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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF BIBLIOGRAPHY  
AND LIBRARY LORE

EDITED BY J. Y. W. MACALISTER AND  
ALFRED W. POLLARD

IN COLLABORATION WITH

KONRAD BURGER  
LÉOPOLD DELISLE                      MELVIL DEWEY

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# THE LIBRARY.

## THE ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM.

 AMONG the many books published in England during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, none perhaps is more celebrated than Henry the Eighth's work against Luther, which earned for him the gratitude of the Pope, and for the English sovereigns the title of 'Fidei Defensor.'

It would be thought that the bibliography of such a book would have been fully worked out long ago, but this does not seem to be the case, and many misleading and erroneous statements about it are to be found even in the most recent books.

I do not propose to enter into the literary history of the book, whether Fisher wrote it, or what share Wolsey had in its production. It seems pretty well agreed that it was the king's own work, though he, no doubt, wisely sought the assistance of some of his skilled councillors. All are agreed that he was a singularly well-educated man, and keenly interested in the ecclesiastical turmoils of the times. That he was quite competent to write such a book

is undoubted, and I quite accept his reply to Luther's impertinent innuendo, 'Although ye fayne your self to thynke my boke nat myne owne, yet it is well knowen for myn, and I for myne avowe it.'

The Assertio itself was issued by Pynson on 12th July, 1521, and the following is a bibliographical description:

Title. [within a border] ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM ADVERSUS MARTIN. LUTHERUM. AEDITA AB INVICIS SIMO ANGLIÆ ET FRANCIÆ REGE, ET DO. HUBERTINO HENRICO EIVS NOMINIS OCTAVO. COLOPHON, leaf 78 b Apud inclytam urbem Londinum in ædibus Pynsonianis. AN. M. D. XXI. quarto Idus Iulii. Cum privilegio a rege indulto.

Collation: A-V<sup>4</sup>; 80 leaves,

Leaf 1<sup>a</sup>, Title; 1<sup>b</sup>, blank; 2<sup>a</sup>-77<sup>b</sup>, Text; 78<sup>a</sup>, Errata; 78<sup>b</sup>, Colophon; 79, 80, blank.

The title is enclosed in a broad border frame with figures of Mutius and Porsenna at the bottom. The initials H.H. for Hans Holbein occur on a shield at the side, and the whole border is a very exact copy of one used by Froben at Basle.

This title-page is a good example of the lack of appreciation of good spacing shown by the early printers. Of the ten lines of the title, seven end with part of a word, while a very little care would have procured the same effect with the words undivided.

The number of copies printed of this first edition was no doubt very large, and copies are comparatively common; the British Museum, for example, has three, and the Bodleian six. The combined

Royal authorship and the subject would occasion a great demand for the book, and copies were no doubt soon dispersed over Europe. On 23rd August, Erasmus wrote to Pace that he had seen a copy of the book in the hands of the papal nuncio Marini, and in a letter to Warham of the same date, complained that he had received no copy of the book in spite of Wolsey's promises.

Now for some time Henry had coveted a new honour. He alone amongst the sovereigns of Europe was undistinguished by any title connected with the prevailing religion. In June, 1521, Wolsey had applied through Cardinal Campeggio to the College of Cardinals for some such recognition, but nothing had been determined. The publication of the *Assertio* seemed to offer an excellent means of procuring the honour which the Consistory seemed unwilling to bestow.

As soon, therefore, as the book was ready, Henry set to work to have it formally presented to the Pope. At the end of July, Wolsey wrote to the king:

‘SIR,

These shall be onely to advertise your Grace that at this present Tyme I do send M<sup>r</sup> Tate unto your Highnes with the booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the Pope's Holynes, with a Memoriall of such other, as be allso to be sent by him with his autentique Bulles to all other Princes and Universities. And albeit S<sup>r</sup> this Booke is right honorable, pleasant and fair, yet I assure your Grace, that which Hall hath written (which within 4 Days wol be parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: And shall long contynue for your perpetual Memory whereof your Grace shall be more plenarlye Informed by the said M<sup>r</sup> Tate. I do send also

unto your Highnes the Choyse of certyne Versis to be written in the Booke to be sent to the Pope of your owne Hande; With the Subscription of your Name to remain in Archivis Eccl'ie ad perpetuam & Immortalem vestre Magestatis gloriam, Laudem & memoriam, by your Most humble Chaplain

‘T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> EBOR.’

The verses which were to pass as Henry's own were duly inscribed in the presentation copies. Montaigne, in the account of his voyage to Italy in 1581, wrote: ‘I saw the original of the book that the King of England composed against Luther, which he sent about fifty years since to Pope Leo X., subscribed of his proper hand, with this beautiful Latin distich, also of his hand:

Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo decime, mittit  
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiae.’

On 25th August, Wolsey wrote to Clerk, the ambassador at Rome, giving full instructions about the presentation of the book to the Pope. He was to present it in the following form, declaring the king's resolution to support the Church and extinguish heresy by the sword and pen. He was then to deliver the book privately, covered with cloth of gold, subscribed by the king's hand, ‘wherein the king's grace hath devised and made two verses, inserted in the said book by the king's own hand,’ and if on perusal it be approved by the Pope, he is to have it sent forth with the Pope's authority, and request leave to present it publicly in full consistory, there to receive the papal sanction, and furthermore, ‘The King's grace by



th' advice of his counsaill hath made a memoriall of such titles as he thought most convenient.'

With this letter twenty-seven copies of the book were sent for distribution. On 14th September, Clerk wrote an answer to Wolsey's letter, saying he had received the twenty-eight copies of the book. He had 'delyvered his Holines ij bokes, [one] of them covered with clothe of gold, the other with b . . . . and his Holynes . . . . and with a very amyabill . . . .'<sup>1</sup> the said bokys of me, and beholding the porteur, fashion and pryme deckyng of the said bokis (whiche he semyd to like veray well) openyd the boke coverd with clothe of gold, and begynnyng the prohem redde thereof successively v lefes without interruption. His Holynes in redyng, at such placeis as he lykyed (and that seemyd to be att every second lyne) made ever some demonstracion, vel nutu vel verbo.' Clerk wished to read to the Pope the verses written by the king, 'and by cause the King's Grace had wryten the sayd versis with a very small penne, and by cause I knew the Pope to be of a very dull sight, I wold have redde unto his Holynes the said versis aloud but his Holynes, quada' aviditate legendi, toke the boke from me and redd the sayd versis iij tymes very promptly, to my great merval and commendyng them singlarly.'

The Pope approved of its being presented in the consistory, and desired five or six more to deliver them to the Cardinals. He approved of their being sent to divers Christian princes, and liked the king's new title. Clerk ended his letter by saying that

<sup>1</sup> MS. Vitellius, B. iv. 165. The portions indicated by dots are illegible.

he had asked the Pope to fix a day for the consistory, and would have his own oration ready in a fortnight, and would forward it to Wolsey.

At the end of September Clerk informed the Pope that his oration was ready, and asked for a public consistory for presenting the king's book. The Pope promised to do all that was necessary to declare his approbation of the book, and asked Clerk for the substance of his oration, that his holiness might be ready with an answer [*Responsio Roman. Pont. extempore facta!*].

On Wednesday, 2nd October, the Pope summoned the consistory. He sat upon a raised throne beneath a cloth of state with the cardinals on stools before him. Clerk, having kissed the Pope's foot, proceeded to kiss him on either cheek, and then kneeling before him, delivered the oration. This done, he presented the book and received the Pope's thanks in Latin.

On 11th October was issued the Bull of Leo X., conferring upon the king, in full consistory, the title of *Fidei Defensor*. The original, signed by the Pope and cardinals, is preserved in the British Museum [*Vit. B. iv. 226*].

On 4th November, Leo wrote to Henry, stating that he had received from Clerk, dean of the Chapel, in consistory, the king's work against Luther. He gives the king infinite thanks, '*O fidei defensor!*' and has conferred this title upon him, as he will learn by his letters '*sub plumbo,*' for his services to the holy See.

Cardinal Campeggio was also loud in his praise of the book, 'nothing could be better expressed or

argued, and the king seems to have been inspired more by an angelic and celestial than by a human spirit. We can hereafter truly call him "Luthero-mastica."

There seems to be a certain amount of confusion amongst writers on the subject as to the identity of the book presented to the Pope, some speaking of it as a manuscript and some as a printed book. The kindness of my friend, the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who obtained for me information about the copies in the Vatican, enables the question to be fairly definitely settled. The two copies presented to the Pope, which are referred to in Clerk's and Wolsey's letters, are still preserved in the Vatican Library. One is a manuscript [Vatic. lat. 3731], presumably 'that which Hall hath written,' the other a copy of the book printed upon vellum [Memb. III. 4], and both contain the written verses 'Anglorum Rex,' and the royal autograph.

Unfortunately both these copies are in comparatively modern binding. Pastor states [*'Geschichte den Päpste,'* Band IV., Abteilung I., 1906] that it is said that the original binding of the manuscript was stolen in the siege of Rome in 1527, and perhaps that of the printed copy was lost at the same time. Two copies were sent to the Pope, one as a personal, the other as an official gift, and from the wording of Wolsey's letter, it seems most probable that the manuscript copy was the one formally presented in consistory on 2nd October, to remain 'in archivis ecclesiae.' It contains a manuscript note stating that it was given by the Pope on 12th October, 1521, to the two librarians

of the Vatican 'cum aliis asservandum et custodiendum.'

It seems probable that the copies sent by Henry to the various sovereigns, and perhaps some to the more important cardinals, were printed on vellum, while those sent to the Universities and lesser dignitaries were on paper with the royal signature written or stamped.

Of the five copies on vellum at present known, four are in the Vatican :

Memb. III. 1. This copy contains no inscription of any kind, but is in a splendid old binding of red velvet studded with small gold stars and with solid gold clasps.

Memb. III. 2. Has the name 'Henry rex' printed from a stamp on page 2. The binding is modern, and the copy is said to be that sent to the King of Portugal.

Memb. III. 3. Has also the name printed from a stamp. The binding is old, and has upon it the arms of Paul III. [Alexander Farnese, 1534-49].

Memb. III. 4. This is the copy sent to the Pope. It contains the verse and the signature, but has in addition the king's name printed from the stamp above the verse.

The fifth copy is in the Rylands Library, and was formerly in the Spencer collection. It seems to have been purchased from Edwards the bookseller, and is in an eighteenth century calf binding with the arms of Pius VI. [John Angelo Braschi, 1775-99]. It has been roughly illuminated, and has coloured borders to every page, executed in a very poor and tawdry manner. At the beginning



is the inscription 'Regi Dacie,' probably in Henry's own hand.

Though the Bull confirming Henry in his title of Fidei Defensor was issued on 11th October, there was considerable delay in its transmission to England, a delay further increased by the death of Pope Leo X. on 1st December, 1521, and it was not till after this date that Wolsey made his speech to the king, in which he congratulated him on the honour paid him by the Pope, and himself on having induced him to undertake the work. That the king was much aided by Wolsey may be judged from his words reported by Pace to Wolsey, 'that though God hath sent unto him a little learning whereby he hath attempted to write against the erroneous opinions and heresies of the said Luther, yet he never intended so to do afore he was by your grace moved and led thereunto. Wherefore his highness saith that your grace must of good congruity be partner of all the honour and glory he hath obtained by that act.'

In December, 1521, an edition was issued at Rome, whose description follows:

Title [within a border] LIBRVM HVNC INVICTISS.  
| ANGLIÆ REGIS FIDEI DE- | FENSORIS CON-  
TRA MART. LVTHERVM | LEGENTIBVS, DE-  
| CEM ANNORVM ET TOTIDEM | XL. INDVL-  
| GENTIA APOSTOLICA | AVTHORITATE |  
CONCESSA EST. | Cum Gratia | et priuilegio. | Leaf  
5<sup>a</sup> [within a border] ASSERTIO SE- | ptē Sacramētorum  
ad- | uersus Marti. Lu- | therum, ædita ab in- | uictissimo  
An- | gliæ & Franciæ | rege, & do. | Hybernix Henrico  
| eius nominis | octauo. | Colophon. Leaf 89<sup>b</sup> ¶ Romæ,

opera Stephani Guillireti, | mense Decembri. M.D. | XXI.  
apostolica | Sede vacan- | te. |

Collation: [\*<sup>4</sup>] A-V<sup>4</sup> X<sup>6</sup> Y<sup>4</sup> Z<sup>2</sup>; 96 leaves.

Leaf 1<sup>a</sup>, Indulgence; 1<sup>b</sup>, Verses; 2<sup>a</sup>-4<sup>a</sup>, Brief of Leo X.; 4<sup>b</sup>, blank; 5<sup>a</sup>, Title; 5<sup>b</sup>, blank; 6<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>, Henry's addresses to Leo X. and the readers; 9<sup>a</sup>-89<sup>b</sup>, Text; 90, blank; 91<sup>a</sup>-96<sup>a</sup>, Oration of Clerk; 96<sup>b</sup>, Answer of Leo X.

This edition is generally supposed to have been issued under special papal influence, and the prefatory matter, with Clerk's oration and the answer of Leo, may have appeared here before Pynson issued his supplement. A quarto edition of 1521 is stated to have been printed at Paris by Claude Chevallon, but I can trace no copy of it.

About the same time Pynson issued in London two supplements, of twelve leaves and eight leaves:

Title [within a border] LIBELLO HV | IC REGIO  
HAEC | INSVNT. | Oratio Ioannis Clerk apud Ro.  
pon. | in exhibitione operis regii. | Responsio roman.  
pont. ad eandam ex | tempore facta. | Bulla ro. pon.  
ad regiam maiestatem, | pro eius operis confirmatione.  
| Summa indulgentiarū, libellum ipsum | regium legen-  
tibus, concessarum. | Libellus regius aduersus Mar-  
tinum | Lutherum hæresiarchon, | Epistola regia ad  
illustrissimos | Saxoniae duces pia admonitoria. |

Collation: A-C<sup>4</sup>; 12 leaves, 28 lines.

Leaf 1<sup>a</sup>, Title; 1<sup>b</sup>, blank; 2<sup>a</sup>-7<sup>a</sup>, Oration of Clerk; 7<sup>b</sup>, Answer of Leo X.; 8<sup>a</sup>, Latin verses; 8<sup>b</sup>, Title of Bull; 9<sup>a</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>, Bull; 11<sup>b</sup>, Indulgence; 12, blank.

On this title-page mention is made of the Epistola

ad Saxoniae duces, and this was printed as a supplement of eight leaves, to follow the text of the Assertio :

Title [within a border] EPISTOLA | REGIA AD  
ILLVSTRIS- | SIMOS SAXONIAE | DVCES PIE  
AD- | MONITO- | RIA. | ¶ |

Collation : ab<sup>4</sup> ; 8 leaves, 28 lines.

Leaf 1<sup>a</sup>, Title ; 1<sup>b</sup>, blank ; 2<sup>a</sup>-6<sup>b</sup>, Text of Letter ; 7<sup>a</sup>, Errata ; 7<sup>b</sup>, 8, blank.

Thus Pynson's edition (*cp.* page 2), with the two supplements, should contain one hundred leaves, leaves 12, 91, 92, and 100 being blank. This last supplement, being bound at the end of the book instead of with the other at the beginning, is very often missing. Several separate editions of this letter, with the answer of Duke George, edited by Hieronymus Emser, were printed abroad in 1523.

In January, 1522, Pynson published another edition of the Assertio, but the type appears to have been only partly reset, several sheets having the same errors and typographical defects as are found in the first. The first sheet, however, has been reset, and the last two gatherings of four leaves each (t, v<sup>4</sup>) of the first edition, have been compressed into one gathering of six leaves (t<sup>6</sup>), so that this second edition consists of 78 leaves with one blank leaf at end in place of the 80 leaves, with two blank leaves at end of the first edition. The second edition ends on the verso of leaf 77 : ' Londini in ædibus Pynsonianis. AN. M.D.XXII. | xvii Kalendas Februarii. Cum pri- | uilegio a rege indulto.'

Now it is quite clear that the *Assertio* by itself, without the supplements, is a complete book; probably most of the first edition was dispersed long before they were printed, so that it is incorrect to describe it when without the supplements, as is often done, as imperfect. The papal approval and indulgences, and the Bull announcing the king's new title, must have caused a new demand for copies of the book, so that when Pynson had printed his supplements, he added them to all copies of the original issue which still remained in stock, and printed off a new issue of the *Assertio* to meet the increased demand.

Even copies of the re-issue do not always occur with the supplements. The copy in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has them added in manuscript.

Such examples as I have seen of Pynson's *Assertio* in the original binding have all been ornamented with the same panels, and have been bound by John Reynes. The panels are not those he generally made use of, but have no binder's trade-mark or initials upon them, and may perhaps have been specially prepared for this work.

One has a shield bearing quarterly 1 and 4 France, 2 and 3 England, supported by a dragon and greyhound, with the sun and moon, and shields of St. George and the city of London in the upper corners. The other has the Tudor rose between two ribbons supported by angels, and bearing the distich:

Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno  
Eternum florens, regia sceptrum feret.



In the upper corners are the sun and moon, and below the rose a branch of pomegranate [Weale, p. 121, No. 109].

Though these panels have no binder's mark or initials, we can identify their owner by the roll sometimes used with them. On the two copies in the libraries of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and J. Pierpont Morgan the panels are separated by a piece of roll-produced ornament, in both cases having the mark of John Reynes.

Probably some of the twenty-seven copies forwarded to Rome for dispersal were in this binding; certainly some copies thus bound and with the royal autograph remain in foreign libraries. One is at Bologna; another, sold in the Yémeniz sales in 1867, was in this binding and had Henry's signature. It had also the inscription, 'Collegii Anglicani ex dono ill<sup>mi</sup> Guilielmi Alani cardinalis Angliae an. 1521' [?1571], and was purchased by the Abbé Bossuet for 5600 francs. The copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, with Henry's signature and in the original binding, was bought in Rome by a Mr. Woodburn, who presented it to the University. An interesting copy, now in a private library, which has passed through the collections of Herbert, Bindley, Hibbert and Wilks, belonged to Cranmer, and contains his notes.

The Fitzwilliam copy was the subject of a very curious legend. It was picked up by Mr. Woodburn for a trifle from a bookstall in Rome, and from the fact that it contained the king's signature and had the Royal arms on the binding, the happy purchaser jumped to the conclusion that it was the

identical copy presented by Henry to the Pope, and no doubt looted from the Vatican by the French in 1798. What added to the interest of this copy was the fact that Leo X., on reading it through, had carefully struck his pen through the words 'Fidei defensor' whenever they occurred. This bubble was pricked by Sir F. Madden, who, in a most able letter to 'Notes and Queries' [Series I., Vol. 12, p. 1], pointed out amongst many other excellent reasons why the volume could never have belonged to Leo and have been annotated by him, that all those portions in which the words 'Fidei Defensor' occur were not in print until after Leo's death.

The copy in Mr. Morgan's collection, formerly in the library of Lord Gosford and Mr. Toovey, was said to have formerly belonged to Queen Elizabeth, but there seem to be no valid grounds for this assertion.

Two other editions appeared in 1522:

*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, aedita ab Inviētissimo Angliae rege Henrico VIII. Antverpiae in aedibus Michaelis Hillenii. Ann. MD.XXII. 4to. 76 ll. B.M. [Panzer, VI., p. 8, 50].*

*Assertio septem Sacramentorum aduersus Martinum Lutherum aedita ab inuiētissimo Angliae et Francia rege et dno Hyberniae Heinricho eius nominis octavo; cum registro nuper addito atque D. Erasm. Rothe. epistola huius operis commendaticia. Impress. Argentine per honestum virum Johannem Grieninger in vigilia sancti Laurentii anno salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo*

vigesimo secundo. 4to. 50 ll. B.M. [Panzer, VI., p. 98, 612].

Later editions are :

1523. Assertio VII Sacramentorum adversus Lutherum, edita ab Inviētissimo Angliae et Franciæ rege Henrico VIII cum praefatione eiusdem ad Leonem X. S.L et Typ N. 4to. [Panzer, IX., p. 133, 252].

[1523]. Assertio septem | Sacramentorum Aduersus | Martinum Lutherum | Henrico Octauo | Angliae Regi | Adscri- | pta. | [Device of B. Rembolt]. On the last leaf the device of C. Chevallon. 4to. [Stonyhurst College].

Apparently printed to accompany Fisher's 'Confutatio' of 1523.

1543. Assertio Septem | sacramētorum aduersus Martin Lutherum, edita ab inuiētis- | simo Angliae & Fran- | ciae rege & domi- | no Hyberniae | Henrico eius | nominis octa- | uo. | Romae | Apud F. Priscianensem Flo- | rentinum | MD.XLIII. 4to. 78 leaves.

The title is enclosed in a fine woodcut.

1562. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum . . . cui subnexa est ejusdem Regis epistola, Assertionis ipsius . . . defensoria. Accedit quoque R.P.D. Johan Roffen. Episcopi contra Lutheri Captivitatem Babylonicam, Assertionis Regiae defensio. [edited by J. Romberts]. 16°. G. Desboys. Paris. 1562. B.M.

A copy of this edition in a beautiful binding by Cloris Eve for Marguerite de Valois, sold in the Turner sale (1888) for £118.

Finally the book appeared in an English translation in 1687:

Assertion of the Seven Sacraments, with his Epistle to the Pope, Mr. John Clark's Oration, the Pope's Answer and Bull, &c. Translated by T. W. London. 1687. 4to.

E. GORDON DUFF.



## THE WRITINGS OF OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

**I**T is generally recognised by statisticians and students of literature that certain counties and towns have raised up more than an average number of men and women of genius. Why this extraordinary concentration of great men should take place in certain localities it is difficult to say; but that there has been such concentration is indisputable. Mr. Havelock Ellis, in his suggestive "Study of British Genius," states that the district of East Anglia has produced the greatest number of English geniuses. Be this as it may, the Eastern and Midland Counties are noted for their great writers. Lincolnshire has its Tennyson; Suffolk, its Edward FitzGerald and Sir Thomas Browne; Warwick, its Shakespeare, Landor, and George Eliot. Of English towns, London is not only the metropolis but the brain: in it or its environs have been born most of our best writers, among whom may be mentioned Chaucer, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Milton, Pope, Browning, Ruskin, Arnold, Morris, and Swinburne.

If this is true of England, it is not less true of America. Ever since the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Bay, the State of Massachusetts has been the most hallowed part of the American continent, and the towns of Boston and Cambridge

the most interesting places in that State. At Boston was held that memorable 'tea-party' which signalized the outbreak of the American Revolution; and here were born Emerson, Motley, Franklin, and Poe. Cambridge, distant not very far from Boston, is the home of Harvard University, from which there graduated in the early years of the last century, a group of scholars and poets whose influence on American literature was very great indeed. Three of these—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Oliver Wendell Holmes—won international fame; and a fourth—Professor C. E. Norton—has endeared himself to all Dante students by his translation of the 'Commedia.'

Oliver Wendell Holmes was born at Cambridge in 1809, and came of the 'Brahmin caste of New England,' his father, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, being a descendant of the Puritans who colonized the province. Graduating at Harvard in what became the famous 'Class of 29,' he began the study of the law, but gave it up at the end of a year for the more congenial profession of medicine. After the usual course he spent two years at Paris, walking the hospitals, and attending the lectures of Louis and others. On his return to America he set up his red lamp, and obtained the chair of Anatomy and Physiology at Dartmouth College; vacating this in 1847 for a similar position at Harvard. As an instructor he was highly respected and beloved; but as time went on he became less of a physician and more of a man of letters; and it is as a writer that he is remembered at the present day.

At a very early date Dr. Holmes, unlike most members of his profession, turned to poetry. As an undergraduate he had a reputation for writing clever comic verses; but, outside the college classrooms, he was practically unknown till he published, in the year of his graduation, the stirring ballad of 'Old Ironsides.' The patriotic fervour of these lines electrified the public at once, and had the desired effect of postponing the breaking up of the old frigate 'Constitution' for a number of years. While in the law school, he contributed occasional pieces to the 'Collegian,' a students' paper; and in after years read poems before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, of which he was a life-long member, and at the annual gatherings of 'the boys.' Whether these effusions, or the more serious compositions of his prime bear the marks of the highest poetry remains to be seen.

Matthew Arnold in a well-known essay avers that 'the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life,' and in another equally well-known paper, he says that 'Poetry is interpretative both by having natural magic in it, and by having moral profundity.' Judged by these standards, much of Holmes's poetry is found wanting; but if the lesser standard of its power to amuse and please be admitted, it will pass. Professor Beers—a sound critic—says: 'It is mostly on the colloquial level, excellent society verse, but even in its serious moments too smart and too pretty to be taken very gravely; with a certain glitter, knowingness, and flippancy about it, and an absence of that self-forgetfulness

and intense absorption in its theme which characterize the work of the higher imagination. This is rather the product of fancy and wit.' Above all things Holmes is a humorist in his verse, and a humorist of a delicate titillating kind. This quality is writ large in such pieces as 'My Aunt,' 'The Stethoscope Song,' 'The Ballad of the Oysterman,' 'The Deacon's Masterpiece,' 'Rip Van Winkle, M.D.,' and 'The Last Leaf'; passing in the last from laughter to tears. Poets do not often range from rollicking humour to pathetic humour; yet this is what Holmes does in 'The Height of the Ridiculous,' and 'The Last Leaf.' The story of the servant who bursts five buttons off his waistcoat with laughing at his master's merry lines has evoked many a laugh, and the picture of the funny old man in his queer breeches and three-cornered hat, dreaming of past days and old renown, has often released a tear. This specifically human element—the sense of tears in human things—is never far from Holmes's verse. It is present in 'The Voiceless,' that tender lament for the unloved ones of the world; in 'Under the Violets'; and to an affecting degree in 'Homesick in Heaven,' a poem in which the yearning of the departed for their bereaved parents, wives, and children, is touchingly expressed.

In one department of poetry Dr. Holmes stands at the head of American and English writers—the poetry of festival and compliment.' For half a century he continued to write, with undiminished energy and unfaltering touch, poems to be read or sung at all kinds of meetings, public and private,



commencements, inaugurations, centennials; meetings of medical societies, Burns' clubs, agricultural societies; dinners of welcome or farewell to Bryant, Dickens, Lowell, Whittier, Longfellow, the Prince of Wales, the Grand-Duke Alexis; layings of foundation-stones, dedication of cemeteries, birthday celebrations, and funeral orations. In short, he performed the duties of an official Laureate of the American people, receiving instead of crowns and Canary wine, the wages of love and regard.

This kind of poetry may seem impermanent when compared with that of Milton and Browning, but it is excellent of its kind; and though it does not pretend to justify the ways of God to men, it assuredly justifies the ways of man to man, in his friendlier moments at least; and this is something.

As a prose-writer Holmes made his *début* in the pages of the 'Atlantic Monthly.' When Lowell became the editor of that magazine in 1857, he made it a condition of his acceptance that Holmes should be put on the staff. This gave the genial Doctor his chance, and he was not slow to avail himself of it. The twelve numbers of 'The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table' began to appear in the 'Atlantic,' and it is not too much to say that they contributed in no small degree to the success of that brilliant periodical. Elated with the reception given to the 'Autocrat,' he continued the talks in 'The Professor at the Breakfast Table' in the following year; and twelve years later the last oozings of the grapes were served up in

‘The Poet.’ In his old age the Doctor tried to repeat his early triumphs in ‘Over the Teacups’; but the result was hardly encouraging.

These four volumes of table-talk (for that is what they contain) are remarkable, not so much for their uniqueness as for their originality and real human interest. Other and greater men have written something of the sort; but no one has quite succeeded in combining knowledge, criticism, epigrammatic wit, and sentiment so well and so abundantly. This he is able to do by the simple device of selecting his talkers from different orders of society, and grouping them together at the breakfast-table of a city boarding-house. In this way we are introduced to a dozen or more persons of varying physiognomies and accomplishments, ranging from the garrulous landlady and her daughter to the Professor, the crab-souled divinity-student, and the beetle-loving Scarabee. Besides the male boarders there are others of the opposite sex; and it is around three of these—the shy school-mistress, the amber-eyed, tremulous-souled Iris, and the lonely Young Lady—that the emotional interest of the reader gathers. Few love-idylls have been so delicately recorded as that in which the Autocrat and the schoolmistress agree to take the ‘long path’ together on one of their little walks from the boarding-house to the school:

‘At last I got out the question, “Will you take the long path with me?” “Certainly,” said the School-mistress, “with much pleasure.” “Think,” I said, “before you answer: if you take the long path with me now, I shall interpret it that we are to part no

more!" The Schoolmistress stepped back with a sudden movement, as if an arrow had struck her.

One of the long granite blocks used as seats was hard by,—the one you may still see by the Gingko tree. "Pray sit down," I said. "No, no," she answered softly, "I will walk the long path with you!"

The old gentleman who sits opposite met us walking arm in arm, about the middle of the long path, and said very charmingly, "Good morning, my dears!"

Of the innumerable topics discussed at the breakfast-table by the Autocrat and his successors, none occupies so much space or is so important as that of religion. This is not to be wondered at, if we remember that Holmes was the son of a Cambridge minister, and had an hereditary as well as an acquired interest in divinity. Though a doctor by profession, he frequently ascended the secular pulpit as a lay preacher, and served his time and generation in a way in which only we, who have inherited the doctrine of evolution and the historical and psychological criticism of the Bible, are in a position to appreciate.

In his day the rigid Calvinism of the orthodox multitudes forbade all discussion of religion; like the divinity-student they said that 'there was danger in introducing discussions or allusions relating to matters of religion into common discourse.' Holmes, on the contrary, held that religion, like politics, should be Americanized. 'When the people of New England stop talking politics and theology,' he makes the Professor say, 'it will be because they have got an Emperor to teach them the one, and a Pope to teach them the other!'

He likened those obscurantists who stuck to their fixed creeds and formulas to tadpoles under water in the dark: removed from the natural stimulus of light, they swelled into larger tadpoles, instead of developing legs and lungs, and becoming frogs. He, at any rate, preferred the whole range of the earth to the narrow circle of a stagnant pond, and he could certainly see farther and better than those who refused to be free. He believed that there was much to be discovered in religion which the orthodox did not dream of, and which they tried to prevent others from suspecting:

‘I find that there is a very prevalent opinion among the dwellers on the shores of Sir Isaac Newton’s “Ocean of Truth,” that salt fish, which have been taken from it a good while, split open, cured, and dried, are the only proper and allowable food for reasonable people. I maintain, on the other hand, that there are a number of live fish still swimming in it, and that every one of us has a right to see if he cannot catch some of them. Sometimes I please myself with the idea that I have landed an actual living fish, small perhaps, but with rosy gills and silvery scales. Then I find the consumers of nothing but the salted and dried article insist that it is poisonous, simply because it is alive, and cry out to people not to touch it. I have not found, however, that people mind them much.’

This is iconoclastic no doubt, but it is not irreligious. Holmes had as strong a belief in the immutability of the religious instinct as most folk; but he held that adaptation was as necessary to its health and life as it is to the life of the body. ‘What we want in the religious and in the political organism,’ he wrote, ‘is just that kind of



vital change which takes place in our bodies—interstitial disintegration and reintegration.’ He therefore, was not surprised to find that every man had a religion peculiar to himself:

‘Iron is essentially the same everywhere and always; but the sulphate of iron is never the same as the carbonate of iron. Truth is invariable; but the Smithate of truth must always differ from the Brownate of truth.’

Such was his general attitude to sacred things. But this was not all: he made some pregnant observations and suggestions which influenced thinkers and scholars who came after him, as ‘that the heart makes the theologian’; ‘that theology must be studied through anthropology, and not anthropology through theology’; and that ‘sin must be studied as a section of anthropology.’

This last axiom he proceeded to exemplify in two ‘medicated’ novels, published during the period that elapsed between the writing of the ‘Professor’ and the ‘Poet.’ In the ‘Autocrat’ he averred that every man had the stuff of one novel in him; and the idyll of the schoolmistress, above referred to, proved that he at any rate had the talent and the sympathy to write one. But few, I imagine, were prepared for such a singular and moving tale as ‘Elsie Venner,’ whose heroine united with her wild beauty and fascinating ways something of the serpentine nature of Coleridge’s ‘Geraldine’ and Keats’s ‘Lamia’; her mother having been bitten by a rattlesnake a little while before the birth of the girl, and kept alive in the meantime by powerful antidotes. As Elsie grew up

she showed unmistakable signs of her serpent ways : biting her cousin suddenly ; dancing in wild ecstasy, and making a noise like a rattlesnake's tail with her castanets ; curling herself up on mats and under trees ; and staying out all night on Rattlesnake Ledge with the ophidians she had learnt to charm. Myrtle Hazard, the heroine of 'The Guardian Angel,' had nothing of the reptile in her, but she was not less lawless than Elsie, having Indian blood in her veins. When only fifteen years old she ran away from home, and sailed down the river in a canoe in the night, just as her painted and plumed ancestors had done before her. Later, at school, whilst acting in an Indian play, she threatened to stab a girl who had torn a wreath off her head in a fit of jealousy.

Both these books are studies in spiritual pathology, and preach Dr. Holmes's favourite doctrines of heredity and the limitation of free-will by transmitted tendencies—doctrines which all must accept in part of necessity, but which most of us, especially theologians and practical moralists, feel to be dangerous. He makes Dr. Honeywood, the warm-hearted preacher, say :

'He did not believe in the responsibility of idiots. He did not believe a new-born infant was morally answerable for other people's acts. He thought that a man with a crooked spine should never be called to account for not walking erect. He thought if the crook was in his brain, instead of his back, he could not fairly be blamed for any consequences of this natural defect, whatever lawyers or divines might call it.'

This all doctors believe, and most laymen not bred

in Geneva reluctantly admit—reluctantly, because they know that to tell the drunken son of a drunken father he is not responsible for his weakness is to become an advocate of the devil and a destroyer of mankind. Holmes himself felt this, and warned his readers not to abuse the doctrine by ascribing all their sins to their grandfathers. He did not deny the sovereignty of the conscience where it was active and healthy; but he knew that in a great many cases the human will was ‘tied up and darkened by inferior organization, by disease, and by all sorts of crowding interferences.’ No doubt he insisted too much on these limitations; but being a doctor, he could not help seeing that sin bears a strong likeness to disease, and that the sinner, like the sick patient, is not always responsible for the disturbance. At any rate he showed, what some theologians are only just discovering, that ‘sin is in the will,’ and that where the will is weak and puny it needs food and medicine, not hell-fire and damnation. Instead of the devil’s blast-furnace and lethal chamber, he wished to set up a dispensary and a school.

All this, of course, occurs incidentally in ‘Elsie Venner’ and ‘The Guardian Angel,’ and is appropriately put into the mouths of old Dr. Kittredge, Elsie’s physician, the Rev. Dr. Honeywood, and Byles Gridley, A.M., author of ‘Thoughts on the Universe.’ The real interest of the stories is human and not theological. If Holmes had not made his heroes and heroines beautiful and loveable, and their trials many and real, his books would have been dropped in Time’s waste-paper

basket, as Gifted Hopkin's poems were dropped by the publisher's 'butcher.' As it is, he has been accused by the critics of caricaturing the Yankee characters, and overdrawing the satirical pictures of New England country life. Certainly he seems to come perilously near caricature in Colonel Sprowle, Silas Peckham, and the Rev. Joseph Bellamy Stoker; but doubtless such persons lived then as now, and it is a pardonable offence in an author to pillory them when he finds them.

In his purely biographical work, however, Dr. Holmes was as painstaking and impartial a recorder as the best; and though he had no great talent for this kind of writing he acquitted himself well, as he was bound to do. His *Lives of John Lothrop Motley* and *Ralph Waldo Emerson* are admirable if not finished studies of two of America's greatest writers.

Of the brilliant historian of the Dutch Republic he knew a great deal. They were fellow-students at Harvard, and corresponded with each other during Motley's absence in Europe as the Ambassador of America, and after his shameful recall from Vienna. When, therefore, he was asked to write a memoir of Motley for the Massachusetts Historical Society, he came forward as the late Ambassador's apologist and defender; and though he was a devoted citizen of the Republic, he did not hesitate to condemn, in the strongest terms he could command, a government that could insult its minister—and that minister one of the most distinguished of its great men, and one of the most confirmed believers in its institutions—by asking him to



refute the charges of a pseudonymous spy. But this was not all. Three years after the Vienna affair, Motley was recalled from the London Embassy by President Grant, ostensibly for misrepresenting his Government on the Alabama question, but really for supporting one of the President's political opponents. As Motley's confidant, Dr. Holmes exposed the whole pitiful business, bitterly lamenting that the accredited representative of a people should be sacrificed to the hatred of a political sect. To him the affair seemed monstrously unjust; and he firmly believed that Motley's untimely death was accelerated by the President's undignified and unchivalrous conduct.

Happily he had no such painful task to perform in writing his 'Life of Emerson.' The Concord sage never aspired to ambassadorial rank, and consequently never had an enemy; and if he had so aspired, there is no doubt he would soon have resigned any local or national position for the more important one of God's ambassador to the world. For such Emerson was, and as such Dr. Holmes reports him in his monograph. 'Every human soul,' he says, 'leaves its port with sealed orders.' That Emerson's 'sealed orders' instructed him to be a mystic, an optimist, a lover of the truth, 'a gentle iconoclast,' a hater of cant and hypocrisy, a believer in personalities—whole men, not fragments of men—he has no difficulty in showing, and does not stop to discuss. Emerson, according to the Doctor, expounded no consistent system of philosophy like Kant, Hegel,

or Spencer; but studied how to 'free, arouse, dilate.' When he has said this Holmes has finished. He is not so much an apostle of Emerson as a catechist—a Silas, not a Paul. 'He presented,' says Mr. Stedman, 'with singular clearness and with an epigrammatic genius at white heat, if not the esoteric view of the Concord Plotinus, at least what could enable an audience to get at the mould of that serene teacher, and make some fortunate surmise of the spirit that ennobled it.' Nor was he very critical of Emerson's writings. He recognised his mysticism, and if he did not always agree with it, he took care to show that it was more intellectual than emotional. 'Emerson,' he says, 'never let go the string of his balloon,' except in the poem of 'Brahma' which he pronounces 'the nearest approach to a Torricellian vacuum of intelligibility' he knows. He is not so lenient, however, with the minor Transcendentalists, calling them a 'Noah's ark full of idealists,' and pointing out that there was occasionally an air of bravado in some of them 'as if they had taken out a patent for some knowing machine which was to give them a monopoly of its products.' We have all met these amateur philosophers and self-advertised initiates of Heaven, and can smile at the witty Doctor's satire, knowing that no patent Absolutometer will ever register the multitudinous thoughts of God. Emerson himself, the Doctor tells us, made no such oracular claims as his disciples, but was content to diffuse that 'genial atmosphere' and odour of piety which flowed into him from above.



Here, I think, we may pause. Having reviewed Holmes's chief writings, in the order in which they naturally fall, we can go on to discuss their style, and to estimate their influence on American life and letters.

Omitting his poems, which have been dealt with in the first part of this paper, we come to his prose. With regard to this, Time, I think, has confirmed the opinion of Holmes's contemporaries in adjudging 'The Autocrat at the Breakfast Table' and its two successors his best and most characteristic work. There is nothing in his later works that is not contained in these; hence all criticism of his style must necessarily be a criticism of these. And what a style it is!—racy and fluid as Addison's conversational prose, and splendid with some of the colour—though with little of the pomp—of Sir Thomas Browne! It is not invariable; but at its best it is extraordinarily brilliant, scintillating with imagination and jewelled thought. The fact is, whether discussing poetry or Puritanism, pun-making or divinity, phrenology or the Great Secret, Holmes's prose spurts up like a fountain, so to speak, breaking into a shower of gleaming amethysts, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. Here, as elsewhere, one cannot help noticing his tenderness and grave wit; the felicity and propriety of his similes, metaphors, and apologues; and his natural aptitude for turning epigrams and proverbs. Of his beautiful and apposite similes there is to my mind, no finer specimen than that in which he describes the super-abundant wealth of the poet. I give it here because it illustrates better than anything

else I know the Doctor's habit of loading every rift with ore :

'Life is so vivid to the poet, that he is too eager to seize and exhaust its multitudinous impressions. Like Sinbad in the valley of precious stones, he wants to fill his pockets with diamonds, but, lo ! there is a great ruby like a setting sun in its glory, like Bryant's blue gentian, seems to have dropped from the cerulean walls of heaven, and a nest of pearls that look as if they might be unhatched angels' eggs, and so he hardly knows what to seize, and tries for too many, and comes out of the enchanted valley with more gems than he can carry, and those that he lets fall by the wayside we call his poems.'

It is not as a clever writer of *vers de société*, or as a vivacious retailer of after-dinner oratory,—that Holmes will come to be valued, though these things will always attract the majority of readers—but as a New England prophet of 'sweetness and light.'

We have seen that under Calvinism religion in Massachusetts had become as hard, unlovely, and illiberal as the Inquisition itself. Discussion was forbidden, and all scientific study of Scripture savagely condemned. Like Canute, to quote Lowell on Theodore Parker, the orthodox bore

'With sincerest conviction their chairs to the shore ;  
They brandished their worn theological birches,  
Bade natural progress keep out of the Churches,  
And expected the lines they had drawn to prevail,  
With the fast rising tide to keep out of their pale ;  
They had formerly damned the Pontifical See,  
And the same thing, they thought, would do nicely for P.'

Holmes in calling for the Americanizing of religion

was only doing what had already been done at the Reformation and the Revolution by the fathers of those who anathematized him. His demands, no doubt, seemed heretical and subversive to them; but they were essentially national and republican, and were bound to prevail in the end. Just as the people of the United States had demanded liberty to make their own laws and impose their own taxes, he demanded freedom to think his own thoughts, and worship in his own way. Having won this right for himself, he proceeded to cut off the excrescences, and to excise the morbid growths of religion as if he were at work in his surgery. As a doctor he saw that theology needed its epidermis to be cleaned of superstition and lichenized dogma, and as a man that it wanted 'de-diabolizing.' In the one operation he used the strigil of his keen intellect and caustic wit, and in the other he injected some of his own rich heart-blood and generous heat. That theology needed humanizing no one who has read the lurid and pitiless sermons of Jonathan Edwards will deny. Not content with cursing the wicked and the unconverted, he damned the souls of innocent children, showing immeasurably less mercy to the unbaptized than even that 'stern Tuscan,' Dante. Driven by the terrible logic of his creed, Edwards saw in God a beast with bloody maw, not the merciful Father of us all. Holmes showed that this conception of God was an obsession of the logical intellect, and was at bottom as barbarous as that held by the dragon-worshipping Chinese. Religion to him was primarily an affair of the heart—a thing of

sentiment and emotion. Professional theologians, equipped with the camera and the geologist's hammer, made prospecting expeditions into the Kingdom of God; Holmes went on a pilgrimage. He held that not by searching, but by yearning and agonizing, could men find their way into the holy place. The information that the searchers could give might be very necessary, but it was hardly what the soul desired. He knew that sentiment was the source of life and the director of conduct: and if he placed it before reason and will in his psychology of religion, he had the experience of the whole race of believers to justify him. This emotional attitude led him to say that 'the real religion of the world comes from women—from mothers most of all, who carry the key of our souls in their bosoms. It is in their hearts that the "sentimental" religion some people are so fond of sneering at, has its source.' Above the noisy disputations of Churches and Theologians he heard the ineffable words of Jesus, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'


This then was his purpose: like Luther he called upon men to think for themselves, knowing that the active mind of the century was tending more and more to the two poles, 'Rome or Reason, the sovereign Church or the free soul, authority or personality, God in us or God in our masters.' In the New Reformation which was then opening in America and Europe, and which is now moving slowly on to a consummation, he fought not with the heated dialectic of Luther,

but with the incisive wit and deep common-sense of Erasmus. Humaneness and truth, 'sweetness and light'—these qualities inspired his writings and guided his conduct; and if at any time there has been any progress made in the 'Liberation War of humanity,' it has been and will continue to be, by the virtue of these.

JAMES ORMEROD.



## A PARIS BOOKSELLER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—GALLIOT DU PRÉ.

MONG the sources of information available for the study of literary history, the annals of the press have a certain importance. They help us to realise for a given age what its literary tastes really were. They enable us to follow, year by year, the changes of fashion in literary taste. They recall the memories of books, now long forgotten, but which in their day enjoyed great popularity. It was doubtless the feeling that much may be learnt from a simple chronological record of the productions of the press that inspired Panzer, 'the one true naturalist among general bibliographers,' as Bradshaw calls him, to accomplish his great work, which covers the whole field of European literature from the invention of printing to the year 1536. The interest of Panzer's achievement, not only for the scientific bibliographer, but also for the student of literature, suggested to me that a record of the books of an individual publisher might serve to throw light on the literary history of his country during the period of his career. It might also, I hoped, furnish some material for the solution of one or two problems connected with the exercise of his profession.



With the object, then, of illustrating that interesting period in French literature when the Middle Ages were slowly and gradually dissolving into the light of the Renaissance, I selected the Paris bookseller and publisher, Galliot Du Pré, whose career extended from 1512 to 1560. He seemed to me to combine several advantages for my purpose. His career was a long one. He was not a printer, but a bookseller and publisher pure and simple, so that the inquiry would not involve me in the discussion of typographical problems, which are beyond my competence. Lastly, except for a decided bias in the direction of history, he was not a specialist. He did not confine himself to romances of chivalry, or books of Hours, or books with woodcuts. He did not, like the Estiennes and Simon de Colines, cater especially for scholars, nor like Jean Trepperel did he produce cheap and popular books for the lowest class of readers. His public was that of the better educated classes,—princes, nobles, and *bourgeois*, who were not humanists, and whose reading was chiefly confined to the national literature. This public, at any rate for the first half of his career, he carefully studied, adapting himself to their needs, and changing when they changed. But he had enterprise as well as judgment, and the publisher of the first edition of Commynes's 'Memoirs' and the 'Life of Bayard,' by *Le loyal Serviteur*, deserves the gratitude of posterity.

In one respect my choice proved to be a fortunate one, for soon after I had begun my investigations, I learned that M. Paul Delalain had some

years ago made Galliot Du Pré the subject of two notices, in which a considerable number of his publications were duly chronicled.<sup>1</sup> By consulting other means of information, I have been able to add to the books in M. Delalain's lists, and though my information, partly from the imperfection of my researches, partly because doubtless many of the less important works published by Galliot Du Pré have been entirely lost, does not pretend to be anything like complete, it is probably complete enough for my special purpose, that of throwing light on the literary tastes of the period.<sup>2</sup>

Galliot Du Pré was, as I have said, a publisher and bookseller, and not a printer. In the Middle Ages the *libraire* (*librarius*) or bookseller was, as a rule, the mere commission agent of the *écrivain* (*stationarius*) or copyist. The term *libraire*, how-

<sup>1</sup> 'Notice sur Galliot du Pré,' Paris, 1890, and 'Notice complémentaire sur Galliot du Pré,' *ib.* 1891.

<sup>2</sup> The following sale catalogues have been helpful: La Vallière, MacCarthy, Yemeniz, A. F. Didot (1878 and 1879), Sunderland, Renard, Seillière (London, 1887, and Paris, 1900), Turner, Lakelands, Ruble. A good many titles have been furnished by Panzer, and some, for the years after 1536, by Maittaire. In Quaritch's 'General Catalogue,' Vol. VI., a certain number of Du Pré's publications are recorded. Brunet, of course, has been of great help, and so has Van Praet, whose descriptions are sometimes fuller than Brunet's. Moreover, the second part of his work, which deals with other libraries than the Royal Library, is furnished with an index of printers and booksellers. As regards the books themselves, I have examined about thirty, either in the British Museum or in Cambridge libraries. For those in the far richer store of the 'Bibliothèque Nationale' I have had to be content with the descriptions in Van Praet, or in the catalogue, so far as it is printed.

ever, was used in common speech to denote the *écrivain*, as well as the *libraire* proper.<sup>1</sup> Both classes alike, together with the parchment-sellers (*parcheminiers*), illuminators (*enlumineurs*), and bookbinders (*relieurs*) were officers of the University, and as such were subject to its jurisdiction, and enjoyed the same privileges as its masters and scholars. Before being appointed they had to give evidence of their qualification for the post, and to be sworn before the Rector of the University. Hence they were called *libraires jurés*. Out of their number four *grands libraires* were appointed, whose duty it was to fix the price of books, and to exercise a general supervision over their brethren.

The introduction of printing does not seem to have made much difference at first in the position of the booksellers. For the majority of the early printers, like the copyists before them, sold the books which they printed, either themselves or through the agency of some privileged bookseller. Nor were the copyists at once driven from the field. For some fifteen to twenty years after the introduction of the new art to Paris, they continued to produce richly illuminated manuscripts for wealthy patrons. Antoine Verard, originally a calligrapher and miniaturist by profession, following the examples set by Fichet and Heynlin, was the first publisher to realise that the illuminator's art might be adapted on a large scale to the new conditions. His famous *éditions de luxe*, printed on vellum and illustrated with woodcuts, which were

<sup>1</sup> 'Stationarii qui vulgo librarii appellantur' (University Statutes of 6th December, 1275).

illuminated by hand with greater richness than taste, cut severely into the trade of the ordinary copyist. Henceforth only Hours and Greek texts were multiplied by hand.

The decline of the copyists and the growing importance of the booksellers is shown by the royal edict of March, 1489. For while the number of *libraires jurés* was fixed at twenty-four, only two copyists, together with two illuminators and two bookbinders, were allowed to enjoy the privileges of the University. Save that in 1533 the eminent printer and engraver, Geofroy Tory, was by special favour admitted as a twenty-fifth,<sup>1</sup> the number of privileged booksellers remained at twenty-four. The non-privileged booksellers (*libraires non-jurés*) were, at the close of the fifteenth century, still subjected by the University to various restrictions. They might not sell books for more than a certain price, and they might only sell them at open stalls.

The majority of the early Parisian printers were, as we have seen, also booksellers, but as a natural result of the expansion of business, the two trades tended to become more and more distinct. There grew up an important class of men, who not being printers themselves, employed various presses in the production of books. In other words, they were publishers. Whether Verard was a printer at all is a question which experts have not decided, but in any case his main business was that of a bookseller and publisher. Of the brothers De Marnef, Simon Vostre, Guillaume Eustace and Denys Roce,

<sup>1</sup> A. Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' p. 372.



all of whom began to issue books before the close of the fifteenth century, it may be said with almost complete certainty that they were not printers. Jean Petit, who, during his long and useful career as a publisher (1495-1536), employed at least twenty-eight presses, never describes himself as a printer.

The rapid expansion of the book-trade in Paris, which followed the publication of the first French book, 'Les grandes chroniques de France,' by Pasquier Bonhomme, brought a golden harvest to the more successful publishers. Simon Vostre became, like Caxton, a man of substance, owning at his death (c. 1520) six houses. The chief printing and publishing establishments passed from father to son for several generations. Pasquier Bonhomme was succeeded by his son Jean I., his grandson Jean II., and his great-grandson Jean III., while his daughter Yolande, by her marriage with Thielman Kerver, became the ancestress of another line of distinguished printers and publishers. Jean Petit was the founder of a dynasty which flourished for more than a century. Of the two publishing houses which made a speciality of the more popular romances of chivalry and other favourite works in the vernacular, that of the Ecu de France, in the rue Neuve de Notre-Dame, was carried on by Jean Trepperel and his successors from the beginning till after the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> while the rival establishment at the sign of St. Nicholas, in the same street, after passing through the hands of Jean Saint-Denis (1525-31),

<sup>1</sup> H. Harrisse, 'Excerpta Columbiniana,' pp. xli. ff.

his widow Claude, and Pierre Sergent, with whom was associated Vincent Sertenas, became the property of Sergent's son-in-law, Jean Bonfons, and remained in his family till well into the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

M. HARRISSE, to whom we owe our knowledge of the chronological succession of these two houses, has pointed out that an important part was often played by widows in the transmission of a printing and bookselling business. It was a tradition, he says, down to the Revolution, that the widows of printers and booksellers should succeed to their husbands' business, even when their sons had already attained their majority, and he adds that 'they acquitted themselves in their task with the zeal and intelligence which has always been characteristic of Parisian wives of men of business.'<sup>2</sup> The most illustrious female printer of the sixteenth century was Charlotte Guillard, the wife, first of Bertholdt Remboldt, and then of Claude Chevallon. She exercised her trade for fifty-four years (1502-56), during sixteen of which she was a widow. It was not uncommon for the widow of a printer or bookseller to take a second husband of the same profession. Thus Guyonne Viart, after the death of her first husband, Jean Higman, married successively Henri Estienne and Simon de Colines. She had no children by her third husband, but by her first she became the ancestress of three well-known families of booksellers and printers, Chaudière, Cavellat, and Macé, while by her

<sup>1</sup> H. HARRISSE, 'Excerpta Columbiniana,' pp. lxi. ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 300.



second she became the mother of the most distinguished of French sixteenth-century printers, Robert Estienne.<sup>1</sup> Robert Estienne himself married Perrette, the daughter of the well-known scholar and printer, Josse Bade, two of whose other daughters were married to men of high distinction in the same profession, Jean de Roigny and Michel de Vascosan.

With these preliminary observations I will proceed to give an account in chronological order of Galliot Du Pré's publications. He began his career, so far as we know, in the year 1512,<sup>2</sup> publishing in that year two Latin works. One of these—an Eutropius with the continuation by Paulus Diaconus—I have not seen.<sup>3</sup> There is a copy of the other in the Cambridge University Library, and as except for a reference in Panzer to a copy in the 'Bibliotheca Telleriana' this is the only mention of it that I have come across, I will give its title in full. It runs as follows: 'Johannis Surgeti nationis galli Suessionensis diocesis in legibus licentiati militaris discipline Enchiridion in quo varie iuris materie et peregrine questiones continentur, cuius finis est pacis persuasio inter principes christianos et belli exhortatio in saracenos et infideles hostes religionis catholice.' Below the title is the mark of Jean Petit, and his address alone appears on the title-

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Renouard, 'Documents sur les Imprimeurs,' pp. 128-30.

<sup>2</sup> He was no relation of Jean Du Pré, whose real name M. Renouard has discovered to be Larcher.

<sup>3</sup> Delalain, 'Notice Compl. (from Cat. E. Piot). It is printed by Gilles de Gourmont.

page, but in the colophon we learn that Galliot Du Pré shared in the expense of publication and that the work was for sale at the 'Golden Lily' (the sign of Jean Petit) and 'at the second pillar of the hall of the Palace, at the shop of the said Galliot Du Pré.' The book is undated, but as the privilege is of 6th April, 1511 (*i.e.* 151½) it may be presumed that the book, being a small one, appeared not long after this, especially as Jean de Ganaye, the Chancellor of France, to whom it is dedicated, died before June, 1512.<sup>1</sup>

It was a common practice with the booksellers of this period to have, in addition to their regular places of business where they lived, open stalls or lean-to's, either inside or outside the Palais de Justice. Those inside were placed either in one of the corridors or galleries leading from one part of the building to another, where they vied in attraction with the stalls of the mercers and the drapers,<sup>2</sup> or on the steps which led up to the Great Hall, or in the Hall itself by the pillars which supported its two huge vaults.<sup>3</sup> There were eight of these, but, as a rule, only the first three were occupied by book-stalls, two at each

<sup>1</sup> Finding that Archbishop Le Tellier bequeathed all his books to the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, I thought that the copy of this work mentioned by Panzer might be in the library of Sainte-Geneviève. But the director, M. Kohler, informs me that though it is mentioned in a manuscript catalogue of about 1752, it is no longer in the catalogue drawn up about 1800, and that he can find no trace of it.

<sup>2</sup> See Corneille's 'La Galerie du Palais,' especially Act I., Sec. 4-7.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Paris à travers les âges,' I., 16, with a contemporary illustration (p. 7).

pillar. Sometimes the same bookseller had a stall at two pillars, and at the close of the sixteenth century we find Nicolas Bonfons, the head of the well-known house 'At the Sign of Saint Nicholas,' established not only at all the first three pillars but at the fourth as well.<sup>1</sup>

I have found no publication of Galliot Du Pré for the year 1513, but in 1514 he issued four works of considerable size and importance; the 'Grand Coustumier de France,' and 'Les grandes chroniques,' both of these being first editions; 'Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne,' by Alain Bouchard,<sup>2</sup> a work of considerable popularity and of some value for the later history; and Montjoye's 'Le pas des armes.' This last is an account by the chief herald of the jousts held on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary of England. The printing was finished on 24th December, just a week before the King's death.<sup>3</sup>

'Les grandes chroniques'<sup>4</sup> is a translation, with additions, by Pierre Desrey of the well-known 'Compendium super Francorum gestis' of Robert Gaguin. Based, like the longer work of Nicole Gilles, on the great collection of chronicles at Saint-Denis, it shared its popularity throughout at least the first half of the sixteenth century. It was published by Du Pré in conjunction

<sup>1</sup> Renouard, 'Imprimeurs parisiens,' pp. 401-2.

<sup>2</sup> With woodcuts, Cat. of 'Bib. Nat.,' 'Bibl. Sund.,' I., No. 1854; Quaritch, 'General Catalogue,' VI., p. 3792.

<sup>3</sup> Delalain, 'Notice compl.,' Brunet, s. v. 'Entrée.'

<sup>4</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 95.

with 'Poncet Le Preux,' one of the four '*grands libraires jurés*,' whose device appears on the title-page. The publication was evidently a success, for in the following year they issued a new edition.<sup>1</sup>

It was doubtless the result of these publications which on 16th May, 1515, led Galliot Du Pré to take the step of renting a house on the Pont Notre-Dame.<sup>2</sup> This new bridge, connecting the island of the *Cité* with the north bank of the Seine, had been completed in 1506, to take the place of the old one which had collapsed in 1499. At this period there were two districts of Paris to which the booksellers and printers were in practice, though not legally, confined,—the neighbourhood of Notre-Dame in the *Cité* and the quarter of the University. The latter district, the limits of which are roughly marked by the Church of Saint Severin, the Place Maubert, the Pantheon and the Place de la Sorbonne, was considerably the larger. The printers and booksellers were here conveniently situated under the eye of the University, whose colleges spread over the whole district. The principal street was the rue Saint-Jacques, which extended from the Petit Pont to the Porte Saint-Jacques, a distance of rather more than half a mile. In its middle portion every house was occupied by booksellers, and those of kindred professions. M. Renouard has counted over a hundred and sixty establishments occupying some eighty houses. They greatly varied

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, *ib.*, No. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Renouard, 'Documents sur les Imprimeurs,' p. 81.



in size, from that of Jean Petit, who occupied two whole houses, the Silver Lion and the Golden Fleur-de-Lys, to the small establishments in different stories of the same house. Other booksellers' streets in this quarter were the rue des Carmes, the rue du Mont Saint-Hilaire, the rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais, and the rue Saint-Jean de Latran.

The other booksellers' district consisted of a few streets in the immediate neighbourhood of Notre-Dame, the chief being the rue du Marché-Palu (the continuation of the rue Saint-Jacques across the Petit Pont) with its continuation the rue de la Juiverie, and the rue Neuve Notre-Dame, which ran from the Marché-Palu to the Parvis Notre-Dame. This quarter was chiefly occupied by those who specialised in religious books, particularly Books of Hours, in romances of chivalry, or in cheap popular works.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, Galliot Du Pré did not belong to any of these classes, certainly not to the first.

As is well known, houses in those days were distinguished not by numbers, but by signs. On a change of occupation, the old sign was generally retained, but sometimes the new occupier introduced a new one. Thus Galliot Du Pré, by way of a play upon his name, took for his sign a galley. He does not appear to have used his new abode as a shop, for throughout his career his books are offered for sale only at one of the pillars in the hall of the Palais de Justice.

In 1516, the year after his instalment in the

<sup>1</sup> Renouard, 'Imprimeurs Parisiens,' p. xii.

house on the Pont Notre-Dame, he published a new edition of the 'Grand Coustumier,'<sup>1</sup> and the *editio princeps* of the Latin version of the 'Songe du Verdier,' under the title of 'Aureus (de utraque potestate temporali et spirituali) libellus ad hunc usque diem non vivus. Somnium viridarii vulgariter nuncupatus.'<sup>2</sup> It was edited by Gilles d'Aurigny of Beauvais, a young licentiate of law, who thirty years later published a volume of poetry of some merit, entitled 'Tuteur d'Amour. In this year, too, Galliot Du Pré shared with two other booksellers in the publication of the first edition of the romance of 'Saint Graal.'<sup>3</sup>

His productions for the year 1517 were 'Mirouer historial,' a compilation from various authors,<sup>4</sup> and a work by that worthy lawyer and pedestrian poet, Jean Bouchet, entitled 'Temple de bonne renommée.'<sup>5</sup> It was a panegyric in verse on Charles de La Tremoille, who had been mortally wounded at Marignano. Another volume published by Du Pré in the same year contains three pieces by Bouchet, 'L'instruction du jeune prince,' in prose,

<sup>1</sup> 28th March (after Easter).

<sup>2</sup> British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Quaritch, 'General Catalogue,' VI., p. 3781. On the title-page the book is said to be on sale by Philippe Le Noir (son of Michel Le Noir), and in the colophon it is said to be printed by (*par*) Jean Petit, Galliot Du Pré, and Michel Le Noir. Neither Petit nor Du Pré was a printer, and the statement, as in the case of Verard, Vostre, and others, only implies that they shared in the expense. I have not seen the book, but probably it was printed by Michel Le Noir.

<sup>4</sup> February, 1516 (probably 1514).

<sup>5</sup> 2nd January, 1514 (the privilege is dated 10th January, 1514). E. Picot, 'Cat. Rothschild,' I., No. 505.



'Le Chapelet des Princes,' composed of fifty *rondeaux* and five *ballades* addressed to the same Charles de La Tremoille, and an Epistle in verse purporting to be written by the widow of Louis XII. to her brother, Henry VIII. The first piece in the volume is a prose work by Georges Chastelain, entitled 'Le temple de Jehan Boccace.'<sup>1</sup>

Another work must almost certainly be assigned to this year, namely the French translation by Mathurin Du Redouer, licentiate of law, of the 'Paesi novamente ritrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitolato,' that first collection of voyages, edited by Fracanzio da Montalboddo, which had been published at Vicenza in 1507. There is no date to the book, but as the privilege is dated 10th January, 15<sup>16</sup>/<sub>17</sub>, and the book has only 132 leaves of text, the presumption is that it was published at any rate before the end of the year. It is entitled 'Le nouveau Monde et Navigations faites par Emeric de Vespuce Florentin,' and thus gives even greater prominence to the name of Vespucci than the original does.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Picot, I., No. 506.

<sup>2</sup> There was a copy in the Didot library (Catalogue of 1881, No. 472). See also 'Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicata dalla Commissione Columbiana,' VI., 154-5. In Quaritch's 'General Catalogue,' VI., 3793, it is claimed that this is the first edition of the French translation on the ground first, that it has a privilege, and secondly, that it has in Vespucci's third voyage three diagrams of southern constellations which are wanting in the other early editions. This is, doubtless, a just claim. The only two editions that could possibly be earlier both bear the name and mark of the *Ecu de France*. One of these has also the sign of Jehan Janot, and was printed by him. It therefore belongs to the period, 1512-22, during which he was associated with his mother-in-law, the widow

Finally in this year Galliot Du Pré completed the first half of the most important work, from the point of view of size, that he had yet taken in hand. This was the publication in four volumes of 'La mer des histoires et croniques de France.' The printing of the first volume was finished on 31st October, 1517, and that of the second on 29th October, 1517, the printer of both being Michel Le Noir.<sup>1</sup> They probably were published together as soon as they were both ready. The third volume has the mark of Jean Petit, and we learn from the imprint of the fourth volume that it was finished on 10th March, 1518,<sup>2</sup> I should conjecture that Jean Petit made himself responsible for the two latter volumes, but without having seen the book it is impossible to form a definite opinion. As regards the work itself it begins with two books (I. pp. 1-270) compiled from 'La mer des histoires' and the rest is taken from 'Les grandes croniques.'

In the year 1518 Galliot Du Pré published a translation of 'Apuleius' by Guillaume Michel of Tours, an industrious poet and translator of the *grand rhétoriqueur* school,<sup>3</sup> and the 'De institutione reipublicae libri novem' of Francesco Patrizzi.<sup>4</sup> of Jean Trepperel. The other, which has no printer's name, but only the mark and name of the *Ecu de France*, is in the same type, but the type is thicker and less clear, and the capitals are less elaborate. For an account of the original Italian work see 'The Modern Language Review' for July, 1907.

<sup>1</sup> HARRISSE, 'Exc. Colomb.,' pp. xiii.-xiv.

<sup>2</sup> VAN PRAET, 2nd part, III., No. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cat. La Vallière,' II., No. 3842. For a specimen of Michel's prose style see VIOLLET LE DUC, 'Bibliothèque poétique,' p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Cambridge University Library.

This was followed in 1519 by the publication of the same writer's 'Enneas de regno et regis institutione' and in 1520 by that of a French translation of his former work under the title of 'Livre tres fructueux et utile a toute personne de l'institution et administration de la chose publicque.'<sup>1</sup> The author was banished from his native city of Siena in 1457, and in 1460 was made Bishop of Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples, where he died in 1494. His two works continued in repute throughout the sixteenth century. Elyot's 'Governour' owes much to the 'De regno,' and it was edited in 1567 by the well-known scholar Denys Lambin. In 1519 Galliot Du Pré also published a French translation, by Pierre Desrey, of Platina's 'Lives of the Popes.'<sup>2</sup>

From the title-page of the 'Livre tres fructueux' we learn that Du Pré had transferred his stall from the second to the third pillar of the Great Hall of the Palais de Justice. Another publication of the year 1520 is a French version of the 'Moriae Encomium,' probably the garbled one by Georges Haloin of which Erasmus complains in one of his letters.<sup>3</sup> In February, 1521, appeared a translation of 'Suetonius,' by Guillaume Michel,<sup>4</sup> from which we learn that Galliot Du Pré had been appointed one of the *libraires jurés*. At the following midsummer he renewed the

<sup>1</sup> 30th April.

<sup>2</sup> 'Généalogies faits et gestes des saints pères Papes' (British Museum; Van Praet, V., No. 23). It is ascribed to Desrey by Du Verdier.

<sup>3</sup> 'Opera,' III., 275.

<sup>4</sup> 16th February, 1520. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

lease of his house on the Pont Notre-Dame, but in September of the next year (1522) he moved to the rue des Marmouzets, a short street which ran from the rue de la Juiverie (now the rue de la Cité) to the archway leading into the cloister of Notre-Dame. His house is described as being near to the Church of La Madeleine, which was in the rue de la Juiverie.<sup>1</sup> According to M. Renouard's list of addresses, he was the only bookseller in the street, for Gilles Corrozet did not go there till after Du Pré's death, and Jean de La Garde, who was burnt in April, 1538, for having bought some heretical books from Jean Morin, the printer of the 'Cymbalum Mundi,'<sup>2</sup> had left it in 1512. Du Pré transferred his old sign of a galley to his new abode.

In February of the following year (1523) he issued an *Epitome* in French of Budé's 'De Asse,' a little book with 79 leaves of text and about 170 words to a page. It is printed in Roman type by Pierre Vidoue.<sup>3</sup> To the year 1523 also may be assigned the *editio princeps* of 'Ysaie le triste,'<sup>4</sup> a late fifteenth century prose romance which relates the fortunes of the son of Tristan and Yseult of Cornwall. The book is undated, but as the privilege was granted in November,

<sup>1</sup> See G. Corrozet, 'La fleur des antiquités de Paris,' ed. P. Lacroix, 1874, pp. 103 and 105, and the map of Paris by Truschet and Hoyau (1552), part of which is reproduced by M. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.,' p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See Herminjard, 'Correspondance des réformateurs,' IV., 418-20.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Delalain, 'Notice compl.' (Cat. Techener, 1886, No. 465). Panzer assigns it to 1522.



1522, it doubtless appeared in the course of the following year.

Du Pré now changed his stall for the second time, moving to the first pillar, and it was here that he offered for sale in March, 1524,<sup>1</sup> a translation of Petrarch's Latin treatise 'De remediis utriusque fortunæ.' In the dedicatory epistle addressed to Charles, Duc de Vendôme, he attributes the translation to Nicolas Oresme, the well-known translator, through Latin versions, of the 'Ethics' and 'Politics' of Aristotle. But M. Léopold Delisle has shewn that it is really the work of Jean Daudin, a canon of the Sainte-Chapelle.<sup>2</sup> The preface, it may be noted, is written in the latinised style, with its lumbering sentences and redundant vocabulary, of the average writer of the sixteenth century. It is the style of the *grand rhétoriciens* without their worst affectations. In another preface to one of Galliot Du Pré's books, that to Meliadus (1528), the style is much simpler. It is possible that he did not write his own prefaces.

Towards the close of the year 1524, Du Pré published a greatly enlarged edition of André Tiraqueau's 'De legibus connubialibus,'<sup>3</sup> in the preparation of which the author was in all likelihood

<sup>1</sup> 15th March, 1523, *avant Pasques*. The privilege is dated 23rd March, 1524, *avant Pasques*, the 4 being evidently a misprint for 2.

<sup>2</sup> 'Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques.' XXXIII., pp. 273 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Roman type by Pierre Vidoue, the printing being finished 30th November, 1524. Cambridge University Library. For



assisted by his friend Rabelais. In its new form the book had a remarkable success.

But Du Pré's most noteworthy publication during the year 1524 was the first edition of the 'Cronique et histoire' of Philippe de Commines. The date of the privilege is 3rd February, 1524<sup>3</sup>, and the printing was finished on 26th April.<sup>1</sup> It was followed by a new edition in September,<sup>2</sup> by a third in the following September (1525), and by a fourth and fifth in January and February, 1526. All these editions contain only six books, relating to the reign of Louis XI. The last two books, which Commines probably wrote during his retirement at Argenton (1498-1511), and which deal with the Italian expedition of Charles VIII. (1494-5), were not printed till 1528. Du Pré published editions of the complete work in 1546 and 1552,<sup>3</sup> both in association with Jean de Roigny. He began another in 1560, but he did not live to see it completed, and it appeared, after his death, in 1561.

The most extensive work published by Du Pré in 1525 was 'Les très élégantes très véridiques et et copieuses annales,' of Nicole Gilles in two folio volumes, a work which, as I have said, became equally popular with Desrey's translation of Gaguin's 'Compendium.' Du Pré republished it no less than

the book itself see J. Barat in 'Revue des études rabelaisiennes,' III., 158 ff., 253 ff. The second edition (1515) contained only 33 leaves, the new one 276.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the first edition is sometimes wrongly given as 1523.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Library of King's College, Cambridge. This and the next were edited by Denis Sauvage.

four times. The edition of 1525 is the oldest that exists, but the statement in the title that the chronicles have been carried down to 1520 would seem to imply an edition of that year. Lelong mentions editions of 1492 and 1498, but Brunet supposes these to be different works. To the year 1525 belongs also 'La Catalogue des Saints et Saintes traduit du Latin de Pierre des Natales par Guy Breslay.' 2 vols.<sup>1</sup> Guy Breslay was a jurist and humanist of considerable distinction, who became President of the Great Council. The *editio princeps* of the prose romance of 'Mabrian' is assigned in the Didot catalogue to 1525,<sup>2</sup> but as the privilege is dated 8th November of that year, it probably did not appear till 1526. It is a fifteenth century continuation of 'Maugis d'Augrement,' which was not printed till 1527.

Early in 1526 Du Pré brought out a volume containing works by Chastelain, Molinet, and Cretin, the three successive chiefs of the *rhétoriqueur* school, and by Jean Le Maire de Belges, the nephew and disciple of Molinet. They are all in verse except Chastelain's 'Epitaphes de Hector et Achilles,' which is partly in prose and partly in verse.<sup>3</sup> The volume opens with 'Trois contes intitulés de Cupido et Atropos, traduits de l'italien de Seraphin, le second et tiers de l'invention de Jean Le Maire.' As a matter of fact, the first of

<sup>1</sup> 3rd March, 152 $\frac{4}{5}$  (*avant Pasques*). See Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> 1878, No. 563.

<sup>3</sup> Picot, 'Cat. Rothschild,' I., No. 487. The edition mentioned by Panzer under the date of 1521 is clearly the same as this.

these is not a translation from Serafino da Aquila, but an original poem founded on one of his sonnets. It is written, it may be noticed, in *terza rima*. The second *conte* is a continuation of the same story, while the third is not by Jean Le Maire.<sup>1</sup> Serafino of Aquila, who died young in 1500, had a great contemporary reputation, especially for his *strambotti*, short poems full of conceits and extravagance, which he used to sing to the accompaniment of his lute. A performance which he gave before Charles VIII. at Milan favourably impressed the French courtiers who were present, and he had a great reputation in France. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, *Filelfo*, *Serafino*, these, according to Jean Le Maire, were the writers whom Italy could match against Jean de Meung, Froissart, Chartier, Meschinot, the two Grebans, Millet, Molinet, Chastelain, and others 'whose memory is, and long will be on the lips of men, without mentioning those who are still living and flourishing, of whom Master Guillaume Cretin is the prince.'<sup>2</sup> Serafino's reputation survived throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, and his poetry had a certain influence in France. There are traces of it in Marot and Saint-Gelais's poems, but the poet whom it most affected was Maurice Scève.<sup>3</sup>

Du Pré also published in 1526 works by two other writers in Jean Le Maire's list, 'Les faiçtz et diçtz,' of Alain Chartier, and the 'Roman de la

<sup>1</sup> A. Becker, 'Jean Lemaire.' Strasburg, 1893, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Prologue to 'La concorde des deux langages.'

<sup>3</sup> See J. Vianey, 'L'influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade' in the 'Bulletin italien,' III., 85 ff.

Rose,' the latter edited and rejuvenated by Clement Marot.<sup>1</sup> One other publication belongs to the year 1526, 'La prison d'amours,' a translation of Diego de San Pedro's sentimental love-story, 'Carcel de Amor,' which attained considerable popularity in France.<sup>2</sup>

For the year 1527 I have seven publications to notice, a reprint of Nicole Gilles, and six new works: (1) 'Rondeaux au nombre de trois cent cinquante, singuliers et à tout propos,' of which the authorship has been attributed to Gringore;<sup>3</sup> (2) 'Dialogue tres elegant intitule Le Peregrin,' a translation by François Dassy of Caviceo's 'Libro del peregrino,' a prolix love-story first printed at Parma in 1508;<sup>4</sup> (3) The 'Celestina,' a translation through the Italian of the famous Spanish play of 'Calisto y Melibea';<sup>5</sup> (4) 'The Life of Bayard,' by the anonymous secretary who calls himself *le loyal Serviteur*;<sup>4</sup> (5) 'Chantz royaulx oraisons et aultres petits traictez,' by Guillaume Cretin. This last representative of the *rhétoriqueur* school, whom Clément Marot addressed as *Souverain poète françois*,

<sup>1</sup> Undated, but the privilege is of 19th April, 1526. British Museum. Petit's name appears on the title-page of some copies ('Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 131).

<sup>2</sup> 6th March, 1525. This privilege is dated 8th May, 1525. See Picot, II., No. 6747.

<sup>3</sup> Picot, II., No. 1744; 'Lakelands Cat.,' No. 651.

<sup>4</sup> Delalain, 'Notice Compl.,' p. 24; 'Crawford Cat.,' No. 272. This is the oldest known edition, but M. Roman, the modern editor of the work, thinks that there was an earlier one published in 1524, the year of Bayard's death.

<sup>5</sup> In one of the two copies in the Seillière collection ('Cat. Seillière,' Paris, 1890, Nos. 597 and 598), the words *translate dytalien en françois* are omitted on the title-page.



and Geofroy Tory compared with Homer, Virgil, and Dante, had died some time between 1523 and February, 1526, for in the volume of that date mentioned above he is already described as 'feu Cretin.' This posthumous edition of his poetry was edited by his friend, François Charbonnier, Vicomte d'Arques, and dedicated by him to Margaret of Navarre. The Didot copy was the one which the editor presented to Margaret, and which she, perhaps not appreciating Cretin's poetry, handed on to her secretary, the poet, Victor Brodeau.<sup>1</sup> The sixth is of a very different character, namely, a narrative by Nicolas de Volcyre of the brutal slaughter of the peasants in Lorraine by the troops of Duke Anthony. The title is instructive, for it runs, 'L'histoire et reueil de triumpante et glorieuse victoire obtenue contre les seduycts et abusez lutheriens mescreans de pays Daulsays et autres,' etc.,<sup>2</sup> and thus confirms Mr. A. F. Pollard's statement that the Duke 'regarded the suppression of the revolt in the light of a crusade against Luther.'<sup>3</sup> The book is adorned with seven woodcuts.

Du Pré began the year 1528 with the publication of a new work by Pierre Gringore, entitled 'Notables enseignemens adages et proverbes faitz et composez par Pierre Gringore dit Vauldemont herault darmes de hault et puissant seigneur mon-

<sup>1</sup> 'Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 176.

<sup>2</sup> The privilege is dated 12th January, 1527. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'; Van Praet, V., 30; Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cambridge Modern History,' II., 195.



sieur le duc de Lorraine.’<sup>1</sup> It is written in eight-lined stanzas. Early in the reign of Francis I., Gringore had retired to the court of Lorraine, where instead of satirical plays he produced courtly and religious poetry for his highly orthodox master, Duke Anthony. His office of herald was nearly fatal to him in the Peasants’ War, for on being sent to the invaders with articles of capitulation they fired at him and killed his trumpeter. In a wood-cut which adorns Du Pré’s edition he is represented as offering his book to Francis I. The publication was a success, for within a year Du Pré issued another and more complete edition.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1528 was a prolific one with Du Pré. To begin with, he issued three romances of chivalry; one of them a work of considerable size. The first to appear was ‘La conquête de grèce. Faicte par le tres preux et redoubté en cheualerie Philippe de madien Aultrement dit le chevalier a lesparvier blanc.’<sup>3</sup> It is a fifteenth century version of the original romance, now lost, by Perrinet Du Pin. It was succeeded by ‘Perceforest,’ in six volumes (28th May), and by ‘Meliadus de Leonnoys’ (30th November), both printed by Nicolas Couteau.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1st February, 1527. A privilege dated 15th November, 1527, was granted to Gringore (see Picot, I., No. 500); ‘Cat. Didot’ (1878), No. 192; Delalain, ‘Notice Compl.’; A. Bernard, ‘Geofroy Tory’ (2nd ed., 1865), p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> 26th January, 1528.

<sup>3</sup> 8th February, 1527 (privilege of 4th February, 1527). It is printed by Jacques Nyverd. There is a good wood-cut on the title-page. British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> The privilege for ‘Perceforest’ is dated 10th March, 1527, and that for ‘Meliadus,’ 5th March, 1527. In ‘Meliadus’ the

'Perceforest' had been refashioned in the middle of the fifteenth century by Daniel Aubert, librarian to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, from an older fourteenth-century romance in prose. M. Hugues Vaganay has recently reproduced for private circulation the first chapters with a facsimile of the title-page of Du Pré's edition. 'Meliadus' represents the first half, as 'Giron le Courtois' represents the second, of the poetical romance of 'Palamède' as abridged by Rusticien of Pisa.<sup>1</sup>

Two more works remain to be mentioned for the year 1528. One is 'Les lunettes des princes. Ensemble plusieurs additions et ballades par noble homme Jean Meschinot.'<sup>2</sup> The author, a native of Nantes, died in 1509, after sixty years' service as *maître d'hôtel* to the Dukes of Brittany and their last representative, Anne of Brittany. His chief poem 'Les lunettes des princes', first published at Nantes in 1493, was extremely popular and went through at least fifteen editions in the course of the next twelve years. After 1505 no more editions, or at most only one, were published till about 1520, when a new one appeared, followed by at least eight others between that date and 1540. The other work is Octovien de Saint-Gelais's translation of Ovid's 'Epistles.'<sup>3</sup> In the next

printer's name is not given, but the type is the same as that used for 'Perceforest.' There are copies of both in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, 'Catalogue of Romances,' I., 364-9.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 160.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cat. Yemeniz,' No. 1495; Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

year Du Pré published the same writer's translation of the 'Aeneid' in a volume with Guillaume Michel's version of the 'Eclogues' and 'Georgics.'

His most noteworthy publication for 1529 was Guevara's 'Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio,'<sup>1</sup> a reprint of the unauthorised edition which had been surreptitiously published at Seville in 1529. It was by no means the only Spanish book published in France at this period. The 'Celestina,' the poems of Boscan and Garcilaso de la Vega, and other works, were all printed either at Paris or Lyons in their original tongue. The question naturally arises, were they intended for the home or the Spanish market? Probably for the latter, as the number of Frenchmen at this period who understood Spanish must have been small. We have parallel cases on a larger scale in the Service books which the French printers and booksellers produced both for the English and the Spanish market.<sup>2</sup>

Other publications of Galliot Du Pré's for the year 1529 were new editions of the 'Roman de la la Rose,'<sup>3</sup> 'Alain Chartier,'<sup>4</sup> and the Epitome of Budé's 'De Asse.' He also shewed his continued interest in history by publishing Lapo Birago's Latin version of 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus,' first printed at Treviso in 1480, and 'L'histoire

<sup>1</sup> Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

<sup>2</sup> See E. G. Duff, 'The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535,' Cambridge, 1906, pp. 205 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Trinity College, Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> British Museum.

agrégative des annales et croniques d'Anjou' by Jean de Bourdigné, a member of the same family as Charles de Bourdigné, the author of the 'Legende Pierre Faifeu. He associated himself in the publication of the 'Dionysius' with Pierre Vidoue, and in that of 'L'histoire d'Anjou' with two publishers of Angers. In the same year he published conjointly with Josse Bade a curious collection of three Latin theological treatises: 'tria aurea opuscula,'<sup>1</sup> by Jean Bertaud. The first is entitled 'Encomium triarum Mariarum cum earundem cultus defensione adversus Lutheranos'; the second is an office for their worship; the third treats of their relationship with St. John the Baptist.<sup>2</sup> The three Maries are the Virgin Mary, Mary the wife of Cleopas, and Salome the wife of Zebedee, who, according to the orthodox belief of that time, was originally called Mary, and, together with the wife of Cleopas, was supposed to be half-sister to the Virgin. But Lefèvre d'Etaples, in the same treatise (1517), in which he denied the identity of Mary the sister of Lazarus with Mary Magdalene and 'the woman who was a sinner,' also questioned the received view about the three Maries. He was answered in both points by Noel Bédier, the well-known champion of the Sorbonne, whose second treatise 'Apologia pro filiabus et nepotibus beatae Annae' appeared in February, 1520, just after the writings

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 139; 'Cat. Bibl. Nat.' The author died in 1545.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cat. Didot,' 1879, No. 468; A. Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' 259 ff. The Bibl. Nat. has three copies and the Bibl. Mazarine two.



of Luther had begun to circulate widely in Paris. Thus the cult of the three Maries came to be regarded as a sign of orthodoxy.

I have found seven publications, all in French, for the year 1530, three being translations and four original works. The translations include Josephus's 'Jewish War' made from the Latin and attributed to Claude de Seyssel,<sup>1</sup> and 'Singulier Traicte, contenant la propriete des Tortues, Escargots, Grenouilles . . . composé par Estienne D'aigue escuyer, seigneur de Beauvais en Berry.'<sup>2</sup> This is evidently an extract rendered into French from the author's Latin commentary on Pliny. Estienne de L'Aigue, as his real name was (in Latin Aqueus), was often employed on diplomatic missions by Francis I. He was in London in 1533 with Guillaume Du Bellay, and on Shrove Tuesday (25th February) was entertained by Henry VIII. at a banquet at which Anne Boleyn sat in the Queen's place.<sup>3</sup> The secret marriage had taken place a month previously. It was doubtless Aigue's humanistic attainments which had made him acceptable to Francis I., but his career was cut short in 1538, when he died at Avignon in the arms of his friend Claude Cottereau.<sup>4</sup> In 1538 Du Pré and Poncet Le Preux published his translation of Caesar's 'Commentaries

<sup>1</sup> With Poncet Le Preux and Claude Chevallon. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.' (from 'Cat. Didot,' 1881, No. 483).

<sup>2</sup> Delalain, 'Notice Compl.' To this year also belongs a translation by Jean de La Forest, afterwards ambassador to the Sultan, of an Italian oration delivered at Florence by Bartolommeo Cavalcanti (V. L. Bourrilly, in 'Rev. hist.,' XVI., 302).

<sup>3</sup> V. L. Bourrilly, 'Guillaume Du Bellay,' 1905, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 319.



on the Civil Wars' in a volume with Gaguin's version of the 'Gallic Wars.'<sup>1</sup>

The four original works of 1530 are all of considerable interest. The largest is 'Froissart' in four volumes folio, published jointly with Jean Petit.<sup>2</sup> Another joint publication is 'Perceval le Gallois,'<sup>3</sup> shared with Jean Longis and Jean de Saint-Denys, the latter being the predecessor of Pierre Sergeant and the Bonfons family at the sign of St. Nicholas in the rue Neuve Notre-Dame. This is the only known edition of this romance.

The remaining two were published by Du Pré alone. One of these entitled 'Contreditz de Songecreux,' is a satirical poem of much vigour, formerly attributed to Gringore, but now proved to be the work of his rival at the Court of Lorraine, Jehan du Pontalais, who was known by the soubriquet of Songecreux. A considerable share of the author's satire is directed against women. It was therefore only fair that Du Pré should publish in the same year the 'Champion des dames' of Martin Le Franc.<sup>4</sup> This long poem which its author, who was secretary to the anti-Pope, Felix V., presented to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1442, was first printed at Lyons about 1490,<sup>5</sup> but met with little success. Its re-publication was no doubt suggested by the fact that the time-honoured

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, 2nd part, III., No. 59.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen a copy of Volumes I. and II. (in the possession of Mr. E. Ph. Goldschmidt), with only the name of G. Du Pré.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> M. Pellechet, 'Incunables de Lyon,' 1893.


controversy on the subject of women, having received a fresh impetus from the 'Sylva nuptialis' of Giovanni Nevizano (1521) and the new edition of Tiraqueau's 'De legibus connubialibus' referred to above, was once more in full activity.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

*(To be concluded.)*

# A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

## I.—THE NEWS-ROOM.

 ANY readers of 'THE LIBRARY' remember with pleasure a series of articles, by Mr. Crunden, of the St. Louis Public Library, which appeared in the first and second volumes (New Series) 1899-1900, under the title, 'How things are done in one American Library.' The autobiographical method, if it may be so described, was welcome not only for its freshness, but also for the amount of information conveyed. The informal style adopted enabled Mr. Crunden to describe things, interesting to librarians and the public, which are not usually written about.

The Editors of 'THE LIBRARY' have invited me to write a series of papers of the same informal kind, on a slightly different theme; an invitation accepted with some misgivings, and at the same time with satisfaction, for I welcome the opportunity of putting down in a rambling way thoughts and observations on the relations between libraries and the public. It need hardly be said that neither the invitation nor its acceptance implies any suggestion that other librarians should come and sit at my feet. The invitation addressed to me is only one

more effort on the part of the Editors to win the sympathy of book-lovers for the work which the municipal libraries are trying, however imperfectly, to perform, and the object of these articles is to show just what one library is actually doing—not by any means to hold up that library as especially worthy of admiration or sympathy.

Much has been written about libraries during the last twenty years, especially about municipal libraries. A feeling exists that there is nothing more to be said on the subject. That is not my opinion. I think that the writing has been too much about the work and aims of librarians; while the other side, the relations of the public with the libraries, has been neglected. I cannot recall any attempt to survey the whole field of a library's service to the public. After all it is for the public that the libraries exist, and if there is failure of understanding on one side or the other, the best possible has not been attained. The *clientèle* of a public library has many minds, many wants, many aspirations, and more than a sprinkling of critics. This many-sidedness must be borne in mind in formulating a scheme of work for a library. The critics may be ignored to some extent; grumblers are everywhere: yet a distinction can readily be made between the growl of the chronic complainer and a public want finding expression. There has lately been a movement amongst librarians for abolishing newspapers from the reading rooms. The conditions vary, no doubt, especially as between London and the Provinces, and a plausible case may be made for abolition. There is, however,

another side—a wide public which finds uses in a well-selected series of newspapers, whether for reference, or for mere reading—idling, some people will say.

The question may be one of locality, so I will set down some points about the Cardiff reading-rooms, and not argue the matter.

Years ago our reading-room at the Central Library was much too small, and overcrowded with papers and readers. We had little or no supervision, and it was practically given over to loafers and undesirables. Why? An initial mistake was made by giving the reading-room a separate entrance, in order to keep the idle, unwashed loungers separate from the more respectable people who read books. This last description is a paraphrase of the reason assigned for the separate entrance twenty-seven years ago. It is worth recalling, because it shows what wrong ideas prevailed, and how a false start put everything wrong until an opportunity came for beginning again.

An extension of the buildings gave the opportunity. The extensions were to include a new reading room for newspapers, and weekly and other periodicals. The first principle laid down was, that to ensure supervision only one public entrance to all departments should be provided; the second, that the entrance to the main reading-room should be near the front door, thus diverting a large percentage of people immediately on entering. Other principles laid down were, that the room was to be so large as to allow of every newspaper and periodical having a fixed place, with plenty of space



for readers to move about without knocking against chairs, jostling other readers, and generally making things uncomfortable ; also that a few seats and tables should be provided where people might sit to write, to read odd papers not given a fixed location, papers brought in by themselves, or, if they wished, to idle, neither reading nor writing, but just resting. Finally, an attendant was always to be on duty to overlook everything and everybody, to help those in search of information or back numbers, to direct strangers, and to prevent any abuses. With these lines laid down, the committee expected the reading room to assume a new character, to become of real service to the citizens. And so it has proved.

The newspapers are selected to cover a wide range of interests,—some immediately local, others of neighbouring towns and districts, representative journals from the chief centres of Wales and the border counties ; London dailies of course ; papers published in the chief centres of the coal and iron trade, and a representative selection from the chief population centres of the kingdom—Scotland, Ireland, the Midlands, Liverpool, Manchester, Yorkshire, the West of England, Bristol, and so on.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the purposes for which this wide selection of newspapers is used by the public. The first notion that strikes one is that people in search of employment use them to ascertain the demand for various kinds of labour over a wide area. This is undoubtedly one of the uses ; but there are others even more important. People from various parts of the country use the newspapers to get home news ; other people use

them to find out the state of the markets and the prices of commodities. It is, however, impossible to set down in anything like an adequate form the various purposes for which newspapers are required by the public. One thing is certain, that these uses are sufficiently important to cause much inconvenience and annoyance if any irregularity occurs in the supply of the papers. Indeed, if a paper like the 'Manchester Guardian' is only an hour late, the reading-room attendant receives at least half a dozen enquiries as to the reason.

In a seaport town special attention has to be given to everything relating to shipping. We take five copies of the 'Shipping Gazette,' two for the Central Library and three for the branch libraries, and these are kept on file for some time, the back numbers being constantly used. This paper is used not only by men but largely by women seeking information as to the whereabouts of husband, son, brother or sweetheart. If it were not for the public reading-rooms the only place where they would be able to use the 'Shipping Gazette' would be in certain public houses where it is taken in order to attract custom. We also take other papers such as the 'Sunderland Echo' and the 'Liverpool Journal of Commerce' which afford useful information on shipping matters.

Another shipping item,—the Berthing Lists of the local ports (Cardiff, Barry, Penarth and Newport) are posted daily at three branch libraries in districts inhabited by coal trimmers and others engaged in loading and discharging vessels. It is

perhaps necessary to explain that a berthing list is a document issued by dock companies daily about 10 a.m. containing a list of all the ships in dock with their positions. The value of the list lies in the facility it affords for people who have to do with shipping to find out at once where a particular vessel is located. A ship may come in to-day and be lying in one of the basins waiting for a berth. To-morrow it may be berthed at considerable distance from the basin. If it were not for the exhibition of the Berthing Lists in the reading-rooms people would have to go to the Dock Offices of the different docks before they would be able to get this information. We make special arrangements for the collection of these lists as soon as they are issued, and for their immediate despatch to the three reading-rooms. This is not a very striking form of public service, but its utility in the course of a year to a large number of people is very great.

In the selection of newspapers and periodicals preference is always given to the more expensive publications. We are shy, for instance, of half-penny dailies and of the cheaper weekly and monthly publications. Rigid supervision is also exercised over the admission of periodicals offered for presentation. As far as possible all faddist publications and periodicals issued exclusively to advertise particular firms or articles are rejected. If we accepted all the self-advertising, religious and faddist publications offered, there would be no room in our main reading-room, large as it is, for anything else. With regard to periodicals

dealing with religious matters a strict rule has been in operation for something like thirty years—excluding all. This was arrived at after long and bitter controversy as to what religious denominations should be represented amongst the papers taken. The Committee was packed from year to year with representatives of various religious bodies who cared little for the welfare of the library, but much for the search after religious equality. Finally it was decided that religious equality could best be attained by excluding all denominational papers, and for thirty years there has been peace, though efforts have been made from time to time by individuals interested in particular forms of religion to get the rule broken down.

We also refuse all offers to give us something for nothing in the shape of book-markers, magazine covers, volumes of music, and other articles covered over with advertisements. Efforts are constantly made by canvassing members of the Committee, and in other ways, to annex the reading-rooms to various advertising firms, so far I am glad to say, without success.

Our expenditure on newspapers and periodicals is £360 a year. The number of daily visits to the Central and six branch reading-rooms is about 10,000. We get, of course, a certain proportion of betting men and other undesirables, mostly at the Central Reading-room. They are, however, made to conform strictly to the rules and being well known to the Reading-room Attendant, are kept under observation and we have very little to



complain about in this direction. The sleeping and loafing, about which so much is heard in some libraries, do not trouble us. The presence of an attendant and the fact that we don't allow anyone to occupy a chair unless he is reading the periodical to which the chair belongs, help to keep these difficulties under. I have already explained that if a man simply wants to sit and rest provision is made for him at a spare table.

For some years we have adopted a system of interchange of the more expensive papers and magazines between the different reading-rooms so as to secure a wider supply for each branch. For instance, the 'Nineteenth Century,' after doing duty for a month in one reading-room, is sent a month late to another. Where a periodical is supplied second-hand a label is pasted inside the cover of the reading-case stating that it is supplied a month late and giving a list of reading-rooms where the current number may be seen. Most of the leading reviews and the expensive weeklies such as the 'Spectator,' 'Saturday Review,' 'Nation,' 'Outlook,' and the expensive technical, scientific, literary and trade organs are made to do double duty. Four copies of the 'Athenæum' serve seven reading-rooms, and a complete file is always available for reference at the Central Library. All papers are of course supplied first hand to the Central Reading-rooms.

The arrangements for reference to back numbers have been the subject of a good deal of care. Enamelled plates are fixed to the reading-stands and labels are placed inside reading-cases, stating



how far back numbers are available. Over the 'Times,' for instance, are two enamelled plates lettered as follows:—

'The numbers of this paper for one week back may be consulted on application to the Reading-room Attendant.'

'A file of this paper from the year 1861 may be consulted in the Reference Library.'

Another matter to which we have given some attention is the utilisation of surplus papers. For some years we sent parcels regularly to the light-houses and lightships, through the agency of the Trinity House steamer which carried supplies and relief. This, however, broke down after a successful career of some years, owing to some difficulty on the steamer, and our surplus newspapers and periodicals are now sent to the fire-brigade men, the workhouse, and similar institutions. Old magazines not needed for binding, and books withdrawn from circulation are given to the sailors' institutes connected with the port, where they are made up into bags and put on board outward-bound ships for the use of sailors. In the case of books we find it necessary to stamp them, 'Withdrawn from circulation and not to be returned to the library,' because in times past books have been returned to us from South America, and other remote parts of the world, by people who imagined they had been stolen.

Directories and similar works of reference, formerly kept in the reference-room, were transferred to the news-room a few years ago. At first they were handed out for consultation only on written

application slips, but later they were placed in rows on a special stand, with a ledge in front upon which the volumes can be laid open for use. A table is also provided for people who desire to make more than a brief reference, or who prefer to sit for other reasons. The abolition of the application slip has been followed by a very greatly increased use, the number of consultations averaging from 500 to 600 daily. It has also been followed by mutilations, which have hitherto baffled all efforts at detection. The mutilations are almost wholly confined to directories of one class, those published by firms charging for the insertion of names of business people up and down the country. The mutilations are the work of canvassers seeking custom for other directories of the same class, many of them bogus, and most of them worthless so far as any benefit to people who pay for the insertion of their names is concerned.

The Committee have just decided to overcome the difficulty by withdrawing directories of this class from the room, and refusing to accept them in future if offered. If other libraries would adopt the same course it would cripple the bogus directory canvassers.

Another step has just been taken to make this section of greater service to the community. We undertake to make brief references to directories, telegraph codes, and similar books in response to telephone calls, and to reply by telephone as soon as the information asked for is found. It is absurd to put a business house to the waste of time and trouble of sending to the library, perhaps a couple

of miles, for a single address out of a directory, a telegraphic address, or the meaning of a code word, when the information could be asked for and given in a few minutes by means of the telephone. We have printed 7500 copies of a special eight-page bulletin for business men, briefly explaining the system, and giving a list of directories and works of reference of that class to be found at the Central Library. A copy of this bulletin was addressed and delivered to every name in the National and Post Office telephone lists for the Cardiff area, just over 5000. The result has been entirely satisfactory. We get about a dozen inquiries daily, a number which we expect will largely increase as the facilities offered become better known. A telephone-room and office near the news-room has been arranged, two clerical assistants follow their ordinary duties in this office, and attend to inquiries, one being always on duty. If the demand for this class of service grows, the Committee are prepared to increase the staff to meet it.

Some attempts at abuse of these facilities were anticipated, but so far there have been none. On the other hand, the inquiries made are mainly of the kind we were prepared for, and some reveal unforeseen lines of usefulness which will increase the value of the libraries to the community. All inquiries are treated as strictly confidential, and I cannot therefore give actual examples. As an illustration I may mention an inquiry made by a large wholesale dealer, who wished to know the difference between two articles used in manufacture, nearly akin, but differing in quality and value.

A dictionary of applied chemistry supplied exactly the information required, the descriptions of each being read out over the telephone and taken down in shorthand at the other end of the wire. Telegraph codes are regularly called for, and many inquirers wish to obtain addresses of business houses of a particular class in various parts of the country.

If the inquiry is of such a nature that a brief reply cannot be given, arrangements are made for the necessary books to be ready for consultation at a stated time. The telephone is already largely used in many libraries. The establishment of a regular telephone inquiry-office as a part of the library service in large towns is only a question of time, and opens the way to a wide sphere of usefulness for libraries, on lines as yet barely touched.

Speaking on news-rooms in 1901, Professor S. J. Chapman of Owen's College said that newspapers enable people to do what Alice's fellow-passengers did in the train 'through the looking-glass,' namely to think in chorus. An objector may say, with the ingenious creator of Alice and her adventures, 'If you know what that means, it is more than I do.' Of course, strictly it is an absurdity, but broadly it conveys a deep truth. The parts of our complicated social machine have to act in chorus or face disaster; members of Parliament of one party have to talk in chorus, or else cease to be a party; and their constituents have to think in chorus, or else the notion of representation is nonsense and democracy a sham. It is the nature of the machine, its democratic organisation, which



makes this impossibility necessary. And its necessity is no new discovery. Rousseau, in the eighteenth century, argued that political organisation implied a general will, apart from individual wills; in fact not merely a thinking in chorus, but a willing in chorus. And what on earth has thinking in chorus to do with newspapers? Just this much, that in a large society, such as ours, it is impossible without newspapers. There can be no 'public opinion,' no 'national resentment,' no 'social conscience,' nor such a thing as a conscious social organism at all, unless individuals have presented to them the same facts, the same fictions, and the same thoughts, at approximately the same time. By the newspapers, it is as if each were given a thousand eyes and ears in different localities. Just as the public meeting-place was an essential feature of the small ancient democracies, so the essential of modern democracy is the newspaper; which means, some will say, that every man must buy his penny or halfpenny paper, as he can well afford to do. True, but remember that (amazing as it may appear) a love for these fascinating journals is not born with a man; and further, that some of the least trustful readers like to compare reports and judgments. The public news-room makes the home newspaper-reader, and the comparison made in the news-room prevents him from being the slave of one newspaper.

Developments have taken place in the journalistic world since Professor Chapman made these observations. Comparison is more necessary than ever to enable newspaper readers to escape from



‘always peeping out at one hole.’ Thus access to a choice of papers is essential to correct the hurried scanning of headlines, which destroys the power to read and think.

The news-room may be approached from two points of view. It may be regarded as an evil and left to its fate with some attempt to overcome abuses; or the difficulties may be overcome by making it a useful adjunct to the other departments in meeting the needs of the public. We have taken the latter course, with the result that the closing of the room for renovation causes serious inconvenience to a large number of business men—any attempt to close it altogether, or to modify its present basis, would be met by a public protest which would not easily be forgotten.

All classes use the Reading-rooms, for business inquiries, for information on current questions, for ‘a quiet read’ when the day’s work is done. Our efforts have been directed to killing the notion that it is a place for one class only, and we have succeeded. Working men in plenty will be found there, and also business and professional men, and a sprinkling of idlers and ne’er-do-weels, but these two last are in so great a minority that they do not count for much, and if they are dirty or misbehave, they are at once excluded.

JOHN BALLINGER.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**T**IME was when to contemplate the cover of a new volume by Anatole France was a feast of anticipation, but the perusal of his latest book 'Les désirs de Jean Servien,' proved for me the sadness of realisation. The material is promising enough, but little is made of it. The hero is a youth, a poor futile sort of creature, lacking talent and energy, and educated above his station. He emerges from boyhood with a desire for beauty but only in the more voluptuous sense of the term, a state of mind that culminates in a hopeless 'grande passion' for a third-rate 'tragédienne.' The young man dies an ignoble death at the hands of a woman, a 'cantinière' of the 'Vengeurs de Lutèce,' during the Commune. The best-drawn character in the book is the youth's father, a working bookbinder, a man who steadily performed his daily work, and did as he thought, the best for his son. Tudesco, the boy's first tutor, is an amusing vagabond of the type Anatole France paints so inimitably.

'J'ai traduit (he says) la *Jerusalem liberata*, le chef-d'oeuvre immortel de Torquato Tasso. Oui, Monsieur, j'ai consacré mes veilles à cette tâche glorieuse et ingrate. Sans famille, sans patrie, j'ai écrit ma traduction dans des soupentes obscures et glacées, sur du papier à chandelle,

sur des cartes à jouer, sur des cornets à tabac. . . . Oui, Monsieur, j'ai souvent déjeuné d'une page de Tacite et soupé d'une satire de Juvénal.'

During the siege Tudesco develops into an 'ingénieur au service de la Commune, avec le grade de colonel,' and when surprise is expressed that he should have attained such a post, he coolly observes: 'La science! Les études! Quelle puissance! Savoir, c'est pouvoir. Pour vaincre les satellites du despotisme, il faut la science. C'est pourquoi je suis ingénieur avec le grade de colonel.' But in spite of Tudesco, the hand that wrote 'Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard' and the series beginning with 'L'orme du mail,' seems to have lost some of its cunning.

Much in the same way 'Le blé qui lève,' René Bazin's new novel, interesting as its point of view is, scarcely reaches the level of 'Les Oberlé,' and 'La terre qui meurt.' It is a sad story in which Bazin preaches religion and resignation to the agricultural labourer, and assures him that with all the trade unions and socialism, he is less well off than when he was under the direct care of his employer, the squire, the owner of the land, and when he joined hands with the church.

The most remarkable chapters in the book are those describing a 'maison de retraite' in Belgium just across the French frontier, where certain workmen and labourers are in the habit of spending two or three days once or twice a year.

The priests attempt to introduce the ideal into the men's more or less prosaic lives.

‘L’intérêt est triste, toujours; il est mécontent, toujours. . . . Vous n’êtes que moitié d’hommes, parcequ’on vous a renfermés dans la vie présente avec défense d’en sortir par la pensée. Et vous l’avez souffert! Vous êtes bien plus pauvres que vous ne le supposez. Vous n’avez plus la terre, et vous n’avez plus le ciel.

. . . Mon pauvre frère, pourvu que tu le veuilles, tu es riche. Ton travail est une prière, et l’appel à la justice, même quand il se trompe de temple, en est une autre. Tu lèves ta bêche, et les anges te voient; tu es enveloppé d’amis invisibles; ta peine et ta fatigue germent en moisson de gloire. Oh! quelle joie de ne pas être jugé par les hommes!’

It is undoubtedly an error to deprive the people of anything that awakens their imagination, but whether the practice of occasionally going into retreat is likely to keep the imagination alive is too large a subject to discuss here.

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In German fiction there is nothing to take the world by storm, but I have been much delighted with Georg Hermann’s ‘Jettchen Gebert.’ It is a love-tale of much pathos and sadness, told with sympathy and with great charm of style, and, unlike most modern novels, can be safely put into the hands of all. The scene is laid in the Berlin of 1840. Jettchen, a Jewess, niece and adopted daughter of a wealthy cloth-merchant, falls in love with Dr. Kössling, a Protestant, and an impecunious author. Her family object to the union chiefly on account of Kössling’s poverty and lack of prospects, and perhaps a little from racial prejudice. Neither of the lovers has the courage to take matters



into their own hands, nor to wait patiently in the hope of a happy solution. Jettchen feels so bound to her uncle and aunt for their kindness that she considers it her duty to marry the husband they have chosen for her, a connection of the family, and in a similar business to her uncle. Another uncle, a man of refinement and culture, who is very fond of Jettchen and in Kössling's confidence, has not however the energy to assist them, and advises Kössling to keep away, and so help Jettchen to forget him. The manner in which the family set about subduing the girl's will is very subtle: they simply ignore the love-affair.

'They did not speak about it; they were unwilling even to think about it. Time would set all right, and she would get over it like a sensible girl. The best thing was to act as if they knew nothing about it. And they treated Jettchen with incredible kindness. Her uncle became almost affectionate, and her aunt behaved as if the assistance Jettchen gave her in the household was a gift for which she could not be sufficiently grateful. Scarcely a hard word had been uttered over the whole matter.

'And it was exactly this attitude that broke Jettchen's quiet resistance; for the worst tyranny is where there are no disagreeable words and no commands. It is as easy to resist when the others are hard and unkind, as it is difficult when they are gentle and amiable. And it is as easy to remain firm in one's own will when resistance has to be met, as it is difficult to do anything on one's own responsibility when there is no opposition. . . .

'And although Jettchen's nights were at first sleepless, and her lonely hours filled with weeping, life came again each morning and demanded its rights; it came with a hundred people who spoke to Jettchen and expected an answer; it came with the housekeeping, which fell entirely



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on Jettchen's shoulders; it came with walks and concerts when she had to accompany her aunt; it came with needlework for birthday presents, and with newspapers, and gossip, and books.

'And what could she have said to her uncle? That someone had come; that they had met a few times; had confessed that they loved each other; that then he had gone away, and she had heard nothing more from him.'

And the irony is that Kössling meanwhile secures a post in the Royal Library: his hopes revive. But he learns that Jettchen's wedding is to take place in a couple of days, and although the lovers have one more interview, they agree that submission to fate is the only way. And so for lack of courage and some plain-speaking a life is wrecked. The story ends on her wedding day (and a tragic day it is for the bride), and we are left to gather that she does not long survive it, if at all.

'Gegen den Strom. Eine weltliche Kloster-geschichte,' by Paul Heyse, is a rather dull novel, but written in the beautiful German of which Heyse is master. Several men whose careers have somehow been wrecked retire from the world and live together in a sort of monastic community. But finally through the benign influence of women they emerge again into the world. It is a vast pity that a most unnecessary episode dragged in near the end, renders it impossible to recommend the book for general reading. When such episodes help the story or the characterisation, or serve some real artistic purpose, it would be absurd to object to them, but when as here they are quite needless, the unity of the story is spoiled.

In 'Der Amerikaner,' Gabriele Reuter seeks to show the contrast between the slow-moving German country gentry and the Americanised German. He is described as cool and very sure of himself, although his methods of getting on are dubious. He knocks down the obstacles in his way without regard for the feelings of others, and has no respect for tradition or rooted prejudice. The book is inartistic and dull, and more inclined, I think, to make the reader prefer the society of the stay-at-homes to the slap-dash representative of so-called modernism.

I confess it is somewhat of a relief to turn to Wildenbruch's 'Lucrezia' and its old-fashioned onslaught (so I suppose it would be characterised) on the modern young woman. It comes, of course, from a man, but there is, I feel, something to be said from his point of view. The heroine, a beautiful girl, believes she is a genius and is kept in the false illusion by her lover to whom, contemning marriage and its conventionalities, she gives herself in so-called free love. She finally discovers the hollowness of such a philosophy of life, repents too late, and too weak to bear her punishment kills herself. A tremendous invective is put into the mouth of Lucrezia's mother, who frankly says what she thinks of the new fighting woman, whom she considers a pure materialist, lacking charm, refinement and delicacy. Here are a few sentences:

'A plaything for his senses? A whipping boy for his bad temper? The boredom of marriage? Are these the expressions with which you dispose of what held two

creatures together for a lifetime, during which they have grown together, and in consequence of the companionship have become ever greater, better, and happier. . . . Shall I tell you the fact as it is? A few, among the women who talk like that, are really talented, have really a head of their own, with their own thoughts in it; and they preach their wisdom to you, and although it is false and bad wisdom, still it is their own. But the rest of you, that is ninety-nine out of a hundred of you, have no ideas of your own. You try to form yourselves on the few talented women among you. It's only vanity that inflames you. You write poems and stories that are like heated stoves of sensuality, while in fact you yourselves are cold, and incapable of falling sincerely and honourably in love.'

There are here some elements of truth in spite of the exaggeration.

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The most interesting book in 'Belles Lettres' that has come my way lately is Joachim Merlant's 'Sénancour (1770-1846)) poète, penseur religieux et publiciste. Sa vie, son œuvre, son influence.' The aim of the book is to make known a writer who deserves more recognition than he has hitherto had, the author of 'Obermann'—'un des esprits les plus extraordinaires de cette époque.' It was Matthew Arnold who appreciated him as one who had well scanned 'the hopeless tangle of our age.' Sénancour the man may be described in a couple of lines, as one who sought happiness and did not find it; who sought truth, and in seeking it found all the happiness for which he was born.

His works are of very high value in psychology and in ethical history. They all breathe faith in

the virtue of intelligence, and reverence for a type of truth purely intellectual. They had a very great influence on such writers as Ste.-Beuve, George Sand (Lélia was the daughter or sister of Obermann), Alfred de Vigny, Maurice de Guérin, and Amiel. The author goes deeply into the evolution of Sénancour's mind, and a very fascinating study it is, for all who are interested in human psychology. Maxims that give food for thought abound in Sénancour's writings. Here are some examples :

‘La vie est un laborieux mouvement d'espérance.’

‘Qui n'a pas pleinement aimé, n'a pas possédé sa vie.’

‘Observez la maladie : elle paraît affreuse, elle est bienfaisante, c'est elle qui a le pouvoir de soumettre le corps à l'âme.’

That the last observation is true is known to all who have passed through a period of serious illness. It is only through physical suffering that we realise our soul as an independent power.

In the following passage Sénancour sums up, I think, a great truth, inasmuch without the ‘inquiétude’ and its results, which he describes, human beings would accomplish nothing.

‘L'homme réel est une créature inquiète, et qui ne peut se passer de son inquiétude, à qui, tout divertissement quelqu'il soit, rouler une brouette comme fait Obermann aux vendanges, ou s'aventurer dans l'occultisme, ou rêver d'immenses desseins, ou s'enchanter d'un inaccessible amour, enfin toute curiosité et toute action valent mieux que la sérénité d'une mort anticipée.’

To do full justice to Merlant's book a whole article would be required, and so I must here



content myself with quoting a passage from the conclusion :

‘Tout en admettant de plus en plus que l’individu isolé n’est qu’une abstraction, et qu’à s’obstiner dans la solitude une âme n’aspire qu’à se nier elle-même, il a cru, d’accord avec les plus hautes doctrines, que la solitude, si elle n’est un but, est un moyen éminent de culture intérieure, un aliment d’énergie spirituelle, et qu’ enfin les hommes les plus grands, les plus nobles représentants de l’espèce, les plus utiles à la vie générale, sont aussi les plus recueillis, les plus fervents à se refaire sans cesse eux-mêmes, et, non-contents de subsister sur les forces communes, les plus aptes à découvrir dans l’humanité, au prix d’un constant labeur sur soi, des forces nouvelles. . . .

‘Aristocrate et cosmopolite, il n’est ni probable, ni désirable, qu’il atteigne jamais le grand public. Qu’on veuille reconnaître en lui le précurseur malheureux d’une humanité supérieure. . . . Ses livres ne peuvent manquer d’apparaître comme les symboles, souvent complexes et souvent obscurs, de la génération qui, formée par les Philosophes et par Rousseau, vécut dans le trouble, l’effort et la recherche, et ne se crut justifiée par aucun échec à brûler aucune de ses premières idoles.’

There are some interesting essays in Baldensperger’s ‘Études d’Histoire Littéraire.’ The volume deals more or less with subjects belonging to comparative literature. ‘Young et ses “nuits” en France’ is a valuable contribution to the history of our own literature. The critic here describes Young as ‘un des poètes étrangers qui ont le plus contribué à initier notre xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle à des nouveautés fécondes.’ To the French critics of 1823, the early poems of Lamartine and Victor Hugo recalled the manner of the English poet. Young was



read in France, both in the original and in translation. There were several French versions. Young was a favourite poet with Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Lucien Bonaparte and Mme. Récamier. The poetry of Lamartine and the prose of Chateaubriand undoubtedly owe something to that of Young, but after 1825 his vogue and his influence waned, and from one of the foreign poets who had in the eighteenth century the widest European fame, he became 'ce fossoyeur ambitieux,' 'monotone et factice.' The essay on the universality of the French language is an ingenious plea that France more than any other country 'semble hospitalier à l'idéal d'humaine culture, de développement varié, de curiosité et de communication raisonnables,' and that French is the best language for the expression of those things. The preface contains some pregnant observations on methods of presenting literary history.

The fourth series of Émile Faguet's 'Propos Littéraires' contains, as such books by Frenchmen invariably do, delightful reading. One of the most engaging essays is on suicide, à *propos* of Durkheim's volume, 'Le Suicide.' There we learn that those who commit suicide least are married men and married women with children. The married woman, however, who is childless, kills herself more than the celibate woman, and Faguet comments on the fact thus:

'Ah! Ceci, Messieurs, ne serait pas à notre honneur. Il prouverait qu'ce n'est pas nous qui sommes capables de rendre la femme heureuse, mais les enfants; et que, sans eux, elle est plus malheureuse avec nous qu' à rester toute seule.'

And this is really quite natural, for it is solitude that kills, and the married woman without children is more lonely than the celibate woman, who, even if she lives alone, lives less solitarily than the childless wife. The celibate woman has friends and neighbours and makes herself a little circle. The childless wife has only her husband, and he, either for business or pleasure, or merely because it is man's nature, is always out. And a husband, M. Faguet declares, by his very existence prevents his wife from forming a circle for herself. He dislikes, when he does come home, to find his house full of visitors, or to find his wife out, and so the husband instead of being 'une compagne' becomes 'un isolateur.'

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A work of unique importance to students of mediæval history has just been issued in the two volumes of 'Acta Aragoniensia. Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. 1291-1327).' It is edited by Dr. Heinrich Finke and dedicated to the Director of the Crown Archives at Barcelona, who gave the author access to the documents here printed and commented on. Everyone requiring information about the period of Philip the Fair, Robert of Naples, Frederick of Sicily, the German Emperors and Kings, Jaymes II., the contemporary Popes, and the most distinguished Cardinals and Prelates, will in future be obliged to consult the 'Acta Aragoniensia,' which offers for the first time a complete diplomatic corres-

pondence for the middle ages. Not only is it concerned with Europe, but we learn something of places outside that continent. There are descriptions of Morocco, of the pilgrimage to 'beata Maria' at Nazareth, and to the holy places of Jerusalem; and it is surprising what a stream of modern feeling runs through this real mediæval epoch.

The second edition of Dr. Richard Wülker's 'Geschichte der Englischen Literatur' contains a long account by Dr. Groth of contemporary English Literature. He deals with poetry, fiction and drama. The survey is introduced by a series of paragraphs demonstrating the influence of the growth of the Imperialist spirit on our present-day literature. He has much to say that is true of our contemporary novels, and deprecates our English hesitation to pronounce judgment on an author in his lifetime, a practice that prevents a standard of criticism in literary questions. It is indeed matter for regret that our literary reviews should have become little more than synopses of the contents of poems or plays or novels, but after all the final verdict may safely be left to posterity. Yet, if the critics were really critical, their influence might mitigate the evils of the large output of mediocre work that surely helps to obscure much of the really excellent work that is being produced. Dr. Groth considers R. L. Stevenson one of the most charming figures in this period of our literature, warns us against over-rating Kipling, and devotes seven out of the 140 pages of his survey to Bernard Shaw, whom he characterises as 'unquestionably

one of the most intellectual, witty and ruthless writers of the present day,' better appreciated in Germany than in his own country. There is some curious nomenclature: many of us would find a difficulty in realizing who was meant by Henry Dobson; there are some omissions: thus among the poets Herbert Trench and Alfred Noyes are ignored; but on the whole it is well done and we know of no one English book in which such a succinct account could be found.

The following books deserve attention:

*Mémoires sur Lazare Carnot 1753-1823.* Par Hippolyte Carnot, 1801-88.

This is a new edition of the 'Memoirs of Carnot,' by his son, at which the latter had been working for some time before his death in 1888. All the additions and corrections to which he had given a definite character are included here, and it is illustrated in accordance with his intentions.

*Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne (1808-9).* Par le Commandant breveté Balagny. Vol. V.

This volume deals with Almaraz, Uclès, and the departure of Napoleon. It consists of documents and letters with a running narration by the author.

Eugène Étienne. *Son œuvre: coloniale, algérienne et politique (1881-1906).* 2 vols.

A collection of speeches and memoranda on colonial and Algerian questions, and on foreign and domestic politics by a former Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Minister of War and for Home Affairs. The book is published under his authorisation, and forms a useful survey of recent French politics.

*Journal Inédit du Duc de Croÿ, 1718-84.* Publié d'après le manuscrit autographe conservé à



la bibliothèque de l'institut, avec introduction, notes et index. Par le Vicomte de Grouchy et Paul Cottin. 4 vols.

Of great importance for the history of the reigns of Louis XV. and XVI. The Duc says himself: 'Mon ouvrage contiendra une suite d'histoire véridique, que l'on ne trouvera peut-être pas inutile, un jour !'

La Société française pendant le consulat. Série V. Les beaux-arts. Série VI. L'armée—le clergé—la magistrature—l'instruction publique. Par Gilbert Stenger.

These volumes complete the work. It ends with a 'jugement' on Bonaparte, the First Consul, inspired by the ten years of reading whence the book had its being.

La bourgeoisie Française au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. La vie publique—Les idées et les actions politiques 1604-61. Étude sociale. Par Charles Normand.

A very full and careful history of the subject.

Louis Napoléon Bonaparte et la révolution de 1848 avec des documents et des Portraits inédits. Par André Lebey.

Richelieu et la maison de Savoie. L'Ambassade de Particelli d'Hémery en Piémont. Par Gabriel de Mun.

Cardinal Retz called Particelli 'le plus corrompu de son siècle.' The book gives an excellent survey of the inner life of Italian courts, and proves that Richelieu was scarcely as all-powerful as he is said to have been.

Histoire de Bourbilly. Par le Comte de Franqueville.

A very interesting record of a country house which prior to 1032 was part of the royal domain, and then became the property of the



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Dukes of Burgundy. Since 1213 it has been in the hands of five families, and is now owned by the author of the book. Memories of Mme. de Sévigné and her daughter, Mme. de Grignan, are closely connected with this house.

*La Provence à travers les siècles.* Par Émile Caman.

A learned and exhaustive work dealing with the periods of the Roman domination and the Christian civilisation.

*Études de Littérature Canadienne Française. Nouvelles Études de Littérature Canadienne Française.* Par Charles ab der Halden.

The first series contains an introductory essay on the French language and literature in Canada by Louis Herbet. The studies open up a new subject, and in fact, reveal the existence of a new literature.

*Causeries d'Égypte.* Par G. Maspero.

Articles reprinted from the 'Journal des Débats,' 1893-1907. They were written with a view to popularising sciences regarded as incomprehensible except to the expert, and make capital reading for the layman interested in the progress of Egyptology.

*La Civilisation Pharaonique.* Par Albert Gazet.

A very interesting and well-executed sketch of the civilization of Egypt before it came under the Græco-Roman influence, while its aim was 'se renfermer dans le domaine des idées.'

*Études sur l'ancien poème français du voyage de Charlemagne en orient.* Par Jules Coulet.

A recent publication of the 'Société pour l'étude des langues Romaines.' It treats of the date, nature, and legend of the poem, and ends with a chapter on the place of the poem in mediæval literature.

*Le Romantisme et la Critique. La Presse littéraire sous la Restauration, 1815-30.* Par Ch.-M. Des Granges.

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The author opens with a chapter on the utility of the newspaper in literary history, and concludes his volume with the conviction that from the newspapers and periodicals of the period may be learned best the invasion of the foreign element into French literature. He promises a volume on 'Shakespeare et le Romantisme.'

La Vie d'un poète. Coleridge. Par Joseph Aguard.

A well-written biography of the poet, with prose versions of those poems which specially bear on the poet's life.

Camille Desmoulins. Par Jules Claretie. Illustrated.

A poignant history that 'garde comme un reflet de légende,' of a 'personnage de roman.'

L'armée et les institutions militaires de la Confédération suisse au début de 1907. Par H. Lemant.

A most useful volume for those studying various military systems.

L'Éducation de la Femme Moderne. Par J.-L. de Lanessan.

An account of the education of the modern woman in early childhood and in the primary and secondary schools, and of her *rôle* in modern life. The author deplores the necessity for women to work in competition with men.

Geschichte der Königlich Deutschen Legion, 1803-16. Von Bernhard Schwertfeger. 2 vols.

A full account of all the campaigns in which the legion took part.

Die Frauenfrage in den Romanen Englischer Schriftstellerinnen der Gegenwart. Von Dr. Ernst Foerster.

The English authoresses chosen are George Egerton, Mona Caird, and Sarah Grand.

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Jean Paul. Der Verfasser der *Levana*. Von Dr. Wilhelm Münch.

A volume of a series entitled, 'Die Grossen Erzieher,' among whom the only Englishman is Herbert Spencer. Dr. Münch says that few books on education contain so much deep thought as the '*Levana*.'

Ludwig Uhland. Die Entwicklung des Lyrikers und die Genesis des Gedichtes. Von Hans Haag.

An interesting and detailed æsthetic study of Uhland.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. Gedanken, Satiren, Fragmente. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Herzog. 2 vols.

A delightful little volume in which to begin acquaintance with Lichtenberg. It contains aphorisms which are valuable contributions to such subjects as the psychology of love and marriage, politics, anthropology, physiognomy, the drama, painting, pedagogy, ancient and modern literature; and the ideas are as fresh to-day as they were in 1799.

Berthold Auerbach. Der Mann, sein Werk, sein Nachlass. Von Anton Bettelheim. •

Most valuable perhaps on the critical side, which shows Auerbach as the forerunner of Anzengruber and Rosegger, of Tolstoy and Björnson.

ELIZABETH LEE.

## SIENESE TAVOLETTE.



ISITORS to Italy are so fond of bringing home with them some object of art as a memento of their holiday, that the not infrequent substitution of forgeries for genuine works may possibly be regarded by the vendors as part of a national scheme of self-defence. A few years ago among the commonest subjects of forgery were the painted wooden covers of the municipal account-books of Siena. So many purchases of these were made by English tourists, and so many of the purchases were brought to the British Museum for verification, that the nature of the contents of thin brown-paper parcels of a certain shape was sometimes successfully guessed before the string was untied. The 'tavolette,' as they are called, were thus not the least among the attractions which Siena offered me during a recent short stay there. After inspecting them for myself in the gallery of the Palazzo Piccolomini, in which they are preserved, I found that they had been made the subject of a sumptuous monograph<sup>1</sup> by the Director

<sup>1</sup> 'Le tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena. Con illustrazione storica del Direttore dell' Archivio Cav. Alessandro Lisini. Siena, Stab. Foto-Litografico. Sordi-Muti. 1901. (The imprint deserves note, as one of the worthiest of Siena's worthies, Tommaso Pendola, was an early worker for the deaf-mutes, and directed for many years the institute of which the 'stabilimento foto-litografico' is an offshoot.)

of the Archivio Civile, the information in which is so full as to leave no room for any further research. Short notices of the 'tavolette' have also appeared in several French, German, and Italian magazines. In England, on the other hand, little or no study has been made of them, which perhaps may account for the ready sale which the forgeries seem to have found among English visitors. Thus it seems worth while to put together a few notes on the subject, despite the little room left for any original treatment of it.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when these painted bindings begin, Siena sought financial safety by changing the controllers of its treasury every half-year, and requiring them to submit their accounts to a double audit. The treasury, or 'Biccherna' as it was called, a word of unknown origin, was governed by a Chamberlain ('Camerlingo') and four Supervisors ('Provveditori'). Their books of accounts were liable to be inspected at any moment by three commissioners ('terziari'), and after the six-months' term of office they had to be submitted for formal audit within thirty days to three other good, sufficient, and lawful men ('altri tre uomini, buoni, sufficienti e legali'). The accounts seem to have been kept in duplicate, one book being in Latin and the other in Italian, and to compensate the officials for their trouble and for the perils of the double audit, they seem to have been allowed to spend ten soldi on having a commemorative picture painted on the upper cover as a record of their term of office. Ten soldi, however, was the maximum, and the price was subse-



quently lowered to eight, and then to seven. The volume commemorating the Chamberlain mostly shows a picture of that official, seated at a table, with money, or a money-bag, in front of him. The figure of the Chamberlain himself, though probably no very careful portrait, partook so far of that character as to show that he was mostly, if not always, a member of a religious order. In the case of the Provveditori, four portraits would have been too great a strain on the artist's imagination, and he was therefore permitted to substitute four shields bearing their arms. On the earlier 'tavolette' of both series the picture was mostly followed by an inscription, which may either record the names of the officials, or enable them to be ascertained from the mention of the Podestà under whom they held office. Thus the earliest 'tavoletta' now in the Archivio shows a Cistercian monk, Frate Ugo, of the abbey of S. Galgano, Chamberlain of the Republic of Siena, seated at a table holding a book, on the pages of which can be read the date, 'I.A.D.' (in anno domini) 'MCCLVIII mēse iulii.' while above and beside the picture is the inscription, in white letters on a red ground (contractions expanded): 'Liber Camerarii tempore domini Bonifatii domini Castellani de Bononia senensis potestatis in ultimis sex mensibus sui regiminis.'

The second<sup>1</sup> 'tavoletta' in the series commemorates the first four Provveditori of 1263, and bears their coats of arms with the inscription: 'Hic est liber dominorum Bartalomei Orlandi Istielli iudicis, domini Ghinibaldi Ildibrandini Salvani, Bartalomei

<sup>1</sup> This is not an original, but a copy.

Bencivenni Mancini, domini Nichole Roczi, quatuor Provisorum Communis Senarum tempore domini Inghirami de Gorzano, Dei et Regia gratia Senarum Potestatis, in primis sex mensibus sui regiminis.'

Besides the two covers painted each half-year for the Chamberlain and Provveditori, another commemorated the term of office of the 'Esecutori di Gabella' (Commissioners of Customs), and the tenth cover of the series exhibited, that of the Gabella for 1290, is still attached to portions of the original book to which it belonged, while the archives record the fact that seven sols were paid to the painter Massarucio for painting it.

As time went on, a more ambitious style of decoration was adopted. Thus when the first commissioner was a monk of the abbey of S. Galgano, a picture of the saint appears on the cover. On the cover of an early Gabella-book we find an imitation of part of the famous fresco, an allegory of Good Government, painted by Lorenzetti in the town-hall. A few 'tavolette' were themselves the work of well-known painters, such as Sano di Pietro, though even these have no great artistic merit.

Whereas in the thirteenth century three 'tavolette' had been painted each half-year, in the fourteenth only two were executed, the Italian copy of the Biccherna accounts being bound in parchment, while the Latin copy was permitted to retain its antique covers. By 1445 the accounts of Siena were becoming too complicated to be recorded in volumes of the traditional size. Larger account-books were needed, and the commemorative painting

was no longer attached to them. For a time frescoes were used, but as these threatened to take up too much room, small separate paintings were substituted. Of the ninety-two 'tavolette' illustrated in Signor Lisini's monograph, sixty-one belong to this later period, and only thirty-one to the years 1258-1445, out of a total of eight or nine hundred which must have been produced during that period, on the supposition that there were no breaks in the series. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the number preserved in the Office of the Chamberlain of the Biccherna must have been nearly treble as many, for in 1724 the Abate Galgano Bichi compiled an heraldic index to them, still preserved in the Archivio,<sup>1</sup> and in this references are given to no fewer than fifty-eight examples not in the exhibition. A highly misleading sentence in Baedeker's Guide to Central Italy, where the 'tavolette' are briefly mentioned, accounts for these disappearances by regretting that 'the collection has unfortunately been much reduced by sales to foreigners.' In so far as recent years are concerned it would be more accurate to say that 'the collection has been fortunately increased by repurchases and donations.' The depredations seem to have taken place at a much earlier period. The Archives of Siena are lodged in the Palazzo Piccolomini, and at the end of the seventeenth century a member of the Piccolomini

<sup>1</sup> 'Copia dell' armi gentilizie e dell' iscrizioni che son espresse nelle Tavolette che già servirono per coperte de' libri del Magistrato della Magnifica Biccherna di Siena et ora trovansi staccate da medesimi.'

family removed fourteen of the 'tavolette,' which commemorated the financial services of his ancestors, to the papal palace at Pienza, whence they were subsequently returned. The chief profiter by the depredations was a painter of Cologne named Ramboux, who formed a collection of these 'tavolette,' and subsequently sold them, or permitted them to be sold after his death. That he was a bad man may be suspected from the fact that a cover which belonged to 1262, was ascribed in the catalogue to the humorously early date 1053; while a painting, of which the archives record that it was painted for eight sols by Dietisalve di Speme, is assigned to Duccio di Buoninsegna, the most famous of the primitive Sienese masters.

The sentence in Baedeker is regrettable for another reason than the slur which it might be understood to pass on the present management of the Archivio, for its mention of 'sales to foreigners' suggests possibilities of purchase which may account for the supply of forgeries to which I have already alluded. I can place the date at which I first saw one of these at about 1895, because I was then editing 'Bibliographica,' and very nearly committed myself to giving an illustration of it in that periodical, under the impression that to the many other charms which it undoubtedly possessed it added that of antiquity—which was far from being the case. Fortunately for me the forgery was still unsold in the hands of a dealer, and a not unreasonable objection to advertising anything in this condition stood me instead of erudition. During the next eight or nine years I saw several others, but it



is some time now since a new example has been shown to me, so that I presume that the stock is exhausted. The workmen employed in producing it must have been men of considerable skill and taste, and, at least in some cases, the prices asked for the bindings were no more than they were worth—as new work. To anyone who knew the originals their beauty indeed was their chief condemnation, for every inch of them was painted in gold and colours, and the central figure, usually that of a saint, was far more freely handled than is common in early Sienese pictures, and quite unlike the stiff figures on the ‘tavolette.’ Moreover the forgers, if my memory serves me, never ventured on names or inscriptions, and I should be greatly surprised if they troubled themselves to suit the arms on the binding to the office-holders of any particular year. In some cases, moreover, both covers were richly decorated, whereas in the genuine ‘tavolette’ only the upper cover was painted. As I have said, the supply of these handsome impostures seems to have stopped. I saw none in shop-windows at Siena during my recent visit. But if any collector should chance to be offered the painted cover of a Sienese account-book, he will be well advised to consult Signor Lisini’s monograph before making a purchase.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.



## REVIEW.

*Prince d'Essling. Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Vénise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et du commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup>. Première partie. Tome I. Ouvrages imprimés de 1450 à 1490 et leurs éditions successives jusqu'à 1525. Florence, L. S. Olschki; Paris, H. Leclerc.*



N 1892 the Duc de Rivoli, as the Prince d'Essling was then entitled, published what he now describes as 'notre premier essai, très incomplet,' on Venetian illustrated books. After fifteen years of diligent collecting and research he has again taken up the same subject, this time with a wealth of detail and of illustration, which must reduce any further attempt to deal with it to the insignificance of an appendix. The arrangement of the book is the same as that of its predecessor. Works are described in the order of their first illustrated editions, and all subsequent editions within the period follow immediately upon the first. The principle of this arrangement seems quite sound. To keep all the editions of the same work in an uninterrupted sequence is not so much an advantage as a necessity for effective study of their relations, and the weight allowed to the date

at which a work first began to be illustrated preserves the chronological feeling more adequately than might have been anticipated. While, however, we heartily uphold the general arrangement of the book, in one special group of instances it seems to us to have been wrongly, or at least doubtfully, applied. During the years 1469-1472, and in a few later cases, the work of the illuminator at Venice was facilitated by the employment of a wood-cut foundation over which the artist painted. Only a few copies out of an edition were illuminated in this way, and the existence of the wood-cut substratum for borders and initials was a new discovery at the time that the Prince published his first essay.. In some cases different border-pieces were used in decorating different copies of the same book. The same border-piece is also occasionally found in books published by different printers. It thus appears probable that the decoration was the work of a firm of illuminators rather than of the printers, and in any case the existence of a majority of copies unilluminated would seem to forbid us to reckon a book as a '*livre à figures*' because of the occurrence of the borders in one or more special copies. The Prince, however, has taken the opposite view, and thus, in the forefront of his arrangement, we find a whole series of classical works which were never really illustrated until in the early years of the sixteenth century illustration had become such a habit with Venetian publishers that few books could escape it. It would have been better, we think, to have treated the border-pieces by themselves and have based the

arrangement of the book solely on such illustrations and decorations as form an essential and integral part of the editions in which they occur. We must own, however, to a sense of ingratitude in urging this objection, as the liberality with which the use of these borders has been illustrated is of a kind to disarm criticism.

The book opens with an excellent account of the Venetian block-book of the Passion on which the Prince d'Essling has already written separately. After this, putting aside the interpolated classics, we come upon the 'Trionfi' of Petrarch and the Italian version of The Bible, both of them pulled forward several years, by the chance occurrence of a border in one or more copies of the Petrarch, and of six little wood-cuts in the John Rylands copy of the 'Bible' of 1st October, 1471. The discovery, by the way, of the wood-cut substratum to the little coloured pictures was made and communicated to the present writer by Mr. Gordon Duff, during his tenure of office at Manchester, so that it should not be ascribed, as is here done, to the present librarian. As regards the Bible of 1490, the first illustrated edition properly so-called, the Prince d'Essling records in a foot-note an interesting suggestion by Mr. Fairfax Murray, that the illustrations may have been the work of the miniaturist, Benedetto Bordone. With the thoroughness which distinguishes every section of the book, two specimens of Bordone's work are reproduced, and certainly shew that he and the illustrator of the Bible belonged to the same school, and that their methods of arranging their little pictures were closely akin.

As is well known, several of the Bible cuts were suggested by the much larger illustrations in the Bibles printed at Cologne, by Quentell, about 1480, and speedily imitated at Nuremberg and elsewhere. In another footnote we are reminded that this debt was repaid in a curious manner, some of the Venetian wood-cuts having been copied, in 1516, in a Bible printed at Lyons by Jacques Sacon, for sale not in France, but by Koberger at Nuremberg. Altogether nearly a hundred pages are devoted to biblical illustrations at Venice, and the numerous facsimiles bring the whole series under the reader's review. As he turns over the leaves he can hardly fail to be especially struck by the wood-cuts reproduced from the 'Epistole and Evangelii' of 1512, which range from a very fine folio-page cut of Christ and S. Thomas, bearing the device of Marc Antonio Raimondi, to the St. James the Greater which looks as if it had come out of a cheap Greek service-book of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The relation between Dürer's Apocalypse and the Venetian edition of 1516 is another point illustrated with great lavishness, the suggestion being made that Domenico Campagnola may perhaps have collaborated with Zoan Andrea in making the copies. In the 'Opere noua contemplatiua,' the late Venetian block-book, published by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, about 1530, Dürer's Little Passion, of 1510, was laid under contribution for the representation of Christ cleansing the Temple and, as usual, both wood-cuts are here reproduced.

If the hundred pages devoted to Biblical wood-cuts



may be cited as an example of how exhaustively the Prince d'Essling has treated his larger headings, his work is no less valuable for the success with which he has hunted down hitherto unregistered books of extraordinary rarity, and made them known to students by an accurate description and facsimiles of the wood-cuts which give them their value. As the present volume approaches its limit, in 1490 and the years which immediately preceded it, these finds become important. Such, for example, are the 1486 'Doctrinale' of Alexander Grammaticus, published by Pietro Cremonese, with a singularly graceful decorative title-page; the 1487 'Fior di Virtù' of Cherubino da Spoleto, with a title-cut which evidently inspired, though it was far surpassed by, that of the edition of 1490; the 1487 'Meditationi' of St. Bonaventura, with some of the cuts from the early block-book of the Passion, and the 1488 'Opusculum de Esse et Essentiis' of S. Thomas Aquinas, with a title-cut of a boy lighting a fire by means of a burning-glass. This last book was produced 'impressione Ioannis Lucilii santriter de fonte salutis et Hieronymi de Sanctis Veneti sociorum,' and by comparison with the same printer's 'Sphaera Mundi' of the same year, the Prince reaches the conclusion that Hieronymus de Sanctis was the cutter of the wood-cut. The evidence for this is quite sound, for in some crabbed verses in praise of the printers it is said that the 'schemata' of the 'Sphaera Mundi' were 'reperta' by Santritter:

Nec minus haec tibi de Sanctis hieronyme debent  
Quam socio; namque hic invenit: ipse secas,



and there can be little doubt that the illustrations are by the same hands. It is a little surprising, however, to find the Prince paraphrasing the last line of verse: 'il est dit très précisément que Iohann Santritter a donné l'idée des figures qui illustrent ce traité d'astronomie et que Hieronimo de Sancti les a exécutées.' The word 'invenit' usually means much more than the 'giving ideas,' it means specifically 'designed,' and conversely 'seco' means much less than 'execute,' it means specifically 'cut.' Now in mentioning the miniaturist Benedetto Bordone in connection with the Bible of 1490 the Prince seems to hold the view that there was an artist who designed illustrations as well as a cutter who cut them, and if this is so it is as a skilful cutter rather than as 'le plus remarquable de tous les illustreurs de livres, a Vénise, dans les dernières années du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle' that Hieronimo must be honoured. The high praise which the Prince bestows on him is based mainly on a 'Horae' which issued from his press in 1494, one of the illustrations in which, an Annunciation, seems to us to deserve the eulogy, while the merits of the others are less conspicuous. From the evidence before us we should be inclined to attribute only the Annunciation to Hieronimo, and at least to leave it open whether he should be ranked as a designer as well as a cutter. Hitherto, however, no one has done him justice in either capacity.

The 'Horae' of 1494, of which we have been speaking, finds its chronological place in an article on the Venetian 'Books of Hours,' which extends to ninety pages and is crowded with facsimiles, not

only of Venetian cuts, but of those in the early Paris editions which were largely borrowed or imitated in Venice. Coming, as it does, almost at its close, this exhaustive article completes the impression which every page of the volume suggests, that here we have a book in which enthusiasm and knowledge, conception and execution, have gone hand in hand almost to the utmost possible limit. It is obvious that no pains, and no expense have been spared to make this great monograph adequate to the point of finality, and fortunately, it is equally obvious that both the pains and the expenditure have been skilfully and successfully directed to their end.

A.W.P.

**NOTES OF BOOKS AND WORK.** The following summary of a paper by Mr. W. W. GREG, read last year at a Literary Congress in Switzerland, will be of interest to anyone desiring information as to the Malone Society. It should be stated, however, that it is unofficial and has not been revised by Mr. Greg himself.

Some five-and-twenty years ago, German editors first insisted that a critical edition should retain as much as possible of the character of the originals upon which it was based. They thus combined the English antiquarian reprint, which is sometimes accurate and often useful, and the English literary edition, which such works as the 'Cambridge Shakespeare,' Dyce's 'Beaumont and Fletcher,'

and Bullen's 'Peele' show to be at times a production of laborious scholarship and real ability. Valuable results were thus achieved, nevertheless the combination is not satisfactory. Thus in such an excellent example as Breymann's edition of 'Faustus' in the space of five lines we find two full stops, one exclamation, one query mark, one comma, and one numeral, all inserted within brackets, besides two asterisks of which the meaning has to be discovered. We are also informed that where the Editor had printed 'When' and 'shal' the first quarto read 'when' and 'shal' and the second 'When' and 'shall.' In a word we have not a readable text, but a wonderful collection of materials towards a text. Less logical editors have tried to preserve typographical amenity by refusing to follow the method to its conclusion, and the modern critical edition is essentially a compromise between the incompatible claims of philologists and literary students, useless to those who wish to do independent work on the text and yet full of what to the unphilological seem pedantries. If the Malone Society can carry out its design, editors will no longer have to distract the attention of their readers by the record of obvious errors or insignificant idiosyncracies in their originals, because they will know that any serious student can work on the very materials they themselves have used, not as now in a dozen different libraries, but in his own study. Each generation must be left to make its own critical editions according to its own taste and knowledge, but it ought not to be impossible to produce reprints of the original texts which shall be for practical purposes final. It may be thought that these could best be made by photography. But photography is not only expensive, it is also open to the grave objection that where an original is faulty it exaggerates its defects, often to the point of illegibility, whereas an editor by comparing two or more copies may be able to state the true reading quite decidedly. For the Malone Society reprints a type is chosen representing


as closely as possible that of the original, and in this type the text is reprinted, letter for letter, word for word, line for line, page for page, and sheet for sheet, the proofs being read with the originals at every stage by at least two persons. The only alterations allowed are the correction of slight irregularities in indentation and spacing not affecting the typographical arrangement or division of words, disregard of wrong founts, and setting right turned letters. Collotype facsimiles are added reproducing the title-page, any ornaments or ornamental initials in the original, and enough of the text to show the type and general arrangement. A brief introduction states the known external facts concerning the play reprinted, and these only. This is followed by a list of doubtful or irregular readings to show that their occurrence in the reprint is not due to oversights, suggestions as to the right reading being sometimes added in a parenthesis. Readings are also given when variations have been noticed between different copies of the same edition, and where necessary a second list is added, recording the more important variations between different editions.

While the production of these texts is the main object of the Malone Society, it will also in its 'Collections' print inedited records and documents illustrating the history of the drama and the stage, and notes as to new facts. Subscribers for 1907 have already received four plays; a fifth play and a first instalment of 'Collections' are still to come.



# THE LIBRARY.

## ON CERTAIN FALSE DATES IN SHAKESPEARIAN QUARTOS.

N the library of Mr. Marsden Perry at Providence, Rhode Island, there is a volume containing ten Shakespearian and pseudo-Shakespearian plays, in a seventeenth century binding bearing the name of a contemporary collector, Edward Gwynn, on the cover. The plays are : 'Merchant of Venice,' 1600 ('Roberts' quarto); 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 1600 ('Roberts' quarto); 'Sir John Oldcastle,' 1600 ('T. P.' quarto); 'King Lear,' 1608 ('N. Butter' quarto); 'Henry V,' 1608; 'Yorkshire Tragedy,' 1619; 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' 1619; two parts of the 'Contention of York and Lancaster' [1619]; and 'Pericles,' 1619.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I should explain at once that in four cases there are twin editions of these plays, dated the same year. These are: 'Merchant of Venice,' 1600 ('Hayes' quarto, bearing that publisher's name, but also printed by Roberts, and bearing his initials 'I. R. '); 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 1600 ('Fisher' quarto, bearing that publisher's name and device, sometimes said, on quite insufficient evidence, to have been also printed by Roberts); 'Sir John Oldcastle,' 1600 ('V. S.' quarto, bearing the name of the publisher, Thomas Pavier, and the initials of the printer, Valentine Symmes); and 'King Lear,' 1608 ('Pide Bull' quarto, also bearing the name of the publisher, Nathaniel Butter, but distinguished by the addition of his sign).



The copies of the same ten quartos belonging to Mr. Edward Hussey were, until shortly before they came up for sale in June, 1906, also bound together, though not in the same order as Mr. Perry's. The Capell copies of the same plays at Trinity College, Cambridge, now form two volumes standing together. Their uniform measurement of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches—an unusually large one—and other internal evidence, makes it, however, practically certain that they were originally bound together. The Garrick copies of the same plays at the British Museum are all bound separately, but here also their uniform size, which agrees closely with that of the Capell copies, points to their having at one time formed parts of a single volume.

Attention was called to these facts in an article in the 'Academy' for 2nd June, 1906, by Mr. Alfred Pollard, who based on them a theory that, owing to the publication of two editions of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' the 'Merchant of Venice,' and 'Sir John Oldcastle' in 1600, and of 'King Lear' in 1608, one edition in each case failed to sell out, and that in 1619 Thomas Pavier bought up the 'remainders,' and made them more saleable by combining them in a volume with the unsold copies of his own edition of 'Henry V,' printed in 1608, and with other plays which he was then reprinting.

This theory caused the minimum of disturbance to accepted views on the relations of the quartos necessitated by Mr. Pollard's discovery of a collection of 1619. I have, however, his authority for stating that he has now abandoned it in favour of

the more revolutionary hypothesis which it is the object of this article to advance.

Nothing, I think, but the hypnotic influence that traditionally accepted facts exercise even over the most critical mind can have prevented Mr. Pollard from suspecting that the ten quartos in question were not merely collected and published in one composite volume in 1619, but that, whatever the dates that appear on the title-pages, the whole set was actually printed by one printer at that one date. This suggestion may seem an offence to the orthodox; but if they will bear with me to the end, I think that I shall be able to show that a careful and critical consideration of the evidence can lead to no other conclusion.

The fact that nearly all the copies of Pavier's collection have passed through the auction room and been split up into their component parts, the individual plays usually falling to different purchasers, has tended to obscure certain otherwise obvious points. A short description of a comparatively undisturbed copy may therefore prove useful. As I write I have before me that which once belonged to Edward Capell, and was presented by him to Trinity College, Cambridge. As already mentioned, it is now in two volumes, having been rebound when it came into his possession. This, to judge from the style of the handwriting of certain notes of his which it contains, it did not later than about 1750. The edges of the leaves are stained green, and must have been in that condition when it came into his hands, for although he invariably rebaked and nearly always rebound the books he

placed among his 'Shakespeariana,' he never by any chance touched the edges. I imagine that the plays when he acquired them were in a single volume, and that he divided them into two for convenience of handling; he is unlikely to have made any other change. The original volume, therefore, we may assume to have been a fair-sized quarto measuring  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches, and about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick, with green edges, and containing the plays in the following order: 'Yorkshire Tragedy,' 'Merry Wives,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'King Lear,' 'Merchant of Venice,' 'Sir John Oldcastle,' 'Henry V,' 'Pericles,' 1 and 2 'Contention.' One peculiarity of the volume should be noticed. While the first seven plays are all independent, the last three, the two parts of the 'Contention' and 'Pericles,' have continuous signatures. These begin with the title-page to the 'Contention,' and run on to the end of 'Pericles.' Thus it is clear that 'Pericles' ought to follow the 'Contention,' and of this fact, as his notes testify, Capell was well aware. He cannot consequently be held responsible for the present false order, which, moreover, I believe to have been original. I may also observe that the title-page to 'Pericles' is printed on a single leaf inserted between sheets Q and R, and that that to the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' is on a single leaf inserted at the beginning of that play, the text of which begins with sheet A. In all other cases the title is printed on sig. A 1.

Now the most obvious point that must strike anyone who turns over the leaves of this volume, is the curious similarity in style of the various title-

pages. Eight out of the nine<sup>1</sup> have the same device, with the motto 'Heb Ddieu Heb Ddim' (Without God, Without All), while the remaining one ('Midsummer Night's Dream') has another device, with the motto 'Post Tenebras Lux' (Geneva arms; per pale, half-eagle and key). The type used for the imprints is the same throughout, and the singularly laconic form of the imprints is also noticeable. It may, of course, reasonably be argued that Roberts, in the five quartos dated 1600 and 1608,<sup>2</sup> started a style of his own, and that when Pavier acquired the remainder-stock of these plays and caused others to be printed to match, he naturally instructed the printer to imitate Roberts' style. That printer was William Jaggard, and since Jaggard was Roberts' successor and had taken over his stock, it need not surprise us to find both printers using the same ornaments. There are, however, certain difficulties in the way of this explanation. To begin with the type of the imprints includes a fount of peculiarly large and distinctive numerals, which are by no means of common occurrence. They were used, however, by Jaggard in the pagination of some portions of

<sup>1</sup> There is only one title-page to the two parts of the 'Contention.'

<sup>2</sup> I give the argument the benefit of assuming that Roberts was still printing in 1608. It has been usual to suppose that he continued at work till 1615, but this belief is based on a misconception. The entry of 1615 in the Stationers' Register (29th October; Arber, III. 575) merely speaks of copies 'which were heretofore entered to James Robertes.' In point of fact Roberts ceased printing in 1606, and sold his business to Jaggard in 1608, as appears below.



the First Folio in 1623, and are also known to have been employed by Nicholas Okes. I have had the opportunity of examining a large number of books printed by the men in question, both at the British Museum, the University Library, Cambridge, and elsewhere, and can state with some assurance that these numerals appear in no book ostensibly printed by Roberts except the plays in present dispute, that Okes first used them in 1610 (R. Field's 'Fifth Book of the Church' pagination), and Jaggard in 1617 (Sir W. Raleigh's 'History of the World,' pagination and colophon). If Roberts possessed them in 1600, how comes it that Jaggard, who took over Roberts' stock in 1606,<sup>1</sup> never used the fount till 1617, but after that used it freely?

Still greater difficulties occur in connection with the devices. The 'Heb Ddieu' device is originally known as the appropriate property of Richard Jones—or Johnes, as he more often spelt his name—as early as 1593, and was used by him repeatedly till 1596. In 1598 his business and that of his partner, W. Hill, was sold to William White.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roberts, who had bought his business of Charlewood's executors in 1589, sold it to Jaggard in 1608 (State Papers, Dom. Charles I., Vol. 307, Art. 87; Arber, III. 702). But the last entry of a book to Roberts is dated 10th July, 1606 (Arber, III. 326), and the same year we find Roberts' ornament of the 'puffing boy' (see Lyly, 'Euphues,' 1597?) used by Jaggard (W. Attersoll, 'Badge of Christianity'). The actual transfer had therefore taken place before the registration of the sale.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers, Dom. Charles I., Vol. 307, Art. 87 (Arber, III. 702). On 17th January, 1598/9 White took over Jones' apprentice, Richard Cowper, for the remainder of his term (Arber, II. 233). But Jones took another apprentice on 7th May following (Arber, II. 235), and there is no break in his list of entries till after

With the exception of the plays in question I can find no record of the re-appearance of this device till 1610, when it was used by Jaggard (Sir T. Elyot's 'Castle of Health,' without printer's name, but containing Jaggard's ornaments). It can with reasonable confidence be asserted that it was never used in any book undoubtedly printed by either Roberts or White. So again with the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device. It belonged originally to Rowland Hall, who had printed at Geneva, and took the Half-Eagle and Key as his sign after he moved to London, and is found on a book of his in 1562 ('Secrets or soveraigne receipts'). The same sign was later adopted by John Charlewood, and we find him using the device from about 1582 onwards.<sup>1</sup> Before his death, however, it seems to have passed to Richard Jones who used it in 1591 and again in 1594 (both times in U. Regius' 'Solace of Sion'). After this I can find no unquestioned record of it till 1605, when it was used by an unnamed printer (A. Dent's 'Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven,' sig. Cc7<sup>v</sup>).<sup>2</sup> Jaggard used it in 1617

4th June, 1602 (Arber, III. 206). One solitary entry of a later date, 19th March, 1610/1, is presumably an error (Arber, III. 456). On the other hand, the extant books between 1598 and 1602 which bear his name are few. Most of his entries are of ballads.

<sup>1</sup> John Northbrooke, 'Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra; A brief and pithy sum of the Christian faith,' n. d., but c. 1582. It occurs again in Edward Dering's sermon on John vi. 34, preached 11th December, 1569, and printed in 1584.

<sup>2</sup> Printed for the Stationers' Company. The following entry occurs in the Register under the date 7th October, 1605: 'Edward Byshop Entred for his cōpye A booke called the playne man's pathway. The whiche is graunted vnto him by a full Court holden this Day being quarter Day. provided that he shall not refuse to

(R. Wimbledon's Sermon on Luke xvi. 3, at end), while as early as 1609 he showed that he regarded it as a distinctive device of his, by including a copy of it in a large composite ornament (T. Heywood's 'Troia Britanica'). But the important point is this. The block was a wood block and early showed signs of splitting, and a glance at the accompanying illustrations will show that the split near the top on the right, as well as the break in the rim lower down on the same side, are less in the book of 1605 than in the quarto of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' dated 1600.<sup>1</sup> This is pretty strong evidence that that date cannot be correct.

So far it is possible to arrive from a consideration of the typographical evidence. The dates of the quartos have been shown to be open to very grave suspicion, and we may now complete the proof by a different method. A happy inspiration led me to examine the paper upon which the quartos are printed, and I at once noticed a circumstance which I think puts beyond doubt the fact of their having all been printed within quite a short period of time. The question is of rather a technical character, but I think that, with a little patience on the reader's part, I shall be able to make it tolerably clear.

There has recently appeared at Paris a great work by Monsieur C. M. Briquet, entitled 'Les Fili-

exchang these Bookes with the Company for other good Wares' (Arber, III. 303). Edward Bishop was a bookseller. There is on the title-page a small device of Peace and Plenty, bearing the initials T. P., which might stand either for Thomas Purfoot or Thomas Pavier. This device does not seem otherwise known.

<sup>1</sup> Even in the sermon of 1617, mentioned above, the breaks are less noticeable than in the play.







A  
Midsummer nights  
dreame.

As it hath beene sundry times pub-  
*likely acted, by the Right Honoura-*  
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his  
*seruants.*

*Written by William Shakespeare.*



*Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.*

### The Table.

conscience, bewaileth his former life, repenteth earnestly for his sinne and ignorance, & desireth spirituall physick and comfort of the Preacher. 374

The Preacher ministreth vnto him much spirituall comfort, and dooth in ample manner lay open vnto him all the sweet promises of the Gospell, & the infinite mercy of God in Christ, to all true, penitent, and broken hearted sinners. 375

The ignorant man, beeing afflicted in his conscience, is exceedingly comforted with the hearing of Gods abundant mercy preached vnto him, and thereupon dooth gather great inward peace, conuerteth vnto God with all his hart, and doth exceedingly blesse G O D for the Preachers counsell. 391

*FINIS,*





granes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition, vers 1282, jusqu'en 1600.' To the work itself, the reproduction of over 16,000 water-marks with analytical index, are prefixed some very valuable observations on the history of paper-making. One of the questions discussed is the length of life of the frames upon which hand-made paper is prepared, and the time which it usually took for the stock of a given paper to be exhausted. With regard to the first of these, technical evidence goes to show that with care a pair of frames could perhaps be made to last two years, but that even so the mark would probably have to be renewed in the meanwhile. Since, of course, no two hand-woven marks are ever identical, it follows that if two sheets of paper have the same mark one must suppose them to have been manufactured within a period of not much more than a year. The question of the stock is more complicated. Some years ago, Monsieur N. P. Likhatscheff estimated at ten years the maximum time which could reasonably be supposed to elapse between the manufacture and the use of a sheet of paper. The immense collections made by Monsieur Briquet enable him to arrive at a far more authoritative, though not widely dissimilar, result. He has discovered twenty-nine dated marks ranging from 1545 to 1599, and he has found these marks occurring in ninety-five dated documents. One mark has, however, to be disregarded, since there is reason to suppose that the date it contains is not that of manufacture. It is found that in nearly 25 per cent. of the cases the document is dated the



same year as the paper, while the greatest disparity observed is twenty-three years. Of the stock 50 per cent. would be used up in a little over three years, while at the end of nine years not more than 8 per cent. would remain. Calculations based on a smaller number of marks collected from the eighteenth century give as the average life of a make of paper only a trifle over fifteen months, and fix the extreme limit at ten years. Other calculations made on a different basis, and ranging over the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, show that of ordinary sizes of paper 54 per cent. was exhausted in five years, 80 per cent. in ten years, and 90 per cent. in fifteen years. Monsieur Briquet very rightly warns us not to press these figures, but their general significance is obvious, and it may safely be said that except in isolated cases we are not at liberty to assume that more than fifteen years at the outside elapsed between the manufacture and the use of a sheet of paper.

Now, these calculations have a direct and important bearing upon the matter in hand. For the fact which I noticed when I examined the paper of Pavier's volume was that, though a number of distinct water-marks were found, they occurred quite indifferently in the various portions of the volume, so that there was no play, or group of plays, which did not contain at least one water-mark found elsewhere. But we have just seen that the appearance of a single make of paper in one play dated 1600, and in another dated 1619 would of itself suffice to call these dates in serious question. When we are faced not with one

make, but with a number of distinct makes of paper, occurring in the plays of different dates, the difficulty in the way of accepting these dates as genuine is infinitely increased. I give below a table showing the water-marks as they occur in the Capell copy, and need only add that, while in this instance the evidence of a single copy is as good as that of a whole edition, the other copies that I have examined exhibit the same general features.<sup>1</sup>

Marks.	1 Yorks. Trag. 1619	2 Merry Wives 1619	3 Mids. N.D. 1600	4 Lear 1608	5 Mer. of Ven. 1600	6 Oldcastle 1600	7 Henry V. 1608	8 Pericles 1619	9 1 Content.	10 2 Content.
0 no mark ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	2	...		
1 pot ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
2 pot L M ...	1	1	3	1	2	...	...	4		
3 pot ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...		
4 pot L I ...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...		
5 pot R P ...	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...		
6 pot G L ...	...	1	1	1	3	...	...	1		
7 pot D V ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		
8 pot Y P D...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...		
9 pot L C ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		
10 pot L E ...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...		
11 fleur-de-lys	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...		
12 pot G G ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...		
13 amorphous	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		
14 shield ...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...		
15 shield ...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	...		
16 pot f.-d.-l....	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...		
17 fleur-de-lys	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...		
18 amorphous	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...		
19 pot S P ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...		
20 pot P A ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	16	

It will be seen that no less than twenty different water-marks occur in this volume, besides some

<sup>1</sup> I may remark that none of the twin editions of 1600 and 1608, four in all, and one of them certainly printed by Roberts, contain any of the same marks as the Pavier volume, or as one another.

sheets having no mark at all. The 'pot' is of course the ornamental vase which figures so largely in paper marks and is supposed to give its name to one of the modern sizes. The letters following are those appearing on the body of the 'pot,' the meaning of which has never been explained. The figures in the table represent the number of sheets of each particular make occurring in each play.

For the purposes of argument it will be sufficient to confine our attention to a group of three plays, either the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'Lear,' and the 'Merry Wives,' or else the 'Merchant of Venice,' 'Lear,' and 'Pericles.' Here we have three quartos bearing the dates respectively, 1600, 1608, and 1619. The number of different papers used in each play varies from three to seven, and yet there are two papers common to all three plays. If the plays were really printed, even at the same printing-house, at these different dates, is it conceivable that this should occur? Can we form any hypothesis to explain the facts regarding the paper, on the assumption that the dates are correct? We shall have to assume that in 1600 Roberts had a job stock of paper containing a number of different makes, and that he used it to print editions of three plays that year, though not, remember, a duplicate edition of one of the same plays; that Jaggard, having inherited Roberts' business, and having occasion to print two plays for different publishers in 1608, happened to use for the purpose some of this same job lot of paper; that in 1619, Pavier, having somehow on his hands the remainders of

these five plays, only one of which had been printed for him, commissioned Jaggard to print five other plays to form with those remainders a composite volume, and that Jaggard once more happened to lay his hand on this very same stock of mixed papers. This is, no doubt, abstractly conceivable: if anyone is prepared to believe that it actually happened, great indeed is his faith.

What is the explanation of the various dates in Pavier's volume? Imitation is clearly in part the cause. It will be noticed that, though the title-pages offer striking points of similarity, the texts of the plays are more conspicuous by their diversity of style. Two sizes of type are used; the measure and the number of lines to a page vary considerably, and, most noticeable of all, the head-lines present almost every conceivable variety. These facts have doubtless tended to obscure the common origin of the quartos, and they are at first sight a little difficult to account for, supposing the whole volume to have been printed at one date. A very little investigation, however, will show that with few exceptions all these peculiarities are due to the printer having imitated the previous edition which he used as copy. The roman head-line of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' is copied from Fisher's quarto of 1600; the wider measure and smaller type of 'King Lear' agree with the 'Pied Bull' quarto of 1608; the large type and small page of the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' follow Pavier's earlier edition, also of 1608. This, of course, is to some extent what one would expect; but it is carried



through with a consistency which can hardly be due to chance, and when we find the printer actually placing at the end of the 'Merchant of Venice' the identical ornament that Roberts had placed at the end of the edition which he really did print for Hayes in 1600, it becomes pretty clear that the imitation was of set purpose. And this intentional following of the copy extended itself now and again to the imprints. While reducing these to a common and simple form, the printer in some cases retained the date as it appeared in his copy. This happened in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'Merchant of Venice,' 'Sir John Oldcastle,' and 'King Lear.' In other cases he placed on the title-page the genuine date, 1619. But what of 'Henry V,' dated 1608? This I believe to be a slip for 1600. It is noteworthy that the quarto is printed from that of 1600 and not from that of 1602, although the latter had been published by Pavier, and the former, which was surreptitious, had not. The printer, I imagine, having had in one case to put a false date of 1608, and in others false dates of 1600, became confused when he got to 'Henry V,' and put 1608 whereas he ought to have put 1600.

But why should the printer have sometimes put the correct dates, and sometimes false ones? To this question I have no very satisfactory answer to give, but there are one or two fragments of evidence which may possibly suggest a clue. It will be remembered that the signatures are continuous throughout the two parts of the 'Contention' and 'Pericles.' A glance at the table of water-marks

will further show that in the 'Contention' the paper is all of one make, and that this make extends into 'Pericles,' but no further. It seems pretty clear that Jaggard ran out of his stock, and had to make it up with the remainders of a number of other lots which he had on his hands. It would, therefore, seem that this group of three plays was the first printed. Again, we have noted that the printer omitted the title-page to 'Pericles,' and that this had later to be supplied by the insertion of a single leaf, and that the same thing happened in the case of the 'Yorkshire Tragedy.' It seems likely, therefore, that this latter was the next play to be printed. We may then infer that the remaining play dated 1619, the 'Merry Wives,' was also printed before any of those bearing false dates. Why the change? Pavier must for some reason have become nervous about his undertaking and have determined to issue the rest of the plays he was reprinting under the guise of remainders of earlier editions. An entry in the Stationers' 'Register' may possibly throw light on the point. On the 8th July, 1619, namely, Lawrence Hayes, with the consent of a full court, entered as his copy the 'Merchant of Venice,' formerly the property of his father, Thomas Hayes (Arber, III. 651).<sup>1</sup> That this entry bears some relation to Pavier's venture hardly admits of reasonable doubt, but

<sup>1</sup> There is something suspicious about this entry, for it also included Heliodorus' 'Ethiopian History,' which had been entered by Thomas Hayes, with the consent of Coldocke, on 6th September, 1602, but had subsequently been transferred by his widow to William Cotton, 21st May, 1604.

what exactly that relation is must for the present be left an open question. It serves, indeed, to show that Pavier was not able to carry through what must, in any case, have been a rather shady bit of business, wholly without protest from those who conceived their rights to have been invaded. Since, however, so far as I am aware, no trouble of a public nature ensued, we may take it that Pavier's device of falsifying the dates served its immediate purpose. How successful it has proved in mystifying posterity is shown by the fact that his fraud has been accepted without question by collectors and bibliographers alike for close on three centuries.

The final question that presents itself is this: What is the literary bearing of these new facts? What is the disturbance caused to received opinion with regard to the text? The answer is: Practically none. The order of the editions is affected in one case only, and that an unimportant one. The editions of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' and 'King Lear' in Pavier's volume are admittedly second editions, and a very cursory inspection of 'Sir John Oldcastle' will show that this too is a reprint. It so happens that it does not matter whether 'Henry V.' was printed in 1608 or 1619, though it would have made a difference had it been dated 1600. The one case in which a revision of the orthodox view becomes necessary is that of the 'Merchant of Venice.' The divergence between the two quartos dated 1600 (the 'Hayes' and the 'Roberts' quartos), now one and now the other of which appears to preserve the correct read-

ing, induced the Cambridge editors to assume that neither was printed from the other. The question of priority thus became of less consequence, but they accepted the arguments put forward by Mr. B. Corney in 'Notes and Queries' (Series II. Vol. X. p. 21) in favour of Roberts' having been the earlier. It is reluctantly, and only as the result of careful investigation that I differ from such authority as theirs, but in the present case there is no choice. In the first place it should be remarked, that though, assuming the dates to be genuine, the arguments for precedence, based on the entries in the Stationers' Register, are fairly conclusive, once those dates are called in question they become wholly irrelevant. We must, therefore, rely on internal evidence alone. It will be noticed that, though the Cambridge editors regard the two texts as independent, they add: 'But there is reason to think that they were printed from the same MS. [or perhaps copies of the same MS.]. Their agreement in spelling and punctuation and in manifest errors is too close to admit of any other hypothesis.' But this agreement is even better accounted for by supposing that one edition was printed from the other, while the differences observed can be readily explained on the hypothesis that the earlier edition received manuscript corrections which were incorporated in the later, though this in its turn introduced corruptions of its own. This, of course, is conjectural; but there is more tangible evidence behind. I think, namely, that it can be shown, quite apart from any question of date, that one quarto actually was printed from the other. Thus



there are, amid the general disparity, certain small points of agreement between the quartos which cannot be explained by their being printed from the same, much less from copies of the same, manuscript, and which it would be absurd to ascribe to coincidence. The most striking is the arrangement of I. iii. 1-14,<sup>1</sup> especially the portion of the word 'and' in l. 10. Another point is the wrong indentation of I. ii. 2 in both quartos. The instances are not many, but they are significant.<sup>2</sup> If it be admitted that one edition is printed from the other, there can, I think, be little doubt as to which is the original: a very casual inspection is needed to reveal the archaic character of the 'Hayes' quarto. Indeed, to my mind, a collation of these two quartos should alone suffice to show that the received view that they both issued from the same printing-house in the same year is a moral impossibility.

It may be desirable to summarize as briefly as possible the arguments set forth more fully above. I claim that the dates '1600' and '1608' in Pavier's collection are proved to be false dates, and the whole volume shown to have been produced at

<sup>1</sup> For these references see the facsimiles of the quartos in question produced by Griggs and Praetorius, with 'forewords' by Dr. Furnivall. The texts in this series are very inaccurate, but I have checked the points mentioned by comparison with the originals.

<sup>2</sup> Other points might be added, such as the printing in full of the speaker's name in I. ii. 82, and the solitary occurrence of 'GOD' in II. ii. 74, by the side of 'God' in II. ii. 47, 54-5, 69; but these, though they support the former evidence, might conceivably be due to a common manuscript source, and must therefore not be pressed.



one time, namely in 1619, by the following considerations :

(1) That certain large numerals appearing in the imprints are not elsewhere found before 1610;

(2) That the 'Heb Ddieu' device on two title-pages dated 1600 (one purporting to be printed by Roberts) and two dated 1608, is not otherwise known between 1596 and 1610, and does not occur in any other book bearing Roberts' name;

(3) That the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device, found on one title-page dated 1600 and purporting to be printed by Roberts, is not otherwise known between 1594 and 1605, and does not occur in any other book bearing Roberts' name, and, moreover, that the impression on the title-page dated 1600 shows the block in a more damaged condition than other impressions dated 1605 and 1617;

(4) That the whole volume is printed on one mixed stock of paper, and that this could not have been the case if the individual plays had been printed at different dates extending over a period of twenty years.

In conclusion, I wish to record how much assistance I have received in the preparation of this article from Mr. Alfred Pollard, whose discovery of Pavier's volume formed the starting-point of my inquiry, and whose ready knowledge and generous help have contributed to the solution of most of the typographical problems.

In a subsequent article I hope to treat of the false imprints in plays other than Shakespeare's.

W. W. GREG.

## ON SOME BOOKS AND THEIR ASSOCIATIONS.



NEW books can have few associations. They may come to us on the best deckle-edged Whatman paper, in the newest founts of famous presses, with backs of embossed vellum, with tasteful tasselled strings; and yet be no more to us than the constrained and uneasy acquaintances of yesterday. Friends they may become to-morrow, the day after,—perhaps *hunc in annum et plures*. But for the time being, they have no part in our past of retrospect and suggestion. Of what we were, of what we like or liked, they know nothing; and we—if that can be possible—know even less of them. Whether familiarity will breed contempt, or whether they will come home to our business and bosom—these are things that lie on the lap of the future.

But it is to be observed that the associations of old books, as of new books, are not always exclusively connected with their text or format,—are sometimes, as a matter of fact, independent of both. Often they are memorable to us by length of tenure, by propinquity,—even by their patience under neglect. We may never read them, and yet by reason of some wholly external and accidental characteristic, it would be a wrench to part with them if the moment of separation—the ‘inevitable

hour'—should come at last. Here, to give an instance in point, is a stained and battered French folio, with patched corners,—Mons. N. Renouard's translation of the '*Metamorphoses d'Ovide*,' 1637, *enrichies de figures à chacune fable* (very odd figures some of them are!), and to be bought *chez Pierre Billaine, rue St. Jacques, à la Bonne Foy, devant St. Ives*. It has held no honoured place upon the shelves; it has even resided *au rez de chaussée*,—that is to say, upon the floor; but it is not less dear,—not less desirable. For at the back of the '*Dedication to the King*' (Lewis XIII., to wit) is scrawled in a slanting, irregular hand: '*Pour mademoiselle de mons Son tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur St. André.*' Between the fourth and fifth word, some one, in a writing of later date, has added *par*, and after St. André, the signature *Vandœuvre*. In these impertinent interpolations I take no interest. But who was Mlle. de Mons? As Frederick Locker sings:

'Did She live yesterday or ages back?

What colour were the eyes when bright and waking?

And were your ringlets fair, or brown, or black,

Poor little Head! that long has done with aching!'<sup>1</sup>

'Ages back' she certainly did not live, for the book is dated '1637,' and 'yesterday' is absurd. But

<sup>1</sup> This quatrain has the distinction of having been touched upon by Thackeray. When Mr. Locker's manuscript went to the '*Cornhill Magazine*' in 1860, it ran thus:

'Did she live yesterday, or ages sped?

What colour were the eyes when bright and waking?

And were your ringlets fair? Poor little head!

Poor little heart! that long has done with aching!'

that her eyes were bright,—nay, that they were unusually lively and vivacious, even as they are in the sanguine sketches of M. Antoine Watteau a hundred years after, I am ‘confidous’—as Mrs. Slipslop would say. For my theory (in reality a foregone conviction which I shrink from disturbing) is, that Mlle. de Mons was some delightful seventeenth-century French child to whom the big volume had been presented as a picture-book. I can imagine the alert, strait-corsetted little figure, with ribboned hair, eagerly craning across the tall folio; and following curiously with her finger the legends under the copper ‘figures,’—‘Narcisse en fleur,’ ‘Ascalaphe en hibou,’ ‘Jason endormant le dragon,’—and so forth, with much the same wonder that the Sinne-Beelden of ‘Vader Cats’ stirred in the little Dutchwomen of Middleburgh, or that filled the child Charles Lamb when he peered at the ‘Witch of Endor page’ in Stackhouse’s ‘History of the Bible.’ There can be no Mlle. de Mons but this, and for me she can never grow old!

Sometimes it comes to pass that the association is of a more far-fetched and fanciful kind. In the great ‘Ovid’ it lies in an inscription: in my next case it is ‘another guess matter.’ The folio this time is the ‘Sylva Sylvarum’ of the Right Hon. Francis, Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, whom some people still speak of as Lord Bacon. ’Tis only the ‘sixt Edition;’ but it was to be bought at the Great Turk’s Head, ‘next to the Mytre Taverne’ (not the modern pretender, be it observed), which is in itself a feature of interest. A former possessor, from his notes, appears to have been largely pre-



occupied with that ignoble clinging to life which so exercised Matthew Arnold, for they relate chiefly to laxative simples for medicine; and he comforts himself, in April, 1695, by transcribing Bacon's reflection that 'a life led in *Religion* and in *Holy Exercises*' conduces to *Longevity*,—an aphorism which, however useful as an argument for length of days, is a rather remote reason for religion. But what to me is always most seductive in the book is, that to this edition (not copy, of course) of 1650 Master Izaak Walton, when he came, in his 'Compleat Angler' of 1653, to discuss such abstract questions as the transmission of sound under water, and the ages of carp and pike, must probably have referred. He often mentions 'Sir Francis Bacon's' 'History of Life and Death,' which is included in the volume. No doubt it would be more reasonable and more 'congruous' that Bacon's book should suggest Bacon. But there it is. That illogical 'succession of ideas' which puzzled my Uncle Toby, invariably recalls to me, not the imposing folio to be purchased 'next to the Mytre Taverne' in Fleet Street, but the unpretentious eighteen-penny octavo which, three years later, was on sale at Marriot's in St. Dunstan's churchyard hard by, and did no more than borrow its 'scatter'd sapience' from the riches of the Baconian storehouse.

Life, and its prolongation, is again the theme of the next book (also mentioned, by the way, in Walton) which I take up, though unhappily it has no inscription. It is a little old calf-clad copy of Cornaro's 'Sure and Certain Methods of Attaining a long and healthful Life,' 4th ed., 24mo, 1727;



and was bought at the Bewick sale of February, 1884, as having once belonged to Robert Elliot Bewick, only son of the famous old Newcastle wood-engraver. As will be shown later, it is easy to be misled in these matters, but I cannot help believing this volume, which looks as if it had been re-bound, is the one to which Thomas Bewick refers in his 'Memoir' as having been his companion in those speculative wanderings over the Town Moor or the Elswick Fields, when, as an apprentice, he planned his future *à la* Franklin, and devised schemes for his conduct in life. In attaining Cornaro's tale of years he did not succeed; though he seems to have faithfully practised the periods of abstinence enjoined (but not observed) by another of the 'noble Venetian's' professed admirers, Mr. Addison of the 'Spectator.'

If I have admitted a momentary misgiving as to the authenticity of the foregoing relic of the 'father of white line,' there can be none about the next item to which I now come. Once, on a Westminster bookstall, long since disappeared, I found a copy of a seventh edition of the 'Pursuits of Literature' of T. J. Mathias, Queen Charlotte's Treasurer's Clerk. Ruthlessly cut down by the binder, that *durus arator* had unexpectedly spared a solitary page for its manuscript comment, which was thoughtfully turned up and folded in. It was a note to this couplet in Mathias, his Dialogue II.:

'From Bewick's magick wood throw borrow'd rays  
O'er many a page in gorgeous Bulmer's blaze,—'

'gorgeous Bulmer' (the epithet is unhappy!) being

the William Bulmer who, in 1795, issued the 'Poems of Goldsmith and Parnell.'

'I' (says the writer of the MS. note) 'was chiefly instrumental to this ingenious artist's [Bewick's] excellence in this art. I first initiated his master, Mr. Ra. Beilby (of Newcastle) into the art, and his first essay was the execution of the cuts in my Treatise on Mensuration, printed in 4to, 1770. Soon after I recommended the same artist to execute the cuts to Dr. Horsley's edition of the works of Newton. Accordingly Mr. B. had the job, who put them into the hands of his assistant Mr. Bewick, who executed them as his first work in wood, and that in a most elegant manner, tho' spoiled in the printing by John Nichols, the Black-letter printer. C.H. 1798.'

'C.H.' is Dr. Charles Hutton, the Woolwich mathematician. His note is a little in the vaunting vein of that 'founder of fortun's,' the excellent Uncle Pumblechook of 'Great Expectations,' for his services scarcely amounted to 'initiating' Bewick or his master into the art of engraving on wood. Moreover, his memory must have failed him, for Bewick, and not Beilby, did the majority of the cuts to the 'Mensuration,' including a much-praised diagram of the tower of St. Nicholas Church at Newcastle, afterwards often a familiar object in the younger man's designs and tail-pieces. Be this as it may, Dr. Hutton's note was surely worth saving from the pitiless binder's plough.

Between the work of Thomas Bewick and the work of Samuel Pepys, it is idle to attempt any ingenious connecting link, save the fact that they both wrote autobiographically. The 'Pepys' in question here, however, is not the famous 'Diary,' but the

Secretary to the Admiralty's 'only other acknowledged work,' namely, the privately printed 'Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, for Ten Years,' 1690; and this particular copy may undoubtedly lay claim to exceptional interest. For not only does it comprise those manuscript corrections in the author's handwriting, which Dr. Tanner reproduces in his excellent Clarendon Press reprint of last year, but it includes the two portrait plates of Robert White after Kneller. The larger is bound in as a frontispiece; the smaller (the book-plate) is inserted at the beginning. The chief attraction of the book to me, however, is its previous owners—one especially. My immediate predecessor was a well-known collector, Professor Edward Solly, at whose sale in 1886 I bought it; and he in his turn had acquired it in 1877, at Dr. Rimbault's sale. Probably what drew us all to the little volume was not so much its disclosure of the lamentable state of the Caroline navy, and of the monstrous toadstools that flourished so freely in the ill-ventilated holds of His Majesty's ships-of-war, as the fact that it had once belonged to that brave old philanthropist, Captain Thomas Coram of the Foundling Hospital. To him it was presented in March, 1723, by one C. Jackson; and he afterwards handed it on to a Mr. Mills. Pasted at the end of the book is Coram's autograph letter, dated 'June 10th, 1746.' 'To Mr. Mills These. Worthy Sir I happend to find among my few Books Mr. Pepys his memoires, w<sup>ch</sup> I thought might be acceptable to you & therefore pray you to accept of it. I am w<sup>th</sup> much Respect Sir your most humble Ser<sup>t</sup>. THOMAS CORAM.'

At the Foundling Hospital is a magnificent full-length of Coram, with curling white locks and kindly, weather-beaten face, from the brush of his friend and admirer, William Hogarth. It is to Hogarth and his fellow-Governor at the Foundling, John Wilkes, that my next jotting relates. These strange colleagues in charity—as is well known—afterwards quarrelled bitterly over politics. Hogarth caricatured Wilkes in the ‘Times’: Wilkes replied by a ‘North Briton’ article (No. 17) so scurrilous and malignant that Hogarth was stung into rejoining with that famous squint-eyed semblance of his former crony, which has handed him down to posterity more securely than the portraits of Zoffany and Earlom. Wilkes’s action upon this was to reprint his article with the addition of a bulbous-nosed woodcut of Hogarth ‘from the Life.’ These facts lent piquancy to an entry which for years had been familiar to me in the Sale Catalogue of Mr. H. P. Standly, and which ran thus: ‘The “North Briton,” No. 17, with a Portrait of Hogarth, in wood; and a severe critique on some of his works: in Ireland’s handwriting is the following—“This paper was given to me by Mrs. Hogarth, Aug. 1782, and is the identical North Briton purchased by Hogarth, and carried in his pocket many days to show his friends.”’ The Ireland referred to (as will presently appear) was Samuel Ireland of the ‘Graphic Illustrations.’ When, in 1892, dispersed items of the famous Joly collection began to appear sporadically in the second-hand catalogues, I found in that of a well-known London bookseller, an entry plainly



describing this one, and proclaiming that it came 'from the celebrated collection of Mr. Standly, of St. Neots.' Unfortunately, the scrap of paper connecting it with Mrs. Hogarth's present to Ireland had been destroyed. Nevertheless I secured my prize; had it fittingly bound up with the original number which accompanied it; and here and there, in writing about Hogarth, bragged consequentially about my fortunate acquisition. Then came a day—a day to be marked with a black stone!—when in the British Museum Print Room, and looking through the '—— Collection,' for the moment deposited there, I came upon *another* copy of the 'North Briton,' bearing in Samuel Ireland's writing a notification to the effect that it was the identical No. 17, etc. etc. Now, which is the right one? Is either the right one? I inspect mine distrustfully. It is soiled, and has evidently been folded; it is scribbled with calculations; it has all the aspect of a 'vénérable vétusté.' That it came from the Standly collection, I have not the slightest doubt. But that other pretender in the (now dispersed) '—— Collection'? And was not Samuel Ireland (*nomen invisum*!) the, if not fraudulent, at least too-credulous father of one William Henry Ireland, who, at eighteen, wrote 'Vortigern and Rowena,' and palmed it off as Shakespeare? I fear me—I much fear me—that, in the words of the American showman, I have been 'weeping over the wrong grave.'

It would not be difficult to prolong these vagrant adversaria. Here, for example, dated 1779, are the 'Coplas' of the poet Don Jorge Manrique,

which, having no Spanish, I am constrained to study in the renderings of Longfellow. Don Jorge was a Spaniard of the Spaniards, Commendador of Montizon, Knight of the Order of Santiago, Captain of a company in the Guards of Castille, and withal a valiant *soldado*, who died of a wound received in battle. But the attraction of my copy is, that, at the foot of the title-page, in beautiful neat script, appear the words, 'Robert Southey. Paris. 17 May 1817,' being the year in which Southey stayed at Como with Walter Savage Landor. Here is the chronicle of another 'ingenious *hidalgo*,' the 'Don Quixote' of Shelton, 1652, where, among other names with which it is liberally overscrawled, occurs that of Lackington the bookseller, whose queer 'Memoirs' and 'Confessions' still keep a faded interest. Here again is an edition (the first) of Hazlitt's 'Lectures on the English Comic Writers,' annotated copiously in MS. by a contemporary reader who was certainly not an admirer; and upon whom W. H.'s cockneyisms, Gallicisms, egotisms, and '*ille*-isms' generally, seem to have had the effect of a red rag upon a particularly insular bull. 'A very ingenious but pert, dogmatical, and Prejudiced Writer'—is the unflattering addition to the author's name on the title-page. Then here is Cunningham's 'Goldsmith,' of 1854, vol. i., castigated with equal energy by that egregious Alaric A. Watts, of whose comments upon Wordsworth we read not long since in the 'Cornhill Magazine,' and who will not allow Goldsmith to say, in the 'Haunch of Venison,' 'the porter and eatables followed behind.' 'They could scarcely

have followed before,' he objects, in the very accents of Boeotia. Nor will he pass 'the hollow-sounding bittern' of the 'Deserted Village.' A barrel may sound hollow, but not a bird, according to this sagacious critic. Had the gifted author of 'Lyrics of the Heart' never heard of rhetorical figures? But his strenuous editorial efforts might well furnish forth a separate paper. Which reminds me that this one already grows too long; and justifies me in bringing it abruptly to a close.

AUSTIN DOBSON.

# A PARIS BOOKSELLER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—GALLIOT DU PRÉ.

(*Conclusion.*)

**D**URING the year 1531 Galliot Du Pré seems to have been particularly active. His publications include three original works, five translations from Latin, Spanish, and Italian, and three new editions of works which he had previously published, namely, the 'Chroniques' of Nicole Gilles,<sup>1</sup> Bouchard's 'Chroniques de Bretagne' (now entitled 'Les croniques annales des pays Dangleterre et Bretagne'),<sup>2</sup> and the 'Roman de la Rose.'<sup>3</sup> The two latter were published in association with Jean Petit. The translations are 'Le Mirouer historial,' Jean de Vignay's version of Vincent de Beauvais' 'Speculum historiale;' 'Les ditz moraulx des philosophes,' translated from the Latin by Guillaume de Tignonville, Provost of Paris in 1408;<sup>4</sup> 'Quinte-Curce,' translated for Charles the Bold by Vasco Fernandez, Conde de Lucena, a Portuguese nobleman, who was as familiar with French as with his native

<sup>1</sup> Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Bibl. Sunderlandiana,' I., No. 1855.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; 'Cat. Didot,' 1878, No. 132 (with Petit's name on the title-page).

<sup>4</sup> This is the work which Earl Rivers translated into English.



tongue; 'Treize questions d'amour,' a rendering of the fourth book of Boccaccio's 'Il Filocolo';<sup>1</sup> and 'Le livre d'or,' translated from Guevara's 'Libro aureo,' by René Bertaut de la Grise.

The three original works are Jean Le Maire's 'Illustrations de Gaule;' the 'Speculum principum' of Pedro Belluga, a lawyer of Valencia, who died in 1468;<sup>2</sup> and that curious mediæval work, usually called 'Sydrach, la fontaine de toutes sciences,' which Ward succinctly describes as 'a catechism of mediæval science,'<sup>3</sup> and which in this edition is entitled 'Mil et quatre vingtz et quatre demandes avec les solutions et responses a tous propoz, œuvrè curieux et moult recreatif, selon le saige Sidrach.'

Nor does this complete the tale of Galliot Du Pré's activity for 1531, for he also published in this year, sharing the undertaking with François Regnault, the first volume of the 'Illustrations de la Gaule belgique,' an abridgment from the Latin work of Jacques de Guyse, a Franciscan who died in 1398. It was followed by a second and third volume (1532), but though it was intended to be in four volumes, the fourth never appeared.<sup>4</sup> To 1532 also belongs an historical book of much smaller dimensions, a French abridgment of the 'Cronica Cronicorum,' entitled 'Registre des ans passez et choses dignes de memoire aduenues puis la creation du monde jusques a l'année presente, Mil cinq cens

<sup>1</sup> A complete translation of the 'Filocolo' did not appear till 1542.

<sup>2</sup> See Fustér, 'Bibl. Valenciana,' Valencia, 1827.

<sup>3</sup> 'Catalogue of Romances,' I., 903 ff. It was first published by Verard, 20th February, 1487.

<sup>4</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 137; Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'

XXXIII.'<sup>1</sup> Du Pré also published in this year a new edition of the first guide-book to Paris, 'La Fleur des antiquités singularités, et excellences de la noble et triumpante ville et cité de Paris,' of which the author was Gilles Corrozet, poet, antiquary, and bookseller. The first edition of the work had been published by Denys Janot earlier in the year. In the new edition the chronological narrative is followed by a list of streets and churches arranged according to quarters. There is a modern edition, based on this, by Bibliophile Jacob, who says that Corrozet married a daughter of Galliot Du Pré. This seems to be a mistaken inference from the fact that he had a son named Galliot.

In October of this year, Du Pré published a work of considerable importance, namely, a reprint of the 'Novus Orbis' of Simon Grynaeus (as it is always called, though Grynaeus only contributed a preface), first published at Basle in the preceding March. Du Pré substituted for the map by Sebastian Münster a far superior one by Oronce Finé, but made no changes in the text. I have discussed elsewhere Rabelais' debt to this work.<sup>2</sup> I have left to the last in my record for the year 1532 four little works of great interest, editions of Villon,<sup>3</sup> Coquillart, 'Pathelin,' and Gringore's 'Le Chasteau de Labour,'<sup>4</sup> all in an uniform series. They are in small octavo, and are printed in roman type.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cat. Yemeniz,' No. 2655; 'Lakelands Cat.' (No. 725); Delalain, 'Notice Compl.' (from 'Cat. Baillieu').

<sup>2</sup> 'The Modern Language Review,' for July, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Picot, I., No. 493.

Moreover, as M. Picot points out, in order to increase the attraction, some new matter is added to each volume, except 'Pathelin,'—the 'Franc archier de Baignollet' and 'Le Dyalogue des seigneurs de Mallepaye et Baillevent' (both spurious) to the volume of Villon, and 'Les faintises du monde,' which is of doubtful authenticity, to that of Gringore; Coquillart also is furnished with some spurious additions. All these works were of tried popularity, especially 'Le Chateau de Labour,' of which there are fourteen editions, says M. Picot, in Gothic type.<sup>1</sup> That Du Pré, who catered for what may be called the ordinary educated public, and who a few years earlier was publishing the stilted poetry of the *grand rhétoriqueur* school, should have brought out in one year four books written in a natural style, two of them being of real genius, is a fact of considerable significance. It is a sign that the popularity of the older school was fast declining. The year 1532 was, indeed, a memorable one in the history of French literature. It was the year in which the first works of real literary genius that had appeared in France for at least sixty years, the first since Villon's 'Le grand testament' and 'Pathelin' were given to the world. It was the year of the publication of the first collected edition of Marot's poems and of 'Pantagruel.'

<sup>1</sup> See also Alexander Barclay, 'The Castell of Labour,' edited for the Roxburghe Club by A. W. Pollard, 1905. As is well known to bibliographers, a leaf of the first edition of this translation of Gringore's poem, which was printed in Paris for Vérard about 1503, was discovered some years ago by Mr. E. Gordon Duff.

In the following year, 1533, Marot, under the auspices of Galliot Du Pré, happily associated his name with that of Villon, by editing a new edition of Villon's works. He carefully purified the corrupt text of the earlier editions, and omitted all the spurious pieces. The volume was printed in roman type, and was of the same size as that of the preceding year.<sup>1</sup> In his preface Marot expresses his warm admiration for Villon, and acknowledges his indebtedness to him. Rabelais, too, was a warm admirer of the mediæval poet, as he was of 'Pathelin,' and he was familiar with Coquillart's poems. The four writers whom Galliot Du Pré published in 1532, were by their national feeling, their directness of utterance, and their raciness of expression, the true predecessors not only of Marot, but of Rabelais.

With the exception of Marot's edition, I have found no publications of Galliot Du Pré's which can be assigned with certainty to the year 1533. This is doubtless due to the incompleteness of my researches. There are, however, three works which have the date either of January or of February, 1533, in the colophon, and which may therefore possibly belong to that year according to the modern reckoning. Any one who has had to do with French books of the first half of the sixteenth century knows how difficult it often is to determine the date of a book published before Easter. For the new method of beginning the year on the 1st January, while it did not come into legal force till 1st January, 1565, began to be used by printers and booksellers soon

<sup>1</sup> British Museum.



after the year 1500, at first only sparingly, but as the years went on with increasing frequency. The question becomes doubly difficult when we are dealing with books, like Galliot Du Pré's, which were printed by one man and sold by another. The only way of arriving at any light on the subject is to give the facts as they stand, classifying them as far as possible. In the first place, then, we have a group of cases in which the date is definitely stated to be before or after Easter, such as 'Les grandes chroniques' (April, 1514, after Easter), 'Genealogies des Rois de France' (20th March, 1520, before Easter), 'Petrarcque des remedes' (15th March, 1523, before Easter), 'Catalogue des Saints et des Saintes' (3rd March, 1524, before Easter). In none of these instances is the printer's name given. Then we have the single case of the 'De Regno' of F. Patricius, in which it is stated in the colophon that the printing was finished on 16th April, 1519, *ad romanum calculum*, Easter-day in 1519 being on 24th April. The printer was Pierre Vidoue, and we find him using the same formula in the 'Hours of the Virgin,' which he printed for Guillaume Godard in 1523.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the 'Aristophanes,' which he printed for Gilles de Gourmont in 1528, he begins his year at Easter. Other instances might easily be adduced to show that the printers and booksellers varied in their practice. Sometimes, indeed, the same man would use both methods in the same book. For instance, in the 'Apologia pro filiabus et nepotibus beatae Annae' of Noël Bédier, to which I have referred above,

<sup>1</sup> 'Cat. Didot,' 1879, No. 140.

Josse Bade, who both printed and sold the book, puts the year 1519 on the title-page, and the year 1520 in the colophon.

In several books of Galliot Du Pré's the contrary method is adopted. On the title-page of 'La prison d'amours' the date is 1526, and in the colophon, 6th March, 1525; in the French 'Lactantius' we have 1543 on the title-page, and 9th February, 1542, in the colophon; in one of the editions of Nicole Gilles, 1553 on the title-page, and 1552 at the end of the book; in the 'Chronique du tres chrestien et victorieux Louis XI.' (known as the 'Chronique scandaleuse'), 1558 on the title-page, and 1557 at the end. Unfortunately in only one of these books is the printer's name given, namely in the Nicole Gilles, which was printed by René Avril. This practice is more intelligible than the contrary instance of Josse Bade, for the publishers of the sixteenth century, like their modern successors, naturally preferred to put the latest possible date on their title-pages. Indeed, sometimes in their eagerness to take time by the forelock, in this also resembling their successors, they made the year begin even before the 1st of January. For instance a 'Grand Coustumier' of Du Pré's has 20th October, 1535, in the colophon, and 1536 on the title-page.

Thus in the absence of any available criterion, we are compelled to deal with each case as a separate problem. Sometimes this is solved by the mention in the preface or body of the book of some historical event. Sometimes we are enlightened by some fact connected with the life of the book-

seller or printer. For instance, the qualification of Galliot Du Pré as *libraire juré* on the title-page of the 'Suetone,' printed by Pierre Vidoue, shows that the date in the colophon, of 16th February, 1520, must be referred to the year 1521, for on 20th April, 1520, as we know from 'Le livre tres fructueux,' he was not a *libraire juré*.

Another available help is the privilege, if there is one. It was the usual practice for publishers to apply for a privilege as soon as the book was ready for press, and to begin printing almost immediately after it was granted. The speed at which the books were printed naturally varied. Thus while the two volumes of the 'Catalogue des Saints et Saintes' were finished about a year from the granting of the privilege, the same interval elapsed in the case of the 'Temple de bonne renommée,' with ninety leaves, and the 'Genealogies des Rois de France' with only seven. 'Percival le Gallois,' with 220 leaves, was ready in less than five and a half months from the date of the privilege; but ten months were spent over 'La prison d'amours,' which contains only eighty-seven leaves. The shortest relative interval between the privilege and the completion of the book that I have noticed in Du Pré's publications, is thirty-nine days for the 'Life of Bayard' with ninety-eight leaves. It was not indeed a universal practice to wait for the privilege before beginning to print a book, and I have found one or two instances in which the date of the privilege is only a few days earlier, and in one case even a few days later, than that of the completion of the book. Thus the privilege for 'La conquête

de Grece' is dated 4th February, 1527, but the printing was finished on 8th February, 1527. There was, however, a special reason for this, as Du Pré had already been granted a privilege for the work in November, 1525, and this new privilege was in place of the old one.<sup>1</sup> A similar instance, without any obvious explanation, is the 'Temple de bonne renommée' in which the book is dated eight days after the completion of the privilege.

Fortunately, so far, I have been able by means of the privilege to determine the year in all the doubtful cases ('Temple de bonne renommée,' 'Prison d'amours,' and the two editions of Gringore's 'Adages') except one—the 'Mirouer historial.' But for three works with the imprint of January or February, 1533, I have no such guide. In the descriptions of them—for I have not seen any of them—there is no mention of a privilege. Two of them relate to agriculture, one being an edition of the 'Libri de re rustica,' published jointly with Jean Petit,<sup>2</sup> and the other an edition of the French translation of the 'Opus ruralium commodorum,' of Piero Crescenzi of Bologna. Made for Charles V., in 1373, the latter was first published by Vérard under the title of 'Livre des prouffits champpestres.' Du Pré's edition, which has on the title-page a wood-cut of the publisher offering the work

<sup>1</sup> This appearance of the six volumes of Perceforest within fifteen months of the privilege, is probably to be accounted for by the fact that the printing was begun before the privilege was granted.

<sup>2</sup> 4th February, 1533. Delalain, 'Notice Compl.'



to Francis I., is entitled 'Le bon Mesnager.'<sup>1</sup> Bearing almost the same date is a curious collection of miscellaneous treatises by Guillaume Telin, a gentleman of Auvergne, entitled 'Bref sommaire des sept vertus, sept arts liberaux, etc.' As up till now we have had only one instance of the new method of beginning the year being used in the colophon of Galliot Du Pré's books,<sup>3</sup> there is a strong presumption in favour of all these three books belonging to the year 1534. It is, however, just possible that the 'Libri de re rustica' may be dated according to the new method: firstly, because it is in Latin; secondly, because it was published in partnership with Jean Petit, whom I find using the Roman method in a preface as early as 1507.<sup>4</sup> These, however, are very slight reasons for abandoning the natural presumption.

Three publications by Galliot Du Pré certainly belong to the year 1534, a translation of Josephus's 'Jewish Antiquities,' by Guillaume Michel, and new editions of Patricius, 'De institutione reipublicae' and the 'Cosmographia' of Pius II. under the title of 'Asiae Europaeque elegantissima

<sup>1</sup> 15th January, 1533.

<sup>2</sup> 12th February, 1533. The full title may be read in Brunet; his copy came later into the possession of the late Baron de Ruble (Catalogue No. 688).

<sup>3</sup> I ought to mention one other possible exception. In Bourdigné's 'Histoire d'Anjou,' printed by Antoine Cousteau, the date in the colophon of the ordinary paper copies is January, 1529, but in a vellum copy ('Bib. Nat.') October, 1529. Unless the latter was printed first, which is unlikely, the dating of the paper copies must be according to the new method.

<sup>4</sup> 'Opus quadragesimale Oliverii Maillardi.' The date in the colophon is 1st February, 1506.

descriptio.' This last was published in partnership with Claude Chevallon.<sup>1</sup>

The close of the year 1534 marks a distinct turning-point in Galliot Du Pré's career. After this his publications became less numerous, and their character far less interesting and instructive. At this point, therefore, it will be convenient to consider the character of his publications as a whole, and to discuss one or two general questions which arise out of them.

In the first place it will be noticed that, as I said at the outset, our publisher shews a decided predilection for history. He publishes not only popular and uncritical compilations like 'La mer des histoires,' Desrey's translation of Gaguin's 'Compendium,' and especially the 'Chroniques' of Nicole Gilles, of which he issued altogether four editions, but he introduces the 'Memoirs' of Commynes to the world, and reprints them several times. Further, he shares in the publication of a new edition of 'Froissart,' and he shews his interest in the cognate subject of political science, by publishing the works of Patricius, the Latin version of the 'Songe du Verdier' and the 'Speculum principum.' It was he, too, who published, if not the first, at any rate the oldest existing edition of that delightful work, the 'Life of Bayard,' by Le loyal Serviteur. The poetry published by him comprises the 'Roman de la Rose,' 'Champion des dames,' Alain Chartier, works or

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum has two copies with different title pages; one with the name of Chevallon, and the other with that of Du Pré.

the rhétoriqueur school, including several works by Jean Bouchet, and at a later period, Villon, Coquillart, and Gringore. He published seven romances of chivalry, five of them being printed for the first time. Two of these 'Meliadus' and 'Perceforest,' owing to the prominent part played in them by tournaments, were especially suited to the prevailing taste for the trappings and outward semblance of chivalry. It is further to be noted that all the romances published by Du Pré, except two, belong to the Arthurian cycle, the representations of which, with the possible exception of 'Le petit Artus' (the connexion of which with the cycle is extremely slight) never descended in the form of popular chap-books to the lowest stratum of French readers. This choice of romances is, in itself, enough to show that Galliot Du Pré did not cater for the popular taste, but for the nobles and the better class of bourgeois.

Besides the romances, mediæval prose is represented by such favourite works as 'Sydrach,' 'Le Mirouer historial,' and 'Les ditz moraulx des philosophes.' The beginnings of Renaissance prose are marked by Jean Le Maire's 'Illustrations de Gaule,' but its publication by Du Pré, as well as its general popularity, was probably due more to its historical character than to its real merits of style.

Of translations, which played so considerable a part in the revival of learning and literature, we have Cæsar, Cicero,<sup>1</sup> Virgil, Ovid, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Apuleius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

<sup>1</sup> In 1529 Du Pré published a translation of Cicero's 'De Officiis' (Brunet, II., 52).

and Josephus, both these last through Latin versions; a single work of Petrarch, an extract from Boccaccio's 'Il Filocolo,' 'Le Peregrin,' 'Il libro aureo,' 'Il carcel de amor,' and the 'Celestina.' But all these translations were more or less unskilful and inadequate, and were soon afterwards superseded.

Classical authors in their original tongue are conspicuously absent. There is not a single Greek book, and classical Latin is represented only by Eutropius (with Paulus Diaconus) and the *Scriptores de re rustica*. Erasmus and Budé, the rivals for the primacy of European scholarship, appear respectively in a garbled translation of the 'Encomium Moriae,' and an epitome in French of the 'De Asse.'

Geographical discovery,—the discovery of the world, as humanism was the discovery of man,—is represented by two works, 'Le nouveau Monde' and the 'Novus Orbis.' But in this timid and tentative attitude towards the Renaissance, Galliot Du Pré accurately reflected the literary tastes of the ordinary educated Frenchman of his day. The study of the classics was still confined to a select circle of humanists; it was only in 1529 that the victory of Greek was assured, and it had not had time yet to bear fruit. Such translations from the Greek as had appeared hitherto were all made from Latin versions. Of translations from the Latin the only one of any literary merit was Marot's verse rendering of two books of the 'Metamorphoses' (1532). The Italian works which most influenced the French Renaissance, the 'Cortegiano,' the 'Arcadia,' the



‘Principe,’ Ariosto’s Comedies, and ‘Orlando Furioso,’ were still untranslated. The ‘Decameron’ was still represented by the mediæval paraphrase—for it was little more—of Laurent Du Premierfait. Nor had the vernacular literature put forth as yet many original blossoms. It was only in this very year 1534, at which we have arrived, that Marot’s second volume, ‘Suite de l’Adolescence,’ appeared, and that ‘Pantagruel’ was followed by ‘Gargantua.’ Thus Galliot Du Pré was influenced in his choice of works for publication by sound business instincts, by a legitimate desire to satisfy the demands of the ‘general reader’ of his day. And within his field of operation he showed not only judgment but enterprise, publishing several new works which hit the public taste and put money into his pocket.

Another source of profit besides the ordinary sale of books, of which publishers availed themselves at this period, was the production of special copies, printed on vellum and adorned with illuminated woodcuts. In a few cases they were in the strict sense presentation copies, but as a rule, they were destined for noble patrons who, judging by an extant bill sent in by Vérard, paid for them pretty heavily. Du Pré adopted this practice almost at the outset of his career, by printing copies on vellum of the two editions of Desrey’s ‘Chroniques,’ which he published in 1514 and 1515. Van Praet mentions three copies of the former, one of which has twenty miniatures, and another sixteen.<sup>1</sup> Another early vellum copy of Du Pré’s production is that of ‘Le temple de Jehan Boccace,’ adorned with three

<sup>1</sup> 2nd part, III., No. 95.

miniatures, one of which represents the author (?) offering his book to Francis I.<sup>1</sup> Special mention must also be made of the vellum copies of the 'Encomium trium Mariarum'; they contain a full-page woodcut of the three Marys, which is absent from the paper copies.<sup>2</sup>

To the year 1522 belongs the unique 'Les coutumes du pays et duché de Bourbonnoys,' with illuminated initials and an elaborate frontispiece on which are the initials of Pierre de Beaujeu, his wife Anne, the able and ambitious daughter of Louis XI., and their son-in-law, Charles de Bourbon, Constable of France since 1515. The work is dedicated to Anne de Beaujeu by her Chancellor, Pierre Papillon, and this particular copy, the only one that is known—probably very few copies were printed—was evidently destined either for Anne or her son.<sup>3</sup> Other notable vellum copies produced by Galliot Du Pré are those of the French translation of 'Platina,' with 228 portraits in the initial letters;<sup>4</sup> the 'Roman de la Rose' of 1526, with ninety-five miniatures;<sup>5</sup> the 'Nicole Gilles' of 1525, with fourteen miniatures, and with the arms of Charles, Duc de Vendôme, to whom the work is dedicated, on the first leaf of each

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard, 'Geofroy Tory,' pp. 359 ff.; Brunet; 'Cat. of Bibl. Nat.' There is a vellum copy in the Bibl. Mazarin.

<sup>3</sup> I have taken this description from a note in the 'Monmerqué Catalogue' (1851), which has been copied into both the 'Yemeniz' and 'Didot' (1879) Catalogues. The book is undated, but as it contains an extract from the registers of the Parlement, dated 20th March, 152½ (Brunet), and Anne died in November, 1522, it certainly belongs to that year.

<sup>4</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, IV., No. 1623.

volume;<sup>1</sup> the 'Triumphante et glorieuse victoire' (1526),<sup>2</sup> with nine miniatures; the 'Virgile' (1529), with thirty-one.<sup>3</sup> Du Pré's chief patron was Charles d'Urfé (grandfather of the author of 'L'Astrée'), for whom five of his extant vellum copies were executed. Head of an ancient family of La Forez, he was squire in ordinary to Francis I., who in 1535 appointed him 'bailli' of his native province. It was not till the next reign that he became really prominent, being successively envoy to the Council of Trent (1548), ambassador to the Holy See (1549-53), and governor to the Dauphin and his brothers. He had a fine library, part of which he had inherited from his mother-in-law, Mme. d'Entragues.<sup>4</sup> Du Pré's connection with him appears to date from 1531, when he produced for him a vellum copy of Bouchard's 'Grandes chroniques de Bretagne.'<sup>5</sup> The arms of the same patron are also found on vellum copies of the French 'Lactantius' of 1543,<sup>6</sup> of a 'Nicole Gilles' of 1547 (with sixty-five miniatures),<sup>7</sup> of 'Instructions sur le faict de la guerre' (1548), and of Jean Bouchet's 'Les triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame' (1535).<sup>8</sup> Of two vellum copies of Josephus's 'Jewish Antiquities,' which were in the Duc de la Vallière's library, one, which bore D'Urfé's arms, has disappeared, but the other, which has numbered among its possessors Francis I., Diane de Poitiers,

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 1525. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, V., No. 48. <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV., No. 102.

<sup>4</sup> A. Bernard, 'Les D'Urfé' (1839), pp. 45-51.

<sup>5</sup> Van Praet, V., No. 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I., No. 375.

<sup>7</sup> 'Cat. MacCarthy,' II., No. 4525.

<sup>8</sup> 'Cat. La Vallière,' II., No. 3001.

and Count d'Hoym, is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>1</sup>

I need not enumerate all the other vellum copies produced by Du Pré. About a dozen more are recorded by Van Praet, and there were two, 'Le Peregrin' and 'Quinte-Curce,' in the Harleian library.<sup>2</sup> They serve to show that Du Pré had numerous patrons among princes and nobles, and that consequently, in his choice of works of publication, he doubtless consulted their taste.

It will have been noticed that several of Du Pré's publications, more especially those of considerable size, were published by him in temporary partnership with other booksellers. We find him associated in this way with many of the leading men of his profession, with Jean Petit, with Josse Bade, and with his two sons-in-law, Michael de Vascosan and Jean de Roigny, with Poncet Le Preux, whose career extended to fifty-eight years, with Simon de Colines, with Jean Longis, and with Pierre Vidoue, and on one occasion with two provincial publishers. Sometimes in these joint publications each partner had a different title-page for the copies sold by him; thus in some of the cases referred to above Galliot Du Pré and his associate are both represented by the extant copies of the book. In other cases, chiefly with books published near the beginning of his career, Du Pré's name only appears in the colophon, and not on the title-page. The reason for this may either be that he occupied a subordinate position in the partnership, or that all the copies

<sup>1</sup> 'Cat. La Vallière,' III., No. 4806; Van Praet, IV., No. 53.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bib. Harl.,' III., Nos. 3201 and 3218.



in which his name appears on the title-page have disappeared.

Numerous printers were employed by him in the course of his long career, but during that period of it which we are now considering, three especially enjoyed his favour. These are Pierre Vidoue, and the brothers Nicolas and Antoine Cousteau. Pierre Vidoue was a man of real distinction in his profession, whose work amply justified the qualification which he assumes of '*Chalcographiarie artis peritissimus*.' He began to exercise his art, according to M. Renouard, in 1510. It is in 1518 that we first find him working for Galliot Du Pré, and from that date down to 1524 he printed for him various works, including the '*Coustumes de Bourbonnoys*,' '*Ysaie le triste*,' the Epitome of Budé's '*De Asse*,' and Tiraqueau's '*De legibus connubialibus*.' In 1521 he made his first appearance as a Greek printer, with an impression of the curious and popular '*Hieroglyphica*' of Horapollon in Greek and Latin. But the most remarkable production of his Greek press is the complete series of Aristophanes' '*Comedies*,' edited by Jean Cheradame, which he printed for Gilles de Gourmont from November, 1528, to March, 1529. At this time he possessed some Hebrew type, for the verse of the 37th Psalm, '*I have been young, and now am old: yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging his bread*' is printed in Hebrew as well as Greek on the title-page of each play. In 1529 he also printed Demosthenes' '*Olynthiac orations*.' In 1538 he printed Guillaume Postel's first work, the alphabets of eleven languages. His connexion with Galliot Du

Pré seems to have temporarily ceased after 1524, but from 1528 to 1531 he was again employed by him, printing for him in 1530 the long poem of Martin Le Franc, and in 1531 the translation of Cæsar.

During the years 1524 to 1527 Du Pré chiefly employed either Nicolas or Antoine Cousteau. They were sons of Gilles Cousteau, Nicolas, who succeeded to his father's stall in the Palais de Justice, being apparently the elder.<sup>1</sup> It was Antoine who printed for Du Pré the first three editions of Commines and the Nicole Gilles of 1525, while to Nicolas he entrusted 'Le loyal Serviteur,' the 'Celestina,' 'Meliadus,' and 'Perceforest.' In 1529 and 1530 Antoine was employed by him concurrently with Pierre Vidoue, and printed the 'Froissart' of 1530, and at a later period we find Du Pré entrusting more work to Nicolas, the French Josephus and two other books in 1534, and 'La mer des histoires' in 1536.

Among the printers whom he employed only occasionally were Jacques Nyverd, who, together with another bookseller, Jean André, acted as the spy and bloodhound of the terrible First President of the Paris Parlement, Pierre Lizet. He printed for Du Pré two romances, 'Mabrian' and 'La conquête de Grèce,' the former, presumably, in 1526, and the latter in 1528. He lived in the rue de la Juiverie, near the Pont Notre-Dame, and therefore not far from Du Pré in the rue des Marmouzets. With such a neighbour it was lucky for our publisher that his orthodoxy was above suspicion, and that in the year 1529, when French

<sup>1</sup> Renouard, *op. cit.*

Protestantism suffered so severe a blow by the death of Berquin, he published so meritorious a work in the eyes of Pierre Lizet and Noël Bédier as the 'Encomium triarum Mariarum.'

Two of the printers whom he employed suffered for their religious opinions, namely, Simon Du Bois and Antoine Augereau. The former printed for him the posthumous volume of Cretin (1527), and Gringore's 'Notables enseignemens' (January, 1527<sup>7</sup>). At the outset of his career he had been bold enough to print, in the dangerous year 1525, Lefèvre's translation of the New Testament, and in April, 1529, when Berquin suffered at the stake, he was engaged in printing the 'Livre de vraye et parfaite oraison,' a translation of one of Luther's writings, which is possibly from Berquin's pen. In the following year he fled to Alençon, the capital of Margaret's duchy, where he printed her 'Miroir de l'âme pécheresse' in 1531. In 1533 he returned to Paris, but after the Affair of the Placards his name figured on the list of suspect Lutherans who had fled from Paris (25th January, 1535), and he disappears from our view.<sup>1</sup> About the fate of his fellow-Protestant, Antoine Augereau, the printer of Gringore's 'Chasteau de Labour' (1532), the 'Libri de re rustica' (1534), and the 'Novus Orbis' (1534), there is no obscurity. On Christmas Eve, 1534, two months after the printing of this last book was finished, he was hanged and burnt in the Place Maubert. His offence was grave indeed; he

<sup>1</sup> See M. Weiss in 'Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du protestantism français,' XXXVI. (1887), 669 ff., and XXXVII. (1888), 152 ff., 432 ff., 500 ff.

had not only printed two editions of 'Le Miroir,' but the second of these had included Marot's translation of Psalm VI. !<sup>1</sup>

Such were the dangers to which booksellers and printers were exposed in France in the winter of 1534-5. The Affair of the Placards had thoroughly frightened the king, and had alienated the whole body of moderate reformers, and though in the summer of 1536 Francis returned for a time to a milder mood, this was mainly due to the war with Charles V., which had broken out in the preceding April and left him no leisure to deal with heretics. But after the truce of Nice and the interview with the emperor at Aigues-Mortes, in July, 1538, he adopted a policy of rigorous suppression, which he maintained with unwonted consistency till his death, and which was continued by his successor. Meanwhile, one of the immediate effects of the Placards was that on 13th January, 1535, the Father of Letters issued letters-patent forbidding any book to be printed in France under the pain of death. Fortunately, the Parliament declined to register this extraordinary edict, and there was substituted for it another in which it was enacted that 'the Parliament should choose twenty-four persons duly qualified and provided with sureties, out of whom the king would select twelve, and that these, and no others, should print in Paris, but nowhere else, books approved and necessary for the public welfare, without printing any new composition, under pain of punishment' (23rd February, 1535).<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> HARRISSE, 'Exc. Colomi.,' p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> 'Catalogue des Actes de François I.,' III., 23.



edict, however, which was hardly less absurd and arbitrary than its predecessor, remained a dead letter. A milder form of censorship was prescribed by an edict of 28th December, 1537, by which it was enacted that no book should be offered for sale until a copy of it had been given to Mellin de Saint-Gelais, keeper of the royal library at Blois, 'in order to prevent the propagation of erroneous doctrines.'<sup>1</sup> In the face of these enactments it is amusing to find Francis I., in an edict issued from Villers-Cotterets on 31st August, 1539, on the occasion of a threatened strike of the Paris journey-men printers, declaring that he had always 'favoured and supported the art of printing good books and good literature.' As a matter of fact, the censorship of the press became more and more severe. We have seen how the bookseller Jean de La Garde was burnt in April, 1538, for his connection with the 'Cymbalum Mundi.' In 1539 both the printer and the bookseller were required to put their names in books.<sup>2</sup> In 1542 the University forbade the booksellers to expose any books for sale until they had been examined, and in the same year the Parliament ordered an inspection of all the bookshops and printing-houses with a view to the seizure of all heretical works.

This more rigorous attitude of Francis I. towards Protestantism and the press seems to have had a decided effect upon Galliot Du Pré. After the year 1534 his productions become far less interest-

<sup>1</sup> 'Catalogue des Actes de François I.,' III., 426.

<sup>2</sup> H. Hauser, 'Une grève d'imprimeurs parisiens au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.' 1895.

ing, chiefly because they are no longer representative of the literary taste of his age. Though, when he died in 1560, a literature in which the spirit of the Renaissance was making itself more and more manifest had been flourishing for over twenty years, though the new school of the Pleiad poets had firmly established itself, and one of its members, Joachim Du Bellay, had predeceased him, his publications reflect little of the new movement. They continue to be, with few exceptions, purely mediæval in character. Moreover, they are less numerous than they were in the full years from 1524 to 1534, and a far greater proportion are joint speculations with other publishers. I shall therefore only notice those that have any special interest.

During the years 1535 to 1537 the author whom Du Pré specially favoured was Jean Bouchet. Thus he published in 1535 his '*Les triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame*,' a mystical work of great popularity, of which three editions had already appeared at Poitiers; in 1536 a new edition of his '*Les anciennes et modernes genealogies des Rois de France*';<sup>1</sup> and in 1537 a new edition of his most important work, '*Les Annales d'Aquitaine*.' In 1536 he published '*La mer des histoires*' in two volumes, saying in the preface that it was written in Latin in 1480 by Brocardus, and translated into French by a native of the Beauvaisin. The translator, in fact, was a canon of Mello, near Beauvais, but the Latin original—the '*Rudimentum*

<sup>1</sup> First published at Poitiers in January, 1527 (1527 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

noviciorum'—was not written by Brocardus or Burchard, a German Dominican, who spent ten years in the monastery of Mount Sion, and who only wrote the description of the Holy Land which forms part of the work. At the very beginning of 1537, the printing having been finished on 15th December, 1536, appeared the 'Somme rurale' of Jean Boustillier,<sup>1</sup> a summary of French customary law written in the early part of the fifteenth century, which enjoyed a high reputation even with the great jurists of the humanistic school. It was first printed at Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1479, and it was the first book printed at Abbeville (1486). In title and scope it closely resembles 'Le Grand Coustumier,' which Du Pré published in 1514, and La Caille, in a passage quoted by M. Delalain, has confused the two works.

Du Pré evidently had a certain legal and official connexion, and various royal Ordinances were entrusted to him for publication. Thus, in 1528 he was the publisher of a collection of Ordinances made by successive kings from Charles VII. to Francis I., and it was he who published in conjunction with Jean Bonhomme and Jean André the very important Ordinances on the reform of justice which Francis I. issued from Villers-Cotterets in 1539.

From 1537 to 1541 he published several works of a theological character, including the Epistles of St. Paul (two editions, 1538 and 1539), and

<sup>1</sup> 'Le grand coustumier general de pratique oultrement appellé Somme rurale' (Cat. of Bibl. Nat.).

the Bible in Latin (1541)—both these with Simon de Colines<sup>1</sup>—and two posthumous works by Guillaume Petit, the king's confessor, 'Hortus fidei apostolorum' (1537), and 'La formation de l'homme,' with other treatises (1538). He still continued his interest in history, publishing in 1535 the 'Supplementum Chronicorum,' a history of the world by Filippo Foresti of Bergamo (this in conjunction with Simon de Colines), and issuing new editions of Nicole Gilles (1547, 1549, 1553),<sup>2</sup> and as we have seen, of Commynes. To these he added the first history of France that was written after classical models, the 'De rebus gestis Francorum libri X.,' by Paolo Emilio, of Verona, originally published, in four books only, in 1517. This was the first edition of the complete work. Another humanist who, like Paolo Emilio, illustrates the intellectual relations which were established between France and the north of Italy as a result of the wars of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., was Claude de Seyssel, a native of Savoy, who, coming to France in 1498, did good service as a statesman and diplomatist, and after taking orders became bishop of Marseilles, and finally archbishop of Turin. He was an eager student, and his translations with the help of Latin versions of the principal Greek historians, did much to promote true historical study in France. In 1541, and again in 1558, Galliot Du Pré reprinted his 'La Grande Monarchie de

<sup>1</sup> See M. Renouard, 'Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines,' 1894.

<sup>2</sup> With J. de Roigny. See 'Gibson Craig Cat.,' No. 1093.



France,'<sup>1</sup> written at the beginning of 1515, and first printed in 1519, a year before the author's death. This little volume of 1541, which also contains a treatise on the Salic law by some unknown author, has two features of interest apart from its contents. In the first place, the printer uses a barred 'e,' though by no means consistently, for 'e' mute, and this nine years before Jacques Peletier (who is said to have invented it) published his 'Dialogue de l'Ortografe e Prononciacion' (1550). Secondly, its title-page has a charming architectural border representing an arch supported by classical columns, between the bases of which are seated a pair of lovers, with a lute near them. The printer was Denys Janot, who, from 1539 to his death in 1545, issued books which are remarkable for the excellence of their woodcuts. One of these, also printed for Du Pré in 1539 or 1541, is a volume containing the 'De Officiis' and four other treatises of Cicero in French. Each part has a charming title-page.<sup>2</sup>

Galliot Du Pré's title-pages, though inferior in beauty to those of many of his contemporaries, sometimes show much elegance and good taste. The title is often effectively printed in red and black. His favourite mark or device is a galley, which appears in two forms: a large one, in which it is rowed by monks, and a smaller one, in which the oarsmen are black. Both have the motto, *Vogue la guallée*. The

<sup>1</sup> The Cambridge University Library has a copy of the 1541 edition, of which the printing (by Denys Janot) was finished on 31st December [1540].

<sup>2</sup> Brunet, II., 54.

larger device is rarely, if ever, placed on the title-page, but is printed on a separate page, usually at the end of the volume. Sometimes he employs a third mark, that of a horse, but always in conjunction with an architectural border composed of four separate pieces. This is a common form of title-page for his folios. In the 'Froissart' of 1530, printed by Antoine Cousteau, the small galley is used as well as this border, and the whole title-page, which is printed in red and black, has a stately and dignified appearance. Other noteworthy title-pages are those of the 'Roman de la Rose' of 1531, a small folio, which has a charming border, the 'Roman de la Rose' of 1529,<sup>1</sup> with a delightful woodcut of a man picking roses, and the 'Chartier' of the same year.<sup>2</sup>

A few publications still remain to be noticed. We have seen that in 1531 Du Pré published a French translation of the unauthorised version of Guevara's 'Libro aureo.' In 1540 he issued under the title of 'L'horloge des princes,'<sup>3</sup> a version made from the enlarged and first authentic edition, which bore the additional title of 'El reloxo de principes.' In 1544 he published in a single volume, 'Du mepris de la Court,' a translation, by Antoine Aleigre, of Guevara's 'Menosprecio de la Corte,' and several poems on the subject of love, which, mainly under the inspiration of Margaret of Navarre, was a

<sup>1</sup> Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; reproduced in A. Lang's 'The Library.'

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in A. Lang's 'Books and Bookmen.'

<sup>3</sup> This volume has a large woodcut representing Francis I. surrounded by his Court ('Cat. Didot,' 1879, No. 224).

favourite topic at this time. So too, 'L'institution de la femme chrestienne,' a French translation by Pierre de Changy of the 'De institutione christianae foeminae' of Louis Vives,<sup>1</sup> which Du Pré published in the following year (1545), has a distinct bearing on the general question of the character of women. In the following year, it may be noted, Rabelais published the 'Third Book of Pantagruel,' in which this time-honoured topic is handled with consummate wit and considerable impartiality.<sup>2</sup>

In 1541 Du Pré published two Latin works, the 'De magistratibus atheniensium liber,' of Guillaume Postel, and 'Historiae Ecclesiasticae scriptores Latini,' sharing the latter publication with François Regnault the younger, the bookseller and printer who had poured so many service-books into the English market.<sup>3</sup> This was probably Regnault's last publication, for he died between 23rd November, 1540, and 21st June, 1541.<sup>4</sup>

In 1543 Du Pré published a French translation of Laëtantius by René Famé, and in the following year 'Le Guidon des gens de guerre,' by Michel d'Amboise (*L'Esclave fortuné*).<sup>5</sup> Of greater interest is another work on the art of war, which he published jointly with Michael Vascosan in 1548, for in the preface the authorship is attributed to Guillaume Du Bellay, amongst whose papers the manu-

<sup>1</sup> First published in 1524. The French translation was first printed in 1543. There is also a Lyons edition of 1545.

<sup>2</sup> See for the whole subject Abel Lefranc in 'Revue des études rabelaisiennes,' II., 1 ff. and 78 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See E. G. Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>4</sup> Renouard, 'Imprimeurs Parisiens.'

<sup>5</sup> 15th March, 1543 (1544?). There is a modern reprint of this.

script was found. It is entitled 'Instructions sur le faict de la guerre.'<sup>1</sup> A second edition, published in 1549, has the additional words, 'extraictes des livres de Polybe, Frontin, Vegece, Cornazan, Machiavelle et plusieurs autres bons auteurs.'<sup>2</sup> M. Bourrilly has shown that the author is certainly not Du Bellay, but in all probability Raimond de Rouer, sieur de Fourquevaux.<sup>3</sup> Du Pré and Vascosan issued a third edition in 1553.

Finally, in 1559, Du Pré brought out the collected writings of Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur, a diplomatist of some distinction, who with the help of his friend and *protégé*, and successor in the bishopric, Pierre Danès, had translated eight of Plutarch's 'Lives,' and who had died two years previously. The privilege for this publication is dated 1st August, 1559, so that it presumably appeared before the end of the year, or at latest early in 1560.<sup>4</sup> In April of that year Galliot Du Pré died, and a perpetual mass was founded for the repose of his soul, facts which are recorded on a votive stone, now in the Musée de Cluny, but formerly placed in the church where the mass was to be said. The church nearest to Du Pré's house in the rue des Marmouzets was La Madeleine, but

<sup>1</sup> Van Praet, III., No. 81.

<sup>2</sup> 'La Seilliére Cat.,' No. 581.

<sup>3</sup> 'Guillaume Du Bellay,' pp. 324-6.

<sup>4</sup> I may mention here that 'L'ordre tenu en l'assemblée des trois Estats convoquez en la ville de Tours par Charles VIII.,' which in the catalogue of the library of Jean de Cordes, cited by M. Delalain, is assigned to the year 1518, really belongs to 1558, on the first day of which the Estates were opened. The privilege is dated 31st December, 1557.



the inscription as well as a carving on the stone seem to show that the church in question was Notre-Dame. He left several sons, of whom two, Pierre I. and Galliot II., succeeded to their father's business, and for a time carried it on together. Then they separated, Pierre retaining the stall in the Palais de Justice, and Galliot taking a house in the rue Saint-Jacques, with the sign of the Golden Galley. Pierre died in 1570 or 1571, and in 1572 his widow, after publishing in that year a book on her own account, transferred her affections and her business to Abel L'Angelier, the publisher of the 1588 edition of Montaigne's 'Essays.' Galliot II., who was appointed a *libraire juré*, exercised his profession till 1580.<sup>1</sup>

ARTHUR TILLEY.

<sup>1</sup> See Renouard and Delalain.

# A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

## II.—CHILDREN.

**N**o direction has the public library made greater advances of recent years than in the attention given to the needs of children; not merely to the supply of books suitable for children, but to the relation of public libraries to other educational institutions. This movement is in its infancy, yet already the re-actionaries are at work disparaging the efforts of those who are bold enough to try experiments.

I propose to set down the steps we have taken to provide for the reading of children, with the reasons for the methods adopted.

Like many other public libraries we tried to provide books for boys and girls through the ordinary lending library—at that time we had no branches. The efforts made met with instantaneous appreciation. Directly school-hours were over our counters were crowded with eager boys and girls. Every Saturday, and during the holidays, we were overwhelmed with these youthful readers. It was evident that there was urgent need of proper arrangements for supplying books to children. It was also clear that some other means than the public library must be brought into action,

or the adults would be driven from the use of the lending libraries on account of the crowds of children constantly at the counters. A separate counter only met the difficulty to a limited extent. The purchase of suitable books to meet the heavy demand, the cost of repairs, rebinding, renewals, and of the extra staff, threatened to swamp the book-fund available under the limited rate.

It was also evident that restraint was desirable as to the number of books a child might borrow, and that some guiding influence must be brought to bear upon the children's reading, if the best results were to be obtained.

An appeal to the School Board to relieve the situation by providing libraries in the schools met with a cold refusal, and for a time we were non-plussed. Yet we struggled on.

Our next step was to put forward a scheme for a closer union between the library and the schools. In the autumn of the year 1896 a conference was held with the head teachers of the public schools, to discuss the possibility of using the library as an aid to the schools. To demonstrate the feasibility of the proposals it was agreed that every school should send to the library, once in the year, a party of forty children, selected from the upper standards, to receive a lesson illustrated with such books as the library then possessed. This subject has been fully dealt with in two papers written at the time.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'The Public Libraries and the Schools: an Experiment.'—('The Library,' 1st Series, Vol. IX., 239.) 'School Children in the Public Libraries: a Sequel.'—('Library Association Record,' February, 1899.) The two papers were reprinted and published by Sotheran & Co., 1899. Price 1s. 6d.

This system was continued for some years. It was a strain to give the demonstration on four days in each week for a period of about six months in each year, but I was struggling to establish a principle in library work, and the strong support of the Libraries' Committee, the teachers, and the Chief Inspector of schools, was a great encouragement; and when, later, the School Board expressed approval, I felt that the efforts had been worth the labour. The fathers and mothers of the children also appreciated what was being done, and in the end a solid body of opinion was created in favour of the library, which has never been lost. The people realised as they had never done before that the library was a valuable factor in the life of the town.

Within three years a second appeal was made to the School Board to assist in establishing school libraries, and this time with a very different result. A sub-committee of the School Board was appointed to confer with the Public Libraries' Committee. At the outset of the conference the School Board representatives stated that they recognised the Public Library as the successor of the schools in carrying on the work of education, and that it was of the utmost importance to put children into close touch with the Public Library before they left school, in order that they might move easily from the one to the other. This statement cleared the way. A joint scheme of organisation for the school libraries was agreed to, the School Board to defray the cost of books, bookcases, stationery, and bookbinding, the Public Library to find the service for organisation, direction, and supervision, while



the distribution of the books to the children was to be made by the teachers.

Various attempts had been made from time to time by enthusiastic teachers to provide school libraries. From concerts, subscriptions, and other sources, funds were obtained to purchase books, and as long as the books lasted these voluntary libraries were successful. They failed, however, when the books fell to pieces, as there were no funds for repairs and rebinding; and when the books had been read to death, there was no money to replace them. The life of a teacher in a public school is a busy one; there is nothing to spare in the way of energy for extras; and the school library under the voluntary principle was an extra of a trying nature.

If the system of school libraries was to be permanent, and such as would not break down by its own weight, it was clear that a regular fund for maintenance must be forthcoming, and that as little as possible of the work entailed must fall upon the teachers.

To meet the financial difficulty the School Board agreed to adopt a principle well known in the South Wales coal trade, the sliding scale. Sixpence per scholar per annum, calculated upon the average attendance at all schools (except infants) under the Board was the basis adopted. What were then called Voluntary Schools were not included at first, though they came in later under the Education Act of 1902. An extra grant of £200 was made in the first year to defray the cost of library cupboards, and other initial expenses.

To avoid throwing undue extra work upon the teachers, it was agreed that the staff of the Public Library should, under the direction of a joint committee, do all the work of organisation up to the point where the books were ready for distribution to the children. Each school library was therefore handed over to the teachers ready for work, the teachers undertaking to give out books for home reading on one afternoon in each week, registering the books as they went out and came back.

All repairs and rebinding, the renewal of worn-out books, an annual stock-taking, and a report on the work of the year, were undertaken by the library staff. In addition to this, in the early years the groups were exchanged between the different schools, so that each school received a fresh group yearly. This sounds very attractive, but it was found to have serious drawbacks. Teachers complained loudly if a group which had done service in a rough district was sent to a better district, while after the second year it was found to be impracticable to trace careless usage of the books. The teachers in increasing numbers requested to be allowed to retain the same library year after year, and at the end of five years the committee decided to discontinue the exchange plan. Every library was increased to a minimum of 200 books; in large schools over 500 books are necessary in each department. To provide some variety of choice it was decided to replace 'worn-outs' by substituting other books. A few teachers still express a desire for the exchange system, but on the whole the non-exchange plan works best.

A point which caused some difficulty at the outset was whether one library would serve both departments of a school, boys and girls. There was no precedent to guide the committee, but a careful consideration of the school organisation led to a decision in favour of separate libraries, and experience has shown the conclusion arrived at to be correct.

During the first sixteen months (1899-1900) the number of books lent to children through the school libraries was 116,353. This was the experimental period for us all, children, teachers, and library staff. By the following year we had settled down steadily to our work, which went quite smoothly, the loans for the year (September, 1900 to July, 1901) being 153,528.

Compare this with the circulation of juvenile books from the public library for the year preceding the opening of the libraries in the schools, 31,419, and the efficiency of the school method of distribution is self-evident.

During the last school year (September, 1906 to July, 1907) the circulation through the schools was 252,771. After the passing of the Education Act, 1902, the school library system was extended to cover all public schools, except the Technical Schools, and the boys' and girls' Intermediate Schools established under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act; these being already provided with libraries of their own. At the present time, therefore, the entire public school system of Cardiff is supplied with libraries. In the Elementary Schools one book per scholar in average attendance is

taken as the basis of supply, except in small schools, where a minimum of 200 books is allowed.

The main purpose at this stage is to foster a love of good reading, to keep children from pernicious literature, by supplying books well selected, and to so accustom the children to the best reading from the time they first learn to read, that they will reject the mischievous and poor stuff which would otherwise be their chief supply. Guidance and help at the beginning is so much better and easier than correction later. To teach all children to read, and then to turn them loose to exercise their new-found power at will is a wasteful proceeding—more, it is dangerous, as numerous reports in the newspapers from time to time attest.

The local newspapers constantly contain reports of cases where boys have got into mischief, ending in the Police Court, through reading trashy literature, but since the school libraries were first started in Cardiff, not a single such case has occurred within the area supplied with libraries. From surrounding towns they are frequently cropping up. A very significant fact.

What kind of books do we send to the elementary schools? Stories of course, plenty of them—fairy tales, tales of adventure, school tales, the classic tales for boys and girls. Childhood is the time for romance, for the feeding of the imagination and the raising of ideals, and to try to get away from this would only result in making prigs of a few children and failing with the others. The influence of good story books in the formation



of character is very great. We supply also other books. Histories, biographies, nature books in plenty, travel, elementary books describing engines and other mechanical things which boys love, books about games, and, in fact, any sound healthy book likely to appeal to a boy or a girl. Tastes and inclinations differ so much that a great variety of dishes is essential. A few read poetry, not many, alas, and we find that volumes of selections are the most acceptable. One thing the teachers have told me again and again. The children who read are easier to teach. They have a wider vocabulary, can think things out, grasp more readily the meanings of lessons, and express themselves better both in speech and in writing.

In the Secondary and Pupil Teachers' Schools the libraries are something more than recreative. They are planned to bear directly upon the work of the school, to enable the teachers to use them as a supplementary means of enriching the lessons. Just as a university without a library would be an absurdity, so is it in a lesser degree with a secondary school, and indeed with all schools. The selection therefore includes a wider range of books in history, literature (including poetry), biography, travel, and geography, and the chief works of the great writers of fiction, as well as popular works of science.

Some extensions not contemplated in the beginning have been found necessary or desirable. To counteract the influence of the poor pictures so generally found in children's books, each infant school has a group of well-illustrated books, and collections of simple fairy tales, nursery rhymes,

and other literature suitable for very young children. These are read or shown to the children on one afternoon in each week. The infant school collections include the picture-books of Kate Greenaway and Randolph Caldecott; the delightful oblong books containing tales in verse by Mrs. Ewing, and coloured pictures by André—most fascinating books for little children—the selections in simple language from the Andrew Lang fairy books, and simplified versions of Grimm and Hans Andersen, with plenty of illustrations.

The success of this part of the scheme varies with the teachers. In some schools the books are constantly used and much appreciated, and in a few cases, I regret to say, the teachers quite fail to grasp the value of the idea, and the books are kept in a cupboard from one stocktaking to the next, being never used.

It was also found necessary to make special provision for the Blind, for Defective Children, and for the Oral School for the Deaf. The blind are supplied with embossed books for home reading, selected from the stock at the public library and lent through the teacher. This has not altogether been sufficient, as the public library books for the blind were selected with a view to adults, and the solution will probably be found by subscribing to the National Lending Library for the Blind. This proposal is, however, in abeyance for the moment, as the continuance of the School for the Blind on its present basis is uncertain.

With regard to the centres for the deaf and for defective children, special attention has been given

to the selection of books illustrated in such a way as to be a help to the teachers in the very difficult task of dealing with these two classes of children. It has been found in practice that pictures of common objects, accurately drawn and coloured, are of the greatest use, and many of the books supplied to the infant schools have been included. The number of books at present in these sections is about eighty each.

With the extensions rendered possible by the Education Act of 1902, the scheme for supplying reading to children attending school is complete, and enabled the Public Libraries' Committee and the Education Committee to agree 'that children attending public schools supplied with libraries be not in future allowed to hold borrowing tickets from the public libraries, except upon the recommendation of the head teachers of the schools which the children attend.'

To facilitate the transfer of children from the school library to the public library, either when they leave school, or earlier if the head teacher thinks fit, each head teacher is supplied with a books of forms for recommending children as borrowers at the public libraries, and the presentation of one of these forms duly signed by the teacher entitles the child to a borrowing ticket, which remains in force for a year. The recommendation of the teacher does not involve any guarantee, the responsibility being accepted by the libraries. For the ten years that this system has been in operation only two or three books of trifling value have been lost through holders of such tickets.

Thus far have we gone in organizing the supply of home reading for children in Cardiff. The adoption of the minute just quoted brings the home reading of children under the control of the teachers, so long as the children remain in school, and prevents the over-lapping of the two sources of supply. At the same time it gives the teachers full power to transfer children to the Public Library when desirable. With the present excellent school libraries most children will find sufficient reading for the full term of school life, and they will better appreciate the wider choice of the public library on leaving school. It also leaves the public libraries clear for other work, by relieving the pressure on the Juvenile department.

By placing the reading of school children under the control of the teachers, instead of the library staff, a valuable point has been gained. The teachers know the children individually. Each teacher has only a limited number of children to deal with, and knows every one of them. A librarian could never know more than one here and there, and having to deal with such large numbers, guidance would be impossible, and restraint difficult, because a child may get one book per day from the public library, while in the school one book per week is the limit. The exceptional child can, with the sanction of the head-teacher, be allowed a more liberal supply by transfer to the public library.

Of course the Public Library retains the Juvenile department in each lending library for the supply of books to young people who have left school,



and for those who do not attend public schools. The circulation of juvenile books for home reading from the Central Library and five branches last year was rather more than double what it was the year before the school libraries were instituted.

From the teachers we have always had very loyal support. It is largely due to their recommendations that the supply has gradually been extended to cover the entire school. At first it was thought that children below Standard IV. need not be provided for. This was theory. Experience has shown that to be really effective, good reading must be available from the time the child is able to read. If not, the Saturday penny goes to swell the pockets of purveyors of literature, which I would certainly not allow my own children to read.


We have also found by experience, that a number of children have few or no opportunities of reading at home, that they are driven into the streets evening after evening, in all weathers, where they contract bad habits, bad morals, and bad health. To meet this we have erected Children's Halls as part of two branch libraries. These were started a year ago, and they are open from 4.30 to 8 on five days, and from 2.30 to 8 on Saturdays. They are each in charge of a Lady Superintendent, who also devotes a couple of hours daily to visiting the schools in her district, arranging for illustrated lessons, for books to be lent to teachers bearing on school work, and in other ways promoting that union between schools and libraries, which it has been our aim to create.

It is too soon yet to say much about the work of the Children's Halls. So far, they have done just what we expected. The attendance each day ranges from 80 to 200 at each hall, varying with the weather, which is in itself an excellent thing, because we do not seek to draw children from healthy out-door recreations. The illustrated lessons given to classes from the schools during the morning hours have worked well in one district, and indifferently in the other. Saturday is the slackest day in each district, and such lectures as are arranged for children are given on the evening of that day from 7 to 8. We arranged for this winter eight lectures at each hall, admitting by tickets only distributed through the teachers. This was necessary in order to keep the numbers within the accommodation. The lectures are very popular; a lantern is always used.

Through the accident of good fortune we have been able to try experiments in Cardiff which have some bearing upon the development of the library system. I feel that in time it will be generally recognised that the work of the Public Libraries must begin where the Public Schools cease, with such dovetailing as will make the passage from one to the other easy, and more or less sure. The provision of books for children attending school forms part of the work entrusted to the education authorities, under whose auspices children are taught to read, and whose teachers are best qualified to guide and restrain their pupils.

JOHN BALLINGER.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

HE excursion of Anatole France into history has been looked for with the greatest interest. The first volume of his 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc' is now before the public. It takes us to the coronation of Charles VII. at Reims.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the preface. It opens with a careful survey of the works already published on the subject—'une opulente bibliothèque.' What M. France chiefly gathers from them is that Joan of Arc in her lifetime was only known by fables, and that she was already a saint, with all the attributes of saintship, in the fifteenth century. She belonged, indeed, to that religious group of visionaries or mystics of which, perhaps, St. Catherine of Siena may be taken as a type. M. France considers Joan absolutely sincere, and that astonishing and extraordinary as was the mission with which she believed herself entrusted, and to which she devoted her life, it was not more extraordinary than things that had already been attempted by saints in the order of human affairs.

A few paragraphs are devoted to following the Maid's memory through the ages. He sums up thus:—

'Les figures de la poésie et de l'histoire ne vivent dans

la pensée des peuples qu'à la condition de se transformer sans cesse. La foule humaine ne saurait s'intéresser à un personnage des vieux âges si elle ne lui prêtait pas ses propres sentiments et ses propres passions. Après avoir été associée à la monarchie de droit divin, la mémoire de Jeanne d'Arc fut rattachée à l'unité nationale que cette monarchie avait préparée; elle devint, dans la France impériale et républicaine, le symbole de la patrie. Certes, la fille d'Isabelle Romée n'avait pas plus l'idée de la patrie telle qu'on le conçoit aujourd'hui, qu'elle n'avait l'idée de la propriété foncière qui en est la base; elle ne se figurait rien de semblable à ce que nous appelons la nation; c'est une chose toute moderne; mais elle se figurait l'héritage des rois et le domaine de la Maison de France. Et c'est bien là tout de même, dans ce domaine et dans cet héritage, que les Français se réunirent avant de se réunir dans la patrie.

'Les plus hautes entreprises périssent dans leur défaite et plus sûrement encore, dans leur victoire. Le dévouement qui les inspira demeure en immortel exemple. . . . Sa folie fut plus sage que la sagesse, car ce fut la folie du martyr, sans laquelle les hommes n'ont encore rien fondé de grand et d'utile dans le monde.'

The reflections on the 'art malaisé' of writing history are fresh and original. In order to feel the spirit of a past age, to become the contemporary of men of a bygone era, the historian, according to M. France, should make a very leisurely study, and bestow on it loving care. The difficulty, however, lies not so much in what it is necessary to know, as in what it is necessary to forget.

'Si vraiment nous voulons vivre au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, que de choses nous devons oublier: sciences, méthodes, toutes les acquisitions qui font de nous des modernes! Nous devons oublier que la terre est ronde et que les étoiles



sont des soleils, et non des lampes suspendues à une voûte de cristal, oublier le système du monde de Laplace pour ne croire qu'à la science de Saint Thomas, de Dante, et de ces cosmographes du moyen âge qui nous enseignent la création en sept jours et la fondation des royaumes par les fils de Priam, après la destruction de Troye la Grande. Tel historien, tel paléographe est impuissant à nous faire comprendre les contemporains de la Pucelle. Ce n'est pas le savoir qui lui manque, c'est l'ignorance, l'ignorance de la guerre moderne, de la politique moderne, de la religion moderne.'

But, he continues, when once we have forgotten as completely as possible everything that has happened since the youth of Charles VII., we require all our intellectual resources 'pour embrasser l'ensemble des événements et découvrir l'enchaînement des effets et des causes,' which would have escaped the contemporaries of those events. An historian must, turn by turn, enlarge and diminish his view; he should be at one and the same time the man of the past and the man of the present. M. France tells us that this is what he has attempted. He has visited the towns and villages where the events he relates took place, and has imagined them as they were 500 years ago. He has studied the old monuments, images, and miniatures. He has tried to live the life of men long since passed away, to penetrate their souls, and to reveal the spirit, the manners, and the beliefs of their time.

In style and diction M. France preserves as far as possible the tone of the epoch, and employs archaic forms by preference, provided they are

intelligible, and he does this, he says, because modern terms cannot be substituted for the old ones without changing sentiment and character. The style is colloquial in the best sense of the word, and of enchanting lucidity. Its simplicity recalls Keats's phrase, 'that large utterance of the early gods.' The following passage will, it is hoped, serve as an illustration, but the book is not one that readily lends itself to quotation, so skilfully is the unity of the composition preserved.

'Les Orléanais, en attendant le jour incertain et lointain où ils seraient ainsi gardés, continuèrent à se garder eux-mêmes de leur mieux. Mais ils étaient soucieux et non sans raison. Car s'ils veillaient à ce que l'ennemi ne pût entrer, ils ne découvriraient aucun moyen de le chasser bientôt. . . . Ils voyaient le siège se poursuivre avec une terrible rigueur. Agités de doutes et de craintes, brûlés d'inquiétude, sans sommeil, sans repos, et n'avançant à rien, ils commençaient à désespérer. Tout à coup, naît, s'étend, grandit une rumeur étrange.

On apprend que par la ville de Sien a passé nouvellement une pucelle annonçant qu'elle se rendait à Chinon auprès du gentil dauphin et se disant envoyée de Dieu pour faire lever le siège d'Orléans et sacrer le roi à Reims.

Dans le langage familier, une pucelle était une fille d'humble condition, gagnant sa vie à travailler de ses mains, et particulièrement une servante. Aussi nommait-on pucelles les fontaines de plomb dont on se servait dans les cuisines. Le terme était vulgaire sans doute ; mais il ne se prenait pas en mauvais part. Il s'appliquait à une fille sage, de bonne vie et mœurs.

Cette nouvelle, qu'une petite sainte d'humble condition, une pauvrese du Notre-Seigneur, apportait secours divin aux Orléanais frappa vivement les esprits que la peur tournait à la dévotion et qu'exaltait la fièvre du siège. . . .

Pucelle guerrière et pacifique, béguine, prophétesse, magicienne, ange du Seigneur, ogresse, chacun dans le peuple la voit à sa façon, la rêve à son image. Les âmes pieuses lui prêtent une invincible douceur et les trésors divins de la charité; les simples la font simple comme eux; les hommes violents et grossiers se la représentent ainsi qu'une géante burlesque et terrible. Pourra-t-on désormais apercevoir quelques traits de son véritable visage? La voilà dès la première heure et pour toujours, peut-être, enfermée dans le buisson fleuri des légendes!

It would not be just to discuss the value of this book as a contribution to history until it is finished, but that it is a piece of literature of the highest charm must be admitted by all who read it.<sup>1</sup>

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Colette Yver's novel 'Princesses de Science' has made a great sensation in Paris. It has sold in its thousands and has been awarded a prize by the newspaper 'La Vie Heureuse.' It is written to demonstrate that married women should not practice professions. The heroine, a very clever

<sup>1</sup> In quitting his 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc' I desire to offer my apologies to M. Anatole France for having in the last number of 'The Library' spoken of 'Les désirs de Jean Servien' as a new book. It first appeared as long ago as 1882, and thus preceded its author's best period. The error was due to the practice of certain publishers (and to them I emphatically do not apologize) of neglecting to date the title-pages of the books they issue, or to state on them that the volume is a re-issue of an old book. Rumours reach me that representations are being sent from librarians to publishers asking that all books may be honestly dated, and bear also on the back of their title-page the date of their original issue. Several firms already attend to these points but it is much to be wished that their example should be more generally followed in France as well as in England.

and successful woman-doctor, is married to a man of the same profession. Absorbed in her work, she neglects him, regards motherhood as a tiresome interruption (her child dies because of her refusal to nurse him herself), and lets her household go to pieces. In the end she gives up her profession, but only just in time to save her husband's love. In another household where the wife practises medicine, the husband takes to drink and the children are victims of terrible accidents. The book is really a 'tract' in favour of the old order of things, in condemnation of the '*femme cérébrale*' (a horrible phrase now commonly current in France) as wife and mother. As a novel it is poor stuff. The plot is common-place, the characters lifeless and the conversations very dull. No one wins our sympathy unless it be Madame Jourdeaux, the object of the neglected husband's '*amitié amoureuse*.' She has charm and attraction. The problem should certainly lend itself to treatment in a novel but it cannot be said that this author has succeeded in using successfully the material offered.

Tired perhaps of translations, English publishers are beginning to issue works by French writers in the original. The Oxford University Press has just issued an admirably representative anthology of French verse from Guillaume de Machault to Verlaine. With the critical introduction by Mr. St. John Lucas I am not wholly in agreement. I fancy there is something more in French poetry than 'symmetry, comely order, harmony in construction, and clearness in idea.' English critics always seem



to be apologizing for French poetry. Mr. Bailey did much the same in his recent book. The attitude of mind arises, I think, from the habit of seeking in French poetry for something that cannot naturally be there.

Two novels of George Sand have lately appeared in handsome garb. They form volumes in a series under the direction of Mr. D. S. O'Connor, and are furnished with prefaces by distinguished French critics.

'Les Maîtres Sonneurs' and 'La Mare au Diable' are two of the best of George Sand's novels of peasant life. Émile Faguet in his preface to the former volume characterises the author as 'une paysanne qui avait du génie,' and declares that her originality resided in her 'sentiment profond de la nature rustique.' He regards the two novels mentioned above, with 'La petite Fadette,' as 'des chefs-d'œuvre incomparables de la littérature française, parcequ'ils sont—écrits par un grand poète—les ouvrages les plus sincères, les plus personnels, les plus intimes qui aient été écrits en langue française.' Her manner of seeing nature, the result of living with it, as it were, in close intimacy, places her beside La Fontaine and Rousseau. 'La Fontaine est un ami de la nature, Jean Jacques Rousseau en est un adorateur, George Sand en est amoureuse.' 'Les Maîtres Sonneurs' is, I venture to think, less well-known in this country than it deserves to be. I do not hesitate to call 'cette épopée rustique, cette Iliade berrichonne' a masterpiece among novels of rustic life. René Bazin at his best owes not a little to George Sand.

Far too much has been written of late about George Sand's love affairs. Books of this class are to be deprecated. I have now come across a volume entitled 'Alfred de Musset Intime,' which contains the *souvenirs* of his housekeeper during the last ten years of his life. She is still living, and at ninety years of age her memory permits her to write this book. But we could have spared the details of the poet's illnesses, and of some more or less sordid love affairs. Except in very rare cases a servant only sees the little things, the great things it is not in his or her power to see. I am far from denying that such records form an interesting, even an instructive, chapter in the psychology, or should I say the physiology, of the emotions, but writers would perform a nobler and more useful task if in such cases they directed the attention of the public to the artist rather than to the man or woman.

A book of somewhat similar character but much more attractively written is Léon Séché's 'Hortense Allart de Méritens dans ses rapports avec Chateaubriand, Béranger, Lamennais, Sainte-Beuve, G. Sand, Mme. d'Agoult (Documents inédits).' Hortense Allart 'cette femme à la Stael' as Sainte-Beuve called her, deserves a place among the 'muses romantiques.' Among her friends were Béranger, Chateaubriand, Thiers, Libri, Mérimée, Lamennais, and Sainte-Beuve. Some of them were also her lovers. She actually published an account of her relations with Chateaubriand in 'Les Enchantements de Prudence.'

Léon Séché has also just edited her 'Lettres inédites à Sainte-Beuve (1841-48)' with an intro-

duction and notes. The letters make good reading and show Hortense both on her intellectual and sentimental sides. The letters also serve to throw light on some points in Sainte-Beuve's career and character.

The 'Mémoires du Baron Fain, premier Secrétaire du Cabinet de l'Empereur,' is in its way a piece of 'la vie intime' of Napoleon, but on the right lines. For we see here for the first time in Napoleonic literature, not the warrior nor the conqueror, but the 'moine militaire' governing and administering a vast empire from his private study. The customs and methods that did not pass beyond the doors of the study are disclosed here with the sureness and detail of one initiated. Meneval has given a slight sketch of the kind elsewhere, but Fain paints a finished and vivacious picture. We are taken through a whole day of the Emperor's life. His secretaries must have had a severe time, for when Napoleon dictated, he seemed, we are told, to be conversing with an invisible interlocutor, isolating himself in an imaginary *tête-à-tête* that no interrupter dared break, and often pursuing it far into the night.

Frédéric Masson's latest contribution to Napoleonic literature is 'Le sacre et couronnement de Napoléon.' Masson declares that the more Napoleon is studied the more difficult it is to form any opinion on his motives. He claims in this volume to have discovered some fresh ones.

'Les Évangiles Synoptiques,' by Alfred Loisy: published by himself, ('Chez l'auteur') is likely to make a stir in certain circles. The book

presents, in a purely scientific method, a translation of, and commentary on the Gospels. The introduction discusses the traditional testimony concerning the synoptical gospels, and modern criticism on the subject, the origin and composition of Mark, Matthew and Luke, the character and the development of the tradition of the Gospels, the career of Christ and his teaching. The literary form of the three Gospels is touched on, as well as the preservation of their text and their principal interpreters.

The study of mysticism offers great attraction to many minds, and those desirous of increasing their knowledge should turn to Henri Delacroix's '*Études d'histoire et de psychologie du Mysticisme. Les Grands Mystiques Chrétiens.*' Three examples are chosen, St. Theresa and Spanish mysticism of the sixteenth century; Mme. Guyon and French quietism of the seventeenth century; and Suso and the German school of the fourteenth century. Delacroix takes a material view of the subject, for he believes that the most sublime conditions of mysticism do not go beyond the power of nature. Religious genius is sufficient to explain its strength, as disease may explain its weakness.

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So far as we know Georg Misch's '*Geschichte der Autobiographie*' is the first attempt at a systematic history of a very interesting literary form. Autobiography proper perhaps did not begin until the eighteenth century with Rousseau, Gibbon, Herder, and Goethe. But Benvenuto Cellini and Lord Herbert of Cherbury offer notable



examples in an earlier period. Misch shows how the autobiographical form was in some measure developed among oriental nations, and certainly among the Greeks and Romans. The writing of this work was suggested by the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The first volume deals with 'Das Altertum'; the second, to be issued very soon, traces the development of the form among modern nations to the seventeenth century; the third will come down to the present time.

It is impossible to deal adequately with a work of this kind in a short space. Misch makes it clear from the outset that he takes autobiography in its very widest meaning. He regards it as a 'life utterance,' bound to no definite form. It is rich in new beginnings, the outcome of real life; for different ages create different forms of existence with which the individual is compelled to sympathize. Therefore he is forced to represent himself either in political or forensic areas, in the confessional, in intercourse with cultured friends, or in the domestic records of a civic aristocracy. Indeed no form is excluded. Prayer, soliloquy, statement of acts performed, invented orations, lyric verse, literary confessions or portraits, family chronicles, court memoirs, any sort of historical narrative, novels, biography proper, epics, and even drama, each and all present some autobiographical features.

The reasons that impel men and women to write about themselves are carefully considered, and Misch declares that even those autobiographies that are more read than praised have high psychological, and sometimes even historical, value. It

is a pity that he has not presented his very interesting matter in a more attractive fashion. A certain wordiness and the very long paragraphs make the book difficult to read. But the mass of information contained in it should well repay detailed study and analysis.

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‘Kaiser Karls Geisel,’ the new play by Gerhart Hauptmann has been severely condemned by the German critics. The love of a man, struggling, as it were, with old age for a girl of fifteen is scarcely a pleasing subject for a poetical drama, even when the hero is no less a person than Charlemagne. Yet the charm of Hauptmann’s verse makes as strong an appeal as ever, and we read the play not wholly without pleasure, at least in the form and language. The handling of the character of Alcuin is disappointing: he appears in the drama as a colourless person, introduced, as indeed are most of the other personages, to listen to the Emperor’s long speeches. It is disconcerting to find that apparently both Hauptmann and Sudermann have done their best work, and that no younger dramatists are taking their places. For the moment there is as great a dearth of new plays in Germany as in Great Britain.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Le Véritable ‘Voyage en orient’ de Lamartine d’après les manuscrits originaux de la Bibliothèque

## 198 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Nationale (documents inédits). Par Christian Marechal.

An example of the minute critical studies that are becoming more and more the fashion in France and Germany. It is doubtful, perhaps, if Lamartine is great enough to demand such treatment.

La technique du livre. Par Albert Maire (Librarian of the University of Paris).

A useful work, containing in small compass much information under the four heads: 'Typographie'; 'Illustration'; 'Reliure'; 'Hygiène.'

Etudes de Diplomatie Anglaise de l'Avènement d'Edouard 1<sup>er</sup> à celui de Henri VII., 1272-1485. Par Eugène Déprez.

The author deals with 'Le sceau privé,' 'le sceau secret,' 'le signet.'

Etienne Dolet. Par Octave Galtier.

In discussing the life, work, character and beliefs of Dolet, the author attempts to steer a middle course between excessive praise and blame.

Femmes inspiratrices et Poètes annonciateurs. Par Edouard Schuré.

An account of Mathilde Wesendorck, Cosima Liszt, and Marguerite Albana who, it is here contended, inspired 'pensées-mères dans l'amour et par l'amour.' Their passion 'se traduisit puissamment dans l'œuvre de l'homme aimé.'

Bismarck et son Temps. Triomphe, splendeur et déclin, 1870-98. Par Paul Matter.

Spicheren (6 Août 1870). Par Lieut.-Col. Maistre.

A detailed study of one event of the Franco-German war.

Un page de Louis XV. Lettres de Marie-Joseph de Lordat à son oncle, 1740-7.

These letters are collected and published by the Marquis de Lordat and the Chanoine Charpentier. Never intended for publication, they offer a true picture of a bygone society.

Rameau. Par Louis Laloy.

A volume of the very useful series, 'Les maîtres de la Musique.'

La Sonate pour Clavier avant Beethoven. Par Henri Michel.

Lectures delivered as an introduction to the study of Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas.

La Dépendance de la Morale et l'indépendance des Mœurs. Par Jules de Gaultier.

Gaultier here develops further the ideas set forth in 'Le Bovarysme' and in 'La fiction universelle,' but the arguments are more technical and less easily followed by the general reader.

Aus der Gedankenwelt grosser Geister. Eine Sammlung von Auswahlbänden.

These are delightful little volumes, edited by Lothar Brieger-Wasservogel, of selections from such thinkers as Lessing, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Frederick the Great. Not only Germans are included: Napoleon and Emerson find a place, and others are promised.

Handbuch über die Organisation und Verwaltung der öffentlichen preussischen Unterrichtsanstalten. Edited by T. Heinemann.

The information is arranged lexicon fashion, and the volume is most useful for reference.

Russland in XX. Jahrhundert. Von Dr. Martin Ludwig Schlesinger.

The result of the personal observations of the author in Russia. He takes a hopeful view of the prevailing conditions.



Shakespeare: der Dichter und sein Werk. Von Dr. Max J. Wolff.

The second and final volume of Dr. Wolff's study of Shakespeare, the first part of which appeared in the summer of 1907. Here the author deals with the dramatist's life and career from 1601 onwards, and furnishes a careful and detailed study of the plays produced during these years. An interesting chapter attempts to account for the abrupt transition from comedy to tragedy at the beginning of this period. Dr. Wolff believes Shakespeare's choice of subjects in his later plays to have been largely influenced by contemporary events.

Ferdinand Freiherr von Richthofen. Tagebücher aus China. 2 vols. Selected and edited by E. Tiessen.

The publication of such a book was always desired and intended by Richthofen but he did not live to do it himself. It is of the greatest interest, and many of the illustrations are by himself.

Österreich von 1848 bis 1860. Von Heinrich Friedjung. Vol. I.

This volume, by one of the greatest of the younger Austrian historians covers the years of revolution and reform from 1848 to 1851. All Friedjung's work is of great excellence, and deserves attention from writers and students of history in this country.

Briefwechsel des Herzogs Friedrich Christian zu Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg mit König Friedrich VI. von Danemark und dem Thronfolger Christian Friedrich. Edited by Hans Schulz.

The letters extend from 1799 to 1813.

ELIZABETH LEE.

## SOUVENIRS DE JEUNESSE.

*From the French of M. Léopold Delisle.<sup>1</sup>*

**I**T was on 11th December, 1857, that I was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.

My titles to that honour were not very considerable, neither—I say it quite sincerely—were my first ambitions very high. I had been educated at the École des Frères de la Doctrine chrétienne, and had studied also at the very unpretentious college in my native town, that college of which the old students have quite recently presented the oldest of their number with a touching mark of friendship.

Whilst I was still a pupil I attracted the notice of an old man, Charles Duhérissier de Gerville, who had passed his youth as an émigré in England. He had supported himself there by giving French lessons, and had brought back thence a fairly wide acquaintance with natural history and archæology. On his return to France he became one of the founders of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, and to him is due the credit of being one

<sup>1</sup> Written by Monsieur Delisle to be presented to members of the Académie des Inscriptions at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his election, and printed as a preface to his 'Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V.'

of the first in France to apply to our mediæval monuments the methods of work which he had learnt during his exile. His interest was quickened, his tastes confirmed, and his erudition was gradually built up by the help of books which the poverty of his young days had prevented him from consulting. Above all, he increased his knowledge by the examination and comparison of many already half-ruined monuments, and he even succeeded occasionally in saving some of them from complete destruction. He gained also by contact with those English savants whom the wars of the Empire had kept away from France, and who, when peace was once more established, had hastened to Normandy. His reputation spread beyond the borders of his own province. To him the great English families applied for information concerning the cradle of their ancestors. It was his guidance that antiquaries sought in their visits to the churches and abbeys of Normandy, without a knowledge of which they could not complete their studies of the English religious monuments, which go back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His services were recognized also by the 'savants de Paris,' as he called the members of the Institute, whom he treated with great respect, and he was deeply touched, as well as surprised, on hearing of his election as a Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscriptions. He was equally worthy of serving the Académie des Sciences in the same capacity, for as far as his strength allowed he studied the quarries of Cotentin with as much interest and intelligence as the churches, the

old castles, and the smallest vestiges of antiquity in all the communes of the department of La Manche.

Whilst I was at college, M. de Gerville used to take me to his house, and kept me perhaps somewhat too long, to the detriment of my exercises as a student, thus occasionally causing some disquietude to my parents. He made me read English books to him and talked to me about everything that interested him. I was no less enthusiastic than my teacher, and he had very little trouble in making me share his tastes, and if I may venture to say so, his passion for the study of the Middle Ages, and above all, of mediæval Normandy. Taken altogether, it was by no means lost time. It was at his house that I learnt of the existence of an Académie des Inscriptions, and also, and this was somewhat of a mystery to me, of an École des Chartes. One day, when he had given me some vague idea of what could be done at this school, he proposed to give me a first lesson in reading ancient hand-writings, and fetched from the corner of his library an old register which he told me was the Chartulary of the Abbaye de Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte. After having explained to me the usual contents of a Chartulary, he made me read at the beginning of his manuscript some lines written in beautiful Gothic characters. It was a charter of Henry II., king of England. The task did not seem to me beyond my powers, and I was delighted at obtaining permission to take the Chartulary home to my own little study; in fact, for a whole summer my favourite recreation was copying a great part of the Chartu-



lary, which my first master in paleography deposited shortly afterwards amongst the archives of the department of La Manche.

My small college had attached to it a library, which was housed in an old church, and seemed to me enormous. It contained nothing but old printed books, many in Gothic character, which I have since learnt are called *Incunabula*, and I still remember my astonishment on opening a volume of one of the first editions of the *Speculum* of Vincent de Beauvais.

At the end of the year 1845 my parents took me to Paris, where I was to follow courses of study at the *École des Chartes* and the *École de Droit*. I had amongst my luggage three most precious treasures, letters addressed by M. de Gerville to his friends Charles Le Normant, Keeper of the Royal Library, and member of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, Auguste Le Prévost, deputy of the Eure and honorary member of the same Academy, and Jules Desnoyers, who also afterwards became an honorary member of our Academy. The effect of these letters was marvellous. From the reception given to them I seemed to see my future assured, especially when M. Desnoyers placed me under the special protection of his best friends, Benjamin Guérard and Natalis de Wailly, who shared with him the direction of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*.

The three years that I passed at the *École des Chartes* were broken by some unusual events, and I had plenty of leisure, all the more so because with the consent of my parents I had, after only a few

months, ceased my attendance at the École de Droit.

In 1846 I had to attend only a single set of lectures, given by M. Guérard in the attics of the Royal Library, and which he had to interrupt repeatedly on account of his health. In 1847 the reorganisation of the school, and its transference to the Archives du Royaume, into quarters already partly appropriated, reduced the length of the courses to three months. The events of 1848 caused the school to be closed for a considerable time.

The gaps in my studies for my degree, and the three years which followed the delivery of my thesis before I entered the National Library, left me ample time to follow both at Paris and in Normandy the particular kind of studies to which I intended to devote myself.

M. de Gerville had not succeeded in inoculating me with his numismatic and antiquarian tastes. He realised in good time that my predilections were fixed not on metal and stone, but on parchment and old paper. He grieved over the condition of the records, and had stigmatized many times with regard to them acts of vandalism of which he had been the indignant but helpless witness. He had, however, succeeded in getting the records of his department placed in the charge of one of his pupils and secretaries, Nicolas Dubosc, who has accomplished some very useful work, and has put an end to many abuses. He thought that I could become Keeper of the Records of one of the other departments of Normandy, and had mentioned this

idea to his friend, Auguste Le Prévost, one of the influential members of the Commission on Records which since 1840 had been attached to the Ministère de l'Intérieur.

The idea attracted me ; it tallied perfectly with my liking for provincial history and I thought myself fairly well fitted to manage a dépôt of Norman Records. I had in fact, for the purposes of my first work, which the Academy rewarded with a generosity far beyond my hopes, examined nearly all the ancient collections in the departments of Seine Inférieure, Eure, Calvados and La Manche, as well as the series of Norman charters preserved at Paris in the Record Office and in the National Library.

My researches at the National Library I had been able to carry to some effect, thanks to the influence of Guérard and to the inexhaustible kindness of a modest librarian, Charles-Clément Claude, who served as a catalogue. None of you, alas ! can have known M. Claude, but his memory remained green amongst those older scholars who frequented the department of manuscripts in the middle of the last century, a time when no catalogue was available for the use of the public. In the National Record Office, where most often I was the only stranger admitted to work, my task was lightened by M. de Wailly, and I was very soon treated as a friend and comrade by the officials of the historical section, especially by Douet d'Arcq. As for the Norman records they were thrown open to me in such a liberal manner that had I been more experienced I should

have been quite alarmed at it. In most cases, at Rouen and at Caen, I could get myself shut up in the Record Room of the Prefecture in the morning, and stay there the whole day alone without a single soul coming to the door to ask admission.

It is in this way that ever since before 1852 I have been possessed of copies of most of the Norman records earlier than the conquest of Philippe-Auguste.

In 1851 the posts of Keeper of the Records both for Le Calvados and for the Seine Inférieure were about to fall vacant, and I was informed that I might present myself as a candidate. At the same time my patron, M. Le Prévost, who had just commissioned me to finish his edition of Ordericus Vitalis, informed me that the Prefect of the Seine Inférieure was willing to nominate me Keeper of the Records of his department. I was fascinated by the prospects which seemed opening out to me, but I would not accept the post offered me without consulting my master, M. Guérard. At the very first word of our interview he 'forbade' me to leave Paris, where, said he, my work was already cut out for me; he added that I should have no reason to regret having followed his advice. I regretted it all the less because in giving my answer to M. Le Prévost I persuaded him to recommend to the Prefect the candidature of my best friend, Charles de Beaurepaire, who has proved himself in all respects the model of a Record Keeper trained at the École de Chartes. He retired from office two years ago and is now the doyen of the Correspondents of the Académie



des Inscriptions. It was thus that in 1851 I found myself fixed in Paris.

The following year Guérard became head of the Department of Manuscripts, and at the same time I was attached to the department as an assistant. The day after our appointment my chief made me come to his house. He explained to me at great length the plans of work of which he had so long dreamt, should he ever be called upon to introduce into the Department of Manuscripts reforms which for long years had been known to be absolutely necessary; he rejected sweeping and revolutionary measures, but he intended to make short work of the abuses and irregularities over which he had often groaned. In his opinion all the contents of the department ought to be catalogued, at least summarily; all should have definite press-marks, as simple as possible and absolutely unalterable. Classifications sanctified by customs must be strictly respected; those which had been made defective by excessive and irregular intercalations, or for any other reason, were never to be replaced unless cross-references were given to enable the student to pass at once from the old number to the new.

Guérard especially grieved over the actual condition of the collections confided to his care. There were at that time amongst the attics of the National Library considerable masses of papers of which the classification and the binding had been neglected for want of money. There were heaps of parchments to be seen, which had been sold by weight under the ancien régime by the Chamber of Accounts, and the intercalation of these

in the genealogical sections had been interrupted at the time when there was reason to fear such a clearance as that of 1792, which resulted in the burning in the Place Vendôme of more than half the invaluable collection de Clairambault. There were volumes also which had never been entered in the catalogues, some being considered of insufficient interest, and others on the contrary of such importance that they had been placed in special cases whence the attendants could easily fetch them when they were needed. It was even said that some precious manuscripts had been hidden away because the National Library doubted its right to them. The first professors of the École des Chartes, the abbé Lespine and Guérard, had also acquired, often at the price of their weight as so many pounds of parchment, a certain number of charters which were used for teaching purposes in the school, without ever having received a class-mark.

All this was very irregular. Guérard meant to do away with these disorders as soon as possible; it was imperative to get to work at once, without however being too hasty; he impressed upon me that such operations were very delicate and in order to avoid regrettable accidents it would be necessary to acquire a very precise knowledge of the manner in which the collections had been formed and of how they had been treated, both before and after their arrival at the Library. A thorough acquaintance with the history of the Library was absolutely necessary and one should be able also to recognise the writing and marks of

former owners, especially the handwriting and figures of former librarians.

We must not run the risk of confusing copies of documents made by ordinary scribes with the transcripts, the extracts, the analyses and the simple notes made by experts such as the brothers Dupuy, Du Cange, Gaignières, Baluze, Clairambault, Anselme Le Michel, Mabillon, Martène, etc.

Every assistant should know the history of the Library thoroughly; and I must procure for myself at once, the little book which Le Prince had published on the subject at the end of the eighteenth century.

Nothing could have been more useful than this advice, by which my conduct has always been guided, and which later on I constantly recommended for use in all departments of the library.

Such teaching as this helped to develop in me the tastes of the true bibliophile; I became more and more keen to know by whom and for whom manuscripts had been made, from what countries they originally came, at what periods they had been copied, revised or completed; what artists had decorated them, whose hands had handled them, what dangers they had escaped, what scholars had used them, by what strange adventures different parts of certain manuscripts had been scattered to countries far apart, what alterations had been made in them and what disfigurements they had suffered at the hands of forgers, sometimes for the purpose of giving them an imaginary value and sometimes to disguise theft. What care must be taken not to allow oneself to

be led astray by false witnesses! A little bibliographical adventure connected with Guérard's name shows to what dangers one is exposed in trying to solve some problems as they arise.

*(To be concluded.)*



## REVIEWS.

*The Gorleston Psalter : a manuscript of the beginning of the fourteenth century in the library of C. W. Dyson Perrins. Described in relation to other East Anglian books of the period by Sydney C. Cockerell. London: printed at the Chiswick Press, 1907. 49 pp., with 21 plates.*

**T**HIS is not only a delightful monograph of itself, but deserves special notice as an example of a method of studying manuscripts which has made great progress of late years, but of which this may still be reckoned among the first-fruits. At the outset of the study of early printing a book by Schoeffer was a book by Schoeffer, and an anonymous piece of fine printing was an anonymous piece of fine printing, and there in each case was an end of it. During the last quarter of a century extant incunabula, signed and unsigned, have been almost exhaustively sorted out under countries and places, and the process of assigning them to individual printers is only a little less advanced. The corresponding process in the case of manuscripts is far more difficult as regards plain texts, for lack of enough rallying-points of the names of scribes, but where the manuscripts are illuminated, and more especially where they are illuminated in the finest style, a whole class of other evidence becomes available, the arms and names of original owners, the

prominence given to particular saints, and (more valued than any of these by the connoisseur) the innumerable little similarities and differences of style which enable the work of pupils to be ranged round, and yet kept distinct from that of their master. As regards English illuminated manuscripts, so long absurdly ignored and only of late years recognized as, at their best, second to none in Europe, Dr. Montagu James has been a leading investigator on these lines, and Mr. Sidney Cockerell, to whom we owe this monograph, is not far behind him.

Mr. Cockerell begins with a specification of the four important types of pictured manuscripts which may be regarded as specially English: (i.) the Psalters of the tenth and eleventh centuries, mostly from Winchester; (ii.) the Bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, perhaps from York; (iii.) the Apocalypses of the thirteenth century, some of them at least from Canterbury and St. Albans; and (iv.) the large and richly painted Psalters, mostly of the first half of the fourteenth century, which have no Continental counterpart, and which are the special glory of the East Anglian school.

This East Anglian school, which comprised the great monastic centres of Norwich, Ely, Ramsey, and Bury St. Edmunds, and must also be held to include Peterborough, though this was just outside the old East Anglian boundary, developed towards the end of the thirteenth century, and no doubt owed some of its vitality to influences from across the Channel, its sympathy with the vigorous schools of Artois and French Flanders being clearly shown in its fondness for marginal grotesques. It is, nevertheless,

like the church architecture of the district, essentially and characteristically English. Its main features are the stateliness of the writing and the lavishness of the ornament which is gay in colour and virile, if somewhat irresponsible, in design. The margins are decorated with borders, half-borders, and a variety of drolleries. Leaves of vine and oak, red or green, and sometimes holly, are largely employed with sprays of daisies, marigolds, and pimpernels, and with a long serrated leaf, usually blue, which though sometimes in profile, sometimes expanded, is seldom disengaged from an irregular background of colour or dotted gold. Birds and beasts are often introduced with much spirit, and if the figure-work has little of the tender devotional expressiveness found in the Apocalypses above referred to, it is nearly always lively and strong, and in more than one book marvellously delicate.

Taking them in their order, the examples of these East Anglian Psalters which Mr. Cockerell enumerates are the Duke of Rutland's (1250-70); the first quire of the Tenison Psalter in the British Museum (1281-4); two Psalters written at Peterborough about 1300, one now at Brussels, the other at Bodley; the two imperfect Psalters at the British Museum, known conjointly as the Arundel Psalter; a Sarum Breviary (*c.* 1322), also at the British Museum; a large Sarum Missal of about the same date, now belonging to Mr. Morgan; the famous Ormesby Psalter at Oxford; and lastly, passing over some minor examples, a magnificent Psalter at Douai, and another, known as the St. Omer Psalter, now in the possession of Mr. Yates Thompson.

It is with the Sarum Breviary at the British Museum and the Douai and St. Omer Psalters that the Gorleston Psalter exhibits the closest affinities,

and in addition to fourteen plates illustrating the book itself, seven others are here given from kindred works to show its connections. In addition to this all the miniatures and decorations are minutely described and the history of the book carefully traced. There are thus all the materials provided for careful comparative study, and the monograph offers a substantial contribution to one phase of English art, and that no unimportant one. Of the manuscript itself, with its splendid initial B., its fine borders, and charming marginal grotesques, it is difficult to speak too highly.

*Book-Prices Current.* 1907. *Elliot Stock.*

We are late in noticing the annual volume of Mr. Slater's 'Book-Prices Current,' the space available for reviews being always liable to be encroached on by other matter. As far as the execution goes, the new volume is very like its predecessors. We will make our usual complaint this time in the form of a question. There is a book in this register in a binding by Clovis Eve. It fetched £660, and Mr. Slater remarks: 'This appears to be the highest price ever realised at a public sale for a leather binding, E D.' Thus we have the editorial affirmation that the £660 was paid not for the book itself, but for its cover. Yet will anybody engage to find this book by means of any help Mr. Slater gives in his index? We have searched for it under 'Eve.' We have searched for it under 'Binding.' In both cases we have searched in vain. Yet alike from the point of view of students and of the trade the



omission is serious. The value of Mr. Slater's index might be doubled if he would give references to important printers, illustrators, binders, and former owners. They would be easy to make and take very little room. And yet, year after year, 'Book-Prices Current' appears without this absolutely necessary provision.

In other respects Mr. Slater's work is not perfect, but it is good enough to be very serviceable. If a cataloguer makes a mistake Mr. Slater is almost certain to repeat it. By an extraordinary blunder the copy of Sidney's 'Defence of Poesie' in the Van Antwerp sale was entered as 'probably unique,' despite the fact that another (and better) copy had been sold in the same rooms in 1901, and recorded in 'Book-Prices Current,' No. 4971, for that year. The mistake was pointed out, before the sale, in the 'Athenæum,' yet Mr. Slater here repeats it.

Again, one of Sotheby's cataloguers has obviously been the victim of a joke, for he twice refers to the 'Specula' of Vincent de Beauvais as his 'Big Works,' and this irreverent nickname is each time repeated by Mr. Slater as if it were a normal and reasonable title.

On the other hand, this volume, like its predecessors, is excellently printed, and as far as authors are concerned well indexed, and after using it to ascertain in ten minutes the comparative frequency with which the various Shakespeare Quartos have come under the hammer during the last twenty years, we should be ingrates indeed if we undervalued Mr. Slater's work. This particular quest was started by the fact that under his numbers 3010-12 and 3014-17 he records the sale of a set

of eight of the ten Shakespearian Quartos, about which Mr. Greg is writing in this number of 'THE LIBRARY,' and under the number 5339-45 another set of eight. The contents of the two sets are not the same, the first wanting 'Henry V.' and the 'Merry Wives,' and the second 'The Merchant of Venice' and the 'Yorkshire Tragedy.' Moreover, while the first set, which belonged to Birket Foster and were sold at his sale in 1894, may conceivably have come from a single source (? George Daniel), the Van Antwerp copies came variously from the Roxburghe, Sykes, Rowfant, and Lakelands collections. All that they prove, therefore, is that these plays are the ones which it is easiest to pick up in a hurry, as would naturally be the case if they had been preserved in volumes until the eighteenth century. A survey of the entire record of 'Book-Prices Current' confirms the impression that they are more common than any other, but not very strikingly so.

As regards the finance of the auction-room Mr. Slater reports that all records have been broken by the attainment of an average of £4 4s. 2d. a lot over the whole season, the total being £134,000 for 31,800 works, whereas for the last three years it had fallen considerably below £3. The occurrence in the same year of the Samuel and Van Antwerp sales, in each of which the average was over £40, gave a good lift to the record, and we fancy also that Mr. Slater is more liberal than he used to be in including manuscripts in his reckoning, though he still, for what reason we know not, professes to exclude illuminated manuscripts, while

admitting those of literary interest. But if any one doubts that the value of the best things has risen enormously, a comparison of the prices fetched at the Hodson sale with those at the Bennett-Morris sale at which the purchases were made will surely convince him. There was every reason for the Morris books and manuscripts which Mr. Bennett put on the market fetching high prices, and it was thought at the time that the prices were very high indeed. Yet one after another of Mr. Hodson's purchases at that sale are now recorded as having sold for two and three times what he gave for them.

A. W. P.

**N**OTES OF BOOKS AND WORK. The Belgian Government has lately done Mr. James Duff Brown of the Islington Public Library the signal honour of asking him to lecture in Antwerp and Brussels on the work of British municipal libraries. By Mr. Duff Brown's kindness we are enabled to give the following epitome of the greater part of his lecture:

The British municipal library system came into existence in 1850, when a special Act of Parliament was passed empowering town councils to establish libraries, and levy a tax on the inhabitants for their support. It is interesting to note that the movement in favour of municipal libraries in America took its rise about the same time. In both countries the feeling in favour of popular libraries, managed by the citizens or their representatives, has always been strong.

One of the principal things which strikes a travelling

British librarian is the comparative absence of such libraries on the Continent of Europe.

The statutes under which our municipal libraries may be established empower the local authorities to erect and equip libraries, museums, art galleries, and schools for science and art, out of a rate or tax, which, in most cases, is strictly limited to one penny in the pound on the rental value of the town. That is to say, if the annual rents of all the property of a town amount to £360,000, that, or a smaller number of pennies, equalling a total income of £1,500, is all the Government allows for carrying on these various and expensive public institutions. This is the weak part of British legislation on behalf of municipal libraries—the Government give power to create useful educational institutions, but stultify the good intention by withholding the necessary money. In consequence of this, most towns are forced to confine their attention to the library side of the work, leaving museums, art galleries, and schools to be provided by other means.

Five hundred and eighty towns and districts, of all kinds and sizes, have adopted the Public Libraries' Acts, and 527 of these are actively carrying on public library work. Counting branch-libraries and small reading-rooms, but excluding mere book-delivery stations, they muster among them 906 separate library buildings. In round figures these libraries contain over 4,000,000 volumes of works of reference, and rather more than 8,000,000 volumes available for lending to borrowers for home-reading purposes. In the reference libraries all the books are educational or intended for purposes of research, while in the lending libraries about one-fifth of the stock is represented by light literature, or fiction.

It is satisfactory to find that 11,000,000 of reference books are consulted annually, without counting an almost equal number of references to works placed on open shelves for the free and unrestricted use of the public. The books issued for home reading reach the enormous total of



60,000,000, and of these about 35,000,000 are fiction and the balance non-fiction, making, with the recorded reference issues, about 50 per cent. for each class.

The number of enrolled borrowers in 1907 was nearly 2,500,000, or about  $5\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom, a high percentage considering that, as yet, the library movement has not been extended in any large degree to rural districts.

In this enumeration of stock and issues, no account is taken of the work accomplished in reading-rooms and news-rooms, which are frequented by millions of readers yearly.

REFERENCE LIBRARIES.—The most important department of the British municipal library is undoubtedly the reference library, in which the best books are generally stored, and most of the research work and study accomplished. Every student of science or history makes use of them, while the shopkeeper in search of an address, or the schoolboy wanting the rules of the game of cricket are equally well served. Practically every library possesses what is known as a 'quick-reference' collection, to which readers are freely admitted without formality of any kind, and where they may handle and examine the books without previously writing application forms. Connected with reference and research work are enquiry desks and special collections. Only a few towns have established enquiry desks apart from the reference departments, but no doubt the provision will be extended as its value is more appreciated. Any one may go to the enquiry desk of a public library and ask for information on any subject which can be answered by reference to books or special collections. Everything from the time of a railway train to that of an eclipse of the moon is asked about at these desks, and if the information cannot be given off-hand, a more leisured search in the reference department usually discovers it.

READING-ROOMS AND NEWS-ROOMS.—In addition to the reading-halls attached to reference libraries, many towns possess general reading-rooms, in which are displayed the

current numbers of periodicals and magazines of all kinds. The object of these, although at present not properly recognized, is really to supplement the book departments of the library, by supplying the freshest and most up-to-date information on every subject of current interest. Text-books of science, for example, very soon get out-of-date, and in a well-equipped reading-room the student should be able to ascertain the latest movements and discoveries in his own branch of knowledge.

Most of the libraries, in addition to a selection of high-class periodicals, also provide a number of daily and weekly newspapers. These latter are usually placed on special stands for which no seats are provided, and it must be admitted that they attract a very mixed and sometimes undesirable class of readers. This fact, and the use made of betting and sporting news by many persons, has led some library authorities to obliterate such portions of the newspapers with the blacking-brush. Other authorities limit the daily newspapers to those published locally and the 'Times,' and spend the money so saved on increasing the provision of high-class magazines.

LENDING LIBRARIES.—As already stated, the lending departments of British municipal libraries have an annual circulation of some 60,000,000 volumes. To facilitate this huge output various ingenious mechanical methods, consisting of screens of numbers representing books, have been invented, by means of which borrowers have to ascertain if a book is in the library before applying for it. This is effected in various ways, but generally, if a book-number appears on the screen in a blue colour, it is indicated as available, but if in a red colour, it is indicated as already borrowed and not available. These pieces of mechanism, called indicators, consist of columns of numbers in the form of blocks or very small slides, with the book-numbers printed in different colours on each end, so that when reversed in the frame, they indicate books 'in' or 'out,' as explained before. There are many forms of indicators,

and they are still in use in a majority of British libraries. During the past fourteen years, however, many libraries have adopted the plan of admitting the borrowers direct to the bookshelves, there to make choice of books after actual examination. For this purpose, the books are very carefully classified and arranged, so that all the books on a special subject are brought together. The libraries which have adopted this system are very much used, and one of them, the North Islington Branch, circulates more books annually than many considerable provincial towns. The dangers of admitting the public to their own books have been greatly exaggerated, and the experience of all the existing open-access libraries is that losses and misplacements are insignificant; while the borrowers have improved greatly in intelligence and ability to handle and select books.

**CHILDREN'S LIBRARIES AND ROOMS.**—Nearly every library has a collection of children's books, comprising in addition to tales and romances, poetry and nursery rhymes, biography, history, elementary science, and games and sports, and in a few of the later libraries, books in the French and German languages, with collections of music and pictures. In some towns the libraries and the schools work hand in hand; in others special reading-rooms are provided, and also special rooms for delivering books for home reading. In this work Cardiff, in Wales, has been specially distinguished, but the task of familiarising children with the uses of books and how to find information for themselves is now becoming quite a common feature in British library administration. In some reading-rooms collections of encyclopædias, dictionaries, atlases, biographical dictionaries, and other reference books are supplied for the use of children, and much useful information is circulated by this means. In many British children's libraries, moreover, it is usual for the assistants to train boys and girls how to use reference books, and to hold classes for teaching them the method of using the lending department.



LECTURES AND MUSIC.—A feature of British library work which is gradually becoming universal is the provision of courses of lectures on topics connected with the collections of books kept by the libraries. Many libraries also give periodical exhibitions of fine and useful books to enable readers to become acquainted with the treasures and knowledge stored up in great reference works. Others publish reading lists on topics of current interest, and a general feature of nearly all the libraries is a collection of musical texts and books about music. These musical collections are extremely popular, and in proportion to their extent, are the most used of any class of books, not excepting fiction.

STAFF.—Most of the librarians and assistants engaged in conducting this varied and extensive range of work are educated men and women. Some hold university degrees, others have been specially trained. A large proportion of the assistants are studying for the professional certificates of the Library Association in literary history, bibliography, classification, cataloguing, and library economy, and library authorities in numerous cases require such certificates before they will make appointments or grant promotion. Women are employed as chief librarians in a number of the smaller towns, while in great cities like Glasgow, Manchester, Bristol, and elsewhere, they are exclusively employed for all the junior positions.

CO-ORDINATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS.—Although there is no organized or official system of co-operation between municipal libraries and those of the state, the universities, and scientific institutions generally, there is, nevertheless, a most cordial degree of sympathy and co-ordination, owing to the fact that most of the officers and many of the trustees of such institutions are members of the Library Association. These officers and managers are continually meeting with each other and working out problems together, and as a general rule, the librarians of scientific institutions are exceedingly courteous and




willing to give any expert information required by the municipal librarians. The state libraries, like the British Museum and the Patent Office, distribute their publications among the municipal libraries, and are thus brought into touch with the great mass of the people all over the country. Then, as regards universities, many libraries have courses of university extension lectures in their own buildings, or in connection with the libraries, and for these courses they generally procure all the text-books which are prescribed. The universities, or some of them, also send their calendars and other publications to the libraries, so that the two bodies are mutually helpful. The municipal libraries have also co-operated with the scholastic professions through their various societies, and here again the school and library authorities are working hand in hand all over the country, particularly with regard to the provision of good reading matter for children, and also the supply of material required by teachers in their profession. Whenever a course of lectures is given by scientific societies or any other institution, the public library, as far as possible, endeavours to obtain the best books on the subjects dealt with, and this has the effect of enabling persons who attend the lectures to follow the subjects with more intelligence, and also tends to improve the representation of such subjects on the shelves of the library. Most municipal libraries arrange for the interchange of books among themselves, for the benefit of readers, and it is generally easy to obtain special works from a large scientific library, on the municipal librarian offering to become security for their safe-keeping and due return.

Thus it may perhaps be fairly claimed that in the popularising of the book as a vehicle for conveying instruction, amusement, and conserving record, something, however little, may be learned from the work of British municipal libraries.

# THE LIBRARY.

HENRY BYNNEMAN, PRINTER,  
1566-83.

 HE printer, whose work is the subject of the following article, was one of a little group to whom Archbishop Parker extended his patronage and encouragement between the year 1560 and his death in 1575, and whose claim to that patronage rested solely upon their excellence as craftsmen in the art of printing.

Foremost in that group was John Day, who ever since 1559 had been turning out books, the like of which, for beauty of type and decoration, had not been produced in England since the days of Richard Pynson, and who, at the Archbishop's desire, had cast a fount of Saxon type, a feat never hitherto attempted in this country.

Although overshadowed by his great contemporary, Henry Bynneman deserved the praise and merited the support of the scholarly archbishop, for he printed good literature and he printed it well. His work shows that he took a pride in the appearance of his books. The arrangement of his title-pages was invariably artistic. His setting and

spacing, and the use which he made of printers' ornaments in the divisions of chapters and as borders, shew him to have been a careful workman. In short, Bynneman was one of the few English printers of the sixteenth century whose work merits special notice.

The first recorded fact about Henry Bynneman is the entry in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of his apprenticeship for eight years from the 24th June, 1559, to Richard Harrison, a printer in London.

The earliest entries of apprenticeship, unlike the later ones, do not give either the parentage or the locality from which the apprentice came, and no light can be thrown on these details of Bynneman's history. His master, Richard Harrison, was for a short time in partnership with Reginald Wolfe, the printer in St. Paul's Churchyard, but subsequently set up for himself in White Cross Street, Cripple-gate, where he published an edition of the Bible in 1562, and where he died in the following year. An interesting memento of Bynneman's connection with Richard Harrison is preserved in the British Museum in the shape of a copy of Harrison's Bible, on the title-page of which below the frame is printed the words, 'Meus possessor verus est Henricus Binnem[annus],' the letters in brackets having been erased.

Bynneman had yet four years of his apprenticeship to complete at the time of Harrison's death, and Herbert suggests that he transferred his services to Reginald Wolfe. While there is much that can be said in support of this, there is as much

that may be said against it. In the first place, there is no evidence that Bynneman transferred his services to anybody. It was usual in such cases to make an entry in the Registers, and there is no such entry. Again, if the excellence of his presswork be taken as evidence, we should be inclined to assign his transfer to John Day rather than to Reginald Wolfe. Finally, we have the fact that the first issue from his press bore the address of the Black Boy in Paternoster Row, the house of Henry Sutton, who, though he appears to have left off printing in 1563, was certainly taking apprentices as late as 1571.

But whatever may have been Bynneman's movements after the death of Richard Harrison until the 15th August, 1566, when he took up his freedom, there is no doubt that he had become a skilled workman.

His first issue was Robert Crowley's 'Apologie, or Defence of Predestination,' a quarto, bearing the imprint, 'Imprinted at London, in Paternoster Rowe, at the signe of the blacke boy, by Henry Binneman. Anno 1566, Octobris 14.'

The copyright of this work appears to have been shared by Henry Bynneman and Henry Denham, as some copies bear the latter printer's name and address in the imprint, though the presswork is the same in all, the only other difference between them being that Bynneman's copies want the list of errata. The chief typographical features of the book may be briefly noticed.

The title-page is surrounded by a border of printers' ornaments, technically termed a 'lace'



border. The epistle 'To the Reader' has a large fourteen-line wood-cut initial B, with flowers and foliage conventionally treated. The text is printed in a clear, sharp fount of black letter, with roman and italic as supplementary types, and the compositors' work throughout is excellent.

Our knowledge of the rest of Bynneman's work in 1566 is confined to the entries that occur under his name in the Stationers' Registers, and we must therefore judge his work and see how his printing-office was furnished, by the books that came from his press in the succeeding twelve months.

Copies of eight books printed by Bynneman in 1567 have been found, three of them quartos of some size and the remainder small octavos. The quartos are (1) Boccaccio's 'Philocopo,' a series of disputations about love, translated from the Italian under the title of 'A pleasante Disporte of Divers Noble Personages,' entered in the Register by Richard Smyth, before the 22nd July, 1567, and printed for Richard Smyth and Nicholas England; (2) the second volume of Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure,' a collection of tales from the best French and Italian authors which Bynneman printed for Nicholas England and finished on 8th November; (3) Jewel's 'Confutation of M. Dorman,' a theological work of upwards of four hundred folios, which was finished on 24th November, 1567.

The most interesting of these is the 'Palace or Pleasure.' In this, as in Crowley's 'Apologie,' we see the title-page set in a deep 'lace' border. Each novel or tale was commenced with a decorative wood-cut initial of the same size and character as

that seen in Crowley's 'Apologie.' At the first glance these letters appear to be identical with a set used by Richard Jugge at this time, but a careful comparison has been made and proves that they were a distinctive set. As a matter of fact, no less than four other printers besides Bynneman are found to have used a similar set of initials, John Day, Henry Denham, Richard Jugge, and Reginald Wolfe, and the resemblance between these sets in size and appearance is so close that nothing short of actual comparison and measurement serves to distinguish them. Those used by Bynnemann were apparently his own property, and he continued to use them throughout his career.

The Boccaccio is printed with the same type and ornaments, but the imprint runs, 'Imprinted at London, in Pater-Noster Rowe at the signe of the Marmayd, by H. Bynnemann for Richard Smyth and Nicholas England Anno Domini 1567; and the printer's device, showing the sea-maiden combing her tresses by the aid of a hand mirror, makes an effective ornament to the title-page. Bynneman may have adopted this sign without moving from the premises from which he had issued Crowley's 'Apologie,' and it is quite possible also that Painter's 'Palace of Pleasure' was printed at the Mermaid.

Amongst the octavos of the year 1567, the most interesting were a selection from the Greek author, Epictetus, translated by James Sandford, and printed for Leonard Mayler or Maylard, a bookseller living at the sign of the Cock in St. Paul's Churchyard, and a selection from the Latin poet, Baptista Mantuanus, turned into English verse by George

Turberville, both of which books bore on the title-page the device of the Mermaid.

In addition to these eight books, Bynneman printed towards the latter end of 1567 several proclamations concerning a public lottery. The first and largest of these, nearly three feet long, was surrounded by a border of printers' ornaments, and was headed by a large and roughly executed woodcut of the prizes. The Grenville copy of this proclamation has not the woodcut, which is only known from a unique copy in the library of the late James More Molyneux at Losely House, in Surrey, and the reproduction in the catalogue and description of the manuscripts by Alfred John Kempe, F.S.A., in 1836 (B.M. 807, d. 10).

This lottery was made by the Queen's command, and its object was to raise money 'for the repair of the havens and strengthe of the realme, and towards such other publique good workes.' Four hundred thousand lots of the value of ten shillings each were issued, and the prizes consisted of ready money, plate, and linen. The first prize was of the value of five thousand pounds, the second three thousand five hundred pounds, the third three thousand. There were nine thousand prizes of fourteen shillings each, and every adventurer, whether he won a prize or not, was to receive two shillings and sixpence. The prizes were on view at a goldsmith's shop in Cheapside known as the Queens Majesties Armes. This proclamation bore the imprint of Paternoster Row, but the second issue, which gave an extension of time, was dated from 'Knightrider Street at the signe of the

Mermaide, anno 1567, Januarii 3' (in other words, 3rd January, 1567<sup>7</sup>), showing that the printer had again changed his address.

Settled in his new premises, Bynneman's business rapidly increased. During the year 1568, we find him printing for John Wight, Thomas Hacket, and Leonard Mayler or Maylard. For the first-named he printed in quarto an edition of a very popular medical work, 'The Secrets of Alexis,' in which a few new founts of type are noticeable on the title-page, the first line of which is printed in German text letters. Also above the imprint is seen the block of a figure with horses, and the motto 'Armi-potenti Angliae,' generally associated with the publisher Nicholas England, who may have had some share in the venture. The book is further interesting, as having at the end of the first part below the colophon, a small form of Bynneman's device, measuring only 54 by 43 mm., not found, as far as we know, in any other book.

For Thomas Hacket, Bynneman printed a translation of Andrew Thevet's 'Singularitez de la France Antarctique,' under the title of 'The New Found Worlde, or Antarctike,' a quarto of nearly a hundred and fifty folios. In this a great primer black, a handsome letter, makes its appearance in the preliminary matter, the rest of the types being those already noticed.

Another quarto of the greatest interest, that came from Bynneman's press in 1568, is the old play or interlude of 'Jacob and Esau.' This furnishes another link in Bynneman's connection with Henry Sutton, as it was one of Sutton's copyrights,



and had been entered by him in the Register ten years before. The play was written for eleven performers, and is described by J. P. Collier in his 'History of Dramatic Poetry' as superior to anything of the kind which had preceded it. It was printed throughout in pica black letter with a few founts of roman and italic for running title, headings to acts and scenes and marginalia, and with the exception of a small wood-cut initial at the beginning of the prologue, was without ornament of any kind.

But the book of the year 1568 was undoubtedly Dr. John Caius' '*De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiæ*,' a work of considerable antiquarian interest, which came from Bynneman's press in August. As a piece of printing the book, an octavo of nearly four hundred pages, is notable as being set up throughout in pica italic type, with marginalia in roman. Here and there a fount of Anglo-Saxon is introduced, which was undoubtedly borrowed from John Day, who printed subsequent editions of the work. Finally, this book, unlike most of those hitherto printed by Bynneman, was paged throughout instead of only the leaves being numbered. To the '*De Antiquitate*' was added '*Assertio antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ*,' a work of sixteen leaves or thirty-two pages, which differs from the '*De Antiquitate*' by being printed throughout in nonpareil roman, with italic for marginalia. The printer's large device occupies the recto of the last leaf.

Space and time alike prevent us from doing more than enumerate some of the other interesting issues

of the year 1568. The 'Plain Path to perfect Vertue' was a translation by George Turberville of the old moral treatise of Mancinus known as 'The Mirrour of good maners,' first translated by Alexander Barclay, and printed many years before both by Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson. Turberville's attempt to dress it in jingling rhyme was hardly a success. 'The Enemy of Idleness' of William Fulwood was a work treating of the art of letter writing, with examples from French, Italian, and classical models. An English translation of the Histories of Polybius, made by Christopher Watson, was another of the important octavos, and was published by Thomas Hacket, and two Dutch pamphlets on religious questions were also amongst the curiosities of Bynneman's press in 1568.

During the 1569 Matthew Parker exerted himself actively on the printer's behalf. On the 9th August, he wrote a letter to Lord Burghley, in which the following passage occurred :

Sir, I am styl sued onto bi the prynter bineman, to entreate yo<sup>r</sup> honor to optayne for hym a privilege for prynting two or iii vsual bokes for grammarians, as Therence, Virgile or Tullye's office, etc. he feareth that he shal susteyne great loss of hys prynted bokes of the Lotarye. I thinke he shulde do this thing aptly inough, and better cheape then they may be bought frō beyond the seas, standyng the paper and goodnes of his prynt, and it wer not amys to set our own contrymen on werke, as they wold be diligent, and take good correctors. He hath brought me a litle pece of his workmanship in a tryall, w<sup>ch</sup> he desiereth to be sent to yo<sup>r</sup> honor, to see the forme & order of his prynt. (Lansdowne MS., XI. art. 62.)

This letter has often been quoted, but always wrongly, the word 'characters' being substituted for 'correctors.' Matthew Parker was insisting upon a correct text, rather than a well-printed book, being perfectly satisfied that on the latter score he could depend upon Bynneman's workmanship. As some doubt has been expressed as to the meaning of the passage referring to 'hys prynted bookes of the Lotarye,' I may say that Mr. Robert Steele, who knows more about English proclamations than any one else, believes it to refer to the broadside proclamations already referred to and not to books as we understand the word.

Though no official record of any such grant in 1569 has been found, Parker's efforts were evidently successful, as several of the books printed by Bynneman within the next two years bore the words 'Cum privilegio' or 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.' They are found in the two most notable books that came from his press in that year, Johan Van der Noot's 'Theatre for Worldlings,' always to be remembered as containing the first printed verse of Edmund Spenser, and 'Volusianus, Epistolæ Duæ . . . de Celibatu Cleri,' the colophon of which states that the printing was finished on 23rd August, i.e. a fortnight after the date of the archbishop's letter.

Of the three books particularly mentioned in that letter those of Terence and Virgil were entered by Bynneman in the Registers before the 22nd July, 1570, and the British Museum possesses an octavo edition of Virgil's Opera from his press, dated in that year, but without the privilege clause.

Another issue of the year 1569 that is bibliographically interesting is Thomas Norton's 'Warning against the dangerous Practices of Papists and specially of Partners of the late Rebellion,' one of the many tracts called forth by the recent trouble in the north of England. A copy of this tract with Bynneman's name as printer was noticed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1828 (Pt. II., p. 502). Two other editions, both without date, were printed by John Day, and copies of these are in the British Museum, but no other copy printed by Bynneman appears to be known.

As in the two preceding years, so in 1569 Bynneman entered a large number of books in the Registers, which are either lost altogether, or only known from fragments. Some of these were perhaps ventures of his own, or work undertaken directly for the authors. But for the bulk of his business he was dependent on the publishers, and this branch of his trade was steadily growing every year. Thus amongst those whose names are met with in books from his press during the next two or three years are George Bishop, Francis Coldocke, Thomas Hacket, Lucas Harrison, William Norton, Richard Smith, Humphry Toy, and Richard Watkins. A further indication of his prosperity is shown by the fact that in 1572, in addition to his printing-office in Knight-rider Street, he had a bookseller's shop or shed at the north-west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, which bore the sign of the Three Wells, and is definitely mentioned in the imprint to 'The Survey of the Worlde,' translated by Thomas Twine from the Latin of Dionysius.



Hitherto we have seen Henry Bynneman as a careful workman, earning commendation from those in high places, and winning the confidence of the first booksellers of the day by reason of the excellence of his work.

But about 1572 or 1573 he was employed by Richard Smith the publisher to print an edition of the poems of George Gascoigne, the manuscript for which we may assume was supplied by the publisher. The volume when issued formed a bulky quarto, and was entitled 'A Hundreth sundrie Flowers bounde up in one small Posie,' etc.

This book is one of those bibliographical eccentricities which it seems hopeless to explain. A very few moments' examination shows that its arrangement is 'mixed.' To begin with, the first two leaves in signature B of the first alphabet are wanting. The pagination skips in one instance from 36 to 45, and in another from 164 to 201. There is a colophon in the middle of the book and another at the end. On the third leaf is found a note from the Printer to the Reader, in which he says, 'Master H. W. in the beginning of this worke, hath in his letter (written to the Reader), etc., etc.' There is no such letter at the beginning of the work, but the reader finds it in the middle of the book, immediately after the first colophon, and forming part of the preliminary matter to the miscellaneous poems, whereas it was clearly intended, both by the tone of the letter itself and from the printer's evidence, that it should come at the beginning of the book.

This is so unlike Bynneman's method of doing his work, that evidently something happened while this book was passing through the press to cause confusion, and thus resulted in the present chaotic make-up of the volume.

It is generally admitted now, that, so far from this being an unauthorized edition of the poet's works, George Gascoigne gave the publisher the manuscript, and knew perfectly well that it was being printed. But on the 19th March, 1573, he left England to serve as a soldier of fortune in the Low Countries. That he was still in correspondence with his publisher is made clear by his sending over the manuscript of a poem describing his voyage, to be included in the published volume, and it is possible that some of the proofs were sent to him for correction, thus causing delay. Meanwhile the printers had started to set up the two plays, for which two hundred pages were allowed. The inclusion of the preliminary matter in the second part was undoubtedly due to carelessness on the part of those who gave out the work, and the whole having been paged throughout, it became impossible to rectify the error. As regards the date of printing, it was late in 1573, if not even some time in 1574, as the black letter type shows signs of wear, and there are initials used in it that we are inclined to think belong to a later date.

Bynneman did just at this time procure a new fount of type. On the 26th August, 1573, the Company of Stationers, after infinite trouble, had run to earth at Hempstead or Hemel Hempstead, the secret press at which Cartwright and his friends

had been printing their attacks upon the Bishops. There is no evidence that Bynneman had in any way helped in the capture of the press, but in the registers of the year 1574-5, is this entry :

Item, Receyvd of Master Bynneman for wearing  
the lettre that came from Hempstead - xvs.

Mr. Arber construes the word 'wearing' as meaning 'using,' but the expression is a peculiar one, and raises a doubt as to whether the printer purchased the type outright, or whether the Company only lent it to him.

This fount was a small Gothic black, either brevier or long primer, and Bynneman first used it to print the preface to a sermon preached by the Bishop of Chichester before the Queen at Greenwich on the 14th of March, 157 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and published after the 6th April.

The year 1574 opens a new era in the history of the printer. Up to this time he has moved along with a stock of letter restricted to a few good founts, most of which were getting somewhat worn, while his device of the Mermaid and the set of large wood-cut initials, to which attention has been drawn, formed his chief material for decoration. But all this was now changed. In the closing days of 1573, the great antiquary, bookseller and printer, Reginald Wolfe, of the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard, had died, and six months later his widow followed him, leaving the business in the hands of her executors, to do with as they thought best, provided that in the event of its being sold,

her servant John Sheppard was to have the first refusal. We can only judge what actually took place from the facts before us. John Sheppard's name occurs in the imprints of books down to 1577, and in some he claims to be the printer; but when we find all Reginald Wolfe's devices, and almost every one of his initial letters and ornaments in Bynneman's possession before the end of 1574, we feel sure that the stock of printing materials at the Brazen Serpent was disposed of for some reason or another. The business of Jugge and Cawood had also undergone changes, by the death of John Cawood in 1572, and five years later by that of Richard Jugge. The great stock of printing 'stuff' in that office was released, and Bynneman secured a share. The result was an improvement and development of the printer's business. For the first time in his history he began to print books in folio. Four books of that size bear the date 1574, and were therefore printed between July of that year and the 25th March, 157<sup>4</sup>/<sub>5</sub>. Two of these were different editions of Calvin's Sermons on Job, translated by Arthur Golding; the others were Walsingham's 'Historia Brevis,' and Whitgift's 'Defence of the Aunswer to the Admonition,' and all of them are excellent examples of Bynneman's printing. The title-pages to the last two are within a woodcut border of conventional design, evidently cut specially for Bynneman, having a figure of a Mermaid embodied in it. This border was modelled on that used by Reginald Wolfe when he printed the 'Historia Major' of Matthew Paris in 1571.



These folios were followed in 1575 by an edition of the Bible. No printer's name appears in this, it being a venture shared by several booksellers and printers, some copies being found with William Norton's name, others with that of Lucas Harrison, and it is preceded by the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, which has Richard Jugge's imprint. The editors of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Catalogue, while recognising that the whole impression is alike, ascribe it to the press of Richard Jugge. But there can be no doubt that this Bible was printed by Bynneman. Not only are all the title-pages in what I may call the Mermaid border, but many of the pictorial initials, tail-pieces, etc., can be recognized as having appeared in the smaller of Bynneman's two editions of Calvin's Sermons printed in the preceding year, and were evidently part of the stock that formerly belonged to Reginald Wolfe. A new fount of black letter, of a larger and thinner face and more clumsy casting than any which Bynneman had previously used, makes its first appearance in this Bible.

Archbishop Parker did not live to see the publication of this first small folio edition of the Bishop's Bible, in the revision of which he took so large a part, as he died on the 17th May, 1575. Bynneman and his brother printers must have grieved for many a long day over the loss of such a patron; but Bynneman appears to have soon found another in the person of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Vice-Chancellor and favourite of Elizabeth, whose 'servant' he styles himself in some of his later imprints.

Bynneman at this time reached the high watermark of excellence in his book production. His editions of the classics, of which he printed large numbers, were issued in a handy form, and in clear readable type, generally italic, and he had also a miniature Greek fount, very clearly and regularly cast, used in his edition of the 'Dialectics of La Ramée,' published in 1583.

His title-pages were quite the most artistic of any that issued from the London press at that time. As a rule, he continued the custom of placing his titles within a border of printer's ornaments, but in addition to this, he rarely let a book go out without some additional ornament upon it, sometimes a cut of the Royal Arms, sometimes Wolfe's small 'charity' device, or the lesser of the 'Serpent' devices, but more often the crest and motto either of his patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, or some other nobleman. He still continued to use the Mermaid device, but rarely, often substituting for it one or other of the Serpent marks. Nor were these the only form of book decoration he adopted, many of his books bearing the coats of arms of those to whom they were dedicated, or of one or other of the great court favourites, and heralds and genealogists might do worse than consult them for information. On one occasion we find him using the large and effective initial C, showing Elizabeth on her throne, which had been used by John Day in printing Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.'

New types also make their appearance in his books at this time, and the frequent repetition of the large wood-cut initials which marked his earlier

work gives place to a great variety of pictorial initials which, if smaller in size, are much more attractive.

Bynneman's greatest work during the last years of his life was the printing of Holinshead's 'Chronicles' in 1577. This work was Reginald Wolfe's bequest to the nation. With infinite toil and patience he had collected during his life the materials, and at his death he left instructions that Raphaell Holinshead should arrange and publish them. The complete work makes two bulky folio volumes, which with indexes and preliminary matter fill nearly two thousand pages. No printer's name appears anywhere about them, but the types and ornaments are enough to identify Bynneman, and all the title-pages have the 'Mermaid' border. The work is also profusely illustrated, and the introduction of so many wood blocks must not only have added largely to the labour of printing the work, but must also have greatly added to the cost. The editors admitted that this last consideration had greatly hampered their work, and this may account for the sale of Reginald Wolfe's printing materials to Bynneman, who may have made a bargain with the executors as to printing the work, at the time of Wolfe's death.

The chief events in the short remaining period of the printer's life need not occupy much space. About the year 1579 he moved into Thames Street, near Baynard's Castle. In the same year he was granted a patent for printing certain books. The grant, which is enrolled on the patent rolls, is curiously worded, beginning with a long rambling

statement about a previous grant made to Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, to print an edition of Elyot's Dictionary, and going on to say that in order that the work may be well and truly printed, and 'having credible information of the dexteritie and skill of our loving subject Henry Bynneman,' proceeds to grant him a license for the sole printing of that book, and a 'chronicle' set forth by the same author, besides all other dictionaries and chronicles that might be published within the next twenty-one years.

In 1580 Bynneman was in serious trouble, and suffered imprisonment for printing a libellous letter sent from one member of Parliament to another. The story is told at some length in Thurloe's State Papers.

This was the only time he offended the authorities. On the other hand, we find him serving as 'constable' to the parish of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, and collecting various sums of money for the poor, and we should be inclined to sum up his character as that of a loyal and God-fearing man.

In May, 1583, he was returned as possessing three presses, this number being only exceeded by Christopher Barker, who had five, and by John Day and Henry Denham, each of whom had four, and there were only five other men who had an equal number, Richard Tottell, Henry Marshe, Henry Middleton, Thomas Dawson, and John Wolfe.

Bynneman died before the end of the year 1583, as on the 8th January, 158 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Ralph Newberry and Henry Denham delivered up to the Company



certain copies that had belonged 'to Henry Bynne-  
man deceased.' He left a widow and several  
children, one of whom, Christopher Bynneman,  
was in 1600 apprenticed for seven years to Thomas  
Dawson, but nothing more is heard of him. The  
business passed into other hands, and the Mermaid  
device is found years afterwards in the hands of  
Humphrey Lownes, while the Mermaid border,  
minus the Mermaid, is found used in books printed  
for the Company of Stationers during the first half  
of the seventeenth century.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

## SOUVENIRS DE JEUNESSE.

*From the French of M. Léopold Delisle.*

*(Concluded.)*



SHORT time after I took up my duties Guérard opened for me a little select case where were collected some precious manuscripts not issued to students without a special authorisation from the Keeper, and which had not all been entered in the catalogue. I was to enter them briefly in the inventory of the Latin Supplement where they naturally belonged. My attention was specially drawn to one of these manuscripts. 'There,' said Guérard, 'is one of our most valuable manuscripts, the copy of Nithardus, which contains the Strasburg Oaths, the oldest French text which has come down to us.' It is a volume, from the Library of the Vatican, which was handed over to us in 1797 by the treaty of Tolentino. In 1815 the Papal Commission claimed its restitution, but it had disappeared from the Library, probably in consequence of its having been sent to a draughtsman for the facsimile of the text of the famous Oaths that was then being made. The volume reappeared again some time after, but nothing was said about it in order not to provoke a claim from the Vatican.

Things were at this point, when Pertz, who had come to Paris to prepare, amongst other works destined to form part of the 'Monumenta Germaniæ historica,' a new edition of the History of Nithardus, asked to collate the manuscript of this author which we had received from the Vatican. Orders were given to say that the manuscript must have been given back to the Papal Commissioner in 1815. Pertz renewed the attack after having made a fruitless application at the Vatican. 'But,' said Guérard, 'I had taken my precautions. I had collated the manuscript most carefully with the edition of Dom Bouquet, and when Pertz reappeared I told him, that whilst looking through some papers belonging to one of the Keepers at the time when the Vatican manuscripts were at Paris, I had found a collation of Nithardus which seemed to have been made with the most scrupulous attention to detail, and that in default of the original I could place this collation at his disposal. Pertz accepted with gratitude.' In finishing his recital Guérard told me to look at the 'Monumenta' and see how the incident had been reported. It is worth while reproducing the exact text of the learned German :

Codex seculo xvii bibliothecæ palatinæ Vaticanæ sub numero 1964 inlatus, bello ultimo Parisius rediit, ibique a cl. Roquefort evolutus et ab alio viro docto, cujus nomen ignoro, rei tamen diplomaticæ peritissimo, cum editione bouquetiana diligentissime collatus est. Mox Italiæ redditus, Romæ latet, nec vel maxima cura nostra adhibita iterum emersit. Sed quo plurimum gratulandum nobis censemus, collationem istam, in qua nihi

desiderari posse videtur, flagitantibus nobis summa cum benivolentia transmisit V. cl. Guerard Bibliothecæ regiæ Parisiensi adscriptus, quem futurum gloriæ suæ diplomaticæ vindicem Gallia jam jamque sperat et expectat.<sup>1</sup>

I have read and re-read these lines more than once in the fine copy of the 'Monumenta' which became mine after having belonged first to Guérard and then to Natalis de Wailly. It is the very copy which Pertz gave to his friend, and in which he inserted his own portrait. It is the most valuable book in the collection which my wife and I have thought it right to make over to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

But the story I have just told is not the most dramatic part of the history of the manuscript of Nithardus. Guérard never knew what really took place in 1815 at the time of the claim made by the Papal Commissioners; he had not been told the details by the authorities of the Library who took part in the negotiations. It was only in 1884, by the posthumous publication of a report by Marini, the chief Papal Commissioner, that the secrets of this affair were revealed in all their detail.

It had been necessary in 1815 to submit to the wholesale restitution of the manuscripts surrendered to France in virtue of the treaty of Tolentino, although there had been no stipulation on the subject in the treaties concluded with the Allies in 1815. Some few exceptions, however, had been allowed in order to lessen the rigour of the restitutions, and the affair seemed almost settled, except

<sup>1</sup> 'Scriptores,' II., 650.



with regard to two manuscripts about which Dacier tried to soften the hearts of the papal representatives. These were the manuscript of Nithardus and an ancient copy of Virgil, decorated with paintings, which had come from the Abbey of S. Denis. Marini was implored to refer the matter again to the Pope. The reply was not at all of a kind to please us; in spite of the regard which Pius VII. was said to have for M. Dacier, Marini did not think himself authorized to give up either the Nithardus or the Virgil. In the end, however, he accepted in exchange for Nithardus a Greek manuscript, in the belief, as he boasted later on, that he had made a very good bargain for the Vatican. But he was adamant with regard to the Virgil. He even pretended that he was compromised by leaving the Nithardus at Paris. As a matter of fact his Holiness, 'in order not to hurt M. Dacier's feelings,' had authorized his agent to give up both the manuscripts. This happened in 1815, and less than twelve years later the story of the temporary disappearance of the Nithardus had been pieced together with enough consistency to be accepted by Guérard and embodied by Pertz in a volume printed in 1829! It still figures in some excellent and learned works of a date subsequent to the publication of the report of Marini's mission.

But I have been too prolix over a matter of secondary importance, and I must excuse myself for having been carried away by the wish to record the very flattering testimony which the illustrious Pertz published in 1829 with regard to the promis-

ing young assistant at the Bibliothèque. The perusal of the little book recommended to me by Guérard, and especially also the study of a résumé of the researches of Boivin, published by the abbé Jourdain in 1739, at the beginning of the first volume of the Catalogue of printed books of the Royal Library, had made me fairly well acquainted with the main points of the history of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but I had still made little progress with the work of clearing and verification with which I had been charged, a work which often brought me pleasant surprises, as, for instance, the discovery of the letter of a burgess of La Rochelle to Queen Blanche, which I was allowed to submit to the Académie during the summer of 1856. This was the first time that I had had the honour of speaking before this friendly audience. Guérard was no longer there to hear me. A premature death had carried him off on 10th March, 1854, barely two years after he became Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts.

The loss of such a chief and, I may say, of such a friend, was a great sorrow, a sorrow somewhat softened to me by the appointment of his successor, Natalis de Wailly, in whom I was to find the same qualities—the same learning, the same wisdom, the same affection. An intimate friend of Guérard he was thoroughly acquainted with his views, and had often discussed them with him; for more than fourteen years he worked hard to carry them out, and the principles which these two illustrious masters introduced into the Department of Manuscripts are still in force there, while the same

principles have inspired many of the reforms which have since been carefully and gradually introduced in the other departments.

A short time after his appointment to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Natalis de Wailly arranged with his colleague, confrère and friend, Charles Le Normant, to introduce me to Mme. Eugène Bournouf, assuring her that I should make as good a husband as a librarian. This lady, both courageous and distinguished, so worthy of the name of the great orientalist which she bore, graciously suffered herself to be convinced, and lost no time in causing me to be received by her eldest daughter, Laure Bournouf. This was the beginning of a happiness which lasted for me forty-seven years.

The companion who gave herself to me with such good grace had been brought up in the studies of her grandfather and father. The grandfather prided himself on having produced a pupil who, after but a few years, duly wrote the same Latin proses as the members of the class of 'Rhetoric' of the Lycée de Charlemagne, and who admired her father's genius, not merely upon trust, but with some insight into the difficulties of the task which he had set himself, and of the importance of the results which were to be reached in the course of a career cut short so prematurely. The dream of her girlhood would naturally have been to marry an orientalist, but she was good enough to find in me two merits: I was born close to the original home of the Bournouf family, and I came from the Ecole des Chartes, of which Eugène Bournouf was one of the first and most brilliant scholars.

My wife had thus a double reason for her attachment to the Ecole des Chartes and for interesting herself in the work done there. She never disguised her affection for the school any more than she hid the pleasure she took in the illuminations of mediæval manuscripts. She was the better able to appreciate these from the fact that she had herself practised the art of a miniaturist with some success. It is not to be wondered at that she allowed herself to be attracted by paleography. In a short time she acquired in a study quite new to her sufficient skill to decipher readily and very correctly mediæval handwritings, and even to assign dates to them. It was a real delight to her to copy charters, despite the occasional shocks she received from a style of Latin a little different from that taught her by her grandfather. How many pieces has she transcribed for me with the utmost accuracy, in that beautiful hand which recalled the fine copies made by her father and given by her to the Bibliothèque Nationale! What manuscripts we have collated together! She shared all my tastes, took part in all my work, and would not remain unfamiliar with any question which I was led to investigate. Her modesty was so great that she never wished anyone even to suspect the share in my published works which really belonged to her. What papers she read and analysed, pen in hand; what books she searched through; what translations she made for me; what letters she wrote; what errors—and not errors of the press only—did she not save me from making by going over my proofs, which she never liked to be sent to



press until she had re-read them ! How delighted I was at the wicked pleasure she took in pointing out the misprints I had allowed to pass when they were staring me in the face.

As time went by and our hopes of founding a family disappeared, her devotion to work increased ; and when towards the end of her life illness kept her confined to the house, it became even greater still.

My marriage was closely followed by my election to the Academy, and the memory of my father-in-law played not a small part in my success. It must be said, too, that the road leading to the Academy was not then as beset with difficulties as it is now, and if I reached the goal so quickly, I owed it to the really excessive praise which my patrons, Guérard, Le Prévost, de Wailly and Wallon, were good enough to bestow on my first efforts. They promised in my name important works on the history of Normandy and the reign of Philippe Auguste, but they had over-estimated my powers and had not foreseen the change of direction which my entrance into the Bibliothèque Nationale was bound to give to my studies. Resolved to devote my life to the Library, I was bound to give myself up to bibliographical and paleographical work. Above all I had to busy myself with our dear manuscripts. I loved them passionately, and my passion was shared by my wife. What pleasure those manuscripts gave us ! What delightful evenings we spent in our own home in talking over various specimens of which I had seen the importance when accident brought them to my notice ! What memories abide with me of those days !

I still laugh at the enthusiasm with which I came home one day in the summer of 1867 and told my wife that a notary had let me handle—under his inspection, and then only for a short half hour—a splendid psalter, which I had recognized as having been made for Queen Ingeborg of Denmark, a fact which no one had hitherto suspected. We little thought then that twenty years later this psalter would be acquired by Son Altesse Royal, le duc d'Aumale, and that we should both have the opportunity of examining it at our leisure in the Library of Chantilly.

How lucky we were also that same year, when at the exhibition in the Champs-de-Mars we studied with admiration a manuscript sent from Soissons, and I discovered in it undoubted evidences of royal origin! It was, in fact, one of the most precious books of the fourteenth century, which King John had lost with his baggage at Poitiers. Charles V. bought it back from the English as a gift for his brother the duc de Berri, the greatest bibliophile of the Middle Ages. I do not know, alas! what destiny is reserved for this chef-d'œuvre both of writing and illumination of which we were the custodians in the Salon of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1904, after the exhibition of original manuscripts of Early French Art (*Exposition des Primitifs*) was closed. It was at this time that I prepared a detailed description of it for inclusion in my '*Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V.*'

A little later, in 1878, I found myself once more in the library at Lyons, sitting by the side of my wife, whom I startled by jumping up suddenly;

the sight of a manuscript, devoid of binding, and all tattered and torn, had recalled to my memory a vision of the quires of the Pentateuch, in three columns, and in uncial letters, which the old Earl of Ashburnham had published with a facsimile in 1868. I found myself unexpectedly face to face with one half of an apparition well known to me, although I had never seen the other half. The apparition seemed to be an answer to the invocation of the lamented Gaston Paris, who, in the 'Revue Critique,' in 1868, after remarking on the importance of the fragments recently published, deplored the loss of the rest of the manuscript, and ended with some almost prophetic words: 'Happy,' said he, 'will be the student who puts his hand on this treasure, hidden perhaps in the depths of some provincial library!'

What a joy it was to me a little later to replace in their rightful position these quires which had been stranded in England for more than thirty years.

I have not forgotten either the anxious times we had during the campaigns which I had the honour to direct for making good the losses which our collections had suffered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But what happiness followed on these anxieties when, thanks to the kindness of our friends at the British Museum, Mr. Bond and Sir Edward Thompson, we saw restored to France the leaves torn in the reign of Louis XIV. from the Bible belonging to Charles Le Chauve, and the 166 valuable manuscripts stolen from our libraries to adorn the collections of Libri and Barrois. The

former came back to us in 1876 and the latter in 1887. I have had the pleasure of recording this last success in a book on the history of the Bibliothèque Nationale dedicated to the Académie des Inscriptions.

These successes have been in great measure due to the help given me by this same institution. It was the support which it lent to my demonstration, on 23rd February, 1883, of the fraudulent origin of many of the precious manuscripts conveyed to Lord Ashburnham by Libri and Barrois in 1847 and 1849, that won the adhesion of the Trustees of the British Museum, and of the representative of the Italian Government, Professor Villari. The Académie extended to the Bibliothèque Nationale the same kind of patronage as that exercised by Louis XVII. when, in 1785, he ordered it to draw up an account of the principal manuscripts. That the Library has never ceased to fulfil this command is amply proved by the thirty-nine volumes published between 1787 and the present time, under the title of 'Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques.'

Faithful to the advice of Guérard, of which I have spoken above, I have always been keenly alive to the origins of our manuscripts and the vicissitudes through which they have passed. Shortly before 1868 I decided that I had collected enough material to begin the publication of a work which should contain the history of our Department of Manuscripts. This somewhat bold undertaking was finished in 1881. At the present time the



work should really be recast on a much larger basis, and furnished throughout with illustrative extracts. But for myself, I have long known that I must give up a task beyond my strength. Since, however, saying good-bye to the Bibliothèque, I have begun to put in order my notes on what may be called the 'Infancy' of the institution. They treat of the books collected by Charles V. and dispersed after the death of Charles VI. These notes form but a very small part of the first volume published in 1868, under the title of '*Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale.*' The questions I had to examine have necessarily taken a much larger form owing to the new researches made during nearly forty years. In 1868 I only knew of about thirty manuscripts which had formed part of a collection of nearly 1,200 volumes, brought together in the time of Charles V. and Charles VI. in the tower of the Louvre and in the various royal residences. To-day I can point to a hundred. Let us hope that the documents published in the second part of my '*Recherches*' will result in a still further increase in their number.

## NOTES ON STATIONERS FROM THE LAY SUBSIDY ROLLS OF 1523-4.

**P**RESERVED in the Public Record Office in London is a long series of documents throwing a good deal of light on the careers of our early printers, but which no historian of printing, so far as I am aware, has yet made use of: I refer to the 'Accounts of the Lay Subsidies.'

Whilst working on my 'Century of the English Book-trade,' I had frequent occasion to consult the valuable 'Returns of Aliens' published by the Huguenot Society. These have been extracted from the 'Lay Subsidies,' and it seemed probable that the same source would supply considerable information about the native printers.

On the occasion of my next visit to London, I took the opportunity of examining some of these documents, and the results were even more valuable than I anticipated.

The earliest series relates to the subsidy of 1523 levied by Henry VIII. and Wolsey to raise £800,000. Unfortunately, the documents relating to the London assessment seem to have been only partly preserved, but what remain are full of interest. They have, too, a very great advantage over the later returns, for in almost every case the occupation of each person is mentioned. The names are arranged by

wards and parishes, and their order probably represents a house-to-house visitation.

Taking the people in whom we are interested as they come, the first is Walter Smyth, Stacyoner, in the parish of St. Benett Fynke, Bradstrete Ward, who is valued at £40. This stationer, hitherto unknown, may perhaps have a certain claim to distinction. Several small works, in prose and poetry, composed by early stationers and printers, have come down to us, such as Copland's 'Hye Way to the Spyttel House' or 'Jyl of Breyntford's Testament,' and so perhaps this stationer may be the Walter Smyth who wrote the 'Twelve Merry Jestes of the Widow Edith.' The book was printed by Rastell, Sir Thomas More's brother-in-law, and some of the jests were played on members of More's household. It is quite likely that Rastell's fellow stationer may have heard the stories from him, and written the little book. The next entry is Richard Banks, bokebynder, of St. Mildred's parish, Chepe Ward, valued at £5. In this very year [1523] he issued his first book, 'The IX Drunkardes,' from 'the long shop in the poultry next St. Mildred's Church,' but the entry in the roll seems to show that he commenced in business as a bookbinder.

In the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, Farringdon Within, we find another hitherto unknown stationer, Thomas Snape, valued at £20. A later roll of 1544 enters him in 'Rose Alley' with goods worth £40, and in the same year he is mentioned as guardian to the orphan of John Welles, tailor. The parish of St. Faith, comprising the area round

St. Paul's Cathedral, does not supply as many names as might be expected. First comes Thomas Kele, stationer, valued at £5. All hitherto known of him was that about 1526 he occupied for a short time part of a shop named the 'Mermaid,' as under-tenant to John Rastell ['Bibliographica' II. 439]. Next comes Henry Pepwell, a well-known printer and stationer, valued at £40, and he is followed by Simon Coston, 'Proctor of the arches,' worth £13 6s. 8d., a most legal valuation. Coston, like several other Proctors of the Arches, was a member of the Stationers' Company, and was sixth on the charter-list. Thomas Docwra, 'marbiller,' valued at £50, comes next. He is presumably the Thomas Dockwray, afterwards the first Master of the new Stationers' Company, who died in 1559.

Henry Dabbe, stationer, who follows, is valued at £6 13s. 4d. He was a well-known printer and stationer, who died in 1548. He is followed by John Reynes, an equally well-known stationer, valued at £40 3s. 4d.

The next entry is very interesting, 'Julyan Notary, boke seller, £36. 6. 8.' Hitherto the last date connected with Notary was 1520, when he issued his 'Life of St. Erasmus,' but this reference takes him on three years. By some unfortunate chance his tax is not mentioned, since, had it been, it would have settled the doubtful point whether he was an Englishman or a foreigner, the foreigner paying a double tax.

George Pilgryme, stationer, valued at £13 6s. 8d., who follows, is another stationer hitherto unknown. A Joyce Pelgrim had been a stationer in St. Paul's



Churchyard at an earlier period ; and in the country subsidies for 1523 we find a Gerard Pilgrim, stationer in Oxford, and a Nicholas Pilgrim, stationer in Cambridge.

Henry Harman, the last stationer mentioned in St. Faith's parish, we find mentioned again in the assessment of 1541, in which year he was still in business in St. Paul's Churchyard, acting as factor for that ubiquitous stationer and printer, Arnold Birckman, of Cologne.

The parish of St. Michael's in the Querne supplies one stationer, John Rastell, whose goods amounted only to the value of £6 13s. 4d. This entry is of value, as considerable doubt exists as to the various places where Rastell lived and the dates of his removals.

Coming next to the ward of Farringdon Without, another new stationer is found, William Casse, valued at £5, belonging to the parish of St. Martin's without Ludgate ; and in St. Bride's parish is John Gowgh, bokeseller, valued at the same amount. When, in 1528, he was examined on suspicion of dealing in heretical books, he stated that he had only been in business for two years, and before that was servant to another. The present entry seems to show that Gowgh's evidence was not strictly reliable.

On a second sheet of vellum we find four additional entries of the highest importance. In the parish of St. Faith occurs John Taverner, stationer, valued at £307. The only reference to him which I had found previously was in 1521, in the 'Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.' [Vol. III. p. 1545].

‘To John Taverner, stationer of London, by the serjeant of the vestry for binding, clasp[ing] and cover[ing] 41 books for the King’s chapel, 4*£*.’ His great wealth, far beyond that of any other stationer of the time, points to a very important position, and he may have been stationer and bookbinder to the King. He appears to have died in 1531.

The two next entries are ‘Wynken de worde, enprenter,’ in St. Bride’s parish, and ‘Richard Pynson enprenter,’ in St. Dunstan’s in the West; the former valued at *£*201 11*s.* 1*d.* and the latter at *£*60.

These two sums are in curious contrast, and appear to emphasize the relative value of the popular and learned book-trade of that period. Pynson, even with the power of the court at his back and his official position as King’s Printer, cannot compete with his rival who has more accurately gauged the popular taste.

The fourth on this sheet is a stationer from the parish of St. Dunstan’s in the East, Tower Ward, Richard Neale, who, an almost unknown man, is valued at *£*100, *£*40 more than Pynson. Neale was made free of the Stationers’ Company on 3rd August, 1510, but becoming for some reason dissatisfied, was transferred to the Company of Ironmongers in 1525. Another sheet of vellum, still referring to the levy of the 1523 subsidy, is dated 10th December, XVI. Henry VIII. [1524], and this contains some additional names. In the parish of St. Clement Danes we find Robert Redman with goods valued at *£*10, and Sampson Awdeley, the father of John Awdley or Sampson the printer,

assessed on £2. The elder Awdley was verger in Westminster Abbey, and died in 1560. There is also a John Burtoft valued at £2, who is probably the stationer of that name who was an original member of that Company, and is last mentioned in 1561.

The last entry, occurring in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, is a very remarkable one. 'Pro Roberto Wyre prynter pro iiii £ in bonis, iis.' In spite of the considerable attention paid of late years to the work of Wyer, no trace of his existence as stationer or printer had been found previous to 1530; yet here he is definitely given as a printer six years earlier. A good deal of information relating to himself and his family has lately been made available by the publication of the 'Accounts of the churchwardens of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1525-1603,' edited by J. V. Kitto, 1901.

Now the information which I have set down as derived from this subsidy account, though it may not appear very considerable in quantity is very noteworthy in quality. In the first place, we learn of the existence of four hitherto unknown stationers, and new discoveries of this kind are few and far between. The valuations bring into prominence another stationer, hitherto but a name, John Taverner, whom we thus learn to have been one of the most important, certainly the richest member of the trade of the period. They throw also a curious light on the relative positions of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson. Pynson, with a University education, his position as King's printer,

his title of Esquire and right to bear arms, has little more than a quarter of the possessions of Wynkyn de Worde, who prints for the people. The poverty which overtook Rastell in his old age would seem to be commencing, for his goods are only valued at between six and seven pounds, due perhaps to his fondness for stage plays and his frequent journeys into the country, and consequent neglect of business.

We are also able to supply new dates in the career of fairly well-known men. Redman is settled in St. Clement's parish in 1524, a year before his first book was issued, for the 1523 book, often quoted by bibliographers as his first, is misdated. To Julyan Notary's existence we can add three years, and fix Robert Wyer definitely as a printer at Charing Cross no less than seven years earlier than the issue of his first dated book.

There is one point especially in these entries which, much as we would value an explanation, can never be explained. What meanings did the assessors attach to the words Stationer, Printer, Bookseller, Bookbinder? Pynson and W. de Worde we should naturally class as printers, but why should Notary be called a bookseller and Pepwell a stationer, when both also were printers? It cannot refer to the Company, and any distinction between Notary and Pepwell would be hard to define. It may, of course, be their own definition of themselves. The entries would appear to have been taken down by word of mouth from door to door, and though the names in the present subsidy rolls are fairly accurate, in the later ones they run



through every variety of spelling. Here are the consecutive entries of one man: Bringmarshen, Vrymors, Frinnorren, Fremorshem, Formishaa, Frymorsham, Fremersson!

The subsidy rolls of 1537 are few in number, and those of St. Bride's, St. Dunstan's, St. Sepulchre's, and St. Andrew's parishes only are preserved. In them the inhabitants are arranged in order of wealth.

When we come to the very full records of 1543-4, the entries are apparently made according to the order in which the persons lived in the street. From them we can draw out an accurate directory of St. Paul's Churchyard, which can be confirmed occasionally from other sources. In the 1544 roll Thomas Petyt is entered next to Robert Toye, and Robert Toye in his will bequeathed to his wife his 'shoppe withe the signe of the bell nexte adjoininge to Master Petitt's house.'

I think that the results I have set down from the examination of one, manifestly very incomplete, subsidy return will be sufficient to draw attention to their very great value for the personal history of printers. They give absolutely definite information where a printer was located at a particular date, a point often of great importance in settling the order of particular groups of his books.

Though the records of the 1523 subsidy are very incomplete as regards London, and what are preserved seem more like a first draft, the accounts of the succeeding subsidies are very much fuller. They have, however, one great drawback, the occupations of the various persons are not stated, so that

information can only be found about stationers whom we know from other sources to have been stationers. There is nothing to help us to identify unknown stationers.

One series of entries, however, occasionally furnish clues. After all the dwellers in the various wards have been entered there follows a list of all the guardians of orphan children, and here the trades are mentioned, the entries running in the following form: 'William Bonham, stationer, guardian for the orphan of William Robinson; Thomas Snape, stationer, guardian for one orphan of John Welles, tailor.'

It seems very strange, considering the amount of historical and genealogical information contained in these documents that they have never been printed. To copy out and print the rolls of the subsidies relating to London levied in the sixteenth century would not be too heavy a task for an enterprising society.

One word of warning and advice I would offer out of my own slight experience. The work of examining these subsidy rolls is a severe mental and physical task. No one who has not experienced it can imagine the trouble of consulting a collection of twenty or more large sheets of parchment, all stitched together at the top after the manner of the patterns of cloth exhibited by the tailor or wall-papers by the decorator, and which, in addition to this, have been rolled up in a tight bundle for hundreds of years and have acquired a facility for curling up which requires considerable force to frustrate.

The assessments were in most cases made by a house-to-house visitation by parishes and wards, and since it is not possible to retain in one's memory the names of the five or six hundred stationers who may be met with, and as in the later subsidy rolls the occupations are never entered, it is as well to have a handy list to refer to, of all known stationers arranged by their addresses, under their parish and ward. Such a list I have made out for my own use in case I should be able to examine these records more fully, but I should be happy to lend it to any one interested in the subject who has the opportunity, which I am sorry to say occurs to me but rarely, of working in the Record Office.

E. GORDON DUFF.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**T**HE aim of present-day teachers of foreign tongues is to be severely practical: the pupil must learn to speak before he can read, and must be speedily supplied with a vocabulary of the necessities of every-day life. Translation from classical French or German or Italian authors is tabooed: if a book is read, it must be one written with a practical purpose, describing a day in Paris or a journey up the Rhine. This is praiseworthy, and doubtless useful. But, as a fact, it is given to few of us to speak a foreign language really well without being constantly in the society of persons who can neither speak nor understand ours, and I sometimes wonder if for the small practical gain it is worth while to sacrifice the poetry and charm that hung about the old-fashioned procedure. My French teacher, after a very few lessons, put Racine's 'Athalie' into my hands and set me to learn from it long passages by heart. We also translated it in class, and I can still remember the delight I took in it. It was my first introduction to French poetry, and imbued me with a love of it that still endures.

When I opened Jules Lemaître's new book on 'Jean Racine,' I turned instinctively to the pages on 'Athalie,' and at once found again the impression of my early years. I thought it then a wonderful



thing, and M. Lemaître, with all his matured wisdom and knowledge and trained critical insight, only endorses the feeling it awoke in an uncritical girl of fourteen: 'Athalie rejoint les plus grandes plus œuvres et les religieuses, du théâtre grec . . . Athalie est unique chez nous.'

Although perhaps the 'Racine' is less interesting than the same author's 'Rousseau,' it is an admirable and suggestive piece of criticism, full of thought and feeling, of fresh and original ideas. While demonstrating that the work of Racine combines the two most beautiful traditions of our humanity: the Hellenic and the Christian, and claiming for his plays 'plus d'ordre et de mouvement intérieur, plus de vérité psychologique, et plus de poésie,' than is to be found in the plays of any other dramatist, he considers that Racine's dramas especially express the genius of the French race—'ordre, raison, sentiment mesuré et force sous la grâce.' He continues:

'Les tragédies de Racine supposent une très vieille patrie. Dans cette poésie, à la fois si ordonnée et si émouvante, c'est nous-mêmes que nous aimons; c'est—comme chez La Fontaine et Molière, mais dans un exemple plus noble—notre sensibilité et notre esprit à leur moment le plus heureux.'

In criticising 'Phèdre,' perhaps Racine's masterpiece, Lemaître demonstrates what constitutes the interest of the great French classical tragedies:

'Comme le fond en est, si je puis dire, de beaucoup, antérieur à la forme, elles embrassent d'immenses parties de l'histoire des hommes et présentent simultanément, à

des plans divers, l'image de plusieurs civilisations. Phèdre a peut-être quatre mille ans par le Minotaure et les exploits de Thésée ; elle a vingt-quatre siècles par Euripide ; elle en a dix-huit par Sénèque ; elle en a deux par Racine, et enfin elle est d'hier par tout ce qu'elle nous suggère et que nous y mettons. Elle est de toutes les époques à la fois ; elle est éternelle, entendez contemporaine de notre race à toutes les périodes de son développement. Et voyez quelle grandeur et quelle profondeur donne à l'œuvre la mythologie primitive dont elle est toute pénétrée. Quand Phèdre nomme son aïeul le Soleil, quand Aricie nomme son aïeule la terre, nous nous rappelons soudain nos lointaines origines, et que la terre et le Soleil sont en effet nos aïeux, que nous tenons à Cybèle par le fond mystérieux de notre être, et que nos passions ne sont en somme que la transformation dernière de forces naturelles et fatales et comme leur affleurement d'une minute à la surface de ce monde de phénomènes.'

Many French critics are inclined to ascribe to Racine the empire 'de la femme dans la littérature,' and in an eloquent passage M. Lemaître agrees with them :

'Quand nous pensons à ce théâtre, ce qui en effet nous apparaît tout de suite, ce sont ses femmes : les disciplinées, les pudiques, qui n'en sentent pas moins profondément pour cela : Andromaque, Junie, Bérénice, Atalide, Monime, Iphigénie,—et les effrénées surtout ; les effrénées d'ambition : Agrippine, Athalie ; et plus encore les effrénées d'amour : Hermione, Roxane, Eriphile, Phèdre ; celles que l'amour pousse irrésistiblement au meurtre et au suicide, à travers un flux et un reflux de pensées contraires, par des alternatives d'espoir, de crainte, de colère, de jalousie, parmi des raffinements douloureux de sensibilité, des ironies, des clairvoyances soudaines, puis des abandons désespérés à la passion fatale, une incapacité

pour leur "triste cœur" de "recueillir le fruit" des crimes dont elles sentent la honte,—tout cela exprimé dans une langue qui est comme créatrice de clarté, par où, démentes lucides, elles continuent de s'analyser au plus fort de leurs agitations, et qui revêt d'harmonieuse beauté leurs désordres les plus furieux: au point qu'on ne sait si on a peur de ces femmes ou si on les adore!'

Racine's dramas are everywhere pervaded with true humanity, and it should be noted that his representation of the passion of love is more truthful than that of any modern dramatist. He never directly describes its sensual side; he paints rather its—

'Faculté d'illusion, son aveuglement, sa cruauté; ses souffrances, ses fureurs, son mécanisme psychologique. . . . Les variétés essentielles de l'amour, depuis le plus pur, le plus sain, jusqu'au plus criminel et au plus morbide, sont dans les tragédies de Racine, peintes, on peut le croire, une fois pour toutes.'

Adapting sentiment and phraseology from Gérard de Nerval's criticism of the old songs of Le Valois, where Racine was born, his latest critic declares in conclusion that his tragedies—

'Dansent en rond sur la pelouse et dans le jardin du roi, en chantant des airs que viennent de très loin dans le temps et dans l'espace, mais d'un *français si naturellement pur* que c'est en les écoutant qu'on se sent le mieux vivre en France, et avec le plus de fierté intime et d'attendrissement.'

The second volume of Anatole France's 'Jeanne d'Arc' is perhaps scarcely as interesting as the first, but it contains some very curious chapters dealing

with the 'Saintes femmes,' who followed the army and made 'un beguinage volant.' All these women had marvellous visions, and Jeanne even feared a rival, for any of them might easily have been turned to similar uses to those which she served :

'Une inspirée, alors, était bonne à tout, à l'édification du peuple, à la réforme de l'Eglise, à la conduite des gens d'armes, à la circulation des monnaies, à la guerre, à la paix; dès qu'il en paraissait une, chacun la tirait à soi.'

One of them, named Catherine de la Rochelle, had special revelations in the matter of finance; indeed, she had 'une mission trésorière,' as Jeanne had 'une mission guerrière.' It seemed that one use a saint had in the army was as 'quêteuse,' and judging by what is known of Catherine, 'lès inspirations de cette sainte dame n'étaient ni très hautes ni très ordonnées, ni très profondes.'

There are many notable passages in the book; for example, an extraordinarily vivid description of fifteenth century Paris in few words in Chapter III., and another on Jeanne and her relations with the University of Paris. Notwithstanding the fulness of detail, the careful research, and the historical sense of the author, there will, it would seem, always be much that is vague and legendary surrounding the life of Joan of Arc.

A very valuable piece of critical work will be found in Pierre Villey's 'Les sources et l'évolution des essais de Montaigne.' The first volume deals with the sources and chronology of the essays, the second with their evolution. The rôle of Montaigne in the movement of moral ideas in the



sixteenth century forms the subject of a well-written introduction. The author declares that in treating of the evolution of the essays, he is not aiming at literary criticism but at history, and simply to understand, and to help others to understand the formation of Montaigne's work. He divides it into three stages: the impersonal essays, the conquest of personality, the personal essays. The chief qualities that made Montaigne's influence so great are, 'son sentiment de la vie, son bon sens, sa sagesse, ses manières polies.' Although his 'méthode' greatly struck his contemporaries and prepared the way for that of Bacon, and in a certain sense, perhaps, for that of Descartes, Villey says, and I think, rightly, that at the present time it is the artist in Montaigne, and not the thinker that attracts. No student who desires to understand thoroughly the reasons of Montaigne's greatness can afford to neglect Villey's historical study of the first and perhaps the greatest essayist.

Ernest Seillière's 'Le Mal Romantique. Essai sur l'impérialisme irrationnel,' is an original study of the romantic in life and literature, from the time of Rousseau who inaugurated it onwards through the five generations that have descended from him. The book is divided into two parts, 'Le Romantisme des pauvres,' associated with the name of Charles Fourier, and 'Le Romantisme des riches,' associated with that of Stendhal-Beyle. The first depends upon a 'mysticisme *social*,' upon 'la bonté naturelle,' and leads to the reign of anarchy in the sense that the reign of reason renders all coercive authority superfluous. The

second depends upon a 'mysticisme *aesthétique*,' upon 'la beauté.' The reign of both together makes for perfection. It is an interesting and original presentment of the subject. The second part of the book is well worth reading for its own intrinsic interest, and will be found very suggestive for critics or students of the literary movements of the later and eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century.

A somewhat startling critical theory is put forth by Ugo Gaede in 'Schiller und Nietzsche als Verkünder der tragischen Kultur.' It is difficult to say whether it is worthy of serious consideration. Gaede declares that Schiller and Nietzsche are each representatives of the two types of the subjective age, and that as Schiller's problem begins where that of science ends, he is as modern as if he had only begun to write in the present age. Schiller announced that 'all the gods are dead,' and in his latest critic's idea that was as good as saying, 'therefore, now, long live super-man!' It is a strange age, at least, so it seems to me, that, before admiring the great classical poets, must find excuse for their existence in that they had some of the qualities and ideas of their very inferior successors. But such books have their uses, for they often send us back to the older authors we so wrongly neglect, and force us to acknowledge how great they are and always will be.

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In the realms of fiction there are one or two quite excellent books among those recently published. Henry Bordeaux may always be counted

on for distinguished work, and in his latest novel, 'Les Yeux qui s'ouvrent,' he has not disappointed us. It is an illuminating study of married life, showing how serious difficulties may arise when a wife neglects to take an interest in her husband's pursuits and aims. A young woman, not unintelligent, attractive, well placed in worldly circumstances, marries a distinguished historian, a man of no family, owing his high position entirely to his own talents. The wife is an excellent housekeeper and mother, performs her social duties with most approved punctilio, takes her husband's affection for granted, and never imagines that it might be her duty to try and give him the companionship of soul he desires. The result is that the husband seeks sympathy elsewhere and finds it. The wife leaves her husband and demands a divorce. The husband's friends try to avert it, and point out to the wife that perhaps she is not altogether blameless in the matter; she surely had some part and responsibility in their mutual happiness, perhaps, as some one says to her, 'votre bonheur demandait-il quelque surveillance.' It is also wisely pointed out that:

'Nous sommes beaucoup plus responsables des petites choses que des grandes où les circonstances ont plus de part, et que c'est à nous jour à jour, à fixer la chaîne, facile à briser, de notre bonheur.'

If only the elements of the art of life could be taught in the schools, all the great human relationships would work more smoothly. Experience does something, of course, but it is always neces-

sarily a lengthy process, and there are many people who go through life without learning anything from it. The way in which the wife's eyes are gradually opened to the meaning of life is very delicately implied, the two main factors being her husband's mother, a charming character, and a diary kept by her husband during their married life that she is persuaded to read by his best friend. The man here perhaps expects too much from the woman he has chosen, but in any relationship between a man and woman it would be well if both remembered that 'le bonheur s'acquiert ou se perd chaque jour et réclame des soins constants, une attention permanente . . . savoir demeurer en état de veille, c'est la moitié de l'art de vivre.'

In another passage a great truth is expressed, though one perhaps that is seldom acknowledged :

'Aimer quand on vous aime, qu'on vous évite tout effort, toute peine, qu'on aplanait votre vie comme une grande route où rien ne heurte la marche, la belle affaire ! Par quoi prouve-t-on son amour ? Aimer quand on est délaissé, oublié, quand on vous laisse seul, aux prises avec toutes les difficultés, ou même quand on vous marche sur le coeur, cela, oui, c'est aimer.'

It is a fine book, finely conceived and finely written. The situation is one that might quite well occur in real life, and is here treated with a delicacy and refinement as rare as it is delightful.

In 'L'amour qui pleure,' Marcelle Tinayre gives us four stories of unhappy love. Only one of them, 'Robert-Marie,' rises to the level to be expected from the author of 'La Rebelle' and 'La Maison



du Péché.' It has literary form, charm, and pathos. 'Le fantôme,' the description of a sort of spiritualistic séance, is surely unworthy of so gifted a writer.

'Lettres à deux femmes,' by J. A. Coulangheon, is a strange book, but full of interest and attraction. Coulangheon was under sentence of death from consumption, and sought distraction by corresponding with two women, one of whom he did not know. His motto was the old nursery song:

'Avant de nous séparer  
Il faut rire, il faut rire,  
Avant de nous séparer  
Il faut rire et s'amuser.'

The older lady was a 'railleuse personne revenue de bien des choses,' the younger 'jeune créature aspirant à la joie de tout entendre.' He seems unconsciously perhaps, and almost against his will, to get more and more interested in the younger lady. His views of things are original, always unorthodox, and with the older lady he frankly discusses subjects that an Englishman would ignore in writing or talking to a woman. Love and friendship, pain and pleasure, life and death, art and nature, literature are among the subjects treated, often with pathetic charm and deep insight. Great truths also are often finely expressed. The book, unfortunately, does not lend itself to quotation; a phrase taken from its context loses its fine flavour. Coulangheon was a friend and disciple of Anatole France, and there are many delightful references to him.

The history of the development of a town is always fascinating, and Frankfurt-am-Main is in many ways one of the best subjects of the kind. It was the coronation town of the Holy Roman Emperors of Germany; it was Goethe's birth-place; and in surveying the fine modern, wealthy, and prosperous city it is to-day, we are apt to forget its intimate association with the history of the past. Goethe called a town 'a comrade of the great problems of fate,' and although Veit Valentin in his 'Frankfurt-am-Main und die Revolution von 1848-9' only deals actually with a few years in the life of the town, the sketch at the beginning of earlier times and at the end of the later makes it almost a continuous history.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Correspondance. Les lettres et les arts. Par Emile Zola.

Forms the second volume of Zola's correspondence, and covers the years 1863-1902; it contains much about Zola's own work and that of his correspondents, who include most of the great French writers of his day.

Fernando de Herrera (El Divino), 1534-97. Par Adolphe Coster.

A very full account of the poet, who may perhaps be compared with the French writer Malherbe. Herrera realised the type of the man of letters. Literature was a real profession for him, an unique fact in his time, specially in his native country.

## 278 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

La Littérature Hongroise d'aujourd'hui. Étude suivie des notices biographiques. Par J. Kont.

One of a series of little books (1/6 each) entitled 'Collection d'études étrangères.' The volume before us makes an excellent supplement to Riedl's admirable 'History of Hungarian Literature.'

Walt Whitman. L'homme et son œuvre. Par Léon Bazalgette.

Considers Whitman the greatest of the four universal geniuses given to the world by America, Poe, Emerson, and Thoreau being the others. The author ventures to think that some would characterise Whitman as 'le poète le plus puissant et le plus neuf du siècle dix-neuvième dans son ensemble.'

Le Siègle de Gènes (1800). Par Edouard Gachot.

Contains chapters on 'La Guerre dans l'Apennin.—Journal du Blocus.—Les Opérations de Suchet.'

L'Ancienne Egypte d'après les Papyrus et les Monuments. Par Eugène Revillont. Vol. I.

A very interesting volume treating of 'Le Roman de Chevalerie et les Chansons de geste dans l'ancienne Egypte,' as well as 'Le Roman historique,' 'L'Apologue,' and lastly 'Polychromie dans l'art Egyptien.'

Dictionnaire des Comédiens Français (ceux d'hier) biographie, bibliographie, iconographie. Par Henry Lyonnet. Vol. I., Abadie-Duval.

The first work of the kind. Contains biographies (accompanied by 500 portraits, autographs, views and scenes) of French actors and actresses, from the most famous to the simple 'M'as-tu-vu?'

Bibliographie Française. Vol. I., 1900-4. Deuxième série.

The works are arranged in one alphabet under order of authors, names, titles, subjects (by means of catch-words).

Le Violon. Par Alberto Bachmann. With preface by Henry Gauthier-Villars.

The book is divided into three parts, 'Lutherie, œuvres, biographies,' and forms a useful guide both for professionals and amateurs. Especially helpful is the list of composers and their works.

Les jours s'allongent. Par Paul Margueritte.

Another instalment of his 'Souvenirs de Jeunesse,' describing his life as a boy of 10-17 at a school for the sons of military officers, a 'prison d'enfants' as he calls it. There is nothing inspiring in the reminiscences.

L'Idéal Moderne. Par Paul Gaultier.

The author deals with 'La question morale ; la question sociale ; la question religieuse.' His attitude to those matters may be found in the phrase, 'Il est moins celui-là que nous vivons que celui qu'il me semble possible et souhaitable que nous vivions.'

New volumes in the Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine are :—

Esquisse d'une Esthétique musicale scientifique. Par Charles Lalo.

An argument for the application of a rational method to æsthetic facts.

Sociologie de l'action. La genèse sociale de la raison et les origines rationnelles de l'action. Par Eugène de Roberty.

Concludes the series of his essays on 'La morale considérée comme sociologie élémentaire.'

Études d'histoire des Sciences et d'histoire de la Philosophie. Par A. Hannequin. Prefaced by an article on Hannequin and his work by J. Grosjean.

Contains articles on Spinoza, Leibniz, Descartes, and Hobbes.



Die Parteien des deutschen Reichstags. Von Chr. Grotewold.

The first volume of a series 'Die Politik des deutschen Reichs in Einzeldarstellungen,' invaluable for those wishing to follow contemporary German politics. Other subjects to be treated are, 'Die Geschichte und Ziele des deutschen Sozialpolitik,' von Martin Wenck; 'Die Gewerbepolitik,' von Bruno Volger; 'Deutschland als Seemacht,' von Vice-Admiral z. D. Valois.

Deutschland und die grosse Politik. Anno 1907. Von Dr. Th. Schiemann.

The former volumes cover the years 1901-6.

Arabia Petraea. Von Alois Musil. Part III. (Issued under the auspices of the Vienna Imperial Academy of Science.)

An ethnological account of a journey in biblical countries, by a great authority on such subjects.

Das Kind in der altfranzösischen Literatur. Von Ferd. Fellingner.

Contains a large amount of curious information probably not to be found elsewhere in any one place.

Beiträge und Studien zur englischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte. Von J. Schipper.

A selection of essays, lectures, etc., already published in periodicals. There are articles on the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen; a review of Raleigh's 'Shakespeare,' and a fine appreciation of Burns, who is characterized as one of the greatest lyric poets, perhaps the greatest of modern times. He quotes Goethe's lines:

Es kann die Spur von deinen Erdentagen  
Nicht in Aeonen untergeh'n.

Chronik des Weimarischen Hoftheaters 1817-1907. Festschrift zur Einweihung des neuen Hoftheater-Gebäudes, 11. Januar, 1908. Von Adolf Bartels.

A chronological list of all the plays performed at the Weimar Theatre between those dates. It forms a most interesting and valuable record, and is indeed an important document for the history of the drama in Germany.

Kulturaufgaben der Reformation. Einleitung in einer Lutherbiographie. Von Arnold Berger.

A new, revised, and enlarged edition of the book which was first published in 1894.

ELIZABETH LEE.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TOUR.

**T**HE above heading may seem presumptuous, as there are few traces of bibliography in the following lines. Yet my tour, of which I venture to give some account, was undertaken solely for the examination and collation of the copies, or fragments of copies, still existing of the several editions of the famous 'Speculum humane salvationis,' presumably printed at Haarlem in the fifteenth century.

In May, 1906, the editor of the forthcoming new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' asked me to bring up to date the historical part of the article 'Typography,' written by me for the last edition of that work in or about 1888, which mainly dealt with the controversy as to when, where, and by whom the art of printing with moveable metal types was invented.

I hardly liked to take this subject up again. But this opportunity for restating once more my views on it was, I thought, too favourable to let slip, especially as I was not aware of anything having occurred since 1888 to change my conviction that the honour of the invention must be ascribed to Haarlem and its citizen, Lourens Janszoon Coster,

and not to Johann Gutenberg of Mainz. Great celebrations in honour of the latter had, indeed, taken place in Germany in 1900, the supposed 500th anniversary of his birth. And on that occasion the foremost bibliographers and scholars of Germany published valuable books and pamphlets on Gutenberg's life, his relatives and parentage, and on some of the incunabula supposed to have been printed by him. A Gutenberg Museum was also established at Mainz on a large scale, as a repository for all obtainable books, documents, etc., bearing on Gutenberg's claims to the honour of the invention.

These new publications, however, though far superior to anything hitherto published on the subject, contain no evidence for Gutenberg's claims, unless we set aside those of Haarlem, which such thorough and fair-minded investigators as Dr. Schwenke and Dr. Zedler, the librarians of the Berlin and Wiesbaden Libraries, have begun to appreciate, if not to accept.

It had long seemed to me that reading and studying the four different texts (two Latin and two Dutch) found in as many separate editions of the 'Speculum,' and an examination of the woodcuts, which are the same in all the four, might give us a clue to the chronological order in which these editions should be placed, and, consequently, to the approximate period to be assigned to them and the other Costeriana. Hitherto the authors who have treated of this work have been far from unanimous as to this order. The systems of a few of the best known (Meerman, Heineken, Koning, Ottley,



Bernard, Sotheby, and Schreiber, the latest) placed side by side, show this:

MEERMAN (1765)	HEINECKEN (1771)	KONING (1815)	OTTLEY (1816), SOTHEY (1858), SCHREIBER (1902)	BERNARD (1853)
I. D. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>
II. L. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>unmixed</i>
III. D. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>
IV. L. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>mixed</i>	L. <i>mixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>	D. <i>unmixed</i>

Want of space prevents me from explaining in detail the reasons for these different systems. Suffice it to say that Heinecken placed the Dutch after the Latin editions, merely because he regarded the printed Dutch texts as translations from the printed Latin texts. Bernard was uncertain as to the order in which to place them. Ottley, Sotheby and Schreiber, who agree in their order, take as guides the absence or presence of breakages and other peculiarities in the woodcuts. These and other points, mentioned casually below, could only be verified by an examination of the texts and woodcuts of all the copies of the book, now scattered over nearly the half of Europe.

There being no copy of the book at Cambridge, I prepared myself for my visits to the European libraries by copying the text of the mixed Latin edition, with all its contractions and mistakes, from J. Ph. Berjeau's facsimile, published in 1861. Meantime, our librarian (Mr. Jenkinson) requested Lord Pembroke to send the two editions (mixed Latin and unmixed Dutch) in his possession to the Uni-

versity Library for my use, which his Lordship readily did, kindly adding his three Blockbooks ('Ars moriendi,' 'Apocalypse,' and 'Biblia Pauperum').

Autograph notes in the Pembroke (Dutch) copy show that it has been in the possession of the celebrated Antwerp geographer, Abraham Ortelius, and after his death in 1598 passed into the hands of his nephew Jacobus Colius Ortelianus, a Dutch (Flemish) merchant settled in London. At the latter's house, Emmanuel Demetrius, the historian, in his History published in 1612 states that he had seen it, and it may be supposed that the copy remained in Cole's possession till his death in 1628. Since then it has probably belonged to the Pembroke family, as their copy of the 'Apocalypse' also has Cole's autograph. Some of Cole's books, however, which he had received or inherited from his uncle, came into Bishop Moore's library, and from thence into the Cambridge University Library, and Ortelius' Album is in the Library of Pembroke College.

The Pembroke Dutch text, though slightly imperfect, I copied as far as it goes, but not with such facility as Berjeau's Latin text, as its printing is rather primitive, and has more numerous and puzzling contractions. With the Pembroke Latin text I collated the one copied from Berjeau's facsimile.

At the end of 1906 I went to Manchester to examine the copies of the mixed Latin and mixed Dutch editions preserved in the Spencer collection of the John Rylands Library. Here Mr. Henry

Guppy, the librarian, gave me every facility in his power for copying the text of the Dutch edition, which differs so much from that of the other (unmixed) Dutch edition, that merely taking notes of the variants would not have sufficed. This work, and other matters connected with it, took me four weeks, and as the Rylands Library contained many other treasures relating to the controversy of the invention, which were all placed at my disposal, I might have passed there another month or two, if Manchester's damp, smoky, black atmosphere, which necessitated my working every day by electric light, had not compelled me to defer the remainder of my task (the collation of the Latin copy and the examination of the Blockbooks) to a more favourable season.

But even the little I had hitherto done gave me already some idea of the order in which, at least, three of the 'Speculum' editions (the mixed Latin and the two Dutch) should be placed. I explained this to a meeting of the London Bibliographical Society, on the 20th of February, and showed at the same time photographs of two of the pages of Lord Pembroke's Dutch edition, taken with his consent, as well as the photograph, which Mr. Guppy had taken for me, of one of the two pages in the Spencer-Rylands Dutch edition printed in a different type from the rest of the book. But my explanation was still incomplete, as I had never yet seen a copy of the unmixed Latin edition, and was not likely to see one till I could go to the Continent.

Towards the end of April I collated the Douce copy of the mixed Latin edition in the Bodleian,

which is in fine condition, exhibited in one of the show-cases. Towards the end of June Lord Pembroke's books were returned, and the time for my tour had come. For various purposes I intended to visit the libraries, museums, or archives at Paris, Strassburg, Geneva, Florence, Munich, Vienna, Leipzig, Berlin, Hanover, Frankfurt-on-Main, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Cologne, Utrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, the Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, and Lille. The well-known publication 'Minerva' gave me, in most instances, the desired information as regards the Directors or Librarians of all the Institutions to be visited, and anticipating no difficulties in obtaining admission anywhere, I provided myself with no introductions. But some ten or twelve days before I started, when I casually told a friend that, according to Bernard and Holtrop, there was a copy of the 'Speculum' in the Pitti Palace at Florence, he expressed a doubt as to whether this could be correct, as the Palace contained pictures, no books. But the 'Speculum' being famous for its engravings, was it not possible that for this reason it had strayed into a collection of pictures? Still, I requested the Director of the Palace to let me know, and the reply-postcard which I had sent came back with the official answer that 'among the collection of prints of the Gallery Uffizi the work "*Speculum humane Salvationis*" did not exist.' As the book might have disappeared from Florence since Bernard and Holtrop's time, I requested the British Consul-General at Florence (Major W. P. Chapman) to make inquiries for me, and I record with much pleasure the promptitude



with which this gentleman ascertained that 'the "Speculum" was preserved in the Palatina Library once at the Pitti Palace and now in the Royal National Library.'

Meantime I had bought tickets for all the places mentioned above (and a few others to be visited for private purposes) from the 'Belgian State Railways' at their London office, 72 Regent Street. And I can recommend other intending travellers to do the same, if they will limit their luggage to so much as can be carried by hand, and dispense with the services of guides, interpreters, etc., supplied by other tourist-agencies. At least, my tickets have carried me, without any trouble, to all the places I wanted to go to, and were, I believe, 10 per cent. cheaper than those of other agencies.

On the 9th July I began my work on the Continent by the collation of the two copies of the *mixed* Latin 'Speculum' in the Paris National Library, which Campbell, and after him Conway, erroneously describe as copies of the Latin *unmixed* edition. In the copy that had formerly belonged to the Sorbonne Library is pasted a slip of paper, on which S. Leigh Sotheby wrote in 1858 that this edition was the *third* edition of the 'Speculum' or second Latin (see above), and referred to his 'Principia Typographica,' Vol. I., pp. 152-67, and Plates xxxv. and xxxvi., as 'showing that the texts in block-type in this edition are facsimiles of those in the first edition, thus satisfactorily proving the order of their issue.' I hope to show in another treatise that Sotheby's 'order' and 'proofs' are not so satisfactory as he thought them to be.

The various fragments of the Costerian 'Donatuses' and 'Doctrinales,' as well as the blockbooks in the Paris Library, were all readily placed at my disposal, and described by me for future use. Incidentally I may refer here to a curious omission in the heading of the celebrated passage in the 'Cologne Chronicle' of 1499 (on folio 311b) on the invention of printing. I had noticed that in the copy of the Cambridge University Library this heading reads: 'Wanne wae ind durch wen is vonden dye onvyssprechlich [end of line] kunst boicher tzo drucken.' This was wrong, as the word before 'kunst' being an adverb could not govern a substantive. Moreover, I remembered that some authors quote the word 'nutze' before 'kunst.' But the two copies in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, read like the University Library copy; so also the British Museum copy. When, therefore, M. Viennot, one of the librarians of the Paris Library, kindly showed me the inner library, and asked me whether I wished to see any particular book, I mentioned the 'Chronicle.' We found three copies of the book on one shelf, all reading like the four just mentioned, but a fourth copy had 'nutze' duly printed at the beginning of the line before 'kunst.' Afterwards I saw copies in the Munich University Library, the town library at Haarlem, and the private library of Messrs. Enschedé, all having 'nutze'; hence it is clear that the omission of this adjective was noticed and rectified in Koelhoff's office after a number of copies had been sold. Of course, its omission does not affect the testimony of the 'Chronicle' as

regards the invention of printing, but it is remarkable that the heading of such a celebrated passage has been quoted and translated, sometimes with, and sometimes without the adjective, for more than four hundred years without the discrepancy having been observed.

On the 18th July I went to Strassburg, where I arrived too late in the day to go to the library or to the archives, but early enough to ascertain that the old MS. Registers belonging to the St. Thomas Stift, which contain important entries relating to Gutenberg, are now deposited for public use in the 'Stadt-Archiv.' Here Dr. Jacob Bernays much facilitated my work by remaining at his post several hours after the official time for closing, and treated me, moreover, at his house with great hospitality. To my disappointment, Dr. K. Schorbach, the librarian of the Kais. Univers. Bibliothek, was on his holiday when I arrived. In his work on the documents relating to Gutenberg's life and work, published by the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft on the occasion of the Gutenberg festivities of 1900, he speaks of me as an obstinate opponent of Gutenberg, and of Dr. Van der Linde, and gives his readers to understand that, in my book on Gutenberg, I suppressed all evidence that seemed to be in favour of Gutenberg, or regarded it as forged. I had wished to explain to him verbally, what I have said two or three times in print, that it would not be worth any one's while to take this course, seeing that the Gutenberg documents, so far as we know them, show him to have been a printer, perhaps the first printer in Germany, but not the inventor

of printing; that this distinction is suggested not merely by Gutenberg's own silence as to any invention, but also by that of his contemporaries, who ought to have spoken of him as the inventor, and would and could have done so, if he had invented anything; and that, in its turn, this silence harmonises with Ulr. Zell's refutation or qualification of the rumours about a Gutenberg invention, and with Junius' advocacy in favour of a Haarlem invention, both corroborated by the circumstantial evidence found in the Costeriana, which point to a stage of printing anterior to that of Mainz.

As there are no Costeriana at Strassburg, and a cursory examination of the St. Thomas Registers showed me that Dr. Schorbach's treatise on the Gutenberg documents was sufficiently clear, I limited my work in this beautiful town to a description of the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' to which Dr. Braunholtz, the assistant librarian, called my attention.

On the 21st July I arrived at Geneva for the collation of the copy of the mixed Dutch '*Speculum*' preserved in the Public Library. It wants the leaves 1 to 7, 16, 17, and 62, and the binder has cut away the margins close to the letter-press and woodcuts, and in this condition the leaves have been pasted on large sheets of thick light brown paper, so that neither the water-marks nor any rubbings of the frotton can be seen. But as far as the printing of text and figures is concerned it is one of the best copies I have seen. In 1761 it was in the possession of Mr. Marcus at Amsterdam, and a note in the book informs us that in the



eighteenth century it was presented to the Geneva Library by Dr. Tronchin.

From Geneva I went on the 24th of July to Florence, where I had to collate the copy of the *unmixed* Latin 'Speculum,' preserved in the National Library. It only wants the first (blank) leaf, and bears the pressmark E. 6. 7. 15 (Old Palat. Libr. B. A. q. 630), not, as Schreiber says, D. 7. 5. 2 B., which is that of a copy of the 'Speculum humanae vitae.' I had never yet seen a copy of this unmixed edition, except the one at the Hague for a few minutes years ago.

Ottley, Sotheby, Holtrop, and Schreiber (1902), regard this edition as the *first* because, they say, (1) the twenty xylographic pages in the *mixed* are *fac-similes* of the same pages, type-printed, of the *unmixed* Latin edition; (2) a comparison of the composition of the remaining pages, all type-printed in both editions, points to the *unmixed* having served as model to the compositor of the *mixed* edition; (3) the absence of breakages in some of the woodcuts of the unmixed Latin, show that it was printed prior to the other three editions, in which the same woodcuts are defective; and (4) the fact that the scrolls in the last woodcut in some of the copies of the *unmixed* Latin edition have a black ground, but are blank in other copies and in all the other editions, proves that the unmixed Latin is the earliest of all.

As regards the first point, I found, indeed, such a close agreement between the text of the twenty xylographic pages of the mixed Latin edition and that of the corresponding type-printed pages of the

unmixed Latin edition, that, after having copied one or two pages of the Florence copy, I abandoned this work, and merely noted the differences between its text and that of the mixed edition. These differences, however, make it clear that the latter is not a facsimile of the unmixed Latin, but rather the reverse, as I hope to explain in another treatise, when dealing with the other three points referred to above. The Florence copy has blank scrolls in the last woodcut, not *black* as in some other copies of this edition, as noted above.

Saturday, the 3rd of August, I went to Munich, and on Monday, the 5th, began to collate the copy of the *unmixed* Latin edition (pressmark Xyl. 37) preserved in the Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek. It only wants the first (blank) leaf, but most of the rectos and versos of the other leaves left blank by the printer, are pasted together, so that the watermarks cannot be seen. The Munich University Library also possesses a copy (pressmark Xyl. 10) of this same edition, which is slightly imperfect, as it wants the leaves 54, 55 and 59. But it is most valuable, as having the scrolls on the final woodcut (116) *black*, as in the Vienna and John Inglis (now in New York) copies, and not blank as in the other copies. It bears, moreover, the date 1471, written in old Arabic numerals, in *minium* at the end of the Prohemium, as was first pointed out by Dr. W. L. Schreiber ('Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen,' 1895, p. 208). Underneath this contemporary date the same date is repeated, apparently for the sake of greater clearness, in numerals of the eighteenth century. As the librarian of the University Library kindly applied

for the loan of the copy of the Hof-Bibliothek for my use in his library, I was able to study and compare the two Munich copies minutely, the result of which I hope to give in another place.

On the 13th August I left Munich for Vienna, arriving there the following morning at 7.30. Prof. Engelbrecht, of the Vienna University, with whom I had had some correspondence three or four years ago, had, at my request, recommended me to the director of the Hof-Bibliothek, and as Dr. Kugel, the custos of the Library, considerably undertook to be in the Library from 2 to 4 p.m., when it was usually closed, I was enabled to work during these two hours, as well as from 9 to 12 in the morning. The Vienna copy belongs to the *unmixed* Latin edition, like the Florence and two Munich copies, and bears the pressmark 'Inc. 2 D 19.' The scrolls on its last engraving (116) are *black*, like those in the Munich University Library copy, and in the centre scroll, on the black ground, is *written* by a hand of the fifteenth century, 'Mane teter fares.' Unfortunately, the blank verso of this engraving is pasted on to a modern blank leaf, so that the impression of this scroll on the verso cannot be seen. The copy formerly belonged to the Celestins at Paris, and still bears their name (Celestinorum Parisiensium) on the first leaf. The Hof-Bibliothek bought it for 1,600 francs at the La Vallière sale. The same Library possesses also two editions of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' one with, the other without signatures.

From Vienna I went to Leipzig, where no 'Costeriana,' but Klemm's two vellum volumes of

the 42 line Bible are preserved. Herr Heinrich Klemm is known to have been a tailor at Dresden, and to have published books on tailoring. His 'Museum' of Incunabula, of which this Bible forms part, was bought by the Saxon Government in 1886 and presented to the 'Deutsches Buchgewerbemuseum' at Leipzig. He also possessed Gutenberg's 'Printing-Press' bearing the date 1441 (!), discovered (!) at Mainz in 1856, and other rarities of a similar nature. The two volumes of the Bible are ornamented (?) in several places with miniatures of a much later date than the Bible itself. Klemm described it three times, in 1883 and 1884, and calls it a 'real unicum' on account of these miniatures, which he says were probably executed for some prince. But he nowhere speaks of the date '1453,' written in small Arabic numerals of fifteenth century form, at the bottom of the last leaf of the second volume. Yet Klemm must have been aware that the earliest date known up to that time for this Bible was 1456, so that his earlier date, if it were genuine, was of the utmost importance, and would have considerably enhanced the value of his copy. It could, moreover, have assisted him in his Descriptive Catalogue of his Museum in his argument against those who ascribe the Bible to Peter Schöeffer. His silence, therefore, is suspicious, and the doubt is increased by the date being written quite at the bottom of the last leaf. Otherwise, in the date itself I saw nothing suspicious; it is perfectly clear; but it is surrounded by traces of writing now scratched out, and no doubt these traces have caused the



black and indistinct photograph of the date which Dziatzko published a few years ago ('Sammlung,' VII., 104).

It will, perhaps, not seem out of place if I add a few words on Dr. Dziatzko's bibliographical researches and discoveries regarding this Bible, which he published at Berlin in 1890 under the title, 'Gutenberg's früheste Druckerpraxis' (Gutenberg's earliest work as printer). In 1889 he and several of his pupils had elaborately examined and compared the 42 and 36 line Bibles, and found that these resembled each other in every respect; their quires and divisions into volumes were alike (pp. 19-31); paper and watermarks were alike (pp. 32-50); the types (letters, marks of punctuation, etc.) were alike, only those of B 36 were larger than those of B 42 (pp. 50-74). Ergo, he says, the two Bibles were undoubtedly printed in one and the same office, by one and the same printer, who was, of course, John Gutenberg. Therefore, he concluded: (1) Gutenberg printed B 42 during his partnership (1450-5) with Fust; (2) he superintended the manufacture of its type, instructed the compositor and the printer, and hence was its printer; (3) Fust supplied the money and material, and took part in the printing and the revision of the text, and had an important share in its publication; (4) the types came afterwards into the possession of Schoeffer; (5) B 36 is a reprint ('Nachdruck') of B 42, but Fust had nothing to do with it, in spite of its type and workmanship being similar to that of B 42; therefore it was Gutenberg's work; (6) B 36 being a mere

reprint of B 42, with the exception of its commencement, which was, perhaps, set up from a MS., the printing of it cannot be placed before 1450; (7) but, as the types of B 36 existed already in 1454, Gutenberg seems to have been preparing this new type since 1453, when his quarrels with Fust were beginning, and to have printed with it some Donatuses, the Indulgence of 1454, and other small books, and finally B 36, often with the technical and financial assistance of Alb. Pfister, who must have acquired B 36 and its printing-material in or shortly before 1458; (8) Gutenberg *may* have prepared the types for B 36 before 1450, therefore a little time before those of B 42 existed, but finding the former not solid enough or too large, he began preparing the types of B 42, and then, anticipating the quarrels with Fust, commenced the printing of B 36 in partnership with some one else, using his experience gained in printing B 42, but with less care, and merely reprinting B 42, chiefly on paper, and therefore with less cost. And, strange to say, (9) the Donatuses of Dutch origin cannot be ascribed to an earlier date than those attributed to Mainz and Gutenberg, because he (Dr. Dziatzko) has observed a peculiar  $\alpha$  in the former, which, unless those who defend the Dutch claims prove it to be national Hollandish, must be regarded as an imitation of the same  $\alpha$  in the Gutenberg prints.

It is difficult to reconcile this Gutenberg activity, this wholly speculative activity, with the Helmasperger Instrument of 6th November, 1455, which rather shows that Gutenberg had as yet done little. But Dziatzko says nothing on this point. To him

the only remaining question was: Which of the two Bibles was the earliest? To decide it he examined most minutely both texts, counted their lines, noted their agreements, contractions, differences, errors, etc., and found unmistakeable evidence of B 36 being a reprint of B 42 (pp. 87 to 112).

It seems never to have occurred to Dr. Dziatzko that the two Bibles could have been printed from two different MSS., and that the difference between their respective types conclusively shows that these at any rate were cut after different MS. models. Occasionally he speaks of MSS., but if I understand him correctly, he thinks that only B 42 was printed from a MS.; that the commencement of B 36 might have been printed from some MS.; but that no MS. was used in the printing of B 36 except where the latter has a more correct reading than B 42. Differences such as Moyses and Moises, ismahel and ysmahel, he regards as whims of the compositor.

We should not forget that to the correctness of Bible-manuscripts somewhat more attention was paid than to that of other books. Hence their texts are not likely to differ from each other so much as that of other books, especially not those written in such large letters as the models of B 36 and B 42 must have been. It follows that the great similarity between the texts of these two Bibles does not necessarily mean that the one must have been printed from the other, and hence it is no clue to the priority of either of them; the similarity may have existed in the MSS.; likewise the differences of spelling between the two texts. Even

the singular cancel in the Stuttgart copy (Dziatzko, p. 95) may be owing to the condition of the MS., but, not having seen this copy, I cannot speak with certainty on this point. A further examination of the two Bibles is not yet superfluous.

Dr. Dziatzko's ninth point, respecting the  $\alpha$  in the Dutch Donatuses, we may pass by. If he had examined Dutch incunabula or Dutch manuscripts he would have seen that, in the fifteenth century, the Northern Netherlands had their own national or rather provincial handwritings (including the peculiar  $\alpha$  mentioned by him), like the Flemish or Southern Netherlands and Germany. So that the printer of the 'Speculum' and 'Donatuses,' whose types all betray the bookhand indigenous to his province (Holland proper), could not have felt under the necessity of borrowing an isolated  $\alpha$  or any other letter of the alphabet. It is to be regretted that Dr. Schwenke has, to some extent, countenanced this  $\alpha$  theory.

In the Royal Library at Berlin I was fortunate enough to find the librarian, Dr. Schwenke, at his post. His treatises on early Mainz printing are models of clearness and preciseness, and should be studied by all who wish to know what books are now attributed to Gutenberg. The Berlin copy of the mixed Latin 'Speculum' belonged formerly to Frid. Jac. Roloff; it is imperfect, and its leaves do not all follow in due order. In spite of this, it was to me as important as the Pembroke copy, on account of a bibliographical peculiarity which will be explained elsewhere.

At Hanover, where I arrived on the 22nd of



August, are two copies of the 'Speculum,' one (Bodemann, 2 B) belonging to the *mixed* Latin, the other (Bodemann, 2 A.) to the *unmixed* Latin edition. They are both imperfect; the *mixed* Latin edition wants leaf 25, instead of which it has a duplicate of leaf 21, and it wants leaf 30, for which it has a duplicate of leaf 34. The copy of the *unmixed* Latin edition wants leaves 1 to 4 of the prefatory matter, while leaves 5 and 6 come at the end of the book; it further wants the whole quire *d* (leaves 35 to 48), and the pictures Nos. 93 to 100 come after No. 108. It has *blank* scrolls in the last engraving, but in the central scroll is written VERBUM DOMINI.

The Hanover Library has also a copy of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' of which a note in the book says: 'S. Ansgarius est autor huius libri.' Another note in the book says: 'N.B. Hic liber est de iis qui post inventam artem impressoriam, primo est typis divulgatus a Laurentio Costero Harlemensi anno 1428 usque ad annum 1440. Vide Monathl. Unterred. de anno 1698 mens. Jul. p. m. log. ex die oude Chron. ende Hist. van Zeeland, p. m. 159 in 4to.'

I stopped a night at Frankfurt on the Maine, where, on my arrival in an hotel, I was asked whether I was a Christian, as they took in no Jews.

At Darmstadt I had the pleasure of seeing again the archivist, Dr. Freih. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, who had been so kind and hospitable to me on a former visit, and whose 'Genealogy of Gutenberg,' published in 1900 in the 'Festschrift,' is in every

way clear, elaborate, and accurate. Dr. Ad. Schmidt, the librarian, not only gave me a copy of all that he had written on the Gutenberg question, but showed me, in the few hours at my disposal, many of the interesting rarities under his charge.

At Mainz, the librarians, A. Börckel, H. Heidenheimer, and A. Tronnier, did again their utmost to make my short visit pleasant, and to enlighten me on all the treasures in their keeping; their copy of the Laurentius Valla, ascribed to Coster, is bound up with four or five MS. treatises of the fifteenth century, ranging from 1443 to 1472. The handsome Gutenberg Museum at Mainz deserves to be visited, and should be imitated or excelled by a Coster Museum at Haarlem.

At Wiesbaden, the librarian, Prof. Dr. Zedler, who has contributed so much to the Gutenberg literature, showed me all that he had done to initiate himself in the art of cutting and casting types; he presented me with several photographs of incunabula taken by him, and kindly sent me after my return from my tour, two leaves of a Costerian Doctrinale, discovered by him, for my examination.

At Cologne (30th August) I learnt to my disappointment that, owing to careless custody, the fragments of the 'Donatuses' and 'Doctrinales,' formerly preserved in the library of the Catholic Gymnasium, had already been missing before this library was incorporated with that of the town. Some other fragments, described in Ennen's catalogue as being in the town library, had also disappeared. Consequently I only found (1) two

leaves of a 27-line Donatus (=Ennen's No. 1, p. 7 =No. 33 of my list of Costeriana), but not printed in any Speculum, or any other Costerian type; (2) two leaves of a 24-line Donatus, in the Saliceto type (=Ennen's No. 3, p. 7=my No. 24); (3) two leaves of a 24-line Donatus (=Ennen's No. 4, p. 7=my No. 24?); (4) two leaves of a 29-line Doctrinale, in the Saliceto type (=Ennen's No. 5, and my No. 36); and (5) two leaves of a 32-line Doctrinale (=Ennen's No. 6, and my No. 15) in the small Speculum type. The town library also possesses an edition of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and the 'Apocalypse.'

From Cologne I went (30th August) to the University Library at Utrecht, to examine again the fragments of the *French* Donatus printed in the Speculum type, and the fragments of Lud. Pontani de Roma, 'Singularia Juris' (my No. 25), and the other work of Pontanus, which latter are printed on one side of the leaf only (see my No. 26). I also examined half a dozen MSS., written at Utrecht about the middle of the fifteenth century (one actually dated 1458), which the librarian, Dr. Van Someren, kindly looked up for me, to see whether their handwritings bore any resemblance to the Costerian types, or could support the theory that the Costeriana might have been printed at Utrecht; but I found in none of them any such similarity. I also perused the letters written by and to Hadrianus Junius, preserved in the same university library, but in none of them was there any allusion to his account of the invention of printing.

At Utrecht I had already noticed a good deal of bunting in honour of Queen Wilhelmina's birthday (31st August), and on my arrival at Haarlem in the evening the whole town was celebrating the event most enthusiastically. A large crowd of people thronged the brilliantly illuminated market-place, where the statue of Lourens Janszoon Coster stood, for that evening, in darkness behind a marquee in which a military band were playing.

The Haarlem Town Library possesses a copy of the *unmixed* Latin 'Speculum,' with the scrolls of the last woodcut left blank by the printer, but the blank has been filled up with some yellow fluid. The same library has also two copies of the so-called *unmixed* Dutch edition; in one of them two sheets (leaves 24-27) are replaced by the corresponding sheets of the later (or *mixed*) Dutch edition; the other copy is all in loose leaves, mounted on other (modern) paper. But in spite of these imperfections, or rather on account of them, the two copies have a great bibliographical importance, which I also hope to explain elsewhere.

I also examined here the 'Genealogy of Coster,' which, after its very faulty publication by Dr. Van der Linde in 1870, has been the cause of a good deal of controversy. It is clear, from its different writings, that it must have been written up at various times. The present piece of parchment was evidently prepared before 1559, the year which occurs in its fifth division. But the first three divisions have all been written by one hand, in Roman, or Karoline minuscules, which shows that these divisions were copied straightway from some earlier genealogy or



other document. The handwriting changes at the fourth division, containing only the names of Gerrit Thomass (who died about 1563-4) and his wife, Ermingaert Jansdochter, for whom the 'Genealogy' is presumed to have been made. It then continues till the fifth entry in the fifth division, at the end of which is added, 'Na 1559 den Junii' (after 1559 the of June), after which other hands continue. It is obvious that, the first three parts of this 'Genealogy' being a copy of some earlier document or documents, we cannot argue, as some authors do, that the 'Genealogy' did not originate earlier than 1520-60. This approximate date may be assumed with respect to a portion or portions that follow after the first three divisions, but to the latter it is not unreasonable to assign a much earlier date.

At the Hague the Museum Meerman-Westreenianum possesses a perfect copy of the *mixed* Dutch Spiegel; an imperfect copy of the mixed Latin edition; the single leaf 46 of the unmixed Dutch edition, which is wanting in the copy of this edition preserved at Lille; and a copy of the unmixed Latin edition which only wants the Prohemium; the scrolls in the last woodcut have been left blank by the printer, but a contemporary hand has filled them up with the words 'mane thekel phares,' and the interpretations *nus appēsio d'isio*. After having made descriptions of several fragments of Costerian Donatuses and Doctrinales belonging to the Royal Library, I was unable to finish all my collations, as, by some accident, the key of one of the presses in which fragments were locked up, was

not accessible. I need not say that Dr. Knuttel, the curator of the museum, did what he could to further my work, and to make everything agreeable to me. Of the leaf of the 'Penitential Psalms,' printed in the Speculum type on one side of the vellum, the librarian allowed me to have a photograph taken for future use. I found another copy of the very same leaf in the Royal Library at Brussels, not mentioned by Campbell.

Passing rapidly from the Hague through Delft, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, I was collating, on the 15th September, the copy of the unmixed Latin 'Speculum' preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. It is imperfect, wanting leaves 8, 9, 18, 19, and 31, while most of the other leaves are bound in an irregular order; its scrolls in the last engraving are blank. I naturally examined here again the Maria engraving of 1418, for which every facility was given me by the keeper of the Print Department, M. van Bastelaer. I could find no trace whatever of the alleged scratching or any other tampering with the date, and there is no room for an L, to have made 1468. The date 1418 is genuine enough. So is that of 1440, which occurs twice in the 'Pomerium Spirituale,' which the conservateur of the library allowed me to examine at my leisure. We know already from Sir Martin Conway's description that the text of this work was written for the purpose of explaining the wood-engravings now pasted on to the leaves of text, that, therefore, these engravings could not be later than 1440, and after having examined the book,

I doubt whether any one could come to any other conclusion. As has been said above, I found here another copy of the same leaf of the 'Penitential Psalms,' which I had already examined at the Hague.

From Brussels I went to Lille to examine and collate the important copy of the *unmixed* Dutch edition, preserved in the Town Library. Most of the peculiarities have already been described by Bernard ('Origine de l'imprimerie,' p. 20 *sqq.*), Holtrop ('Monum.') and others.

But these isolated descriptions cannot bring out the real importance of this copy for the bibliography of the 'Speculum.' Its peculiarities should be examined and placed side by side with those in the other editions of the work—it, however, cannot be done in this short article.

From Lille I returned, via Calais and Dover, to Cambridge, on the 21st September, not altogether sorry that this eleven weeks' life in steamers, trains, tunnels, hotels, motor 'buses, trams, restaurants, cafés, etc., coupled with hard work (sometimes from eight o'clock in the morning till six or seven in the evening) in libraries, museums, etc., had come to an end for the present.

The December following, I requested the Earl of Crawford to send his copy of the mixed Dutch 'Spiegel,' which formerly belonged to the Enschedé family at Haarlem, to the British Museum, where I wished to examine it side by side with the Grenville copy of the mixed Latin edition. With the director's consent and ready support of my application, Lord Balcarres, in the absence of his father,

kindly forwarded the book to the Museum. Some of its margins are tender and bear traces of much wear and tear. For this reason, no doubt, it was interleaved by M. Enschedé. Otherwise the copy is in fine condition, and the text, as well as the woodcuts, are intact.

As far as I know, there are now only two copies of the unmixed Latin 'Speculum' which I have not yet seen: one which formerly belonged to Mr. John Inglis, and is now in the Lennox Library; another is in the Library at Stuttgart; a third (mixed Latin) belongs to Capt. Holford. The latter two I hope to collate shortly.

I need not point out to those who have had the patience to read the above lines that studies of this kind are interesting, but laborious and expensive, as the books to be examined are scattered over nearly the half of Europe. I gladly record, however, the universal readiness of librarians and directors of libraries and museums wherever I came to assist me in every way, and even to give me special facilities where practicable. I started on my tour convinced that the claims of Haarlem rested on firm grounds, but, with the desire to notice and work out anything that might tell against them. I have returned more convinced than ever of the justness of these claims, and with considerable confidence as to the chronological order in which the various editions and issues of the 'Speculum' must be placed. My reasons for this confidence, and the outcome of my researches, I hope to submit to those who take an interest in these studies more at length in a separate work on



the invention of printing to be published before long, and in my article for the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

J. H. HESSELS.

Cambridge,  
April, 1908.

## A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

### III.—LENDING LIBRARIES—BRANCHES.

**T**HE distribution of books to be read in the homes of the people has always been one of the principal functions of the Public Libraries. Considerable ingenuity has been displayed in devising methods of enabling the readers to find books, and the staff to record the books lent with a view to securing their prompt return. This side of the subject has received attention some of which would have been better bestowed in considering whether, under all the circumstances, the best provision possible had been made for the readers.

Take as an example the question of what books should go into the lending and reference departments. In one very important town with a fine system of libraries I was told some years ago that the supply of books for the lending libraries was governed by the cost. No book which cost more than six shillings was lent for home reading. The plan was simple, and absurd. It has most likely been abandoned long ago in favour of some more reasonable method, and I only mention it as an illustration of the gross mistakes which have been made in dealing with this important subject. For a national library like the British Museum, a fixed

rule, that the people must come to the books, is inevitable, and no person capable of weighing the circumstances would question the rule. For those readers and writers unable to avail themselves of the British Museum, the London Library, St. James's Square, offers facilities for obtaining books for home use which have been a boon to a long roll of illustrious authors. These two libraries, it seems to me, offer for our guidance valuable experience. Every book in the British Museum is at home when called for; a reader knows that under no circumstances will he find the book away from the building. The London Library, on the other hand, discovered long ago that there is a very large class of people who can work better at home than in a public library, and many who are unable to find time to read or write except at times when the library is closed.

The question of lending and reference should, I think, be approached with these facts and experiences in mind. The result will inevitably be to treat the supply of books for home reading in a more liberal spirit.

Years ago, when the Cardiff Library was being starved on an utterly inadequate income, the great desire of the Committee, or at any rate of some of the most active members, was to build up a reference library. To this end, purchases were made of what were considered desirable books, and these were duly placed upon the reference shelves, there to remain, unknown and unused, from year to year. They were dusted occasionally, and checked at the stock-taking to make sure that they were still on

the shelves, but no effort was made to bring them into use. The books had, in fact, been purchased for imaginary readers then non-existent, while the wants of the actually existing readers who held borrowers' tickets for the lending library were neglected, and to some extent deliberately overridden. There seems to be a subtle fascination for some minds in fixing a standard of reading for their neighbours. It is so comforting when, after a hard day's work, one settles down to forget the trials of life in company with a rousing novel, to reflect that the right books, the books one ought to read, have been duly provided for other people. I need hardly say that the desire to foster a love of good books by means of the reference library was a dismal failure. The problem was then approached from another point of view. The lending library became the focus of the Committee's efforts, and steps were taken to improve the supply of books for home reading, and to make the public acquainted with what was being done. The result was almost magical. The demand grew so rapidly that it was impossible to keep pace with it. Not only was the lending library crowded with eager borrowers, but branch libraries in the suburbs were loudly called for, and candidates at the municipal elections had to pledge themselves to vote for branch libraries. For some years this period of strain continued. To maintain branches out of the income then available was an impossibility, and would result in crippling all round; yet, behind the fear of general impoverishment from trying to do too much was a feeling of satisfaction that the



library cause was gathering strength, combined with a confidence that, when the right moment came, the ratepayers would settle the matter in their own way.

There is no doubt whatever that the large body of ratepayers have always been in advance of their elected representatives as regards liberality to the libraries. I suspect it is so in a great many places, but in Cardiff it was strikingly shown when the ratepayers grasped the fact that if the work of the libraries was to go on unimpaired, the statutory rate must be increased by a special local act. The Corporation reluctantly inserted a clause in an omnibus local bill. I say reluctantly because, although the clause was agreed to unanimously by the Corporation, it was the driving-power of the ratepayers which made several members agree to it. Then came the necessary public meeting to approve or otherwise the objects of the bill, which included some things violently opposed by railway and other large vested interests. These public meetings had hitherto been attended by a handful of people. On this occasion the first meeting had to be adjourned to enable the largest hall in Cardiff to be engaged; and when the adjourned meeting began the hall was packed from end to end, and from floor to ceiling. Representative leaders of the opposition to the bill were present in force with their supporters, and a stormy time was looked for. I can honestly say that I expected the increase of the library income would be relegated to the Greek calends. The Mayor, who presided, took a different and, as it proved, a more correct

view of the public temper. He decided that the library clause should be the first to be submitted to the meeting, and I shall never forget the ringing cheers with which it was carried without a dissentient voice being raised. The strength of public opinion in favour of the libraries was a revelation to the members of the Corporation. I believe that this feeling, perhaps stronger, still exists, and that, if it becomes necessary, the ratepayers will repeat the demonstration of 1897.

This strong body of public opinion was created because we tried to meet the need which existed, trusting to time to bring about an appreciation of the highest of all forms of library work, and not trusting in vain, as I hope to show in a future article dealing with the reference library.

In buying books for the lending libraries our plan has always been to provide adequately for the recreative side; to build up a collection answering the immediate needs of the district; to be some way in front of the public taste without ignoring it; and to allow the people to borrow books which in most libraries are reserved for reference use, when it can be done without interfering with the needs of others. As a concrete instance Holtzapffel's book on 'Turning,' in five volumes, may be mentioned. For over twenty years that work has been in the lending library, and has been borrowed over and over again by experts in that craft, who have steadily worked through it volume by volume, often with the book open at the lathe. I recall a succession of brilliant craftsmen, and at least one learned amateur, to whom the privilege of being

able to borrow and renew the volumes of that book has been an inestimable boon. They have shown me examples of their work from time to time, and talked to me of problems to be mastered and difficulties overcome. The work cost £5 11s.; the use which has been made of it fully justifies the expenditure.

Many other instances of a similar kind might be cited. One other must suffice, for the present at any rate: Freeman's 'History of the Norman Conquest,' a book of special interest in this locality, for historical and also for personal reasons, because Professor Freeman for some years resided at Lanrumney Hall, near Cardiff, and studied the Norman Conquest of Wales and the Borders on the spot, besides devoting his attention to the rich archæology and the interesting architecture of Llandaff Cathedral and other sites and churches. 'The History of the Norman Conquest' has been read through by several readers who could not have done so had it been in the reference library.

We have tried in dealing with the lending libraries to carry out, as far as circumstances would allow, the spirit of the London Library. Any books with which a man or woman can with greater advantage work at home we lend, unless there is some special reason for withholding it. It would be unreasonable to lend the volumes of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' for example, though occasionally one finds people unreasonable enough to ask it. The same remark applies naturally to manuscripts, to many illustrated

books, to rare books, and works the value of which to the public consists in the fact that they are always at home when wanted.

In the purchase of books for recreative reading, the Book Selection Committee has always adhered to the principle that it is a duty and a privilege to provide healthy reading of this class, but that it is not necessary to buy the latest six-shilling shocker, or any work which has a passing vogue. The great masterpieces of literature are always kept supplied, and as often as worn out renewed with good editions. Cheap reprints are entirely avoided. The æsthetic effect of good print, good paper and neat binding have weight, and though we are compelled by the exigencies of the case to bind strongly and cheaply books constantly in circulation, and regularly worn out after three or four years, yet wherever possible, books for the lending libraries are bound neatly in half morocco.

The difficulties of book selection increase year by year. The rage for cheapness and for illustrations, the feverish haste with which books are turned out by authors and publishers, can only result in our libraries becoming, in a few years, literary charnel-houses, with a few heaps of china clay, some sticky straw-coloured masses of pulpy matter with spots of black resembling printers' ink, and here and there a few noble volumes to deride the makers and purchasers of the heaps of books which have fallen into premature decay. It is a duty owing to posterity that we should avoid books made up of bad materials. There is an even stronger reason for doing so—the duty to the



present generation of readers. Paper having a dead white surface, highly glazed to receive the impressions from lightly engraved half-tone blocks, is to be avoided because of its liability to speedy decay, and should be avoided even more because during its short existence it may be the means of injuring the eyesight of those who read. Some publishers have made the very serious mistake of printing books throughout on coated paper, in order to work the half-tone illustrations with the text. An important and interesting book of travel, Miss Lowthian Bell's 'Desert and the Sown,' recently issued, is a case in point. How many people have been able to read that book through? I tried to read it, and found the effect on the eyes so injurious, after a couple of pages, that the effort was abandoned. We do not intend to purchase books such as this for the libraries, either new or second-hand. However excellent they may be in other respects, we feel it would be wrong, knowing their injurious effect on the eyesight, to put them into the hands of our readers. It is part of our policy to avoid books when the physical constituents are unsuitable. I must resist the temptation to arraign further those who are doing their best to ruin our books, and incidentally bringing about a decrease of their own profits. One cannot, however, but feel a pang at the reflection that the blame for this degradation of the nobility of books rests with the publishers, who for four centuries have been the proud conservators of the world's literature. It is odd, too, that the efforts of the Kelmscott, the Doves and other famous presses to

improve the standard, have been followed by an accelerated decline in other quarters.

Twenty years ago this difficulty about materials hardly existed, and it was comparatively easy to lay down and adhere to a few main principles for the selection of books for lending libraries. The principles are still followed, though less closely, by reason of the complications just described. Briefly, we do not attempt to supply new novels, the selection being confined to the best, and to the standard novels of the past. An important work in science, history, art, or which bears in any way on the industrial, commercial, educational and other activities of the district, is purchased at once, whatever the price. The bulky volumes of reminiscences, biography, and similar works issued at high prices with the knowledge that but a brief season awaits them, we buy second hand, or not at all. The distribution of books for home reading is now made from six centres, the chief library and five branches. The school distribution, described in a former article, is of course excluded from this article, the intention being to deal now with the library's activities on behalf of adults, though some children not provided for through public schools are admitted to the lending libraries.

That the branch libraries were the result of a demand on the part of the ratepayers for greater facilities to obtain the loan of books has already been explained. Cardiff is divided at present into ten wards for municipal representation purposes, and there was at one time a danger of every ward being made the unit for a branch library. It was

pointed out that there had already been two rearrangements of the wards, increasing the number from three to five and from five to ten. The adoption of the ward system of branch libraries might therefore result in complications. A study of the town map, taking into account especially the extent to which districts were cut off by railways, rivers, and other large obstacles, gave six districts, which might be treated as library units. For one of these, the Docks, a good reading-room only was necessary. The other five it was decided to supply with libraries as well as reading-rooms. In most cases the reading-rooms had to suffice until the funds allowed of the addition of libraries. This was done gradually, extending over a period of thirteen years, 1894-1907. The development of the branches has been full of interest and instruction. Two of them are in districts having residents entirely of the working class except the shopkeepers, the doctors, and the clergy and ministers. The bulk of the grown-up people in these districts had never read through a book in their lives. In both districts we found that the adults seldom came to the library to exchange books, though we judged from the books borrowed that a proportion were for adults. In one of the districts the assistant in charge was a steady, gentle, and kind-hearted young man, of whom no borrower need be afraid, yet he failed to attract any visitors to the lending library except boys and girls. When an opportunity of changing came we sent to that district a well-educated lady of exceptional talent, always well and smartly dressed, who could be sharp with her

speech on occasions, but full of loving sympathy and helpfulness, and a believer in the power of literature to cheer and refine the dreary lives of the hardworking poor.

The scene quietly but surely changed, until in time the assistant in charge of the library was the confidante and the helper of numbers of women and men in the choice of books ; shy women, young and old, yearning for a kindly word of advice and sympathy, would take their knitting or fancy work to the library to be inspected, while boys and girls would take drawings or other results of their handicraft for the same purpose. It was this lady who discovered for me that people who have reached middle life without book-reading are frightened by a long book just as young children are, only the children quickly overcome the difficulty, while very often the older people do not. To test the truth of the theory a number of small volumes of stories were sent to this branch, with excellent results. This valuable hint is always kept in mind in purchasing books for use in such districts.

I have no doubt that the popularity of Mrs. Henry Wood and other writers with this class of reader is due to the fact that they write about incidents and environments which can be easily comprehended and in a simple style. The popularity of the 'Family Herald' and similar publications has been explained on the ground that they take people out of the sordid world in which they live to an ideal world where dukes marry housemaids. I should be inclined to attribute a large measure of the success of these weekly journals to the other



factor I have mentioned, the mental difficulty of facing a long book, which disappears when the book is served up in weekly instalments.

The opening of branches was the means of introducing the libraries to an entirely new set of readers, unaccustomed to access to any large number of books, and for various reasons, unable to borrow from the Central Library. It was a surprise to me to find how restricted are the movements of large numbers of people residing in the suburbs. They are local to a degree, and only journey to the centre of the town on rare occasions. These are the very people to whom the lighter side of the library is a real boon. When the latest of our branch libraries was opened a little over a year ago in a suburb with a population of about 30,000 residing from one to two miles from the Central Library, we were very much struck with the limited knowledge possessed by a large number of borrowers with regard to books. This library is worked on the safeguarded open access principle with great success, and the rapid extension of the borrowers' knowledge of books is very noteworthy. People who, before the library was opened, had no ideas beyond the titles of a few current sensational works of a poor character, have since discovered the wonderland of the great English writers, a fact of which critics who are constantly trying to disparage the work of public libraries would do well to take note.

For the present we consider that our scheme of library extension is complete, and our efforts are now being directed to working the whole harmoniously, so that the public may get the greatest

advantage at the least expenditure, or, in other words, we try to spread the book-purchasing fund over as wide a field of selection as we can. If one copy of a book can be made to serve all the libraries, we do not want to buy a second, and to meet this all the libraries are connected up to the telephone exchange. Books required by readers are requisitioned from the Central Library or a branch as occasion arises. In this way the whole of the Central Library with its large stock supplements the stock of each branch, and in fact the contents of six libraries can be drawn upon at any one of the distributing centres. When, however, more than one copy is necessary to meet the demand, the number is increased, and of many popular books we have from twenty to thirty copies in the six libraries.

A word about our experience with the telephone. The rent for connecting the branches to the telephone exchange would be about £48 per annum, and for private communication with the Central Library only, rather more. By an arrangement with the National Telephone Co. each branch has been made a public call-office with, in two cases, extensions from the call-box to the desk in the lending department. We pay thirty shillings per annum for these extensions and a penny for every message sent from the branches, the total cost being under £10 per annum. For the Central Library telephone exchange rent is paid, and we can therefore call any of the branches without further cost.


We do not restrict readers to one ticket, nor do

we issue a second ticket for any one library. If a reader chooses to go to the Central Library and to each of the five branches and take out a ticket, he can borrow six books at a time. The tickets are also interchangeable between the libraries, provided no reader takes two books in his own name from the same library. This seems to be a better system than the 'student's ticket' of meeting the needs of readers who require more than one book. In effect it is working out that a reader obtains his recreative reading from the branch nearest his home, and resorts to the Central Library for his more solid reading, and we hope ultimately to develop this to such an extent that the Central Library will do only a limited amount of work in the way of circulating light reading, and serve chiefly as a library for those who require the best books. For a long time this development can only be to a limited extent.

We try in the lending libraries to embrace the wants of all the residents within the area served. As in many other libraries, music is an important feature with us, but the selection is confined to high-class music, vocal and instrumental. We have recently issued a catalogue, eighty pages, of this section. We have a large number of books for the blind in Braille and Moon characters, and, to meet the requirements of the many borrowers who read foreign languages either for study or recreation, a strong French section (added to from time to time), a German section, and a small collection of books in Spanish.

JOHN BALLINGER.

## RECENT ENGLISH PURCHASES AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

 PREVIOUS article under this heading appeared in 'THE LIBRARY' for January, 1905, and it is pleasant to note that in the intervening three years no fewer than 222 English books printed before the close of the year 1640 have been acquired for the British Museum. It is even more pleasing to be able to state that the quality of these purchases has been as well maintained as their quantity. In my last article it was lamented that while as many as five Caxtons had been purchased during the Keepership of Dr. Garnett, since his retirement in 1899, not a single book by that printer which the Museum lacked had come into the market. During the last three years two new Caxtons have been acquired,—the Book of Good Manners, printed in 1487, and the singular issue of the Indulgence of 1481. The Book of Good Manners belonged to what had originally been a very fine volume in an early Cambridge stamped binding, which contained also the Royal Book and the Doctrinal of Sapience, and was sold at the Whitley Beaumont sale at Hodgson's in November, 1906. While in Yorkshire it had lost fifty-nine leaves of the Royal Book, six of the Book of Good Manners, and thirty-nine of the Doctrinal; and the margins of many



others had been cut off, by some one in need of blank paper, close up to the text. The volume was knocked down to Mr. Quaritch for £470, and by an arrangement with him, the Book of Good Manners and the binding passed to the British Museum, the fragments of the two larger books, of both of which the Museum possessed copies, remaining in his hands. The volume has now been made up to its original size with blank paper and the mutilated leaves skilfully re-margined, though, according to the tradition which is firmly established at the Museum, without any attempt to conceal what has been done. Only three other copies of the Book of Good Manners are known, all in public libraries (Lambeth, Cambridge University, and Copenhagen), and it was thus one which there seemed little hope that the Museum would ever acquire. To obtain sixty out of its sixty-six leaves at a moderate price was a stroke of luck.

The singular issue of the Indulgence of 1481 was the second of the two copies sold by the Bedford Library at the same time as the copy of the Royal Book, in the binding of which they had been preserved. The other copy was acquired by Mr. Pierpoint Morgan. By these two acquisitions the primacy which the British Museum had gained in the matter of Caxtons during Dr. Garnett's tenure of the Keepership of Printed Books was still further strengthened.

Besides the Caxtons only one English incunable has been added to the library, a good copy of the 'Contemplacyon of Sinners,' printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 10th July, 1499. Herbert's description

of this book is so quaint and full that it may be quoted in place of any more modern account :

‘This is a very scarce book, and composed in an uncommon manner. Here are seven different topics, or meditations, divided according to the seven days of the week ; consisting of brief sentences, because the life of man is short ; drawn out of the Scriptures, moral philosophers, fathers and Doctors of the church, all in Latin ; and, that it may appear more authentic, the author’s name is quoted to each sentence.

‘Then follows a paraphrasticall translation thereof, or a kind of concordance in English verse. Every meditation has a wood-print prefixed to it, adapted to the subject. The first, for Monday, sets forth the vanity of this wretched world. The figure, as described in the table of contents, is a globe in the sea ; betokening continual peril and trouble ; but to the copy in the Harleian Library, it is a peasant, with a spade in one hand and a whip in the other. The 2d for Tuesday is the state of innocence, with the picture of Adam and Eve in paradise. The 3d displays the state of deadly sin, with the figures of Death, &c., in three skeletons terrifying three gallants on horseback, and an old hermit pointing to a crucifix between them. The 4th is a remembrance of the general doom, with a print of the final punishment and reward of the departed according to their deserts in this life. The 5th, the passion of our Saviour, with the print thereof. The 6th, hell torments, with a figure of them. The 7th represents the joys of heaven, which with its print ends the week’s meditations.

‘There is also at the beginning and end, a print of a bishop sitting and giving a book to, or receiving it from, a priest on his knees. The prologue informs us, that “At the deuoute & dylygent request of the ryght reuerend fader in God, and lorde Rychard, bysshop of Dureham, and lorde pryuy seale of England, this lyttell

boke namyd Contemplacion of synners, is compylyd and fynnysshed. The sayd blessyd fader in God, desyryng gretly all vertue to encrease and vyce to be exiled, hath caused this booke to be enprinted, to the entente that oft redyng this may surely serche, and truly knowe the state of his conscience.”

No other book printed by De Worde has been acquired, and only one Pynson, a hitherto unrecorded issue from his press, ‘Plutarchus de tuenda bona valetudine, Erasmo Roterodamo interprete,’ dedicated to John Young, Warden of New College, Oxford, and Archdeacon of London. This is a small quarto, consisting of 24 leaves (A-D<sup>8.4</sup>), with the colophon: ‘Londini in edibus Rychardi Pynson impressoris regij. Anno salutis Millesimo. quingētesimo. xiii Quī to Calēdas Augustas,’ and Pynson’s device 3b. Bound with it are eight other works printed between 1506 and 1519 at Cologne, Strassburg, Tübingen, Louvain, and Paris, most of them unluckily already in the Museum.

Another Erasmus book from an early press is Leonard Cox’s translation of his ‘Paraphrase upon y<sup>e</sup> Epistle of Saint Paule vnto his discyple Titus,’ printed by John Byddell. Of other English printers of the first half of the sixteenth century, Berthelet is the only one largely represented, among the books of his recently acquired being Lupset’s ‘A Treatise of Charite’ and ‘The Boke for a Justice of the Peace,’ both of them printed in 1539, and each being in its original binding with other pieces of his printing unfortunately already in the Museum, an undated edition of the ‘Disputatio inter clericum et militem,’ Xenophon’s ‘Treatise of Hous-

holde' (1544), and 'The Decree for Tithes to be payed in London' (1546). Among other early books may be mentioned 'The Order of the Great Turkes Court' (Grafton, 1542), 'A Christmas Banket,' by Theodore Basille, the pseudonym of Thomas Becon, printed by Mayler for Gough (1542), and a rare edition of Alexander Barclay's 'Thre Eclogs,' printed by Humphrey Powell (c. 1548).

Typographical interest continues somewhat later in Scotland than in England, and the Scottish books purchased have been unusually numerous and valuable. Special mention may be made of William Lauder's 'Ane Compendious and Breve Tractate concernyng y<sup>e</sup> office and dewtie of Kyngis,' printed by John Scot in 1556, almost certainly at St. Andrew's, where he had printed the first book four years before. Of the Tractate only one other copy is recorded, that now at Britwell. The one acquired for the Museum was David Laing's, and sold at his sale for £77. Another St. Andrews book, of which Laing's copy has been acquired, is Knox's 'Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie,' printed by Lekpreuik in 1572. This sold in Laing's sale for £53. In neither case has the Museum lost anything by waiting, as the competition for Laing's books when they first came into the market drove them up to prices which have not been maintained. Besides these and many other purchases, five important Scottish proclamations, three printed by Lekpreuik, one by Bassandyne and one by Ros, between the years 1567 and 1574, have come to light among the Cotton



Manuscripts and been entered in the Catalogue of Printed Books.

Among books printed abroad for the English market we may note a *Sarum Horae* of 1510, printed at Paris by Thielmann Kerver for William Bretton, another printed at Rouen by Nicolas Le Roux for Jacques Cousin in 1537, and Knox's 'Copie of an *Épistle vnto the inhabitants of Newcastle,*' prettily printed in sextodecimo at Geneva in 1559. Earlier than any of these is an edition of the '*Multorum vocabulorum equiuocorum interpretatio Magistri Johannis de Garlandia,*' printed '*secundum ordinem alphabeti vnacum interpretatione Anglice lingue,*' at Paris in 1502, and interesting as containing a rather fulsome address headed '*Johannes antonius venetus bibliopola parisiensis adolescentibus studiosis in anglia salutem,*' in which there is a flattering reference<sup>1</sup> to Frederick Egmont, a Paris bookseller in England, for whom several notable book-lovers have a special regard.

In no department of our earlier literature is the British Museum more rich than in the quarto plays printed before the closing of the theatres in 1642. The richer a collection is the more difficult is it to add to, and it is therefore very satisfactory that as many as nine important additions have been lately acquired. Seven of these belonged to that remarkable volume of plays of which report says that it came over to Messrs. Sotheby by post from Ireland without even a paper wrapper round it,

<sup>1</sup> Qui cum in vestra excellentissima anglie patria et librorum sit fidelissimus mercator et amicorum suorum amantissimus, nullum vnquam librum ex officina sua nisi perquam castigatum emittit.

but with a label pasted on the binding, after an opinion that it was worth sending had been elicited by the novel device of tearing out a leaf and sending it as a specimen. The seven plays bought by the Museum were :

The Enterlude of Johan the Evangelist. John Waley. [n.d.]

An Enterlude of Welth and Helth. [John Waley.] [n.d.]

The playe of the Weather. By John Heywoode. John Awdely. [n.d.]

An Enterlude called Lusty Juuentus. John Awdely. [n.d.]

A pretie Enterlude called Nice Wanton. John Allde. [n.d.]

A newe Interlude of Impacyente poverte. John King. 1560.

A preaty new Enterlude of the Story of King Daryus. Hugh Jackson. 1577.

At the time of the sale no other copies of John the Evangelist, Wealth and Health, or Impacient Poverty were known, and Jackson's edition of King Darius and Awdeley's Lusty Juuentus were also, as far as bibliographical records showed, 'unique.' Considerable interest was thus taken in the Museum's new acquisitions, two and three reprints of some of them having already appeared. Nevertheless another copy of John the Evangelist and another issue of Wealth and Health came on the market within a twelvemonth, and were knocked down for much smaller prices than the Museum had paid. These chances have to be taken philosophically, and in this case philosophy

was rendered pleasantly easy by the fact that the better bargains fell to one of the few collectors who steadily stand aside, no matter what the temptation, when they know that the British Museum is bidding. It was at the same sale as these better bargains were made that the eighth play was bought, Colwell's edition of Bales' 'Newe Comedy or Enterlude concernyng thre lawes, of Nature, Moises and Christe' (1562). The other dramatic acquisition was a much later one, the issue of Chapman's *Cæsar and Pompey*, in which the title reads, 'The Warres of Pompey and Cæsar' (1631).

Of other purchases of literary importance the chief are 'Tarlton's newes out of Purgatorie,' printed for T. G. and T. N., 1590; the first edition of Nash's 'Pierce Pennilesse, his supplication to the Divell,' printed by Richard Jones, 1592; the second edition of Sir Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' (W. Ponsonby, 1593), the first with the allegorical title-page, of which Mr. Mallock published so ludicrous a misinterpretation a few years ago, and the Rowfant copy of Sidney's 'Defence of Poesie,' printed (by Thomas Creed) for William Ponsonby in 1595. Of this last work the unauthorized edition by Olney, in which it is called 'An Apologie for Poetrie,' was already in the Museum, which now only needs one of the less important editions of 'Astrophel and Stella' to complete its Sidney collection. Yates's 'Castle of Courtesie' and 'Hould of Humilitie' (John Wolfe, 1582), and 'Christes Bloodie Sweat,' by J. F. (1616), besides the edition of Barclay's 'Thre Eclogs,' already

mentioned, are among the poetical acquisitions of minor importance.

This survey, which necessarily partakes very much of a catalogue, is already long enough, and yet of the 222 earlier English acquisitions mentioned in our first paragraph, some two hundred remain unsung. To the sympathetic student few of them are without interest. Many of them would be worth buying if only for the quaint felicity of their titles: 'The Olive Leafe, or Universall A B C,' 'The Christians Map of the World,' 'The Mirrour or Miracle of Gods Love unto the World of His Ele&ct,' 'Doubting's Downfall,' 'Seven Goulden Candlesticks houlding the seaven greatest lights of Christian Religion,' 'A Silver Watch Bell,' 'A Fig for the Spaniard,' 'The Drunkard's Cup,' 'The Soules Alarum bell,' 'The Clearing of the Saints' Sight,' 'A Jewell for the Ear':—the books thus announced may not greatly appeal to our modern taste, but the titles of them are certainly attractive. Most of them, of course, are theological, and indeed of the two hundred books which cannot be noticed individually theology accounts probably for about a hundred and fifty, and of these perhaps as many as half are sermons. The appetite for sermons must indeed have been enormous. We have noticed above three cases in which the Museum has had to acquire a whole volume of tracts for the sake of one or two which it did not already possess. But among its recent acquisitions is a volume containing six sermons published between 1606 and 1620, and of these six sermons not one was already on its shelves!




Clearly the number of such discourses which may still be acquired is enormous ; but, as we have seen, the theological literature which bulks largely among recent acquisitions is not unaccompanied by more interesting purchases, and the two Caxtons, a fifteenth century *De Worde*, nine early plays, and Sidney's ' *Defence of Poesie* ' bring up the average interest of the earlier English purchases during these three years to a standard of which, in these days of high prices, and less money than it used to have with which to pay them, even the British Museum need not be discontented.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

## REVIEWS.

*The Bibliophile: a magazine and review for the collector, student, and general reader. The Bibliophile Office, Thanet House, Strand. Nos. 1—4. Sixpence each.*

O one has yet succeeded in firmly establishing a popular magazine for book-lovers in England. We hope that the 'Bibliophile,' which made its first appearance last March, after some nine months of careful preparation, will create a new record, and it is interesting to see how its very able managers are setting about it. We have now four numbers before us, and their varied contents might be criticized from many different standpoints. What the friendly critic has to recognize is that if he keep to any one standpoint he will scarcely find it possible to do justice. For the problem of the 'Bibliophile' is not unlike that which is supposed to underlie the Arabian Nights, where a lady, whose name we will not attempt to spell from memory, has to hold the attention of the Sultan night after night on pain of losing her head. Not all of our own articles are dull, but we have established our right to be as dull as we find necessary, because we have gradually secured the support of a sufficient number of hardened book-lovers to

keep us afloat, and the hardened book-lover is willing to help find paper and print for facts and theories which are not very interesting in themselves, because they will ultimately help to clear up points about books for which he cares. But a popular magazine must never be dull, and the editor of the 'Bibliophile' has avoided dullness with as much ability as Scheherazade (we have looked up the spelling) herself. Even in the rare case when an article cannot from any point of view be called good, it is never dull. Thus a dissertation on 'The Romance of Papermarks,' suggested by M. Briquet's great book 'Les filigranes,' is mischievous and misleading, but it escapes dullness by the very wildness of its imaginations, and the editor can hardly be blamed for having put his faith in a writer who has every opportunity for being an expert, but apparently prefers 'romance' to history. No one is allowed even to approach prolixity, for all the articles are kept rigidly short. Almost every article, moreover, is illustrated, and the illustrations are well chosen, so that there is always something pretty for the eye to rest on. Moreover, it has been realized that the book-lover in his earlier stages is interested in many things besides books, and for his amusement and relaxation articles are provided in every number on a variety of other subjects, notably on prints and postage-stamps and old furniture. We are bold to hope that soon these may disappear, and that the 'Bibliophile' will find sufficient supporters who are content to purchase a magazine concerned with books and books only. For books are treated here

not only for their printing, illustration, or binding, or for curious incidents in their history, but also for their literary qualities. The first article in each number is specially devoted to the literary aspects of books, the four contributors being Mr. Chesterton, Mr. Arthur Symons, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, and Mr. Austin Dobson. The range of books reviewed, moreover, is wide, and the reviewers are for the most part men who have earned the right to speak on the subjects on which they write. Of the longer articles on topics in which 'THE LIBRARY' is specially interested, the excellent account of 'Breydenbach's Pilgrimage,' by Mr. Esdaile may, perhaps, be selected as the best, for it combines the merits of being informative, amusing, and accompanied by delightful illustrations. Mr. Pollard writes about 'Early Book Advertisements,' taking unusual pains to sweeten information with hilarity. Mr. Samuel Clegg has a good account of 'Thomas Hollis: book-lover, politician, and philanthropist,' now chiefly remembered by his book-bindings, which are duly illustrated. Mr. Redgrave, as a Ratdolt specialist, writes a note on the Ratdolt design, which has been borrowed for the border of the magazine. Miss D. G. McChesney gives an account of 'Eikon Basilike Deutera,' a satire on Charles II., of which not much has been heard. Mrs. Arthur Bell takes for her subject 'Finely Illustrated Books, and borrows from them many pretty pictures. It is obvious that the 'Bibliophile' has set itself to provide something for all tastes, and a man must be hard to please who will assert that it has not been successful.




*The Libraries of London: a guide for students. Prepared on the instruction of the Senate of the University of London, by Reginald Arthur Rye, Goldsmiths' Librarian of the University of London. London: published by the University.*

It would be difficult to overpraise this useful and unpretentious little book. Here in something under a hundred pages is a careful stock-taking of the library facilities of London. After a brief introduction, in the course of which the estimate is advanced that 'the number of volumes in the public and administrative libraries, and in the libraries of societies and institutions of London is approximately 8,000,000,' we have annotated lists (i.) of the general libraries in the order of their size; (ii.) of the special libraries, arranged alphabetically according to their subjects; (iii.) of libraries connected with educational institutions, arranged, like the first section, according to size. The notes, both as to the histories of the libraries and as to the classes of books to be found in them, are exactly what are wanted, and as far as we are able to test them, they prove very accurate. Any one who possesses this little manual will have a better knowledge of where to go for a book in London than it has hitherto been possible to obtain. Lest the fact that no fewer than 8,000,000 volumes are available for readers should inspire unseasonable pride, or no less unseasonable lethargy, Mr. Rye points out that Greater London is thus only provided with a little over one volume per head of its population, whereas in Berlin they have two, and in Dresden three. So there is still need for progress.

# THE LIBRARY.

## THE LEGEND OF ARCHBISHOP UDO.

HE fantastic legend of Archbishop Udo of Magdeburg, of which a free version is offered in the following pages, first came to my notice in turning over the leaves of a copy of the 'Lauacrum Conscientiae' of Jacobus de Gruytrode, a Carthusian monk, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. This book consists of a species of Whole Duty of Clerics, with stories illustrative of the awful consequences that await unworthy priests. The most elaborate of these stories, told in chapter xv., is that of Archbishop Udo. When the legend has been narrated, a few words shall be said as to its origin.

### THE HORRIBLE AND APPALLING HISTORY OF A CERTAIN ARCHBISHOP OF MAGDEBURG CALLED UDO.

In the year 900, when Otto III. was emperor, there happened in the city of Magdeburg in Saxony a terrifying and unheard of portent. The manner of its happening I will relate simply and truly, so

that all may learn how hazardous and damnable it is to live an evil life in an exalted station, to diminish wrongfully the patrimony of Christ which is the well-being of the Church, to corrupt those of inferior degree by foul and scandalous behaviour, and to make nefarious attempts on the honour of the brides of God.

There was in the aforesaid city a certain scholar of the liberal arts named Udo, whose brain was so dull and heavy that, toil as he might over his books, he made no progress in them at all, and was thus frequently subjected to the stripes and chastisement of his master. One morning, after he had received a most intolerable beating, he betook himself straight from his school to the great minster of Magdeburg, built in honour of Saint Maurice and his holy company. There he cast himself on his knees before the altar with great fervour and many tears, and implored the aid of the gracious Queen of Heaven and of Saint Maurice that they would be pleased to lighten the darkness of his understanding. And as he knelt thus in deep devotion a sudden drowsiness overcame him, and in his slumber the Mother of Mercies appeared to him, and said: "My son, I have heard thy prayer and seen thine affliction. Behold, not only is the gift of learning and letters granted thee, but I commend moreover to thy faithful care the rule of this church of my champion Maurice when the present archbishop shall have died. And if thou rule it well, surely there awaits thee a great and rich reward. But if thou rule it ill, both thy soul and thy body shall be given to destruction." With

these words the blessed Virgin vanished; and the youth, starting up from his sleep, gave thanks and returned straightway back to school. And when he opened his mouth to speak, his reasonings proceeded so subtly that he refuted and silenced all his opponents in the disputation, and showed himself in every subject an accomplished scholar, so that his former acquaintance who heard him were amazed, and said: "Whence has this youth received all his knowledge and lore of a sudden? Is not this the same Udo who but yesterday was used like an ox under the lash and to-day he is as learned as Albertus himself?"

Two years after these happenings the Archbishop of Magdeburg died, and Udo, such was his renown for learning, was elected unanimously to fill his place. Now for a short while after he had first assumed the archiepiscopal robes he lived fairly and honestly; but, as the saying goes, 'Honours change the heart.' In course of time he grew unmindful of the counsel which the Queen of Heaven had given him and of his own salvation, and began to seek only to gratify his own pleasures, dissipating the treasures of his cathedral and going about to seduce not only fair women of the laity, but even such as had taken the veil of Christ. Finally, he put away from him utterly all fear of God, and gave free rein to all his profane and wicked lusts, until his life became a horror and an abomination—alas, that this must be said of an archbishop!—and for many years the very air of Magdeburg, as it seemed, was polluted by the enormities of this detestable wretch.



Now on a certain night, when Udo was in the company of the abbess of Black Nuns at Lilienfeld whom he had debauched, on a sudden he heard a voice proclaiming in dreadful tones :

‘ Udo, give o’er your play,  
You’ve played enough this many a day ! ’

But the awful admonition abashed him not at all, and he put away from him the divine warning, laughing it off as a trick that some sly rogue was playing off on him, and returning next day to his usual dissipations and delights. On the next night, as he was taking his disport in the same way, he heard the same voice again uttering the angry words ; but again the wretched ingrate contemned its salutary counsel and hardened his heart to stone, though God was already palpably withdrawing his hand from him. On the third night, which he was once more spending by the abbess’s side, in the midst of caresses and embraces, the aforesaid voice began once more in thunderous tones to exclaim :

‘ Udo, give o’er your play,  
You’ve played enough this many a day ! ’

At this repeated warning Udo at length fell into great consternation, and was fain to groan with remorse as he thought of his flagitious life ; yet he could not so far prevail on himself as to return to his senses and repent, but on the very brink of damnation repeated the old croak of *cras, cras*, which has undone so many sinners.

From Udo’s final end which now follows, all men may learn that God, by how much he finds his infinite grace and clemency set at naught, by

so much will his vengeance be more terrific. It is a strange story, but true for all that; and if the folk of Saxony, among whom it happened, could be silent concerning it, yet the stones themselves (as the sequel will show) would cry it out aloud. Three months after Udo had heard the divine warning, a certain canon of the aforementioned cathedral of Magdeburg, named Frederick, a good and saintly man, was passing the night in the choir of Saint Maurice, praying fervently for holy Church universal, and in special for his own church of Magdeburg, that the righteous Creator of all things would either cut off its diseased head altogether (meaning thereby Archbishop Udo), or else would bring him back to a better life. The prayers of a saintly man are of quick effect; for the canon immediately, being rapt in spirit, beheld a vision exceeding awful and terrible to all men, but particularly so to all prelates and rulers of the Church who neglect the flock committed by heaven to their care, and by their evil example do only too often drive them along the high road to everlasting destruction. Now the aforesaid holy man looked, and behold a violent and sudden wind blew out at once all the lights in the cathedral, and he himself, seized with overmastering terror, remained as if rooted to the floor, unable to cry out or move. Then behold there came two youths carrying candles in their hands, who passed on to the altar and took their places one on each side of it; after these came two others, one of whom spread cloths decently before the altar, while the other set two golden chairs thereon. After these there strode in

one in the harness of a warlike champion, a drawn sword flashing in his hand, who stood in the midst of the cathedral, and cried with a loud voice: 'O ye saints, as many as are here honoured in your holy relics, I charge you, arise and come to the judgment of God.' At these words the canon beheld a great shining multitude, both men and women, some in warrior's mail, others robed and mitred, who passed up the choir and ranged themselves on either side of it in order of their age and distinction. After these came twelve venerable men in shining raiment, in the midst of whom walked one brighter than the sun, adorned with the royal diadem and sceptre; these were the twelve apostles, and with them Christ himself, lord and creator of all heaven and earth. And when they saw him the whole company of saints fell down and adored him with deep devotion, and afterwards made him to sit down upon one of the golden chairs. Lastly entered the Queen of Heaven herself, clearer than the moon and stars, and a glorious company of virgins followed after her. And she was received by all the saintly throng on bended knees with great honour and reverence, and the King of Kings arose to meet her, and taking her by the hand seated her by his side upon the chair of state. Thereupon, lo, there appeared the holy prince and martyr Maurice himself, with his warlike legion to the number of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six; and all these with one accord bowed themselves before the Judge and his Queen Mother and worshipped him, saying: 'O Judge most just, and upholder of the world

from age to age, give judgment upon Archbishop Udo!’ after which they arose and stood reverently awaiting his answer. And he said: ‘Your request is granted. Let the Archbishop be brought hither.’ Immediately one went and dragged the wretched man from the abbess’s side, and brought him fast bound into the presence. And Saint Maurice, looking sternly upon him, said: ‘Lord God, give judgment, I pray thee: behold, here is this Udo, not a bishop, but a wolf; not a shepherd, but a spoiler; not a cherisher, but a defiler and a devourer of thy flock. He it is to whom thy most holy Mother gave wisdom and the charge of this church dedicated in my honour and that of my companions, telling him that if he ruled it well he would receive eternal life, if ill, death of body and soul. This is the wretch who, though warned once, twice, and three times, refused to mend his ways, and not only brought shame and dishonour on thy holy Church and himself, but even outraged thy brides dedicated to thee by the veil.’ When Saint Maurice had thus spoken, our Lord turned and looked round upon the company of saints, saying: ‘What is your judgment with regard to this Udo?’ Whereupon the champion pronounced in a loud voice: ‘His doom be death.’ And the great Judge said: ‘Let his head be struck off—so headless has been his life, wallowing in wickedness and filthy conversation.’ Then the champion advanced to Udo, and bade him stretch forth his neck: which Udo doing, and as the other lifted his sword to strike, Saint Maurice spoke forth and said: ‘Hold thy hand awhile; first let the



relics that he carries be taken from him.' Then one placed a chalice before the wretched Udo, and the champion brought down his fist on the Archbishop's neck, smiting him many times, and at each blow a polluted wafer leapt from Udo's mouth and dropped into the chalice, which the Queen of Heaven took reverently, and after washing them carefully placed them on the altar, whereupon she and her company retired with a fair obeisance. Then at last the champion, lifting his sword once more, struck off Udo's head at a single blow, and immediately the whole saintly company vanished.

The aforementioned canon, who had seen all this, not by vision in his sleep, but awake and open-eyed, lay a long time in the darkness all dazed and trembling; but at length seeing a light still burning in the crypt, he took courage to rekindle the lamps in the church, and at last by a great effort, to put an end to his doubts and fears, advanced slowly to the place of judgment, where he saw the chalice full of wafers on the altar, and the palpable head of the wretched Archbishop lying at some distance from the trunk in a pool of blood. Then with many sad exclamations and reflections on the rigour of God's judgment, he closed all the doors of the cathedral and suffered no one to enter till the sun had risen, when he called together all the people, both cleric and lay, and having given an orderly account of all that he had heard and seen, exhibited to them the signs of divine vengeance, the weltering corpse of the miserable Archbishop.

On the same day as these things took place, one of the chaplains of this same Udo, named Bruno, who had been engaged in the neighbourhood on some of his master's crooked business, chanced to be returning with his retinue to Magdeburg. And as he was approaching the city alone, his servants having somewhat out-distanced him, the will of God caused a deep drowsiness to come over him, so that seeing a shady tree not far off he dismounted there, and tying his horse's bridle firmly to his arm was fain to lie down to sleep. And behold a vast rout of unclean spirits approached the place where he was sleeping, blowing horns and beating drums, shouting and waving swords and cudgels; and when they had all gathered round, one of their number, who seemed by his tall stature and the dark pride of his countenance to be their leader, took his seat upon a throne which they set for him in the midst. And presently another vast rabble, yelling, chuckling, and leaping for joy, was seen coming from the city with the speed of the wind, and the fiends that were foremost shouted with all their might: 'Room, room; here is a dear friend of ours come to visit us.' Amid these clamours the satellites of Satan dragged forward the miserable Udo in his bodily figure by a fiery chain fastened about his neck, and stood him before their chief; whereupon Satan rose up and saluted him, addressing him with mocking words of friendship: 'Welcome, my lord,' said he, 'at all times the faithful upholder and extender of our dominion; you behold me all eagerness to give you and my other loyal friends

the reward you have so richly deserved.' And as the wretched Udo, bound and chained, spoke no word, Satan said to his infernal companions: 'The journey hither has wearied my good lord; see to it that he have some refreshment.' Immediately a number of imps seized hold of him, and in spite of his struggles and agonised efforts to turn away his head, crammed toads and adders forcibly down his throat, and washed down the horrid morsels with draughts of boiling sulphur. Thereupon, as Udo was still silent, Satan continued: 'Let my lord be taken to the bath reserved for such great princes as he; and after an hour let him be brought back with all due observance.' And behold not far away was a well covered over with a lid, and when the lid was taken off immediately a blaze of fire leapt up from it to the very clouds, searing and consuming all trees, shrubs and herbage for a great space around. Into this well the demons plunged the soul of the luckless Udo, and after an hour's time they drew him forth again as he came to the surface, and stood him before their chief all white-hot through and through. And Satan, chuckling horribly, said to him: 'Well, my lord, was the bath refreshing?'

Then the unhappy Udo, perceiving himself to be damned beyond redemption, began to blaspheme and cry: 'Cursed be thou, Satan, and all thy crew, and all thy promptings, and all thy dominion; cursed be God who made me and the earth that nourished me, and the parents that engendered me: cursed be all creation in heaven and upon earth!' Thereupon the whole bellish rout began to clap



their hands in glee and say to each other: 'Truly this man is worthy of remaining amongst us for evermore, since already he can repeat our creed so fluently; let him be sent below to our great college of instruction, that he may see, hear, and feel, and become more perfect in his lesson, and may continue to progress therein to all eternity.' Hardly had they said these words when they hurled themselves on that devoted wretch and shot him down into the depths of the hellish gulf of everlasting torment with so sudden and mad a rush that it seemed as if the sky and the ground and all the hills were rocking to their fall. The sleeping chaplain was almost dead with the horror of all these awful sights and sounds, when the Prince of Darkness pointed his finger at him and said to his ministering devils: 'Look to it that this priest who is watching us escape us not, for he has always been the trusty aid and abettor of that other in all his crimes, and as he shared his guilt so shall he share his punishment. Take him and thrust him into the pit after his master.' At these words all the crew made as if to rush upon the chaplain, and as he turned to fly he awoke in the midst of his terror to find that his startled horse was galloping off across country and dragging him along by the arm to which he had tied the reins.<sup>1</sup> At last, when his arm was nearly torn from his body,

<sup>1</sup> In the version which the 'Mägdeburger Schöppenchronik' gives of this incident, Satan, as the chaplain turns to fly, calls out: 'Throw the pilgrim's rug in his way.' The chaplain falls over the rug and breaks his nose and teeth. He had stolen the rug from a dying pilgrim, to give to his groom.



he succeeded in stopping the horse, and mounting with difficulty upon him rode into Magdeburg in an agony of pain. There he heard of his master's death at the very hour of his dream, and related all his prodigious experience to the people as well as he could for the pain and terror that shook him, showing his arm battered and mangled, and his hair grown suddenly grey, in warrant of his good faith. And when the citizens of Magdeburg had seen and heard this unexampled judgment of God they were greatly afraid, and took up Udo's vile corpse to cast it into a bog at a great distance from their city. There it was immediately received with shouts of glee by a rout of infernal monsters, who not only tore it up into little pieces with their unclean talons, but vexed the country people who dwelt round about with a thousand malicious tricks and injuries. At last these took counsel together, and drawing forth the accursed carrion from the bog, burnt it, and strewed the ashes into the river Elbe, whereupon, marvellous to relate, all the fish in the river turned with the stream and went down into the sea. Not till ten years after, when the divine wrath had been appeased with prayer, chant, and fasting, did they return to their former haunts.

A lasting memorial of these horrible happenings is left by a dark stain of Udo's blood spilt at his execution, which dyes the polished pavement of white marble in the cathedral, and adheres so indelibly to it that it seems to be part of the marble itself. On this spot, the very spot of God's judgment, carpets are kept continually spread; and only when, according to the use of the church, the

Te Deum is chanted over each new archbishop at his investiture are they removed; and the archbishop kneels there to pray and see and remember, and order his ways better than did Udo of yore. And indeed his story is an awful sign and warning of the divine retribution, not only to the archbishops of Magdeburg, but also to the prelates and laity of Holy Church throughout the world.

So ends the legend; and probably no reader of it will be greatly surprised to learn that it is devoid of any historical basis,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as there never was an archbishop of Magdeburg named Udo, and the date 900 (in other editions 950) given at the beginning of the text is inconsistent with the statement immediately following that the occurrence took place during the reign of the emperor Otto III. (996-1001). It is, as a matter of fact, a compilation of two several legends told of different archbishops, together with elements from a miracle of the Blessed Virgin which occurs in several places and forms elsewhere.

(1.) The vision seen by Canon Frederick in the choir of Magdeburg Cathedral corresponds to an account in the 'Magdeburger Schöppenchronik' (which in turn rests upon the 'Gesta archiepiscopum Magdeburgensium') of how a priest saw in

<sup>1</sup> The facts here set down with regard to its origin and development are taken from the exhaustive monograph of Professor A. E. Schönbach, 'Studien zur Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters. II. Die Legende von Erzbischof Udo von Magdeburg,' published in the 'Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,' Bd. 144. Wien, 1902.

a trance Archbishop Hartwig brought before a heavenly tribunal on the charge of dissipating the treasures of his church, spoiled of his robes, and expelled from the sacred building. This Archbishop Hartwig, who was related to the family of the counts of Spanheim, was elected to the see of Magdeburg in 1079; his relations with the Marchioness Beatrix of Schweinfurt, which caused considerable scandal at the time, and his sudden death after a banquet given in the lady's honour, no doubt strongly influenced this part of the Udo legend.

(2.) The dream dreamt by Udo's chaplain Bruno under a tree corresponds to the story immediately following that already mentioned in the 'Schöppenchronik,' where, however, the unhappy victim is Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz; a vicarius in his sleep sees the archbishop's soul brought before Satan, greeted with sarcastic cordiality, and forced to drink a draught of liquid fire, the flame of which bursts forth from his nose and ears. The vicarius, menaced by Satan, turns to fly, but falls, and wakes up to find himself lying on the floor with his face cut. The archbishop here alluded to is Adelbert (or Albrecht) I., count of Saarbrücken, who became archbishop of Mainz in August, 1111, and died in June, 1137. Though popular among his own subjects, his support of the Papal claims against the emperor Henry V., to whom he owed his rise, was bitterly resented in Germany as a piece of black ingratitude. He was besides commonly accused of excessive greed. The 'Schöppenchronik' has taken this story from the 'Sächsische Weltchronik,' composed *ca.* 1230-50.



The two legends are again found in consecutive order in the 'Bonum uniuersale de apibus' of Thomas Cantipratensis (*flor.* 1250), but with the archiepiscopal names suppressed. The first vision is seen by 'Conradus, Deo dignus Hildeshemensis episcopus'; in the second the victim is merely 'quidam archiepiscopus Theutonie.'

How and when the two stories were concentrated upon the legendary Udo, and developed into their more elaborate form is obscure; in Professor Schönbach's opinion the final redaction of the Udo legend is to be assigned to the fourth decade of the thirteenth century. We find the story alluded to in the 'Homilies' of Caesarius of Heisterbach (who died about 1240), and the delightful leonine hexameter,

'Fac finem ludo, iam lusisti satis, Udo,'

in which the supernatural warning is conveyed to the reprobate archbishop, is quoted, almost as a proverb, by the famous preacher Berthold of Regensburg in a sermon composed about the year 1260. The story in its present form must have been extremely popular. It is found incorporated not only in the 'Lauacrum Conscientiae,' but also in the 'Speculum Exemplorum,' a widely read handbook for preachers, compiled in the last half of the fifteenth century (dist. ix., No. clxxv.); it is appended to an edition printed about 1473 by the 'Printer of Augustinus de Fide' of Pope Innocent III.'s 'de miseria humanae conditionis,' and to the 'Speculum artis bene moriendi' of Domenico Capranica, printed by Metlinger at Besançon in



1488, and it was printed as a separate tract by Martin Flach at Basel about 1475. It is from this edition that the present version has been made.


Finally, a poem of some eight hundred lines, written in the Bavarian dialect, and consisting of an awkward versification of the Latin legend, was discovered in a Munich codex and published by Karl Helm in 1897 ('Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher,' vii.).

A white stone slab in front of the high altar of Magdeburg Cathedral is still known as 'der Udo'sche Stein.'

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

## A MUNICIPAL LIBRARY AND ITS PUBLIC.

### IV.—THE REFERENCE LIBRARY.

N my last article dealing with Lending Libraries and Branches, I referred to the premature and illstarred effort to establish a Reference Library with inadequate funds and before the public mind was properly in tune for this, the highest, form of public library service. With intense dissatisfaction on all sides at the totally inadequate nature of the lending library, it was unwise to impoverish the small book fund available by purchasing books for which there could only be a limited and somewhat remote use. The public had not yet reached the stage of looking to the library as a great storehouse of knowledge and information upon every conceivable subject, with something upon nearly everything, much about some things, and in essentials provided with the most recent publications. Even the current edition of the local directory was not included in the reference library of those days.

With the improvement of the lending library, however, things took a turn, and people began to look to the library as a source of information. The main idea of the reference library was, nevertheless, of very slow growth, and for a long time people resented having to consult books in the building,

and in that way only. This feeling still exists to some extent, though it is quietly wearing off. The introduction of the telephone system of answering inquiries is doing much to break down this resentment. Such an attitude of mind, however unreasonable, is not altogether unnatural in a busy commercial community. Each person thinks of his own wants and convenience, and pays no attention to those of his neighbour. Time is limited, things have to be done in a hurry, why can't a man have the Clergy List, or the Oxford English Dictionary to consult in his office? It does not occur to him that a dozen others may require either of those books while out on loan to him, still less does he realise that if they were lent out, they probably would not be immediately available to answer his urgent need when it arises.

A public reference library has also to contend with the small but difficult class of reader who thinks that the business of the library is to supply a snug, well-furnished room for his special benefit, where he may pursue his dilettante studies undisturbed by the presence of other readers, except perhaps a select few, like-minded with himself, with whom he may while away the time in gossip when he feels disposed. It was readers such as these who led to the arrangement of our old reference room with bookcases forming a series of alcoves, and in each alcove a table for a solitary reader. Here the few who used the place in those days pitched their tents, and if a luckless assistant, or even the librarian, had occasion to go to one of these retreats to get a book or series of books, and

still more if, as very frequently happened, the inhabitant had to be disturbed from his seat to get what was wanted, black looks and mutterings, and even open railing, were the portion of the officials. Nor was this the worst. Mutilations were frequent, and easily accomplished. Readers came to look upon these sanctums as peculiarly their own. Meals were partaken of, and the floor bestrewed with crumbs, which attracted mice from the adjoining churchyard. However necessary it might be for cross ventilation to open the window above the sanctum, the reader objected. Sometimes wives and even sweethearts were introduced to share the retreat, and suppressed conversation with occasional laughter was indulged in. One reader took daily possession, and removing his boots, perched himself with his feet on the table and his chair tilted back. Occasionally he came to grief, to the annoyance of other readers, but he calmly resumed, and defied us to show him any rule forbidding the removal of boots in the library. For ten years the iron of this ill-designed room entered into my soul. Then an extension of the buildings swept it out of existence as a reference library, and therewith most, though not all, of the difficulties connected with it.

A librarian comes up against a lot of queer human nature, and difficult though it may be at times, the only way is to look at the humorous side, and to go on quietly but firmly resisting. I have found that as the library grows the difficulties decrease, a silent testimony to the civilising influence of books.



Almost the first sign of interest manifested by the public in our infant reference library of twenty-three years ago, was a deputation asking that some Welsh books should be purchased. Three gentlemen, all ardent Welshmen, with that intense love of their country and its literature so characteristic of the race, had been deputed by the local Welsh Society, the Cymmrodorion, then recently established, to bring before the Libraries Committee the desirability of adding to the library some books for Welsh readers. There was not at that time in the library a single book representative of the literature of the Welsh people. Looking back this seems almost incredible. There were a few volumes of local topography,—at most a couple of shelves would have held them all,—but so far as I can recall, not a single volume in the Welsh language. The demands of the deputation were modest to a degree. A dozen books, or at most a score, was the extent of it. Yet from that meeting the idea of a Welsh department took shape. The Libraries Committee readily assented to the proposal, and at the same time formulated a scheme which ultimately developed into an attempt to collect a complete Welsh library. It is not yet complete; perhaps it never will be, for many of the earlier books have either entirely disappeared, or exist in limited numbers in collections not likely to be dispersed. Still we have done fairly well. All current publications relating to Wales and the Borders, and less fully the publications in other Celtic languages, are added as they appear, while the older books are steadily acquired as opportunities occur of securing

them. The number of printed volumes, including pamphlets, in our Welsh department exceeds 45,000. At this moment it is the largest in existence, though its supremacy will be challenged by the National Library of Wales, to be established at Aberystwyth shortly, and to which a number of large and valuable collections have already been promised.

Welsh bibliography is still a chaos. Until we took the subject in hand there was no opportunity of studying it. In the British Museum Welsh books are not catalogued or shelved separately, and owing to the conditions prevailing, the Museum in the past has been unable to obtain more than a small proportion of the books. Welsh publishing and bookselling is a thing apart. In every town, almost, one might say, in every village in Wales, there has been, at some time or another, a printer or publisher of Welsh books. In a large number of instances the author and publisher are one; the printer simply prints the book and delivers the sheets. The author gets them bound, and sells them to his friends, and to such others as may chance to hear of them through a review in a Welsh paper or magazine. Ministers used to go on a preaching and lecturing tour through the Principality to advertise and sell a book. Editions running into thousands were disposed of in this way by popular ministers. Even now Welsh books rarely appear in the English Catalogue, are very seldom registered at Stationers' Hall, and until recently many of them were never heard of by the British Museum, and the other copyright libraries.

About eight years ago Professor Heinrich Zimmer,

who is an ardent Celtic scholar, suggested to me that some effort should be made to record all the publications of the Welsh press. I put the matter before my Committee, and it was agreed to try what could be done. From this arose the 'Bibliography of Wales,' which we now issue half-yearly; for the last eight years this covers the ground fairly well. Rowlands' 'Cambrian Bibliography' up to the year 1800 is sadly incomplete and inaccurate, though having regard to the difficulties under which it was prepared it is a credit to its compiler, and to the late Chancellor Silvan Evans who edited it. The late Charles Ashton was engaged upon a bibliography for the nineteenth century in continuation of Rowlands', and left a large store of material; part of it has been printed, but not published. A co-ordinated effort to cover the whole field, under the direction of a trained bibliographer, is much wanted. The institution of the national library may lead to something in this direction.

The price of Welsh books has risen considerably of late. Cardiff had the good luck to be early in the field, and was able to secure for quite small sums books now very difficult to meet with. We have purchased several collections out and out. The first of these was the library of the Rees family of the Tonn, Llandovery, purchased in 1889. Later we acquired the complete library of Mr. David Lewis Wooding, who kept a country store at Beulah, a remote hamlet amongst the Breconshire hills, where he quietly accumulated a tolerable fortune, and indulged a considerable passion for

book collecting. Then we had a good friend in the late Mr. William Scott, a commercial traveller, who ranged over the whole of Wales. In his travels he set himself to secure for our library any Welsh book not already there, and brought together over 2,000 books, besides some manuscripts. Once he had embarked on his scheme he pursued it with ardour, and he had a winning way, productive of many valuable finds. His premature death was a great loss, for he was one of the most valuable helpers we have had.

In the development of this side of the library the Committee and the public have shown considerable pride, and when, in 1895, it became known that the Welsh portion of the Phillipps manuscripts were for sale, it was resolved to make a strenuous effort to secure it for Cardiff. The amount required, about £3,650 in all, was quite beyond the reach of our ordinary funds. An offer of a thousand pounds from the late Marquess of Bute, and of five hundred pounds from Mr. John Cory, of Dyffryn, with substantial sums from the Earl of Plymouth (then Lord Windsor), Viscount Tredegar, the Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and other friends, brought the prize within our reach, and we were able to complete the purchase.

This placed the library in the possession of many manuscripts of more than local importance. The extension of our buildings, including the provision of a fine reference room, with large book storage space, was completed about the same time, and the two things put a new aspect on our affairs. We had risen above the position of a municipal library,



ministering to the wants of local readers. From all parts of Wales, and from other Celtic centres, readers were attracted.

It may be well at this point to say something about finances. The Libraries Acts were adopted in 1862 with only one dissentient, a gentleman who in after years became one of the most active members of the Libraries Committee, and though his conversion was slow, yet it was sure, for as he grasped the good work we were doing he became a loyal supporter, and took great pride in the success of the libraries. The adoption of the Acts was the action of the ratepayers, the Town Council of those days, and for many years after, being indifferent, and to some extent hostile. The annual fund for the up-keep was doled out in a grudging manner. If the penny rate yielded £435 the Council voted £400 for that year, thus clipping off the book fund a sum that was vital. For the first fifteen years the amount available for books never rose above £80 in any year, and it was often far below that sum; in some years there was nothing spent on books. This was partly due to the supporters of the library. They aimed at a three-fold institution,—library, schools of science and art, and museum,—all supported out of the meagre income produced by the penny rate. It was a difficult time. Side by side the three departments struggled on: the library lacked books; the staff in the science and art schools were most inadequately remunerated for giving instruction which enabled a large number of young men and young women to obtain good positions in life; while the museum collections accumulated with no

one to arrange them for exhibition to the public. Of the three the library was worst off. The museum was looked after by a small band of scientific men, and its local geological collection was very good. The science and art schools were kept going by the help of the grants from the Science and Art Department. The library failed to attract any of those gifts which some towns have received from patriotic citizens. Fifteen years after the adoption of the Acts the Town Council was, in 1877, forced into paying the full product of a penny rate, less than £700. From that time matters improved slowly. In 1884 the rate had grown to £1,100, but in the meantime a new building had been erected for the three institutions, and £422 per annum went in loan charges for the building. The rateable value of the town improved rapidly after 1884; the demands on the three institutions grew in even greater ratio, and it was not until the passing of the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 that any real relief came, and two or three years later the passing of the Museums Act enabled the cost of that department to be taken off the library fund. A period of rapid development followed. The raising of the rate by a local act to three halfpence in the pound was referred to in my third article. The rate now produces £6,900, but of this sum £1,750 is absorbed by loan charges on the buildings of the central library and three of the branches; and but for the timely gift by Mr. Carnegie of £10,000 for two further branch buildings, our finances would still be utterly inadequate. As it is, we are in straitened circumstances. The book fund for all

the libraries does not exceed £700 a year: it ought to be at least double that sum, and we have arrears of bookbinding to a serious extent. The library service, too, demands attention. The amount available for salaries is insufficient to enable us to give the public the assistance of a trained staff equal to the importance of the work we are doing. The payment of more adequate salaries to the assistants will become urgent in the near future. Instead of training assistants who, when they are becoming really useful, have to seek better-paid positions in other libraries, we shall be compelled in the public interest to pay such salaries as will retain the services of a larger number of trained assistants for the benefit of our own readers. In no other departments of our public service are the staffs so badly paid as in the libraries.

This digression on finance is necessary in order to show that successful as we have been in many respects, yet we have had difficulties to contend with in the past, and that our troubles are by no means over. If our buildings were clear of debt we could do very well on the three-halfpenny rate, but the annual deduction of £1750 for loan charges cripples us. This is a point of more than local interest. A bill has been before Parliament for two or three sessions which seeks to remove the restriction placed upon local authorities with regard to libraries. It is strongly supported by the leading cities and towns throughout the kingdom, but has failed so far owing to the opposition of a small minority. I have said that we could go on quite well on a three-halfpenny rate if we had no loan



charges. Less than a twopenny rate would meet the loan charges, and leave us with an adequate income. There may be a few towns where a twopenny rate would barely suffice to meet all library charges, but in most cases it would be ample, and it is not at all likely that local authorities would break out into extravagance if the limit were removed.

Until some measure of relief is given by a general act, a large number of libraries in this country must continue to fail in giving their readers the full advantages which a slight increase of income would enable them to give, and the library services must remain a sweated industry.

The gifts made by Mr. Carnegie for library buildings have been the means of extending the library system to a large number of small towns and urban districts, which without his assistance would have been quite unable to provide buildings and maintenance for them. It is a significant fact that the outstanding amount of the loans for library buildings as given in the annual government return shows no great increase since Mr. Carnegie came to the help of British libraries. But many of the older libraries, in the more enterprising places, still groan under a load of debt incurred before his benefactions commenced. The total of the outstanding loans is just over a million sterling. It only that load were removed the library system of the country would respond to the demands made upon it in a way which would surprise many people. Glasgow, with its fine series of libraries, shows what can be done when the income has not to be mortgaged to provide buildings.



Looking back upon the financial difficulties we have had to face it is surprising how much has been done in the way of collecting a reference library. One point is of special importance. In the days of adversity the library attracted very few gifts, and those small. As things improved, and the service to the public increased, valuable gifts flowed in to enrich the collections. One of the earliest was the greater part of the scientific library of the late Professor Kitchen Parker, F.R.S., purchased and presented by Mr. Herbert Metford Thompson. This gift struck a new note. It made the reference library rich in one field, emphasising its bareness in other directions. Strenuous efforts were made to bring other subjects up to the same level, and to maintain the standard of the scientific section. To acquire the indispensable books for a reference library was the chief aim at first, and gradually to specialize in the subjects most required for the district. A good rule adopted about this time was to acquire each year at least one costly book or set of books of permanent value, and likely to be used. Pursuing this plan the Committee have purchased valuable works for nearly every department. The great monograph on conchology, for example, by Mr. Lovell Reeve, thirty-five volumes, for which £90 was paid; the Gould monographs on birds (some of which we still require); the great books on art and artists, like the valuable illustrated work on the Wallace Collection; sets of transactions of societies, in which we were sadly deficient, a deficiency still existing in a lesser degree, and many

other costly books such as form the backbone of a good reference library, have been acquired by a steady adherence to this policy.

In the early days of my librarianship it was extremely difficult to get a book costing over a pound passed by the Committee. The minds of the members had not grasped the idea of a great town library—we were still in the stage when the idea was to dole out reading as a semi-charity to the poor. All that is changed. The question when a costly purchase is contemplated is, not “What do we want it for?” but “Can we manage it?” The changed attitude is an eloquent testimony to the importance of possessing valuable and rare books which give distinction—an atmosphere. In course of time such an environment becomes reflected in the Committee, the staff, and the public. It lifts the mind to a higher level, and the Committee, the officers, and the public view the library from a higher plane for the presence of such things.

We have numerous instances of this. Over and over again of late years gifts of rare, unique, and valuable books, manuscripts, prints, drawings, maps, and other things have been made, because it is known that they will be taken care of, and be available for the pleasure and profit of the public. A few instances only can be cited. In 1842 Wordsworth wrote a sonnet, ‘When Severn’s sweeping flood had overflown,’ on the destruction of an old Cardiff church by a great flood in 1607. The autograph manuscript of this poem was offered to Viscount Tredegar, best of neighbours and a

never-failing friend to the library, who promptly bought it and sent it to us as a gift. A collection of rare and beautiful early printed books, with at least one example from the earliest press of nearly every important continental town, was offered for sale. The library had no funds, so I mentioned the matter to Mr. John Cory, another reliable friend, and he at once sent a cheque to pay for it.

From all parts of Wales we are constantly receiving gifts of recent publications and of rare books from people who have tested the library, and from others who know our work by repute only. Such gifts are often of small monetary value, but they put us in possession of many things difficult to procure, and in the aggregate of great importance. We also receive constantly gifts of books from Welshmen in America. Since the seventeenth century there has been considerable emigration from Wales to America, and many settlers took their books with them. These have to some extent found their way back to us; while we also receive evidences of the literary activity of the Welsh in America at the present day. Men I have never seen, and know only by their letters and their gifts, continually remind me of the enthusiasm of the Welsh for their native land.

But I must resist the temptation to go on writing about the collections, and say something of the use made of them by the public. In the first place we resist attempts to use the reference library as a place for idlers, or as a place of recreation. Difficult though it is at times to discriminate, yet it



can be done. The appearance of the room discourages those who are not in earnest. There are no retreats in the main room, while there is such an air of study that the idler instinctively feels himself out of place. An inquiry desk, with a well qualified assistant always on duty to help readers, checks abuses. The average attendance is between two and three hundred readers daily, a number largely increased by students of the University College during term time. The high schools, the technical schools, and other educational institutions supply a constant stream of students. The professional and commercial classes not only from Cardiff, but from a wide area round, keep us regularly employed. It may be a lawyer looking up the points of a case bristling with terminological or technical difficulties, or an expert from a great works in search of a solution to some scientific problem arising in the works, or seeking a description of some new process or piece of machinery. Then we always have a certain number of readers engaged in transcribing manuscripts, and looking up references and authorities for some literary work. These last are drawn from far and near. Studious men from all over Wales spend some portion of their holidays every year in Cardiff to enable them to look up points in the reference library. Others engaged upon literary work break the ground with us, and go on to the British Museum to complete their labours.

No restriction is placed on the admission of readers to the reference library. A ticket, filled up at the time for each book required, is the only credential




demand. Manuscripts and other works of exceptional value are, however, not lent without reference to a senior officer, and in most cases the applicant is given a table in an inner room and every precaution is taken to prevent and detect damage. So far we have been singularly free from abuses; I cannot recall any instance of a manuscript being injured.

The value of the reference library to the public, and the important, though silent part it fills in the everyday life of the district, was demonstrated a couple of years ago when it had to be closed for a month for some repairs. Every day brought urgent requests for access to it in connection with some matter of importance, and so persistently did these requests come day after day that we had to arrange a system whereby they could be met while the reference library remained closed. The absence of any other reference library of any importance, not only in Cardiff, but anywhere near, accentuates the value no doubt; at the same time this is an eloquent tribute to the position municipal libraries have attained as factors in the life of the community.

In a fifth and concluding article I hope to say something on the museum side of the library, the collection and exhibition of examples of fine printing, bookbinding, portraits, topographical prints, drawings and photographs, and also on the loan of books and prints for teaching purposes, lectures in the branch libraries, the publication of catalogues and handlists for special subjects, and other activities.

JOHN BALLINGER.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

N 'Mémoires d'une vieille Fille,' René Bazin gives a fresh setting to his stories from the lives of the poor. He imagines an old maid by vocation, a very different person, he is careful to impress on us, from 'une jeune fille non mariée,' who devotes her life to the poor. The most interesting part of the book is the opening chapter, 'La Vocation d'une vieille Fille.' The origin of the species is thus set forth :

‘ Nous avons une très longue histoire, et très noble, qu’il faut continuer, c’est l’histoire des familles de France. Elles ont été, en notable partie, l’œuvre des vieilles filles, dont la France d’autrefois était plus abondamment pourvue. Quelle est celle qui n’avait pas sa tante Gothon, sa tante Marion, sa tante Ursule? Personne n’héritait en bloc de ces femmes habituellement pauvres ou appauvries; mais il y a l’héritage quotidien, celui que distribuent nos actions. Tante Gothon filait, tante Marion berçait, tante Ursule enseignait à lire. Les mères, très fécondes, trouvaient de l’aide qui ne coûtait rien, pour élever les petits. Il y avait quatre, six, huit bras pour endormir, plusieurs voix pour chanter, un seul cœur pour instruire. Les tantes se répandaient toujours un peu hors de la maison, et c’est ce qu’il faut faire. Que j’aurais voulu les connaître. Elles devaient avoir tant de recettes et de maximes concernant leur état.’

The old maid who has almost ceased to exist in English life, and therefore in English fiction, seems just now to be somewhat in the ascendant in French novels. In 'Ce qu'il Fallait Savoir' Ernest Tissot relates the struggles with fortune of four sisters, all old maids, who lose their money. The book is not remarkable, though there are amusing episodes. A passage, however, is worth quoting that throws some light on the conditions of translating in France, and the reasons for the many bad translations of which complaint has been frequently made of late. A young man suddenly finds himself deprived of his income through the collapse of the mines in which his money was invested; he is absolutely unprepared for earning a livelihood, and as his sole stock in trade is an excellent knowledge of foreign tongues, he proposes to do translations for the publishers. The friend to whom he confides his plan is an experienced and successful literary man. Here is his reply:

'La traduction? mais c'est le dernier des métiers. Travaillerais-tu quatorze heures par jour, qu'il ne te donnerait pas de quoi manger du pain sec! Depuis que tout le monde s'est mis à faire des traductions, c'est un moyen fini, archifini. Je connais un hôtel du noble faubourg dont tous les habitants traduisent,—jusqu'au concierge—tu m'entends? La douairière racée—oh combien!—use ses lunettes à transcrire les méditations des néo-catholiques de New-York. Elle s'entend à construire une phrase comme moi à tirer l'aiguille; il lui faut un professeur de Faculté pour remettre en français ses versions. La fille non moins racée s'est mise aux romans italiens qu'elle a soins de choisir au poivre de Cayenne! Les bureaux de rédaction sont encombrés de ses manu-

scrits et je te révélerai qu'ils sont invariablement reçus, quitte à les faire reviser par les secrétaires, car cette dame non seulement ne réclame aucuns honoraires mais, par désir de publicité, elle va jusqu'à truffer ses cahiers de billets de cent. J'abrègerai l'énumération. Le gendre, socialiste, par snobisme, s'occupe de divulguer les ouvrages de la Bibliothèque Rouge, et comme il sait à peine l'anglais et pas du tout l'allemand, on dit—mais on dit tant de choses!—que ce n'est point pour des prunes qu'il engagea un cocher de Londres et un concierge de Poméranie! Jusqu'aux fils qui, tout potaches qu'ils sont, feuillettent le dictionnaire; il ne s'agit encore que de textes classiques, c'est le commencement! La maladie de la famille les guette déjà.'

Romain Rolland is continuing at great length and in minute detail the life and adventures of his 'Jean Christophe.' The latest volume that has come my way deals with the young German musician's arrival in Paris, and his early adventures there. It gives a very pessimistic picture of Paris at the present time, especially of the artistic life of the city. Jean Christophe searches everywhere for art: he seeks it in literature, in the theatre, in music, in painting. The result is seen in the following words, which occur at the end of the book:

"Ce n'est pas tant le talent qui manque à votre art," disait Christophe à Sylvain Kohn, "que le caractère. Vous auriez plus besoin d'un grand critique, d'un Lessing, d'un . . ."

"D'un Boileau?" dit Sylvain Kohn, goguenardant.

"D'un Boileau, peut-être bien, que de dix artistes de génie."

"Si nous avions un Boileau," dit Sylvain Kohn, "on ne l'écouterait pas."



“Si on ne l’écoutait pas, c’est qu’il ne serait pas un Boileau,” repliqua Christophe. . . . “Ce n’est pas possible. Il y a autre chose.”

“Qu’est-ce que vous voulez de plus?” demanda Kohn.

‘Christophe répéta avec opiniâtreté: “La France.”’

In another volume of the series, ‘Antoinette,’ Rolland pursues the device of the seventeenth century writers of romance, and gives in full the life-history of a little French governess with whom Jean Christophe had been brought in contact for a few hours.

‘Nietzschéenne,’ a new novel by the lady who calls herself ‘Daniel Lesueur,’ is not a very distinguished piece of work. A big motor factory, a strike of the workmen, philanthropic efforts to improve their condition, ‘la haute finance’ on a large scale, Parisian smart society, form the setting for the intrigues described. The heroine, a beautiful, accomplished, unmarried woman, whose youth has been somewhat stormy, rules her actions when she has emerged into calmer regions by Nietzsche’s philosophy; but it fails to help her when she falls in love with a married man, although she finally saves his life at the expense of her own.

Edouard Rod calls his latest novel, ‘Aloÿse Valérien,’ ‘une étude passionnelle.’ He declares that it is his intention in such studies only to describe without prejudice ‘les troubles semés dans la vie humaine par les jeux cruels de la passion.’ He also desires to show that these difficulties are not due to faults in institutions and laws, but to men’s own natures and to the permanent opposition

between their individual instincts and the necessity of conforming to the laws of the community. I have seen this book praised as the best of all Rod has written. But both in human interest and in artistic skill, it surely falls below 'Michel Teissier' and 'L'ombre s'étend sur la montagne.' 'Aloÿse Valérien' is the story of an erring wife who suffered deeply for her fault (her husband was killed by her lover in a duel), and who desired to save her daughter from a similar fate. Both had made uncongenial marriages, and in both cases the husbands were of common clay, while the wives were 'femmes d'élite.' It would seem to point the moral that marriages of convenience should be made with caution.

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'Du Bartas en Angleterre' by H. Ashton is an important contribution to the study of comparative literature. The author shows how great an influence the works of Du Bartas, through Sylvester's translation, have had on English poets, especially on Milton and on William Browne. Ashton thinks that Shakespeare also came under the influence of Du Bartas, and attributes the wonderfully beautiful epithets, which have generally been ascribed to Shakespeare's acquaintance with translations of the Greek poets, notably Homer, to Sylvester's 'Du Bartas.'

'Nous avons l'intime conviction que jamais aucune traduction d'œuvres grecques n'ont la vogue de l'ouvrage de Sylvester et nous demeurons persuadé, qu'en dernière analyse, c'est autant à Du Bartas qu'à Homère qu'il faut

drait remonter pour trouver la source des mots composés Shakespériens le plus osés (*proud-pied April, heaven-kissing hill, cloud-kissing*).

Pleasure is always to be found by those who think, and who care for ideas, in any study of Goethe and his works. A French critic has well said, 'l'excellence de la littérature est de nous habituer à prendre plaisir aux idées.' Georges Dalmeyda, assured that nothing gives that pleasure in so high a degree as Goethe's 'Essais antiquisants,' has written a most interesting volume on 'Goethe et le drame antique.' All lovers of Goethe will appreciate the book, and give it the detailed study it deserves. It is divided into three parts: (1) 'Le libre apprentissage. Vers l'art antiquisant'; (2) 'Drames et théories classiques. Les théories et la pratique du théâtre; (3) 'Du classicisme au symbolisme.' It was Goethe who advised us 'to be Greeks in our way,' by which he meant that Greece offers an eternal lesson not only to the artist, but to the man. Goethe gives the most personal and most free interpretation of Greek tragedy. Perhaps the lesson his work contains for the artist is—

'De chercher en lui-même et dans l'expérience une sage conception de la vie, et de lui donner la forme la plus nettement intelligible, la plus harmonieusement expressive; cette sagesse, Goethe l'a trouvée pour lui-même dans cette "limitation," d'où sort notre liberté véritable, et dans la contemplation des rapports éternels des choses, qui assure notre propre éternité. Tel est l'enseignement qu'il tire de l'art grec, et particulièrement du drame.'

Everyone knows Tischbein's famous portrait of 'Goethe in Italy.' Goethe made the painter's acquaintance in Rome, and was so much attracted by his personality that he went to live in the same house with him; and later they went together to Naples. A new biography of this remarkable man by Franz Landsberger is very welcome. Tischbein had intercourse with most of the celebrated men and women of his time and painted their portraits. Besides Goethe he knew and painted, among others, Amalie, Duchess of Weimar, Canova, Lady Hamilton, Heine, and the Duke of Wellington. Tischbein undoubtedly influenced and assisted Goethe in the art studies he made while in Italy, studies which resulted later in many important works. What he saw in Italy satisfied his 'burning thirst for true art,' and he not only became acquainted there with the true art for which he longed, but he mastered it, and was thus enabled to produce such masterpieces as his 'Iphigénie,' his 'Tasso,' and his 'Faust.'

Excellent criticism and wise thought are contained in René Doumic's 'Le Théâtre Nouveau,' where he sums up ten years of dramatic activity in France. If those who are contemplating the establishment of a national theatre in England would read this volume, they would see how very different is the position of the theatre in France compared with its position in England, and how the difference is due to temperament in the first place, and in the second to social conditions that do not prevail in this country. Doumic says: 'Ne dites pas de mal du théâtre: c'est la dernière religion de la France.' There is the whole matter



in a nutshell. He divides the theatre into: (1) 'le théâtre gai'; (2) 'le théâtre de prédication sociale'; (3) 'le théâtre d'idées,' and criticises in detail the plays that have appeared in each 'genre.' Naturally all the most important of these have been described in my articles here.

Doumic makes some very pregnant remarks on the 'théâtre d'idées,' which might well be taken to heart by some of our younger dramatists. He says that a piece which contains ideas must be a play all the same, and must not cause the audience to yawn. He scarcely believes in the opinion sometimes expressed that the public gets the plays it demands. He declares that:

'Le public n'a jamais imposé aucune forme d'art: il prend ce qu'on lui donne. Il est docile: il a besoin d'être guidé. Il en a plus grand besoin que jamais, parce qu'il devient plus nombreux: il ne l'a jamais été moins que maintenant.'

The book includes an essay on suicide on the stage, a feature of a large number of our modern comedies. Doumic reminds us that—

'L'objet de la comédie de mœurs n'est pas le même que celui de la tragédie. La tragédie nous met sous les yeux les effets de la passion portée à son paroxysme; la comédie a pour objet de nous montrer le train de la vie ordinaire; elle ne doit donc pas donner au "fait divers" plus d'importance et plus de fréquence qu'il n'en a réellement. Que dans certains cas, et dans les concours de circonstances où il faillit du sujet même, le dénouement par le suicide en vaille un autre, cela n'est pas impossible. La plupart du temps, il n'est qu'un expédient.'

In fact suicide on the stage is 'un coup de désespoir,' a confession of weakness on the part of the dramatist—his last resource when at a loss for a conclusion.

Under the title 'Les Muses Françaises. Anthologie des Femmes-Poètes,' Alphonse Séché has selected and edited with biographical notices poems by French women poets from Marie de France to Thérèse Maquet (1200-1891). It is fairly representative, but ceasing arbitrarily in 1891 it could not include the work of the Comtesse de Noailles, the most distinguished French poetess of to-day. Séché gives an excellent appreciation of Madame Desbordes-Valmore, who is perhaps the most remarkable woman lyric poet of modern times, and too little known or read in this country. She was contemporary with Mrs. Browning, and a comparative study of the two poets is interesting both in the light of literary movements and developments, and in that of the woman's outlook on life which is and must be essentially different from that of men. In most of the arts it is unnecessary and even rather absurd to make distinctions between the work of the sexes, but if such separation is to be made, there is more reason for it in lyric poetry than anywhere else. It would have been better, I think, if M. Séché had not included poems by George Sand, Madame de Staël, and Eugénie de Guérin, all of whom are very distinguished prose-writers, but very minor poets.

\* \* \* \* \*

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Théodore II. Lascaris, Empereur de Nicée. Par Jean Pappadopoulos.

A contribution to Byzantine history.

Les Fêtes et les Chants de la Révolution française. Par Julien Tiersot.

A chapter in the history of the French Revolution written to support the thesis that a nation's amusements and methods of rejoicing afford insight into its character.

La Campagne de 1800 à l'armée des Grisons. Par le Lieutenant Henri Leplus.

A contribution to the history of the Napoleonic wars.

Itinéraire général de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>. Par Albert Schuermans. With a preface by Henry Houssaye.

A detailed itinerary with most excellent and illuminating notes. Houssaye reminds us that Sainte-Beuve described the notes to a historical work as 'le livre d'en bas.'

Le Tribunal Révolutionnaire (1793-5). Par G. Lenotre.

A volume of the series entitled 'Mémoires et souvenirs sur la Révolution et l'Empire publiés avec des documents inédits.' It offers a genre picture, not a fresco painting, of the life of the *Palais* during the evil days of the Revolution. It is based on contemporary documents, and attempts to disprove Descartes's *dictum*, 'S'ils ne changent ni augmentent les choses pour les rendre plus dignes d'être lues, les historiens en omettent, presque toujours, les plus basses et les moins illustres, d'où vient que le reste ne paraît pas ce qu'il est.'

L'Assistance et l'État en France à la veille de la Révolution (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, Amiens), 1764-90. Par Camille Bloch.

An interesting account of the ideas prevailing about philanthropy in the eighteenth century, when charity began to be regarded as a duty of man, and 'bienfaisance publique' as a duty of nations.

Le poète J. Fr. Regnard en son Chateau de Grillon. Par Joseph Guyot.

Throws some new light on Regnard's personality.

Textes Choisis. Léonard de Vinci. Pensées, théories, preceptes, fables, et facéties. With introduction by Péladan, and thirty-one facsimiles.

Those who read French and not Italian, and fear to attack Richter's English translation of the whole of Leonardo's literary works, can gather here some idea of the great painter's writings.

Voyage au Thibet par la Mongolie. De Pékin aux Indes. Par le Comte de Lesdain.

Lesdain and his wife claim to be the first Europeans to have crossed the great table-land of Thibet from north to south without having been obliged to turn back on reaching Lhasa. The author considers it a case of fortune favouring the bold. He has written a very interesting travel-book.

La Vie politique dans les deux mondes. Published under the direction of Achille Viallate, with a preface by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. First year: 1st October, 1906—30th September, 1907.

A useful work of reference for contemporary history. It gives an account of the political events in the two hemispheres during the period named.

Briefwechsel Friedrichs des Grossen mit Voltaire. Edited by Reinhold Koser and Hans Droysen.

This is the first part, and contains the correspondence of the Crown Prince from 1736 to 1740, giving both his letters and those of Voltaire arranged in order.



Hebbels Briefe. Ausgewählt und biographisch verbunden von Kurt Kähler.

Hebbel the dramatist is known and admired by all lovers of German literature, but Hebbel the man is less appreciated. In these capitally chosen letters he writes, as it were, his own biography. His acquaintance is well worth making, and no better way can be imagined than through this volume.



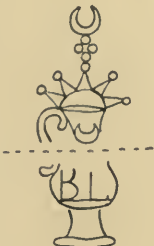




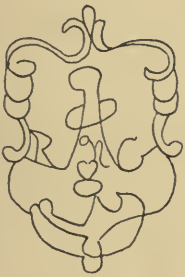

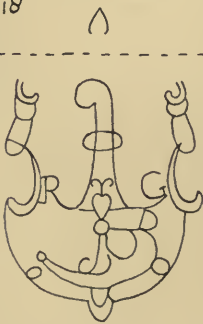
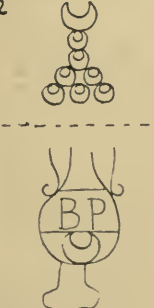


Die Melodien der Troubadours. Von Dr. J. B. Beck.

The melodies are taken from contemporary manuscripts, and are transcribed into modern notation. They are accompanied by an essay on the development of musical notation up to 1250.

Geschichte der Motette. Von Hugo Leichtentritt.

The second volume of the series entitled 'Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen,' edited by Hermann Kretschmar. The series promises to be most useful and interesting.

ELIZABETH LEE.

<p>0</p> <p>NO WATER MARK</p>	<p>1</p> 	<p>2</p> 	<p>3</p> 
<p>8</p> 	<p>9</p> 	<p>10</p> 	<p>11</p> 
<p>16</p> 	<p>17</p> 	<p>18</p> 	<p>NOTES</p> <p>These marks are reproduced from free-hand drawings, and must, therefore, not be taken as accurate representations. They are much reduced and only roughly to scale.</p>
<p>22</p> 	<p>23</p> 	<p>24</p> 	<p>It is not absolutely certain whether Nos. 1 and 14, and 24 and 27 are really distinct or not.</p> <p>On the other hand, Nos. 18 and 20 may be capable of being resolved.</p>






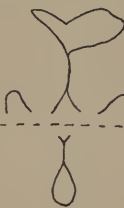

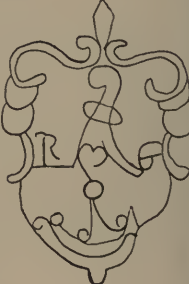

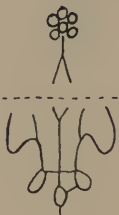
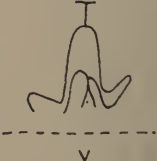



<p>4</p> 	<p>5</p> 	<p>6</p> 	<p>7</p> 
<p>12</p> 	<p>13</p> 	<p>14</p> 	<p>15</p> 
<p>3. The foot bends and finally breaks up. 5. The B gradually breaks so as to resemble an R, and the bends in the foot also vary considerably. 7. The top bends and breaks. 8. The E bends so as finally to resemble a Y.</p>	<p>19</p> 	<p>20</p> 	<p>21</p> 
<p>9. The bends vary a good deal. 15 and 16 may best be distinguished by the circle or eclipse below the heart. 18 is really considerably larger. 22. The B almost resembles an M at times. 23. The bends are considerable in some cases.</p>	<p>25</p> 	<p>26</p> 	<p>27</p> 

TABLE I.

Watermark	Merchant of V., 1600	Mid-sum. N.D., 1600	Oldcastle, 1600	Henry V., 1608	Lear, 1608	Merry Wives, 1619	Yorks. Trag., 1619	1 Contention, 1619	2 Contention, 1619	Pericles, 1619
0		1		7	10					
1	3	1			1		3			3?
2	6	9			7	4	8			17
3	2					4				
4		1?				6?				
5		6	7	3		9				
6	8	5			1	1	2?			4
7	3	3			1	2				3
8	4?	1				1				
9	3?	2								
10					3					
11					3					
12				1	5					
13					3					
14	9				1	1	2			2?
15			18	2						
16			8	3						
17			5							
18	2		1							
19				3	3					
20				3?	1					
21			1	2	3					
22				3						
23								32	32	4
24		1								
25					1					
26					1					
27		1								

The watermark numbers refer to the accompanying plate. The numbers in the table indicate the number of times the mark occurs in the four copies of each play examined.

TABLE II.

SHEET	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
Merchant of V. 1600	C.	2	6	1	14	2	6	6	14	14	8
	G.	1	1	7	14	9?	2	3	14	6	8?
	M.	2	18	7	14	9	6	3	14	6	8
	H.	2	18	7	14	9	2	6	14	6	8
N.D. 1600	C.	6	7	8	5	9	2	2	2		
	G.	7	5	5	5	1	24	6	2		
	M.	6	0	27	5	7	2	2	2		
	H.	6	5	4?	5	9	2	6	2		
Oldcastle 1600	C.	15	16	17	18	16	15	5	15	15	5
	G.	15	15	17	16	16	16	5	15	15	5
	M.	15	16	17	16	15	15	5	15	15	5
	H.	15	17	17	15	16	15	21	15	15	5
Henry V. 1608	C.	19	20	21	22	0	16	0			
	G.	12	5	5	22	16	15	0			
	M.	19	20?	5	21	?	15	0			
	H.	19	20	0	22	0	16	0			
Lear 1608	C.	1	2	6	10	11	12	0	12	0	13
	G.	2	2	25	11	10	19	0	19	20	13
	M.	2	14	2	11	26	19	0	12	21	0
	H.	2	2	7	10	0	12	0	12	0	13
Merry Wives 1619	C.	3	2	4	4	5	6	4			
	G.	3	14	7	4?	5	5	5			
	M.	3	2	3	7	5	5	2			
	H.	8	2	4	4	5	5	5			
Yorks. Trag. 1619	C.	1	1	2	?						
	G.	2	2	2	6?						
	M.	2	2	2	6						
	H.	14	14	1	2						
SHEET	A—Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	2A	2B	
Content. & Per. 1619	C.	23	2	23	2	2	23	6	2	1?	?
	G.	23	2	23	2	1	7	6	1	23	2
	M.	23	2	2	2	2	7	6	2	14?	?
	H.	23	2	2	2	2	7	6	2	14	?


This table shows the watermark found in each sheet of each play according to the four copies examined. C=Capell copy at Trinity College, Cambridge; G=Garrick copy at the British Museum; M=Malone copy at the Bodleian; H=the copy in the possession of Mr. Huth.





## ON CERTAIN FALSE DATES IN SHAKESPEARIAN QUARTOS.

### II.

 HE theory advanced in a former number of the LIBRARY, according to which certain Shakespearian quartos bearing the dates 1600 and 1608 were really printed in 1619, while it has been accepted by several of the authorities whose judgement I most value, has not altogether escaped criticism. Mr. Sidney Lee, writing in 'Athenæum,' and Mr. John Phin, in the New York 'Nation,' fix upon the evidence of the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device, while Mr. A. H. Huth, in the 'Academy,' attacks the much more important question of the watermarks. Of this later: first I have certain things to say with regard to the device.

The only point at which Mr. Lee endeavours to meet the evidence adduced is in the remark: 'Nor would Mr. Greg appear to have made allowance for . . . the recurrence and duplication of printers' marks and blocks in Elizabethan and Jacobean books.' I do not know how much attention Mr. Lee has himself given to this important and difficult subject, a subject upon which no one whose opinion is worth having will be inclined to speak off-hand. But if he has ever considered the matter carefully he will know that two sorts of blocks

were in use, metal and wood. He will know, moreover, that the former of these, though in earlier days they often bent and broke, in Elizabethan times seldom show any specific breaks at all, but merely general wear and tear of the face; while, on the other hand, wood blocks are easily distinguished, not only by specific breaks in later times, but throughout by their habit of cracking along the grain. Further than this, he will know that the difference between the earlier and later metal blocks is due to the fact that the former were cut on soft metal plates, while the latter were cast in hard type-metal, and that of these consequently any number of duplicates may exist. What I do not fancy that Mr. Lee knows is any evidence that would lead one to imagine that wood blocks ever were, or at that time could be, re-cut or in any way reproduced so as to be indistinguishable from the originals. There are plenty of instances of both wood and metal blocks being re-cut, but the new blocks can be distinguished at a glance from the originals. If wood blocks were ever duplicated so as to be indistinguishable, the fact ought to be easily demonstrable in the same way as is the duplication of metal blocks—it is only a matter of a little careful research. Perhaps Mr. Lee will supply the evidence.

All this, however, is beside the point. Even were Mr. Lee able to prove the duplication of wood blocks, he would be no nearer to getting rid of the evidence adduced. It will be remembered that the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device, an unquestionable wood block, exhibits certain splits and

breaks, and that these are more noticeable in one of the plays dated 1600 than in another book dated 1605. To account for this on the supposition of re-cutting Mr. Lee would have to argue that two blocks independently cut on different pieces of wood proceeded to crack and chip in use in an identical manner, though to a different extent!

There is not the smallest doubt possible that the two impressions of the device in question are from one and the same block. Mr. Phin fully realises this. His suggestion is as follows: 'Bearing in mind that the wood block had been used from 1593 to 1596,' let us suppose that it had begun to split after being used in 1596, but that the printer had not taken the trouble to repair it, and had used it in the quartos of 1600 just as it was, for these quartos were probably produced as cheaply as possible. In these quartos the split or crack is quite prominent, but in 1605, when they came to use the block in Dent's book, the split had opened so that the block was no longer available without repair. They therefore resorted to a very common device; they bored one or more holes horizontally through the block, and through each hole they passed an iron bolt with a screw and nut on the end, and in this way they actually made the block better than it was in 1600.' Mr. Phin thinks, therefore, that the evidence of the block 'would not have been offered by Mr. Greg if due consideration had been given to the technique of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Phin is in error here. These dates apply to the 'Heb Ddieu' device. The 'Post Tenebras Lux' block, which is the one in question, was used from 1562 onwards.



wood-engraving and printing.' Although I am not, like Mr. Phin, an expert engraver, I am well aware of the method he describes, a method commonly practised in the nineteenth century, and I dare say earlier. But I have never come across any evidence that it was known as early as 1600, nor even, which is not the same thing, any statement to that effect. Moreover, Mr. Phin's theory only accounts for the splits and not for the breaks.

But although I do not think that either of the explanations advanced by Mr. Lee and Mr. Phin will bear examination, they were yet quite right in attacking my evidence. That evidence is invalid, though not for the reasons they supposed, and I have to thank my friend Mr. Pollard for a severe shock to the theory he was himself so helpful in elaborating. Perhaps it was an *excès de zèle* that led him to collect all the instances of the 'Post Tenebras Lux' device that he could find. Among others he discovered one in a book printed by Roberts, which was, to say the least, superfluous from the point of view of our theory. This impression, moreover, closely resembled that of '1600' in the breaks, and the volume in which it occurred (Wimbleton's Sermon) bore the date 1593 on the title-page and 1599 in the colophon. This was distinctly annoying; but it is clear that a book that cannot make up its mind within six years when it was printed is a bad authority, and I was quite prepared to argue that this was only another of Jaggard's irregularities. However, an examination of further instances only confirmed the disquieting discovery, and established the astonishing

fact that the cracks in the block opened and closed and the breaks grew greater and less quite irrespective of the date of printing.

I think this will come as no less of a surprise to other bibliographers than it did to me. The fact itself being undoubted, less interest attaches to the explanation, but I can only suppose that the size of the cracks varies indirectly with the dampness of the block, and possibly, though less probably, with the tightness of the locking, and that the magnitude of the breaks depends on the amount of pressure, which itself may again depend on the dampness of the block. It is usual to assume that the sheets were printed wet.

I may say at once that this discovery, however unwelcome, does not in any way shake my belief in the substantial accuracy of the theory put forward in my former article. The breaks in the device were the last piece of evidence I came across, long after I had made up my mind on the main question. I regret having to relinquish this evidence, because it seemed to supply the most obvious and the most easily explained proof of the theory, but I never myself regarded it as either the most fundamental or the most weighty of the arguments. Of the typographical evidence there still remains the general similarity of the title-pages, the fact that the 'Heb Ddieu' device has not yet been found in any book of Roberts', and the fact that the large numerals are first found in 1610. These considerations are not to be neglected, but it is clear that as evidence they are at the mercy of any chance discovery in the future.

The foundation of my case remains the watermarks.

This brings me to Mr. Huth's criticisms. He writes: 'Mr. Greg alleges that the watermarks in all the quartos—both those professing to be printed in 1600 and those dated 1619—show the paper to belong to one batch; and since the wires get worn out within one year, the paper must have been made about the same time, and it is impossible that Paviour [or rather Jaggard, the printer] could have got hold of the same batch of paper in 1619 that Roberts used in 1600. I venture to think, however, that if Mr. Greg carefully measures watermarks which appear to the eye to be identical, he will find that they are not. To take the "Pot" mark marked "LM," for instance, the first I found in my copies that occurred in (1) "The Merchant of Venice," 1600; (2) "King Lear," 1608; and (3) "Merry Wives," 1619, the measurement of the base at the greatest breadth is in (1) 14 mm., in (2) 15.5 mm., in (3) 14.5 mm.; and there are also variations in the form of the mark itself, which show that the paper in these editions did not come from the same wire.'

Now it will be noticed that a slight difference in the size of the marks is easily accounted for by the varying shrinkage of different sheets in drying, and differences of form by the bending of the wire in the frame. Of course, if it could be shown, as Mr. Huth seems to imply, that all LM pots in 1600 quartos measure 14 mm., all in 1608 quartos 15.5 mm., and all in 1619 quartos 14.5 mm., one might fairly conclude that the marks were not the



same. This, however, cannot be maintained. The mark in question occurs twelve times in the Capell copies of the plays. The variations are only from 14·5 to 15 mm. In plays dated 1600 it occurs five times, four 15 and one 14·5; in those dated 1608 only once, measuring 14·5; in those dated 1619 six times, three 15 and three 14·5. If, therefore, we are to conclude that there is more than one mark we shall nevertheless have to admit that each occurs in plays dated 1600 and 1619—which leaves the question exactly where it was.

I have recently had the opportunity of discussing the whole matter personally with Mr. Huth, to whom I am much indebted, both for his criticism of my theory and for his kindness in allowing me access to his copies of the original quartos. His view is that the wire which produces what is called the watermark was fashioned in a mould, and was then in some way hammered or soldered into the wire frame. This would certainly prevent more than a very slight amount of variation between sheets made from the same frame, while a number of different frames might have the same mark (that is, a mark from the same mould) with perhaps small variations due to the wire bending while being fastened to the frame. Whether watermarks are now made in moulds I do not know, and whether they were so made in Elizabethan days seems to me a difficult, perhaps an impossible, question to answer. Such is certainly not the view of M. Briquet, who gives the mark a shorter life than the frame, and the latter no more than two years. According to Mr. Huth, though the frame might perish the



mould for the mark would remain, so that the mark (with possible small variations) might have an almost indefinite life.<sup>1</sup> In favour of Mr. Huth's view is the fact that some marks do appear to bend not only to varying degrees but in varying manners in different instances. Against it is the fact that other marks seem to bend progressively. To be certain, here, on which side lies the weight of evidence would require a large collection of clear examples of the same mark, such as it is very difficult indeed to obtain. Also against this view is the enormous number of extant marks. It is, indeed, comparatively rare to find the same mark occurring in two independent books. I recently purchased eleven quarto pamphlets printed between 1600 and 1625 for the express purpose of examining the watermarks. In these I discovered thirty different marks, of which four only occurred in more than one. I have also examined all the books in the British Museum printed by Roberts or the Jaggards.<sup>2</sup> In two doubtful instances marks of the Shakespeare quartos appear to be repeated in volumes printed by one of the Jaggards between, I think, 1609 and 1625: among the marks in Roberts' books I have found no case even of

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately this view undermines the whole of M. Briquet's argument from dated marks, since these would, of course, be discarded at the end of the year, while there would be no reason to destroy the moulds of undated marks. It should be noted, however, that M. Briquet also made calculations based on other data and arrived at very much the same results.

<sup>2</sup> All, that is, in folio or quarto: in the smaller sizes the marks become indistinguishable owing to folding and cutting.

resemblance. Not only does the precise combination of over twenty different marks in the Shakespeare volume remain a thing *sui generis*, but even the recurrence of individual marks elsewhere appears to be rare, if not unknown.

But I am not particularly concerned to maintain the brevity of the life of watermarks. If the frames endured, it may be argued that in 1619 the printer acquired a fresh stock of paper manufactured from the same frames as had done duty for the stocks of 1600 and 1608: if they perished, then it may be argued that the printer obtained a fresh supply from some accidentally unexhausted stock. What I do maintain is that either supposition involves a draft upon the bank of coincidence which that valuable institution cannot be in reason expected to honour.

Suppose for a moment that Mr. Huth were right in maintaining that the LM pots in the 'Merchant of Venice,' 'King Lear,' and the 'Merry Wives' were from three distinct frames with different measurements. Would it not be a most remarkable occurrence that three different plays, printed at three rather widely different dates by two distinct printers, plays which it happens were later gathered together and issued as a collected volume by an independent publisher, should contain three watermarks so curiously similar, and that, moreover, not one of these marks nor any resembling them should be traceable in any other book printed by either of the men concerned in the production of these plays? Would it not strain coincidence beyond the bounds of belief? It is evident that

upon the orthodox theory it is even more preposterous to regard the marks as different than to regard them as the same.

But from whatever point of view we look at the question, it must be clear that the miscellaneous collection of marks found in the paper of this group of plays—marks practically unique as far as the productions of any of the printers possibly concerned have come down to us—is absolutely fatal to the orthodox theory. Whether we imagine Roberts, and after him Jaggard, going to a special stock of paper for just these plays printed at various dates between 1600 and 1620, or whether we imagine Roberts, and after him Jaggard, going to the maker and obtaining paper from the same frames just for these said plays, the transaction is equally unthinkable. It would tax the capacity of the august lady who was in the habit of believing as many as three impossible things before breakfast.

The main facts of the case were given in my former article, from an examination of the copies of the plays in question preserved in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. I have since examined the Garrick copies at the British Museum, the Malone copies at the Bodleian Library, and finally those in the possession of Mr. A. H. Huth. I am in consequence in a position both to correct in some respects my former account and also somewhat to extend the discussion. It must be borne in mind, to begin with, that in most books of the period we either find a single watermark running through all the sheets, or else a mixture of perhaps three or four different marks.

This suggests that paper was supplied by the makers either in homogeneous lots, with one mark throughout, or else in lots containing, say, from two to six different marks, though of course of the same quality throughout. I have never come across either any single book with anything like the number of watermarks found in these plays, or any group of books with such a connected series of marks running through them.

The mixture of marks may be explained in one of two ways. We may either suppose that the maker used a number of different frames in the manufacture of one batch of paper, and so sent out parcels containing a large number of different marks; or else that the mixture resulted from the using up of a number of remnants of different parcels. The first of these alternatives is rendered unlikely by the fact that mixtures of such a large number of marks do not elsewhere occur. If, on the other hand, the second alternative be adopted, it will have to be admitted that the whole group of plays in which the marks occur, must have been printed at the same time. Now if the mixture originated in the paper-mill, the different marks will be found mixed up anyhow just as the sheets happened to be collected after drying. If, on the other hand, the printer was using up a number of remnants, the different papers will have been used up in batches, and the marks will tend to be the same in different copies of the same sheet. I say will tend, because the result will only be approximate; indeed the tendency must be very largely obscured. The reason for this is, in the first place,



that some of the remnants used themselves probably contained more than one mark; and, secondly, that during the printing of a particular sheet the pile of paper at the pressman's side would sometimes run out and be replenished from a different stock.<sup>1</sup> I think that in spite of these obscuring causes, such a tendency is clearly traceable.

I must now ask the reader to turn to the accompanying plates and tables. The former attempt a reproduction of all the marks which I have been able to distinguish in the four copies of the plays hitherto examined, and will give some idea of their variety. I must warn readers, however, against placing implicit reliance upon these reproductions. They are from freehand drawings, and I am by no means an expert draughtsman. The marks are often vague and indistinct; they occur in the fold of the paper in a quarto book, and are therefore often difficult to see clearly. I am by no means prepared to stake my faith upon every detail (for instance that marks 1 and 14 may not be the same, or that under 18 I may not have confused two distinct marks), but I do not think that any scepticism as to the general results would be justified. The first table corrects and enlarges the table given in my previous article. I there distinguished twenty different marks in the Capell

<sup>1</sup> There is yet another cause, which may have played an important part. The two formes of one sheet may have been placed simultaneously upon different presses, supplied with different makes of paper. Then those sheets begun on press A would be perfected on press B, and those begun on press B would be perfected on press A. This would result in half the edition being on one paper, and half on another.

copies; I now distinguish twenty-three, and add four new ones from the Garrick and Malone collections. The second table is the one to which I desire for the moment to call attention. It gives, for the four copies examined, the watermark in every sheet of every play. Of course it would have been more satisfactory to have the data from a larger number of copies, but I think that those provided are sufficient for our immediate purpose. Where we find the same mark in all four copies of a particular sheet, we may take it as probable that there was at least no large admixture of any other mark in the whole edition of that sheet.

The most obvious instance of homogeneity is supplied by the two parts of the 'Contention,' which have one mark (23) throughout. It seems pretty clear that this was the first play printed, and that it all but exhausted the stock or remnant of this particular paper, for we only find a few odd instances of the mark recurring in 'Pericles.' This play has signatures continuous with the 'Contention,' and already we find a mixture of six different marks, clearly showing that the printer was using up whatever paper he could lay his hand on. Two sheets (R, T), however, show mark 2 throughout, and two more with only a small intermixture of mark 1. Another sheet (Y) shows mark 6 in all copies. The mixture of marks 1 and 2 also occurs in the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' (C, and possibly A and B), and possibly in the 'Merry Wives' (B), all dated 1619, and again in 'Lear' (A), dated 1608, and the 'Merchant of Venice' (A), dated 1600, while mark 2 occurs alone in one sheet (H)

of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' also dated 1600. Mark 14 occurs throughout in two sheets (D, H) of the 'Merchant of Venice,' which may therefore be supposed to have been printed on the same press. The same play has another sheet (K) in which mark 8 apparently occurs alone. Both 'Henry V.' and 'Lear' have one sheet (G in each case) in which no mark occurs in any of the four copies. 'Oldcastle' is a particularly interesting play. One sheet (K) has mark 5 throughout, while another (G) has the same varied only by the comparatively rare mark 21. Homogeneous 5's occur also in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' (D) and the 'Merry Wives' (E), and one may again suspect that only one press was used for these sheets. 'Oldcastle' also shows one homogeneous 17 (C), otherwise only known from a solitary occurrence in an adjacent sheet (B). Again, 'Oldcastle' has three homogeneous 15's (A, H, I), and, what is more, two of the remaining sheets (E, F) show a mixture of marks 15 and 16. This mixture is also found in 'Henry V.,' dated 1608 (F). This is one of a set of persistent mixtures that merit attention. The case of marks 15 and 16 is obvious. So is that of marks 12 and 19, which occur three times in connection with one another ('Henry V.' A, 'Lear' F, H), and in connection with no other mark. Less obvious, but still clear, is the case of marks 10 and 11, which occur together to the exclusion of others in one sheet (D) of 'Lear,' and otherwise only mixed with the unique mark 26 and unmarked paper in the next sheet. The interesting point of these persistent conjunctions is



that in each case the marks are similar: marks 15 and 16 are both shields with the initials R G, 12 and 19 pots with the initials G G, 10 and 11 (and 26?) fleurs-de-lys. It looks singularly as though where a stock contained more than one mark, the marks were themselves closely related. I conclude, therefore, that there can be little doubt that the mixture of twenty-eight varieties of paper in the quartos in question is due not to the paper manufacturer, but to the fact that the printer was using up a quantity of remnants. It follows that the quartos must have been printed in one office at one date.<sup>1</sup>

There is one objection which may reasonably be brought against this theory of remnants. 'If,' it may be argued, 'the printer had all these remnants lying about his office, he must have been using the bulk of the stock in a number of different books, and it ought to be possible to find at least some of the marks used consistently in works printed by him during the previous decade.' I confess I was astonished at being unable to find them. I think Mr. Pollard has supplied the clue to the puzzle. 'Have we,' he asks, 'merely to do with a manufacturer and a printer, or have we to take account of a middleman?' I think there can be very little doubt that we have.<sup>2</sup> The middleman bought

<sup>1</sup> If only data could be collected from a sufficient number of copies (a dozen might suffice), it ought to be possible to determine how many batches of paper were used, how many marks there were in each batch, how many presses were used, and which sheets were printed on each press.

<sup>2</sup> A middleman is not absolutely necessary, for the manufacturer may have done his distribution himself. The argument will not be



large stocks of paper from the manufacturer and sold comparatively small parcels of various sizes to printers. The inevitable result was that he was left with a number of oddments, remainders of various sizes, on his hands. These he simply stacked together and sold off cheap. Of course the main stock must equally have been used up, and should be traceable somewhere, but it may have been sold to a different printer, and even a different town. Moreover, the middleman would not sell to printers only. The time was yet to be when printing and writing paper became differentiated. We have the whole consumption of the finer sorts of paper throughout the whole kingdom to take into account. No wonder that a particular set of marks should be hard to trace.

There is another matter upon which I should like to say a few words before passing from the consideration of this group of plays. I purposely refrained in my previous article from discussing Pavier's motives in placing false dates on his editions. A number of readers, with their heads full of modern book prices, jumped to the conclusion that I must mean that Pavier was endeavouring to obtain higher prices for his books by pretending that they were first editions, and they hastened solemnly to inform me that the desire for first editions was inoperative in the seventeenth century. So little had the idea been in my mind that it never occurred to me that any reader would suppose me guilty of such an outrageous absurdity.

altered if we regard a retail department of the mill as doing the work of the middleman.

It is, I think, not difficult to guess, though very difficult to prove, what Pavier's motives may have been. One thing seems pretty certain, namely, that what he wanted to avoid was the charge of having printed plays, to the copyright of some of which at least he had no conceivable right. He placed old dates on the title-pages that it might appear that he was merely selling off the remainders of editions printed years before for other publishers. He had, on the other hand, no reason to make his reprints facsimiles of those he printed from; the date and imprint, together with a general typographical resemblance perhaps, was enough. If we may suppose some impertinent bibliographer to have pointed out that the edition of 'Lear' dated 1608 which he was selling differed from that which was known to have issued from the Pied Bull in that year, Pavier no doubt replied: 'That certainly is so, sir; but have you any reason to believe that there were not two editions printed that year? If you have heretofore only been acquainted with one, allow me at once to sell you his twin brother.' And considering that the world has accepted this answer for just on three centuries, I fancy our bibliographer would have gone away satisfied.

### III.

I wish now to inquire what cases of false dates exist, or may be suspected to exist, in early plays outside the particular group we have been examin-

ing. For this purpose I propose to go systematically through the list of those plays of which we have two or more distinct editions bearing the same date, and to ask in each particular instance whether it is reasonable to suppose that more than one edition was really published that year, or whether one of the editions is in this respect fraudulent.

I will begin, however, by a brief mention of certain cases, not of individual plays, in some of which there can be no question whatever of the falseness of the dates. And first of all I will take the case which first opened my eyes to the existence of this particular bibliographical pit-fall—the reprinted imprint. It is an edition of the works of Sir John Suckling. It will be remembered that Suckling's poems were collected after his death under the title of 'Fragmenta Aurea,' and printed in 1646. There are a number of special title-pages to various parts of the work. This volume was reprinted in 1648 and 1658, while some additional 'Last Remains' appeared in 1659. In all these books the date of the general title-page is repeated on the special title-pages. There is also an edition of 'The Works of Sir John Suckling' of 1696, in which the separate title-pages bear the date 1694. All these will be found in the British Museum. Some years ago I chanced to buy an edition of 'The Works,' dated 1676. At first sight I thought that it must be made up from fragments of earlier editions, for the dates on the several title-pages varied widely. Investigation soon showed that this was not the case. The book is a genuine edition, presumably printed in 1676, in which various

earlier dates have been retained. The 'Poems' are dated 1648, the duplicate fifth act of 'Aglaure,' 1672, the three title-pages belonging to the 'Last Remains' have the original date 1659, while the rest of the title-pages occurring in the volume, five in all, are dated 1658.

Another suspicious case among collected editions occurs in Randolph's Poems. I mean the two editions dated 1668. Of these the edition reading 'Poems:' is the later, being printed from that reading 'Poems' (without stop), but how much later it is impossible to say. Considering that the previous editions are dated 1638, 1640, 1643, 1652 (two issues, but only one edition), and 1664, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that two distinct editions should have been required in 1668 and then no further edition till 1875. More than a strong suspicion, however, the evidence does not warrant.

A quite clear instance may be quoted from a different department of literature. There are some seven editions of the Genevan version of the Bible, which can be shown with varying degrees of cogency to have been printed at various dates at Amsterdam and Dort (in one quite indisputable instance at Amsterdam as late as 1633), but which are stated on their title-pages to have been 'Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker . . . 1599.' This example, which I owe to Mr. Pollard, is given on the authority of entries 187-94 and 364 in Darlow and Moule's 'Historical Catalogue of printed editions of the Holy Scriptures in the library of the British and Foreign



Bible Society.' References are there made to previous investigations by Lea Wilson and N. Pocock. It appears to be thought that Barker himself was responsible for the spurious dating.

I now proceed to the discussion of dramatic quartos, of which there are two or more editions dated the same year. First:

'A new and mery Enterlude, called the Trial of Treasure, newly set forth, and neuer before this tyme imprinted.' Thomas Purfoote. 1567. Two editions, one (B.M.) with colophon and two impressions of the device, the other (Bodl.) with one impression of the device and no colophon. The former has just been facsimiled by Mr. Farmer, and a comparison with the Bodleian copy may throw light on the relationship, but at present I have no information on the subject.

Next come three curious cases in which we find two distinct editions with title-pages printed from one setting up of the type.

'The Return from Pernassus: Or The Scourge of Simony. Publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge.' Printed by G. Eld for Iohn Wright, 1606. S.R. 16 Oct. 1605. Two editions, one with collation A-H<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup>, the other A-H<sup>4</sup>. They may be compared either at the Bodleian or at Trinity College, Cambridge. No doubt the edition which wanders into a ninth sheet is the earlier. In each case the title-leaf actually forms part of the first sheet.

'The Late and much admired Play called Pericles, Prince of Tyre,' by William Shakespeare, printed for Henry Gosson, 1609. Two editions, known

respectively as the 'Enter' (B.M., Bodl., T.C.C.) and 'Eneer' (B.M.) editions. The former is supposed to be the earlier; it is certainly the more common. They are clearly contemporary and are identical in style. Both have a mixed set of water-marks, some of which occur in both. In the 'Eneer' edition the title-leaf appears to form part of the first sheet. In the Capell copy (T.C.C.) of the 'Enter' edition I do not think it does; in the British Museum copy it is impossible to tell. I have not examined the others.

'Albumazar. A Comedy presented before the Kings Maiestie at Cambridge, the ninth of March, 1614. By the Gentlemen of Trinity Colledge.' Anonymous, but known to be by Thomas Tomkis; printed by Nicholas Okes for Walter Burre, 1615. Two editions, one with the collation A<sup>2</sup> B-L<sup>4</sup>, the other A-I<sup>4</sup>. Both in the University Library at Cambridge. The edition in ten and a half sheets is, of course, the earlier. The title-leaf, the verso of which is blank, belongs to A<sup>2</sup>. In the nine-sheet edition the *dramatis personae* and prologue have been crowded on to the verso of the title.

To find two distinct editions with identical title-pages is certainly curious. But it should be remembered that there is reason to suppose that the title of a book was sometimes kept in type for purposes of advertisement;<sup>1</sup> consequently, if a second edition were unexpectedly demanded it might not be necessary to reset this portion.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this point to Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who will, I hope, before long, publish evidence on this and certain similar points.

We now come to a number of what appear to be genuine cases of two entirely distinct editions appearing the same year.

'The Pleasant History of the two angry women of Abington,' by Henry Porter; printed for Joseph Hunt and William Ferbrand, 1599. Another edition omits Hunt's name. Copies of both are in the British Museum. The Hunt edition with the collation A<sup>2</sup> B-L<sup>4</sup> M<sup>2</sup> is almost certainly earlier than the other, which has the collation A-K<sup>4</sup>, but both were certainly printed by the same printer about the same time. The play was not registered.

'The Malcontent. By Iohn Marston. 1604. Printed at London by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (Bodl., Dyce.)

'The Malcontent. By Iohn Marston. 1604. At London Printed by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (B.M.)

'The Malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster. 1604. At London Printed by V. S. for William Aspley, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard.' (B.M., Bodl., Dyce.) Entered S. R. 5 July 1604, to Aspley and Thomas Thorpe. The date on the title-pages, it will be noticed, is not necessarily that of printing. All three editions, however, were printed by the same printer (Simmes) about the same time. That with the additions is presumably the latest. I should place the British Museum unenlarged edition next to it on the strength of the



similarity of imprint—indeed, the two imprints seem to be from the same setting up.

‘Eastward Hoe. As It was playd in the Black-friers. By The Children of her Maiesties Reuels. Made by Geo: Chapman. Ben Ionson. Ioh: Marston.’ Printed for William Aspley, 1605. Prologue, l. 5, reads ‘opposde.’ Another edition reads ‘opposd.’ (Both B.M. and Bodl.) Entered S. R. 4 Sept. 1605, to Aspley and Thorpe. Valentine Simmes is again the printer. The ‘opposde’ edition is the earlier. This, as originally issued, contained an offensive passage on leaves E 1 and 2. These (found in the Dyce copy) were cancelled, and other leaves (found in B.M. and Bodl. copies), omitting the passage, inserted in their place. But the scandal sold out the edition, and the play was reprinted as amended.

‘A merrie Dialogue, Between Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe: Done by an excellent Wit, And Lately acted in a shew in the famous Vniversity of Cambridge.’ Printed by William Stansby for Miles Partrich, 1615.

‘Exchange Ware at the second hand, Viz. Band, Ruff, and Cuffe, lately out, and now newly dearned vp. Or Dialogue, acted in a Shew in the famous Vniuersity of Cambridge. The second Edition.’ Printed by W. Stansby for Myles Partrich, 1615. There are copies of both editions at the British Museum. There is obviously no reason to suspect the date. A popular university skit would be very likely to run into more than one edition in a year. The same remark applies to the next item.

‘Aristippus, Or The Iouiall Philosopher: . . . To which is added, The Conceited Pedlar,’ any-



mous, but later reprinted among Randolph's poems. Printed by Thomas Harper, for John Marriot, sold by Richard Mynne, 1630.' Another edition printed for Robert Allot. Both are in the British Museum. Entered S. R. 26 Mar. 1630, to Marriot; transferred, 1 July 1637, by Allot's widow to Legatt and Crooke '*saluo Jure cuiuscunque.*' Both internal and external evidence point to Marriot's edition being the earlier, but the two were clearly printed about the same time.

'*Mercurius Britannicus, or The English Intelligencer. A Tragic-Comedy at Paris. Acted with great Applause. Printed in the year, 1641.*' There are three editions: one with the collation A-D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>2</sup>, another A-D<sup>4</sup>, and a third bearing the words: '*Reprinted with Sundry Additions.*' That, no doubt, is the order. The British Museum has all three editions. The first edition has an epilogue which is not found in either of the copies of the second, but then both want the last leaf. It is found in the third edition, squeezed in on the verso of D<sup>2</sup>. The additions appear to have been really made in the second, not the third, edition. There is no particular reason to question any of the dates, but the second, and still more the third, edition does look rather later, and may really have been printed at any time during the Commonwealth. There is also a Latin version of this skit, which is ascribed to Richard Brathwait.

We now pass to those cases which are more or less open to suspicion. And first we have:

'*The Comickall Satyre of Euery Man out of his Humor.* As it was first composed by the Author

B. I[onson]. Containing more than hath been publikely Spoken or Acted. With the seuerall Character of euery Person. [Motto.] London, Printed for William Holme, and are to be sold at his shoppe at Sarieants Inne gate in Fleetstreet. 1600.' Another edition: 'London, Printed for Nicholas Linge. 1600.' The two editions may be seen side by side in the Dyce collection. The play was entered to Holme in the Stationers' Register, 8 April 1600, and the Holme quarto (printed by Peter Short) is undoubtedly the older, and the source of the other, but there can be no very great difference of date. The second quarto bears both the name and mark of Nicholas Linge, the publisher of the first and second editions of *Hamlet*, who later on acquired an interest in the copyright of '*Romeo and Juliet*,' '*Love's Labour's Lost*,' and the '*Taming of A Shrew*.' These with thirteen other books, among which the name of Jonson's play does not appear, he transferred to Smethwick in November 1607, and in April 1638 we find a transfer recorded of '*Every Man out of his Humour*' from Smethwick to Bishop. The absence of any transfer from Holme to Ling or from Ling to Smethwick suggests that there is here at least a case for investigation.

'Albumazar. A Comedy presented before the King's Maiesty at Cambridge. By the Gentlemen of Trinity Colledge. Newly reuised and corrected by a special Hand. London, Printed by Nicholas Okes 1634.' Another edition: 'revised.' We have already considered the earlier editions of this play of Thomas Tomkis' above. The editions dated

1634, which may be compared at Trinity College, Cambridge, are by the same printer, and can hardly differ widely in date. It is, however, noteworthy that the 'revised' edition is consistent in employing the old, and the 'revised' the modern, convention regarding the letters 'u' and 'v.' The play remained popular and was again reprinted in 1668.

'The Knight of the Burning Pestle. Full of Mirth and Delight. Written by Francis Beaumont and Iohn Fletcher. Gent. As it is now Acted by Her Maiesties Servants at the Private house in Drury lane. 1635. [Motto.] London: Printed by N. O. for I. S. 1635.' Another edition: 'Beaumont.' (Both in B. M., Bodl., T.C.C.) The play was originally printed for Walter Burre in 1613. Of the two later editions the 'Beaumont' one is the earlier, retaining the same measure and typographical arrangement as the original. The other includes its misprints and is printed from it. On the ground of general appearance I fancy there can be little doubt that the 'Beaumont' edition is some years the later: I should place it c. 1650.

'The ELDER BROTHER A Comedie. Acted at the Blacke Friers, by his Maiesties Servants. Printed according to the true Copie. Written by Iohn Fletcher Gent. London, Imprinted by F. K. for J. W. and J. B. 1637.' Another edition: 'Elder Brother.' (Both in B.M. and Dyce.) That the former is the earlier and the latter a reprint is shown by a curious reading near the end of the play (V. ii. 72):

though you dare not fight  
 Yourself, or fright a foolish officer, young Eustace  
 Can do it to a hair.

In the first edition a space before the word 'young' has worked up and made a mark above the line. This caught the attention of the observant, but extraordinarily dense compositor of the other quarto, and he actually printed 'young'! The play was entered S. R. 29 (?23) Mar. 1637, to Waterson and Benson (the J. W. and J. B. of the quartos). Other editions appeared in 1651, 1661, and 1678 before the play was included in the folio of 1679. The edition of 1651 is printed from the first edition (with certain alterations); that of 1661 from the other '1637' edition; that of 1678 from that of 1661, but reducing the whole to prose. There is, therefore, no reason, so far as the text is concerned, why the second '1637' edition should not have been printed at any date between 1637 and 1661, and there is very considerable reason for supposing it to have originated not far from this latter date. Its late character is obvious when compared with the first edition, but there is much more definite evidence than this. The types of the words 'Elder Brother' and 'COMEDY' on the title-page are identical with those of the 1661 quarto; so is the ornament on B1 and the initial N on the same page. All these are different in the first edition. Moreover, while the first edition is printed throughout on one make of paper without watermark, both '1637' and 1661 exhibit a mixture of three or four marks, and in the British Museum copies identically the same mark occurs



in sheet G of '1637' and sheet F of 1661. This is much the clearest case of a false date I have come across among non-Shakespearian quartos.

'Loves Mistresse: or The Queenes Masque . . . The second Impression, corrected by the Author, Thomas Heywood . . . London, Printed by Iohn Raworth, for Iohn Crouch, 1640.' Another edition: 'Mistress.' (Both in B.M. and Bodl.) The former has the collation A-I<sup>4</sup>, the latter A-G<sup>4</sup>. This is clearly the later; it converts whole speeches into prose, and crowds up the last page in small type to get it into the reduced number of sheets. From its general appearance I should imagine it to be at least ten years younger.

'The Scornfull Ladie. A Comedie. As it was Acted (with great applause) by the late Kings Majesties Servants, at the Black Fryers. Written by Francis Beaumont, and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. The sixt Edition, Corrected and amended.' Printed for Humphrey Mosely, 1651. (B.M.) Another edition; 'The Scornefull Ladie'; also with printer's mark ('In Domino Confido') not in the above (Bodl., Dyce). As I happen to possess a copy of the 'Scornfull' edition I have been able to compare the two. Mine is, I think, undoubtedly a later, though a very close, reprint, probably surreptitious. The play was entered S.R., 19 Mar. 1616, to Miles Partrich, but had long wandered from its original owner.

Besides these cases of plays, there are also a certain number to be found among masques. There is, however, no reason to suspect a fraud. These polite toys must often have had a considerable

vogue at the moment, while their ephemeral nature would remove all temptation to fraudulent reprints at a later date.

Of course, there may be many cases of 'twin' editions which have as yet escaped bibliographical research. Unless copies can be brought side by side it is difficult to differentiate them. Photography, however, and cheap methods of reproduction are placing a powerful instrument in the hands of bibliographers, and we may expect some interesting discoveries. In some cases again it may happen that a genuine edition has wholly disappeared and only a spurious one been left. Or else a surreptitious printer may have placed on his title-page a wholly fictitious date—as in the case of 'Henry V,' 1608. These cases will probably remain beyond detection.

W. W. GREG.

## THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE.

**T**HE Conference of the Library Association held at Brighton in the last week of August was the thirty-first annual meeting, and the tenth since the Association received its Royal Charter.

The acceptance of an invitation to hold the annual meeting at a pleasure resort, at a time of year when tens of thousands of other visitors are there, is a new experiment, though it was tried under other conditions a few years ago when the Association went to Buxton for its conference. The result has been a success, so far as numbers go, beyond all precedent, for over 400 were entered as attending, but the attractions of Brighton and its surroundings proved too strong for a good percentage, and the conference room saw little or nothing of them. It says a great deal for the hotels and other places that these 400 people readily found quarters on terms which were quite moderate. Nor did the absence of those who preferred the sea-front and other attractions, in any way militate against the success of the proceedings, for this year's conference will stand out as quite one of the most useful working meetings.

The selection of Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford as President was very happy. Not only is he closely

associated with Brighton, where he has a residence, but he possesses gifts of refined scholarship, and is an ardent book collector, his special quest being fine copies of early printed books. It is worth mentioning, too, that Mr. Thomas-Stanford, like so many other owners of rare books, willingly allows others to share in the pleasure and instruction to be derived from his treasures. At the present time a collection of bindings selected to show the progress of the art, comprising about 120 examples, is on exhibition in the Brighton Art Gallery, and a well arranged and annotated catalogue, with some illustrations, and an introduction by Mr. Thomas-Stanford, is sold for the modest sum of twopence. With this catalogue, and the excellent examples in the cases, it is possible to obtain a really valuable knowledge of the history of bookbinding. This is a supplementary exhibition to one held a year ago of books printed between 1462 and 1501, of which a similar catalogue was issued. I may add that the usefulness of both these exhibitions has been greatly increased by the arrangements made for conducting parties of visitors over them, with informal explanations.

The fine buildings of the Public Libraries, Museums, and Art Galleries, and of the contiguous Royal Pavilion, offer unequalled facilities for holding conferences and the entertainments usually associated with such gatherings, and the generous manner in which these buildings were placed at the service of the Association by the Corporation added much to the comfort and convenience of the members. The authorities of Brighton deserve warm



thanks for the liberal way in which they supported the efforts of the Local Reception Committee, and its Hon. Sec., Mr. H. D. Roberts, Director of the Brighton Libraries, etc., whose abilities as an organiser received general recognition.

The official welcome by the Mayor (Alderman J. P. Slingsby Roberts) was given in felicitous terms on the Monday evening at the reception in the Art Galleries. This left the first morning session free for the immediate business of the conference, commencing with the address of the President. Mr. Thomas-Stanford devoted the major part of his address to the book-less state of the rural districts in Great Britain, a condition due to the fact that the Libraries Acts now on the statute book were framed more especially to meet the needs of Urban areas. It is true a Parish Council may put the existing Acts into operation, but the product of the penny rate in thousands of rural parishes is so small as to be useless. Much has been done in a few cases by the aid of local gentry, by Sir Edmund Verney and his family at Middle Claydon for example. But, as the President very truly said, 'such projects, admirable under existing circumstances as they are, can, I fear, only be rather a palliative than a cure of the booklessness of the country which we deplore and seek to remedy. They are too dependant on the accident of an unusually benevolent bishop, or an uncommonly large-minded landowner. No permanent and widespread remedy can be found, as I believe, but in a comprehensive scheme worked through the County Councils. We have already taken the control of education from the

village school boards, and constituted the County Councils the education authority. It is their business to look after the training of the young; it should be their business also to provide those same children that they have educated with the means of using and developing that education in after life.'

All that is excellently said. It is to be regretted that the President's address was not made the text for a debate upon the question. As it happened, the subject was left over for the last day, when two papers dealing with interesting experiments in the way of circulating books in the rural districts were read, but as these treated of details, and left the larger question alone, a valuable opportunity was lost.

The President also touched upon the importance of the collection of local literature in the libraries. 'Nothing of local interest should be considered too trifling to preserve. The rubbish of one generation is the treasure of the next, and what is passing almost unheeded before our eyes to-day will be matter for history to-morrow.' The Horn Books, once so common, now so rare, and local ballad literature, often of historical and philological value, are illustrations of the truth of Mr. Thomas-Stanford's remarks. It is to be feared that not all public libraries preserve the newspapers of their district, a want of foresight for which they will surely be one day called to account.

A paper on the Brighton Public Library, Museum, and Fine Arts Galleries, by Mr. Roberts, the Director, was taken as read, and copies will

in due course be printed for circulation,—a full synopsis of it was published in the local press.

The subject of Fiction in the Public Library has long been a standing dish at these conferences, and both the members and, so it is asserted in some quarters, the press, are heartily sick of the subject. I have my doubts about the press, doubts based on the eagerness with which a number of newspapers seized upon the topic for comment, and incidentally for having a fling at the public libraries. The truth is that the reading of fiction is one of the features of the age in which we live, and therefore a topic of perennial interest. Many editors, recognising this, wrote leaders discussing the matter in a reasonable and proper spirit, and it is to be regretted that others with less insight looked upon the occasion as one for cheap sneers.

Mr. A. O. Jennings, Chairman of the Brighton Library Sub-Committee, introduced the subject in a well-thought-out paper, designed to produce a discussion on the attitude to be adopted by the Public Libraries in purchasing and circulating works of fiction. It would have narrowed the subsequent discussion down to the main points of the paper if Mr. Jennings had omitted all reference to statistics, but this he did not realise in time. Still the debate, on the whole, was kept fairly well to the points raised, and the three proposals formulated were adopted, the first two unanimously, and the third with only one dissentient. These conclusions form a valuable basis for combined action in dealing with this difficult point in library practice, and will be

circulated to library authorities. They are as follows :—

1. That the function of a Public Lending Library is to provide good literature for circulation among its readers, and that the same test must be applied to its works of fiction as to the books in its other departments; they must have literary or educational value.
2. That every Public Lending Library should be amply supplied with fiction that has attained the position of classical literature, such as the works of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot; and among more modern writers Stevenson, Kipling, Meredith, and Hardy. These names are, of course, merely given by way of illustration, and each library must be allowed to make its own rules as to admission into the charmed circle, provided that it can satisfy its conscience that the suggested test has been applied.
3. That the purchase of mere ephemeral fiction of no literary value, even if without offence, is not within the proper province of a Public Lending Library.

The adoption of these resolutions as a definite basis for future guidance, is a practical step, and if they are acted upon by those who have the difficult task of selecting novels for the public to read, there can be little room for that carping criticism so freely poured out on the libraries. I believe that in a very large degree the spirit of the resolutions is already followed, and that it is rarely the case that the libraries knowingly buy trashy fiction. In the course of the discussion I ventured to say, as I have



said before in the pages of 'THE LIBRARY,' that there are many degrees of the human mind, and this factor must be taken into account in selecting reading for the public. What is immoral and vicious should be avoided, those who desire to read works of that class should buy or hire them; but an analogy may be drawn from music when considering literary value. Not every one can appreciate a sonata of Beethoven or the music of Wagner; it would be absurd to deny such persons the pleasure and profit they derive from other forms of music.

At the afternoon session Mr. W. W. Topley, a member of the Croydon Libraries Committee, reported upon the present position of the net books question. The publishers were quite willing to meet the public libraries in a reasonable spirit in the matter of some discount off net books, provided the booksellers agreed, but the latter had refused by a large majority to enter into the question. It was hinted that the booksellers who have experience of library orders were willing to concede reasonable terms, but that they were a minority, and outvoted by the booksellers who do not know what such orders mean. The position is one of great delicacy, and no discussion was allowed. Things cannot be allowed to go on as they tend to do at the present time. The libraries may wisely spend as much money as possible in building up their collections of important books which can be bought in the second-hand market, purchasing only essential books new. It would be good for the libraries, and salutary for those who will miss

the thousands of pounds a year diverted into other pockets.

Two lantern lectures were given during the Conference. The first, a continuation of Mr. Cyril Davenport's valuable series on decorative bookbindings, was for members only, the subject being English Embroidered Bookbindings. The lecture was listened to with eager interest, and was delivered with the ease which comes from complete mastery of a subject. The lantern slides were of great beauty, made and coloured by Mr. Davenport himself. The other lecture was given in the evening to an audience mainly of local people, by Mr. Stanley Jast, Hon. Secretary of the Association, the subject being Public Library work. All the varied activities of the public libraries in Great Britain were passed in review, illustrated with an excellent series of lantern slides. The review of each point was necessarily brief, yet so carefully was the lecture prepared, and so lucidly delivered, that the audience obtained a good idea of the aims of the libraries and their administrators.

The Libraries Acts are adopted by 580 places, and 527 places have libraries in operation, the number of buildings, including branches, being 906. The number of books in these libraries is 12,000,000 (4,000,000 reference, 8,000,000 lending), the number of registered borrowers entitled to take books home, 2,500,000. The estimated use for one year is 175,000,000, made up of reference libraries 20,000,000, lending libraries 60,000,000, and reading-rooms 95,000,000. These figures are only approximate, but they are near enough to

give some idea of the vast amount of work done. A lecture to the public should certainly be a feature of all future conferences.

A paper by Alderman Plummer, Chairman of the Manchester Libraries Committee, gave personal impressions of American Libraries, formed during the recent visit of a deputation whose object was to acquire information in view of the intended new buildings for the Manchester Reference Library. The paper bristled with good points, and was written in that charming style which makes Alderman Plummer's many friends regret that he is so seldom heard at the conferences. The three main ideas prevailing in America, he said, are space, achievement, and the boundless possibilities of the future. He referred to the co-operation between the schools and the public libraries of New York in their endeavours to make useful citizens of the dregs of Europe, a process usually accomplished in a generation. The library development of recent years, its wider range, its more splendid activities, are the work of Mr. Carnegie.

Alderman Plummer brought out one very important difference between English and American libraries. The governing bodies of American libraries are entirely distinct from the municipalities, and they have a freedom and directness of action which counts heavily in their success. In this country, on the other hand, the tendency is to bring the libraries more and more under the direct control of the municipalities, to check and curtail the committees.

The prominence given to children's libraries in



America was dealt with, and the value of literature as a preserver of language was touched upon. In New York especially, and in many other places, the mixture of races makes it highly important if the English language is to be kept from degradation into a mere jargon, that young children should be taught to read good literature, for literature is not only the source but the sustenance of a language.

The discussion on Alderman Plummer's paper produced some supplementary notes by Mr. Sutton, Librarian of Manchester, and a racy, short speech from Dr. Koch, Librarian of Michigan University, who said that the libraries of the universities were largely managed by a faculty, and the librarian was mainly a clerk. The college libraries were, as a rule, full of books good to look at, but dull as daily reading. He had tried to introduce some of the progressive spirit of the public libraries into Michigan University, which has a library of 250,000 volumes. He spoke also of the system of state supervision of small libraries adopted in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan. It was not interference, but help. By warning the libraries against books vended by book sharks, by helping to make up sets of periodicals and other books from the state store library, a central dépôt for gifts to be distributed where most needed, in these and other ways state supervision was very helpful. The State Commission on Libraries also advised, with the help of a consulting architect, on buildings for small libraries.

Dr. Baker, Librarian of Woolwich, dealt in an able paper with the recent developments of co-



operation amongst libraries. Something has already been achieved. The annual publication, 'The Best Books,' in which the best books of the year on every subject are selected and in some cases annotated by a number of experts, is now a standard annual publication. But co-operative catalogue work, co-operative book-buying for libraries, the co-ordination of the work of groups of libraries near together, and many other desirable objects are still only in the air. The wastefulness of duplicating costly books in libraries near together is a striking example of the importance of the subject. If half a dozen libraries only could agree to exchange such books as required, the combined purchasing power would immensely increase the range of books available; while the telephone overcomes many difficulties. Such an experiment might well be made with valuable results. Full co-operation between library authorities may be a long way off, but co-operation on some points ought to be very near.

The interior decoration of libraries was advocated by Mr. Wilfrid Walter and Mr. C. H. Grinling, of Woolwich, in a paper full of lofty enthusiasm, which many of us fully sympathised with, but, alas, pence are few. It transpired, however, that the authors of the paper have undertaken to decorate the walls of one of the Woolwich libraries without drawing upon the library funds.

The Reports of the several Committees on Education, Legislation, Publications, Book Production, and Catalogue Rules were brief, and except the last, did not indicate great progress. The catalogue rules agreed on between America and this

country are in print, and will shortly be ready for circulation. The Business Meeting was more or less formal, except on one point, the old vexed question of the inability of the country members of the Council to take part in transacting the business of the Association. This is a domestic question of considerable difficulty, and common to most societies.

A Special Committee on Registration reported in favour of a scheme for a register of qualified librarians in connection with the Association, but the scheme put forward was strongly opposed by some members of the Library Assistants' Association, who were present by invitation to discuss the question. The suggestion for a register emanated, I believe, from the junior Association, and although the proposals of the Committee were carried by an overwhelming majority—94 to 14—it was clear that the whole matter requires to be very fully considered before any useful result can be achieved. At present it looks very much as if the tail wants to wag the dog.

J.B.

## THE CASKET SONNETS.

**E**VER since their first publication in 1569 the text of these sonnets has been printed in an imperfect form, two lines being omitted—viz. Sonnet III., l. 13, and VIII., l. 6. The English translation of Buchanan shows that he had a complete text before him, and it is not difficult to see how the lines were omitted in copying. The Lennox MS. in Cambridge gives for these lines ‘*Et toutes fois mon cœur vous doutez ma constance*’ and ‘*Pour luy ie vieux faire teste au malheur.*’ In view of its close correspondence elsewhere with the Buchanan text of 1572 it seems probable that the Lennox MS. is copied from it, these lines being a conjectural retranslation. In that case, the evidence of the MS. against the letters is greatly weakened.

The copy now printed from the Harleian MS. 787, f. 44 was evidently taken from the originals submitted to the English Commissioners by Murray. It accompanies some extracts made at the same time from the translation of the Casket Letters. Another Commissioner’s extracts are also preserved in the British Museum.

As to the authenticity of the sonnets nothing new can be said. The text here presented agrees very well with such of Mary’s occasional verse as we have, and is quite good enough for a Royal lover.

ROBERT STEELE.

The Copie of a Poeme composed by Mary Qu: of Scotts when she was in love w<sup>th</sup> Earle Bothwell, & found in a little Trunke of his w<sup>th</sup> divers other L<sup>rs</sup> (all written w<sup>th</sup> her owne hand) at 'Edenburgh Castle. The Trunke was garnished in divers places of it w<sup>th</sup> a great F & a Crowne over it &c. In memory of her first Husb<sup>d</sup> Francis y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.

## I.

O Dieux, ayez de moy compassion,  
 Et m'enseigniez quelle preuve certain  
 Je puis donner qui ne luy semble vain  
 De mon Amour et ferme affection,  
 Las ! n'est il pas ja en possession  
 Du corps, du cœur qui ne refuse peine  
 Ny deshonneur, en la vie incertaine ?  
 Offense de Parentz, ne pire affliction ?  
 Pour luy tous mes Amis j'estime moins que rien,  
 Et de mes Ennemis je veux esperer bien.  
 J'ay hazardé pour luy et nom et conscience :  
 Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer :  
 Je veux mourir pour luy avancer.  
 Que reste il plus pour prouver ma constance ?

## II.

Entre ses mains, et en son plein pouvoir,  
 Je metz mon filz, mon honneur, et ma vie,  
 Mon Païs, mes Subjectz, mon Ame assubjectie  
 Et tout à luy, et n'ay autre vouloir  
 Pour mon object, que sans le decevoir  
 Suivre je veux malgré toute l'enuie  
 Qu'issir en peult, Car je n'ay autre envie  
 Que de ma foy luy faire appercevoir  
 Que pour tempeste ou bonnace qui face  
 Jamais ne veux changer demeure ou place.  
 Brief, je feray de ma foy telle preuve



Qu'il cognoistra sans fainte ma constance,  
 Non par mes pleurs ou feinte obeissance,  
 Comme autres ont fait, mais par divers espreuve.

## III.

Dame Jane  
 Gourdon,  
 the Earl's  
 wife.

Elle, pour son honneur, vous doibt obeissance  
 Moy, vous obeissant, j'en puis recevoir blasme,  
 N'estant, à mon regret, comme elle, vostre femme.  
 Et si n'aura pourtant en ce point préeminence.  
 Pour son profit elle use de constance,  
 Car ce n'est peu d'honneur d'estre de voz biens Dame ;  
 Et moy, pour vous aymer j'en puis recevoir blasme,  
 Et ne luy veux ceder en toute l'observance.  
 Elle de vostre mal n'à l'apprehension,  
 Moy je n'ay nul repos, tant je crains l'apparence.  
 Par l'advis de Parentz, ell' eut vostre accointance,  
 Moy malgré tous les miens vous porte affection,  
 Neantmoins (mon Cœur) vous doubtez ma constance,  
 Et de sa loyaulté prenez ferme assurance.

## IV.

Par vous (mon Cœur) et par vostre alliance  
 Elle a remis sa Maison en honneur,  
 Elle a jouy par vous la grandeur  
 D'ont tous les siens n'ayent nul assurance :  
 De vous (mon bien) elle a eu la constance,  
 Et a gagné pour un temps vostre cœur,  
 Par vous elle a eu plaisir et bonheur,  
 Et par vous a receu honneur et reverence,  
 Et n'a perdu, sinon la jouissance  
 D'un fascheux Sot qu'elle aymoit chèrement.  
 Je ne la plains d'aymer donc ardamment,  
 Celuy qui n'a en sens, ny en vaillance,  
 En beauté, en bonté, ny en constance,  
 Point de seconde. Je vis en ceste foy.

## V.

Quant vous l'amiez, elle usoit de froideur :  
Si vous souffriez pour s'amour, passion  
Qui vient d'aymer de trop d'affection,  
Son dueil monstroït la tristesse de cœur,  
N'ayant plaisir de vostre grand ardeur.  
En ses habitz monstroït sans fiction  
Qu'elle n'avoit pœur qu'imperfection  
Peust l'effacer hors de ce loyal cœur.  
De vostre Mort je ne vis la pœur  
Que méritoit tel Mary et Seigneur.  
Somme, de vous elle a eu tout son bien,  
Et n'a prisé ny jamais estimé  
Un si grand heur, sinon puis qu'il n'est sien,  
Et maintenant, dit l'avoir tant aymé.

## VI.

Et maintenant, elle commence à voir  
Qu'elle estoit bien de mauvais jugement  
De n'estimer l'amour d'un tel Amant  
Et voudroit bien mon Amy decevoir,  
Par ses Escrits tout fardez de sçavoir,  
Qui pourtant n'est en son esprit croissant  
Ains emprunté de quelque Autheur luissant,  
A feint tresbien un Envoy sans l'avoir.  
Et toutesfois ses parolez fardez,  
Ses pleurs, ses plaincts remplis de fictions  
Et ses hautz cris et lamentations  
Ont tant gagné, que par vous sont gardez  
Ses Lettres escriptez, auxquelz vous donnez foy,  
Et si l'aymez, et croyez plus que moy.

## VII.

Vous la croyez (las) trop je l'apperçoy  
 Et vous doubtez de ma ferme constance,  
 O mon seul bien, et mon seul esperance,  
 Et ne vous puis asseurer de ma foy.  
 Vous m'estimez legier, que le voy,  
 Et si n'avez en moy nul assurance,  
 Et soupçonnez mon Cœur sans apparence,  
 Vous deffiant a trop grand tort de moy.  
 Vous ignorez l'amour que je vous porte,  
 Vous soupçonnez que autre Amour me transporte,  
 Vous estimez mes parolles du vent,  
 Vous depeignez de cire mon las cœur,  
 Vous me pensez femme sans jugement.  
 Et tout cela augmente mon ardeur.

The Duke of  
 Norfolk and  
 Earl of Lei-  
 cester were  
 mentioned  
 to her at the  
 same time.

## VIII.

Mon amour croist et plus en plus croistra  
 Tant que je vivray, et tiendray à grandheur,  
 Tant seulement d'avoir part en ce Cœur,  
 Vers qui en fin mon Amour paroistra  
 Si tres à clair que jamais n'en doubtera.  
 Pour luy je veux encontrer tout malheur,  
 Pour luy je veux rechercher la grandeur,  
 Et feray tant que en vray cognoisterra,  
 Que je n'ay bien, heur, ne contentement,  
 Qu'à l'obeyr et servir loyaument.  
 Pour luy j'attends toute bonne fortune,  
 Pour luy je veux garder santé et vie.  
 Pour luy tout vertu de suyvre j'ay envie  
 Et sans changer me trouvera tout une.

## IX.

Pour luy aussi je jette mainte larme,  
Premier quand il se fist de ce corps possesseur,  
Duquel alors il n'avoit pas le cœur.  
Puis me donne un'autre dure Alarme,  
Quand il versa de son sang mainte dragme  
Dont de greif il me vint laisser douleur,  
Qui m'en pensa oster la vie, et frayeur  
De perdre (las) le seul rempar qui m'arme.  
Pour luy depuis j'ay mesprisé l'honneur  
Ce qui nous peult seul pourvoir de bonheur :  
Pour luy j'ay hazardé grandeur et conscience,  
Pour luy tous mes parentz j'ay quitté, et amis,  
Et tous autres respectz sont à part mis ;  
Breif, de vous seul je cerche l'alliance.

## X.

De vous (je dis) seul soustein de ma vie,  
Tant seulement je cerche m'asseurer  
Et si ose de moy tant presumer  
De vous gaigner malgré toute l'envie.  
Car c'est le seul desir de vostre chere Amie,  
De vous servir et loyaument aymer,  
Et tous malheurs moins que rien estimer,  
Et vostre volonté de la mienne suivre.  
Vous cognoistrez avecques obeissance,  
De mon loyal debvoir n'omettant la science  
A quoy j'estudiray pour tousjours vous complaire  
Sans aymer rien que vous, soubz la subjection  
De qui je veux, sans nulle fiction,  
Vivre et mourir ; et à ce j'obtempère.



## XI.

Mon Cœur, mon sang, mon ame, et mon Soucy,  
Las, vous m'avez promis qu'aurons ce plaisir  
De deviser avecquez vous à loisir,  
Toute la nuit ou je languis icy  
Ayant le cœur d'extreme pœur transy,  
Pour voir absent le but de mon desir  
Crainte d'oublier un coup me vient à saisir :  
Et l'autre fois je crains que rendurci  
Soit contre moy vostre amiable cœur  
Par quelque dit, d'un meschant rapporteur.  
Un autre fois je crains quelque aventure  
Qui par chemin detourna mon Amant,  
Par un fascheux et nouveau accident ;  
Dieu detourne tout' malheureux augure !

## XII.

Ne vous voyant selon qu'avez promis,  
J'ay mis la main au Papier pour escrire  
D'un different que je voulu transcrire,  
Je ne sçay pas quel sera vostre advis,  
Mais je sçay bien qui mieux aymer sçaura  
Vous diriez bien qui plus y gaignera.

## THE CERVANTES COLLECTION IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



ON his death in 1900 Mr. Henry Spencer Ashbee, himself the author of several useful works relating to Cervantes, bequeathed to the British Museum his valuable library, a special feature of which was an extensive Cervantes collection. The incorporation of this strengthened the position of the fine collection already in the Museum, and it is now undoubtedly second only to the two great Spanish collections—those of Señor Bonsoms, in Barcelona, and of the Biblioteca Nacional, in Madrid. The accession of numerous titles to the catalogue, consequent upon the addition of so many volumes to the library, made it necessary to recast and reprint the heading “Cervantes,” and now that this work is completed it is easy to review the extent of the whole collection. For this purpose it will be best to take the works of Cervantes in their order of interest, making use, as a standard of comparison, of the recently completed bibliography of Cervantes by Leopoldo Rius—based upon the library of Señor Bonsoms—though it must be remembered that nothing of recent date will be found mentioned there, while some information as to earlier works has come to light since the bibliography began to be published in 1895.

The adoption of a distinctive press-mark for the Ashbee bequest makes it possible for those possessing a copy of the reprinted heading (obtainable at a trifling cost as an excerpt from the General Catalogue) to judge how far the Museum has benefited by the Ashbee contributions; but another of these distinctive press-marks shows that the pride of the collection—the large number of early Spanish editions—is mainly due to the famous Grenville library. It is the Grenville library, for instance, that is chiefly responsible for a particularly brilliant page in the catalogue, that devoted to the early editions of 'Don Quixote' in the original language. All the five editions of Pt. I., published in 1605—the first and second Madrid editions, two Lisbon editions, which in all probability immediately followed them, and the Valencia edition—are represented, and so indeed are all the twelve editions of Pt. I. or Pt. II. published up till the year of Cervantes' death, 1616, and half of them occur in duplicate. It should be added that Rius makes thirteen editions by including an issue of the Valencia edition of 1605 with slight variants, while recently a similar variety of the Lisbon quarto edition of the same year has been unearthed; but the variations are so slight that the absence of these copies can scarcely be regarded as creating a gap.

The first real gap occurs in the year 1617. During that year there appeared a Brussels edition of Pt. I., a Lisbon edition of Pt. II., and an edition of both parts at Barcelona, described by Rius as the first complete edition; for although the two parts are by different printers, the same publisher

is given in each case in the imprint: 'A costa de Raphael Viues mercader de libros.' Of the above the Museum lacks the second part of the Barcelona edition, and it should further be observed that the Museum copy of Pt. I. was published 'A costa de Miguel Gracian.' Of the remaining editions of the seventeenth century three are absent; but this leaves twenty-three editions as compared with twenty-seven mentioned by Rius, a proportion with which few will find fault. Of the eighteenth century editions the Museum possesses twenty-six as against thirty-three mentioned by Rius, and of those published during the 'nineteenth century and after' one hundred and ten, as against the one hundred and fifty-two of Rius, though of course the latter figures include nothing more recent than the year 1890. Mr. Ashbee's collection is responsible for two new entries among the seventeenth century editions, twelve among the eighteenth, and fifty-five among the nineteenth, besides providing duplicate copies under many of the other existing entries. Many of these numerous editions are individually of very slight value; but it may be well to call attention to a few to which some special interest is attached.

The early seventeenth century editions, which are all of extreme value, it is unnecessary to discuss again. From Mr. Ashbee's collection comes a copy of the 1719 Antwerp edition, which belonged to Caroline, wife of George II. It is in an eighteenth century English binding, and has the words 'Caroline Reine,' with a floral decoration, painted on the fore-edge—which was quite an English art.



Another luxury is the Grenville copy of Pellicer's edition of 1797/8, one of six printed on vellum, supplementing two ordinary copies and one on large paper from Mr. Ashbee's collection. A facsimile of the first edition of Parts I. and II. (Madrid, 1605 and 1615) published in 1871-3 by F. López Fabra, is interesting as claiming to be the 'primera obra reproducida en el mundo por la foto-tipografía.' Three other entries are of particular interest to Englishmen, because of the credit they reflect on this country. First come an ordinary and a large paper copy of the 1738 London edition of J. and R. Tonson—Pope's publishers—the first worthy edition of 'Don Quixote' in any country or language, and containing also the first life of Cervantes, by Gregorio Mayáns y Siscár, written to the order of an Englishman, Lord Carteret. England is also credited with the first annotated edition of 'Don Quixote,' the Rev. John Bowle's edition of 1781, printed partly in London and partly in Salisbury. The Museum possesses two duplicates of this edition, one of them—from Mr. Ashbee's collection—being a working interleaved copy formerly belonging to the late Mr. A. J. Duffield, one of the recent translators of 'Don Quixote,' and containing numerous manuscript notes by him. Again in 1898-9 (a recent date at which to establish a record) there appeared from the London firm of David Nutt the first critical edition, by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and J. Ormsby, the former the most successful biographer of Cervantes, and the latter, now dead, the most successful translator of 'Don Quixote' in modern times.

This pleasant habit of record-breaking is still with us when we come to the English translations of 'Don Quixote,' which are naturally well represented, especially since Mr. Ashbee's bequest has filled up several lacunæ, notably in the eighteenth century editions. All the editions of the seventeenth century mentioned by Rius, together with an additional abridgment, are in the Museum. These include, of course, the first translation into any language — Shelton's spirited rendering of 1612-20—with two subsequent editions. Among them, too, is the second English translation of 1687, by Milton's nephew, John Philips, which is represented by a single edition, like the fourth translation of 1711, which is described as 'merrily translated into Hudibrastick verse,' by that prolific writer, 'the London Spy,' Edward Ward. It is gratifying to find that posterity has tried to atone for the publication of these two translations by ever afterwards refraining from reprinting them.

From 1700 a third English translation, the second in popularity, made by the French refugee Motteux, competes with that of Shelton. It meets with less success in the Museum collection than it did at the hands of contemporary readers, for the first edition is represented only by a made-up set from Mr. Ashbee's collection, the first volume out of four being the only one of the first edition. The second and sixth editions are also wanting. On the other hand the most popular translation, that of Jarvis, which finally drove Shelton's off the field, is represented by the first four and numerous subsequent editions—the first edition of 1742 and

the fourth of 1766 being from Mr. Ashbee's collection. The last of the popular translations, by Smollett the novelist, came late into the field in 1755, but it had a great vogue during the next half century, the Museum possessing eleven editions for that period. Its popularity was waning, however, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and the Museum has no edition later than 1833, when it was issued with illustrations by George Cruikshank. The more modern translations are all represented by their first editions, besides reprints; so that with the exception of the first edition of Motteux's translation, which exists in an imperfect set, and the first edition of the revision of Shelton's translation by Capt. John Stevens in 1700, all the thirteen English first editions are in the possession of the Museum. The following table will give an idea of the popularity of the different English translations, as revealed by the Museum collection, the completeness of which can also be judged by comparison with the figures of Rius's summary.

	Shelton's Translation	Motteux's Translation	Jarvis's Translation	Smollett's Translation	Other Translations (including abridg- ments and extracts)	Total	Rius's Summary
Seventeenth century .	4	—	—	—	4	8	7
Eighteenth century .	4	7	4	11	8	34	45
Of later date . . .	3	10	35	5	38	91	78 (till 1890 only)
Totals . . .	11	17	39	16	50	133	130

Mr. Ashbee's contribution to the above total comprises, besides duplicate copies of other entries, eight new entries under the eighteenth, and twenty-four under the nineteenth century.

The section devoted to French translations of 'Don Quixote,' in spite of a very large number of editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries received from Mr. Ashbee, is much less satisfactory. True, it contains the first (1613) and third (1620) editions of the earliest translation of the first part, by César Oudin; but the only other entry of the seventeenth century under this translation is an edition of the complete work dated 1646. Thus there are wanting the second and fourth editions of the first part and the first (1618) and second (1622) editions of the second part translated by F. de Rosset, as well as three other editions of the complete work issued in the seventeenth century. Of Filleau de Saint-Martin's translation, which replaced that of Oudin and Rosset, no earlier copy than the Amsterdam edition of 1692 is in the Museum, so that the first edition of 1678 and three succeeding editions are wanting. From 1692 to 1861, however, there is a long succession of editions, almost all received from Mr. Ashbee. Florian's translation again, first published in 1799, is extremely well represented in sixteen editions, all but three of which are from Mr. Ashbee's collection, while of the miscellaneous translations of the nineteenth century all are represented in their first editions except the abridged versions of Grandmaison y Bruno, René d'Isle, and G. Chesnel. Of the total of eighteen French translations Rius men-



tions twenty-two editions of the seventeenth century, thirty-seven of the eighteenth, and ninety-nine of the nineteenth century, and of these the Museum possesses respectively eight, twenty-five, and sixty-four, Mr. Ashbee's collection being responsible for the large proportion of two, nineteen, and forty-seven under the different centuries.

German translations are less numerous and are also less well represented in the Museum collection. The first and second (1621 and 1648) editions of the first translation by 'Pahsch Bastel von der Sohle' are wanting, the third edition of 1669 being the only entry of the seventeenth century. An anonymous translation of 1683, and a translation by Bots of 1819, are absent; but the remaining nine translations are all well represented, in spite of the absence of the first editions of three translations, the anonymous one of 1734, that of Ludwig Tieck of 1799, and of Soltau of 1800. Mr. Ashbee has provided twenty-nine editions out of a total of thirty-seven, as against fifty-one mentioned by Rius.

Thanks again to Mr. Ashbee, who contributes ten out of thirteen entries, no omissions occur among the Dutch translations till the year 1746, the date of an unrepresented translation by Weyerman. The first editions of the three Italian translations are included, the first translation by Lorenzo Franciosini being dated 1622 (Pt. I.) and 1625 (Pt. II.). Seven out of a total of eleven entries are derived from Mr. Ashbee's bequest.

The Russian section is the weakest by far of the whole collection. It is true that the first edition

(1769) of the first translation is in the King's Library; but there are only five entries to divide among the remaining nine translations known to exist.

The following is a list of the other languages into which 'Don Quixote' has been translated, wholly or in part, according to the Museum catalogue: Basque, Bohemian, Catalan, Croatian, Danish, Finnish, Modern Greek, Hungarian, Latin, Portuguese, Servian, Swedish, and three eastern languages—Gujarati, Hindustani, and Turkish. The majority of the different editions of these translations are in the Museum collection; but there are no representatives of the Polish and Roumanian translations mentioned by Rius, nor does the recently published Japanese translation (1896) find a place. To conclude the subject of the translations of 'Don Quixote,' the Museum possesses the first translations in twelve out of the twenty cases mentioned by Rius, the defaulters being the Bohemian, German, Hungarian, Japanese, Polish, Roumanian, Servian, and Swedish versions.

According to the usual system of the Museum catalogue, three appendices are added to 'Don Quixote,' containing references to all works in the Museum treating of the novel. These are grouped under three heads: Spurious Continuations, Imitations, etc.; Criticism, and Piçtorial Illustrations. Under the first, which contains over fifty references, the chief place must be accorded to Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda's continuation of the first part, which was published in 1614, before Cervantes had begun his own second part, and to which we

owe the hurried completion of the genuine conclusion to the novel. A very complete set, beginning with the original Spanish of 1614, is in the Museum. Other entries show various attempts in various languages to versify and to dramatise 'Don Quixote.' Particular interest attaches to the dramatisation by Thomas D'Urfey in 1694, as having been the cause of Jeremy Collier's 'Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage.' A modern dramatisation, written in 1895 by G. E. Morrison, was recently seen on the stage. But 'Don Quixote' does not lend himself to successful dramatisation. Under the heading Criticism are over one hundred and twenty references, some of which tend to make Cervantes a rival of Shakespeare as a universal specialist; for he would appear to be equally and supremely learned in the art of invention, in geography, jurisprudence, practical medicine, military administration, monomania, navigation, philosophy, political reformation, theology, and travelling. Among these entries another English book is interesting, as the first of its kind: E. Gayton's 'Pleasant Notes upon "Don Quixot."' The twenty entries under the heading Pictorial Illustrations represent only separate issues of plates, and give no idea of the extent to which 'Don Quixote' has been illustrated. Almost every illustrator of note has tried his hand; but Don Quixote has proved as elusive to the artist as to the dramatist. And yet it is to be feared that pictorial illustrations form the limit of most people's acquaintance with the immortal novel.

The Exemplary Novels form the next most

important work of Cervantes, both from their intrinsic value and from the fact that they have been freely utilised for dramatic purposes, especially in England and Germany. Here again the Museum collection is very rich in early editions in the original language. During the seventeenth century twenty-one editions were published according to Rius, and of these the Museum possesses fifteen, including the first edition of 1613, and the other five editions published during Cervantes' lifetime. Eleven editions published in the eighteenth, and forty in the nineteenth century complete the collection, twenty-three editions coming from the Ashbee bequest. The English section is, as indeed it should be, very complete, beginning from the first translation of 1640, when six of the novels were 'turned into English by Don Diego Puede-Ser,' a facetious pseudonym which can scarcely be said to conceal that delightful translator, James Mabbe, although subsequent eighteenth century editions attribute the translation to Thomas Shelton, of 'Don Quixote' fame. The total for the nine translations which exist comprises two editions for the seventeenth century, nine for the eighteenth, and seven for the nineteenth century, four new early entries coming from the Ashbee collection. The only important absentee is the selection of 1654, entitled 'Delight in several shapes,' a copy of which was in the Bragge collection, which was destroyed, along with a fine Shakespeare library, in the great fire at the Birmingham Central Free Library in 1879. Turning to the French section we find that even with the aid of eleven new



editions, including three of the seventeenth century, received from Mr. Ashbee, this, as in the case of 'Don Quixote,' is far from being complete. Thus it begins with the second edition (1620-1) of the earliest translation, and there are altogether seven absentees from among the seventeenth century editions. The remaining twelve translations, however, are almost all well represented, and provide sufficient material to enable the student to follow Mr. Foulché-Delbosc's able elucidation of the difficult bibliography of the French translations of the novels. Among the later entries a small volume containing a translation of 'La Ilustre Fregona,' by M. de Villebrune, published at Lausanne in 1793, is said to be unique. The twelve German translations are but poorly represented, there being fewer entries in the Museum catalogue than there are versions, and the earliest being under the year 1753. Of translations into other European languages, the Museum possesses examples of those in Catalan, Danish, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Swedish. Eight entries under an appendix merely hint at the extent to which the novels have been utilised by dramatists of different countries, the later Elizabethan dramatists being prominent among the number.

The remaining works of Cervantes are of less importance, and may be dealt with more briefly. The 'Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda' is extremely well represented in the early editions, both in the original language and in translations. Published posthumously in 1617, it went through six editions in that year, and all of them are in the Museum.

There is another edition, dated 1617, which endeavours to pass itself off as the first edition; but its real date is towards the end of the century, and the clumsiness of the counterfeit may be judged from the fact that it is printed in double columns, while the original was not. Three editions of the seventeenth century in the original language—Madrid, 1619 and 1625, and Pamplona, 1631—are missing from the Museum collection; but the four translations that have been made are represented by their first editions—French of 1618, English of 1619, Italian of 1626, and German of 1746.

All the seventeenth and eighteenth century editions of the '*Viaje del Parnaso*' which Rius mentions are contained in the Museum collection. There are also translations into French, English, and Dutch, all of the nineteenth century.

The '*Galatea*,' the earliest work of Cervantes, is the only one of which editions were published during the sixteenth century. Of the first edition of 1585 only some half dozen copies are known to exist, none of them being in the Museum, though one is in England, in the Huth library. Other absentees from the Museum collection are the edition of 1590, and two of the five seventeenth century editions. Several editions and translations of the French adaptation of the '*Galatea*' by Florian are in the Museum; but it has only been really translated into one language—English—and that on two occasions. In 1867 appeared an astounding translation by a still more astounding translator, one James Willoughby Gordon Gyll, while recently a translation by H. Oelsner and

A. B. Welford has been added to the English edition of the complete works now in course of publication.

Among the various collections of Cervantes' works that have been issued, only the edition of the 'Ocho Comedias y ocho Entremeses' of 1615 was published during his lifetime. This finds a place in the Museum along with numerous later editions, as well as translations in French, German, and English. Larger collections of works, which exist in Spanish, English, French, and German, are all of more recent date. The Museum catalogue reveals the fact that though England has so often been a pioneer in the Cervantes cause abroad, no attempt was made up till the present century to issue a complete translation. It was not till 1901 that Messrs. Gowans & Gray, of Glasgow, commenced the publication of 'The Complete Works,' under the editorship of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and the title still remains to be justified.

The Museum catalogue closes with an appendix containing references to all books of a general character dealing with Cervantes' life and works. This appendix is divided into four headings: Anniversary Celebrations, Bibliography, Biography and Criticism, and Miscellaneous. The first contains twenty-eight entries, mainly referring to proceedings published on the occasion of celebrations which it is customary to hold yearly in different places on the anniversary of Cervantes' death. London and New York are among the places at which such gatherings have been held. The bibliographical section contains fourteen entries,

and includes the work in three volumes by Leopoldo Rius, and a hand-list of the unfortunate Bragge collection. The seventy-five entries under Biography and Criticism include some two dozen actual lives of Cervantes, a third of them being in English. The last heading contains twenty-five entries.

To provide further crumbs for any one whose appetite for statistics has not yet been satisfied, it may be stated that the total number of entries for works of Cervantes amounts to rather more than eight hundred, including duplicate copies, as compared with three hundred and eighty-seven entries in the recently published volume of the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which, however, does not include so many duplicates. The total number of the volumes comprising the Museum Cervantes collection amounts roughly to two thousand five hundred—a very respectable library in itself—and of these rather more than half were received under the Ashbee bequest; though it was of course impossible for so recent a collection to be as good in quality as in quantity.

The English world of letters has borrowed much from Cervantes. It has in great part repaid that debt by the zeal with which it has furthered his interests in this country and elsewhere. The permanent establishment of this magnificent Cervantes collection in a place of such general accessibility forms not the least worthy of a long series of tributes to the genius of the 'Prince of Spanish Wits.'

H. THOMAS.



## REVIEWS.

*Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke. Abt. II. Von Konrad Haebler. Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt.*

**S**TUDENTS of incunabula all over the world will have rejoiced when they found that the second instalment of Dr. Haebler's 'Typenrepertorium,' instead of being confined, as was expected, to Italy, gives the measurements of all the types known to have been used during the fifteenth century outside Germany. It is true that we have to wait for Dr. Haebler's valuable notes on the distinctive characteristics of the separate types under each class, but the delay in this case is made welcome by the promise that the characterizations are to be brought into a single series, so that one consultation of the 'Repertorium' will start the student on the track of discovery, instead of a separate type-index having to be consulted for each country. In his brief preface Dr. Haebler offers some interesting notes. He will have none of the advice which the present writer, perhaps among others, was bold enough to offer him, that all his measurements should be expressed in terms of the number of millimetres in twenty lines of type, no matter how large the type may be. It is quite true that in the larger types it is frequently impossible to

find as many as twenty consecutive lines printed together, and that it is in some respects more satisfactory to indicate this by giving the actual measurement of a smaller number of lines, instead of making the multiplication necessary to give the height of twenty. On the other hand, as all type measurements are only approximate, the slight loss of accuracy which may be involved in multiplication seems no great matter. The discovery that type-measurements are more liable to variation than he had originally reckoned (he is certainly right in now stating the limit of variation as more than 1 mm. either way) seems rather to have disheartened Dr. Haebler as to the usefulness of measurements. He is disposed now to set much more store by the statements of the distinctive features of each type already alluded to. For the final identification this is certainly right. Are there not, for instance, two types, one used by Prüss at Strassburg, the other by Drach at Speier, identical in height and in every respect save that one has a broad N and the other a narrow? But for pointing out what types of different printers can stand in any relation to each other, or again with which types of any known printer we are probably confronted in an undescribed book, type-measurements are invaluable, as long as they are used with reasonable caution. As soon as the need for caution is understood notation by type-measurements becomes possible, and one of its advantages over the chronological numeration (Type 1, Type 2, etc.) is sufficiently demonstrated by Dr. Haebler's frequent substitution of new numerations in the case of France, where

M. Claudin's researches, and in the case of Spain where his own, have added so largely to the number of types known to Mr. Proctor, that mere intercalation was not a sufficient remedy. Probably the new numerations will now easily stand the brunt of any fresh discoveries, but the later German and Italian printers, of whom far less is known than of the early ones, will probably remain in a state of confusion for many years, whereas the adoption of notation by measurement admits of the discovery of any number of new types without any need for readjustment. For this reason it may well be that the value of this new instalment of Dr. Haebler's work is greater than he himself seems inclined to admit, and the present writer expects to have reasons to be grateful to him for it nearly every day for a good many years.

*Supplement zu Hain und Panzer. Beiträge zur Inkunabelbibliographie. Nummernconcordanz von Panzers lateinischen und deutschen Annalen und Ludwig Hains Repertorium bibliographicum, bearbeitet von Konrad Burger. Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann.*

Herr Konrad Burger is certainly a prince among index-makers. His first index to Hain's 'Repertorium' put fresh life into the study of Incunabula. His second index, issued in connection with Dr. Copinger's Supplement, offers the best conspectus obtainable of the work of each fifteenth-century printer. Now he attacks the subject from another

side, and shows not merely the relations between Hain and Panzer, as his title suggests, but also the relation between each of these pioneers and all the work of our own day. Merely as a kind of ready-reckoner the value of this new 'Concordance' is very great. A few weeks ago an American collector wished to let an English student know what incunabula he had in his library. He wrote down on two sheets of note-paper some four hundred references to Hain and Panzer, and with the help of Herr Burger's 'Concordance' they were translated by a few hours' work into four hundred short titles arranged in the order of Proctor's Index, and with references on each slip to the best sources of information available for each country or town. One mistake was discovered in the process. Hain 12,480 is Proctor 991, not 491, but with this one exception every reference was found correct. Moreover, though this is a good example of one use of the 'Concordance,' it is only the humblest of the uses to which it can be put. The historian of any centre of printing will find it invaluable, and it is also an important contribution to that process of weeding out imaginary or wrongly dated entries from Hain and Panzer which needs to be vigorously pursued unless we are for ever to be haunted by bibliographical ghosts. One very ubiquitous ghost is finally laid in Herr Burger's preface. Despite a warning note in Panzer, not only Hain but also Charles Schmidt in his 'Répertoire bibliographique strassbourgeois' took over from him a whole series of entries of books from the press of Martin Flach of Strassburg spread



over a period of several years before the earliest date in any book of his that can now be traced. These entries are now credited to the manuscript catalogue of the monastery of Lilienfeld and to the imagination of its compiler, P. Chrysostomus Hanthaler, and in Herr Burger's text are marked with the righteously contemptuous comment, 'Aus Lilienfeld! Existiert nicht.' Other books are marked 'editio dubia,' and in the portion devoted to Hain excellent work is done in pointing out where the same book has been entered twice, where portions of a book have been entered as separate works, and where sixteenth-century books have been allowed to assume the airs of incunables. Many of these notes are avowedly reproduced from Proctor's Index and other sources, but the more they are brought together the more useful do they become, and Herr Burger has once again laid bibliographers under a great obligation.

*Fifteenth Century Books. An author index. By R. A. Peddie.*

While our German friends are thus hard at work our enterprising contemporary, 'The Library World,' has entered the lists with two instalments of an author-index to incunabula, compiled by Mr. Peddie of the St. Bride Foundation. Mr. Peddie's interest in fifteenth-century books has already been shown by his excellent monograph on 'Printing in Brescia in the Fifteenth Century,' which added over 25 per cent. to the number of

Brescia incunabula. The scope of his present work may best be shown by an extract from his introductory note :

The position of the bibliographer wishing to identify a fifteenth-century book is rather difficult. There are many bibliographies, but no general index to them except by printers' names. The index-catalogue presented herewith gives in the shortest possible form, under the author's name or other heading (as a general rule following Hain's usage in this matter), the whole of the editions of the work. Each entry is composed as follows:—Under the author's name is found the title of the book dealt with; then follow the editions commencing with those *n.p.d.*, i.e. without place or date; after these come those undated editions which indicate the place of printing. This name is given in the vernacular form (i.e. Köln, not *Coloniæ*: Nürnberg, not *Norimb.*) and if it is enclosed in brackets [ ] it is not directly mentioned, but is proved by a printer's name or mark. After these come the dated editions in chronological order. References are given to the bibliographies in which descriptions of the work or references to the existence of copies may be found. References in italics indicate that a facsimile of a page of the work will be found.

Mr. Peddie's entries are neatly arranged and very clearly printed. They give references to a considerable number of books not known to Hain, and to many more of which he knew only at second-hand. In the case of all these the notes of existing descriptions, or of the whereabouts of copies are distinctly valuable. As a preparation for the new edition of Hain which Germany is to give us, the work is admirable, and we hope that the 'Library World' may be rewarded for its enterprise in print-

ing it by so many new subscribers that the size of the instalments may be doubled. At the present rate of eight pages a month, the Index will have to be 'continued in our next' for several years.

*George Baxter, Colour Printer; his Life and Work. A Manual for Collectors. By C. T. Courtney Lewis. Sampson Low.*

George Baxter was the second son of John Baxter, the inventor of the inking-roller, which superseded the old inking-balls with which in early pictures of printing presses the pressmen are seen pummelling the forme. He worked as a colour-printer on lines similar to those of J. B. Jackson, apparently without being aware of it, and attained extraordinary proficiency. As Mr. Lewis writes:

Baxter's work was essentially minute and painstaking—he coloured every detail: and when we consider that the blocks had to be cut so as to fit exactly the engraved outline, without the deviation of a hair's breadth; that a separate block was necessary for each colour, and for every shade of each colour, so that for some of his prints twenty or more blocks had to be prepared; that each block demanded a separate printing—twenty blocks, twenty printings; and that Baxter's presses were not elaborate machines working with undeviating exactness, but were all hand-presses, as a perusal of the catalogue of his plant sold in 1860 will show, we may then marvel at his wonderful register, and at the many other excellent qualities of his prints.

Baxter's method was ultimately driven out of the market by chromolithography, which in many

respects works on the same lines, only on stone instead of wood. But from 1834 (he produced one print as early as 1829) to 1850 it was increasingly popular, and Baxter was equally the favourite of missionary societies and of royalty. For the former he produced thrilling scenes of missionary adventure, for the latter pictures of the queen's coronation, of the christening of the present king, and other more or less gorgeous ceremonials. His work is as good as the art of the period allowed, technically very good indeed, and it has lately attracted the notice of collectors. The more thrilling missionary scenes are valued at five guineas apiece, coronations and court ceremonials go as high as £25 to £35, ordinary subject-prints may be obtained from two shillings to two or three pounds. Mr. Lewis, though not possessed of a very happy style, has provided an excellent handbook in which collectors of Baxter-prints will find all the information they need.

A.W.P.





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