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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF BIBLIOGRAPHY  
AND LIBRARY LORE

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

IN COLLABORATION WITH

KONRAD BURGER  
LÉOPOLD DELISLE                      MELVIL DEWEY

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### THE LIVELIHOOD OF THE PROFESSIONAL WRITER, CIRCA 1600.



PREVIOUS article in this Magazine, dealing with the question of patronage, tended to demonstrate its economic necessity, as a means of supplementing the scanty earnings of the professional writer. The following remarks are offered as a slight essay towards determining other possible sources of income open to one who should be resolved to avoid at all costs the uncomfortable position of the parasite.

*Controversial Writing.*—If possessed of sufficient learning and acuteness, he would probably find it most lucrative to undertake controversial work, especially in theology. Officials and clerics were fully alive to the necessity of answering some of the many polemical treatises issued by Jesuit and Puritan writers, from Louvain and elsewhere; and a fair remuneration awaited the man who could give adequate proof of his orthodox zeal, his learning, and controversial ability. Thomas Bell, a converted Jesuit, who wrote thirteen works against the Papists,

and further made himself useful by assisting to discover disguised Jesuits, received a pension of £50 a year, no mean income in those days. Nor was it only the orthodox who were prepared to pay well for a learned and forcible exposition of their views. George Wither, when he had published a little sacred poetry, told his readers, 'I have been offered a large yearly stipend, and more respective entertainments, to employ myself in setting forth heretical fancies, than I have yet probability to hope for by proposing the Truth.'<sup>1</sup> Learned work of a scientific nature appears to have been well rewarded by those interested.

*Translation.*—Translation, also, afforded employment to numerous professional writers, though for the most part it was probably hack work for the booksellers. John Wolfe alone must have provided a good deal of such employment, for he entered in the Stationers' Register no fewer than seventy-seven translations, from Latin, Italian, French, Dutch and Spanish. Information is wanting as to the payment received by the better class of translators; Philemon Holland had independent resources, and John Florio had many other ways of making an income, and probably relied little upon his translating work. The hack translator and compiler fared badly. Richard Robinson, who produced many indifferent versions of dull Latin works for various publishers, appears to have received no money payment at all. The proceeds of a certain number of copies, to be disposed of by himself to friends and patrons—eked

<sup>1</sup> 'Scholar's Purgatory' (c. 1624), p. 68.

out, if luck willed, by a dedication fee—formed his only remuneration.<sup>1</sup>

*Reading for the Press.*—Correcting for the press also provided some employment, especially for men sufficiently educated to read proofs in foreign and dead languages. John Foxe was a press corrector for some time while abroad, and possibly also acted in the same capacity for the printer, John Day. It was reckoned among the serious expenses incurred by the printer, as compared with the mere publisher, that the former had his ‘learned correctors’ to maintain constantly. They seem to have been engaged permanently, or at least for long periods. They were needed to correct reprints from classical and foreign languages, and such works as were not superintended in the customary manner by the authors themselves—if considered worth much correction.

The scholar in the ‘Return from Parnassus’ probably represents aptly enough the contempt of the University-bred man for such technical routine occupation. ‘Whatever befalls thee,’ he cries, ‘keepe thee from the trade of the corrector of the presse. . . . Would it not grieve any good spiritte to sit a whole moneth nitteing over a lousie beggarly pamphlet . . .?’<sup>2</sup>

*Lowest forms of Writing.*—Lower still, in the infernal circles in which literary sinners were condemned to toil and suffer, was the degrading employment of the news factor, the prophetic almanac

<sup>1</sup> See article by R. B. McKerrow, on Richard Robinson’s ‘Eupolemia,’ in ‘The Gentleman’s Magazine,’ April, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> Part ii, p. 82, ed. Mackay.

writer, the ballad and jig writer, and the versifier who wrote lascivious lines to suit the taste of the vicious.

To such work was the author of genuine talents occasionally forced, with greater or less reluctance, according to the standard which he had set up for himself. And he had here the mortification of finding himself elbowed by men of different calibre—mere uneducated scribblers. The perpetual gibes of men like Nash, Dekker, Hall, Hake, even of Jonson and Drayton, show that they felt keenly the competition caused by these scribblers, and felt, too, that by the public the more worthy writer was by no means always clearly distinguished from the base.

No doubt the appearance of this lowest class of writer was the direct result of the spread of elementary education and the introduction of printing. Only the very lowest, crudest forms of so-called literature could be at this time appreciated by a great part of the reading public; but for those there was a large, ready sale. This is proved by the very large numbers of 'ballets' and broadsides registered by the Stationers' Company. Certain writers, such as William Elderton, Thomas Deloney, Robert Armin, etc., 'the riffe-raffe of the scribbling rascality,' acquired a widespread popularity by their ephemeral productions; and other writers of greater capabilities, such as Breton, Dekker, Greene, Middleton, Rowlands, published some work which can only be distinguished from that of their inferiors by greater vigour of treatment. Very few, even of the best, could boast that they had never been in-



duced by need to cater for unworthy tastes. Lodge could not, though he does in his 'Glaucus and Scylla' register a vow:

To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,  
Or tie my pen to pennie-knaves' delight,  
But live with fame, and so for fame to wright.

Nash confesses, with his usual frankness, 'Twice or thrice in a month, when *res est angusta domi* . . . I am faine to let my plow stand still in the midst of a furrow, and follow some of those new-fangled Galiardos and Signor Fantasticos, to whose amorous Villannellas and Quipasses I prostitute my pen in hope of gain. . . .'<sup>1</sup>

*Such compete with good Work.*—Drayton expressly ascribes the neglect of great writers to the public taste for the lowest work, thus copiously supplied.

Base baladry is so belov'd and sought  
And those brave numbers are put by for naught,  
Which, rarely read, were able to awake  
Bodies from graves.  
. . . but I know, ensuing ages shall  
Raise her again who now is in her fall  
And out of dust reduce our scatter'd rhymes,  
Th' rejected jewels of these slothful times.<sup>2</sup>

In the same spirit Jonson apologizes for the delay in publication of 'Neptune's Triumph' on the ground that he preferred to wait till 'the abortive and extemporal din' of balladry had subsided:

<sup>1</sup> 'Have with you to Saffron Waldon.' 'Works,' iii, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Drayton. 'To Master George Sandys.'

The muses then might venture undeterred,  
For thy love, then, to sing, when they are heard.

It may not be true that the general public was quite unable to discern the difference between poetry and doggerel, between the racy pamphlets of Nash and Dekker, and the heavy-handed description of the latest marvel by the hack news-writer. Still, the distinction was a little blurred, and not seldom wilfully ignored. Gabriel Harvey knew, possibly, that he was deliberately unfair when he penned the following parallel; he certainly knew that many readers would accept his words:

‘He (Nash) disdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common pamphleters of London, even the painfullest Chroniclers, too; because they stand in his way, hinder his scribbling traffic . . . and have not chronicled him in their catalogue of the renowned modern authors. . . . But may not Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons more disdainfully disdain him, because he is so much vainer, so little learned, so nothing eleganter than they; and they so much honest, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler than he?’<sup>1</sup>

But suppose a writer unwilling to sink to the level of the ‘scribbling rascality,’ what other resources were open to him, with which to eke out scanty earnings and fitful bounty?

*Public Appointments.*—Jonson was comparatively fortunate, though he was miserably poor in later life. He had, besides the proceeds of the sale of

<sup>1</sup> ‘Pierce’s Supererogation.’ ‘Works,’ ed. Grosart, ii, 280-1.

manuscripts, some friendly patronage; he had the post of poet laureate, worth about a hundred marks (£66 13s. 4d.), though paid with little regularity; and he held for a short time the appointment of City Chronologer, worth about £10 yearly. Middleton also held this latter post for some years. But these appear to have been the only public appointments open to literary men as such. The great majority of professional writers must have found themselves driven either to accept positions to some extent incompatible with their chosen profession, or to become, for a part at least of their time, mere hack writers. They must dull the edge of their talents by slaving for the booksellers, or, worse, prostitute them by pandering to low tastes.

*University Preferments.* — A young University man of talent, in need of a settled income, might perhaps naturally hope for preferment to a Fellowship. But to qualify for a Fellowship was an expensive matter, and many promising young men found it impossible to reside for a sufficient length of time. University education was, in Elizabethan days, as now, costly. It had undoubtedly become more expensive since it had grown to be a custom for the sons of rich men to spend some time at the University, as part of the training for a secular career. As to the actual cost, Gabriel Harvey boasted that his father had spent £1,000 on the education of four sons<sup>1</sup>—a very large sum then for the moderately wealthy, impossible to a poor man. Many

<sup>1</sup> Harvey. 'Green's Memorial,' Sonnet XX. 'Works,' ed. Grosart, i, 250-1. It is possible that Harvey is reckoning the total cost of school and University education.

university students still eked out their scanty means, in the mediaeval fashion, by begging. In January, 1580, a 'scoller of Oxforde' was accused of wandering through the country with a fellow student, with forged licence to beg, in order 'to get moneye . . . for their better exhibition.'<sup>1</sup> There were, of course, many scholarships to the University from grammar schools, and sizarships for poor undergraduates. Marlowe and Spenser were in all probability indebted to such provision. The records of Beverley Corporation mention a number of exhibitions granted to grammar-school boys on their admission to the University. The sums granted vary from thirty shillings to two pounds yearly.<sup>2</sup> But, in any case, frequent references go to prove that the lot of the University scholar was hardly enviable. 'Scholars,' says Breton, are 'hardly brought up, therefore they should away with hardnes the better; their allowance in college is small, therefore little meate should content them.'<sup>3</sup> Moreover, as we shall see later on, scholarships and sizarships, like most other advantages, could hardly be obtained without influence.

Private benefactors, again, would not infrequently support promising youths at the University, as Lady Burghley supported Speght, and as Alex. Nowell supported others. But the course was long—seven years before proceeding to the M.A. degree, and it sometimes happened that length of time, and acci-

<sup>1</sup> 'Hist. MSS. Comm. V.' App. Part i, 579.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. Leach. 'Yorkshire Schools,' I, liii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Will of Wit.' 'Discourse of Scholar and Soldier.' 'Works,' ed. Grosart, i.

dent, brought to an end the benefactor's generosity. No University preferment could, naturally, be looked for by one whose career had stopped short of the degree, unless indeed, once more, by the way of 'influence.'

It must be noted, further, that the holding of a Fellowship, or even mere residence after taking the M.A. degree, entailed certain obligations not very congenial to the candidate for fame and money in the field of *belles-lettres*. Every resident M.A. was required to give lectures, which practically meant, to interpret and comment upon the somewhat arid 'texts' which formed the staple of University study in Dialectic, Law, and Theology. His remuneration for this work was confined to the fees paid by undergraduates.<sup>1</sup>

There were, further, practical reasons which made residence in the University inconvenient for the man who wished to become a professional writer. The distance of both Universities from London, the only centre of the publishing trade, was a serious bar. Nor could he hope to get work published by the University printing presses; these were practically idle. From 1522 to 1584 there was no printing done at Cambridge, and when in 1584 a press was started under the auspices of the University, it met with most determined opposition from the Stationers' Company, as an infringement of their rights. Thanks to Burghley, the University triumphed; but no great benefit resulted to the professional writer.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bass Mullinger, 'History of the University of Cambridge,' p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The Oxford University Press published about one hundred

John Lyly, in 1574, applied to Burleigh to use his influence to obtain for him a Fellowship;<sup>1</sup> but this was before the days of his authorship, which was perhaps indirectly brought about by his failure to obtain the desired preferment. Nash, on the other hand, declares that he 'might have been Fellow,' if he had chosen. No doubt we are to infer that he scorned it.<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain whether his boast was justified; he left the University before the end of his seventh year of residence,<sup>3</sup> and, what is more, he does not appear to have been able to reckon upon the necessary influence. 'It is in my time an hard matter,' says Harrison, 'for a poore man's child to come by a Felowship. . . . Not he which best deserveth, but he that hath most friends . . . is alwaies surest to speed' (1577).<sup>4</sup> Gross corruption and interference from highly placed personages for the most part decided the choice of Fellows. "Learning nowadays gets nothing if it come empty-handed; promotion . . . is become a purchase.'

There was another determining factor to be reckoned with—one, if possible, still less favour-

and sixty works during the years 1585-1603, all but eight of these being in Latin, or theological works. The eight exceptions are nearly all occasional verses on recent public events. Two only attain to any literary rank, viz.: Breton's 'Pilgrimage to Paradise' (1592) and Davies' 'Microcosmos' (1603). Later, Cambridge published Giles Fletcher's 'Christ's Victory and Triumph' (1610) and Phineas Fletcher's 'Purple Island' (1633); but their father had held an important position in the University.

<sup>1</sup> 'Euphues,' ed. Arber, 1895, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 'Have with you.' 'Works,' v, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> 'Lenten Stuff.' 'Works,' v, p. 241.

'Description of England.' New Shaks. Soc., Part i, p. 77.

able to the literary professional as known to us for the most part. During the greater part of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, the policy of the Universities was governed by considerations theological rather than educational or scholarly.

There was great dearth of men fit for the ministry, and in consequence, the authorities imposed upon the Universities as their primary duty the training of men to enter holy orders. Every effort was made to encourage the study of divinity, and turn the Universities into feeding supplies for the Church. Fellowships were restricted to those who would 'profess the study of divinity,' and pains were taken to secure that the profession should be more than nominal.<sup>1</sup> The fairly liberal education which formerly preceded the study of divinity was curtailed, and sometimes even dispensed with, to the disgust of the broader-minded.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the average Englishman thoroughly approved of this view of the functions of the University.<sup>3</sup> It was practical; and, moreover, theology was at that time a subject of great interest to most men. The policy had, however, an unfortunate effect. It fostered hypocrisy, and it lowered the educational standard, causing candidates for preferment to be selected on theological grounds rather than for their intellectual qualifications. A show of religious zeal not only added to the chances of an aspirant for honours, it even

<sup>1</sup> Bass Mullinger. 'Cambridge from 1535 . . .,' p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> W. S(tafford). 'A Brief Conceit . . . 1581.' New Shaks. Soc., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Breton, in 'Wit's Trenchmour,' 1597, represents a rustic father complaining of the neglect of his son's education in Divinity.

assisted him materially by accelerating his attainment of degrees. And on the other hand, Nash grumbles: 'If at the first peeping out of the shell a young student sets not a grave face on it, and seems not mortifiedly religious (have he never so good a witte, be hee never so fine a scholler), he is cast off and discouraged. . . . Your preferment . . . occasioneth a number of young hypocrites.'<sup>1</sup>

Nash's view is probably biassed; but he undoubtedly represents the natural resentment felt by the unclerical writer towards an evil which really existed. It is difficult, under the circumstances, to believe that he himself was ever 'religious' enough to have stood any chance of a Fellowship!

If this theological atmosphere did not deter a man from University residence, then a further discouragement would probably confront him from college disputes. Both Oxford and Cambridge seem, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, to have been hotbeds of contentiousness. Their quarrels were notorious. The State Papers are full of records of appeals to the Crown, now from one side, now from the other, in bitter college feuds. Theological bias was one great cause, the tyranny of heads of colleges was another, and frequently the two combined. Certain changes made in internal administration had given greatly increased powers to the heads of colleges, who seem frequently to have been at open war with their respective bodies of Fellows. Thus in 1565 the head of Caius College is said to have expelled twenty Fellows, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Christ's Tears' (1594), 'Works,' iv, 185.



to have punished some even with beating and the stocks!<sup>1</sup> In 1576 the visitor of New College, Oxford, found the college distracted by such grievous factions that four ringleaders had to be ejected and others chastised.<sup>2</sup> The Fellows of Magdalene, Cambridge, petitioned the Chancellor against their President on the ground that he had 'rooted out' a Welsh lecturer simply for his nationality, and that he pastured his cows in the college grounds, as if they were his private property.<sup>3</sup> Yet again, in 1598, we learn, the warden of Merton College, Oxford, has, after a severe tussle, got the better of his Fellows, fined and punished them, and expelled one who is said to have died 'of grief or curst heart' within five days!<sup>4</sup>

Such surroundings were not likely to prove congenial to men seeking leisure and peace for the work of artistic creation. The inevitable effect was to drive from the University all men of dignity, worth, and genius. John Foxe had to resign his Fellowship at Magdalen, Oxford, on account of his objection to the theological requirements exacted. Lyly, we have seen, failed to get the Fellowship he asked for; hardly a single writer of any repute kept up his connection with either University.<sup>5</sup>

From the practical point of view, moreover, a

<sup>1</sup> Bass Mullinger, 'Cambridge from 1535 . . .' p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. MSS. Hatfield, ii, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Bass Mullinger, 'Cambridge from 1535 . . .' p. 287 *n.*

<sup>4</sup> J. Chamberlain's 'Letters,' 8th Nov., 1598. 'Camden Soc.,' vol. 79.

<sup>5</sup> An exception is Thomas Heywood, who is stated to have been a Fellow at Peterhouse.

Fellowship was of such small value that it was hardly worth the sacrifice of leisure, peace, and principle involved. Although the Universities seem, under Elizabeth, to have steadily increased in prosperity, if not in scholarship and in dignity, the value of preferments was very small, amounting to the very barest living. Fellowships at King's College, Cambridge were worth a little more than £5 13s. 4d. (= £34) yearly; at St. John's most of the Fellows received £3 5s. 4d.; at Peterhouse 2s. a week. To quote from Mr. Bass Mullinger's interesting account: 'Generally speaking, the Fellow of a college who received 1s. 6d. a week for what we should now term his "board," thought himself well off.'<sup>1</sup> If Nash is to be believed, Gabriel Harvey, a Fellow of Pembroke, was unable to pay his own commons, and had to be helped by the charity of the rest of the Fellows.<sup>2</sup> J. Lyly was in debt at one time for his battells, 23s. 10d.<sup>3</sup>

The heads of colleges were little better off. When, in 1561, John Pilkington announced to the Vice-Chancellor his resignation of the mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge, he stated that its yearly value was only £12.<sup>4</sup> In 1591 the master of the same college, a man esteemed for his classical training, was so poor that the Dean of St. Paul's had taken charge of one of his sons, by way of charity to him.<sup>5</sup> There is some justification for

<sup>1</sup> Bass Mullinger, *ut supra*, p. 11, 290 n.

<sup>2</sup> 'Have with you . . .' 'Works,' iii, 130-31.

<sup>3</sup> Arber, 'Euphues,' p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Bass Mullinger, *ut supra*, p. 185 n.

<sup>5</sup> 'Camden Soc.,' xxiii, p. 87. Letter of 29th April, 1591.

Nash's assertion that half-educated University men 'betake themselves to some trade of husbandry, for any maintenance they get in the way of alms at the Universitie.'<sup>1</sup> Even these poor endowments were threatened by the rapacity of courtiers.<sup>2</sup>

The general poverty of members of the University is strikingly illustrated by a chance remark uttered by a boasting snob in the 'Returne from Parnassus': 'I cannot come to my inn in Oxforde without a dozen congratatorie orations, made by *Genus* and *Species* and his ragged companions. I reward the poor *ergoes* most bountifullie, and send them away.'<sup>3</sup>

*Tutorships.*—Tutorships, it is true, provided one source of emolument for senior members of the University. But, on account of the youthful age at which undergraduates came up, tutorships involved duties very much more exacting than those which are attached to the office to-day; more arduous than those of the present master in a public school. They amounted to a fulfilment of the functions of teacher, matron, and guardian. The tutor superintended the expenses of the undergraduate, bought necessary apparel and bed-linen for him, bought his books (and sometimes was left to pay the bill!), taught him privately, and superintended his religious and moral welfare.<sup>4</sup> The tutor of the Earl of Essex writes regarding the young earl's extreme necessity

<sup>1</sup> 'Anatomie of Absurditie.' 'Works,' i, 54-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> Part i, (c. 1600), ed. Mackay, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Bass Mullinger, 'Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century,' p. 489.

of apparel: 'he will, if not soon supplied, be not only threadbare but ragged.'<sup>1</sup> As late as 1646 we find a father requiring his son's tutor to see that he has employment on Sundays and fast-days, and to take care that he reads the Scriptures morning and evening. He even has to share his room with his pupil.<sup>2</sup> One of the characters in the 'Returne from Parnassus' recalls the time when he was in Cambridge, and lay 'in a trundle bed' under his tutor.<sup>3</sup> For all this wearisome attendance upon the youthful undergraduate, during an academic year arranged to give little more than six weeks' vacation, the remuneration was twenty shillings per annum.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, no one who aspired to a career in literature could afford to take upon himself duties so exacting for a reward so inadequate. John Florio, it is true, was at one time a tutor in Oxford; but he seems to have renounced the position for the more promising occupation of private teacher of languages, with a good connection, in London. The income gained from this seems to have sufficed for him, and in the intervals of teaching he was able to write.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cooper, 'Annals' (ed. 1843), p. 353. See a similar appeal for money and clothing for his pupil by the tutor of James Oxenden (c. 1630) quoted by Mr. Plomer in 'The Library,' vi (new series), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Bass Mullinger, *ut supra*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Mackay, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Hubert Hall, 'Society in the Elizabethan Age,' App. i, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> The above remarks apply also, in varying degree, to travelling tutorships, which could never, however, have been more than temporary expedient.

Thus we may conclude that, with preferments given almost entirely through 'influence,' or according to theological acquirements or pretensions; limited to those in Holy Orders, or proceeding to take them; and, finally, far from sufficient to maintain the holder in bare necessaries; with obligations to lecture and conduct University exercises in subjects particularly unlikely to be congenial to a mind of literary and artistic bent; the only other means of earning money—tutoring—being an engrossing duty which would leave no time or energies for creative work; it is not surprising that the University should have proved the very last home for a would-be writer.

As to the openings offered by the lower teaching profession, not much can be said here. The subject of school education in the later sixteenth century is beset with many difficulties and problems as yet unsolved. It is proposed here simply to offer a few scattered remarks upon the economic position of the teacher.

*School-work.*—There is reason to believe that teaching at the great grammar schools connected with the 'collegiate churches' of Eton, Westminster, or Winchester was sufficiently lucrative. They were large schools, richly endowed, and frequented by the sons of the wealthy aristocracy. Camden's prosperous career seems to point to this conclusion, though it should be remembered that he had no family to support.

But it is certain that the ordinary stipend of the master of a grammar school afforded but a very scanty provision for his needs, especially if he were married. Salaries ranged from about £5 or £6 to

£20, with, occasionally, a much smaller allowance for an usher to teach the ‘petties,’ *i.e.*, boys of seven to ten years of age.<sup>1</sup> They had formerly been of greater value, but the ill-judged measures taken under the Chancies Act in the reign of Edward VI, had, by substituting a fixed payment for endowments derived from property, greatly impoverished schools throughout the country. So serious was the depreciation that, under Elizabeth, it was found necessary in some districts to combine the funds of no less than five schools, in order to secure enough to pay a schoolmaster. Five Yorkshire grammar schools could, in 1583, raise only £25 7s. 2d. between them for the support of the master, and other expenses.

It was not that there was lack of good schools, or schools which had done good work—even the pessimist Philip Stubbes admitted that there were ‘excellent good schooles, both in cities, townes and countries’<sup>2</sup>—but they were seriously crippled in their resources, and afforded little inducement to men of learning and genius. This was fully recognized by authorities whose duty it was, in the various districts, to care for education. In an appeal (1548) to the Protector Somerset and the Council against the proposed sale of the endowment of Sedbergh Grammar School, the town authorities plead for more generous treatment of schoolmasters: ‘What learned man will go to this provincial spot

<sup>1</sup> For much of the information upon this topic I am indebted to A. F. Leach, ‘English Schools before the Reformation,’ and ‘Yorkshire Schools.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Anatomy of Abuses,’ New Shaks. Soc., ii. 19.

for such a narrow stipend [as £10 a year], when the lands have been taken away? What man of any promise will leave the University . . . to go to a rude people, a sparsely inhabited country, a rough (horridam) neighbourhood, with no vestige of elegance or culture, to hard and intolerable labour, for such a stipend?' It should be noted that nearly all the grammar schools were free,<sup>1</sup> the master being paid a fixed salary derived from landed property.

It is true that there is evidence of extra payments given for extra tuition, or by way of free presents; but there is not sufficient to warrant a belief that this was a frequent custom.<sup>2</sup>

We know that the grammar school master, Christopher Ocland, was constantly in financial distress, and we know the stipend upon which he had to depend. When the school of St. Olave's, Southwark, was remodelled on an improved footing, in 1571, Ocland was engaged as head master, with the former head, if willing, as his assistant. Ocland's salary was fixed at 20 marks yearly (£13 6s. 8d.), for which he was to teach the 'grammarians,' and help the usher with the 'petytes.' He was, apparently, to be allowed also to receive six or eight boarders to eke out his income.<sup>3</sup> He found it

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Leach has shown that the term 'Free School' bears the obvious meaning, *i.e.*, 'a school giving gratuitous education.'

<sup>2</sup> At an earlier period, and the custom may have continued, the schoolmaster expected frequent invitations to dine or sup with the parents of scholars. The early manuals of Latin contain ready-made forms of invitation from the boy to his master, and no doubt the teacher saw to it that the boy used them.

<sup>3</sup> 'Camden Soc.,' vol. 23, p. 65-66.

quite impossible to live upon these meagre resources, and was constantly petitioning great officials for some substantial patronage. In 1580 he gave up teaching, and tried to gain a living by writing, with little success. In 1590 we find him living at Greenwich, because his debts make it impossible for him to be in London; he is teaching again, but his labours 'will not fynde' him 'mete and drynck.' He petitions Burleigh in most abject terms: 'Helpe, my very goode Lorde, my singular good Lorde, helpe I praie and most humbly desyre your honor for God's sake, your most poor and unfortunate Christopher.'<sup>1</sup> Still later, we find it proposed to relieve the poverty of his widow, by giving her the next vacant post as 'coal-measurer at the waterside.'<sup>2</sup>

Teachers in the elementary schools, and those with private schools of their own, fared even worse. The ordinary rate of payment was from twopence to sixpence a week for each child, in the private school; in the public school, probably, there was a fixed salary. That the pay was low, however, is only too clear. Stubbes states that in the 'inferior schools, . . . such small pittance is allowed the schoolemasters, as they can . . . hardly maintaine themselves . . . they teach and take paines for little or nothing.'<sup>3</sup> Gibes at 'hungry scholars,' who spend their time teaching children their horn-books, or drudging over 'pueriles confabulationes' with 'a companie of seven-year old apes,'<sup>4</sup> are frequently

<sup>1</sup> 'Camden Soc.,' vol. 23, pp. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup> 'Acts of the Privy Council' (7th June, 1593), vol. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> 'Anatomy of Abuses,' ii, 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> 'Pilgrimage to Parnassus' (1597), ed. Mackay, p. 21.



met with. 'As lousy as a schoolmaster'<sup>1</sup> was a comparison that could apparently be used without inappropriateness.

The labours of the schoolmaster were by no means nominal. The ordinary grammar school hours averaged from seven to eight a day; and, if we may judge from the account given by a seventeenth century schoolmaster of Rotherham, the curriculum was sufficiently varied and exacting. The 'petties' learnt accidence, syntax, and easy Latin translation; the boys in the higher forms studied Terence, Ovid, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Seneca, Juvenal, Persius, Isocrates, Hesiod, Homer, and sometimes even Hebrew. They wrote themes and Latin verses, and they held disputations. The task of superintending such a mass of work, even with the assistance of an usher and a few of the older boys, can have left very little leisure or energy for original writing.

Other duties less congenial than that of reading classic authors fell to the lot of the schoolmaster. Even the "collegiate" schoolmasters were required to attend to details which must have been very irksome, and they were at times treated with scant courtesy, as the following letter will show. It is from the irate parent of a boy whose epistolary skill appears to be defective:

'Roger Coppez to J. Harman at Winchester, 1593, Dec. 18.—Look to Anthony Coppez, your scholar, and command him not to write unto "my" but to make you privy to it, for his hand is very bad, and the manner of writing worse, as you see

<sup>1</sup> 'The Puritan,' i, sc. 2.

by the letter that he send unto "my," and from henceforward let him not write but in Latin when he can do it of himself, and not else; and, I pray, good Mr. Harman, speak to one that may teach him to write very fear (*sic*). The bearer hereof is my brother, and he shall tell you my mind at large.'<sup>1</sup>

*Private teaching.*—The lot of tutors in private families must have varied greatly. Samuel Daniel was treated as an honoured friend, so also was W. Browne. In the ordinary middle-class family, especially if of the class of *nouveaux-riches*, his position was certainly far from pleasant. The satiric picture of the tutor drawn in the 'Returne from Parnassus,' is doubtless highly coloured; but it must have borne some relation to fact. He is to be content to fare like the servants, living on bread and beer and bacon: he is to wait at meals; to work all harvest time; and never to begin his teaching without an obeisance to his pupil. For all this he is to receive five marks a year, and a gift from his master's cast-off wardrobe.<sup>2</sup> The employer was held responsible for the orthodoxy of the private teacher, a penalty of £10 being imposed in 1580 upon all who had in their houses schoolmasters who did not attend church!<sup>3</sup>

Besides Daniel and W. Browne, three other writers held the position of family tutor.<sup>4</sup>

Of professional writers under Elizabeth and James I, only three, Camden, Ocland, and Shirley,

<sup>1</sup> Cal. MSS. Hatfield, 438.

<sup>2</sup> Part i, pp. 45-46 (ed. Mackay).

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Burn, 'The Court of High Commission,' p. 9 *n*.

<sup>4</sup> They were John Foxe, Stephen Gosson, and William Webbe.

are known to have been school teachers, and the two latter gave up the profession when they turned to writing.<sup>1</sup> There is a legend that Shakespeare, before he went to London, spent a little time teaching in the country. John Davies was a 'writing-master,' and John Florio a 'master of languages'; but their position, with a private aristocratic *clientèle*, differed greatly from that of the ordinary schoolmaster.

Two other occasional writers who were also schoolmasters, are Richard Knolles, and Francis Meres.

*Holy Orders.*—Nor could the Church offer an enviable refuge to the needy literary man, except in the higher ranks. Throughout the great part of this period, in spite of strenuous efforts at remedy, the financial position, social status, and intellectual qualifications of the average country clergy were such as to bring great discredit upon the profession of Holy Orders. This was largely the result of the uncertainty of the last three reigns, which had driven out of the ranks of the clergy many of the most earnest and best qualified men, and had discouraged those who would naturally have entered Holy Orders.

Moreover, the necessity, in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, of supplying pastors to the many communities left without any ecclesiastical leader,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Arthur Acheson would add Chapman to their number, suggesting that he may have kept school 'on the hill next Hitchen's left hand,' so as to qualify himself for identification with Holofernes, who educated youth at the change-house 'on the top of the mountain.' ('Shakespeare and the rival Poet,' p. 110 *seq.*)

was so urgent that it forced archbishops into filling up the vacancies with most injudicious haste. Parker, in 1559, ordained one hundred and fifty clergy in one day;<sup>1</sup> Grindal ordained one hundred in his first month of office. The results were most disastrous. Large numbers of those ordained were quite unqualified, and served only to degrade their order in public estimation. They are held in general contempt. 'Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits choose rather to employ their studies unto physike and the lawes, utterlie giving over the studie of the scriptures, for feare least they should in time not get their bread by the same.'<sup>2</sup> 'Some do bestow advowsons of benefices upon their bakers, butlers, cookes . . . and horse-keepers.'<sup>3</sup>

They were ignorant: some of them, it was said, 'such as can scarcely read true English.' Many of them, moreover, were of unclean life, utterly unfitted, even morally, for their office: 'They will read you their service . . . and when they have done they will to all kinds of wanton pastimes and delights . . . and all the week after, yea, all the year . . . they will not stick to keep company at the alehouse from morning till night, tippling and swilling.' They are 'fitter to feed hogs than Christian souls.'<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly the zealous efforts of the higher

<sup>1</sup> Frere. 'Eng. Church under Eliz. and James I,' p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Harrison, 'Description of England' (New Shaks. Soc., part i, p. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Harrison, *ut supra*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Stubbes, 'Anatomy of Abuses,' 1583. (New Shaks. Soc., ii, p. 77.) The picture is doubtless a little overdrawn.

clergy, and the government, did much gradually to improve this situation.

Already, by 1577, Harrison notes a considerable advance in intellectual qualifications; men are no longer ordained upon such slender acquirements as availed twelve or fifteen years before, 'when there was small choice.'<sup>1</sup> He is even enthusiastic as to the learning and zeal of the higher clergy at the time when he writes; but this is due largely to his patriotic pride in the fact that they are now chosen from among Englishmen, and are no longer 'strangers, especially out of Italie.'<sup>2</sup> It was more than ten years afterwards that Ponsonby published Spenser's bitterly satiric sketch of the country parson in 'Mother Hubbard's Tale' (published 1591):

. . . Read he could not evidence, nor will  
 Ne tell a written word, ne write a letter,  
 Ne make one title worse, ne make one better:  
 Of such deep learning little had he neede,  
 Ne yet of Latine, ne of Greeke, that breede  
 Doubts mongst Divines, and difference of texts,  
 From whence arise diversitie of sects,  
 And hateful heresies, of God abhorr'd:  
 But this good sir did follow the plaine word,  
 Ne medled with their controversies vaine:  
 All his care was, his service well to saine,  
 And to read Homelies upon holidayes;  
 When that was done he might attend his playes;  
 An easy life, and fit high God to please!

There was thus very little inducement for the man of attainments to select the career of parish

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, 'Description of England' (New Shaks. Soc.), part i, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

priest, though it is possible that, in the earlier years of the period, he would have been readily beneficed.

*Value of Benefices.*—But when we come to investigate the value of the average benefice, we are no longer surprised that few writers should appear to have even dreamed of qualifying for one. The poverty of the clergy is a standing topic. It supplies upon one occasion a telling simile for Dekker, who describes a footpath as being ‘beaten more bare than the livings of Churchmen.’<sup>1</sup> The same writer publishes a small collection of private prayers, including one for the clergy, which reveals incidentally the light in which they are regarded—as objects for charity! ‘As they break unto us,’ runs the prayer, ‘the bread of life (which Thou sendest . . .) so grant (O Lord) that we may not suffer them to starve for earthly bread, but that like brothers we may relieve them.’<sup>2</sup>

Ten, twelve, thirty pounds at most, is the common annual value of a living. Stubbes says they range as low as £5, £4, and even £2 a year. ‘Yea, and table themselves also of the same.’<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the whole first year’s income has to go to the crown, besides a yearly tenth; so that out of a benefice of £20, ‘the incumbent thinketh himself well acquitted if, all ordinarie payments being dischargd, he may reserve £13 6s. 8d. towards his own sustentation, and maintenance of his familie.’<sup>4</sup> This is

<sup>1</sup> Dekker, ‘News from Hell.’ ‘Works,’ ed. Grosart, ii.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Four Birds of Noah’s Ark.’ ‘Works,’ v. 49.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Anatomie of Abuses’ (New Shaks. Soc., ii. 75.)

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, ‘Descr. Eng.,’ i. 24.

as if the majority of livings at the present day were worth from £60 to £80!

*Simony.*—Nor are these legal payments all that are incurred by the unhappy parson. Patrons, infected with the prevalent greed, or need of money, demand heavy fees from the unlucky incumbent, amounting at times to as much as three-fourths annually of the total income. They will reduce £40 to £10 by their exactions.<sup>1</sup> The patron will covenant that

If the living yearly do arise  
To fortie pound, that then his youngest son  
Shall twentie haue, and twentie thou hast wonne,  
Thou hast it wonne, for it is of franke gift.”<sup>2</sup>

In 1609, Ralph Cleaton, a curate-in-charge at Buxton, possessed the large income of £5—all the tithes going to the patron.<sup>3</sup> That excellent witty satire, the ‘Returne from Parnassus’ (1601) has an amusing scene treating of this theme, employing for the purpose the conventional echo-motif:

*Acad.* Faine would I haue a liuing, if I could tel how to come by it. *Eccho.* Buy it.

. . . *Acad.* What, is the world a game, are liuings gotten by playing? *Eccho.* Paying.

*Acad.* Paying? but say what’s the nearest way to come by a liuing? *Eccho.* Giving.<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunate vicars, unable to keep house upon their scanty stipends, were driven to lodge at the ale-house; one, in despair of making ends meet,

<sup>1</sup> Philip Stubbes, ‘Anatomy of Abuses,’ 1583, part ii, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Spenser, ‘Mother Hubbard’s Tale.’

<sup>3</sup> Lodge, ‘Illustrations of History,’ iii, 390.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Returne from Parnassus,’ ed. Mackay, part ii, p. 98.

even begs to be allowed to sell ale himself.<sup>1</sup> Nash had probably sufficient grounds for his irritating sneer at Gabriel Harvey's parson brother Richard, whom he called 'a dolefull foure nobles curate, nothing so good as the confessor of Tyburne,' declaring that he 'hath scarce so much ecclesiasticall living in all as will serve to buy him crewell strings to his bookes, and haire buttons.'<sup>2</sup> We know that the poor fellow had to eke out his living by recourse to the lowest form of writing—astrological almanacs!

It is true that during the later years of Elizabeth, and under James I, matters somewhat improved. In point of learning, morality, and social status great reforms were effected, and it is probable that under Charles I and Laud still more was done. In 1633 we find a certain Hugh Thomson receiving a stipend of £60 upon his entry into the ministry, a sum raised later to £100.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing remarks will have made it clear that, could an aspirant to literary fame have succeeded in obtaining a benefice, the inevitable sacrifice of congenial society, and of access to books, and the social ignominy incurred, were amply sufficient to deter him, even had the financial gain been much more considerable than is apparent. In fact, out of about a hundred and ten writers only nine appear to have taken Holy Orders, and

<sup>1</sup> Lodge, 'Illustrations of History,' iii, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> 'Have with you . . .' 'Works,' iii, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton MSS. 784. It should be remarked that it is not clear whether Thomson was an Anglican pastor, or belonged to one of the various dissenting sects.



three only of these can be called professional writers.<sup>1</sup>

Hakluyt almost certainly endeavoured by his writings to attract patronage, and he actually held several ecclesiastical preferments. Shirley, at one time a 'minister,' seems to have abandoned that calling when he 'set up for a play-maker.'

Marston's abandonment of drama for the Church only serves to show that the literary career was not found thoroughly compatible with the clerical.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> They are: Andrewes, Donne (not a professional writer in our sense), Fleming, Hakluyt, Hall, Harrison, Marston, Meres, and Shirley.

<sup>2</sup> Herrick probably obtained his living in Devonshire (1629) on the score of his early verses. But it is noteworthy that it was not until about the time of his ejection from his living (1648) that he printed his poems.

## THE PRINTER OF BORDE'S 'INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE.'

**I**N several of his other books Andrew Borde refers to the printing of his 'Introduction of Knowledge,' which was issued in or shortly after 1548 by William Copland.

In the 'Breviary of Healthe' he writes: 'In my Anothomy in the Introduction of Knowledge, whiche hath been longe a pryntyng, for lacke of money and paper; and it is in pryntyng with pyctures at Roberte Coplande, prynter.' And again 'as it appereth more largely in the Introduction of Knowledge, a boke of my makynge, beyng a pryntyng with Ro. Coplande.'

In the 'Pryncyples of Astronamy' we find 'latt them loke in a book namyd the Introduction of Knowleg, a boke of my makynge the which ys a printyng at old Robert Coplands, the eldist printer of England.'

Finally, in the 'Dyetary of Helth' we read: 'But yf it shall please your grace to loke on a boke the which I dyd make in Mountpyller, named the Introductory of Knowledge, there shall you se many new matters, the whiche I have no doubte but that your grace wyl accept and lyke the boke, the whiche is a pryntyng besyde saynt Dunstons churche within Temple barre, over agaynst the Temple.'

Now the three first quotations clearly and definitely state that the ‘Introductory of Knowledge’ was printed by Robert Copland; but so far as I am aware, no bibliographer has noticed that the last quotation affords direct information to the contrary. The printing office ‘beside S<sup>t</sup> Dunstan’s church, over against the Temple,’ was of course William Middleton’s, the George, which had previously been occupied by Pynson and Redman; Copland’s office, the Rose Garland, was on the opposite side of the street, and much further east. In the colophon to the ‘Recuile of the Histories of Troie’ of 1553 it is said to have been printed ‘in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garlande nyghe unto Flete brydge.’ Besides this we have still more definite information. Amongst other property left by will by Thomas Alsop in 1557 was ‘2 mesuages and 1 garden . . . in the several tenures of William Copland, stationer, and Dionisius Bayly, spurrier, situate in the parish of S<sup>t</sup> Bridget in Fleetstreet, London, to wit, between the tenements of John Conyngham and Thomas Jacson, on the east, the tenements of George James and Thomas Pole on the west, the tenement in the tenure of Sir Thomas Grey on the south, and the highway of Fleet Street on the North.’

The next point to settle is the date when these various statements of Borde’s were made. The earliest seems to be that in the ‘Dietary of Helthe,’ for it is made in the dedication, which is dated 1542, and the book itself was printed about the same time by Wyer for John Gowghe, who died in 1543. In 1542, then, Borde stated that his ‘In-

roduction of Knowledge' was being printed beside St. Dunstan's Church, that is at Middleton's. The 'Breviary of Healthe' was probably written about the same time as the 'Dietary,' and was 'examined' in Oxford in June, 1546, but no edition is known to have been printed earlier than Middleton's of 1547, and no copy of this seems to be extant. Borde's two references to Robert Copland occur in the text of this book, and there was nothing to prevent their being added any time before 1547. When the 'Pryncyples of Astronamy' was written we have no clear evidence, but the printing may be ascribed to 1547.

There is one interesting point to be noticed. A new edition of the 'Dietary of Helthe' was printed in 1547 by William Powell, Middleton's successor at the George. It contains a re-written preface by Borde dated May, 1547, and he omits the passage 'the whiche is a pryntyng besyde saynt Dunstons church within Temple barre, over against the Temple.'

Does this mean that by this time an edition of the 'Introduction of Knowledge' had already been issued by Middleton, or had the work been transferred from Middleton to Copland, and did Borde hesitate to advertise that fact in a work issued by Middleton's successor?

In 1542 Middleton's press was an active one, and was quite equal to issuing Borde's book at once, and yet from these various quotations it would appear that a work which was in the press in 1542 was still unfinished in 1547-8.

After W. de Worde's death in 1535 we hear

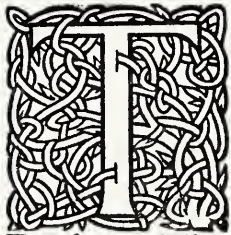
little of Robert Copland, and it is doubtful whether after this time he engaged in practical printing. His name is found in only one book as a printer, the ‘Prynnyples of Astronamy,’ ascribed to 1547, and I think it is quite probable that a careful examination of this book would show it to be the work of some other printer.

Copland we know was very poor. In the subsidy assessment of 1544 his goods were valued at only one pound, the lowest of any printer or stationer in Fleet Street, while Berthelet stands at £400. The ‘lacke of money and paper’ which Borde speaks of would certainly apply to him, and he may have been working slowly at an illustrated edition of the ‘Introduction.’

With our present knowledge it is impossible to account for these conflicting assertions of Borde, and they can only be left for future discoveries to explain.

E. GORDON DUFF.

## THE LADY MARGARET AS A LOVER OF LITERATURE.



THE great foundations of Christ's College and St. John's College, at Cambridge, are lasting monuments of the wealth and liberality of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby. This princess was in her lifetime, as after her death, a patron of learning and literature.<sup>1</sup>

The education of women was still neglected in her day, but the Lady Margaret was more fortunate than some of her sisters. She learned French, but her acquaintance with Latin, as she lamented, was somewhat elementary, though she knew sufficient to follow the church services. She had a good memory and natural ability. She was a skilful and artistic needlewoman. 'Right studious she was in books, which she had in great number, both in English and in French,' as Bishop Fisher testifies. Some of her books we know by name. Ann, Duchess of Buckingham, who was the Lady Margaret's mother-in-law, died in 1480, and bequeathed to her 'a book of English called "Legenda Sanctorum," a book of French called "Lucun,"<sup>2</sup> another book of French of the epistles and gospels, and a

<sup>1</sup> For fuller details as to the Lady Margaret, the memoir by C. A. Halsted and that by C. H. Cooper, edited by J. E. B. Mayor, must be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> Sir H. Nicolas prints this 'Lucum.' See 'Testamenta Vetusta,' p. 357.

primer with clasps of silver gilt covered with purple velvet.' Professor J. E. B. Mayor has suggested that by 'Lucun' is meant the translation of Lucan, Sallust and Suetonius, printed for Vérard at Paris in 1490.

Bishop Fisher bears testimony to the devoutness and ascetic spirit of the Lady Margaret, but her austerities were not incompatible with the enjoyment of dramatic entertainments or the sports of an abbot of misrule that did right well his office. On the occasion of the marriage of Catharine of Aragon and Prince Arthur she was one of the spectators of a pageant in which one of the performers represented the Almighty, and delivered a sermon in verse. The Sunday entertainments included plays, dancing, dicing, carding, archery, etc. She had a band of minstrels under her patronage, and to these the town of Cambridge in 1491 gave red wine at a charge of five pence. On 3rd December, 1497, £3 6s. 8d. was paid out of the King's privy purse 'to my lady King's moder poet.' And it has been suggested that Lady Margaret's laureate was Erasmus. We should like to think so.

The Lady Margaret was a patron of the first English printer, and of two of his successors. William Caxton tells us that he had sold to the Lady Margaret a copy of 'Blanchardine et Eglantine' in French, and at a later period she returned the book to him to be translated into English. This version he printed about 1489 with a dedication 'beseeching my said lady's bounteous grace to receive this little book in gree of me her humble servant and to pardon me of the rude and common

English, wheras shall be found fault, for I confess me not learned, ne knowing the art of rhetoric, ne of such gay terms as now be said in these days and used. But I hope that it shall be understandon of the readers and hearers; and that shall suffice.' This last sentence is omitted by Blades. It may be noted that Caxton erroneously calls his patroness Duchess of Somerset, as though she had inherited the title as well as the estates of her father.

In 1494 an English version of Walter Hylton's 'Scala Perfectionis' was printed in the house of William Caxton by Wynkyn de Worde at the command of the Lady Margaret, as appears by some verses, strangely punctuated, at the end.

*Lenuoye.*

Infynite laude wyth thankynges many folde  
 I yelde to god me socouryng wyth his grace  
 This boke to finyssh whiche that ye beholde  
 Scale of perfeccion calde in euery place  
 Whereof thauctor walter Hilton was  
 And wynkyn de worde this hath sett in prynt  
 In willyam Caxtons hows so fyll the case  
 God rest his soule. In Joy there mot it stynt  
  
 This heuenly boke more precyous than golde  
 Was late direct wyth great humylyte  
 For godly plesur. theron to beholde  
 Unto the right noble Margaret as ye see  
 The kyngis moder of excellent bounte  
 Henry the seuenth that Jhū hym preserue  
 This mighty pryncesse hath cōmaunded me  
 Temprynt this boke her grace for to deserue.

At the 'exortacion and sterynge' of the Countess, her confessor, Bishop Fisher, published his treatise



on the seven penitential psalms, which was printed by Pynson in 1505 and 1510, and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1508, 1509, 1525, and 1529. The bishop states that his patroness delighted greatly in these Psalms. Wynkyn de Worde in 1509 when he issued the 'Parlyament of Devils' and the 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' and in the colophons styles himself 'Prynter vnto the moost excellent Pryncesse my lady the Kynges mother.'

Bishop Fisher's funeral sermon for Henry VII, preached at St. Paul's, 10th March, 1509, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde at the special request of the Lady Margaret.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Watson, at the request of Wynkyn de Worde, who had been moved thereto by the Lady Margaret, translated Brant's 'Ship of Fools' from French into English, and although very inferior to Alexander Barclay's metrical version, this reached a second edition in 1517. Pynson printed a 'Breviarium Sarisburiense' at the expense of the Countess, but the date is not known. Dyce suggests that 'my lady's grace,' whom Skelton mentions as the patroness of his last translation from French into English prose 'Of Mannes Lyfe the Peregrynacioun,' was the Lady Margaret.

The Lady Margaret was not only a patron of literature, but a labourer therein. Perhaps we ought to reckon among her literary efforts the 'Ordinances and Reformations of Apparel for Princes and estates with other ladies and gentlewomen for the

<sup>1</sup> This sermon and that by the same prelate for the Lady Margaret are said to be the earliest printed examples of that form of literature.

time of mourning,' of which there are several manuscript copies. The Statutes of Christ's College are said to be 'framed' by the Countess in 1506, but, as they are in Latin, we may conclude that they were not her composition. The very detailed comparison of a college and the various parts of the human body appears to have been a commonplace of the period.<sup>1</sup>

By the 'request and commandment of the Lady Margaret,' a translation from the Latin of the 'Imitatio Christi' was made by Dr. William Atkynson, and printed 'by Wynkynde Worde in Fleet Street at the sign of the Sun.' The fourth book was translated by the Lady Margaret from the French, and printed by the same printer in 1504.<sup>1</sup>

As a specimen of her skill as a translator, it may suffice to give the last paragraph of her translation. We give the Latin text, Lady Margaret's rendering from the French, and Dr. W. A. Copinger's 'absolutely literal translation of the original.'

Nam fides et amor ibi maximè præcellunt, et occultis modis in hoc sanctissimo et superexcellensissimo sacramento operantur. Deus aeternus et immensus, infinitaeque potentiae, facit magna et inscrutabilia in coelo et in terra, nec est investigatio mirabilium operum ejus. Si talia essent opera Dei, ut facilè ab humana ratione caperentur, non esset mirabilia nec ineffabilia dicenda.

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<sup>1</sup> Cooper, pp, 101, 251.

<sup>2</sup> This is included in Dr. J. K. Ingram's early English edition of the 'De Imitatione Christi' (Early English Text Society's extra series, lxiii, 1893).

*Lady Margaret's Version.*

Fast faith and true love surmounteth all curious inquisition, principally in this matter, and marvellously openeth to understanding in secret manner of this holy and right excellent sacrament. O eternal God, and without measure of might and bounty, which hast made the infinite great and wonderful things in the heaven and earth, which none is sufficient to inquire, understand or find the secrets of thy so marvellous works, and therefore they be called inestimable, for man's reason neither may nor can comprehend thy works. To whom, Lord God Almighty, be given laud and praising withouten end.

*Dr. Copenger's Version.*

For faith and love here shine forth most abundantly and work in hidden ways in this most holy and transcendent Sacrament. God who is eternal and incomprehensible and of infinite power, doth things inscrutable in heaven and earth and there is no searching out of His wonderful works. If the works of God were such as might be easily comprehended by human reason, they could neither be called wonderful nor unspeakable.

Here it is easy to see that in the diffuse version of the Lady Margaret there is the influence of a modern language less compact in its structure than the Latin. The only word she uses that can be regarded as obsolete is *withouten*. The rest of her vocabulary is absolutely modern, although it is more than four centuries since she wrote the paragraph we have quoted.

About 1507 appeared 'The Mirroure of Golde for the sinfull Soule,' which she had turned from a French version into English. It was printed by Pynson and several times reprinted.

This presente boke (we quote from the edition of 1522) is called the *Mirrore of golde to y<sup>e</sup> sinfull soule*/ the whiche hath ben trāslated at parice oute of laten into frenche/ and after the trāslation seen & corrected/ at length of many clarkis/ Doctours/ & maisters in diuinitie/ and nowe of late translatede oute of frenche īto Englisthe by the right excellēt princesse Margarete moder to oure souerain lorde kinge Henry the .vii. and Countesse of Richemond & derby.

The British Museum Catalogue describes it as a translation of the ‘*Speculum aureum animae peccatricis*’ of Denis de Leeuwis, de Rickel. This author, known as the ‘*Doctōr Extaticus*,’ whose name was latinized as Dionysius à Leewis, was born at Rickel, in the bishopric of Liège in 1394 and died in 1471. He was educated at Cologne, joined the Carthusian order, and was the author of above a hundred theological books. Some of these are controversial, but for the most part his writings are exegetical or didactic. In 1608 his body was exhumed by an admiring bishop, and the bones were for the most part still adherent. Foppens adds: ‘*Et, quod tota miretur posteritas, pollex et index manus dexteræ, duo nimirum scriptendorum librorum instrumenta maximè necessaria, integri, carnosi et vividi.*’<sup>1</sup>

The Lady Margaret’s will further illustrates her claims as a lover of literature. To her chapel at Westminster she left a ‘portuous,’ and a book having in the beginning certain images with prayers to them; and after them the primer and psalter. These were to be chained. To Durham monastery she left a

<sup>1</sup> Foppens: ‘*Bibliotheca Belgica*,’ i, 244.

Sarum mass book. A mass book was bequeathed to the parish of Colyweston. To the King she left 'a French book of vellum with diverse stories, at the beginning the book of Genesis with pictures limned, a great volume of vellum covered with black velvet which is the second volume of Froissart, a great volume of vellum named John Bokas lymned, and a great volume of vellum of the siege of Troy in English.' We need not suppose Boccaccio's book to have been the 'Decamerone'; it is more likely to have been Lydgate's translation of the 'Falls of Princes,' and the following item to have been his 'Troy book.' John St. John became the happy possessor of a book of vellum of 'Canterbury Tales' in English. Alexander Frognall received 'a printed book which is called Magna Carta in French.' In the executors' accounts books are mentioned, but the titles are not specified.

Truly the memory of the Lady Margaret should be had in honour and grateful remembrance by the lovers of literature and learning.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

## STEPHEN BULKLEY, PRINTER.



GOOD many years have elapsed since Robert Davies wrote his memoir of the York Press. In the interval the bibliographical horizon has widened considerably, and many new facts unknown to that author have come to light. In writing of Stephen Bulkley, Robert Davies knew nothing of his antecedents before he went to York, neither who he was, where he came from, nor the reason of his coming. Mr. Allnutt, in his investigations into the work of the provincial presses, did not go beyond the information supplied by his predecessor, nor has any one since attempted to penetrate the background of obscurity that hid the antecedents of Stephen Bulkley from view. A chance discovery has, however, led the way to a reconstruction of the history of Stephen Bulkley, which we are now able to give in a comparatively complete form. In the Apprenticeship Register of the Company of Stationers for the year 1630 are the following entries:

“7th June, 1630. Thomas Buckley, son of Joseph Buckley of Canterbury in the County of Kent, Stationer, hath put himself apprentice to Robert Barker for 7 years.

“7th Feb: 1630 (*i.e.* 1631). Steven Bulkley, son of Joseph Bulkley, of Canterbury, in the County

of Kent, Bookseller, hath put himself apprentice unto Adam Islip for 8 years from Candlemas Day last."

These two entries clearly refer to two sons of the Canterbury bookseller, of whom we have a mention in the imprint of a book in the British Museum, a sermon preached in Canterbury Cathedral by the Reverend Thomas Jackson, one of the prebendaries. The imprint runs: "London, printed by John Haviland for Joseph Bulkley and are to be sold at his shop in Canterbury. 1622."

The different spelling of the surname occurs throughout the history of Stephen Bulkley, his name being written as frequently Buckley as Bulkley. It has even been continued to modern times, for in Mr. Gray's Index to Hazlitt, he mentions Stephen Buckley, printer at York, and Stephen Bulkley, printer at Gateshead, referring in each case to the same man. It is necessary to keep this in mind to understand what follows.

On the completion of the eight years of Stephen Bulkley's apprenticeship, he took up his freedom on the 4th February, 1639, his name appearing in the entry in Mr. Arber's 'Transcript' (vol. iii, p. 688) as Stephen Buckley. During the next two years Bulkley seems to have been in partnership with a printer named John Beale, who was then nearing the end of his career. Several books bearing the imprint 'London, printed by J. B. and S. B.', appeared during the years 1640 and 1641. One of these is a quarto entitled 'The Secretary in fashion, or a compendious and refined way of expression in all manner of letters, composed in French by R. de

la Serre, historiographer of France and translated into English by John Massinger, gent.' Another is a folio, a heavy theological work, entitled 'A general view of the Holy Scriptures;' both bear the date 1640. In the following year we find a third book,<sup>1</sup> also of a theological character with these initials; and, finally, a work entitled 'Sol Britannicus,' a fulsome essay in Latin on the virtues of King Charles I, in which the imprint runs: 'Londini excudebat J. Beale & S. Buckley. 1641.'

The principal types used in printing 'Sol Britannicus' were a double pica roman in the Dedicatory Epistle, a double pica italic on the last leaf, a great primer roman and italic for the text, and a fount of greek type. This double pica italic is also found in the dedication to the reader of the 'Counterpoison,' and in one of those prefixed to the 'Secretary in Fashion.' The double pica roman is also found in use in the first dedication of the 'Secretary,' and the great primer roman in another part of it, while the text of that book was printed in two distinct founts of english roman, the division being noticeable at the commencement of sig. 1.

The text of the 'Counterpoison,' was a much smaller type, a fount of pica roman and italic, the roman being very unevenly cast, but noticeable as having the lower case 'o' in a more rounded form than in the larger founts. A fount of black letter was also used in this book.

Before the 5th May, 1641, the partnership was apparently dissolved, and Bulkley set up for himself

<sup>1</sup> A Counterpoison: or, soverain antidote againste all grieffe. . . . By R. Young (B. M. 4405, cc. 36).



in St. Martin's parish, Aldersgate. Three examples of his work at this time are certainly known, one being a small octavo volume of which no less than three issues have recently come to light. Of one of these, only the title-page is preserved in the Ames Collection at the British Museum (463 h. 3, No. 1678).

The | Masse | in Latine | and English. | With a Com-  
mentary | and observations upon it. | Wherein also are de-  
scribed the se- | verall sorts of Masses, with the ridicu-  
lous- | nesse of their Mysteries, absurditie of | their Ceremonies,  
and Originall of every | piece of the Masse: And that  
(after | the Word of God) nothing is so con- | trary unto  
the Masse, as the | very Masse itselfe. | Written in French  
by Peter du | Moulin, Doct̃or and Pro- | fessor in Divinitie. |  
[Line.] | And Englished | By James Mountaine. | [Line]  
| London, | Printed by Stephen Bulkley, for Robert |  
Somers and Thomas Cowley at the Greyhound | in St.  
Pauls Church-yard. 1641.

No copy of this book was to be found in the British Museum, but on consulting the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library what appeared to be a copy was found there, and in answer to inquiries Mr. Falconer Madan courteously sent the following transcript of the title-page of the book in that library.

The | Masse in | latin and | english. | With a Com-  
mentary | and observations upon it. | Wherein also are  
described the se- | verall sorts of Masses, with the ridicu-  
lous- | nesse of their Mysteries, absurditie of | their  
Ceremonies, and originall of every | piece of the Masse:  
And that (after | the Word of God) nothing is so | con-  
trary unto the Masse, as | the very Masse itselfe. |  
Written in French by Peter du | Moulin, Doct̃or and

Pro- | fessor in Divinitie. | And Englished | by James  
Mountaine. | [Line] | London; | Printed by Steven Bulkley,  
and are to be sold | by Rob: Somer and Tho: Cowley at  
the Grey-hound | in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1641.

A comparison of the two title-pages showed that there were two issues of that year, or at least two different settings of the title-page. Since then, in fact within the last fortnight, the British Museum has acquired a copy of the book, which, by the courtesy of Mr. Esdaile, we have been allowed to examine. The title-page of this runs as follows:

The | Masse | In | Latine and English | With A |  
Commentary | and Observations upon it. | Wherein also  
are described the | several sorts of Masses, with the |  
ridiculousness of their Myste- | ries, absurdity of their  
Cere- | monies, and Original | of every piece of | the Masse. |  
[Line] | Written in French by the Fa- | mous Peter du  
Moulin. | [Line] | And now made English | By James  
Mountaine. | London, | Printed by S. B. for R. S. in  
Covent | Garden.

Size. Octavo.

Collation; Title, one leaf, verso blank. The work, B-Z Aa-Cc in eights, Dd one leaf,—pp. 402, with catchwords, pagination, and running title in italics. Twenty-nine lines to a full page.

As it was impossible to put this and the Bodleian copy side by side for purposes of comparison, a description of the Museum copy was sent to Mr. Madan, who in reply expresses the opinion that the British Museum copy is a re-issue of the Bodleian edition, the sheets of text (pp. 1-400) being identical. But the re-issue has a new title-page, and lacks all the preliminary matter (dedication, adver-

tisement, contents, and errata), and also wants the leaf Dd2 bearing the imprimatur dated 'May 5th 1641.' This date is of importance, as it implies that Bulkley set up for himself after the publication of 'Sol Britannicus,' which bears the imprimatur, April 7th, 1641.

The type used in printing the text of the 'Masse' was the pica previously used in the 'Counter poyson,' with the headings to chapters in italic.

The other two issues traced to Bulkley's press before he left London, are those mentioned in the following notes taken from the Journals of the House of Commons. The first, under the date, Feb: 1. 1641 (*i.e.* 1642):

'Ordered that the pamphlet entitled "The Resolution of the Roundheads" be referred to the Committee for printing and Stephen Buckle in St. Martins London who is said to be the printer of this pamphlet is ordered to attend that committee.'

This was a quarto pamphlet of four leaves or eight pages, of which the following is the full title:

The | Resolution | of the | Round- | Heads: | Being a  
Zealous | Declaration of the | Grievances where- | with  
their little | wits are consumed | to Destruction. | And |  
What things they (in their Wisedome | yet left them)  
conceive fit | to be reformed. | [Two rows of printers  
ornaments.] | London, | Printed Anno Domini, 1642.

The first twelve lines of the title-page were printed in various founts of roman capitals from canon downwards. The ornaments, consisting of the rose, thistle, harp, fleur-de-lys, and other non-

descript pieces, were of a common character. The text begins on the signature A2. with a band of the same ornaments at the top, and a large five-line Roman 'W.' The text is printed in English size, l.c. roman. The fount was a very mixed one, the 'a' being a very badly-cut letter, the 'o' being oftentimes a larger face, and many others having a battered and worn appearance. The presswork is particularly bad, the lines being irregular, crooked, and over-inked. This type can be identified as that used in the second half of the 'Secretary in Fashion.'

What was done to the printer on this occasion we are not told, but on 15th June, 1642, occurs another entry in the Journals as follows:

'Resolved that Stephen Buckley dwelling in St. Martins near Aldersgate who printed a scandalous pamphlet called "New Orders," be forthwith sent for as a delinquent.'

This was also a quarto of four leaves, and its title ran:

New | Orders | new, | Agreed upon by a | Parliament |  
of | Round-Heads. | Confirmed by the Brethren of the |  
New Separation Assembled at Round- | heads Hall with-  
out Cripple Gate. | With the great discretion of Master  
Long | Breath an upright New inspired Cobler | Speaker  
of the House. | Avowed by Ananias Dulman, alias Prick-  
eares | Cler. Parl. Round. | [Two rows of printers orna-  
ments.] | London, Printed for T. U. 1642.

With the exception of the printer's ornaments on the title-page, which differ from those on the previous pamphlet, the type and ornaments are the

same, and the same faults of presswork are observable.

From an inspection of these three books it becomes clear that at the dissolution of the partnership between Beale and Bulkley, the latter retained most, if not all, the stock of letters and ornaments, but the various pictorial initials seen in the J. B. and S. B. books, apparently belonged to the older printer, as they never appear in any of Bulkley's books, his stock in this respect consisting of a large set of roman caps, such as were used in the two pamphlets above, and one or two worn woodcut initials of no merit.

One is tempted to wonder how many more pamphlets of this description came from Bulkley's London press. A glance through any of the volumes of the Thomason collection for the years 1641 and 1642 show many anonymous tracts that have a strong family likeness to these two, but they are enough to identify his type and show the sort of work he was engaged in.

Needless to say, Stephen Bulkley did not obey the order of the House, but hastily packed his belongings and fled to York, where he set up his press, his first issue appearing on the 23rd July, 1642. A comparison of the broadsides, which are the earliest known examples of his work at York, with the pamphlets issued before he left London, prove that he took with him his stock of letter and ornaments. They suffered considerably on the journey, and he seems to have had some difficulty in getting a good ink in those parts, which further marred the appearance of his work.

On Bulkley's arrival in York he took up his residence in the parish of St. Helen, Stonegate, in which parish his son Stephen was baptised, 16th January, 1645-6.

The first date in connection with Bulkley's work in York is 23rd July, 1642, which appears on a broadside reprint of Sir Benj. Rudyard's speech in the House of Commons on 15th July. This had been printed in London, 'For R. Thrale' on the 17th, and on its receipt in York a reprint was evidently called for.

The King was absent from York from the 6th to the 30th of July. Barker's press had not left York when Bulkley commenced work. In fact we find it working after the 29th August, which is the date of the last document printed. On the 1st September, the King sent orders that the printer and his press should attend him at Nottingham.

Bulkley seems to have done nothing after the publication of the two pamphlets mentioned above, until 1st October, when there was issued from the York press a letter of Lord Falkland's to the Earl of Cumberland. This exists in the British Museum in a London reprint only. Many of Bulkley's publications bear the legend, 'By special command,' showing that he was in York in an official capacity, and acted after Barker's departure as King's Printer.

During 1643 and 1644 Bulkley printed many Royalist tracts and sermons. The last of which we have any note is the sermon preached by William Ransom, Vicar of Barton-upon-Humber, in the Minster, on 19th May, before the Marquis of

Newcastle, Lord General. The city was besieged, and the thunder of the Parliamentary cannon must have been loud in the ears of the worshippers. On 2nd July, 1644, the battle of Marston Moor was fought, the Royalist armies were in full flight, and York was in the hands of the Parliamentarians.

What Bulkley did during this period we do not know, but in the summer of 1646, when the King was in Newcastle, practically a prisoner, we find Bulkley starting a press and styling himself, 'Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty.' A tract appeared at this time purporting to be 'An Answer sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, by the Reverend, noble and learned man John Diodate, the famous professor of Divinity and most vigilant pastor of Genevah, translated out of Latin into English. Printed at Genevah for the good of Great Britain 1646.' Almost immediately on its appearance this work was denounced as a forgery, and in the London newspaper 'Mercurius Diutinus,' No. 4, December 16-23, 1646, p. 26, occurs the following very definite statement as to its origin:

And in the meane time they [*i.e.* the Prelates] have given us a bone to pick in these two kingdomes, called [Title as above] which is in truth a Peece of Prelaticall forgery, a very fiction, drawne up by some of their Creatures here in England, and (most unworthily) published in the name of that Reverend Divine, said to be printed at Genevah, for the good of great Brittain, 1646. But printed by the new Printer that went from Yorke to the Court at Newcastle. And the author of it tell us (himselſe) that he is a Protestant Malignant, in his last note at the end of it, (the profession of the new sect of Newcastle Covetiers).

Unfortunately, the only copy known of this tract is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and it has been impossible to make any comparison of the types. However, the tract has been accepted by the historians of Newcastle typography (the late Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde and Mr. Richard Welford) as a production of Bulkley's press.

The first tract with Bulkley's name from his Newcastle press was an official message from the King to the Speaker of the House of Lords. This showed Bulkley as 'Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty.'

In 1647 appeared two editions of the Diodate 'Answer.' One with the original title, but with Bulkley's name and the royal arms on the title-page (British Museum), and the other with the title of 'The King's Possessions: Written by His Majesties own Hand; annexed by way of notes to a Letter sent to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London,' etc. This latter, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, has at the end a certificate from 'one of the scribes of the Assembly,' declaring that 'there was never any such letter sent from Dr. Diodate in the name of the Church of Geneve to the Assembly,' and that it was 'an abominable forgery.' This appears to indicate that this edition is spurious, and was not printed by Bulkley at all, although his name appears in the imprint. Mr. Allnutt, who saw the tract, took this view.<sup>1</sup>

In 1649 appeared Bulkley's best known and most important work, 'Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tine.' It was written by William

<sup>1</sup> 'Bibliographica,' ii. 290.



Gray, a native of the town. The work is one of the earliest attempts at topography in the northern counties. There are two copies of this work in the British Museum, both, curiously enough, ascribed to 'London.' The Grenville copy, however, has the Newcastle imprint. When the two copies are placed side by side it is at once seen that, although the one has 'Newcastle, Printed by S. B. 1649,' and the other 'London, Printed by J. B. 1649,' they are part of the same edition. The type shows that the Newcastle imprint is the correct one. Who 'J. B.' was it is impossible to say, many publishers with these initials existing in London at this date.

After printing several works in Newcastle during 1650 and 1652 (nothing is known from his press dated 1651), he removed to a house in Hillgate, Gateshead, some time in the latter year. His books printed at this house generally bear the name of William London as bookseller in Newcastle. During 1655 and 1656 the press is silent (as far as we know). In 1657 it issued Ellis Weycoe's 'Publick Sorrow' and in 1658, 'The Quaker's House built upon the Sand,' etc., a copy of which is in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford. In 1659 Bulkley appears to have returned to Newcastle, as appears from the title to Shaw's 'Catalogue of the Hebrew Saints.' But we find in the following year, 1660, a tract of which there is a copy in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, *viz.*, Ralph Astell's 'Vota non Bella,' which was issued in Gateshead. Mr. Richard Welford, who is now working on a revision of his 'Early Printing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne' (For

Private Circulation. 1895) is unable to account for this. There is no doubt as to the date, firstly, because it is a poem on the Restoration; and, secondly, because the second part of the title-page is arranged as a chronogram giving the same date. Works are in existence with the dates 1661 and 1662, with the Newcastle imprint; but late in 1662 or early in 1663 Bulkley returned to York, doubtless in consequence of the Act of 1662, which added that city to London, Oxford, and Cambridge as the only places in England at which printing was permitted. His new abode was situate in the parish of St. Michael le Belfry, near the Minster. His first print from the new house was a Visitation Sermon of the Archbishop, delivered 19th November, 1662. The imprimatur is dated '16 calend Sept. 1663.' This was printed for Francis Mawborne, the bookseller for whom Bulkley printed several pamphlets during his second residence in York.

In 1664 Bulkley issued 'A list or Catalogue of all the Mayors, etc., of the . . . City of Yorke,' which was the first published work relating to the history and antiquities of the city. The course of Bulkley's life in York was interrupted in 1666 by one (or perhaps two) prosecutions for publishing ballads without the name of the printer. He was indicted at the Assizes at York, in August, 1666, 'pro imprimand libellos, Anglice Ballads, et non opponendo manum suam, contra statutam.' The indictment was ignored by the grand jury. This may be the same affair referred to in the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. '1666. Oct. 15, York. Jon. Mascall to Williamson. Sumner, the messenger,

has arrested Bulkeley and Mawburne, Bulkeley was King's printer at York and Newcastle, imprisoned and plundered for loyalty, gets but a poor living, and is well beloved among the old cavaliers: wonders what the charge against him can be. Mawburne is quiet but weak in business, and would not wilfully disperse any unlicensed book or pamphlet.' It would be interesting to know whether the imprisonment referred to in this document accounts for the period 1654-58, which, as we have said, were blank years as far as the production of his press was concerned.

Francis Mawburne petitioned Lord Arlington on 7th November [?] for release from the custody of the messenger, in which he had been three weeks, 'first about papers alleged against him and then for selling foreign Bibles, from both of which accusations he has cleared himself.' On 24th November there are bonds registered (Cal. State Papers, Dom. 179 : 48) in the joint names of Bulkeley and Mawburne in £200, that they 'shall not print, publish, or sell any unlicensed or seditious books or pamphlets, nor any English Bibles of foreign impressions, nor anything that may be to the disadvantage of the King's printers, or the right of any particular person.' On this a warrant was issued to discharge them from custody. (Cal. State Papers, Dom. vol. 176:49.)

With the exception of this stormy interlude, the course of Bulkley's life and work seems to have progressed quietly enough during the remainder of his life. He died in February, 1680, and was buried in the church of St. Michael le Belfry. His will,

dated 10th January in that year, and which was proved at York on 1st March, 1679[80], made his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and his youngest son, John, joint partners in his printing press and letters, and all things belonging thereto. The name of the testator's daughter does not subsequently appear in connection with the press. The business was carried on by his son, John, at a house in Daviegate; but only one or two works are known with his imprints. He seems to have been neither so enterprising nor so successful as his father. He died in December, 1695, and was buried on 31st December, as appears from the registers of St. Helen's Stonegate.

For the facts in connection with Bulkley's residence in York and Newcastle we are principally indebted to Davies's 'Memoir of the York Press,' and to Mr. Richard Welford's pamphlet previously referred to.

H. R. PLOMER.

R. A. PEDDIE.

## MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE LITHUANIAN BIBLE.<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS translation, of which only two or three fragments are known, is one of the puzzles of international bibliography, made none the less difficult because its literature is found in such languages as Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, and Bohemian. Up to now the most authentic short account of it is found in 'Three Hundred Notable Books (p. 54) where the fragment now in the British Museum is thus described:

The printing of a Lithuanian Bible was begun by Evan Tyler at Edinburgh about 1660, under the supervision of a delegate from the Lithuanian Calvinistic Synod, Samuel Boguslav Chylinski. In 1662 it had been carried as far as the Psalms, and Chylinski was being allowed £4 a month for his expenses while completing it. At his death in 1668 the Bible was still unfinished, and only three fragments remain, this, which has 176 leaves and ends at Joshua xv, 63, and two longer ones, one at Berlin (originally at Stettin), the other at St. Petersburg (originally at Wilna). Bought in 1893.

The documents I am about to bring forward will throw a somewhat fuller light on the matter. The

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 11th January, 1906.

first is the Oxford Testimonial given in favour of 'Samuel Boguslaus Chylinski' on 15th November, 1659, signed by the Vice-Chancellor and fourteen other Heads of Houses, etc.<sup>1</sup> The essential points, for our purpose, are that Chylinski is said to have lived at Oxford for two years, and 'that during that time he has imployed himself in and hath now accomplished' the work of translating the Bible into Lithuanian. He makes the same statement himself in the tract.

On 12th July, 1661, a Brief for a collection throughout England for the Protestants of Lithuania was sanctioned. It is unusual in form, and was enforced by what was still more unusual at that time, royal letters under the sign manual to some forty of the principal towns, urging that a large sum be contributed. It is expressly mentioned in the Privy Council Register (28th August, 1661, when these letters were sent out), that this should not be made a precedent in the case of any future collection. I cannot account for this eagerness of Charles II and his Council on behalf of their distressed fellow-Christians, except on the supposition that it was thought necessary to reassure the nation on the subject of their Protestant zeal at a time when the Lords were publicly burning the Covenant (22nd May) and the Commons enforcing the Test on their Members. I give a summary of the Brief from the only copy known to exist, British Museum, Luttrell, III (27).

<sup>1</sup> This is found in 'An Account of the Translation of the Bible into the Lithuanian Tongue.' . . . Oxford, H. Hall, 1659. (B.M. 1214. a. 5.)

John de Kraino Krainsky, Minister, Deputy of the National Synod of the Protestant Churches in the great Dukedom of Lithuania, has been sent to England to obtain help for the hundred or more churches oppressed by Moscovites, Tartars, Cossacks, Swedes, etc. A collection is to be made for their aid, and for translating the Bible into Lithuanian which has been translated and about one half of it printed. Sir Richard Browne, Bart., Clerk of the Privy Council, is to print Briefs of this patent at the royal expense and to send one for every church and chapel to the High Sheriffs of all the Counties. A house-to-house and seat-to-seat collection is to be taken up by the Churchwardens and paid through the High Sheriffs to Edward and John Fenn at the Treasury House of the Navy Office in Leadenhall Street. The latter are to send any sum over that necessary for translating and printing the said Bible in London by exchange to Lithuania.

Arrangements were now made for the printing of the Bible—the statement in the Brief that one-half of it was already printed seems to have been only an intelligent anticipation of the same nature as the Oxford certificate that Chylinski had completed the translation two years before—and on 19th December, 1661, Thomas Seaward, merchant, sold to Monsieur Durell and John de Kraino Krainsky, and delivered to Evan Tyler, printer, 200 reams of paper at 10s. per ream, to be paid out of the first moneys collected. He did not, in fact, get his money till 1663, for we learn these facts from his petition to the Privy Council, 25th February, 1662-3. Krainsky seems to have been an energetic man. On his petition, 24th January, 1661-2, Sir Richard Browne was ordered to report as to the collection—and as sufficient funds were

in hand, the printing seems to have been begun immediately. On the 14th February, 1661-2, the Privy Council gives an order for Evan Tyler, 'Printer of their Bible,' to be paid £50, and Monsieur Durell, Monsieur Scophie, Monsieur Calandrini (Minister of the Dutch Church in London), and Dr. Deodate to be repaid sums of £60, £10, £30, and £10 lent by them. Krainsky was to have £20 for debts incurred in the collection, and an allowance of £4 per month. A like sum was to be paid to his two associates (the translator and another). The name of this associate, who did much of the translation, was Nikatojos Mirovyda, Cand. Theol. He left England in 1667. On 28th February Evan Tyler received another £20, and Krainsky £20 for travelling expenses.

The relations between Chylinski and Krainsky seem speedily to have become strained, for on 21st May, 1662, we find the following note on the books of the Privy Council:

21 May, 1662. Upon hearing of the business betweene the delegate of Lithuania and Chilinsky who hath begun a translation of a Bible in the Lithuanian language, it was ordered that Chilinsky shall speedily send over a copy of all that hee hath printed (being to the end of the Psalms <sup>1</sup>) and all that part hee hath written faire to be revised and corrected by the Churches, and so to be returned to be printed. Also that the said Chilinsky shall speedily transcribe the rest, and so from time to time send it over to the Churches to be corrected by them, and to doe it within 5 or 6 months at the farthest, and to have £4 the Month for his entertayning in the meane tyme. And

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<sup>1</sup> Really to Psalm XL.



Mr. Fenne to pay £6 to Mr. Nathaniel Adams at the desire of the delegate.

This seems to have stopped the work, and to all appearance no more of it was ever printed. On 6th June an additional payment to Tyler of £76 1s. 4d. was sanctioned, making £146 1s. 4d. in all on account of the printing of forty-two reams. The book is a small octavo and printed in minion type like that of the pocket Bibles of the time. About a dozen letters had to be specially cut for the type, and of course the compositors had to be paid at special rates, but even considering all this, the price seems high. At any rate a quarrel seems to have arisen between Krainsky and Tyler, and the latter was ordered to appear before the Council at a week's notice, a proof that he was probably settled in London at the time (13th August, 1662).

The last notice of the matter in the Privy Council Records concerns the payment to Thomas Seaward, merchant, of the £100 due for paper on his lodging certificates from Tyler the printer, and Cesar Calandrini, the minister of the Dutch congregation, that the 42 reams printed and the 158 unprinted have been delivered into the Dutch Library, 25th February, 1662-3. Probably the fragment in Berlin, and the manuscript version at St. Petersburg represent the version sent to Lithuania for revision by Chylinski and the delegates, and never returned.

On an attentive consideration of these facts I think it most likely, first, that the Lithuanian Bible was never completed or published, and second, that

it was printed in London. Considering the commercial relations between England and Scotland, it is *à priori* most unlikely that the English Privy Council should pay for the printing of a book in Edinburgh, not to speak of the statement in the Brief that the Bible was to be printed in London. It would seem to follow that Tyler had a printing office in London simultaneously with his Edinburgh one. This is confirmed by the fact that one, at least, of the Restoration Scots Proclamations, that of 22nd February, 1660-1, exists in two editions, one printed in Scotland with Scots arms, and the other printed in London with English arms, though bearing an Edinburgh imprint alone. A suggestion has been made that Tyler was only in London trying to get orders for work to be executed in Edinburgh, but this seems untenable, in view of Tyler's previous relations with London printing offices, and of the fact that the paper was delivered by an English merchant.

It must, however, be remembered that this period is the one most unstudied in the history of British typography, and that the problems raised by the works printed under Tyler's name are especially intricate. Another point to remark is the fact that of the few proofs which ever got into circulation, some two or three still exist.

ROBERT STEELE.

## AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK-ROOM.

**I**T is difficult, in these days of cheap printing and constant issue of literature of all sorts, good, bad, and indifferent, to realize how few books, comparatively speaking, were to be obtained even fifty years ago. The sixpenny reprint was rare, and the shilling one, except in the form of magazines, hardly existed. Perhaps books were prized and guarded more, years ago, than they are now that they are so plentiful, or possibly, paper and binding were tougher in those days than they are in the 'blown together' products of modern times.

A hundred years ago, how hard it was for the man of moderate means to form a library! I do not speak of the man of wealth and taste, who in all ages has been able to procure what he wanted, but only of the man of tolerable education, with more or less of a liking for books, but without much money to 'waste' on such expensive superfluities. For him, a hundred years ago, there were no cheap reprints of popular or standard works, no flimsy but attractive furniture of the bookstall! At that time, his collection might often be contained in one glass-fronted bookcase, Chippendale by style or pedigree, and its contents most likely consisted of

some calf-bound tomes of divinity, travels, or history, enlivened by a few volumes of novels or poetry, bound in boards. It was like the library of Chaucer's clerk, which had its abode on a shelf at his bed-head, 'twenty bookes, clad in black or red.' But the favourite eighteenth-century binding was brown calf, which gave a sombre and solid appearance to the outside of the volumes, not seldom typifying the nature of their contents. A library I knew well in my youth was no bad specimen of the old-fashioned 'book-closet.' It occupied a fair-sized room, with low, raftered ceiling, and mulioned window looking out on woods and fields, the square tower of a noble cathedral rising not far away. The bookcases surrounding it were filled chiefly with the volumes collected by an ancestor who died at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so that it might be said to be a typical, though modest, example of an eighteenth century library. Other books had of course been added at later dates, but the nucleus of the collection was purely eighteenth century, and at the time I knew it best, its most modern books were those of the fifties and sixties of the last century. It was also typically English, for with the exception of a few Greek and Latin classics, and perhaps half a dozen books in French and German, no language but English was represented in it.

In the beginning they were all contained in three bookcases which merit a word of description, for they were excellent specimens of their time, and were probably coeval with their contents. They were all made of dark mahogany, but one

merely consisted of open shelves above a capacious cupboard. The second was a glazed closet, surmounting an old-fashioned bureau; the third, larger and handsomer than either of the former, was also glazed, and consisted of a centre and two wings, the cupboards beneath being furnished with 'roll-back' doors, and the top adorned with scroll-work. As the collection increased, a case of oaken shelves had been fitted in the thickness of the wall near the fireplace. The other shelves which lined the room were not remarkable, save in one instance, a book-case which, though only of painted wood, bore the arms of a certain northern city whose municipality many years ago—whether pressed by poverty or urged by folly, I know not—took upon themselves to sell the furniture of their Mansion House! These shelves were filled with Swift, Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett, dressed in dusky calf as to their exterior, and internally exhibiting yellowed pages and long s's, unattractive to a modern eye. More pleasing was the 'Novelist's Magazine,' its illustrations showing Clarissa, Pamela, the 'Admirable Miss Byron,' and many others, in 'high heads' and hoops; and Sir Charles and his peers in laced coats, wigs, and swords. Long files of the 'Spectator,' 'Tatler,' 'Rambler,' and 'Annual Register,' were elbowed by still earlier voyages and travels, medicine, law, divinity and history, in many antiquated forms. Were you inclined to travel by sea or by land, Cook, Anson, La Pérouse, Pennant, Camden and Carey were ready to bear you company; to study history? Hume, Rapin, Clarendon, and Adolphus were there to inform you; law?

Coke, of course, Blackett, Tomlinson (1787); medicine? Bartolini's 'Anatomia,' 1686, 'The New Dispensary,' 1765, 'The Practice of London,' 1773, and the 'Medical Register.' Mrs. Mason, 1777, would instruct you in cookery; Gibson in farriery; Kearsley, in heraldry; and if you required a dictionary, Ainsworth, Bailey, and Johnson were at your elbow. Culpepper's 'Herbal,' James on Gardening, 1712, Evelyn's 'Silva,' 1729, Lish's 'Husbandry,' and Lee's 'Botany,' might occupy you out of doors, and Hanger and Hawkins would talk to you of sport.

Did graver thoughts possess your mind, you might study Sherlock on Death, Knox's Sermons, and Jeremy Taylor in the edition of 1674. For antiquities, there were Brand, Bourne, Verstegan ('Decayed Intelligence,' 1605), and Thornton's Antiquarian Cabinet; and for general information, the British Encyclopædia of 1809, and the 'Dictionnaire Historique' of 1789, in nine volumes. The playwrights were Massinger, Ben Jonson, Sheridan, and Shakespeare (Bell's edition, 1774). Among the poets were Pope, Gay, Parnell, Thomson, and Akenside, all in pretty little duodecimo editions, with Uwins' illustrations. Some forgotten by fame there were, as Mrs. Radcliffe, Mrs. Grant Glover, Mason, and Johnson, and perhaps one might add Gessner, as represented by his 'Idylls,' and the 'Death of Abel.' There were others, too, whom fame had never known, for who has heard of Cawdell and Chambers as poets, and who reads Wilson's 'Inconstant Lady'?

Art was represented by Hogarth, 'Prints from

Raphael,' 1761, the Pictorial Bible, some of Bewick's works, and Schiller's 'Drachen and Fridolin,' with Ritsch's illustrations.

Don Quixote, Gil Blas, and the 'Devil on Two Sticks' were among the novels, and I wish I could remember the title of one which perpetuated scandal about Queen Elizabeth, and related the adventures of her unacknowledged daughter! All the above were bound in calf, faded and crumbling, and 'rich with tarnished gold,' or in boards, blue, gray, or brown, paper-labelled, and reduced by years of age and dust to much the same indeterminate hue.

I do not recollect any specially fine bindings or rare editions.

The whole room possessed that pleasant odour peculiar to old libraries, and which is compounded of the various fragrances of 'perished' leather, mouldy paper, and printing ink.

The portrait of their first owner, brave in blue coat, ruffled shirt, powdered hair and queue, looked down upon them, as did the keen, kindly face of a later possessor, together with some miniatures and silhouettes, known and unknown.

On the heavy writing-table was an old-fashioned silver inkstand, which besides the receptacle for ink, had another with a perforated lid to hold the sand used to 'pounce' letters before the invention of blotting-paper. Beside it lay two or three curious old silver seals bearing dates in the seventeenth century.

The ample sofa and roomy chairs were Louis Quinze in style; an ancient cuckoo-clock told the studious hours, and some valuable china was ranged upon the mantelpiece.

Many books more recently added were of the 1820's and 1830's, and to about this date belonged Hone's four delightful volumes, a full set of Scott's novels, county histories many, 'mines of delight and treasures of entertainment' to those who study them carefully, as are also the rows of bound magazines which a still later taste had furnished—Cornhill, Blackwood, 'All the Year Round,' etc.—to be found in all libraries of fifty years standing. People bound their magazines in those days, and put them into substantial bindings of brown, black, or green leather (the dishabille, or half-binding most frequently), so that like the Dianes and Ninons of former times, they kept their figures and complexions to extreme old age. Nowadays if magazines are bound at all, it is in 'publishers' covers,' of cloth, gaudy and unsubstantial, which soon come to pieces.

To this date also belonged the 'Drawing-room Scrap-book,' sundry illustrated books meant for the adornment of the parlour table, and a large and miscellaneous collection of poetry, novels, travels, and biographies.

Among the miscellanea was a book containing a large collection of franks, and a scrap-book filled with fine prints, many of which I was told had once, in the fashion of a bygone day, been pasted on the walls of the room. It also held a few mezzotints, soft-ground etchings, water-colours, and a good deal of inferior matter—the usual medley of its time.

That 'spacious closet of good old English literature' has been altered and its contents divided, but much of it remains in its ancient home.

ELEANOR GRAINGE.



## GUTENBERG, FUST, SCHOEFFER, AND THE INVENTION OF PRINT- ING.

**F**OR the past twelve or thirteen years very little has been written in England on the invention of printing. The subject did not greatly interest Mr. Proctor. Dr. Hessels, since he wrote his 'Haarlem the Birthplace of Printing, not Mentz,' in 1887, has preserved a silence, which fortunately will soon be broken, both in the paper which he is to read before the Bibliographical Society next month, and in the revised version of his article on typography for the new edition of the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica.' Lastly, Mr. Gordon Duff, after an admirable summary of the then existing evidence in his 'Early Printed Books' in 1893, has concentrated himself on the history of the press in our own country, interesting himself in foreign printing for the most part only in so far as it throws light on this. As against this English silence there has been a considerable revival of discussion and investigation in Germany, to which the foundation of the Gutenberg Gesellschaft in 1901 has powerfully contributed. The indifference of our English bibliographers to these researches and to the new evidence which has been brought to light is not very creditable. It was with a feeling approaching to shame

that I found the other day that the leaves of the British Museum copy of the first publication of the Gutenberg Society had never been opened. My own acquaintance with the recent German literature of the subject is far less minute than I could wish, for I read German somewhat slowly and timorously, an unconventional confession which I feel bound in honour to make, lest haply I do injustice in what follows to the arguments of any of the able writers with whose monographs I have struggled. But the new evidence which they have brought to light has obliged me to modify my own views in some important respects, and at the same time has suggested a theory as to the moment of the quarrel between Gutenberg on the one hand and Fust and Schoeffer on the other, which is perhaps worth paper and print.

Historians of the invention of printing have two prizes in their bestowal, the first for a competition vague, elusive, never likely to be definitely settled, that for the earliest piece of printing with movable types; the second for an honour much more limited and precise, the production of the first large, handsomely-printed book. Twenty years ago there was a little flutter of excitement over the claims to this second distinction put forward on behalf of the Latin Bible with 36 lines to a column, discovered in the eighteenth century by Schelhorn, and sometimes called the Bamberg Bible, because the type with which it is printed was used in 1461 by Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg. It was conclusively shown, however, by Dr. Dziatzko that this cannot have been the first Bible printed, since (with the

possible exception of the first five or six leaves) its text is taken from that of the other great Latin Bible, with 42 to a column as its normal number of lines, which has long been known as the Mazarine Bible, because the copy of it which first attracted attention was that in the Mazarine Library at Paris. This 42-line Bible (to call it by the name by which it is now best known) is now generally recognized as the first large, handsomely-printed book, and to the man or men who produced it belongs the honour of having brought printing with movable types out of the experimental stage into the position of a practical art, fraught with immense possibilities.

All the recent English writers who have concerned themselves with the history of printing, Blades, Hessels, Duff, Proctor, have been professed disciples of Henry Bradshaw, the man whose natural-history method of investigation has put the study on a new footing, and, when applied by Proctor, with equal industry and genius, yielded such marvellous results. It is of the essence of this method to start with a solid indisputable fact, to make this fact yield the utmost possible amount of evidence, and to refuse to take any step for which evidence cannot be produced. Where evidence fails we may introduce hypothesis if we choose; but where a single hypothetical link is introduced, the whole chain from this point becomes hypothetical, and should be marked as such.

Now up to within the last few years the one solid fact from which it was possible to start an investigation into the history of printing was that in the autumn of the year 1454 and the spring of

1455 the art of printing with movable types was used to print two sets of Indulgences, an Indulgence being a certificate that certain spiritual privileges had been granted in return for a contribution of alms to some charitable purpose, in this case the war carried on by the King of Cyprus against the Turks. One of these Indulgences consists of 31 lines of print, the other of 30. The text of both is in a small gothic fount, but in each case a few words are printed in a much larger type. In both, moreover, there are small ornamental capitals, V or U, and two forms of M.

These Indulgences, printed in 1454 and 1455, are the earliest dated specimens of printing which have come down to us. Manuscript copies filled in with dates in the summer months of 1454 are in existence; but in the autumn of that year, the Proctor-General of the King of Cyprus or his agents, who were raising money in this way, must have heard of the new art of printing, and have seen the advantages which it offered for the multiplication of a short document of which a large number of copies were required.

Both these two editions of the Indulgence exist in several different states or issues. The following account of them is summarized from that given by Dr. Hessels in his 'Gutenberg: was he the Inventor of Printing?' (1882), as the result of unwearying travel and personal research. It should be stated that the papal commission to the Pardoners ceased on the 1st of May, 1455, and that therefore no copies could be issued (I try hard to avoid the use of the word 'sold'!) after 30th April,

31-LINE INDULGENCE. Capitals (initials): V and two varieties of M.

(a) and (b). Both with printed date Mccccliiii, no copies known to have been issued; perhaps 'experiments of the printer to accommodate the Pardoner with the necessary blank space for filling in the names and date.' (Hessels.)

(c) Printed date Mccccliiii.

Copies issued at Erfurt, 15th November; Mainz, 31st December; Eynbeck, 12th January; Lüneburg, 27th January; Lüneburg, 28th January; Copenhagen, 29th April; Hildesheim, 30th April.

(d) Printed date Mcccclv.

Copies issued at Würzburg, 7th March; Nuremberg, 24th March; Erfurt, 28th March; Würzburg, 13th April; Constance, 21st April; Würzburg, 29th April; Göttingen, 29th April.

Unused copies of this edition discovered at Brunswick and Halberstadt are well accounted for by Dr. Hessels as copies which remained in the Pardoners' hands at these places on the lapsing of their commission on 30th April, 1455, and which thus were ultimately sold to binders of these places as waste.

30-LINE INDULGENCE. Capitals (initials): U and two varieties of M.

(a) Printed date Mccccliij.

Copy issued at Cologne, 27th February, 1455, an additional stroke having been added to the date by pen.

(b) Printed date Mcccclquīto.

Copies issued at Werla in Westphalia, 11th April; at Neuss near Düsseldorf, 29th April. This latter is in the British Museum.

(c) Printed date Mcccclquīto.

Copies issued at Hildesheim, 22nd February;  
Brunswick, 24th April.

The distinguishing marks of these different issues (other than their dates, here given,) will be found duly set forth by Dr. Hessels. The reason for summarizing from him his list of the places of issue will be seen later on.

Of these Indulgences Mr. Gordon Duff wrote in his 'Early Printed Books':

These two sets are unmistakably the work of two different printers, one of whom may well have been Peter Schoeffer, since we find the initial letters which are used in the thirty-line editions used again in an Indulgence of 1489, certainly printed by him. Who, then, was the printer of the other set? He is generally said to have been John Gutenberg; and though we have no proof of this, or indeed of Gutenberg's having printed any book at all, there is a strong weight of circumstantial evidence in his favour.

When Mr. Duff thus writes, 'these two sets are unmistakably the work of two different printers,' he has at his back what we may call one of the canons of the natural-history method of investigating the history of printing, viz., that pieces of printing in different types must not be assigned to the same printer unless a reason for so assigning them can be shown. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary we have no ground for believing that a printer would put himself to the trouble of cutting fresh types to print a document which he had already set up and was continuing to print in the original form. On

the other hand, it must be remembered that this purely *à priori* reasoning would be knocked down at once by any positive evidence that the same printer, as a fact, printed both sets; and would be considerably weakened even by the suggestion of a good special reason why he should have done so.

Having interjected this comment, we may now go on to ask with Mr. Duff, 'What do we know about John Gutenberg, the presumed printer of the first dated specimen of printing?' and to inquire generally as to what light documentary evidence throws on the question of the invention. As in the case of Chaucer and other mediaeval personages of whom no literary contemporary has had the kindness to leave us biographical notes, our information is all derived from the more or less accidental preservation of records of payments and legal documents. With the aid of these we are able to piece out a fairly consecutive outline of Gutenberg's life.<sup>1</sup>

Johann Gutenberg was a native of Mainz, where he appears to have been born about 1400. His father's name was Gänsfleisch (*i.e.* Gooseflesh); but Johann preferred the more euphonious appellation of his mother's family, and called himself Gutenberg. When the patrician party to which his parents belonged was driven out of Mainz in 1420, Gutenberg took refuge at Strassburg, and appears to have occupied himself there with mechanical

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dziatzko's account of Gutenberg is given in Heft. 8 of his 'Sammlung Bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten' under the title, 'Was wissen wir von dem Leben und der Person Joh. Gutenberg?'

inventions connected with looking-glasses and polishing stones. In 1438 he entered into a partnership with two brothers, named Heilmann, and a third person, named Andreas Dritzehn, for developing some secret invention. Dritzehn died almost at once, and the following year Gutenberg successfully resisted a claim put forward by Dritzehn's heir to be admitted to the secret. In the course of the trial one witness deposed that on the death of Andreas Dritzehn Gutenberg desired his brother Claus 'that he should not show to anyone the press which he had under his care'; but should 'go to the press and open this by means of the two little buttons, whereby the pieces would fall asunder. He should thereupon put those pieces in or on the press, after which nobody could see or comprehend anything.' According to another witness, Gutenberg 'had sent his servant to fetch all the forms, and they were taken asunder before his eyes.' Moreover, a third witness, 'Hans Dünne the goldsmith,' deposed that 'three years ago or thereabouts he had earned from Gutenberg nearly 100 guilden merely for that which belonged to printing.'<sup>1</sup> It can thus hardly be doubted that Gutenberg was already in 1438 experimenting with printing, and it may be presumed that any secret invention about this date would have included the idea of movable types.

In 1441 and 1442 we find Gutenberg borrowing money, after the manner of inventors. Soon after

<sup>1</sup> Our quotations are from the transcript and translation given by Dr. Hessels in his 'Gutenberg,' pp. 34-57, and the technical terms, 'presse,' 'forme,' 'trucken,' admit of no other renderings.



this he returned to Mainz and borrowed money there also. Finally, somewhere about August, 1450, a goldsmith of Mainz, Johann Fust, advanced him 800 guilders to enable him to print books, and about December, 1452, a further sum of the same amount. On these loans Gutenberg was to pay interest, but this he failed to do, and in November, 1455, we find Fust,<sup>1</sup> in the presence of witnesses, taking an oath before a notary, as to the correctness of his claim in an action which he had brought for the return of the 1,600 guilders with the arrears of interest. In this suit Peter Schoeffer was a witness on the side of Fust, while mention is made of two servants of Gutenberg, Heinrich Keffer, who afterwards worked with Sensenschmid, the first printer at Nuremberg, and Bertolf von Hanau, who has been identified with Bertold Ruppel, the first printer at Basel. The oath which Fust took seems to have been that imposed on a successful plaintiff as a condition of obtaining judgement for the amount of his claim. There thus appears to be no doubt that Gutenberg was condemned to pay the 1,600 guilders with arrears of interest, and it has usually been taken for granted that Fust in this manner obtained possession of all Gutenberg's plant and stock.

Some nine months after Fust had, as we should say, made his affidavit, Heinrich Cremer, vicar of the collegiate church at Mainz, finished rubricating and binding a copy of the 42-line Bible, now in the

<sup>1</sup> The text is printed with a facsimile by Dr. Dziatzko: 'Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage. Mit einem Lichtdruck-facsimile des Helmaspergschen Notariatsinstrumentes vom 6. November, 1455, nach dem Original der K. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Göttingen.'

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Little thinking of how great a service he was thereby rendering to posterity, the good man noted at the end of each volume the exact day on which he finished his work. The date in the first is 24th August, 1456; that in the second, which is slightly shorter, nine days earlier, August 15th. He may have begun rubricating these two volumes within a few days of their completion, or after an interval of a few or many weeks or months. He may have worked quickly or slowly. All that we know is that within nine months of Fust winning his case against Gutenberg, at least this one copy of the 42-line Bible was in existence, rubricated and bound.

The 42-line Bible does not stand alone. The type in which it is printed is identical with the larger of the two types used in the 30-line Indulgences, printed in the autumn of 1454 and spring of 1455. The following books and documents are also printed in the same type:

1. An edition of the Latin grammar of Aelius Donatus, with 24, 25, or 26 lines to a page.
2. Another Edition with 32 lines to a page.
3. Another Edition with 33 lines to a page.
4. A Cantica ad Matutinas, obviously part of a liturgical Psalter, of which one leaf survives, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Over against this Bible, Indulgence, and three editions of Donatus we have, in curious parallelism, the Bible with 36 lines to the column already mentioned as an unsuccessful competitor against the 42-line Bible for the honour of being the first

large printed book; the Indulgences of 31 lines printed in the autumn of 1454 and spring of 1455, and three editions of the grammar of Donatus. Just as the large type of the 30-line Indulgence is identical with that of the 42-line Bible, so the large type of the 31-line Indulgence is identical with that of the 36-line Bible, and the two sets of books, Indulgences, Bibles, Donatuses, pair off exactly. Against the *Cantica ad Matutinas* there is no large work in the 36-line Bible type which can be set. On the other hand, there are three quite small works in this type, all of the nature of almanacs, entitled respectively, (i) 'Manung widder die Durke,' belonging astronomically to the year 1455; (ii) 'Conjunctiones et Oppositiones solis et lunae,' belonging to 1457; (iii) 'Der Cisianus zu dutsche,' a general almanac which cannot be appropriated to any particular year, though an ill-advised attempt has been made to do so.

Also in this type are nine popular books, all but two of which are illustrated. Dates and names of place and printer in some of these books entitle us to assign them all to the press of Albrecht Pfister at Bamberg in or about 1461 and 1462. They have no connection with the invention of printing, except in so far as they enable a claim to be entered on Pfister's behalf to the earlier books, or (as an alternative) prove that the printer of these handed over his type to Pfister.

The battle rages as to the typographical authorship of the two parallel sets of Indulgences, Bibles, and Donatuses, which we must distribute between Gutenberg on the one hand, and the firm of Fust

on the other, or else assign to some hypothetical printer of whom nothing has ever been heard.

The after-history of Gutenberg is that he may have printed anonymously in 1460 a *Catholicon* or Latin Dictionary by a thirteenth-century Dominican of Genoa, named Balbus, and some smaller works in the same type. Then in 1465 he became a pensioner at the Court of the Archbishop of Mainz, and three years later he died.

So much of the after-history of the firm of Fust as we need at this moment is, that in 1457 Fust's name in conjunction with Schoeffer's is found in the colophon of the first dated and signed book, a liturgical psalter, with fine capitals, printed in red and blue, published at Mainz in August, 1457, and that they issued several other fine books in conjunction during the next nine years. In 1466 Fust died, and Schoeffer, to whom he had given his daughter, Christina Fust, in marriage, carried on the business successfully for many years on his own account.

All the facts already narrated have long been known, and may be found, with many other details, in Dr. Hessels' book on Gutenberg, published in 1882. Dr. Hessels also pointed out that one of the capitals used in the 30-line Indulgences turns up as late as 1489 in another Indulgence printed in that year by Schoeffer; also that there exists in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* a fragment of a 35-line *Donatus*, printed in the 42-line Bible type in conjunction with the coloured capitals of the Psalter of 1457, and that this has the colophon 'per Petrum de Gernssheym in urbe Moguntina cum suis capita-

libus absque calami exaratione effigiatus,' 'Gernsheym' being Schoeffer's birthplace. Because this Donatus contains Schoeffer's name without Fust's, foreign bibliographers have placed it after Fust's death. Thus, the description of it in the 'Notice des Objets Exposés' of the Bibliothèque Nationale reads:

Fragment de Donat. *Mayence, impr. par Pierre (Schoeffer) de Gernsheym.* In fol. sur vélin.

Ce fragment consiste en 4 feuillets, plus le quart d'un 5<sup>e</sup> et d'un 6<sup>e</sup>.—Cette édition de Donat a été imprimée par Schoeffer postérieurement, sans doute, à 1466 (époque de la mort de Fust), dont le nom ne figure pas dans la souscription, avec les caractères de la Bible Mazarine et les initiales en bois du Psautier de 1457.

Dr. Hessels, however, contended that it was 'altogether more consonant to method' to place the Donatus in 1456 with the Bible printed in the same type. It may be noted, moreover, that a Donatus, throughout the early history of printing, was frequently used for typographical experiments and advertisements. It thus seems reasonable to believe that if Schoeffer wished to try the effect of his coloured capitals before using them for a large book he may very well have put them into a Donatus, whereas after they had been tried and abandoned (save in antiquarian reprints of the Psalter) as too troublesome, their sudden reappearance in a school-book, in conjunction with a Bible-type which had disappeared since 1456, is at once incongruous and inexplicable.

The conclusion, therefore, at which Dr. Hessels

arrived (page 167) was, that 'in 1454 we have at least two rival printers at work in Mentz: (1) the printer of the 31-line Indulgence, whose name I cannot give, but who may have been Gutenberg, subsidized by Johann Fust; (2) the printer of the 30-line Indulgence, whom we may safely call Peter (Schoeffer) de Gernssheym.'

Four pages later Dr. Hessels gives another summary of the evidence on the point, which also deserves quotation, because it was apparently approved by Mr. Bradshaw, and is taken over by Mr. Duff.

I have shown above that one of the initials of the 30-line Indulgence is found in 1489 in Schoeffer's Office. The Church-type of the same Indulgence links on (in spite of the different capital P) to the anonymous 42-line Bible of 1456. This Bible links on to the 35-line Donatus, which is in the same type, and has Schoeffer's name and his coloured capitals. This again brings us to the Psalter which Joh. Fust and Peter Schoeffer published together on the 14th August, 1457, at Mentz, their first (dated) book, with their name and the capitals of the Donatus.

Bibliographically this seems to me as sound an argument as the heart of man can desire. If it were applied to a group of books twenty years later, it can hardly be doubted that everyone would accept it at once. But in 1454 we have some right to ask where a printer came from, and Schoeffer here seems to have come from nowhere in particular. Moreover, and this is an argument to which I shall have to recur, despite the canon that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, two editions of the same

work in two different types oblige us to assume two different printers, I feel the greatest difficulty in believing that in the autumn of 1454 there were two men living in Mainz, both capable of producing, within a few weeks of each other, a fount of small type of the excellence of those used in the two sets of Indulgences. Recent writers on the subject seem to me curiously silent on the greatness of the advance which these small types show on the clumsy Bible types of the other pieces of printing of the period. They must have required far more skill in cutting, casting and manipulating, and though it was some years before such small types were again used, they demonstrated commercial possibilities in the new art which the Bible-types still left doubtful. The difficulty in producing for the first time two such types seems to me a consideration which has to be taken into account before applying mechanically the canon 'different types, different printers,' though, subject to an explanation, I believe that this canon may still hold good.

The first of the German points to which I have to draw attention is that Dr. Dziatzko, in criticizing Dr. Hessels' argument, offered an ingenious theory as to the reasons for there being two sets of types used in the Indulgences, namely, that they were commissioned by two different sets of Pardoners, the 31-line Indulgence for use in the ecclesiastical province of Mainz, the 30-line Indulgence for use in the ecclesiastical province of Cologne. In order to prevent confusion or fraud between the rival bands of Pardoners, it was insisted, so it is suggested,

that the Indulgences should be printed in different types, and thus the Germans are free to attribute them both to Gutenberg.

As to the appearance of a capital M from the 30-line Indulgence in an Indulgence printed by Schoeffer in 1489, it may be said that if all Gutenberg's types were seized by Fust in consequence of the lawsuit decided at the end of 1455, there is no difficulty in believing that this capital M changed hands with the rest of them. The same argument applies to the use of the 42-line Bible type in conjunction with the coloured capitals in Schoeffer's undated 'Donatus.' As long as this was printed after the lawsuit was decided, on the supposition that the type was seized by Fust, there is no difficulty in accounting for its appearance in Schoeffer's possession, whether as Fust's ally and partner-elect, or as Fust's heir.

To suppose that in order to make the two sets of Indulgences look different, the printer was put to the trouble of making a special fount of type, when they could surely have been differentiated much more easily in many other ways, is not convincing, though the suggestion that they were required for use in different provinces offers a welcome explanation of the Indulgences being ordered in two batches. The explanation of the capital M and 42-line Bible-type being found in Schoeffer's hands by the theory that Fust seized them from Gutenberg is at least a possible hypothesis, but leaves it still to be proved that the type was ever in Gutenberg's possession.

Recent German investigations into what may be



called the inner history of the 42-line Bible, more especially the admirable monograph by Dr. Paul Schwenke reviewed by Mr. Proctor, at the time of its appearance, in 'The Library' for January, 1901, seem to me to offer new evidence which works in directly the opposite direction to the desires of Dr. Schwenke himself and his compatriots. It has been proved, with an industry and acumen beyond all praise, that the Bible was set up on six different presses, which must have necessitated premises of some size and the services probably of at least a dozen workmen. It has been proved also that paper was ordered in large quantities, and that perhaps as many as thirty copies were printed on vellum. The gifts for organization and management which pushing so large a work successfully through the press must have entailed, are held up to our admiration. But the more stress is laid on the greatness of the achievement of printing for the first time a book of the size of the Bible, the more surely we must ask ourselves, If Gutenberg possessed these gifts, how was it to Fust's advantage to quarrel with him? If Gutenberg, moreover, was an alert, capable man, able to organize and manage a business, how did he come to allow himself to be ruined by Fust at what, on the German hypothesis, was the very moment of success? The German plea that there was not time enough for the Bible to be begun and printed off by Fust between November, 1455 and August, 1456, even if we suppose Heinrich Cremer to have been exceptionally quick over the rubricating and binding, is surely sound. Either, therefore, the Bible must have been com-

pletely finished before November, 1455, or very considerable progress must have been made with it before it was seized, according to hypothesis, by Fust in part payment for his claim. In the former case Gutenberg would have had the whole edition (one hundred and eighty copies on paper and thirty on vellum, Dr. Schwenke conjectures) at his disposal available for raising money. In the latter case he would at least have had the sheets of a great part of the book. Was there no other moneylender in Mainz except Fust, that Gutenberg, if he had had this property in his possession, could not have raised enough money on it to prevent the seizure of his stock and types?

The newest German discoveries, while they substantially further Gutenberg's claim to be the first to have used movable types, once more seem to me to militate against his having printed the 42-line Bible. For the moment we may postpone discussion of them, and merely note that a fragment of an Astronomical Almanac has been found at Wiesbaden, printed in the type of the 36-line Bible, and that this Almanac can only relate to the year 1448, and must therefore have been printed in the autumn of 1447, *i.e.*, seven years before the Mainz Indulgences which have hitherto been our starting-point. Besides the Almanac a fragment has since been found of a Poem on the Last Judgement, for which also a very early date is claimed, but as this cannot be assigned to any particular year it is of much less importance than the Almanac of 1448. The Almanac, indeed, unless its date can be overthrown, is a new landmark in the history of printing, the

value of which can hardly be over-estimated. It is true that, as Mr. Duff put it, Fust's language about his loans had already shown that they 'were advanced in the first instance towards assisting a work the method of which was understood,' and we were therefore 'justified in considering that by [1450] Gutenberg had mastered the principles of the art of printing.' In the Almanac, however, we have actual demonstration of the fact in the shape of a piece of printing which Gutenberg could have taken in his hand to Fust when applying to him for a loan.

That the Almanac, if printed in 1447, must have been the work of Gutenberg, hardly needs demonstration. It comes as a link between the lawsuit of 1439, and the transactions with Fust in 1450, and there is no trace in records or type of any other printer having been at work in Germany at this time.

If the Almanac is accepted as the work of Gutenberg before 1450, there can no longer be any hesitation in ascribing to him the ownership of the printing-office at Mainz from which proceeded the Donatuses and the 31-line Indulgence, the only pieces of printing (in addition to the Almanac and Poem on the Last Judgement) which we are entitled to ascribe to an earlier date than the 42-line Bible. But we are no whit nearer to any connection between Gutenberg and that Bible, or anything else printed in the same type, except on the theory which I have already advocated, that when compared with any previous pieces of printing, the resemblance between the two Indulgences is so much

more striking than their difference that it is much easier to believe in one author of them both than in two. On this theory the Germans ascribe both Indulgences to Gutenberg. On this theory I should assign both Indulgences to Schoeffer, the first executed in his traditional capacity as Gutenberg's servant, the second on his own behalf.

The entirely hypothetical character of this solution of the problem is, of course, obvious. But it is no more hypothetical than that seizure of Gutenberg's stock by Fust in consequence of the suit of 1455, without which Gutenberg's connection with the 42-line Bible is demonstrably impossible. It seems to me, moreover, to possess the only recommendation which an hypothesis can claim as long as it remains hypothetical, that of explaining, instead of contradicting, the known facts, and being in general accordance with the ordinary characteristics of human nature.

Because Gutenberg is the most likely candidate for the honour of having first demonstrated the possibility of printing with movable types, it does not follow that he was a good man of business, that he had any organizing power, or was even capable of sticking to his work. We know that he was a frequent borrower. We know now also that he possessed in 1447 sufficient skill and energy to do a small piece of printing, such as the Almanac, and there is no evidence that any further progress was made until 1454. It is highly probable indeed that Gutenberg was as far advanced in 1438 as he was in 1447; for if the art which is mentioned in the Dritzehn lawsuit as to be used on the occasion of

a pilgrimage to Aix-la-Chapelle, was that of printing, it would probably be some popular devotional poem, or other catchpenny broadside, which it was intended to sell to the pilgrims. As long as printing was confined to clumsy editions of almanacs and single poems, or even of Donatuses. its commercial possibilities were undeveloped. The possibilities were there, and they were obvious enough to borrow money on; but if Gutenberg, while talking of large works, could produce nothing more than these trifles during seven, or seventeen, years, it is easy to understand that Fust, after four years' trial of him, may have been anxious only to get his money back and invest it with some one more energetic.

Now one of the things for which the historian of printing has to account is the strong claim made on behalf both of Fust and of Schoeffer to the invention of Printing, or at least to a very important share in it. The colophon, which Johann Schoeffer in 1515 added to the 'Compendium de Origine regum et gentis Francorum' of Johann Tritheim cannot be acquitted of either of the two crimes, *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. It suppresses the very name Gutenberg, it suggests an initiative on the part of Fust greater than we can believe that he really took; but it reads as if it bore a distinct relation to the facts of the case, and as if every word in it had been carefully chosen. This is what it says, the skilfulness of our printers of the Chiswick Press, to whom we express our thanks, enabling us to show the colophon overpage in a very close reproduction of its original form :

¶ IMPRESSVM ET COMPLETVM EST PRESENS  
 chronicarum opus anno dñi. M.D.XV. in uigilia Marga-  
 retæ uirginis. In nobili famosaq; urbe Moguntina, hu-  
 ius artis impressorię inuentrice prima. Per IOANNEM  
 Schöffler, nepotē quōdā honesti uiri IOANNIS fusth  
 ciuis Moguntiñi, memorate artis primarij auctoris  
 Qui tandē imprimendi artē proprio ingenio ex-  
 cogitare speculariq; cœpit año dñice natiuitatis  
 MCCCC.L. indiçtiõe XIII. Regnante illu  
 strissimo Ro. imperatore FREDERICO  
 III. Præsidente sanctæ Moguntinæ fedi  
 Reuerēdissimo in chrō prē domino  
 THEODERICO pincernade Er-  
 pach p̄cipe electore Anno aut  
 M.CCCC.LII. perfecit dedu-  
 xitq; eā (diuina fauente gra-  
 tia) in opus imprimēdi  
 (Opera tñ ac multis  
 necessariis ad-  
 uentionibus  
 PETRI  
 Schöffler de  
 Gernshei mini-  
 stri sui q; filij adopti-  
 ui) Cui etiam filiam suam  
 CHRISTINAM fusthiñ p̄  
 digna laborū multarūq; adinuē-  
 tionū remuneratiõe nuptui dedit. Re-  
 tinerūt aut hij duo iā p̄nominati IOANNES  
 fusth & PETRVS Schöffler hāc artem ī secreto (om̄i-  
 bus ministris ac familiaribus eorū, ne illā quōq; modo mani-  
 festarēt, iureiurādo astrictis) Quo tandē de año dñi MCCCC  
 LXII p̄ eosdem familiares ī diuersas terrarū puincias diulgata  
 haud parum sumpsit icrementum.·.

CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO CAESAREE MAIE-  
 statis iussu & ipensis honesti IOANNIS Hafelberg ex Aia maiore  
 Constantieñ diocesis.·.

It is not only the hour-glass or double-triangle  
 form in which this colophon is cast that is artificial,  
 though considerable skill must have been needed to

get the name of Peter Schoeffer exactly in the middle. It is obvious that the whole thing is a work of art. The dates 1450 and 1452 correspond to those of the two loans made by Fust to Gutenberg, on the occasion of each of which the speculative goldsmith no doubt turned his 'proper wit' more anxiously to the subject of printing. 1462 is the date of the sack of Mainz, and consequent dispersal of many of the printers. The word 'inventor' is skilfully reserved for the city of Mainz. Fust is called 'huius artis primarius auctor,' where 'primarius' suggests priority in time and could be defended as referring only to eminence. The position assigned to Schoeffer, in relation to the capitalist is that of the clever and inventive assistant, the word 'adinventionibus' recalling the 'adinventione' of the colophon to the Psalter of 1457, with the same uncertainty in each case as to whether it was intended to mean 'invention' or 'additional invention.' The colophon is disingenuous and discreditable, but it was issued when the facts were too recent for it to be easily swept away as a mere tissue of lies without any relation to the truth.

This is still more the case with the claims which Schoeffer put forward in two of his books, when Fust and Guttenberg were both new in their graves.

In Schoeffer's editions of the Institutions of Justinian of 1468 and 1472, and also in his Decretals of 1473, we find the following extraordinarily crabbed verses by the corrector, Master Francis:

Scema tabernaculi moises salomon quoque templi  
Haut propter ingenuos perficiunt dedalos

Sic decus ecclesie maius maior salomone  
 Jam renouans, renouat beselehet et hyram.  
 Hos dedit eximios sculpendi in arte magistros  
 Cui placet en maetos arte sagire viros.  
 Quos genuit ambos vrbs moguntina iohannes  
 Librorum insignes protocaragmaticos.  
 Cum quibus optatum petrus venit ad poliandrum  
 Cursu posterior introeundo prior.  
 Quippe quibus prestat sculpendi lege sagitus  
 A solo dante lumen et ingenium.  
 Natio queque suum poterit reperire caragma  
 Secum. nempe stilo preminet omnigeno.  
 Credere difficile est doctores quam preciosa  
 Pendat mercede scripta recorigere.  
 Orthosintheticum cuius sintagma per orbem  
 Fulget franciscum presto magistrum habet.  
 Me quoque devinxit illi non vile tragema  
 Publica sed comoda, et terrigenum columen.  
 Sic votiuam exscobere falsis moliantur ydeam  
 Qui sintagma regunt et protocaragma legunt.  
 Aureola indubie premiaret eos logotheca  
 Quippe libris cathedras mille suberudiunt.

In order that the classical reader may not be too shocked at these lines, it may be noted that mediaeval Latin versifiers frequently disregarded quantity altogether, scanning only by syllables. The recourse to Greek words is also not peculiar to Master Francis. The gist of those of his crabbed verses which concern us is that like as God raised up builders of the Temple so to renew the glory of the church, so He has raised up new temple-builders, distinguished masters in the art of engraving, two Johns, both of them born at Mainz, famous first-founders of books, with whom a Peter came to the desired sepulchre, later in the race, but earlier in



entering in, seeing that he excels them, being filled with the principle of engraving by the only giver of light and wit.

The two Johns, distinguished masters in the art of engraving, are of course Johann Gutenberg and Johann Fust, the Peter is Peter Schoeffer, and it is distinctly claimed for him that, like as S. Peter, though he reached the sepulchre after S. John, was yet the first to enter in, so Peter Schoeffer, by his divinely given skill in engraving, entered into the mysteries of printing before Gutenberg and Fust. The claim here put forward on behalf of Schoeffer was advanced in 1468, some years after he had laid aside his decorative capitals; it is impossible therefore to make the verses refer exclusively to the skill shown in these. There is a general claim that Schoeffer, by his skill in engraving, penetrated the mystery of printing, at which Gutenberg and Fust were also aiming, earlier than either of them.

In face of this fairly definite claim, made as early as 1468, I do not think that there is anything unreasonable in imagining that it may have been Schoeffer who, when the Pardoners were at Mainz in the autumn of 1454, produced, by his skill in engraving, a printed Indulgence which solved for the first time the problem of small type, while using with this small type a little of the larger fount which Gutenberg already possessed. If Schoeffer was at this time in Gutenberg's employment, the order to print this Indulgence for distribution in the province of Mainz would of course be given to Gutenberg, and the type would be his property.

By the autumn of 1454, however, about the same period had elapsed since Fust's second loan to Gutenberg as had separated the second from the first, and the poor inventor may have again come to the end of his resources. In any case, the man who cut the small type had performed a technical feat far greater than any yet accomplished; and if this man was Schoeffer, Fust may well have thought that the assistant was a better craftsman than his master. If Schoeffer thought so too, and left Gutenberg's service, the Pardoners about to start on their rounds in the province of Cologne may well have applied to him, if they knew the share which he had played in producing the previous Indulgence. With Fust's money a workshop with six presses could be quickly equipped, and between November, 1454, and the summer of 1456, there would be ample time, if six presses were devoted to it, to print a Bible.<sup>1</sup>

Whether this hypothesis as to Schoeffer's authorship of both Indulgences be regarded as possible or not, it seems to me unreasonable to suppose that Fust waited till after the decision of his lawsuit before setting up a printing business of his own. It is at least as likely that as soon as he saw that he could not get what he wanted from Gutenberg, he

<sup>1</sup> In an article in the 'Booklovers' Magazine' for 1905 I have shown that the edition of Valerius Maximus printed by Schoeffer in 1471 was also worked simultaneously on six different presses, and bears traces of a similar change of mind as to the number of copies to be printed. But of course this, like Dr. Hessels' arguments from types found in Schoeffer's possession, is circumvented by the hypothesis that everything which had been Gutenberg's became Fust's after 1455.

looked about for someone to take his place, and that the lawsuit was only an incident in a competition which had already begun. If we had Gutenberg's affidavit as well as Fust's, much more light would probably be thrown on the case. But as far as can be gathered there was nothing in the terms of the loan advanced by Fust which either obliged Gutenberg to impart to Fust any secret, or prevented Fust from using to his own advantage any knowledge of which he became possessed in the course of his intercourse with Gutenberg.

After the lawsuit of 1455 it seems probable that Gutenberg found an ally in Pfister who helped him to push through the 36-line Bible for which the 42-line edition was used as 'copy.' As Pfister is subsequently found using the type alone, it may be presumed that he also found Gutenberg a person who had to be bought out, or otherwise got rid of. If Gutenberg was the printer of the *Catholicon* of 1460, he seems to have had a third experience of the same kind in connection with a Dr. Homery.

Substantially, it seems to me, that Dr. Hessels' distribution of the Mainz incunabula about which he wrote in 1882, is only confirmed by the subsequent German investigations. The longer the period during which Gutenberg can be shown to have been occupying himself with printing petty broadsheets in the 36-line Bible type, the more improbable it is that he should suddenly start printing a great Bible in a different type, make elaborate changes in this type, whereas he had been content with the old one for many years, and start printing on six different presses. By taking back the

earliest date which we can connect with a printed document nearly seven years, the recent discoveries diminish Gutenberg's claim on one side, while by their demonstration of the energy and ample resources with which the Bible was pushed on, they diminish it no less on the other. The question cannot be asked too often, if Gutenberg was a man of such business energy why should Fust have withdrawn his support? I cannot myself help asking also whether if Gutenberg in the autumn of 1454 made the remarkable advance over his previous type shown in the 31-line Indulgence, this also would not have made Fust hold his hand?

One of the lessons which we are slowly learning is that there was no miracle in the invention of printing. We have wondered how it attained perfection at the moment that it came into existence, just as foolishly as the Fellows of the Royal Society wondered why the introduction of a live fish into a full bowl of water should not cause the water to overflow. We know what happened when the live fish was procured, and now that we are studying the oldest pieces of printing more assiduously than before we find the asserted perfection is not there, only experiments and improvements, and gradual triumph over difficulties. In such a process it is not likely that all the steps were made by one man. Schoeffer and his son claimed that it was to him that some important improvement was due, and I have ventured a conjecture as to what this improvement may have been. If to my friends in the Gutenberg Gesellschaft I seem guilty of *lèse-majesté*, I would ask them to remember that after

all Schoeffer was a German as well as Gutenberg.

As I have joined myself with those who would transfer the prize for the 42-line Bible from Gutenberg to Fust and Schoeffer, it is only fair to say a word as to the evidence on which the Almanac recently discovered at Wiesbaden is assigned to 1448.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment found contains the text for the first four months of the year, the lines being cropped at the ends. That for January reads (contractions expanded):

**O**ff der heiligen drier Konnige dag zwo vren vor m[ittage || ist der mane nue. Vnd sint sonne vnd mane [in dem || xxv grade des steinbocks. Saturnus in dem xxvj [grade || des lewens vnd geet hindersich. Jupiter in den x [xij grade || der wagen. Mars in dem ersten grade des scorpions. Ve[nus in || dem xvij grade des wassergiessers vnd geet hindersich. Mer[curius || in dem iij. grade desselben zeichens. Off den xxj dag desselben m [andts || iij vren nach mittennacht ist der mane fol. Vnd ist die sonne [in den x || grade des wassergiessers. Der mane in dem x. grade des l[ewens || Saturnus in dem xxv grade des lewens vnd geet hindersich. [Jupiter || in dem xxij grade der wagen. Mars in dem xxv grade des scorpions || Venus in dem xj grade des waszergiessers vnd geet hindersich. [Mer || curius in dem xxvj grade desselbens zeichens.

The February paragraph begins:

**O**ff den virdendag Februarii das ist of paffenfasznac[ht nun || vren nach mittage ist der mane nuwe.

The hour of the new moon being cut off, there is no evidence from this date. The other hours as-

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Zedler's 'Die älteste Gutenbergtype.' (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1902.)

signed to the New and Full Moons are placed by Dr. Julius Bauschinger in juxtaposition with those for 1448 as follows:

		Tables.			Fragment.			
		H.	M.		H.			
1448.	Jan.	6	10 16	a.m.	New	Jan.	6	10 a.m.
		21	4 30	a.m.	Full		21	3 a.m.
	Feb.	4	8 50	p.m.	New	Feb.	4	— p.m.
		19	10 59	p.m.	Full		19	10 p.m.
	March	5	6 40	a.m.	New	March	5	4 a.m.
		20	3 33	p.m.	Full		20	3 p.m.
	April	3	4 20	p.m.	New	April	3	4 p.m.
		19	4 45	a.m.	Full		19	6 a.m.

It is hardly possible that these dates should fit any other year equally closely, and astronomers have abundant other information as to the positions of Saturn, Jupiter, etc., from which to make calculations. If all these astronomical data only apply to the year 1448, it is difficult to see how the attribution of the Almanac to the end of 1447 can be disputed. It is pleasing to think that this brings us to within a year of the purchase in 1446 by Jean de Robert, Abbot of Saint Aubert, Cambrai, of the Doctrinale 'jeté en moule,' his entry of which in his accounts is a really solid argument for printing having been known at that date in the Netherlands. It brings us also within three years of the Avignon experiments of 1444. Six years earlier still Gutenberg had admitted the Heilmanns and Dritzehn to participation in the secret invention about which evidence could not be given without the use of the words, 'presse,' 'forme,' and 'trucken.' At present it looks as if Gutenberg were some years ahead of

his competitors in this contest in respect to documents, and a good many years ahead of them as regards the first extant piece of printing to which any definite date can be attached. But the last word is not yet said.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

## REVIEWS.

*Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1901-1904. Edinburgh. Printed for the Society, 1906. (Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. Volume VI.) Pp. i-xxiv, 101-191.*

**T**HE appearance of a new volume, or part of a volume, of the Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society always denotes some solid additions to knowledge. It is only to be regretted that the additions are made at such long intervals. While other causes may contribute to this (we do not forget that Mr. Aldis's most useful 'List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700' was an interpolated issue), it can hardly be doubted that the smallness of the annual subscription is the main reason for the smallness of the output, and it is greatly to be regretted that a Society which has the opportunity and ability to do so much useful work should limit its normal operations to what can be effected on the insignificant income of £36 15s. a year. This continuation of the part of the sixth volume already published is mainly taken up with papers read before the Society in 1901 and 1903, so that it seems to have fallen nearly a volume behind. This is greatly to be regretted, as the 'abstracts of proceedings' for 1904-1906, show that several papers of great interest are (presumably)



waiting to be printed. Among these we notice an address by the late President, Mr. J. P. Edmond, whose loss all bibliographers deplore, containing suggestions on widening the scope and operations of the Society, and it is to be hoped that his suggestions may be carried out. To Mr. Edmond is also due one of the most interesting communications in the present volume, a very carefully compiled list of 'Elegies and other Tracts issued on the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1612.' This contains no fewer than forty-four entries, all set forth with Mr. Edmond's unfailing accuracy, though marred by the occurrence of such forms as 'Nep-tvns Britannicvs,' according to the bad heresy of which he was one of the most distinguished supporters, that an upper case V must be transliterated in lower case by a v instead of (according to the old printers' own practice) by u.

Dr. T. G. Law, another distinguished member whose loss the Society has lately had to deplore, is represented by a short note on 'John Hamilton and the Scottis Bible,' in which he asks for information as to the alleged omission of some words ('they sal worship him in sacrifice and giftes') from an unidentified edition of the Bible for use in Scotland, perhaps one of the Genevan editions printed in Holland in 1599. Mr. William Stuart has a rather amusing paper about the Rae Press at Kirkbride and Dumfries, showing from a contemporary satire that while it was nominally managed by Robert Rae, the real owner was Peter Rae, a Scottish minister of some mechanical genius. The satire was written by Robert Ker in 1719 as part of 'A Glass wherein

Nobles, Priests and People may see the Lords' controversies against Britain,' and some of the lines against the Rev. Peter run:

Oh he's selling Souls for the love of Gear,  
 No other Thing he can do here.  
 His name is Mr. Peter Rae,  
 I think he has gone far astray.  
 Indeed, he's gone to seek a Man,  
 To teach him when he does go wrong.  
 The Printing Trade he does now try,  
 The Minister's Trade he should lay by.  
 Is this agreeable to his Station?  
 No, he should not have that Occupation.  
 What way will his poor Sheep be fed,  
 When he is at the Printing Trade?

The last paper which we can notice is an important list of additions and corrections to the valuable bibliography of the Darien Company, by the late Mr. John Scott, printed in the first portion of the present volume. The supplement is edited by the Society's Secretary, Mr. G. P. Johnston, and increases the original list by sixty-four new books and documents.

*The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535. By E. Gordon Duff. Cambridge at the University Press.*

These two series of lectures delivered by Mr. Duff in 1899 and 1904 as Sandars Reader in Bibliography at the University of Cambridge form, for the sixty years which they cover, by far the best

history of printing and bookbinding in England yet written. Mr. Duff's knowledge of his subject is unrivalled, and the necessities of oral delivery have kept his narrative clear and even amusing. The book abounds with passages which no one else could have written. Here is one:

Looking at the very large number of small books which De Worde printed between the end of 1496 and 1500, it is surprising how many are known from single copies. I have kept for many years a register of all the copies of early English books which are to be found anywhere, and taking the quartos printed by W. de Worde, which number altogether 70, I find that out of that number 47, that is, more than two-thirds, are known to us now from single copies or fragments. And I feel certain that we owe the preservation of the majority of these to a cause we are now doing our best to destroy. A few worthy people centuries ago made collections of these tracts and bound them up in immensely strong volumes, which gave them an air of importance in themselves, and tended to preserve the tracts in a much better manner than if bound separately. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that a hundred and fifty of the rarest that De Worde printed during his whole life would have been found a hundred years or so ago bound up in about twelve volumes. Some twenty-two of the rarest W. de Worde's in the Heber Library came to him in one volume. Thirteen unique tracts which sold at the Roxburghe Sale for £538 were in a single volume when the Duke purchased them fourteen years before for £26. I need only refer you to the University Library, a large number of whose unique Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde tracts came in three or four volumes. Then again, when so many are known only from fragments or single copies we may imagine what a large number have absolutely disappeared. . . .

Besides the genuine books which have disappeared, by

this I mean books which have been described by a trustworthy bibliographer, there are others which may reasonably be supposed to have existed, and one clue to these is afforded by the woodcuts. W. de Worde, for example, had certain series of cuts specially made for certain books; but when he wished to decorate the title-page of a small tract, which was not itself to be illustrated, he used an odd cut out of his sets. Now when we can trace in different tracts odd cuts manifestly belonging to a series, we may reasonably suppose that the book for which the series was engraved must have been printed.

To give a couple of instances. In the unique copy of Legrand's *Book of Good Manners* in the University Library without date, but printed about the middle of 1498, are two cuts, which really belong to a series made to illustrate the *Seven wise masters of Rome*. These cuts are fairly accurate copies of those used by Gerard Leeu in his edition of 1490. At a considerably later date De Worde did issue an edition of the *Seven wise masters*, illustrated with the series of which the two mentioned above formed part, and showing at that time marks of wear. Now as De Worde had the series cut by the beginning of 1498, I think it most probable that an edition of the book was then issued, for it is unlikely that he would go to the trouble of cutting the set unless he was preparing to print the book. Again, before the end of the fifteenth century De Worde had a series to illustrate *Reynard the Fox*. One cut is found on the first leaf of an edition of Lidgate's *The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose*, in the University Library, another on the title-page of Skelton's *Bowge of Court* in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh. In the collection of the University Librarian is a fragment of an edition of Reynard, evidently printed by W. de Worde about 1515, and this contains a third cut agreeing absolutely in size, in workmanship and in style with the other two.

In this case, again, it seems probable that an edition illustrated with these cuts appeared before 1500.

Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Lydgate's 'The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose' has just been published in facsimile, so that the Reynard woodcut can now be seen without a visit to Cambridge. Mr. Jenkinson also mentions in his preface that it is one of twenty-five Wynkyn de Worde quartos, bound up with one of Pynson's, in a single volume from Bishop Moore's library, thereby illustrating an earlier point made by Mr. Duff in the passage we have quoted. The seventeen Tudor plays found last year when an Irish chimney-corner was unbricked, and which fetched such high prices at Sotheby's, are another instance of the preservative power of the fat quarto, though the fact that they are now known to be worth over a hundred pounds apiece will probably have an equally conservative effect. An important foreign instance, in which the occurrence of a single cut before the only extant edition of an illustrated work entitles us to assume the existence at one time of an earlier edition, is that of the *Quatriregio* of Frezzi, now known to us only from the edition of 1508, but of which Mr. Fairfax Murray assumes an issue in the fifteenth century precisely on this ground. Whether, as Mr. Duff seems inclined to think ('it would seem probable that the printer, when issuing a small book printed only a small number of books'), we can argue back from the fewness of the extant copies to the smallness of the original edition, may be gravely doubted. The larger the edition the cheaper the book, and the cheaper the book the more likely it is to be thumbed to pieces or left to perish.

Mr. Duff has some interesting notes as to the dates at which our early printers began their year, an important question in arranging chronologically books published between 1st January and 25th March. Caxton undoubtedly followed the year of the Incarnation, which begins on 25th March, and Mr. Duff proves that Julyan Notary used the same reckoning, at least in the case of the edition of the 'Golden Legend,' to which he gave the date 16th February, 1503, adding the regnal year 19 Henry VII, which shows that the February he means fell in what we should call 1504. On the other hand, in Pynson's Morton Missal, the date 10th January, 1500, almost certainly means 1500 of our reckoning, since by January, 1501, Cardinal Morton was dead. So also the mention of the regnal year in Wynkyn de Worde's 'Golden Legend' of 8th January, 1498, and references to the Countess of Richmond and to Henry VII in the colophon to the Gospel of Nicodemus, dated 23rd March, 1509, prove that in both these books the present civil year was used. When we find Caxton using one reckoning, and his quondam foreman another, we can only hope tremblingly that each of them was consistent throughout his own books, though with the misdoings of some of the Venetian printers before us it is impossible to feel certain as to this.

Mr. Duff's book is full of excellent notes about bookbinding, and he raises more interesting points than we have space to enumerate. On the principle of *ex pede Herculem* the long passage which we have quoted is the best recommendation of his book that we can offer. There are dozens of passages

equally interesting, and we hope that they will win for the book the success which it deserves.

*Book-Prices Current. A record of the prices at which books have been sold at auction from October, 1905, to July, 1906, being the season 1905-1906. Vol. XX. Elliot Stock.*

‘An exceptionally high price, due entirely to the quality of the binding,’ is the beginning of Mr. Slater’s note on a copy of ‘Les amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé’ in old french morocco by Derome, which by virtue of its jacket fetched £13. Yet, according to his wont, he gives no reference in his index either from Derome or under Bindings. In like manner, anyone who wants to know if any books printed by Pynson or Wynkyn de Worde were sold by auction last year, must read through the whole volume to get the information. This is the annual complaint which we have to make against Mr. Slater’s work, and as we are weary of making it we put it in the front of our notice this year, and pass on to other matter without further emphasizing the gravity of his shortcomings in this respect. We are glad to note that the average price per lot last season (£2 11s. 3d.) is the lowest but two of the decade, the two cheaper years being 1900 (when few first-class books were sold) and 1904, in which the averages were £2 6s. 2d. and £2 9s. 3d. A good many little bubbles have been pricked since 1901, when the record average of £3 7s. 10d. was attained. Mrs. Frankau’s ‘Eighteenth Century

Colour Prints,' for instance, which used to fetch £17, was sold last season for £2 10s., and a Japanese vellum copy of Sir R. Holmes's 'Queen Victoria,' such as was dealt in before its issue at about £30, for a tenth of that sum. Anything which discourages petty gambling in books is a cause for rejoicing, and on this ground we refrain from indignation at the moderate prices now fetched by the Kelmscott books, fine though they are. The highest total realized at any sale during the season was the £8,505 attained at a miscellaneous sale of 930 lots at Sotheby's in December, 1905. The highest total at the sale of a private collection, the £4,052 realized by Sir Henry Irving's books at Christie's. No printed book during the year is recorded as having fetched more than £380, and this price was given for an extra-illustrated 'Life of Dickens,' the next competitors being a Latin Bible which had belonged to Ben Jonson (£320), Knox's 'Book of Common Order' in Gaelic (£305), and a Prayer-book of Charles I's (£285). Twenty-two other books fetched prices ranging from £130 to £235, but more than half of these belonged to the volume of seventeen Tudor plays already mentioned in our review of Mr. Duff's book. According to his praiseworthy habit of sometimes going a little out of his way to note an interesting sale not strictly within his scope, Mr. Slater notes that at the Tross sale at Vienna a block-book of the 'Apocalypsis' fetched £1,125, and a fine copy of the Fust and Schoeffer 'De Officiis' of 1465 no less than £1,875, both books being bought by Mr. Quaritch. There is thus clearly plenty of money in England, or England and



America combined, to secure real rarities of the first class when they come into the market. On the other hand, the fate of the buyer of poor copies is eloquently told by the figures as to the sale of a collection of incunabula sold at Christie's. In this case 685 lots, many of them containing several books, only realized about £800, showing an average price only about one half of the average of the whole year, and this though many of the books were by good printers. The moral of this volume of 'Book-Prices Current,' as of several of its predecessors, is obviously that while the prices fetched by the best books are higher than ever, for second-rate books there is no great increase of price, while for third and fourth-rate books the market tends to fall.

On the lines to which he chooses to confine himself Mr. Slater's book is executed in his usual workmanlike manner, and retains its character of being indispensable to those who want to be kept informed of what is going on in the world of old books.

*The Bible in Wales. A study in the history of the Welsh people, with a bibliography. Henry Sotheran and Co.*

The story of the printing of the Scriptures in Welsh is a very interesting one, though not particularly creditable to the English Privy Council, Bishops and Printers on whose pleasure the Welsh people had to wait. The first Welsh Bible was not published until 1588, over half-a-century after the

first English printed edition, an enactment twenty-five years earlier that the four Welsh bishops and the Bishop of Hereford should edit a translation having been apparently met by a policy of passive resistance, despite the fact that a date (1st March, 1566) was fixed on or before which copies were to be placed in all parish churches, under a penalty of forty pounds in case of failure to be levied on each of the said bishops. Down to the time of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate no more than 3,500 copies of the Bible in Welsh had been circulated, and though the pace quickened after this, the King's printer, with whom the monopoly mainly rested (the University presses possibly could not, certainly did not, come to the rescue), seems to have had no belief in the commercial prospects of Welsh Bibles, and the wants of Wales were but meagrely supplied. How these difficulties were overcome is told briefly in an excellent address by Sir John Williams, delivered at the opening of the Exhibition of Welsh Bibles out of which the present work developed, and which it reprints. It is told at full length and with the aid of a full bibliography by Mr. John Ballinger, whose modesty in withholding his name from the title-page of his book is surely excessive. Both the bibliography and the introduction to it are excellent work, and Cardiff has one more reason to be proud of its librarian.

## NOTES.



ALL readers of 'The Library' will be glad to hear that the omission from this number of the usual article by Miss Elizabeth Lee on 'Recent Foreign Literature' does not mean that this feature of the Magazine, which has been much appreciated, is to be discontinued. Miss Lee hopes to be able to contribute as usual to our April number.


Students of our earlier drama who desire to obtain trustworthy texts of rare plays and also of documents relating to the English stage, are invited to join the newly-formed Malone Society, of which Mr. E. K. Chambers, author of 'The Mediaeval Stage,' has been elected the first President, while Mr. W. W. Greg, author of the 'Lists of English Plays and Masques printed before 1642,' and also of a recently-published treatise on the Pastoral Drama, will act as General Editor. The method of reproduction adopted by the Society is that loosely known as 'type-facsimile,' in which the setting and typographical features of the original issue are imitated as closely as possible in modern founts, so that the reader has all the advantages of the old text with the addition of legibility, which in many instances the old texts certainly do not possess, and which it is almost impossible for photographic re-

production to attain unless largely touched-up by hand. To produce a 'type-facsimile' is no easy task, but as it has been taken as a rule that every page shall be read by at least two pairs of eyes besides those of the printer's reader, it is hoped that accuracy may be attained. Further information about the Society can be obtained from Mr. Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum. The annual subscription is One Guinea, and at present there is no entrance-fee.

# THE LIBRARY.

## WHAT FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS ARE ABOUT.

### IV. LITERATURE.

N the preceding articles of this series we have endeavoured to make a general survey of the productions of the printers of the fifteenth century, dividing them in accordance with such a classification as would have suggested itself to the mind of a contemporary. As no complete survey of incunabula exists, Proctor's Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum was selected as not only the most accessible, but also from its varied sources probably the most representative collection known. It describes and classifies about 10,000 books out of the 30,000, which there is some reason to think is a superior limit to the production of the fifteenth century (broadsides and hand-sheets excepted). The first article dealt with Science and Art as understood at the time, and comprised some 838 books, excluding dialectics, metaphysics, and ethics, which a medieval scholar would have included. The second treated of theology, and included 4,379 volumes, more than two-

fifths of the number enumerated by Proctor, indicating a very large proportion of the total production of the period. The third described the law-books of the time, amounting to some 930, a number which we gave some reason for thinking fell below its true proportion, and which, in any case, gives no idea of the real importance of the subject, owing to the enormous bulk of most of these volumes. We now come to deal with the books of language and literature, properly so called.

The fifteenth-century printer found himself faced by three distinct classes of demand. First, as replacing the guild of scribes where there were such bodies, and as creating a want where there were not, he had to furnish cheap and numerous copies of current literature. The multiplication of tracts, speeches, satires, etc., was favoured by the greater readiness of the new means of production. Where printers were many we find this method resorted to at once, as in Italy; in Germany pamphlet literature only begins to be important at the close of our period; in England even comparatively large books had a considerable circulation in manuscript to the end of the sixteenth century—Bacon was connected with an organization for making and supplying copies—and in Scotland the practice survived much later.

Another demand was for cheap schoolbooks, though we must acknowledge that beyond grammars, no traces of it exist, and we can only estimate the loss by our knowledge of what has happened to schoolbooks printed much later. Following this popular demand, to which in one of its branches, the origin

of printing itself may well be due, was the demand of scholars for the classics in literature, divinity, law, and science; and, lastly, the demand for medieval productions in romance and poetry. We shall attempt to follow these lines in our review of the printed literature of the fifteenth century.

Turning then, in the first place, to the Classics, who for the purposes of this article may be defined as the writers before the Dark Age, we remark first the extraordinary popularity of Cicero. More than 180 distinct publications, large and small, appear under his name, and this is probably about one-half of those issued, seeing that of the 300 mentioned by Hain only 150 are in Proctor. Let us note that of the 180 editions twelve are French, eight Dutch, and eighteen German in origin, and no fewer than 140 Italian. This remarkable popularity in Italy is due on the one hand to the value attached to oratory, and on the other to the practice of letter writing, thirty-five editions of his Epistles being included in the 140. It is noticeable that the German public were attracted solely by the ethical side of Cicero, the 'De Officiis' and the 'Cato major' accounting for ten of the eighteen editions printed. The Dutch reprints are solely ethical.

Virgil, the second favourite among classical authors, is represented by sixty-eight editions, of which forty-five are Italian, all but five being complete editions, and these five being translations. France has ten editions, five of them the complete works, and Holland six, limited to the 'Bucolics' and 'Georgics,' which in the fifteenth century were still regarded as practical treatises. Germany has two

complete editions, and one each of the 'Bucolics,' 'Georgics,' and Opuscula. Our English contribution is a version of the romance founded on the 'Æneid.' Another tribute to Virgil is the cento of 'Falconius Proba,' a poem made up of Virgil's lines put into a new context. Of this there are five copies in Proctor, three of which represent six in Hain. There are thus eight editions known; one Swiss, two German, one Dutch, one Italian, and three French. The most celebrated of these centos or patchwork poems is the 'Carmen Nuptiale' of Ausonius.

After Virgil, Ovid comes next in popularity with sixty-four editions in Proctor (123 in Hain, of which 47 in Proctor). Of these forty-five are Italian, thirteen of them complete works, while Germany prints two editions of the 'Ars Amandi,' and one each of the 'Metamorphoses' and 'Tristia.' France prints the 'Remedium amoris' three times, and four other books in separate editions, while Spain issues two editions of the 'Metamorphoses.' This latter work 'moralized' is printed in France.

The next favourite in point of numbers is Æsop, with fifty-nine titles in Proctor (98 in Hain, of which 34 in Proctor and 5 ghosts). Of this author there are three editions in Greek, all printed in Italy. Of the Latin text Proctor has thirteen Italian, ten French, and six Dutch editions, but only two German, though there are nine German and six Dutch editions of the 'moralized' version, wherein the worldly wisdom of Æsop is turned to religious ends. Of translations there are one German and six Italian editions, printed with the Latin text, and two English. A different proportion holds of



Seneca, who comes next with fifty (72 in Hain, of which 35 in Proctor). No fewer than twenty-one of these are German, while Italy prints five complete editions and eleven partial ones, France six, Holland five, and Spain two. Of the five editions of the tragedies (15 editions in Hain, 5 in Proctor) Italy prints four, France one. Horace is comparatively late in coming to his own. Proctor has forty-five editions (Hain 58, of which 31 in Proctor, and 1 ghost). Of these Italy printed twenty-one complete editions; Germany one, and fifteen volumes of parts of his works; France four parts, Holland and Austria one each.

It will be plain that this distribution of the printing of the classics corresponds to a well-marked distinction between Italy and Germany, the latter being interested solely in the ethical value of the subject-matter. Juvenal's 'Satires' (61 editions in Hain, 36 in Proctor) are printed twenty-four times alone and nine times with Persius in Italy, four times in France to once in Germany, and once in Switzerland. Persius (32 editions in Hain) is reprinted eighteen times in Italy to three in France, and once in Switzerland. Of the eighteen editions of Martial (23 in Hain) all are printed in Italy. Lucan has one German edition to sixteen Italian. Plautus has none to show against the seven Italian prints, while Terence fares better with seven German editions against twenty-eight Italian and four French, though even this number of German editions is due to the woodcuts by which his works were illustrated, which make them so valuable to the collector of to-day. Sallust has twenty-eight Italian

editions to five French, and one each in Holland, Switzerland, and Spain (59 in Hain, of which 32 in Proctor), his style being particularly attractive to the renaissance Italian, and probably frightening off the more medieval German. Greek printing is entirely Italian. We have editions of the whole or parts of Aristophanes, Aristotle, the epistles of Donatus, Æsop, Homer, Simplicius, Ammonius, Galen, Dioscorides, the Psalter, Theophrastus, Musæus, Thocritus, Euripides, Lucian, Callimachus, the Anthology, etc. Neither Æschylus nor Sophocles was printed in the century. The 'Epistles of Phalaris,' round which the Battle of the Books was to rage later on, had one French and one German edition to twenty Italian. Ancient grammarians and commentators account for 149 editions, History 219, and Poems not otherwise classified 129. The whole production of classic authors amounts to 1,269 volumes.

Medieval literature, however distinguished it may be in quality, does not bulk largely in the printing of the fifteenth century. Of 10,000 entries in Proctor, 503 can be classified under this title, 266 of them being romances and 112 poems. The greatest among them is Dante, the seventeen editions of whose 'Divina Commedia' were all printed in Italy. The 'Convito' was separately printed. The printing of these editions is curiously significant. Seven of them were produced in Venice, the great centre of the book trade, the remainder were produced in separate towns, large and small, scattered all over Italy from Milan to Naples, evidently attesting a local demand. Petrarch's poems

(40 editions in Hain) are all of Italian printing; but the great majority are of Venetian origin, especially as the century grows. Thus the 1470 edition is Roman, and the 1472 Paduan, but after that, 1473, 78, 81, 84, 88, 90, 92, 93, 97, and 1500 are all Venetian. His more philosophical works were many times reprinted, and it is significant that a market was found in Germany for six editions of the 'De obœdientia Griseldis,' four of them translations into German. Fairness compels us to admit that Dante and Petrarch are extremely favourable examples of medieval poets, and that they are followed at a distance by others less inspired either in subject or manner, witness 'The Romance of the Rose,' as the topical medieval poem at its best, and Hucbaldus with his eclogue in praise of bald heads, at the other end of the list.

With regard to the romances, it is almost hopeless to attempt an account of them. The majority are Italianized forms of French medieval tales, or continuations of them, the most important are the fine French editions of the prose romances, and there are a few German and English versions, but very few. A full catalogue of their names would profit little; but one may mention Merlin, Tristan, Lancelot, Melusine, Galien, Ogier the Dane, Iason, the Recueil of the 'Histories of Troy,' Valentine and Orson, the four sons of Aymon, Fierabras, and other delectable histories of the matter of Rome, France, or Britain in French, many of them illustrated. Italian books are shorter and nearer the chapbook in which their statelier rivals ended in the eighteenth century, though many of them are

of high merit. Included among the romances are some works of quite recent origin, like 'L'Abuzé en Court,' attributed to King René, and the 'Chevalier délibéré' of Olivier de la Marche. Another class of works are those like the 'De Amore' of Andreas Capellanus, containing the germs of the whole literature of the Courts of Love (which never existed). Perhaps too, books like the 'De Praeliis'—the fabulous history of Alexander the Great—should be included under this head with Dares and Dictys—authors of 'contemporary' accounts of the siege of Troy, one from the Trojan, the other from the Greek camps, and half-a-dozen others. It is difficult, too, to place such books as 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' 'Mattheolus,' etc., or even the 'Gesta Romanorum' and the 'Seven Wise Masters,' which all have instruction more or less cunningly intermingled with their amusement. While Germany adds little to this division, we must not overlook the *Titurell* and the *Parzifal* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, poems of the highest class published by the first printer at Strasburg. Of other classes of works of the period, the most notable is the 'Doctrinale' of Alexander Gallus, a Latin grammar, of which Germany prints fifteen editions to seven of Italy. The comments on it fall into a later period.

The works of men of the second half of the fifteenth century constitute the third division, which is probably much greater in bulk than the other two put together, since it includes not only the selected literature of the time, but its ephemeral productions. Of its purely literary works very few

are read now by any one. Æneas Sylvius—afterwards Pius II—is read for his letters, his contemporary history, and occasionally for his love story, ‘Euryalus and Lucretia’; Ficinus, Politian, Valla, Gaza, Philelphus, and others, for their Latin style; Francisco Colonna’s ‘Hypnerotomachia,’ like many another book, is valued mainly for its wonderful illustrations, although some bold readers penetrate further; Platina is a historian of value; Columbus’s letters are part of the world’s history; Poggio and Masuccio’s stories live for far other qualities than their style; but it is to be feared that no writer of the period, with the exception of the author of the First Book of the ‘Imitatio Christi’ can claim to be counted among the immortals.

Tradition, with probably some substratum of fact, asserts that the earliest essays in printing were devoted to the reproduction of Latin grammars. Be that as it may, elementary text books bulk largely among fifteenth-century books in points of numbers if not of size. A rough analysis of Proctor discloses over 500 books which come into this class, such as grammars, text-books of rhetoric, phrase-books, collections of synonyms, and comments. The Greek Grammar of Lascaris was the only one in the field, but there was a wide diversity in Latin ones, and, curiously enough, very little common use of the same books by Italy and Germany. This may be referred to the fact that in Italy it was fashionable to instruct pupils at home by private tutors or in small academies, where classical Latin was practically the only language spoken, while Germany was still in the youth of her university system, and

classical Latin was not familiarly spoken or understood anywhere, except perhaps at courts. Thus we meet in Germany with large numbers of elementary grammars, such as the 'Exercitium puerorum grammaticale,' 'Grammatellus pro pueris,' etc. The popularity of Donatus is almost confined to Germany and Holland (60 editions in Hain and many undated Dutch ones, of which 12 in Proctor), the 'Doctrinale' of Alexander Gallus, text alone, is confined to Germany, but an edition of it, with comments, was often reprinted in Italy. The 'Elegantiolae' of Aug. Datus is almost the only book whose popularity seems equal in Germany and Italy. Another favourite text-book in Germany is the 'Latinum idioma' of Paulus de Niavis, a very useful set of dialogues for the use of schools (18 editions in Hain). The favourite German text-book for rhetoric was by Lescher. In Italy the great favourite, beyond classic authors such as Priscian and Nonius Marcellus, was Nicol Perotto, whose 'Rudimenta Grammatices' ran through an enormous number of editions (62 in Hain, 21 of them in Proctor). Erasmus himself praises this work, written while the author was a professor at Bologna. Perotto was one of the great scholars of the Renaissance, whose talents raised him to the highest positions in the Roman Church from a humble origin. It will be remembered that the 'Fables of Phædrus' have been attributed to him with some show of reason. The Grammar of Franciscus Niger was also used, but did not attain the popularity of his 'Modus epistulandi' (25 editions in Hain, 13 in Proctor). Six editions of the work were printed

either in Germany or Holland. Another minor grammarian was Omnibonus Leonicensis (5 editions).

The next most important class of fifteenth century books is the Orations. Of these Proctor includes about 200, and we may conjecture that many have perished. Oratory was the great road to advancement in those days. Perotto put his first foot on the ladder of fame by acting as spokesman for the Senate of Bologna to the Emperor, who was so struck by his eloquence as to make him a laureate, and give him employment. It would almost seem as if no opportunity was lost of delivering a speech, and of printing it afterwards. Letters, too, form a great part of the literary output of the time. Proctor gives over 150 volumes, and many of them are very well worth reading still. One feels that under the excellent Latinity of some of them there lurked very human feelings. It is years since I read a letter of Politian's, I think, in which he pulverises the argument of a brother-scholar in the most classical style, and then goes on triumphantly: 'nunc, meus homo, quid penses de hoc'—a phrase which will not be found in any collection of 'Elegantiae.'

The poetry of contemporaries amounts to over 180 volumes, most of it in Latin, and as dull to read about as to read. There is one well-known story of Augurellus, who heads the list. He presented his poem to the Pope, and as the subject of it was the art of making gold, his patron rewarded him with a purse to hold the gold when he had made it. The most interesting side of this class is the

development of vernacular poetry in Italy principally by sonnets and *rime*. F. de Alegris, Belinzone, Benivieni, Boiardo, Borro, Perleonis, Pulci, Romanellus, Thortus, Sfortunato, and others, are the principal authors, and amongst them all only the 'Morgante Maggiore' of Pulci, and perhaps something of Boiardo's, are read to-day with any pleasure. Alain Chartier died too soon to be contemporary of the printing press in France, and Martial de Paris, Wireker, the author of the 'Renoncement d'amours,' and the authors of some rhymed Mysteries, represent poesy in France. In Germany Sebastian Brant is at once the most typical and the most popular poet. Spain is represented by the 'Cancionero' of Ramon de Llabia.

History and biography account for 113 volumes, the most striking feature being the comparative prominence of Spain. Tales, facetiae, and disquisitions on love, amount to 123 volumes, among them the works of Masuccio and Poggio, the tales of Florius, and others. There are few printed plays beyond the French Mysteries, and the facetiae are in the main German, with the exception of Poggio, of whom the majority of the editions are Italian. Lexicons amount to eighty-three. Platonic and ethical treatises eighty-four. Metaphysics seventy-eight, and Dialectics 103.

It is of interest to note the first book printed in some countries, leaving out, for the sake of peace, Germany and Holland. In Italy it was Cicero, 'de Oratore'; in Switzerland, St. Gregory on Job; in France, the letters of Barzizius; in Spain, a religious book; in England, a romance; in Portugal, part of



a Hebrew Bible. We have only to add that the most recent variety of literature, the literature of advertisement, is found in the fifteenth century under the names of Schoeffer, Zainer, Koburger, Caxton, and others.

The classification on which this article is based may be expressed in the following tabular form :

CLASSICS	MEDIÆVAL	CONTEMPORARY
Grammar and	Grammar, etc., 28	Grammar, etc. 522
Commentaries, 149	History ... 27	Dialectics ... 103
History ... .. 191	Poetry ... 112	History and
Poetry ... .. 129	Romance ... 250	Biography 113
Plays ... .. 53	General ... 86	Orations ... 200
General Classic	—	Poetry... .. 182
Authors ... 747	<u>503</u>	Letters ... 153
		Tales, Facetiae,
		etc. ... .. 123
		Platonics, etc., 84
		Lexicons ... 83
		Metaphysics 78
		General ... 138
		—
		1,779
		1,269
		<u>503</u>
		<u>3,551</u>

Though these numbers appear precise, the reader must be warned that in the nature of things they cannot be exact. Their validity extends only as far as the general knowledge of the computator, and he is far from claiming even a bowing acquaintance with the subject of every fifteenth-century book. But within a limit of five per cent. they may be taken as fairly accurate, and the author is

pleased to see that the four estimations of different classes taken at intervals of a year or so apart, add up to about this limit, ninety-five per cent of the whole. Considering the number of books, the placing of which is dubious, this seems fairly good for a first approximation. The numbers are: Science, 838; Theology, 4,379; Law, 930; Literature, 3,534; giving a total of 9,684, while the last number in Proctor is 9,841.

ROBERT STEELE.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.



ONE of the most interesting and striking books that have recently appeared in the domain of 'belles lettres' in France, is Jules Lemaître's 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau.' Lemaître delivered a course of lectures on Rousseau that had a quite extraordinary success in Paris, and they are here made available for a wider audience. They make unusually fascinating reading. The lecturer did not aim at a critical biography. Many before him had treated the subject on those lines. Employing the tone of the 'Causerie,' he gave the history of Rousseau's 'Sentiments.' He cares more for Rousseau's art than for his politics, and in reviewing his literary works regards them from that standpoint. Lemaître is more outspoken than an English lecturer would have allowed himself to be, but Rousseau's physical infirmities and peculiarities had doubtless much to do with his faults of character. Yet he was a truly religious man, possessing none of the 'superstition de la science' of the Encyclopaedists; indeed he influenced his contemporaries by the fervour of his deism.

Rousseau was perhaps newest in his feeling for nature, and in the descriptions he gave of it. He changed the general aspect of the novel and of

lyric poetry. Those are what Lemaître calls his 'nouveau-tés heureuses.'

J'oserai presque dire que l'homme civilisé est, depuis Rousseau, plus ému par la terre qu'il ne l'avait été durant des milliers d'années. . . . Un souffle frais et libre entre avec lui dans notre littérature. Son charme est grand. Il dure, et dans les intervalles de sa rhétorique se fait sentir encore.

But Rousseau bequeathed another novelty to posterity:

L'individualisme littéraire, l'étalage du 'moi,' et la rêverie inutile et solitaire. . . . Rousseau par ses Confessions a véritablement inauguré le genre, et l'a, du premier coup, réalisé totalement. Personne ne confessa plus comme s'est confessé Jean-Jacques.

Objective, impersonal literature, like history, philosophy, novels of character and of manners, drama, is undoubtedly the most necessary and the most forcible.

Mais que l'autre est souvent séduisante! et que les souffrances, les fautes et les sentiments les plus intimes d'un homme qui a le génie de l'expression agissent délicieusement sur notre sensibilité! Un individu de cette sorte, lorsqu'il s'examine et se décrit, descend quelquefois plus loin dans son âme qu'il ne descendrait dans celle des autres.—Et je sais que la littérature personnelle est forcément la glorification d'un certain nombre de péchés capitaux: mais, sans elle, bien des choses n'auraient pas été dites, qu'il eût été dommage qui ne fussent pas dites. Avouons, si vous le voulez, que cette littérature-là est quelque chose de dérégulé, quelque chose qui n'est pas tout à fait dans l'ordre. Mais, tout le même, il eût été

triste que le romantisme—qui depuis cinquante ans décline—ne fût pas né.

Lemaître considers that Rousseau's case is unique in the history of literature.

Ce vagabond, ce fainéant, cet autodidacte qui, après trente ans de rêvasserie, tombe un jour dans le plus brillant Paris du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et qui y fait l'effet d'un Huron, mais d'un Huron vrai et de plus de conséquence que celui de Voltaire; qui commence à publier vers la quarantaine; qui écrit en dix ans, péniblement et parmi des souffrances physiques presque incessantes, trois ou quatre livres—lesquels ne sont pas autrement forts ni rares de pensée, mais où il y a une nouvelle façon de sentir et comme une vibration jusque-là inconnue; puis qui s'enfonce dans une lente folie—et qui se trouve, par ces trois ou quatre livres, transformer après sa mort une littérature et une histoire et faire dévier toute la vie d'un peuple dont il n'était pas: quelle prodigieuse aventure!

And the lecturer leaves Rousseau with

la plus vive réprobation pour quelques-unes de ses plus notables idées, l'admiration la plus vraie pour son art, qui fut si étrangement nouveau, la plus sincère pitié pour sa pauvre vie—et une 'horreur sacrée' (au sens latin), devant le grandeur et le mystère de son action sur les hommes.

Another interesting work that reveals the "vie intime" of an author is the correspondence of Alfred de Musset, edited by Léon Séché. It contains 180 letters arranged chronologically from 1827 to 1850. Of course, the letters to George Sand are not new to the public, but only a portion of those to Madame Jaubert have appeared before. They are all included here in their integrity. There still remain other

letters to various correspondents which cannot yet be printed. The editor hopes to publish them later in a second volume. It is useless to seek in Musset's letters for literary, religious, or philosophical doctrines. His 'jeux d'amour' inspire the greater part of his epistolary performances. They bring, however, a new, an unique note into French epistolary literature, and in them the poet appears as a prose writer who has surpassed himself, 'sans qu'il lui en ait coûté aucun effort, en se laissant aller tout bonnement aux caprices de sa nature tour à tour joyeuse et mélancolique.'

The number of French critics who are at the present time devoting themselves to the study of English literature is most remarkable. Every fresh batch of new French books contains some work dealing with an English writer. I have lately read volumes dealing with such diverse writers as Ben Jonson, Locke, Byron, William Hazlitt, and Conan Doyle.

Maurice Castelain, who is lecturer at the University of Poitiers, has produced a stately tome on Ben Jonson with two subsidiary small volumes, one on the 'Discoveries,' and the other on the personal relations of Shakespeare and Jonson. 'Ben Jonson, l'Homme et l'Œuvre' is a critical and biographical study in full detail accompanied by long translated excerpts. These have rendered the volume very unwieldy to hold, and it would be more convenient for reading if a future edition were made up in two volumes. The author makes an attempt to understand Jonson in all the various departments of his achievement. The criticism, if somewhat grudging

and uninspired, is thoughtful, and without the translations the book would be of use to English students. In 'Shakespeare et Ben Jonson' Castelain treats of the personal relations between the two poets as they may be learned from both external and internal evidence. Castelain comes to the conclusion that Jonson had the highest admiration for the natural gifts of his rival, for his

instinct de la vie et du théâtre, sa connaissance de l'homme et la pénétration de sa pensée; mais il regrettait qu'une culture plus solide, une discipline plus stricte de l'esprit, ne vint pas mettre en relief, 'améliorer' une organisation si rare, une 'nature' si belle, si spontanément artiste. Ce qu'il entend par le mot 'art' ce sont les dons acquis de l'esprit, fruits de l'étude et de la réflexion, par opposition aux qualités naturelles, innées, qu'il admirait en lui et qu'il lui enviait peut-être. Etant donnée la fine essence de son génie, il lui aurait voulu plus de talent pour le mettre en œuvre.

The edition of the 'Discoveries' has another aim. It is furnished with an introduction written in excellent English 'On the true purport and genesis of the book.' Castelain's thesis is that the 'Discoveries' is not Jonson's work, or at least that the merit and interest of it are, for the most part, attributable to other men. He points out that, of the 137 observations, very few, if any, are quite original. They are translations and adaptations from other writers, and the similitudes are shown in this edition. Sometimes the transcriptions are absolutely literal, at others the original text is shortened or made more concise; such changes render the work something more than a mere com-

monplace book. 'The chief interest of the book lies in the comparison between Jonson's imitation and his original: in certain cases the things he has left out throw a light on his own ideas, and those he added are most characteristic of his particular turn of mind, his biting satirical propensities, and the realistic tendency of his imagination.' Among the authors laid under contribution are Quintilian, Pliny, Lipsius, Terence, Bacon, Cicero, Scaliger, Martial, Erasmus, Juvenal, and Heinsius. If this can be well substantiated, it is further and very important testimony to the 'plagiarism' practised by Elizabethan authors.

Jules Douady, a professor at the Naval School, has made even a bolder flight in writing a life of William Hazlitt, for Hazlitt is scarcely known in France even by name. The biography seems well done, and to give all the information needed. No attempt is made at a critical appreciation of Hazlitt's work. In a separate cover Douady gives a very full and careful 'Liste chronologique des œuvres de William Hazlitt.'

Edmond Estève, like Castelain, a lecturer at the University of Poitiers, is the author of 'Byron et le romantisme français. Essai sur la fortune et l'influence de l'œuvre de Byron en France de 1812 à 1850.' The author, while acknowledging that much has already been written on the subject, declares that 'on n'a pas encore suivi dans l'étude même de son influence un procédé rigoureusement historique fixé de manière certaine quand elle a commencé et quand elle a fini, marqué les étapes qu'elle a parcourues, montré comment elle s'est propagée à



travers ce milieu littéraire.' In that statement lies the point of departure of the volume. Its chief divisions are: Byronism before Byron; stages of Byronism in France, 1812-1850; Byron and the masters of French romanticism.

It savours somewhat of bathos to drop from Ben Jonson, Byron, and Hazlitt to Conan Doyle. But Dr. J. Bercher sees behind the novelist who has contrived ingenious tales for our diversion and delight a man of science, an ardent, clever observer of life, and has produced a volume entitled, 'L'Œuvre de Conan Doyle, et la police scientifique au vingtième siècle. Etude médico-légale.' And there is a preface by Dr. Reiss, professor of 'police scientifique' at the University of Lausanne. Bercher declares that in Conan Doyle's work new ideas are to be found useful to all concerned with judicial enquiries, to all police experts, and so Sherlock Holmes's methods should be examined seriously and scientifically. Whether the author is or is not right in his estimate, he pays high testimony to the success of the creator of Sherlock Holmes.

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Perhaps the most notable of recent French novels is the fourth part of Romain Rolland's 'Jean Christophe.' It is entitled 'La révolte,' and is almost as interesting as 'L'aube,' the first part.<sup>1</sup> It depicts the hero's period of storm and stress. He revolts against everything and everybody, and has no sympathy or consideration for anyone but himself. Jean Christophe is the complete youthful egoist.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the 'Library' for October, 1906, p. 416.

He is the centre of the universe, and when it does not move to his nod he is at war with his surroundings. He cannot even be wholly, sincerely, in love. Neither of the two women with whom he comes in contact, a cultivated, wealthy Jewess, and a provincial French actress, takes him seriously. He has yet to learn that true, enduring love means unselfishness, if not self-sacrifice. The little French governess makes most impression on him, and it will not be surprising if in the fifth part of the book, she helps to work out his salvation. The same spirit is shown in his uncompromising attitude to the art of music as he sees it practised, and to old age. Rolland depicts with unerring hand the hostility of youth to age, a state of mind common to young people which renders it impossible for them to understand the pathos of Lear. Jean Christophe pays a visit to an old musician Peter Schulz, who has long been one of the very few admirers of Jean's musical compositions. The old man's simple-hearted delight, the preparations he makes for the reception of his guest, the indifference of the young man, his utter want of sympathy for his host's feelings are portrayed by Rolland with a sure touch. Schulz is a most engaging figure. Such men are still to be found in the smaller German towns and universities, where age is not yet the disqualification it threatens to become with us, and Rolland well reveals in the following passage the pathos of the relations between them and their pupils.

Il avait reporté son besoin d'affection sur ses élèves, auxquels il était attaché, comme un père à ses fils. Il avait trouvé peu de retour. Un vieux cœur peut se sentir très

près d'un jeune cœur, et presque du même âge; il sait combien sont brèves les années qui les séparent. Mais le jeune homme ne s'en doute point: le vieillard est pour lui un homme d'une autre époque: au reste, il est absorbé par trop de soucis immédiats, et il détourne instinctivement les yeux du but mélancolique de ses efforts.

Rolland has, I think, a far truer conception than Prévost of the attitude of Germany to France. For instance, the average German has an idea that French women are never serious, that in a greater or lesser degree they are all 'femmes légères,' and Jean Christophe's surprise when he meets a French woman of serious character is almost comic to those who know the great qualities and fine natures of the women of France. It is really curious how the Germans misunderstand the Latin temperament.

Once upon a time J. H. Rosny wrote a most interesting and original novel called 'L'Indomptée.' It dealt in a large-minded way with the feminist question; the struggle of its heroine, a woman doctor, to make herself a useful place in the world, was treated with large-hearted sympathy and sound common sense. His latest novel, 'Contre le Sort,' described as a 'Roman féministe,' almost inclines me to join the suffragettes. He seeks to prove that a beautiful woman left destitute at her husband's death, with two little children to provide for, can only assure her existence and theirs by selling herself to a rich man with or without benefit of clergy. She must even deny herself the joy of becoming the wife of the man she loves and who loves her, unless he is a millionaire. While we admit the difficulties that await the unskilled woman sud-

denly thrown on the world to earn her living, we refuse to believe that in so civilized a land as France some way out of the 'impasse' is not to be found. To class her among the derelicts of society, as Rosny does here, and to force her to marry a repulsive mulatto solely for his wealth is putting too low an estimate on a good woman's resources. The novel is dull and prosy; the point of view holds romantic possibilities, but they are not brought into service.

Those novel readers who like a well-told story will find one in 'L'Homme qui Assassina,' by Claude Farrère. Its title is the worst thing about it. A story of intrigue ingeniously contrived, the scene is laid in Constantinople, the cosmopolitan society of which is well described. A man is murdered by an unconfessed lover of his wife, but so cleverly, that the assassin is never guessed except perhaps by a friend of his, a high Turkish official. At times the author slightly borders on the brutal, but in that respect and in others it is an immense advance on his former novel, 'Les Civilisés.'

'Petite Mienne,' by Jean Rameau, is a pleasantly conceived story of a woman's sacrifice of all she most cares for in life for the sake of a worthless brother. The ways of the Parisian dealers in antiquities, and the present day conditions of painters and their art in Paris, play an important part.

There seems to be a dearth of anything very good in German fiction. The only recent novel worthy of notice here is Clara Viebig's 'Absolvo te,' and that can scarcely be reckoned among her best

work. It is an unpleasant but rather powerful tale. The theme would have been better treated in a short story, it is not quite suited to a long novel. As in 'Das Schlafende Heer,' the scene is laid in East Prussia. A girl of seventeen, poor and beautiful, is forced by her mother to marry a well-to-do farmer, a widower with one son, much older than his bride. He is described as coarse and illiterate, but madly in love with his wife, even after sixteen years of marriage, and is always a kind, considerate, indulgent husband. His wife, however, grows to hate him, and tries to murder him. She fails to do so directly—her attempts by rat poison and poisonous mushrooms are abortive—but her indifference and neglect drive her husband to drink and despair. He attempts unsuccessfully to hang himself,—the wife in a strange but not unknown revulsion of feeling herself cuts him down in time—but finally poisons himself with rat poison he had himself procured at his wife's request for the rats (existing in her imagination only) that infested the cellar. To further emphasize her wickedness, she becomes the mistress of her stepson's friend, a youth destined to be the husband of her fifteen year old daughter. The young girl is of a strongly religious temperament; she sees visions, and adores the Virgin Mary in her beautiful mother, of whose wicked ways she is wholly ignorant. She is ever praying for her mother, and the vein of mysticism in her is well sustained.

The woman was so deliberately wicked and selfish that there seems no reason why she should be saved, and she never wins our sympathy. Her

fascination was very great; her lover, her servant, the village schoolmaster all know her wicked plans, and either are ready to abet them, or tacitly agree neither to denounce nor reveal them. She is absolutely without soul, her love is merely ungoverned passion. Sudermann made a finer use of a similar theme in his powerful novel 'Es War.'

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The German playwrights have lately been producing plays on subjects that by general consent are not treated on the public stage. They are discussed at social congresses with closed doors, and by members of the same sex. I cannot believe that the cause of morality is helped by young men and young women witnessing side by side such performances. If ignorance of sexual matters in schoolboys and girls leads to such calamities as Wedekind portrays in his 'Frühlingserwachen,' it points to a terribly morbid and degenerate tone among German boys and girls, a tone that I know does not prevail among them generally. It is quite certain that such plays do not help the cause of art. It is to be regretted that 'Der Gott der Rache,' by Schalom Asch, has so unpleasant a setting, for his theme is one suited to the tragic stage. A father who has prospered by wicked ways is desirous that his young daughter shall be virtuous and happy, and believes she knows nothing of the impurity by which she is surrounded. But alas! heredity and the girl's curiosity decide otherwise, and the father's efforts are in vain.

Plays of a healthier tone are to be found in Hirschfeld's 'Mieze und Maria' and Ernst von Wildenbruch's 'Der Fürst von Verona.' In the first we have a man creating around him an atmosphere of super-culture, which becomes unnatural and stultifying. His wife endures it solely because she loves her husband. They are childless, but the husband discovers a child he had fourteen years before by a girl of the people. She had afterwards married a respectable working man and brought up her lover's child with his. At his wife's request the professor takes home his own child, and an attempt is made to educate her in the ways of cultured society. But to her real father's despair and irritation, the girl greatly prefers her old home and the man she has always known as her father to the artificial life of wealth and culture she finds in her new abode. She has inherited her real father's love of music, but has not the patience to study the technical side. The difficulty, nay, the impossibility of reconciling the two milieus from which the girl descends is the main theme, and is well indicated throughout the play by numberless clever human touches.

Wildenbruch's tragedy is not specially distinguished work. It is full of alarms and excursions, of the fickle mob, and of marvellous resurrections. The love episode is weak, and neither the action nor its motives are very clear; but perhaps as the scene is laid in Verona in the thirteenth century, and as the quarrel of Guelfs and Ghibellines is the basis of the plot, a more detailed knowledge of mediaeval Italian history than the average man

possesses is necessary to the right appreciation of the play.

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I have lately come across a French magazine that deserves to be better known here. It is published every month at the price of seventy-five centimes, and is entitled 'La Poétique, Revue universelle de haute littérature et d'art.' It surveys all European literature, and translations are given from foreign authors. For example, in a very interesting article by the editor, M. Saint-Chamarand, on the 'History of the Sonnet,' we have translations into French from Dante, Petrarch, Michelangelo, Camoëns, Shakespeare, Milton, Ruckert, Wordsworth, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Dante Rossetti. Several articles with excellent translations have appeared on the Hungarian poet, Petöfi. Prose is not despised, and translations of short stories by Gorki, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, and others, are to be found. Contemporary French literature has also a place. It is proposed, at intervals, to issue an index which would at the same time be a most useful guide to all interested in or engaged in studying European literature. That such a periodical should flourish (it is in its third year) shows that a far wider interest must be taken in such matters in France than would be the case here, where it is difficult to gain even a small regular circulation for a journal dealing seriously with our own literature.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:

‘Correspondence. Lettres de Jeunesse.’ Par Emile Zola. Part I.

This volume includes the letters written in the beginning of his career (1859-1872) to three friends and pupils, Baille, Cézanne, and Marius Roux. Two more volumes are to follow: the first will contain letters relating to questions of art or literature, and addressed for the most part to men of letters; the second will contain the correspondence relating to *l’Affaire Dreyfus*, and the letters written during Zola’s exile in England.

‘Études Critiques sur l’histoire de la Littérature Française.’ Huitième Série. Par Ferdinand Brunetière.

Essays collected and published since Brunetière’s death.

‘Lettres d’Aristocrates.’ La révolution racontée par des Correspondances privées, 1789-1794.

The letters form interesting documents towards the writing of full histories.

‘Vers les temps nouveaux par l’éducation intégrale et par la femme.’ Par Firmin Raillon.

A book on the theme ‘ce que femme voudra, femme pourra.’

‘Bibliographie Critique de Goethe en France.’ Par Fernand Baldensperger.

Supplementary to his excellent work, ‘Goethe en France.’ The bibliography is so arranged as to relate to each chapter of the book in their order. It is wonderfully full and careful, and forms an admirable tool for students of the subject.

‘Paul Verlaine. Sa vie, son œuvre.’ Par Edmond Lepelletier.

Facts are here substituted for legend. It was Verlaine’s wish

that Lepelletier should report him and his cause aright to the unsatisfied.

‘Le duc de Nemours,’ Par René Bazin.

‘Un livre d’histoire,’ written by one who has no claim to be a historian. A portrait of an original figure, a man of whose existence it is only necessary ‘rassembler les faits et les ordonner.’ That is all the author has attempted to do.

‘Sous Louis-Philippe: Les Dandys.’ Par Jacques Boulenger.

A very entertaining account of, among others, Beau Brummel, Count d’Orsay, Eugène Sue, and Barbey d’Aurevilly.

‘Geschichte der österreichischen Revolution in Zusammenhange mit der mitteleuropäischen Bewegung der Jahre 1848-1849.’ Von Joseph Alexander Freiherrn von Helfert. Band I. Bis zur österreichischen Verfassung von 25 April, 1848.

Very full and interesting, with a good index and chronological table.

‘Adolf Wilbrandt. Eine Studie über Seine Werke.’ Von Victor Klemperer.

‘Hermann Sudermann. Eine Studie.’ Von Dr. Ida Axelrod.

‘Léo Claretie.’ Par Petrus Durel.

These three little books furnish useful accounts, biographical and critical, of contemporary authors.

‘Persönlichkeit und Schönheit in ihren gesellschaftlichen und geselligen Wirkungen.’ Von Ellen Key.

A German translation from the Swedish of the third and last

part of the work known in Sweden as 'Lines of Life.' The two earlier parts bear in German the respective titles, 'Liebe und Ehe,' and 'Der Lebensglaube.'

The names of the following books on music may be useful where such volumes are collected:

'Les origines du Chant Romain. L'antiphonaire Grégorien.' Par Amédée Gastoué, Professeur de Chant Grégorien à l'institut catholique de Paris.

'Traité de Psaltique. Théorie et pratique du Chant dans l'Église grecque.' Par Le père J. B. Rebours des missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères blancs).

Two volumes in the series 'Bibliothèque Musicologique,' on subjects seldom or never before treated.

'Les Ancêtres du violon et du violoncelle. Les Luthiers et les fabricants d'archets, précédés d'une préface par Théodore Dubois.' Par Laurent Grillet.

'Notes d'ethnographie musicale (première série).' Par Julien Tiersot.

Deals with the music of Japan, China, India, Central Asia, Armenia, and Arabia.

ELIZABETH LEE.

A BOOKSELLER'S ACCOUNTS, *c.*  
1510.



THE two leaves which are here reprinted I found some years ago used as end-papers in the binding of a book in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. They clearly form part of a bookseller's account-book or day-book, and are exactly similar in character to the day-book of John Dorne, bookseller in Oxford in 1520, which was edited for the Oxford Historical Society by Falconer Madan, in 1886, with a further supplement published in 1890. Though the leaves are in many ways similar to Dorne's book, they are not in his handwriting, and the wording of the totals at the foot of each column shows that the entries were written by an apprentice or assistant. Certain sums the writer says he has received, others his master has received. The spelling of some words, and the occasional use of guelden in the accounts, shows the writer to have been a foreigner, and he was probably in the employment of one of the Dutchmen then settled in Oxford, John Dorne himself, perhaps, or William Howberch. The latter is the more probable, as I think the present accounts are of a date anterior to Dorne's arrival in England.

The four pages contain altogether ninety-eight entries, comprising one hundred and five books,

and these again represent fifty-three separate works, of which about twenty do not occur in Dorne's list.

The date of these accounts it is not easy to determine, and very definite conclusions cannot be drawn from two leaves, but one or two points are striking. In the first, place there is no entry of any work by Erasmus, whereas Dorne's pages are dotted with his books. Again, there is no mention of the later grammars, such as Whitinton's, which are frequently found in Dorne; while, on the other hand, there are several entries of older works, such as the 'Donatus,' the 'Equivoca,' and the 'Synonyma,' which were superseded, and ceased to be printed at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, and which do not occur in Dorne's list. I should be inclined to date the present accounts as somewhere within the first decade of the sixteenth century.

In transcribing the accounts I have followed the example of Mr. Madan when editing Dorne's accounts, and have filled in the letters expressed in the original by marks of contraction, but such letters are printed in italics. In the notes I have put an asterisk to the books which do not occur in Dorne's list.

A recto

i.	I Donatus	}	4d.
	I Accidens		
	I <i>primarium</i> mediocre lig[atum]		6d.
	I <i>primarium</i> magnum Deauratum		10d.
	4 breuiaria romanorum n[urem]berch lig[ata]		12sh.
	I Sermones Discipuli lig[ati]	}	5 sh.
	I <i>primarium</i> parvum		

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	I <i>primarium magnum lig[atun]</i>	7
	I Sermones xiiij lig[atun] in perga[men]o	9d.
10.	I De modo <i>confitendi in ynglis</i>	2d.
	I <i>Phisonomia scoti</i>	4d.
	I <i>vita jhesu bonaventure paruum</i>	9d.
	I <i>primarium mediocre lig[atun]</i>	5d.
	I <i>fabule esopi</i>	4d.
	I <i>Festiuale lig[atun]</i>	1 sh. 4d.
	I <i>Information of the holi lond</i>	3d.
	I <i>portifrium sarum lig[atun]</i>	5 sh. 4d.
	I <i>albertus De virtutibus herbarum</i>	4d.
	I <i>primarium mediocre lig[atun]</i>	6d.
20.	I <i>Theologia natural[is] lig[ata]</i>	3 sh.
	I De modo <i>confitendi in ynglis</i>	2d.
	I <i>Instituta parva lig[ata]</i>	2 sh.
	I <i>piro super instituta imperfectus lig[atus]</i>	7 ge.
	I <i>portifrium magnum venet[is] lig[atun]</i>	1 sh. 4d.
	I <i>pronosticata anni istius</i>	2d.

*Summa* 1 lib 18 sh. 9d. *quam magister meus recepit.*

A verso

26.	<i>primarium mediocre lig[atun]</i>	5d.
	<i>Os facies mentum</i>	1d.
	I <i>medicinis for horsis</i>	2d.
	I <i>Epistole crisostimi</i>	8d.
30.	I <i>Armandus de difficilibus</i>	} 2 sh. 6d.
	I <i>consolatorium timorate conscientie</i>	
	I <i>gerson de ymitatione christi</i>	
	I <i>Exempla sacre scripture</i>	
	I <i>portifrium magnum lig[atun]</i>	4 ge.
	I a. b. c.	2d.
	I <i>Sermones thesauri de tempore et sanctis lig[atun]</i>	8 sh.
	I <i>Doctrinael lig[atun]</i>	14d.
	I <i>De valore missarum</i>	2d.
	I <i>portifrium sarum lig[atun]</i>	5 sh. 4d.
40.	I <i>primarium maximum lig[atun]</i>	12d.

A BOOKSELLER'S ACCOUNTS, c. 1510. 259

	I a. b. c.	1d. cum obolo
	I <i>primarium longum lig[atun]</i>	7d.
	I <i>portifrium sarum in 2 lig[atun]</i>	6 sh.
	I <i>psalterium magnum lig[atun]</i>	6d.
	I <i>Equiuoca</i> }	
	I <i>synonyma</i> }	12d.
	I <i>Teucides</i>	20d.
	I <i>primarium paruum romanorum lig[atun]</i>	6d.
	I <i>portifrium in 2 lig[atun]</i>	6 sh.
50.	I <i>primarium paruum lig[atun]</i>	4d.
	Summa 2 lib 1 sh cum obolo quam magister meus recepit.	

B recto

51.	I <i>Donatus</i> }	
	I <i>Accidens</i> }	4d.
	I <i>Quadragesimale lig[atun]</i> }	
	I <i>Sermones parati lig[ati]</i> }	5 sh. 8d.
	I <i>primarium mediocre lig[atun]</i>	5d.
	I a. b. c in papiro	1d. cum obolo
	I <i>primarium magnum lig[atun]</i>	7d.
	I <i>Epistole karoli</i>	8d.
60.	I <i>Donatus</i> }	
	I <i>accidens</i> }	4d.
	I <i>primarium minimum</i>	4d.
	I <i>Opera gregorii</i>	3 sh.
	I <i>primarium mediocre lig[atun]</i>	5d.
	I <i>festiuael lig[atun]</i>	1 sh. 6d.
	I <i>bocacius de preclaris mulieribus</i>	1 sh. 4d.
	I <i>The boock of femme</i>	4d.
erased.	I <i>Epistole tulij ad acticum lig[ate]</i> }	
	[I <i>Festiuael lig[atun]</i> }	4 sh. 4d.
	I <i>De remediis vtriusque fortune</i> }	
70.	I <i>Festiuael lig[atun]</i>	1 sh. 6d.
	I <i>Dialogus inter clerum et militem</i>	2d.
	I <i>pronosticum istius anni</i>	2d.

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1 Tabula lire [?]	2od.
1 Formicarius nider	22d.

erased. [Summa 1 lib. 1 sh. 1od. cum obolo quam magister meus recepit.]

Summa 1 lib. 4 sh. 8d. cum obolo quam recepi.

B verso

75.	1 Donatus	3d.
	1 Equiuoca }	
	2 Synonimis }	1 sh. 4d.
	1 manuale parochialium	2d.
	1 a. b. c in papiro	1d. cum obolo
80.	3 primaria magna lig[ata]	1 sh. 8d.
	1 The fest moralisit	1 sh.
	1 Doctrinael lig[atun]	
	1 Expositio ymnorum lig[ata]	
	1 Sinonima cum equiuocis lig[ata]	4 sh. 2d.
	1 De nomine ihesu cum transfiguratione	4d.
	1 primarium minimum lig[atun]	4d.
	1 a. b. c in papiro	1d.
	1 portifirium sarum mediocre lig[atun]	5 sh.
	1 De ymitatione christi [xpi]	
90.	1 De immortalitate anime }	1od.
	1 De salute corporis et anime }	
	1 missale sarum magnum lig[atun]	11 sh.
	1 primarium paruum lig[atun]	5d.
	1 ciclus	3d.

erased [Summa 3 lib. 1 sh. 6d. quam magister meus recepit] vacatur.

	1 Epistole F. philelphi	2 sh.
	1 Sermones parati lig[ati]	
	1 legenda sanctorum lig[ata]	6 sh.
98.	1 Speculum artis bene moriendi	2d.

Summa 1 lib. 15 sh. 1d. cum obolo quam recepi.



A BOOKSELLER'S ACCOUNTS, c. 1510. 261

- \*1. Donatus [51, 59, 75]. One entry definitely attributes the book to Pynson, and it doubtless refers to the 'Donatus pro pueris' printed at the close of the fifteenth century, of which there is a copy in the Pepysian Library. The book went out of fashion after 1500, and no mention of it occurs in Dorne's accounts.
2. Accidence [52, 60]. This always occurs with the Donatus, and may be the English translation printed several times in the fifteenth century or the separate work of Stanbridge, both of which are known as 'Accidence.'
3. Primarium [4, 7, 8, 13, 19, 26, 40, 42, 48, 50, 55, 57, 61, 63, 80, 86, 93]. The Primers are entered under their various sizes, 'maximum, magnum, mediocre, parvum minimum, longum,' and the prices run from one shilling to fourpence. The early printed English editions vary between large 4to and 64to.
5. Breviarium Romanum, Nuremberch. Panzer mentions two editions of the Roman Breviary as printed at Nuremberg in the fifteenth century, but none in the sixteenth.
6. Sermones Discipuli [36]. This is the 'Sermones Discipuli de Tempore et Sanctis,' by Johannes Herolt, of which there are many early editions.
9. Sermones XIII. This is the 'Sermones tredecim' of Michael de Hungaria, printed often in the fifteenth century. In most editions a sermon 'cujusdam anonimi' is printed at the end which gives an account of the taking a theological degree at Oxford and Cambridge, and gives the questions for discussion in English.
10. Modus confitendi in English [21]. This book was

known also as 'Poeniteas Cito,' but no edition in English is known. It was printed several times in Latin by W. de Worde. None of the copies mentioned in Dorne's list are described as 'in English,' though the price is the same.

- \*11. *Physionomia Scoti*. Of this treatise by Michael Scotus many editions were issued in the fifteenth century.
- 12. *Bonaventura, Vita Christi*. As this edition is described as 'parvum,' it cannot be any of those printed in English which are all in folio, but one of the Latin editions printed abroad.
- 14. *Fabulae Esopi*. This probably refers either to the edition printed by Pynson in 1502, or that by W. de Worde in 1503.
- 15. *Festival* [64, 68, 70, 81]. The 'Liber Festivalis' by John Mirk, was frequently printed in England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- \*16. *Information for the Holy Land*. The first edition was printed by W. de Worde about 1496, and was reprinted by him in 1515 and 1524.
- 17. *Portiforium* [24, 34, 39, 43, 49, 88]. These entries are rather puzzling. Two Sarum Breviaries cost five shillings and fourpence each, in one volume. Two others, in two volumes, cost six shillings each. But two others, described as 'Portiforium magnum,' cost only one and fourpence each.
- 18. *Albertus de virtutibus herbarum*. This was frequently printed on the Continent in the fifteenth century, and W. de Machlinia printed an edition in London about 1485.
- 20. *Theologia naturalis*. This was written by Rai-

mundus de Sabunde. Several editions are mentioned by Hain.

- \*22. *Instituta parva*. This apparently refers to some edition of Justinian's Institutes.
- 23. *Piro super instituta*. This is the 'Tractatus super instituta,' by Heinricus Bruno, *alias* de Piro. Hain mentions three editions \*4014-6.
- 25. *Pronostica anni istius* [72]. Many fragments of early English prognostications are known dating from about 1496 onwards.
- 27. *Os. facies, mentum*. The earliest dated edition known of this little grammar was printed by W. de Worde in 1508.
- 28. *Medicinis for horsis*. An edition was printed by W. de Worde about 1500, of which one copy is known, in a private library. See Herbert, i, p. 203.
- \*29. *Epistolae Crisostomi*. This may refer to Chrysostom's xxv Sermones [Hain, 5039] which begins and ends with letters. The colophon runs, 'Explicit Epistola Chrysostomi.'
- \*30. *Armandus de difficilibus*. This is 'De declaratione difficilium terminorum tam theologiae quam philosophiae ac logicae,' by Armandus de Bellovisu. Hain, \*1793-6.
- 31. *Consolatorium timorate conscientie*. By Johannes Nider. Hain, 11806-11812.
- 32. *Gerson de imitatione christi*. If this is an English edition, it is probably that printed by Pynson in 1503.
- 33. *Exempla sacrae scripturae*. Several editions were printed abroad in the fifteenth century. Hain,

\*6762-6, An edition was printed at St. Albans in 1481.

35. A. B. C. [41, 56, 79, 87]. The A. B. C. was a small book containing the Alphabet, the Lord's prayer and a few other prayers. It consisted of a single quire of vellum or paper, and the price varied from one to two pence. No example printed in England earlier than about 1520 is known, though it was printed on the continent in the fifteenth century.
37. Doctrinael [82]. This is probably the 'Doctrinale of Alexander Grammaticus' of which many editions were printed by Pynson from 1492 onwards.
38. De valore missarum. Perhaps the book quoted by Hain, 11244-6, 'De sacramento et valore missarum.'
44. Psalterium magnum.
- \*45. Equivoca [76, 84].
- \*46. Synonyma [77, 84]. These two grammars, the latter by Johannes de Garlandia were frequently printed in England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
- \*47. Teucides. It is impossible to say to what book this entry refers. Could it be intended for some Latin version of Thucydides?
53. Quadragesimale. Several different works were known under this name.
54. Sermones Parati [96]. These sermons were so called from each beginning with the word Paratus. Many editions were issued in the fifteenth century.
58. Epistole Karoli. The 'Epistolae of Karolus Manecken' were frequently printed in the fifteenth century.

62. Opera Gregorii.

\*65. Bocacius de praeclaris mulieribus. Hain, \*3327-3332.

\*66. Boock of femme. It is impossible to make out exactly the reading of the last word. The six strokes making the two m's are all exactly alike and without dots. It may be that the entry is a foreigner's spelling for Caxton's 'Book of Fame.' As that consists of four quires, the price, fourpence, would be quite suitable.

67. Epistole Tullii ad Aetium.

\*69. De remediis utriusque fortune. This work by Petrarch was frequently printed in the fifteenth century.

\*71. Dialogus inter clericum et militem. By Gulielmus de Ockham, frequently printed before 1500. Hain, 6111-6121.

\*73. Tabula lire [?]. This entry is rather indistinct, but probably refers to N. de Lyra's 'Repertorium super bibiam,' which in some editions is called 'Tabula.'

\*74. Formicarius nider. Hain, \*11830-33.

\*78. Manuale parochialium. This is the 'Manuale parochialium sacerdotum multum perutile,' of which many editions are quoted by Hain, \*10723-10733.

\*83. Expositio Hymnorum. This book was printed continuously in England from 1496 to 1518.

85. De nomine Jesu cum transfiguratione. These are two special feasts printed as supplements to the Breviary. The entry probably refers to the latest editions known printed by Pynson about 1496.

90. De immortalitate animae. A small work of Augustine

has this title, but no separate edition is known. The entry probably refers to the 'De immortalitate animarum' of Johannes de Trevio. Hain, \*15610.

- \*91. De salute corporis et anime. By Gulielmus de Saliceto and Johannes de Turrecremata. Hain, \*14150-53.
- 92. Missale Sarum.
- 94. Ciclus. This refers to some kind of Almanack arranged for a cycle of years. It frequently occurs in Dorne's accounts, where the price is invariably one penny. The price here entered of threepence would seem to point to its being a larger book.
- 95. Epistole F. Philelphi. Hain, \*12926-12950.
- \*97. Legenda Sanctorum. By Jacobus de Voragine.
- \*98. Speculum artis bene moriendi. Three editions of this work are mentioned by Hain, \*14911-3.

E. GORDON DUFF.

## DE QUINCEY AND T. F. DIBDIN.

**T**HE designation of booklover may, perhaps, be applied to both Thomas de Quincey and Thomas Frognall Dibdin, but if so, the love differed in quality as well as in degree. Dibdin had little, if anything, of the real literary spirit, and his interest is mainly in externals. Remarkable gifts he had, or he could not have been so successful in helping Lord Spencer to bring together the famous Althorp collection, now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester. Nor without great gifts could he have produced the handsome volumes which bear his name, and are marvels of beautiful workmanship. And his books bubble over with the enthusiasm of the collector. Dibdin loved books, but De Quincey loved that which was in them. There was a deep abyss between the two men, and the Opium Eater—a master of style—must have been amused, if not irritated, by the ponderously feeble frivolity of the poet-laureate and historian of ‘bibliomania.’ When Dibdin published his ‘Library Companion,’ De Quincey seized the opportunity for having some fun.

Writing to Hessey, of the ‘London Magazine,’ in September, 1824, De Quincey says: ‘I must tell you that I have done a great deal of a new article which will be very amusing, and which of all loves

you must find room for in this Nr., viz., Epist. Critica No. 1. It will contain 1. Dibdin, with whom I have some good fun. 2. Agamemnon and the Birds. 3. Boeckh, "Polit. Econ. of the Athenians." 4. "Q. Review"—blunders of. I am certain of making it an effective article. Dibdin I have done. For the "*bonne bouche*," or 5th and last art., we must have "Walladmor" (that is y<sup>e</sup> name in the Leipzig Catal.), if Heaven or Earth can get it. An abstract of the novel, which I will make in 24 hours, will be of universal interest from the circumstances.—Pray send if you can to Bohn's. They have promised to lend Sir W. Scott's copy in default of any other, on condition of a speedy return. And within 36 hours from receiving it at most I will pledge my word for returning it. What I fear is that the copy should be snapped up by somebody on the spot.'

Of the articles named in this unpublished letter, now in the British Museum, that on 'Walladmor' appeared, and is duly recorded by Professor Masson in his monumental edition of De Quincey. The others have not been traced, with the important exception now to be described. De Quincey had an arrangement with Hessey and Taylor, by which he was paid for his contributions on the delivery of the MS., and sometimes on the delivery of portions of it. This article on Dibdin did not appear until after Taylor and Hessey had sold the magazine, and thus it would not be included in the list of his contributions made for Professor Masson from a marked copy of the magazine in the possession of Archdeacon Hessey. The MS. being already paid for would, no doubt, pass with the



rest of the property of the periodical to its new proprietors.

In 1824 there was published 'The Library Companion; or the Young Man's Guide and the Old Man's Comfort in the choice of a Library.' By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F.R.S., A.S. (London: printed for Harding, Triphook, and Lepard, 1824.) In January, 1825, the 'London Magazine' contained an article which professed to be the preface to a work entitled, 'The Street Companion; or the Young Man's Guide and the Old Man's Comfort in the choice of Shoes. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* By the Rev. Tom. Foggy Dribble." This title, as it appears in the magazine, is a typographical parody of the title-page of the 'Library Companion.'

'From the beginning to the end, I have never lost sight,' Dibdin declares, 'of what I considered to be the MOST MATERIAL OBJECT to be gained from a publication of this nature; namely, the imparting of a *moral feeling* to the gratification of a *literary taste.*' This the elfish De Quincey parodies thus: 'From the beginning to the end of this paper I have never lost sight of what I consider to be the MOST MATERIAL OBJECT to be gained from a publication of this nature; namely, the imparting of a *moral feeling* to the gratification arising from a *taste in leather.*' Dibdin's love of pedantic words, and his devices for adding emphasis to his periods by the use of different types are all parodied. His mania for notes, and for the annotation of them, is also cleverly ridiculed. In one passage De Quincey has a footnote to a footnote on a footnote to a footnote!

Let us consider the subject dispassionately [pursues Dibdin]. Great Britain is the most wealthy, and politically speaking, perhaps the most powerful kingdom upon earth. Considered in a domestic point of view here are thousands of large and affluent families,—and education, both in Public Schools and at our two Universities, necessarily assumes an expensive form. No liberal-minded parent grudges the devotion of a considerable portion of his income to the maintenance of his family. But even wealth and personal influence cannot procure immediate admission into our Universities, where the number of applicants exceeds the means of accommodation at least in a twofold degree. It follows, therefore, that of the rising generation, a large proportion, inheriting a considerable property, and educated in the most accomplished manner, commence their career in life with the means and opportunities of gratifying their tastes and passions in a thousand diverse and, at times, contradictory pursuits. To such in particular, whether emerging from the cloisters of a college, or from the upper form of a public school, this LIBRARY COMPANION will be found of more consequence than may at first be imagined; for I am greatly deceived if experience does not prove that more than half of the misery which is abroad in the higher classes of society has arisen from the mischievous application of superfluous wealth. I address myself therefore immediately, directly, and honestly to the YOUNG MAN in whose hands such means may be deposited to devote them to the gratification of a legitimate taste in Literature; and as this object cannot be accomplished without the acquisition of a LIBRARY, of greater or less extent, I venture to indulge a humble hope that THIS GUIDE in the choice of such a Library may be found, as far as it extends, useful and accurate. The objects to be attained in such a pursuit are of the most important and substantial character. Religion, patriotism, public and private happiness, pure and fixed principles of taste, intellectual refinement, of the most exalted kind, in its present and future results, are all

involved in a sedulous and straightforward cultivation of the pursuit in question. I forbear fortifying these remarks by the authorities of ancient and modern writers of acknowledged celebrity. From Cicero to Richard of Bury, the stream of such authorities is uniformly bright and strong, and callous must be the heart, or obtuse the intellect of the Young Man upon whom such authorities make no impression.

This passage, it must be owned, is a tempting object for the jester, and De Quincey does not fail to take advantage of it:

Great Britain [he says] is the most wealthy and, politically speaking, perhaps the most powerful kingdom upon earth. Considered in a domestic point of view, here are thousands of large and opulent families; it follows that there is scarcely a young man who enters upon life without being able to furnish himself with **shoes**. Nay, most have an opportunity of gratifying their tastes and passions in the purchase of a great variety; and I am greatly deceived if experience does not prove that much more than half of the misery of the world arises either from ill-directed taste in the purchase of shoes, or from the entire want of them. The objects to be attained in such a pursuit are of a most important and substantial character. Religion, patriotism, public and private virtue, pure and fixed principles of taste, intellectual and corporeal refinement, all—all depend upon the choice of **shoes**. I forbear fortifying these remarks by the authorities of ancient and modern writers of acknowledged celebrity. From Crispin to Gifford and Bloomfield the stream of authorities is uniformly bright and strong; and callous must be the toes, or hardened the feet of the YOUNG MAN upon whom such authorities make no impression.

In a footnote De Quincey refers to Deloney's

‘History of the Gentle Craft.’ Bloomfield the shoemaker poet who wrote ‘The Farmer’s Boy’—a now neglected work not destitute of real poetry—died in 1823, but if living he would not have resented the reference to his early trade; but whether Gifford, who ceased to be editor of ‘The Quarterly Review’ in 1824, enjoyed being identified as a son of Crispin is more doubtful.

In one of the notes, after some references to certain actresses, we read: ‘It would be invidious if I were not to likewise observe, that the feet of the principal actors are also remarkably fine, *e.g.*, Mr. C. Kemble’s and Mr. Young’s in particular. Mr. Kean certainly wears vulgar SHOES; who makes them? Certainly not the tasteful hand of C. Stubbs, 125 Old Bond Street. Will Mr. Macready pardon me if I observe that, like many other men of great genius, there is something of the CLUB in his foot.’ This suggests another foot-note about the Athenæum Club, the whole closely following Dibdin’s arbitrary way of linking together irrelevant and unconnected matters.

Another paragraph deals with Dibdin’s fashion of puffing his own writings:

Again: I have been a loser by some of my books, at least I say so, for which reason, among fifty others equally good, I beg leave to inform the world that I have also written ‘Hypodemia:’ history of the passion of shoe-buying; the ‘Scytotomical Decameron,’ or ten joyous days in a shoe warehouse; ‘Sutrina Hobeana,’ or the description of the magnificent collection of boots and shoes in the possession of my old friend and patron, Mr. Hoby. The ‘Soleary System,’ or the ‘Ars Calcearia,’ is a work

now in the press. I have thought proper likewise to make frequent references to this I may fairly say able work, because, though my readers have not an opportunity of consulting it at present, it may be subscribed for at any of the **old leather** shops in London.

Dibdin's effusive way of thanking everyone is also reproduced:

'I shall not, while I have a sole to my foot, forget the extatic delight with which I first saw a sandal, the genuine "Pedilion" of Homer, now in the possession of FRANCIS DOUCE ESQ.' 'Mr. Heber also has a great many old *shoes*; indeed, he has so many that he does not know where to find them when he wants them, which, however, he never does.' 'The glorious Conqueror at Waterloo has also deigned to exhibit to me (it was in his own dressing room; awful moment!) the first specimen of that admirable invention, which is due to his Grace's ingenuity, the high or top shoe; commonly called the Wellington boot. . . . The Pero, or Wellington boot is likewise mentioned by Virgil. For this curious fact I am indebted to Honorio, who while my ink is yet wet, writes to me from *Edmonton* that he is about to cast off his calopodia, or country shoes and visit town, where he must again assume the PERO; for, as he observes the streets of London are generally muddy about this time of the year, and by no means so pleasant as the scenery of his lawn, in the front of his shoery.'

The parody concludes thus:

But from beginning to end I have not been unmindful of the professed view or title of this work. Unless I have greatly deceived myself, it will afford *comfort* to those who, at the close of a long and actively spent life, will find warm and well-soled SHOES the safest wear. The SHOE of a good man is his most constant and useful com-


panion: as it has preserved him in YOUTH so it will solace him in old age.

*The book itself will be published in another volume by way of supplement.*

These extracts will give some impression of the way in which De Quincey has satirised the pedantic trivialities of Dibdin. To see how closely the original has been followed it is necessary to place the preface to the 'Library Companion' and the magazine article on the 'Street Companion' side by side. The parallel between boots and books is worked out with whimsical completeness. Dibdin was sensitive to criticism; he printed replies to some of his reviewers; he complains of others in his 'Literary Reminiscences,' but he makes no allusion to this fantastic skit of the Opium Eater. What could he say in answer to a satire that is keen without bitterness, and whilst poking fun at the puerilities of Dibdin's style does so by means of a paradoxical discovery of all sorts of unexpected analogies between a library and a shoe-shop. There is nothing like leather—except printed paper. The effect is irresistible. Dullness cannot refute a smile—nor can genius.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

## RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE IN SPAIN.

 SINCE the beginning of the present century, or perhaps we may say, for some ten years earlier, there has been a considerable increase in the number of English books translated into Spanish. This increase has been especially remarkable since 1903, and the closer relations between the two countries may well account for a certain portion of the extra popularity of British writers. But even when we make the utmost possible allowance for this influence, it remains a fact that the increase has been a steadily progressive one for the last fifteen or twenty years. If the number of Englishmen who read Spanish is very limited, it is also true that the number of Spaniards who read English is proportionately small, and it naturally follows that a very fair idea of the appreciation of English literature in Spain may be obtained by glancing over the books recently translated into Spanish, and the earlier translations which are still on sale. We must, however, be careful not to attach too much importance to a single work of a voluminous author, or to a book that has enjoyed excessive and temporary popularity; but where we find book after book by a particular author, or on one particular

subject, appearing in Spanish translations, we may assume that supply is an indication of demand.

Shakespeare is, of course, widely read, and there are translations of his dramatic works and of the separate plays. Spaniards love to compare Shakespeare with Cervantes as an epitome of universal knowledge, or with Lope de Vega as founder of the national theatre. But though they may prove that Molière drew his inspiration largely from Lope de Vega and Calderón, they can only claim that Shakespeare was indebted to the episode of the shepherdess Felismena in the drama of Montemôr for the foundation of the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona.' Not, however, in the direction of poetry and the drama shall we find English writers exercising much influence in Spain, for it is now the turn of the educationalist and philosopher. The scholars of the Peninsula have always been remarkable for their studies in philosophy, and the country that produced Seneca and Maimonides now honours Herbert Spencer as the apostle of higher progress and lofty ideals. But while nearly all Spencer's works have been translated into Spanish, it is his 'Education, physical, moral and intellectual,' that has appealed most strongly to Spaniards, and that appears most likely to produce practical results. Huxley, too, is not neglected either in the field of education or of science, but recent translations of Darwin's works are probably due to the popularity of Spencer and Huxley, for whom he is the necessary foundation.

Carlyle and Ruskin, with whom we may include Emerson, are in much favour; the first, of course,



for the 'French Revolution' and 'Essays,' and Ruskin for some of his shorter works, such as 'Munera Pulveris' and 'Sesame and Lilies.' The lighter works of Lord Avebury, such as 'The Pleasures of Life,' 'The Uses of Life,' etc., are also popular. Of English historians we find only Macaulay, whose language lends itself so easily to translation into Spanish; but of our later writers, Freeman, Froude, Green, there is not a trace; nor indeed is there any recent history of England in any form, save a few unimportant school books. Works relating to the burning questions of the day, capital and labour, free trade and protection, strikes, trades unions and land laws, have been freely translated, and have been for the most part published at Barcelona, a centre of socialism. The most popular writer on these subjects has been Henry George, the American socialist.

Turning now to the lighter classes of literature, it is not surprising to find that the countrymen of Cervantes show great liking for the works of Dickens. Many of his novels have been translated into Spanish, and their repeated appearance in the book lists shows that there is a regular demand for them. It would be absurd to attempt any comparison between the two authors, but there is something in the humorous exaggeration of human foibles in Dickens that renders him very popular in Spain, even in a translation. Thackeray, on the other hand, is but little known, and the 'Book of Snobs' is the only translation of his works that appears to be now current. Spaniards, however, were so pleased with the word snob that they

adopted it, and for many years such expressions as “Ese es un snob” (that man is a snob), “un traje snob” (a snobbish costume), have been common. Curiously enough this is not for want of a word to express the same thing, for the Castilian *cursi*, of unknown origin, has an identical signification.

Scott's novels appear to be hardly more popular than those of Thackeray, ‘*Quentin Durward*’ and ‘*The Pirate*’ being the only ones now read; it would, however, be too much to expect that our historical and social novels should be popular in Spain. Of the lesser lights among writers of fiction, the list might almost be limited to a few of the most important works of Marryat, Wilkie Collins, Rider Haggard, Miss Braddon and Conan Doyle, with Mark Twain to represent the United States. Kipling has attracted attention by the ‘*Plain Tales from the Hills*’ and ‘*The Jungle Book*,’ but as a general rule the romance of wild nature in foreign climes has little charm for the Spaniard. In fact, books of travel and adventure, which are so popular in England, find little favour in the Peninsula, where few are produced and still fewer translated, and it has been frequently remarked by Spaniards themselves that English literature has much more tendency to cosmopolitanism than their own, and that the English people travel much more than Spaniards, and consequently books of adventure are more read, and foreign idioms more easily accepted here than in Spain.

In this cursory glance at English literature in Spain no mention has been made of the large number of books about Spain or Spanish matters which

are published yearly by the English press, such as the literary works of Fitzmaurice Kelly and the historical works of Major Martin Hume. All or most of such books are translated into Spanish immediately on publication, for to the Spaniard his own language, literature, and history are always first, and the rest frequently nowhere!

G. F. BARWICK.

## ROBERT POCOCK OF GRAVESEND.



AS has been all too often the case with our early printers, booksellers, and minor men of letters, the life of Robert Pocock was full of trouble. At the same time it showed a patience and a devotion far greater than his work ostensibly warranted. It is only when the forerunners of our great educational system are considered as pioneers that it is seen how essential their efforts were. And it is impossible to say how far their prophetic foresight sustained them in what at the time seemed unavailing struggles.

Pocock was born on 21st January, 1760. His father, John Pocock, although probably not a native of Gravesend, was a freeman of the town and occupied a shop in High Street, at that time the main thoroughfare, as a grocer. Robert, the second son, after being educated at St. Thomas's School, served as errand boy to his father. This did not last long, however, and he fed his insatiable craving for learning of all kinds by taking advantage of every opportunity that offered. Various departments of natural history claimed his attention, but his first essay in the diffusion of knowledge was the publication of his 'Child's First Book'; or, 'Reading made Easy' and the 'Child's Second Book; being a further improvement in learning,' and other

similar aids to juvenile study. The wood-blocks used in the illustration of these books were cuts of 'Cock Robin,' 'The House that Jack built,' and other nursery rhymes, and were finally deposited in the Guildhall Library. These reading books rapidly superseded the less useful and more cumbrous horn-books.

It appears certain that the credit for the introduction of these new spelling books belongs to Pocock. Some two years later, Rusher, a bookseller of Banbury, produced 'Reading made most easy,' which rapidly ran into editions amounting to several hundreds of thousands of copies.

Pocock's first marriage took place in 1779. His wife, after giving birth to three children, died in 1791. Less than two years later, he married Frances, a daughter of John Hinde of Sittingbourne. This second wife had very little sympathy with Pocock's ideals, ideals which, after all, were the greatest and most enduring part of his work.

Probably as the result of the success of his children's 'spellers' and 'readers,' Pocock established the first printing press in Gravesend, and thus earned for himself his inconspicuous place in the annals of printing.

In 1790, he printed and published 'A Chronology of the most Remarkable Events that have occurred in the Parishes of Gravesend, Milton, and Denton.' But at this time such efforts were understood so little that he was refused access to the town records. In the same year he finished his 'History of the Incorporated Town and Parishes of Gravesend and Milton in the County of Kent,' which still re-

mains one of the two standard histories of this part of Kent, and even at this late date is interesting and readable. For seven years the manuscript lay unpublished for want of money. He was then able to buy a job line of paper of an odd size at the sale of the stock of a paper mill, and his history, a small quarto, saw the light in 1797. The greater part of the issue was sold, but the venture did not prove a financial success, and the contemplated second edition was never published. By some means Pocock was able to give some details of the corporation records in his 'History'; but this deprived him of the town printing, which thus went to a second press established in the town at about this time.

Contemporaneously with the founding of his press, Pocock established a circulating library; and in 1801 or 1802 he supplemented this with a library and reading-room, admittance to which was gained through the private entrance. The following is Pocock's own account of this institution, or of what he designed it to be when drawing up a prospectus: 'The room shall be fitted up, in a commodious manner, and open for the admission of the subscribers from nine in the morning to nine at night; well lighted with candles, and a fire kept during the winter. The subscribers shall be furnished with the Canterbury Paper twice a week, the Maidstone Paper once a week, the "Times" Paper daily, Lloyd's List twice a week, the "Public Ledger" daily, or some other, provided the subscription will allow it. And monthly with the "European Magazine," the "Gentleman's Magazine," the "Critical Review," the "Monthly Re-

view," and Steel's List; and yearly with the "Annual Register," and such other books and pamphlets as the subscription will allow of. Exclusive of these, the library shall be furnished with all the historical and valuable books (novels excepted) now in Mr. Pocock's possession.'

Pocock was also the founder and chairman of the Natural History Society of the County of Kent. This Society unfortunately came to an untimely end, and the members disposed of what property it possessed amongst themselves to save their subscriptions.

In 1802 Pocock published 'The Gravesend Water Companion,' and, as a supplement, 'The Margate Water Companion.' By this time he had made arrangements with other booksellers, and the 'Water Companions' were 'sold by Messrs. Robinson, Paternoster Row, and all other booksellers.' He made the same arrangements for most of his other publications after this time, and his name appears as a bookseller on the title-pages of books issued by London houses. In the same year he issued 'The Sea Captain's Assistant; or Fresh intelligence for Salt Water Sailors.' It is claimed on behalf of Pocock that he founded the original of the Navy List, 'and published it several years alone, and afterwards in conjunction with Steel.'

Pocock proposed the publication of several important works, amongst them the 'Natural History of Kent, arranged in a systematical order,' and 'Perambulations thro' Kent'; and actually issued a number of other books and pamphlets, including 'The Picture of Human Life,' in twelve numbers,

‘Clarke’s Observations on the Tunnel or Road intended to be made under the River Thames at Gravesend’ (this referred to Dodd’s great but abortive scheme), ‘Memoirs of the Tufton Family, Earls of Thanet,’ ‘The Antiquities of Rochester Cathedral,’ ‘Laws of the Manly Game of Cricket,’ ‘A Guide for Gravesend, by a Visitor’ (a small but well-written handbook), which ran into three editions, although the publication was transferred to the rival house of Caddel.

Pocock’s pecuniary difficulties increased to the extent that he could not pay his taxes, until, in (probably) 1827, he was ‘sold up,’ and his collections of natural history objects dispersed. He found a refuge with his son George, whom he had established as a printer in 1823 at the neighbouring town of Dartford. Here he promptly commenced the compilation of ‘The History of Dartford and Wilmington, in the County of Kent,’ for which he issued a prospectus in 1827. The ‘History’ was to be issued to subscribers only, in one volume, in boards, illustrated with plates, at one guinea, ‘when a sufficient number of names are obtained.’ The Dartford and Wilmington volume included accounts of Erith, Chiselhurst, Sutton, Farningham, Eynsford, Greenhythe, and other neighbouring parishes. If the publication had proved a success the whole of Kent was to have been treated in the same manner, in fact, the greater part of the materials for the Maidstone volume had been prepared; but alas! subscribers were bashful, and the title-page, the dedication, and the preface were all that ever appeared.



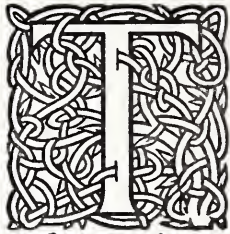
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Pocock died in 1830, a pathetic figure, and was buried in Wilmington churchyard.

His memory is perpetuated in Gravesend by a tablet affixed to the shop in High Street which was once his, by the present Mayor of Gravesend, to whose work I am chiefly indebted for the short account of this interesting, but unfortunate author-printer-publisher.

ALEX. J. PHILIP.

## SOME NOTES ON THE LATIN AND IRISH STOCKS OF THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS.



THE records of the Court of Chancery have from time to time furnished interesting notes upon printers and printing, and once again we are indebted to them for some valuable information concerning the Company of Stationers and the bookselling trade.

As all students of the book trade know, the Company possessed in the seventeenth century several stocks, or collection of books, of some of which they claimed the exclusive copyright. There was the Bible stock, the English stock, the Latin stock, the Irish stock, and the Ballad stock.

Hitherto our knowledge of the formation or constitution of these 'stocks' has been of the most meagre description. So far as I know, the only authority that refers to them at all, is Luke Hansard in his 'Typographia,' and his notes are concerned chiefly with the 'English' stock.

The documents described in the following notes have reference to the Latin and Irish stocks, and not only yield many interesting facts about the booksellers and stationers of London, but also illustrate the business methods of the Company of Stationers.

The first series<sup>1</sup> consists of the bill of complaint and various answers in a suit brought by George Swinhowe, at one time warden of the Company, against ninety-six stationers, freemen of the Company, to recover the balance of a loan raised on behalf of the Latin stock, for which he became surety.

The documents are, unfortunately, much too lengthy to be printed in full, or even to be quoted at any length, consequently I must give the story they contain, as best I can, in my own words.

Swinhowe's bill of complaint was dated 1637. He says that twenty-one years before this, in 1616, a large body of the Stationers, one hundred and twelve in all, some of whom had since died, being all of them freemen of the City of London, agreed to become partners in the trade of buying and selling all sorts of books, that might legally be bought and sold to the subjects of this kingdom. They also decided to have factors and agents beyond the seas, that is, on the Continent, for the buying of all such books as were printed in those parts, 'the same books to be imported into this His Majestie's Realme of England, and here to be sould to his majestie's subjects, for the benefit of the said copartners.' The deed of agreement was signed on the 3rd January, 1616, and the shareholders were divided into three classes. The first rank or degree of traders consisted of sixteen members, each of whom was to bring in £100 worth of capital. The second rank consisted of thirty-two members, each of whom was to find £50 worth of

<sup>1</sup> 'Chancery Proceedings,' Chas. I, S. 121/53.

capital, while the third rank consisted of sixty-four members, each of whom was liable for £25. Thus the nominal capital of the company was £4,800; but the amount paid up was not nearly so much.

The government of this trading company is laid down in the following passage in Swinhowe's bill:

And further that the Master and Wardens of the Companie of Stationers if they should bee partners and the more partie of the Assistantes of the said Companie being alsoe co-partners with the assent of such stock-keepers or overseers of accompts of the said Companie as should be chosen and such other committees as the more parte of the Co-partners should agree unto from time to time shoulde have power to make lawes and ordinances for the advancement of the said joynt trading as to them should be thought most meete . . . by which lawes and ordinances all the said co-partners did agree to be governed.

As a specimen of legal phrasing this clause may claim a high place; it is not much wonder that it proved the rock upon which the venture went to pieces. Amongst other conditions imposed upon the shareholders, they were not to part with their stock without the consent of the governing body, and there was to be no benefit of survivorship.

It would be interesting to know whether the position assigned to the Master and Wardens and 'the more partie of the Assistants' involved any relations with the Stationers as a corporate body, or whether this was only a device for placing the venture under the control of its most influential members.

In this way, then, the Latin stock was created, for, although Swinhowe's bill never refers to it as

the Latin stock, the fact comes out in some of the replies. The first and only dividend the Company ever paid was distributed in November, 1619, by taking £850 out of the capital, and the following January, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>o</sup>, when the Company had been in existence for four years, it was found necessary to raise a loan, 'to stopp the gapp the said dividend had made.' Accordingly a sum of £600 was borrowed, Richard Field, then Master of the Company, George Swinhowe and John Jaggard, the wardens, being the sureties.

As may be imagined, there was no little grumbling amongst the rank and file at this unsatisfactory state of things, and the sureties being somewhat uneasy as to their position and liability, called certain members of the Company together, men 'selected for that purpose,' to use Swinhowe's own words, and made an order on the 9th July, 1621, that the liability for the £600, and any further sums borrowed, should be shared equally by all the shareholders, and not by the sureties only. This resolution was not brought up to the general meeting until three years afterwards. Meanwhile, the concern was steadily going from bad to worse, and further sums had to be borrowed, in all some £5,496, the largest individual sum being £2,000, borrowed of the Countess of Nottingham, for which ten stationers, Bonham Norton, George Swinhowe, Simon Waterson, Humfrey and Mathew Lownes, Geo. Cole, Clement Knight, Adam Islip, Richard Field, and Thomas Pavier were bound in £4,000. The remaining sums varied from £60 to £600. At length, on the 27th June, 1627, it was

decided to wind up the concern, and an order was made that all those who were liable for debts, should sell or dispose of their stock. It is difficult to see how this was going to help them, except upon the supposition that the Company of Stationers, in its corporate capacity, liquidated the debt; or possibly some such plan was followed as that narrated below in the case of Nathaniel Butter. At any rate the debts and loans had all been paid off, with the exception of a sum of £350, balance of the first sum of £600 for which Swinhowe and others had become sureties. For this Swinhowe declared all the shareholders were jointly liable under the order of the 12th May, 1624.

The answers of thirty-six out of the ninety-two defendants, have been found. Nine of them, those of Samuel Man, Felix Kingston, William Aspley, Nathaniel Butter, Ephraim Dawson, George Edwards, Michael Sparke, Thomas Downes (as executor of Bartholomew Downes), and Jerman Honychurch (as executor to Richard Ockold), were embodied in one document, and furnish us with some interesting particulars as to the position of the different parties.

Samuel Man was one of the third rank of shareholders, but he only paid up £17 10s. of his £25, and then, in 1623, withdrew from the speculation.

Felix Kingston was one of the second rank, but only paid £35 of the £50 for which he was liable, and on being asked whether he would pay up the remainder or withdraw £10 of the sum he had already paid and transfer himself to the third rank, he chose the latter alternative, and, later on, being

asked to become security for one of the loans, refused to do so, and withdrew from the venture, his share being transferred to John Parker the book-seller.

William Aspley was also a second ranker, but he only paid up £35 of his liability, and in 1623 or 1624 assigned his interest over to John Rothwell.

Nathaniel Butter was another of the second rank, and he, too, only paid £35 out of the £50. He further owed the stock £60 for books, and upon the matter being submitted to the arbitration of Sir Martin Lumley in 1623, it was agreed that he should pay a further sum of £20, and be discharged from the venture.

Ephraim Dawson was one of the few who paid up his share in full. He belonged to the second rank, but, later on, being in need of money, he petitioned the Stock-keepers and Governors to be allowed to have his money out again, and was, in 1623, paid out by Richard Whitaker.

Another of those who had fully paid up his subscription was George Edwards, one of the third rank, but he sold his share to John Parker, book-seller, with the consent of the Governors.

Michael Sparke also belonged to the third rank, and paid his share in full. He was a man who always spoke what was in his mind, regardless of the consequences, and he sums up the position and his own action in a few words. Shortly after the division of the dividend in 1619,

perceiving some miscarriage in ye business and finding an unwillingness in the stockkeepers and governors . . . to come to any accompt concerning the same, was willing to

be rid of his interest therein and did accordingly about fourteen years nowe last past (*i.e.*, 1623) assign and sell his interest to John Parker.

Thomas Downes stated that his brother Bartholomew Downes was 'only a workeman employed in binding of bookes and not using any other trade.' He was one of the third rank of shareholders, and had fully paid his £25. He died on the 28th December, 1636, and his estate had been duly administered and there was nothing left.

Much the same reply was made by Jerman Honychurch as executor to Richard Ockold, who had been one of the first rank, but had only paid £70 out of his £100.

In another document we find the replies of no fewer than eighteen of the defendants, Adam Islip, John Harrison, John Rothwell, Emanuel Exoll, Nicholas Bourne, Robert Meade, John Beale, Edmond Weaver, George Latham, John Hoth, Edward Brewster, Miles Flesher or Fletcher, John Wright, Robert Young, William Crawley, George Miller, John Grismond, and John Haviland.

Several of these men were the largest capitalists in the trade. Miles Flesher, Robert Young, and John Haviland controlled half-a-dozen printing-houses in London, while others were amongst the largest booksellers. We may be sure that they were intimately acquainted with the history of the Latin stock, so that their answer to Swinhowe, which is couched in general terms, is the most interesting of the series.

They say that in addition to the orders made for the regulation of the Company as set down by



Swinhowe in that intricately-worded passage given above, there were certain other orders, which the complainant had conveniently forgotten, that were equally to the point, not the least of which was one to the effect that all the shareholders were to be called together yearly on the 20th July, to elect six able men out of the three ranks to be the stock-keepers, or overseers of all the receipts, payments, debts, dividends, and the like. Even more important was the order, that the shareholders should be summoned periodically by the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers and the Assistants, to hear and determine all controversies concerning the printing, buying, exportation or importation of any unusual impressions of books, bargains, or contracts, and that every half-year the stock-keepers and overseers should endeavour to call in all debts, should examine the factor's books, and, in short, produce a balance-sheet showing the business done, and the profit, if any, earned.

They go on to say that they are persuaded that if the business had been carefully managed, and true accounts had been kept, and if the stock-keepers and governors had dealt justly with their co-partners, such half-yearly accounts would have been presented, the shareholders would have known how they stood, a greater dividend would have been earned, and there would have been no need to raise such large sums on loan.

They boldly affirm that instead of this being done, George Swinhowe, George Cole, Simon Waterson, Mathew Lownes, Clement Knight and Thomas Pavier, who were the first six stock-keepers

chosen, refused to give up their offices and prevented any re-election. They continued to occupy their positions for six or seven years, never called any of the prescribed half-yearly meetings, and converted the money raised by loan to their own uses. The fact that while they were in charge of the business it grew yearly worse and worse confirmed their critics in this opinion.

A third series of answers<sup>1</sup> embodies those of John Waterson and George Cole, and it is from these that we get the first intimation that the stock referred to was the Latin stock. The most interesting of these is the answer of George Cole, who states that for the greater part of his life he was a professor of the civil law, and for upwards of thirty years a proctor in the Court of Arches. He became a freeman of the Company of Stationers through marrying the widow of a stationer (the lady's name is not mentioned), but he never traded in the buying or selling of books, and was inexperienced in those trades. None the less he had served both as warden and Master of the Company, and was privy to the scheme for setting up a factory at their own costs and charges for the importing of Latin books printed beyond the seas. He was one of the first rank, and had fully paid his share. He expresses the opinion that all the shareholders were equally bound to meet the liabilities, and states his willingness to pay his share of the amount claimed by Swinhowe if the Court decides that he should do so. What was the result of Swinhowe's action is unknown, neither does it

<sup>1</sup> 'Chancery Proceedings,' Chas. I, S. 124/54.

greatly concern us. It is sufficient to know that the Latin stock was created in January 1616, that it became a total failure involving its shareholders in serious losses, and was finally wound up on the 27th June, 1627.

The history of the Irish stock, if it could be told in full, would run on very much the same lines. Unfortunately only one document<sup>1</sup> has been found, and that is the reply of the defendants, Nicholas Bourne, Philemon Stephens, Robert Mead and George Sawbridges, to the bill of complaint lodged in Chancery by Walter Leake, who was perhaps a son of William Leake, to whom reference is made. This answer is dated the 30th June, 1653, and no doubt the bill of complaint had been entered a few days previously. The defendants state that 'about five and thirty years since' (*i.e.*, 1618), an agreement was entered into amongst certain stationers of London 'to trade in the city of Dublin by vending and selling of books and other commodities . . . to be transported out of England thither, and there to be sold.' A joint stock was raised doubtless in the same manner as in the case of the Latin stock, and William Bladen was appointed the factor. William Leake, who was evidently one of the first rank, had paid £90 as his share in the venture, which, however, turned out a failure, and the partnership was dissolved in October, 1639, when William Bladen bought the stock for £2,600, of which he had only paid a sum of £974 5s. 8d. up to the year 1642, and apparently nothing since. This amount had been duly

<sup>1</sup> 'Chancery Proceedings,' Mitford, 124/105.

shared out amongst the adventurers, and the executors of William Leake had received £24 on two occasions.

This document is of considerable value to the historians of Irish printing. Mr. G. R. M. C. Dix, in his valuable paper read before the Bibliographical Society in March, 1903, and printed in vol. vii of the Transactions of that Society, says (p. 76) that John Frankton sold his rights about the year 1618 to Felix Kingston, Mathew Lownes and Bartholomew Downes, at a high rate. As a matter of fact these three men were appointed King's Printers in Ireland under a Privy Seal dated at Westminster the 23rd March, 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ , for twenty-one years. That there was some connection between this appointment and the formation of the Irish stock seems clear, and it receives further confirmation from the fact that the date of the dissolution of the partnership coincides with the date of the expiration of the grant.

Mr. Dix further says (p. 77): 'It does not appear, however, that Kingston, Lownes or Downes themselves came over to Ireland. They may have done so, certainly, but it is not on record. It is more probable, indeed, that they had merely an agent or factor in Dublin from time to time.' This document tells us that the factor was William Bladen, and he probably went over to Dublin either in 1618 or 1619, though he may not have taken up his residence permanently there until some years later.

To sum up the whole matter. It will be remembered that it was in the year 1616 that James I

largely increased the monopoly in books already possessed by the Company of Stationers by turning over to them the sole printing of all Primers and Psalters, and all Almanacs and Prognostications which went to swell their English stock. In the same year, we now know, the Company endeavoured, doubtless with the royal approval and help, to get into its hands the whole of the trade in Latin books, and a couple of years later, having purchased the business of John Frankton, the Dublin printer and bookseller, it obtained a Privy Seal, under which it endeavoured to engross the whole of the trade in books to Ireland. It would be interesting to know what the Company paid His Majesty in return for these extensive privileges.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

## MISCELLANEA.

RICHARD PYNSON AND THOMAS BERCUA.

**T**HE history of Richard Pynson's press from its commencement up to the year 1518 is fairly clear and straightforward. Coming from Rouen about 1490 he succeeded to the business of William de Macklinia, and became the recognized law-printer in England. He did not confine his attention to law-books but printed popular books of every kind. Though a good practical printer he does not seem to have had any literary tastes, and beyond the prologue to the Chaucer, a very confused piece of writing, he added no remarks of his own to his publications, nor did he do anything in the way of editing.

In 1508 he was made Printer to the King, a position he probably owed to his law printing. For the succeeding ten years he continued to print the ordinary popular books on his own account, and the proclamations and statutes as Royal printer; but the end of the year 1518 saw the beginning of a great change in the appearance and character of the productions of his press. New founts of type and initial letters were purchased, several fine borders, copied exactly from those designed by Hans Holbein for Froben, were engraved; and the books then produced, with their fine Roman type and

classically designed ornament, an outcome of the renaissance, bore much more resemblance to the work of a foreign than a native press.

This sudden change and outlay were not, I think, due to Pynson alone, who was not a rich man compared with Wynkyn de Worde and some other stationers of the period; but may be explained by the fact that about this time he appears to have taken a partner into the business, and this partner was Thomas Bercula.

We now come to the question asked twenty-six years ago by William Blades, in the first number of the 'Bibliographer,' Who was Bercula? To this question, asked in December, 1881, no reply appeared in print until May, 1886, when in the 'Athenæum' there appeared a short article written by Henry Stevens, and forwarded for publication by his son. It took the form of a dialogue, written in Dibden's style, between Blades and Pynson. The latter remarks: 'A boy I used to call him my Little Bertie, and now that he hath attained an altitude of nearly two ells he calls himself Bercula. I predict that he will outgrow this youthful plesantrie, and will ere long become a great man and a great printer under his own name of Thomas Berthelet.'

Though Mr. Stevens gave no reasons for his identification of Bercula as Berthelet, it seems very probable that the guess was a correct one.

In the prefatory letter to the edition of the 'Abridgement of the Statutes,' published by Pynson in 1528, the name is given as 'Tho. Bercleus, typographus.' We have, therefore, the two forms,

Bercula and Bercleus, both of which it is contended are meant to stand for the name Berthelet. The English name, though fairly consistently spelt by its owner, was no doubt pronounced Bartlet, and we find when the printer is mentioned by his contemporaries, every variety of spelling between the two. The name Bercleus suggests Barclay much more than Bartlet; but that these two were not far apart in popular speech is clearly illustrated by the following quotation. William Bullein, in his 'Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence,' published in 1564, in speaking of various people, refers to Alexander Barclay, the well-known writer and translator of the 'Ship of Fools,' thus: 'Then Bartlet with an hoopyng russet longe coate.'

One argument against Berthelet being identified with Bercula and Bercleus is that never, in any of the many books he printed, does he make use of either form. This is an important point, and may perhaps be explained by the fact that when with Pynson he would only occupy a secondary position, while when he himself became King's Printer, and a man of importance, he would consider it more fitting always to print his name in full.

Though the change in Pynson's printing office began in 1518 it is not until 1520 that we actually meet with the name of Bercula. In September was issued an edition of Constable's 'Epigrams,' and at the end is a letter of 'Thomas Bercula typographus,' in which, referring to the 'Epigrams,' he writes: 'quaeque typis nostris, uti seria atque multo egregia, cudimus.' In an edition of Whitinton's 'Vulgaria,' published in October of the same year, we



have again a letter, 'Lectori Typographus Thomas Bercula,' in which he speaks of the book and other 'opuscula' as printed 'cum typis nostris.'

In September, 1522, was issued the 'Oratio ad Romanos in electione Pontificis [Adrian VI], by Baptista Pizachius, to which was added a number of epigrams by Constable. In this also there is: 'Typographi Thomae Berculae Epistola,' and in it reference is made to his editions of Horman's 'Vulgaria' [printed in 1519] and Constable's 'Epigrams.'

Now there is a very significant fact to be noticed. Up to the time when Bercula first makes his appearance, all the colophons in Pynson's books had run 'imprinted by Richard Pynson,' 'per Richardum Pynson,' or some variant of the phrase; but now begins a new form, found in most of the Latin books in Roman type and some others—'Ex calco-graphia,' or 'officina Pinsoniana,' or 'In aedibus Pynsonianis.' All the important Latin books, such as Henry's 'Assertio septem sacramentorum' and 'Letters against Luther,' the works of Galen and More, of Lily and Horman, of Powell and Tunstall have such colophons. On the other hand, the English books, printed in black letter, the Froisart, the Chaucer, the 'Boke of Surveyinge,' the 'Pilgrimage of Perfection,' and such like, have the old colophon—'printed by Richard Pynson.'

This certainly seems to show that Bercula had entered into partnership with Pynson to improve the appearance, and probably supervise the printing of the Latin books. It was not as if they were mere reprints of old books which could be set up by anyone; on the contrary, they were works by

contemporary men of the highest importance and position, which, set up from the authors' manuscripts, would require the utmost care in passing through the press.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have no definite information about Berthelet before he began to print on his own account. I have searched all available records in vain, and can find only two men of the name during the right period. One, Thomas Bartlett, was a notary and secretary to Archbishop Warham, but his claim is hardly admissible. The other has at least an element of probability. In the letters and papers of Henry VIII, under the year 1517, February 11, we find: 'For Thomas Bartellet of London, draper, protection; going in the retinue of Sir Ric. Wingfield, Deputy of Calais.' There is nothing whatever beyond the name to connect the draper with the printer, and yet, as we know from the history of printing, the drapers, mercers and haberdashers were always associated with it. Caxton was a mercer; Wilcock, the patron of Letton, was a draper and bookseller; Marler, the patron of Grafton and Whitchurch, was a haberdasher. Barker, Veale, Wight and Kitson, who all printed, were drapers. There is nothing out of the common in suggesting that Berthelet, beginning as a draper, may have turned printer.

The Bercula who joined Pynson was certainly no ordinary assistant, for he was wealthy enough to provide the types with which the better books were printed, and important enough to prevent Pynson putting his name as printer in the colo-

phons. The change to the Renaissance style of ornament, which marked the advent of Bercula to Pynson's office, was certainly continued by Berthelet when he printed for himself.

One last point to be noticed, if a coincidence, is a curious one. In 1528 was issued an edition of 'Le Breggement de toutz lez estatutz,' with a pre-fatory address by Th. Bercleus to William Dynham, showing that Bercleus was still in the firm. In June an edition of Littleton's 'Tenures' was published, the last book ever issued from Pynson's office, although he lived for eighteen months afterwards. In August, 1528, two months after the cessation of Pynson's press, Berthelet issued his first book from his own house. This certainly looks as if the commencement of Berthelet's press had some connection with the stopping of Pynson's.

[E. G. D.]

A SPANISH PROCLAMATION IN ENGLISH AGAINST ELIZABETH.—Every one does not know that the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by no means discouraged the King of Spain from renewed preparations for invasion. The proclamation reprinted in this article was drawn up in readiness for one of these attempts in 1599, under Don Martin Padilla. The story of its preservation and arrival in England is worth telling. It is now in the Record Office.

John Billott of Fowey was engaged on 9th October, 1598, as a master mariner in a Biscayer belonging to Gregory Holmeades of Plymouth, and chartered by Martin Seal, of St. Jean de Luz, to

Bayonne in Galicia with merchandises. On their arrival they got a freight of cod (Newfoundland fish he calls them) for Averro, after four days' sail. There 'certain Portugals raised a speech of suspicion' that he was an Englishman, and thereupon the ship was stayed and he committed to prison by the Corregidor with the custody of one of the Portugals. 'But by means of one Juan Andrew, a Portugal who was mine host, and had former knowledge of me, I had opportunity to make escape to Montego, whither I came within two days, and finding a small Brittany ship that wanted three men, was entertained as one of their company, bound for Lisbon, and thence to the Groyne, and so to Bleuett.'

'We arrived at Lisbon and stayed about five weeks for wind and weather. I saw there no fleet but the twenty-two galleys, which were in readiness full of men and victuals. The report was that they were bound for England; I saw no other matter of importance but five carricks which set sail for the East Indies, upon New Year's Day last, at my first arriving in Lisbon.'

'After ten days sail we came to the Groyne, where I saw twenty-nine great ships, of which eight were argosies serving the king, and of small shipping about sixty. Making our abode there some nineteen days to sell our salt (which we had at Lisbon) I saw the number of their trained men, which, as they reported, was 25,000, every day mustered and ready to be embarked, but staying for the Adelantado, who was gone for sixty sail of galleys, which were expected every day from the south.'

‘I understood from the speech of all thereabouts that they intended first to come for Brest, and thence in the first fair weather to put over for England, and especially by occasion that a Spaniard took me aboard the St. Paul, and charged me as being an Englishman, and kept me there eight days as prisoner. In the meantime an Italian showed me a chest full of such printed papers, of which I took one, and brought it away in my shoes, whereby it was not found in the search at my departure out of that ship, whence I was dismissed, because they could not disprove my pretending myself a Frenchman of Sherbrook in Normandy.

‘Hence I passed in the foresaid Brittany ship unto Bluet, where I left the barque, and travelling on foot to Hennibone, I found a merchant of Bristol, called William Ashford, who knew me before time, as having employed me as master with him to Rochelle, and upon my earnest request unto him touching great occasions I had to hasten homewards, he furnished me with a horse and other necessaries that I then wanted. So that within two days after, I came to Morlaix, where at the very instant of my coming I found a barque of Topsham ready to set sail, staying only for the merchants of Exeter, at whose hands I obtained favour to have passage, and arrived in Topsham the 20th of this month aforesaid, and presently came unto the mayor of Exeter, and delivered unto him the Spanish proclamation in English printed which I had aboard the St. Paul.’

The deposition and the proclamation which follows were sent up to the Privy Council by the

mayor, and are now preserved in the Record Office. Nothing more is known of the hardy Cornishman.

#### THE PROCLAMATION.

Consideringe The obligation, vuhich his catholike magesty my lord and master hathe receaued of gode almighty forto defend and protect his holy faythe and the Apostolical Romane church: he hathe procured by the best meanes he could for to reduce vnto the auncient and treuue religion the kingdomes of England and Ierland as muche as possibilly hathe beyn in his pouer: and all hathe not beyn sufficient to take auuay the offensis doun agaynst god, in damage of the selfe same kngdoms vwith scandall of vuholl cristianity: eye rather abusinge the clemency and benignity of his catholike magesty: the heades and chiff of the heretikes vwith littill feare of god haue taken corage for to extende theyr euell doctrine vwith the oppressinge of catholikes, mattering them, and by diuers vuayes and meanes taken from them theyr liues and goods, forsinge them by violence to folloue theyr damnable sects and errors, the vuhich they haue doun vwith the loos of many soules. The vuhich considered his catholike magesty is determind to fauor and protect thos catholikes, vuhich cooragiously haue defended the catholike fa[y]the, and not only thes, but also thos vuhich for pusillanimity and humayne respects haue condescended vnto them, forced theyr vnto thorou the hard and cruell dealinges of the sayd heretikes. And for the execution of this his holy zeale, he hathe commaunded me, that vwith the forces of sea and land, vuhich be and shalbe at my charge, to procure all meanes necessary for the reuention of the sayd Kngdomes vnto the obedience of the holy catholike Romane church. In compliment of the vuhich i declare and protest that the sayd forces only shalbe imployed for to execut this holy intent of his catholike magesty directed only to the common good of the t[r]euu religion, and catholikes of the sayd

Kingdomes, as vuell thos vuhich be already declared catholikes, as others vuhich vuell declare them selves for suche, for all shalbe vuell receaued and admitted by me in his riall name, vuhich shall seperat and apart them selves from the herretikes and furdere more they shalbe restored into their honors, dignities and possessions, vuhich hearetofore they haue be[y]n depriued of. Morouer euey one shalbe reuardad accordinge vnto the demonstrationes aud feats vuhich he shall shouue in this godly interprise: and he vuhich shall proceed vwith most valor, more largely and amply shalbe remunerated vwith the goods of the obstina theretikes. Vuhearfor seinge god almighty doothe present vnto his elected so good an occasion: that vwith liberty and in publicke they may confess the treuue religion: let not pass and escap so fitt an opportunity, seing they can not excuse them selves et herbefore god or man; ether before god or man; ether can they lament of anybody, but of them selves. And for their more security i ordeane and commaund the captaynes Generals of horse and artillary, the master General of the fild, as also other masters of the fild, the Captaynes of companyes of horse and foot, and all other officers greater and lesser and men of vuar; the Admiral General, General Captaynes of Squadrones, and the reast of the Captaynes and officers of the Army, that as vuell in land as in sea they use vuell and receaue vwith all curtesy the catholikes of the sayd Kingidomes, vuhich shal come to defend the catholike cause vwith arms or vwithouth them: for i commaund the General of the Artillary that he prouide them of vuepones vuhich shall bringe nonc. Also i ordeine and streatly commaund that they haue particular respect vnto the houses and familyes of the sayd Catholikes, not touching ([so] muche as is possible) any thinge of theirs but only thos vuhich vuell obstinately follouue the part of the heretikes: in doing of the vuhich, they be alto gether vnuuorthy of thos fauors, vuhich be heare graunted vnto the good, vuhich vuell declare them selves for treuue catholikes, and as suche shall taKe armes in hand or at least

seperat them selves from the heretiKes, agaynst vuhom and theyr fauorers all this vu ar is directed in defence of the honor of god, and good of the sayd Kingdome: trustinge in gods diuine mercy, that they shall recouer agayne the catholiKe religione so longe ago lost, returne to their auncient quietnes and felicity, and to the deuu obedience of the holy Romane churche morouer the sayd Kingdome shall inioy theyr former immunitys and priuilegis vwith increase of many other for the tyme to come, in great frendshipp, confederation and traffic vwith the Kingdome of his catholiKe magesty, vuhich in tymes past they vueare vuount to haue for the vniuersall good of al Christianity. And that this be putt in execution, i exhort all the faythfull to the fulfilling of that vuhich is heare conteaned, vuarranting them vponmy vuord (the vuhich i giue in the name of the catholiKe Knge my loord and master) that all shalbe obserued vuhich heare is promised. And thus i discharge my selfe vwith the losses and domages, vuhich shall fall vpon thos, vuhovuill follouue the contrary vuay vwith the ruyn of theyr sooules, the good of theyr ouene country, and that vuhich is more the honor and glory of god almighty. And he vuhich can not taKe presently armes in hand, nor declare him selfe by reasone of the tyranny of the sayd heretiKes shalbe admitted, if being in the enemges camp, shall pass vnto the catholiKe part in some serimishe or battell, or if he can not pass, should fly, before vue shall come to the last incounters. In testimouy of all the vuhich i haue commaunded to dispatche this present, firmed with my ouuen hand, and sealed vwith the seale of my armes, and refirmid by the secretary vnderuuritten.

The great Adelantado of Castilla earle of sant Gadea and of Bundia commendador of Salamea Captayne General of the gallyes and army of the ocean sea, and of the catholiKe camp.

[R. S.]



THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY.—It will doubtless interest many besides bibliographers to learn that a descriptive Catalogue of Samuel Pepys's library, so long almost unknown, and by the terms of Pepys's will so strictly guarded, is now in preparation. An arrangement was made last year between the authorities of Magdalene College, Cambridge, where the library is preserved, and Mr. A. H. Bullen, for the publication in due course of a complete Catalogue. It may not be out of place to recapitulate shortly the history of the Library. Bequeathed by Pepys at his death in 1703 to his nephew and executor, John Jackson, it passed (after the latter's death in 1723), in accordance with the terms of Pepys's will, to Magdalene College, of which both he and his nephew had been members; and it has remained there ever since, practically in the state in which its collector left it on the shelves of the oak-presses whose construction is recorded in the 'Diary.' Small attention, however, was paid to it until after the first publication of the 'Diary' in 1823; since when some of its more valuable and interesting contents have become known. To indicate briefly both its intrinsic value and its comprehensive range, mention need only be made of the five Caxtons, the famous broadside ballads, the collections of prints, portraits, maps, topographical views, specimens of handwriting, works on tachygraphy or shorthand, and the very valuable manuscripts, including Pepys's special collectanea on naval subjects. The whole library was finally arranged, and the volumes numbered from 1 to 3,000 by John Jackson, who, however, omitted certain figures by accident. The

total number of volumes is therefore somewhat under 3,000, and this includes 235 volumes of manuscripts. The preliminary labours of cataloguing were entrusted by Mr. Bullen to his partner, Mr. Frank Sidgwick, who has personally inspected and checked every volume, working on a manuscript hand-list. Eight or nine volumes appear to be missing, though the titles of these are known. To ensure competent treatment of the various sections into which the books fall, the services of several scholars and specialists have been secured. Mr. E. Gordon Duff has in hand the cataloguing of the early printed books, nearly a hundred and fifty items; Dr. Montague Rhodes James, the Provost of King's, will undertake the very interesting group of mediaeval manuscripts; while the naval manuscripts will be in the hands of Dr. J. R. Tanner, of St. John's, who has already worked on them for the Navy Records Society; and Mr. Barclay Squire, of the British Museum, will supervise the cataloguing of the collection of music. Skilled assistance has still to be sought for the topographical and tachygraphical collections, the State Papers and historical volumes, the ballads, the plays, and the popular literature. Simultaneously material is being collected to provide as far as possible a history of the library, from the earliest mention of books in the 'Diary' to the date at which the whole was housed at Magdalene; and it is anticipated that the Catalogue, which will probably be issued in *fasciculi*, with a full index at the end, will not only supply a want long felt amongst bibliographers, but supplement the popular estimate of the Diarist's

character and accomplishments, and confirm Coleridge's opinion that 'certainly Pepys was blest with the queerest and most omnivorous taste that ever fell to the lot of one man.'

A RUBRICATED DATE 1468 FOR THE PRINTER OF HENRICUS ARIMINENSIS.—By the kindness of the librarian of the University of Toronto a facsimile is here shown of the short column which ends the edition of the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus, attributed to the anonymous Strassburg printer, known as the Printer of Henricus Ariminensis. At the end of the text is clearly written the rubricator's date 1468, with no indication of tampering or ground for suspicion, except that it is surprisingly early.

The edition of the 'De Quattuor Virtutibus' of Henricus Ariminensis, from which the press takes its name, was entered by Mr. Robert Proctor as 'after' or 'not before' 11th November, 1472, and he apparently regarded this as approximately the date of its completion, since he placed the press immediately before that of the unidentified 'C. W. ciuis Argentinensis,' whose edition of the 'Concordantia Euangeliorum' of Chrysopolita was finished in 1473. The earliest book with a fixed date in the type of the Henricus Ariminensis is the 'De duobus amantibus,' by Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II) of 1476. A book, of which there is no copy at the British Museum, but one at Bodley, the 'De Iudaeorum et Christianorum Communione,' is marked by Proctor as 'not after 1476,' apparently from a rubricator's date. Nicolaus, 'historia de praeliis et occasu ducis Burgundiae' was probably

printed towards the close of 1477, the year which witnessed the Duke's downfall, and the Sermons of Thomas de Haselbach, printed partly in the same type, partly in another, is dated 1478. Other books which Proctor grouped under the same heading seem to fall between the years 1474 and 1479. The rubricator's date now reported from Toronto thus takes the press back four or five years earlier than the earliest date with which it has hitherto been connected, and eight years earlier than the first printed date found in any of its issues. The present facsimile is offered in order to give anyone who regards it as too surprising to be lightly accepted the best satisfaction possible next to that of seeing the book itself.

It is much to be wished that a careful list could be drawn up of the rubricator's dates or dates of purchase in books printed before 1480 which enable us to assign them an earlier date than could otherwise be claimed for them. Where, as in the present case, the dates are of importance, it would be very advantageous if they could be reproduced in such a way as to show their position on the page and relation to the text. Shortly before his death Dr. Dziatzko lent his great authority to the authenticity and relevance of the date 1453 in the first volume of a copy of the 42-line Bible in the Buchgewerbemuseum at Leipzig. This volume had belonged to Dr. Klemm, the well-known collector of incunabula, who can hardly have failed to notice it, but never made any record of its existence. According to Dr. Van der Linde, whose authority is not exactly as great as that of Dr. Dziatzko, Klemm had excellent

mifesta ad videndū impiorum cruciatus  
quos videntes non dolore afficient. sed  
leticia saturabunt. agētēs gratias de sua  
liberatione. visa impioꝝ ineffabili cala-  
mitate. Vnde isayas impioꝝ tormenta  
describens ⁊ ex eozum visione leticiā bo-  
nozū exprimens ait. ¶ Egre dient electi  
scz ⁊ videbunt cadauera virozū qui p̄-  
uaricati sunt in me. vermis eozū non mo-  
rietur. ⁊ ignis non extinguet. ⁊ erunt vs-  
q; ad facietatē visionis omni carnī id ē  
electis. Letabitur em̄ iustus cum viderit  
vindictam.

Hec de pedibus sedentis super solū ex-  
cellsum quos seraphim duabus alis velas-  
bant. scriptori ⁊ si non auditori cōme-  
morasse sufficit qui a facie exorsus sedēs  
tis per media ad pedes vsq; via duce p̄-  
uenit. 1268

Explicit liber sententiarum.

PETRUS LOMBARDUS: LIBER SENTENTIARUM.

STRASSBURG: PRINTER OF HENRICUS ARIMINENSIS. LAST COLUMN,  
WITH RUBRICATED DATE.

reason for his silence, a cryptic remark which needs explanation. In this case the figures have been illustrated by means of a half-tone block about an inch square. If the importance of the date be considered it is surely not too much to ask that the Gutenberg Gesellschaft should issue a facsimile of the whole page on which it occurs. Until this is done I hesitate to take the date as a foundation on which to build.

If anyone has made a special study of the various groups of books attributed to the printer of Henricus Ariminensis, publication of his results would be hailed by at least one puzzled inquirer with much gratitude. Mr. Proctor headed his list with the note: 'Three (? four) classes of books are arranged under this heading, which are connected together by certain links, but are not necessarily the productions of one printer.' Unfortunately the necessity of keeping down the size of his Index led him often to omit information which would have been very useful to his readers and which may have perished with him. In the present case there is a clear link between his Class A and Class C, but the link which should combine A and B seems destroyed by his ascription of all books in which Type 2 is found in conjunction with Type 1 to Michael Greyff at Reutlingen. If he was right in doing this he was not necessarily wrong in thinking that the books in Type 2 only were by the same press as the books in Type 1, but the nature of the link which connects them is not explained. In the same way there seems to be no obvious link between his Class D headed by the 'Summa Hostiensis' of 1478-79 with

any of the other three classes, a break of connection all the more lamentable, as good reason has been shown for assigning the 'Hostiensis' to Georg Reyser of Speier, probably the printer of the 'Breviarium Ratisponense' (P. 3255).

A minor difficulty as regards the books in the largest type relates to their probable sequence. Abandoning for once the chronological order from which he so seldom strayed, Mr. Proctor arranged them in five classes according to the presence or absence of a contraction for 'et,' and three variations in the measurement of twenty lines of type, 118, 119 and 120 mm. The scheme breaks down because variations of one millimetre cannot be relied on, the degree to which the paper was damped and the rate at which it dried often producing variations three times as great as this without any change of type. Some tentative results have been obtained by a theory of two states of the type supplemented by notes as to the appearance or non-appearance of a tied combination of de. But the press bristles with difficulties, and suggestions for their better solution will be gladly welcomed.

[A. W. P.]

## THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AND ITS BRANCHES.

**T**HE agitation which has been started among provincial members of the Library Association to obtain increased pecuniary help and increased influence for the provincial branches has been rather damaged by the mistakes and misapprehensions of some of its spokesmen. But the movement itself seems not only to deserve consideration from the point of view of abstract justice, but to be capable, with the aid of a little good will and mutual confidence, of bringing about results very beneficial to the Association as a whole, as well as to the branches which are trying to improve their position. It is with some hesitation that I am putting my views on the subject in print, because views which, when talked out privately, meet with friendly consideration, when put into print are apt to assume the appearance of hostile criticism, of Opposition with a large O, and this is as far as possible from being my attitude. But I take the course which seems the best under the circumstances, though not the best that can be conceived.

The Library Association was founded some thirty years ago, and its membership for some years has fluctuated between five and six hundred, partly made up of individual members, partly of libraries



represented by their librarians, or other nominees of the library-committees. Under the influence of the large increase of public libraries brought about by Mr. Carnegie's subsidies, the number of its annual subscribers (it possesses also a considerable body of Life Members) during the years 1902-1905 showed an upward tendency, the income from this source for the four years being successively, £526 11s. 6d., £547 1s., £553 17s. 6d., £589 11s. 6d. According to the balance-sheet for 1906, published last May, instead of a continuance of this increase, there was a diminution, the revenue from annual subscriptions falling to £571 4s. The loss in itself is trifling, but coming at a time when new libraries are continually being opened, it requires explanation. It is the more disconcerting also, because it synchronizes with a sudden and most gratifying leap into success of the educational work at which, with the untiring help of Mr. H. D. Roberts as its secretary for this department, the Association had been toiling painfully year after year without seeming to make much impression. It is certainly a disappointment that just when the younger generation of librarians seem to be shaking off their cherished belief that they can 'do without' the Association's certificates and diploma, even a slight tendency should evince itself to try to 'do without' membership of the Association.

The advantages which the Library Association offers to its members are of two kinds; (i) corporate, (ii) individual. The corporate advantage consists in the immense improvement in the credit and status of librarians which the Association has brought

about during the thirty years that it has been in existence. It has effected this improvement by steadily holding up the very highest ideals of the work which librarians are able to perform for the community, and by equally steadily insisting on the necessity that those who take up this work shall qualify themselves to carry it out efficiently, and helping them to do so.

It would be a misuse of language to speak of a feature in the history of the Association as 'striking' when, as a matter of fact, it has passed almost if not quite unnoticed, and so a substitute must be found for the word which I was about to use. But it is certainly an extraordinary witness to the enthusiasm of librarians for their work, that the history of the Association may be searched for a whole generation and hardly a trace will be found in it of the urging of any personal pecuniary claims. Librarians are loud in demanding more money for their libraries, but although in proportion to their work they are probably the worst paid body of men and women in the United Kingdom, the questions of salaries and pension schemes with which associations of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses are not infrequently concerned, have hardly ever figured on the agenda paper of either the annual or monthly meetings of the Library Association. The fact, however, remains, that librarians as a class, being miserably underpaid, have very few guineas to spare, and that thus there must be a real temptation in countless cases to take the corporate advantage which the Association has won for all librarians, whether they belong to it or not, as a free gift—

a matter of course—and to leave the active support of the Association to others.

Thus since human nature, even among librarians, is seldom wholly and continuously unselfish, we are driven to ask what are the advantages which the Association offers to its members individually? The answer is matter of common knowledge. It offers them information as to what librarians are doing, saying and writing all over the world, and more particularly in the English-speaking part of it, and, according to the excellent fashion of combining pleasure and business, it offers opportunities for social intercourse and a certain amount of sight-seeing and junketing, to those who can avail themselves of them. What appeal are these advantages likely to make to different classes of members?

When the Library Association was founded thirty years ago, education in the art of 'thinking imperially' had only reached the stage marked by the acceptance, amid much head-shaking, of Disraeli's enlargement of the Queen's title by the addition of the words Empress of India. The Association's name was thus mainly fixed by the need of distinguishing it from the sister society in the United States of America, and it was styled, I believe, the Library Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. If it were refounded to-day, it would be difficult for it to avoid calling itself the Library Association of the British Empire, for a glance down its list of members shows addresses from every part of the world under the British flag. Some years ago I was severely reprovèd by a friend connected with its university for inno-

cently writing of 'far-off Texas.' Texas, I was assured, was not far off, it was quite near the centre; and I meekly accepted the assurance and struck out the obnoxious epithet. After this experience it would show innate unteachability if I picked out one or more places where Library Association members live and work, as examples of isolation amid which any news from more crowded parts of the world would be likely to be specially welcome. But without descending to invidious particulars, it ought to be evident that the fewer fellow librarians a member of the Library Association is likely to meet in the course of a normal year, the more importance will he attach to the possibility of attending an Annual Meeting when he comes to England, and to the monthly refreshment to be obtained from the reports, articles and news in the 'Library Association Record.' May the 'Record' always live up to its imperial opportunities, and may it be generously supported in so doing!

What is obviously true of the worker in one of the smaller libraries in the colonies is true to some extent wherever libraries are sparsely scattered and librarians have few opportunities for personal intercourse. To these scattered units the Annual Meeting and the 'Record' offer an excellent return for a guinea, even when the guinea has been hardly earned. But when the units are *not* widely scattered, when they are so keen on their work and its interests that they have made themselves opportunities for personal intercourse as abundant as the Association offers to members who live within easy

reach of Hanover Square, then quite a different situation is created. Then librarians begin to talk about 'taking a real holiday instead of listening to papers at Annual Meetings,' then the 'Record' begins to be criticized, and in an economical fit a librarian may begin to wonder whether his local opportunities are not enough for him, and whether subscription to the Association is really a necessity. He will be quite wrong if he yields to the temptation; but the temptation exists, and its existence is the cardinal fact in the present situation.

In their gloomier moments secretaries of societies which hold meetings are wont to complain to one another that half of their official life is spent in getting people to read papers, and the other half in getting other people to come to listen to them. The truth which underlies these moanings is that in any society which has its headquarters in London and members in all parts of the world, the proportion of members who live within an hour's journey of the place of meeting is seldom more than 30 per cent., and sometimes considerably lower. Except accidentally, or on a special occasion at the cost of much inconvenience, the great majority of the members never do attend and never will. Two views of this result may be taken. The attending members often consider themselves hard-worked individuals, supporting the dignity and interests of the Society at the expense of their personal ease. The non-attending, when they think about the subject at all, mostly regret, mildly or bitterly according to their natures, that they are shut out from the privileges enjoyed by those who

live in London. That this latter is likely to be the view taken by the non-London members of the Library Association is proved beyond question by the fact that several flourishing provincial branches exist, which in their thirst for such entertainment have organized their own sessions and programmes, and hold meetings for discussion and social intercourse very much like those held at headquarters. The number of members who live in London and the Home Counties at a rough estimate is about 150; the number of members of the Northern Counties Branch is 104; of the North-Western Branch of the Bristol and Western District, 80; of the Birmingham and District, 43. For the North Midland Branch I have no figures. The proportion of members of these branches who are also members of the central body varies considerably. But it is evident that the total membership of several of the branches is sufficiently large to make their meetings very much on a level with those at Hanover Square. The expenses of the monthly meetings at Hanover Square are borne by the whole Association. The expenses of each branch meeting had at first to be borne by its own members. Latterly a grant of two shillings a head has been made to branches for each Library Association member on their roll. This, of course, only suffices to pay for notices and postage, and thus a member of the Library Association who belongs to an active provincial branch has to pay two subscriptions (less two shillings), where a London member only pays one.

This is the first grievance of the provincial branches, and the second is like unto it. When the

individual members of a branch are keen and enthusiastic, a natural desire springs up that the opinion of the branch should have some weight in determining the action of the Association on questions of library policy. At the Annual Meetings London and the provinces are all equal. During the rest of the year the provinces have a paper majority on the Council of 20 to 12. But as librarians have little time and less money, the provincial councillors attend the Council meetings very seldom, and the management from one Annual Meeting to another is exclusively in the hands of the officials, mostly Londoners, and of the twelve London members of Council. I am afraid that many provincial members believe that the London members delight that this is so. I am quite sure that the Council would be glad if its meetings were more representative. But there are two difficulties in securing the attendance of country councillors; first, that attendance costs money, and if travelling and hotel expenses had to be allowed to each of twenty provincial councillors at every monthly meeting of the Council, not to mention those of committees, they might easily run to several hundred pounds a year. In the second place, if attendance is only given for special reasons, business may be postponed from one meeting to another, so that a councillor from Manchester may have to attend several meetings to see the end of a particular question.

Thus it seems that there is at present a very considerable temptation for a provincial librarian to say to himself: 'I can get all the social intercourse,

all the discussion and professional talk that I want, by membership of my local branch ; why should I pay an extra nineteen shillings to help to defray the expenses of the London meetings, while I have practically no prospect of being able to take a part in the work of the Association? The representation is a farce ; the taxation is excessive. I shall save my nineteen shillings.' Whatever excuse may be found for saying it, this is emphatically not the right thing to say, but that something very like it is being said or thought can be proved in a moment.

Of the 93 members of the North-Western Branch, no fewer than 79—all honour to them!—are members of the Association. But the story of the other branches is very different. Of the 104 members of the Northern Counties, only 20 support the Association ; of the 43 members of the Birmingham Branch, only 15 ; of the 80 members of the Bristol Branch, only 13. As already stated, I have no figures for the North Midland Branch, but I believe that the proportion is about the same as at Bristol. I think the situation may be fairly stated by saying that the North-Western Branch has persuaded its members to belong to the Library Association and to fight for better treatment, while the other branches are content that the great majority of their members should “do without” membership of the central body.

The question of the moment is which policy is to prevail. Is the North-Western Branch to be discouraged till it allows the members to drop away from the central body, or are the other



branches to be encouraged to put pressure on their members to imitate the good example of the North-Western? As one who wants the Association to grow stronger rather than weaker, I have no hesitation in saying that it is the North-Western Branch which must be taken as a standard, and the only question is how can the necessary encouragement be given. How can these difficulties as to money and representation be overcome?

It is quite clear that, if the Association is to thrive, membership of the Association must carry with it membership of the branch. It is against all reason and justice that members in Birmingham, Bristol, or Manchester should have to pay two subscriptions for the same privileges for which London members only pay one. But it is quite clear also that if the Association is to make increased grants to the branches, the branches must help the Association to get more money by increased membership. Cannot this be done by exciting a little healthy competition? It has already been suggested that members in districts where libraries are few derive far more benefit from the central Association than those whose opportunities for intercourse are abundant. It is also obvious that a strong branch has more need of money than a weak one, since its very strength involves more elaborate meetings, the development of educational classes and the desire to pay the expenses of provincial councillors in order to enable them to attend meetings of Council when important business is to be transacted. It is the strong branches, therefore, which have to be encouraged, and the Association is justified in taking

as its test of strength the number of members of the branch who are also members of the Association. There seems nothing unreasonable in suggesting that for a branch to be subsidized by the Association at least one-fortieth ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) of the members of the Association should belong to it, and that for every additional  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the total membership which it can show, the subsidy should be increased. Taking the total present membership roughly at 600, one fortieth, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., of this will be 15. Why should not a branch which includes 15 Association members be granted, as at present, 2s. capitation on each of these; a branch which includes 30 Association members, 3s.; a branch which contains 45, 4s., and so on by increases of a shilling for every 15 members until a branch with 135 receives 10s., or by a final advance of sixpence a maximum capitation of 10s. 6d. is earned by one of 150? Such a system would provide the leverage which is conspicuously absent at present. A branch with less than 15 Association members would speedily raise itself to that number; a branch with 25 members would speedily raise itself to 30. At present there are some two hundred members of branches not members of the Association. If only 50 of these took up membership, the Association would be able to pay the grants on the scale advocated, and have at least £10, possibly as much as £25, in hand for the extra expense entailed by its 50 new members. If any larger increase than 50 were obtained the result would be still more satisfactory.

There is a certain sporting element in this scheme

which might conceivably make it a great success. If it is thought too elaborate, the Association might be well content to increase the capitation grant to the branches from two shillings to five, conditionally on the branches exerting themselves to obtain fifty new members. But it seems more reasonable that a branch like the North Western, which has persuaded the great bulk of its branch-members to take the patriotic course, should receive special encouragement, than that all branches should be treated alike.

The extra income from the parent Association would in most cases be counterbalanced by the remission of the branch subscriptions of members of that body. It would need a larger capitation than five shillings to enable the branches to defray the travelling expenses of one or more provincial councillors as regular attendants at Council meetings. The difficulty, moreover, would still remain that the agenda at many of these meetings would continue to be concerned with purely London matters, as to which a provincial councillor would have no reason to intervene. The question is thus raised whether there is any valid reason against separating the two classes of business, that which concerns the Association as a whole and that of purely London interest. I must own that as a devout Londoner when I first read a reference to 'the London branch' in a provincial onslaught on the Council, it seemed little short of *lèse majesté*. But on recovering from the shock (which, after all, was no worse than that caused by a late reference to the British Museum as 'the Bloomsbury institution')

the advantages to London of having a branch seemed very well worth considering. A London branch would, of course, include the Home Counties, and it would thus start at once with upwards of 150 members. On the scheme here advocated it would have an income quite sufficient for its needs. On the basis of a five shillings capitation fee, it would need either an increased number of Association members or an influx of branch members on a lower scale, which would probably be more easily obtained. The appointment of a separate honorary secretary for the branch would relieve the Association's honorary secretary of a considerable part of his work, while the separation of London business from Association business would enable the Association's Council to get through its work with fewer meetings, and thus allow provincial councillors to attend regularly at a less expense of time and money. The proposal seems at first sight revolutionary. In reality it is not a revolution, but the recognition of a revolution which has already been brought about by the vigorous growth of the provincial branches.

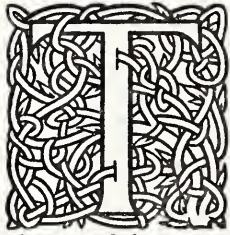
On a very small scale, the Library Association seems to be brought face to face with the identical problems on the right solution of which hangs the future of the British Empire. Its children have grown up. Will those who have managed the affairs of the Association so faithfully and so successfully in the past face the new situation thus created, or will they shut their eyes, and try to treat their vigorous offspring as still children, who must be content to have their affairs managed for them? The one great step forward made in the

late Imperial Conference was the recognition that it was a Conference of the Prime Ministers of the constituent states of the Empire, no longer mere nurselings of the Colonial Office. Our own little crisis is happily not quite so complex as that with which I have ventured to compare it. But it needs for its solution the same spirit of give-and-take, the same readiness to recognize new facts on the one side, and the same patience and absence of suspicion on the other. Only a faint-heart can doubt that the British Empire is going to worry through, and evolve itself into a federation of free states greater than the world has yet seen, and I am confident that London and the provincial branches when they face facts squarely will infuse new vigour into the Library Association, and send up its membership to over a thousand.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

## REVIEWS.

*Public Libraries—A treatise on their design, construction, and fittings. By Amian L. Champneys, B.A. London: B. T. Batsford, 12s. 6d. nett.*



HERE is a speciality in the planning of Libraries for free public use which is comparatively novel and is gradually developing a library of its own. Mr. Greenwood's first attempt to deal with the subject is now getting on for twenty years old, and his second book, which soon followed, is still practicably useful; Mr. James Duff Brown has more recently embodied most of the results of a public librarian's experience in his work, very accurately entitled a 'Manual of Library Economy,' while in various useful publications from time to time other official Librarians have recorded the progress of this still evolving species of buildings. Most of this literature is interesting, nearly all is enthusiastic, and some considerable specimens are flavoured with the pleasant humour which the petty trials of a public librarian's life produces, as the municipal committeeman and the juvenile frequenter both assist in salting the sublimer cares of their literary advisers with ridiculous by-products.

Architects have been slower to deal with the subject of Public Library Buildings as a whole, but mainly because the hints required in planning a Free Public Library in competition can be gleaned

from the previously successful published designs in the architectural journals and from the books by Librarians. From the proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects, valuable papers during the past decade come to mind which deal with Libraries; one by Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A. on the Libraries of the Middle Ages, a most charming and interesting essay, well illustrated; another by Mr. Basil Champneys on his very remarkable Rylands Library at Manchester; and one especially thorough by Mr. Sidney K. Greenslade on the Libraries of America, which among many great and important buildings also deals with some free public libraries of great practical interest. These papers discuss the wider aspects of the subject of libraries, of essential value to the architectural consideration of the problems of any library building, and which one fears are too often neglected for highly-specialized results based strictly on particulars of competitions, not drawn in any other interest than that of local economy, site, and a library committee's combined idiosyncrasy.

The Institute Proceedings also contain papers that deal directly with the subject of Free Public Libraries, of which a pair by the late Mr. J. M. Brydon, the architect of the Chelsea Library, and Mr. F. Burgoyne of the Central Lambeth Tate Library are of especial interest; and since the issue of the last number of 'The Library,' no less authorities respectively than Mr. H. T. Hare and Mr. J. D. Brown have similarly collaborated on the subject, and their freshest conclusions are now being embodied in this Session's Proceedings of the same body.

Mr. Amian Champney's new book takes up the running from an architect's standpoint, with the prefatory explanation that 'up to the present time there has been no book in the English language dealing at all comprehensively with the subject,' and thus he supplies no bibliography, though a catalogue of published designs and descriptive papers would be of distinct value both to architects and their clients. Architects have a thirst for delineations of their problems; literature fails through the ineffectiveness of its cyphers adequately to express arrangement and design. We crave plans, sections, elevations and photographs wherewith to read a building. Mr. Amian Champneys tantalises therefore with the few well-known examples of plans, views, and fittings—more photo-lithography and less letterpress would have popularised his book. A spacious setting out of library building progress, with short statements of cost and the peculiar success or failure in each example, would have fed the mind of many a designer, and assisted the library movement in its ultimate effect. The Librarian's technical fittings, his patent bookstack, his newspaper slope, his turnstile dog-tricker, his supervision of juvenile thumbsucking, all this we get again and again, salted with necessary humour in the well-known Manuals and Proceedings. The whole process of a popular library is almost stereotyped nowadays, and while as necessary to the architecture of a public library as clean washed sand and gray stone lime, is sufficiently obvious not to require reiteration.

Mr. Champneys begins with details, such as



shelving, furniture, artificial lighting, then discusses the purposes of the several rooms, administration, finance, and procedure in building, and finally comes to principles of design and systems, and finishes with the statutes, and Mr. Batsford's general architectural bibliography.

The book is a patient, well digested exercise, of use without doubt as a general discussion of a special subject, but, probably because it makes no effort at freshness, is somewhat uninteresting.

The wonderful vitality of the subject, Mr. Carnegie's extraordinary relation to the whole movement, the peculiar fascination of the association of literature with architectural art, the age-long housing of treasures, as at Alexandria, the Vatican, the Laurentian, the Bodleian, every college, and mansion, and now every municipality, all make for the artistic stimulus of the architect, while the practical side has also yet to be exploited with the help of modern genius for mechanism.

Oh, the problem of ventilation! Mr. Champneys records on page 21, that 'the atmosphere of newspaper reading rooms in particular has become a proverb, and will in all probability continue in this evil notoriety,' but he dismisses the 'Plenum system' with the remark that it 'would probably be advantageous.' Let Mr. Champneys refer to Alberti, the Renaissance Architectural Lawgiver (among his other remarkable qualities), and note how he deals in detail with the corresponding problems of the great unwashed of his high places. If Alberti had only known 'Keating,' and the 'Plenum,' how much happier he would have been—and we have

both and are silent. Now if a 'Plenum' system be thoroughly understood, and therefore properly applied, it will do more to solve the problems of fresh *versus* foul air, and of dust and cleanliness, than such a reference as Mr. Champneys' would lead the reader to suppose. Dust and dirt are subject to scientific treatment, and as such are the prime requirements of the attention of Library Builders and Users; there is room for much more than even one whole chapter in the next book on this subject.

Artificial lighting, too, is another scientific matter on which much practical knowledge could well be expended. Mr. Champneys illustrates on page 19 an inverted arc lamp, reflecting light from the ceiling. This is a method open to much discussion, probably applicable with success only in some cases, but generally resulting in much disturbing flickering of light, not perhaps discernible until the sight is concentrated on a book or print, and then distracting and hurtful. The many kinds of glow lamps now in the market need discriminating selection, and the merits of incandescent gas more ample discussion.

Many other points suggest themselves for consideration, but would dilate this review to exaggeration. Would not all reading rooms be more appropriately top lighted than side lighted? Are the exhibition possibilities of books and their illustrations sufficiently appreciated in public Libraries? Historical exposition of typography, illumination and illustration of printers' and bookbinders' art, are all worth attempting and discussing. The architect, I think, could give the librarian a lead some-

times, and also the hide-bound committeeman, if he had the opportunity.

Mr. Amian Champneys' book may cause some progress in this direction, and for so much as it does we are grateful, but wish for more.

BERESFORD PITE.

*Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Uppsala. Von Dr. Isak Collijn. Leipzig, Rudolf Haupt, pp. xxxviii, 507. Preis Mk. 15.*

Dr. Collijn's catalogue of the fifteen hundred incunables in the University Library at Upsala gives the maximum of information as to this interesting collection with the minimum of repetition. The main arrangement is that of an alphabetical author catalogue, the entries being short or long according to the amount of information already accessible as to the edition, but always containing full details as to the manuscript notes, binding, or provenance which lend interest to the particular copy. In a subsidiary list the books are re-arranged by their short titles under cities and printers. There is a full concordance of the Upsala numbers and those of Hain, and an excellent annotated index of owners, and a register of press-marks. In the Introduction Dr. Collijn gives a history of the University Library, and of the confiscations, captures, and bequests by which it has been enriched. The scheme is admirable, and it has been admirably carried out.

The interest of the collection is much greater than its numerical size. The books have not passed

through the hands of modern dealers and collectors. They may, now and again, be damaged, but they have not been 'restored,' and earlier inscriptions and notes of price are unusually numerous. In Dr. Collijn's pages we make the acquaintance of one very interesting person, Thomas Werner, 'Domkustos' at Frauenburg and Professor of Theology at Leipzig, who died in 1498 and left a considerable number of books, printed between 1470 and 1497 to the Cathedral Library at Frauenburg and the Franciscans at Braunsberg, whence they passed to Upsala in 1626 by right of capture! It is delightful to make the acquaintance of a man like this across the centuries, and it is one of the chief merits of Dr. Collijn's catalogue that it is full of personal interest.

[A. W. P.]

# THE LIBRARY.

## A DATE IN THE MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

**T**HE Marprelate Controversy has too long lain under the stigma of dullness. There is perhaps nothing very enthralling to us in the question at issue, but fortunately it is quite possible altogether to ignore the old-fashioned rattle of Swiss manufacture over which Tweedledee Presbyterian and Tweedledum Episcopalian were quarrelling, and yet to take the keenest interest in the details of the great battle itself. Martin, for example, is really funny; even a devotee of Shaw might smile at his sallies. And then, too, the history of the wandering Marprelate press: could anything be more exciting to read or more fascinating to unravel? To-day we have to invent such stories, and we sell them for sixpence at the book-stalls. In the days of Elizabeth they were actually lived, and their publication only purchased at the price of blood. And here we touch upon the great difficulty in the path of anyone who becomes interested in the Martinist drama; the actors were forced to be so secretive that it is almost impossible

for anyone not gifted with the genius of Sherlock Holmes to follow the flight of their press from one Puritan homestead to another.

The present writer is not offering to undertake detective work on any scale so vast as this. All he proposes to do is to call in question the accuracy of past investigators in what may seem at first a very small particular, but which he hopes may prove, when rectified, to throw considerable light on the movements of the Martinists and their chief printer in the year 1589.

'Th' Appellation of Iohn Penry' is the sixth, and in many ways the most interesting, pamphlet from the pen of the busy Welsh Puritan whom the Nonconformists of the principality now look back to as their first champion. No Republican of the seventeenth century proclaimed the sovereignty of Parliament and the illegality of the High Commission in stronger terms than did Penry in this appeal 'vnto the Highe Court of Parliament from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. and other of his colleagues of the high commission.' The historians of the Great Rebellion have not sufficiently studied the beginnings of that movement in the sixteenth century, and Penry's tracts, which are from this point of view alone of supreme interest, have been left unnoticed except by chroniclers of Congregationalism. This, however, is no place to go into that side of the question. We are concerned with dates and not movements. When was 'Th' Appellation' written? and, more important still, when was it published?

Looking at the title-page of the pamphlet we

find the date 1589 upon it; turning over the page to the dedication we find it signed 7th March. The year in England at that date was usually reckoned as beginning on 25th March. Obviously, therefore, 'Th' Appellation' was issued according to our reckoning after 7th March, 1590. Previous critics have arrived at this conclusion by the simple, but dangerous, method of adding two and two together and making four. We will see first into what straits a blind dependence upon merely mathematical truths will lead people. 'Th' Appellation' has no printer's name, but it is morally certain that it was printed by the famous Puritan pressman, Robert Waldegrave, and moreover printed at Rochelle. This, I believe, has never been challenged by anyone, and, if it were, its truth could be supported by numerous pieces of evidence, one of them being its typographical likeness in every particular to 'M. Some laid open in his coulers,' which the Marprelate printer affirmed, under solemn oath, to have been printed by him at Rochelle [Arber's 'Introductory Sketch to the Marprelate Controversy,' p. 179]. Waldegrave, who had spent most of 1588 in running 'cross country with the Marprelate press, pursued by the archbishop's pursuivants and dropping a tract here and there by way of laying the scent, had about Easter (*i.e.*, 30th March), 1589, grown tired of the game and, having other fish to fry, had retired to the Huguenot city of refuge to fry them [Arber, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100].

While he was there, it is generally assumed, three books came from his press: the two already

mentioned and 'A Dialogue wherein is plainly laide open the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishoppes against Gods children,' in the approved style of John Udall, though not under his name. The awkward question we have now to ask those who maintain the date 1590 for 'Th' Appellation' is: How long did Waldegrave remain at Rochelle? for in 1590 he was to be found printing books in Scotland. Dr. Sinker, in his valuable 'Catalogue of books in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, printed before 1601,' is very much puzzled by this question. Finding that Penry's 'Treatise,' proving 'that Reformation and those that favour the same' are not 'enemies vnto hir Maiestie and the State,' must have been issued in the spring of 1590, since 'The First Part of Pasquill's Apologie' (dated 2nd July, 1590) was an answer to it, he tries to reconcile this with the accepted date of 'Th' Appellation' by suggesting that the 'Treatise' in question may have been printed by Waldegrave at Rochelle. He would have liked, we feel sure, even to question the possibility of Waldegrave's printing the tract at all, but he was held in check by the infallible sign of his hand in the peculiar method of signatures. There can, however, be no shadow of a doubt that the 'Treatise' was not only printed by Waldegrave but printed by him at Edinburgh, and the fact would never have been called in question had not Professor Arber's dating of 'Th' Appellation' caused men to err from the straight path.

But it is time to deliver the *coup de grâce* and to turn to the real explanation of this apparent diffi-



culty. Printed on the back of the title-page of 'The Confession of Faith,' a book published by Waldegrave at the command of the Scots government early in the year 1590, we find 'The Privelege of the Printer' granted to our ex-fugitive Puritan by 'The Lordis of the Secretit Counsell' and signed 'at Edinburgh the xiiij day of March: The zeir of God, one thousand fiue hundred fourescoure nine zeiris.' The date of this Privilege, quoted from a copy in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, should be sufficient to quash for ever the idea that Waldegrave was at Rochelle printing books after 7th March, 1590. The most curious point in the whole affair, however, seems to be that this 'Privelege of the Printer' is no new discovery, but is to be seen in copy by anyone who chooses to open Herbert's 'Ames,' vol. iii, p. 1507. All things considered, the date of Penry's 'Appellation' is a point well worthy the consideration of bibliographers, insignificant as it may seem at first sight.

It is scarcely less important, as we shall now show, from the historical side. Once rectify the mistake, and the events of 1589 connected with the Marprelate Controversy, previously quite unintelligible, fall naturally into their proper perspective. But first of all: what was the mistake, and how did it arise? Let us return to the departure of Waldegrave from out the camp of the Marprelates, which at Easter, 1589, was pitched at Master Hales' house, 'White Friars,' Coventry. Henry Sharpe, a bookbinder of Northampton, whose deposition made before the Lord Chancellor

on 15th October, 1589, and preserved for us among the Harleian manuscripts, is the most important testimony we possess as to the movements of the Marprelate press and very reliable upon all matters of which the deposer had first-hand knowledge, declares that meeting Master Penry about May day, and asking him concerning Waldegrave, he was informed (among other things) 'that he (Penry) looked daily for his "Appellation" from him' [Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 100].<sup>1</sup> Sharpe himself had suffered and was suffering at the hands of the High Commissioners, and 'Th' Appellation' [p. 46], contains a lengthy reference to his grievances (a point we shall return to later). What could be more natural than for Penry to make special mention of 'Th' Appellation' to Sharpe? 'Th' Appellation,' we may therefore conclude without hesitation, was written before Waldegrave's departure, and he took the manuscript away with him. The mystery is beginning to clear. The date 7th March in the dedication is the date of Penry's writing, and has no connection whatsoever with Waldegrave's printing. In other words, Penry wrote the tract at the beginning of March, 1589, of our reckoning, and if he had written his date in full it would doubtless have been 'March

<sup>1</sup> The words are somewhat ambiguous, and they might mean 'he (Waldegrave) looked daily for his (Penry's) "Appellation"' (*i.e.* the manuscript). Those, however, who hold to the date 1590, can get but cold comfort even from this rendering. In this case we should have Penry in May, 1589, looking forward to the publication of a tract which was not written until after Jan. 29th, 1590, and Sharpe, in his confession of Oct. 1589, referring in an offhand manner to a tract which was not yet in existence.

7. 1588.' Waldegrave, on the other hand, took away the manuscript to print at the first opportunity, and, that opportunity occurring after 25th March, he very naturally put the date 1589 on the title-page.

There is no lack of evidence to support this. The tract, we must remember, was an appeal to the Parliament 'from the High Commission Court.' Now one of the first things that led me to suspect the date assigned to it by Professor Arber was that Parliament was dissolved on 29th March, 1589, and another Parliament was not called until the year 1592-3. Had Penry therefore been writing in 1590 he would have been appealing to empty benches. 'Th' Appellation' is the Welshman's last address to Parliament; his next plea is laid at the feet of the Privy Council. It was on Parliament that all his hopes were set. Three times had he presented petitions to the houses, and after the dissolution in 1589 he soon retired to Scotland only to return to England to meet his death during the parliamentary session of 1593. When he entitled a pamphlet, therefore, a supplication to Parliament, it was no mere flourish of the pen. His first petition, 'The Aequity' (1587), was, we know, actually presented in a printed copy to the House of Commons, and we may be sure he attempted to get the others introduced in the same manner. Moreover, we have another curious testimony to the fact that his petitions were intended to reach the ears of Parliament while actually in session. As it helps to throw further light upon the subject under discussion, we may be excused a short digression.

Penry's second petition, generally known by its running title, 'The Supplication to the Parliament,' but called on the title-page, 'A viewe . . . of publike wants . . . within her Maiestie's cuntrye of Wales,' etc., was issued from Coventry just before 9th March, 1589, as we are informed by Sharpe [Arber, *op. cit.*, p. 9], but it had been written, in all probability, months before this. I believe this to be so because of certain words of Sir Richard Knightley, in whose house the second Marprelate tract was printed. In his examination he confessed 'that a little before Michaelmas was a twelve month (he is speaking of 1588) Penry came unto him, and moved him that he might have a Rome in his house, to print a like Booke, to that which he had before made concerning the unlearned Ministri of Wales' [Arber, p. 129]. In other words, as I understand it, Penry was asking for accommodation to print a second petition to Parliament on behalf of Wales; the words 'that which he had before made,' referring to 'The Aequity.' Now this second petition could have been 'The Supplication' and nothing else, while I do not think it is stretching a point too far to suppose that, before asking for a room to print it, Penry had most, if not all, of it in writing.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'The Epistle to the Reader' (sig. A-ci), however, was, we must suppose, not written before 17th November, the Queen's accession day, for it contains the words 'now, in the 31 year of the raigne of Queen Elizabeth,' but 'The Epistle' was possibly a later addition to the tract. On the other hand, the following words seem to prove that Penry had no thoughts of presenting 'Th' Appellation' to Parliament at the time when he was writing 'The Supplication': (p. 53) 'I have determined with myselfe not to

The Marprelate press reached Sir Richard Knightley's house about the middle of November [Arber, p. 95]: why was Penry's 'Supplication' never printed there? The answer is simple. Before the arrival of the press the objective of the pamphlet had ceased to exist. The new Parliament, to which Penry was burning to appeal, was summoned on 12th November, 1588, only to be prorogued at once until 4th February, 1589. 'The Supplication' was, therefore, laid aside and not printed until Parliament was in full session, about 9th March. Sharpe actually gives the date 'before mid-lent' (*i.e.* earlier than 9th March). Supposing we put it two days earlier we get 7th March, the very day on which Penry signed his copy of 'Th' Appellation.' I have a theory, and I state it for what it is worth, that this coincidence of dates is not entirely accidental.

'Th' Appellation' contains several references to 'The Supplication' (see especially pp. 8 and 37), and these references are worded in such a manner that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that 'The Supplication' had been actually presented to Parliament before 'Th' Appellation' was written. Penry speaks of the tract which was only at that moment being published, as if every one in Parlia-

trouble this honorable assemblie at this time with any large discourse concerning these men [*i.e.*, the bishops] and their dealings: otherwise I would shew by euidēt proofs that they (and so the whole conuocation house) are guilty of such crimes, as the fauorable interpreter of their proceedings, woulde of necessitie be drawne to giue this sentence against thē, namely; That they are intollerable oppugners of Gods glory and vtter enemies vnto the liberties of his church.'

ment knew of it. I have, therefore, little doubt in my mind that a manuscript copy of 'The Supplication' was presented, if not read, to the house soon after the beginning of the session in February. But I would even go a step further and suggest that 'Th' Appellation' was also presented in manuscript to Parliament shortly after the 7th of March, and that at the same time printed copies of 'The Supplication' were taken to London and distributed among the members. This is pure conjecture, but it seems at least to explain why a pamphlet written on 7th March was not printed before Waldegrave's departure about 30th March. There was every inducement to print it at once. Parliament was on the eve of dissolution. Of course Waldegrave was printing 'Hay any worke' towards the end of March: but there was no immediate hurry for that, had anything more urgent intervened. Moreover, he took his time about it, spending three weeks upon it, and after it was finished the press was allowed to remain idle [Arber, pp. 98, 99].

When we compare these facts with the eagerness and anxiety that are revealed in Penry's words later on to Sharpe: 'he looked daily for his "Appellation,"' we may, I feel, regard the theory of its presentation to Parliament in manuscript with some favour. Turning up the year 1589 in 'The Parliamentary History of England' (vol. iv, p. 328), we find the following entry: 'Few sessions were ended in this Reign without some Strokes at the Established church or the Ministers of it. And in this Mr. Davenport stood up and made a motion

“that he was neither for making any new Laws, nor abrogating any old, but for a due Course of Proceedings in Laws already established. These he thought were ill executed by some Ecclesiastical Governors; contrary both to the Purport of the said Laws and also to the Minds and Meanings of the Law makers to the great hurt and grievance of sundry of her Majesty’s good subjects.” He then offered a writing to the House, containing some Particulars to prove his Assertion and prayed that it might be read.’ Is it too much to believe that the ‘writing’ (*i.e.* manuscript) here referred to was Penry’s ‘Appellation’? It is difficult to imagine a book more in keeping with the introductory motion of the speaker. It would have been impossible for Waldegrave to print ‘Th’ Appellation’ at Coventry if the manuscript were in London, and it seems that he loitered about for some time after ‘Hay any worke’ had been worked off waiting for the said manuscript, which he had promised Penry to print at his earliest convenience.

The main point, however, we have to determine is the date of the tract, and those who have followed my argument up to this point will, I fancy, find it difficult any longer to maintain the traditional dating of 1590. Yet before we leave the subject and pass on to the historical implications which our rectification entails, it may be well to notice very briefly two more points by way of driving the nail further home.

‘Th’ Appellation’ [p. 40] refers to Penry’s arrest after the publication of ‘The Aequity’ in 1587, and mentions that it took place during ‘the last

parliament.' If 'Th' Appellation' was written and printed in 1590, these words would refer to the Parliament of 1588-9, and not to that of 1586-7.

'Th' Appellation' [p. 46, Arber, p. 174] speaks, as we have already noticed, in friendly fashion of Henry Sharpe, describing how he too had suffered at the hands of the High Commissioners. On 15th October, 1589, Sharpe gave evidence before the Lord Chancellor, giving the fullest information concerning the movements of the Martinists and their press during 1588 and 1589, and dwelling so particularly upon Penry's share in the proceedings that we may unhesitatingly regard his evidence as the real, though it was not the ostensible, reason for the Welshman's ultimate death. Professor Arber [p. 94], imagining 'Th' Appellation' to have been written six months after Sharpe turned Queen's evidence, remarks that Penry evidently 'bore him no ill-will for this complete disclosure.' Examples of long-suffering and forgiveness of personal injury are so rare among the sons of men and so precious when found, that I should like to agree with Professor Arber. Unfortunately facts as well as human nature are against him. This man Sharpe, it may be mentioned in passing, is not the least interesting among those who were brought into contact with the Martinist circle. Personally, I believe that he was one of the very few who knew the secret of 'Martin's' identity. For some reason, unconnected, as far as I can tell, with the Marprelate business, he was in disfavour with the authorities. For the greater part of 1589 he was in hiding, generally at his father-in-law's house at Wolston,



where, apparently, he was arrested in the autumn of the same year [Arber, pp. 100-102, 116]. I have said that in his examination he gave the fullest details concerning the Martinists. One name, however, is most significantly absent—that of Job Throckmorton. Matthew Sutcliffe tells us that Sharpe ‘sent a note of that he had confessed’ to this man [Arber, p. 182]. Believing as I do that Throckmorton was the principal, if not the sole, author of the Marprelate Tracts, I cannot help feeling that there is something behind all this which, if not treachery, was at least meanness of the most contemptible kind. Sharpe’s full revelation could do no immediate harm to Penry, as he had left England for Scotland at the beginning of October, 1589, but it was undoubtedly a contributory cause to his shameful death in 1593, while its immediate effect was to draw the attention of the authorities from the real culprit, Job Throckmorton, and to fasten it upon a person scarcely less implicated, but less ‘guilty.’ It is at least worthy of note that when Penry next visited England it was not with the Puritan party he allied himself, but with Separatists like Barrow and Greenwood. Was his conversion due solely to spiritual development? The causes of intellectual change are so often found on examination to be nothing more than personal interests or antipathies, that I shall not be accused, I hope, of cynicism if I hint at a possible carnal motive at the root of our Welshman’s change of front.

This, however, is both previous and irrelevant. We must go back to the year 1589 and see if the

rectification of the date of 'Th' Appellation' will throw any light upon the history of Martinism in that year. First of all the date of Penry's pamphlet determines the date of Job Throckmorton's 'M. Some laid open in his coulers.' Penry, in recounting his grievances, refers to a raid by the pursuivants upon his house at Northampton 'on the 29. of Ianuary last,' in which they carried off 'an answeere unto Master D. Some in writing.' Throckmorton's preface 'To the Reader' begins: 'Having this lying by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was advertised of the taking away of M. Penrie's book by the Pursuivant. Whereupon I resolved . . . not to closet it up any longer. . . .' If 'Th' Appellation' were written and printed in 1589, the raid of the pursuivants took place on 29th January, 1589 of our reckoning, and therefore 'M. Some laid open' was printed in 1589 also.

Two, therefore, of the tracts traditionally believed to have been issued from Waldegrave's press at Rochelle may be unhesitatingly reckoned as belonging to the year 1589. Of the third, 'A Dialogue,' we have no such definite knowledge; but there is no special reason for believing that it was printed in 1590, while there are indications, very uncertain I must admit, inclining me to think that it was printed before October 1589. With these somewhat meagre facts to go upon, eked out by some interesting remarks of Matthew Sutcliffe, we may now attempt to give an account of the printer Waldegrave for 1589.

Soon after Easter, that is, early in April, the ex-Marprelate pressman was making his way to

Rochelle. Why he went there, after declaring his intention to go to Devonshire [Arber, p. 99], we shall probably never learn. Perhaps it seemed the only safe place at the moment. There is little doubt in my mind that he went through London on the way, not only because he could take ship most easily therefrom, but also because we have fairly conclusive proofs of his being there. When he left Coventry he took with him the fine black-letter in which the first four Marprelate Tracts were printed [Arber, p. 100], and which apparently he never used again. As we know that he sold some type to the Martinists and left it 'at a Merchants House in London,' it is legitimate, I think, to conclude that this was the black-letter, and that it was left in London on his way through. There are many reasons why he should have done so. In the first place the Marprelate black-letter was 'marked': pursuivants, archbishop, everyone knew it well by sight, and to print other books in it would be to tar them with Martin's brush. Secondly, 'Martin' would naturally like to make his series uniform in appearance. As it happened he was not able to do so, but, as he seems to have bought Waldegrave's black-letter, he probably had the intention. Thirdly, Waldegrave had Penry's 'Appellation' to print, and the question of uniformity would crop up again here. In short, not only would Waldegrave make a special point of not printing 'Th' Appellation,' and the other two books he probably had with him, in the black-letter, but he would also do his best to find some type for 'Th' Appellation' as similar as possible to

that which he had used for Penry's other petitions to Parliament. This type he secured, which gives us another reason for thinking that he visited London on his way to Rochelle. The body of 'Th' Appellation' is printed in type very like the small roman and italic used in 'The Supplication' and other tracts of Penry and Udall issued by Waldegrave. It is the same size, and only minute investigation will reveal its differences. The same type is found in 'M. Some laid open' and in 'A Dialogue,' but in these we find what we do not find in 'Th' Appellation,' namely, a factotum block inclosing the initial letter of the first page, consisting of two nude figures holding a wreath.<sup>1</sup> This block gives us a clue to the source from which Waldegrave got his new type, for it appears in the books printed by Thomas Vautrollier who had died in 1587, or at the beginning of 1588, but whose wife had carried on the business for a short time after his death [Dickson and Edmund, 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' p. 382]. Vautrollier was a Huguenot exile; what more natural than that at

<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, I have discovered a very bad impression of this block used in 1603 by Joseph Barnes, the Oxford printer, from whose press Penry's 'Aequity' was issued ('The Answer of the Vice-Chancellor,' etc. copy at the library of Trinity College). This discovery struck me forcibly, inasmuch as I had already noticed that the small roman type employed in 'The Aequity' was exactly similar in every respect, including the semicolon, to that used by Waldegrave on the Marprelate press. Was there some secret connection between these two printers? or did Waldegrave and Barnes both buy from Vautrollier? Perhaps some authority on English sixteenth century type can enlighten me. It may be noticed that the type used by Waldegrave for his Rochelle work has no semicolon.

the sale of his effects some of his type should come into the puritan Waldegrave's hands? This, at least, I believe, is how the type for 'Th' Appellation' was secured. Of course it is possible that our printer had bought it previously (see footnote), but in that case he would have left it in security in London before embarking upon the Marprelate enterprise.

With this type Waldegrave undoubtedly took ship for Rochelle and with this he as certainly returned, for we find him using the same factotum block at Edinburgh in 1594 in a Latin treatise entitled 'Papatus.' The question remains, however, how long did he stop at Rochelle? Now Matthew Sutcliffe has some interesting words as to this. 'When Waldegrave had printed Penry's "Appellation," and "Some in his coulers," [so runs the statement,] he came to Throgmorton to know what he would have done with them. Penry found him there as Newman deposeth' [Arber, p. 181]. This extremely interesting piece of information, with the name of Newman, the Marprelate middleman, like the hall-mark of truth upon it, has never received any attention before, because the wrong dating of 'Th' Appellation' stood in the path of its acceptance. Even those who did not shrink from finding Waldegrave first at Rochelle, and then at Edinburgh with only a day or two's interval, hesitated to credit his presence at Throckmorton's house at Hasely, Warwickshire, on his journey between the two places; though, having given the printer wings, they should not have boggled at his perching at a spot which was directly on the way as the crow flies. The mention of Penry's being of

the company may help to fix the date of this interesting reunion of the Martinists, for, as we have before stated, Penry fled to Scotland at the beginning of October, 1589. The meeting must be placed, therefore, in September at the very latest.

It is now that we come to what I believe to be a discovery of the utmost importance in the history of the Marprelate Controversy. September, 1589, is undoubtedly the month in which 'The Protestation,' the last of the Marprelate tracts, was published, for it must have appeared between the arrest of the second Marprelate printer at the end of August and the appearance of the 'Returne of Pasquil,' dated 20th October, in which Nashe refers to it. It was printed, we may be certain, upon the press which Hodgkins had used at Mistress Wigston's house, Wolston, for 'Martin Iunior,' and 'Martin Senior'; and its type is the same as that which we find in 'Diotrephes,' Penry's 'Defence' and several other tracts issued by Waldegrave before he went to Rochelle. Newman's hint, quoted by Sutcliffe [Arber, p. 181], that 'Martin's "Protestation" was printed with ink sent by James Meadows to Throckmorton's house, and that not without his privity,' lends great colour to the supposition generally accepted that it was issued from Hasely under Throckmorton's supervision. But who was the printer? Let us turn to the tract itself and see whether it will not throw some light upon the question. Previous investigators have pointed out that the work shows signs of great poverty of type and still greater ignorance of his craft on the

part of the printer. What they have not noticed is that it bears unmistakable evidence of having been printed by two printers, and that the ignorant printer's share does not extend beyond sig. A. The signatures run to D 4 (verso) in fours, the tract being an octavo in half-sheets like all others issued from the Marprelate press except 'The Supplication' and the four tracts in black-letter. The four folios of the first half-sheet (sig. A), which include the title-page, were evidently worked off by the merest amateur, the most remarkable indication of this being the ridiculous attempt at signatures. There is no sign of letter A, but the paginal number found at the head of each page is repeated at the foot. Confusion of different types in the same word, slipped letters, crooked margins, and many other signs of inexperience seem, with the attempted signatures, to show that this first half-sheet was set up and worked off, not indeed by an absolute tyro, but by one who had frequently seen, but never very closely observed, a practised printer at work. After the first half-sheet, however, all is different. The printing, no doubt, is not first class, but it must be remembered that type was scarce, and that the press was a bad one [Arber, p. 102]. Certainly none of the faults just mentioned are any longer visible. The marks of experience and of capacity are everywhere apparent. This is seen at once in the signatures. Page 9 is signed B and the letters C and D follow in their right places and in their proper order. Sig. A, we may guess with a fair show of probability, was worked off by Penry assisted by Throckmorton, the former of whom must

have constantly seen both Waldegrave and Hodgkins at the press: but who is responsible for sigs. B-D? Hodgkins and his men were in prison. There was only one other printer in Europe at the time whom the cautious Throckmorton would have allowed to print in his house, and he, as we know, thanks to the re-dating of 'Th' Appellation,' was not only in England, but actually at Throckmorton's house itself. There can be no possibility of doubt, I think, that Waldegrave worked off the last three half-sheets of 'The Protestation.' If there be, we have yet another card up our sleeve. Waldegrave, as is well known, differs from other printers in his method of signatures. His habit was to give the letter on only the first recto of his quire so that succeeding rectos are signed with figure alone. Perhaps he realized that this idiosyncrasy was a handle to his enemies, being, as it undoubtedly was, a sure sign of his workmanship. Certainly in his Rochelle tracts we find him departing somewhat from his usual custom. In 'Th' Appellation,' which was probably the earliest, figures 2 and 3 are given in sig. A, and figure 2 in sigs. C and D, but after that we get no figure signatures at all, while both 'M. Some laid open,' and 'A Dialogue' are without figures altogether. Turning again to the signatures of the last three half-sheets in 'The Protestation,' we find the same method as in the two last-mentioned tracts, except in one instance, and that instance is extremely instructive. On the second recto in sig. C the figure 2 occurs unaccompanied by a letter, thus proving beyond dispute that Waldegrave was the printer,



since we see here his old habit inadvertently cropping up.

One point more. Throughout I have spoken of 'A Dialogue,' as if it were printed at Rochelle. That is the generally accepted theory, but I am not at all sure that it is a correct one. A certain mystery hangs around the production and authorship of this tract which it would be interesting to clear up. Here is neither the space nor the occasion for doing it. Suffice it to say that Newman's deposition, before quoted, speaks of Waldegrave visiting Hasely after printing 'Th' Appellation' and 'M. Some laid open,' saying nothing whatever of 'A Dialogue.' Indeed we should never have heard of the tract at all had there not been copies preserved for us, not only in the original, but also in reprints of 1642 and 1643, in which it is attributed to the pen of 'Martin Marprelate.' My theory is that it was printed, not at Rochelle, but at Hasely. This would account for Newman's silence. And further, if the pamphlet be by Udall, as it may possibly be from its likeness to 'Diotrephes,' we have a clue to the movements of Waldegrave after leaving Hasely. Bound for Scotland, whither Penry went at the beginning of October, Waldegrave, we can hardly doubt, accompanied his fellow Puritan. It would not be the first time the two had travelled together and they could cheer each other, during the journey, with imaginary sketches of the millenium when there would be no bishops to harry Puritans out of the kingdom. Udall at this time was living at Newcastle, and we know from his own lips that Penry called at his house on the way to Scotland

[Arber, p. 172]. Penry's call was of the briefest. He did not enter the house but merely saluted his friend at the door. This haste seems to show that the Welsh fugitive was evidently in danger. If the authorities were on the watch, no place was likely to be so unsafe as the house of Udall who was known to be his friend. Why then did he make this dangerous call, so short and seemingly so useless? One cannot tell, unless it be, as I suggest, that Waldegrave was there too and had brought with him the printed copies of 'A Dialogue' for the author thereof. But, however this may be, we may feel, I believe, practically certain that Waldegrave shared Penry's flight into the northern kingdom. If so, he would have reached Edinburgh in the late autumn of 1589, and could, therefore, easily have printed Penry's 'Treatise' in the spring of 1590.

With Waldegrave's subsequent career in Scotland we are not concerned; our task has been to show how and when he got there, and what he was doing during the summer of 1589. This period of his activity, as I think has been abundantly proved, can only be rendered intelligible by calling in question the accepted date for 'Th' Appellation,' and if the account of his movements given above is, as it must be, based largely upon conjecture, I can but claim that it is more worthy of credence than the forced compromises between irreconcilable facts which have hitherto held the field.

Finally, it will be noticed that our investigation has yielded even larger results than those affecting the bibliography of certain pamphlets and the his-

tory of their printer. It has, I venture to say, brought nearer to its solution that fascinating historical mystery which centres round the name of Martin Marprelate, while it has thrown more light upon the character and fortunes of one of the finest spirits of an age exceptionally rich in spiritual and intellectual achievement. I refer to John Penry, and make no apologies for my language, though I am conscious that his name is unknown save to a few students and Nonconformist historians. In Penry's doctrines, in the banner under which he fought, I confess I have little interest and less sympathy. The cause is greater than the battle-cry, and the spirit deeper than the letter. His cause, as he tells us himself, was the cause of the oppressed, the weak and the fatherless—old as the Psalmist, new as the latest Fabian tract—for the poor we have always with us. His spirit, which breathes through every line he wrote, was the spirit common to those rare, impassioned souls to be found in all ages and countries, who are so sensitive to the dumb suffering around them, and so miserable in their sensitiveness, that they will cheerfully batter themselves to death against the stupid, stony wall of authority and privilege, in the mere endeavour to forget their living nightmare in action. In short, John Penry was a revolutionist; he was also a Welshman. Why is it that Welshmen and Irishmen so often feel uncomfortable in England?

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

## THE BRITISH WORKMAN IN ENGLISH FICTION, 1830-1870.



WHILE the historical novelist chooses for his theme some past event in his nation's history, or the story of a foreign country, the novelist of manners does his best work when describing the society in which he lives and the people with whom he comes in daily contact. Many of our great novelists have sprung from 'the people,' and so have furnished us with faithful contemporary portraits of lower and middle class society in England from the time when prose fiction began.

The novelists of the period 1830-70 who took up the life of the British working man were thoroughly acquainted with their subject. Dickens and George Eliot grew up amongst the poorer classes, and Kingsley as a clergyman, Charlotte Brontë as a clergyman's daughter, Mrs. Gaskell as a minister's wife, and Beaconsfield as a politician, had ample means of coming in close contact with them.

A broad surface is covered by these authors. Fortunately there is very little repetition. Each one kept to the district and people he knew well, and the topics he had most at heart; consequently we have first-hand information of the agricultural people of the Midlands where George Eliot grew up, the London of Kingsley and Dickens, and the

south coast and country with which Kingsley was also familiar. Mrs. Gaskell depicts life in the manufacturing towns of the north and centre of England where her days were passed.

In one respect, however, the novelists are unanimous, for there is no divergence in their testimony to the great evils that beset the lives of the labouring classes throughout England in the first half of the nineteenth century. Again and again in their novels they return to descriptions of the poverty and insanitary condition of the dwellings of the working people. The distress was bad enough in village and country, but far worse in the more closely populated towns, and there can be no doubt that much of the vice and immorality prevalent at the time was to be attributed to the wretched home life of the people. The London of Beaconsfield's day was 'a subterranean nation of cellars and pestilential *culs-de-sac*.' The agricultural labourers of Kingsley's experience suffered 'a sickening weight of debt, and a miserable grinding anxiety from rent day to rent day: they were worse fed than a hound, worse housed than a pig, and packed together to sleep like pilchards in a barrel.' 'The foul cellars' in which the Manchester people lived, Mrs. Gaskell says, 'were the dens of typhoid fever, malignant and highly infectious,' where isolation was impossible: 'but the poor are fatalists with regard to infection; it is well for them that they are.' Kingsley, in 'Two Years Ago,' showed how difficult it was to make either landlord or tenant see that insanitary conditions were the cause of most evils. It was only by a heavy visitation of cholera in a

southern fishing village, and by the terrible loss of life which it brought, that the inhabitants were brought to realize the need of improvements in this respect.

A valuable study of village and country life at the beginning of the nineteenth century is furnished in George Eliot's novels. Unlike Kingsley, having no gospel of reform to preach, George Eliot studied humanity from a philosophical point of view. Consequently her pictures of the quiet, humdrum existence of the peasantry are unbroken by descriptions of misery and degradation. The people she knew were in pretty comfortable circumstances. True, 'wheaten bread and fresh meat were delicacies to working people,' and the war with Bonaparte brought bad times to Adam Bede and his mother, but there was work for everybody, and no slow starvation. The people were filled with neighbourly generosity and sociability, but the reader is affected by the oppressive narrowness of rural existence. 'The greater part of the farm labourers take life almost as slowly as the sheep and cows.' 'They are not only without ideas, but it has never occurred to them that such things exist.' To the farmers and their wives the opinion of their neighbours means everything, and creates a marked effect on their daily speech and actions. 'Their religion is simply blind acceptance of tradition; going to church on proper occasions, being baptized in order that they may be buried in the churchyard,' and on that occasion to have a 'decent burying.'

The story of 'Adam Bede' is placed not far from

the time when John Wesley and his disciples tramped the country, preaching on the village greens. Dinah Morris, whose portrait was drawn from life, represents one of these Methodist revivalists. She worked on the minds of the simple country folk by describing to them in graphic words the blessedness of 'getting religion,' and the hatefulness of sin and wilful darkness. As an instance of the conversions made by the Methodists, we are told how possibly 'a brickmaker, after spending thirty years of his life in perfect satisfaction with his ignorance, would lately get religion, and along with it the desire to read the Bible for himself.' The village schoolmaster, whose wisdom was regarded as something vast and dim, would hold evening classes for rough men such as this. 'There they toiled, painfully holding pencil or pen with cramped hands, and humbly labouring through their reading lessons of three syllabled words.'

In 'Silas Marner' we get a picture of how the scattered linen weavers, emigrants from the town, were shunned by the country people. To ignorant rustic minds all cleverness in tongue or craft outside their own direct experience seemed suspicious, and with other things the weavers' dexterity and rapidity. These hand-loom weavers were at one time very prevalent, 'but by the side of the brawny country folk looked like the remnants of a disinherited race.' With the introduction of machinery their trade, once so flourishing, was doomed. Silas Marner himself, on going back to the alley where he had lived in his old town, 'found people coming out o' th' yard as if they'd been to chapel, a week-

day noon,' so the men and women streaming from the factory to their mid-day meal seemed to him. The inevitable sequel to the story of Silas Marner is the sketch in Beaconsfield's 'Sybil' of the hand-loom weaver, who 'gave twelve hours of daily labour at the rate of a penny an hour, while the lives dependent on him were forced to lie on their wretched beds, starving, for want of clothes and food.' That machinery was the ruin of poor folk was the common opinion for many years. 'There's never been good times sin' spinning jennies came in,' expressed the popular view. Mrs. Craik, in 'John Halifax,' and Charlotte Brontë, in 'Shirley,' illustrate the installation of mill machinery. In 'Shirley' the attempts of the millowner to bring the machinery from town were resented forcibly by a number of his more violent work people. They waylaid the machines and damaged them beyond repair, and even the drivers were not allowed to escape unharmed.

The work people required for the new factories which sprang up very soon formed a considerable portion of the population of the midlands and Lancashire. Their lives are depicted in Mrs. Gaskell's 'Milton,' the factory town in 'North and South'; and in the Manchester of her 'Mary Barton.'

'Born of factory workers, bred up in youth and living in manhood among the mills,' the typical Manchester mill-worker of the thirties and forties 'presented a form below middle size, a wan, colourless face and a stunted look, which gave the idea that in his childhood he had suffered from the



scanty living consequent on bad times.' The mill-girls, compared with the country women of the same time, 'would have struck a passer-by with the acuteness and intelligence of their countenances.' The time to which 'Mary Barton' relates was that of the terrible winters of 1839, 1840, and 1841, when no work was to be had, and so no wages. The weavers were miserably poor, and 'many a penny that would have gone little way enough in oatmeal and potatoes' bought opium to still the cries of starving children. Those who were in the slightest degree better off would willingly take their spare clothes to the pawnshop to buy food for a neighbour who was on the point of succumbing to starvation and disease. It was the universal opinion among the working classes that all their suffering was due to the tyranny of their masters. The capitalists grew rich on the poverty of the real makers of wealth, their employees. The idea goaded them to resistance, and we see the gradual growth of trade unions; the determination to strike, to give up wretched wages, rather than endure the constant lowering of them. 'You may clem us, but you'll not put upon us, my masters,' represents, in Mrs. Gaskell's words, the general feeling. Despair would show itself in rioting and personal violence, even in vitriol-throwing, against the masters and 'knobsticks,' as the labourers were called who migrated from the country districts, on the chance of work. In 'North and South' the employer imported some 'hands' from Ireland to replace the strikers.

In close proximity to the manufacturing districts

were the collieries. From Lord Beaconsfield, in 'Sybil,' we learn that the miners were suffering as severely as the factory people. Though Beaconsfield has been accused of exaggeration, it was impossible for him to colour too highly the evils in vogue at the time of the Chartists. It was the day of child labour, when mere infants were employed in factories and down pit. The scandalous truck system was in practice, when the employer, instead of paying the colliers wages, compelled them to receive from their middlemen food and goods, rated at many times their real value. 'I've been earning a pound a week these two months, but I've never seen the young queen's portrait. The question is, what is wages? 'T'ayn't sugar, and 't'ayn't tea, 't'ayn't bacon, but of this I be sure, 't'ayn't waist-coats!'

There were no large manufacturing classes in London and the south, but a class of workmen resembling the mill people were the journeymen tailors. They were not so numerous, and they were far more down-trodden and powerless. The hero of Kingsley's 'Alton Locke' was one of this class, and in the form of an autobiography, he gives us a detailed picture of the life, and its miseries, of the greater part of the labouring population of London in Chartist days. Where the tailors employed their workers on the premises, they put them in low lean-to garrets over the shops, unhealthy and oppressive—conditions admirably suited for the development of drunkenness and consumption. But Kingsley goes on to say that 'out of some four hundred and fifty West-end tailors, not a hundred were left old-

fashioned enough to employ men on this system even. The honourable traders were fast disappearing, as such a system kept down their own profits. The contracts for the army and civil service clothes were carried out by sweaters, and if the government knew no scruples, why should private firms? The sweaters hired the work at low prices, and let it out again to the journeymen at still lower. The journeymen became the slaves, often bodily prisoners, of these middlemen sweaters and Jews. 'Half-a-dozen men would be imprisoned at a time in a sweater's den, in debt to him, after working seventeen or eighteen hours a day, . . . without seeing God's sun for months together, and starved to the bone.' Kingsley was impressed by the waste of intellect amongst these down-trodden multitudes of London. 'Where are the stories of all the noble geniuses who have ended in desperation, drunkenness, and suicide? The lower classes uneducated? Perhaps you would be so too, if learning cost you the same privation, the same self-imposed toil of intellectual improvement; with body and brain already worn out by a day of toilsome manual labour.' The brains, instead of developing knowledge, manifested themselves in discontent and bitterness, and discontent finally broke forth in Chartism. All over the country there was a feeling of intense antagonism against landowners and capitalists, and the Chartist movement rapidly spread. Though the People's Charter did not include reforms in the laws relating to landlord and tenant, and employment in factories and mines, the five clauses were at least something tangible, and

meant parliamentary representation for the working classes. The events of the Chartist risings are woven into the plots of 'Alton Locke,' 'Mary Barton,' and 'Sybil.' The success of the movement spelt life or death to its promoters, and the novelist in dealing with such a subject is able to paint more realistically than the historian the hopes and anguish of individual workers in the cause, as it grew and came to a climax. What was intended as a *coup-d'état* in 1839, when the Charter was brought before the Commons, with its gigantic roll of over two million signatures, collapsed as a dismal failure, and many of the leaders were punished by imprisonment and death. The novelists sympathised keenly with them in this ignominious disappointment. But it is evident that they did not consider the working man, as they knew him, fitted to rule or to claim his privileges. They represented him as uneducated and unbridled in passion and vice, and showed that before he could exercise full citizenship he must first be raised, mind and body. In almost all the books mentioned we find cases instanced of just and humane employers, whose power for good over their work people is very great. By holding up these examples the novelists must have influenced the methods of contemporary capitalists and squires, and helped to strengthen the force of public opinion.

The position of Dickens in relation to our subject was somewhat different from that of the other writers we have named. Through his novels he has gained a front place as a friend of the poorer classes, but his working man is not the one

of whom Beaconsfield and Kingsley wrote, nor is he the man who had so great a part in the acting of Victorian history. If it were not for a setting of stage coaches and Pickwickian Christmases Dickens would be no more representative of his own days than of ours. We are introduced to a bewildering assembly of people to be found in the back streets of existence. We find them, at times, at work, more especially at play. But it is impossible to obtain from Dickens much information that would add to the descriptions from the other novelists of the life of early nineteenth-century working men. Yet he was at least zealous for the reform of Bumbledom, and was always ready to fight against oppression.

It is usual to read fiction for pleasure, but the novelists who wrote during the period 1830-70 in many cases brought to their work a passion for social reform. The shades of Mrs. Gaskell and her fellows would be gratified to compare the condition of the twentieth-century working man with his predecessors of their days. They would be justified also in claiming a share of the credit of having obtained for him his present social standing.

EDITH LEA.

## DR. WALTER BAYLEY AND HIS WORKS, 1529—1592.

**T**HE pleasure of bargain-hunting is supposed to be inherent in the opposite sex, but there is very little doubt that men have inherited from their mothers a fair share also, or why should we haunt the second-hand booksellers, or waste time over the stalls of the itinerant vendor of books in Farringdon Street? The pleasure in our purchase is markedly increased if the slim prize we have secured bears neither the name of author nor printer on the title-page. It becomes a point of honour to clear up the mystery, and then to publish the solution *urbi et orbi*. Such has been recently my good fortune. A small volume came into my possession entitled, 'A Briefe Treatise touching the Preservation of the Eiesight, consisting partly in Good Order of Diet and partly in Use of Medicines.' It bears no author's or printer's name, but there is a contemporary inscription at the beginning of the preface which runs: 'To the right worshipfull my very good frynde Mr. John Pop-hame Her Ma(jesty's) attorneye-generall,' and the preface is signed at the end, 'Your very lovinge frynde Walter Bayley.' The date is 1586, and the book was bought in Dublin some years ago by Dr. Aquilla Smith, who paid one shilling for it.

When I was a commoner at New College, Oxford, more years ago than I care to remember, I used to read the brasses in the Antechapel, and amongst them is the figure of an old man in a doctor's gown with hands erect. His coat of arms is incised at the top of the brass, and below is engraved his epitaph:

Gualterus tumulo dormit Bailæus in isto,  
 Cui Doricastrensis patria fundus erat.  
 Wicchamicis didicit juvenis quam sumptibus artem,  
 Grandior hanc lector regius edocuit.  
 Fama virum evexit, Regina accivit ad Aulam  
 Jungeret ut Medicis Elizabetha suis:  
 Haec tria lustra egit longe illustrissimus, amplo  
 Et celebri, quantum dat medicina loco.  
 Charus erat multis, dum vita manebat, et idem  
 Defendus multis vita ubi fugit erat.  
 Obiit 30 Martii anno salutis  
 Humanae MCCCCCLXXXII ætatis suæ 63.  
 Posuit Gulihelmus Bailey filius  
 Amoris et pietatis monumentum.

This gave me a clue to the writer of the treatise, and the University records afforded the further information that he was the second Regius Professor of Physic at Oxford. A little further investigation brought out the following facts in his life history:

Dr. Walter Bayley, son of Henry Bayley, of Warmwell, Dorsetshire, Esquire, was born at Portisham, eight miles south-west of Dorchester, in that county, in the year 1529, and was educated at Winchester College. He passed from Winchester to New College, Oxford, in 1548, and was elected a Fellow in 1550, probably on the understanding that he would devote himself to the study of medicine, although he was called upon to take orders.

He resigned his fellowship of New College in 1560, perhaps on the occasion of his marriage. He was admitted B.A. on 24th October, 1552, and was licensed to proceed M.A. 6th July, 1556. In April, 1558, he was Junior Proctor of the University—Alan Cope, of Magdalen College, who was afterwards a Canon of St. Peter's, at Rome, being the Senior Proctor. Bayley demanded the degree of Bachelor of Physic and supplicated for leave to practise medicine 'ad practicandum in re medicâ per totam Angliam,' 28th January, 1558-1559. Both were granted him on 21st February, 1558-1559. In 1561 he succeeded Thomas Francis, M.D., of Christ Church, who was afterwards Provost of Queen's College and Physician to Queen Elizabeth, as Queen's Professor of Medicine in the University. This post he retained until 1582, when he resigned, and his place was taken by his son-in-law, Anthony Aylworth, M.D., of New College.

Bayley graduated M.D. 26th July, 1563, and we read that in his capacity as Regius Professor of Medicine on 'August 27th, 1566, Dr. Walter Baylie and Henry Bayly,<sup>1</sup> M.D., conferred the degree of Med. Bac. on Edward Astlow<sup>2</sup> in a room of Dr. Henry Bayly's, next to the highway leading

<sup>1</sup> Henry Bayly, Fellow of New College 1534-1552, from Bradford, Wilts. B.A. 16th July, 1538; M.A. 18th April, 1542; Proctor 1547; B.Med. 1547-1548; D.Med. July 20th, 1563. He devised to New College 'Le Blew-Bore' in St. Aldates.

<sup>2</sup> A Fellow of New College 1551-1562, afterwards imprisoned for designing the escape of Mary Queen of Scots; physician to the Duke of Norfolk, and racked twice in the Tower on his account; died 1594. His widow received an annuity from the Earl of Arundel.



to the Quaterfax, in the presence of William Standishe, Thomas Owen, and Thomas Collyns, notary public: and the degree of Med. Doct. on Robert Barnes<sup>1</sup> and Richard Slithurst.<sup>2</sup> Three days later, on 30th August, 1566, in virtue of a decree of 29th August, Walter Bayly created Roger Gifford<sup>3</sup> Medicinæ Doctor, in the presence of William Standishe, George Caponhurst, M.A., William Gilbert, Superior Bedell of Arts. These irregular creations were made with the connivance of the University to avoid the Comitia and its attendant expense. The ordinary University fee for the degree of Doctor of Medicine was £7 16s. 6d., at a time when money was about fifteen times more valuable than it is as present, but the incepting doctor had also to pay 14s. 8d. *pro vino*, and was obliged to provide 'convivia' for the Vice-Chancellor, the Regius Professor of Medicine, the Proctors, the Registrar, and the Bedell of the faculty. He had furthermore to give 'gloves' to the Vice-Chancellor, the Regius Professor, the Proctors, the Registrar, and to all Students of Medicine and Bedells who accompanied him to church at the ceremony of presentation.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Barnes, Fellow of Merton College, 1538; Linacre Lecturer, 1558; died 1604.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Slithurst, Demy of Magdalen College, 1537; Fellow of Brasenose College.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Gifford, of Christchurch, B.A. 1556; Fellow of Merton College 1557; Proctor 1562 and 1563; Fellow of All Souls' College 1563; Junior Linacre Lecturer; Physician to Queen Elizabeth; President of College of Physicians 1581-1584; M.P. for Old Sarum 1585-1586; Precentor of St. David's and Prebend of Llanbedr-pont-Stephen 1592. Died 27th January, 1596-1597; buried in St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

On 5th September, 1566, when Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford, Dr. Walter Bayley, with his relative, Dr. Henry Bayley, and Dr. Huicke<sup>1</sup> opposed these two questions in physick: (1) *Vita potest prorogari arte medica?* (2) *Cibi tardae concoctionis præferendi sunt cibis facilioris concoctionis?* The official record of the visit states: 'This day, being Thursday, were disputations in Physick and Divinity in St. Mary's, the University Church, from two of the clock, or thereabout, untill seaven, before the Queen's Majesty; who gave very attent care unto them, and tarryed till the full end thereof. Dr. Francis<sup>2</sup> was respondent in Physick, and Dr. Masters<sup>3</sup> was Determiner. Dr. Bayle jun.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Huicke, B.A. 1528; Fellow of Merton College, 1530; Doct. Med. from Cambridge 1538; incorporated 1566; Principal of St. Alban Hall; President of College of Physicians 1552-1564; Physician to King Henry VIII and Queen Katherine Parr; Physician Extraordinary to King Edward VI, and Physician to Queen Elizabeth; M.P. for Wootton Bassett 1547-1552. He took part in the Physic Act, kept at Cambridge, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, 7th August, 1564. The Privy Council reported to Mr. Secretary Petre after an examination of the dispute between Dr. Huicke and Elizabeth his wife, on 11th and 12th May, 1546, that 'we never in all our lifies hade matier that more pitied us; so much crueltie and circumvencion appered in the man, so little cause minstred by the woman.' On 2nd November, 1575, he was licensed to marry Mary Woodcokke, spinster, of the City of London.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Francis, of Christ Church, B.A. 1540; M.A. 1544; B. and D. Med. 1553-1554; Provost of Queen's College 1561-1563; Regius Professor of Physic 1554-1561; President College of Physicians 1568; Physician to Queen Elizabeth. Died 1574.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Masters, Fellow of All Souls' College 1533; of Christchurch 1547; incorporated at Cambridge 1571; President College of Physicians 1561; Physician to Queen Elizabeth 1559; Prebendary of Friary Thorpe, in the Cathedral of York, 1563; had a grant of the reversion of the site of the late Monastery of Cirencester

gratias egit Principi, et Acad. nomine et suo, quod Regius Professor in Med. erat, egitque hac ratione. Ars Med. non potest retardare senectutem: Ergo nec mortem. Quod probavit quoniam solidæ partes non poterant humectari.'

Dr. Bayley was collated Prebend of Dulcote in the Church of Wells on 30th August, 1572, and resigned his prebendship in 1579. Thomas Bayley, also from Portisham, Dorset, and a Fellow of New College from 1534 until 1552, was Treasurer of Bath and Wells in 1560, and again in 1564. A search at the Record Office shows that Dr. Walter Bayley was appointed 'medicus ordinarius ad vitam' to Queen Elizabeth on 1st December, 1581 (xxiii Eliz.). In 1578 a lease of Stanlake, in the County of Oxford, was granted him by the Queen for twenty-one years. In the following year he was negotiating leases with the crown, in which Corpus, Lincoln, and Magdalen Colleges at Oxford were also interested. On 28th June, 1590, there is an entry of 'purchase by Dr. Bailie, one of Her Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary, of lands of the yearly value of £27 8s. 0¼d., for which he is to pay £715 9s. 4½d. to Her Majesty.'

Bayley was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London about the year 1581. He was named an Elect 10th June, 1584, and Consiliarius 1588. He died 3rd March, 1592. His posterity, says Anthony à Wood, writing at the end of the next century, 'do live at this day at Ducklington, near to Witney in Oxfordshire, some of

with lands in fifteen counties, dated 6th January, 1564-1565. Died about 1587 (see 'Lancet,' vol. ii, 1889, p. 987).

whom have been justices of the peace for the said county.'

#### WORKS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Dr. Walter Bayley published three books—one in 1586, one in 1587, and one in 1588. There remains a fourth in manuscript, which is said to have been in the library of Robert, Earl of Aylesbury. It is entitled 'Explicatio Galeni de potu convalescentium et senum, et præcipue de nostræ Alæ et Birixæ paratione.' I have not been able to find the manuscript.

The three printed books are 'A Briefe Treatise on the Eyesight,' 1586; 'A Brief Discourse on the Baths at Newnham Regis,' 1587; and 'A Short Discourse on the Three Kinds of Pepper,' 1588—the year of the great Armada.

Each book was printed privately, and was issued without any name. They were given away by Dr. Bayley to his friends as New Year's greetings. Each copy, therefore, was tastefully bound, and the offering was made personal by a short autograph inscription at the beginning of the introduction and by the donor's signature at the end of the preface. The private issues of 1586 and 1587 do not seem to have been very numerous, and Dr. Bayley was able to alter his form of address according to the rank of the recipient. But in 1588, as his circle of friends had grown larger and more varied, he made the printer leave spaces in his preface to the discourse on the three kinds of pepper, and these spaces he afterwards filled in with his pen in an appropriate manner. For he seems to have been

very methodical, and the courtesy of the time demanded great precision in adapting the presentation formula to the rank of the recipient. The presentations were written thus

To the right honorable  
my very good friend m<sup>r</sup>  
John. Poplane for me:  
attorney general

FIG. 1.

in a neat and clear hand immediately above the preface, and the preface itself is signed with his name in full, and always in this manner, except that he sometimes varied the spelling of his surname—a matter of no importance in his time.

Walter Bayly

FIG. 2.

The first book was certainly printed by Robert Waldegrave, for in Arber's 'Transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company' there is the entry—'18 Julii (1586) Robert Wal(de)graue: Receaued of him for printinge a treatise for the Eiesight. Entered in full Court . . . vi<sup>d</sup>.'

Waldegrave first practised his art in the Strand, without Temple Bar, near Somerset House, in

1578. He then removed to Foster Lane, and got into trouble for printing puritanical books. He retired for a time to France, but, being of good family, he finally regained his position, and was appointed printer to King James VI of Scotland, from whom he received a patent.

The books are well printed, and the printer's ornaments are sharp and clear. It appears to me that each of the books was reprinted immediately after publication. All the presentation copies that I have seen bear the printer's signature A2 at the bottom of the first page of the preface, and there is no signature on the last page of the preface. The re-issue, which has no autograph inscription, has the printer's signature A iii on the first page of the preface and A iiii on the last page. There is also an ornament on the last page of the preface which is wanting in the original issue, because Dr. Bayley required the space for his autograph. It is evident, therefore, that Bayley was a lover of books who bestowed thought on the format of his little gifts.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### A.—*Treatise on the Eyesight.*

'The Briefe Treatise on the Eiesight' had an extraordinary vogue, and I have seen copies of the following issues:

(1) 'A Briefe Treatise touching the Preservation of the Eiesight, consisting partly in Good Order of Diet, and partly in Use of Medicines,' 1586 [two ornaments].

16°, pp. 6 + 23, p. ii, beg. ‘pheasant, Rasis.’ Contents: p. i title, 3-5 preface [a device and an ornamental letter on page 3], 1-23 the Treatise; ornamental letters on pages 1, 17, and 20.

(2) ‘A Briefe Treatise touching the Preservation

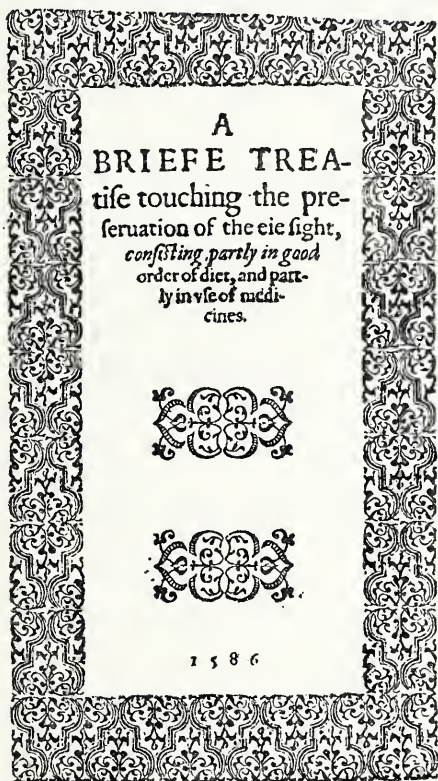


FIG. 3.

of the Eiesight, etc.,’ sixth edition. At Oxford, by Joseph Barnes, printer to the University, 1602.

This is identical with the edition of 1586, of which there are copies in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries, except for some slight variations in spelling. It is very poorly printed, and although it is called the sixth edition, I have found no copies of a third, fourth, or fifth issue. Impr. 24: 1602

(eights) 16°, pp. [6] + 25 + [1]: p. ii, beg. 'rected by the.' Pica Roman. Contents: p. (i) title: (3-5) a preface: 1-17, 19-25 the treatise.

(3) 'Two Treatises concerning the Preservation of Eiesight, the first written by Dr. Bailey, sometimes of Oxford; the other collected out of those two famous physicians Fernelius and Riolanus, Oxford. Printed by Joseph Barnes for John Barnes, 1616.'

There are copies of this edition in the British Museum, in the Bodleian, in the Royal College of Surgeons, in the Royal College of Physicians, and in the library of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. Impr. 34; 1616: eights. 12°: pp. [8] + 64: p. ii begins 'yeeld into': pica roman. Contents: p. (3) title: (5-7) 'To the Reader,' a preface by I[ohn] B[arnes] 1-24 'A breefe Treatise concerning the preseruacion of the eye sight': 25-62 'A Treatise of the principall diseases of the eyes gathered out of Fernelius and Iohn Riolanus Doctors of Phisicks.'

'Johannes Fernelius and Johannes Riolanus the elder, both French physicians,' says Mr. Falconer Madan in 'Early Oxford Press,' p. 105, commenting on this edition, 'died in 1558 and 1609 respectively, but neither wrote a special treatise on eyesight. The preface is no doubt by John Barnes, and alludes to the worth and undeserved obscurity of Bailey's work. The whole book, with the possible exception of the title page, was printed in London, the woodcuts being quite unknown at Oxford. Even the arms of the University on the title page are recut on wood.' The preface to the reader says:



It is not unknown to the world with what general applause a certain treatise concerning the preservation of the Eyesight written by Doctor Baylie, sometimes of Oxford hach (*sic*) beene accepted, which by the happy experience of many in the doubtfull cures of that kind stands thoroughly confirmed. Being, therefore, unwilling that a gemme of such worth should lie any longer hidden under the soile of oblivion and withall desirous to give more lustre unto it as well for the ornament of itselfe as for the good of the merchant: I have now at length resolved to set it forth in the world to the publique view and censure of the time, newly and artificially polished with most notable collections out of those very renowned doctors Fernelius and Riolanus written on the same subject. Peruse the book and make use of it. If thou findest benefit by it, thanke God first that hath made his goodness manifest to the world by his singular gifts bestowed on those most excellent men: next to the Authors themselves for their great paines and studie taken for thy profit: and lastly to mee, for my good will and costes in the publishing of it. Farewell.—I. B.

(4) 'A Treatise of One Hundred and Thirteene Diseases of the Eyes and Eye-liddes. The second time published, with some profitable additions of certaine Principles and experiments, by Richard Banister, M<sup>r</sup> in Chirurgery, Oculist and Practitioner in Phisicke. "God hath created medicines of the earth and he that is wise will not contemne them." [Device, a crowned Tudor rose.] Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Talbot, 1622.' 16mo. Contents: p. (1) title; 3-7 The Epistle Dedicatory; 8-19 'To the Reader'; 20-21 Commendatory ode in Latin: (22): 23-111 Banister's 'Breviary of the Eyes': (112): 113 title,

‘A Worthy Treatise of the Eyes [by Jacques Guillemeau, 1550-1612, translated by Richard Banister?] containing the knowledge and cure of one hundred and thirteene diseases incident unto them. The summe of the chapters of euey section of this booke follow in the next page.

‘Imprinted at London by Felix Kyngston for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Talbot, 1622.’ 16mo.

115-130, the Sum of the Chapters: 131, ‘The generall heads’: (132): 133-134, Preface: 135-367, the treatise: 368-397, ‘A Briefe Treatise concerning the preservation of the Eye sight’: (398): (399): 399-400, Preface to the Courteous and Carefull Chirurgicalian’: 401-442, ‘A discourse of the Scorby, translated out of Wyer’s Observations’: 443-477, ‘On the Nature of divers kinds of Cancers or Cankers’: (478).

(5) A reprint of John Barnes’ edition, dated ‘London, 1626, printed by John Beale for Francis Williams, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Globe in Cornhill, over against the Royal Exchange.’ This edition, with a separate half-title, is bound up with William Vaughan’s ‘Directions for Health,’ London, 1626. The copy in the British Museum contains the following note in manuscript, but the Mr. Bayly,<sup>1</sup> to whom reference is made, is clearly not Dr. Walter Bayley: ‘A postscript of a letter of Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Sir Michael Hicks, Secretary to the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Probably Ralph Bayly, of Dorset, who matriculated at New College, 24th November, 1581; B.A. 12th April, 1594; Fellow; M.A. 20th March, 1597-1598; licensed to practise medicine 11th July, 1617; B. and D. Med. 16th July, 1617.

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, dated 1st May, 1612. "At Bathe you shall finde a physitian called Mr. Bayly, a man in great practice there and in myne opinion both very learned, discreete and honest. I pray you take notice of him from me as thus recommended unto you, and, as there may be cause, so that for my sake (he being one that I well affect) you will afford him your favour." This I have seen in the original in the honorable Mr. West, of Alscot, his MS. collection called "Scrinia Burleighiana," vol. 92, No. 94, C. Y. Greene.'

(6) A reprint of John Barnes' edition was issued in 4to and dated London, 1633. It is printed by Thomas Harper for John Harrison, and 'are to be sold at his shop in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Unicorn.' It has a half-title, and is bound up with Vaughan's 'Directions for Health.' I have seen the copies in the Bodleian and in the British Museum.

(7) 'A Briefe Treatise touching the preservation of the Eyesight, &c.,' by Walter Baley (*sic*), sometimes Fellow of New Colledge in Oxford, Doctor of Physic, Regius Professor in that faculty and Physitian to Queen Elizabeth. Oxford: 1654. Printed by H. Hall, printer to the University, for R. Davis. The preface is addressed 'To my very good Cosen Mr. John Bayley of New Colledge,' and is subscribed 'your Uncle Walter Baley.' John Bayly, of Dorset, fil. pleb. matriculated at New Coll. 20 March 1578-9, aged 19; B.A. 1582, M.A. 1586; licensed to practice medicine 1596. His will was proved at Oxford, 9th July, 1602.

This edition is printed, I think, from one of the original 1586 presentation copies, as the preface is a copy of the original preface, which had not been reprinted since 1602 in the previous editions. There is a copy in the British Museum.

(8) A re-issue of this edition by the same printer, dated Oxford, 1673. There is a copy in the British Museum.

B.—*Discourse of Baths.*

‘ A Briefe Discours of certain Bathes of medicinall waters in the Countie of Warwicke neer unto a village called Newnam Regis, 1587.’

There were two issues of this work, which are distinguished from each other in the same manner as the two issues of ‘the treatise of the eiesight.’ I have not been able to ascertain the name of the printer, but it seems probable that they were printed by Waldegrave, though there is no entry of it in the records of the Stationers’ Company under the year 1587. In some of the presentation copies Walter Bayly’s signature is printed at the foot of the preface, in others it is in autograph.

I have found no trace of any subsequent editions of the treatise on the baths of Newnham Regis.

I visited Newnham Regis or King’s Newnham, as it is now called, last Whitsuntide. It is a small hamlet with a population of about 160 people, near Church Lawford, which is situated on the high road between Rugby and Coventry, and about three miles from Rugby. A few inquiries led to the information that the bath still existed at ‘Rainbow’s

cottage,' on the banks of a small stream nearly a mile away from the hamlet. The cottage is old-brick, with a tiled roof. The bath forms an annexe with an entrance from the cottage as well as from the outside. The main bath measures about fifteen feet by six, and is five or six feet deep. It is entered from one end by a broad flight of steps, and over it is a beam to which a rope has been fixed for the assistance of cripples taking the water. In another room is a smaller bath, which has had a hot water supply. Both the baths are now empty, and are falling into decay.

All round the cottage are the remains of lime-kilns, which are in ruins. The spring is situated a few hundred yards away, and discharges straight into the small river flowing past the cottage. It still yields a perennial supply of water, which is clear, hard, and tasteless, as in the time of Dr. Walter Bayley.

c.—*Discourse on Pepper.*

'A Short Discourse of the Three Kindes of Peppers in common use and certain Medicines made of the same, tending to the preservation of health,' 1588.

In this book the preface has spaces left blank for the appropriate form of address. The copy in the British Museum is presented to 'Ye right honourable my very good Ladye ye Comtesse of Harforde,' and the preface is signed "Your honour's alway to commande Walter Bailey.' The copy in the Bodleian Library is presented 'To the right

worshipful Sir Johne Horseley Knight.' This copy has bound with it a panegyric advertisement of Mr. Hugh Morgan, Her Majesty's Apothecary, addressed to Dr. Bailey 'by your assured loving friend B. G.,' and dated, Alvingham, 14th August, 1587.

Arber refers to this book in his 'Transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company under the year 1588,' and says it is uncertain whether it was printed in London or at Oxford. I do not think it is issued from the same press as the two preceding pamphlets. It was not reprinted so far as I have been able to ascertain.

#### THE FRIENDS OF DR. WALTER BAYLEY.

The Countess of Harforde, to whom Dr. Bayley gave a copy of the discourse on 'Peppers,' which she does not seem to have opened, because it is in the British Museum Library as clean and fresh as when she received it, was the second wife of Sir Edward Seymour, Baron Beauchamp, and Earl of Hertford. She was the sister of Charles, first Earl of Nottingham, and daughter of William Howard, first Baron Howard of Effingham. She died at the age of forty-four, in 1598, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, her step-son, matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1576, and about the year 1585 married a daughter of Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanston, in Dorset. Dr. Bayley may thus have become acquainted with Lady Hertford through her step-son either at Oxford or in Dorsetshire.

The copy of his discourse on the Newnham baths, which he gave to Lady Dacre, is also in the British Museum. It has been well read, and is annotated here and there. Lady Dacre was Ann, sister of Thomas, first Earl of Dorset, and daughter of Sir Richard Sackville. She was married to Gregory, Lord Dacre, who, Camden tells us, was said to be 'crack-brained.' He died in 1594, and was buried at Chelsea. Dr. Bayley may have attended him professionally.

Sir John Horsley, Knight, was knighted between 18th and 25th September, 1547. He was one of the Knights bannerets and Batchelor knights, made in the camp beside Roxburgh, in Scotland, in the first year of Edward VI's reign, by the hand of the high and mighty Prince Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lieut.-General of all the King's armies by land and sea, and governor of his royal person and Protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects. I can discover nothing about him, but Dr. Bayley gave him a copy of the short discourse on 'Pepper,' presenting it to the Right Worshipful Sir Johne Horseley, Knight, and subscribing himself throughout in more familiar terms than is usual with him.

Sir John Popham was the second son of Edward or Alexander Popham of Huntworth, Somerset. He was a member of Balliol College, Oxford; autumn reader at the Middle Temple 1568; treasurer 1580; serjeant-at-law 1579; Recorder of Bristol; M.P. for Lyme Regis 1558, and for Bristol 1571 and again from 1572 to 1583; Speaker of the House of Commons 1577-1585; Solicitor-General

1579-1581; Attorney-General 1581-1592; Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Knighted 1592; died June 10th, 1607; buried in Wellington Church, Somerset. Dr. Bayley gave him a copy of his treatise on the eyesight, and inscribed it 'To the right worshipfull my very good frynde Mr. John Pophame Her ma: attorney general,' signing himself 'Your very lovinge frynde Walter Bayley' (figs. 1 and 2).

The copy of the tract on the baths of Newnham Regis in the Bodleian Library has the dedication obliterated, but the signature remains 'Your lovyng frynde Walter Bailey.' It is possible that this copy also was given to the Attorney-General as the inscription is about the same length.

I have accidentally come across two references to Sir Alex. Popham whilst reading some speeches of King James I (Works, Lond. 1616, p. 567). The King says in a speech in the Starre Chamber on 20th June, 1616:

Looke to your houses of Correction, and remember that in the Chiefe Justice Popham's time, there was not a wandering beggar to bee found in all Somersetshire, being his native countrey.

He also says:

Another thing to be cared for is the new buildings here about the City of London; concerning which my Proclamations have gone foorth, and by the chiefe Justice here, and his Predecessor Popham, it hath bene resolved to be a general nuisans to the whole Kingdome; And this is that, which is like the Spleene in the body, which in measure as it overgrows, the body wastes. For is it possible



but the Countrey must diminish, if London doe so increase and all sorts of people doe come to London? And where doeth this increase appeare? not in the hearte of the Citie but in the suburbes; not giving wealth or profit to the city, but bringing miserie and surcharge both to Citie and Court; causing dearth and scarcitie through the great provision of victuals and fewel, that must be for such a multitude of people; And these buildings serve likewise to harbour the worst sort of people, as Alehouses and Cottages doe. I remember, that before Christmas was Twelve-moneth I made a proclamation for this cause, That all gentlemen of qualitie should depart to their own countreys and houses, to maintaine Hospitalitie amongst their neighbours, which was equivocally taken by some, as that it was meant onely for that Christmas. But my will and meaning was, and here I declare that my meaning was, that it should alwayes continue.

I think that this account of Dr. Walter Bayley and his works shows him to have been a type of what our best physicians were at the most brilliant period of English literary history. A Wykehamist and a West Countryman, he came of a large and influential family whose members for several generations maintained a close connection with the University of Oxford. It is remarkable as showing how closely he maintained his West Country connection to the end of his life that all the presentation copies of his works which I have seen were given to those who were connected with the counties of Dorset and Wiltshire, yet his descendants became an Oxfordshire family. A Fellow of New College, Oxford, in virtue of his education at Winchester, he falsified the gibe that 'the scholars of New College are golden, the bachelors silvern, and the

Masters leaden.' The Patent Rolls and the University records show Dr. Walter Bayley to have been essentially a man of affairs. He amassed and dealt shrewdly with large sums of money; with his relative Dr. Henry Bailey he was chosen by the University to represent its medical faculty when the Queen visited Oxford, and his treatise on the baths at Newnham prove him to have been possessed by the spirit of the age, so that if he had lived at a later time he would have been a pharmacologist and a scientific physician with a strong leaning towards the chemical side of medicine. I am indebted to the Rev. W. D. Macray, F.S.A., the present rector of Ducklington, for the reference which enabled me to find Dr. Bayley's will. It contains many interesting facts about him, and, amongst others, records that Dr. Bayley lived in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, and that his wife Ann was an invalid, suffering probably from some mental disability. He had two sons and four daughters.

The will begins :

In the name of God Amen in the fourth day of January in the year of our Lord God according to the English Church one thousand five hundred and ninety I Walther Baily Doctor of Physick, Physician in ordinary to our Sovereign lady Elizabeth do bequeath my soul to almighty God and my body to be honestly buried without any great pomp in christian burial at or in the Church of St. Mary College in Oxford commonly called New Colleege if I happen not to die far from thenc which I do leave to the discretion of my executor. And my will is that ther be a stone of marble laid upon my grave my name and the time of my death engraved upon it.

After the personal bequests to his children and friends the will proceeds:

Item I giue to the Wardin and Schollers of St Marie Colledge in Oxforde called New Colledge one greate standinge cup with a cover gilte with a leather case to and for the same wch greate standinge cupp is in my plate cheste at Mr Humphrie Wem's house by the greate conduite in fleete streete and the case is in my gallerie in my house in Sarisburie Courte Item I bequeathe to the saide Wardine and scollars the somm of six pounce thirteene shillings fower pence in moneie if I be buried theare to amende their commons To be paide vppon the daie of my buriall Item I giue to the saide Wardine and schollars one of my Galenes Workes in greek of Basils printe bounde in three volumes Item Matthiolus commentaries vppon Dioscorides of the best edicon wch I haue Item my Fuchius herball in folio Item all my bookes of Gesnerus de quadrupedibus de Avibus de aquatilibus de oviparis et reptilibus wch are bound in three bookes or volumes Item definitiones medicæ Gorræi Item Theatrum Galeni in folio Item Brasavolus in aphorismos Hippocratis Item in libros hyppoc. de ratione victus in morbis acutis Soe that the saide Wardine and schollars doe cause all and everie the saide bookes to be placed in the librarie of the saide colledge amongste other phisicke bookes theare And my name to be sett vppon the forrells and coveringes vnder horne as some other bookes in the said librarie are placed and ordred within one yeere after my deathe Item I giue to my sonn in lawe Doctor Ailworthe twentie of my phisicke and philosophie bookes not bequeathed to be chosenn by himselfe And my skeliton of bones in Oxford and a ringe of golde with deathes head and my name to it as is aforesaide of the value of fortie shillings.

The books still remain in the New College Library, and I saw them there in the June of this

present year, but Professor Osler, F.R.S., the present Regius Professor of Physic at Oxford, tells me that the 'greate standinge cup with a cover gilte and with a leather case' has long since gone to the melting pot, probably to supply the necessities of King Charles I, and that there is now no record of the 'six pounds thirteen and fourpence in money,' which was to amend the commons of the Warden and scholars.

D'ARCY POWER.

## RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

**T**HOSE who aim at redressing the wrongs and sympathizing with the sorrows of humanity are more often than not as hard and intolerant as either the conservative or the indifferent spirits whom they censure. It must be confessed that since Bourget has so deeply concerned himself with latter-day problems, his art has seriously suffered. Indeed, in 'L'Emigré,' in which he treats from his own point of view the religious, military and moral questions of the day, he seems to have lost his skill as a romancer. The old aristocrat, 'l'émigré à l'intérieur,' whose very position prevents him from taking part in the work of the world, is well drawn and interesting. The other personages are stiff and unconvincing. The story is a mere peg for the views insisted on, and so lacks naturalness. Even the style is laboured and heavy. The charm and ease of the earlier works have vanished.

The problem of Charles Foleij's 'L'Ecrasement' is the conflict between art and money. The treatment of it is somewhat clumsy. The wife and children of Pierre de Barolles, the novelist hero, are sacrificed to his artistic life. He wrote much, but his books did not sell, and the devotion of his family led them to conceal their poverty from him so that no worry should hinder the creative work-

ing of his brain. In youth he relinquished all chances of wealth, greatly to the annoyance of a millionaire uncle, who, by way of revenge, made his nephew his heir. Pierre's wife and children are overjoyed, but the artist feels that amid such luxury and the cares of administering so large a fortune, he will never be able to work again. The more interesting side of the book is that which touches on the relations between the creative artist in literature and the publisher. I quote an interview in which Pierre de Barolles is discussing with Gaumier, his publisher, the publication of his new novel, 'L'Ennemi.' Gaumier asks that certain changes shall be made in the book. Pierre demands:

'Quel changements?'

'D'abord, l'ensemble de votre œuvre n'est pas dans le sentiment moderne.'

'Moderne et sentiment sont termes incompatibles. Dites-moi d'enlever ce qu'il y a de sentimental: je serai moderne.'

'Vous ne concevez donc pas la nuance psychologique à saisir en ce moment?' reprit l'éditeur avec aplomb. 'Insinuez-la dans le caractère de votre bonhomme. Son rôle s'y prête. Et vous aurez écrit le livre d'aujourd'hui!'

'J'aime mieux avoir écrit le livre de demain—ou d'après-demain.'

'Mais, mon cher, ce livre dont vous parlez n'existera plus jamais. Il n'y a plus de possible que le roman d'un jour, comme, dans n'importe quel journal, on ne cherche plus que l'article, la chronique ou la question du jour! Le lendemain, le soir même, ça n'intéresse plus personne: passé, usé, et pis, démodé!'

'Si c'était vrai, ce ne serait pas la peine de figoler chaque phrase, de penser chaque mot, de se recueillir——'

'Soigner votre style! Qui vous en saura gré? Penser!

Qui vous comprendra? Vous recueillir—quand tous improvisent, malheureux! Concevez, une fois pour toutes, que vous n'aurez un public qu'en flattant son caprice quotidien.'

'Mais ces caprices sont innombrables!'

'Optez pour une catégorie de lecteurs et choisissez un sujet adéquat à ses préoccupations et à ses aspirations.'

'Pourquoi pas à ses intérêts?'

'J'allais le dire! N'oubliez pas que vous êtes un simple producteur.'

'Soit! mais un producteur d'idées, c'est-à-dire un producteur indépendant! Ma tâche n'est pas de former mes pensées selon le goût du consommateur, mais au contraire de lui former le goût par mes pensées. Je ne travaille pas sur commande. Je veux être un guide, un chef; je veux avoir de l'influence et agir sur le mouvement intellectuel. J'entends, par mes livres, prendre de l'autorité sur les esprits comme j'en prendrai sur les cœurs par l'exemple de ma vie. Et je ne me plierai pas plus aux exigences des lecteurs qu'un bon médecin ne se soumet aux lubies dangereuses de ses malades! . . . *L'Ennemi* est la suprême expression de mon activité intellectuelle et morale. Ce livre est né de ma vie. Il contient toute mon âme. Vous le prendrez tel que—ou vous ne l'aurez pas.'

'Mais comprenez donc que la vie littéraire n'est plus celle d'il y a vingt ans, ni même celle d'il y a dix ans. Le goût, l'art, le talent, ça ne compte plus! Il n'y a que le *truc!* Tout est *truc!* D'abord on ne croit plus à rien, on n'admire plus rien. L'auteur le plus connu (on ne dit plus célèbre) a perdu tout prestige. Les reportages, les interviews vous le déshabillent et mettent ses tares à nu en vingt-cinq lignes. Les lettres ont évolué comme le reste. La concurrence les a définitivement industrialisées. Elles sont désormais soumises aux mêmes conditions de réclame et de publicité, de commande et de fabrication,—que n'importe quelle autre denrée! Nous avons découvert la recette à succès. On édifie une réputation littéraire,

annonce par annonce, aussi matériellement qu'on construit une maison, pierre à pierre. Il s'agit de tomber sur un bon entrepreneur et de ne pas lésiner sur la dépense. Soumettez-vous à cela.'

'Je ne m'y soumets pas, je m'insurge!' clama Barolles. 'Dans cette éhontée victoire universelle de l'argent, c'est l'art qui serait frappé le premier et frappé mortellement! A mes yeux, l'œuvre signifie non seulement un esprit, mais un caractère! Le littérateur doit garder un inspiration libre; il doit viser à reprendre la direction de l'esprit public. Il ne doit pas suivre, mais précéder; il ne doit pas recevoir, mais imposer sa pensée! Et, pour ma part, je ne veux pas d'un succès qui me tuerait la gloire!'

'Mon cher, si vous comprenez le métier ainsi, vous êtes fichu!'

'Je n'ai pas de métier, mon cher, j'ai un art, et mieux, un idéal.'

Edouard Rod's 'L'Ombre qui s'étend sur la Montagne' is, I consider, one of the best things this author has done. The theme—a woman and two men—is treated in a very original way. Irène Storm marries Antonin Jaffé, a philosopher by profession. They think themselves quite sufficiently in love for such a venture, but nevertheless make this engagement in writing: 'Je m'engage à rendre sa liberté à ma femme (ou à mon mari) et à l'aider de tous mes moyens à la recouvrir légalement si elle (ou s'il) jugeait un jour opportun de la reprendre quels que pussent être d'ailleurs les motifs de sa décision.' Each retains a copy of the document. Jaffé was over forty, and absorbed in his work; Irène was half his age, ardent and passionate. Whatever there had been of romance and passion soon died, and gave place to mutual esteem. They



had been married three years, and their little girl Anne-Marie was eighteen months old when Frantz Lysel, the great violinist, appeared on the scene. He and Irène fall in love; Jaffé is quite aware of it, but no longer himself in love with his wife, considers in his philosophical way that jealousy on his part would be selfishness. Neither thinks to make use of the paper; he lacks the courage of his generosity, she that of her egoism. Passion is, however, kept within bounds, and Irène never becomes Lysel's mistress. The years pass, but when Anne-Marie grows up, she seems to become uneasy, and treats Lysel with coldness and suspicion, though as a child she had shown him much affection. Then Irène determines to break with Lysel, and tells him so one night at Interlaken while they watch the sunset on the Jungfrau,—*'l'ombre s'étend sur la montagne.'* The book is mainly concerned with the efforts of the two to separate, but it is only when Jaffé insists, with every delicacy, that they agree to do so.

Il y avait entre ses deux êtres, pour les unir, le plus puissant de tous les liens, et pour les séparer, le plus puissant de tous les obstacles. Pendant de longues années, ils avaient pu vivre côte à côte, grace à un compromis tacite où se balançaient leurs sacrifices réciproques, dans une paix dont chacun devinait les conditions muettes, et les acceptait. Tout à coup sans autre raison que celle qui veut que déborde à la fin le vase où l'eau tombe goutte à goutte, ou qu'éclate une fois le ruban qu'use un frottement régulier, voici qu'ils se trouvaient en face l'un de l'autre, comme des adversaires, dans la menaçante vérité de leurs sentiments. M. Jaffé avait préparé son plan, choisi son heure, compté peut-être que tout se passerait une fois

encore en demi-mots, qu'il remporterait sans bruit la suprême victoire; et, dès la première résistance, il se sentait poussé hors de sa ligne par une sorte de passion qu'il réprimait mal, oubliant que sa patience avait contribué à créer l'étrange situation qu'il prétendait transformer à son gré. Aussi vite excitée, prête à méconnaître la longue généreuse, paternelle indulgence qui l'avait préservée de la chute et du scandale, Irène se raidissait contre cette attaque comme contre une trahison, tendant sa volonté pour y faire face.

The separation kills Irène. One day they are talking about Wagner and Tristan, and the letters to Mathilde Wesendonck. Jaffé says:

'Je l'ai lu d'un bout à l'autre. Le sentiment ne m'y a pas paru trop inférieur à l'œuvre qu'il a inspirée. C'est un cas plutôt rare: les romans vécus nous semblent presque toujours au-dessous des fictions où ils se sont cristallisés.' Et M. Jaffé cita des exemples—Rousseau et Mme. d'Houdetot, Lamartine et Graziella, George Sand et Alfred de Musset—avec cette méthode impeccable dont il ne s'écartait jamais, quelque sujet qu'il traitât. Ses propos ennuyaient toujours Mme. Storm, qui n'avait jamais su voir en lui que le savant le plus insipide du monde; elle l'interrompit en bâillant:

'Il est beaucoup plus difficile de vivre que d'écrire, mon cher!' Jamais dans ses soixante-quinze ans de frivolité, elle n'avait prononcé une parole aussi profonde.

Madame Storm, Irène's mother, is a worldly old lady, fond of amusement, and yet shrewdly observant and very tolerant of the failings of her fellow-creatures. The theme and its treatment bear a certain similarity to Hegeler's 'Flammen,' and it seems extraordinary that if he could write this, Rod

could execute such a pot-boiler as 'L'Incendie,' which we noticed last April (p. 183).

'Femmes,' by Marcel Prévost, is a collection of short stories, although, as usual, there is nothing to mark that it is so on cover or title-page. One of the tales is excellent. It is called 'La date.' A lawyer is in love with a lady client. She asks him to get her a box for a first night at the play, and intimates that if he invites her, she will go to supper with him afterwards. He is overjoyed and feels hopeful of the success of his suit. The date of the 'première' is not yet fixed, but the manager of the theatre promises to let him know directly it is decided. At length he hears it is to be on 21st December. Meanwhile he is sent for to another client, a dying man who wishes to make his will. He does so, leaving his very considerable fortune to the lady in question. The lawyer, however, dates the document 21st December, his mind being so impressed with the date of his coming happiness. It is really 19th December, and as the testator died on the 20th, the will is rendered null and void. The lady naturally finds this neglect of business habits so serious, that she never sees the lawyer again.

In Henry Rabusson's 'Le Grief Secret' we have the old theme of the unfaithful wife, and in Gyp's 'Doudou' we have the same theme treated in a very disagreeable manner. Gyp's wit and vivacity seem here to have entirely deserted her.

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In 'Diesseits,' Hermann Hesse, the author of that

delightful novel, 'Peter Camenzind,'<sup>1</sup> gives us five tales, each dealing with some aspect of youth. The third, entitled 'Heumond,' is perhaps the most attractive. It describes the awakening feelings of a schoolboy of sixteen when first thrown into the society of a charming young lady, an accomplished flirt, of twenty-two. The little episode is treated with the greatest delicacy and refinement, and the various sentiments of the boy's father, of the maiden aunt who has brought him up, and of a girl who stands where girlhood and womanhood meet are very cleverly and convincingly indicated. The last tale, 'A Walking Tour in Autumn,' although a rustic idyll, contains all the elements of a tragedy. A young man falls in love with a village girl and goes away to make his fortune. A year after he writes to say that as he has still no prospects she must not wait for him. She replies that he will find her there whenever he returns, be it soon or late. Six months passed, and she wrote again, asking for her freedom as she wished to marry a well-to-do cloth merchant. In anger he sent her a brief telegram of assent.

'Things happen so oddly in life. Whether it was chance or the irony of fate or the courage of despair—scarcely had his hopes of happy love vanished than there came success, and gain and money as if by magic, the never-hoped-for was realized when it was valueless.'

After years have passed, he revisits the village and sees her again. Left a few moments alone with her, the following colloquy takes place.

'Julie,' I said.

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<sup>1</sup> See 'The Library,' Jan. 1905.

‘What is it?’

‘You haven’t once given me your hand.’

‘I thought it better——’

‘As you like. I’m glad to find that things are well with you. They are well, aren’t they?’

‘Oh yes, we may be content.’

‘And the past—tell me, Julie, don’t you ever think of the past?’

‘What do you want of me! Let the old stories alone. Things happened as they had to happen, and as it was best for all of us, I think. At that time you were not suited to Ilgenberg, with all your ideas, and it would not have done——’

‘Certainly, Julie. I won’t wish that anything that has happened should not have happened. I only wanted to hear a word, a remembrance of that past time. Of course I don’t mean that you should think of me, but of all the rest that was then so beautiful and dear. Any way it was our youth, and I hoped to find it once again in your eyes.’

‘Please talk of something else. It may be different with you, but for me too much lies in between.’

‘Die Wiskottens,’ by Rudolf Herzog, is more ambitious than any of his former novels. The story, which centres round a great weaving factory at Barmen, lacks life and movement. The business side of the story is more interesting than the romantic side, and throws much light on modern methods of conducting commercial enterprises. But the book as a whole has not the charm of, to my mind, his best effort, ‘Die vom Unterrhein.’

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Professor Berger, who lectures on English literature in the Lycée of Bordeaux, has produced in ‘William Blake, Mysticisme et Poésie,’ a very

complete and interesting study. His aim is to deal only with the visionary and the poet, concerning himself with the artist so far as it is necessary to explain the man. Blake is here studied as a strange psychological and poetical phenomenon, and an attempt is made to show the influence of the visionary on the poet.

In a sense Blake stands alone among our poets. Influenced, perhaps, in a greater or less degree by the popular ballads, by Milton and by Ossian, it is very difficult to state exactly what he owed to them, and it is equally difficult to find successors and imitators who followed him. As Berger, in discussing his originality, puts it :

Si ses théories et ses conceptions ne sont pas toute originales, l'expression qu'il leur a donnée le place dans une sphère où il règne seul. Personne n'a écrit une bible symbolique semblable à la sienne. Il n'a pris nulle part l'univers jailli de son cerveau. Son monde psychologique est bien à lui, sa cosmogonie et ses épopées n'ont vécu que dans son imagination. Si même on refuse au mystique et au doctrinaire toute pensée originale—et il est très difficile de le faire—on ne peut se tourner vers le poète sans être frappé par les caractères de personnalité intense et d'originalité extraordinaire que le mystique lui a donnés, et qui mettent son œuvre à part, nettement distincte de toutes les autres.

Berger concludes thus:

Le charme attirant de son œuvre demeure. Nous aussi, nous avons en nous un peu de cette âme universelle, qui frémit à mesure que nous prenons conscience du contact de la sienne. Si nous consentons à le suivre dans les ténèbres, nous ne tardons pas à voir les éclairs auxquels personne ne peut se méprendre. Et il peut nous conduire aussi dans des régions de lumière pure où les enfants

même le regardent avec joie; il nous y fait errer sans crainte de nous égarer, malgré de légères brumes ou des nuages passagers. Si les visions mystiques nous attirent, si pour nous l'énigme de l'Invisible vaut encore la peine d'être examinée, nous ne manquerons pas d'être entraînés avec lui dans les régions mystérieuses où il se mouvait si aisément et de revenir sur la terre avec un peu de la science nouvelle, avec quelques-unes de ces fleurs de la vie éternelle qu'il allait cueillir au delà des portes d'or de la mort.

If we are of little faith, we can still look at the Apocalyptic visions that Blake evokes and listen to the harmonies of his songs.

Est-il donc si nécessaire, pour admirer, de toujours comprendre et de croire? N'avons-nous jamais été ravis par quelque musique inconnue, montant ou descendant dans l'air. . . . Chacun de nous l'a interprétée en y mettant un peu de son âme, mais chacun de nous a senti profondément en lui le frémissement de grandes forces cachées, indéfinissables invincibles quoique inconscientes. Et ceci est peut-être la meilleure comparaison qu'on puisse donner de l'impression générale qui reste après qu'on a parcouru toute la masse de la poésie de Blake: quelque-chose que l'on ne peut analyser ni regarder de trop près, mais qu'il faut goûter comme une musique, entendre dans une rêverie, se rappeler comme les derniers échos de l'orgue sous les voûtes hautes, sonores et sombres d'une cathédrale.

Under the title of 'Bibliothèque Larousse,' the great publishing house of Larousse at Paris is issuing a series of useful little books at the average price of eightpence each. The one before me is a capital biography of Schiller by Charles Simond filling eighty octavo pages. The divisions include

‘La Vie de Schiller—L’homme. L’œuvre. Schiller et son temps.’ The little volume ends with an excellent synchronized chronological table and a sufficient bibliography. Within the limits allowed it is exceedingly well done and might profitably furnish a model for such books. Other biographies in the press are Goethe, Ibsen, Rembrandt, and Millet.

The speeches made at the Academy, and articles on the achievements of contemporary men of letters by Comte d’Haussonville have been collected and published in a volume entitled ‘A l’Académie Française et autour de l’Académie.’ Perhaps the most attractive part of the book is the *avant-propos*, a kind of composition in which the French are easily first. Haussonville writes:

Je ne me dissimule pas le peu d’intérêt que présente une compilation de ce genre. Naguère je relisais, pour la dixième ou douzième fois, je crois, un roman qui a ravi ma jeunesse, charmé mon âge mûr et qui, à l’entrée de la vieillesse, réveille encore en moi l’écho de mes impressions d’autrefois. C’est ‘Dominique’ que je veux dire.

Fromentin’s hero, speaking of his own works, said of himself that he should always remain ‘un homme distingué et médiocre,’ and so decided to lay down his pen and to do nothing to preserve his scattered essays. Haussonville, while sympathizing with and admiring Dominique, or rather thinking, ‘exactement ce que pensait Dominique,’ excuses the publication of his book thus:

C’est que l’homme est inconséquent et fait souvent le contraire de ce qu’il approuve. C’est qu’il nourrit, s’il est



doublé d'un écrivain une si involontaire complaisance pour tous les enfants de sa pensée qu'il resiste difficilement à la tentation de leur ouvrir quelque chance de survie.

'Francisque Bouillier. Le dernier des Cartésiens, avec des lettres inédites de Victor Cousin,' by C. Latreille, is an interesting account of a distinguished disciple of Victor Cousin. Bouillier, with Roger Collard and Cousin, is responsible for the resurrection of 'Cartésianisme' in the nineteenth century. In all his books Bouillier pleaded the cause of truth and of duty, and his life was in harmony with his teaching. He has left a delightful fragment of autobiography in his 'Souvenirs d'un vieil universitaire.' The letters from Victor Cousin, now published for the first time, extend from 1838 to 1866.

'Shakespeare: der Dichter und sein Werk,' by Dr. Max J. Wolff, is designed to be a companion volume to Bielschowsky's 'Goethe' and Berger's 'Schiller,' issued by the same publisher. In view, however, of the copious biographical material available in the case of the two former writers and our meagre knowledge of the career of Shakespeare, the author has been obliged to treat his subject from a somewhat different point of view. To the known facts of Shakespeare's life Dr. Wolff has nothing to add, but he has inwoven with the biographical portion of his book a careful survey of Shakespeare's times, especially in his chapters on 'London' and on 'The Drama and the Stage.' The rest of the volume is devoted to a study of the dramatist's earlier work, including the plays and poems produced before 1600. The second volume,

to complete the work, is expected to appear later in this year. Dr. Wolff has already proved his interest in and knowledge of his subject by his volume of *Shakespearean Studies and Essays* and his translation of the *Sonnets*, published four years ago.

The following books deserve attention:

‘*La fille de Louis XVI Marie Thérèse Charlotte de France duchesse d’Angoulême. Par G. Lenôtre.*’

A volume of the series ‘*Mémoires et souvenirs sur la révolution et l’empire publiés avec des documents inédits.*’

‘*Dernières années de L’Ambassade en Allemagne de M. de Gontaut-Biron 1874-1877 d’après ses notes et papiers diplomatiques. Par André Dreux.*’

A sequel to ‘*Mémoires de Gontaut-Biron,*’ published in 1906. The author unhappily did not live to finish the memoirs, and the present volume is an attempt to continue the work in the form in which he began it.

‘*Lendemain révolutionnaires. Les régicides. Par Eugène Welvert.*’

The epilogue of the drama of the revolution, an attempt to trace the after career of some of the less-known participators, to discover ‘*quel fut sur leur destinée le contre-coup de leur verdict? Quelle opinion leurs contemporains eurent-ils d’eux? Que pensèrent-ils eux-mêmes de leurs œuvres? Devant le despotisme impérial, devant la persécution royaliste, quelle fut leur attitude? Où sont les martyrs, où sont les apostats?*’ The usefulness of the book is marred by the lack of an index.

‘*Lettres de C<sup>te</sup> Valentin Esterhazy à sa femme 1784-1792.*’ With introduction and notes by Ernest Daudet.

A very interesting volume. Esterhazy was twenty-five years older than his wife but passionately in love with her. As it was

his custom to tell her everything, and as he was frequently separated from her, his letters form a most interesting chronicle of the life of the time. A second volume, covering the period 1792-1804 is to be issued later.

‘La république Consulaire 1800. Par Albert Vandal.’

The second volume of ‘L’Avènement de Bonaparte.’ The first volume dealt with the genesis of the consulate, Brumaire, and the constitution of the year VIII.

In the ‘Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine’ there have been issued:

‘Helvétius sa vie et son œuvre d’après ses ouvrages des écrits divers et des documents inédits. Par Albert Keim.’

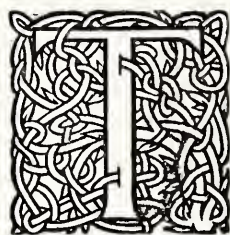
Although Helvetius is described as ‘psychologue, moraliste, poète epicurien, idéologue, économiste,’ Keim regards him chiefly as a political philosopher, a disciple of Hobbes and Locke. The task the author has set himself is to reconstitute the life of a philosopher ‘mal connu et méconnu’ by means of a psychological biography.

‘L’Ecole individualiste. Le socialisme d’état. Par A. Béchaux.’

The three books deal respectively with ‘L’évolution de l’économie politique, l’école individualiste le socialisme d’état.’ The same author’s ‘L’Ecole économique Française’ has been translated into German and Spanish.

ELIZABETH LEE.

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS CONCERNING MEMBERS OF THE BOOK TRADE.



THE following six documents preserved amongst the early Chancery proceedings in the Record Office are of considerable interest as affording some new information about the early English book-trade.

No. I (Bundle 64, No. 558) is a bill of complaint of John Neve, mercer, against John Salford, mercer, on account of a debt owing by William Caxton. Salford has goods and money belonging to Caxton, but will not pay the debt. Caxton was at the time in Flanders, and this document must be dated between 1475 and 1480. The endorsement upon it runs: 'Die Sabb. videlicet xxviii die Januarii,' so that we may ascribe it to 1475. Beyond the mere mention of Caxton the document gives no information of importance.

No. II (Bundle 66, No. 6) is an action of trespass brought against R. Cokker by Elizabeth Northe, Dutchwoman, for delivering sixty-five books called the 'New Statutes' to John Chamberlayn and others. This is dated 1483-1485, and the book referred to is no doubt the 'Nova Statuta' printed by William de Machlinia. As none of Machlinia's books are dated, any new information

bearing on this subject is of value. In this case it serves to confirm the date usually ascribed to the book. If the complaint of Robert Cokker was at all true it appears that justice was administered in a very strange manner.

No. III (Bundle 128, No. 79) is the petition of Gerard Crop, Caxton's son-in-law, relating to an action of trespass and surety of peace brought by Sir Richard Warde, priest, Caxton's executor, who refuses to pay a legacy of £80 recovered by Crop in the Archdeacon's Court. This document, which may be dated 1491-1493, is valuable as giving the name of Caxton's executor, Richard Warde. An inscription given in Nichols' 'Illustrations of the manners and expenses of ancient times in England,' dated 1506, speaks of a gift of four books by 'the executors of Caxton,' showing that there was more than one executor, and as two of the books thus given were printed by W. de Worde, it seems probable that he was another. Gerard Crop, who had married Caxton's daughter Elizabeth, seems to have been a person of a quarrelsome disposition, and we learn from a paper in the Public Record Office amongst the miscellaneous papers of the Exchequer, that he was separated from his wife in 1496. Their quarrel seems also to have been caused by a legacy of Caxton. The two parties were each bound in £100 not to interfere with each other unless they mutually agreed to make up their differences. In consideration of this separation, Crop was to receive twenty Legends, valued at 13s. 4d. each. Caxton must have had a large supply of these Legends at the time of his death, for besides those

referred to in this case a number of copies were bequeathed to St. Margaret's church at Westminster. The work referred to may possibly have been the 'Legenda ad usum Sarum,' rather than the better-known 'Golden Legend.'

These various references to Caxton's will make it the more unfortunate that all trace of that valuable document has disappeared. It was hoped at one time that it might be astray in the large mass of documents preserved in the muniment room of Westminster Abbey, but an exhaustive search has failed to find it. Perhaps, having figured several times in the law courts, it may have been carried elsewhere and may still be in existence.

No. IV (Bundle 207, No. 92) relates to an action brought by Gerard de Here, a London bookseller, and his wife Elizabeth, against William Wilcocks, of London, draper, for detaining printed books and manuscripts, some of which he had sold. Gerard de Here is a hitherto unknown stationer, unless he is known under his proper surname. There can be little doubt that the William Wilcocks is identical with the William Wilcock who commissioned the two books printed by John Lettou in London in 1480-1, the 'Questiones Antonii Andree super duodecim libros metaphisice,' and the 'Expositiones super Psalterium' of Thomas Wallensis. It seems that bookselling and publishing have from the earliest times up to the present day had some peculiar fascination for drapers and mercers. At first they were skilled craftsmen and worthy patrons, but about a hundred years later they appear to have begun their attempts to compete with the legitim-

ate bookseller, and it is clear from many early entries in the Stationers' Registers that their competition in the sale of books was looked on with great disfavour and discouraged by all possible means.

No. V (Bundle 218, No. 2) refers to an action brought by Joyce Pelgrim of London, bookseller, against Doctor Nans, chancellor to the bishop of Exeter, and John Milles, controller of the customs, for refusing to pay for or return books bought at his shop. In the printed index to the Early Chancery Proceedings the books are said to have been bought at Sturbridge fair, but the document appears to mean rather that they were bought in London from Pelgrim's assistant while he himself was away at the great book fair held at Sturbridge near Cambridge. This was held in September, and the purchase must have been made in 1496, the earliest definite date connected with Pelgrim. The books mentioned were all law-books, works of Gregory, Dominicus de S. Geminiano, Joannes de Imola, and others.

No. VI (Bundle 221, No. 70) is the petition of James Ravynell of London, stationer, about an action for debt brought against him by Joyce, stationer, on a paid bill for books bought from Frederick Egmont. This document is interesting as bringing together three early stationers. All hitherto known of Ravynell is that he printed an edition of Mirk's 'Liber Festivalis' at Rouen in February, 1495-6. The primers which he had bought from Egmont may very probably have belonged to the edition printed for Egmont and his partner Barre-

velt at Venice about 1495, now only known from fragments. Egmont is known as a large dealer in Venice-printed English service-books from 1493 onwards, printed for him by John Hertzog.

There are no means of dating the document exactly, but it lies between the years 1493 and 1500. The books mentioned in the schedule cannot be exactly identified. The Chronicles might be the edition printed by G. Leeu at Antwerp in 1493, or, more probably, W. de Worde's edition of 1497. The French and English vocabularies most likely belonged to one of the two undated editions printed about 1497 by W. de Worde and R. Pynson. The 'Absies' or 'Alphabetum pro pueris' of so early a date seem all to have been destroyed, though Hain (865a) mentions one printed by John Hertzog at Venice in 1494 which may have been intended for the English market.

E. GORDON DUFF.

#### I. JOHN NEVE *v.* JOHN SALFORD.

[*Abstract*] The Bill of complaint of John Neve mercer that William Caxton mercer was indebted to him for goods & in settlement therefor wrote from Flaunders to John Salford in London mercer who had in his keeping certain merchandize & money belonging to William Caxton, to realize the same & pay the debt. But the said John Salford only paid a portion & John Neve cannot recover the remainder.

There is no date to the document beyond the endorsement: 'Die Sabb. vidett xxviiij die Ianuarii.'



II. ELIZABETH NORTHE *v.* ROBERT COKKER.<sup>1</sup>

Humble sheweth vnto your goode lordship youre pore bedeman Robt Cokker of London, seriaunt, that where as oon John Chamberleyn, William Came, Hugh Personne & Rich<sup>d</sup> . . . affermed a playnte of Replegiare affore the maire & shyreffez of London ayenst oon Elizabeth Northe, Dooche woman, of lxx bokes called the Newe Statutez, wherappon according to the custom of the said cite of London hit was awarded by the said Maire and Shyreffes of the said Cite, that the said John William, Hugh & Richard to have [deliverance] of the said lxx bookes, wherapon the said Maire and shyreffes of the said cite accordyng to the said custome *commandyd* youre said besecher to make delyueraunce of the seid lxx bookez, to the seid John, William, Hugh & Richard, by force wherof your seid besecher maid delyueraunce according, And now hit is so that the said Elizabeth North hath affermed a playnt of trespas ayenst youre seid besecher affore the maire and aldermen of ye said cite of London for the deliveraunce of the seid bookes and demaundeth to have youre said besecher condemned in the said trespas, vntrewly supposed, in so [moche] that the seid Elizabeth North is in suche favor with Master Heryeth . . . and hath made hym a yeft of all her goodes to support & mayntene hir ayenst youre seid besecher, for *whiche* cause youre seid besecher is lyke to be condempned ayenst all right & conscience, in so moche that the seid Maister Hereeth is as oon of the most pryncipall jugez affore whom the seid trespas is now hangyng, Wherfore please hit youre lordshyp the premisses tenderly to consider & to [grant unto your besecher] a certiorari to be directed to the seid maire, comaundyng hym by the same to remove the seid pleynt of trespas affore the kyng in the Court of the Chauncerie, ther to be exam-

<sup>1</sup> In printing these transcripts contractions have been expanded in italics, punctuation and capitals added, and missing or illegible words supplied according to the sense within brackets.—EDD.

yned affore youre Lordship as conscience & trewth will require in that behalfe, And this for the losse of god & in the weye of charite.

Endorsed: 'Coram dño R. in Cancell sua in crastino Ascencionsi dñi px futur.'

### III. GERARD CROP *v.* RICHARD WARD, PRIEST, EXECUTOR OF WILLIAM CAXTON.

To the moost reverend fadre in god tharchebisshop of  
Caunterbury Chauncellor of Englund

Full pytuosly complayneth vnto your moost gracious lordship your pouer orator & dayly bedeman Garard Crop, son in lawe late to oon William Cakkeston, late of Westminster, bokeprynter, that where the same William Cakkeston lying in his deth bed byquaythed in his last wyll vnto your said Oratour iii<sup>xx</sup>li in redy money, to hym to be delyuered immedyatly after the deth of the sayd William Cakkeston, And made his executour oon S<sup>r</sup> Richard Warde prest, & deyd, after wos decesse your said pouer Oratour desyred of the said Sir Richard the said iii<sup>xx</sup>li to hym to have been delyverd acordyng to the said laste wyll of his said ffadre in lawe, Wherto the said Sir Richard said then he was redy to do with that that your said Oratour woold bryng a quytaunce & ij sufficient men to record the delyvery of the said money & aquytaunce, Wheruppon your said Oratour caused an aquytaunce to be made & broght wyth hym oon Robert Stowell of Westminster Esquyer & oon William Myltryp of the same toune tayllour, shewyng to the said Sir Richard he had broght his aquytaunce, & the said ij men to record acordyng to his forceyd desyre, Wherto then the said Sir Richard of his disceytfull covetyse & malicious minde . . . [answered?] & said *that* he woold not delyver the said money onlesse he was therto compelled by the spyrytuall lawe & also by the same discharged, Wheruppon your said pouer Oratour to his emportune cost & charge sued in the Archdyacon Court of Westminster

& ther recouerd the said *iiij<sup>xxli</sup>* agens the said Sir Richard, Which seyng the same Sir Richard said then opynly in the same court that he woold not yet delyver the sayd money without *commaundement* of *your grace*, And to thentent that yo<sup>r</sup> said pouer Orator shuld never have hys said duty but vtterly to be dystryed in pryson vpon & by the malicious mynd of the said Sir Richard the same Sir Richard vpon the morowe next ensuyng the said rekevery had so in the said spyrytuall court caused *your* said pouer oratour to be arested in London vpon an accion of trespass & suerty of peace & also caused the kynges *commaundment* in the name of Maister Sir Reynold Bray to be layd then vpon hym Wherto nayther the kynges *grace*, ne the said Maister Bray, were of knowlegge of, And over that the said Sir Richard purchessed then of *your grace* a speciall wryt of supplicance and by the means therof hath kept *your* said pouer Oratour in pryson in the countre of Bredestrete ever sythen midsomer hertherto, ne wyll sovor his own wyfe to cum at hym, ne releve hym, which is agens all lawe & gud conscience & to the vtter moost wrangfull vndoing of *your* said pouer Oratour, onlesse then *your* speciall *gracious* lordship be to hym the rather shewed in that behalf. Wherefore pleas it *your* said moost *gracious* lordshipp the *premysses* *graciously* considred to grant a wryt of corpus qua causa, to be direct vnto the Sheryffs of London, comaundyng them by the same to bryng up afore the kyng in his Chauncery the body of *your* said pouer Oratour, with the cause of his emprisonement, ther at a certeyn day by *your* gud lordshypp to be lymyted, & there then the said Sir Richard to be to enswear to the *premysses*, & there then direccion to be hade thereyn as gud conscience shall requyre, And *your* said pouer oratour shall contynually pray to god for *your* gud *grace* long to endure to his pleasure. Amen.

Not dated, but endorsed: 'Coram Dno R. in Canc sua die Sabbi px futuro.'

## IV. GERARD AND ELIZABETH DE HERE v. WILLIAM WILCOCKS.

To the moste reverent ffader in god my lord Cardynall Archebisshopp of Caunterburie and Chaunceller of England.

Mekely besecheth your gode and *gracious* lordshipp your continuall & poure Oratoure Gerarde de Here of London, bokeseller and Elizabeth his wiffe, that whereas . . . past whan your seid besecher was beyonde the see in byinge and storynge hymselfe of bokes accordinge to his occupacion of greate confydence [he deposited with William] Wilcokks of London draper as meny printed bokes, muniments and other writynges as amounted to the some of lvij<sup>li</sup> & more safely to be kept . . . off [whiche bokes the seid Wilcokks vnknowen & *withoute* licence of your seid oratour hathe solde as meny as amounteth to the some of [xiiij<sup>li</sup> and your] besechers have often tymes required the seid Wilcokks to have delivere as well of all the said bokes, and the said xiiij<sup>li</sup> as other . . . [and the said Wilcocks] that to do hathe vtterly refused and yet dothe *contrarie* to all right trouthe and godde conscience In which case your [besechers cannot have] course of the comon lawe or otherwise, for soo moche as they knowe not the nombre nor *contente* of the seid bokes or writings [and cannot have the said] boxe or cheste vnsealed with oute your *said* *gracious* lordship to them be shewed in this behalfe Wherfore in tender consideracion . . . please the same your *gracious* lordshipp to graunt a writt of sub pena to be directed to the same William Wilcokks comaundyng him [to appear before] the kyng in hys Courte of Chauncerie, certeyn daye & payne by your lordshipp to be lymitt, there to aunswere to the *premisses* . . . resceyve in that behalfe as by your good lordship shalbe thought resonable accordyng to right and conscience and thei . . .

Plegg de ps . . .

Coram dño rege in Canc sua in octavis sti Ioh̄is  
B̄pte px futur<sup>s</sup>

V. JOYCE PILGRIM v. JOHN MILLES AND DR. NANS.  
(Early Chancery Proceedings. Bundle 218. 2.)

To the moste Reuerent fader in god my lord Cardynall,  
the Archbisshop of Caunterbury and Chaunceler of  
Englond.

Humbly sheweth vnto your goode and *gracious* lord-  
ship your poore Oratour Joyce Pylegrome of London  
bokeseller, that where John Milles oon of the Coun-  
trollers of the Kyngs Custume vpon a iij quarts of a yere  
past, when your seid besecher was at Stierbrigge fayer,  
came vnto the house and shoppe of your seid besecher  
and desired to see *certeyn* bookes of the law as *Decretallis*  
*cum summaris de Tortis*, *Digestum Vetus cum summaris*,  
*Speculum juris in duobus voluminibus ligat<sup>s</sup>*, *Johes de*  
*Ymola super Clementinas*, *Dominicus super sexto*, and  
other bookes to the value of vi<sup>li</sup> and v<sup>s</sup>. And so desired  
oon Garrard, *servant* vnto your seid poore Oratour, to  
bringe the seid bookes to oon Nicholas Collys house, the  
notarie, and ther he shulde resceyue his money for the  
seid bokes, And the seid Garrard vpon trust therof went  
and bare the seid bookes with the seid Milles to the house  
of the seid Nicholas Collys, wher the seid Garrard sawe  
oon of M. Doctor Nans, Chaunceler to my lord of  
Excetre that nowe is, And the seid Nicholas Collis stondyng  
in the halle ther and abydyng for the comyng of the seid  
bookes, which incontyent beheld and besied them self  
with the seid bookes, and the seid Milles desired the seid  
Garrard to come the next morowe at xi of the clokke and  
he shuld have his money for the seide Doctor wolde not  
bye them till he hadde *summe* what seen them ouer, And

in morowe when the seid Garrard cam for his money, or elles to have his bookes, the seid Doctour answerid that the seid Milles shuld paye for the seid bookes and that he toke them of the seid Milles for his labour and recompense of *certeyn* costes and charges which he hadde hadde and doon for the seid Milles, and in his causes then only comyn from Excetour with viij horse, and soo shulde retorne only for the cause and at the desire of the seid Milles, And ther uppon the seid Garrard went to the seid Milles and he absented hym self ij dayes and the third day *your* said oratour met with hym and shewed hym the seynges of the said Doctour, And the seid Milles then poynted the seid Garrard to mete with hym at the howse of the seid Collys the next morowe at x of the klokke, and so he didde, at which tyme the seid Doctour was departed and reden towards Excetour, And ther uppon the seid Milles desired *your* said Oratour to forbere the seid money till he myght send a lettyr to the seid Doctour And he shulde without ferther delaye be contented and paid therof, or elles have delivery of his seid bookes, And howbeit *your* said besecher hath often tymes as well required the said Milles as the seid Doctour Nans to have delivery of his seid bookes or ellis the seid money, thei at all tymes that to doo by covyn betwixt them have vtterly refused, and yet doth refuse, contraie to all right tought and goode conscience, In which case *your* said oratour is without remedie by the cours of the *commen* lawe or otherwise for so much as he hath no *maner* specialitie of the seid Doctour nor of the seid Milles wherby to recover his seid duetie. Yn tender consideracion wherof and that *your* said Oratour is a Straunger and not of habilite ner power to sue for his remedie otherwise in thys behalfe agenst the seid Doctour and John Milles It may pleas the same *your* gracious lordship to *graunt* severall writts sub pena to be directed to the seid Doctour Nans and John Milles *commaundyng* them by the same to appere befor the kyng in his Court of Chauncerie at a *certeyn* day & under a

*certeyn* peyn by your *gracious* lordship to be lymitted, ther to aunswer to the *premisses* accordyng to right and goode conscience, and your seid oratour shall daily *pray* for the *preservacion* of your mooste *gracious* lordship

Wills Burgh de london yomane  
pleg ps Thomas Moreys de eadem yoman

Endorsed: M<sup>d</sup> q<sup>d</sup> ĩcio die maii Anno reg h. septimi duodecimo emanavit ĩre de sub pena direct John Milles r in Crastino Ascensionis dm et eodem die emanavit aliud ĩre de sub pena direct Johi Nans cl'ico r xv<sup>o</sup> sci Michis p̄x futur<sup>o</sup>.

VI. JAMES RAVYNELL v. JOYCE, A STATIONER.

Shewith vnto youre good and *gracious* lordship your Supplyaunte Jamys Ravenell of London Stacioner, that where uppon iiij yeris paste he bergaynid and bought of one Federyke Egemounde, doucheman, as many bokes callid prymer vnboundon as amountid to the value of xvs, for the same some for the paymente of whiche some yowre said supplyaunte made a bill of his owen hande, paiable at a certeyn daye nowe passed, and soone aftur in the same yere, that is to saye in the ffeeste of seynt Martyn in wynter, your said suppliaunte delyuerid vnto the said Federyk at Notyngham at the feyre then holden there certeyn bokes in a scedull hereunto annexed specified for the contentacion of the said xiiijjs, Which bokes the said Federyke there reateyned in full contentacion of the said some in the *presence* of *dyuers* credible *persones*, And nowe it is so, *gracious* lorde, that the saide Federyke is departid into Flaunders and will retourne into Englund at Barthelmewtyd nexte comyng, one Joys Stationer hauyng alle the bookes of the said Federyk in his keypyng amongis other billes hath founde the bille of your said supplyaunte of the said xiiijjs, And thereupon hath comensed an accion of dette in the name of the said

Federyk afore the Shiriffes of London, by force whereof he causid your said Supplyaunte to be arrested and compelled hym to set suertie thereunto, In which accion your said Supplyaunte shall be condempned forasmoche as he cannot denye the said bille, And allso shall be charged ij tymes for one duetie. Withoute youre gode grace to hym be shewid in the *premisses*. Pleas it therfore your good lordship to graunte vnto your seid supplyaunte a *certiorari* to be directed to the said Shiriffis *commaunding* them by the same to *certifie* the cause before youre good lordship in the kingis chauncerie there to aunswere to the *premisses* and furthermore there the said mater to be examyned and ruelid accordyng to gode conscience. This at the reuerence of god and in the wey of charite.

## [Schedule.]

In primis for a boke of Crowenycles price	v <sup>s</sup>
Itm for iiij greate primers price	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Itm for xij bokes of ffrenche and englysshe	iiij <sup>s</sup>
Itm for xi Apseys price	ij <sup>s</sup>
sm <sup>a</sup> xv <sup>s</sup> .	

Undated but endorsed: Coram dño R in Canc sua in Octavis Sti Michis px futuris.



## THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION AT GLASGOW.

**T**HE Library Association held its annual conference this year for the second time in Glasgow, under the most favourable auspices, a joint invitation to revisit the city having been given by the Lord Provost and the Corporation, the authorities of the University of Glasgow and of other colleges, and the Boards of the different Libraries. The local Reception Committee embraced representatives from all these bodies and institutions. In addition to the welcome assured to the Association by such a strong combination, two other factors contributed to make the meetings unusually successful; the choice of Mr. Francis Thornton Barrett, the Glasgow City Librarian, as President, and the ceremony of laying the memorial stone of the new Mitchell Library by Mr. Andrew Carnegie on the opening day of the Conference.

The meetings were held in a fine suite of rooms belonging to the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts. In the lower galleries of the Institute an exhibition of the work of the late Arthur Melville, R.W.S., A.R.S.A., was being held, and this exhibition Mrs. Melville kindly invited the members of the Conference to visit at their pleasure.

The preliminary routine business having been dis-

charged, the new President was gracefully inducted by Sir W. H. Bailey, the retiring President. Mr. Barrett is the first librarian of a Free Public Library to occupy the presidential chair, and partly on this account, but still more by reason of his well-known qualities of head and heart, he was greeted warmly by the Association.

The Lord Provost and the Corporation had formally welcomed the Association the evening before at a reception held in the civic buildings. When, therefore, the Lord Provost (William Bilsland, Esq., LL.D.) entered the Conference room accompanied by Mr. Carnegie, he at once introduced Mr. Carnegie with a few words, remarking that librarians had no better friend. To many present, who had experience of Mr. Carnegie's gifts, and now saw the donor for the first time, it was a moment of great interest. The address by Mr. Carnegie was packed full of sympathetic appreciation of the work of libraries and librarians, and the short, clear sentences were delivered with a feeling which showed that he spoke from conviction. Many, he said, thought with Dogberry that librarianship, like reading and writing, came by nature. The rapid spread of public libraries, maintained by taxation, wherever our tongue was spoken, *and nowhere else*, for this was peculiarly a race institution, very soon revealed the necessity of a new profession. He referred to the efforts made, especially in America, to place the education and training of librarians on a sound basis. Given a real librarian the future success of a library was certain; given a poor one, it was destined to a future only—to put it mildly—

respectable, and the difference between an active, go-ahead, vivifying library and a respectable one was the difference between a live and a smoky coal. The librarian should rank with the university professor, the minister, and the physician. Confidential, intimate, and solacing as were the positions of both doctor of the soul and doctor of the body, when the proper men arose in the community to fill the posts, the librarian should rank as a third co-operating source of blessing; as leading the masses of the people in the true path, teaching them how to live this life well, and make more of a heaven here and now, on earth, where all our duties lie. Mr. Carnegie then referred to the President, and to Mr. MacLauchlan, the librarian of Dundee, as instances of the type of men he had in mind, and in conclusion said, 'Guard well your profession, and raise it high. Consecrate yourselves to your mission, for it is noble.'

The new President, in his address, reviewed briefly the events of the library year. The number of communities now supporting public libraries is about 600, the number of separate libraries about 1,000. The extension of the library system to the rural districts has barely been begun. The state of Massachusetts, with a population just over three millions, has seven hundred public libraries, while the United Kingdom has only about a thousand public libraries for a population of over forty millions. Referring to the difficult problem of the betting news in newspapers attracting betting men to the Reading Rooms, the President suggested that the Institute of Journalists might consider whether

by conjoint action the publication of such news might be lessened or abolished. After a note on the composition of title-pages, their uninforming, often misleading character, he dealt with the relation of the library to the community, and concluded his brief but admirable address with these impressive words:

Speaking as one whose life has been spent in the service of public libraries, and speaking in the presence of the man who has extended the benefits of libraries to countless thousands of every age and class, I would say to my fellow-members, whether they are entering on their course, or like myself approaching its termination, that the work we are engaged in is a good work; that in the inevitable extension of communal operations the libraries will be more and more extended and developed, and will come to be more and more regarded as helpers in all good causes. May we be enabled in some small measure to carry forward that development, to render that help more effective. Then we may hope to have at our credit in the book of universal account some modest record of worthy service worthily performed.

Two of the papers included in the programme of the first session, 'Notes on Glasgow Libraries,' and 'The organization of the Glasgow District Libraries,' were printed for circulation among members, and were therefore not read at the meeting. The third paper was by Mr. H. R. Tedder, Librarian and Secretary of the Athenæum Club, London, 'The Librarian in his relations with Books.' Mr. Tedder dealt in a humorous manner with the dangers of modern theories of advanced librarianship, as expounded by over-enthusiastic librarians.

We find, he said, a tendency not to bring the librarians into closer contact with books, but rather to take him away from them. It was only when he came into direct association with books that a librarian could claim to belong to one of the liberal professions. The librarian of the future would be equipped with so many technical appliances, that, with a little care on his part, he need never even see a book. The craving for uniformity was not a sign of evolution but of degeneracy. It was a kind of mental socialism. It is impossible in a brief summary to bring out the humour and the usefulness of Mr. Tedder's paper. He, no doubt, over-coloured the picture in order to drive home his lesson, or one would be inclined to break a lance with him, and say that to a librarian whose dealings are wholly with scholarly and leisured readers much is possible which under different conditions cannot be attained. But I am not inclined to argue matters with Mr. Tedder, because his paper was designed to check over-zeal for mechanical appliances, and to point out that intellectual competency must not be overlooked.

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Tedder's paper the Conference rose, and the members proceeded to the site of the new Mitchell Library to witness the laying of the memorial stone. The Public Libraries of Glasgow are of quite recent origin, and will be referred to later. A series of libraries public in character, and in most cases free, were, however, in existence before the adoption of a scheme of rate-supported libraries. The oldest of these, Stirling's and Glasgow Public

Library, was founded in 1791 by Walter Stirling, a merchant and magistrate of the city, and was the earliest library in Scotland to which the public had a right of free access. Baillie's Institution owes its origin to George Baillie, who, in 1863, placed a sum of £18,000 in trust to accumulate for twenty-one years, after which it was to be used for the erection and endowment of one or more free public libraries. At the expiration of the assigned period the fund, amounting to £36,000, was used to establish a free reference library. The same desire to benefit the citizens which moved Mr. Stirling and Mr. Baillie, led Mr. Stephen Mitchell, the head of a large tobacco manufacturing business, to bequeath the residue of his estate, amounting to £66,998 10s. 6d., to 'form the nucleus of a fund for the establishment and endowment of a large public library in Glasgow with all the modern accessories connected therewith.' The sum was to remain at interest until it amounted to at least £70,000. Mr. Mitchell died in 1874, and two years later the conditions attached to the fund were fulfilled. The library was opened as a reference library only, in temporary premises, in 1877, with 14,432 volumes. In 1891 it had grown to 89,000 volumes, and was transferred to a larger building. At the present time it contains over 170,000 volumes, and further provision for the storage of this valuable collection and space for its numerous readers is being provided in a new building carefully planned and designed, estimated to cost £52,000. The noble example of Mr. Mitchell has encouraged other generous benefactions. The late

Bailie James Moir left to the Mitchell Library 3,000 volumes, and the residue of his estate, £11,500, to be applied in the purchase of books. Still more recently the late Mr. Robert Jeffery bequeathed a choice and costly collection of books, stored for the present in temporary quarters. This collection, containing the most valuable monographs and rariora in Natural History (especially ornithology), archaeology, and art, all in the choicest condition and superbly bound, will have a room to itself in the new building.

The stone-laying ceremony was impressive and commendably brief. It was followed by a luncheon to over 500 guests, given by the Lord Provost in the fine banqueting hall at the City Chambers.

Work was resumed at an evening session beginning at 8 p.m., when Mr. Samuel Smith, City Librarian, Sheffield, read a brief but interesting paper on a scheme in operation at Sheffield, whereby, for a payment of £35 per annum, 100 volumes at a time are obtained on loan from one of the large subscription libraries, and circulated amongst the readers through the central and branch lending libraries. This method was said to attract to the libraries readers of high class books, and to be very successful. Mr. Smith was followed by Mr. Cyril Davenport, of the British Museum, with one of his lantern lectures, which have become a valuable feature of the Conferences. Mr. Davenport chose as his subject this year, 'English and Scottish heraldry on books.' By the aid of an admirable series of lantern slides, coloured by his own hand, he made the subject both interesting and instruc-

tive. Modern paper was next treated, also with the aid of the lantern, by Mr. R. W. Sindall, F.C.S., analyst and paper expert, London, the author of a valuable book on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sindall dealt more especially with modern printing papers, and the consequences of the demand for cheapness without regard for quality. The enormous increase in the consumption of paper is shown by the figures quoted as to production in England, the quantities being:

1800.	11,000 tons.
1850.	63,000 „
1900.	651,000 „

Formerly paper was made almost entirely from rags. The rapid increase of production in books, magazines, and newspapers, and the development of photo-mechanical processes of illustrating have brought about a complete revolution in the paper-making industry. The quality and constitution of paper has of necessity been varied to meet these conditions, and also to satisfy the often unreasonable demand for something cheaper, until, as the lecturer pithily put it, ‘possibly the skill of the paper-maker in manufacturing a novelty which looks like paper, feels like paper, and sells like paper may account for some of the stuff that goes to make a book.’ That the outcry about the deterioration of paper is well-founded was clearly

<sup>1</sup> ‘Paper Technology,’ a book for people who use paper, by R. W. Sindall. Office of the ‘World’s Paper Review,’ 38, Shoe Lane, E. C. 12s. 6d. net.



shown. The use of mechanical wood pulp for paper-making is especially bad, partly because the fibres are short and break easily, and partly because of the presence of resinous and non-fibrous constituents which set up rapid decay. Mechanical wood-pulp enters largely into the composition of the cheaper kinds of news and common printing papers. The large majority of printing papers are made from chemical wood-pulp mixed with esparto, while the modern 'art' paper owes its shiny surface to a coating of china clay or similar mineral matter. The light spongy papers so much used to 'bulk' books were carefully described. The following note from the printed *précis* of the lecture explains this part of the subject clearly:

'Many modern books are printed on paper which is very light and bulky, and as such books are pleasant to handle this paper is freely used. The book will not, however, stand the wear and tear of daily use in a public library, for reasons which it will be easy to appreciate. The paper is made from esparto, or from a mixture of esparto and wood pulp, its peculiar characteristics being imparted by special treatment. The material is beaten quickly so as to give a spongy pulp, and the wet sheet of paper passing over the paper machine is pressed very lightly, and dried cautiously. The dry paper is not polished or glazed. The result is a sheet of paper in which the fibres are not compressed closely together, or felted, to use a technical term. In fact, the nice-looking sheet is nearly all air space. The composition of such a paper expressed in terms of volume may be:

Fibre . . . .	28·0
Air space . . . .	71·3
Loading . . . .	0·7
	<hr/>
	100·0

‘The analysis of the sheet by ordinary methods proved this to be an esparto paper containing 10 per cent. of chemical wood pulp, and 4 per cent. of loading expressed in terms by weight. It is not surprising that a paper containing such a large proportion of air space, and showing the lack of cohesion of fibres, is easily torn, and that in the process of rebinding, the pages of a book are readily split and broken. The disintegration of paper of this kind is obviously to be accounted for by a consideration of physical defects, and not chemical impurities.’

The lecturer made his demonstrations so ably that the causes of decay and discolouration, and the difficulties of binding were obvious. It was apparent that no binder can sew a book made from paper containing 71·3 per cent. of air space, nor can he put stitches which will hold china clay together. ‘Paper-makers can still produce printing paper of high quality, and with every assurance of durability, provided the publisher is willing to pay a reasonable price, and is not too anxious to utilize eccentric substances misnamed paper.’ Mr. Sindall’s remarks and demonstrations were followed with the keenest interest. He showed that the fears for the durability of the books of to-day are based on facts. Unless we can return to saner methods the

problem of preserving our literature from decay will become serious.

Late though it was when the Conference closed on the previous evening, there was a good attendance when the proceedings commenced on Wednesday morning. 'New proposals in regard to Public Libraries by the National Home Reading Union,' was the somewhat unwieldy title of the paper submitted by Dr. J. B. Paton, of Nottingham, Hon. Sec. of the Home Reading Union, and Mr. L. S. Jast, of Croydon, Hon. Sec. of the Library Association. Briefly the proposals were to bring the Reading Union and the Libraries into closer relations, and to embark on a monthly journal to be called the 'Reader's Review,' to be localized for different libraries, with an inset of local library news, book lists, and other matter. The proposals met with approval at first, but a vein of hostile criticism was struck later, and met with support which looked like rejecting the proposals. A fair and lucid reply to most of the objections raised had the effect of bringing the meeting back to the first position, and a resolution approving the proposals for closer relations with the Home Reading Union, and the suggested magazine was carried by a small majority. It is unfortunate that distrust of the Union should prevail in some minds. Closer co-operation upon the lines now agreed upon should quickly dispel all fears.

Mr. Fovargue, Town Clerk of Eastbourne, and Hon. Solicitor of the Association, read a practical paper upon the liability of public libraries to be assessed for rates and taxes. Some years ago it was

settled that a public library is a literary and scientific institution, and therefore exempt. Recently, however, efforts have been made by rating authorities to break away from this decision, and the matter has again become urgent. A clause in the Public Libraries Amendment Bill, introduced last year by Mr. H. J. Tennant, M.P., would dispose of the question finally, but until that Bill passes the uncertainty will continue, and some libraries have to pay in rates and taxes an appreciable amount out of their limited incomes. A resolution requesting the Council to collect information as to the assessment of libraries, and to consider the desirability of taking a case to the Court of Appeal, and, if necessary, to the House of Lords, was carried unanimously.

This concluded the reading of papers, but the programme of work was by no means exhausted. A discussion on the net book question, initiated by Councillor Abbott, of the Manchester Libraries Committee, and Mr. Doubleday, of the Hampstead Libraries, led to a useful interchange of views on this difficult and vexed question. During the discussion Mr. Hansen, a member of the staff of the Library of Congress, Washington, was introduced to the meeting, and dealt with the relations between public libraries and publishers in the United States. A series of brief reports on the work of the different Committees of the Association were submitted, and though relegated to the end of the proceedings, proved to be of great practical value. At future Conferences these reports should occupy a more prominent place, and even take precedence of the reading of papers.

The position with regard to the Libraries Amendment Bill was ably stated by Councillor Abbott, and it would appear that there was every hope of the Bill passing if it could only get a favourable chance. A vote of thanks to Mr. Tennant, for his valuable help in promoting the Bill, was passed by acclamation.

Mr. Tedder reported on the excellent work done in relation to the Education department of the London County Council, and Mr. Baker, Librarian of Woolwich, on the work of the Education Committee in the classes and examinations for library assistants. Mr. E. Wyndham Hulme, Librarian of the Patent Office Library, brought up a further report of the Sound Leather Committee; and Mr. John Minto, Librarian of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, jointly with Mr. Hansen, reported on the catalogue rules. A joint code of rules for the United States and Great Britain has now virtually been agreed upon. Mr. Hansen is the Chairman of the Committee on Catalogue Rules appointed by the American Association, and attended the Glasgow Conference for the purpose of finally discussing and agreeing upon the rules, and practically this stage has been reached. The report of the Publications Committee was given by Mr. Henry Bond, Librarian of St. Pancras, the chief item dealt with being the 'Class List of Best Books and Annual of Bibliography, 1906-7.'<sup>1</sup> This list, begun some years ago in the 'Library Record,' is now issued separately for the third time, and forms an

<sup>1</sup> London, published for the Library Association by the Library Supply Co., 181, Queen Victoria St., E.C. Price 1s. 6d. net.

invaluable compendium of the chief books in every subject issued in the course of a year. Under the general editorship of Mr. Henry V. Hopwood, of the Patent Office Library (to whom a cordial vote of thanks was passed), a group of some twenty contributors dealt with the best books of 1906-7, classified under subjects, and with a good index. It is a list which ought to be in the hands of every member of a library committee, and every librarian and sub-librarian, while for book buyers of all classes it is a valuable guide.

A visit to the University, where the members were received by Professor Latta, Dr. Murray, and other officers of the University, gave an opportunity of seeing the fine buildings, and also the University Library, the Hunterian Library and Museum, and other points of interest. Soon after the resuscitation of the University in 1577 the Library began to attract gifts to supplement its purchases, notably a donation of twenty volumes made about this time by the great humanist, George Buchanan. Nineteen of these volumes are still in the Library, a fact of which the authorities are justly proud. The Library formerly enjoyed the privilege of receiving a free copy of each work entered at Stationers' Hall, a right surrendered for an annual payment of £707. The total stock is about 200,000 volumes and 550 manuscripts. A catalogue of the manuscripts is in the press. There are a dozen Caxtons, and many examples of Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, and Julian Notary; the first and second folios and several of the quartos of Shakespeare, and many examples of early Scottish printing.

An afternoon was given up to visits to the rate-supported District Libraries established by the Corporation. The Corporation took special powers with regard to libraries in a local Act passed in 1899. The rate limit of a penny is retained. A central reference library being already provided under the Mitchell Trust, the Corporation decided upon a series of district libraries for lending purposes, with reading rooms attached. There is no central lending library, but the selection of books for the district libraries is made with a view to affording a wide choice, taking the libraries as a whole. The system is linked up by telephone and travelling messengers, and books are transferred from one library to another daily to meet the requirements of readers. The result is that a reader may draw, through the library nearest to him, upon the whole stock. The entire scheme embraces sixteen of these district libraries, fourteen of which are now in operation. A gift of £100,000 made by Mr. Carnegie has enabled the Corporation to erect excellent buildings, while the rate provides adequately for the upkeep. Special provision for children is made in each library. The difficulties with the children's rooms in some districts are considerable, and will require long and patient effort to overcome. They arise from the conditions of child life in Glasgow, conditions which call loudly for this and other efforts at amelioration.

The organization and supervision of these district libraries is very good. I spent an evening as well as an afternoon in examining the system, in order to see the work in full swing, and a fine sight it was.

A classified card catalogue of each library is kept in the building, and a combined classified card catalogue of all the libraries at the central organizing depôt. If a reader cannot be met by the stock of a library, a telephone message to the central depôt will bring information from the combined catalogue as to the whereabouts of the book required; a second telephone message will arrange for its transfer to the library whence the call arises.

At the annual dinner of the Association the Lord Provost, and other local gentlemen, were the guests of the Association, and the proceedings included a presentation to Mr. H. D. Roberts, Librarian of Brighton, who for ten years rendered good service as Hon. Sec. of the Education Committee. The final day of the Conference was given up to an excursion—train, steamer, and coach—up the Kyles of Bute, a visit to Mountstuart, the seat of the Marquess of Bute, and to Rothesay.

I think it is not too much to say that the thirtieth annual Conference will stand out as one of the pleasantest and most successful yet held, and that all the members who attended came away with the kindest recollections of our hosts, who missed no chance of adding to our comfort.

JOHN BALLINGER.

\* \* Since the above article was written I have heard with sorrow of the death of Mr. John MacLauchlan, Librarian of Dundee, referred to on page 423. He took cold during the Conference; a previous illness had weakened his constitution, and he died in Glasgow on the 1st October. He was a man of rare parts, and will be much missed in Dundee, and also by a large circle of friends.



## NOTES.

*The Corrected Date of 'Th' Appellation.'*<sup>1</sup>

R. J. DOVER WILSON has, I think, proved his main point. Despite certain difficulties which the rectification leaves upon our hands, we must admit that he *has* driven the nail home; further driving would risk driving it out at the other side.

The *coup de grâce*, however, is not given to the erroneous date by the fact that Waldegrave was printing at Edinburgh on 13th March, 1590. This simply proves that he could not have printed 'Th' Appellation' at Rochelle on the 7th of that month. Leonard Wright, in 'A Friendly Admonition,' entered at Stationers' Hall, 19th January, 1590, speaks of 'Some in his Coulers' as a well-known work. Penry, again, states that he is writing his 'Appellation' while Parliament is sitting; so that he could not be writing it in the year 1589-90. The evidence of Waldegrave's work at Edinburgh in March, 1590, is not even necessary to prove that both tracts were printed in the year 1589. We may still assume that they were printed at

<sup>1</sup> At Mr. Wilson's suggestion a proof of his paper was sent to the Rev. William Pierce, who has been engaged for so long on the study of the Marprelate Tracts, that his opinion on a new theory is especially valuable.—EDD.

Rochelle, although it is certain that Sutcliffe's statement that Waldegrave deposed 'upon his oath' that Throkmorton wrote 'Some in his Coulers,' is an error. From the time he joined the Martinists he was never in custody, and was never compelled to testify on oath. That he gratuitously betrayed Throkmorton is not to be believed.

In reconstructing the Martinist story for 1589 I am compelled at one or two points to part company with Mr. Wilson. Waldegrave, we must remember, had suffered greatly for his Puritanism before he undertook the printing of the Marprelate tracts. It was not merely for gain that he became Martin's printer. Why then did he leave his service? No doubt, because his spiritual teachers—the famous Thomas Cartwright, whose book he was looking to print, probably being chief—all the preachers, indeed, he had 'conferred withall, do mislyke' the Marprelate style of attack. He therefore declared 'that he wolde no longer meddle or be a dealer in this Course' (Arber's 'Sketch,' 99). That he returned to Haseley four months later and assisted in printing the 'Protestatyon' is, at least, against all probability. Mr. Wilson's discovery that the very faulty printing of this tract is confined to its first half-sheet is a point of great interest. We wonder no one detected this before. At the same time I think he lays too great stress upon the significance of the collation signatures. I suggest that an apprentice of Waldegrave's may have come to the rescue and in this particular have copied his master's manner. If Waldegrave wished to disguise his handiwork, why in the world did he not

adopt the ordinary method of inserting these tell-tale signs? We must therefore allow Waldegrave to wash his hands of Marprelatism and proceed on his way to Rochelle by way of Devon. He could probably more easily secure a passage from Bridport or Plymouth to the Huguenot city than from London.

Why did Penry, when he left Haseley in September, 'lurk,' as Sutcliffe says, for some time in the Midlands? It seems to be forgotten that he had a wife, and a little child, at Northampton. Early in October he resolves to leave them and seek a refuge for them and himself in Scotland, greeting Udall as he passes through Newcastle. We can now account for Waldegrave's departure from Rochelle. He has suffered much by being Udall's printer, and Udall is a great favourite with King James. In Edinburgh Penry can further his interest. We therefore find that presently the famous Puritan printer is established in Scotland as King's printer. In this migration both for convenience and safety his presses and type would be sent by ship to Scotland. He himself, however, went to Haseley with the printed copies of 'Th' Appellation' and 'Some in his Coulers.' There he met Penry. Throkmorton, now in a critical position, sent the compromising literature by his friends to Godley's keeping at Northampton, together with the bulk of the impression of the 'Protestatyon,' so difficult had it become to get anti-episcopal tracts into circulation. 'Yester-night late,' says Nashe, on 20th October, 'old Martins Protestation in Octavo was brought vnto mee' ('Pasquill's Returne,' D iij

vers.). Waldegrave also relieves Throkmorton of the type used in printing the 'Protestatyon.' Next year it is employed at Edinburgh in printing Davidson's 'D. Bancrofts Rashnes in Rayling.' From Northampton the fugitives—Penry would now be accompanied by his wife and child—escaped to Scotland. There Waldegrave remained till the death of Elizabeth; and there Penry would have remained, had he never outgrown the ecclesiastical ideas of his friends. In three years he again came south, seeking a larger and more democratic liberty, and finding his fate.

To complete this story we may point out that the contraband literature was not long allowed to remain on Godley's hands. Tidings of the secret visit to Northampton soon reached Whitgift's ears, and a second time pursuivants were sent to raid Godley's house. Fortunately Throkmorton, who had influential friends at court, was able to warn him in time. Sutcliffe tells us that he packed off his perilous stock to Banbury.

There are other points of great interest in Mr. Wilson's paper which deserve attention. From one suggestion I strongly dissent. It is that Throkmorton conspired with Sharpe, the only traitor in the company, and never wholly trusted, against Penry. The problem of 'A Dialogue' needs further investigation. Clearly it is not one of the Marprelate series; nor is it from the pen of Udall. And I think that there are insuperable difficulties in the way of believing it to have been printed at Hasely Manor. But space is wanting to go further into this and other matters.

WM. PIERCE.

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