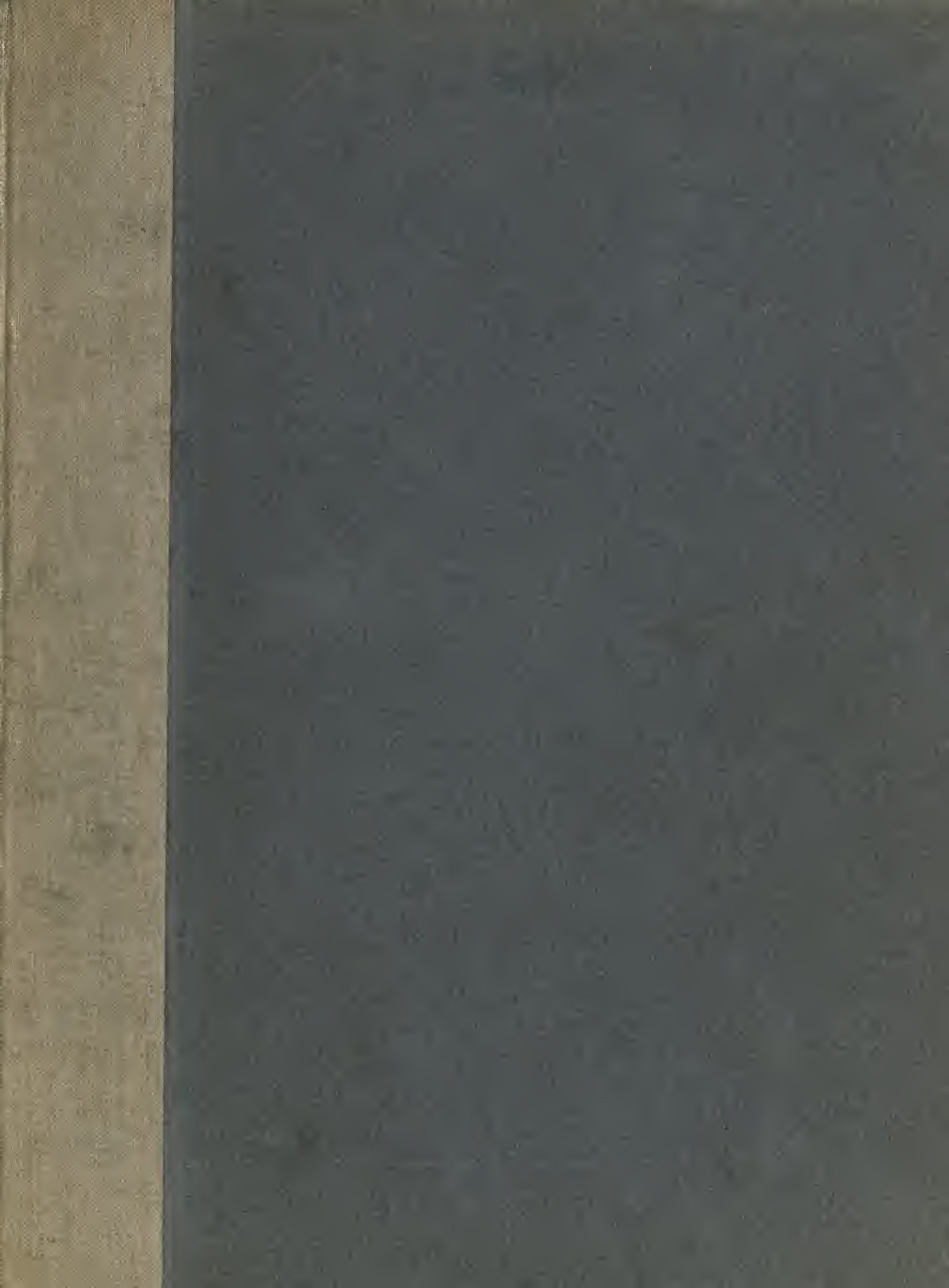

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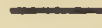

OCTOBER, 1911, TO APRIL, 1913.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME XII.

OCTOBER, 1911, TO APRIL, 1913.

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THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE TWENTIETH SESSION.

October, 1911, to March, 1912.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The first Meeting of the Session was held at 20, Hanover Square on Monday, October 16th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Wheatley, in the Chair. Abbot Gasquet read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on *The Progress of the Revision of the Vulgate.* Of this he kindly supplied the following Summary.

SUMMARY.—The lecturer first called the attention of the meeting to the scope of the work entrusted to the Revising Commission, which he had explained fully in a previous lecture given to the Society two years before. The actual formal revision of the text could not be attempted until considerable preparatory work had been performed. As a basis for starting on a critical examination of the Latin text of the Bible, it was of the first importance to have the text of the *Vulgate* as St. Jerome had produced it. It is the determination of that text which is the end which the present Commission has in view.

To understand the importance of this, it may be useful to bear in mind that in the last quarter of the 4th century St. Jerome was charged by Pope St. Damasus to give the Church an accurate Latin version of the Bible to take the place of the numerous translations then current. All our authorities at the present day are agreed as to the competence of St. Jerome for the task entrusted to him by Pope St. Damasus. He had also access to

MSS., Greek and Hebrew, etc., which even then were considered ancient, and which no longer exist, so that if we could obtain his version it would obviously be of the greatest importance, not only for the Latin text but for the Greek, and in relation to the Old Testament for the Septuagint version.

The methods followed in collating the various MSS. were then explained and illustrated by a series of slides. The Bible printed to secure uniformity of collation was in five good sized volumes, extending to some 5,000 pages, and already about 100 bound volumes of these collations are placed on the shelves of the workroom of the Commission in Rome.

During the last two years a great deal in the way of photography has been done to help the work. The Commission had the best possible machine made for reproducing MSS. by 'the black and white' process. In this way many of the most important Bibles have been copied, and in order to secure absolute exactness the photographs are compared and collated with the MSS., and in any place where the reading is not perfectly clear it is noted in the margin. In this way a considerable number of the most important Latin Biblical texts have been gathered together and are ready for the use of those who are at work on comparing the collations, and who may find some reason to doubt the accuracy of some reading. About 150 bound volumes of these photographic copies of MSS. from various libraries and collections have been so far prepared.

After explaining the methods used in this work of collecting the material necessary for obtaining the best possible text of St. Jerome's *Vulgate*, the lecturer exhibited a series of photographs of some of the most important Latin Biblical MSS. By these he showed what the English and Irish scribes had done in regard to the Bible in such MSS. as the *Codex Amiatinus*, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, etc.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, November 20th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Wheatley, in the Chair, Dr. G. K. Fortescue read a paper on *The British Museum Subject Index*. Of this he kindly supplied the following Summary.

SUMMARY.—The lecturer began by some account of the earlier catalogues of the British Museum, 1787 to 1837, the date of Sir Antony Panizzi's succession to the office of Keeper of Printed Books. It is from this period that the development of the library dates.

Immediately after his accession to power, Panizzi began to carry out his design of forming a General Alphabetical Catalogue of the entire library. He strenuously opposed the printing of this catalogue until it was completed, and secured the adoption of his own system of transcribed slips which could be easily taken up and pasted down again. This system remained in force until the year 1880, when the work of incorporating the whole of the existing catalogues into one alphabet was completed and no additions beyond the newly acquired books remained to be dealt with. From this year dates the printing of the Catalogue, which was completed within twenty years under the editorship of Dr. Richard Garnett and Mr. Arthur Miller.

Readers in the British Museum may be divided into two classes, those who come there to read books which are known to them beforehand, and those who come to study the literature of a subject but do not know what books exist on the object of their research. For the first class, the General Catalogue is, more or less, an infallible guide, but for the second class of readers the same catalogue is all but useless. The lecturer proceeded to explain the reasons which led him, immediately after his appointment to the post of Superintendent of the Reading Room, to realise the immediate and pressing necessity of producing some sort of guide to the literature, above all to the recent literature, of each subject. He therefore determined to devote his time to the formation of the Subject Index, the first volume of which was published in 1886 and which has now reached its fifth volume, the whole containing, up to the present time, 262,651 references to books on every subject, important or trivial as the case may be. The remainder of the lecture dealt with three main points in connection with this work. The first explained the distinction between the two methods of forming a catalogue of subjects, viz., the Class Catalogue and the Subject Index.

The compiler of a scientific class catalogue begins by taking a number of sweeping class headings such as Theology, History, Sociology, Belles Lettres, and so forth. He then proceeds to divide and sub-divide and classify and specify until he imagines that he has arrived at something approximating to a correct classification of human knowledge. Having accomplished this more or less impossible task, he endeavours to force his books into one or other of the hundreds or thousands of classes and sub-classes he has formed to receive them; his work is in vain, the books will not fit into his pigeon-holes, and the result is inevitable failure.

A Subject Index, such as that of the British Museum, is formed on exactly the opposite principle. It aims at no logical sequence, no accurate classification. It begins at the other end by taking first the titles of the books themselves and then placing them under the headings into which they naturally fall. The lecturer illustrated his meaning by referring to several examples. One of these was the case of books on the Horse. In the Subject Index, books directly dealing with this animal will be found under the heading Horse, with cross-references, for indirect references or side lights, to Agriculture, Domestic Animals, Racing, and Veterinary Science; whereas in the best of Class-Catalogues, Brunets' *Table Méthodique*, the searcher will be compelled to grope his way through the main heading Sciences and Arts until he arrives at the sub-heading Medical Science.

At the end of this heading he will find a sub-sub-heading entitled Veterinary Science where he will find one-half of his subject, viz., books on the anatomy, physiology and zoological history of the Horse. For the other half he will have to turn to quite another sub-heading of the main heading Sciences and Arts, namely, Gymnastic Exercises, when he will discover the literature of horsemanship.

The second point, on which the lecturer laid great stress, was the impossibility of compiling a Subject Index merely from title-pages. To be of any genuine use to the world a Subject Index must consist of an index of the main subject or subjects treated of in each work. This is sufficiently

indicated by the title-pages of about sixty out of every hundred books; the remaining forty must be seen and more or less read before they can be properly indexed. Many examples were given by the lecturer of books which required to be entered separately under several headings; of books with indefinite or technical titles such as Art, Archæology, the East; of scientific terms, or of misleading titles such as Porter's *Music of the Wild*, a treatise on Nature Study, or *Light for the Blind*, a work on African Missions.

The third point dealt with was the value of the Index as a general bibliography of current literature of the civilized world. The lecturer claimed for the Index that it forms a closer approximation than can be found elsewhere to a list of what is best in modern literature, and thus possesses a special interest as illustrating the main course of events, the currents, cross-currents, and backwaters of thought, the social life, the scientific progress of the last thirty years. Several examples of the ebb and flow of current literature were given, the most noteworthy of which is the fact that during the past five years there are 615 entries under the history of the United Kingdom and 1,376 under the history of France, of which no less than 659 relate to the history of the years 1789 to 1815.

Thus there are more books published during these five years (the proportion during each earlier period of the Index being the same) on this short period of French history than on the whole of the history of Great Britain from Cæsar's invasion to the present time.

After remarks by the President, Mr. Ballinger, Mr. Welch, Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Potter, and Mr. Peddie, a hearty vote of thanks was offered to Mr. Fortescue and briefly acknowledged.

DECEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, December 18th, the President, Mr. Wheatley, in the Chair, Mr. Falconer Madan read a paper on *The Duplicity of Duplicates*, adding to it *A Note on a new extension of Bibliography*. Both paper and Note are printed in full in the present volume.

Previous to the Annual Meeting the following Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the *News-Sheet.*

ANNUAL REPORT.

(1.) During the past year the Society has lost three Members by death (the Rev. C. Chetwynd Atkinson, Mrs. Proctor and Mr. W. J. Smith), one by resignation, and one under Rule 7. Five new Members have been elected to fill these vacancies.

(2.) Early in last year the two books for 1910, the *General Index to Transactions, Vols. I–X*, and the *Dictionary of the English Book Trade*, 1556–1642, edited by Mr. R. B. McKerrow, were sent out to Members. For the present year Miss Henrietta Palmer's *Handlist of English Editions and Translations of the Greek and Latin Classics*, 1480–1640, with Mr. Scholderer's Introduction, is now ready, and Vol. XI of our *Transactions* and a fourth part of the *Handlists of English Printers* are almost through the press. It is hoped that all three books may be in Members' hands some time next month.

(3.) At the time when our Society was founded the cult of the paper wrapper was at its height. Our books in their several series were thus all issued in paper wrappers, not in order to save the cost of casing, but because some of our Members wished to keep them unbound in boxes, and others to have paper wrappers to preserve when the books were bound. The liking for keeping books unbound in boxes is certainly less prevalent than it was eighteen years ago, and when a set of our books comes into the market it is usually discovered that the owner has bound the earlier volumes and then, finding the process adds from 40 per cent. to 60 per cent. to their cost, has left the later ones in their wrappers. The Council, therefore, propose to take the opportunity offered by starting a new decade of *Transactions* to put the Society's books into cases, which, though quite inexpensive, will enable them to stand on open bookshelves with less risk of injury than paper wrappers. But if any existing Members of the Society who strongly prefer the present wrappers will notify this to the Hon.

Secretary, the Council will meet their wishes by continuing to supply them with wrappers, and wrappers will, of course, continue to be used for the *Hand-lists of English Printers*, of which three parts have already been issued.

(4.) For the year 1912 the first book sent to the printer will be Mr. Arundell Esdaile's *Handlist of English Romances and Novels*, the manuscript of which has been for some time in the Secretary's hands. For the other book of the year Mr. R. B. McKerrow has kindly undertaken to search out, as far as possible, all the marks or devices used by English printers and publishers up to the close of the year 1640, and to edit fac-similes of them as an illustrated Monograph. These two books will make important additions to the "attempts," spoken of in the last Report, "to increase our knowledge of English book-production by investigating it simultaneously from its literary and typographical sides," while the latter of them, it is hoped, will be pleasing to Members especially interested in the illustration and decoration of books, whose tastes during the last few years have been somewhat severely neglected. During the first half of the Society's existence the Illustrated Monographs rather dwarfed its other publications, these monographs being mainly concerned with foreign work, and comparatively little being done for English bibliography. The balance having now been restored, the Council will be very pleased to receive suggestions for some more Illustrated Monographs, and greatly hope that the long promised one by Mr. Campbell Dodgson on Hans Weiditz may at last be forthcoming.

(5.) Mr. R. B. McKerrow's editorial work on the 1557–1642 *Dictionary of the English Book-trade*, and his promised Monograph on the Marks and Devices of English Printers and Publishers have already been mentioned in this Report. Mr. Pollard has now informed the Council that he has for some time been availing himself of Mr. McKerrow's help and advice in other matters connected with the Society's work, and would greatly like to have him as his colleague in the Hon. Secretaryship. The Council have much pleasure in asking the Society, in re-electing Mr. Pollard, to secure also the help of Mr. McKerrow by electing him as Joint Hon. Secretary.

(6.) Owing to the pressure of other needs the London School of Economics was never able to give the Society the improved accommodation for its library which was originally promised. The Council has, therefore, for some time been in negotiation with University College, London, for the housing of the Society's books there on similar terms to those arranged with the School of Economics, but it was not intended to make any change until 1912. Notice, however, was received in the Autumn from the School of Economics that in consequence of recent donations to its own library it was desirous of regaining possession of the space lent to the Society as soon as possible, and our library was, therefore, moved to University College shortly before the Christmas holidays. Further information on this subject will be given in an early number of the *News-Sheet.*

BALANCE SHEET.—1st January, 1911, to 31st December, 1911, inclusive.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	Payments.	£	s.	d.
Balance, 31st December, 1910	221	2	7	Printing and Distribution ...	210	10	5
Entrance Fees	5	5	0	Illustrations	14	3	10
Subscriptions for 1909 & 1910	8	12	0	Insurance of Stock of Publications	2	7	3
British Subscriptions for 1911	203	14	0	Copying and Researches ...	5	5	0
United States Subscriptions for 1911	68	8	5	Vote for Library	6	2	8
Foreign Subscriptions for 1911	30	9	0	Rent	25	0	0
Subscriptions for 1912 ...	3	3	0	Expenses of Meetings ...	4	11	6
Sale of Publications	8	10	6	Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	1	12	0
Interest on Investments ...	10	7	3	Assistant Secretary	20	0	0
				Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
				Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	1	11	2
				Balance, 31st December, 1911	267	6	11
	£559	11	9		£559	11	9

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

[Subject to Audit.]

Assets.	£	s.	d.	Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
£300 2½ % Consols Bonds @ 77¼	231	15	0	Estimated liability for 26 Life Members	273	0	0
£100 3½% New South Wales Bond	97	0	0	Estimated cost of completing books for the year, and of other Printing	210	0	0
Estimated value of Stock of Publications	300	0	0				
Balance of Account for 1911 ...	267	6	11				
Subscriptions in arrear ...	9	9	0				

ANNUAL MEETING.

The nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, January 15th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in the Chair.

After the Minutes of the previous Annual Meeting had been read and confirmed the Council's Annual Report was read by the Assistant Secretary, and its adoption and that of the Balance Sheet, moved by the President, and carried unanimously. With regard to the Balance Sheet, the President explained that owing to the third Monday in that January falling on the earliest possible date, it was necessary to issue the *News-Sheet* before the annual Audit. This had since taken place, and the Balance Sheet, duly audited by Mr. Neale, was now on the table.

On the motion of Mr. Bosanquet, seconded by Mr. Turbayne, the following gentlemen were elected as Members of Council for the year 1912: Mr. G. A. Aitken, Mr. G. F. Barwick, Mr. S. R. Christie-Miller, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. Lionel Cust, Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Mr. W. W. Greg, Mr. A. W. K. Miller, Mr. Frank Sidgwick, Mr. H. R. Tedder, Mr. Charles Welch, Mr. T. J. Wise.

The President then moved that Mr. R. B. McKerrow be elected to serve jointly with Mr. Pollard as Hon. Secretary for the ensuing year. In support of this motion, which was carried unanimously, he explained that Mr. Pollard, who had now been Hon. Secretary for eighteen years, had suggested that it would be a great relief to him and an equally great advantage to the Society, if the help which he had been receiving for some time from Mr. McKerrow could be rendered permanent by Mr. McKerrow being elected as his colleague in the Secretaryship. Mr. McKerrow had kindly consented to the proposed arrangement which, as giving it two workers instead of one, would be very advantageous to the Society and was warmly recommended by the Council.

On the motion of Mr. Redgrave, seconded by Mr. Welch, Mr. H. B. Wheatley was then re-elected by acclamation President of the Society for the ensuing year.

After returning thanks for his re-election, Mr. Wheatley, as his Presidential address, read a paper entitled *Seventy years of Cataloguing*, printed in full in the present volume.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

On Monday, February 19th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in the Chair, Mr. W. W. Greg read a paper entitled "*What is Bibliography?*" This is printed in full in the present volume, but as a Summary which Mr. Greg kindly supplied, which temporarily separated from his paper, contains some different points, this also is printed.

SUMMARY.—Mr. Greg began by dividing bibliography into three branches. There are the Elements of Bibliography, there is Systematic Bibliography, and there is Critical Bibliography. The Elements of Bibliography include all the technical knowledge which is required for unravelling the history of Books, whether written or printed. It embraces everything concerned with the preparation of the material of which books are made, the processes of copying and printing, palæography and typography. The Elements, it was maintained, are commonly studied and taught, so far as they are taught, from a wrong point of view. They are treated as though they were only significant for bibliographical description. This tends to exaggerate the importance of Systematic Bibliography, and further leads to the neglect of those points which afford no direct help to description. An effort should be made to view the art of book-making as a whole and to study everything that can throw light upon the historical puzzles that nearly every book presents.

Systematic Bibliography consists of the description and classification of books according to some guiding principle. It may describe individual copies of books, as in library catalogues; or, in the case of printed books, it may describe a sort of hypothetical standard to which individual copies are supposed to approximate, as in subject bibliographies. Bibliographies of manuscript books necessarily describe individual copies, there being no common form. Systematic bibliography is often regarded as Bibliography

par excellence, but this is a mistake; it is only a branch, and a rather secondary branch, of the science. For the contents of a book are no proper concern of the bibliographer. Subject Bibliographies are strictly a mongrel breed, in which Bibliography merely supplies the form in which extraneous information is to be given.

Critical Bibliography has hardly been recognised hitherto as a branch of the subject at all, and it was the chief aim of the reader of the paper to call attention to its importance. Critical Bibliography is very nearly what is commonly meant by Textual Criticism. It is, apart from the subject and language of his author, all that an editor requires for his work: a sort of calculus of the textual tradition. But the problems of textual transmission arise directly out of the peculiar conditions of copying and printing, and of book-making in general. They are therefore most strictly bibliographical and should be recognised as such. It is this branch of the science, Critical Bibliography, that best deserves the name of "the Grammar of Literature," which has sometimes been applied to the whole subject. It is, of course, no new study, for editors have all along been faced with the problems of text and have had to seek to solve them as best they could. But they have often failed, and sometimes failed disastrously, through want of bibliographical knowledge. How is an editor of a printed book to base his text properly if the appearance of two watermarks in one sheet does not suggest a cancel to his mind? or how is the editor of a vellum manuscript to make sense of his author if hair and flesh may jostle one another without arousing his suspicion? Small instances like these show how necessary a familiarity with the Elements of Bibliography is for anyone faced with textual problems. Of course the science of Textual Criticism or Critical Bibliography does not deal with individual difficulties, but it gives general directions for dealing with them, and general explanations of the phenomena presented. The science can only be built up out of the Elements of Bibliography, and it can only be fruitfully applied in the light of those Elements. It is only when this is realised that editing and the study of literature generally will begin to make satisfactory progress. It is not that bibliographers, more

daring than angels, should rush to the work of editing, but that editors should make themselves familiar with the results of bibliography. If they have failed to do so in the past they have indeed had every excuse, for there is perhaps no subject in which it is so difficult to get assistance from printed literature as in Bibliography. This is a state of affairs which should be remedied and which bibliographers can remedy. They can systematise the Elements of their science and make them accessible to the student. This should be done not from the point of view of description but of enquiry; the question should be, not: How should a certain peculiarity be described? but, What light does it throw on the history of the book? The more special subjects, such as palæography and typography, are not well suited to treatment in a general work, and there are moreover at least some good articles that may be consulted. What is wanted is a general account of book production which will lay stress upon the origin and significance of particular features. After that the Elements should be applied to the elaboration of a more or less vigorous system of Textual Criticism. On this there is no work of a general nature worth mention. Of what has been said on the subject, all that was worth saying, and some of it was very well worth saying indeed, has been said in connection with particular problems and particular documents. All this is the task of the bibliographer. But if the bibliographer has got to recognise his responsibility for the provision of an accurate and adequate Grammar of Literature, the editor and student of literature has his duty likewise. If his work is to have any permanent value he can no longer afford to despise bibliographical detail as mere pedantry, or to ignore it as irrelevant. He will have to come very humbly and atone for past neglect. Before he can hope to win the favours of his mistress, Literature, he will have to seek good graces of her handmaid, Bibliography.

The President, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Bourdillon, and other Members took part in the discussion of Mr. Greg's paper, which closed with a hearty vote of thanks.

MARCH MEETING.

On Monday, March 18th, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. Wheatley, in the Chair, Mr. R. B. McKerrow read a paper on *The Marks or Devices used by English Printers and Publishers to the close of the year 1640.*

Previously to this Mr. F. W. Bourdillon had given a brief description of a fragment of two leaves of *Le Roman de la Rose* differing from all the printed editions. This he gave reasons for regarding as a trial issue. Mr. Bourdillon's note has been printed separately as an appendix to his Monograph on early editions of the *Roman de la Rose*. Mr. McKerrow's paper has appeared as an introduction to an Illustrated Monograph, but to render this Journal complete a Summary of it is printed here.

SUMMARY.—The devices of the English printers and publishers cannot be treated historically, as they show no real development. They can, however, be roughly classified, and it will be found that different classes were most in favour at different times. Thus, the majority of early devices, except the very earliest, represent the sign at which their owner worked; while later the punning device, and still later the emblematic one seem to have been most usual, though at nearly all periods examples of each class are to be found. Other classes represent the owner's arms, portrait, mark, or monogram.

The emblematic devices were, for the most part, originally derived from the various emblem books, and some are hardly to be interpreted without a knowledge of their source. Many, if not most, came to this country through the medium of the device of a foreign printer. Other devices borrowed from abroad include those of the Estiennes, Gryphius, the Giunta family, and the Gioliti. In a few cases they were evidently cut for use in books purporting to have been printed abroad, such as certain Italian books of John Wolfe's, but as a rule they seem to have been adopted to save the trouble of procuring a new design. Occasionally the imitation is very close, but as a rule the copies are much inferior to their originals. There seems no example of the use in this country of an actual foreign block.

A small but interesting class consists of devices which appear to have been cut as embellishments for particular books, but which afterwards came to be used by the printer or a later owner as his regular device.

For practical purposes the important part of the subject is the detailed history of the devices, the changes made in them at different dates, and their various owners. Some were in use for a considerable period, one at least can be traced for one hundred and twenty-five years, though, of course, it was not used continuously. The alterations made in the blocks were generally with the object of removing initials or marks which identified them with the original owner, but in one or two cases they were perhaps intended as improvements in the design. The most noteworthy example of this is to be found in two of the "Good Shepherd" devices, the border of which originally included certain somewhat grotesque masks. These were removed by Middleton and replaced by ornaments of leaves. In one of Christopher Barker's devices an Italian motto was found to be incorrect and was altered.

Several devices were re-cut, and in a few cases it is not easy in average prints to distinguish the blocks from one another. Some of the small fleur-de-lis devices with the motto *In Domino confido* are especially troublesome in this respect, there being at least five different blocks of each of two main types.

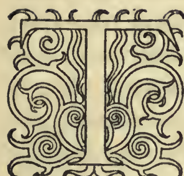
The material of which devices were made was generally wood, but a certain number seem to have been cut in metal, as, even after many years of use, they show little sign of wear and no cracks. There is, however, no evidence that devices were ever made by casting, as initials and ornaments were. Good prints from different blocks, when carefully examined, seem always to differ in details of the design in a way which would be impossible if they had been cast from a common matrix.

"THE DUPLICITY OF DUPLICATES" AND "A NEW EXTENSION OF BIBLIOGRAPHY."

By F. MADAN.

Notes read 18th December, 1911.

I.—*The Duplicity of Duplicates.*



HERE is little opportunity to be original on the subject of Duplicates, or to be profound. At the same time it would appear that a warning is necessary at the present time on the subject, from the point of view of Bibliography.

In the course of my study of the Oxford Pamphlets of the Civil War, I have of course always ordered up at the Bodleian every copy of the pamphlet in question at the time—no member of this Society would do otherwise. At first I was surprised to find these apparent duplicates (duplicates so far as the catalogue was concerned) falling apart into different issues, or even different editions. At last I was not surprised, but expected it, and my expectations were very generally fulfilled.

My two theses are—

(1) That our present methods for detecting duplicates are inadequate;

(2) That it is dangerous to part with *any* book as a duplicate, if printed before 1800, without close inspection.

In the first place, *there is no such thing as a duplicate.* Of course not. Can you print two copies on the same paper? Then, so far as the paper itself and the watermarks are subjects of enquiry, "duplicates" may be astoundingly different. But I do not mean to take up so extreme a position as that. I would rather lay stress on the unknown and unexpected differences between issues, and on the inadequacy of our ways of detecting and recording them. I will illustrate shortly my position.

Let us suppose that we are all Pierpont Morgans, and possess two copies each of the First Folio of Shakespeare. Suppose that some day we are struck with the vanity of human desires, as Johnson was, and we decide to sell one of our two volumes as a duplicate. We keep the better and taller and cleaner, and sell the other. It is done. The next day comes a letter: "Dear Sir, I hear that you are the fortunate possessor of two copies of the First Folio. May I ask you whether *both* have the *shaded* Droeshout portrait? Or has one the extremely rare early state with hardly any shading behind the left ear?" You are simply done: you didn't know that the one issue is worth £500 more than the other. I believe only two copies are at present known with the unshaded early state of the plate, one in America, and one in Oxford. I do not remember seeing the fact mentioned in ordinary descriptions of Shakespeare issues. When you have found that the copy you retained is ordinary and the one parted with is extraordinary in this respect, you begin to believe in the Duplicity of Duplicates.

Among Oxford Books of the Civil War is one with this title: "*A Complaint to the House of Commons, and Resolution taken up by the Free Protestant Subjects of the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Counties adjacent. Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfeld, printer to the University.*" 1642. sm. 4to. You would call that a fairly full catalogue entry. It happens to be a rather interesting tract, for Mercurius Aulicus relates that on January 4th, $164\frac{2}{3}$, "there came a book from London being the Complaint of London and Westminster and the parts adjoyning, which the King caused to be read unto him as he sate at supper" at Oxford:

"His Majestie not rising from the table till the whole was finished." It was also known to have been scattered about in St. Paul's Churchyard, Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey, and was condemned to be burnt by the Parliament.

Now in spite of the fairly full catalogue entry there are, fulfilling the conditions above, no less than six issues, of which only two were really printed at Oxford, and of which one is a satire on the genuine Complaint!

The first differs from all the rest in having only three words in the last line of the title.

Then the second differs from the third, fourth and fifth in having twenty-four pages.

Then the third differs from all the rest, being unpaged.

Then the fourth differs from all except the fifth in having eighteen pages, and it has *Cittics* with two t's.

Then the fifth differs from the fourth in having *Cities* with one t.

Finally, the sixth (the Satire) is a wholly different work, on the Parliamentary side.

This is a fair example of the deep water one gets into when dealing with so-called duplicates. Think if I had only ordered up one of these six copies, resting content with the apparent similarity of title.

There are of course some books of which without special knowledge we can never distinguish issues. Such for instance is the Oxford edition in 1636 of the Ecclesiastical Articles of 1562. There is nothing to draw attention to the tract; it professes to be just a useful reprint of the authorised Articles. But there are three issues, one (the first) in which in Article 20 the whole of the first clause is omitted ("The Church has the right of ordering Rites and Ceremonies and has authority in controversies about the Faith"). This may be called the wicked issue. Then you find the peccant page entirely cut out in the imperfect issue.

And next you find a copy with a corrected cancel leaf inserted—the corrected issue. Fortunately there are four copies in the Bodleian and among them are all three issues.

One last case is even subtler. In Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (Lond. 1555) you may count the signatures all through the book (and there are some among us who put all their faith in signatures) and all will be right: A–R^4. But while every *other* sheet is four leaves, Q alone ought to be eight. So what has happened is what might be expected. The binder who has a head on his shoulders returns you a perfect copy, but the binder who has regarded the signatures alone and acted mechanically, finds the middle half of sheet Q superfluous and destroys it! Fortunately the Bodleian has both kinds, to show the danger.

I will end this part of my subject by quoting from a letter of Mr. Edward Peacock to me dated December 14th, 1887:

"I was not aware that there were two editions of this little thing, but "of many of the Lilburne pamphlets there are two or more issues. My "experience tallies with yours as to duplicates. I have examined several "copies of Lilburne's Trial, Ryves' Merc. Rusticus and Walker's Hist. of "Independency, and have never found two alike, and yet simpletons keep "saying in Parliament and elsewhere that the great libraries should turn "out their duplicates and give them to the new libraries in the provinces. "I wish someone who understands bibliography would reply to this "nonsense at length. I have once or twice seen something about it in "'N and Q.'"

The foregoing examples and considerations, which could easily be multiplied, are perhaps sufficient to show the dangers with which bibliographers and librarians are surrounded. I am passing over very tempting fields, such as the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, of which Mr. Edward Almack is a Past Grand Master. Perhaps he will give us some of his experiences in trying to separate editions of them. And I pass over many examples from Oxford books.

But before I go on to consider what safeguards there are against these pitfalls and traps, there is one other consideration I should like to recall to your minds, and that is the facts of the process of printing in old times.

Sheet or half-sheet B (the first) when printed off, was usually hung over a sort of clothes-line to dry; then the next sheet was put lightly over it, or further along the line, and so on. After printing say two hundred copies of a sheet and drying them, you had several heaps in all of which the uppermost sheet was the *latest* printed of each heap. The next process was to take these heaps or sets down and put them, when dry, together. Do you suppose that they took each heap down in any but a haphazard order? Of course not. Then in the course of printing a correction would be made, the press being stopped. All printed after this stoppage would be different (corrected) sheets, but they would occur anywhere in the final heap or heaps. The general effect would be that by the time the man came who, to make up a copy for binding, took the first sheet B he saw, and the first sheet C he saw, and so on, the copies of sheet B and all the rest were sure to be in inadvertent disorder. It would be a hundred to one against the earliest sheet being at the top; as a fact it was more likely to be at the bottom.

To be brief, two points emerge which concern my theme to-night:

1. That if in one sheet in a book we find an obviously early state, and think we have an early and valuable volume, we cannot carry our conclusion to any other sheet, much less to the whole book, without further evidence,—which is very baffling.

2. And, secondly, an early state of a portrait, separately prepared for a book, need not at all imply that the sheets with it, as bound up, are *also* early.

We are far too prone to look at each book as a single individual whole, forgetting how it lay in many separate parts, each of which had its history, before they were put together. So that from this point of view *also* we come to the strange but inevitable conclusion that there are no such things as *duplicates!*

We may now pass on to our question of safeguards.

I. I do not hesitate to say that the best way of separating editions of a book which appear at first sight to be the same, is to note *the position of the signatures*. For a compositor told to reprint a book *may* most doggedly imitate the copy before him, paginatim, lineatim, verbatim. But he does not care in the least, nor does anyone else, to ensure that the signatures should be exactly in the same spot as in the first issue. So I say, take B 2 and C 2, and note precisely under what letters of the text they occur. I do not believe that any two editions could stand the test and not fall apart. This plan has the advantage of being universally applicable to almost all old books and to any number of editions.

II. Next to this plan, which is easy to apply and best of all, there is the obvious device of catching an imperfect type and noting whether it occurs again, imperfection and all, in your second copy. In old books every page will give you an imperfect type, and with a microscope you can always find one. This plan will very often separate issues as well as editions.

III. In the case of Proclamations and Broadsides, Mr. Robert Steele has found that it is so common for these to have a large engraved initial letter at the beginning of the text, that it is possible to form a triple test which very seldom fails. Suppose the initial makes the first four lines shorter than the rest by indentation, he takes the last word of the first line, the first word of the fourth line, and the last word of the last complete line. These three words are a good test of an original broadside compared with a reprint, for the latter will almost inevitably differ in one or more of the three words thus selected.

That is all I can suggest for general application. I do *not* advocate the collection of duplicates (that way madness lies), but I do advocate (and this is my emphatic point) the greatest care in getting rid of them, when you think you have them.

II.—*A New Extension of Bibliography.*

We all know, by name at least, of the affair of Dr. Sacheverell. For three weeks in 1710, to use Burnet's words, it "took up all men's thoughts," so that "all other business was at a stand." Henry Sacheverell was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and towards the close of 1709 preached some extreme sermons which represented the Church of England as in danger from "False Brethren" who wanted religious tolerance, and also upheld the political doctrine of Non-resistance to monarchs, without any exception. The first of these two positions offended all who wanted tolerance, that is to say Bishop Hoadley within the Church and all Nonconformists outside the Church; the second position raised all the delicate questions about the principles of the Revolution of 1689 and Queen Anne's own right to be on the throne.

What wonder then, if everyone was set by the ears, and if a deluge of literature poured from the Press? The Theologians, at the cry that the Church was in danger, raised the loudest possible cries, blew trumpets from every pulpit, blustered about, and *printed* everything they said. The Politicians were sent into ecstasies of rage and mutual defiance. They scribbled satires and fables, in prose and verse, declared that the State was in danger of dissolution, while Sacheverell was alive, and took care that the Press should let people know their opinions. And when Dr. Sacheverell was brought to trial, in the House of Lords, that let loose all the Lawyers as well! One is bound to add that they rushed to the fray with hearty goodwill, and contributed their full quota to the general flood of Sacheverell pamphlets.

It struck me about twenty-five years ago, that this extraordinary outburst of pamphlets on the one hand, and on the other hand the cheap and vile character of the paper and printing, and the limited interest now taken in the controversy, formed together an unusual opportunity for making what I may call a quantitative analysis of the output. We gain new light when we know whether a book was widely read or fell flat,

whether it struck people or was neglected: we gain a knowledge of the range of its influence, and also of the tastes, literary and other, of the age—what was acceptable to it or not acceptable.[1] So I have been quietly acquiring during these years all volumes of Sacheverell pamphlets which have been in the market, and think you may like to have some of the results placed before you. It is so very seldom that bibliography can be extended in this direction. My collection amounts to about fifteen feet of pamphlets, and as there are about ten pamphlets to the inch I suppose I have about 1,800 copies of about 300 items, or an average of six copies of every piece. So that in the following notes any number of copies over six is above the average.

1. The *two sermons* (*a*, *b*) which occasioned the trial, Aug. and Nov., 1709. (*a*) *The Communication of Sin*: I have 47 of the original issue; none of the pirated issue; none of the 1710 edition, when the trial was on: (*b*) *The Perils of False Brethren*: 53 of the original issue, of other editions one, two, one; of a 1710 edition, nine. Clearly the second sermon was regarded as of more importance than the first. And this agrees with the fact that only answers to the *second sermon* were popular. Of one which owed something to its title, "The Cherubim with a flaming sword that appeared on the fifth of November . . .," I have *eight*, of another answer thirteen, of another twelve, of another sixteen.

2. *The Trial.* There were two complete accounts, one issued in *octavo*, and one issued in two *folio* editions and one *octavo* edition. This raises and settles a query. *A priori*, was the age of folios gone by in 1710, or not? How would these sell, the heavy folio of 330 pages, and the dumpy octavo of 480 pages? Well, the first account in octavo fell quite flat: I have only two copies. The folios sold quite well (*eleven*

(1.) Take the case, for a moment, of Dorne's little account book or register of his daily sale of books and ballads at Oxford in 1520; it is of real importance as a means of showing how far the principles of the Reformation were acceptable to his buyers when we find him selling off seven copies of a book of Luther's.

copies) and the second octavo edition also (*ten*), and I remember passing over some copies of the Folios, without purchasing them, because of their bulk. So that the Folios still well held their ground in popular estimation.

3. *Sacheverell's Speech at the Trial.* This was the centre of everything. It was written for the Doctor by Atterbury, and is quite a fine composition. I know of sixteen English editions or issues (and one in Latin). Of these, two can be picked out at once as the first or most popular ones—of them I have twenty-two and nine copies respectively. Of the rest 4, 1, 1, 3, 0, 0, 1, 0, 1, 1, 1, 5, 4, 0.

4. *Collections of passages* referred to by Dr. Sacheverell. There are four editions, of three of which I have respectively three, three and one copy. But *one* calls itself the second edition, and of that I have twenty-four copies. That cannot be chance : I suppose as soon as a few copies were sold, of the popular edition, "2nd ed." was put on the title.

The list can be increased to any extent. Of the humorous and satirical pieces only two were popular out of about thirty ; they were *Aminadab or the Quaker's Vision*, and (strangely enough) an importation from Dublin called *A character of Don Sacheverellio*, *knight of the firebrand.*

The results of this abbreviated survey of the literature of the Sacheverell case may be put in this way. An ordinary list of books, an ordinary catalogue, looks flat. One book does not stand out before another, as a rule. Each book seems to claim an equal right to be considered. It is thus with many a bibliography.

But it is possible, in a few cases like the present, to bring the books into perspective, so that those which were actually bought and read should stand out and strike the eye, while the mediocre productions which never found purchasers and so had little effect should stand back in a sort of obscurity. If I ever reprinted my Bibliography of Sacheverell (dated 1884), I should indicate these differences by type.

This method seems to me to add a new *dimension* to bibliography. In the case of a few particular books we have already a census of all known copies of single books (as Mr. Sidney Lee's *First Folio of Shakespeare* or Mr. De Ricci's *Caxtons*), but I am not aware of any previous attempt to apply this to a whole set like these Sacheverell pamphlets, and to bring out their relative importance. That is my only excuse for bringing these few notes before you.

SEVENTY YEARS OF CATALOGUING.

By H. B. WHEATLEY.

Read 15th January, 1912.

IN 1843 an excellent article on "Libraries and Catalogues" appeared in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. lxxii. p. 1). It was written by John Holmes, Assistant Keeper of the Printed Books, British Museum, and father of the late Sir Richard Holmes. In this article occur these words—"There are few things which at first sight appear more easy than the compilation of a Catalogue of Printed Books." This sentence well expresses the popular feeling at that date, but fortunately the public have now learned to take a more correct view of the subject, and begin to understand that at least in this instance such first thoughts are invariably wrong.

I take my title of "seventy years" not entirely from my own experience but because the British Museum Rules were published in 1841, and from this date we can take count of the growth of systematic cataloguing.

The British Museum Catalogue has grown up on the basis of these Rules with a great result, but the rules themselves may be said to have had, for a time, an unfortunate influence on the making of more ordinary catalogues, for many cataloguers adopted these rules as a whole for the purpose of describing the contents of small libraries, for which they were neither suited nor intended. In course of time the rules were modified

for special cases, more especially in view of the printing of the complete catalogue. Good catalogues existed before rules were codified, but rules of some kind, or at all events principles, must have been in the minds of all good cataloguers.

Formerly there was a great fancy for Classed Catalogues, but these are not now in general favour. I call to mind a good instance of their practical uselessness. A really fine Catalogue of the London Institution arranged in classes was published in four volumes in 1835–52 with an Index of Authors; the result being that the Index (with press marks added) was the only portion actually used for years in the Library for finding a book.

Mr. Holmes wrote in the article just alluded to "There is no settled canon of classification. The modes which have been proposed are as numerous as the projectors. We do not hesitate to affirm that no two of them agree even in essential matters; and as for details, it is ludicrous to observe the anomalies into which the rage for systematizing has plunged persons who otherwise display discrimination." Allusion is made to the evidence of Dr. Olinthus Gregory before the 1835 Select Committee on the British Museum which is full of the most ill-considered opinions—"A library in six divisions *might* be thus constituted: first Intellectual Sciences in six sections; secondly Natural Sciences in several sections, ten or twelve or more; thirdly the Exact Sciences, pure, mixed, and applied. The fourth, I *think*, *might* be devoted to the Fine Arts, and Useful Arts, and Manufactures, in two sections at least, and the fifth *I think* should be devoted to History, Biography and Chronology; and there *would* be several sections which *could* be easily defined. The sixth to General Literature, Languages, Bibliography, Belles Lettres, etc., of course including grammars, lexicons, classics, poetry, etc., voyages and travels, periodical and miscellaneous literature of various kinds and of different countries; these also *could* be readily specified for arrangement."

Mr. Holmes points out that classification of this kind always ends in a division of "Miscellaneous," a mode of procedure just as scientific as

would be that of a botanist, who doubtful of the class of a particular plant should put it among "Weeds." We all know how deluding are the title pages of books and can forgive the classifier who placed Swinburne's "Under the Microscope" with Optical Instruments, or treated Ruskin's Notes on the "Construction of Sheepfolds" as a work on Agricultural Appliances. Certainly the Auctioneer's entry of P. V. Maroni's *The Opera* requires more excuse. A cataloguer treated as a botanical work Dr. Garnett's selection from Coventy Patmore's poems entitled *Florilegium Amantis*, and the great bibliographer Haller included the title of James Howell's Dendrologia or Dodona's Grove (1640) in his *Bibliotheca Botanica.* Maria Edgeworth's Essay on Irish Bulls with its engraving of a bull on the title has deceived many, but the best instance is that of the East Lothian farmer, who after reading it through, complained that Miss Edgeworth was a silly body to write a book on Bulls, and "no ane word o' horned cattle in it a', forby the bit beastie at the beginning."

The great objection to a Classified Catalogue is that it seems impossible for the compiler and the consulter to see with the same eyes—hence it is useless for ready reference.

It is rather curious that the United States which is now to the fore in all questions of bibliography should in former times have produced many singularly bad catalogues, for instance the Catalogue of the Library of Congress in the Capitol of the United States of America, Washington, 1840, is classified, with an Index of Authors which is so bad that to follow the references you have to turn over many pages. The third entry in the Index is *Abdy* with the reference (xxix. 215 i.) xxix applies to the class which is *Geography*, the title is to be found in Section V *America*, so that actually seventy pages of the catalogue have to be glanced through before the work of Abdy can be found. Classification may be useful in a Bibliography because this may be studied at leisure and is consulted primarily for information and not merely for reference, as a catalogue is. The Dictionary Catalogue mostly flourishes in America, but a very satisfactory specimen of the class was prepared

by Mr. D. O'Donovan, Parliamentary Librarian, Queensland, in 1883. The books are entered under author and subject with full cross-references, and all the entries are arranged in one alphabet. There are abstracts of the contents of certain of the books, and references to articles in reviews. In the preface Mr. O'Donovan writes :—"I have made a catalogue of authors, and index of titles, and an index of subjects, a partial index of forms, and having thrown the whole together into an alphabetical series, the work may be referred to as an ordinary dictionary."

Of the usefulness of the Dictionary Catalogue there cannot be two opinions, but the chief objection is that it is a waste of labour to do for many libraries what if done once in the form of a bibliography would serve for all. Of an alphabetical catalogue of subjects an example may be found in that of the Library of the Board of Trade which was published in 1866. Here the authors are banished to an index, and all the titles are arranged in an alphabet under the main subjects. This may be convenient under some circumstances, but it is not satisfactory for general use. The idea of the scheme was due to Mr. W. M. Bucknall, then librarian to the Board of Trade, but the Catalogue itself was made by me.

The system adopted was to use the subject word of the title as a heading, but an exception was made in the case of foreign words, which were translated. For instance, under the heading of *Wool* first come all the English works, the French works follow under sub-headings of Laine, Laines, and Lainière ; and the German under Schaffwollhandel and Wollmarkt. There is therefore no more classification than is absolutely necessary, and it may be said that if all the books had been anonymous the scheme would have been admirable.

It is scarcely necessary for me to elaborate the futility of general classification because our late President, Mr. Fortescue, did this so thoroughly in his interesting paper on the plan of his invaluable Subject Indexes.

Of all kinds of classification the most maddening and completely useless to my mind is that of sorting out the library into a series of large

headings and then cataloguing the books in an alphabet of authors. Under these circumstances of what possible use can such a heading as *Mathematics* be—this is not true classification, and it is only partial alphabetisation. It is always well to remember that the alphabet and classification mix as readily as oil and water.

A good instance of the absurdity of this practice is found in a paper read by my brother—the late Mr. Benjamin R. Wheatley—before the Conference of Librarians in 1877. It does not refer to a Catalogue but to an Index, but in this case they amount to the same thing. Allibone, in the title-pages to his useful Dictionary of English Literature, refers to "forty indexes of subjects." These indexes are comprised in two hundred and twenty-six pages, and according to a statement at the end, contain above seventy-five thousand names—*nomina et præteria nihil.* Of the uselessness of such a bald list of names we can judge by taking the heading of Biography as a sample—this contains four thousand six hundred names in fifty-three columns. The subjects of biographies, the one only point on which the index would be of value are not there. Lockhart's name we must suppose stands for his *Life of Scott*, the entry of Scott for the *Life of Napoleon*, the last name not appearing once either in Dictionary or Index, and so with the rest. The names are really a heterogeneous list, with every possible kind of varying meaning attached to them.

The use for Classification is in the arrangement of books on the shelves and not in the order of titles for a Catalogue.

Of the good Alphabetical Catalogues which were produced before our period two special instances must be mentioned: The Catalogue of George III's magnificent Library compiled by Sir Frederick Augusta Barnard, the King's Librarian, and printed in 1820 is one of the handsomest Catalogues ever produced. I think Barnard, the friend of Johnson, should have found a place in England's great Roll of Honour, the Dictionary of National Biography.

The General Catalogue of the British Museum Library published in 1813–19 in eight volumes, 8°, the work of Sir Henry Ellis and the Rev. Henry Baber, is worthy of honour as a work of great labour. It was severely criticized by Panizzi, but was still found of practical use even after the great Manuscript Catalogue was completed. Payne and Foss's Catalogue of the Grenville Library (1842), and its Supplement, 1848, come within our period, but are now superseded by the inclusion of the Grenville books in the general printed Catalogue.

I remember the time when few, even educated men, would allow that there was any difficulty in Cataloguing. The parrot cry was "you have the book before you and have only to put the title down on paper." The many possible ways of going wrong were entirely overlooked. I possess some old Catalogues compiled on the most grotesque principles and teeming with blunders, some of them compiled by those from whom one would naturally expect better things.

Mr. Holmes mentions several "howlers" taken from an old Catalogue of Lincoln's Inn Library, which was made by the Rev. James Hunter, a good Shakespearian scholar. King James I's Works are under King, in fact he appears as James King. Ellis and Baber's Catalogue is entered as *Museo Britannico Librorum.* In the Catalogue of the MSS. two Latin Bibles are described, one of the fourteenth century as "probably the Vulgate," the other of later date as Jerome's Version !

I cannot omit to mention a most remarkable perversion of a title in the Catalogue of the Library of the long defunct Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution. It is this—"Æsopiarum's Phoedri Fabulorum"—but we must remember this was the invention of an inexperienced hand.

"Adelung, Grammatisch-Kritisches or German Dictionary," "Appianus, Romanarum Historiarum" and "Scapulus, Lexicon" which occur in a Catalogue printed by order of the House of Commons are almost as bad. One of the worst Catalogues ever made was this "Catalogue of Books in the Library of the House of Commons, 1857." It attracted the attention

of the *Saturday Review*, and the number for 17th October, 1857, contained a complete exposure of the amazing blunders in its construction with the result that the book was withdrawn. A few examples from the Catalogue may be quoted which fully confirm the condemnation. For instance "The translated works of authors are entered as if they were the authors, not a word being mentioned of translation, in fact the words edited or translated are almost ignored in the Catalogue"; as "Drakenborch, T Livii Patavini Historiarum," and "Montagu (Basil) Bacon's Works." In one case the word "translated" is included with this result, "Horatius, translated æneis tabulis J. Pine." "Longus, Pastoralium; with Xenophontis Ephesiacorum" is good, but is surpassed by "Xenophontes Ephesiacorum. Works."

This Catalogue is so rich in blunders, that it would be possible to find in it specimens of almost every kind of ignorant carelessness. "In some cases we meet with a confusion in the subjects. Thus under Stuart are entered Hogg's Jacobite Relics and Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism." "A heading is made of the word *Guerre*, though in an English Catalogue, and the 'Aide Memoire of the Military Sciences' is placed under it." D'Estampes appears as an author heading for Heinecken's "Idée d'une Collection d'Estampes," and Heinecken's name is left out entirely. Some French Dictionaries appear under *Dictionnaire*, but an Irish Dictionary is only to be found under the words "Focaloir Gaoidhilga-sax-bhéarla!"

Sir Antonio Panizzi presented a remarkable instance of a man of enormous mental energy devoting himself to a very specialised branch of literary endeavour far removed from his active political work in early life. He was appointed assistant librarian to the British Museum in 1831, and this appointment, which settled the main employment of his life, was of immense benefit to his adopted country. Not only on account of the results of the remarkable energy of his administration of our great National Library, but also because it is to his genius that the great revival of Librarianship and Cataloguing which is now apparent to all can be clearly traced.

I can speak from experience of the Royal Society Catalogue made by him which was most irritating to me, but it is not fair to charge Panizzi with the inconvenience of a plan which was forced upon him. Augustus De Morgan, writing in 1846 (*Dublin Review*, p. 9), says, "The best scientific catalogue of which we know, is that of the Royal Society's Library; and it is a classed Catalogue. We always go to it first, for the accuracy of the titles; and it has often helped us where others have failed. Of course we do not hold the classification to be a merit, and we may add it has given us much trouble."

The famous Code of ninety-one Rules given to the world in 1841 had for its foundation a small number of rules originally devised by Mr. Baber. The Committee responsible for these rules was a strong one, and consisted of Panizzi, Thomas Watts, J. Winter Jones, Edward Edwards and John H. Parry (afterwards Mr. Serjeant Parry).

The Report of evidence before the Commission of 1847–9 printed with the Report of 1850 is very instructive, and we find in the difference of opinion exhibited that Panizzi and his associates were triumphant all along the line. Some of those examined objected to the rules on the principle that we do not want rules at all. The witness who was most unfortunate in his evidence was John Payne Collier, who submitted some titles which he had prepared in illustration of his views. He had occupied one hour in cataloguing these twenty-five titles, and when Mr. Winter Jones reported upon them he found "almost every possible error which can be committed in cataloguing books."

Prof. C. C. Jewett published at Washington in 1851 the Smithsonian Report on the Construction of Catalogues of Libraries, in which a system of stereotyped titles was proposed for use in other Libraries.[1]

Other attempts to construct Rules more suitable for less extensive libraries than that of the British Museum were made, and the discussions

(1) This proposal appeared at first to be a very promising one, but practical difficulties which were not foreseen presented themselves and prevented the adoption of the proposed system.

in the early years of the Library Association helped on the demand for good Catalogues. Mr. Cutter's "Rules" have been of the greatest value, although they were adopted more especially for the Dictionary Catalogue. These Rules, published in the Special Report on Public Libraries in the United States, 1876, stand alone in the literature of the subject. Not only are the rules set out, but reasons for them are fully given.

Little attention has been paid to the correct alphabetisation of headings in Catalogues and Indexes, and I was pleased to notice lately in that interesting work—*Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clarke dicatus*, *1909*, Mr. Jenkinson's contribution of some letters of Henry Bradshaw to the Hon. and Rev. Stephen Lawley, written between 1880 and 1882. In these letters this point is discussed. Bradshaw objected to the order of the headings in Mr. Lawley's index. He wrote, "Instead of Law, Law divine, Law human, Law moral, Lawder, Lawford, Lawley, Lawton ; you have Law, Lawder, Law divine, Lawford, Law human, Lawley, Law moral, Lawton." The proper order here indicated had been discussed at the Library Syndicate (Cambridge), and Mr. H. R. Luard, the Registrary of the University, had strongly advocated the other plan, but "to-day," wrote Bradshaw, "somebody wanted an Arabic writer Ali something or other, and we found in the Catalogue that Ali Baba was separated from Ali Musa by a lot of Aliberts, Alienus, etc., groups of Ali, then names like Alison, then more Ali's and so on until it was quite bewildering."

In 1878 I had set out in my *What is an Index* the same rule as to the correct principle of arrangement. "Although it has been previously said that words and names must be arranged in alphabet up to their last letters, it is necessary to bear in mind that each word is to stand by itself, for instance first will come the various persons bearing the name Grave, arranged according to the alphabet of their christian names,

Grave, George, Grave, John,

then the substantive and adjective *Grave* arranged according to the alphabet of the works that follow, Grave at Kherson, Grave of Hope, Grave Thoughts, and last Gravelot, Gravesend."

Although Bradshaw was an expert in the higher branches of Bibliography such as those relating to Manuscripts and Incunabula, his views of practical questions of arrangement, etc., were most clear and defined. I had the privilege of holding long discussions with him on these subjects in connection with the revision of the Cambridge rules when I had the honour of acting as Inspector of the University Library. Nothing was too modern or too minute for his careful consideration of any point connected with careful cataloguing.

Endless discussion may be spent on Rules, but it is only general principles that need be alluded to here. The original British Museum Rules have been considerably altered at various times and doubtless will be altered still more in the time to come.

If every book had its author's name on the title-page—the rules for cataloguing would be much simplified and reduced in number.

We must bear in mind that it is the abnormalities that give most trouble to the Cataloguers—the chief of these are: 1. Anonymous Works; 2. What we may call disrespectfully "Odds and ends"—mostly pamphlets printed on no system and almost every one requiring a rule of its own; 3. Academies.

1. I allow that it is difficult to make satisfactory rules for these, and every Cataloguer must wish that he could ignore them, and feels disappointed that the proposed clause in a copyright bill which enacted that "every anonymous book should have the author's name on the title-page" was not passed.

I confess that I have long given up any attempt to find an anonymous book in the British Museum Catalogue. I believe that Barbier's rule of arranging titles under the first word not an article or preposition, was first approved of, but afterwards modified. Mr. Holmes praises the use of Barbier's rule for a catalogue (*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxii, p. 5).

"The Works of Placcius and Barbier are dictionaries of anonymous and pseudonymous books, that of Barbier is arranged on a plan which at

first sight appears to outrage common sense, but which has nevertheless deservedly obtained the sanction of recent bibliographers, many of whom have adopted it as the most generally useful. The credit of originating this simple plan belongs to Audiffredi." I will not repeat what the plan is.

But surely here you have the result of a confusion of the essential difference between a Bibliography and a Catalogue. You have an anonymous book in your hand and want to discover the author, and you look in Barbier or Halkett and Laing to find the title at once—therefore this is the perfection of arrangement for a Bibliography of Anonymous Books. But when you refer to a Catalogue you have not the book, and possess only the memory of its short name, which is pretty sure to omit the first words of the title.

For the same reason the arrangement under initials is useless, because they are seldom noted in the quoted title you have in your head.

The Cataloguer may be relieved by placing a title in the alphabet according to strict rule, but if this be a heading of which no reader would ever think the title is merely got rid of, and is for ever useless.

2. *Odds and Ends* are not books, but the residuum and sweepings of the library, therefore they cannot well be made to follow the ordinary rules of Cataloguing. Most of them have no title-pages and therefore should be treated with a certain amount of freedom, and every endeavour should be made to catalogue them under headings by which they may most easily be found. Some of these are Acts of Parliament, the official wording of which make them little amenable to ordinary terms of intelligibility. This class largely consists of the pariahs of literature, which require very "heroic" treatment as they cannot well be made to follow ordinary rules.

3. The large heading of *Academies* in the British Museum Catalogue is open to considerable adverse criticism. In the first place it is a heading which would never have been chosen by an Englishman. Although it includes the numerous Academies of the Continent it also contains a record of the publications of a large number of Societies or Associations

which have little in common with Foreign Academies. Mr. Holmes condemns this heading in his article on "Libraries and Catalogues" already alluded to. He writes, "What most strikes us as objectionable is the collocation under one general head, viz., 'Academies,' of all 'acts, memoirs, transactions, journals, minutes, etc., of academies, institutes, associations, universities, or societies, learned, scientific or literary, by whatever name known or designated—as well as works by various hands forming part of a series of volumes edited by any such society,' arranged alphabetically under places. This produces strange results . . ." The other large heading of Periodical Publications is in every way excellent and by reason of a full Index is always consulted readily and with pleasure.

Criticism may be expended on some of the name headings, and the question may well be asked—In case of change of name by individuals should the first or the last name be chosen as a heading? In the British Museum Catalogue the first name is chosen, which is often quite unknown. The use of the last name is usually the most convenient as that which is best known to the public. The titles of peers are the most convenient headings because the original surname is completely lost in the title, and special means have usually to be taken to find out the surname when consulting the Catalogue. Generally the only safe rule is to choose as a man's name that by which he is universally known. The titles of the English nobility bear no comparison with those of Frenchmen, who seldom wilfully hide their surnames.

Some other of the headings in the British Museum Catalogue are open to difference of opinion, but the titles themselves throughout the Catalogue are triumphant specimens of intelligent contraction of the titles, an art not easy of consistent attainment by a staff of cataloguers through many years.

So great a work is necessarily open to criticism, but, when all is said that can be said, the Catalogue remains a remarkable monument of well directed labour and as a whole a Catalogue of unequalled correctness.

It remains a model which has raised the standard of Cataloguing and also an example to make Cataloguers constantly ready to raise their standard. Growth in the art of Cataloguing has been continuous in the seventy years referred to in my title. The publication of the ninety-one rules which have been so much discussed form a living object lesson in the history of Bibliography.

I do not like to close this paper without a word of praise to one English Catalogue, which though at a long distance is second only to the British Museum Catalogue. This is the Catalogue of the London Library, a remarkably well selected collection of Books. The successive Catalogues owing to this cause have always been valuable aids to the studies of the general reader, but the last Catalogue soon to be followed by a still larger one, with its complement the valuable Index of Subjects, are an honour to English Bibliography, to the Library which produced them and to Dr. Hagberg Wright who planned them and carried them to completion.

WHAT IS BIBLIOGRAPHY?

By W. W. GREG.

Read 19th February, 1912.

IT is a commonplace among those who have written on the subject, that bibliography has grown from being an art into being a science, and if we are content not to press the terms too closely, the remark may be accepted as indicating a certain truth. There was a time not so long ago when the typical occupation of bibliographers was the writing of elegant essays on individual points of archæological or artistic interest, more or less closely, and more or less accidentally, connected with books. It is no reproach to a generation of book-lovers, many of whom are fortunately still active in our midst, that this should have been so. If bibliography is to-day a science by which we co-ordinate facts and trace the operation of constant causes, if we are gradually evolving a rigorous method for the investigation and interpretation of fresh evidence, if we are able, within the sphere of our work, in any way adequately to reconstruct the past out of the indications of the present, it is in a large measure due to the patient accumulation and recording of facts achieved by those bibliographical pioneers. As has happened over and over again in the history of science, these workers pursued the subject for its own interest and their individual amusement, and in doing so evolved a powerful instrument of investigation of the practical applications of which they never dreamed. All this we have inherited and our debt is great.

Nevertheless the difference is not merely one of knowledge, but of outlook as well. Reading through that remarkable series of papers in which our founders sought to determine the true position of bibliography in its various branches, I cannot help thinking that a sense of dissatisfaction with the artistic method, a perception, perhaps dim as yet, of the scientific developments of which the subject was capable, present in the minds of those pioneers, is among the chief causes of our being assembled here this evening. And although in this paper I am not concerned with individual bibliographers or books, I cannot refrain from remarking on the prominence accorded to one name, that of Henry Bradshaw. He is mentioned by Mr. Wheatley as the one man in whose hands bibliography had become an exact science, and I was more particularly struck by the instance of his work cited in support of this opinion, namely, his investigation into the order of the *Canterbury Tales.* I fancy that this is hardly the point which most critics would have chosen as an instance of bibliographical research, but it will be the chief object of my paper to-night to argue that the question is nevertheless of the very essence of the subject.

But if bibliography is a science, it can hardly as yet be called a satisfactory science. I am inclined to think that it suffers from its name, and I half regret that "bibliology" is past praying for. When "bibliography" does not mean the writing of books, it must mean the description of books. This limitation of sense seems to me unfortunate, for though the description of books may form an important branch of bibliography it is certainly not synonymous with it. It will perhaps be contended that bibliography has been, probably that it must be, a descriptive science. In a sense this is true. In a sense every science is descriptive. But in so far as a science is merely descriptive it is sterile. You may dissect and you may describe, but until your anatomy becomes comparative you will never arrive at the principle of evolution. You may name and classify the colours of your sweet peas and produce nothing but a florist's catalogue; it is only when you begin grouping them

according to their genetic origin that you will arrive at Mendel's formula. It is the same everywhere. Facts are observed and catalogued by the systematizers, and then suddenly, as if by chance, an idea is born that introduces order and logic into what was a mere chaos, and we are in possession of a guiding principle, of an instrument of thought and investigation, that may transform the whole of our relation to knowledge or alter the face of the physical globe. Perhaps no discoveries that we make in bibliography are likely to have such far-reaching results as these, but they are quite capable of revolutionizing the subject itself and the methods by which it is pursued. That is why any tendency to confine the scope of bibliography within descriptive limits seems to me deplorable. And its name encourages—I believe has encouraged—the belief that bibliography consists in the compilation of bibliographies. You might as well say that geography means map-making, or bacteriology the breeding of disease. Moreover, the objections to restraining the scope of bibliography are not merely the theoretical ones I have mentioned. They are of serious practical importance as well. For the wider applications of bibliography, of critical bibliography, are no mere playthings. They are essential to the advance of knowledge. Therefore they will be made—they are being made. All that is done by restricting the official cognizance, so to speak, of bibliographers, is to exclude from the field of these new developments the only men who by training are qualified to carry them to a successful issue.

Before I pass to a consideration of the meaning and methods of bibliography a word must be said as to its scope. The view has been, and I believe is, maintained by many able practitioners that bibliography is properly confined to the study of printed books. Manuscripts, they hold, belong to another department. Now, I do not wish to waste words over a matter of verbal definition. But when I read the accounts of bibliographical descriptions given by these same writers I observe that a large part of their method is just as applicable to manuscripts as to printed books. And as it happens to be in the methods of the science

that I am at present interested, I regard the distinction between written and printed books as irrelevant. What I am concerned with is a system of investigation and a method of description, and if, with minor modifications, it can be made to apply to clay cylinders and rolls of papyrus as well as to codices of vellum or paper, so much the better. It is the method itself, not the object to which that method is applied, that gives unity to a science. You may state the laws of motion in a form more suitable to the movements of the planets, as did Newton, or in one more suitable to those of an electron, as is the modern tendency; but that does not affect the principles of rational dynamics. Thus it may be called bibliography, or it may be called by any other name you please, but what I want understood is that the characteristics of the science about which I am speaking cut far deeper than the distinction between writing and printing and apply to the transmission of all symbolic representation of speech or other ordered sound or even of logical thought. This will, I hope, obviate useless discussion. But I confess for my part that the view which would confine the term "bibliography" to the study of printed books seems to me a very foolish one. When I read in a German cyclopædia that there is one science of "Bücherkunde" and another of "Handschriftskunde," I begin to wonder whether there is one science of geometry and another of selenometry. And if we are to pay any regard to names at all, it seems perverse to confine to printed books a science of which the name was in use, and the principal methods of which had been invented, centuries before printed books existed. We shall next be told that Richard de Bury was no bibliophile!

Now let us consider for a moment what bibliography really is. Before we can describe or classify any book we must be able to find out about it. Descriptive, or as I shall call it, systematic bibliography presupposes an acquaintance with the elements of the science. I call them elements in the Euclidian sense. They are elementary not in the sense of being easy, but because they are the prerequisites of all further study. But I do not think these elements have as a whole received the attention they

deserve. Too often they are brought in incidentally in the course of instructions for describing books, and as though they had no significance in themselves and no application outside the pages of a catalogue. Take a single instance. The elaborate and highly important rules for ascertaining the format of a book are commonly given as though their sole object was to guide the describer in his choice of what particular ornament to put at the end of a title. If that were so, I confess it would seem to me simpler to toss up. I believe that many people would be puzzled to say exactly wherein lies the importance of putting such ornaments or symbols at all. It is regarded as part of the game, just as in arithmetic children are taught to play certain tricks with a row of figures and extract something called a square root, though as to how the result is obtained, or what it really means, nothing is said. In reality, of course, the rules of format have nothing to do with description. We require them to discover how a sheet of paper has been folded. And we require to know how the sheet has been folded, not in order to put a particular ornament in a catalogue, but because it is an important bibliographical fact. Its importance, by the way, only partly arises from its being a salient factor in the history of the book. It is mainly due to considerations lying beyond the field of what is usually called bibliography. For it is only a knowledge of the format that enables us to say in the case of a printed book (for a manuscript has no true format) that if variants occur on such and such a page they may be expected also on such and such other pages. Thus a matter which is really of very small importance to the cataloguer, becomes of first rate significance to the textual critic—though, indeed, he is only just beginning to wake up to the fact. So again with the much debated question of U and V. This is almost always discussed in the form of rules for transcription. Yet what rules a cataloguer follows is really a matter of mere academic interest. What is important is the practice of the old printers and the gradual advance of philological care which it reveals. My complaint is that, throughout, bibliography is studied and taught—so far as it is taught—too much from the point of view of the cataloguer

or descriptive bibliographer, not enough for the interest of the principles involved, and that as a consequence those wider applications of the subject that lie beyond the cataloguer's horizon necessarily suffer. The printed book or the manuscript itself is an object of enormous interest and the booklover must wish to find out everything he can about it quite irrespective of any actual description. And it is the elements of bibliography that supply him with a method and a set of logical tools as it were for the prosecution of his search. Any description he may find it convenient to make is merely a means of communicating to others, or of recording for his own subsequent information, the results at which he has arrived, and, however useful, is of purely secondary concern.

Thus the elements of bibliography are what every bibliographer will have more or less to master. He will probably not cover the whole field, for it is a large one, but he will require an intimate knowledge of certain parts and some familiarity with the paths that lead from one part to another, if he is to do any good in his subject. The expert in typography is unlikely to be also a skilled palæographer, but he will require some knowledge of the handwritings upon which various types are based. Both alike will need some familiarity with the history of paper-making, though they will probably leave the closer investigation of water-marks to a specialist. What is important is that every serious bibliographer should have some general plan of the subject in his mind that will, so to speak, enable him to find his way about, and to understand the advances made in other fields, and the possible light they may throw upon his own immediate studies.

Those who have followed me so far will not be surprised that I call the field a wide one. It includes the study of book-making and of the manufacture of the materials of which books are made, it includes a knowledge of the conditions of transcription and reproduction, of the methods of printing and binding, of the practices of publication and bookselling—it includes the whole of typography and the whole of palæography. Naturally enough the subject tends to shade off into others that are not

bibliographical. Bookbinding is certainly a province of bibliography, yet it almost merges into a fine art, as do even more clearly book-illustration and illumination. Bibliography has to take cognizance of these subjects, but it can never make them altogether its own. Book-plates have a purely superficial connection with books; their study is but a bastard branch of the subject. Another useful limitation lies in this, that bibliography only concerns itself with processes that leave their mark on the character of the finished book. Printing it is very largely concerned with, but it does not study the mechanism of the modern steam press. Pens it is certainly interested in, but hardly in their growth or manufacture. It attends to the preparation of vellum, though indifferent to the breeding of calves.

That typography is a branch of bibliography will probably be allowed by all except the adherents of the narrowest "descriptive" school. It is, indeed, the most progressive branch of all, the one in which bibliographers have won their greatest successes of recent years, and if it shows any signs of severing itself from the parent stem, it is in the direction of becoming a graft upon biology. But it has not done so yet. It has only, like almost every other science, illustrated the value of the comparative method and the general significance of the evolutionary idea. Far less unanimity will attend the inclusion of palæography. Yet, obviously, this stands in exactly the same relation to manuscripts as typography does to printed books. If, therefore, bibliography is to take cognizance of manuscripts we must necessarily include palæography in its field. To my mind a bibliography which should exclude either manuscripts or printed books from its purview would be robbed of more than half its interest and significance.

Descriptive, or to use the wider term, systematic bibliography, the classification of individual books according to some guiding principle, seems to be regarded by most writers on the subject as bibliography *par excellence.* It is this part of my subject therefore which has been the

most exposed to the onslaughts of previous writers, and I shall not say very much about it. A few remarks will, however, be relevant, and may conceivably be useful. It is sometimes said that a bibliographer should distinguish the relative merit and importance of the books enumerated, and that the ideal bibliographer will read and judge as well as record and describe. The ideal bibliographer will not waste his time over what is no concern of his. His subject is books, not universal knowledge; and the relevant sense of the word "book" is that in which the Ellesmere *Canterbury Tales* is a book, not that in which Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* is a book. To the bibliographer the literary contents of a book is irrelevant. This does not mean that special bibliographies should not be compiled, or that the merits of the works included, or somebody's opinion thereon, should not be recorded. It means that this is not the task of the bibliographer. The criticism of a work on hydrocarbons is the business of a scientific chemist, that of a novel is the business, so it seems, of a cash chemist. It is not that of a bibliographer. The only bibliograhy which is really the business of a bibliographer is a bibliography of bibliography. This we may call bibliography raised to the second power, all other bibliographies are the product of bibliography and some other subject. Thus the compilation of bibliographies is in truth but a mixed and subsidiary art. The mere bibliographer who criticises the works he catalogues is guilty of impertinence: at best he is only the systematizer of the other men's knowledge.

If anyone thinks that I am unduly limiting the functions of the bibliographer in this direction and depriving him of a part of his hereditary domain, I will endeavour to make up for it by what I believe to be a logical and necessary extension of his activities elsewhere. For I have at length come to the real subject of this paper, namely, to what I shall call critical bibliography.

After what I have said it should I think be clear that I regard bibliography as an important subject. It is one which may quite legitimately

be pursued for its own sake and it is by those who so pursue it that it is likely to be most advanced. Possibly every subject that is worth cultivating possesses some intrinsic value apart from practical applications. But I do not think that bibliography is one of the great sciences, of which pure mathematics is the type, whose interest would hardly be diminished by entire dissociation from the actual world. At any rate I freely confess that my own interest in bibliography is by no means purely bibliographical. It is literary. I stumbled into bibliography by accident. Finding it impossible to obtain the information I required about a certain class of literature, I set to work to collect it. It was the results of bibliography that I wanted, but my search led me to the far greater discovery of the importance of the subject itself. Any value my literary work may have will be chiefly owing to that discovery. For, if I may be allowed a violent metaphor which is always coming to my mind, it is only by the application of a rigorous bibliographical method that the last drop of information can be squeezed out of a literary document. Thus in spite of my interest in bibliography it is as the handmaid of literature that I still regard it, and it is this side of my theme that I wish to develop to-night.

There is a remark in Dr. Copinger's inaugural address before this Society that recently caught my attention. "Bibliography" he said "has been called the grammar of literary investigation." It is an extraordinarily penetrating remark, but one which seems to me to have been strangely misunderstood. Bibliography has hardly ever attempted to be the grammar of literature; it has tried to be a dictionary. It has chronicled and described, sometimes it has even criticised, the books needed for the study of literature, and it has rendered valuable service in this line; but seldom if ever has it concerned itself with the methods of that study. By this, of course, I do not mean either the canons of criticism—if such exist—nor the methods of literary history, but I do mean what is antecedent to both these, namely the investigation of texts. Strictly bibliographical investigation forms three-fourths of textual criticism, and therefore of the work of the scientific editor. For editing should be none the less scientific because it must

at the same time be literary. No editor, whatever his taste, ever did valuable work without a scientific power of handling textual evidence; just as no editor, however scientific, is worth his salt without taste. And apart from taste he requires much knowledge that has nothing to do with bibliography. He requires a thorough knowledge of linguistics and a thorough knowledge of antiquities. But these are presupposed in the subject and differ with the accidents of the subject. What is constant as a requirement, what every editor, what every textual investigator needs, what may therefore be truly called the grammar of literature, is critical bibliography. Critical bibliography is the science of the material transmission of literary texts, the investigation of the textual tradition as it is called, in so far as that investigation is possible without extraneous aids. It aims at the construction of a calculus for the determination of textual problems.

This, of course, is no new science: editors have been forced to solve the problems as they went along, and in doing so they have necessarily evolved a method of their own. It is strange, however, when one comes to go into the subject, how little and often how unsatisfactory is the writing of a general nature thereon. I say this advisedly in spite of full knowledge of, and sincerest respect for, the profound observations for instance of Westcott and Hort in connection with the manuscripts of the Greek Testament. Everywhere the editor suffers from not being a bibliographer; he gives himself all sorts of unnecessary trouble and arrives at all sorts of impossible results. In the current number of one of the chief critical journals a writer goes hopelessly wrong over the order of two issues of a printed book, simply because he does not know how to distinguish an original leaf from a cancel. It is pathetic to find editors discussing the order of undated editions on a basis of vague probabilities, when often the erroneous retention of a catchword or some similar bibliographical trifle puts the matter altogether beyond dispute. It is not that bibliographers ought to rush into the task of editing, but that editors ought to give themselves a thorough bibliographical training. For a large

part of their work is bibliography, critical bibliography, and this can only be properly executed when the elements of the subject have been mastered. For anyone without a competent knowledge of bibliography to endeavour to deal with textual evidence is mere impertinence. It is the task of bibliographers at present to systematize the knowledge acquired in this department and to perfect the method, that it may be acquired with the least possible trouble and applied with the greatest possible certainty. There is much to be done in this line. Too often far-reaching deductions are drawn from wholly inadequate premises, tables of relationship too often invite the sneer that they resemble figures of Euclid in which a bomb has exploded, too often sources of error are overlooked, too often consequences ignored. A classical scholar who enjoys the reputation of being one of the ablest textual critics in this country is content to speak of a single manuscript preserving the original reading in a case where the variants are of the α type (a . bcd) and the genetic relation of the texts of the β (ab . cd). But I am here inventing technical terms for a science which has not yet been reduced to rule.

As I have said, no attempt has yet been made to systematize critical bibliography, and I confess that I am by no means clear in my own mind what we shall finally agree to include under the name, always supposing that we recognize such a subject at all. To begin with it will embrace all that an editor requires in the way of knowledge and method, apart from linguistics and *realien*. But how much more it may be expedient to include I will not venture to guess.

It will by now have become evident why I said that I regarded the determination of the order of the *Canterbury Tales* as a typical bibliographical problem. It is, of course, true that in considering it we require to take into account local and temporal allusions in the text itself, which have nothing to do with bibliography. Yet the problem is essentially one of textual transmission. For if we can account for the actual order of the tales in the various extant manu-

scripts, we shall have solved the problem of the original order provided that there ever was one. And all questions of textual transmission are questions of critical bibliography.

Bibliography is a wide subject and the field of critical bibliography is no less extensive. But it may not unreasonably be suggested that the more immediate concern of this Society is with the bibliography of English literature. And now, with your permission, I will spend what remains of my allotted hour in describing a dream of my own. It is of a course of lectures on English bibliography which may one day be delivered at one of our so-called seats of learning, neither this year nor next year, but perhaps some day. And I will tell you what, as I dream, the lecturer will tell his class. He will begin with the general principles of textual transmission, which are for the most part obvious enough, how a number of steps often intervene between the work as it formed itself in the author's mind and as it reaches modern readers. He will pass on to describe the conditions under which manuscripts were written and copied, the kinds of mistake that scribes habitually made, and the manner in which bibliographical investigation may reveal them, the extent of the corruption to be expected and the degree to which it is reasonable to rely on the textual tradition. He will consider the influences to which manuscripts have been subjected, the injury they have suffered, the degree to which this can be repaired, the reagents that may be used with safety, the way vellum should be treated, and the way it should not. He will then deal with the principles of textual criticism, the grouping of manuscripts according to their genetic relations, the manner in which those relations are to be determined, and the way in which they affect the choice of readings: in what cases a reading in the archetype can be postulated with certainty, in what cases it is only a matter of probability: what evidence forces us to suppose conflation, what latitude should be allowed for coincidence: when conflation is due to the scribe, when to a reviser: how archetypal foliation may be inferred and what is its importance. He will then proceed to take individual monuments of literature and describe

the manuscripts in which they are preserved and the relation of those manuscripts. He will also consider the contents of various manuscripts and the light which they may throw upon the works contained. He will not neglect external evidence as regards the authors and their works, but will direct attention to the main contemporary authorities and records to be studied. Further, he will consider the appeal of the manuscripts; the learned English manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon times, the popular manuscripts of the centuries following the Conquest. *Pari passu* he will investigate the changes in the methods of book-making and the gradual development of handwriting. He will indicate the evolution from the half-uncial of the earliest charters to the final dissolution of Saxon writing about 1200, and from the adoption and adaptation of the Carolingian minuscule to the book and current hands of the fifteenth century: he will also trace the elaboration and decay of the system of contractions borrowed from Latin writing. Naturally he will not be able to deal fully with all the extant manuscripts of all surviving works, but he will consider all the more important monuments, and will in particular devote attention to those that present problems of a typical nature. He will discuss the so-called three texts of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, for if bibliography is not concerned with the question whether they are the work of one author or of three, it is concerned with the determination and differentiation of the three types, a question the investigation of which has been as yet only begun, but which when answered will go far towards answering the other. Similarly he will discuss the already mentioned problem of the order of the *Canterbury Tales*, so far as this depends for its solution on the arrangement in the manuscripts.

He will next pass to the introduction of printing, and indicate the differences which that event made in the transmission of texts. He will discuss the relation of editions and their grouping, and also the minor differences which copies of the same edition present, and he will indicate how the change from manuscripts to printed books affects the problems of textual criticism. He will call attention to the particular errors which are

likely to happen in composition and imposition, as he previously did to those peculiar to copying. He will describe the differences of type and their value in dating books, and also the particular literal confusions to which each is liable. He will consider methods of detecting false imprints and misleading dates. He will then proceed to deal with individual works, and beginning with the great compilation known as the *Morte Darthur*, will trace the fortunes of English literature as they depend on the printed page. He will call attention to the difference between various ages in the extent to which we may presume an author to have exercised control over the first edition of his work, or over the first and subsequent editions as well. He will enumerate the many small points, the corrections, the cancels, the withdrawals, that bear witness to an editorial supervision, and will discuss the relations of the author, the publisher, and the printer, the control that one had over the other, and that those in authority had over them all. He will expound the conditions of copyright and estimate the effect they had on literary production. Following in the footsteps of our Honorary Secretary he will reconstruct the history of the first folio of Shakespeare's plays from the evidence of exceptional copies and other bibliographical peculiarities, and he will explain the variants in the different issues of *Paradise Lost.* He will account for the duplicate setting of Erasmus' *Paraphrase*, and estimate the force of trades-unionism in the sixteenth century. Nor will he forget the manuscripts of a later date. He will give help in the decyphering and dating of Tudor and Stuart hands, and will discuss the most satisfactory way of printing works written in them. This is an important matter, and he will devote considerable attention throughout to various styles of editing. For there is no one method which is correct to the exclusion of others ; it is a question which is best adapted to peculiar needs. And it is largely the business of the bibliographer to see that, whatever method is adopted, it is carried out consistently and made to yield the very best results of which it is capable.

It is no light task that I have sketched, and we may well wonder how many men there are to-day who would be capable of undertaking it with

any chance of success. But the way to success lies through failure, and until someone has been found bold enough to make the venture there is no knowing what may or may not be possible. Anyhow that is my dream, and it is to the preliminary task of asking the necessary questions, of defining the problems, and systematizing the method, that I invite the Bibliographical Society this evening.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

JOURNAL OF THE TWENTY-FIRST SESSION.

October, 1912, to April, 1913.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The first Meeting of the Session was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, October 21st, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in the Chair. Mr. P. S. Allen, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, read a paper on *Some Sixteenth Century Manuscript Letter-Books*, printed in full in the present volume.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

With the sanction of the President the Meeting of the Society advertised for Monday, November 18th, was not held. The paper on *Recent Additions to the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum*, written by Mr. Pollard for this Meeting, was intended to honour and give pleasure to Dr. G. K. Fortescue (President of the Society, 1909–1910) upon his retirement from the Museum, and its light-hearted gossip on Dr. Fortescue's successes as a book-buyer was altogether too inadequate a tribute to him to be read within a month of his death. The following is a summary of the paper prepared by Mr. Pollard.

SUMMARY.—Early in his career as Keeper of Printed Books, Mr. Fortescue determined to recommend to the Trustees, for purchase by

the Museum, mainly two classes of old books, foreign books of the 15th century and English books printed not later than 1640. In formulating this policy he was no doubt chiefly influenced by the fact that full-dress catalogues of the books of these two classes were contemplated. The success which he attained was, however, in no small degree due to the fact that in each case summary catalogues were in existence, which greatly facilitated purchases and that constant survey of the field without which little progress can be made in filling gaps. Thanks to these aids he was able during his Keepership to place on the shelves of the Museum over a thousand books of each class. It is probable that Panizzi did as much, but no other Keeper in the past is likely to have attained this double record, and it is neither likely, nor indeed desirable, that any other Keeper in the future should do as much in these same fields.

Fully to prove that the quality of these additions is as important as their quantity would necessitate turning this summary into a one-line catalogue. Only a few books can be mentioned in each class. In Mainz books the Museum was already very rich, but not in Mainz Missals, and the second of Schoeffer's editions for the use of Breslau was made all the more welcome by coming from the Chapter Library. In the case of Bamberg the *Vocabularius Ex Quo*, completed in June, 1469, though the copy was a shabby one, was placed in its niche with much rejoicing. Hitherto the Museum had possessed no book printed by Bechtermunctze in the type used for the Mainz *Catholicon* of 1460, and without it the story of Germany's part in the invention of printing was left incomplete. The gaps in the representation of the presses of Strassburg and Cologne, though numerous, were in the less important presses. The chief addition is a finely rubricated vellum copy of the folio Strassburg Breviary of 1478 (*Pars aestivalis*) in the type of the "Burgundische Historie" of Erhard Tusch, "Getruckt zu Straszburg" the previous year. Augsburg, where there was much more vernacular printing, was far less well represented, and six books apiece have been added from the presses of Zainer and Sorg, four apiece by Bämler and Ratdolt, and nine by Schönsperger. To Nuremberg have

been added, among others, the interesting broadside advertisement of the *Justinian* printed by Sensenschmidt and Frisner in 1475; the only book from the press of the astronomer-printer Johann Müller not already in the Museum, and the first book printed by Peter Wagner.

Turning to the smaller centres, the representation of that fine printer George Reyser has been increased by a Missal of 1482, and a Würzburg *Agenda* bearing the arms of the Bishop engraved on copper. His kinsman Michel, who printed at Eichstätt, having yielded to Georg all the books in the Museum assigned him by Proctor, has been compensated by the purchase of a *Statuta Synodalia*, undoubtedly his. The last German book we can mention is the showy *Psalterium B.V.M.*, printed at the Cistercian Monastery at Zinna about 1493, the previous absence of which from the Museum collection had been almost as strange as sad.

In books printed at Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz the Museum is less rich than it should be, and four have been added, including the *Epistolae* of S. Jerome begun by Pannartz and completed by Lauer. Han and Chardella and De Lignamine have also been enriched, and one or two early books added to the prolific Plannck. The earliest Venice presses were already abundantly represented, and the first volume of V. de Spira's Malermi Bible of 1471 and some small books by Jenson are the chief additions to them. Of the later Venice printers the representation has been improved all along the line, and one or two new presses, e.g., that of Baptista de Bossis, have been added to those listed by Proctor. Of Venetian illustrated books the most important acquisitions are three of 1493, the Malermi Bible printed by Anima Mia; the *Fasciculo de Medecina* with a woodcut in four colours, and a *Vite de Sancti Padri*. Taking other towns in alphabetical order mention may be made of a fragment of the Aquila *Aesop* of 1493, a fine copy of the Ascoli *Statuta* (1496), two important books from the Ripoli press at Florence, the only book of the second printer at Genoa, *Litaniae Ambrosianae* by a certain Presbyter Archangelus Ungardus, a hitherto unrecorded printer at Milan, several

good specimens from Naples, the only book printed at Novi, important additions to Padua, Perugia and Pescia, the only book printed at Portese, a *Duns Scotus* printed at Santorso, early books of Treviso and Turin, the only book printed by Heinrich von Cöln at Urbino, the *Supplementum* printed by Suigus at Vercelli, and several books from Vicenza.

French collectors do not often let their treasures leave France, but mainly with the help of M. Claudin during the last years of his life considerable purchases were made of Lyonnese books, in which the Museum was very weak. The representation of Paris has been improved by additions to the presses at the Sorbonne, and the "Soufflet Vert," by a volume of law-tracts printed by Pasquier Bonhomme (1475), by the *Coûtumes de Bretagne* of Guillaume Lefèvre (1480), his only book, by Dupré's fine edition of Boccaccio *De la ruine des nobles hommes et dames*, the first secular book with woodcuts printed in Paris, by early books of Pigouchet's, and two by Vérard. Other French additions are the first books printed at Besançon and Toulouse, a book by an unknown printer at Albi, and a *Coûtumes de Bretagne* printed at Tréguier, also a *Livre & auctoritez des s. docteurs touchant de l'aduenement du maulvais antechrist* with very primitive woodcuts.

The Swiss and Low Country incunabula purchased have not been very important; but the early Cracow press has at last obtained representation by the purchase of an *Opus restitutionum* of 1475, and the century of Spanish books which the Museum possessed when Dr. Garnett retired has been increased by no fewer than forty-three new acquisitions, many of them of great interest.

Turning to England we have to record nine incunables, including two Caxtons (an Indulgence of 1481 and the *Book of Good Manners*), two Machlinias, two Pynsons (one of them the only known copy of his first dated book), two De Wordes, and a Notary, besides numerous books by Pynson and De Worde of the 16th century, and also good specimens of the work of Robert Copland and Redman.

Passing away from the sphere of typographical interest, we may note first the unique *Pars aestivalis* of the York Breviary of 1533, of which the Museum already possessed the Winter part, and a previously unrecorded edition of George Joy's New Testament, dated 9th January, 1535, with an epilogue written in the midst of his quarrel with Tyndale. Then come three undated books, the first edition of Whitford's version of the *Imitatio Christi*, Lord Berners' *Castell of Love* and Bernard Garter's *Tragicall and True History between two English Lovers*. A copy of John Hall's *Courte of Virtue* belongs to 1565, and round this date may be ranged the seven early Elizabethan editions of old plays (*Health and Wealth*, *John the Evangelist*, etc.) part of the historic volume found in Ireland and sent to Sotheby's tied round with a piece of string, without even a wrapper. We must pass over rare works by Bishop Bale and John Knox, and leave the following titles to speak for themselves: the first edition of Underdown's translation of the *Ethiopian History* of Heliodorus (1569), the third of the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1578), Breton's *Flourish upon Fancie* (1582), and two of his later books, the *Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock* (1585), the *Amorous Fiametta* from Boccaccio (1587), the first edition of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), of great Shakespearian interest, Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* (also 1592), and the second edition of his *Unfortunate Traveller*, Sidney's *Arcadia* (1593) and *Defence of Poesie* (1595), Lewkenor's *The Resolved Gentleman*, a version of the *Chevalier Délibéré* (1594), and the unauthorised edition of Drayton's *Piers Gaveston*, this last, with half a dozen other books, being scanty salvage from the Rowfant Library of Mr. Locker-Lampson.

With Ben Jonson's *Everyman out of his Humour* (1600) may be mentioned three other plays out of the very few of this period not already in the Museum, viz., the 1602 *Spanish Tragedie* (the first that contains the "Painter's Part"), the pseudo-Shakespearian *Cromwell*, and Massinger's *Bondman*. In recording the acquisition of a book, itself unique, Gardyne's *Garden of Flowers* (Edinburgh, 1609), we may note that purchases of Scottish books have been very numerous, including besides important

Edinburgh books, several printed by Raban at Aberdeen, and the first book printed at Glasgow.

Other groups of books which may be mentioned are 111 editions of 16th century *Year Books*, giving the Museum a total of 324 out of 443 registered, 11 editions of *Eikon Basilike* dated 1648, i.e., issued within less than two months of Charles I's execution, two issues of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, completing the Museum set of discoverable variants, and the only original prose work by him not already in the Museum. Besides these we may name a few outlying purchases, such as the first edition of Ken's *Morning and Evening Hymn*, Goldsmith's *Prospect of Society* (the chaotic harbinger of *The Traveller*), and the *First Fruits of Australian Poetry*, which were also the first fruits of the Australian press. If funds had been available Mr. Fortescue would have been delighted to fill up more of the later gaps as well as the earlier ones, but he believed that in a library of the size of that of the British Museum gaps could be best filled by taking one or two sections at a time and surveying them systematically. The results which he attained are the best justification of his theory. He would assuredly have desired it to be noted that in attaining them, even in the field of purchase, he was generously helped by many Members of this Society, while the great benefactions which marked his tenure of the Keepership of Printed Books may all, directly or indirectly, be connected with the Society of which he was proud to be President.

DECEMBER MEETING.

On Monday, December 16th, the President, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in the Chair, Dr. Ernst Crous read a paper on *The General Catalogue of Incunabula.* This is printed in full in the present volume, together with a Summary of a Report by Mr. Pollard as to the help to be given Dr. Crous in collecting information as to incunabula in England.

Previous to the Annual Meeting the following Report and Balance Sheet were circulated among Members by means of the News-Sheet.

ANNUAL REPORT.

(i.)—In July, 1912, the Bibliographical Society completed the twentieth year of its existence, and the Council are glad to be able to report that it is still full of life and vigour. Since the number of British and American members was fixed at 300 in December, 1894, the Roll of the Society has always been full, while the power then given to elect a few additional "Candidate-Members" has provided the needful elasticity. For a few years past the number of these Candidate-Members gradually diminished; in the year just ended there has been a considerable increase in them, while the slow but steady rise in the number of our Foreign Members is the more gratifying since our work lately has been mainly concerned with English subjects.

(ii.)—During the past year we have had to regret the loss of several old friends, Dr. Fortescue, Mr. Nicholson, Sir William Allchin, Herr Burger, Mr. Dunn, and Mr J. E. Foster. Dr. Fortescue will long be remembered by frequenters of our meetings both for his geniality as President and for the life which he threw into the papers he himself read. Mr. Nicholson was not only the head of a great Library, but one of the Founders of the Library Association, which has done so much for Librarianship in England. In Herr Konrad Burger the Society has lost one of the earliest holders of its honorary membership, a distinction amply earned by the impetus which his Index to Hain's Repertorium and his *Monumenta Typographica* gave to the study of incunabula. The same cause was greatly advanced by Mr. Dunn by the fine series of 500 Woolley Photographs from books in his own library. He collected with equal judgment and enthusiasm, and much knowledge died with him. Sir William Allchin, at one time Hon. Librarian of the Medical Society, and Mr. J. E. Foster, of Cambridge, were both among our original members, of whom we have now fewer than fifty left.

(iii.)—The volume of *Transactions* issued last March (along with Miss Palmer's *List of English editions and translations of the Classics*) was

notable as being the largest we have printed, and the first of our books to be cased. As far as can be ascertained the casing has been generally approved; it is proposed to adopt it for all our future publications, and arrangements are being made to enable members to obtain cases for those of our existing publications for which they are most likely to be in demand.

For 1912 there will be issued next month Mr. Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances*, and Part 4, completing the *Handlists of English Printers, 1501–1557*, with alphabetical and chronological tables of contents which will provide alternative directions for binding.

Mr. McKerrow's illustrated monograph on English Printers and Publishers' Devices in use before the close of 1640 is now being printed. This also will be issued as for 1912, and with it will be sent out an eight-page supplement to Mr. Bourdillon's Monograph on the *Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose* for which he has kindly provided the blocks.

For 1913 there will be materials for an interesting volume of *Transactions* (Vol. XII), an Abstract of the Wills of Cambridge Printers and Stationers is in preparation by Mr. G. J. Gray, and these books will be accompanied by another Monograph or its equivalent.

(iv.)—Members have been already informed that the German Commission for a General Catalogue of Incunabula is desirous of obtaining information as to the Incunabula (more especially those as yet undescribed) in public or private libraries in the British Isles, and that Dr. Ernst Crous, an abstract of whose paper on the subject is printed in the same *News-Sheet* as this Report, is coming over after Easter in connection with this object. The Council earnestly hope that the Society, both collectively and through its members, may be able substantially to help forward this enterprise.

(v.)—The Society's library has been well cared for during the past year in its new quarters at University College. It is very helpful at times to members who want books which cannot be borrowed elsewhere, and donations are always welcome.

BALANCE SHEET.—1st January, 1912, to 31st December, 1912, inclusive.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, 31st Dec., 1911 ...	267	6	11
Entrance Fees	18	18	0
Subscriptions for 1910 and 1911	8	8	0
British Subscriptions for 1912...	212	2	0
United States Subscriptions for 1912	74	18	1
Foreign Subscriptions for 1912	30	9	0
Subscriptions for 1913 ...	8	8	0
Sale of Publications	18	2	0
Interest on Investments ...	10	7	3
	£648	19	3

Payments.	£	s.	d.
By Printing and Distribution...	240	16	6
Illustrations	84	18	7
Insurance of Stock of Publications	2	7	3
Copying and Researches ...	10	13	4
Vote for Library	4	16	7
Rent	25	0	0
Expenses of Meetings... ...	6	15	0
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ...	2	14	6
Assistant Secretary	5	0	0
Hon. U.S. Secretary's Expenses	1	1	0
Hon. Treasurer's Expenses ...	1	13	3
Balance, 31st December, 1912.	263	3	3
	£648	19	3

ROBERT E. GRAVES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

I have compared the above with the Pass Book and Vouchers and find it correct.

ALEX^R. NEALE,
Auditor.

11th January, 1913.

Assets.	£	s.	d.
£300 2½% Consols Bonds @ 75¼	225	15	0
£100 3½% New South Wales Bond	90	0	0
Estimated value of Stock of Publications	300	0	0
Balance of Account for 1912 ...	263	3	3
Subscriptions in arrear ...	12	12	0

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
Estimated liability for 25 Life Members	262	10	0
Estimated cost of completing the books for the year and of other Printing	250	0	0

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20, Hanover Square, on Monday, January 20th, at 5 p.m., the outgoing President, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, in the Chair.

After the Annual Report had been read, its adoption was moved by Mr. Wheatley and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Falconer Madan, Mr. A. W. K. Miller, and Mr. Sydney Christie-Miller were elected Vice-Presidents.

On the motion of Mr. Bourdillon the following were elected as Members of Council: Mr. G. A. Aitken, Mr. G. F. Barwick, Sir Ernest Clarke, Mr. Lionel Cust, Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Mr. W. W. Greg, Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins, Mr. Charles Sayle, Mr. Frank Sidgwick, Mr. H. R. Tedder, Mr. Charles Welch, Mr. T. J. Wise.

On the motion of Mr. Wheatley, Professor Sir William Osler was elected President of the Society by acclamation.

The new President then took the Chair, and after thanking the Society for his election, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Wheatley for his services during the past two years.

This also was carried by acclamation.

JANUARY, FEBRUARY AND MARCH MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting was followed by the usual Monthly Meeting of the Society, the President, Sir William Osler, in the Chair. Mr. H. R. Tedder read a paper on *A Bibliography of Modern British History from 1485*.

On Monday, February 17th, at 5 p.m., at 20, Hanover Square, the President, Sir William Osler, in the Chair, a paper entitled *Notes on the Bibliography of Pope* was read by Mr. G. A. Aitken, M.V.O.

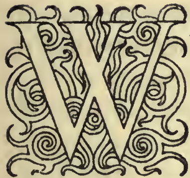
On Monday, April 21st, at 5 p.m., Mr. G. R. Redgrave, Past-President, in the Chair, Professor Ferguson read a paper on *Some Books of Secrets*.

All these three papers are printed in full in the present volume.

SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT LETTER-BOOKS.

By P. S. ALLEN.

Read 21st October, 1912.



HEN this learned Society did me the honour of inviting me to read a paper before it, it occurred to me that the most suitable subject to offer would be an account of certain manuscript collections of letters with which I have had to deal in the course of my researches after the correspondence of Erasmus. The importance of personal letters for the study of history is being more and more recognised, especially abroad, where learned bodies interested in the Reformation are engaging with schemes of publication on really enormous proportions. Almost every big library possesses collections of autograph letters, either addressed uniformly to one man, or one group, and therefore presumably the original accumulations kept together by the recipients, or else gatherings from various sources and addressed to different persons, formed by contemporary or subsequent collectors. Of the former class may be instanced the splendid Amorbach collection at Basle, the Erasmus letters at Leipzig, those of Beatus Rhenanus at Schlettstadt, of Zwingli at Zurich, of Bucer and Humbert at Strasburg, of Aldus, Aleander, Bembo and Sadolet at the Vatican : letters from all parts of Europe addressed to one individual or a few. The second class may be represented by Camerarius' collections at Munich, Ortelius' at the Austin Friars in the City of London, Rhediger's

at Breslau, Uffenbach's at Hamburg: formed by men interested in the writers or in their subjects, or, in the two latter cases, by the desire of the autograph hunter. But with these I do not propose to deal. When once you have in your hands the actual letter sent and received, with its wafer and seal, its folds and cuts and address, you have reached the real thing, you know what the writer said and what the recipient read. But of the stages in its composition, of the processes by which it was prepared for dispatch, or of the vicissitudes through which it passed on its way there is usually little trace. For information about these we must look elsewhere.

The last point may be illustrated by a few instances before we pass on. The agencies for the carrying of letters in the sixteenth century were varied. Public bodies had their staffs of official messengers, and so too no doubt did large commercial firms. But private individuals who were not wealthy enough to maintain special servants of their own for this purpose had to rely on such opportunities as offered: the caravans of merchants going to the fairs—a sure but not very direct channel; the chance visits and journeys of friends or persons of trust; or hired messengers, who were expensive and could not always be relied upon. One consequence of these conditions was that letters were uncertain in the time of transit.

On this matter a good deal of evidence is available. It is not uncommon for writers in replying to a letter to specify its date; or, if any considerable interval had elapsed between dispatch and arrival, to comment on it. A rich quarry for this question is in the letters written to Aleander, where on the back he has in many cases endorsed the date of arrival and the place where the letter found him. Many of them are of the period of the Diet of Ratisbon which he attended, and in some cases the journey thither was quickly done; from Innsbruck to Ratisbon in four days, from Munich in five, from Spires in nine, from Cologne and Mainz in ten, from Dresden in eleven: in other cases more slowly, from Rome to Ratisbon in twenty-five days, from Tournay in a month, from Venice in a month and a half. A

quick transit was from Rome to Liège in twenty-one days ; slow ones were from Evora in Portugal to Rome in six months, or two instances in the correspondence of Erasmus, one a letter sent off from Aldenburg in Saxony, 13th November 1517, which reached him at Louvain *c.* 1st August 1519, the other dated 26th May 1528, at Aberdeen, which found him at Freiburg *c.* 15th March 1530. Another cause of delay was that the recipient was often a person whose business compelled him to move about; and so the original messenger, not finding him at the destination indicated, might be obliged to carry the letter on till he could find whither to send it and a suitable agent for its transmission. Thus a letter written to Aleander on 7th October from Mainz went on to Rome and had to come halfway back again before it found him at Bologna on 12th January. A letter written to Erasmus on 12th April from Paris missed him in the Netherlands, as he had just started for Basle, and so was carried on to Genoa, and did not return to Basle till 1st September. In affairs of state and commerce letter-books are still preserved, for obvious reasons. In the sixteenth century private individuals had this motive to preserve copies of what they had written : that when an answer was long delayed in coming, they might easily have forgotten not their words only, but even their own sentiments and proposals.

Other difficulties were the carelessness of messengers and the disturbed condition of the times. Officials were apt to inspect any letters that passed through their territories ; and roving bands of soldiers, engaged on one side or another in the many struggles that were then stirring men's hearts, would turn out a messenger's letter-bag and destroy any whose contents displeased them or that were going to persons of whom they did not approve. To protect themselves men sometimes wrote false names on the address-sheets of their letters ; the messenger, of course, having the clue. An example of this is an autograph letter now in the library at Basle, of Conrad Goclen, the Latin professor in Busleiden's collegium trilingue at Louvain, written 26th June 1522. From the contents it is quite clear that the person addressed was Erasmus, who was then at

Basle: but the address on the outside, designed to throw any unfriendly inspector off the scent, is to John Decimarius at Constance. Again, one of Erasmus' published letters is addressed to a certain Sigismund Questenberg, a name not otherwise known. By good fortune the rough draft of the letter exists in Erasmus' autograph, and there it is inscribed quite plainly to John Botzheim, who was a canon of Constance, one of his most intimate friends. The letter is of 1531, at which date the canons had been expelled from Constance by the supporters of the Reformation, and the assumed name had probably been added in case the letter should fall into the wrong hands. When it came to be printed, some months later, the editors of the volume preserved the false name, perhaps by design but more probably in ignorance.

Official interference may be illustrated by the following episode. Late in 1527 Erasmus heard from the Franciscans at Basle that a packet of letters written by him in the middle of November and entrusted to a casual and careless messenger, had been found lying about in an inn at Thann, amongst the Vosges of Upper Alsace, and that the innkeeper had handed them over to the town council. The Franciscan warden at Ruffach heard of it, and sent on the news to Basle. The letters were important, some for the theologians of Paris, with whom Erasmus was engaged in defending his orthodoxy; one for the Archbishop of Canterbury; and a book to go to the Archbishop of Seville. He at once sent off a messenger of his own to Thann to retrieve them. But the council had committed them to the Provost of Thann, and the Provost, after making an examination, had sent them on to the town council of Ensisheim, where the governor of the Austrian territories in Alsace had his seat. Erasmus' Christmas holiday was disturbed by the incident. On 27th December he wrote to the Austrian governor to ask him to send the letters back at once; while Boniface Amerbach wrote to the burgomaster of Ensisheim. "The Council of Thann," writes Amerbach, "has sent to your worships a packet of letters by Erasmus: why, I do not know, for your order about the examination of dispatches only applies, so far as I understand, to those

who are plotting anything treasonable or detrimental to the state. No one can possibly suppose that Erasmus is such a person, and you will see from the (copies of the) letters now sent, that they are only literary and contain nothing that can arouse suspicion : so I cannot imagine why the Council should have acted in this way. If you will kindly return them by this messenger, it will be a service to good learning." Whether the letters were ever recovered is not known, but the incident indicates another reason why in the sixteenth century it was important to keep copies of what one had written.

Another remedy against difficulties of this sort was to send letters in duplicate, and several such pairs are known to exist. But this too had its own danger, as the following incident will show. John de Pins, a member of a good family of Toulouse, later well known as a French diplomat and Bishop of Rieux, when studying as a young man at Bologna in 1505, dispatched a letter to his brother, to be presented by him to his patron, the President of the Parliament of Toulouse. Some time afterwards a friend happened to be returning home, and by him de Pins sent a duplicate of his letter, in case the first copy should have been lost, charging him of course not to deliver it without making enquiries. For some reason the friend failed to comply with this direction, perhaps merely forgetting, and delivered the letter to the President. And so to the consternation of the young student at Bologna, first his brother and then his friend wrote to report that they had carefully executed their commission, and presented the President twice over with a letter of dull compliments and obsequious protestations.

To turn now to a description of some individual letter-books. I have had the opportunity to examine closely two of Erasmus, one of Boniface Amerbach, one of Nicholas Ellenbog—each presenting a different type. The first belongs to the Athenæum Library at Deventer, the curators of which, through the mediation of Dr. Van Slee, have had the kindness to lend it to the Bodleian for my use for now nearly ten years. From internal evidence it is possible to arrive at precise information about the

manner of the formation of the volume. It consists of 228 large square folios, mostly covered with writing on both sides, and it is written by five or six hands, all clearly contemporary, with occasional corrections and additions by Erasmus. Of the letters it contains—about 360 in all—none are dated later than October 1518, except two autograph letters to him of 1524 and 1530, the survivors of a group of about a dozen, which were at one time in the book but have now disappeared—perhaps added by some later autograph collector at any period after Erasmus' death. With the exception of a few early letters from England, of the dates 1509–12, the collection may be said to begin in 1514; and thus covers roughly five years, though it of course does not contain all the letters of that period. But the date of the copying can be still more clearly defined from comparison with the printed volumes of Erasmus' letters. Three of these volumes were printed in the years 1515–17 and three more in 1518–21. The Deventer letter-book contains only three letters which appear in the first group, and one of these is only a fragment, against which the copyist has added in the margin "impressa est," evidently having discovered his error before he had gone far: but of the letters printed in the second group of volumes the manuscript contains fifty-one. The inference from this may fairly be drawn that the earlier letters do not appear in the manuscript because they were already printed; and that therefore the manuscript did not begin to come into being until some time between April 1517, the date of the last of the earlier group of printed volumes, and October 1518.

The period of its composition may be further narrowed. Many of the letters in the manuscript appeared in print in August 1518, in the first of the later volumes of letters. The printed text shows considerable amplification, and just a few of the passages added are written into the manuscript by Erasmus himself. The obvious suggestion is that the manuscript is anterior to the printed text. The contrary can only be supposed on the view that Erasmus wished to preserve the original text of the letters unadorned, and therefore set his secretaries to copy them after the

enlarged text had been printed. But in this case he would not himself have added some of the new passages. It may therefore be argued without doubt that the greater part of the manuscript was written before August 1518, and probably before Erasmus' departure to Basle at the end of April. The manuscript had several series of foliation. It seems to have been made up originally in quires; but most of the leaves are now single. They are grouped first by signatures at the foot, A_1, A_2, A_3, and so on, as in printed books. As the collection grew, the third or fourth copyist made a numeration 1–201; and to this the fifth copyist added two blocks foliated by the Roman and Greek alphabets. The work of the sixth copyist is not numbered at all. From comparison of dates it is possible to identify four out of the six copyists with servant-pupils of Erasmus, boys who lived in his house and rendered him personal services, which varied from the making of salads to the copying fair of his literary work or the carrying of letters and papers along the securer lines of European travel.

The earliest was a Frieslander, Joannes Phrysius, who appears first in Erasmus' service at Antwerp in September 1516, and who left him a year later to seek his fortune in England: the last letters that he copied in the letter-book being his introductions from Erasmus to friends in England and friends who would help him on the way; which testified that he could write a clear hand in both Latin and Greek, and was a fairly accurate copyist. The second, as likewise the fifth, I cannot identify; but the third was Jacobus Nepos, who entered Erasmus' service at the same time as Phrysius, and made such progress that Erasmus took him to Basle in 1518 to help with the printing of the second edition of the New Testament; and finally he stayed behind there, working with Froben and teaching Greek. The fourth hand was an English boy, John Smith, whom Erasmus had picked up at Cambridge in 1512 or 1513. He had accompanied Erasmus to Basle in 1515 and made friends there among the Froben-Amerbach circle; and he remained with his master till April 1518, when at his mother's wish he returned from service beyond the sea. A

noticeable point in his work, which throws light on the English pronunciation of Latin at this period, is the frequency with which before the vowels e and i he writes s for c, *calsem* (Ep. 673. 6), *Sesare* (Ep. 760. 10), *sedit*, *insideris* (Ep. 762. 30, 48), *proficissi* (Ep. 766. 7)[1]; usually, however, correcting himself at once. Examples of the converse are *procenium*, *cigno* (Ep. 758. 16, 22). *Libensius* also occurs (Ep. 758. 17); and a vowel-change is perhaps indicated by *timultus*, which is twice found (Epp. 689. 3, 824. 6). The sixth hand is that of John Hovius, who appears to have joined Erasmus at Basle in the summer of 1518. They returned together to Louvain in September, and there Hovius took a degree: but he did not remain long in Erasmus' service, and his contribution to the manuscript was hardly more than to copy out, in a bold and flowing hand, the group of sixteen letters which Erasmus wrote in October to announce to friends in Basle and England the vicissitudes of his journey and his recovery from what had been called the plague.

This Deventer manuscript presents us therefore with an example of a letter-book homogeneous in composition and formed within a quite limited period by copyists whose identity we can in most cases trace. There is not, however, any attempt at careful chronological arrangement. It is to be noticed that Erasmus does not appear to have set great store by the possession of this volume; for though in some cases he makes corrections, the bulk of the book was never revised by him, no doubt because he was far too busy with other work to be willing to give the time. In consequence the text remains as the scribes left it. Their task was not such as to attract the youthful taste, and they executed it perfunctorily: not merely committing the continual aberrations to which the human pen is prone, but not infrequently producing ridiculous forms and inextricable confusions. The letters copied are divided about evenly between Erasmus'

(1.) This may be paralleled from an *Inventory of the ornaments . . . belonging to the cathedral church of Glasgow*, 1432 (Maitland Club, 1831), where on p. 11 *sista* occurs seven times for *cista*. Similarly in the statutes of the Scottish nation at Orleans during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries *insipientium* is found for *incipientium*; see an article by J. Kirkpatrick in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, ii (1904), p. 67.

own and those written to him. This latter class may arouse some sympathy for the erring scribes; for some of them no doubt were not easy to decipher. But it is not clear why they were copied. Naturally they would have continued in Erasmus' hands. The inference from their reproduction seems to be that he contemplated parting with them, perhaps to send them to be printed. He was in the habit of committing his papers very readily to the faithful Beatus Rhenanus; and on more than one occasion he sent bundles of his letters to Beatus at Basle, leaving him free to choose what he would publish.

This suggestion is borne out by the facts; for fourteen of the letters written to Erasmus which appear in the Deventer book were afterwards printed in different volumes of his *Epistolae*. But it is not a large proportion out of 191. The Basle editors were evidently influenced by various considerations. Of their own letters which are in the Deventer collection—about sixteen—they printed not one: a fact which aroused regretful comment from one of Beatus' admirers, but which needs no explanation when we remember the spirit which animated that whole circle of scholars and printers. Many of the other letters were no doubt excluded on grounds of subject and style. The tradition of elegance was still dominant. Letters were published for the learned world to read, not as contributions to history or biography but as models of what scholars should discuss and of how scholars should write. Another point is that a large proportion of the letters to Erasmus in the Deventer manuscript are concerned with business, such as the sending of his pension from England, or with purely personal matters or technical points of theology and exegesis: matters wearisome to the reader in search of elegance, or too private for publication. The style, too, of Erasmus' correspondents was inferior to his own, and in many cases was crabbed and difficult: so that consideration both for the reader and the credit of the writer afforded sufficient reason for not publishing. The latter point, indeed, is exemplified very markedly in the case of one of the few letters published, an invitation from the Bishop of Basle, to which Erasmus' graceful reply was appended in one

of the printed volumes. The Latinity of the Bishop, or rather of his secretary, left something to be desired: and the blunders revealed by the manuscript are skilfully covered up in the printed text, though only after material alteration.

That the Deventer book contains so many letters of Erasmus copied by his pupils is an indication that he must himself have written out the letters to be actually dispatched, and then have handed them to the pupils to copy for preservation. Examples of such letters exist elsewhere, the originals actually sent and received, in his handwriting and folded over with the ink not yet quite dry, so that it has blotted across. The character of the letters in the manuscript accords with this. They are mostly short personal communications, easy, graphic, and direct, with no effort after style; such as he was accustomed to dash off to his friends in great numbers, and for which he naturally would not trouble to write rough drafts. Of more serious letters there are not many: but most of these were selected for publication shortly after they had been copied. It is noticeable that in almost all of these the printed text has been greatly amplified in the direction of elegance: though there is no reason to suppose that such amplifications appeared in the letters dispatched. In this matter of printing letters as they had not been sent, the standards of the age allowed much freedom. Letters from scholars to their patrons, princes and bishops and statesmen, were usually well spread with butter. If in the printing the butter appeared a little thicker than reality, truth was not mocked, and a little greater honour was paid to the magnate whom it was desired to flatter.

The next manuscript to be considered, also containing letters of Erasmus, is in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, to which it was presented by Frederick III of Denmark in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It is written almost entirely in Erasmus' autograph, but is not a homogeneous letter-book like the Deventer manuscript; for out of its 253 folios only 94—little more than a third—are filled with letters. The remainder contain rough drafts of his notes on Seneca and Augustine, the

former certainly, the latter probably used for his edition of 1529; also rough drafts of the first book of his treatise on preaching, the *Ecclesiastes*, of some additions made to the *Adagia*, and of his treatise *De praeparatione ad mortem*, all of which were composed in 1532–3; and finally there is a copy by a secretary of Erasmus' last will, dated 12th February 1536. The letters, however, which number fifty-two, are not so uniform in their dates. A quarter of them are prior to 1529, the earliest date assignable to any part in the rest of the manuscript, one going back as far as 1517, another to 1519. Still, more than half of them (thirty-two) belong to the years 1529–33, in which the rest of the manuscript was mainly written, and there are four of 1536, the last two dated 16th March, within four months of Erasmus' death. As it is now bound up, the manuscript shows very little arrangement. The letters, it is true, are placed together at the end, and in some relation to the printed volumes of *Epistolae*; though not in chronological order. But the portions of the three treatises, the *Ecclesiastes* and the rest, come in blocks of varying length, the order of which is entirely confused: so that, if we number the blocks as they should come, the actual arrangement works out to 1, 3, 5, 4, 2, 6, 8, 7, 9, 10.

It is not possible to determine how this volume of manuscript papers was originally collected. The binding is apparently seventeenth century, and may very likely be of the date when the manuscript entered the Copenhagen Library; and in consequence the misarrangement may have arisen at any period prior to that. But the miscellaneous character of the contents, combined with this disordered ranging of the leaves, suggests that the volume may have been formed after Erasmus' death, by some friend of his, possibly his latest servant, Lambert Comannus, hastily gathering together papers neglected in the necessity of rapid disposal of effects which often accompanies death, and having no opportunity or inclination to arrange them properly.

But, however the volume was formed, the letters which it contains are of considerable interest. They are all of them rough drafts, written

throughout in Erasmus' own hand; and not one of them was ever actually sent or even prepared for sending. The inference is clear, that in contradistinction to his practice in 1516–18, when he wrote the letters for dispatch and had copies taken by his secretaries, he was now in his later years writing out only the rough drafts, and having these copied to be sent off. Two of these copies, sent to Duke George of Saxony, actually exist now at Dresden, and thus verify the inference. This was indeed already sufficiently corroborated by the numbers of letters of Erasmus which still are preserved in different libraries, written by a secretary and signed by himself: but the Copenhagen manuscript supplies us with specimens of his rough drafts, and precludes the suggestion that he may have dictated many of the letters which his secretaries wrote; though, as we shall see, he was sometimes obliged in times of pressure to resort to this modern-seeming method. It should be noted that the letters composed in rough draft by Erasmus are most of them either to persons of importance or about subjects on which he wished to express himself with care. On less important matters and to his intimate friends such as Boniface Amerbach or his banker Schetus, plenty of his letters still exist in autograph; but he tells us himself that in the later years of his life he had given up having copies taken of such letters before they were sent off.

Several points of interest occur in examining the Copenhagen manuscript. In the first place, the wonderful fluency and ease with which Erasmus wrote, even when he was writing with care. The lines flow steadily across the page, keeping the margin straight and varying little from the horizontal, and yet the speed was such that words are often difficult to decipher—some indeed still remain unsolved—and there is a small proportion of miswritings, which the secretaries underlined, evidently with the intention of inquiring the interpretation. Secondly we may notice the revision, apart from the corrections made at the original writing. By good fortune one of the two letters of which the fair copies are known is revised in the rough draft by Erasmus himself, amongst a long batch which clearly he revised at some interval after the first writing: and the corrections

made *do not appear in the fair copy.* On the other hand, many of the letters were printed in contemporary editions of Erasmus' *Epistolae.* The printed texts often differ considerably from the rough drafts; embodying not only the subsequent corrections made on them, but many others—some of importance—which do not appear in the manuscript. It seems clear, therefore, that Erasmus revised his rough drafts, not before the dispatch of the letters, nor at the time of printing, but at some intermediate period, perhaps at an earlier date contemplating their publication: unless we are to suppose that the second series of corrections appearing in the printed text was made in proof.

There are also corrections made by secretaries: improvement of the writing, by the use of a finer pen, to make it more legible; the insertion in the text of a word written by Erasmus in the margin; the addition of headings, usually quite curt, for purpose of identification; or the cedilla attached to an e to make it into æ—a grace which Erasmus often wrote too hurriedly to stop and append, though the Renaissance considered plain e a medieval barbarism. Other signs of the secretaries' work are such entries as "Transcripta," "Transcriptae sunt omnes"; or vertical lines drawn down the page, to convey the same signification. Glad they were, no doubt, when they could thus mark off their tasks as done; but a comparison of the two fair copies with the rough drafts shows that they were not minutely scrupulous in doing them. *Cum*, for instance, appears for *tum*, *quum* for *cum*, besides the alteration of e into æ; and there are occasional variations of punctuation and order.

Except in one case there is no sign that any part of the manuscript was used for printing. The exception is the first letter in the collection, which is the final letter in the last volume of *Epistolae* published by Erasmus. It is addressed "amicis lectoribus," 21st February 1536, and is not really a letter, but is of the nature of a preface, and obviously never was dispatched to anyone. It is not surprising therefore that it should show the familiar red chalk marks with which printers used to record on copy the divisions and numbers of pages—in this case those of the first edition of the volume,

printed by the Froben firm in 1536. The letter is also interesting to us from its contents, for in it Erasmus gives a general account of the preservation of his papers, and specifies certain works which had been pirated; at the same time warning the public against lightly accepting things printed in his name. The volume now published he describes as made up for the most part of letters written to him by kings and statesmen, cardinals and bishops. "I have picked out those which were not the work of secretaries, but were the author's own compositions and written out by their own hands." Why there were so few of his own he goes on to explain. "For some years now I have not taken any pains to preserve copies of my letters (mearum . . . nullum exemplar seruare curaui), partly because I had not enough secretaries to write them all out, partly because there were so many letters to be written, that I even had to dictate some of them offhand."

The next letter-book before us is of a different order. It forms a volume and a half among the manuscript collections of the Basle University Library; but for the study of it I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bernoulli and the Basle officials, who were good enough to send the volumes to the Bodleian for some months, so that I could work through them at leisure. Their contents are the rough drafts of Boniface Amerbach, the printer's youngest son, Erasmus' devoted confidant and executor, who, separated from his master by a generation, rendered to him with a whole heart those services and courtesies which youth in its piety may offer to age. Boniface had a keen historical sense, and there can be no doubt that we owe to him, and to those that followed his name, the preservation of that wonderful collection of Amerbachiana at Basle which I hope some day to see published. The letters to the Amerbachs, father and sons and grandsons, fill thirty or forty volumes and are replete with material to illustrate the lives of private, but important, people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and all the history of the writing and printing and selling of books. The instinct which led Boniface to collect them, set him also to preserve his own epistolary papers; and as we turn

over the pages of this volume and a half, it really seems as though he can have destroyed nothing that he wrote, scarcely even the smallest and most trivial note.

There are between five and six hundred sheets of manuscript, all in Boniface's own hand, most of them written on both sides, and a single side sometimes containing three separate letters or parts of letters. A great many of the letters appear in two different drafts, the second more ample or more elegant than the first, and sometimes there are even three or four drafts of the same letter. The total of letters is about 530. Not a single one of them was ever dispatched; but they vary from hasty and illegible scratches on the backs of old pieces of paper up to letters copied fair, folded and addressed and lacking nothing but the seal, but afterwards corrected by the erasure of sentences or the addition of passages in the margin, until it became necessary to write them out fair again. During the years which these letters cover, 1519–36, Boniface appears to have employed no secretary, for everything is in his own autograph, although by 1525 he was Professor of Law at Basle and rising to importance. He could write a really beautiful hand, light, graceful and very clear: so much so that one feels it must have been almost painful to him to mar one of his own fair copies by subsequent correction, more vexatious indeed than the necessity of copying it out afresh. But when he is writing quickly, in the mere rough drafts, few Latin hands are more difficult to decipher; the character still graceful, but the distinctions of letters almost disappearing. These almost illegible drafts form by far the larger part of the volumes: those that are clear being comparatively scanty. That Boniface should have been careful to preserve so much suggests that he can hardly have destroyed anything willingly: and that there must have been valid reasons to enforce what was no doubt a strong instinct of preservation in his character.

Some points may be noticed which illustrate the composition of letters. It is quite exceptional for headings to be added; the identification of the correspondent is usually given by the interjection of the name, "clarissime

Hieronyme," "charissime Caspar," after the first few words. The same feature we noticed in the Copenhagen manuscript where the headings are often inserted by secretaries. So, too, in the Deventer manuscript the headings of Erasmus' letters are often missing; the secretaries having had no clue. Another interesting feature is the occurrence of batches of letters addressed to groups of correspondents, written consecutively and not following the divisions of pages and sheets: each batch being clearly contemporary, containing the same news, and written in anticipation of some opportunity for dispatch; and the date being subsequently added to the first one or two, so soon as a messenger offered and the fair copies could actually be sent off. Sometimes the date is corrected to a later day, evidently because it had not been possible to dispatch the letter at the time when it was written.

Another feature of note is the occasional use of Greek letters in the middle of a Latin word: χ for ch and the elegant combination for tr. Clearly these were employed for brevity, or in the latter case Boniface may have liked the form and have enjoyed writing it—just as some people to-day use the long s as a fancy. The practice suggests a line on which we may look for the solution of enigmas in handwriting. For example, the unintelligible word *Graxiloquus* which is found in one of Erasmus' letters (Ep. 35. 86), in a list of medieval books to be avoided, may quite likely be interpreted as *Braχilogus.* In another letter (Ep. 698. 5), which comes from the Deventer manuscript, *Enxeridion* is without doubt to be read as *Enχeiridion.*

A letter-book of a more perfect type is that of Nicholas Ellenbog (1481–1543), a son of that Ulrich Ellenbog, physician of Augsburg, whose name is doubtless familiar to all here from Robert Proctor's paper on one of his books which is now in the University Library at Cambridge. Nicholas became a monk at Ottobeuren in Bavaria; and thereafter his life was mostly spent within the walls of his own or neighbouring monasteries. He was by nature a student, and successive abbots were friendly; but his leisure was at first considerably curtailed by the obligation to serve his

brethren. Four years after his entry he was made Prior, and was only released after four years of office to have imposed on him the more arduous duties of Steward or Cellarer—a post which he filled for ten years more. So that he was past forty before he found himself in enjoyment of the leisure he had sought in the cloister, to study Hebrew and astronomy, to make sundials and work with his lathe. Throughout his life he was a letter-writer, corresponding largely with the members of his own family—one brother was in Maximilian's household, another was a parish priest near by, a third was a medical student at Siena, and of his sisters one was in a neighbouring convent, of which she rose to be Abbess, another was married to a merchant, and had children in whose education he had an affectionate concern—and also with scholars of note, Erasmus and Reuchlin, Eck and Pellican, Locher and Nachtigall and Peutinger. His correspondence is preserved in nine books, each containing a hundred letters, except the last which has only ninety-one, and was probably terminated abruptly by his death, the last letter being incomplete. The first two books are in the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek, bound together into one volume; the remainder, bound in four volumes, are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

The letters are all carefully copied by Ellenbog in his own hand, and begin in 1504, the year after he entered Ottobeuren. But though they are arranged very nearly in strict chronological order, it is probable that he did not start this collection of fair copies until later, for the manuscript is headed by him "Epistolae fratris Nicolai Ellenbog, Otenpurrha, 1517"—an inscription which he would perhaps not have added at a subsequent date, if the collection had been gradually coming into existence for some years. More probably it marks the date of commencement. If this is so, it follows that for all the letters before 1517, about 210—rather more than the first two books—he was using his own rough drafts; whereas after that date, when the letter-book was established in being, he very likely would have copied from his actual letters before he sent them off. This inference is corroborated by the fact that in the

first two books a good many of his own letters are undated, without month or year or place—just in the condition which, as we have seen, was normal for rough drafts : whereas after the point indicated the dates are rarely, if ever, missing. We may wonder why Ellenbog did not preserve the originals of the letters he received, instead of copying them into his book. An answer is not difficult to find. To him they were merely modern letters, in connexion with which the idea of originals would hardly arise. They were probably of different sizes and shapes, not convenient to be kept together, and would thus have marred the neatness of his letter-book.

There is a touch of romance about the collection which explains why one part is at Stuttgart, the other—from Colbert's library—at Paris. At the head of book 3, the first of those in Paris, Ellenbog writes : "The two first books were carried off by the Peasants in 1525 : whether they will ever see the light again God knows," and the same melancholy sentiment is found at the end of book 4, reached in 1529. The intermediate story of the manuscript is not fully traceable : but we may fairly infer that they never returned to gladden Ellenbog's eyes.[1]

Another small point of interest is that the text of the manuscript can be corroborated in a few different directions. Ellenbog's letter to Erasmus was copied by a secretary into the Deventer letter-book we began by considering; and the text actually sent shows some differences from the rough draft preserved and subsequently copied by Ellenbog. Again fifteen letters that passed between Ellenbog and Wolfgang Rychard, an Ulm physician, are to be found also in Rychard's letter-book, which is now in the Town Library at Hamburg; and the letter-book of Gallus Knöringer, Prior of St. Mang at Füssen, contains duplicates of his correspondence with Ellenbog. In both these cases I have not been able to compare the texts together. The two letter-books mentioned differ from Ellenbog's in containing other matter which is not epistolary; thus conforming to what

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(1) Since this paper was written, competent editors have been forthcoming for Ellenbog's letters, and the publication (I hope, complete) has been undertaken.

I conceive to be the more medieval type of letter-book, into which the writer gathered whatever pleased him.

Finally, *misericordiae ergo*, I cannot refrain from mentioning a letter-book which I examined this spring at Madrid in the library of the Duke of Berwick and Alva. It contains ninety-two letters by Diego Gracian of Alderete, who studied for eight years at Paris and Louvain and then after some years of service with Don Juan Emmanuel of Spain, and subsequently with Rodrigo, acting Bishop of Zamora, entered the Chancery of Charles V and became an Imperial Secretary. Gracian was a man of literary tastes, and employed his leisure in translating both from Greek and Latin into Spanish. Among his correspondents are Erasmus, the brothers Valdes, and Francis Vergara, and his letters are often full of vivid detail. The manuscript is not an original, but a copy made in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, arranged more or less in chronological order, but with few year-dates. What moves our sympathy, almost our tears, is its present condition. There has been more than one fire in the Ducal library, and on one occasion this manuscript was not rescued until the flames had come very nigh. The leaves were not closely bound up, like some of the Cottonian volumes which have suffered comparatively little harm. The air could enter easily, and in consequence, along the bottom edge for some distance in, the leaves are scorched a deep brown, on which the ink stands out with a dull blue shine. The discolouration would matter little; but the scorched portion is now hopelessly brittle, and however carefully one turns over the leaves, pieces great and small flake off and perish. And not a tenth part of the manuscript has been printed.[1] With patience it was possible to make out the writing even where the paper was burnt nearly black; but where the edges had broken completely away, there was no further hope. After my two or three days' work, the paper wrapper in which the manuscript lives was strewn with chips and

(1) The Ducal librarian, Don Antonio Paz y Melia, has made use of the manuscript for an article on Diego Gracian, in *Revista di Archivos*, 1901; and gives extracts from some of the letters.

flakes of the leaves, which it seemed hopeless to preserve or attempt to restore.

I have left little time for general considerations. My purpose has been by setting out in detail specimens representative of different types of letter-books, to indicate some characteristics of the manuscript sources from which printed volumes of letters came into being. Erasmus sometimes collected from his correspondents the letters he had written to them; but normally an author in printing his own letters would have beside him only his own rough drafts, lacking year-dates probably in many cases, and often month-dates as well, with the headings, too, uncertain perhaps. With such material it is easy to understand why Erasmus was often under the necessity of adding year-dates, when he began to print collections of his *Epistolae.* He had little head for figures, his calculations of intervals of years are sometimes egregiously inaccurate. It is not surprising therefore that in supplying year-dates he produced quite as many wrong as right. The printed letters of Vives are an excellent example of the two different types of source. There are two series, one consisting of letters to Erasmus which is appended to the collected edition of Vives' works published at Basle in 1555; the other a small volume printed at Antwerp in 1556, which besides reprinting the first series also contains a considerable number of new letters. The first series clearly was printed from Vives' actual letters to Erasmus, which must have been preserved at Basle; the second from papers of Vives surviving in the Netherlands, where he died at Bruges in 1540. In the first series the dates are all complete, and the letters are long and finished: in the second series, as we should expect with rough drafts, the dates are usually missing and the letters are brief and indeterminate.

The correspondence of Peter Martyr of Anghiera was for long a puzzle to historians. The material seemed in itself quite genuine and important, giving abundance of vivid detail and in no sense suggesting suspicions of forgery. But awkward contradictions of date were pointed out; events separated by considerable intervals of time were narrated in the same

letter; and in general such problems arose that historians agreed that the letters must be neglected as a source to which no confidence could be given. But Bernays working on new lines, by considering the nature of the material from which the first edition was printed—at Alcala, after Martyr's death—demonstrated that the contemporary editor had worked up the chaotic mass of rough drafts into some sort of connected whole, weaving together, not too skilfully, several letters or parts of letters into one. As a result of Bernays' investigations, Martyr's letters are to be regarded as generally accurate in statement, but untrustworthy in dates.

But this is merely to touch the fringe of a question which deserves ampler treatment.

THE GENERAL CATALOGUE OF INCUNABULA.

BY ERNST CROUS.

Read 16th December, 1912.

FIFTEENTH century books are a class of their own. They are no longer manuscripts, but they are not yet books in a modern sense. Only by degrees did the printers learn to apply all the means of their trade and to replace the forms suitable to a written book by those suitable to a printed one. So we care for incunabula as documents in the history of typography, not for the sake of their contents, whether they are obsolete or found in later reprints. This peculiarity of early printed books, and of our interest in them, sets a special task to the bibliographer.

In 1688 a bookseller of Emmerich on the German-Dutch frontier, *Cornelius van Beughem*, first separately published a list of "Incunabula typographiae," more frequently asked for, as he says; yet he registers them like other books, *i.e.* (with the addition of some typographical remarks) from a literary point of view. In the first half of the following century his work was far surpassed by *Maittaire's* "Annales typographici." These enumerate the works according to the years of publication, reproduce in some cases the whole, in others the substance of colophons,

especially the printer's name and the exact date of issue, and sometimes glance at characters and types, abbreviations and printers' devices. Maittaire registers the works in the alphabetical order of their authors' names and gives chronological and alphabetical lists of the towns where presses were established and of the printers. An important supplement followed half a century later. *Denis*, its compiler, separated history and bibliography, which Maittaire had combined, and observed the limit of 1500, which Maittaire had exceeded; but he cultivated his narrower field all the more thoroughly: in his descriptions he made a practice of giving the number of leaves and columns, often too the subject of the woodcuts, and of stating if there is a table or register, foliation, signatures or catch-words, printing in red or misprints. At the very end of the eighteenth century *Panzer* sums up all the knowledge of his time. Whereas van Beughem knew two or three thousand incunabula and Maittaire between five and six thousand, to which Denis added the same quantity, he knows more than fifteen thousand. He corrects the mistakes and fills up the gaps of his predecessors, completes the collation by notes as to the number of lines and the capitals, specifies, where he is able, the foliation and the signatures, and makes *his* "Annales typographici" more suitable for use by arranging the places of printing alphabetically and the titles chronologically under them.

Hain's "Repertorium bibliographicum," published between 1826 and 1838, became the classical work for the nineteenth century. More than the older bibliographers he insisted upon seeing with his own eyes; first he gathered notes in the libraries of Weimar, Leipsic, Dresden and Vienna, then he examined the vast store of Munich, book by book; he attached so high a value to this point that he marked out all the entries procured in this way by an asterisk. More than the former bibliographies his Repertorium provides accurate descriptions; it particularly indicates in its transcripts the division of lines and mentions marginal notes and head-lines, wherever they are used. Whereas Panzer had once more gone beyond the year 1500, Hain decided in favour of this limit.

Notwithstanding its great merits, Hain's "Repertorium bibliographicum" could not be the final word in regard to this matter. On the one hand he had seen not quite the half the books which he catalogues, and these not always in complete copies, and he died before having finished his manuscript. So we regret to perceive omissions—he does not record many more fifteenth century books than Panzer—, mistakes, want of uniformity and insufficient indexes. Finally, sources and authorities are seldom quoted. On the other hand science has progressed. The publication of many catalogues of the incunabula produced by one country, one town, one press, or extant in a whole country, a single town, a single library, or to be sold by a dealer, has greatly increased the number of incunabula known to the scientific world. The art of cataloguing has been refined, and information as to fifteenth century literature increased. Monographs have cleared up the history of early printing. Attention has been directed to types and typographical peculiarities, so interesting in themselves, and so useful for dating undated pieces of printing. After Blades and Bradshaw in England, and Dziatzko in Germany had led the way, Proctor's "Index to the early printed books in the British Museum" indicated the printers and the types for ten thousand incunabula, and Haebler's "Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke" supplied a simple means of determining the printer by the types. Photography finally has given great help : the modern facsimile publications supply reproductions of pieces of printing not at hand, and enable us to compare originals, the printers of which are not mentioned, with facsimiles of known types.

Under these circumstances we need not be astonished to hear people ask for a new Hain. Before the Bibliographical Society came into existence, in his paper "On the necessity for the formation of a Bibliographical Society of the United Kingdom and suggestions to its operations," read at the Annual Meeting of the Library Association at Nottingham in 1891, your founder, Dr. Copinger, characterised a new edition of Hain as a work which would be heartily welcomed by all bibliographers, and which might be taken in hand by the Bibliographical Society. In 1892, in his

inaugural address, he again discussed this subject. He pleaded for a complete bibliography of fifteenth century books founded on a study of the various presses, and in all respects suitable to the requirements of the day. Next, Herr Burger tried to interest the directors of the great German libraries in the work of remodelling Hain. With a grant from the State or aid from a society he himself hoped to complete the work within five or six years. Finally, Professor Dziatzko several times agitated for a new Repertorium bibliographicum, in order to avoid the repetition of the same investigations in a succession of libraries and to obtain a groundwork for the history of fifteenth century literature; he asked for international co-operation and made detailed proposals as to how to proceed, how to arrange the catalogue, and how to draw up the descriptions.

For the moment the only result of these proposals was *Copinger's* and *Burger's* "Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum." In this there were nearly seven thousand corrections of and additions to the collation of works described or mentioned by Hain; there was a list, with numerous collations and bibliographical particulars, of about as many volumes printed in the fifteenth century not referred to by Hain; there was an index of fifteenth century printers and publishers with lists of their works; finally, some of the last refinements in incunabula science—remarks on the signatures, on the number of leaves in the single quires, on the paragraph-marks and the hyphens—were introduced into this general bibliography. This work has met with much censure, and I must admit that as a mere supplement to a book half a century old it could not as a whole avoid taking up a scientific point of view now out of date, that it gives no personal guarantee for the entries, that it does not make sufficient use of available sources, that the value of the authorities quoted differs widely, and that therefore it is without any uniformity and often unreliable. However—to do justice to men of Dr. Copinger's and Herr Burger's merits—it did not claim to be anything but "Collections towards a new edition" of Hain, a basis for future work, an introduction to something better, and, as such, it is very useful to the present generation,

especially in the preparation of the new, larger and more scientific work which Dr. Copinger himself demanded.

When things had reached to this stage, and while it became more and more evident that no single person could make a modern Repertorium bibliographicum, help came from an unexpected quarter. When the central catalogue of the Prussian libraries was planned, the question was discussed as to whether fifteenth century books were to be recorded. The authorities decided on doing so, yet only in an abbreviated form reserving full descriptions for a general catalogue of incunabula.

Now it turned out that besides the printed materials much preparatory work had been done already. Herr Burger in Leipsic had cut up two copies of Hain and other incunabula catalogues, had pasted each number recorded by them on a separate sheet of paper, had augmented this collection by the addition of notes from Maittaire, Denis, Panzer, etc., had gathered notes of all the incunabula in the libraries of Vienna, Dresden, Halle, etc., and had in this way obtained a rough general catalogue. Dr. Haebler in Dresden had made a complete inventory of fifteenth century books in the Kingdom of Saxony and proposed to extend it to the collections in the neighbourhood. Dr. Voulliéme in Berlin had done the same for that city.

So, in the year 1904, Dr. Voulliéme having made a report, Ministerialdirektor Althoff, as representative of the Ministry of Education, invited these renowned incunabula scholars to a conference in Berlin. Here the principles for elaborating the new Repertorium bibliographicum were fixed and the above-mentioned three gentlemen were requested to join Dr. Freys of Munich and Dr. Schmidt of Darmstadt in a "Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke bei der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin"; Dr. Haebler who already, at the Meeting of the German librarians at Marburg, had seconded Professor Dziatzko's motion for a general catalogue, and whose Repertorium of types became an important basis for the great enterprise, was appointed chairman. Soon after, this

commission met at Leipsic, and made a detailed sketch of their work. Annual conferences followed, in order to discuss theoretical questions and to make the special table of work for the next year.

The first duty was an inventory of all fifteenth century books now extant in Germany. This was carried out—as planned—within six years, from 1906 to 1911, with very satisfactory results. It had been expected that about 100,000 copies would be found, whereas about 150,000—fifty per cent. more—were enumerated, one third in Prussia, one third in Bavaria, one third in the rest of Germany; many choice copies hitherto unknown were in this way discovered.

The Commission took over the materials collected by its own members, and in addition, materials formerly gathered by Prussian and Saxon authorities. They themselves started sending a circular of queries to the four hundred and fifty-two libraries mentioned as containing incunabula in Schwenke's "Adressbuch der deutschen Bibliotheken." The Prussian Government seconded them diplomatically by recommending both this circular and the whole work to the governments of the other German States, and in Bavaria various religious orders distributed the circular among all their convents and monasteries. It was asked, how many fifteenth century books the respective libraries contained; whether they were placed separately or might otherwise be easily found by the help of a general catalogue; whether there was an incunabula catalogue, and, if so, when it was made and how it was arranged—alphabetically under authors' names, or under printing towns' and printers' names, or chronologically—; whether the copies had been identified with numbers of Hain, Copinger or Proctor; whether the collection in question was derived from collections of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; and whether there were other incunabula collections in the neighbourhood. Whereas twenty-four of the libraries inquired for were no longer in existence or did not contain any fifteenth century books, two hundred and forty-eight additional institutions became known as containing incunabula. Among these institutions were several archives, where one might especially expect to find broadsides of only local or

temporary use. Many of the six hundred and seventy-six institutions lent their written catalogues or, in fulfilment of a wish expressed in the circular, sent their printed ones.

There was no lack of co-workers. Dr. Collijn, librarian at Uppsala, who is occupied with catalogues of the Swedish incunabula collections and is thus especially interested in the relationship between early Scandinavian printing and early Lübeck printing, was with the support of his Government allowed to share the German enterprise by research in some of the towns on the coast of the North Sea and of the Baltic Sea. The Prussian Ministry of Education acknowledged his services by appointing him a foreign member of the Commission. Other people co-operated with the Commission as volunteer helpers, either independently or under the superintendence of individual members. Yet the chief part of the work was done by the members of the Commission themselves. Dr. Haebler continued his inventory of the old Wettin countries, Saxony and Thuringia. Dr. Voulliéme, in his quality of a native of Prussia, visited the Prussian libraries. Dr. Freys and three assistants, all Bavarian officials, applied themselves to the search in Bavaria. Dr. Schmidt, with two assistants, worked in Hesse and in the South-West of Germany from Darmstadt as a centre. Herr Burger gave information as to some important collections with which he had already occupied himself in former times. As Dr. Haebler, who had meanwhile been transferred to Berlin, and Dr. Schmidt had already finished the smaller task allotted them, they afterwards took part in the larger one of Dr. Voulliéme. Dr. Schmidt, after having examined the historical literature on the second half of the fifteenth century, made special researches in archives ; in this way he found many rare single-sheets, and sometimes induced the officials of these institutions to continue his researches and communicate further discoveries to the Commission.

The various authorities granted money and leave of absence, by doing which they not only advanced the general catalogue, but also helped some libraries to draw up incunabula catalogues of their own which they had not previously possessed.

The stock-taking itself was done in different ways, according to circumstances. Where there were trustworthy general or special catalogues, extracts were made—at home, if possible, otherwise in the respective libraries—and where there was any doubt, recourse was had to the copies themselves. Where such catalogues did not exist, and in libraries of not more than a few thousand books, the volumes themselves were examined one after the other. In the case of collections of ten incunabula or less it was requested that the books should be transmitted to Berlin.

The governing bodies of libraries proved very obliging. They almost always allowed the investigators to work longer than the customary hours of opening and personally to get the books from the shelves. Sometimes they even gave them the key of the library to enter at liberty. They sent to their residences all the books they wanted.

The method of working was as follows: If the pieces of printing to be examined mentioned the name of the printer or were in well-known types, their Hain and Copinger numbers were stated with the aid of Burger's index; otherwise the descriptions of Hain and Copinger themselves had to be used. Each copy thus identified was registered in the inventory book of the respective member of the Commission by putting the abbreviated name of the library which contained it after the respective number of Hain or Copinger. A general inventory book brings together the contents of the single ones. For each piece of printing not enumerated by Hain or Copinger a sheet like those made by Herr Burger was written recording the title, some particulars, and the place where it was found. All the old and new so-called Burger sheets are arranged according to the numbers of Hain and Copinger or, if the books were not enumerated by these, in the alphabetical order of authors' names.

The second duty of the Commission is the compilation of the general catalogue. How is it to be done? The Commission have resolved to arrange the catalogue itself in the alphabetical order of authors' names and to append three large indexes, one of the printers and the works printed

by them, one of the various subjects and the works which treat of them, one of all persons connected with the works : editors, correctors, translators and so on and of those to whom the books are dedicated. In order to display the whole literary work of each author, all translations, editions, dedicatory letters or verses made by him will be referred to under his name. In order to show the various phases of each literary production, the same part of the beginning and the end will be reproduced in all the descriptions.

Instructions to this end are given in a supplement to the "Instruktionen für die alphabetischen Kataloge der Preussischen Bibliotheken." The bibliographical notice is to state the author, title, place of printing, printer and editor (publisher), date and size. The collation is to state the number of leaves, the quires and signatures, the foliation, the catchwords, the numbers of columns and lines, the types, capitals, paragraph-marks, woodcuts, printing in red, head lines and marginal notes; types and so on according to Haebler's Repertorium of types. The description in a more restricted sense is to reproduce the title and the colophon, prefaces and dedicatory letters or verses, the beginning and the end of the text, and the first line of the second quire. The characters and other peculiarities of the piece of printing are imitated in the transcript; the division of lines is marked; tables and registers are specified. At the end, references to sources and authorities are given.

The Commission wished to form an idea as to the cost of producing the catalogue, when printed, and to submit a specimen of their work to the criticism of all people who care for the matter. So they published the "Nachträge zu Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum und seinen Fortsetzungen," in which specimens showing the appearance and arrangement of the descriptions may be seen. A second publication, "Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis, hrsg. von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke," is now being prepared, recording some one thousand five hundred broadsides—many of them unique. They are found partly in records of archives, partly in

covers of other books. Letters of indulgence and calendars predominate, important testimonies for the history of printing, as we can usually date them. A publication not made by the Commission, yet connected with their work is the "Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Typenkunde des 15. Jahrhunderts." These reproductions of types, which are to comprise all those used in the fifteenth century, complete Haebler's Repertorium of types by means of illustrations and thus enable us still better to identify the printer from the types. I am glad that the Commission have allowed me to supply your library with a copy of the "Nachträge" and to distribute some dozen sheets and tables of the "Einblattdrucke" and the "Veröffentlichungen" among those who care for these specimens.

It is the Commission's principal design to have the new catalogue as uniform and up-to-date as possible. In consequence of this a central office has been established at the Royal Library of Berlin for the purpose of making the descriptions under Dr. Haebler's superintendence. The material is drawn from the inventories and the Burger sheets, the latter having been further supplemented by thorough researches in the printed literature of the subject. If the Royal Library contains copies, these are described, otherwise the copies required are sent in from elsewhere; in cases where this proves inconvenient, special arrangements are made. Down to the 1st of December about seven thousand descriptions had been written; every week this number increases by about one hundred. The Commission wish and hope to get their manuscript ready for print in about five years.

As the German libraries do not contain copies of all fifteenth century books, no general catalogue can be compiled, if the collections of the other countries are not likewise laid under contribution. So the Commission desires inventories of these also.

Dr. Collijn—as I have mentioned before—is making catalogues of the incunabula collections in *Sweden*; the catalogues of Vesteräs, Uppsala and

Linköping are already published, and the catalogue of Stockholm in course of publication. He has—again with the help of the Swedish Government —begun to make inventories in *Russia* and the *Austrian* parts of *Poland.*

To *Spain* and *Portugal* the Commission sent Herr Ernst from 1909 to 1910; he travelled through the whole peninsula and registered about twelve thousand copies there.

In *Austria* the "Oesterreichische Verein für Bibliothekswesen" was the first to express the wish that the Austrian libraries might follow the German example; a "Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke" was formed and entered into connection with the German one; Dr. Haebler read a paper at Graz on the subject. At present Styria is finished, Salzburg is begun, and a distribution of the other provinces made among individual co-workers. In *Switzerland*, after Dr. Schmidt had read a paper at the Meeting of the librarians at Freiburg in 1910, the association of librarians proceeded in the same way as in Germany. They have almost finished their work and found about twelve thousand copies.

France is to have an inventory of her own in Mlle. Pellechet's "Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France." Three volumes, up to the letter G in alphabetical order, are already published; the Commission hope the remainder will be published in time for them to use the whole for their purpose. In *Denmark* all fifteenth century books are to be gathered at Copenhagen in the Great Royal Library; the library copy of Bölling's "Index librorum saeculo 15mo impressorum quorum exempla possidet Bibliotheca Regia Hafniensis" with supplementary entries in MS. of recent accessions has been sent to Berlin, in order to be copied there.

In *Italy* there is a "Commissione per il catalogo generale degli incunabuli." In *Belgium* the Flemish Academy has a similar work in hand. In the *Netherlands* the work is to be carried out by a single person under the auspices of the Royal Library at the Hague. The Bibliographical Society of America plans a printed inventory for the *United States.*

And the United Kingdom? Here much preparatory work has been done by publishing valuable catalogues of single collections. The Commission are indebted to English liberality for copies of some of them. But not all printed materials answer the purpose of the Commission and not all stock-takings are done. So the Commission have wished me to fill up the gaps, in order to get an inventory of the whole country. For this purpose I have made a list of libraries in *Great Britain and Ireland* which contain fifteenth century books; it at present enumerates about one hundred and fifty. I am much obliged to your Honorary Secretary and to yourselves for the kind aid granted already and request you to do likewise in future. Then, I trust, however difficult the task may be, it will be done; as the proverb says: "Where there is a will, there is a way."

After the President had called attention to the importance of the subject, a report was read, which Mr. Pollard had drawn up at the request of the Council. This pointed out that the information for which the German Commission is asking is mainly as to the incunabula of which no accurate descriptions have yet been printed. The most important classes of undescribed incunabula existing in England are (i) those printed in England itself, (ii) those printed abroad for the English markets. The work of Lettou and Machlinia and the early books of De Worde, Pynson and Notary have only been described as a class in the various editions of Ames. The books printed abroad for English use, as a class, have never been described in print at all. Mr. Gordon Duff has devoted his life to the study of these two classes, and it is only by his aid that adequate descriptions can be obtained.

As regards other foreign incunabula imported into England, either for purposes of study when they were new, or during the last two centuries as typographical monuments or curiosities, lists of those at the British Museum, Bodleian, John Rylands Library, Lambeth, the chief Edinburgh

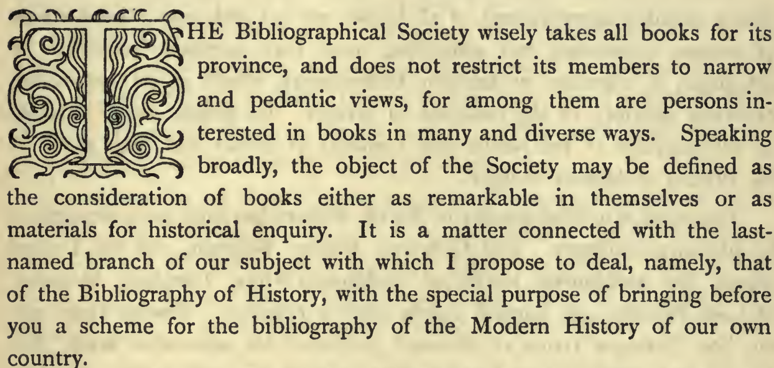
libraries, and practically all the College libraries at Cambridge, are in print, and information is available as to the Cambridge University Library, and some of the Oxford College libraries. As regards the incunabula in Cathedral libraries and the libraries of a few parishes and ancient schools, little is at present known. In response to enquiries in the *News-Sheet* some fifteen members have sent in notes, some giving the numbers of those in their own possession, and one or two supplying actual lists. Two members have supplied information as to all the libraries, public and private, in their neighbourhood, and it is earnestly to be hoped that others will follow this good example.

Mr. Redgrave, Mr. Bourdillon, Mr. Barnard, and other members joined in the discussion, and a vote of thanks was offered to Dr. Crous, who briefly replied.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN BRITISH HISTORY SINCE 1485.

By HENRY R. TEDDER.

Read 20th January, 1913.



THE Bibliographical Society wisely takes all books for its province, and does not restrict its members to narrow and pedantic views, for among them are persons interested in books in many and diverse ways. Speaking broadly, the object of the Society may be defined as the consideration of books either as remarkable in themselves or as materials for historical enquiry. It is a matter connected with the last-named branch of our subject with which I propose to deal, namely, that of the Bibliography of History, with the special purpose of bringing before you a scheme for the bibliography of the Modern History of our own country.

There is still some difference of opinion as to what meaning is conveyed by the word "bibliography." It once described the actual writing of books, and was so used in England down to the eighteenth century. For long it signified merely a knowledge of manuscripts, or what we speak of as palæography. The French bibliographers of the middle of the eighteenth century confined the term to the description and classification of printed books. A more modern and extensive view of the subject would deal with books as a comprehensive whole, with their

preparation, their distribution, their acquisition, and their description. There are persons who distinguish between "material" and "intellectual" bibliography, and discriminate between the outside and the inside of books, but in my judgment no book can be satisfactorily dealt with in its physical aspect without investigating its literary origin. Questions of authorship, classification, and arrangement forbid this exclusive and mechanical view.

The bibliographer who confines his attention to title-pages and their accurate transcription, and stoutly refuses to have anything to do with contents of books, even when he is called upon to classify them, lessens his sphere of usefulness.

There is of course a reasonable limit to what is required. We do not want a detailed appraisement of all books, nor yet elaborate classifications of human knowledge, but something more than accurate transcripts of title-pages is expected in modern bibliography, which is no longer the exclusive province of the collector of rarities. Its proper study includes an investigation of the nature and contents of books and their place in the history of human thought.

The need of a Bibliography of British History has long been recognised by historical students. For Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States, the well-known works of Dahlmann-Waitz, Langlois, Molinier, Monod, Pirenne, and Larned, supply what is required. Twelve years ago the late Professor Gross of Harvard produced his admirable book, *The Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest times to about 1485*; but for the last four centuries we have nothing sufficiently complete and methodical to be adequate to the requirements of modern historical study. It is believed that a Bibliography of later British History will be of value, not only to British students, but also, in an even greater degree, to those of America and Continental Europe.

I do not propose to weary you with an account of the extensive literature published in various countries and at various times on the

subject of historical bibliography, as such a retrospect has been the theme of several papers read by me to the Library Association, some as far back as 1885, when I first submitted to that body my "Proposals for a Bibliography of National History," since approved by Mr. Frederic Harrison and Dr. G. W. Prothero in papers before the Royal Historical Society.

Three representative books however deserve some notice. The first is Dr. Charles Gross's work to which the proposals I have to submit are supplementary, the second is the *Guide to the MS. materials for the History of the United States to 1783* published by the Carnegie Institution at Washington in 1908, the third is the new edition of Dahlmann-Waitz. *The Dictionary of National Biography* is a rich storehouse of historical information and must not be forgotten, but it is only in alphabetical order of persons and for this reason possesses but remote interest for our purpose. I have suggested to the publishers the desirability of a chronological index classified under names and under subjects, which would form a most useful historical clue to a work of reference of which every Englishman has reason to be proud.

Professor Charles Gross unfortunately died before he was able to bring out his second edition now in course of preparation. In his Preface he stated: "Mr. Tedder and Mr. Harrison both demand that the proposed bibliography, unlike those of Dahlmann-Waitz and Monod, should give some account of the contents and a brief estimate of the value of the books named; and they agree in asserting that the labour of preparing such a treatise can be successfully undertaken only by some method of co-operation on the part of various experts." He added: "but a co-operative scheme of this sort is difficult to initiate and carry out; and as no such scheme has as yet been undertaken, I have ventured to put forth a bibliography of that part of the subject which extends from the earliest times to 1485." Professor Gross will always deserve the sincere gratitude of students for the enterprise and self-denying labour with which he commenced his laborious task and the skill and energy with which he

carried it out. His book contains a systematic survey of the printed materials relating to the political, constitutional, legal, social, and economic history of England, Wales, and Ireland. The manuscript materials are dealt with only incidentally; Scotland was omitted except so far as she influenced English History.

His work "comprises select lists of books; worthless and obsolete treatises are omitted except in the case of a few recent works which are mentioned merely in order that the student may be warned to shun them. Greater fulness has been sought in the sections concerning the original sources and it is hoped that no printed source of prime importance has been overlooked. Besides books and pamphlets, the work includes a selection of papers found in collective essays, in journals, and in the transactions of societies; many valuable treasures lie buried in these by-ways of literature. An effort has been made to include all continental books, pamphlets, and papers that are of any value to students of English History. . . ." Many of the titles "are accompanied by brief notes explaining the contents of the books and estimating their value. These notes are supplemented by the preliminary remarks which will be found at the beginning of the sections and sub-sections. Mr. Frederic Harrison rightly asserts that 'just as a real history is not a series of annals, so a real bibliography is not a mere catalogue of titles.'"

All honour to Dr. Gross for the work which he carried out, but the part he completed is really the least difficult of achievement by individual effort. It is when we approach the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that choice and selection increase in difficulty, and it is in the later period when choice and selection become more and more urgent. The projected continuation will be on a more comprehensive plan than that of Dr. Gross, and it is proposed to deal with unprinted materials in a way not contemplated by him.

The Guide to the MS. materials for the History of the United States to 1783 was compiled by Professor C. M. Andrews of the Johns Hopkins

University and Miss F. G. Davenport for the Carnegie Institution of Washington and was published in 1908. It includes the British Museum, the minor London Archives, and the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. It does not include the Public Record Office. It is supplementary to previous volumes on MS. materials in Cuban and Spanish archives. Paris, Mexico, and Rome are yet to be dealt with. There will be references to the contents of these works in the publication I am describing.

The recently-published eighth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* is a monumental work. The title-page contains the names of no less than forty-two persons who helped the editor Paul Herre in this prodigious undertaking. The numbers run to 13,380 main titles. The seventh edition (1906) contained 10,382. References to unprinted MSS. sources are not included, nor are there notes, but in the latest edition these are represented by references to other sources of information in the alphabetical index, which extends in three columns from page 980 to page 1290. It is in two divisions—one of subjects and one in historical order similar to our plan. The period extends from the earliest times to 1911 and it is a select bibliography.

In 1909 the American Historical Association appointed a Committee to consider the question of continuing Gross in collaboration with the Royal Historical Society. This Committee consists of Professor E. P. Cheyney (Pennsylvania), Chairman; Professor A. L. Cross (Michigan); Professor R. B. Merriman (Harvard); Professor E. C. Richardson (Princeton); and Professor Williston Walker (Yale). Acting on their invitation the Council of the Royal Historical Society appointed a Committee consisting of Professor Firth, Mr. Hubert Hall, Dr. G. W. Prothero, Mr. H. R. Tedder, and Dr. A. W. Ward to confer with the American Committee and if possible to come to some arrangement. A scheme has now been approved by the two Committees and arrangements are now being made for carrying it out.

Our bibliography will comprise a selected and classified list of works in English as well as in foreign languages. It will be a guide to the principal manuscript authorities as well as printed books, pamphlets, dissertations, articles in periodicals (English and foreign), and articles of original value in dictionaries, encyclopædias, transactions of societies, and collective works. It is to be a national bibliography, including England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, past and present. We shall include the American Colonies down to 1776, India since the Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company in 1600, Canada since 1763, South Africa since 1795, Australia and the Colonies since the beginning of our occupation.

The titles of entries will be taken direct from the works themselves, reasonably abbreviated where necessary. When the scope and contents are not clearly indicated in the titles this information will be briefly supplied, with an occasional bibliographical note. Short explanatory and critical notes will be added when desirable. The work will extend ultimately from 1485 (where the late Professor Gross's work ends) to 1910 (end of the reign of Edward VII).

The whole work will consist of six parts to be grouped into three volumes as follows:

VOL. I.—GENERAL.

Part I.—An introduction explaining the scope and arrangement of the work; with preliminary and general matters, such as brief accounts of important libraries, collections of archives and documents (manuscript and printed), publications of learned societies, collections and series of printed works, prints, facsimiles, etc.; indications of bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopædias, and periodicals of an historical nature; historical atlases; works on historical geography and topography, chronology, epigraphy, and auxiliary subjects such as heraldry and numismatics.

Part II.—A select list of authorities for the whole period (1485–1910) or the greater part of it, arranged in sections as mentioned hereafter.

VOL II.—THE TUDOR AND STEWART PERIODS.

Part III.—A list of the authorities for the Tudor period (1485–1603) arranged in sections.

Part IV.—A similar list for the Stewart period (1603–1714).

VOL. III.—THE HANOVERIAN PERIODS.

Parts V and VI.—Similar lists for the first Hanoverian period (1714–1815), and the second Hanoverian period (1815–1910).

The entries will be classified so far as possible in the following sections :

(1) General History, including general newspapers and periodicals of the period ; works primarily belonging to and therefore classified under other heads but bearing also on general history to be indicated under this head by cross-references.

(2) Legal and constitutional history ; justice and police ; political philosophy.

(3) Religious and ecclesiastical history.

(4) Literature ; art and science ; education.

(5) Naval and military history.

(6) Biography ; genealogy ; and family history.

(7) Local history ; counties, towns, etc.

(8) Trade, industry, and commerce ; economic theory ; social history ; manners and customs.

(9) Voyages and travels ; foundation of colonies and dependencies.

In each section entries will be arranged in two groups :—(*a*) Sources : (1) manuscript, (2) printed ; (*b*) Later works.

Precise instructions for the cataloguing of printed books have been drawn up as well as a form of card arranged for full particulars to be given

in a uniform manner. As the description of MS. authorities will form a special feature, some detail may be given. At the head of each section of each part mention will be made of (*a*) single works or records in MS. of first-rate importance (if any) which are still unprinted or only partly printed. When the MS. original of any particular printed source or of a portion of such source (*e.g.*, letters or illustrative documents) is known to exist, it will be mentioned in a note under the description of that source or the locality where it is preserved; *e.g.*, under "Life of Col. Hutchinson" reference should be made to B.M. Add. MSS. 25901; or under Warburton's "Prince Rupert" to B.M. Add. MSS. 18980–2, as the source of the transcription. This is of special importance in cases where the transcript is incorrect as in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*. After this will follow (*b*) private collections of MSS. bearing wholly or in part on the section, *e.g.*, the Harleian or the Hatfield MSS., whether these remain unprinted or have been calendared or wholly or partly printed; information will be given as to which of these processes (if any) has taken place and in what form. Where such MSS. or collections of MSS. have already been described reference will be made to such description. A third section (*c*) will describe such portions of public collections of State papers and other official documents whether in Great Britain or abroad as bear especially on the section. The great collections of MSS., State papers, etc., will be more or less fully described in Part 1 (preliminary matter); in the case of a sub-section devoted to some particular matter, *e.g.*, the Armada, Mary Stewart, or the Long Parliament, information about MSS. bearing on such matter will be placed at the head of the sub-section, not of the section.

It is intended to begin by publishing Vols. I and II. The execution of the work has been divided between workers on both sides of the Atlantic; the American Committee being primarily responsible for the Tudor period, the English Committee for the Stewart period. The following have individually taken charge of the different Sections, viz.:

Tudor period: (1) Professor Merriman; (2) Professor Cross; (3) Professor Williston Walker; (4) Professor Richardson; (5) Mr. Corbett;

(6) Dr. R. G. Usher; (7), (8) and (9) Professor Cheyney. Some of these gentlemen have been working in the British Museum supplementing what they have been able to do in America.

Stewart period: (1) Professor Firth; (2) Professor Hearnshaw; (3) Rev. Dr. W. H. Frere; (4) Sir A. W. Ward; (5) Professor Firth; (6) Mr. H. R. Tedder; (7) Mr. H. E. Malden; (8) Archdeacon Cunningham; (9) Professor Egerton. In this period Professor Hume Brown, Professor Lloyd, and Mr. R. Dunlop take charge of the works dealing with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland respectively; and other historians of distinction have promised their assistance.

At the request of the Joint Committee, Dr. Prothero has undertaken the duties of General Editor, as well as the special charge of Vol. I. The work will be published by Mr. John Murray.

The number of entries has been provisionally estimated at about ten thousand. Probably the total will be nearer twelve thousand to fifteen thousand. Each volume will contain an index of authors' names (giving dates of birth and death where known), together with short titles of the works mentioned in the catalogue under each name, and of other matters. We insist upon the titles being taken from the books themselves and that all notes should be based upon real inspection. This is a decision which I think will be heartily approved by the Bibliographical Society. For bibliography is essentially a practical pursuit. Like anatomy, with which it has a certain analogy, it must be studied from the actual subject. All mere title knowledge and second-hand information should be looked upon with suspicion. Many and long were our discussions as to whether our scheme should aim at including everything, good, bad, and indifferent, or whether it should aim at choice and selection. For my own part I was at first inclined to recommend the inclusion of almost everything, but I became convinced that the necessary limitations of labour and cost made this impossible. Practical convenience is also in favour of selection. The larger scheme would have made it necessary to introduce the whole of

the Thomason Tracts now described in an excellent special catalogue. Moreover, in later times the prodigious growth of topographical history, school-books, and small ephemeral treatises of no real historical value, would have made the work of unwieldy size. Dr. Prothero in his address before the Royal Historical Society in 1903 (p. xxiii), says: "Our primary rule should be practical convenience—the convenience not of the beginner, or of the *Forscher* anxious to exhaust every possible source of information, but of the great mass of historical readers and students who come between those extremes. We shall not confine ourselves to the elements, but we shall not attempt to be exhaustive . . . We shall endeavour to include all books which contain valuable information or fruitful ideas not to be found elsewhere, even text-books fit to be recommended to young students; and we shall prefer omitting bad books to inserting them (as Mr. Larned does) in order to point out that they are bad. But in our selection, from the point of view of quality, it is impossible to draw the line of choice with mathematical precision, or to say more than that we should include books good enough to be included, and no other."

It is obvious that a work of this nature cannot be carried out without a considerable amount of financial assistance. The Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association have each voted a sum of £50 a year for three years; and the British Academy has voted £25 a year for the same period. But these subscriptions, most welcome as they are, will not go very far towards defraying the inevitable expenses incident to the collection of materials, copying, secretarial duties, etc., quite apart from the expenses of printing and publication when the work is complete.

It became necessary to ask for subscriptions from persons interested in the cause of history or likely to find the book of use to them in their researches, and one hundred and twenty individuals and eighty-six libraries have either promised or have already sent subscriptions. These results are gratifying, but the amount of money required by the Committee is far from having been attained. More subscriptions are needed, and as the Treasurer of the Fund, I shall be glad to receive them.

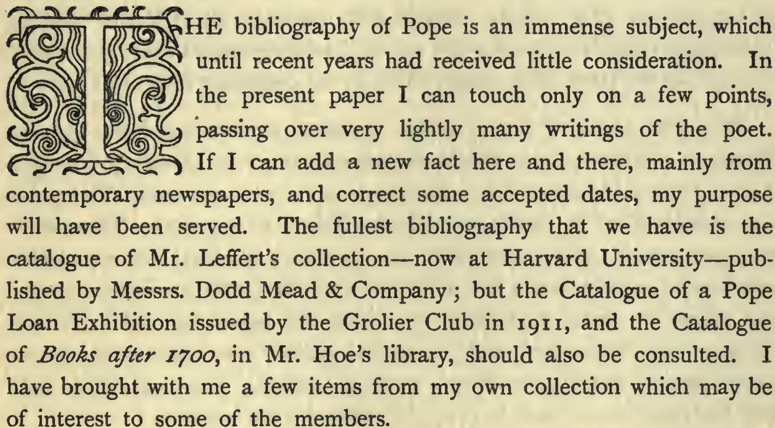
We do not place a limit to generosity, but a subscription of £2 2*s.* and over will entitle the donor to a copy of the work. When published it will be sold at £3 3*s.* nett. I need scarcely add that the various members of the Committee give their services gratuitously. The American Committee are appealing to the American public.

There is every reason to believe that the projected "Bibliography of British History since 1485" will in all respects be worthy of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, that it will be exhaustive in research, judicious in selection, and will present an ample and systematic assortment of authorities on the subject. The scheme has been carefully considered by a number of thoroughly competent persons, and in submitting the proposals to the Bibliographical Society I am confident that they will be received with that sympathetic attention which so important an undertaking deserves.

NOTES ON
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POPE.

By G. A. AITKEN.

Read 17th February, 1913.



THE bibliography of Pope is an immense subject, which until recent years had received little consideration. In the present paper I can touch only on a few points, passing over very lightly many writings of the poet. If I can add a new fact here and there, mainly from contemporary newspapers, and correct some accepted dates, my purpose will have been served. The fullest bibliography that we have is the catalogue of Mr. Leffert's collection—now at Harvard University—published by Messrs. Dodd Mead & Company; but the Catalogue of a Pope Loan Exhibition issued by the Grolier Club in 1911, and the Catalogue of *Books after 1700*, in Mr. Hoe's library, should also be consulted. I have brought with me a few items from my own collection which may be of interest to some of the members.

The earliest verses of Pope to be published were the *Pastorals*, which appeared in the sixth and last volume of Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies* in 1709, when Pope was twenty-one. The same volume contained *January and May*, besides lines to Pope by Wycherley and by "Another Hand." Pope tells us that the *Pastorals* were written at the age of sixteen, and

were read with much approval by various poets and connoisseurs. He sometimes antedated his work in order to add to the wonder at his precociousness, but it is certain that the *Pastorals* were in existence by 1706, when Tonson the bookseller wrote to Pope: "I have lately seen a pastoral of yours in Mr. Walsh's and Congreve's hands, which is extremely fine and is approved of by the best judges in poetry. I remember I have formerly seen you at my shop, and am sorry I did not improve my acquaintance with you. If you design your poem for the press, no person shall be more careful in the printing of it, nor no one can give greater encouragement to it than, Sir, Yours," etc.

These were flattering words to a youth of eighteen, and when the *Miscellanies* were printed three years later, Pope's pastorals were given a conspicuous place at the end of the volume, with a separate title-page all to themselves. The volume opened with Pastorals by Ambrose Philips, and comparisons between the two sets of Pastorals caused some annoyance to Pope, as we know from papers of his in the *Guardian* four years later.

The first poem of Pope's which appeared in separate form was the *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, which was advertised in the *Spectator* for May 15th. Pope told Caryll that a thousand copies were printed. The piece was published by W. Lewis, an old schoolfellow of the poet. There were two issues of this quarto pamphlet, one (probably the first) with an imprint mentioning merely Lewis the publisher, the other with an imprint giving the names of three booksellers by whom the poem was sold. In the *Spectator* for November 28th, a second edition was announced, in an advertisement which gave Pope's name as author. Pope afterwards said that the piece was written in 1707, *i.e.*, when he was nineteen:

> "As yet a child, nor yet a fool to fame,
> I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."

But from the poem itself it would appear that he did not form the design till after the death of his friend Walsh in May, 1708. It is however sufficiently remarkable that a young man of twenty could produce so

interesting a work, abounding in phrases that have become household words: for example, "A little learning is a dangerous thing"; "And ten low words oft creep in one dull line"; "Hills peep o'er hills and alps on alps arise"; "A needless alexandrine ends the song, That like a wounded snake drags its slow length along"; "True ease in writing comes from art, not chance, As they move easiest who have learned to dance"; "For fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

The *Spectator* had been started by Addison and Steele in March, 1711, and the number for May 14th, 1712, was almost wholly occupied by Pope's *Messiah.* A later number contains a letter by Pope on the subject of the Emperor Hadrian's death-bed verses. Steele introduced *The Messiah* in a short note which stated that the poem was "written by a great genius, a friend of mine in the country, who is not ashamed to employ his wit in the praise of his Maker." It is important to remember that Pope was considerably younger than most of the men who are regarded as more or less his contemporaries. Steele and Addison were his seniors by sixteen years, Congreve by eighteen, Parnell by nine, Ambrose Philips by thirteen, Prior by twenty-four, Swift and Arbuthnot by twenty-one, Defoe by twenty-seven, Young by five, and Gay by three years. Though Pope died at fifty-six, all these men passed away ten or more years before him, except Swift, Philips and Young.

A volume called *Miscellaneous Poems and Translations. By Several Hands*, published by Bernard Lintot, Tonson's chief rival, on May 20th, 1712,[1] is of much interest to the student of Pope, for besides several other pieces, it contains at the end the first version, in two cantos, of *The Rape of the Locke* [*sic*]. The poem has a separate title-page printed on page 353, sig. Aa 1, which follows immediately after page 320, sig. X 8. Why this gap occurs is unknown: in the second edition of the book, published in 1714, which really consists of the sheets in the first edition with a new title and half-title, leaves were added to fill the gap, and the

(1) *Spectator.*

new matter included five pieces by Pope, one being the *Ode to Musick*, which had been published separately in the previous year.

Pope says that the first sketch of the *Rape of the Lock* was written in less than a fortnight. Afterwards he decided to give it more importance by the addition of supernatural machinery, and the poem appeared as a separate work in its final form in five cantos on March 4th, 1714.[1] On March 12th, Pope wrote to Caryll that the poem had in four days' time sold to the number of three thousand, and was already reprinted. A few copies were printed on large and thick paper, probably for the poet's patrons. Afterwards, in May, 1715,[2] Pope published anonymously a mock criticism called *A Key to the Lock*, representing that the piece was a political allegory, dangerous to government and religion.

The year 1713 saw the publication of two folio poems that are now scarce, *Windsor Forest*, and the *Ode for Musick*, with a half-title *Mr. Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. *Windsor Forest* was published on March 7th,[3] and the *Ode for Musick* on July 16th.[4] Lintot brought out both these poems, and also, on February 1st, 1715,[5] *The Temple of Fame*, for the copyright of which he paid £32 5*s*.

The Wife of Bath her Prologue, and two other pieces by Pope, appeared in Steele's *Poetical Miscellanies. Consisting of Original Poems and Translations. By the best Hands*, 1714. Of this book there are two editions, which can be distinguished by the fact that in the first the date in the imprint is given wrongly as MDDCXIV.

Pope wrote a Prologue for Addison's tragedy, *Cato*, in 1713; but various causes soon led to coolness between the two writers, and facilitated

(1) *Post Boy*, March 2nd to 4th, 1713-4.

(2) "Just published" (*Post Boy*, May 14th to 17th, 1715). There was a second edition on June 1st (*Daily Courant*).

(3) *Daily Courant*. There was a second edition on April 9th.

(4) *Guardian*.

(5) *Daily Courant*.

WINDSOR-FOREST.

To the Right Honourable

GEORGE Lord *LANSDOWN.*

By Mr. *P O P E.*

Non injussa cano: Te nostræ, Vare, *Myricæ*
Te Nemus omne canet; nec Phœbo gratior ulla est
Quam sibi quæ Vari *præscripsit Pagina nomen.*
Virg.

L O N D O N:
Printed for *Bernard Lintott* at the *Cross-Keys* in *Fleet-street.* 1713.

[Reduced from 289 × 150 mm.]

ODE

FOR

MUSICK.

LONDON:
Printed for BERNARD LINTOTT, at the *Cross-Keys* in *Fleetstreet.* 1713.

[Reduced from 284 × 150 mm.]

the transfer of Pope's friendship to Swift, Oxford, Bolingbroke, and other adherents of the Tory party. Swift encouraged Pope in his plan of translating the whole of the *Iliad*, and obtained many subscribers to a work which was to bring Pope fame and a fortune of over £5,000. The first volume of the translation appeared in June, 1715, and the sixth and last volume in 1720. The book was issued in folio, and also in quarto, with tail pieces, initials, etc., not found in the folio edition. There were also large paper copies of the folio. It would appear from an advertisement in the *St. James's Post* for June 3rd to 6th, 1715, that the quarto was the subscription edition: "This day, the first volume of Mr. Pope's Poems will be delivered to the subscribers in quiers." It was added that Lintot would "publish next week a very fine folio edition in large paper and another on small paper." The price of the folio was 12*s.* stitched, or 14*s.* bound; a small number on large paper at a guinea stitched, or 25*s.* bound.[1] It appears from letters of Lintot to Pope in June, 1715, that publication was delayed because people were engrossed in the impeachment of Bolingbroke and other political matters. Tickell's translation of the First Book of the *Iliad*—which caused Pope much annoyance—appeared on June 8th,[2] immediately after Pope's first volume.

The *Iliad* did not engross the whole of Pope's time: but the productions of 1716 are of minor importance. The first edition of *Court Poems* is a scarce pamphlet: it contains Pope's "Basset Table" and "The Drawing Room," and "The Toilet," by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: it was published by J. Roberts in 1716 (apparently before May), but the date was incorrectly printed as 1706. There were later editions, including further verses, in 1716 (Dublin), 1717, 1719, and 1726. The Dublin edition of 1716 added the "Copy of Verses to the ingenious Mr. Moore," and gave Pope's name as author of "all four" pieces.

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(1) *Evening Post*, July 5th to 7th, 1715. The second volume was ready on March 22nd, 1716 (*London Gazette*, March 10th to 13th, 1716).

(2) *Daily Courant*.

COURT POEMS.

VIZ;

I. The *Baſſet-Table.* An ECLOGUE.

II. The DRAWING-ROOM.

III. The TOILET.

Publiſh'd faithfully, as they were found in a Pocket-Book taken up in Weſtminſter-Hall, *the Laſt Day of the Lord* Winton's *Tryal.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane.* MDCCVI.

Price Six-Pence.

[Reduced from 162 × 65 mm.]

Pope's charming verses "To Mr. Jervas" appeared first in the second edition of *The Art of Painting. By C. A. Du Fresnoy*, published in March, 1716.[1] Jervas had depicted many beauties of the time "in breathing paint," yet, says Pope:

> "Alas! how little from the grave we claim!
> Thou but preserv'st a Face, and I a Name."

As in the case of other authors of the period, not the least interesting of Pope's writings are those that appeared originally as a single leaf, or in other ephemeral form. In 1716, Roberts published on a single folio leaf, *God's Revenge Against Punning, by J. Baker, Knight.* This scarce piece was reprinted in the so-called Third Volume of the *Miscellanies*, 1732, and we cannot say certainly whether it was by Pope or Gay; but some, at least, regarded it as Pope's, for it was followed by a reply, *A Letter from Sir J... B.... to Mr. P...* "upon publishing of a paper entituled God's Revenge against Punning," in which there is reference to the fools who subscribed to Pope's writings, and a threat to break every crooked bone in Pope's body.

Curll published (no doubt in 1716) as an undated single folio sheet, *To the ingenious Mr. Moore, Author of the celebrated Worm-Powder*, and he added a note: "Speedily will be published some more of Mr. Pope's pieces, and all his writings for the future, except Homer, will be printed for E. Curll." This decision of a piratical publisher is evidence of Pope's popularity. A volume called *State Poems*, published by Roberts in 1716—on May 19th according to a MS. note—contained the "Worms."

Another single leaf folio, *The Court Ballad, by Mr. Pope*, was published by R. Burleigh, without any date, in 1717. The imprint shows that it was an unauthorised publication, for it ends with advertisements of a "Pope's Miscellany," containing pieces which he repudiated, and of a "True Character of Mr. Pope and his Writings." There is, however, no doubt

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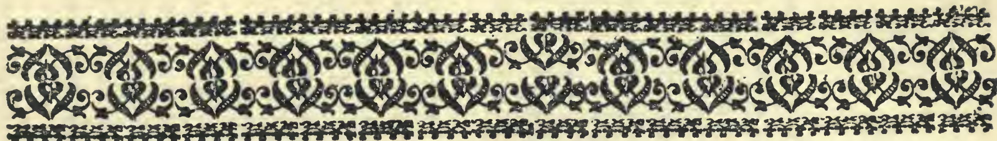
(1) "This day" (*London Gazette*, March 17th to 20th, 1716; *Daily Courant*, March 24th).



GOD's Revenge AGAINST PUNNING.

Shewing the miſerable Fates of Perſons addicted to this Crying Sin, in Court and Town.

London, Printed for J. Baker and T. Warner. 1716.

THE COURT BALLAD.

By Mr. *POPE.*

To the Tune of, *To all you Ladies now at Land,* &c.

I.

TO One Fair Lady out of Court,
And Two Fair Ladies in,
Who think the TURK * and POPE † a Sport,
And Wit and Love no Sin,
Come these soft Lines with nothing Stiff in
To *B—ll—ne, Le—p—lle,* and *G—ff—n.*
With a fa, la, la.

* *The Little* Turk.
† *The* Author.

Printed for R. Burleigh in Amen Corner. n.d.

that the *Court Ballad* is Pope's, and it was a favourite among his admirers on account of its amusing references to courtiers and ladies of the time. In some editions of Pope it is printed under the title of "The Challenge." The only copy of the original print that is known, besides that which I have with me, is in the library of the late Mr. Wrenn, of Chicago. A copy of a "Second edition corrected" is in the British Museum (wrongly dated in the catalogue 1761); this was printed by A. Smith in Cornhill. Later in the year there appeared a duodecimo, "The Parson's Daughter, a Tale ..... To which are added Epigrams and The Court Ballad, by Mr. Pope. From correct copies, London. Printed for J. Harris near St. James's Bagnio, 1717."

Gay's unhappy comedy, *Three Hours after Marriage*, published by Lintot in 1717, contained a prologue by Pope, and other touches by him. It was ridiculed by Colley Cibber on the stage, and this incident, together with the production of Cibber's *Non-juror*, was the origin of the feeling which many years later led to the setting up of Cibber as hero of the *Dunciad*.

The principal event of the year 1717 was the publication on June 3rd,[1] of the first volume of the collected *Works of Mr. Alexander Pope*. Like the translation of the *Iliad*, the book appeared simultaneously in several forms. The ordinary folio edition has usually rather poor margins. It was printed by M. Bowyer. The imprint in some copies adds that it was printed for Bernard Lintot, or, according to the imprint in other copies, for Tonson and Lintot. There was a large paper issue of the folio, a handsome book with the title printed in black and red, and various tail pieces, initials, etc., which are not found in the ordinary copies. Then there is a quarto—apparently the subscription edition—a fine book, with engraved ornaments as in the large paper folio. Some copies bear the names of both Tonson and Lintot, and others that of Lintot only. Ten pieces first appeared in print in this volume, including the "Eloisa to Abelard."

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(1) *Daily Courant.* Vol. III of the *Iliad* appeared at the same time.

In 1718, after his father's death, Pope moved to Twickenham, where he rejoiced in his garden and grotto. At the end of 1721,[1] he brought out an edition, dated 1722, of the poems of his friend Parnell (who had died in 1718), with a fine dedication to the Earl of Oxford, then living in retirement in the country after his imprisonment in the Tower. The Muse, he says,

> "Through Fortune's cloud one truly great can see,
> Nor fears to tell that Mortimer is he."

The years 1723, 1724, and 1725, found Pope busy as an editor. *The Works of Shakespeare*, "in Six Volumes, Collated and Corrected by the Former Editions. By Mr. Pope," were published by Tonson in six quarto volumes, at a guinea each, in March, 1725, and the translation of the *Odyssey*, in five volumes, was published by Lintot in 1725–6. It was issued in folio, quarto, and duodecimo, to agree with the translation of the *Iliad*.

Pope was incensed by the appearance in March, 1726, of Theobald's "Shakespeare Restored: Or, A Specimen of the many Errors, as well committed as unamended, by Mr. Pope, in his Edition of this Poet." Pope was obliged to notice these corrections in the second or duodecimo edition of his Shakespeare (November, 1728), but his acknowledgments were as grudging as possible. The best he had to say of his "more sober" critics was :

> "Pains, reading, study, are their just pretence,
> And all they want is spirit, taste and sense." [2]

Letters of 1731 show that he was then much annoyed at the Tonsons taking a hand in the forthcoming edition of Shakespeare by Theobald. Pope hinted at a new edition—which would outsell both his own and Theobald's—not of Shakespeare only, but of all the other best English poets. Of this project—"which," he says, "none of the Dutch-headed scholiasts are capable of executing"—we hear no more.

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(1) "Just published" (*Daily Courant*, December 30th, 1721).

(2) *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, 159.

In 1726 and 1727, Swift paid visits to Pope at Twickenham. *Gulliver's Travels* appeared in 1726, and the well-known *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose* were published by Benjamin Motte in three volumes: Vols. 1 and 2 in June, 1727, and "the last volume" on March 8th, 1727–8.[1] The first volume contains pieces by Swift only: the second volume includes a reprint of Pope's *Key to the Lock*, wrongly dated 1713, and the "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish": the "Last Volume" begins with Pope's "Treatise of the Art of Sinking in Poetry," in which Philips and Theobald were attacked. This piece is followed by a half-title, "Miscellanies in Verse." These Miscellanies are mostly by Swift, but the collation of the book is of some interest to us. In most copies three leaves following the half-title, "Miscellanies in Verse," have been cancelled, and the first poem, "Cadenus and Vanessa," begins on sig. A 4. The cancelled leaves contained a Table of Contents, and were evidently rejected as needless, when a complete table to the volume was printed at the end. The book should have a leaf of Errata, after the Table of Contents at the close. There is an interesting letter to Motte of June 30th, 1727, on the printing of this book, in which Pope says, "Send me next after Sheet R and this, the last sheet of Cadenus and Vanessa. We will let the Table alone, and leave room for some new additions to the Verses." Later letters show that differences arose between the publisher and Pope and his friends, in the carrying out of the bargain which had been made.

A further volume of *Miscellanies*, called "The Third Volume," which appeared on October 5th, 1732,[2] contained "The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris, Concerning the Strange and Deplorable Frenzy of Mr. John Dennis," which first appeared in pamphlet form in 1713, and some other prose pieces by Pope, Swift and Arbuthnot. These were followed by a number of poems, mostly by Swift, with a fresh signature and new pagination.

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(1) *Monthly Chronicle.* (2) *Grub Street Journal.*

The history of the "Lines to Mrs. M. B." in the "Last Volume" of the *Miscellanies* (1728) is of some interest. The lady in question was Pope's friend, Martha Blount. Mr. Courthope says that the verses first appeared in a *Miscellany* published by Lintot in 1726, when they ended with an allusion to the suicide of Colonel Mordaunt in May, 1724: it follows therefore that they cannot have been sent to Martha Blount on her thirty-third birthday in 1723. In a letter to Gay, Pope says that some of the lines were written on his own birthday. The poem in the *Miscellanies* of 1728 is in its present form, except that after the fourth line, there are six verses which were afterwards transferred to the Moral Essays, II, 243–8. As a matter of fact, as I pointed out in the *Academy* in 1893, the poem was printed as early as 1724, when it appeared in the *British Journal* of November 14th of that year, under the title "The Wish: To a Young Lady on her Birthday. By Mr. Pope." This version does not contain the six lines which Pope says were written on his own birthday, and the closing lines as printed in 1724 were afterwards entirely re-written. They ran as follows:

> "And oh! when Death shall that fair face destroy,
> Die of some sudden extacy of joy,
> In some soft dream may thy mild soul remove,
> And be thy latest gasp a sigh of love."

I do not propose to go into the question of the bibliography of the *Dunciad*, first published in three books on May 18th, not 28th, 1728.[1] The matter has been investigated very fully in the notes by Mr. Thoms which were reprinted, with additions by Colonel Grant, in Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope. Other particulars will be found in a paper by Mr. Solly in the *Athenæum* for October 24th, 1885, and in Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Co.'s Catalogue of Mr. Leffert's Collection: and Mr. Lounsbury has developed the subject in his book "The First Editors of Shakespeare (Pope and Theobald)" in which he has shown the

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(1) *Monthly Chronicle.*

injustice that has befallen Theobald, and the impossibility of properly understanding the *Dunciad* without examining the annotated editions of 1729. Professor Griffith, of Texas, has added considerably to our knowledge in a paper called "Some Notes on the *Dunciad*," in *Modern Philology* for October, 1912, and he is understood to be preparing a further study on the subject. The substitution of Cibber for Theobald as hero when the poem was published in its complete form made it necessary to alter not only the poem, but much of the commentary on it, often to the detriment of the piece as a work of art. I would here only note that there was a "Second Edition" in duodecimo on May 25th,[1] 1728, some copies of which have "Dudlin" for "Dublin" in the imprint, and a "Third Edition" in duodecimo, price 1s., on June 8th,[1] in the same year. In the advertisement in *Mist's Journal*, it is announced that there might be obtained at Dodd's, the *Dunciad* in octavo, price 1s. 6d. Of the "third edition," there are two issues; and there was a Dublin edition in 1728. On April 10th, 1729, was published, as appears from the *Monthly Chronicle*, the important quarto edition, with annotations, called "The Dunciad Variorum. With the Prolegomena of Scriblerus," which was described as "printed for A. Dod," with one "d." This was followed by an octavo "printed for A. Dob," and another, "printed for Lawton Gilliver." Lounsbury suggests that "Dod" and "Dob" are imaginary names, and that the various 1729 editions were really all published by Gilliver, on Pope's behalf. A second edition of Gilliver's book appeared in November, with additional notes: some copies have a cancel leaf P. 3, in place of the original leaf. A Fourth Book of the Dunciad was published in March, 1742, under the title *The New Dunciad: As it was found in the year 1741.* There are two issues (or rather editions) in quarto (besides others in octavo), the first having the text in thirty-nine pages, the second in forty-four pages. In 1743, the four books were printed together in one quarto volume, with a few changes in the text.

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(1) *Mist's Journal.*

During the years 1731 to 1738, Pope, now much under the influence of Bolingbroke, wrote a brilliant series of didactic poems, which spread his reputation both as poet and moralist. As he puts it, he "stooped to truth and moralised his song," or, he says to Bolingbroke,

> ". . . urged by thee, I turned the tuneful art
> From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart."

He was held in high repute as a teacher: for example, the author of "Lines to Mr. Pope" in the *Grub Street Journal* for March 10th, 1736–7, wrote:

> "To him who clothed philosophy in sound;
> To him who never cringed to haughty state,
> But to be just still thought was to be great:
> To him who scorned the wretched to debase,
> Or slight the good because without a place,
> . . . .
> Whose life is blameless, as his lines are pure."

The *Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington*, 1731, was published in December.[1] It has on the half-title the better known name "Of Taste, An Epistle," etc. Later editions, dated 1731, but published in March, 1732 (New style) were entitled "Of False Taste."

It is in this Epistle that Pope satirizes the false taste of the collector, who knows nothing of what is in his books:

> "His Study! with what Authors is it stor'd?
> In Books, not Authors, curious is my Lord;
> To all their dated Backs he turns you round:
> These Aldus printed, those Du Sueil has bound.
> Lo, some are Vellums, and the rest as good,
> For all his Lordship knows, but they are Wood.
> For Locke or Milton 'tis in vain to look,
> These Shelves admit not any modern Book."

The poem *Of the Use of Riches* bears the date 1732. The first folio issue has an erratum at the foot of the last page; in other copies the mistake was corrected and the erratum omitted. The second edition (of which there are two varieties) is dated 1733; and the first edition was

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(1) *Monthly Chronicle; Grub Street Journal*, December 16th, 1730.

A N

E S S A Y

O N

M A N.

Addreſs'd to a FRIEND.

P A R T I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *J. Wilford*, at the *Three Flower-de-luces*, behind the *Chapter-houſe*, S. *Paul's*. MDCCXXXIII.

[Reduced from 173 x 61 mm.]

also published in reality in 1733 (New Style) and not in 1732. The fact is that the issue of the piece had been postponed from time to time, as appears from Pope's correspondence. The actual date of publication was January 15th, 1732–3.[1]

The Essay on Man, which was on the stocks as early as 1730, did not see the light until 1733. Part I was published on February 20th of that year[1], or 1732 Old Style, which has often led to the misleading statement that the poem appeared in 1732. The second Epistle was published on March 29th,[2] the third on May 17th,[2] and the fourth on January 24th, 1734.[2]

The first issue of the first Epistle was entitled "An Essay on Man. Addressed to a Friend. Part I." A later issue, or rather edition, was called "An Essay on Man. In Epistles to a Friend. Epistle I. Corrected by the Author." Copies of the Part I issue, however, differ considerably, except as regards the title-page. In the majority of copies the poem itself collates B–E in twos : the text ends on p. 19, and there would seem to be only 281 lines (but this is due to an error in numbering) : there are no head-lines, and the number of the page is in the middle. Some uncut copies measure 14½ by 9 inches, like the later Epistles, while others were printed on smaller paper, measuring in uncut examples 12½ by 7¾ inches. In the other issue of Part I the collation of the poem itself is B, one leaf, followed by B–D in twos : the poem ends on page 20, and there are 286 lines. The head-line is "Epistles," on the first leaf in Roman type, and in Italic type on the others : page 6 is immediately followed by page 9. It is not certain which of the two issues of Part I appeared first, but a suggestion which I made in 1905 that the one with the head-line "Epistles" is the true first edition has been generally accepted. It might of course be argued that the copies with the head-line "Epistles" were printed later than those without it, when Pope had decided to call the various parts of the poem, Epistles : but the "Address

(1) "Yesterday was published" (*Daily Journal*, January 16th, 1733).

(2) *Daily Journal.*

to the Reader" in all copies speaks of the Epistolary way of writing, and I think that we may conclude from the curious irregularities in registration and pagination that the copies with the head-lines came first.

There was also an issue of Part I in quarto, of which I have seen only the "Second Edition." Part I was also published in octavo,[1] with the date 1733, and therefore after March. Typographical details show that it was printed from the second issue of the folio, and not the first.[2] This pamphlet is much scarcer than the folios, and the same remark applies to the octavo edition of the later Epistles. It appears that there are two editions of the octavo Part I. In my copy the collation is A and B in fours, 16 pages: there is no Address to the Reader. In Mr. Leffert's copy there are 20 pages (A and B in fours, C 1, 2), the second leaf containing the "Address to the Reader." After all these editions came—on May 23rd[3]—the "Epistle I. Corrected by the Author" already alluded to. Of this Epistle I there was a "Second Edition," and finally Epistle I was issued stitched to Epistles II and III with a general Table of Contents, and with the brief Epistle which is found in the original edition of Epistle II placed at the beginning in substitution for the original address "To the Reader" of Part I. The *Daily Journal* for May 23rd, 1733, advertised "An Essay on Man, in Three Epistles. The Contents of which is prefixed to the new edition (in folio) of the First, which is likewise corrected by the Author."

Of Epistle II there are two editions, which can be most easily distinguished by the fact that in one the lines are numbered, while in the other they are unnumbered, with the solitary exception of line 175. It would seem probable that the copies with the lines numbered appeared first, but this is by no means certain. There was an octavo edition of Epistle II, 1733, but I have not seen any quarto edition of Epistle II, III or IV. There were Dublin editions in octavo of all the Epistles. The

(1) *See* facsimile on page 130.

(2) For example, in line 58, "*plac'd him wrong*," instead of "*plac'd* him wrong."

(3) *Daily Journal.*

London octavos of the four Epistles have a continuous pagination and registration, but a sheet A1–4 is inserted between H2 and I1.

The first edition of Epistle III, which, like Epistle II, had a half-title page, has on the title-page a vignette containing an open book. There was a second issue containing some corrections, in which an eagle takes the place of the book. There was only one folio edition of Epistle IV.

The first edition of the four Epistles with a continuous pagination appeared in quarto and in folio in 1734 under the title, "An Essay on Man. Being the First Book of Ethic Epistles." It was announced thus in the *Grub Street Journal* for May 2nd: "This day, beautifully printed in quarto and folio, An Essay on Man. Now first published together, complete, and from the Author's corrections. Price of the quarto and large folio, Four shillings. Of the small folio, Three shillings." This is a handsome, though little known, edition, with important alterations: for example, in the first line, "St. John" is substituted for "Laelius," and in Epistle II, "the only science of mankind is man" was altered to "the proper study of mankind is man." Volume II of Pope's works, 1735, contains the "Essay on Man" with a title-page dated 1734 and a separate registration, but the number of lines to a page had been altered, and some of the vignettes changed.

To return to the "Imitations of Horace." Some copies of *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace*, issued on February 17th, 1733,[1] have the words "Price One Shilling" at the foot of the title-page: others—no doubt the earlier ones—have not these words. The poem was re-issued on July 4th, 1734, with the addition of the *Second Satire of the Second Book.* Some copies of this piece (which contains the first edition of the Second Satire) were printed on smaller paper than that used for the other satires: but it was issued also in quarto and large folio, as explained in an advertisement in the *Grub Street Journal*: "This edition may be had with copper ornaments, in quarto and folio, of the same size with

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(1) *Daily Post.*

Mr. Pope's Homer and Works." From an advertisement in the same paper, it appears that the "Second Satire" was published separately on September 19th, 1734. Other variations are noted in Mr. Hoe's Catalogue of "Books later than 1700."

One of the rarest of Pope's pieces is *The Impertinent, or a Visit to the Court*, published by John Wilford (whose name is misprinted "Wileord") on November 5th, 1733.[1] There were editions in folio and quarto size, each having a half-title page. In each issue the collation is A to D in twos, the half-title being printed on D 2, folded back for the purpose. This, by the way, was a rather common practice of the time, and makes it impossible to say positively that a pamphlet had no half-title merely because the first sheet is complete without it. Second and third editions of *The Impertinent*—"by Mr. Pope"—appeared in 1737. It had been included in the 1735 volume of Poems among the "Satires of Dr. Donne."

The poem *Of the Knowledge and Characters of Men* is dated 1733, but really it was published on January 17th, 1734 (New Style), as appears from an advertisement in the *Grub Street Journal*, a paper of which Pope made much use in his warfare with Theobald and other writers.[2] In Elwin and Courthope's edition the dates of entry of various poems at Stationers' Hall are given, but seemingly those entries are sometimes recorded in Old Style, and sometimes with the double date. In spite of internal evidence, and in spite of the fact that second or octavo editions are often dated a year later than the original folio, though they generally followed after a short interval, no one seems to have realised that the ostensible dates needed explanation; and the result is that in some cases the accepted order of Pope's poems must now be revised. The real dates of publication become evident when we examine the advertisements in the contemporary newspapers; but it is only of late years that writers have begun to tap this source of information.

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(1) *Daily Journal.*

(2) *See also* advertisement in the *Craftsman*, January 26th, 1733-4.

THE
IMPERTINENT,
OR A
Visit to the COURT.
A
SATYR.

By an Eminent Hand.

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN WILEORD, behind the *Chapter-house*.
near St. *Paul's*. 1733.

[Reduced from 187 × 125 mm.]

The poem *Sober Advice from Horace, to the Young Gentlemen about Town*, was issued by T. Boreham on December 28th, 1734,[1] without date. It is undoubtedly by Pope, though he denied being the author. Copies have been found of a later edition—one is in Mr. Wise's library—with a title-page beginning: "A Sermon against Adultery: being Sober Advice," etc. From an advertisement in the *London Daily Post* it would appear that this edition was not issued until May 27th, 1738.

On January 14th, 1735,[2] there was published one of the most interesting of Pope's works, *An Epistle from Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot*, with the date 1734 on the title-page. In this case it has been recognised that "1734" was Old Style, because the poem came out after Arbuthnot's death, and because it was registered at Stationers' Hall on January 2nd, 1734-5. A Dublin reprint is dated 1735.

Perhaps the most famous passage in this Epistle is the character of Addison. These lines were in existence early in 1722, for in February, Atterbury asked Pope for a copy, and urged publication. Curll, defending himself from the charge in the notes to the *Dunciad* that the "Character" was "never made public until after their own journals and Curll had printed the same," pointed out that the libel was first published in a pamphlet called *Cythereia* in 1723. Afterwards the lines were printed, with alterations and additions, in Pope and Swift's *Miscellanies* of 1727. Some years ago I found a version earlier than that in *Cythereia* in a periodical called *The St. James's Journal*, for December 15th, 1722. Any doubt that this was the earliest version was removed by the discovery of an advertisement[3] showing that *Cythereia* appeared—not at the end of 1722, as had been suggested—but in April, 1723. In the earliest version the lines end:

> "Who but must grieve if such a man there be?
> Who would not weep if Ad . . . n were he."

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(1) *Craftsman.* (2) *Daily Journal.*

(3) In Wilford's *Monthly Chronicle.*

The poem *Of the Characters of Women*, 1735 (published on February 11th)[1] is curiously arranged. The collation is A1, 2 : B, one leaf, B to D in twos, and a leaf of advertisements without signature. This last leaf is really the second leaf of the first B sheet, folded round the text.

The second volume of Pope's collected Works appeared in April, 1735, in continuation of the 1717 volume. The *Grub Street Journal* for April 23rd contained the following advertisement:

"This day is published, The Works of Pope, Vol. II. In large quarto with copper plates by Kent. Printed for Gilliver. And sold by Robert Dodsley. Where may be had any Parts separate, of the folio already published. Whereas it hath been the practice of booksellers to print editions only in a large size, which consequently, were only to be had at a high price, no greater number of this Volume is printed in large folio and quarto with expensive ornaments than to answer the like impressions of the first volume of his Works and of the Iliad and Odysseys (so printed and sold off many years since) at the same price of One Guinea. There is also published with it an edition in a smaller folio at Twelve Shillings, and to the end that whoever has the large editions in quarto of the Essay on Man, or Satires of Horace may not be obliged to buy them again, they may, on sending them to the aforesaid booksellers, have all the other parts of this book at Fifteen shillings. And whereas Bernard Lintot having the property of the former volume of Poems would never be induced to publish them complete, but only a part of them, to which he tacked and imposed on the buyer a whole additional volume of other men's poems, this present volume will, with all convenient speed be published in twelves at Five shillings, that the buyer may have it at any price he prefers, and be enabled to render complete any set he already has, even that imperfect one printed by Lintot."

On May 15th it was announced that "The price of the quarto and largo folio is one guinea in sheets : The small folio twelve shillings.

(1) *Daily Journal.*

Whoever is willing to part with their first volumes in large folio or quarto may receive fifteen shillings for the same." Octavo editions of Vol. II of the Works—with explanatory notes—and of the *Dunciad*, appeared on November 13th, 1735.

The 1735 quartos and folios are liable to be incomplete, because many of the pieces begin with a fresh signature A, and the pagination is erratic. The quarto contains an epitaph on Sir Isaac Newton not to be found in the folios; and my copy has two extra leaves (C 1, 2), one containing two poems on Craggs, and the other—unpaged—containing the "Ode on Solitude" and "The Dying Christian to his Soul." These follow after sig. B3. A friend of mine has an exceptional copy of the folio edition containing these same pieces on two leaves. The opinion that "The Dying Christian to his Soul" first appeared in its final form in an octavo edition of the Works published in 1736 must—in view of the leaves in these copies of the 1735 collection—be abandoned. Apparently the leaf B4 of the Epitaphs, in the quarto edition, was cancelled. The British Museum has a leaf (described by Mr. Sherborn in the *Athenæum* for April 13th, 1907) containing an epitaph on Atterbury. This may be the cancelled leaf, or the proof of a leaf afterwards printed, but rejected.

The story of the publication of Pope's Correspondence in 1735 has been told at length in Dilke's *Papers of a Critic*, and in Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope. It is now well known that Pope made use of devious methods to bring about the publication of his letters without it appearing that it was done by his authority, and that he did not hesitate to correct freely and to alter dates, and even to substitute the names of important persons for those of the less distinguished men, to whom the letters had in reality been sent. It is an ugly story, and not least so the portion relating to the intrigues to obtain from Swift, then in a condition of mental decay, the letters which Pope had sent to his old friend.

The third volume of the collected edition of Pope's Works—the first volume of the prose writings—appeared on May 19th, 1737. It was

described as the authentic edition of the Letters, and it was issued in quarto, large folio, and small folio, as usual. The advertisement in the *Daily Post* contained the following information: "None of the editions in quarto will be to be sold, the whole number being subscribed for. Some of the large folio may be had at a guinea, the small at half a guinea. Former volumes may be had, with some new poems, which will be sold separately, in the same size and character. Price 4s. and 2s. 6d." In sending copies for Ireland to Lord Orrery, Pope said that he thought the large paper folio the best impression.

In the same year, 1737, Pope published the *Horace His Ode to Venus, Lit. IV. Ode I* (March 9th[1]), the *Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace* (April 28th[1]), and the *First Epistle of the Second Book* (May 25th[2]). Some copies of the Second Epistle have "15" at the bottom of page 12; others have "16."

The Sixth Epistle of the First Book and the *First Epistle of the First Book* bear the date 1737, but I have found that they were really published in 1738 (New Style), the former on January 26th,[3] the latter on March 7th.[4] Octavo editions of both pieces are dated 1738, and the folio editions must now be included among the publications of that year.

The year 1738 saw also the publication of *An Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace*, partly by Swift (March 1st[5]); of *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight. A Dialogue* (May 16th[5]) (two varieties, one with, the other without a date); of *Dialogue II* (July 18th[5]); and of *The Universal Prayer.*

A somewhat scarce collection, dated 1738, was published in quarto on January 8th, 1739,[6] by Knapton and others. It is called *Poems and*

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(1) *Daily Post.*
(2) *Daily Gazetteer.*
(3) *London Daily Post.*
(4) *Daily Gazetteer.*
(5) *London Daily Post.*
(6) *Daily Post.*

THE

CHARACTER

OF

KATHARINE,

LATE

Duchess of *Buckinghamshire* and *Normanby.*

By the late Mr. *POPE.*

LONDON:

Printed for M. Cooper in *Pater-noster-Row.*

M.DCC.XLVI.

[Reduced from 201 × 118 mm.]

Imitations of Horace. By Mr. Pope. Now first collected together. The book contains the "First Epistle of the First Book," the "Sixth Epistle of the First Book," and "Epistles of Horace Imitated," *i.e.*, the "First Epistle of the Second Book," the "Second Epistle of the Second Book," and the "First Ode of the Fourth Book." It is explained in a note that "The former Works of this Author having been published in Quarto, it was thought fit to print these also which he has written since, in the same volume and character, to be had separate, for the convenience of those who would complete their Sets."

The fourth volume of Pope's collected Works (Prose) appeared in 1741, in quarto, large folio and small folio, as before. Pope was now much under the influence of Warburton, and it was at Warburton's suggestion that the Fourth Book of the *Dunciad* (March 20th, 1742[1]) was written. Warburton also assisted in rearranging the Essays and Epistles so as to make them appear as parts of a general scheme.

Pope was busy revising his poems to the end, and in February, 1743-4, Mary Cooper entered at Stationers' Hall, for her copy, "The Essay on Man and the Essay on Criticism, with commentary and notes by Warburton," and Bowyer was requested by Pope to watch carefully the press of Henry Lintot, who might venture to print something of Pope's.

Spence says that Pope sent out copies of some of his "Ethic Epistles" three weeks before he died. Bolingbroke wrote that an edition of the four Epistles was ready, and that he had a copy. A copy of this quarto edition, containing the character of the Duchess of Marlborough as Atossa in Epistle II, is in the British Museum. All other copies seem to have been destroyed. The title runs: "An Essay on Man. Being the First Book of Ethic Epistles. To H. St. John L. Bolingbroke. With the Commentary and Notes of Mr. Warburton." The "Essay" is followed by "Epistles to several Persons" and the "Essay on Criticism," each with

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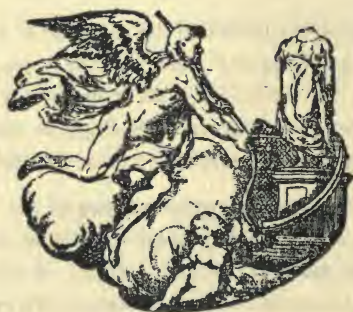
(1) *Craftsman.*

VERSES

Upon the Late

D——ſs of *M*————.

By Mr. *P*——.



LONDON:
Printed for W. WEBB, near St. *Paul's*, 1746.
(Price Sixpence.)

[Reduced from 258 × 140 mm.]

a half title, and with separate register and pagination. The character of Atossa begins with line 115 of Epistle II :

> "From loveless youth to unrespected age,
> No passion gratified, except her rage . . .
> Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from hell,
> But he's a bolder man who dares be well."

After Pope's death there appeared two pieces which have a bearing upon the Atossa story: one was *The Character of Katherine, late Duchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby. By the late Mr. Pope*, printed for M. Cooper, 1746; the other was *Verses upon the late D(uche)ss of M(arlborough) By Mr. P(ope)*, 1746, with a note referring to the story that the verses had been intended to form part of the *Characters of Women*, but had been suppressed on the Duchess giving Pope £1,000.

Here we must conclude. When Pope died in 1744, he was a veteran held in high regard by the coming writers. Thomson had given evidence of the more direct study of nature in his *Seasons*, published some years earlier, and Collins and Gray were shortly to produce their best work; but nearly half a century was to pass before Pope's supremacy was shaken by the appearance of Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and others whose minds were influenced by, or were representative of, the new spirit which had its chief manifestation in the French Revolution.

BOOKS OF SECRETS.

By PROFESSOR FERGUSON.

Read April 21st, 1913.

IF this theme had not, in a manner, been prescribed to me by our Secretary, I myself should hardly have selected it for presentation to the Society. It is true that I have been rummaging among these books for a good many years past, from time to time have printed some results, and ought to be able to say something about them, but I am so far from having exhausted the material which has gathered, that I am hardly prepared as yet to pass a judgment on this branch—historical, I may remind you—of scientific, or rather technological, literature. I repeat technological, for the aim of the greater part of it is not to speculate, or discuss, or describe, but to give directions how to do something, how to produce something tangible, a practical result for human use or convenience. Hence "secrets," as they are called, have, from this point of view, no reference to religious, or philosophical, or masonic, or other mysteries, but simply denote "receipts," which are used even now for effecting certain purposes.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the name. We may, however, deduce from it, that, at one time or other, the artist or craftsman had special knowledge gained by practice and experience which was personal and which he, intentionally or unintentionally, kept to himself. This accumulated skill constituted the "secrets" of his art or craft, and whoever

wished to acquire these "secrets" had to serve an apprenticeship to the master, and be initiated by him. That it was personal one can comprehend, for when the productions of different men, with the same material and with the same processes for the same ends are compared, the difference in the results is sufficiently marked. The work of Peter Vischer, for example, or of Benvenuto Cellini, or of Bernard Palissy, stands out conspicuously among that of their contemporaries, to go no farther, through their "secret," or personal skill and knowledge.

Even after the processes had been published and the "secrets" divulged, it did not follow by any means that anyone, still less everyone, could carry out the directions accurately, not to speak of the results achieved by their authors. Something more is wanted than the written or spoken word, for as Opie showed long ago the brains and conscience of the artist are not negligible components of success.

By degrees, presumably, the "secrets" oozed out and were disseminated among the craftsmen and were finally collected and published. They retained their distinctive name, however, for though now displayed to common view, they had been "secrets" once and might bear that title still.

My acquaintance with these books began when I was engaged with a different subject, and I was disposed at first to resent their intrusion, but as their numbers increased and the use made of them in the past became more obvious by the variety of topics dealt with and the number of editions, they acquired a practical importance and a bibliographical interest, not to say significance, and I drifted into the examination of them, without anticipating in what it might ultimately involve me. That, however, is the usual course of research and one of its charms, and I have yielded to it. So starting with a score or two of treatises and editions, I have been led on to an examination and recording of books of which previously I had no knowledge, and which, so far as I know, have never been brought together and catalogued before. After all, the number of them which have passed through my hands is but a small one, a couple

of thousand at the outside, and even that number would have been reduced, had I adhered to my original intention. I certainly began the survey, over thirty years ago, with an attempted restriction of the lists to books specifically labelled "secrets." But it was almost immediately apparent that the limitation was artificial and impossible to enforce, that consideration of the mere title must be discarded and the inquiry based on the broader foundation of the theme. So from the very first were included books of receipts in general, even though not designated "secrets."

From these, however, have been deliberately omitted books on gardening, cookery, occult science, and old chemistry.[1] These truly are all books of receipts and are replete with secrets, but they have been often dealt with and I have had no desire to compete with the lists already published, when there are extensive subjects for investigation to which no attention has been paid.

Again, while there are many books of receipts which are not styled "secrets," there are also books of "secrets" which contain no receipts. These have been included in virtue of their name rather than of their contents, it may be thought unduly. They profess to reveal some obscure or unknown matter which does not necessarily entail any practical application or result. The term is especially applied to natural phenomena, Natural History as it might be called now, but then, the secrets, wonders or marvels of Nature. The contemplation of these marvels was very like what it is with the ordinary man now. The daily routine of Nature passes without remark ; no one, for instance, is conscious of what Father Beccaria called "the mild and slow electricity which prevails in the atmosphere during serene weather," but when anything out of the common happens, a tempest, a flood, a snowstorm, an earthquake, thunder and lightning,

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(1) Nevertheless circumstances have again been too strong for me, and have compelled me to admit some books on these topics, because they were in the company of others which fell within my prescribed area, or were written by authors of whose works it was an object of mine to make as complete an enumeration as possible.

that is at once talked about. So in the earlier times the unusual events were noticed, but defective observation and partial ignorance of their causes coupled with superstitious fears, led to their being credited with sinister significance, and being assigned to malign agencies.

Books of Secrets, therefore, are of diverse sorts, and I have not hesitated about including all the varieties attainable. But just on that account the theme is so extensive and can be contemplated from so many points of view that it is impossible to include them all within a single paper. Attention, consequently, may be restricted to one or two aspects. One, for example, which concerns the Society more particularly, deals with the characteristics of the books themselves; another with their contents, but I shall not attempt to keep these separate. As books they are in all languages, they are of all dates, sizes, and qualities of paper, printing and binding, and they are in every kind of condition, good, bad and indifferent. There are the books which were in everybody's hands, and those which can never have been used at all. In such cases it is not always easy to see what was the merit which carried a book through many editions, when others, seemingly as good, if not better, were quite unsuccessful. That, however, is not now a topic for discussion.

Prior to the sixteenth century there is little in printed form that can be brought into the category of Books of Secrets. The encyclopædias which remain, notably those of Isidorus, of Bartholomæus de Glanvilla and Vincentius Bellovacensis, even though they glance at practical matters, are too comprehensive to be included under such a limited designation. But that collections of technical receipts were in use is shown by the work of Theophilus, which was known only in manuscript till it was printed in French in 1843, and afterwards in English in 1847. This work contains receipts for colours, glass, enamel and metal work. Other manuscripts on colours, painting, glass and other arts of the Middle Ages were published by Mrs. Merrifield in 1849, and the work on colours by Heraclius was edited in 1873 by Albert Ilg, who also began an edition of Theophilus the next year.

But the outstanding book of Secrets of the earlier time is that ascribed to Albertus Magnus and, curiously enough, it was the first book of the kind which came into my possession. That copy is a quaint little volume, printed at Lyons in 1566, and it contains the three tracts, *Secreta Mulierum*, *Liber Aggregationis*, and *De Mirabilibus Mundi.* The popularity of these tracts down to the eighteenth century is extraordinary. Hain enumerates forty-six editions before 1500, and there are some which have escaped his notice, such as those printed in London by Machlinia, and an Italian translation of the *Liber Aggregationis* at Milan in 1495. Many followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so that as dealing with the secrets of generation, the properties of stones, plants and animals, and the marvels of the universe, no book had such a circulation in Europe. Whoever has given any attention to medieval literature must have encountered it at some time or other.

Intimately connected with it by subject, and often by publication, was the analogous work *De Physiognomia* of the senior contemporary of Albertus, Michael Scotus, round whom so much romance has been woven, but a consideration of that book would involve a monograph so as to do it and its author justice.

After 1500 books on the present subject made their appearance in greater abundance. Notable rarities are among them and many printed in the earlier part of the sixteenth century are not devoid of bibliographical attractions. Among those in English are many on medicine, such as the editions of "The Treasure of pore men," "The Myrrour or Glasse of helth," "The treasury of healthe," written by Petrus Hispanus, afterwards Pope John XXI, and translated by Humfre Lloyde. There were the works edited or translated by John Hester, "The Joyfull Jewell," "Secrets of Chirurgery," "The Excellence of Physick and Chirurgery," "Three curious Pieces of Secrets," "The Order to distill oyles," "The Key of Philosophie"; Baker's "The Newe Jewell of Health"; Vicary's "Englishman's Treasure"; "An Hospital for the Diseased"; "A Rich Store-house or Treasury for the Diseased";

"Præpositas his Practice" by Leonard Mascall, and others. There was no lack of guides to health, if it could be attained or preserved by secrets and receipts.

Mascall wrote other books on practical affairs such as the planting and grafting of trees, "The Booke of Cattell" concerning the management of live stock, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, hogs, "The Governmente of Poultrie," probably the earliest treatise on the subject in English, "A profitable Boke to take out spottes and staines," which is one of a set of books to which reference is made below. To these may be added the works on gardening by Thomas Hill, his "Parfite orderinge of Bees," his "Physiognomy," and other works. Another little tract similar to some of these is "The Booke of Thrift, containing a perfite order, . . . to profite lands, and other things belonging to Husbandry," printed at London by John Wolfe, in 1589.

In the seventeenth century the output of these books was greater than ever. Occasionally they were respectable small quarto volumes, while those in small octavo were for the most part chap-books. But though cheaply got up they were sometimes decorated, if one may say so, with a woodcut portrait or title-page, or frontispiece. Among the quartos may be mentioned the late reprints of Hill's and Mascall's books on gardening, on cattle and arboriculture, and Gervase Markham's works on farming, and household economy. In this century too appeared Hill's "Legerdemain," which ran through so many editions that one might suppose the art of conjuring was a much cultivated profession. Works on the secrets of medicine were not wanting; Brugis' "Marrow of Physic," Levens' "Pathway to Health," Bonham's "Chyrurgian's Closet," the "Dispensatory" of the two quacks, Salvator Winter and Francisco Dickinson, and reprints of earlier treatises may serve as examples.

Of the little octavos and duodecimos which flowed from the press in a copious stream, mention can be made of only a few that are more or less typical. There were the works of John White, "lover of artificial

conclusions," as he styled himself, "Arts Masterpiece," "Arts Treasury of Rarities and curious Inventions," which went through six editions at least, "A rich Cabinet with variety of Inventions," which was in vogue from 1651 to 1689, and "Hocus-Pocus," another book of tricks. There were: "A choice Manual of rare and select Secrets in Physick and Chyrurgery" by Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Kent, which, between 1653 and 1708 went through twenty-one editions; the parallel collection of Queen Henrietta Maria, entitled "The Queen's Closet opened," with about sixteen editions between 1655 and 1713, and a certain T. P. who compiled "The Accomplished Lady's Delight in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying and Cookery" which ran from 1672 or 1673 to 1719, and had ten editions. Salmon's "Polygraphice," a collection of receipts for a number of Arts, was issued eight times between 1672 and 1701. Besides these, reference may be made to Mrs. Hannah Wolley, or Woolley, an entertaining person, and an adept in all feminine accomplishments, who was the authoress of "The Cooks Guide," "The Gentlewomans Companion," "The Ladies Delight, or a Rich Closet of Choice Experiments and Curiosities," "The Ladies Directory," "The Queen-like Closet," of which there were certainly five editions, all these books appearing between 1664 and 1684. Nor should Sir Kenelm Digby be forgotten, and his operator George Hartman, who between them published "Chymical Secrets," "The Closet opened," "Choice and experimented Receipts in Physick and Chyrurgery." There was also the revelation of a thorough-going secret in his famous "Discourse on the Powder of Sympathy," delivered at Montpellier and first printed in English in 1658, a book said to be of the greatest rarity. The second edition appeared in the same year, others came later and, with other books of Digby's, it was translated into Dutch, French and German. Hartman compiled "A Choice Collection of rare Secrets and Experiments," "The true Preserver and Restorer of Health," "The Family Physitian, . . . containing some hundreds of considerable Receipts and Secrets of great Value" which was printed by Henry Hills in 1696, and from which we gather that the author

lived at Rotherhithe. There was Owen Wood's "An Alphabetical Book of Physicall Secrets," of which five editions appeared between 1632 and 1656, when it was issued under the name of the Duchess of Lenox. This book has caused me trouble, for Owen Wood has never got credit for his labour, such as it was.

A representative book of Secrets is that by Thomas Lupton, "A thousand notable things of sundry sorts," which was published in London in 1596 and was often reprinted, the last issue I know of being dated 1815! What was the secret, or receipt, to which this book owed its longevity, does not appear, but one would like to know it. It cannot be owing to its intrinsic merit, for the book is a rifacimento of the extravagancies of the old marvel-mongers.

Towards the close of the century a good many of the books of Secrets were published by G. Conyers at the Ring in Little Britain, but with the unpardonable omission of the date. Other publishers were John Starkey, Edward Brewster, N. Boddington, T. Salusbury, T. Sowle, Andrew Sowle, T. Passenger, W. Whitwood, N. Crouch, Gartrude Dawson, E. Tracy, Charles Tyus, J. Blare, and many others. Among the chap-books were "The way to save Wealth," attributed to Thomas Tryon, the author of several curious essays, who in some of his ideas was far ahead of his time, "The Complete Husbandman," "A New Book of Knowledge" full of curious information and actually with a date, 1697. There were also more receipt books for ladies, such as John Shirley's "Accomplished Ladies Rich Closet of Rarities," which enjoyed some popularity, "The Ladies Companion, or Modern Secrets and Curiosities, never before made Publick" concerned mainly with toilet secrets, "The Accomplished Female Instructor," dated 1704, and "Arts Compleat Master-Piece," containing receipts for all sorts of purposes, and sold by James Hodges at the Looking-glass on London Bridge.

On passing into the eighteenth century one encounters books different in style and to some extent different in theme. Collections of medical

secrets almost disappear, but there are more on strictly practical subjects. The term "secrets" is dropped, though it may occur in the course of a title. But the titles now become of prodigious length and take the form of a table of contents. They may have been handy for the readers of a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, but it tries the patience of the bibliographer of the present time, who has to copy them. As might be expected too the books are not attractive. There is a pretence at ornament which is not only unnecessary, but is ugly.

There was a second flood of manuals of legerdemain, with the name of H. Dean. At first the books were well enough, but as time went on the issues became so bad that some were illegible.

Directions for the ladies and the good wives were supplied in such works as "The whole Duty of a Woman," "The complete Housewife," which, more by merit than looks, managed to reach the fifteenth edition, "The Complete Family Piece," which, in a duodecimo of six hundred pages, with an overwhelming title-page for length and detail, gives a history of the active side of country life in England a hundred and seventy years ago, and "The Lady's Companion, or an infallible Guide to the Female Sex." "The Young Ladies School of Arts" dealt with the refinements rather than the necessities of daily life and is the converse of "The Farmers Wife or the complete Country Housewife." This last contains directions about poultry, about the preparing of pork, bacon and sausages, making wine, cyder, perry, mum, mead, and so on, directions for the dairy, etc., etc., and then the author blossoms into rhyme, like Mascall in his book on cattle:

> Instructions full and plain we give
> To teach the Farmer's wife
> With satisfaction how to live
> The happy country life.

There were other books on the fine arts: "The Handmaid to the Arts" is mostly about painting. "Valuable Secrets concerning Arts and Trades" is also largely about painting though other topics are included. There are at least half a dozen editions of this book. "The School of Wisdom" contains a survey of the arts in general. All these books have ponderous title-pages

and are disagreeable examples of typography. There are more of the same kind. "The Fountain of Knowledge or Complete Family Guide," which begins with the Indian way of marking silk, linen or woollen, tells how to breed game-cocks and singing birds, to restore an apparently drowned person to life, gives rules for nursing, a cure for the small pox and a receipt to remove freckles. This pamphlet is by "Sarah Saunders, Mother of seventeen Children, and brought them through all Diseases incident to Children"; an excellent mother but weak in syntax. I have seen the first edition, besides the sixth, which is in the British Museum. Amongst other things it contains a description of the "expeditious or fountain pen," which is, therefore, an old invention.

There were also "The New Handmaid to the Arts," "The School of Arts," and "The Laboratory or School of Arts," this last adapted from the German.

In the first quarter or so of the last century books after the old fashion still appeared, as, for example, "The Painters and Varnishers Guide," 1804, from the French; the seventh edition in 1810 of "The Laboratory," just mentioned; "The Female Instructor," on manners, medicine, cookery and domestic economy; "The Family Receipt-book," undated, a quarto of six hundred pages in double columns, with an appalling title-page; "500 Useful and amusing Experiments in the Arts and Manufactures," by George G. Cary. Books on fireworks, on conjuring, on the toilet, are among the receipt books of the time.

All these and many more are of such a quality that interest in them falls to a minimum, whether as regards their contents or their execution.

When, leaving chronology, we examine the contents of the books, they appear to be about as varied as human wants and desires themselves, and to be ready to provide efficient practical guidance for most of the contingencies of every day life. A brief notice of a few of the subjects may be given.

The section of the literature which deals with the Secrets of Nature is a remarkable one, for in it we see the method of descriptive Natural History

in its widest aspect, previous to the introduction of the more recent system of observation and experiment. To the ordinary man the world is full of marvels and secrets which he does not understand and of forces which he cannot always control. These phenomena in the course of time were observed, sometimes accurately, and interpreted in many ways, not always conclusively. The familiar authorities from classical times are, of course, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Pliny, Seneca and others. For the medieval writers, Pliny was the chief guide, but all sources were drawn upon by those who compiled, for popular delectation, narratives of strange appearances and events. Such was the "Liber Aggregationis" of Albertus Magnus, already alluded to, and in the sixteenth century the "Prodigies" of Polydore Vergil and of Julius Obsequens; the "Histoires Prodigieuses" of Boaistuau, the "Occulta Naturæ Miracula" of Levinus Lemnius of Zierikzee, Johnson's "Cornucopiæ," and the "Secrets and Wonders of the World abstracted out of Pliny" in English in 1587.

At the same time Arthur Golding translated Solinus and Pomponius Mela, both of whose histories are storehouses of marvels. There was the "Contemplation of Mysteries" compiled by Thomas Hill and printed by Denham about 1571, and the natural history of John Maplet of Cambridge, called "A greene Forest," published in 1567. As early as 1563, Dr. William Fulke, the controversialist and divine, wrote a book about meteors. What is called the second edition appeared at London long after in 1634 in a little black letter volume entitled "A most pleasant Prospect into the Garden of Naturall Contemplation." It is divided into five sections and describes meteors, fiery meteors, ayry impressions, watry impressions, such as clouds, rain, snow, springs, lakes, rivers, the sea, and earthly meteors, such as metals and stones. Hill's book resembles Fulke's sufficiently to make it worth while comparing them.

A century later, about 1670, came the popular manuals with the initials R.B., or the name R. Burton, published by Nath. Crouch and indeed assigned to Crouch himself as the author.

The self-assigned task of all the writers was to record astonishing and unusual events, signs and wonders in the heavens above and in the earth and sea below, portents, the birth and prophesyings of monsters, and such like. The writers did not seek to verify their reports, or, if they ran counter to ordinary experience and observation, to criticize them, but set them down for what they were worth, to be accepted or rejected. Such collections, if we may judge by their number and variety, were popular and must have supplied what was required, strange and startling narratives, true or not did not matter, just as one accepts an impossible romance now for the passive excitement it affords.

One of the most singular of these collections is in French and it appeared in 1504, entitled "Le livre des Merveilles du Monde," the book of the wonders of the world. It went through some six or seven editions which search for many years has shown me are of rare occurrence. It is divided into two parts; the first is arranged by the countries of the old world, and the wonders of each are enumerated, the second deals with the wonders of beasts, birds, plants, stones, and man, and is arranged by subject. The compiler has withheld his name unfortunately, so he cannot get credit and commendation for his production, but he has been wise and considerate enough to mention his authorities for the marvels he has amassed, so that we can judge of their probability and authenticity and confirm them if so disposed. Solinus's "Polyhistor" is one of his main sources, but, on the whole, the most attractive stories are derived from the collection which Gervasius, called of Tilbury, made for the recreation and edification of the Emperor Otto IV, a book of which there is no proper edition. One can imagine how the Emperor, when he was off duty (the work is entitled "Otia Imperialia," "an Emperor's half holiday") would recline luxuriously and purr while Gervasius tickled the imperial ears with his amazing narratives. It is no exaggeration to call them so, for even the compiler is forced to say about some of them that they "are hard for a man like myself of uncultivated understanding to believe, for in truth without the honour of the deeply learned doctor Gervasius the marvels

seem to me impossible to believe according to nature, for Aristotle relates nothing like them. But it may well be that those to whom these marvellous events happened, were cheated by some diabolical illusions or otherwise."

One feels disposed to agree with the compiler and to say of Gervasius what King James VI said of the witches of Tranent, that "they were all extream lyars," though the editor here rather spoils his Higher Criticism by quoting Aristotle and the devil. But "otherwise" is good; it is such a roomy alternative.

In this book the stories are told at some length, but in others they are reduced to the smallest dimensions and only the essential part is preserved. Such is the treatment of the subject in Thomas Johnson's "Cornucopiæ," a thin black letter pamphlet of 24 leaves, printed at London in 1596, and in the translation of Pierre de Changy's abstract of Pliny, printed at London in 1587. As it contains only thirty-six leaves in small 4to, the barest outline of Pliny's thirty-seven books in folio is the result, but the wonders have been culled with due attention to their exceptional character.

Of equal interest and curiosity is the collection of Pierre Boaistuau, which was put out in English as an original work by Edward Fenton in 1569. It too contains remarkable stories and it possesses an unusual feature in the form of woodcuts illustrating different narratives. These do ample justice to the text, and are highly creditable to the imagination of the artist. The author describes monstrous men and animals, but what he says would not be intelligible without the pictures. People were much exercised in those times about the origin of monsters, and small wonder considering the appearance of those depicted and described. There was always a doubt too about the share devils had in producing them, and whether in general devils could have families. Then there are accounts of natural wonders: great floods, burning mountains, including the eruption in which Pliny perished, with a woodcut of the catastrophe;

marvellous appearances in the heavens, comets, dragons, flames, blazing stars, torches, fire forks, pillours, lances, bucklers, two suns and two moons at one instant, and many more, "which whosoever would recompte by order, those which onely have appeared sithens the nativitie of Jesus Christ, together, searching the causes of their beginnings and births, the life of a man would not performe the same," and then the author gives details of some of these portents with their dates and their significations. Some of them must have been frightsome enough, if they at all corresponded to their description and picture. The secrets and wonders of Nature in the sixteenth century were calculated to inspire far more widespread interest and alarm than they do now, for by following the prescription of Albertus Magnus, we have lost the capacity for wonder.

Mizaldus, in the sixteenth century, was a successful collector of natural secrets. He read extensively and noted the wonderful things he met with about the world, about beasts, birds, fishes and reptiles, about men and women, children born and unborn, about the virtues of plants and minerals and the cure of diseases. His collections he arranged in nine centuries, with a rough sort of classification. His book is not common and the Cologne editions of 1572, 1573, 1574, are of rarity. A more curious and uncommon book by him is entitled "Secrets de la Lune," in which he points out its connection with and influence upon the sun, women, certain beasts, birds, fishes, stones, trees, plants, diseases, sick people, etc., etc.

Founded upon Mizaldus's book and taken in part from it, is Lupton's book already alluded to: "A Thousand notable things of Sundry Sorts."

Bodin and Cardan made contributions to this literature, and there may be quoted two much less known works than theirs.

One is "Idea del Giardino del Mondo" by Thomaso Thomai of Ravenna. It was published at Venice in 1593 and often afterwards. Notwithstanding its small bulk it is comprehensive; begins with the earth, deals with all its products, animal, vegetable and mineral; with men,

women, monsters; with the preservation of health; with the air, the winds, and aerial demons, comets and other alarming signs in the heavens, thunder and lightning, the rainbow; with fire, animals that live in it, and fiery demons; the seven planets, the signs of the zodiac, and the crystalline sky. His authorities are classical for the most part, but he has got interesting material from some later writers, mostly Italian.

The other is entitled "Jardin de Flores Curiosas," by Antonio de Torquemada. The earliest edition seems to be that published at Salamanca in 1570, and it was printed several times thereafter. It was turned into French by the well known Gabriel de Chappuys under the title *Hexameron*, at Paris, 1582; into Italian by Celio Malespina, *Giardino di Fiori Curiosi*, Vinegia, 1591; into English under the curious title *The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles*, London, 1600, and again in 1618, and into German, *Hexameron, oder Sechs Tage-Zeiten*, Cassel, 1652.

It gets the name Hexameron from its being the report of a six days' conversation on the wonders and secrets of Nature and the topics discussed are recondite and almost incredible.

On the first day the discourses are appropriately inaugurated by stories about strange and abnormal births, monsters, satyrs, pigmies, giants, amazons, tailed men, dog-headed men, tall men, strong men, mermaids, mermen, long livers, people who have renewed their youth, others who have changed their sex, centaurs and such like.

The second conversation turns upon rivers, fountains and lakes, and the unexpected properties which some of these display, and the discussion naturally includes the four rivers of Paradise and its locality, the flood, and winds up with some account of idolatry and heresies of various sorts.

The third discourse is about visions, enchanters, witchcraft, and contains matter which the author himself calls delightful and necessary to be known. It is, quite.

The fourth conversation is somewhat discursive, treats of good and bad fortune, of the influences of the heavenly bodies and of many singular occurrences.

The fifth conversation is about the lands near and around the North Pole, the variation in the length of the day and night, the inhabitants, the climate, and similar details.

The last discussion is about the animals that live in the Northern regions, wolves, hares which become white when snow begins, trees that remain green all the year and other curiosities.

The whole book is an excellent summary. I hope here be truths.

While these writers are mere compilers of strange stories about Nature, others endeavoured to treat Natural History from a common sense point of view. They could not free themselves altogether from the marvellous, but they tried to keep that element within bounds and to give rational descriptions.

One of them was Joannes Jonstonus, who wrote a review of the subject under these heads : the heavens, the four elements, meteors, fossils (mineral substances), plants, birds, quadrupeds, bloodless animals (insects), fishes, man. The classification is a cross one, lizards, for instance, are put among quadrupeds, but the attempt at a classification at all, based upon observation of characters, represents a marked advance, and indicates that the old kind of Natural History was passing away.

Other books that may be noticed in this connection are Robert Lovel's "Panbotanologia," and "Panzooryctologia," the former a treatise on British plants, the latter on animals and minerals. They contain much information, not very critically sifted, with a view specially to pharmacy and therapeutics. Though of little service in that way now, they are not to be despised in connection with the history of medicine and more particularly of medical folk-lore, a branch of the subject of which the significance and value are now fully recognised by historians in Germany.

Lovel's aggregations may serve as a transition to those on medicine itself, with its related and ancillary sciences. They are in all languages, of all degrees of merit, and treat of different sections of the subject. Leaving out the medical authorities of the Middle Ages, Galen and Avicenna, and the protagonists of the revolution of the sixteenth century, Paracelsus and Erastus, with their respective followers and disciples, attention must be confined to the books written for popular use, many of which went by the name of secrets. They were not systematic but practical; their aim was to cure, not to theorize or expound; and the remedies given were as straightforward and simple as possible. They therefore took the form of receipts, which dictated to the patient, or nurse, the drugs to be used, or the course of treatment to be followed, or the diet most suitable, without troubling him about the origin or nature of the disorder. The author probably thought that the patient had trouble enough with the disease itself, and his drugs, without adding knowledge of the cause of it, always supposing that he knew it himself, which was doubtful. In these times, so far as one can gather, the practice of medicine by licensed persons with such training as could be had, was restricted to populous centres, but in country districts few physicians or surgeons were available, and, from what is stated here and there, when they were, they charged large, if not prohibitive fees. So it came about that the treatment of disease had to be managed by each household for itself. As the men were occupied otherwise, it fell almost inevitably into the hands of the women to attend to the health of the children, as well as their own, and to that of the men folks who might be ill or have met with an accident. The necessary knowledge they had to acquire as best they could by experience and trial and from the skill of their elder neighbours. It was for their use largely that the books of medical receipts were compiled and they were often dedicated to ladies and gentlewomen distinguished by their care of the sick, and especially of the sick poor round about them, who could obtain no medical advice or attention. A survival of these times was the manual of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers, Buchan's "Domestic Medicine."

The ladies and housewives had not only the nursing to do, but they had to prepare the medicines also, and as by tradition these were almost exclusively vegetable, it followed that in every garden were cultivated familiar medicinal herbs, which were supplemented by others that grew naturally in the woods and fields, by the roadsides and ditches.

This gave rise to another branch of medical literature, the pharmaceutical, and one of its earliest forms was the "herbal," of which there were many varieties, and which in recent years have afforded much sport to collectors, and especially to booksellers.

As a consequence, part of the equipment of a house of any size was a "still" room, in which were prepared the spirits, oils, extracts, cordials, perfumes, essences and medicines in common use. The products were more or less secret and were kept in a special room, the "Closet" as it seems to have been called, access to which the lady reserved to herself, perhaps because some of her preparations were *too* active—shall we say?—to fall into either ignorant or *too* skilful hands, or because some of the preparations were scarce, or costly, or of her own invention, and she had no mind to disclose them. They were her "Secrets," in fact.

These developments were not without their influence upon the literature, not merely of medicine, but of connected subjects. As illustrations of the herbal for popular use may be cited that ascribed to Aemilius Macer, though it is not the work of Virgil's predecessor or elder contemporary, but is of a later period. It was translated into English and published by Banckes in 1525, then in 1526, and by several others immediately afterwards. There were Jerome Brunswick's "Vertuose boke of Distyllacyon of the waters of all maner of Herbes," printed by Lawrence Andrewe at London in 1527; the "Treasure" of Evonymus, published in 1552 in Latin, translated into English and published by Day about 1559, with plates of the plants and distilling apparatus. It was one of the most popular of the books and appeared in various editions in Latin and in translations in French, German and Italian. The bibliography which I have investigated is interesting.

After the herbals came books on gardening, and, in at least some of them, attention is bestowed on the cultivation of medicinal plants. There is space for only one example. Thomas Hill, Londoner, of whose life nothing definite is known, not even the dates of his birth and death, in addition to a number of other works already referred to, wrote one entitled "The Profitable Arte of Gardening," 1568. In it he not only lays down rules for planting and tending the flowers, vegetables and herbes, but to each appends a paragraph headed "The physicke helpes," that is, its use in medicine. In "The Gardeners Labyrinth" by Didymus Mountain, commonly identified with Thomas Hill, though the accuracy of so doing may be doubted, there are similar sections in the second part of the book where the individual plants are described. The point to be noticed, however, is that in these and similar books there is an overlapping of the subjects of gardening, pharmacy and medicine.

There is still another connection which displayed itself in a marked way in the manuals written by ladies, or under their name. In them, as in the Countess of Kent's "Manual," or in "The Queen's Closet opened," or in "The Queen-like Closet" of Mrs. Wolley, Physicke and Chyrurgerie came to be associated with Conserving and Preserving, and ultimately with Cookery. Such collections appeared frequently, and their popularity is exhibited by those just mentioned having passed through many editions, as has been mentioned above.

Of more interest, perhaps, than some of these books, may be those about the mysteries of reproduction. Here again we meet with works which have been long current, such as the *Secreta Mulierum* of Albertus, and the *Physionomia* of Michael Scotus. But a book much better known now than either of these passes under the name of *The Complete Masterpiece* and is ascribed to Aristotle. Such books were the instructors of people in all that pertained to the subject, theoretical and practical, and one has heard occasionally views expressed the source of which could be found in them. That is not surprising, for the "Masterpiece" has been "Printed

for the Booksellers" and in popular circulation for over two hundred years. In fact, the book along with other tracts of similar tenour can be purchased in the year of grace 1913 in shops which deal in a certain class of literature. One of the other tracts, also ascribed to Aristotle, is known as the "Problemata." It was printed as early as 1471, went through several editions before 1500 and ever so many after. It is a sort of catechism of the secrets of the human body and questions are asked to which no reasonable answer could be given, nor would it matter whether they could be answered or not. A supplement, or sort of commentary upon it, was written by Alexander Aphrodisiensis and another by Zimara, and as affording insight into the most recondite secrets of nature, *secreta secretorum*, all these works must have been much esteemed.

Later writers seem to have adopted its method and copied its matter, for similar productions of equal imbecility appeared in the seventeenth century, such as that by Scipion Dupleix and his translator Robert Bassett.

Here then is the natural history of at least four hundred and fifty years ago—but it must be far more since the compilation was made—current in the year 1913, with hardly a change of word or notion, as if our knowledge of the Universe had been stagnant all that time; and the rest of the book, though it has undergone considerable alteration, is equally unsatisfactory. The ramifications of the bibliography of this book are not without interest, but this is not the time for such divagations.

It is difficult to get away from books of medical secrets and it must suffice to mention those of Falloppio, the discoverer of the organs which bear his name, Valescus of Taranta, Varignana, author of the "Philonium," Fioravanti, a quack it may be, but a man of strong individuality, several of whose works were translated into English by John Hester, Riverius, Zapata, Bairo, Venturini, Auda, and ever so many more. There are two authors, however, that may be noticed in passing.

One is an undiscoverable person called Raoul du Mont Verd, whose name is attached to a little book called "Les Fleurs et Secrets de

Médecine," dating from early in the sixteenth century. Brunet enumerates a number of editions; there are some—not in Brunet—in the British Museum; I have one or two in neither, so we may infer that there were a good many issues, that it must have been in demand, and that, as the surviving copies demonstrate, the book got hard usage.

It gives directions how and when to bleed, an art almost forgotten; how to manage sick people in the months of the year; how to treat various diseases; it describes the virtues of certain plants and how to make waters from them, and gives numerous medical receipts. This is followed by an astrology for shepherds, a treatise on comets and their significance according to the signs of the zodiac in which they appear, a section on the magnitude of the Universe, and the book concludes with a description of hell, deep down in the earth, dark, cloudy, redolent of sulphur and other bad smells and enveloped in nine kinds of fire.

This is a real book of secrets, but its origin is obscure. It is said to be compiled by Master Raoul du Mont Verd; translated from Latin into French, the which book Hippocrates sent to Jalius, who was ill of various maladies external and internal. In another place, however, it is said that the book was sent by "Hippocrates to Galen, . . . and that the contained receipts were afterwards approved by Galen." These statements are hard to reconcile, and one would gladly know how Hippocrates bridged the gap of some five hundred years between himself and Galen.

The other book is also of the sixteeenth century and is "The Myrrour or Glasse of helth," usually ascribed to Thomas Moulton. It is a little black letter octavo and deals especially with the plague, the causes of it, how to avoid it, and how to treat one who is attacked by it. Then follow the influences of the planets in the days of the week, and the signs of the zodiac in the months of the year from March to February, and remedies "for dyvers Infyrmytes and dyseases, that hurteth the bodye of man." It has some analogy therefore to the preceding volume.

The history of this book is curious, for it appeared in two distinct forms and with different title-pages. Examination of the two raises doubts about Thomas Moulton, of whom nothing is recorded, so far as I have ascertained, except that he was a Dominican friar, and was urged to compose this tract. In the other issue part of Moulton's work is omitted and some of the remainder is claimed by one who speaks of having been in medical practice for many years. This subject, however, must be discussed elsewhere, along with the other contemporary medical works quoted above, such as the "Treasure of Pore Men" and the "Treasury of Health."

The books of receipts for arts and manufacturers are in great numbers. Some of them are general and contain directions for all kinds of practical purposes, while others take up one topic only but with fuller detail.

Amongst the general collections, there is one of the sixteenth century which is too conspicuous to be passed over. It is that which goes by the name of Alexis, or Alessio, of Piedmont.[1] It presents problems as to its origin and history, it went through quite a number of editions and translations and in its final form contained a great deal of matter. It was the model which subsequent compilers followed and was a reservoir of information which could be drawn on if required, so that in a way the book is one of the classics of the subject. It is a remarkable gathering, for though it is not devoid of many singular notions, disagreeable remedies, superstitious beliefs, all the more does it throw light on the state of knowledge and skill at the time, the demand there was for information and guidance, and the practical methods which must have been current, and of which, it is likely, only samples found a place in the book.

It first appeared in 1555, in Italian, and consisted only of the first part or division in six books. A second division followed, possibly by the

(1) Some years ago I discussed the author and the bibliography of the book in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries, but as the printing of it was postponed and has never been carried out, I am unable to refer to the lists I then drew up.

same author, and then divisions three and four which, almost certainly, are not by Alexis. They were translated into English at different times and published, the earlier ones separately, and latterly all four together. The English version of the first part appeared in 1558, and is rare. The last collected edition in English is of 1615. The authorship is usually assigned with great confidence to Girolamo Ruscelli, and the name Don Alessio is considered a pseudonym. This view, however much it may seem to be confirmed by Ruscelli himself, Sansovino and Muzio, introduces so much contradiction and confusion that one can arrive at no satisfactory result. It is an obscure subject and would take too much time to discuss now, but this question of authorship does not affect the book and its contents.

The First division contains a variety of receipts. The first book furnishes preparations for cure of diseases and healing of sores; the second how to make fragrant and essential oils, perfumes, powders, soaps; next a few receipts for toilet purposes, beautifying the skin, dyeing the hair, preserving the teeth, etc., etc.; the fifth book shows how to make inks and colours, and the sixth book deals with salts, metals, gilding, precious stones, true and false. The Second division contains such a miscellaneous accumulation of receipts, that it is impossible to classify them. To the Third division are assigned medical, sanitary, and cosmetic secrets, but at the end there is the collection of receipts from the German to which reference is made later on. The Fourth division is occupied entirely with medical receipts and preparations.

As can be easily understood it is difficult either to describe, or to criticize, or to appraise the value of the hundreds of secrets, so called, in such an aggregation as this famous book is. On looking over it one can see that some directions are empirically sound, that drugs employed for certain diseases then, are or could be employed still, and that methods of preparation then, attained the same ends as now, but with an expenditure of time and labour which has been reduced to smaller compass by a fuller understanding both of the materials and of the necessary processes.

A noticeable feature of these books is the constancy with which the receipts both for medicine and for everyday wants are repeated without alteration in one edition after another. Apparently, the secrets gained in authority by repetition, and if they had stood the test of time and had yielded the expected result, there was no reason why they should be changed or superseded.

As instances of receipt books concerned with one topic only, examples may be selected again from the Italian.

One is upon dyeing, and is entitled: "Plictho, or the art of the dyer, how to dye wool, silk, linnen." It was written by Gioanventura Rosetti and published at Venice in 1540. It forms a thin small quarto of forty-four leaves, and contains one or two woodcuts depicting parts of the process. This is a collection of dyers' receipts and methods; it describes the quantity of the substances required, the length of time the fabric is to be immersed in the colour bath and the whole treatment. The art of dyeing is of great antiquity and the use of mordants to make colours fast, for example, must have been known at an early period. Of this book there were at least five editions, the first of 1540 already mentioned, the fourth at Venice in 1611, and the fifth in 1672, with some changes and additions, but even with these, one hundred and thirty years is a good life for such a book. Modern technical books are much more short-lived.

When engaged with dyeing one must not overlook receipts for making inks and colours, for taking out spots and stains and for colouring wood, bone, and feathers. These are chemical applications and as such I have described them in a series of papers still in progress.[1] The earliest collections of these receipts which I have seen are in German and of date 1531, in following years tracts of similar character were associated with them and translations of them were made. I have seen some fifty editions of these books, but from internal evidence it is probable that that number

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(1) Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, from 1888 to 1913.

does not include all the editions which exist, but which have not yet come to light. Some of the ink and colour receipts taken from these books long survived the originals, for they are to be found repeated verbatim late in the eighteenth century.

Another subject which was the origin of some literature at a later time was miniature painting, specimens of which are now collected with much zeal. One of the most popular was the work ascribed to C. Ballard, "Traité de Mignature," which consists of receipts about colours and their use. It had a wide circulation and was translated into English and Italian.

Another Italian book is the "Pirotechnia" or "Art of Fire," by Vannuccio Biringuccio, a contemporary of Rosetti, for his book was also published at Venice in 1540, and several times thereafter, one edition appearing in 1678, another instance of a life of over 130 years. It was translated into French and a small part relating to gold and silver was included in Eden's version of Peter Martyr's "Decades of the New World," 1555. This is a comprehensive treatise upon all the arts in which fire, or, as we should say now, high temperatures are necessary. It therefore includes metallurgy, the distillation of sulphur, the making of salts of various kinds, the construction of furnaces, the manufacture of glass, crucibles, and other vessels and apparatus, assaying, casting of cannon, preparation of gunpowder, alloys, metal working, wire-drawing and similar arts. Illustrations of apparatus and processes are included, and altogether it is a book of importance for the history of metallurgy and chemistry.

Along with this may be taken another, even more specialised. In 1612 Antonio Neri published his book "L'Arte Vitraria." He was in the works at Murano and his book embodied his experience. It was translated into Latin, into French by De Blancourt, into English by Christopher Merrett, who added notes, and into German by Kunckel, who included Merrett's notes as well. Illustrations were added, and it became a sort of text-book. An encyclopædic edition in French, under the editorship of Baron

d'Holbach, was published at Paris in 1752, and finally the English version was printed privately at the Middlehill press in a ridiculous folio in 1826. There are modern works on glass by Sauzay, Peligot and others.

Among the older writers, Babington, Nye, Hanzelet, Jones, have given receipts for fireworks, and there are two or three on the same subject in Dutch.

On a totally different subject from dyeing, Gioanventura Rosetti, the author of "Plictho" above mentioned, published a little book in 1555 and again in 1560. It is entitled "Notandissimi Secreti de l'arte profumatorio," and in it he gives receipts for preparing oils, waters, pastes, muscardines, and what not, and all for the use of ladies.

This art was a favourite one and it would be easy to cite examples of its literature from the days of Mercurialis, Liébaut, Le Fournier, to Hugh Plat and his "Delights for Ladies," "The French Perfumer," Erresalde (De la Serre), Marinello, Jeamson and his "Artificial Embellishments," and others down to Lola Montez and the present time. It is but a few years since I picked up at the bookstall at Dover Station a new pamphlet on the Secrets of the Toilet for one penny sterling. There have been others since then.

While some of the topics touched upon have been secret enough, the most sombre quarter is occupied by books on magic, and especially black magic. Luridly conspicuous among these is the popular French "Dragon Rouge," and the secrets of Albertus Parvus, Le petit Albert, where one can find how to fabricate the hand of glory which endows its possessor with strange powers. There are the extraordinary revelations contained in the "Magick of Kiranus, King of Persia," and the "Trinum Magicum" of Longinus. The volume on Occult Philosophy by Cornelius Agrippa, which is full of mysteries, is less a treatise on magic than an early attempt to construct a speculative Natural Philosophy, and similar efforts were made by Cardan, Baptista Porta, Athanasius Kircher, Hernando Castrillo, Zimara and others, who styled their subject Magia

Naturalis. Caspar Schott advanced a step farther, when he called his books "Magia Universalis" and "Physica Curiosa"; in these he gets rid to a great extent of the "secret" element, and deals with physical phenomena pure and simple. The subject, thereafter, developed along two lines, one the scientific, the other the secret or occult, ending practically in legerdemain and conjuring. An instance of transition of another sort was displayed in the case of the graduation thesis of Martius, *De Magia Naturali*, printed in 1700, which passed through a number of editions and took the form more or less of a conjuring book. Then it worked gradually into a book of experimental Physics, after which a volume containing an account of all the newest discoveries appeared annually for nineteen years.

Legerdemain, like other displays of manual dexterity, merits respect. Its secret is the cultivation assiduously of certain endowments, physical and mental. Conjuring, involving as it does certain appliances unknown to the spectator, is one of the oldest of arts, for it is said that in the Egyptian temples traces of the arrangements required to produce mysterious effects are still to be found.

Modern conjuring literature, so far as it is known to me, began about 1630, or perhaps a little earlier, and has continued at intervals to the present time. The earlier books, as was said above, bore the name of Thomas Hill,[1] later ones in the eighteenth century that of H. Dean. There was another crop early last century, and John Anderson, the famous "Wizard of the North," published a handbook of Magic about 1850. Quite recently came a set of books called "The Secret out" Series, reviving thereby the old name, and at the present moment hand-books of Parlour Magic can be readily procured, which profess to instruct the aspirant in all the secrets of prestidigitation.

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(1) Perhaps as one of the earliest specimens ought to be reckoned the translation which Thomas Hill published in 1567, under the name of "Natural and Artificial Conclusions" of the fatuous tricks compiled, it is said, by sundry scholars of the University of Padua, much to their discredit.

The books enumerated above have been for the most part in English, but they form only one section of those which exist. They were produced in abundance in Europe generally, in Latin, French, German, Italian, Dutch and other languages, and translations from one language to another were common enough. The same desire for knowledge seems to have prevailed in other countries as in England, and the same methods were adopted to satisfy it. There was no other source free to people anxious for practical instruction and information, there was no technical education, and only in such receipts and directions as could be obtained from the books of "secrets" could people become acquainted with the properties and uses of different substances.

The books are pretty much of the same character everywhere, though they do not cover exactly the same ground. Thus in English medical secrets predominate, while in other languages the collections are more general. Italy, especially, was prolific in books of the kind and excelled in the issue of small pamphlets of from four or eight to twelve or sixteen pages, with florid titles and a little kernel of secrets of varied content. Of these evanescent productions I have seen about thirty, but that must be a fraction of those which have been in circulation. It is noteworthy that the deterioration in the externals of the volumes is as patent in the books produced on the Continent as here, showing that general causes were at work, while in the matter of long-winded title-pages and crude ornament the books of the eighteenth century were the same everywhere.

In a review of these books during four centuries and a half, successive styles of book production cannot escape notice. Those of the sixteenth century are in black letter and are generally pleasing and sometimes even handsome, though some by Wyer and others are not creditable to the printer. For the majority of those produced in the seventeenth century little that is favourable can be said; the execution of the books gradually deteriorated until, towards the end of that period, printing had fallen to the lowest ebb. The books, even the best of them, are of inferior quality. The paper is coarse, the printing rude, and the cover is a bit of brown

sheepskin, the boards that it is stretched over being left unlined. No attempt was made to turn them out in an attractive shape. They were not written by scholars for scholars, but were meant for common use and were got up as economically as possible. With the exception of Albertus Magnus and Aristotle and may be one or two others, there is not a single author known outside the present connection. Thomas Hill, John Hester, John White, Hannah Wolley, John Shirley, Robert Lovel, Edward Fenton, Owen Wood, A. T., G. W., C. B., who were they? Little or nothing is known about them. Their names are attached in Catalogues to one or more books, and some of them may have found their way into the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but their names have not borne their books into fame, any more than the fame of their books has perpetuated their names.

But whatever the exterior may have been the contents seem to have been sufficient, and the books served their day and generation. How hard the service must have been is eloquently, if not pathetically, proclaimed by the few victims that have survived, and appeal to us for sympathy. When it is remembered that the circulation must have been enormous, that there was a market for every book of the kind written, that of the popular books edition after edition followed at three or four years' interval, and when after years on years of waiting not a single copy of some of these editions ever appears, one can realise the consumption and destruction that must have gone on and can understand how these books are now so scarce. Sometimes one has the luck to light on a volume of Secrets as fresh as if it had just come from the Looking-glass on London Bridge, or from the Ring, or the Pelican in Little-Britain, or from Duck-lane, but that is a phenomenal exception. For one cannot go into the market and purchase whatever book one wants, and in the condition one would prefer. Some might be acquired without much delay, but for others one might have to wait a life-time. So there is nothing for it but to watch, and when the desired object comes along to seize it. It may be imperfect, it may be dirty, it may be in tatters, but it will be time enough

to think of that when another copy is found which satisfies our fastidious taste. Besides, another copy may never appear, and that which was secured may be the sole survivor of the edition. Moreover, supposing there be another copy, instead of being in better state than that which was despised and allowed to slip, it may be in worse; the lesson whereof is, let no opportunity pass.

When such rarities occur, a copy in unusually fine condition, a hitherto unknown treatise or edition, it is customary to acclaim it as unique, but that is an epithet which should be taken with a lot of salt, for when once the hunt is up it is surprising how other copies come to light and infringe the monopoly. Still, among the books of Secrets there are a few which are provisionally unique. The pursuit and acquisition of such specimens afford some temporary amusement and gratification to the collector.

Research on this subject seemed at first simple, for all that had to be done was to find the books and describe them. But, as has been shown above and as anyone can prove who tries, the finding of the books involves a tedious waiting on protracted time. There is besides the question of cost, which is one of the most significant changes of these latter days. There has been a steady advance in the price of the books as a whole, and a preposterous rise in the case of some, such as gardening and cookery. A raw curiosity is pursuing the old books, and as their number is small and that of their hunters is growing the value of available copies has been correspondingly enhanced. So it happens now that books which were plentiful enough a generation or two ago when nobody cared for them have disappeared from the market and cannot be got at all.

The description of them too is at first easy, and then as usual up spring hydra-headed difficulties which are not despatched at one stroke. There are doubts about authors, doubts about first and other editions. There are different editions in the same year, not impossible with a speedy sale; there is the same edition in different years, or in different size and form in the same year. There are doubts about readings, doubts about

meanings, doubts, grave doubts, about the veracity and trustworthiness of editors, doubts about almost everything except the bare facts of paper, printing and binding. These troubles are inherent in the books themselves and in the motives of the publishers. Their aim was to push their wares. It was not likely that the bibliographical minutiæ which give the books a fictitious, or adventitious, value in our eyes, ever entered the head of—let us say—Nicholas Boddington, or of his chapmen, still less of the goodwives with whom they chaffered, or that they bothered about whether the editions were numbered or dated or not, which would have been so useful to us now.

Thus the problems instead of being direct and obvious are often crooked and refractory and from sheer want of data the solution must be relegated to a better informed time. Perhaps the solution could be found at once if it were only seen that the data are lying unrecognised and unheeded at our hand. "All difficulties are but easy when they are known."

The subject is not finished, but it is time to stop. From these random selections it can be seen that it is a big one, even when limited. In one aspect it is of no importance, and yet it attracts attention. "Secrets" of course are always alluring, and the promise of a revelation of the hidden meaning will draw many to listen. But the secrets these books disclose are all done with long ago, and are not used for their purpose any more. They can, however, serve another purpose. In short, the books are historical documents and give insight into the knowledge and skill of the times when they were composed. They throw light on the practical life, as the literature illuminates the mental life of those days. From them we can acquire notions of the beliefs and practice of the times and can compare what the books tell us with what remains of the products. For the study of the history of arts and manufactures these books are indispensable, for however inaccurate or mistaken from our point of view the authors may have been, at least the substances they employed were the same as ours, and it is possible thereby to check their statements and

detect where their knowledge was less extensive than ours and their theories proportionally defective. These are the simultaneous stages of error and amending progress in human comprehension of the outer world and its multitudinous possibilities. Such too exist in our own epoch, and it may be that our successors a couple of hundred years hence, or perhaps in less time, will recognise more clearly than we, who are among the eddies, can do, what a transitory stage it was, if ever they think about it at all. "Let time shape, and there an end."

THE INVENTORY OF INCUNABULA IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By DR. ERNST CROUS.

IT has been my task, during a journey of six months, to draw up a list of the incunabula in the public, and so far as possible, also in the private collections in Great Britain and Ireland for the "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke." As early as the summer of 1912 Herr Direktor Haebler was in communication on the subject with Mr. Alfred W. Pollard, Assistant Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum and Hon. Secretary of the Bibliographical Society. Mr. Pollard promised every assistance: he wrote to Mr. Gordon Duff at Liverpool, the chief authority on early English printed books and on the existing copies; to Mr. Falconer Madan, the Librarian of the Bodleian; to Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and to several others from whom information might be expected. The replies that came quickly to hand furnished a basis for a list of the British collections. Mr. Pollard then advised that the attention of the Bibliographical Society should be called to the matter by the reading of a paper, and on behalf of the Society offered a contribution towards the travelling expenses of the reader. I now began not only to go through the available literature of the subject, but to

work at the desired paper, in which, after a glance at the past history of the bibliography of incunabula, I described the formation and purpose of the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and its proceedings and results to date.

Towards the end of the year I spent a few days in London, where I enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Pollard and Dr. Henry B. Wheatley, then President of the Society. Mr. Pollard discussed with me the plan of my journey and assisted me to amplify and improve the material that I had collected. I was glad to learn that a request for information as to British collections of incunabula which he had brought forward at a meeting of the Council in November and inserted in the December *News-Sheet* had not been without result. My paper was read at a meeting of the Society on December 16th; in illustration, proofs of the latest work of the Kommission, the List of Broadsides, and from the publications of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde des 15. Jahrhunderts, were distributed. The paper was followed by a memorandum, drawn up by Mr. Pollard at the request of the Council, on the state of affairs in the United Kingdom: he laid especial stress on the value of the material in the hands of Mr. Duff concerning books printed in England or for the English market. In the course of the subsequent discussion Mr. Gaselee described what was being done at Cambridge, where during the last few years most of the Colleges had printed lists of their incunabula, and Dr. P. Henderson Aitken, who had been specially invited to the meeting, spoke of Oxford, where he is compiling a list of fifteenth and sixteenth century books which are to be found in the libraries of certain colleges, but not in the Bodleian. The meeting gave me the opportunity of making the acquaintance of several persons whose help was most valuable to me.

The early months of 1913 were devoted to the completion of my list of British collections of incunabula, and to making the necessary extracts from available catalogues of such collections. Besides the information which Mr. Pollard had handed over to me I obtained addresses from the volumes of the *Library* and the writings of Clarke, Botfield, Philip,

Rye and de Ricci.[1] Robert Proctor's "Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum . . . with Notes of those in the Bodleian Library" (London, 1898–1906), T. K. Abbot's "Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Books in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin . . ." (Dublin, 1905) and the catalogues of some smaller collections had already been incorporated in the inventory by Herr Direktor Haebler. The catalogues of the great collection of the Earl of Crawford at Haigh Hall, of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and of the John Rylands Library at Manchester[2] were gone through partly by Herr Direktor Haebler, partly by Herr Dr. von Rath and partly by myself. A large number of manuscript and printed lists of incunabula in the Cambridge colleges, either drawn up by Mr. Gaselee or presented at his request by the respective authorities, and other material I dealt with alone.

In the middle of April I set out on my travels. My plans were as follows: I was to be in London partly during the season and partly in the final weeks, and was to visit Oxford, Cambridge and the Scottish Universities during the summer term, while the John Rylands Library, which would take much time but was always accessible, was left for the otherwise inconvenient holiday month of August. In London I began by increasing the circle of my acquaintances at a second meeting of the Bibliographical Society.

(1) [William Clarke] "Repertorium Bibliographicum, or some account of the most celebrated British libraries," London, 1819; Beriah Botfield, "Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England," London, 1849; Alexander J. Philip, "The Libraries, Museums and Art Galleries Year Book, 1910-11," London, 1910; Reginald Arthur Rye, "The Libraries of London," 2nd ed., London, 1910; Seymour de Ricci, "A Census of Caxtons" (Illustrated Monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society, No. 15), Oxford, 1909, and "Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence" (1445–1467) (Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 8-9), Mainz, 1911.

(2) "Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Catalogue of the printed books preserved at Haigh Hall, Wigan, Co. Pal. Lancast." Vol. 1–4, Aberdeen, 1910; [J. P. Lacaita] "Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth," Vol. 1–4, London, 1879; "Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester," Vol. 1–3, Manchester, 1899, in conjunction with Thomas Frognall Dibdin, "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," Vol. 1–4, London, 1814-15, "Aedes Althorpianae," Vol. 1–2, London, 1822, and "A descriptive catalogue of the books printed in the fifteenth century . . . of the Library of the Duke di Cassano Serra . . . with a general index . . . ," London, 1823.

My inventory I began under the most favourable circumstances at Cambridge where for a week I was the guest of Mr. Gaselee. In the University Library I was able to make use of an almost completed manuscript index to the incunabula (on the model of Proctor's) and, thanks to the courtesy of the officials, to work after closing hours, and so to deal very rapidly with one of the largest collections. For the remaining libraries Mr. Gaselee made the needful appointments. He conducted me everywhere, and himself assisted me in my work, obtaining for me by this means the co-operation of the various librarians with whom it was necessary to deal; so that I here quickly accomplished my object.

At the end of the month I returned to London as the starting-point for further operations, and here I first made my material completely serviceable by the help of the reference-books in the British Museum. It was also necessary for me to acquaint myself with the preparations meanwhile made for my work in the United Kingdom, and incorporate its results in my material.

The January *News-Sheet* of the Bibliographical Society had included a summary of my paper and of the proceedings of the December meeting and in the Annual Report the assistance of members was once more invited. Mr. Pollard, as Secretary of the Society, had also appealed to wider circles with a letter which was printed in the Literary Supplement of the *Times* (January 16th), the *Guardian* and the *Church Times* (January 17th), the *Spectator* and the *Nation* (January 18th), and the *Athenæum* (January 25th). He had further put together an account of the steps taken in the matter in the January number of the *Library*, in which he called for the co-operation of all librarians and book-lovers. Mr. W. R. B. Prideaux, Librarian of the Reform Club, who later also undertook a visit to a somewhat out of the way Library, had, by means of private letters, exerted himself to win for the scheme the co-operation of book-owners and librarians. In a leading article on the 300th anniversary of the death of Sir Thomas Bodley (January 28th), the second founder of the Oxford

University Library, the *Times* had given hearty support to Mr. Pollard's appeal, and had also urged that State aid should be given. In the issues of January 30th and 31st two well-known students of incunabula, Mr. Gilbert R. Redgrave and Mr. R. A. Peddie, associated themselves with this demand, pointing to what had been done in other countries, but at the same time making further proposals for private co-operation. It may be mentioned that the making of the inventory has also led Mr. Peddie to issue a guide to the identification of incunabula.[1]

These various efforts met with a double success. On the one hand the Bibliographical Society received from Mr. Duff for publication the long-withheld manuscript of his bibliography of English Incunabula, and from the Treasury a grant of £100 (no common event) chiefly for the printing of this work, which will thus be rendered soon available for the Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. On the other hand Mr. Pollard and Mr. Prideaux received over 150 replies to their requests for information. Among the correspondents should be specially mentioned Mr. Basil Anderton, Librarian of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Libraries, Mr. Harry Farr, Librarian of the Cardiff Public Libraries, the Rev. G. E. Mackie, Vicar of Chedworth, and Mr. John Shelly at Plymouth, each of whom sent particulars of several libraries in their neighbourhood. The most zealous collaborator was, however, Mr. E. V. Stocks, Librarian of Durham University; he appealed for information in the local press, delivered a public lecture on the subject, and although he had first to borrow the necessary works of reference, supplied finished lists of almost all the collections in his county.

But while I was in this manner here and there spared the work of drawing up lists, the rather unforeseen task was set to me, not only to sift the new material and to reduce it to suitable form, but also by an extended correspondence to induce my kind helpers to settle doubtful points and to fill up gaps: in so far as the results might influence the plan of my journey,

(1) Robert Alexander Peddie, "*Fifteenth-Century Books: a guide to their identification . . .*," London, 1913.

it was necessary to clear off such matters at once. For the rest, I devoted my time to a number of London collections, especially to such as might be less accessible out of the season, and to the Cathedral Library at Canterbury.

As soon as Sir William Osler, Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, and President for this year of the Bibliographical Society, who had promised me his especial assistance, had returned from a visit to America, I went, at the end of May, to Oxford. Sir William received me on the evening of my arrival, and on the following day introduced me to Mr. Madan and in one of the Colleges, and provided me with his visiting cards to serve as introduction elsewhere. Oxford proved to be the hardest part of my journey. Instead of the thirteen collections for which I was prepared, I found there thirty-one. The greater part of the Bodleian collection could indeed count as already disposed of, and for some colleges there existed separate catalogues of incunabula, generally the work of Proctor, which were easily dealt with: again, some of the collections were small, or no visit to them was necessary, as the owners or custodians sent me lists of their contents. But the recent acquisitions of the Bodleian cost me no small trouble and in the Colleges I often found the working hours somewhat limited, while on the other hand the general catalogue was very comprehensive: thus in Queen's College alone I had to work through seventy-seven folios with numberless cross-references. Of especial importance to me was the catalogue in course of compilation by Dr. Aitken. Completeness in regard to such books as are also in the Bodleian was of little moment: from Dr. Aitken's Handlists extracts could be made far more rapidly than from the catalogues themselves; and by their means I was able to employ my evenings at the work. I therefore gladly accepted Dr. Aitken's offer that I should examine the material in his hands for those Colleges that he had already done. In doubtful cases, where possible, I compared the catalogues or the books themselves.

From Oxford which had detained me for three weeks I hastened to Scotland. At the University Library of St. Andrews I examined all

volumes believed to contain incunabula; and there even during the luncheon interval I was allowed to continue my work, shut in the library. At Aberdeen I had an introduction from Sir William Osler to Professor Matthew Hay, and this saved me much time, for he at once made appointments for me by telephone, and personally introduced me in several libraries. In Glasgow the great collections at the University especially occupied much time. A comfortable room was there set apart for my use and even when the vacation began I was permitted to work there the whole day. For the Hunterian Museum, a self-contained whole and the most important of these collections, I had the use of a manuscript catalogue of the early printed books: the officials were untiring in bringing to me all the volumes, often heavy, which I asked to see.

At the beginning of July I returned to England. There I first visited several school and church libraries in the North-West, most of which being a mile or two from the nearest railway station gave me the opportunity of little excursions on foot: Appleby Grammar School, the (closed) Hawkshead Grammar School, Cartmel Priory Church and Stonyhurst College. I then took up my abode at Leeds, where an enquiry more or less at random led to the discovery of a few incunabula in the Public Library, and Mr. Thomas W. Hand, the city librarian, assisted me by informations. From there I visited two of the most important cathedral libraries, York and Ripon: here an unusual interest was taken in my work, but there in spite of some facilities that were afforded me, I had to deal very briefly. Grantham, where a visit at random to the chained library proved not unfruitful, was a starting-point for Belvoir Castle and Lincoln Cathedral: at the former I was only able to find the books already known to be there; and at the latter I found a rather large collection though a number of books seem to have disappeared. In Birmingham, which offered several collections, Mr. Herbert Maurice Cashmore, Deputy Librarian of the Public Libraries, helped me to organise my work; to Oscott College I owed my acquaintance with the Rev. John H. Pollen, S.J., in London, to whom I am indebted for a number of useful addresses. A family visit

at Rugby also added to my list of incunabula and procured for me new introductions. A chance-seen book-title of the Birmingham Catalogue led me to the little Minister's Library at Tong. By way of Shrewsbury, where the school magazine "The Salopian" referred to the visit of the Prussian commissioner, and Mr. J. Basil Oldham, the School Librarian, offered me hospitality, making enquiries also for me by telegram and letter, and by way of Chester, where my expectations were disappointed, I arrived at last at the end of the month at Manchester.

Here I stayed during the whole of August: it was a resting place. Some larger or smaller collections were listed—in the University the material for the catalogue of the Christie Library gave no small assistance: for several collections my acquaintance with Mr. T. D. Barlow was of advantage. A flying visit to Chatsworth was chiefly concerned with the new acquisitions since the printing of the Catalogue. All this, however, was little in comparison with the John Rylands Library. The printed general Catalogue, which had been previously gone through by Herr Director Haebler and myself often did not suffice to identify the editions of the works in question; and numerous volumes had since been added. I was therefore obliged to examine more or less minutely some 1,200 books. I was given one of the chapel-like divisions of the church-like building, and an attendant long familiar with the Spenceriana was allotted almost to my sole use. So zealous did he show himself in the matter that of his own accord he postponed an already granted holiday, in order to assist me to the last.

The number of collections of incunabula known to me had during my journey greatly increased, not only through the information given me either personally or by letter—among correspondents I may further mention Mr. Cosmo Gordon in London—but also, as I mentioned, in many cases to some extent by chance. But chance which to-day wished me well might to-morrow be my enemy, and there might be—apart from private collections the number of which can never be determined—a number of small collections in the libraries of churches and schools, and even in Public Libraries, of which I knew nothing. In the *Church Times* Mr. Pollard

had appealed to Anglican circles; for the Roman Catholics the close association of their establishments with one another proved of advantage to me. There remained therefore school and public libraries. For the former Mr. Pollard sent at my request another letter to the *Journal of Education.* For the latter I decided, following a chance suggestion and acquaintanceship, to alter my plans and attend the annual meeting of the Library Association at Bournemouth. Not in vain, for even on the journey from Manchester, and still more at the social gatherings which accompanied the sittings I was able to effect my purpose of making useful acquaintances and obtaining fresh addresses. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Henry Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and Mr. C. W. Sutton, Librarian of the Manchester Public Libraries. By means of a notice posted up at the meetings and an announcement from the platform, the matter was also brought to the attention of those whom I was unable to approach personally. Especially valuable was my meeting with Mr. Thomas W. Lyster, Librarian of the National Library of Ireland, and Mr. Arthur J. Hawkes, of the National Library of Wales. From them I obtained information about these two countries, which did not offer sufficient inducements for a personal visit.

After I had listed a private collection at Bournemouth and had established the existence of at least one incunabule in the chained library of the neighbouring Wimborne Minster, I turned back again. At Exeter distant connection with the editor of the *Exeter Flying Post* served to draw public attention to my business; the Cathedral Library alone afforded some results. In vain I searched through the Church Library at Tiverton volume by volume. Then I stopped in Bath. Here the Sub-Librarian of the Public Reference Library, Mr. Reginald W. M. Wright, whose acquaintance I had made at Bournemouth, was very helpful. He was able to give me new addresses and arranged the printing of a communication in the local newspapers which brought me several replies; he accompanied me to the libraries and allowed me to use the unprinted special catalogues of early books in the Public Library compiled by himself. An excursion was made

from here to Downside Abbey. I then continued my journey through Gloucester with its Cathedral and Madresfield Court, where the Earl of Beauchamp himself showed me his treasures. Miss Maude E. Bull, Sub-Librarian of the Cathedral Library at Hereford, lightened my heavy labour in the chained library by unchaining all the folios that it was necessary to examine: she took me also to the various Anglican libraries of the city and also to the Roman Catholic Belmont Priory outside; here and there a number of books were added to my lists.

From Wolverhampton, where I saw Sir Richard Paget's books in Old Fallings Hall and searched in vain in the Free Library, I turned finally southward. Winchester College, thanks to family relationships, was easy to deal with. Bishop's House at Portsmouth furnished unexpectedly much. At the terminal point of my main journey, Chichester, the Rev. Prebendary Cecil Deedes, the Sub-Librarian of the Cathedral Library, obtained access for me not only to this but also to his own far more important collection and some other incunabula in private hands.

At the end of September I returned to London. First I had to visit several libraries which for one reason or another had been left unvisited in the Spring: both at the Guildhall Library and the Oratory manuscript lists of incunabula afforded much help: in other cases a list had been sent me and it was only necessary to examine one or two books. I then went through catalogues and other lists of a number of those libraries at which I had been unable personally to visit or to which a visit had seemed unnecessary; some of these I found in the British Museum (especially the list of Edinburgh incunabula published by the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society), others were sent to me at my request (Mr. Duff's catalogues of Liverpool, a card catalogue from Ushaw College); the catalogues of the libraries of the Marquess of Bute I was able to see at his London office. Visits were paid to the collection of Lord Peckover at Wisbech, Mr. Sidney R. Christie-Miller, Britwell Court, near Burnham, and those at Windsor Castle. Separate lists or separate arrangement lightened everywhere my task; the Royal Library astonished me by the richness of its contents. On the twenty-first birthday

of the Bibliographical Society, in which I was enabled to take part, mention was again made of the General Catalogue and of the British inventory. On bidding farewell at a social gathering I was able to answer Sir William Osler's friendly words in reference to the German bibliography by heartfelt thanks for so much help given through the Society and in the whole country. After I had completed what was necessary to do on the spot, I left the United Kingdom at the end of October, somewhat later—owing to the unlooked-for extent of the work—than I had originally expected.

Considered in detail my inventory work was as a rule carried out as follows. I wrote first—generally referring to a letter of introduction given me by Sir William Osler—to the library in question, generally requesting a short list of the incunabula contained in it, or the permission to draw one up for myself. Only exceptionally no answer was received or one more or less refusing my request. As a rule there was a prompt reply, often accompanied by the desired list. When visiting the libraries where I was accustomed to take with me the incunabula bibliographies of Hain and Copinger, my attention was directed according to the circumstances, either to all books, or all incunabula, or only some doubtful ones, or to the general or the special catalogues. Almost always I found the greatest kindness, often also effective help; copies of Hain and Copinger were often at hand. By waiving the usual formalities, time was saved to me, and in the course of conversation I frequently received the most friendly and valuable information. Not infrequently a long correspondence followed the first exchange of letters or visit; sometimes a wish was expressed for a copy of my list and in such cases of course fulfilled. To name all to whose kindness I am indebted is unfortunately impossible for me; there are too many.

In the United Kingdom I have travelled more than 3,000 miles on the railway, passed the night at 25 different places, myself seen over 100 collections, gone through several dozen general catalogues, sometimes examined all the books in a library, and nearly 4,000 incunabula have passed through my hands. I have received something like 400 letters and have sent about 575.

THE COLLECTIONS KNOWN TO CONTAIN INCUNABULA ARE THESE:

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
1.	Aberdeen	*Prof. Matthew Hay	...	...	1 + ?	Further information promised
2.	,,	United Free Church College	1844	30,000	1	Older part of the collection gone through
3.	,,	University Library	1494	200,000	170	List sent
4.	Aberystwyth (Cardigan)	*Mr. John Ballinger	...	...	1	Done by letter
5.	,,	National Library of Wales	1909	130,000	3	,,
6.	Alford (Lincoln)	*Prof. F. P. Barnard	...	...	4	List sent
7.	Alnwick Castle (Northumberland)	*Duke of Northumberland	...	...	7	Done by letter
8.	Appleby (Westmorland)	Grammar School	16th cent.	...	11	Whole collect. gone through
9.	Armagh	...	...	...	1	Printed information
10.	Balerno (Edinburgh)	*Mr. Watson	...	...	1	Information sent
11.	Bamburgh Castle (Northumberland)	Castle Library	...	14,000	13	Done by Mr. E. V. Stocks
12.	Bangor (Carnarvon)	Cathedral Library	...	...	5	Printed catalogue
13.	Bath (Somerset)	Public Reference Library	1900	12,000	28	Special catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
14.	,,	Royal Lit. and Scientific Inst.	1825	20,000	4	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
15.	,,	*Mr. Frederick Shum	...	...	2	General printed catalogue and oldest part of the collection gone through
16.	Battle (Sussex)	*Dr. Norman Moore	...	...	5	List sent
17.	Bedford	Literary and Scientific Inst.	1830	20,000	1	Done by Mr. W. R. B. Prideaux
18.	Belmont (Hereford)	Cathedral Priory	...	...	12	Oldest part of the collection gone through
19.	Belvoir Castle (Leicester)	*Duke of Rutland	...	...	8	General cat. gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
20.	Berden Vicarage (Essex)	*Rev. H. K. Hudson	...	...	2	Done by letter
21.	Birmingham (Warwick)	Oratory	...	...	12	Oldest part of the collection gone through
22.	,,	Public Libraries	1861	445,675	20	List (and partly the books themselves) gone through
23.	,,	*Mr. Joseph E. Southall	...	...	1	Information sent
24.	Bitterley Rectory (Salop)	*Rev. Preb. Burton	...	...	1	,,
25.	Blairs (Kincardine)	Saint Mary's College	...	...	11	Done by letter
26.	Blickling Hall (Norfolk)	*Marquess of Lothian	...	...	6+?	Printed information
27.	Bognor (Sussex)	*Dr. H. C. L. Morris	...	...	11	List sent
28.	Bolton (Lancashire)	Public Libraries	1853	129,489	2	,,
29.	,,	*Sir Samuel H. Scott	...	...	10+?	Printed information
30.	Bournemouth (Hants.)	*Mr. R. Ranshaw	...	...	28	Oldest part of the collection gone through
31.	Bovey Tracey (Devon)	*Ven. H. B. Hyde	...	...	3	List sent
32.	Bradford (Yorkshire)	Public Library	1872	168,792	2	Done by letter
33.	Bridgenorth (Salop)	Church Library	...	...	2	,,
34.	,,	*Rev. W. G. Clarke-Maxwell	...	...	3	,,
35.	Brighton (Sussex)	*Dr. Edmund Hobhouse	...	...	2	List sent
36.	,,	*Mr. T. G. Leggatt	...	...	2	,,
37.	,,	Public Library	about 1869	79,000	7	,,
38.	Bristol	All Saints Church	...	...	3	,,
39.	,,	Baptist College	1683	20,000	9	Done by letter
40.	,,	Municipal Public Libraries	(1613) 1876	177,531	31	Printed list and additions by letter
41.	,,	*Mr. W. Williams	...	...	3	List sent
42.	Burnham (Buckingham)	*Mr. Sidney R. Christie-Miller	...	...	275	Oldest part of the collection gone through
43.	,,	*Dr. Paget Toynbee	...	...	31	Done by letter

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
44.	Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk)	Grammar School	...	...	10	Printed list
45.	Cambridge	*Prof. Sir Clifford Allbutt	...	...	1	Information sent
46.	,,	*Mr. F. W. Bliss	...	...	16	Oldest part of the collection gone through
47.	,,	*Mr. Geoffrey G. Butler	...	...	1	Seen
48.	,,	Christ's College	16th cent.	15,000	45	Printed list
49.	,,	Clare College	(1346) 1550	25,000	24	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
50.	,,	*Mr. Sydney C. Cockerell	...	...	14	List gone through
51.	,,	Corpus Christi College	15th cent.	7,000	119	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
52.	,,	Emmanuel College	1584–86	22,000	95	Printed list and manuscript additions sent
53.	,,	Fitzwilliam Museum	1815	...	249	Printed and manuscript lists received
54.	,,	*Mr. Stephen Gaselee	...	...	143	List sent
55.	,,	Gonville and Caius College	1348	15,000	89	Printed list (and partly oldest part of the collection) gone through
56.	,,	*Prof. Henry Jackson	...	...	8	Oldest part of the collection gone through
57.	,,	Jesus College	1496	12,000	36	Oldest part of the collection gone through
58.	,,	King's College	1441	25,000	205	Printed list and manuscript additions
59.	,,	Magdalene College	...	2,500	10	List sent
60.	,,	*Mr. Ellis R. Minns	...	...	2	,,
61.	,,	*Mr. A. G. W. Murray	...	...	2+?	List asked for
62.	,,	Newnham College	1882	15,000	2	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
63.	,,	Pembroke College	...	15,000	110	Printed list
64.	,,	Pepysian Library	1724	3,000	27	List sent

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
65.	Cambridge	Peterhouse College	before 1344	9,000	46	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
66.	,,	Queens' College	1448	40,000	30	Printed list
67.	,,	St. Catherine's College	1475	12,800	33	Printed special catalogue
68.	,,	St. John's College	1511	65,000	265	Printed list
69.	,,	Selwyn College	...	...	31	Oldest part of the collection gone through
70.	,,	Sidney Sussex College	1598	5,000	26	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
71.	,,	Trinity College	1546	90,000	569	Printed list; additions by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
72.	,,	Trinity Hall	1350	7,000	28	Printed list
73.	,,	University Library	before 1444	750,000	abt. 3,000	Special catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
74.	,,	Westminster College	...	...	1	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
75.	,,	*Dr. William Aldis Wright	...	...	11	Printed information
76.	Canterbury (Kent)	Cathedral Library of the Dean and Chapter	...	10,000	19	Gen. catalogues gone through
77.	Cardiff (Glamorgan)	*Marquess of Bute	...	...	7	Gen. catalogue gone through
78.	,,	*Late Mr. James Howell	...	...	1	Printed information
79.	,,	Public Libraries	1862	213,065	91	List sent
80.	Cartmel (Lancashire)	Priory Church	before 1629	294	1	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
81.	Cashel (Cork)	Cathedral Library	...	...	2	Printed information
82.	Chatsworth (Derby)	*Duke of Devonshire	...	...	653	Gen. printed and manuscript cats. (and partly the books themselves) gone through
83.	Chedworth Vicarage (Gloucester)	*Rev. G. E. Mackie	...	...	4	List sent
84.	Cheltenham (Glos.)	*Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick	...	...	? 129	General printed catalogue

THE COLLECTIONS KNOWN TO CONTAIN INCUNABULA ARE THESE:

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	——
85.	Cheltenham (Glos.)	Public Library	1884	44,801	1	Done by Rev. G. E. Mackie
86.	Chichester (Sussex)	Cathedral Chapter Library	17th cent.	...	4	Oldest part of the collection gone through
87.	,,	*Rev. Preb. Cecil Deedes	...	...	47	Oldest part of the collection gone through
88.	,,	*late Rev. Preb. Jas. Fraser	...	...	1	Seen
89.	,,	*Rev. Preb. F. D. Teesdale	...	...	1	,,
90.	Chirk (Denbigh)	*Lord Trevor	...	...	1+?	Printed information
91.	Chudleigh (Devon)	*Lord Clifford	...	...	1	Done by letter
92.	Cirencester (Gloucester)	*Mr. N. E. Graham	...	...	3	Done by Rev. G. E. Mackie
93.	,,	*Mr. Norris	...	...	1	,,
94.	Claverley (Salop)	*Mr. Gerald Mander	...	...	65	Done by letter
95.	Clumber House (Notts.)	*Duke of Newcastle	...	...	3+?	Printed information
96.	Colchester (Essex)	Public Library	1894	...	29	Printed special catalogue; additions sent
97.	Colstoun (Haddington)	*Mr. J. G. A. Baird	...	...	3	List sent
98.	Crediton (Devon)	Church Library	...	...	2	Done by letter
99.	Denchworth (Berks.)	Parish Church	...	...	1+?	Printed information
100.	Derby	*Mr. G. F. Meynell	...	...	1	Information sent
101.	Disley (Cheshire)	*Lord Newton	...	...	1	Done by letter
102.	Dorchester (Oxford)	*Rev. N. C. S. Poyntz	...	...	17	,,
103.	Dormans Park (Surrey)	*Mr. Philip Appleby Robson	...	...	3	List sent
104.	Downside Abbey (Somerset)	...	...	...	43	Printed list and oldest part of the collection gone through
105.	Dublin	Archbishop Marsh's Library	1707	27,000	80	Printed information
106.	,,	King's Inns	1788	60,000	3	,,
107.	,,	National Library of Ireland	1877	200,000	5	List sent
108.	,,	Trinity College	1601	333,110	523	Printed list; additions by letter
109.	,,	Worth Library	1733	6,000	13	List sent

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
110.	Durham	Bishop Cosin's Library	1669	5,964	3	Done by Mr. E. V. Stocks
111.	,,	Cathedral Library	mediæval	20,000	64	,,
112.	,,	University Library	1823	37,500	135	,,
113.	Edinburgh	Advocates' Library	1682	620,000	241	Printed list
114.	,,	Lib. of the Church of Scotland	...	...	2	,,
115.	,,	Public Library	1890	190,200	2	,,
116.	,,	Royal College of Physicians	1681	100,000	14	,,
117.	,,	Royal Observatory	...	...	84	,,
118.	,,	St. Mary's Cathedral	...	...	5	,,
119.	,,	Signet Library	1722	120,000	121	,,
120.	,,	Theological College of the Episcopal Church	...	...	8	,,
121.	,,	United Free Church College	1847	50,000	47	,,
122.	,,	University Library	1583	270,000	264	,,
123.	Elton Hall (Hunts.)	*Col. D. J. Proby	...	...	7+?	Printed information
124.	Ely (Cambridge)	Cathedral Library	mediæval	9,000	9	Done by Mr. Stephen Gaselee
125.	Erdington (Warwick)	Oscott College	1838	36,000	62	Special catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
126.	Eton College (Bucks.)	...	15th cent.	23,000	136	List sent
127.	Everingham Hall (Yorkshire)	*Lady Herries	...	...	1+?	Done by letter
128.	Exeter (Devon)	Cathedral Library	mediæval	8,000	14	General catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
129.	Fort Augustus (Inverness)	St. Benedict's Abbey	1878	19,000	13	List sent
130.	Glasgow (Lanark)	*Mr. John Edwards	...	...	3	,,
131.	,,	*Prof. John Ferguson	...	...	103	Oldest part of collection gone through; additions by letter

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	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
132.	Glasgow (Lanark)	Hunterian Museum	...	12,000	506	Cat. (and partly the books themselves) gone through
133.	,,	Mitchell Library	1877	(380,000)	10	Oldest part of the collection gone through
134.	,,	*Mr. J. Parker Smith	...	...	4	List sent
135.	,,	Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library	1791	60,000	30	Oldest part of the collection gone through
136.	,,	United Free Church College	1855	35,000	5	List (and oldest part of the collection) gone through
137.	,,	University Library	15th cent.	200,000	303	General catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
138.	Gloucester	Cathedral Library	...	1,800	38	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
139.	Grantham (Lincoln)	Parish Church	1598	268	8	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
140.	Guildford (Surrey)	Grammar School	...	...	5+?	Printed catalogue
141.	Haigh Hall (Lancs.)	*Earl of Crawford	...	...	510	General printed catalogue
142.	Ham House (Surrey)	*Earl of Dysart	...	...	26	List sent
143.	Hawkshead (Lancs.)	Grammar School (closed)	about 1669	...	1	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
144.	Hereford	All Saints Church	...	...	2	Oldest part of the collection gone through
145.	,,	Cathedral Library	1380	2,000	43	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
146.	Hereford	College of Vicars Choral	...	...	3+?	Collection gone through
147.	,,	*Rev. Preb. Michael Hopton	...	...	1	Done by letter
148.	Hewell Grange (Worcester)	*Earl of Plymouth	...	...	5	Printed information
149.	High Wray (Lancs.)	*Dr. E. B. England	...	...	1	Information sent
150.	Holkham Hall (Norfolk)	*Earl of Leicester	...	...	4+?	List promised
151.	Houghton-le-Spring (Durham)	Royal Kepier Grammar Sch.	...	...	5	Done by Mr. E. V. Stocks
152.	Ipswich (Suffolk)	Free Libraries	(1612) 1887	50,654	?	Information promised
153.	Kidderminster (Worcester)	*Sir Sidney Lee	...	...	1	Information sent
154.	Kilkenny	Saint Canice's Library	1692	2,000	4	,,
155.	King's Lynn (Norfolk)	Stanley Public Library	1899	15,100	3	Done by letter
156.	Lakefield (Tipperary)	*Mrs. M. D. O'Brien	...	...	1	Information sent
157.	Lampeter (Cardigan)	Saint David's College	...	...	?	List promised
158.	Langley Marish (Bucks.)	Church Library	...	...	1	Done by letter
159.	Leeds (Yorkshire)	Public Libraries	1870	313,199	3	List (and partly the books themselves) gone through
160.	Leicester	Old Town Hall Library	...	...	7	Done by letter
161.	Lichfield (Stafford)	Cathedral Library	1646	6,000	3	,,
162.	Limavady (Londonderry)	*Rev. R. G. S. King	...	...	9	List sent
163.	Lincoln	Cathedral Library	mediæval	7,000	88	General printed catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
164.	Liverpool (Lancashire)	Athenæum	1798	46,000	34	Mr. E. Gordon Duff's list
165.	,,	*Mr. A. H. Bright	...	...	15	Done by letter
166.	,,	*Mr. E. Gordon Duff	...	...	128	,,

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	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
167.	Liverpool (Lancashire)	Public Library	1852	346,310	36	Done by letter
168.	,,	University Library	1892	100,000	abt. 100	List promised
169.	London	*Lord Aldenham	...	...	36	Oldest part of the collection gone through; additions by letter
170.	,,	Allan Library	1891	18,000	32	General cat. gone through
171.	,,	Archbishop's House	...	...	1	Done by letter
172.	,,	*Mr. C. T. Ascherson	...	...	15	Information sent
173.	,,	*Mr. Herbert Baynes	...	...	1	,,
174.	,,	*Mr. Arthur Betts	...	...	2	,,
175.	,,	*Mr. Edward Bond	...	...	8	Done by letter
176.	,,	Br. and Foreign Bible Soc.	1805	11,000	60	Printed and manuscript special catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
177.	,,	British Museum	1753	3,000,000	ab. 11,500	Printed information
178.	,,	*Marquess of Bute	...	...	48	General catalogue gone through
179.	,,	*Dr. Ingram Bywater	...	...	157	Printed catalogue
180.	,,	Camberwell Central Library	1893	30,113	3	List sent
181.	,,	Church House	1887	34,000	3	Oldest part of the collection gone through
182.	,,	*Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy	...	...	1	Information sent
183.	,,	*Dr. E. M. Cox	...	...	6	List sent
184.	,,	Dr. Williams's Library	1716	60,000	21	,,
185.	,,	*Earl of Ellesmere	...	...	1+?	Printed information
186.	,,	*Mr. Morton Evans	...	...	1	Information sent
187.	,,	*Dr. Christian D. Ginsburg	...	...	4	Oldest part of the collection gone through
188.	,,	*Mr. Cosmo Gordon	...	...	4	Done by letter

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	——
189.	London	Gray's Inn	before 1555	22,500	4	General printed catalogue and oldest part of the collection gone through
190.	,,	Guildhall Library	1824	48,757	81	Oldest part of the collection gone through
191.	,,	*Sir George Lindsay Holford	...	...	3+?	Printed information
192.	,,	*Rev. I. L. E. Hooppell	...	...	1	Information sent
193.	,,	*Mr. H. C. Hoover	...	...	2	List sent
194.	,,	*Mr. C. H. S. I. Hornby	...	...	47	Oldest part of the collection gone through
195.	,,	Jesuit Church	...	52,000	3	Done by letter
196.	,,	Inner Temple	1540	65,000	4	List sent
197.	,,	Inst. of Chart. Accountants	...	5,200	1	Done by Mr. Cosmo Gordon
198.	,,	*Mr. John G. Joicey	...	...	1+?	Information sent
199.	,,	*Earl of Kimberley	...	...	1+?	Printed information
200.	,,	*Mr. T. A. Lacey	...	...	1	Information sent
201.	,,	Lambeth Palace	1610	38,000	161	Printed special catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
202.	,,	Law Society	1828	52,500	80	List sent
203.	,,	Lincoln's Inn	1497	72,000	29	,,
204.	,,	*Rev. Canon Edmund McClure	...	...	219	Done by letter
205.	,,	Medical Society of London	1773	23,000	17	List (and partly the books themselves) gone through
206.	,,	Middle Temple	16th cent.	50,000	76	List sent
207.	,,	*Mr. Alexander Neale	...	...	14	,,
208.	,,	Oratory	1849	35,000	85	List (and partly the books themselves) gone through
209.	,,	Patent Office	1855	143,000	3	Done by letter
210.	,,	*Mr. F. W. Pixley	...	...	7	List sent

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
211.	London	*Mr. L. T. Rowe	...	...	14	List sent
212.	,,	Royal College of Physicians	1525	26,000	42	List promised
213.	,,	Royal College of Surgeons of England	1800	60,000	44	List sent
214.	,,	Royal Geographical Society	1830	65,000	9	List (and partly the books themselves) gone through
215.	,,	Royal Meteorological Society	1850	22,000	17	Printed list (and partly the books themselves) gone through
216.	,,	Royal Observatory	...	15,000	2	Done by letter
217.	,,	Royal Society	1662	85,000	129	List sent
218.	,,	Royal Society of Medicine	1805	80,000	17	,,
219.	,,	Royal Statistical Society	1834	50,000	53	,,
220.	,,	Saint Bride Technical Library	1895	28,656	110	Printed list and additions (and partly the books themselves) gone though
221.	,,	Saint Paul's Cathedral Lib.	mediæval	21,176	8	Done by Mr. W. R. B. Prideaux
222.	,,	Sion College	1629	110,000	88	Gen. cat., Mr. E. Gordon Duff's list (and partly the books themselves) gone through
223.	,,	Sir John Soane's Museum	1837	8,000	4	Printed catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
224.	,,	*Mr. William H. Smedley	...	...	abt. 150	List promised
225.	,,	Soc. of Antiquaries of Lond.	1555	42,000	39	List sent
226.	,,	Soc. of Apothecaries of Lond.	...	2,000	2	Done by Mr. Bernard Kettle
227.	,,	Southwark Public Libraries	1888	95,000	1	Done by letter
228.	,,	*Sir Henry Thompson	...	...	14	,,
229.	,,	*Mr. Henry Yates Thompson	...	...	abt. 45	,,
230.	,,	University College	1829	135,000	101	List sent

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
231.	London	University of London	1839	100,000	24	List sent
232.	,,	Victoria and Albert Museum	1837	170,000	166	Oldest part of the collection gone through
233.	,,	Wellcome Library	...	23,000	?	List promised
234.	,,	Westminster Chap. Library	(1574)	12,000	45	General catalogue and oldest part of the collection gone through
235.	,,	*Dr. Henry B. Wheatley	...	...	3	Seen
236.	,,	*Rev. Dr. H. I. White	...	...	4	List sent
237.	,,	*Dr. George C. Williamson	...	...	?	Information sent
238.	,,	Woolwich Public Libraries	1901	55,550	2	List sent
239.	,,	*Lord Zouche	...	...	16	Cat. (and partly the books themselves) gone through
240.	Longleat House (Wiltshire)	*Marquess of Bath	...	...	12+?	Printed information
241.	Macroom (Cork)	*Very Rev. Canon Jeremiah Murphy	...	...	3	Done by letter
242.	Madresfield Court (Worcester)	*Earl Beauchamp	...	...	30	Printed list (and oldest part of the collection) gone through
243.	Maidstone (Kent)	Museum, Public Library and Bentley Art Gallery	1858	20,540	1	Information sent
244.	Malvern Link (Worcester)	*Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins	...	...	abt. 300	List promised
245.	Manchester (Lancs.)	Chetham's Library	1653	70,000	81	General printed catalogue (and oldest part of the collection) gone through
246.	,,	Medical Society	1834	41,731	9	Oldest part of the collection gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
247.	Manchester (Lancs.)	Public Libraries	1852	434,485	26	Printed list (and partly oldest part of the collection) gone through
248.	,,	The John Rylands Library	1899	222,000	abt. 2,400	General printed catalogue (and partly oldest part of the collection) gone through
249.	,,	University, Christie Library	1851	132,637	204	Special catalogue (and partly oldest part of the collection) gone through
250.	Marlborough (Wilts.)	*Mr. R. W. Merriman	...	...	1	Information sent
251.	,,	Vicar's Library	1678	606	8	Done by letter
252.	Middlesbrough (Yorks.)	*Mr. R. B. Kirby	...	...	9	List sent
253.	,,	Public Library	1871	40,437	1	Information sent
254.	Midhurst (Sussex)	*Mr. F. W. Bourdillon	...	...	48	,,
255.	Millport (Bute)	*Marquess of Bute	...	...	48	General catalogue gone through
256.	Mirfield (Yorkshire)	House of the Resurrection	...	...	3	List sent
257.	More (Salop)	Church of St. Peter	...	...	4	Done by letter
258.	Mount Stuart (Bute)	*Marquess of Bute	...	...	1	Information sent
259.	Newcastle-on-Tyne (Northumberland)	Armstrong College	1871	16,000	3	List sent
260.	,,	*late Mr. Matthew Mackey	...	...	1	Information sent
261.	,,	Public Libraries	1880	170,166	14	List sent
262.	Newport (Monmouth)	*Mr. T. E. Watson	...	...	8	Printed information
263.	Norbiton (Surrey)	*Mr. R. Burch	...	...	18	List sent
264.	North Berwick (Haddington)	*Rev. Dr. Hately Waddell	...	...	24	,,
265.	Norwich (Norfolk)	Cathedral Library	mediæval	5,700	11	Done by letter
266.	,,	Public Library	1857	41,000	34	Mr. A. G. W. Murray's list
267.	,,	Saint Stephen's Parish Lib.	...	...	1	,,

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
268.	Ottery St. Mary (Devon)	*Sir Ernest Satow	...	...	1	Information sent
269.	Oxford	*Mr. P. S. Allen	...	...	3	List sent
270.	,,	All Souls College	1710	75,000	305+?	Proctor's list gone through and printed information
271.	,,	Balliol College	1268	15,000	62+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list and general printed catalogue gone through
272.	,,	Bodleian Library	1598	700,000	abt. 5,600	Printed and manuscript lists (and partly the books themselves) gone through
273.	,,	Brasenose College	17th cent.	17,000	90+?	Proctor's list gone through
274.	,,	Christ Church College	...	33,000	46+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list and catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
275.	,,	Corpus Christi College	1516	...	264	Proctor's list gone through
276.	,,	*Rev. Dr. C. Henry O. Daniel	...	...	25	Done by letter
277.	,,	Exeter College	mediæval	35,000	60	Oldest part of the collection gone through
278.	,,	Hertford College	c. 1600	7,000	6	Printed special catalogue
279.	,,	Jesus College	17th cent.	14,000	18+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list gone through
280.	,,	Keble College	1870	16,500	99+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list and catalogue gone through
281.	,,	Lincoln College	1427	8,000	30+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list gone through
282.	,,	*Mr. Falconer Madan	...	...	5	Oldest part of the stock gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	——
283.	Oxford	Magdalen College	1458–80	25,000	113+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list and general printed catalogue gone through
284.	,,	Manchester College	1786	20,000	1	Done by letter
285.	,,	Merton College	1370	18,000	100+?	Mr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list and general printed cat. (and partly the books themselves) gone through
286.	,,	New College	mediæval	17,000	373	Proctor's list gone through
287.	,,	Oriel College	about 1330	19,500	20	Oldest part of the collection gone through
288.	,,	*Prof. Sir William Osler	...	...	abt. 40	List promised
289.	,,	Pembroke College	1625	6,000	103	General catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
290.	,,	Pusey House	...	...	3	Done by letter
291.	,,	Queen's College	1400	70,000	153	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
292.	,,	Radcliffe Library	1749	50,000	35	List sent
293.	,,	Saint John's College	1596	20,000	101	Oldest part of the collection gone through
294.	,,	Taylorian Institution	1847	36,000	74	Done by letter
295.	,,	Trinity College	...	...	24	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
296.	,,	University College	...	...	19+?	Dr. P. Henderson Aitken's hand-list gone through
297.	,,	*Mr. F. F. Urquhart	...	...	2	Oldest part of the collection gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
298.	Oxford	Wadham College	1613	...	60	Gen. cat. and Mr. E. Gordon Duff's list (and partly the books themselves) gone through
299,	,,	Worcester College	1714	40,000	4+?	Information printed and by letter
300.	Penarth (Glamorgan)	*Mr. I. I. Neale	...	...	2	Done by Mr. Harry Farr
301.	Pendleton (Lancashire)	*Mr. T. D. Barlow	...	...	3+?	Further information promised
302.	Peterboro' (Northants)	Cathedral Library	...	3,000	2+?	Printed information
303.	Plymouth (Devon)	Cottonian Museum	...	...	1	Done by Mr. John Shelly
304.	,,	Plymouth Institution	1812	6,000	1	Done by letter
305.	,,	Public Library	1876	67,040	4	,,
306.	,,	*Mr. John Shelly	...	...	5	,,
307.	Portsmouth (Hants)	Bishop's House	...	...	48	Oldest part of the collection gone through
308.	Powis Castle (Montgomery)	*Earl of Powis	...	...	?	Information by letter
309.	Preston Manor (Sussex)	*Mr. Chas. Thomas-Stanford	...	...	180	List sent
310.	Ravensdale Park (Louth)	*Earl of Arran	...	...	2	Information by letter and one book sent
311.	Reigate (Surrey)	*Mrs. Alice Clutton	...	...	2+?	Done by letter
312.	Richmond (Surrey)	*Mr. R. G. Alford	...	...	1	Information sent
313.	Ripon (Yorkshire)	Cathedral Library	1625	6,000	82	General catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
314.	Rochdale (Lancashire)	Public Library	1872	62,477	10	Done by letter
315.	Rossett (Denbigh)	*Mr. S. Crose	...	...	1	Information sent
316.	Rugby Sch. (Warwick)	...	...	...	9	Oldest part of the collection seen; additions by letter

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
317.	Ryde (Hampshire)	Quarr Abbey	...	...	42	Done by letter
318.	Saffron Walden (Essex)	Lit. and Scientific Institution	1832	17,300	1	Information sent
319.	Saint Albans School (Herts)	...	...	...	10	List sent
320.	Saint Andrews (Fife)	University Library	1612	150,000	87	Oldest part of the collection gone through
321.	Saint Mary's Isle (Kirkcudbright)	*Captain John Hope	...	...	2	List sent
322.	Saint Peter's-in-Thanet (Kent)	*Colonel W. F. Prideaux	...	...	1 + ?	Information sent
323.	Salisbury (Wiltshire)	Cathedral Library	14th cent.	7,000	31	Gen. printed catalogue gone through and further information received
324.	Savernake Forest (Wiltshire)	*Marquess of Aylesbury	...	...	1 + ?	Printed information
325.	Seaton Carew (Durham)	*Mr. I. H. Moysey	...	...	2	List sent
326.	Sheet (Hampshire)	*Miss Mary G. Bonham-Carter	...	...	2	Done by letter
327.	Sheffield (Yorkshire)	University Library	1905	38,000	7	Printed special cat. and MS. additions
328.	Shenley (Hertfordshire)	*Mr. John Charrington	...	...	130	Information sent
329.	Shepperton (Middx.)	*Mr. I. I. Freeman	...	...	1	,,
330.	Shirburn Castle (Oxon.)	*Earl of Macclesfield	...	...	2 + ?	Printed information
331.	Shrewsbury School (Salop)	...	1596	8,000	58	Oldest part of the collection gone through
332.	Skendleby Hall (Lincs.)	*Mr. W. D. Gainsford	...	...	1	Information sent
333.	Stonyhurst College (Lancashire)	...	...	45,000	191	Printed and MS. catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
334.	Stowmarket (Suffolk)	*Lord Tollemache	...	...	1+?	Printed information
335.	Sunderland (Durham)	*Mr. H. S. Squance	...	...	4	Done by Mr. E. V. Stocks
336.	Sunderland Hall (Selkirk)	*Mr. C. H. Scott Plummer	...	...	7	List sent
337.	Swansea (Glamorgan)	*Mr. Jas. C. Woods	...	...	4	Done by letter
338.	Sydenham (Kent)	*Mr. Gilbert R. Redgrave	...	...	139	Information sent
339.	Tabley House (Ch'shire)	*Lady Leighton-Warren	...	...	1	Done by letter
340.	Taunton (Somerset)	*Mrs. Hook	...	...	2	List sent
341.	Tockenham Manor (Wiltshire)	*Mrs. Maud Buxton	...	...	1	Done by letter
342.	Tong (Salop)	Minister's Library	...	...	3	Printed and MS. catalogues (and partly the books themselves) gone through
343.	Tring (Hertfordshire)	Zoological Museum	...	30,000	8	List sent
344.	Tunbridge Wells (Kent)	*Mr. E. F. Bosanquet	...	...	26	"
345.	Twickenham (Middx.)	*Mr. B. B. Geue	...	...	1	Information sent
346.	Ushaw (Durham)	Saint Cuthbert's College	...	...	100	List gone through
347.	Usk (Monmouth)	*Mr. A. E. Bower	...	...	2	List sent
348.	Wanstead (Essex)	Infant Orphan Asylum	...	...	1	Information sent
349.	Ware (Hertfordshire)	Saint Edmund's College	1794	20,000	9	Done by letter
350.	Wargrave (Berkshire)	*Mr. E. Beresford Chancellor	...	...	2	List sent
351.	Warrington (Lancs.)	Municipal Library	1848	50,900	10	"
352.	Wells (Somerset)	Cathedral Library	1660	3,000	5	Done by Mr. Chas. E. Sayle
353.	Wemyss Castle (Fife)	*Rev. Alex. Thomson Grant	...	...	20	List sent
354.	Wentworth (Yorks.)	*Earl FitzWilliam	...	...	4+?	Printed information
355.	West Farleigh (Kent)	*Mr. H. Hannen	...	...	2	List sent
356.	West Lulworth (Dorset)	*Mrs. Wordsworth	...	...	1	Information received
357.	Wigan (Lancashire)	Free Public Libraries	1878	77,200	75	Done by letter
358.	Wilton House (Wilts.)	*Earl of Pembroke	...	...	?105	Printed information

	Places.	Collections.	Founded.	Total Vols.	Incunab.	—
359.	Wimbledon (Surrey)	*Rev. Canon Gudlestone	...	...	1	Information sent
360.	Wimborne Minster (Dorset)	...	1686	250	1	Gen. printed catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
361.	Winchester (Hants.)	*Rev. A. G. Bather	...	...	1	Information sent
362.	,,	Cathedral Library	1684	4,000	7	Printed cat. gone through
363.	,,	College	...	...	42	Oldest part of the collection gone through; additions by letter
364.	Windsor (Berkshire)	Royal Library	...	80,000	219	,, ,, ,,
365.	,,	Saint George's Chapel	...	...	5	Oldest part of the collection gone through
366.	Wisbech (Cambs.)	*Lord Peckover	...	...	63	,, ,, ,,
367.	,,	*Miss Algerina Peckover	...	...	1+?	Verbal information
368.	Wolverhampton (Staffs)	*Sir Richard Paget	...	...	10	Collection gone through
369.	Worcester	Cathedral Library	mediæval	5,500	36	Printed list; additions by letter
370.	Yarmouth (Norfolk)	*Rev. Zouch H. Turton	...	...	8	List sent
371.	York	Minster Library	mediæval	20,000	104	Gen. printed catalogue (and partly the books themselves) gone through
and	Confidential A—E	...	...	...	132	

The total results are as follows:

	Places.	Collections.	(of which private.)	Incunabula.	(of which in private hands.)
England	144	318	(136)	35,220	(4,358)
Wales	9	12	(8)	116	(17)
Scotland	14	32	(12)	2,141	(217)
Ireland	8	12	(4)	646	(15)
Places unknown ...	?	2	(2)	40	(40)
	175	376	(162)	38,163	(4,647)

Of these the collections (including private ones) with incunabula are:

	?	1 each.	2–9.	10–19.	20–99.	100–199.	200–299.	300–400.
England ...	4(2)	57(39)	100(49)	35(16)	77(16)	27(9)	8(2)	3(1)
Wales	2(1)	3(3)	6(4)	–(–)	1(–)	–(–)	–(–)	–(–)
Scotland ...	—	4(3)	10(5)	4(–)	7(3)	3(1)	2(–)	1(–)
Ireland	—	2(1)	7(3)	1(–)	1(–)	—	—	—
Places unknown	—	—	—	1(1)	1(1)	—	—	—
	6(3)	66(46)	123(61)	41(17)	87(20)	30(10)	10(2)	4(1)

The nine largest collections are:

Glasgow, Hunterian Museum - - -	506
Haigh Hall, Earl of Crawford - - -	510
Dublin, Trinity College - - - -	523
Cambridge, Trinity College - - -	569
Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire - - -	653
Manchester, The John Rylands Library -	about 2,400
Cambridge, University Library - -	„ 3,000
Oxford, Bodleian - - - -	„ 5,600
London, British Museum - - -	„ 11,500

In spite of this apparent precision the figures given for the incunabula are of course only approximate. Fragments were dealt with somewhat arbitrarily; much doubtless belongs to the 16th century. Some 2,000 easily may have been unrecorded (especially those in private possession), so that Mr. Pollard's original estimate of 40,000 incunabula is hardly over the mark.

Only comparatively few of these books can have been in their present place in the 15th century or early in the 16th. I may mention the collection in the Cathedral Library at Hereford, of which many have apparently been bound and chained at that period by the same hand. The majority have been collected and preserved by private collecting-zeal. Many of them are still in private possession: more are at present in public or semi-public libraries, some scattered—I remind you only of the books of Archbishop William Schevez (+ 1497) of St. Andrews, which now belong to the University Libraries of St. Andrews and of Edinburgh—some complete, or almost complete, such as a number of collections in the British Museum and the University of Glasgow, the Spencerian in the John Rylands Library and Cardinal Newman's bequest in the Birmingham Oratory, the Classical collection of Christie (University Library, Manchester), the philosophic one of Chandler (Pembroke College, Oxford), the canon law collection of Lewis (London Oratory), etc. The most varied interests, of subject as well as of typographical excellence, have been the motive of acquisition, and even at present give to almost every collection a distinctive character. Although naturally the Nuremberg Chronicle (Hain *14508) and the most famous Venetian examples are of constant occurrence—I have met with more than 90 copies of the Chronicle—besides these the majority of better-known incunabula are for this reason represented by at least one example. A considerable part of the existing number come from Germany, especially from the South-German monasteries, some from the sale (1835) of the collection of Kloss, whose school-book-like binding and careful collation with G. W. Panzer's "Annales typographici" (Nürnberg, 1793–1803) are met with everywhere; others from the sales of duplicates of State libraries or smaller sales of other kinds. Book-plates, marks of ownership and other entries are not wanting. It was touching to find in distant St. Andrews a German Psalter (Hain *13513) to which a Brother Hans of the Würzburg Carthusians had entrusted among other things a pious ejaculation concerning the unheard of great plague of the year 1497. Very

often one meets with well preserved and beautifully illuminated works, and not rarely with old bindings. The number of public libraries which in recent times have bought or buy incunabula as such, is, as will readily be understood, small. In the John Rylands Library, in accordance with the original intention, the trend is towards theology, especially Bibles. How much the listing of Great Britain and Ireland will add to the General Catalogue of Incunabula can only be determined with certainty after the material which I have brought home has been fully worked over ; but experimental samples promise a not unsatisfactory yield.

NOTES ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FOR LITERARY STUDENTS AND EDITORS OF ENGLISH WORKS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By RONALD B. McKERROW.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The following pages were read in manuscript by Mr. A. W. Pollard, Dr. W. W. Greg, and Mr. Frank Sidgwick, to whom I am indebted for a number of valuable suggestions. I have also to thank Mr. H. Guppy, Librarian of the John Rylands Library, for his kindness in sending me a photograph of the wood-cut of a printing-press in the *Ordinary for all faythful Christians*, which is here reproduced on p. 231.

R. B. McK.

NOTES ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FOR LITERARY STUDENTS AND EDITORS.

I.—*Introductory.—That modern editorial methods demand some bibliographical knowledge, and how such knowledge may be of use.*

THOSE who have had occasion to examine somewhat minutely any large quantity of the work done at the present day upon English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and more particularly editions of their writings, must, if they have even rudimentary bibliographical knowledge, have been struck by the curious ignorance of the most elementary facts of the mechanical side of book-production during the Tudor and Jacobean period which is sometimes shown even by scholars in other respects well equipped. Cases are to be met with in which such ignorance detracts very considerably from work which, had the writer been well-informed on this point, would have been excellent, while at other times results, correct in themselves, which have been reached by laborious "literary" investigations, might have been arrived at with greater certainty and far more quickly by bibliographical methods. One is indeed constantly reminded that for those who have neither a practical acquaintance with the art of printing, access to a large collection of early printed books, nor friends experienced in such matters, adequate knowledge of the subject cannot easily be acquired. Yet surely such knowledge is very necessary for those who wish to do editorial work of real and permanent value on that part of our literature which has been transmitted to us by the medium of printed books.

In the early days of editorial work upon writers of the Shakespearian age, when an editor was content simply to make his author say what it seemed to him that he ought to say, bibliographical knowledge was not needed; and even at a later date when out of all old readings, an editor had but to select the one which seemed to him best, no more was required than a list of the editions from which such a selection of readings could be made. But both these methods of work have long since passed away.

Nearer to our own time we have had editions in which what seemed to the editor the "best" text has been chosen as the basis of the reprint, every other extant text being collated and the result of the collation being printed in a mass of footnotes, the idea being to put the reader in the position of one who has all the earlier editions before him. The editors of this type did admirable work in their insistence upon minute accuracy, and we have much reason to be grateful to them, but we see now that their aim was impossible of realization, and even if it could have been realized would be futile. Their method too is passing, or has passed away, and this is well, for by its intolerable wearisomeness, by its burying of all that was of textual interest in a mass of irrelevancies, it was in danger of stifling the serious study of our early literature.

We see now that good editing does not lie in the multitude of variant readings, but in the value of those that are given. We no longer demand of an editor the full collation of every previous text, or the recording of every error of a compositor or guess of a printer's reader; we do not even expect him to acquaint us with the reading preferred by every editor before him. On the other hand, we expect that he shall himself have investigated the extant texts, and shall be able to give us clear and cogent reasons, not based on a mere personal preference, for the choice of the text which he follows. And not only must he convince us that this text does indeed represent the nearest attainable to that which his author wrote, but when he does not follow it his departure from it must be as well justified as his adherence to it elsewhere. We expect him to be

able to distinguish between readings that *must* be errors and those which *may* be correct, and further, when possible, to explain to us how the errors came about, in order that we may be able to approve his emendations. In short, modern work demands critical sifting rather than accumulation.

Such methods will not only give us texts which are far closer to the author's original manuscript, but they are in themselves far more interesting both to an editor and to his readers, and it is even possible that eventually there may grow from them a science of textual criticism which in the future will supply an element of educational value at present lacking in most curricula of English studies. On the other hand they demand from an editor much more than at first sight they seem to do, and in incompetent hands may give far worse results than those that they have replaced. The knowledge and literary training of a scholar like Dyce could and often did enable him better to represent his author's intention, than more "scientific" methods in the hands of men unskilled to use them.

If we are to edit according to modern methods; if we are to give no rein at all to our fancy and no consent to our literary judgment; if our aim must be to reproduce as exactly as possible—in his own words, with his own punctuation and, if we can, his own spelling—what our author wrote and nothing else than that, it is necessary that we should consider very carefully what relation the printed "original" before us is likely to have to the author's manuscript. We have not to do with a thing produced all in a moment by some mechanically exact method of reproduction, nor even with one that came into being by a simple though long continued process, as is the case with a hand-written copy, where we have as a rule to deal only with one set of causes of error and with one man's peculiarities. Between the author and the printed book there is a whole trade, a very human and not always a very intelligent one, and often there are the copyists beside. Every word of our author has passed through the mind and through the fingers of a more or less skilful, more or less attentive compositor, as in earlier times it passed through the mind and pen of a

scribe, and for several reasons a compositor never followed his copy so closely as did the better class of scribes; and not only composition, but almost every one of the varied processes through which the book must pass may open the door to a fresh kind of error or at least of departure from the original. Yet we have long had a science of scribal errors; we have none of the errors of printers, or at most but the faintest adumbrations of one.

It would, I think, be an excellent thing if all who propose to edit an Elizabethan work from contemporary printed texts could be set to compose a sheet or two in as exact facsimile as possible of some Elizabethan octavo or quarto, and to print it on a press constructed on the Elizabethan model. Elementary instruction in the mechanical details of book-production need occupy but a very few hours of a University course of literature, and it would, I believe, if the course were intended to turn out scholars capable of serious work, be time well spent. It would teach students not to regard a book as a collection of separate leaves of paper attached in some mysterious manner to a leather back, nor to think that the pages are printed one after another beginning at the first and proceeding regularly to the last. They would have constantly and clearly before their minds all the processes through which the matter of the work before them has passed, from its first being written down by the pen of its author to its appearance in the finished volume, and would know when and how mistakes are likely to arise; while they would be constantly on the watch for those little pieces of evidence which are supplied by the actual form and "make-up" of a book and which are often of the highest value, in that they can hardly ever be "faked."

"Bibliographical" evidence of this kind will often help us to settle such questions as that of the order and relative value of different editions of a book; whether certain sections of a book were originally intended to form part of it or were added afterwards; whether a later edition was printed from an earlier one, and from which; whether it was printed from a copy that had been corrected in manuscript, or whether such corrections as it

contains were made in the proof, and a number of other problems of a similar kind, which may often have a highly important literary bearing. It will indeed sometimes enable us to solve questions which to one entirely without bibliographical knowledge would appear quite incapable of solution.

But though a little practical experience of work on an old-fashioned press would probably be much the easiest and quickest way of putting oneself in the position to appreciate the value of the evidence which a book may contain as to its own history, it is by no means essential. The numerous processes through which a book passes are all perfectly simple and very little trouble will suffice for the understanding of them. What is needed is that they shall be grasped sufficiently clearly for the book to be always regarded not as a unit, but as an assemblage of parts each of which is the result of a clearly apprehended series of processes.

It is this clear apprehension of the processes through which a book has passed, this and a little common-sense alone, that are necessary to those who would make use of bibliographical evidence. There are no rules to be laid down, no general course of enquiry to be followed. Every book presents its own problems and has to be investigated by methods suited to the particular case. And it is just this fact, that there is always a chance of lighting on new problems or new methods of demonstration, that with almost every new book we take up we are in new country unexplored and trackless, and that yet such discoveries as we may make are real discoveries, not mere matters of opinion, but provable things that no amount of after-investigation can shake, that makes this kind of research, trifling as it may at first sight appear, one of the most absorbing of all forms of historical enquiry.

It is with the hope of inducing a larger number of those who undertake research in our literary history to interest themselves in this side of the subject that I have here tried to bring together such elementary facts as may be useful to them, with a few illustrations of the kind of

knowledge that may be derived from bibliographical study of the texts. But it must be remembered that the most that can be done is to suggest some possible lines of research. It is for the student himself, by his own study and by his own ingenuity, to make these suggestions of use to him.

2.—*The making of a printed book. Composition, Imposition, Printing, etc.*

Such knowledge of the mechanical side of book-production as is possessed by the majority of students of English Literature has as a rule been picked up bit by bit as chance decreed, and this makes it difficult to know where to start in attempting a cursory account of the subject as a whole. It is dangerous to assume that any one fact will be known to all possible readers and to pass it over in silence, and even at the risk of offending some by telling them things with which they have been familiar ever since with a toy printing-press they printed hymns on the nursery floor, it seems safest to begin at the very beginning—and for this I shall make no further apology.

We will begin then by passing very briefly in review the whole series of processes which go to make the completed book. Then, after considering certain features of the book itself, we will return to deal somewhat more in detail with certain points in these processes, paying special attention to the kinds of error that may arise in connection with them. Lastly we will consider some more general problems which are likely to offer themselves to an editor in the course of his work. To avoid confusion we may at first confine our attention to the ordinary form of "quarto"[1] book, as this is the size which is most common in that class of books with which an editor of Elizabethan texts generally has to deal.

Let us suppose that a printer has a manuscript to print, and that all such details as the size of type, length of lines and number of lines to the

(1) The bibliographical acceptation of the term will be discussed later.

page are settled, and that he is about to begin the actual composition of the matter; and let us follow the compositor in his work.

He takes in his left hand a composing-stick[1] which is so adjusted that it will exactly hold lines of type of the length required. He then picks up with his right hand one by one the types required to form the first word from the case in which they lie, and as he does so, inserts them in the stick, beginning from the left side and holding them in place with his left thumb, as shown in fig. 1.[2] The types are of course put in

1.

the stick with the face reversed, so that when printed the letters will be in their proper order. After each word the compositor puts a space, which is merely a short type without any letter on it.

When he comes to the end of his first line he may find that he has also come to the end of a word. If so, well and good; he proceeds to set the next line. The chances are, however, that he finds that there is not in the stick exactly room for a complete word. He may find that he has room for the first syllable of a word, with a hyphen. If so, he

(1) So far as can be judged by the pictures there was no essential difference between a composing-stick of the 16th century and one of the present day. Whether anything corresponding to the modern "setting-rule" was used I cannot say, but with this and other non-essential points we need not concern ourselves.

(2) The figure is based, by kind permission of the publishers, on one in J. Southward's *Modern Printing*, Raithby, Lawrence & Co., London, 1898, pt. i, p. 164. I take the opportunity of recommending this work to the notice of any reader who may wish for a fuller knowledge of printing methods. In spite of the innumerable differences of detail between modern and Elizabethan processes, the general principles remain of course the same. It may be mentioned that the book is in four parts (issued separately) and that the first of these contains almost all that a literary student will need to know of the subject.

inserts this; if not, he must exactly fill the line in some other way. If his line is a letter or two short, he must fill it out with spaces. These cannot, of course, be added at the end of the line, as all the lines of type must end evenly,[1] so the additional space must be distributed over the spaces already standing between the words in the line. To do this he will take out the spaces already inserted, or some of them, and replace them by thicker ones. Or if he can nearly get another word or syllable in, he may take out the existing spaces and insert thinner ones. By this process, which is called "justifying," he will eventually get his line of exactly the right length.

A modern printer generally has three spaces of varying thickness which can be used without the space between the words looking excessive or too small,[2] but it seems doubtful whether the Elizabethan printers used more than two in ordinary work.[3] They had however a means of justifying the lines of type which is denied to modern compositors, namely by varying the spelling of words. If when nearing the end of a line the workman saw that he was going to have space to fill up, he could add an e to the end of some of the words, or could spell such terminations as -nes and -les as -nesse and -lesse, or could give "dance" as "daunce" or "prety" as "prettie." If on the other hand he wished to save space he could omit final e's or use a vowel with a line over it to indicate a following n, or in some founts could use the $\overset{e}{y}$ $\overset{t}{y}$ contractions for "the" and "that" and other similar ones.[4]

(1) Assuming, of course, that the book is prose.

(2) A very thick space can be used between two upright letters, as in the words "tall house" or a very thin one between round letters, as in "more open" without in the one case the words looking too far apart or in the other too close together.

(3) It is impossible to be certain of this on account of the irregular casting of the type, the face of which was often not central on the body.

(4) It is not possible to say exactly to what extent the printers relied on variation in spelling as a means of justification; it seems, however, not unlikely that it was their chief expedient. When in one copy of a sheet we find that a correction has been made in a particular line, we commonly find that the spelling of other words in the line has been varied to compensate for it; and further, the great difference in spelling (apart from modernisation) often found in a reprint is most naturally thus accounted for.

Having now got one line of type in his "stick" the compositor would, providing the work was not to be "leaded," proceed to set the next line, laying the type above those already in position. If, however, it was to be "leaded," that is to say, if there were to be blank spaces between the lines of type, he would insert a strip of type-metal above his first line of type, and lay the second upon that.[1]

"Leading" is of course a very common practice nowadays; the great majority of books in which there is no special desire to save space are leaded, as it is thought to make a book more readable. In Elizabethan times the practice seems, however, to have been unusual, if not non-existent. I do not indeed know of a single English book of the sixteenth century which is consistently leaded throughout; though leads may have been in occasional use for special purposes, *e.g.*, to place between stanzas of poetry.[2] Generally, however, "quads" seem to have been employed, *i.e.*, pieces of metal similar to spaces, but much broader, so that a few—say half a dozen or eight—would fill an ordinary line.[3] Whenever the blank space is found to be of the same depth as an ordinary line (or two or three ordinary lines) of type, it is probable that the space has been made by inserting a line or lines of quads.[4]

(1) It is, of course, possible that leads, when and if these were used, were inserted after and not during composition.

(2) Berthelet may occasionally have used leads, *cf.* Greg in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, viii. 194, type 13. In this, however, as in some other cases of a similar kind, it is impossible to be sure that the type was not cast on a larger body.

(3) Quads were no doubt originally square spaces, as broad as the height of a line. From the fact that the letter m used to be cast on a square body, such a square space is called an em-quad. It is difficult to prove that broader ones were in general use, but this may be inferred as highly probable from the fact that ornaments and rules of several ems in length were quite common, and from their obvious convenience. The sticking up of spaces so that they print as a black oblong—the only conclusive evidence as to their dimensions—is curiously rare in Elizabethan printing.

(4) The only certain proof of the use of a lead would be the sticking up of one end of it, when it would print like a short piece of black rule, the impression being much stronger at one end than the other. It is also to be noticed that if leads are used an irregularity in any line, such as an accidental space caused by letters falling apart, or any considerable want of straightness in the line, will not, as a rule, be continued in other lines up and down the page.

When he had got some six or eight lines of type in his composing-stick, the compositor would transfer the mass to something corresponding to what is now termed a galley, *i.e.*, a sort of shallow tray with edges on three sides somewhat lower than the height of the type. He would then fill his stick again in the same way and again transfer the contents to the galley, and so on, until he had a sufficient number of lines of type to form a page. A modern printer uses long galleys, generally containing two or three pages of type, and does not as a rule divide up the matter into pages until proofs have been taken and at any rate the first corrections made. The reason of this is that the type can more easily be lifted for the purpose of correction when in a galley than when in the chase in which the pages are subsequently arranged; further if large corrections involving additions to or subtractions from the matter are made after the matter has been divided into pages, the work of measuring them up and dividing them has to be done all over again.

There is however, so far as I am aware, no evidence of the practice of proving the matter in galleys in the Elizabethan period, while on the other hand there is evidence of work being arranged directly in pages, the signature[1] (if any) at the foot of the page, and the catch-word, being added directly the page was completed.[2]

Each page of type as completed would probably be tied round with string and put aside to wait until the rest of the pages required to form a

(1) See page 238, below.

(2) Evidence that each page was dealt with separately may be found in the fact that there are a good many instances of the last line or the last few words of one page being repeated at the beginning of the next. (See, among others, *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 89: B. Googe, *Eclogues*, ed. Arber, p. 127 foot-note: *Sir Giles Goosecap*, ed. Bang & Brotanek, ll. 1088–91.) Such repetitions are easily explained by the compositor having forgotten, when he started the next page, exactly where he had left off. If the work had all been set up in galley, accidental repetitions would not appear at the beginning of a fresh page more frequently than elsewhere. It seems clear that signatures were often, if not always, added immediately on the completion of the page, from the fact that they so frequently follow the type of the last few words of the page, when this happens to be in italics or of a larger face, or otherwise different from that generally used in the text of the book. Had the signatures all been added at the same time, after division of the matter into pages, it would have been natural for the printer to use the same type for them throughout.

sheet[1] of the book were composed. This in the case of an ordinary quarto book would be eight.

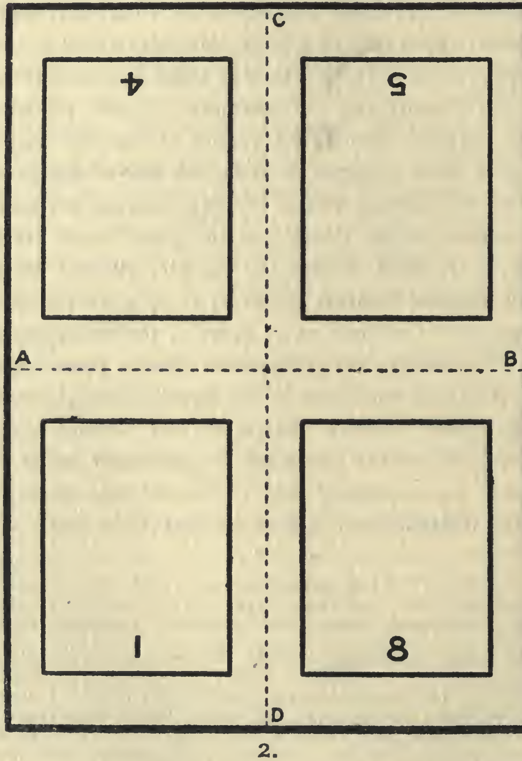
The requisite number of pages having been completed, the printer would next arrange them on a flat table or stone in such a manner that when an impression was taken from them on a flat sheet and the paper afterwards folded to form part of a book, the pages would be in the proper order. A modern printer, who works with larger presses and larger sheets of paper than the Elizabethans, will generally lay down the whole number of pages (let us suppose eight—for a quarto) at one time and print them on one side of a sheet of paper of twice the size of the sheets forming the book. The Elizabethan would, however, arrange his eight pages of type in two separate groups, taking first the pages which are required to print one side of his sheet, namely the 1st, 4th, 5th and 8th page, or in the usual bibliographical notation[2] pages 1, 2^v, 3, 4^v of the sheet. These he would arrange on the stone as in figure 2, the two upper ones being upside down. He would then place round them a frame called a chase (indicated by the thick outer line in the figure),[3] and proceed to fill up the intervening spaces between the pages and between them and the chase with pieces of wood or metal below type-height called "furniture." It is to be noted that supposing A B, C D to be lines crossing the centre of the chase, the distance from A B to the top of the pages will give the

(1) Really a "gathering" as will appear later (see p. 238). For example in a folio the compositor will generally have to set twelve pages of type before it is possible to proceed with the printing. In a quarto, however, the "gathering" is usually a single sheet.

(2) *i.e.*, counting by leaves instead of pages, the first page being called "1 recto," or simply "1," the second "1 verso," the third "2 recto" or 2, the fourth "2 verso" and so on. Another notation, more general in dealing with very early books, uses 1^a for the recto of the first leaf, 1^b for the verso, and so on. This in certain respects is better, but has the disadvantage that some writers use the same notation to refer to columns of print when a page has more than one. In purely bibliographical work there is seldom or never any danger of confusion, but in literary work this may easily occur.

(3) Modern chases intended for book-work have cross bars in the position of lines A B, C D (in chases for quartos), which greatly facilitate the arrangement of the pages and the locking-up of the type. It seems probable that the Elizabethan chases had at least one cross-bar, but the point is of no importance in the present connection, and we therefore need not discuss it.

height of the top margin of the page when the sheet is folded; and that the distance from C D to the sides of the pages will similarly give the breadth of the inner margin.

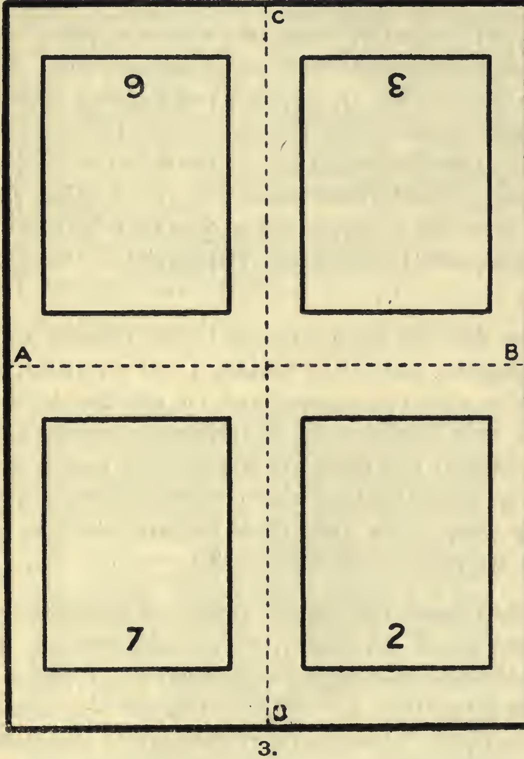


2.

The four pages thus arranged in the chase are called a forme, and because this forme contains the pages which, when the sheet is folded, will be on the outside of the fold, namely the first, fourth, fifth and eighth

pages, it is called the outer forme, and pages 1, 4, 5, 8 (or 1, 2^v, 3, 4^v) are called pages of the outer forme.

The furniture employed to fill up the chase is locked by the insertion



3.

and driving home of wedges, so that the type is tightly jammed and the whole may safely be lifted as if all in one piece.

The printer would next take the other four pages belonging to the sheet and lock them up in another chase, arranging them as in figure 3.

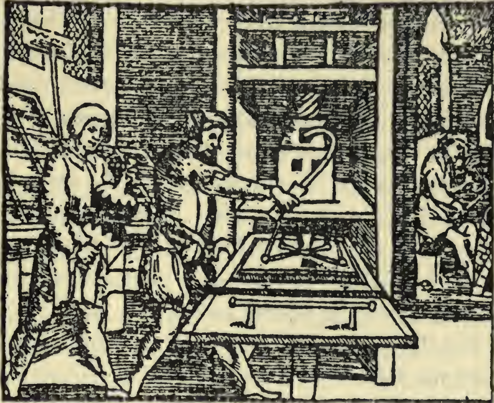
The distance of the top and sides of the pages from A B and C D must of course be the same as in the other forme. This forme contains the pages which in a folded sheet are within the fold, namely, 2, 3, 6, 7, (1^v, 2, 3^v, 4), and hence is called the "inner forme."

To make all clear, let the reader take a sheet of paper[1] and mark on it four oblongs on each side to represent the pages of type. Let him then number those on one side 1, 4, 5, 8, as if they had been printed on to this sheet from figure 2, *i.e.*, 8 to the left and 1 to the right in the lower half of the paper, 5 (reversed) to the left and 4 (reversed) to the right in the upper part of the paper. Having done this, let him turn the paper over sideways (keeping the same edge to the top) and mark on the other side the numbers 2, 3, 6, 7, corresponding in a similar "looking-glass" way to the numbers in figure 3.

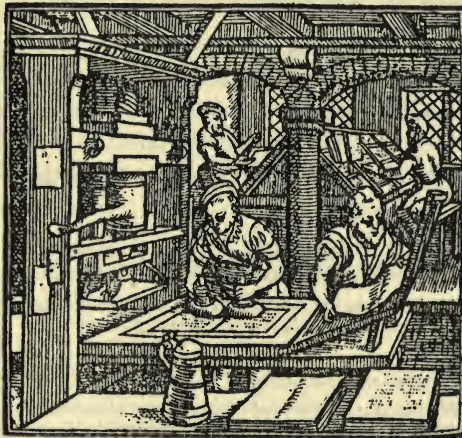
If he now folds the paper into four by first bringing pages 2 and 3 and 6 and 7 together, and then by bringing 4 and 5 together, he will have a sheet folded as a sheet of a quarto book and will find that the pages are in the correct order from 1 to 8. It is therefore evident that if having arranged the pages of type in the two formes in the manner indicated, the printer takes an impression from one forme on one side of the paper and from the other forme on the other side of the paper, the sheet when folded will have all the pages in the correct order.

Having thus imposed his pages correctly and locked them up in the two chases, the printer can proceed to the actual printing. One of the chases, probably that containing the outer forme first, is placed on the bed of the press and fixed there with wedges. The bed is so constructed that it will slide under the "platen," an iron plate, which, when brought down upon the type by means of a screw, presses the paper upon the type and so gives the impression.

(1) The ratio of the length to the breadth should be approximately as 4 to 3, in order that, when the paper is folded, the pages may be of usual proportions.



4.—From *The Ordinary for all faythful Christians*, printed by A. Scoloker, 1548 (sig. D 3v).



5.—From S. Bateman's *Doome warning all men to the Judgemente*, printed by R. Newbery, 1581 (p. 272).

The general form of the sixteenth century press can be seen in the two wood-cuts here reproduced, which are so far as I can ascertain, the only detailed representations of presses occurring in English books before 1600. Several foreign cuts are to be found in vol. i. of *Bibliographica* and these agree closely in all essentials with the figures here given. With reference to the cut from *The Ordinary for all faythful Christians*, it may be remarked that the man in the extreme right of the picture is engaged in casting type,[1] and that the sign-board-like object above the case on the left hand is presumably a manuscript fixed in a holder, as may be seen in figure 5. The cut from Bateman's *Doome* is much superior in detail, and I shall have occasion to refer to several points in it later. It may, however, be here noted that the cut has evidently been reversed[2]; either because the draughtsman did not allow for the process used in cutting it, or because it is a copy. It must also be said that though these cuts appear in books printed in England, it would be hazardous to regard them as certainly representing English presses; we cannot exclude the possibility of their having foreign originals or being actually foreign blocks.[3]

To the end of the carriage which forms the bed of the press was attached an iron frame covered with a sheet of parchment or thick paper.[4] This sheet was (and is) called the tympan. The frame was hinged to the carriage so that it could be turned back and the sheet of paper to be printed laid on it. It was then turned over and brought down upon the

(1) See T. B. Reed's *Old English Letter Foundries*, 1887, p. 105, where the cut is reproduced from an unidentified fragment in the Bagford Collection.

(2) The screw should, of course, be left-handed. The printer would stand to the left of the press and pull the lever towards him with his right hand.

(3) No. 5 is similar in general design to the cut in Schopper's *Πανοπλία*, 1568, which, in its turn, is based on a Zurich cut of 1548 (*Bibliographica*, i. 236, 501).

(4) In later times the tympan consisted of two sheets of parchment or other material, each stretched on a frame. One of these frames fitted within the other, and between the two sheets packing, consisting generally of a sheet of felt, was placed in order to soften and equalize the pressure of the platen. The arrangement was probably the same, or at least very similar, in Elizabethan times, but I am not aware of any evidence on the point.

type, which in the meantime had been inked by another workman.[1] The carriage was then slid under the platen and this was brought down upon the type by pulling the "bar" or lever in order to make the impression. The lever was then pushed back, or possibly pulled back by a counter-weight, raising the platen; the carriage was slid away from under it, the tympan lifted and the printed sheet removed and placed on one side.

The inking of the type was done by what were called "balls." These were in general similar to those still in use by etchers for spreading the "ground," and continued to be used by printers until the introduction of the ink roller *c.* 1810. They were circular pads of cotton or hair covered with some material such as leather and provided with a stick or handle projecting from the back at right angles (figures 4 and 5). The ink was first spread on a stone, from which it was taken up by the ink-balls (always used in pairs—one in each hand) and dabbed on the type.

It is, however, evident that with such a method of inking the forme, there would be a great likelihood of part of the "furniture" between the pages of type being inked, with the result that when the paper was brought down upon the forme it might come into contact with these accidental patches of ink and be soiled. To obviate the risk of this an attachment to the tympan called a frisket came into use. This is a light frame attached by a hinge to the free end of the tympan in such a way that it can be folded down between the tympan and the forme. The frisket is covered with a sheet of paper in which holes are cut corresponding to the pages of type. After the sheet of paper to be printed is laid on the tympan, the frisket is folded down upon it and thus all parts of the paper except those on which the impression is to fall are protected. The frisket and tympan together are then folded down upon the forme and the impression is taken.

(1) Two workmen must always have been necessary, or at least one and a boy, as the same person could not ink the type and lay on the paper. In most of the pictures of early presses, it seems that one man did the inking, the other laid on the paper and worked the machine. In one or two, however, there is a boy in addition to lay on the paper, and in one the man who inked the forme seems also to have worked the press, a boy being employed to lay on the paper (*Bibliographica*, i, pl. xii).

The use of the frisket in Elizabethan printing has been questioned; but it is, I think, certain that it was used, at least, by some printers. A frisket is shown in those of the early cuts of printing-presses which show technical exactness in other respects.[1] It is true that most of these cuts are foreign, and, as I have said, even the English ones may be foreign in origin, but there seems to have been a good deal of intercourse between English and foreign printing houses, and it is hardly likely that an important improvement such as this would not be copied. One printer at any rate used friskets, Thomas Vautrollier, in whose will, dated 1587, they are especially mentioned among the printing material.[2] And indeed with the soft packing commonly used, which was so soft as frequently to drive the paper down to the shoulder of the type at the head and foot of a page, it is difficult to see how a clean impression could be obtained without a frisket of some sort. Lastly, in Elizabethan books we occasionally find that a letter or two at the beginning or end of several lines together has failed to print. This *might* of course be due to the letter not having been inked; but this is unlikely, as there would generally be traces of ink from a former inking, while in the cases to which I refer there is no sign of ink at all. This would be a natural result of the hole in the frisket not being cut quite large enough, or having got slightly out of register, so that the edge of the paper was caught between the type and the sheet which was being printed, and it is not easy to see how it could come about in any other way. Such cases are, however, not common, and we may perhaps say that there is doubt whether a frisket was in general or only in occasional use.

To recur to the process which we were discussing. Our printer has now a sheet printed on one side only and bearing the pages of the outer forme, pp. 1, 4, 5, 8. To complete it, the four pages of the other forme

(1) The cuts of 1548 and 1568 in *Bibliographica*, i, 501, 236: as also figure 5 above, where both the tympan and the frisket are well shown. The three cuts cannot, however, be regarded as affording independent evidence, *see* p. 232, note 3.

(2) Plomer, *Wills of English Printers*, p. 27. The "appurtenances" of a press which he bequeathed to his son Manases consisted among other things, of "fower Chassis, and three Frisketts, two timpanes and a Copper plate."

must be printed on the other side of the paper. Now if he has two presses, he may have placed the other forme on the second press; but he cannot at once proceed to "perfect" the sheet by laying it, printed side downwards, on the tympan of that press and printing it on the back; for if he does so the result will be that the still wet ink of the first side printed will "set-off" on the tympan of the second press and thence will be transferred to the next sheet printed, and will spoil it. He must let the ink of the first printing dry before he attempts to print the sheet on the other side.[1] This necessary interval between the printing of the two sides of a sheet is, as we shall see later, of great importance in connection with variations between copies of the same edition of a book.

As a matter of fact it is clear from the frequent occurrence of the same cut, ornament, or initial letter on both sides of a sheet, that the printer often printed the whole number of impressions on one side before perfecting; for it is unreasonable to suppose that he would first print say 100 impressions on one side, then transfer the initial to the other forme and, after waiting for the ink of the first printing to dry, proceed to perfect the 100 impressions; then re-transfer his initial to the first forme, and so on. Such a process would in all ordinary circumstances be an absurd and purposeless waste of time.

We must pause to discuss a question which will probably already have occurred to the reader, namely by what means it was arranged that the pages on one side of the sheet should correspond in position with those on the other, or in other words how they were made to "register." Evidently if all the sheets of paper used were exactly of the same size, and had straight edges, it would be possible to mark the tympan-sheet for the two printings in such a way that if the paper was laid to the marks the register would be correct. Even if the paper varied somewhat in size this would be possible (provided that the marks were on the opposite sides of the

(1) There are ways of avoiding this trouble by the use of "setting-off sheets," but it is unlikely that the sixteenth century printers were often sufficiently pressed for time to make such expedients worth while.

tympan in the two cases). Hand-made paper however—and of course all Elizabethan paper was made by hand—has uneven edges, and such a method would therefore prove, at best, unsatisfactory.

The method actually employed[1] seems to have been as follows. Two pins probably somewhat like ordinary drawing pins were passed through the tympan-sheet (or otherwise attached to it) so that when the tympan was folded down, the points would fall on the line equally distant from the top of the pages (line A B in fig. 2). When the sheet of paper was placed on the tympan these pins would pierce holes in it; and obviously if pins were similarly placed when the sheets came to be perfected, and the paper was so laid on the tympan that the pin-holes made when printing the first side fitted the pins, perfect register could be obtained. If a loosely-bound folio book be examined, the pin-holes can usually be found in the fold, near the top and bottom of the leaves. In a quarto they would be in the top edge of the folded sheet and thus would generally have been cut off in binding. In an octavo they would be in the outer edge and are generally absent for the same reason.

Some of the early cuts of printing-presses seem to show that as a guide for the correct placing of the sheet on the pins of the first press, the sheets, before printing was begun, were all folded so as to form a crease across the shorter diameter. What appears to be such a crease can be clearly seen in the pile of flat sheets about to be printed.[2] If the sheet was so placed on the tympan that the pins pierced the crease it would be rectangular to the pages.

The drying of the sheets between the printing of the first and second side, and after the second, was done by hanging them on strings across the room, a process that was probably rendered easier by the crease already mentioned. When dry they were ready to be folded and sewn to form the book.

(1) Essentially the same as that employed at present on hand presses.

(2) See figure 5.

We need not discuss binding, for there is no essential difference between the methods employed in the period of which we are treating and those used in good binding at the present day. Each gathering was sewn separately, and the thread passed round three or more cords or strips of leather running transversely at the back. When all the sheets had thus been attached to the cords or "bands" as they are called, these were inserted into holes cut in the boards of wood or card which formed the sides of the bound volume, and these sides and the back of the book were then covered with leather. In cheaper forms of binding, especially for thin books, the sides were formed of parchment without boards, the bands being each passed through two holes in the parchment and secured by being pasted down inside. In very thin pamphlets the sheets were sometimes simply sewn together by passing the thread through them from side to side, but presumably owing to opposition from the binders, whom this too simple method deprived of work, this practice was not permitted when a book consisted of more than a few sheets.[1]

3.—*The printed book and its parts. Some bibliographical terms explained.*

Let us now take in hand the completed quarto book and examine it. If it is a typical one we shall notice the following facts about it.

First as regards the general construction of the book. We shall see that it is made up of groups of four leaves, between the middle pair of which leaves the thread with which the book is sewn can generally be perceived.[2] Each group in an ordinary quarto consists of a single sheet of paper folded into four, and one may therefore speak of the groups as "sheets." It is, however, convenient when dealing with the bound or

(1) See H. G. Aldis in *The Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, iv. 404.

(2) It is, of course, always there, but a book bound with a stiff back can sometimes not be opened sufficiently for the thread to be seen.

sewn book to call them "gatherings." In certain sizes, and even sometimes in quarto books, a "gathering" may consist of two or more sheets or of half a sheet.

At the foot of the first leaf of each gathering will be found a letter or other mark, called the "signature," which is intended as a guide to the binder in placing the sheets in their correct order. On the second leaf will be found the same letter or mark with "ij" or "2," the third leaf generally and the fourth occasionally being also similarly "signed" with 3 and 4 in roman or arabic numerals. We shall recur later to several points of interest in connection with signatures. It may, however, be noted here that the preliminary matter of a book, consisting of the title, dedication, preface, and, if there is one, list of contents, is often signed by an asterisk or other arbitrary mark, the signature "A" being used for the commencement of the book itself.

At the foot of each page, below the end of the last line, we generally find the first word—or part of a word—of the following page. This is called the "catch-word."[1] Its purpose was probably to aid the printer in imposing the pages correctly.

The lower part of the title-page, when it gives the place of printing, date, and information as to by or for whom the book was printed, or where it was to be sold, or any of these, is called the "imprint." Similar information given at the end of the book is generally called the "colophon."[2]

Large capital letters, wood-cut or cast in metal, occurring at the beginning of a paragraph are generally called "ornamental initials," or simply "initials." An ornamental block having a space in the centre for the insertion of a capital letter of an ordinary fount of type is called a "factotum initial," or more properly a "factotum."

(1) Catch-words seem to have been introduced into English printing about 1520; *cf.* Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Herbert, p. 267. In mediæval MSS. they were sometimes used at the end of each section as a guide to the binder.

(2) This also is an imprint, but it seems more customary to keep the word for information given on the title-page. The practice is, however, not uniform.

An ornament especially designed for the top of a page is called a "head-ornament" or "head-piece," and one for the foot of the page or the end of the matter occurring on it is called a "tail-ornament" or "tail-piece."

A line of type at the top of a page, above the text, is called a "head-line"; or, if it consists of the title of the book (or of the section of the book) on every page or every "opening" (*i.e.*, two pages facing one another), sometimes a "running-title" or "running-head."

The white margins of a page are called respectively the head, tail, outer and inner margins, the inner being of course that nearest to the fold of the paper (or the back of the book). In almost all early-printed books the inner margin is the smallest, then the head, and then the outer; the tail-margin being the largest. The exact proportions seem however to have varied considerably, and indeed exact information on the point is not easy to obtain, as nearly all extant copies of early books have been at one time or another cut down by a binder.

If we hold a leaf of the book up to the light we shall see some five or six lines crossing the page horizontally, where the paper appears to be thinner than elsewhere, these lines being crossed by others much closer together which run vertically. The former, those widely spaced, are called "chain-lines," the latter, those close together, the "wire-lines,"[1] They are caused by the bed of the mould in which the paper is made. On some leaves, on the inner margin of the page, about midway between the top and bottom, part of a design in similar semi-transparent lines will be noticed. This is the watermark. We shall have a good deal to say about this and the chain and wire-lines later.

A book of which the "gatherings" consist each of four leaves is said be "in fours," if of eight leaves "in eights," and so on. A quarto book

(1) Both the widely spaced and the narrow lines are sometimes called "wire-lines" or "wire-marks," but it is much more convenient to keep the distinction between them as above.

such as we have been describing will therefore be a "quarto in fours."[1] If, however, the gathering had consisted of eight leaves, two of the original sheets being sewn together, it would be described as "a quarto in eights." All these matters will have to be dealt with more particularly when we come to discuss the sizes of books.

4.—*Some processes reconsidered. Errors arising in connection with them. Compositors' misreadings. Foul case. More about imposition. Errors in "perfecting." Errors in folding.*

Having now got a general idea of the processes by which a book comes into being, and of the more important terms which we shall have to use, we may turn back to consider some of these processes in a little more detail, paying especial attention to the errors which are likely to arise in connection with each of them.

Into the question of errors caused by misreading the author's manuscript, either on the part of the compositor or of an intermediate copyist, I cannot enter. A full discussion of the matter would involve us in an enquiry into Elizabethan handwriting and its many varieties, and would require an acquaintance with the reading of MSS. which is not part of the usual equipment of an editor of printed books. A general warning may however be given against forgetting the difference between the forms of the current Elizabethan script and the modern, and that two distinct kinds of script were used. Generally speaking, the bulk of an Elizabethan MS. intended for the press[2] would be in the so-called "English" hand, while proper names and citations in Latin or in modern foreign languages would be in "Italian" hand. The latter is practically the same as "copy-

(1) In such cases, however, some bibliographers omit the words "in fours," only specifying the number of leaves in a gathering when the latter does not correspond with a sheet.

(2) *Not* a legal MS., and perhaps not a copy by a professional scribe.

book" writing of the present day: the former, however, differed in the shapes of certain letters, especially c, e and h, and some of the capitals. Long s (ſ) was of course commonly used in both, in all positions except at the end of words.

The result of these differences in the English hand is that certain words which in print, or when written in a modern hand, seem very similar, could not possibly be confused when occurring in an Elizabethan MS., while others which are different in modern script, might in an Elizabethan MS. easily be mistaken for one another. Thus, suppose in a printed book, we have the word "challinge" in an obscure passage concerning sun-dials, it might seem a reasonable conjecture that the word intended was "diallinge," for in ordinary writing the difference consists in little more than a slight lateral displacement of the first up-stroke. In Elizabethan "English" hands however, the words have no resemblance at all. The replacement of one word by the other could not then be due to a simple misreading on the part of the compositor.

On the other hand in a proper name or in foreign words which would probably be written in Italian hand in a MS., this very confusion of "ch" and "di" is quite a possible one. Thus "Adian" might easily be a misreading for "Achan," if the latter name were required to give sense, or "ladirymae" for "lachrymae."

Conversely in Elizabethan hands letters might be confused which are now perfectly distinct, as for example p and x. Further, in *certain* hands a final ſt was but little different from a final ſe, and words like "case" and "cast," which we hardly think of as similar in appearance, might easily be confused by a printer.[1] It is however, quite unsafe to guess at misreadings of this kind, unless we know, or can somehow infer, the character of the hand of the original.

(1) So also abbreviations might be misunderstood. I have known a marginal note "Augustus" to appear, most perplexingly, as "August 9," but that, I fancy, was in a modern reprint.

No rules can be laid down for the guidance of a student in interpreting errors due to misreading of Elizabethan MSS. He should familiarize himself with the more usual forms of Elizabethan writing and then trust to his common-sense.

Errors of another class arise during the composition itself from the compositor picking up and inserting in the composing-stick a different letter from the one intended. No reasonably skilled workman is likely to make a mistake in the division of the case from which he takes a type, and practically all such errors arise from the presence, in the divisions of the case, of letters which should not rightly be there, what is commonly termed "foul case." The presence of these wrong letters is generally due to carelessness in distributing type used for previous work, but it may sometimes be caused by the divisions being too full, so that letters easily slip from one division to another. There is a discussion of this possible cause of error in William Blades's *Shakspere and Typography*, 1872, pp. 73–8, in which he argues that letters would be most likely to slip into the division which is next below that in which they ought to be.[1] Thus an *o* out of place would probably be among the *a*'s, a *d* might be among the *n*'s, an *e* among the *h*'s. This is an interesting suggestion, but it must not be pressed too far, for we must remember that if the printer picked up a letter much thicker or thinner than the one intended, he would instantly recognize the error; thus although the *m*-box is below the *c*'s, a *c* occurring in the *m*-box would hardly be placed in the stick in mistake for that letter. Similarly the *i*'s are above the *o*'s, but the thinness of an *i* would prevent it from being mistaken for an *o*.

In connection with errors due to foul case Blades draws attention to the importance of remembering the existence of ligatures.[2] Thus the word "light" cannot be an error for "fight" due simply to the presence

(1) A diagram of the arrangement or "lay" of the case as it probably was in Shakespeare's time is given by Blades. It differs in certain respects from that used at present.

(2) *See* p. 308, below.

of an l in the ſ box, for in setting up the word "ſight" the compositor would have used the ſi ligature, not the simple ſ. Similarly if we find such an obviously erroneous combination of letters as "ift," we must not suppose that we have merely a transposition of i and f, and emend it to "fit"; for in that word the separate letters f and i would not have been used at all. The point has not infrequently been overlooked by editors unacquainted with typography.

Another kind of error may arise from careless correction of an evident error. An illustration may make matters clearer :—in the *Interlude of Impatient Poverty*, 1560, l. 794, we have the word "obserued" where the sense evidently required "obscured," and in the original print the cross-bar of the first "e" of the word is broken so that the letter resembles a "c." Now the error may of course be a simple misreading; but on the other hand it may have arisen thus: in distribution of earlier matter the "e," looking like a "c," may have been placed in the c box, and so have been used for c in printing the line in question. The proof-reader finds the word "obseured." Without pausing to reflect on the meaning of the passage, he assumes that he has the very common mistake of the transposition of two adjacent letters and that the "ur" should be "ru." He alters them, and the word becomes "obserued."[1] Of course no rules can be laid down, but it is well to remember the possibility of this form of error, as it will sometimes serve to justify, or at least render plausible, an emendation which at first sight seems very daring.

It has frequently been stated, and seems to be generally believed, that in the Shakespearian time compositors had their copy read aloud to them. I have never been able to discover on what this idea is based, unless it is merely that we find errors which *may* be explained as due to mishearing. It is, however, difficult to see what could be gained by such a method of work, which would mean the employment of an extra man or boy for

(1) I found myself guilty of a similar mistake a few days ago, when coming across the word "turenes" in a first reading of a proof, I altered the word at a guess to "surenes." On comparing it with the original I found that it should have been "truenes."

each compositor; nor do the pictures of compositors at work give any indication of the practice.[1] The true explanation of such errors is perhaps that given by Blades in the work mentioned above, that a compositor naturally reads several words of his copy at a time, "and retains them in his mind until his fingers have picked up the various types belonging to them. While the memory is thus repeating to itself a phrase, it is by no means unnatural, nor in practice is it uncommon, for some word or words to become unwittingly supplanted in the mind by others which are similar in sound."[2]

For my own part, I believe that not only this error but the opposite one of substituting another word of the same meaning, can quite easily be explained by this practice of reading a few words at a time and trusting to the memory; and that this is the cause of the occasional failures in rime that we meet with in verse. I have indeed in proofs from present-day printers more than once met with the substitution of totally different words of the same meaning for what was quite clearly written in the copy.

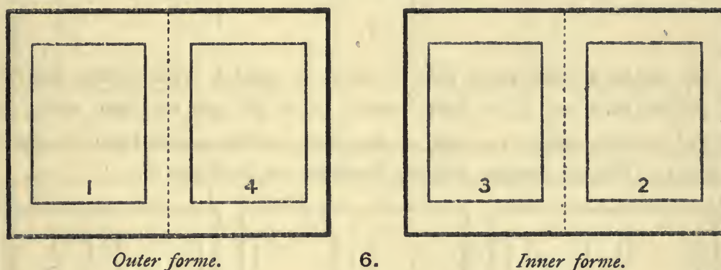
In passing, it may be interesting to note one curious case of an error which *may* be explained as due to mishearing. In Marston's *Malcontent*, I. iii. 28–30, there are differences in the reading of copies of the second quarto (sig. C 4).[3] One of the copies in the British Museum reads, evidently correctly: "as your knight courtes your Citty widow with jingling of his guilt spurres, aduauncing his bush colored beard, and taking Tabacco," the other copy, however, has instead: "as your knight courtes your Citty widow with something of his guilt: some aduauncing his high colured beard," etc. Now, neglecting the other errors, we have here the word "something" where there should be "jingling." It seems quite impossible that this should be in the ordinary sense a misreading, for the two words have no resemblance in any script. Is it not, however,

(1) Some of them indeed, as Figure 5 above, show the copy supported on a stand in front of the compositor.

(2) *Shakspere and Typography*, p. 72.

(3) The scene in question is not in the first quarto at all.

possible that a reader trying to make out a bad MS. and coming to a word he could not make out should hesitatingly fill the gap with "something" as we often do now-a-days when trying to make out an illegible script, intending no doubt to go back to it when he had got the drift of the passage? A compositor *seeing* an illegible word in a MS. would probably fill the space with quads, leaving it to the corrector to put in the right word. He would hardly go to the trouble of setting up one which was obviously wrong. If, however, the passage was read out to him, he would probably set up what he heard without bothering his head as to whether it made sense or not.

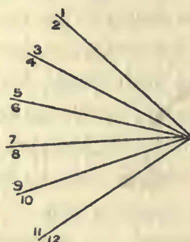


Outer forme. 6. *Inner forme.*

To pass now from composition to "imposition," the arrangement of the pages in the forme. We have already dealt with the arrangement of those of a quarto book, and it may be well that we should here discuss those of the other chief sizes.

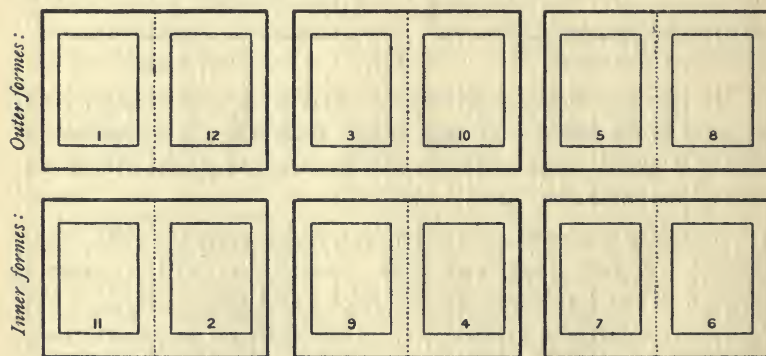
A book in folio consists of sheets only folded once, along the shorter diameter. If each sheet were sewn separately, so that a gathering consisted of but two leaves, the imposition would be as in figure 6. As a general rule, however, in order to avoid the enormous amount of sewing that would be involved in binding a book in this fashion, and also the thickening of the back which would result from it, three or four sheets are placed together in one gathering and sewn through at the same time. Let us suppose three, as this is perhaps the commonest number. The gathering will then have six leaves and the book will be described as a

folio in sixes. The appearance from above of a gathering set upright with the leaves partly opened will be as figure 7; the pages being indicated by the small numbers.



7.

It will be at once clear that in order to print a book in this manner the printer must set up at least twelve pages of type to begin with,[1] as he will require pages 12 and 11 to print at the same time as pages 1 and 2. His six formes will be imposed as in figure 8.



8.

The imposition of a sheet in octavo, *i.e.*, a sheet to be folded three times so as to form eight leaves, will be as in figure 9:

(1) Unless the book is a page for page reprint.

Outer forme:

8 6 12 5

1 16 13 4

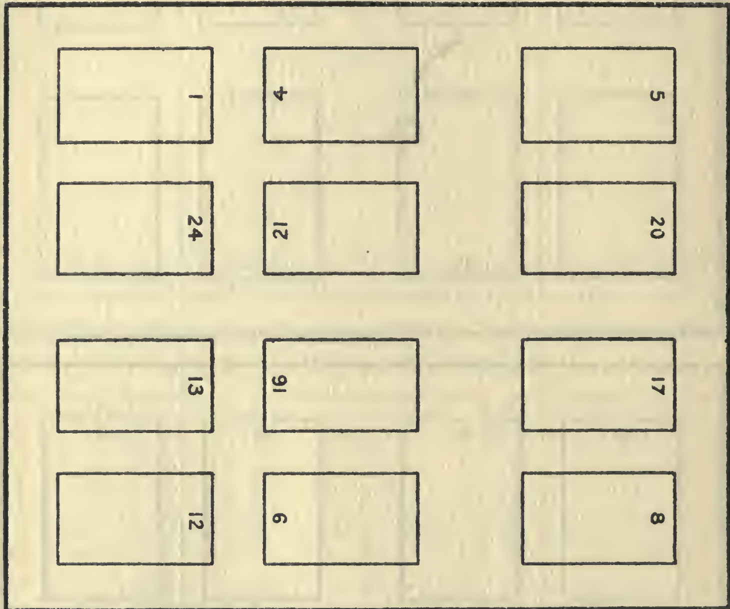
Inner forme:

6 11 10 7

3 14 15 2

9.

Four other sizes of books were in occasional use during the Elizabethan period, those in which the sheet was folded respectively into twelve, sixteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two leaves (12mo, 16mo, 24mo, and 32mo).[1] The imposition scheme of 16mo and 32mo can easily be inferred from that



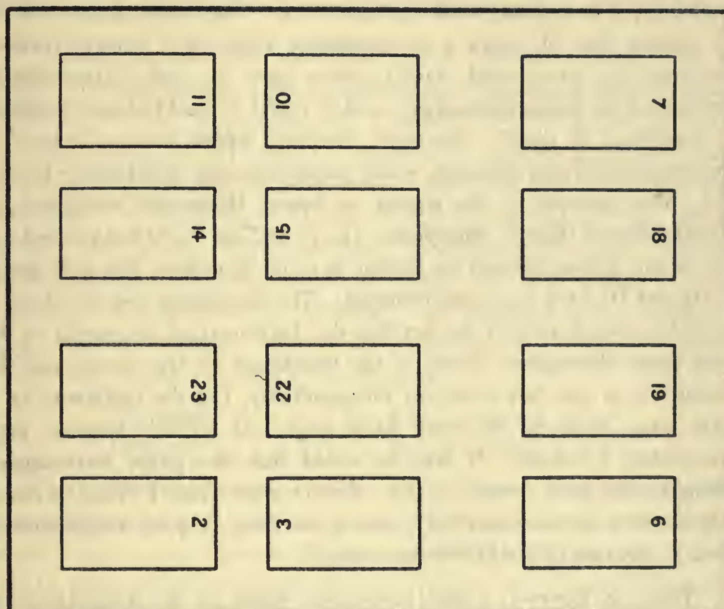
A sheet in 12mo : Outer forme.

10.

of octavo, or better by folding a sheet of paper for 16mo four times, or for 32mo five times, marking the pages on it and then opening it out; and we need therefore say nothing further about these sizes. The 12mo and 24mo sizes, however, present some difficulty, as there are several ways in which the pages can be imposed for these sizes, and it is generally

(1) *i.e.*, duodecimo, sextodecimo, vigesimo quarto, and trigesimo-secundo, but often called "twelvemo," "sixteenmo," "twenty-fourmo," and "thirty-twomo."

impossible to tell from the finished book which arrangement has been followed. It must, therefore, suffice here to give a single scheme for 12mo imposition, and to leave readers to work out others for themselves, if they wish to do so. As the sizes are seldom of any practical importance



A sheet in 12mo : Inner forme.
10.

to those who are likely to read these pages, I have thought it best to reserve further discussion of them for a note at the end (*see* page 315).

Now as to errors which may arise in connection with imposition. These seldom are of much concern to an editor save in so far as they may render a copy of a book defective by causing certain pages to be duplicated and others omitted; but it is sometimes useful to him to be

able to describe briefly what has gone wrong, and it is in any case of interest to see how simply what appear at first sight to be extraordinary confusions in the arrangement of pages in a book may occur.

We may, I think, say that the wrong arrangement of pages of type in a forme, is in ordinary work extremely rare. The correct imposition for the various sizes of books is so elementary a part of a printer's training that such an error could hardly occur save by most extraordinary carelessness or misunderstanding; and if it did, it would almost certainly be corrected in proof. In work, however, which for any reason is somewhat out of the common, wrong imposition may occasionally be met with. For example, in his reprint of Jasper Heywood's translation of *Hercules Furens* (Bang's *Materialien*, xli), p. xlvi, de Vocht has pointed out that in the edition printed by Sutton in 1561, in octavo, the recto pages of D4 and D6 have been interchanged. The imposition was in this case somewhat complicated by the fact that the Latin text of the play is on the verso pages throughout, faced by the translation on the rectos, and the catchwords of the two texts run independently, *i.e.*, the catchword of a Latin page refers to the next Latin page, not to the English page immediately following. It may be noted that the pages interchanged belong to the same forme. A few other examples can, I think, be found in books of a similar class, but I cannot recall any in quite straightforward work, at any rate of the Elizabethan period.

There is, however, a fault sometimes found in the arrangement of pages which should be mentioned here, as it may at first sight seem to be due to an error in imposition, though a little reflection will show that the true cause is quite different. This is the fault by which the pages instead of running 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., as they should, run, in a quarto, 1, 6, 7, 4, 5, 2, 3, 8, or in an octavo, 1, 6, 7, 4, 5, 2, 3, 8, 9, 14, 15, 12, 13, 10, 11, 16.

This may seem a strange muddle, but it is due to a very simple cause, namely to the sheets after being printed on one side, having been turned the wrong way round when being perfected; or, alternatively, to

the second forme printed from having been placed the wrong way round on the bed of the press. Experiment with a piece of folded paper, as before suggested, will show clearly how this error occurs. Let the type-pages be numbered as before, but the paper be turned round before numbering those at the back, so that the back of p. 1 is numbered 6.[1]

An even greater confusion than this can occur. There is in the British Museum a copy of the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus printed by Guarin at Basle in 1575. It is apparently a 16mo,[2] sewn in eights, and has no special interest save for a peculiar error which appears in sheets f and g of the index, where the first syllables of the first and last word of the pages run (from the beginning of f), "op–ot, seg–ser, ser–sid, par–pei, pel–per, spi–suf," and so on, while those from the beginning of g run "scar–seg, ott–pan, pan–par, sid–sis, sit–spi, per–phœ," etc., the strange confusion persisting throughout the two gatherings. As the error is in an index it is easy to discover what the order of the pages should be and investigation shows that the pages are really the following:

Gathering f: f 1, g 1ᵛ, g 2, f 2ᵛ, f 3, g 3ᵛ, g 4, f 4ᵛ.
Gathering g: g 1, f 1ᵛ, f 2, g 2ᵛ, g 3, f 3ᵛ, f 4, g 4ᵛ.

It is thus evident that we have nothing more than a simple interchange of the two inner formes, the outer forme of f being backed by the inner forme of g, and the outer forme of g by the inner forme of f. Possibly indeed the explanation is even more simple than this, namely that though the book is sewn in eights, it was printed in sixteens, and that the outer formes of two consecutive sheets were laid in the bed together, the sheets

(1) Mr. Duff, in his *Westminster and London Printers*, 1906, p. 50, mentions an error in a book printed by Machlinia, *The Revelation of St. Nicholas*, which he attributes to this cause. The pages come in the following order: 1, 14, 16, 4 (14 being on the verso of 1, and 4 on the verso of 16). I cannot, however, see that this can possibly have come about in such a manner, for "16" is a page of the outer forme, while "14" belongs to the inner. They could therefore under no circumstances be printed on the same side of a sheet if the arrangement of pages in the formes was correct.

(2) The watermark is not quite where we expect to find it in a 16mo, but it may have been in an unusual position in the sheet.

being afterwards perfected from the two inner formes. The whole of the astonishing confusion with which we are dealing might arise either from the accidental turning of the paper or from the misplacing of the two inner formes, the result being in either case that the inner forme of g printed on the back of the f-pages instead of on the back of the g's, and *vice versa.*

Other examples of the same kind could easily be given, but once the general principles of imposition are understood, it is easy to deal with any cases that arise. The simplest way is indeed to fold a sheet of paper as it is in the book, mark the pages on it as they there occur, and then open the sheet out flat. Remembering the "looking-glass" correspondence between the printed sheets and the forme, we shall at once see how the pages were arranged in the latter, when the cause of the error will generally be apparent.

The faults that occur during the actual printing are, so far as they affect the text of a book, limited to the shifting of letters due to the lines not being properly justified or the furniture not being sufficiently tightly locked up; or to the loss of letters altogether by their being drawn out by the ink-ball during inking. This last is sometimes a cause of variant readings in different copies of a book, and I shall have more to say about it later.

The only fault that can occur in the folding of the printed sheets is that of folding them wrong way round so that the pages of a quarto run 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 or 3 4 1 2 7 8 5 6 or 7 8 5 6 3 4 1 2.

As a matter of fact, however, in the text of a book provided with signatures in the usual way, such an error would be practically impossible, as the presence of a wrong signature on the front leaf, or the absence of a signature altogether, would at once reveal the mistake. It may, however, and does occur in books consisting of illustrations, and more frequently in pairs of pages inserted as a cancel, or to contain something which it was

not originally intended to include.[1] The matter is, however, of little practical importance, as the cause of errors of this kind is generally obvious.

5.—*The sizes of books. Folio, Quarto, etc.*

Let us now go on to consider some of the special problems that an editor may meet with in his work, and see how a knowledge of these processes may help him. It will, however, be well at this point to interpose a caution. While in essentials the practice at different printing-houses was undoubtedly the same, there was probably a good deal of variation in the minor details; or at any rate we have no warrant for denying the possibility of this. Practically the whole of such knowledge as we have of the methods of sixteenth century printers is derived from the study of their productions. So far as England is concerned we have not a scrap of written information as to the technical side of the matter. Care must therefore always be used not to assume too great uniformity or to infer with too great positiveness the practice of one house from that of another or of one period from that of another.

With this general caution we may pass to the matter in hand, and it will perhaps be convenient to begin by the discussion of certain points of bibliographical terminology, an understanding of which is necessary if we wish to describe a book correctly. Of these the most important is the name given to the various sizes or rather "formats" of books, *i.e.*, the distinction between the folio, quarto, octavo, etc.

(1) Thus it seems not impossible that the two added leaves in the preliminaries of the First Folio of Shakespeare—those with the verses by Digges and the names of the actors, about the proper place of which there has been a good deal of discussion, were really meant to come in the middle of the gathering, as they do in some copies, and have simply been folded the wrong way round. Once this was done their proper place would be obscure. Folded the other way the List of the Actors follows Heming and Condell's Address to the Reader, then come all the verses together, those of Digges with their large type heading first. But I do not propose this as a better arrangement than others—merely as a possible one that seems to have been overlooked.

At present, owing to the great variety of sizes and shapes of paper, the mere description of a book as a folio or an octavo tells us little about its shape or size. In general a quarto book may be expected to have a squarer page than an octavo or a folio; and a book called a folio is usually very large; but that is about all the information that these terms give us. If we wish to state the *size* of a book we call it for example "crown 8vo," which tells us that the leaves are ⅛ of the size of a sheet of crown paper, originally a particular make of paper bearing the watermark of a crown, but now any make of paper measuring 20 × 15 inches. A crown 8vo therefore measures *about* 7½ × 5 inches (less, if the edges are cut), the usual size for novels.

We may perhaps suppose that originally the size of sheets of paper was more uniform and that when these designations were first introduced they served to indicate the exact size and shape of the book to which they were applied. From quite early times in the history of printing, however, the size of paper varied and from *this* point of view the terms are of little value. They are, however, so useful in other respects, as indicating the make-up of the book, that they are still universally employed and a description of a book that did not say whether it was in folio, quarto, or what not, would be regarded as sadly lacking from a bibliographical point of view. It is necessary then to know how these terms are to be used.

At various times there has been some uncertainty in the meaning which has been given to the terms. Apart from the tendency to call any squarish book a quarto, some have described a quarto as one in which four leaves form a gathering. Among bibliographers at least the practice is now, however, quite fixed, and the term folio, quarto, octavo, etc., are used solely with reference to the number of times the original sheet of paper has been folded to form the leaves of the book. Thus in a book in folio the sheets have been folded once, in a quarto twice, in an octavo three times, the size of the leaves being consequently ½, ¼, and ⅛ that of the original sheet.

In England, towards the close of the sixteenth century, two sizes of paper seem to have been commonest, the larger measuring about 19 × 15 and consequently giving a folio measuring 15 × 9½, a quarto measuring 9½ × 7½ and an octavo 7½ × 4¾: the smaller measuring about 16 × 12, giving a folio 12 × 8, a quarto 8 × 6 and an octavo 6 × 4. These are, however, only to be taken as very rough approximations and there were certainly other sizes in use. In any case, as I have said, the size alone will not tell us the format.

Nor can we go by the number of leaves in a gathering, for, as has been stated above, we may have any number from 2 to 12 or even more in a gathering of a folio, 4 or 8 in that of a quarto, 8 or 4 in that of an octavo. How then shall we judge what the book is? The criterion now universally adopted is that of the position of the watermark, *i.e.*, the ornamental design which nearly every sheet of paper bears, taken in conjunction with the direction of the so-called chain-lines and wire-lines. Unfortunately even this criterion sometimes fails us, for the position of the watermark is not absolutely constant, and it is a question whether in some makes of paper the chain-lines did not run lengthwise instead of, as usual, across the sheet: but when the watermark fails to decide the question, we must confess that the format is uncertain.

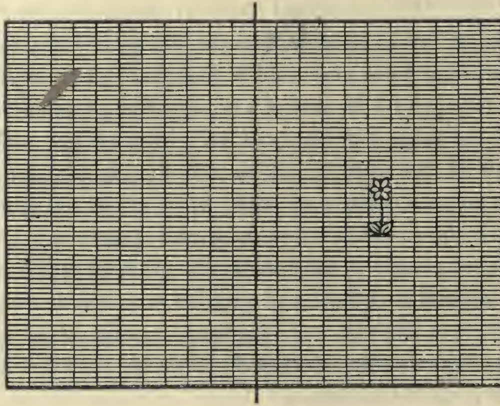
I have already referred to the watermark and chain lines, but it will be necessary to go into the matter a little more fully.

If a sheet of old paper be examined by holding it up to the light it will be found that it has a large number of fine semi-transparent lines running lengthways of the sheet, and lines at much wider intervals, generally an inch or a little less, crossing them at right angles. The former are termed the wire-lines, the latter the chain-lines. Further, in the middle of one half of the sheet will generally be found a device of some sort in similar semi-transparent lines. This is called the watermark.

When a sheet is printed in such a way that it is to be read without folding, as posters or proclamations are printed, it is called a broadside or

broadsheet.[1] Such a sheet would of course have the watermark in the centre of one half. If the watermark were found to be in the middle of the paper it would probably be regarded as half a sheet in folio.

If the sheet of paper be folded once along the shorter diameter, the watermark will now be in the middle of a leaf, and the chain-lines will run up and down the page. A book in which we find this is called a folio (figure 11).



11. *Two leaves of a book in folio.*

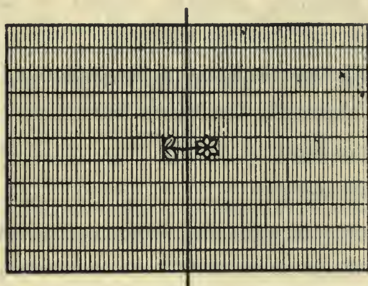
If the sheet is folded again, the watermark will be on its side in the centre of the inner margins of the leaves, and the chain-lines will run horizontally. A book in which this is the case is a quarto (figure 12).

If it is folded yet once more, the watermark will be found upright at the top of the inner margin and the chain-lines will again be vertical (figure 13).

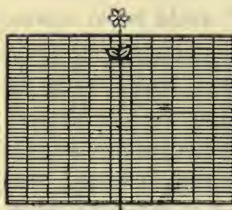
(1) This does not imply in ordinary usage that the print runs the broad way of the sheet. It may be remarked that the dictionaries define a broadside or broadsheet as being printed on one side of the paper only. I do not think, however, that this restriction is observed in practice, and in any case there appears to be no name for a sheet similarly printed, but on both sides.

In a 16mo the watermark will be at the outer top corners of the leaves[1] and the chain-lines will run horizontally.

In a 32mo the watermark will be at the lower outer corners of the leaves and the chain-lines will run vertically.



12. *Two leaves of a quarto.*



13. *Two leaves of an octavo.*

The question of 12mo and 24mo is, as I have already said, a somewhat difficult one[2]. It used to be customary to describe as 12mo any book that looked rather too small to be an 8vo, even though it had eight or sixteen leaves to a gathering and the watermark was placed as in

(1) Both in a 16mo and a 32mo the watermark is, however, often absent owing to the leaves having been cropped in binding.

(2) See note on these sizes at the end (page 315).

one of these sizes. At present, however, the term seems only to be used for books that are bound in gatherings of 6 or 12 or 24 leaves.[1]

It has been remarked that the number of leaves in a gathering do not necessarily correspond to the number into which a sheet is folded.

In a folio the gathering generally consists of six leaves: it may, however, consist of any even number from two to twelve or even more.

A quarto generally has four leaves to the gathering; sometimes eight.

An octavo generally eight; sometimes four.

A 16mo, sixteen or eight.

A 32mo, generally sixteen.

A 12mo and 24mo, six, eight (?)[2], twelve, or (more rarely) twenty-four.

It may be convenient to mention here the notation that is employed in bibliographical descriptions for indicating the number of leaves in a gathering. This is usually a small "superior" figure. Thus a book described as "8vo, A–D^8," would be in octavo, consisting of four sheets signed A, B, C, and D, each gathering containing eight leaves. One described as "8vo, A–D^8, E^4," would be the same except for having an additional half-sheet folded in four at the end, signed E. When the signatures are not given, this superior letter is not generally used, thus an octavo in fours is called "8vo in fours," not "$8vo.^4$" As leaves are necessarily always in pairs it is customary when in any gathering we find

(1) Another size, now very common in France, is the 18mo. So far as I can learn it was not used in England at all at the time with which we are dealing; though it is hard to see why, as with a sheet of the usual dimensions it would give a well-proportioned page. The chain lines would be vertical and the watermark central on the page. Provided that 42 pages could be set up at one time, it would evidently be possible so to impose the pages that they would form gatherings of twelve leaves, and such a book might easily be mistaken for a 12mo.

(2) For gatherings of eight leaves in a 12mo size it would evidently be necessary for a printer to set up 28 pages at a time, for with the first gathering he would have to print four leaves (preferably the inner four) of the second. It is hard to see what could be gained by such an arrangement, but nevertheless if we may trust to the position of the watermark, 12mo in eights seems sometimes to occur towards the end of the sixteenth century, at any rate in books printed on the Continent.

an uneven number, to consider one leaf as missing, even though it may be a blank one and have been removed by the original binder. Thus if the book mentioned above had ended on E 3, we should still describe it as A–D[8], E[4], but add a note that the last leaf was wanting in the copy used. Similarly a book of which the preliminaries consisted of only three leaves would be described as of four with one wanting. It is usually, but not always, possible to make out which is wanting by considering the signatures which remain; *e.g.*, if the leaf immediately after the title is signed A 3, it is obvious that the one wanting is A 1, probably only a blank leaf serving as a cover or fly-leaf when the book was sold unbound.

We may note here that occasionally in quarto books such as plays, intended to be sold unbound, if the book happened to end with two blank leaves, the last one was folded round in front of the title-page to serve as a cover. If a book was bound up with the leaves kept in this position, the first gathering might seem to consist of five leaves, the last of three.

It may also be remarked that when there is a difficulty in determining which pair of leaves in a quarto belong to one another, the point may often be settled by observing the chain-lines of the paper. As these are horizontal, we can generally see with which of the other leaves the chain-lines on the leaf in question correspond. In a folio or octavo, where these marks run vertically, the test is of less use; but even in these the distance between the chain-lines will sometimes help us.

There are a number of puzzles connected with format, but most of them are too complicated to be discussed here. One of the puzzles is connected with certain books of quarto shape in which the chain-marks run vertically as in an octavo. There is, for example, an edition of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, printed by Grafton with the date 1543, in which the first twelve sheets of the text are apparently on 8vo paper, *i.e.*, the gatherings consist of eight leaves, the chain-marks run vertically and the

watermark[1] is at the top of the inner margins. The shape of the page is, however, that of an ordinary small quarto and the rest of the book (and the prelims.) is on ordinary quarto paper, the gatherings being still of eight leaves, but there being two watermarks in each and the chain-lines running horizontally. It is not clear whether in such cases the 8vo paper was a sheet of the size of two ordinary sheets, or whether in the mould used the chain-marks for some reason or other ran the opposite way from that which was usual.[2]

6.—*On the meaning of "issue" and "edition."*

No precise definition of "issue" or "edition" is possible, but there is among bibliographers a well-recognized difference in the use of these two words. Generally speaking when we talk of a new "edition" of a book we mean that the type of the whole book, or at any rate the text as distinguished from the preliminary matter, has been set up afresh; while when we speak of a new issue, we mean that what were left of the old sheets of the text have been bound up with a new title-page, or with new preliminary matter.

There are of course intermediate possibilities, and it is in the description of these that difficulties arise. For example, sometimes after the original publication of a book, an addition or continuation is printed and this is issued bound with what remains of the original sheets. Is this a new edition or a re-issue? It is I think best to call it "a new issue with additional matter"; for it is clear that there is no new edition of what was originally printed, since we have merely the remainder of the original

(1) The watermarks are not easy to see. There seems to be not more than one in any gathering, but in some gatherings I could find none. If there is really one and only one in each gathering, we might perhaps argue that the sheets had been printed on a press of double the usual size, but this seems most unlikely at the date.

(2) Mr. Duff in his *Printers of Westminster and London*, p. 52, mentions a copy of a folio *Chronicle* of which two leaves are on quarto paper, and another book which is partly quarto and partly octavo.

sheets; nor can it be a new edition of the added part, for that never appeared before. In fact all that can properly be said to be of a second edition is the title-page, which is not part of the book itself but merely a kind of label, the copy for which, as we shall see, was sometimes—if not generally—furnished by the printer.

Occasionally a book seems to have gone off so well on publication that the need for a second edition became apparent to the printer even before he had distributed the type of the final pages of the first. We may then get two issues or editions, the greater part of which is from different settings up of type, while the rest is from the same; a state of affairs which gives rise to problems somewhat similar to those which we shall have to consider presently in connection with books set in duplicate. Thus we have two editions of Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas*, printed by Richard Tottell in 1559 in 8vo,[1] which are from different settings as far as the end of sheet C. In the final sheets, however, we find that the inner form of sheet D, with the exception of D1^{v}, all of sheet E except E3 and E4, and all of sheet F (three leaves only), except, apparently, F2^{v} and the colophon on F3^{v}, are from the same setting in the two editions. The pages seem, however, to have been unlocked from the formes, as there are differences in the position of the head-line and in other minor points of arrangement. It may be noted that the amount of type needed to keep so many pages standing at one time is not so great as might be supposed, as owing to the short lines of the verse there is unusually little to the page. In a case of this sort it would be natural to consider that we have two quite separate editions.

The most difficult cases to settle are those—fortunately few in number—when the printer has re-arranged his type, but not re-composed it. For example, in one of the editions of the *Articles* printed by Grafton, a portion of text referring to the duties of Bishops was omitted from its

(1) *See* de Vocht's edition in Bang's *Materialien*, pp. xxxix–xliii. The editor regards D1^{v} as identical in the two editions. Possibly in a few cases the apparent differences may be due to letters falling out and being replaced when the pages were again imposed.

proper place and was added at the end under the heading, "More for the Byshop." This was apparently found unsatisfactory, and the formes were unlocked and the type re-imposed with the additional portion correctly placed.[1] Such a thing as this could only happen in the case of an official publication of the class of the *Articles*, of which large numbers would be printed and which only consists of six leaves (a sheet and a half in quarto). In printing an ordinary book the printer seems generally to have distributed the type as he went along, in order that it might be used again. In later times, however, perhaps printers had more type, for there is at least one similar case in a play, namely Jasper Mayne's *City Match*, which was printed in 1658 as a quarto and the type then re-arranged to a shorter page for an 8vo. (Greg, *List of English Plays and Masques*, cxxvi and xii.)

In the case of such extensive alterations as these, we should, I think, be justified in describing the copies as belonging to different "editions"; or we might if we wished to be precise call them different "impressions."

7.—*On signatures and what may be learnt from them.*

We have seen that the "signature" is the letter or other mark to be found at the foot of the first leaf (and generally of one or more following leaves) of a gathering, and that its purpose is mainly to guide the binder in the arrangement of the gatherings, and further in certain cases to tell him how the sheet is to be folded and what sheets or portions of sheets are to form a single gathering when the number of these is not the same as the number of sheets, *e.g.*, in a folio, or in a quarto in eights.

It might be objected that signatures are unnecessary if the pages of a book are numbered, as the numbers would tell the binder all that he need know. This is true, but the information would not be nearly so easy to obtain. In the first place, so far as the folding is concerned, the number at the upper corner of a page is inconveniently situated. It is not nearly

(1) We can see that it is the original setting of the type by the broken letters and other peculiarities.

so easily seen as the letter at the foot. Secondly the binder would find it much more difficult to ascertain whether his book was complete and the sheets all in the right order if he had to note that the first pages of each gathering were numbered 1, 9, 17, 25, etc., in a quarto, or 1, 17, 33, etc., in an octavo, than if he had simply to see that they ran A, B, C, D, etc.; while if, as often happens, page 1 was not the first page of a sheet, the difficulty would be still further increased.

But seeing that signatures have been found so necessary in printed books that they are still used at the present day, it is hardly necessary to insist on their usefulness. It may, however, be remarked that their practical importance resulted, in Elizabethan times at least, in their being as a rule far more accurate than the pagination. In the latter we very commonly find the grossest carelessness, numbers repeated or omitted, pages with no number at all, parts of a book in which leaves alone are numbered while elsewhere the numeration is by pages; but in the *essential* part of the signatures, the letter or other mark on the first page, and the number on the others,[1] mistakes are very rare, even in the work of the inferior printing houses. It is for this reason that many bibliographers in referring to a particular leaf or page of a book, do so in all cases by the signature and not by the pagination, even when this happens to be correct.

Signatures are found from quite early days in the history of printing. Their first recorded appearance in a dated book is in 1472,[2] or at any rate not much later, and they were used in England from 1480.[3]

(1) It is not very uncommon to find a mistake in the letter on fols. 2, 3, etc., of a gathering (B1, D2, D3, etc.): a misprint of this kind could only cause trouble to the binder if the book were a folio; in other cases it would hardly be worth correcting. Sometimes, as I shall show later, these errors when occurring in a reprint afford evidence as to the edition from which the reprint was made.

(2) Duff, *Early Printed Books*, p. 50. There is some doubt whether the date is correct.

(3) Duff, *Printers of Westminster and London*, p. 11.

A few general points may be noted. The letters i and j, and u and v, not being differentiated in early times, are not separately used as signatures, *i.e.*, there is one gathering signed either i or j and one signed u or v. The letter w is also generally omitted from signatures.[1]

Sometimes, but rarely, z is omitted,[2] and we occasionally, especially in early books, find strange forms of signatures; for example the contracted forms of *et* and *con* are sometimes used at the end of the alphabet, as in a horn-book.[3]

As to the *number* of leaves signed, it may be said that, though there was no definite rule, the most common practice during the Elizabethan period seems to have been to sign one more than half the leaves in a gathering; thus a book in fours will usually have signatures on three leaves of each gathering, one in eights on five leaves. Occasionally, however, all the leaves of a gathering are signed, especially in quarto books. In distinguishing editions of books which correspond page for page with one another, it is often useful to note the number of leaves which bear a signature.

Signatures are of great importance to the bibliographer and editor, not only on account of the help they give us in ascertaining whether a book is complete or not, but because by their aid we may often learn much as to the order of the various editions. They may even in some cases give us evidence of the existence of editions of which no copy is now known.

When a book is set up from MS., it is in most cases convenient to begin composition not with the title-page or preliminary matter, but with the commencement of the work itself. There are several reasons for this. It is sometimes required that the preliminary leaves shall contain a list of contents, with page-references; and these page-references cannot of course

(1) Perhaps because it was not regarded as really a separate letter, though it is found in English printing from the earliest times. In one case W is used as a signature instead of Y (Ames, *Typog. Antiq.*, ed. Herbert, p. 362.)

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 693, 732, 1097; *cf.* also below, p. 299.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

be inserted until the text of the book is in type. Further, an author often wishes to leave his preface or dedication until the last. Corrections also are often given in the preliminaries. Hence it was a general, though not a universal, rule at the time with which we are dealing, and is practically a universal rule at the present day, to begin with the beginning of the text.

A printer setting up a book in this way would do one of two things. Either he would sign the first sheet of the text A, intending when he came to the preliminaries to sign these with an asterisk, or with letters of another fount; or he would begin the text with B, keeping A for the preliminaries. The second is the usual method at present, though indeed A is not now as a rule actually printed in the preliminaries, it being evident to the binder that these are to come first. In Elizabethan printing there seems to have been no definite rule. It probably varied with the printing-house, but the question has not, I think, been investigated.

The *safest* method was evidently to begin with A, for if the author afterwards came along with preliminary matter extending to several sheets, it was easy enough to find arbitrary signs such as *, **, ***, etc., for them, or to use an italic or lower-case alphabet. On the other hand if the printer had begun the text with B, he had only A to go before it, and if the preliminaries needed more than one sheet a difficulty arose as to how he should sign those after the first.

Now let us consider a few possible cases of signatures. It will seem at first sight that the points raised are matters of very small importance, but I hope to show that they may sometimes give us useful information.

(1.) Suppose the preliminary matter occupies one sheet signed A, the text beginning on B—what does this tell us? The answer is, nothing at all. The preliminaries may have been printed either before or after the text.

(2.) But suppose the preliminaries only occupy three leaves and the text begins on the fourth leaf of the sheet (A 4). This gives us the information that the preliminaries, including the title-page, were set up first.

Hence the printer had the whole of his matter in hand before beginning composition. Hence there is a considerable chance that the book is a reprint.

(3.) So also if we find very long preliminaries signed A, B, or A, B, C, and the text begins on C or D, it is likely, though not certain, that the book is a reprint.

(4.) Suppose that the preliminaries consist of two sheets signed A and a, and the text then begins on B. We should at once guess that the printer began with the text, and that when the preliminary matter came in he found it unexpectedly long. Having only left one signature for it, he found two were required and had to add "a." If he had been reprinting, beginning from A, he would naturally have signed the second sheet B, and so on. Hence in this case the book was probably printed straight from MS. and is likely to be a first edition.[1]

From these considerations, we can deduce the general rule that an edition in which the signatures are all of one alphabet, beginning with A and proceeding regularly, is likely to be later than an edition in which the preliminary leaves have a separate signature.[2]

In the above cases we are only dealing with probabilities. The signatures give us a hint, which we must, if we can, turn into certainty by other evidence. But sometimes we can at least be certain that a book is a reprint.

For example, suppose that the preliminaries contain remarks by the author about the printer's haste or slowness, skill or carelessness; or corrections or additions; or a list of contents in which page-numbers are given; it is evident that the preliminary matter dates from after the book was originally put in type.

(1) Provided that sheet a runs on from A. If not, the second sheet may be a later addition, as in Richard Harvey's *Lamb of God*, where sheet a contains an Epistle only found in a few copies.

(2) Excellent use of this point was made by Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett in her paper on "Quarto Editions of Julius Cæsar" in *The Library*, April, 1913, p. 128.

Now suppose also that the signatures are regular, beginning with A, but the text does not begin at the beginning of a sheet, but, say, on A4 or on B2, we see at once that the printing must have begun with the title-page and gone straight forward, and hence our book cannot be a first edition, but must be a reprint. More than this, if in the prelims. there are references to pages of the book, it must be a page for page reprint from an earlier edition.[1]

One or two examples may make things clearer. To the second edition of Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Pennilesse* is prefixed a letter from the author to the printer, in which Nashe says that he hears that the book is "hasting to the second impression" and that if the printer "had not been so forward in the republishing of it" he would have added something. He also asks him to shorten the title, which in the first edition had been too long. This the printer did. He had evidently begun printing with the text, which is signed A; the title and the above-mentioned Epistle, which we may assume not to have been written until the book was, at least partly, in type, being signed by a paragraph-mark.

In the third edition the arrangement of signatures is similar; but in the fourth the title sheet is A, the epistle being on A2 and the text beginning on A3. Here then the Epistle was evidently set up *before* the text. Hence, even if the second and third edition had completely disappeared, we could have inferred the existence of one of them in which this letter was printed.

A still better example of what may be learnt from signatures is to be found in the two undated editions of George Chapman's *Memorable Masque of the Two Honourable Houses or Inns of Court* [*c.* 1613]. The arrangement of the two editions is as follows:

1. Printed by G. Eld for George Norton.

(¶ 1) Title, verso blank. ¶ 2 Dedication. A 1 — a 2v "The Maske of the Gentlemen" (a general account of the performance). a 3 — 3v "To answer certaine insolent

(1) It is perhaps necessary to say that this would not be the case in modern books, where the whole might be standing in type at once—but such was not the custom with Elizabethan printers.

obiections made against the length of my speeches, . . ." (a 4) "The aplicable argument of the Maske" and *Errata* (in which errors are referred to by the signatures of the text); verso blank. B 1 — F1^{v} The Names of the Speakers, followed by the text of the Masque.

2. Printed by F. K. for George Norton.

(A 1) wanting, probably blank. (A 2) Title, verso blank. A 3—3^{v} Dedication. (A 4) — C 1^{v} "The Maske of the Gentlemen." C 2 — 2^{v} "To answer certaine insolent obiections." C 3 "The applicable argument, . . ." verso blank. (C 4) — G 3^{v} The Names of the Speakers, followed by the text of the Masque.

In this edition the "errata" do not occur, but only one or two of them, and those the most obvious, have been corrected.

Now even from the make-up alone we might guess that Ed. 1 is the earlier, for the work itself begins on B 1 and this is preceded by A and a, the latter signature strongly suggesting that the preliminary matter was more than the printer had expected and allowed for. But we have what amounts to absolute proof, for on a 1^{v} in the middle of the description of the masque, we find the following passage:

> "These following [*i.e.*, certain descriptions of the setting and action of the masque] should in duty haue had their proper places, after euery fitted speech of the Actors; but being preuented by the vnexpected haste of the Printer, which he neuer let me know, and neuer sending me a proofe, till he had past those speeches; I had no reason to imagine hee could haue been so forward."

Now it is of course evident that this could not have been written until most of the play was in type; and therefore the preliminary matter must have been set up *after* the text. In Ed. 1 this, as we have seen, is possible; the arrangement even strongly suggests it. But consider the arrangement of Ed. 2. Here the passage just quoted is on sigs. B 4^{v} and C 1, and the masque itself begins on the last leaf of sheet C. It is therefore impossible that the text should have been set up before the preliminaries and this edition *must* be a reprint.

Hence we cannot reasonably doubt that the edition printed by G. Eld preceded that by F. K.

Occasionally of course an author might deliver all the prefatory matter to the printer with the beginning of the work, and he might then begin composition with the title-page. We get an instance of this in

another work by Nashe, *Strange News*, 1592, where as the text begins on B 4 we might reasonably suspect that we have, not the original, but a reprint. Fortunately, however, the author settles the question by referring in sheet I to the word "Gentleman" which the printer had added to his name on the title-page (without his consent or privity), thus showing that the title was already printed and that he had seen it, and incidentally informing us that he was sending his copy to the printer in batches, as he wrote it. In this book the corrigenda come of course at the end, and it is interesting to observe that, though Nashe appears to have been in the Isle of Wight at the time when the book was being printed, he was able to include in his list of corrigenda (in sheet M) errors in sheet K, which must therefore have been already printed off and a copy forwarded to him.

I have referred to the fact that in certain circumstances errors in signatures may afford us information as to the order of editions of a book. It frequently happens that a reprint follows the original page for page but that the signatures differ. Thus the original may have been signed *, A, B, etc., and the reprint A, B, C, etc. Hence sheet B in Ed. 1 will be sheet C in Ed. 2. Now we sometimes find that the compositor in setting up the reprint forgets that he has to alter the signature. A mistake of this kind is almost invariably corrected in the first leaf of a gathering, because it is important to the binder that these first signatures be correct, but it is sometimes left uncorrected in the later leaves of the gathering. Thus we may find a gathering signed B 1, B 2, B 3 in Ed. 1, and C 1, B 2, B 3 in Ed. 2. We at once guess that our Ed. 2 was printed from an edition in which this particular gathering was signed B, hence in the present case from Ed. 1 or an edition similarly arranged. And suppose we have also an Ed. 3 page for page the same, but this gathering correctly signed C 1, C 2, C 3, we shall be fairly safe in assuming that it was later than Ed. 2, or at any rate was not intermediate between Ed. 1 and Ed. 2.[1]

For the light which signatures sometimes throw on cancels and added matter, see § 15.

(1) It may of course have been independently printed from Ed. 1.

8.—*Some hints on determining whether two copies of a book belong to the same edition.*

When it is possible to compare the copies side by side there can of course seldom be any difficulty in deciding whether they belong to the same edition or not. Often, however, this is impossible and one is forced to depend on notes. A few hints as to the most useful things to notice may be welcome.

First of course we may note the "collation" of the book. If one copy runs to, say, F 4, and the other to G 4 (both being perfect copies), they evidently belong to different editions and the only thing left to make sure about is that sheet G is not simply an extra sheet containing an appendix or other additional matter.

Assuming that the collation of the copies is the same, notes of the following points, or of some of them, will generally settle whether they belong to the same edition or not.

(1.) The catch-words on certain pages. It is well to note the first catch-word on each sheet and perhaps one or two others here and there, preferably towards the middle of the sheets. There is, however, little or no use in noting the final catch-words of the sheet, as in the very common case of a reprint being divided among two or more compositors to set up they will be bound to work so that the sheets shall each end with the same word as the original which they are following, for otherwise of course the sheets of the reprint would not follow one another properly.

(2.) The last words of some dozen lines on one or two pages taken at random in different parts of the book. Even when a book is set up "line for line" from another it often happens that the lines do not exactly correspond throughout. Slight differences in the founts used, especially the presence or absence of abbreviations, may cause a compositor sometimes to turn over a word into the next line. It is safer to take such line-

endings from near the middle of a page, where the compositor generally allowed himself rather more freedom in this respect than elsewhere.

(3.) The position of the signatures, *i.e.*, how they stand with respect to the words in the last line of print, may be noted on a certain number of pages.[1]

(4.) The size and design of any large ornamental initials used at the head of chapters or sections may be noted.

(5.) Most founts of italic types had two forms of capital letters, a plain form and one with flourished projections (the latter form being called "swash letters"). These were generally used indiscriminately, and consequently the use of the one form or the other in particular words is often a most valuable test as to the edition to which a particular copy of a book belongs.

(6.) Broken letters may be looked for in the text, and the place in which they occur noted. Broken letters are, however, not a very satisfactory means of identifying editions. In the first place they may get broken during the actual printing and may therefore only print as broken in certain copies. Secondly it is not always easy to distinguish between a broken letter and one that, for some reason or other, has failed to print properly. An example will illustrate the danger of relying too much on their evidence. Some years ago, wishing to decide whether two copies of a book, one at Oxford and the other at London, belonged to the same edition, I noted down certain peculiarities, including the fact that in a certain word containing double n, the second limb of the first n failed to print and seemed to be imperfect. I had, I may say, made sure that other n's on the page printed correctly. The second copy showed exactly the same imperfection, but when I came to examine the other points noted, I saw that the editions were clearly different. Thinking that this was odd, I looked further and found that, though single n's printed correctly, in

(1) For an example of the use of this method *see* Bond's *Lyly*, vol. i, pp. 89, 94, 96.

nearly every case of two n's coming together the second limb of the first one failed to take the ink. What had happened was evident. The matrix from which the letter was cast had not been struck perfectly true,[1] and consequently one limb of all the n's of the fount was slightly higher than the other. In ordinary cases the difference of height was not enough to prevent the lower one from being inked and printing properly, but when two n's came together the unusually high first limb of the second n came against the unusually low second limb of the first n, and so prevented it from printing. We must therefore remember that the apparent faults of printing may sometimes be faults of the whole fount of type used, and be on our guard against taking these as faults of a particular impression.

(7.) If these tests fail to satisfy us, there is one other that we may try. I have used it several times and have never known it fail to give a clear answer one way or the other. It is this: Take any page of the book and find in it two full stops at a distance of some ten or a dozen lines apart (if possible the lines should be towards the centre of the page). Note of course the page and the words before the stops so as to identify them. Now lay a ruler on the page from one of these stops to the other and note the letters or parts of letters that it cuts. If a ruler placed in a similar position in the other copy cuts the same letters the chances are many hundreds to one that the two pages were printed from the same setting-up of type, for however carefully a compositor followed his original the irregularity in the casting of type and spaces would almost inevitably prevent the two prints corresponding in this respect.

9.—*On bibliographical evidence as to the order of editions.*

We may assume as a general rule that the handsomest edition of a book is the first. The tendency of reprints has at all times been toward the saving of expense in production, for when the reputation of a book is

(1) In type-founding, the type was first cut on the end of a steel punch. From this a matrix was made by striking it into a piece of copper. The matrix was then fixed in a type-mould.

once established, its appearance becomes a less important factor in its sale; while if it can be sold at a cheaper rate it may fairly be expected that a new public will be reached and a larger number of copies disposed of. Accordingly we sometimes find that books originally issued in folio or quarto are reprinted in a smaller size, in quarto, octavo, or even twelvemo; or when the original size is retained, paper is saved by the matter being compressed into a smaller number of sheets, while occasionally the paper itself is of a cheaper make. The actual quality of the workmanship is not by itself a safe guide, at least at the period with which we are concerned, for in this respect so much depended upon the particular house from which the book issued.

In cases which form an exception to this rule it will generally be found that there is some special reason for the inferiority of the first edition. Either it is more or less surreptitious, a matter to which we shall have to refer later, or was issued in haste, or it was desired for some reason to produce it as cheaply as possible.

Handsomeness of "get-up" is as a general rule much better evidence of priority than correctness of text, if by "correctness" we mean the reproduction of what the author intended. On the other hand a handsome edition is as a rule carefully produced and is comparatively free from *literal* errors. The words in it will as a rule be real words correctly spelt; but they may not be the correct words. Whether they are so or not would depend less on the care taken by the printer than on the correctness of the MS. (if a copy and not the original), on its legibility and on whether the author read the proofs.

And here it is to be noted that there is a very important difference between errors of wording and errors of printing (which alone are properly called "misprints"), and that the two kinds of errors vary quite independently of one another. A most carelessly printed book, absolutely swarming with literals, may contain important corrections, and from an editor's point of view give us the best text. Indeed if we may imagine

an author making improvements from time to time in his own copy of his work (presumably a copy of the original edition) and sending lists of these to the printer to be inserted in reprints, or even inserting them in proofs himself, and if these reprints were in other respects not more carefully supervised than the general run of them, we might have a series of editions steadily degenerating in correctness of printing and at the same time steadily improving in "readings." It was insufficient attention to this point that in the early days of editing led to the general assumption that the first edition of a work was necessarily the best to take as the basis of a modern edition, which we now see to be not by any means always the case. We can indeed only assume it to be the case when we can be reasonably certain that the author had nothing to do with the later editions. In using "correctness" as evidence of priority of issue we must therefore be careful to confine our attention to *mechanical* correctness, *i.e.*, the absence of misprints, alone.

To turn now to the more special kinds of evidence as to priority which may be deduced from the comparison of editions of a book. I have already shown how the signatures may sometimes throw light on the order in which the various editions were printed, but other considerations of a bibliographical nature will often help us in this respect. The most conclusive evidence as to the order and as to which edition was printed from which earlier one is indeed generally to be obtained by a comparison of readings; but this is a lengthy business and it is often convenient to arrive at a *probable* order before we proceed to actual collation of texts.

It seems clear that in the great majority of cases a new edition of a book was printed from an earlier one, and not from the original MS.[1] or

(1) It has been held, I know not on what grounds, that the MS. of a book when once printed from was generally destroyed. This seems unlikely, as it would in most cases bear the signature of the licenser and it would therefore be important to preserve it in case any question afterwards arose as to the book having been duly passed by the authorities. The only piece of evidence bearing on the matter that is known to me is in Jaggard's epistle in Vincent's *Discovery of Errors*, referred to on p. 284, where the printer states that the original MS. of the work against which Vincent was writing was extant and it would therefore be seen that the errors in the printed book were not due to the printer's carelessness.

from a copy of it. In the first place it is easier for the compositor to read, and hence he could presumably work quicker. Even at present, the composition rates are 8 to 10 per cent. less for exact reprinting from a work already in type than for composition from a MS. In the second place if it was intended to reprint page for page, as was usually done unless there was some special reason against it, the book could conveniently be divided among two or more compositors, who could work simultaneously.[1]

It may then generally be *assumed* that a later edition is printed from an earlier one unless there is clear evidence to the contrary; but one can often get direct evidence of the fact. For example, if two editions of a work in prose correspond line for line they must be of the same series (*i.e.*, the later one must have been printed from the earlier or from one which itself was derived from the earlier). No two compositors working independently from a MS. would set line for line the same, even if they followed the spelling of the MS., which they probably seldom or never troubled to do, unless in the case of a few authors who made a special point of spelling such as Churchyard, Stanyhurst or Ben Jonson. The proof is as good if, as we sometimes find, the texts do not agree line for line throughout, but are brought to agreement at the end of each page so that the catch-word is the same, for this could only be done by a compositor who had a printed page to work from.

In the case of verse, the lines of which do not as a rule occupy the full breadth of the page, the line for line test is of course useless, but the identity of catch-words is usually evidence enough that one printed text was set up from another; for even if by chance the second printer had determined to use the same number of lines to the page as the first, he would be almost sure to make some variation in the space between stanzas,

(1) If this were done in the case of a MS. the book could not of course be made up into pages until the pieces given out to the various compositors joined up, and hence unless they all had an equal amount to set and worked at the same rate, delay might be caused. I do not mean to say that a MS. was never divided up among several compositors, as I daresay it was often done when there was special haste; but it would certainly be *easier* to arrange this when exactly reprinting a book already in type.

or in turn-overs or at the head of sections or elsewhere, and this after a page or two would throw the correspondence out.

It need hardly be said that the more unthinkingly and mechanically a compositor reproduces what is before him, the easier it is to show that he was following it. For example in plays we sometimes find light thrown upon the relation of editions by a curiously stupid trick of compositors, who when a piece of prose is found among verse will sometimes when reprinting it treat each line as if it were a line of verse, not being careful to fill the lines out by spacing or, when necessary, bringing up part of the next line, but allowing them to remain short when differences in the fount of type used chanced to make them so. Similarly in a reprint we sometimes find words carried over to another line, or stage-directions misplaced, because in the original edition there was no room for them where they belonged, even though the reprinter might easily have found space for them. Points like these, however, will easily be noticed. It is sufficient to warn an editor that whenever he comes across anything abnormal in the typographical arrangement of a text it will generally pay him to consider whether this may be due to the blind following of an earlier edition, in which perhaps the arrangement was for some reason or other quite justifiable.

Other small points that it is well to be on the watch for are the following :—

Differences in paragraph division. If these are only occasional and do not seem to have been dictated by any purpose of lengthening or shortening the matter,[1] it is worth noting whether in cases of running-on in one edition (A), it happens that the last line of the preceding paragraph

(1) Differences seem sometimes to be due to this cause, *e.g.*, in the case of Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, the two editions of which differ considerably in paragraphing. Here however, as I have tried to show in my edition of Nashe (ii. 189–96), the reprint was divided between two printers, and, it being desired to get it into a smaller number of sheets, the page arrangement was not kept. It happened that one printer had rather more than the other to get into the same space, and consequently one tended to run his paragraphs together, the other to make new ones wherever he could.

in the other edition (B) is a full one. If this is so, it is probable that the compositor did not notice that a new paragraph was intended. The occurrence of many cases of the kind would strongly suggest that A was printed from B.

Evidence from superfluous hyphens. When a word in one edition happens to be divided at the end of a line, a printer setting up from this edition, and not following it line for line, will sometimes carelessly repeat the hyphen when it is no longer required. Thus in the three editions of Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* printed in 1592, we have in one place:

ed. A. frantick (the word midway in a line).
ed. B. fran-tick (the word divided at the end of a line and correctly hyphened).
ed. C. fran-tick (the word midway in a line and the hyphen incorrectly retained).

Knowing, as we do, that A is the first edition, we can see that it is highly probable that B was printed from A, and C from B.

But it will of course be recognised that evidence derived from points such as these, though often useful, is mainly of cumulative value. The relationship of editions can as a rule be most conclusively *proved* by full collation and comparison of readings, and with this I have nothing to do here. It may, however, be remarked in passing that the most satisfactory evidence in this respect is often to be obtained from wrong attempts at correction on the part of a compositor or proof-reader. I may give a single example from a marginal note in *Pierce Penilesse* where a corrector has produced a reading which is really rather ingenious. Here the first three editions have correctly "The confutation of Citizens obiections against Players." The fourth edition accidentally drops the word "obiections," producing "The confutation of Citizens against Players." This evidently puzzled the proof-reader of the fifth edition and he altered it to "The coniuration of Citizens against Players"!

But any editor of works of the Elizabethan period will have come across numerous examples of this gradual transformation of sense by the attempt to correct mistakes, and it is unnecessary to say more about the

matter here. One rather curious instance of a difference in editions susceptible of what may be called a "bibliographical" explanation, may, however, be given, as it throws some light on the casual methods of the Elizabethan printer.

It occurs in a translation from a French summary, by Pierre de Changi, of notable facts out of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. This was first published in English as *A Summarie of the Antiquities and wonders of the worlde* [*c.* 1565], and again in 1585 as *The Secrets and wonders of the world.* The first edition is in 8vo, running to H 8v, the second in quarto, running to I 1v. Now the two editions are, with the exception of certain changes in the preliminary matter, practically the same save for the ending, which is altogether different. The earlier edition has, beginning at the foot of the last leaf but one (H 7v–8), a passage about a certain tree as follows: "The *Ciper* tree is slowe in growing with-[1] / [H8] out fruit, hauing bitter leaues, violent smell, and naughty shadow." This is followed by a page and a half more about various kinds of trees, and the book then ends.

In the edition of 1585, however, there is a remarkable difference in the information that is given about the "*Ciper* tree." There we read [I 1v] "The *Ciper* tree is slowe in growing without the ground be fat and fertile, then it spreadeth very large and long." There is nothing more about trees. The page proceeds, "And thus to conclude, I finish this abstract," and ends with a few words of praise to God for "these his benefites and giftes geuen for the vse of mankinde."

It is of course obvious what has happened. The printer was working from a copy of the earlier edition which lacked the last leaf. He came to the words "The *Ciper* tree is slowe in growing without"—and there it ended. Did he trouble to find another copy, or to get someone to look up in Pliny what was said about the "*Ciper* tree"? Not he: he simply set his brains to work and guessed the missing words!

(1) Catch-word "out."

10.—*On dating undated editions, and on false dates.*

Correctly to date an undated edition of an early "popular" book is as a general rule an exceedingly difficult task. It is indeed probably the most difficult that an expert bibliographer can undertake, and the more carelessly the book is printed the less chance is there of success. Even when the printer is known, the date can generally be inferred only by the investigation of a large number of examples of his work; while if he is unknown the task is almost hopeless. It may, however, be well to caution young students against blindly accepting the conjectural dates given in the catalogues of libraries. Sometimes they are probably right, but often they are wrong or at least very doubtful. Librarians have better opportunities than most people of settling such points correctly, but they are not infallible, and besides we seldom know in using their catalogues *who* it was that guessed the date, or upon what evidence he relied. In some cases conjectural dates have simply been taken over from authorities such as Collier, whose knowledge of early printing was by no means extensive.

Apart from such external evidence as entries in the Stationers' Register, which of course seldom tell us more than that *one* edition, which may or may not be the one in question, was published or may have been published at or about a certain date, we have the following points to guide us:

1. We may be able to place the book between two other dated editions.[1]

2. We may be able on the evidence of the signatures to infer that the particular edition was probably the first, or was not the first.[2]

Neither of these considerations, however, will give us an exact date, and the only way in which we can obtain this is by comparing the book with dated books printed by the same printer at about the time when it seems likely that the book in question appeared. Chronological lists of

(1) *See* § 9 and p. 269, above. (2) *See* pp. 265–268, above.

books issued from 1500 to 1557, arranged under their printers, together with information as to the libraries in which copies are to be found, are given in the Bibliographical Society's *Hand-lists of English Printers*. For books after 1557, there are no lists approaching the same completeness, but partial ones can be constructed from Herbert's edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities* (to 1600 only), Mr. Sayle's *Catalogue of English Books at Cambridge*, and Mr. Gray's Index to Hazlitt's *Handbook* and *Collections*. The index to the 3-vol. Catalogue of English books to 1640 in the British Museum is also useful, but in order to find the books published in the neighbourhood of the date required, it is necessary to look up *all* the references under the printer, as these are not in chronological order.

Having before us some books in the neighbourhood of the probable date of the book in question, we must proceed to derive from them such evidence as we can—often there is very little. If the work under investigation contains a woodcut border and if we can find this in other books, it is often very helpful, as it is generally possible to discover the order in which the books were printed from this alone. The things to be looked for are of course evidences of wear or damage in the blocks: (1) worm-holes, (2) breaks.

Of these, worm-holes give by far the best evidence. There is a kind of shallow break due to the surface of the line having been worn or knocked down which is often deceptive, as the line prints more or less perfectly according to the amount of ink and the pressure employed. It is therefore safest to pay attention chiefly to breaks which occur squarely and suddenly.

The general appearance of the print is valueless as an indication of the age of a print, as it is so much influenced by the care taken in printing.

Cracks in a block are often deceptive, as these close or open according to the tightness with which the block is locked in the chase and whether it happens to be damp or dry at the moment of printing.

If there are no title borders or large blocks in the book in question, evidence of a similar kind can sometimes be derived from the initial letters.

Occasionally something can be learnt from the type used, but this generally necessitates an investigation of the whole of a printer's work, as it is quite possible for him to abandon the use of a particular fount for a time and afterwards to employ it again.

Lastly it is sometimes worth while to examine the watermark of the paper carefully. If the same paper can be found in a dated book, it is *probable* that the two were printed within a short time of each other. We have, however, always to take account of the possibility of oddments of old paper being used up.

The question of false dates is one that has of late been brought into prominence by the brilliant investigations of Mr. Pollard, Dr. Greg, and Mr. Neidig on the dates of certain Shakespeare Quartos. False dates are probably common in some classes of books.

1. A large number of official religious books, volumes of statutes, etc., seem to have been reprinted with the original date, apparently as an indication that they were exact reprints of the work as authorised. Thus at least seven editions of the 1547 *Injunctions* were issued with the date 31 July, 1547. Seeing that no editions are known with dates for many years afterwards, it is not necessary to suppose that they were all issued together. The date may simply mean that they are the *Injunctions* promulgated in that year. Five editions of the *Homilies* bear the same date as the *Injunctions*. Seven editions of the *Statutes* of 1 Edward VI are dated 1548. Seven editions of the *Statutes* of 5 and 6 Edward VI are dated 1552, and so on. In all books of this class the date must often be taken as that of the *first* edition, not necessarily that of all those in which it appears.

2. Books seem sometimes to have been dated falsely simply in order to create the impression that they were not a new edition. They were

presumably piratically printed by someone who had no right to print them, and sold to booksellers more or less surreptitiously. It was probably for some such reason as this that the quartos of Shakespeare's plays now believed to have been printed in 1619 bear the dates of the earlier editions.

3. It has been suggested that during the period of the closing of the theatres, when even the printing of plays was probably regarded with disfavour by the authorities, a certain number of plays were reprinted with the old dates in order to escape notice. This would explain, for example, the existence of two editions of Thomas Heywood's *Love's Mistress*, both called "the Second Impression" and dated 1640.

4. We sometimes find a *colophon* containing a date reprinted from an earlier edition without change. This is perhaps due to simple carelessness. For this reason dates in colophons should be regarded as of little weight, if other evidence tends to show that they are incorrect.

11.—*On variations in different copies of the same edition.*

It has long been recognised that different copies of the same edition[1] of sixteenth and seventeenth century books often present differences of reading, a fact which has been the cause of much trouble and a certain amount of perplexity to many editors. The whole matter is, however, perfectly simple when regarded from the point of view of Elizabethan methods of printing, but its importance in textual criticism necessitates that we should discuss it with some care.

There are two kinds of variation. Accidental variation such as I have referred to already in connection with the process of printing off, and intentional variation due to the type being corrected during the process of printing.

(1) *i.e.*, printed as a whole from the same setting-up of type.

As regards the former it need only be said that the method of inking by dabbing the type with ink-balls was especially likely to draw out loose type. When a printer noticed that a type was thus drawn out, he would no doubt as a rule replace it. Unfortunately he seems not always to have troubled to replace the right letter, but to have put in any type he could find. We may suppose that when drawn out of the forme the type was sometimes jerked by the ink-ball on to the floor, where other type may have been lying, and a careless workman might easily pick up the wrong one. Certainly we can find errors in some copies of books which we can prove not to have been in the forme as originally placed on the bed of the press.

Accidental variations such as these are, however, for the most part matters of a single letter, and, once the possibility of their occurrence is recognized, present little difficulty to an editor. Far more important is the correction of the type during the process of printing.

Of all matters connected with the book-trade in the Elizabethan times the one of which we know least is probably the relation of the author to the publisher or printer. We have indeed one scene in a play between an author and John Danter the printer-bookseller, a scene to which Danter's declaration that he had lost money by the author's last book gives the stamp of realism, but which otherwise tells us little; and we have one dialogue between an author and the printer William Hoskins, but this being concerned entirely with the doings of Dame Fortune, is of even less practical value. One thing we may, however, infer from incidental references as well as from the evidence of the texts themselves, is that it was usual, or at any rate not uncommon, for an author to attend in person at the printing-house in order to revise proofs. Nashe for example, in the Epistle before *Lenten Stuff*, 1599, speaks of the "faults of the presse, that escaped in my absence from the Printing-house,[1] and in a letter of the

(1) *Cf.* the Preface to Jasper Heywood's translation of *Thyestes*, 1560 (ed. de Vocht, p. 105) where the author says that he corrected the proofs of the first edition of his *Troas*, but when he was gone the printer "renewed" the print (*i.e.*, presumably, printed a second edition) and "corrupted all"; also the first edition of Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (sig. A 3); the second edition of Marston's *Parasitaster* (title), and R. Turner's *Nosce Te*, 1607 (sig. F 4).

printer William Jaggard, prefixed to Augustine Vincent's *Discovery of Errors in the first Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility published by Raphe Brooke*, we find a passage which for the light which it throws on the methods of the time deserves quotation in full.

It must be explained that Ralph Brooke, York herald, published in 1619 a *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, etc., of England since the Norman Conquest.* This work proved to contain numerous errors, and in 1622 Augustine Vincent published the above-mentioned criticism of it. In the meantime, however, Brooke hearing of Vincent's work, rushed out a second, corrected, edition of his own, in the preface of which he attributed the faults of the earlier edition to the printer, William Jaggard, who had foisted them in while he, Brooke, was away ill. As Jaggard was also printing Vincent's criticism, he took the opportunity of replying to Brooke in a letter prefixed to Vincent's work. He tells us incidentally that of Brooke's earlier edition 500 copies were printed, of which almost 200 still remained "rotting by the walls" (sig. ¶ 5 v), and that in order to get out his revised edition before Vincent's criticism, Brooke had made his printers work day and night (sig. ¶ 5 v, 6). The most important passage of Jaggard's letter is as follows:

"Seeing then we haue with much inquirie sifted out, what tares they were, which the Printer sowed in Master *Yorkes* booke, it remaines, that we take notice of the time pickt out to sow these tares, which is a point of especiall consequence. And to say truth, what time could it possibly bee, but in Master *Yorkes* absence from the Presse, occasioned by his vnfortunate sicknesse? Who all the time before, while hee stood sentinell at the Presse, kept such strict and diligent guard there, as a letter could not passe out of his due ranke, but was instantly checkt and reduced into order; but his sicknesse, confining him to his chamber, and *absenting him from the Presse*, then was the time, that the Printer tooke, to bring in that *Troiane horse* of *Barbarismes*, and literall errours, which ouer-runne the whole volume of his Catalogue. Neither makes it to the purpose, that in the time of this his vnhappy sicknesse, though hee came not in person to ouer-looke the Presse, yet the *Proofe*, and *Reuiewes* duly attended him, and he perused them (as is well to be iustifyed) in the maner he did before. For let that be true, say he viewed, reuiewed, directed, corrected, or whatsoeuer els, yet what is all this to the presence of an olde Herauld at a Presse, one that were likely to blaze out any mans disgrace, and print it (for a neede) in the fore-head of a Booke, that should commit the least literall fault? No, I must confesse, that the sight alone of such a reuerend man in a Printing-house, like an old Fencer vpon a Stage, would do more good for keeping the presse in order, then the view, and reuiew of twentie proofes by himselfe with all his Latine, and other learning, he being in the meane time personally absent from the Presse." (sig. ¶ 6 v).

Besides the fact that Brooke attended at Jaggard's press to correct proofs and that during his illness they were sent to him, we may note the interesting point that revises, or as Jaggard calls them "reviews" were seen by him, as well as the original proofs.

But it appears that corrections made by the author at the printing-house were not limited to proofs, and that alterations, sometimes of great importance, were made in the formes after printing-off had begun. Variations between copies of the same edition are too frequently found for us to suppose that the uncorrected sheets are proofs accidentally bound up with the others, and indeed such a theory would, for reasons which will be clear later, lead us into further difficulties. [1]

Perhaps in the case of important books, or of books by important authors, a printer did not proceed to work off a sheet until the author had finally passed the proof for press; but in the case of those in which correctness was merely desirable without being essential, we must, I think, suppose that if the author did not turn up when a sheet was ready for printing, the printer did not wait for him, but proceeded to work it off as passed by his press-reader. If the author came in later and, picking up a sheet fresh from the press, found mistakes in it, the printer seems to have been willing to stop the press and let them be corrected. Making-ready was doubtless a less elaborate process in Elizabethan days, and the disturbance of the type a matter of little importance.

How extensive the alterations made during printing-off might be can be seen for example in Barnabe Barnes's play *The Devil's Charter*, where out of five copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and Cambridge

(1) The chief reasons against regarding these "uncorrected" sheets as proofs are (*a*) that they are of course printed on both sides of the paper, whereas the few certain fragments of proof which remain are, as we should expect, printed on one side only, and (*b*) even if we allow that proofs might be printed on both sides of the paper, we should expect them to represent both formes in an uncorrected state, whereas it is at least equally common for one to be correct and the other incorrect. Besides why in any case should a printer print so many proofs that they had to be used up by treating them as perfect sheets?

University Library, two have on sig. B 4 a couple of lines which are absent from the other three. As those copies with the additional lines have on pages B 3v and B 4 one line more of print than on other pages, and no catch-words, it is clear that these represent the corrected state of the forme, and that the lines had been omitted by accident.

Besides these added lines *The Devil's Charter* exhibits a very large number of striking variants in different copies, some being mere corrections of literal errors, others important alterations in wording. The following are a few examples. In each case the earlier reading is given first. It may be noted that in the second and last cases the "correction" is itself incorrect.

suspect. : suspect vs.	rewarde. : rewarde of sinne.
baudes and : beastly *Bardes*, and	Wounds both of : Wounds of
sheere : sweete	falce liers : familiers
of home : horne	slepe : steps
Plegmatist : stigmatist	hags : darkensse

One or two of these variants might be conjectures of an unusually intelligent press-reader, but others seem hardly likely to be due to anyone save the author.

Some idea of the frequency of this habit of correcting while at press may be obtained from the fact that of twenty plays published by the Malone Society up to the end of 1912, in the preparation of which two or more copies of the same edition were collated, variant readings were found in no less than fifteen. In all but three or four of these fifteen the variants are such as an editor would be bound to notice. In fact we may say that in any Elizabethan book the probability of finding such variants is very great and cannot be neglected by any careful editor.

Now there are several things to say about those variations. In the first place it cannot be supposed that the binder, when gathering the sheets for binding, would trouble himself as to whether they represented the final corrections or not; he would take them as they happened to

come. It is therefore quite unscientific to speak of a more or less corrected *copy* of a book—unless indeed it only consists of a single sheet.

I do not deny that it is possible that a few sheets in the most correct state might be selected to be made up into presentation copies for the author's friends; for the MS. corrections occasionally met with in presentation copies show that trouble was sometimes taken to render them as correct as possible; but I have certainly never come across any evidence of such a practice, nor does it seem at all likely. There are of course copies of books all the sheets of which are in the most corrected state, but in all such cases known to me the number of sheets existing in two states bears a small proportion to the whole number in the book, and the result might therefore easily come about by chance.

But we must go further. Though to a binder the sheet is the unit, yet it is not the unit for our purpose at present. When we consider the process of printing, this is sufficiently obvious; for the two sides of a sheet are printed at different times and there may be a considerable interval between the two printings. Let us see what the result of this will be. Let us suppose that a printer is engaged in printing the outer forme of a certain sheet and that this outer forme is the first to be printed. When he has printed a certain number of copies, the author comes in, picks up a sheet and finds some errors. He points them out to the printer, who stops the press and corrects them. The rest of the sheets are then printed on one side with the corrections inserted. As they are printed they are hung up to dry, a process the duration of which depends on the ink used, the state of the atmosphere and other considerations, but which will always take an appreciable time. If the printer is only using one press he will not begin to perfect the sheets by printing the other side until the whole number are worked off. If, however, he is using two, he may begin to perfect as soon as the earlier sheets printed on one side are dry: or perhaps he may begin working off the two formes simultaneously, printing half his sheets from one and half from the other. The exact arrangements are a matter of the convenience of the moment. It

results from this that the order in which the sheets are perfected is undetermined, and that if during printing, corrections are made in the *inner* forme, as they were in the *outer*, there is no reason for assuming that the sheets which were printed from the uncorrected outer forme will be perfected from the inner forme while that also is in its incorrect state.

This may be seen more clearly by taking figures. Let us suppose a sheet of which 1,000 copies in all are to be printed. Suppose one press to be used, and corrections to be made in the outer forme when 200 copies have been printed. There will then be 200 incorrect + 800 correct. Suppose the printer begins to perfect in precisely the same order in which the sheets were originally printed, but that the author comes in rather earlier during the operation—say when 100 sheets are printed—stops the press and has corrections made, this time in the inner forme. There will then of the perfected sheets be 100 incorrect on both sides, 100 incorrect on the outer forme but correct on the inner, and 800 correct on both. Suppose, however, that the printer had begun to perfect from the *last* sheet printed on the one side, we should then have 200 incorrect on the outer but correct on the inner, 100 incorrect on the inner but correct on the outer, and 700 correct on both. If, lastly, he had collected the dried sheets for perfecting more or less at haphazard, as is indeed most probable, the result would be a mere matter of chance.

It is thus quite clear that we cannot assume that because we find corrections in a page belonging to the outer forme (pp. 1, 4, 5, 8 of a sheet), the pages belonging to the inner forme (pp. 2, 3, 6, 7) will also be corrected; but it does follow—and this is most important for textual criticism—that if on two pages of one forme (suppose on pp. 1 and 4 of a sheet) we find variants, and if it is clear that in a certain copy the variants on p. 1 are corrections, then those on p. 4 in the same copy must also be corrections,[1] and if we follow the readings of that copy on

(1) "Corrections," not necessarily "correct," for it sometimes happened that in carrying out the corrections a printer made fresh—and even worse—blunders.

one of these pages we must also follow them on the other. On the other hand our following the readings of this copy on pp. 1 and 4, does *not* oblige us to follow its readings on pp. 2 and 3, as these pages belong to the other forme.

When we reprint an early book, we as a rule wish to reprint it in its most correct state. We must, therefore, if we find variants in two or more copies, print from those *formes* in the copies which are most correct, neglecting the bound books, and also neglecting the sheets as such. It is only thus that we can reproduce the book as its author meant it to appear.

12.—*On books set in duplicate.*

It being now, I hope, clear that from the textual point of view the forme, not the sheet, is the unit, we may deal with a matter that is fortunately of theoretical rather than of practical interest to the majority of those who edit Elizabethan literature, for it affects chiefly a class of books that are never reprinted. In order, apparently, to divide the work of the printing-houses fairly between compositors and pressmen, it was customary not to print more than a certain number of copies of a book from one setting-up of type.[1] Books of which a large number of copies were required, such as service books and other official publications, were therefore set up in duplicate. Now of course if the printer had simply set up the book twice and printed from the two settings as if he were printing two independent works he would simply have produced two editions. The binder would indeed probably have mixed the sheets; we might find copies of the book made up of sheets of A setting and of B setting indiscriminately, but we should still say that two editions of the book

(1) The limit in the case of most books was 1,250 or 1,500 (*see* Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 43, 883 and v. liii). The first definite regulation on the subject seems to date from about 1587, but it probably was already recognised as at least a general custom. In the case of a very short book of which a large number of copies were required for immediate sale, the printer might perhaps set up in duplicate for another reason, *i.e.*, to save time in working off. I doubt, however, whether as a rule there would have been any gain in doing this on account of the small number of presses owned by most of the printers.

were printed. To the confounding of bibliographers, however, the printer did not by any means always do this. If he printed the outer forme from setting A he might print the inner either from setting A or from setting B as chance directed him, and thus of each sheet he would make four varieties, the outer and inner formes being respectively A A, A B, B A, B B. Many examples of this kind of confusion are found in books printed by Richard Grafton.

A still more troublesome variety is where even the pages of the forme are not kept together. We may suppose that after printing a certain number of copies of the book the printer, perhaps needing the chases or the furniture, would unlock the pages of type, tie them round with string and put them aside for future use;[1] there being two (or possibly in some cases more) of each. When he wished to print further copies of the book he would take one page 1, one page 4 and so on for the outer forme, and one page 2 and one page 3, etc., for the inner, but it would be a matter of complete indifference to him whether those pages 4 and 3 had originally been used with the same pages 1 and 2 or not. Examples of this reimposition and mixing of the original pages will be found in the Statutes of 3 and 4 Edward VI, printed by Grafton with the date 1549, and the *Return of Pasquil*, printed by Charlewood in 1589.[2]

Occasionally also we find this duplicate setting in part of a book alone, and for a different reason. It sometimes chances that a book ends in such a way that there is a single leaf or two of print beyond a certain number of sheets. Under such circumstances a printer who had to print, say, 1,000 copies of the book might find it cheaper to set up the last leaf or so *twice*, and print 500 copies of this, afterwards of course cutting the sheets in half, rather than to set it up once and print 1,000 half-sheets.

(1) It may be thought that this contradicts what I have said elsewhere about the general custom being for a printer to distribute his type as he went along. This is true, but such work in duplicate would in any case only be found in very large firms or very small books.

(2) See *The Library*, November, 1903.

This probably explains the fact that Richard Harvey's *Astrological Discourse* of 1583 (8vo) is found with two settings of sheet F (four pages), though all the rest of the book was apparently only set up once.

13.—*On "surreptitious" editions.*

We sometimes see certain editions of Elizabethan books referred to as "surreptitious" or "pirated," in the sense that they were published or printed by someone who had no right to do this. Now with regard to many of these we may, I think, feel a certain amount of scepticism, for at a time when it was still considered not quite the correct thing for a gentleman to publish imaginative literature—moral reflections or works of scholarship were another matter—a useful compromise seems to have been found in "surreptitious" publication by "friends of the author." Having thus been "unawares betrayed to infamy," the author would in the next edition subject the guilty friends to a little polite abuse for their indiscretion and, the ice being once broken, continue thereafter to publish his work openly. In cases where this was merely a device to save the author's face, surreptitiousness will not concern an editor at all; for there is no reason to suppose that a worse MS. would be used or less care taken in correction than if the author himself had assumed responsibility for the publication. When, however, works are published by friends, really without the author's knowledge, as for example during his absence abroad, an editor will have carefully to consider what authority the text is likely to have.

Apart, however, from cases of publication by friends, we have instances of genuine surreptitious publication, and here it seems necessary to distinguish between two kinds of surreptitiousness which have frequently been confused, or rather between the infringements of two different rights connected with publication. These are (1) the rights of an author against any copyist, whether scrivener, printer, or publisher, who copies or publishes his work without his consent, *i.e.*, the right to

restrain publication; and (2) the right of one printer or publisher against another to prevent his reprinting work already in print. Now these two rights were absolutely distinct. The first was in Elizabethan times exceedingly vague, the second perfectly definite. The one could not in practice be maintained save by securing the intervention of the Privy Council, or of one of its members; the other was the business of the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company.

We must remember that prior to the Copyright Act of 1709, author's copyright as such did not exist. We recognize now that there existed the Common Law right of an author, just as of any other man, to the enjoyment of his own property and the fruits of his own labour; but this was obscured at the time by the claim of the Crown to absolute and complete control over the entire book trade, so that protection was sought, not from the ordinary courts of law, but from the sovereign as represented by the Privy Council or more particularly by the licensing authorities. Presumably if an author could prove infringement of his rights by a publisher he would have been entitled to recover damages. In practice, however, there does not seem to be a single recorded instance of an action of the kind.

It is obvious that until literary work grew to be a recognized means of livelihood and it became customary for an author to receive pay for his writings, there would be a good deal of difficulty in proving that he had suffered loss by the surreptitious publication of his work, and hence he could hardly expect to be awarded damages which would repay him for the trouble and expense of taking action; and it is probably for this reason that we find so little attempt on the part of literary men to uphold their rights as against printers and publishers in the law courts. In the few instances that we have of publication being stopped by the author of a book or his representatives, this seems to have been done by means of an application to the licensing authorities, as in the well-known case of Sidney's *Arcadia*.[1]

(1) *See* the letter of Fulke Greville (1586), printed in Arber's *English Garner*, i. 488-9.

Indeed it is not clear that authors recognized that they had any legal rights in the matter. Those who wished to make money by their works seem to have sold them at once to a printer or publisher without permitting MS. copies to be circulated. If these got into circulation and one of them fell into the hands of a publisher and was printed, the author seems generally to have taken the first opportunity to call him a "pirate," but to have done nothing more. All such editions are no doubt in a sense "surreptitious," inasmuch as the author knew nothing of them before publication, but there was nothing surreptitious about the sale of them: they cannot be classed with secretly printed books. It is even doubtful whether they were regarded as in any way contrary to the law, or if a publisher was regarded as blameworthy, by anyone save the author, for his conduct in regard to them.

When, however, after a book had been once published it was reprinted by a printer or publisher who has no right to do so, the case was quite different. This was real piracy and was a definite offence which could be quickly and severely punished—exceptionally by the Privy Council, ordinarily by the Court of the Stationers' Company. The rights of the members of the Company against one another were as clear and as rigidly upheld as those of authors against the members of the Company were vague and impossible to be maintained. The records of the Stationers contain many instances of proceedings taken by one printer or publisher against another for infringement of rights of this kind.

From the point of view of an editor of an early classic, the rights and wrongs of the matter are seldom of much importance. All that concerns him is the probable value of the text of these surreptitious editions, and here bibliography cannot help him much. It will, however, be worth while for him to remember the distinction that has been drawn between the various kinds of surreptitious publication for, other things being equal, there is a probability that the texts produced will be of different values. A surreptitious publication issued by friends of the author may give a first-rate text, carefully printed and from a good manuscript. If the friends

are worthy, they may take as much care that the book should be correct as the author himself. On the other hand the surreptitious publication of a bookseller who has got hold of a manuscript without the author's knowledge, may be a good piece of work so far as the printing is concerned, and free from ordinary misprints; but it can be of little authority for the text, seeing that the MS. used is likely, as Nashe put it, to have "progressed from one scrivener's shop to another," until by copying and re-copying innumerable errors have accumulated. Lastly a surreptitiously *printed* book is likely to be very careless in workmanship and full of misprints, for it was chiefly the inferior printing-houses which undertook work of this kind. It may not, however, present a particularly bad text, though under ordinary circumstances this is hardly likely to be superior to that of the edition from which the reprint was made.

The subject of surreptitious editions of plays is one that has attracted much attention, but it is too full of problems to be dealt with here. It is well known that the basis of some at least of them are shorthand notes taken down during performance, while others were probably based on a copy supplied by an actor. In Dr. Greg's very valuable introduction to his reprint of the first quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, he shows good reason for supposing that the text was furnished by the actor who played the part of the Host. The argument is based on the fact that whenever the Host is on the stage the text is greatly superior—and especially in the Host's own speeches—to what it is in the rest of the play. I do not know whether anyone has noticed that similar reasons could be given for regarding the first quarto of *Hamlet*, or at any rate the first few scenes thereof, as supplied by the actor who took the part of Marcellus.

14.—*On corrected copy and corrections made in proof.*

I hinted some time back that it was occasionally possible to say whether a text had been reprinted from an altered copy of an earlier edition or whether such alterations as it exhibits had been made in proof. The point may be of importance in deciding on which edition to base a reprint.

Most editors will, I think, agree that the text which embodies the author's latest corrections should, as a general rule, be given decisive weight in questions of reading[1] and it is commonly part of an editor's task to determine which this is likely to be. It sometimes happens that the text which appears to give the best readings is one that appeared after the author's death, when it is obvious that he could not have made corrections in proof. In such a case it is some satisfaction to an editor if he can show that the corrections were probably in the copy from which the printer worked, as this will undoubtedly increase the likelihood of their being the author's.

No one, I hope, who has followed me thus far will need or expect to be given precise instructions how this may be determined. Obviously the point cannot *always* be decided, but it is at least worth while to look for such evidence as there may be, and this will be found in the spacing of the lines in which the corrections occur.

In a book printed with not more than the usual amount of care we shall generally find that when a correction in proof involves the substitution of a longer or shorter phrase than that orginally in type, a certain amount of irregularity will be caused in the spacing of the line in which it occurs. If the inserted phrase is longer, we may find the line, and perhaps one or two others before and after it, unusually crowded, or we may find an unusual number of contracted forms or short spellings (-nes, y, a, etc., for -nesse, ie, au, etc.), or finally, if the addition is a long one, an extra line or two on the page. The reverse will of course be the case if the substituted phrase is shorter than the original. Needless to say, such irregularities are most likely to occur in careless workmanship, but then reprints of popular literature were seldom among the best examples of the printer's art.

(1) I do not mean to say that a modern edition should necessarily be set up from the last one corrected by the author, for the tendency to degeneration referred to above may often cause this to be inconveniently full of minor errors.

15.—*On cancels.*

A cancel is any part of a book substituted for what was originally printed. It may be of any size from a tiny scrap of paper bearing one or two letters, pasted on over those first printed, to several sheets replacing the original ones. The most common form of cancel is perhaps a single leaf inserted in place of the original leaf.[1]

Into the purpose of these cancels we need not enter. There may have been in the original print something so grossly incorrect that it was too much for even the easy-going printer of the time—or for the author; or as seems more common, there may have been something that the authorities found objectionable. The point at present is the aid that bibliography gives us in detecting them.

Of course if the book with which we are dealing happens to be unbound or but loosely cased, and if we are permitted to pull it about a little (with discretion), there is generally no difficulty in discovering whether a leaf is a cancel; for if it is, we can see where it is stuck on. If, however, as is more commonly the case, the book is substantially bound, it is often impossible to see whether the leaf is part of a sheet or is inserted, and we have to rely on other indications.

A cancel should always be suspected if:

(1) The type or manner of setting, either of the headline, signature (if there is one) or of the text, is different from that of the rest of the book.

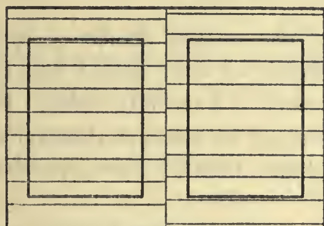
(2) There is a larger or smaller number of lines to the page than elsewhere, or if the lines are longer or shorter.

(3) If the leaf is signed when other leaves in similar positions in a gathering are not signed. Thus supposing in an octavo book in which as a rule the first five leaves were signed, we found one signed F 7, we might at once guess that it was a cancel.

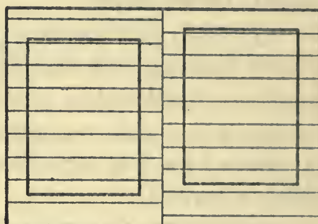
(1) It may be remarked that these cancel leaves were sometimes printed as part of the preliminary sheet, it being left to the binder to insert them in their proper place. This was the case in the second issue of Nashe's *Christ's Tears.*

(4) If the paper appears to be different.

If we notice any of these points we must examine the leaf more closely. If the book is a quarto, the first thing to observe is the horizontal chain-lines of the paper. Compare these with the lines of the leaf which should correspond to and be part of the leaf in question, *i.e.*, if the gatherings are of four leaves, compare the first with the fourth, the second with the third; if of eight leaves the first with the eighth, the second with the seventh, and so on. Are the chain-lines the same distance apart?[1]



14.
One of these is a cancel.



15.
One of these was probably loose and has been stuck in wrongly.

If not, one of the two leaves must be a cancel. Determine which by comparing other leaves. If they are the same distance apart, do they meet the chain-lines of the corresponding leaf? If not, examine the position of the type on the two leaves with respect to the chain-lines. If it is different on the two, one is a cancel. If it is the same, we may be dealing with a leaf that has at some time been loose, and in rebinding has been stuck in at a different height.

Examine also whether there is a watermark. If so, does it correspond in position with that on the corresponding leaf? If there is part of a watermark on one leaf and it is not continued on the other, one is a cancel. Similarly if there is the same part of the watermark on both leaves.

(1) Allowing for their not being always quite parallel or straight.

Examine the surfaces of the paper. If one leaf has the smooth surface on the inner side and the other on the outer side, one is a cancel.[1]

If none of these methods gives a satisfactory answer, it will be necessary to refer to other copies of the book.

Cancels consisting of a whole sheet or of several sheets cannot of course be detected in this manner. Fortunately, however, it seldom happens that the substituted matter is of exactly the same length as the original, and the irregularity of the number of leaves in the gatherings comes to our assistance.

As a rule a book may be expected to have an equal number of leaves in each gathering (not counting preliminaries or final leaves), and any irregularity should lead us to suspect a cancel or something added. For example, if in a quarto one gathering consists of six leaves or of two, while the others have four each, there has almost certainly been something added or omitted.

Thus a tract of Gabriel Harvey's, the *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, 1578, runs A–C^4, D^6, E–L^4 + one leaf of errata. Sigs. D 5 and D 6 contain a poem evidently added after the rest was in type.

Sometimes such irregularities merely indicate some accident of the printing. For example, sheet C of Nashe's *Summer's Last Will* has only two leaves, C 1 and C 2, the other gatherings having four each. As C 1 and C 2 do not belong together (are separate leaves), it is evident that C 3 and C 4 were printed and for some reason cancelled. As, however, D 1 follows correctly from C 2^v we may infer that the error, whatever it may have been, which led to the cancellation of these leaves was discovered before the next sheet was printed.

An interesting example of a large cancel is to be found in T. Cooper's *Admonition to the People of England*, which appeared in 1589 shortly after

(1) In the case of much sixteenth century paper, it is, however, almost impossible to detect any difference between the two sides.

the beginning of the famous Marprelate Controversy. It contains a reply to Marprelate's *Epistle* and has been regarded as having been written as the official answer to him. The book is a quarto and runs A–I^4, K–L^8 (less L 8 wanting), M–Y^4, Aa–Kk^4, Ll^2.[1]

The presence of two sheets of eight leaves in a quarto is very suspicious, and when on examining the pagination we find that the *leaves* alone of these two sheets are numbered[2] whereas the rest is numbered by *pages*, an evident device to cause the pagination to run on correctly to what follows, it becomes clear that the two sheets are a cancel. The interesting point is that we are able to infer from this that the reply to the Martinists which the book contains was not part of the work as originally printed, but was added at the last moment.

Another interesting cancel occurs in a book by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, *A Defensative against the Poison of Supposed Prophesies*, 1583. On the publication of this book, charges of treason were brought against the author and he was imprisoned. No one, I believe, has ever been able to discover anything treasonable in the book as it stands, and the reason of the charges is a mystery. The fact is, however, that the treasonable passage was suppressed. In all copies that I have been able to see—some half-dozen—one leaf, sig. E 4, has been cancelled. In one case the leaf has been simply cut out, but in all the others it is replaced by a cancel-leaf. We may assume that it was on the original E 4 that the passage occurred to which objection was taken and it would be interesting if a copy of the book could be found in which this leaf remained.

Another case of cancel occurs in the first edition of Robert Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, by which in all probability the attack upon the Harveys which led in part to the famous Harvey-Nashe quarrel was

(1) Sig. M 1 follows on from L 7^v, sig. L 8, which is absent, evidently having been blank. The omission of Z from the signatures is of no significance ; see p. 264 above.

(2) Except L 7 which is numbered on both sides.

suppressed; but I have dealt with this elsewhere[1] and need not discuss it now. Enough has, I hope, been said to show that there is often a good deal of interest attaching to cancels, and that they are worth attention on account of the light they may throw on obscure points of literary history.

16.—*On additions made to sheets already printed.*

A sort of sub-division of cancels seems to require a word or two, cases, namely, in which something is added to a printed page after publication, being sometimes perhaps stamped on by hand and sometimes printed by passing the sheets again through the press. These are of course not properly cancels, as a cancel implies the omission of something, whereas in the present case there is merely something added.

Most of such additions are quite honestly made; for example, the earliest known use of Caxton's device, which was almost certainly cut in England, is in a book printed for him in France. The device was most probably stamped in after receipt of the books from abroad. One of Pynson's devices may have been added to certain books in a similar way. Additions of this kind can sometimes be detected by differences in the colour of the ink from that of the rest of the book, but the most satisfactory proof would be the comparison of several copies of the book. If the device, or whatever else the addition may be, is found to differ markedly in the various copies in its position with regard to the rest of the type, it is almost certainly stamped in by hand.

In a few cases, however, such additions were made with more or less fraudulent intent. For example, certain copies of the 1599 quarto of *Soliman and Perseda* have "Newly corrected and amended" stamped on the title-page. The sheets are identical with those of the 1599 edition without these words, and it seems most likely that they were added in order to encourage the sale. It may be remarked that in the copy at the British

(1) *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1906.

Museum (161. b. 4) the words are closer to the central ornament than would have been possible if they had been printed at the same time with it. In cases where an addition of this sort is suspected, it is always worth noticing whether the words in question come too close to other print on the page. If for example the descenders of one line overlap the ascenders of the line below, it is impossible, save in the case of a few fancy types, for the two lines to have been printed simultaneously. It may also be noted that lines stamped in by hand are often not parallel with the rest of the print.

There are a fair number of books, especially, it would seem, plays, of which some copies are anonymous and others have the author's name, or some of which are dated and others not.[1] In most of these it seems probable that the name or date was stamped in after the original printing, in others the change may have been made in the forme during the course of printing. Which of these alternatives is the correct explanation in a particular case can as a rule only be settled by the comparison of several copies.

17.—*On Fakes and Facsimiles.*

The subject of faked copies of early books is one which may be at times of great importance to an editor, and it seems therefore necessary to say something about them here, although it may with some reason be argued that it is really the duty of a librarian to discover the fakes in the library under his charge and to warn readers against them; not of the readers to discover them for themselves. It is indeed, as a rule, only a person familiar with large numbers of early printed books who will readily detect a good fake, and he will do it more by a sort of instinct than by any knowledge that can be formulated. It is thus very difficult to say anything about them which will be of much use to those for whom these pages are primarily intended, and some general warnings must suffice.

(1) I refer of course only to those in which the rest of the title is from the same setting-up of type—not to distinct title-pages.

Fakes are of many kinds. There are in the first place complete reprints of early books which appear to be original editions. There must surely be very few of these, for it is difficult to see how it can have paid anyone to attempt such a deception; but there is one notorious example, namely an edition of the play *Soliman and Perseda*, purporting to have been printed by E. Allde for E. White in 1599, but actually printed about 1815.[1] I believe that nothing is known of the circumstances under which it was printed, whether it was intended to be passed off as an original edition, or whether it was merely an honest "facsimile reprint." When once it is suspected, it is easy to see that it is not a genuine sixteenth century print; the type is too regular and the paper is evidently of much later date; but it has deceived very competent scholars in the past and will in all probability deceive others whenever it turns up in circumstances which prevent it from being placed side by side with a genuine old edition.

I know of no other English book that has been completely reprinted in such a way that it could be taken for an original by anyone with an elementary knowledge of early work,[2] but it is quite possible that the *Soliman and Perseda* does not stand alone, and any "original" of suspiciously modern appearance, either in type, ornaments, or workmanship, should be carefully scrutinised with this example in mind.

The most numerous class of faked copies consists of those which, having been at one time imperfect, have been "perfected" by the insertion of leaves or of parts of leaves, either in facsimile or from another genuine copy—sometimes, unfortunately, from another edition.

(1) On the back of the title some copies have an imprint (? stamped in): "J. Smeeton, Printer, St. Martin's Lane." In others this imprint has perhaps been erased. The book is a page for page reprint of the genuine quarto dated 1599, the ornaments of which have been somewhat roughly reproduced (one being reversed).

(2) We learn from Sir Sidney Lee's introduction to the Clarendon Press facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare that possessors of the 1807 reprint have in several cases mistaken it for an original, in spite of the modern imprints at the back of the title and at the end and of the date 1806 in the watermark of the paper. There are fraudulent editions of a few early foreign books such as the Letters of Columbus.

When such insertion takes the form of an honest and unconcealed facsimile from another copy of the same edition, it is a clear gain, for none but the most uncompromising of bibliographical purists would prefer an imperfect copy of a book to one so made-up. When such facsimiles are photographic, they may often serve an editor as well as originals, provided of course that he is certain that they *are* taken from the correct edition. It is indeed only when there is a question of variant reading in different copies that difficulties will arise. A genuine leaf from another copy of the same edition is of course, in all save this matter of variants, as good for editorial purposes as the original one.

It is, however, quite a different affair when a leaf has been inserted from another edition, and it is the possibility of this which makes it so important to examine all inserted leaves with the utmost care. I need hardly say that I am not referring to the cruder sort of made-up copies that one often finds in the second-hand market.[1] Many of these are made up of editions which, though of course corresponding page for page, are so obviously different that they would not deceive a child. There were, however, a number of books which passed through two or more editions identical in general appearance and in signatures, and the insertion of a leaf or two from one of these into another may be exceedingly difficult to detect.[2]

The best guide in discovering inserted leaves, whether in facsimile or genuine old ones from other copies, is generally the paper. In a facsimile the paper seldom corresponds exactly with that of the other leaves, save in the rare cases in which a blank leaf from the book itself has been used. In a genuine old leaf the paper may be identical in quality, and so far as this

(1) There seems to have been a good deal of very clumsy making-up of copies in the early part of last century—to judge at least from the apparent date of bindings. I doubt if it is much done at present. Collectors are perhaps too well informed to be so easily taken in.

(2) Those who wish to get some idea of the extent of this practice of "making-up," and the difficulty of dealing with it, may profitably glance at Francis Fry's *Description of the Great Bible*, 1865.

is concerned our only guide may be that want of proper correspondence in chain-lines, watermarks, etc., which, as we have already seen, may aid us in the detection of cancels.

In the case of fakes we have, however, as a rule, far better means of detection than we had in the case of cancels. Cancels have, as a rule, been in their place in the book from the date of the original binding, but facsimiles or leaves from other copies have been inserted in modern times, since the book came to possess a certain value. Now a book that requires to be perfected has of necessity been subject at some time or other to neglect or ill-usage. In nine cases out of ten it has suffered from damp or from the ravages of insects, and it is likely to have suffered most in those parts which have to be made good. Any reasonably competent faker who inserts a leaf into a book will of course take care that if there happen to be worm-holes in the adjacent leaves there shall be holes to correspond in the inserted leaf, for this is a simple matter; but if the inserted leaf is one from another old copy, or a facsimile on old paper, there may be worm-holes in *that*. In such cases an attempt is generally made to fill them up, but it is very difficult to do this well and they may usually be detected on careful examination, especially if the leaf be held up to the light.

Best of all, however, is the evidence to be derived from water-stains, rust-spots, and dirt-marks. Water-stains generally go through a number of leaves, or through the entire book, often increasing so regularly in size and intensity to a maximum at the point where the damp has entered, that if the leaves of the book were loose they could be rearranged in almost perfect sequence by the stain alone. If then, in a part of the book which is water-stained, we come across a leaf in which the stains (if any) do not correspond with those on the adjacent leaves, we may be quite sure that that leaf is in some way or other a fake. The correct imitation of a stain is fortunately a task that seems to puzzle even the most expert fakers, though no doubt it can be done. Rust or grease spots and dirt marks of various kinds will often run through several leaves and may afford us useful evidence of a similar kind.

The books in which faking is most difficult to detect are those which have been taken to pieces, washed, mended, and rebound. Washing, especially if followed, as usual, by resizing, so alters the appearance of the paper and print, that it may be most difficult to tell what is genuine and what is not. In general, then, a washed book should be regarded with even more than usual suspicion.

Sometimes only part of a leaf is in facsimile. There may have been a hole in it or a corner may have been lost. Some of these patchings are very well done and when they are small are sometimes by no means easily noticed. The edges of the paper at the join are pared thin and attached by a minute quantity of gum, so that on the surface it may be impossible to see that there is any join at all. In most cases, however, this may be perceived as a darker line in the paper on holding the leaf up to the light.

Facsimiles can as a rule be more easily detected by such incidental evidence as that of the paper, the stains, etc., than by an examination of the letterpress itself.[1] Forgers are as a rule people of considerable skill, and though one may perceive that a page of brush or pen-work does not look exactly like a page of print it is generally hard to say wherein the difference lies. Pen-work may sometimes be detected on examination with a high-power magnifying glass, as the edges of the letters tend to be too even and to be free from the minute *angular* indentations, caused apparently by the fibrous nature of the paper, which are usually to be seen in print. There is, however, some facsimile work which it is extremely difficult to detect at all.

Lastly there is one peculiar kind of fake to which reference must be made here, though one hopes that it is rare. That, namely, in which what *purports* to be a facsimile is not a facsimile at all, but the mere invention of the man who made it. Such are those unique copies of

(1) There are several different ways of executing these facsimiles, from direct brush or pen work to photographic methods. Some of the best are, I believe, produced by a process of lithography, but the details are probably a "trade secret."

books wanting title-pages which have been provided with a title-page "in facsimile." At first sight one is of course tempted to suppose that there are other copies in existence, though at present unknown, and that the "facsimile" has been made from one of these, but in some cases it seems that this is not the case. We must remember that the invention of a title-page from the half-title, head-line, and colophon, if there is one, together perhaps with the entry in the Stationers' Register or an early mention of the book is by no means a difficult task.

Such a fake-facsimile occurs in a copy at the British Museum (C. 57. b. 43) of an entertainment to Queen Elizabeth at Woodstock, in 1575. To this is prefixed a title-page, "The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement at Woodstock [ornament] At London, Printed for *Thomas Cadman*, 1585." The title at first sight appears to be in facsimile, but its arrangement and general appearance are suspicious, and when we find that the wording is made up from the head-line and the colophon (the imprint, even to the full stop after the printer's name, being taken from the latter, from which also the ornament is copied), it becomes practically certain that it is false.

An even more dangerous species of fake consists in the insertion into a defective copy, of parts apparently in facsimile but really made by transcribing the text of another edition in the type and style of the one to be completed. Thus in an account of the lithographer John Harris, one of the most skilled of (honest) facsimilists, in R. Cowtan's *Memories of the British Museum*, p. 335, the author tells us, on Harris' own authority, that "he supplied on one occasion the 97th folio of a rare edition of the 'Spanish Chronicle of Don Rinaldu's,'[1] where he had no perfect copy to make it from, but parcelled out the words from a later edition of the work." He was paid, it appears, £12 for the leaf. This is indeed a most insidious kind of fake, and it is fortunate that there have probably been few men sufficiently skilled to engage in such work.

(1) I must confess my inability to identify the book referred to.

18.—*On Typography. Notes on the use of certain letters and characters.*

During the Elizabethan period the use of black-letter type was gradually giving place to that of Roman. In the middle of the sixteenth century black-letter was generally employed for all kinds of printing in English, but by 1580 its use in the higher kinds of verse and in plays had almost ceased; and there seems to have been a tendency to abandon it in scientific and theological literature. Popular prose and ballads, however, continued most frequently to be printed in black-letter until well on in the seventeenth century. In a large proportion of black-letter books the preliminary matter (dedications and epistles to the reader) are, however, in roman or italic. The later printers seem also seldom to have possessed any black-letter type of a larger size than that used for the text of their books, and commonly used roman or italic for title-pages, headings, etc. There are, however, many exceptions to this general rule.

In a black-letter text, proper names are often in roman, quotations from foreign languages generally in italic.

In a roman text, both proper names and quotations are generally in italic.

The type commonly used in book-work was of three sizes, English, pica, and long primer. Brevier was occasionally used for notes, etc.[1] Small pica, such a usual size of type at present, was not introduced until towards the end of the seventeenth century. It is to be noted that the Elizabethan black-letter occupied as a rule a much smaller space on the body than in most modern founts. Thus a modern small pica black letter is almost identical in face with the early pica, and modern pica with early

(1) The type-bodies were far from uniform. Generally ten lines of type measure approximately in English 45–47 mm.; in pica 40–42 mm.; in long primer 31–33 mm.; in brevier about 27 mm.

English—a fact which gives rise to much trouble when one attempts a facsimile reprint in modern type of an old book containing both black letter and roman.

A few notes on various characters may be useful.

(1.) *Ligatures.*—When a letter, part of which overhangs the body of the type, such as f or ſ, happens to be followed by an upright letter such as l or h, the overhanging part or "kern" of the first letter comes into contact with the top of the second letter and either the two do not fit together properly, or the kern of the first letter gets broken off. To avoid this, most founts, even at present, have combinations of f with l, i, and another f, and ff with l and i, cast on a single body, these double or triple letters being called "ligatures."[1] In early founts ligatures were much more numerous, as they were not by any means limited to the strictly necessary, but many ligatured forms were used through the influence of the written hands upon which the forms of type were ultimately based. Besides the f ligatures there was a whole series of ſ ligatures, ſl, ſi, ſſ, ſb, ſh, ſk, ſt.[2] Some founts had no ſb and ſk, as these combinations were rarer and it was probably not always thought worth while to cast them. In such founts the short s was generally used in these combinations, or occasionally a hyphen was inserted after the ſ.

In black-letter founts ligatures were especially numerous: in addition to the f and ſ ones already mentioned, we find ée,[3] oo, ch, ph, pp, wh, and others. Roman founts often had oo and ct ligatures, and sometimes others.

It may be remarked that in the few words in which s and f come together, such as "satisfy," there being of course no ſ f ligature, it was common to print either ſatisfie or ſatiſ-fie.

(1) On the importance of ligatures in textual emendation, *see* p. 242 above.

(2) It is curious that there does not seem to have been a corresponding ft ligature, though this combination was also very frequent.

(3) The reason of the accent on the first e of the e e ligature has, I believe, never been discovered.

When ſ was followed by w in black letter, some printers seem to have put a thin space between the two to prevent the kern of the ſ coming against the curl of the w. When this space happens to be rather large such a word as "anſwer" may appear to be broken into two. In reprinting a text, it is usual to ignore this break.

(2.) *The letters i. j. u. v.*—As a general rule up to about the year 1630, there was only one capital letter, I (in roman) or 𝕴 (in black-letter), for the letters now represented by I and J; and only one capital letter, V (in roman) or 𝖀 (in black-letter), for the letters U and V. When reprinting a black-letter text in roman it seems logical to represent these by I and V in all cases, though some editors have preferred to use J and U, perhaps because the black-letter forms approximate rather more closely to these letters in shape.

In lower case most founts had i, j, u, v, but j was only used in the combination ij or in numerals, while v and u were differentiated according to their position, not according to their pronunciation; v being always used at the beginning of a word and u always medially. Thus the following are the normal spellings: iudge, inijcere or iniicere (= *lat.* injicere), vse, seruant, vua (= *lat.* uva). Certain printers varied the practice in a few books[1] but the rule followed by most was absolutely rigid. It is quite incorrect to say that the letters were used indifferently, or that the Elizabethan usage was the converse of the modern.

As regards j it may be noted that in some of the early black-letter founts, the only separate form of this letter is one with two dots over it, used in roman numerals. In these founts it also occurs, with a single dot, in the ligature ij.

The letter w is in early founts often represented by vv. In later times the same is often found in founts of extra large size (presumably of

(1) I have discussed this matter at tedious length in *The Library* for July, 1910, and will say nothing more about it here.

continental origin), and in ordinary founts when there happened to be a run on the w and the compositor had not enough.

(3.) *Punctuation-marks.*— / In quite early founts this sign is used for the comma. A form in which the line slopes in the opposite direction is occasionally found (Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, ed. Herbert. p. 491–2). The comma seems to have been introduced into England about 1521 (in roman type) and 1535 (in black letter) (*Typ. Antiq.* pp. 268, 348).

? The query mark appears to have been used from about 1521 (*Typ. Antiq.*, p. 268).

′: In black-letter books printed about 1580–90, but not, so far as I am aware, much earlier or later, we sometimes find a curious query-mark resembling an acute accent followed by a colon. The origin of this mark does not seem to be known.

; The semicolon seems to have been first used in England about 1569 (*Typ. Antiq.*, p. 858), but was not common until 1580 or thereabouts (*Typ. Antiq.*, p. 782).

. The full-stop was commonly used *before* as well as *after* roman numerals. Thus ".xii." It was also used before and after i (.i.=id est) and ſ (.ſ.=scilicet).

' and ‘ were used indifferently in such abbreviations as th' or th‘ for "the."[1]

( ) were often used where we now use quotation marks, *e.g.*,

> "To win worship I would be right glad,
> Therefore (willing to win worship) is my name."

(1) It may be noted that the abbreviation "t'is" or "t‘is" (instead of "'tis") for "it is" was so common that it should perhaps be regarded as normal.

"I fayth to show thee what luck we haue had,
By (Willing to win Worship) that lusty lad!"[1]

"take (had I wist) for an excuse"[2]

"In one place of the booke the meanes of saluation was attributed to the worde preached: and what did he thinke you? he blotted out the word (preached) and would not haue that word printed."[3]

They also seem sometimes to be used merely for emphasis, *e.g.*,

"Qui alios, (seipsum) docet."[4]

"What yesterday was (*Greene*) now's seare and dry."[5]

[ ] Square brackets are common in some Elizabethan founts, being used as we now use round ones. They were also sometimes used instead of round ones for the purposes mentioned above; *e.g.*,

"πάλαι, which is as much as [of olde] or [in times past]."[6]

19.—*Miscellaneous Notes.*

I have brought together in this section a few miscellaneous notes and warnings on various subjects which, elementary as they are, may perhaps at times be found of use.

(1.)—*The size of editions.* We know little as to the number of copies of a book which usually went to form an edition. As has already been stated, in order to divide the work fairly between compositors and pressmen, a rule was made by the Stationers' Company forbidding more than 1,250 or 1,500 copies of a book to be printed from one setting-up of

(1) *The Tide Tarrieth No Man* in *Sh. Jahrbuch*, vol. xliii, ll. 596–7, 1002–3. In the second quotation we should now rather use hyphens than quotation marks.

(2) Greene, ed. Grosart, iii. 186.

(3) Marprelate's *Epistle*, ed. Arber, p. 31.

(4) Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, 1607, title.

(5) Cooke, *Greene's Tu Quoque*, 1614, sig. A 2ᵛ. I am indebted for the last two examples to Dr. Greg.

(6) Plutarch, *Morals*, 1603, p. 672.

type.[1] This therefore would be the maximum number, but of large and expensive works much fewer copies would, we may suppose, usually be printed. We have seen that of Augustine Brooke's *Catalogue of the Nobility*, 500 were printed and 300 sold in three years after issue. Sir Sidney Lee has conjectured that 600 copies were printed of the first Folio of Shakespeare's Works; Mr. Pollard thinks 500 more likely; but these are admittedly only guesses.[2] Of one book, John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials of the Art of Navigation*, 1577, we know from a statement in the dedication, that the number printed was only 100.

(2.)—*The deceptiveness of wood-cuts.* It has been frequently pointed out that most of the small wood-cut figures found in the cheaper books of the Elizabethan period are simply old blocks used by the printer as ornaments, and are entirely without significance. For example, the little cuts of men and women that appear in *Horestes*, *Everyman*, *Youth*, *Jack Juggler*, and elsewhere and that have been claimed as of great importance for the light they throw on the costume of the early players, are now known to belong to a set of which the originals appeared in the *Therence en francoys* printed at Paris by Antoine Verard about 1500, and which came to England through the medium of the *Kalendar of Shepherds.*[3] The custom of using wood-cuts again and again, often with little or no relevance to the text which they illustrate, was so common among English printers that it is well to be very chary of claiming them as evidence for the popular conception of the characters they purport to represent, unless one can be quite certain that they were originally cut for the work under discussion.

(1) *See* p. 289 above. Certain classes of books were excluded from the rule.

(2) *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909, pp. 140–1.

(3) See A. W. Pollard in Bibl. Soc. *Transactions*, vi. 38, and *Youth*, ed. Bang & McKerrow, pp. xvi–xviii. Some of the cuts seem also to occur in *Le Vergier d'honneur* by O. de Saint Gelais, printed by J. Trepperel at Paris at about the same date as the *Therence.*

It is probably unnecessary to warn any save Baconians against seeing mystic meanings in the printers' devices which are commonly found on the title-pages or at the end of early printed books. These are often of much use in aiding us to determine the date or printer of a book, but they are of no other significance.

(3.)—*Entries in the Stationers' Register and date of publication.* One sometimes finds the date of the entry of a book in the *Stationers' Register* taken to be that of publication. This is an error, and so far as is known the two dates have no definite connection at all. There is a good deal that is not clear concerning the entries, why some books were entered and others not and why some transfers of copyrights were entered and others not, and other similar points; but this at least is certain, that, at the time with which we are concerned, the date of entry was generally before publication. Whether it was ever after publication, and whether it was as a rule on receipt of the MS. from the author, or from the licensers, or on completion of printing, we do not know. Such indications as there are seem to point to its having generally been on receipt of the manuscript from the licensers, *i.e.*, before printing was begun.

(4.)—*On exact measurements from printed books.* Owing to the fact that paper was generally, if not always, damped before printing and that when damp it expands, a print is always somewhat smaller than the type or block from which it was printed. It is not uncommon to find variations amounting to three or four per cent. (sometimes even more) in different copies of prints from the same wood-block. Provided that this liability to variation within certain limits is recognised, measurements are very useful in identifying wood-cuts, initials, type, etc., and in determining the edition to which copies of a book belong: without such recognition, such measurements are liable to lead to serious errors.

(5.)—*The Authorship and Authority of Title-pages.* It is, I think, clear that as a general rule an Elizabethan title-page is not to be regarded as part of the book to which it is prefixed, or as the production of its

author, but rather as an explanatory label affixed to it by the printer or publisher. The heading of the first page of the work itself and the running-title often differ from the title-page, and in such cases perhaps preserve the name that the author intended.[1] Thus Nashe's work first published as *Strange News of the Intercepting certain Letters* and afterwards as *The Apology of Pierce Pennilesse* has, as head-title on the first page of the text and as running-title throughout, *The Four Letters Confuted.* It seems quite possible that this was the name chosen by the author, for it is as "my *Foure Letters Confuted*" that he refers to the book in a later work. I have tried to show elsewhere[2] that title-pages were actually posted up as advertisements and that it was probably with a view to this use of them that they were sometimes kept standing in type after the rest of the book had been distributed. If this is correct and the wording was that of the publisher, we may more readily pardon the laudatory terms in which the work is often described, and we must furthermore exercise a certain amount of discretion in accepting statements made on title-pages. Thus when we find a play described as having been performed before the Queen, we are no more bound to accept the statement—if we have evidence against it—than we are, for example, to believe that certain copies of the 1599 edition of *Soliman and Perseda* were "Newly corrected and amended."[3] Definite repudiations on the part of authors, of statements made on the title-pages of their works are naturally somewhat rare—and we may suppose that as a rule the author was consulted in the matter, at least in the case of the original edition. We have, however, Nashe's references to the title-pages of *Pierce Pennilesse* and *Strange News* complaining that the first bore a "tedious Mountebanks Oration to the Reader" and that in both the printer had added the word "gentleman" to his name.

(1) As indeed the running-title does in the case of some modern novels.

(2) *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 1913, xliii.

(3) *See* p. 300 above.

(6.)—*Transcripts.* The occurrence of any of the following in a transcript from a sixteenth or early seventeenth century printed book[1] (not from a manuscript) should cause an editor to suspect it of incorrectness.

1. Lower-case u used initially.[2]

2. Lower-case v used medially,[2] except in words of which the second portion is also an independent word, such as "thereupon," often spelt "therevpon."

3. The spelling of the terminations -ness and -less as at present. They were either -nes and -les or -nesse and -lesse.

4. The use of "ye" for "the." The e was always above the y.

20.—*A Note on folding in 12mo and 24mo.*

It does not seem possible to pass over these common sizes altogether in silence, but on the other hand it is very difficult to make any general statements about them which are likely to be of much use to readers. I therefore thought it best to add a brief note on the subject here, instead of attempting to deal with it in its place in section 5.

The trouble is that there are several possible ways of folding a 12mo, and still more of folding a 24mo. Most of these will, of course, give different shapes of page, and whether or not they are practical ways will depend in every case on the shape of the sheet of paper which is to be folded, and this seems to have differed considerably in different makes. Further, a printer wishing for any reason to turn out a book of a particular size might be willing to sacrifice a small part of the paper by cutting it off after the book was finished. The result is that it may often be

(1) Except so rarely that they may reasonably be supposed to be errors in the original.

(2) As noted above, p. 309, there are exceptions to these rules, but they are very rare and almost all are theological or learned works unlikely to be transcribed. Plutarch's *Morals*, 1603, and *The School of Slovenry*, 1605, are among the few exceptions.

exceedingly difficult in these formats to infer from the bound volume what was the size of the original sheet or how it was folded.

For the sake of simplicity let us take a sheet 20×15 inches, as this will represent sufficiently closely what seem to have been the usual proportions of a sheet of Elizabethan printing paper, and see what happens when we fold it.

Let us begin by considering a sheet folded into six, though the size is one that would seldom if ever be used for book-work. There are obviously two possible ways of folding it: we may either fold it in three lengthways, afterwards doubling it, or into three shortways, afterwards doubling it. The important thing to notice is that in *all* cases of folding, the final fold must be a doubling, as otherwise the sheet cannot be sewn.

With our sheet 20×15 we shall, according to which of the ways of folding we choose, get a page $6\frac{2}{3} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ or 5×10. In both cases the breadth is more than the height and the format therefore could not be used for ordinary book-work, though it might for a book containing maps or pictures or for music.

To pass now to 12mo. We have evidently to fold the sheet once into 3 and twice into 2, and so long as the last fold is into 2, the direction or order of the other folds does not matter, except so far as it will give us differently shaped pages. Let us take our first kind of sexto folding. We may fold again in either direction. In one case (*a*) we have a book $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{3}$, in the other (*b*) we have one $6\frac{2}{3} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. The second is evidently a better proportioned page than the first, and this way of folding may indeed be reckoned as the normal one for a 12mo.[1] Our other sexto will,

(1) It may be pointed out that if our sheet of paper, instead of measuring 20×15, measured $22\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{3}$, not by any means an impossible departure from the normal proportions, the results of folding by methods *a* and *b* would be interchanged, so that *a* would now give us a page $6\frac{2}{3} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ while *b* gives us the awkwardly shaped $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{3}$. It is thus apparent that a comparatively small difference in the proportions of the sheet may make now one method of folding, and now another, practicable or impossible.

according as we fold it, make (*c*) a page 5×5, which is possible but not very likely; or (*d*) $10 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$, an impossible shape.

The direction of the chain-lines and place of the watermark will be as follows. I place an asterisk against the more likely formats:

(*a*) Chain-lines vertical: watermark in middle of top margin.

* (*b*) Chain-lines horizontal: watermark towards top or bottom of outer margin.

* (*c*) Chain-lines vertical: watermark in middle of inner margin.

A 24mo can evidently be produced by folding any of the above 12mos again in either direction, but several of the foldings would give us quite useless shapes for book-work and may therefore be passed over without mention. We see that our *a*, if folded again, would give us $3\frac{1}{3} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$, an oblong shape that could only be used if the fore-edge was cut, while *b* will give the same dimensions but interchanged, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{3}$, a squarish but quite possible shape, *c* would give us pages $5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in either of *two* ways of folding, while *d* would only give us an oblong $2\frac{1}{2} \times 5$.

The position of the chain-lines and watermarks would be:

(*a*) Chain-lines horizontal: watermark in middle of outer margin.

* (*b*) Chain-lines vertical: watermark in middle of lower margin.

* (*c*) 1. Chain-lines horizontal: watermark at top of inner margin.

* (*c*) 2. Chain-lines vertical: watermark in middle of outer margin.

(*d*) Chain-lines vertical: watermark at top of inner margin.

Nothing definite can be said about the imposition of the pages for these various arrangements,[1] as it must depend on the order of the foldings; on whether in folding into three we bring both ends to the same side of the centre piece (as we ordinarily do in folding a letter into

(1) A typical scheme for 12mo has been given on pp. 248, 249, above.

three), or whether we bring one to one side and the other to the other (Z-ways); on whether the whole sheet is meant to be folded in a piece, or, as is now sometimes done, a third is meant to be cut off and folded as a quarto, to be placed within the rest folded as an octavo; lastly, on whether the book is intended to be *sewn* as a 12mo or 24mo or as an 8vo or 16mo, which is also a possible way of proceeding. Once the manner of folding is determined, however, the arrangement of the pages in the formes can easily be arrived at by experiment.

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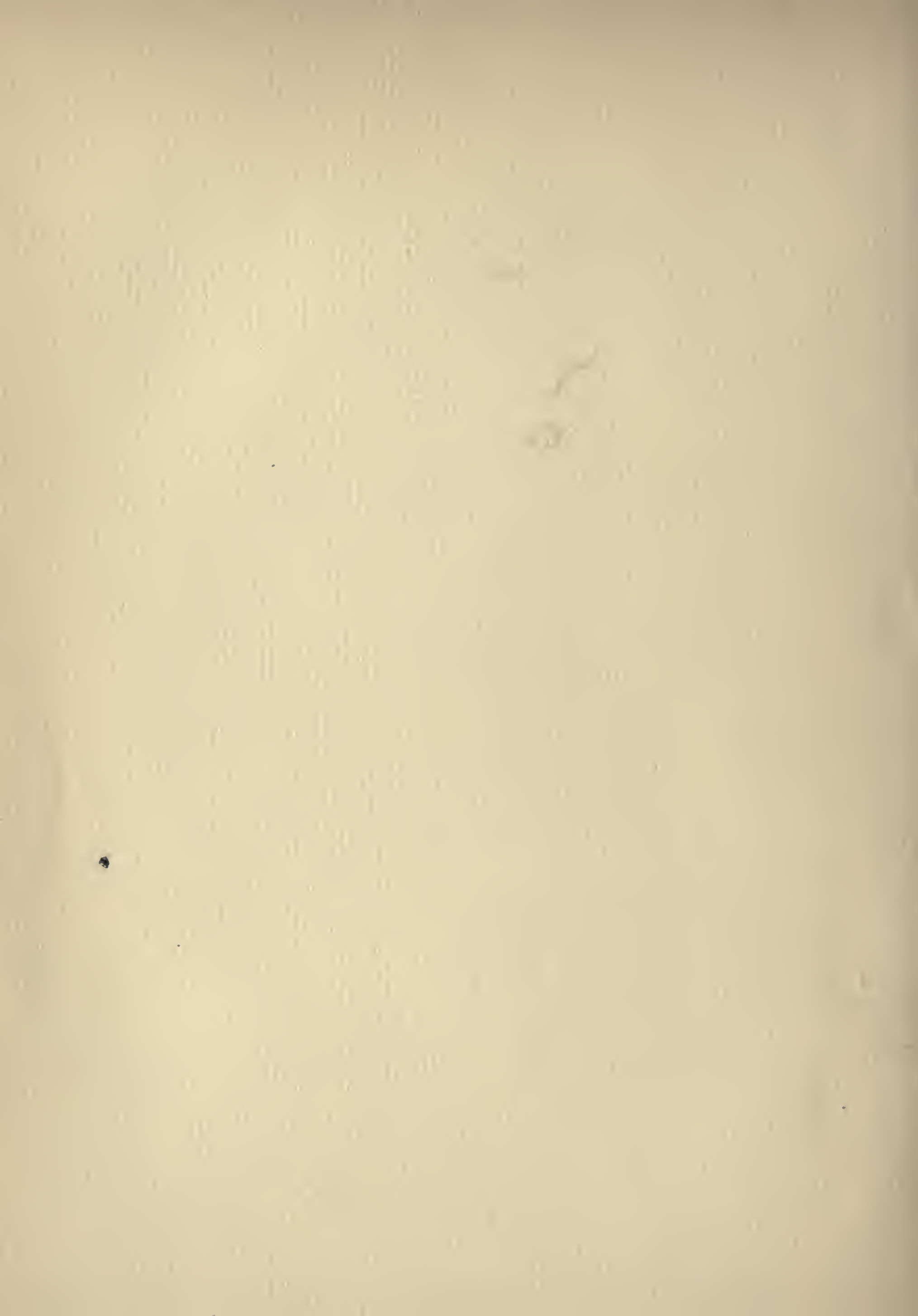

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