading for “Recusant Literature,” or anything close to a categorically useful term. The closest I can get is “Catholic Literature—Controversial”, which, is problematic because this doesn’t specify a particular ideological construction, and therefore not specifically “Recusant” in nature. In fact, the opposite can be true and this could well be Protestant literature.

Slides ¹⁶⁻¹⁷~~17-21~~

¹⁶ Looking within the English set, and going back to our first “accurate, but small” grouping, we can start to look at the associated printers for these individual instances and some interesting trends and anomalies start to stick through the set. By using a basic network analysis linking the rates of each instance, we start to see a couple of interesting things, firstly, low recurrence rates for each node – meaning, these works are largely individual instances. We do start to see some clusters (Slide ¹⁷~~18~~), however, and these clusters gave rise to the rest of the project (slide ¹⁸~~19~~).

(slide ¹⁹~~20~~) In the chart he is only listed as the printer for 4 records, however, in reading the false imprint data for records printed by 'Ioannem Bogardum, and Bogardi, Bellerum, Foulurum/Fouleri – a lot of differing declensions – they all link back to William Carter (Slide ²⁰~~21~~) who I discussed a moment ago. Cheekily, the record attributed to Foulurum is signed, "Anglum", but is noted as imprinted in Antwerp. The scholarship around this points to "creative" Latin and the meaning being, perhaps Englishman.

²¹ Slide ~~22~~: Applying the same idea to the larger EEBO/TCP dataset, again we see quite similar trends with large clusters where we'd expect and loosely associated clusters associated with the English prints.

²² Slide ~~23~~: This brings us to an isolated set, a way of looking at these loosely connected nodes and a way to start making sense of the connections. What this represents is, essentially, the Recusant Print Network; that is the names and places, though both not trustworthy prima facie, of what may constitute this network. As I mentioned above, however, the nature of the Sine Nomine and False Imprint data complicates strong conclusions. Ever positive, however, I believe this to actually be okay in that this methodology unearthed new questions, possible connections, and potentially a different way of knowing. In particular we see a band of as of now unaffiliated nodes which represent, potentially, a larger scale of recusant printing by lesser or unknown printers, or we see the evidence of a larger scope of aliases and clandestine practices throughout the country. Taken as such, this evidence may work to lend modern credibility to John Bossy's thesis of a reborn and robust Catholic community that may have emerged as a factor of the post-Tridentine Church. By removing the obstacles of traditional archival research to find printing trends and printer information, these visualizations show the scope and the nature of the recusant print network.

Conclusion

Slide 25

Thank You

Questions:

edification a found
failed to the collector of
the specimen

- obscure

- that alone

this even go the little jar
on said - wasn't there something
w/ Bother or was

Very interesting comparison

of the French from Tunis

from their into the hands, especially
Vaginas as a new group

Museum - the reputation of champagne gave the very outset in the
Collection

What would a survey on Kandelian get? North? Middle East?
Europe? Russia? Very good question

Latent discussion, however, was so elements the cultural
change -

middle-class discussion

[Debate on 19th century
vs. 19th - more 19th century culture]

"The more we speak of Islamic art, the less we are thinking of Islam as
a religion - Hogson

- (likely is a problem
what is the more, not really -

Islamic art - Art (more cultural) =

Is this another word
for something like Oriental?

Islamic literature - religious literature

Calling other
religious cultures into
Islamic art

The idea of Islamic philosophy
and not Egyptian philosophy

The obscure is photos as photos?

- like photos of his jacket say "missing you" -

ASS. w/ something - randomness of chance something?

Are there any friends in who has (less FBDMs)?

- style
- location
- etc.

overwhelmingly so

Do they end?

Performance anxiety

"Shit
of time"

Does this speak to
the overwhelming nature of
how last effects us?