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John Henry Nash  
with the Sincere Regards of  
Geo. Watson Cole

# THE EXTRA GILL AND THE FULL QUART POT

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

BY

GEORGE WATSON COLE

ALEXANDER MORING LIMITED  
THE DE LA MORE PRESS  
32 GEORGE ST., HANOVER SQ., LONDON, W. 1

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# THE EXTRA GILL AND THE FULL QUART POT.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.



THE year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada found the English people exultant and war-like. The fleet of Spain, consisting of 132 vessels and 30,493 men, had been scattered and defeated with a loss of about one-half of its vessels and three-quarters of its men. Undeterred by this great calamity, Philip was resolved to build smaller vessels and renew the contest by sailing directly to England. Learning of his purpose England regarded her situation as critical and one imperilling her national existence. As the Government was indisposed to undertake any wars except in self-defence, the people were encouraged to fit out expeditions at their own cost, and to such the Queen lent her assistance.

Portugal had been taken by Philip. Don Antonio, an illegitimate member of a branch of the Royal House of that country, was ambitious to be placed on its throne. It is to a narrative of one of the expeditions, fitted out and sent to Portugal to assist him in his purpose, that attention is now called. The expedition was commanded by General Norris, who had had much

experience in the field, and Sir Francis Drake, the circumnavigator of the globe. It left Plymouth on the 18th of April and returned 2nd July, 1589. The narrative is entitled 'A True Coppie of a Discourfe written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spaine and Portingale: 58 pp. sm. 4to, London, 1589.

The author is unknown, but Hakluyt, who reprinted it in his 'Principall Navigations,' 2 (1599), 2nd pt., pp. 134-55 (wrongly numbered 143), ascribes it to 'Colonel Anthonie Winkfield' (Wingfield), one of the officers who accompanied the expedition. The object of the writer seems to have been to explain why the expedition had not been more successful and to contradict certain false statements that had been circulated after its return. In the first few pages he gives his reasons for joining the expedition; praises the ability of its commanders; comments upon the insufficiency of its arms, men, and ships, as compared with those that had been promised; and then proceeds to give specific answers to false statements that had been made concerning the mortality among the men and the lack of discipline, of surgeons, of facilities for transportation, and of provisions; all of which had been alleged. Having disposed of these points, he then goes on to give a detailed account of the expedition from the time it landed at the Groyne until its return to England on the 2nd of July following.

The narrative is of especial interest as it introduces an incident in the life of the ill-fated Earl of Essex, the favorite of Queen Elizabeth, who joined



the expedition against the wishes of the Queen, if not in positive disobedience of his Queen's express commands. Though innately polite, Essex was impetuous, headstrong, and indiscreet in his language, and his life at Court was far from being a happy one, not only for himself, but for those with whom he was brought in contact. Learning that this expedition was about to sail he resolved to join it. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Queen, he escaped from Court, rode post haste to Plymouth, and on securing a vessel, immediately sailed out of port, in order to prevent being intercepted in his design, and awaited the sailing of the fleet which he had planned to join. Failing in this he sailed after it and did not finally fall in with it until 13th May, some three weeks after it had arrived at Portugal.

In the account of the expedition the name of Essex appears several times, but in none of them as playing any important part. In his introduction the writer says (page 12), in answer to the charge that there was a lack of proper means of transportation, that Essex hired men to carry the sick and wounded on pikes, on account of the lack of mules and asses, and that he even threw away apparel and necessaries from his own carriage in order to give place to them. A page is devoted to an account of his joining the expedition, but to this we shall return later.

We are told (page 27) that, on one occasion, Essex with Sir Roger Williams and his brother landed some men to meet the enemy, but returned without engaging them. At another time (page

33) he went out with Sir Roger Williams about eleven o'clock at night to lay an ambush, but returned without an encounter. Again (page 33), when the English were before Lisbon and the enemy was retreating, the Earl chased them even to the gates of the high town. Later, his name is merely mentioned, once (page 38) when orders were given for retiring from Lisbon, and again (page 39) when the news of the approach of the enemy 'was welcome to the Earl of Essex and the Generals as they offered every one of them to give the messenger 100 crowns.'

Perhaps the most glorious act placed to his credit, occurred when, on the same occasion (page 40) General Norris dispatched a messenger with a trumpet, 'by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, where he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from *Lifbone* in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such fort, as they had no courage to followe out vpon vs. Also challenged him therein, to meete him the nexte morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his coming, and there to trie out the iustnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of *Essex* (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or if they would not admit of that, five, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meet so many of theirs

in the head of our Battaile to trie their fortunes with them, and that should haue assurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.'

And finally (page 42), we are told that on the sixth of June 'the Earle of *Essex*, vpon receipt of letters from her Maiestie, by them that brought in the victualls, presentlie departed towards England.'

But let us now return to the passage (page 26) we have passed and see the report there given of his arrival. It reads as follows:

The 13, day [of May], the Earle of *Essex*, and with him Master Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward wth him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the Fleete. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the Journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune [for the reasons already given], though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honorable cariage of himselfe towards all men, doth make him highlie esteemed at home: so did his exceeding forwardnes in all seruices, make him to be wondrred (sic) at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from *Famouth*, that wee left Plymouth in, where he lay, because he would auoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as far as *Cales* in *Andalofia*, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with Corne, and brought them vnto the Fleete. Also in his returne from thence to meete with our Fleete, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams and those Gentlemen

that were with him went on shore, with some out of the ship he was in, whom the Enemie, that held gard upon that Coast, would not abide, but fled into the countrie.

Here the account ends in one of the two copies (the Halsey copy) in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. When John Payne Collier wrote his account of this little work, from the Second Issue, in his 'Rarest Books' (Lond., 1: 257-9; N.Y., 1: 317), he seems to have been quite unaware that of this pamphlet there were

#### TWO ISSUES.

It appears that the account given above, as taken from the First Issue, left something yet to be desired in praise of Essex, for the leaf on which the last few lines of the above was printed was cancelled and nine and one-third ( $9\frac{1}{3}$ ) lines of new matter were added in greater praise of Essex. These new lines appear on page 27 of the Huth copy ('Cat.,' 2: 443; 'Sale,' 2: 2451), and are as follows:

After his cōming into the fleet (to the great reioycing of vs all) he demaunded of the Generals, that after our Armie should cōme on shore, he might alwaies haue the leading of the vangard, which they easilie yeelded vnto: as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as from the time of our first landing in *Portingall*, he alwaies marched in the poynt of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other seruices.

Now this reprinted leaf is of the utmost importance and interest to the bibliographer and



riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on Shoze, with some men out of the Ship he was in, whom the Enemie, that held gard vpon that Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrie.

The 16. day we lauded at *Penicha* in *Portingall*, vnder the Shot of the Castle, and aboute the waste in water, more than a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the Sea went high, which ouerthrew oue boate, wherein five and twentie of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemie, being five Companies of *Spaniards* vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, with Sir Roger Williams and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhills: which the Enemie seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeede to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Jackson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemie being fled further than wee had reason to followe them, all our Companies were drawne to the towne: which being unfortified in any place, wee found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the General caused the castle to be sommoned that night: which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a *Portingall*, named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Anthonio was laded, wherevpon he would deliuer the same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle some 100. shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his *Portingalls* withall, and twentie barrells of powder: so as poss

river which *Cannas* standeth vpon; he, with Sir Roger Williams, & those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the Ship he was in; whom the enemy that held gard vpon the Coast, would not abide, but fled vpon into the country. After his coming into the fiert (to the great reioycing of vs all) he demaunded of the Generals, that after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies haue the leading of the vanguard, which they easily yielded vnto: as being desirous to sacrifice him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honoz as this did; so as from the time of our first landing in *Portingall*, hee alwaies marched in the point of the vanguard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other seruices.

The 16. day we landed at *Penicha* in *Portingall*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the wast in water, more than a mile from y<sup>e</sup> towne, wherein many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, & the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one boate wherein 25. of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemie, being five companies of *Spaniards* vnder the comaundement of y<sup>e</sup> Conde de *Fuertes*, sallied out of the towne against vs, & in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of *Essex*, w<sup>th</sup> Sir Roger Williams & his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make 2. troups, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led y<sup>e</sup> other ouer the *Sandhills*: which the Enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indede to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by y<sup>e</sup> Colonell generall vnder Captaine *Iacson*, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge & at the push, Captaine *Robert Picot* was slaine, The Enemy being fled further thā we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the town: which being vnsortified in any place, we found vnderfended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be somoned y<sup>e</sup> night: which being abandoned by him that comaunded it, a *Portingall*, named *Anxo-*





student of Elizabethan book-making as it illustrates, in the briefest possible space, more of the peculiar methods employed by the printers of that era than are to be found elsewhere in so limited a compass.

As originally printed the leaf contained two pages of thirty-seven lines each; as reprinted, it contains, including the nine and one-third lines of absolutely new matter, two pages of thirty-eight lines each, and yet not an essential word of the original matter has been omitted.

How did the compositor manage to get all this new matter into these two pages without over-running? It is perfectly safe to say that no modern printer could have done it. How then could the Elizabethan printer succeed in doing what his successor in the art preservative of arts cannot do? Simply because he was allowed more flexibility in his work than is permitted in the present day.

The printer of the present day is restricted by certain rules and standards that hamper him in his work but which he is compelled to observe. Now the Dictionary establishes a fixed rule for spelling; then the printer could spell as he liked. He could expand or condense his spelling to meet his requirements. What were those requirements?

If we look at a book printed, say before 1641, we shall find that the spacing between the words is very close. This was a requirement followed by all printers in those days, and to accomplish it, and not give the scrappy look that meets the eye when we look at a modern book, he made use of a variety of means in order to comply with his Procrustean

rule for close spacing. In fact, the whole secret, if any there be, was in the justifying of the lines. When the modern printer, with his fixed rules for spelling and for the dividing of words, comes to the end of a line and finds that he cannot get in the whole of a word or a part of it, he goes back and puts in more spaces between the words. The result is that we find in a book printed at the present day one line closely spaced and the next one openly spaced. This it can readily be seen destroys the harmonious uniformity of spacing so generally found in the old books of which we are speaking. The books of the early printers have been much admired and justly so. May it not be, that, in addition to the symmetry of the page, the excellence of the paper, and the beauty of the characters, the evenness of the spacing, so noticeable in the products of the early presses, has unconsciously added to our admiration of these works more than we have been accustomed to realize?

The Elizabethan printer went about his work with more freedom than the compositor of the present. He lengthened the spelling of a word where necessary to fill out a line, or, if he wished to condense it and get more into a line, shortened or abbreviated words, which he considered as indispensable requisites to good printing.

If we look at the cancel and the cancelled leaf in the book under consideration we find that they present a beautiful uniformity of appearance, so far as spacing is concerned, and yet really the cancel contains one-ninth more matter than the cancelled



selling both the Towne and the Castle, wee rested there one day; wherein some Friars and other poore men came vnto their newe King, promising in the name of their Countrie next adioining, that within two daies he should haue a good supplie of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generalls companie of hozes were vnshipped.

The Generalls hauing there resolved that the Armie should march ouer land to *Lisbone* vnder the conduct of Generall Norris: and that Generall Drake should meet him in the riuer thereof with the Fleete: that there should be one Companie of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the shippes: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vanguard: General Drake, Colonel Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the Battaille: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntlies, & Colonell Brets in the Arriereward. By that time our Armie was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, who though he were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honozable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stode vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our Battalions must of necessitie march, and with a pleasing kindnes toke his leaue severallie of the commanders of euerie Regiment, wishing vs all most happie successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the iniurie of the weather did not hinder him, meeete vs in the riuer of *Lisbone* with our Fleete. The want of carriages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carrie their Ordnition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crisp the Prouost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published

nio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, wherupon he would deliver y<sup>e</sup> same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the castle 100. shot & pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his *Portingals* withall, & 20. barrells of powder: so as possessing both y<sup>e</sup> towne & the castle, we rested there one day; wherein some Friars & other poore men came vnto their newe King, promising in the name of their Countre next adioyning, that within two daies he should haue a good supplie of horse & foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

The Generals hauing there resolved y<sup>e</sup> the Armie should march ouerland to *Lisbone* vnder y<sup>e</sup> conduct of general Norris: & that general Drake should meet him in the riuer thereof w<sup>th</sup> the flecte: that there should be one company of foote left in gard of the castle, & 6. of the ships: also y<sup>e</sup> the sicke and hurt should remaine there w<sup>th</sup> prouisions for their cures. The General, to trie y<sup>e</sup> event of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this sort: his owne regiment, & the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vanguard: General Drake, Colonel Deucreux, S. Edward Norris, & Colonel Sidneis in y<sup>e</sup> Battaille: S. James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonel Vinprons, Colonel Huntleis, & Colonel Brees in the arereward. By that time our armie was thus marshalled, general Drake, who though he were to passe by sea, yet to make known the honorable desire he had of taking equal part of al fortunes w<sup>th</sup> vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by y<sup>e</sup> which our Battalions must of necessitie march, & with a pleasing kindnes toke his leaue severally of the commaunders of euerie regiment, wishing vs al happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise y<sup>e</sup> he would, if the iniury of y<sup>e</sup> wether did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of *Lisbone* with our flecte. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carrie their Munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe, the Prouost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published  
at



leaf. The printer has, in fact, admirably succeeded in pouring another gill into an already full quart pot.

If we critically examine his methods we shall find that, nearly, if not all of the devices then practised by his craft in order to secure the strict uniformity of close spacing then demanded, have been employed. Of course, in the present instance, this applies more especially to condensation than to the expansion of matter.

In the first place we find that he has made great use of contractions, as the following table will demonstrate. For example, instead of spelling the word 'and,' as in the cancelled leaf, the printer has made use of the ampersand, '&,' fifteen times. This method was one of the common ones in practice with the printers of that time. The table gives other examples, as follows :

## (1) CONTRACTIONS.

& for and	15 times.
y (final) for ie	8 "
ÿ for the	11 "
õ ,, om	4 "
õ ,, on	once.
ã ,, an	"
ée (logotype) for ee	6 times.
oo ,, ,, oo	once.
ÿ for that	4 times.
ŵ ,, with	4 "
S ,, Sir	twice.
ships for shippes	once.
figures for words	4 times.
lower-case letters for caps.,	18 times.

We next find that he has frequently omitted the final letters of words, as in the following examples:

## (2) OMISSIONS.

final e	15 times.
„ l	12 „
medial e	4 „
„ k	once.

2 unessential words in the 1st Issue are omitted in the 2nd:

some, p. 27, 3rd line from end;  
most, p. 28, line 30.

Changes in punctuation cannot really be said to effect much in the way of condensation, but we have noted two or three examples as follows:

## (3) PUNCTUATION.

Omitted in 2nd Issue	3 times.
Added „ „	once.
Changed	once.

Again, in resetting his type the printer has met with a few instances in which he found it necessary to extend the line in order to adhere to his inflexible rule of close and uniform spacing:

## (4) EXTENSIONS IN SECOND ISSUE.

an for ã	once.
on „ õ	„
ie (final) for y	„
u added	twice.
l (final) added	„
e „ „	„



We have noted a few other changes of a miscellaneous character which are probably due to the personal equation of the compositor who did this particular piece of work. They are as follows:

(5) OTHER CHANGES IN THE SECOND ISSUE.

Italic cap. for swash cap.	twice.
Swash „ „ Italic „	once.
y for i	twice.
n „ m (an error)	once.
the for that, p. 27, line 4.	
of „ in, p. 28, „ 13.	
on „ in, p. 28, „ 16.	

To summarize, we have, within the space of 67 lines, 139 changes, embodying some 37 varieties. If an equal number are to be found elsewhere in as limited a space we have yet to learn of it.

This pamphlet is of interest to the historian because of the famous men who appear in it as actors and especially for the part played by the unfortunate Earl, who later fell a victim of his own unhappy traits. To the bibliographer this interest is subordinated to the fact that here we have displayed, in a very restricted space, almost every device that the printers of old were accustomed to employ in condensing lines in order to adhere to their inflexible rule for close spacing.



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