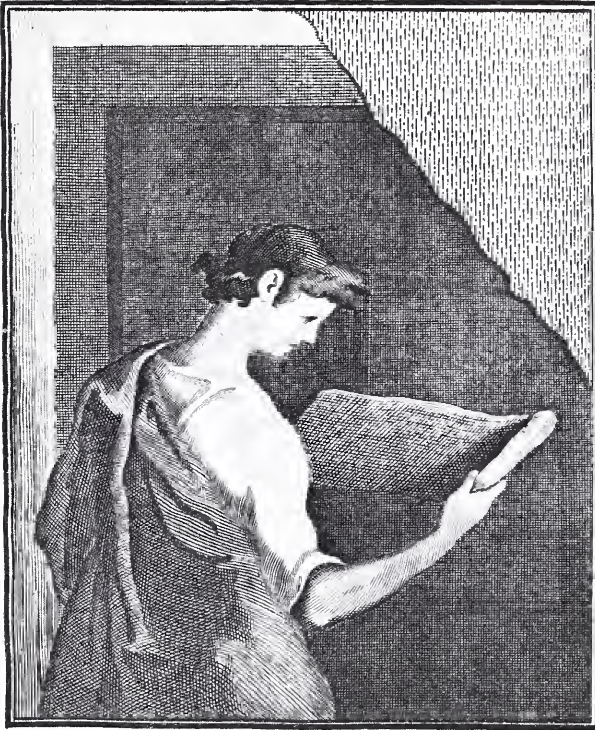

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LIBRARY LORE

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

IN COLLABORATION WITH

KONRAD BURGER
LÉOPOLD DELISLE MELVIL DEWEY

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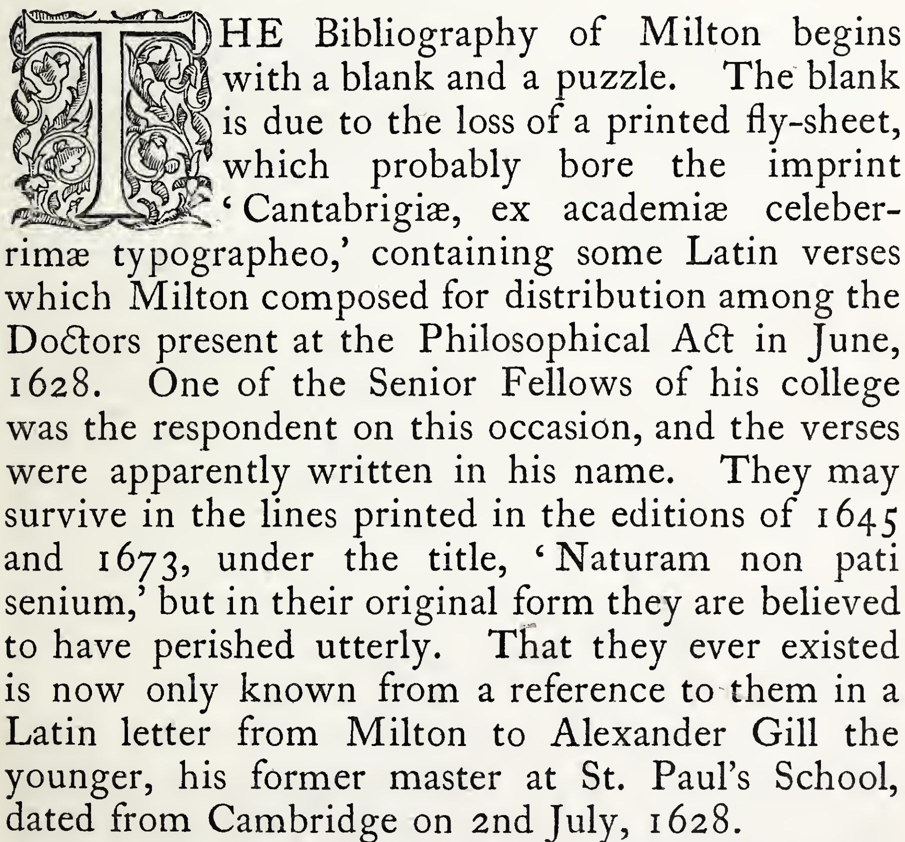
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MILTON.



THE Bibliography of Milton begins with a blank and a puzzle. The blank is due to the loss of a printed fly-sheet, which probably bore the imprint 'Cantabrigiæ, ex academiæ celeberrimæ typographeo,' containing some Latin verses which Milton composed for distribution among the Doctors present at the Philosophical Act in June, 1628. One of the Senior Fellows of his college was the respondent on this occasion, and the verses were apparently written in his name. They may survive in the lines printed in the editions of 1645 and 1673, under the title, 'Naturam non pati senium,' but in their original form they are believed to have perished utterly. That they ever existed is now only known from a reference to them in a Latin letter from Milton to Alexander Gill the younger, his former master at St. Paul's School, dated from Cambridge on 2nd July, 1628.

The puzzle is concerned with some lines of much greater interest than these academical verses, the 'Epitaph to the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W.

Shakespeare,' prefixed to the Second Folio. As they stand there the lines read (punctuation corrected):

> What neede my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones
> The labour of an Age, in piled stones?
> Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
> Vnder a starre-ypointing Pyramid?
> Deare Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame,
> What needst thou such dull witnesse of thy Name?
> Thou in our wonder and astonishment
> Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:
> For whil'st to the shame of slow-endevouring Art,
> Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part
> Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Booke
> Those Delphicke Lines with deepe Impression tooke,
> Then thou, our fancy of her selfe bereaving,
> Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,
> And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie
> That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

When this text is collated with that printed in Milton's collected poems published in 1645 five differences will be found, *neede* in l. 1 being corrected into *needs*, and *part* in l. 10 to *heart*, while for *dull* in l. 6 we find *weak*, for *lasting* in l. 8 *live-long*, and for *her selfe* in l. 13 *itself*. Against the poem in the collected edition is placed the date 1630, and the puzzle is whether in 1645 Milton was reprinting what he had actually written in 1630, or whether he was revising the text which had appeared in 1632, and merely affixed the date 1630 as that of first composition. The superiority of the readings in the 1630-45 text makes for the latter supposition, but there are few of Milton's shorter poems of which it would be more interest-

ing to have the full history. He was either twenty-one, or less probably just twenty-two, when he wrote it, and we find him not only free from the Puritan scruples about the theatre by which men like Prynne were moved ('L'Allegro' reveals as much as this), but sufficiently in touch with the dramatic and literary world either to offer his poem to the publishers of the Second Folio or to have it requisitioned by them. From a date being affixed to the poem one might surmise that it was written for a special occasion, but I know no probable suggestion as to what this may have been.

The verses to Shakespeare are unsigned.[1] Had they not been reprinted in the volume of 1645 it would have needed a critic of more than ordinary acumen to detect their authorship. Milton's name is also absent from the 'Maske presented at Ludlow Castle,' to which Warton in an evil hour gave the name of 'Comus,'[2] by which it has been known ever since. Its full title reads:

A Maske presented At Ludlow Castle, 1634: On Michaelmasse night before the Right Honorable, Iohn Earle of Bridgewater, Vicount Brackly, Lord Præsident of Wales, And one of His Maiesties most honorable

[1] Mr. Aldis Wright in his edition of Milton for the Cambridge University Press (1903) says that the Epitaph is signed with the initials J. M. This appears to be a confusion with the verses beginning, 'We wondred (Shakespeare) that thou wentst so soon,' which are thus signed, J. M. in that case standing for James Mabbe, or may be due to the fact that the lines were signed with Milton's initials when reprinted in Shakespeare's Poems of 1640.

[2] As Mr. Greg suggests in his 'Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Drama,' had the 'Maske' been given a name by its author it would probably have been called The Triumph of Virtue, or by some similar title, certainly not after the villain of the piece.

Privie Counsell. [Motto:] Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum Perditus.—London, printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the signe of the Three Pidgeons in Pauls Church-yard. 1637.

The motto on the title-page (it is strange how often bibliographers omit mottoes as if they were meaningless) is taken from Virgil's 'Second Eclogue' and reminds us that in November of the year which saw the publication of the 'Maske,' Milton was already engaged on 'Lycidas,' in the opening lines of which something of the same sentiment is expressed. It also shows, since it was clearly chosen by Milton, that the book was brought out with his consent. Its publication, however, was due to the composer, Henry Lawes, who writes in his dedication to the young Lord Brackley, the Earl's eldest son, who had taken part in the performance: 'Although not openly acknowledg'd by the Author, yet it is a legitimate offspring, so lovely and so much desir'd that the often copying of it hath tir'd my pen to give my severall friends satisfaction, and brought to me a necessitie of producing it to the publick view.' Milton reprinted this dedication in the volume of 1645, and added to it the letter in which Sir Henry Wotton thanked him for the presentation copy, which he had despatched just before starting for Italy. To be praised by the Provost of Eton for 'a certain Doric delicacy in your Songs and Odes, whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language,' was still a pleasure to Milton in 1645, but in the reprint of 1673, both Lawes's dedication and Wotton's letter disappear.

After the 'Maske' came 'Lycidas,' published in 1638 in a memorial volume in two parts, the first containing twenty-three Latin and Greek pieces, the second thirteen in English, of which Milton's was the last. The general title-page is in Latin, and reads:

Justa Edovardo King naufrago ab Amicis mœrentibus amoris & μνείας χάριν. [Motto:] Si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est. Pet. Arb. Cantabrigiæ: Apud Thomam Buck, & Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimæ Academiæ typographos. 1638.

This title-page is followed by a curious Latin note, chiefly occupied by a recital of the virtues, and above all the dignity, of the distinguished Irish relatives, to visit whom Edward King was led to embark on his fatal voyage. It narrates, however, that when the ship had struck, King fell on his knees and was drowned in the act of prayer, while the other passengers vainly tried to save themselves,[1] though it is obvious that some of them must have succeeded or there would have been no one to relate his end.

To the English verses there is prefixed a second title surrounded with a mourning border. It reads:

Obsequies to the memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno. Dom. 1638. Printed by Th. Buck and R. Daniel, printers to the Vniversitie of Cambridge, 1638.

[1] Navi in scopulum allisa, et rimis ex ictu fatiscente, dum aliis vectores vitæ mortalis frustra satagerent, immortalem anhelans, in genua provolutus oransque, una cum navigio ab aquis absorptus, animam deo reddidit; IIII. id. sextileis; anno salutis MDCXXXVII.; ætatis XXV.

A copy (of the English part only) in the British Museum has a missing line (l. 177: 'In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love') restored and two smaller corrections noted in a handwriting which is certainly very like Milton's, and may quite possibly be his.

The original draft of 'Lycidas,' as of 'Comus,' is among the treasures of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, to which they were presented at the end of the eighteenth century. They are in good keeping, though I could wish them elsewhere. Yet if it were desired to cry 'sour grapes,' there would be good authority for doing so. In his essay on 'Oxford in the Vacation', Charles Lamb wrote, 'Still less have I curiosity to disturb the elder repose of MSS. Those *variæ lectiones*, so tempting to the more erudite palates, do but disturb and unsettle my faith.' As the essay originally appeared in the 'London Magazine' there was a footnote at this point, dealing with this very manuscript:

There is something to me repugnant, at any time, in written hand. The text never seems determinate. Print settles it. I had thought of the 'Lycidas' as of a full-grown beauty—as springing up with all its parts absolute—till, in an evil hour, I was shown the original written copy of it, together with the other minor poems of its author, in the Library of Trinity, kept like some treasure to be proud of. I wish they had thrown them in the Cam, or sent them, after the latter cantos of Spenser, into the Irish Channel. How it staggered me to see the fine things in their ore! interlined, corrected! as if their words were mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure! as if they might have been otherwise, and just as good! as if inspirations were made up of parts, and those fluctuating,

successive, indifferent! I will never go into the workshop of any great artist again, nor desire a sight of his picture, till it is fairly off the easel; no, not if Raphael were to be alive again, and painting another Galatea.

The outburst is so thoroughly characteristic or Lamb that it is surprising he suppressed it. Mr. Lucas, however, thinks, with good reason, that it was Lamb who subsequently quoted, also in the 'London Magazine,' a cancelled passage from 'Comus' from the same manuscript, and if so he may well have felt that he had no right to abuse what he had used.

'Lycidas' probably appeared in print shortly before Milton started for Italy in April 1638. His return about July, 1639, was hastened by the news, which reached him at Naples, that the clouds of civil strife were fast gathering in England, but for two years after he came home he did nothing of which we know. His genius seems always to have needed some external spark to ignite it, and the spark was not supplied until the controversy concerning Church Government arose, in which Milton's old tutor, Thomas Young, took part as one of the Presbyterian ministers, whose initials were used to form the uncouth *nom-de-guerre* Smectymnuus. How deeply Milton felt on this question had already been shown in the passage in 'Lycidas' (ll. 108-31), in which 'the Pilot of the Galilean Lake' threatens with vengeance the 'blind mouths' that 'creep and intrude and climb into the fold.' Æsthetic critics have lamented the introduction of these lines as jarring with the rest of the poem. To the mere bibliographer, straying for a moment

from his proper subject, they give it a reality and intensity which materially enhances the general effect. To put St. Peter on a level with Camus was, of course, heretical; but it may be doubted whether any New Testament saint possessed a living personality in Milton's eyes. He takes him, mitre and keys included, merely as a symbolic mouthpiece for his own vehement thoughts. A like vehemence is prominent in the five prose tracts which he sent hurtling against the High Church controversialists in 1641 and 1642. To understand the five titles which are printed in full below, it must be noted that the controversy began with Bishop Hall's defence of episcopacy, entitled 'An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament by A dutifull sonne of the Church' (1640), to which the Smectymnuan ministers wrote an answer, which Milton's first pamphlet backed up. His second was in reply to an appeal to antiquity, put forward by Archbishop Usher in support of Bishop Hall. Then came Hall's own rejoinder, 'A defence of the Humble Remonstrance, Against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus,' answered by Smectymnuus with a 'Vindication,' and by Milton in his 'Animadversions.' Each of these drew a reply from Hall, that to Milton's taking the form of 'A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell entitled Animadversions,' etc., itself a grossly scurrilous attack, in which the Bishop was helped by his son. Milton's last pamphlet was in reply to this, while his penultimate one, 'The Reason of Church government urg'd against Prelaty,' to which alone he put his name,

was of a more detached character. Here are the five titles in full:

Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England: and the Causes that hitherto have hindred it. Two bookes, written to a Freind. Printed, for Thomas Vnderhill 1641.

Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and Whither it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical times by vertue of those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises: One whereof goes under the Name of Iames Arch-bishop of Armagh. London, Printed by R. O. & G. D. for Thomas Vnderhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible, in Wood-Street, 1641.

Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence, against Smectymnuus. London, Printed for Thomas Vnderhill, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Bible in Woodstreet, 1641.

The Reason of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty By Mr. John Milton. In two Books. London, Printed by E. G. for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard, 1641.

An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions upon the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus. London, Printed by E. G. for Iohn Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard. 1642.

The copies of these tracts in the British Museum all belong to the wonderful collection of small books, pamphlets, and fly-sheets, formed by George Thomason, a Presbyterian bookseller, with whom Milton at this time seems to have grown sufficiently intimate to give him, now and again, such of his works as he may have guessed would be to the good bookseller's taste. The first of the series

passes without annotation by Thomason. On the second he notes, 'By John Milton'; on the third, more respectfully, 'Written by Mr. John Milton'; on the fourth there is the presentation inscription 'Ex Dono Authoris'; and on the fifth this is combined with a note of authorship 'by Mr. Milton Ex dono Authoris.'

Thomason's date on the next of Milton's prose pamphlets serves to heighten a story, in itself strange enough. Some time in May, 1643, Milton went into Buckinghamshire with some slight degree of secrecy, and returned with a young wife, the daughter of a cavalier squire, who had long been in debt to himself and his father. According to Thomason, it was on the first day of the following August that a pamphlet was on sale bearing the title:

The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce: restor'd to the good of both sexes, From the bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes, to Christian freedom, guided by the Rule of Charity. Wherein also many places of Scripture, have recover'd their long-lost meaning. Seasonable to be now thought on in the Reformation intended. [Quotation:] Matt. 13. 52. Every Scribe instructed to the Kingdome of Heav'n is like the Maister of a house which bringeth out of his treasurie things old and new. London, Printed by T. P. and M. S. In Goldsmiths Alley. 1643.

This was published anonymously, but the next year Milton brought out a revised and enlarged edition, and signed an introductory letter, 'To the Parliament,' with his name in full. In 1644 also he published a second tract:

The Iudgement of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce. Written to Edward the Sixt, in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ. And now Englisht. Wherin a late Book restoring the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, is heer confirm'd and justify'd by the authoritie of Martin Bucer. To the Parlament of England. [Quotation:] John 3. 10. Art thou a teacher of Israel, and know'st not these things? Publisht by Authoritie. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons, 1644.

This, though anonymous on its title-page, contains Milton's name in its text. On 13th August, about a month after its appearance, Milton was publicly denounced in 'The Glasse of God's Providence towards His faithfull ones Held forth in a sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament' on that day by Herbert Palmer, a Bachelor of Divinity. Other attacks followed in William Prynne's 'Twelve Considerable Serious Questions touching Church Government'; in a pamphlet by Dr. Daniel Featley with the charming title, 'The Dippers dipt, or The Anabaptists duk'd and plung'd over head and eares at a Disputation in Southwark'; and finally in November in an anonymous criticism, entitled 'An answer to a Book, Intituled, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce or, A Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Maried Women against Divorce.' To this the licensing minister, Joseph Caryl, granted not only an Imprimatur, but an Approbation, and this double attack drew from Milton his

Colasterion[1]: a Reply to a nameles answer against The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. Wherein the trivial

[1] κολαςτήριον, punishment.

Author of that Answer is discover'd, the Licencer conferr'd with, and the Opinion which they traduce defended. By the former Author, J. M. [Quotation:] Prov. 26. 5. Answer a Fool according to his folly, lest hee bee wise in his own conceit. Printed in the Year, 1645.

This was on sale on 4th March, 1645, and on the same day, according to Thomason, another pamphlet with a Greek title was also purchaseable:

Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the foure chief places in Scripture, which treat of Mariage, or nullities in Mariage. On Gen. 1. 27. 28. compar'd and explain'd by Gen. 2. 18. 23. 24. Deut. 24. 1. 2. Matth. 5. 31. 32. with Matth. 19. from the 3d. v. to the 11th. 1 Cor. 7. from the 10th to the 16th. Wherin the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, as was lately publish'd, is confirm'd by explanation of Scripture, by testimony of ancient Fathers, of civill lawes in the Primitive Church, of famousest Reformed Divines, And lastly, by an intended Act of the Parlament and Church of England in the last yeare of Edward the Sixth. By the former Author J. M. [Quotation:]

—*Σκαιοῖσι καινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ*
Δόξεις ἀχρεῖος, κοὐ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι·
Τῶν δ' ἂυ δοκούντων ἐιδέναι τι ποικίλον,
Κρείσσων νομισθὲις ἐν πόλει, λυπρὸς φανῆ.
Euripid. Medea.

London: Printed in the yeare 1645.

In 1645, moreover, his original treatise was twice reprinted, and Milton was actually contemplating another marriage, which would certainly have produced many more pamphlets, when on entering a friend's house he was encountered by his luckless wife, who dutifully went down on her knees and begged his forgiveness, the reconcilia-

tion which rewarded this meekness bringing the divorce pamphlets to a rather humorous conclusion.

Meanwhile, however, they had led to a pamphlet of another kind. The 'Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce' had not only been written anonymously, but had never been licensed or registered, although a Presbyterian censorship had been set up by an Ordinance of Parliament dated 14th June, 1643. On 24th August, 1644, twelve days after the Rev. Herbert Palmer's sermon, the Company of Stationers petitioned Parliament to call Milton to account, and the matter was referred to a Committee, which seems never to have made any report. The attempt to muzzle him, however, was enough for Milton, and exactly three months later he presented his friend Thomason (on whom he did *not* bestow his pamphlets about divorce) with the most famous of his prose tracts:

Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr. John Milton For the Liberty of Vnlicenc'd Printing, To the Parlament of England. [Quotation:]

> *Τοὐλευθερον δ'ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει*
> *Χρηστόν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων*
> *Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅ χρῄζων, λαμπρός ἔσθ, ὁ μὴ θέλων,*
> *Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστιν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;*
>
> Euripid. Hicetid.

> This is true Liberty when free born men
> Having to advise the public may speak free,
> Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
> Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
> What can be juster in a State then this?
>
> Euripid. Hicetid.

London. Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

This, like the 'Colasterion' and 'Tetrachordon,' appeared with no name either of printer or publisher, and no research, as far as I know, has been made into its typographical authorship. Unless they were afraid to face the wrath of the Stationers' Company, Milton would naturally resort to his neighbours in Goldsmith Alley, Cripplegate, T. P. and M. S., who had brought out his first Divorce tract for him, and who may safely be identified with Thomas Payne and Matthew Simmons. For another pamphlet of this year, the little eight-page treatise, 'Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib,' Milton had gone back to an earlier publisher, Thomas Underhill. This we know from the licensing entry (4th June, 1644), the tract itself being without title-page. Its rarity and the sacred word Education make this the most expensive of Milton's prose works to the collector, a copy having sold in 1901 for as much as £74 10*s*. Its educational value is not high, for its curriculum is drawn up for a boy with the appetite for learning ot Milton himself, and explains the frequent sounds of wailing by which the first Mrs. Milton was disturbed while the poet was acting as schoolmaster to his nephews. At the end of this string of prose pamphlets on church government, divorce, the freedom of the press, and education comes the first collected edition of Milton's Poems:

Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Maiesties Private Musick. [Quot.]—Baccare frontem Cingite, ne

vati noceat mala lingua futuro, Virgil, Eclog. 7. Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in S. Pauls Church-yard. 1645.

The volume contains first the English poems, the Nativity Ode, ten sonnets (English and Italian), 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' 'Lycidas,' and smaller pieces, followed by 'Comus,' with continuous pagination but a separate title-page: 'A Mask of the same Author Presented at Ludlow-Castle, 1634. Before the Earl of Bridgwater then President of Wales. Anno Dom. 1645.' The Latin poems have separate pagination and title-page: 'Joannis Miltoni Londinensis Poemata. Quorum pleraque intra Annum ætatis vigesimum conscripsit. Nunc primum edita. Londini Typis R. R. Prostant ad Insignia Principis, in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, apud Humphredum Moseley 1645.' They appear to have been occasionally sold separately.

Facing the general title-page was the unhappy engraved portrait of Milton in his twenty-first year, copied by William Marshall from a painting of that date. The engraver never acquitted himself worse, and in revenge for being made to look like a raw-boned chimney-sweep, Milton treacherously persuaded him to cut beneath it the epigram:

> Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα
> Φαίης τάχ' ἂν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυὲς βλέπων
> Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες φίλοι,
> Γελᾶτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου,

which has been Englished:

Unskilled the hand that such a print could trace
Quickly you'll say who see the man's true face;
Friends, if for whom it stands you ne'er had dreamt,
Laugh at the wretched artist's poor attempt.

It would be interesting to know whether Humphrey Moseley himself pleased Milton much better by the following commendatory letter:

THE STATIONER TO THE READER

It is not any private respect of gain, Gentle Reader, for the slightest Pamphlet is nowadayes more vendible than the Works of Learnedest men; but it is the love I have to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such Peeces both in Prose and Vers, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue: and it's the worth of these both English and Latin Poems, not the flourish of any prefixed encomiums that can invite thee to buy them, though these are not without the highest Commendations and Applause of the learnedst Academicks, both domestick and forein: And amongst those of our own Country, the unparallel'd attestation of that renowned Provost of Eaton, SIR HENRY WOOTTON: I know not thy palat how it relishes such dainties, nor how harmonious thy soul is; perhaps more trivial Airs may please thee better. But howsoever thy opinion is spent upon these, that incouragement I have already received from the most ingenious men in their clear and courteous entertainment of MR. WALLER'S late choice Peeces, hath once more made me adventure into the World, presenting it with these, ever-green, and not to be blasted Laurels. The Authors more peculiar excellency in these studies, was too well known to conceal his Papers, or to keep me from attempting to sollicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age by bringing into the Light as true a Birth as the Muses have brought forth since our

famous SPENCER wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excell'd. Reader, if thou art Eagle-eied to censure their worth, I am not fearful to expose them to thy exactest perusal.

Thine to command,

HUMPH. MOSELEY.

The volume was registered on 6th October, 1645, but Thomason only bought it on 2nd January of the following year. In 1653, in a list of 140 books published by Moseley, it comes sixty-sixth, so that it was clearly then still on sale. No new edition was printed till 1673.

After his activity as a pamphleteer from 1641 to the beginning of 1645, Milton remained silent for nearly four years, publishing nothing but a commendatory sonnet in the 'Choice Psalmes put into Musick for three voices. Compos'd by Henry and William Lawes,' printed in 1648. At last the Presbyterian revolt against the trial and impending execution of Charles I. aroused him, and he embarked on another period of feverish production which cost him his eyesight. The latter half of the title of the first of his new pamphlets shows its real aim:

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is Lawfull, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any, who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due conviction, to depose, and put him to death; if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny'd to doe it. And that they, who of late, so much blame Deposing, are the men that did it themselves. The Author J. M. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons at the Gilded Lyon in Aldersgate Street, 1649.

Effective enough against the Presbyterians shrinking from the result of their own actions, Milton's pamphlet did little to allay the horror which the greater part of the nation felt at the execution of the king. Quick, moreover, as he had been, the Royalist presses had been quicker. Thomason bought his copy of 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' on 13th February, just a fortnight after the king's death, but 'Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Maiestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings' had been published at least four days earlier, and was to go through some fifty editions within a twelvemonth.[1] To secure Milton's services he was made Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Commonwealth, and by 6th October (Thomason's date) he had produced painfully and with some reluctance (since he did not fail to see how invidious it was 'to descant on the misfortunes of a person fallen from so high a dignity, who hath also paid his final debt both to nature and his faults') perhaps the least successful of all his tracts:

Εἰκονοκλάστης in Answer to a Book Intitil'd Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, The Portrature of his Sacred Maiesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings. The Author I. M. [Quotations: Prov. 28. 15. 16. 17. Salust. Conjurat. Catiliis.] Published by Authority. London, Printed by Matthew Simmons next dore to the gilded Lyon in Aldersgate Street. 1649.

Only a month later, in November, 1649, appeared the 'Defensio Regia' of Claudius Salmasius,

[1] 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' in the same period was only once reprinted, when it was said to be 'Published now the second time with some additions, and many Testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among Protestant Divines asserting the position of this book.'

printed by the firm of Elzevier at Leyden, and published 'Sumptibus Regiis.' On 8th January, 1650, the Council of State ordered 'that Mr. Milton do prepare something in answer to the book of Salmasius, and when he hath done it bring it to the Council,'—for the correction, apparently, either of his arguments or his Latin! On 23rd December the answer was ready and ordered to be printed, and on the 24th William Du Gard, who combined the Mastership of Merchant Taylors' School with a rather pitiful practice in printing, entered it on the Stationers' Register. His arrest had been ordered for printing Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, his presses seized, and the governors of the school ordered to dismiss him. Instead of this they made the very proper suggestion that he should give up his press. He continued, however, in the enjoyment of both his mastership and his printing business by the simple expedient of promising to print Milton's book and generally to do what he was told, whereupon he was appointed printer to 'his Highnes the Lord Protector.' Apparently he got some copies of the 'Defensio' in readiness before 25th March, 1651, since the title-page of the first issue is dated 1650. It reads:

Ioannis MiltonI Angli Pro populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii anonymi, aliàs Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam. Londini, Typis Du Gardianis, Anno Domini 1650.

At least six editions and a translation into Dutch were published in 1651, and the book gave an immense reputation to the English scholar who had ventured to stand up against the terrible Saumaise,

with Latin as good and invective as bitter as his own—a poor reward, however, for the final destruction of Milton's eyesight which it brought about. While answering Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ and Saumaise he had, of course, had his official correspondence on his hands, had been engaged in licensing work, distinguishable, but not yet altogether remote from that which he had denounced in 'Areopagitica,' and had even found time in 1649 to write 'Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the Letter of Ormond to Col. Jones, and the Representation of the Presbytery at Belfast,' appended by order of the House of Commons to a reprint of the Articles. Now he contented himself with helping his nephew John Philipps to keep up the controversy. In 1654 and the following year, however, there appeared the two following tracts:

Ioannis MiltonI Angli Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio secunda. Contra infamem libellum anonymum cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos. Londini, Typis Neucomianis. 1654.

Ioannis MiltonI Angli pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum Ecclesiasten, libelli famosi, cui titulus Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos, authorem rectè dictum. Londini, Typis Neucomianis. 1655.

The 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor' had really been written by Peter Du Moulin the younger, but Alexander More, while an inmate of the house of Saumaise, had seen it through the press. His relations with his patron's parlour-maid offered Milton such a savoury topic for Latin abuse, that even after the luckless More had quarrelled with Saumaise

and was timorously disowning all share in the Du Moulin's pamphlet, Milton persisted in treating him as its true author.

After 1655 Milton was once more silent until in February and August, 1659, he returned to his old subject of Church-government in the following two tracts:

A Treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes: shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of Religion. The author J. M. London, Printed by Tho. Newcomb. Anno 1659.

Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discourc'd Of Tithes, Church-fees, Church-revenues; And whether any maintenance of ministers can be settl'd by law. The author J. M. London, Printed by T. N. for L. Chapman at the Crown in Popes-head Alley. 1659.

The British Museum copy of the first of these has both Milton's initials on the title-page and his full signature at the end of the preface, burnt out some ardent opponent. Even in 1659 the movement to restore the monarchy was formidable, and it gained fresh force every month, or every week. Milton tried to stem the rising tide with arguments, publishing in or about the month of March two editions of the following rather forlornly-titled tract:

The Readie & Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth and the Excellence therof Compar'd with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation. The author J. M. London, Printed by T. N. and are to be sold by Livewell Chapman at the Crown in Popes-Head Alley.

He even condescended to attack a royalist preacher, dictating:

Brief Notes Upon a late Sermon, Titl'd, The Fear of God and the King; Preachd, and since Publishd by Matthew Griffith, D.D. And Chaplain to the late King. Wherin many Notorious Wrestings of Scripture, and other Falsities are observed by J. M. London. Printed in the Year 1660.

The former pamphlet produced a royalist burlesque purporting to be drawn up by order of the extinct Rota Club and 'printed by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the signe of the Windmill in Turne-againe Lane'; the latter was answered (anonymously) by Roger L'Estrange under the title, 'No Blinde Guides.' Neither the one nor the other delayed the return of Charles II. by an hour, but it was plucky of Milton to write them.

Milton had to pay for his militant republicanism after the Restoration. He had to hide and suffer imprisonment and loss of money, and one of the chief items in any Appendix to his Bibliography is the Proclamation of 13th August, 1660, ordering his 'Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio' and 'Eikonoklastes' to be burnt by the common hangman. For seven years he kept silence. His next book was 'Paradise Lost.' This was made the subject of a formal contract, perhaps the first of its kind that has been preserved, and if so, a landmark in the annals of English authorship, made with Samuel Simmons, successor of Matthew Simmons, his old publisher. £5 was paid for the poem at once, and three other payments each of £5 were to become due, each after the sale of 1,300 copies.

'Paradise Lost' is notable also in another way, for having been issued during the years 1667, 1668, 1669, with at least six different title-pages, and it has been credited with three more.

The first of these title-pages reads:

> Paradise lost. A Poem. Written in Ten Books. By John Milton. Licensed and Entred according to Order. London, Printed; and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church neer Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turks Head in Bishopsgate-street; And Matthias Walker, under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, 1667.

This is surrounded by a double rule, and single rules are printed also above and below the notice of the book having been licensed. Another title agrees exactly with this save that the words 'By John Milton' are in very much smaller type, and the rules are thought to show some signs of use. In the third title the date is altered to 1668, and instead of Milton's name we find the phrase 'The Author J. M.' The changes in the fourth title are much more considerable. It reads:

> Paradise lost. A Poem in Ten Books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomson at the Bishops-Head in Duck-lane, H. Mortlack at the White Hart in Westminster Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunstans Church in Fleet street, and R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bishopsgate street, 1668.

In the fifth variation the imprint reads 'London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Brittain. 1669'; in the sixth there are changes of type in the words

London and Angel, and a comma instead of a full stop before the date.

No certain explanation of all these changes[1] has been offered. It must be remembered that Milton had already shown a good deal of fancifulness in putting forth his previous works sometimes anonymously, sometimes under initials, without any real attempt at concealment. On the other hand, the burning out of his name and initials from the British Museum copy of his 'Treatise of Civil Power,' presumably the act of an early purchaser, may be really significant of the feelings with which Milton was regarded by many book-buyers, feelings with which publishers and booksellers would, of course, have to reckon. If so, the restoration of his full name on the title-page and the disappearance of the formal notice, 'Licensed and Entered according to Order,' offer pleasant proof that the splendour of the poem conquered all objections to the personality of its author. Mr. Wynne Baxter explains the fact that the fifth and sixth title-pages are much the commonest by supposing that Helder was a better man of business than the previous salesmen. It is possible that he was, but in any case it is in no way surprising to find the poem selling better in 1669 than in 1667. It is difficult for us to realize how completely Milton's other activities must have obscured any reputation which

[1] Three other varieties are described by Professor Masson, but neither Mr. Wynne Baxter, who has made an exhaustive study of everything which relates to the typography of 'Paradise Lost,' nor Mr. Marshall Lefferts, of New York, who also has made diligent search, has been able to trace more than these six. The British Museum now possesses all but the second variety.

he had gained from poems written nearly thirty, and last published more than twenty, years previously. Even had no political feeling stood in its way, 'Paradise Lost' could hardly have won an immediate success.

Besides the differences in their title-pages the early issues vary in other ways. Those sold at the end of 1668 and in 1669 contain seven additional leaves, inserted to supply readers with the Arguments of each of the ten books in which the poem was at first divided, a statement headed 'The Verse,' and a list of errata. At first, along with the fourth title-page, the Argument was headed by the following ungrammatical note:

The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, There was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, is procured. S. Simmons.

With the fifth title-page we find a revised version of this, which includes also the statement as to 'The Verse':

The Printer to the Reader. Courteous Reader, There was no argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withall a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not. S. Simmons.

With the appearance of the sixth title-page the note disappears altogether. Besides these changes both the statement about the Verse and the list of Errata were set up twice. There are also a number of small differences in the text of the poem, due, as Mr. Baxter showed in a paper read before the

Bibliographical Society, to the words, letters, or stops being pulled out of their places by the balls used for inking the type, and then replaced with some slight difference. On the other hand the theory which Mr. Sidney Lee has since re-stated[1] without any qualification, that 'the type was long kept standing, and the original edition was issued at intervals extending over fully two years in small batches with altered title-pages,' was shown by Mr. Baxter to be untenable, there being no probability that Simmons had the very considerable quantity of type necessary to print the whole book without one or more intermediate 'distributions,' still less that he could have afforded to keep this mass of type locked up for at least two years.

A second edition of 'Paradise Lost' was printed by Simmons in 1674, 'revised and augmented by the same Author,' and divided into twelve books instead of ten. A third edition followed, rather more quickly, in 1678, and this may have been rather larger than its predecessors, as Simmons settled the claims of Milton's widow by making her a final payment of £8, instead of paying £5 at once and another £5 when the book was again reprinted. Whether there were more copies of it or not, the third edition sufficed to supply the market for ten years. In 1680, about the time that he made his final settlement with Mrs. Milton, Simmons had sold the copyright to another of Milton's publishers, Brabazon Aylmer, and in August, 1683, Aylmer sold half of it, at a profit, to

[1] 'Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies: a census of extant copies.' 1902. Page 7.

Jacob Tonson, who had then been in business only quite a few years. On 24th March, 1690, Tonson acquired the other half also, it is said from Aylmer, though when the fourth edition appeared, in 1688, not Aylmer, but Richard Bently figures as his co-proprietor. This fourth edition was very unlike its predecessors, being a handsome folio, with an engraving to each book, mostly by Michael Burghers, after B. de Medina. It ends with an imposing list of 'The Nobility and Gentry that encourag'd by subscription the printing of this edition,' and the names, which include Dryden, Waller, Somers, Atterbury, and Roger L'Estrange, show that the honour done to Milton was purely literary, and not, as might be thought from the accident of the date, inspired by any political motive. The engravings were used again for the first edition of Milton's 'Poetical Works' seven years later, and were taken as models for the illustrations in subsequent smaller editions. No other illustrated edition of any importance was published till 1794, when three huge volumes, with numerous engravings after Westall, were brought out at the expense of John and Josiah Boydell and George Nichol. In 1732 Richard Bentley gave himself into the hands of his enemies by publishing a text full of unneeded emendations and corrections based on a wholly fanciful theory that Milton's text had been tampered with. His alteration of 'No light but rather darkness visible,' into 'No light but rather a transpicuous gloom,' is a striking example of the fatuity of classical scholars when let loose upon poetry. Thomas Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol,

showed much greater wisdom in his fine edition in two quarto volumes in 1749, going back for his text to the editions printed during Milton's life, and illustrating it with 'notes of various authors.' The only other notable editions during the eighteenth century were those published by Baskerville, in 1758-59, at Birmingham, and by Robert and Andrew Foulis, in 1770, at Glasgow, as specimens of fine printing.

'Paradise Lost' has carried us far afield. When we come back to first editions we find that its success must have been taken as proof that Milton was no longer an unsafe man to deal with. In 1669 Simmons brought out a little book which Milton had probably written years before when engaged in teaching:

> Accedence Commenc't Grammar, Supply'd with Sufficient Rules for the use of such as, Younger or Elder, are desirous, without more trouble then needs, to attain the Latin tongue, the elder sort especially, with little teaching, and their own industry. By John Milton. London, Printed for S. S. and are to be sold by John Starkey at the Miter in Fleet-street, near Temple bar. 1669.

In another issue (as if to bring all theories to naught) Milton's name is reduced to initials, while the publisher's is given in full, the imprint running, 'Printed by S. Simmons next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street.' The address to the Reader, it may be noted, begins with a sentence which might come from a circular of the English Association: 'It hath long been a general complaint . . . that the tenth part of man's life is taken up in

learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin tongue.' The 'Accidence' was followed the next year by

The History of Britain, that part especially now call'd England. From the first Traditional Beginning, continu'd to the Norman Conquest. Collected out of the Antientest and best Authours thereof by John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for James Allestry, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1770.

This, though still interesting for its digressions, is valued chiefly for its frontispiece, the fine engraving of Milton in his 62nd year, drawn and engraved 'ad vivum' by William Faithorne, the most capable English portrait engraver of the century. In 1671 we have a new issue of the 'History,' the title-page bearing the name and address of Spencer Hickman, at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1671, to take the place of those of Allestry, who had died. But we have also a much more notable book:

Paradise Regain'd. A Poem In 12 Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleet street, near Temple-Bar. 1671.

This, however, is a rather flagrant instance of post-dating, as the date of licensing, 2nd July, 1670, which faces its title-page, of itself might suggest. From the Term Catalogues we learn that the book was on sale in Michaelmas Term, 1670, at the price of four shillings (a shilling more than was charged for 'Paradise Lost'), so there was no excuse for giving it the date of the succeeding year. The imprint and date are repeated on the separate

title prefixed to 'Samson,' the body of which reads:

Samson Agonistes, A dramatic poem. The Author John Milton. Aristot. Poet. Cap. 6. Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, &c. Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriæ, &c. Per misericordiam & metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

Following this is a note, 'Of that sort of dramatic poem called Tragedy,' and also an Argument and list of 'The Persons.'

In 1672 came another small text-book, with an imitation by W. Dolle of Faithorne's engraving:

Ioannis MiltonI Angli Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata. Adjecta est Praxis Analytica & Petri Rami vita. Libris duobus. Londini, Impensis Spencer Hickman, Societatis Regalis Typographi ad insigne Rosæ in Cœmeterio D. Pauli. 1672.

In 1673 followed a new edition of his minor poems:

Poems &c. upon Several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton. Both English and Latin &c. Compos'd at several times. With a small tractate of Education To Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring at the White Lion next Chancery Lane End, in Fleet-street. 1673.

This included all the minor poems save the four political sonnets (on Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and the second to Cyriac Skinner) which had to wait for the Revolution and the piety of Milton's nephew in 1694.

It would not have hurt Milton's reputation had the new edition of his minor poems been his only

publication in 1673. But the outcry against Popery reawakened his old pamphleteering energy, and he brought out an unworthy anti-Catholic tract, on which no publisher apparently cared to put his name:

Of True Religion, Hæresie, Schism, Toleration. And what best means may be us'd against the growth of Popery. The Author J. M. London, Printed in the Year 1673.

In 1674, the last year of Milton's life, Brabazon Aylmer, who afterwards speculated in the copyright of 'Paradise Lost,' brought out a little Latin book:

Joannis Miltonii Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium liber unus: quibus accesserunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis, Prolusiones quædam oratoriæ. Londini, Impensis Brabazoni Aylmeri sub Signo Trium Columbarum Via vulgo Cornhill dicta, An. Dom. 1674.

In a Latin preface he explains that having failed to obtain a licence for printing Milton's official Latin letters he had filled up his volume with some of his college exercises obtained by help of a friend. About the same time there was published a curious piece of journalism for an old and blind man to undertake, but the attribution of which to Milton—it is anonymous—appears to be well established.

A Declaration, or Letters Patents of the Election of the present King of Poland John the Third. Elected on the 22d of May last past, Anno Dom. 1674 . . . Now faithfully translated from the Latin copy. London Printed for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons in Cornhil. 1674.

Of this, as of the 'Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon' of 1660, the British Museum possesses no copy, and I am indebted for the titles of them, as well as for some other hints, to the excellent 'Catalogue of the Exhibits' at the Milton Tercententary Celebration at the Stoke Newington Public Library, the work, no doubt, of its erudite Chairman, Mr. Baxter, by whom most of the books were lent.

After the death of Milton on 8th November, 1674, his official Latin letters were surreptitiously printed in 1676, without place or name of printer. In 1682 there appeared:

A Brief History of Moscovia and of other lessknown Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay. Gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses. By John Milton. London Printed by M. Flesher, for Brabazon Aylmer at the Three Pigeons against the Royal Exchange. 1682.

According to an Advertisement prefixed to it, 'This book was writ by the Authour's own hand, before he lost his sight. And sometime before his death dispos'd of it to be printed. But it being small, the Bookseller hop'd to have procur'd some other suitable Piece of the same Authour's to have ioyn'd with it, or else it had been publish'd 'ere now.' The most interesting unprinted manuscript which Milton had left behind him, his 'De Doctrina Christiana,' remained unpublished till 1825, when an edition and translation by the Rev. Charles Richard Sumner, George IV.'s librarian, were set forth by the king's command. The manuscript appears to have been submitted soon

after Milton's death to the Government, together with a transcript of his official Latin letters, by Daniel Skinner, in the vain hope of obtaining leave to publish them, and to have remained in the State Paper Office till 1823. When it appeared in an expensive edition under royal patronage two years later, the 'De Doctrina Christiana' may have agitated some learned minds, but Milton's reputation had had a century and a half in which to grow. The world is certainly the poorer by not having witnessed the effect of his elaborate vindication of polygamy on the Nonconformist conscience of his own day.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

THE WILL OF GEORGE THOMASON.

THE Will of George Thomason, whose notes on many of Milton's pamphlets have been mentioned in the previous article, has been often quoted from and referred to, but has never been printed in full. It seems worth while to pay it this compliment, both for the real interest which it possesses in its own right and for the information which it gives as to the 'Civil War Tracts,' which he spent so much time and money in bringing together, and as to the pecuniary value which he set on them. It appears from the codicils to the Will that the old man came to regard the 'Tracts' as his chief asset. We have no information as to price which his executors received from Samuel Mearne who was commanded by Charles II. to buy them, without receiving any grant for the purpose. A century later the 'Tracts' were acquired by George III. for the British Museum at a cost of £300, whereas in his latest codicil Thomason burdened them with two legacies of £600 each, and obviously thought that there would be a considerable balance for division among his residuary legatees. Except for the expansion of a single contraction the Will is printed exactly as it stands. (P.C.C. 64 Mico.)

*   *   *   *   *

IN the name of God Amen, I, George Thomason, Cittizen & Stationer of London, being in health of body and of sound & perfect mynd & memory, Thanks be given to Almighty God, yet considering the frailty of human condicion and the certainty of my departure out of this present life, and likewise the uncertaintie of the daye & houre when it shall please God to call for me out of it, doe therefore make and declare this my present last Will and Testament in writeing in manner and forme following, That is to say, First and principally I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty God that gave it mee, hopeing and assuredly beleeving that by and through the only meritts of his only begotten Sonne, my alone Saviour Jesus Christ, I shalbee saved, and after this short & transitory life ended bee made partaker with the holy Saints and Angells of his everlasting kingdom of glory. And my body I committ to the earth, to bee buryed in decent & seemely manner at the discrecion of my executors herafter named. And if I dye within the Cittye of London, or within tenne miles thereof, my desire is to be buryed in the South Ile of the parish of Saint Dunstans in the West London, as nere to my late deare and only wife Katherine Thomason as conveniently may be.

And as touching that porcion of Temporall estate which God of his infinite mercy and goodnes hath conferred upon mee in this life, I give and dispose thereof in manner & forme following, that is to say, Imprimis I doe give to each of my executors, my children, grandchildren and servants living with me at my death mourning at my funerall and none other,

And I doe will that each other person that is invited and doth come vnto my funerall shall have there delivered one small volume which I have long since packt vp for that very purpose, And if there bee any left vndisposed of at my funerall my will is that my executors doe distribute them amongst such of my friends and acquaintance as shall not be present at my funerall, which are mencioned in a list written with my owne hand, where ever their habitacions are, in such convenient tyme after my funerall as may bee. And my will alsoe is That what other charge is usuall expended vaynly vpon funeralls be distributed amongst the poore of the parishes of Saint Faith and Saint Dunston in the West London Nevertheless at the discrecion of my executors.

And whereas I, being a ffreeman of the Citty of London and a widower, by the ancient & laudable Custome thereof my estate ought to bee divided into Three parts, Two parts whereof are in my own disposicion and the other Third parte ought to come to my Children unprovided for, I doe therefore, after payment of my debts & funerall expenses according to that ancient & laudable Custome, give & bequeath vnto my fower younger children, vizt Edward Grace Henry & Thomas one thirde parte, the whole into three equal parts to be devided of all my estate whatsoever, equally & proporcionably part & parte alike. My eldest sonne, George Thomason, and my eldest daughter, Katherine, now wife of William Stonestreete, being both advanced in marryage, have had and receaved from mee liberall and plentifull porcions of my estate.

And as touchinge the other Two Third parts,

The whole unto three equall parts to bee devided of my estate, I give and bequeath the same in manner & forme following, That is to say, I give and bequeath vnto my Said sonne George Thomason soe many bookes of such quality as hee shall chuse out of my stocke of bookes as may bee reasonably worth Tenne pounds to be sold in everye yeare for the space of Tenne yeares next after my death, And I doe will my executors to deliver the same unto him, yearely and every yeare, on the four and twentyeth day of June in every yeare dureing the said space of Tenne yeares The First delivery to bee made on the foure and twentyeth Daye of June next after my death. And all the said deliveryes to bee made at the dwellyng house of my executor, Henry Thomason, wherever it shall be. I alsoe give vnto my said sonne George my Bible which I dayly used, being Clasped with a paire of Clapses, with two hands and a heart in the middest, and all the loose papers in that Bible. And I give unto my daughter Avis Thomason wife of the said George my booke of Martyrs in three volumes out of my library called my late dea wifes library.

Item I give & bequeath vnto my said daughter Katherine Stonestreete as a testimony of my Fatherly affection unto her out of my said Library Tenne volumes of books in Folio, Twenty volumes of bookes in Quarto and Thirty volumes of Bookes in Octavo such as she shall make choise of (Excepte booke of Martyrs whiche I have given unto her formerly and the Rix Bible with Cutts in itt, which was bound at Paris, which Rix Bible I

give vnto my grandsonne William Stonestreete for the Cutts sake, wherein hee taketh much delight. And I also give vnto my saide Grandsonne Tenne pounds in money to bee bestowed on a piece of plate for him thereby the better to remember mee. And my sonne George haveing receaved a large proporcion of my said late deare wife's library already I doe give and bequeath the remaynder of the said library vnto and amongst my said children Edward, Grace Henry & Thomas to be equally and proporcionably devided amongst them parte and porcion a like, That looking upon them they may remember to whom they did once belong, hopeing that they will make the better use of them for their pretious & deare mothers sake.

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Grace Thomason her late deare Mothers watch and Ebony Cabbinett and all the goods in it And my best bed and furniture. I alsoe give to my said daughter Grace six hundred pounds in money over and besides her customary part and other legacies before bequeathed, to bee paid unto her at the birth of her first child, or within twelve monethes after her marriage, which shall first and next happen after my death. And to my sonne Thomas Thomason I give my greate Iron Chest.

Item, I doe give and bequeath the somme of forty shillings per annum dureing soe long tyme as my sonne Henry, one of my executors hereunder named, shall live, to bee by him paid vnto two such able and orthodox divines as hee shall yearely make choyce of to preach two sermons yearely, the one in the parish Church of Saint Dunstan in the West

upon Good Fryday in every yeare in commemoration of the sufferings of our Lord and blessed Saviour for mankind, And the other to be preached at Saint Paules Church in London upon the Thirteenth day of August in every yeare in Commemoration of the greate deliverance from the Spanish invasion in Anno Domini one Thousand five hundred fower score and eight, a mercy to this kingdome still to be kept in memory and never forgotten.

Item, I doe will my executors to bestowe the somme of Tenne pounds in an handsome peece of plate and to present it as my guift to the company of Stationers London, whereof I am a member, and the like somme of Tenne pounds in another peece of plate and to present it as my guift to the worshipfull company of haberdashers who have ever honoured me with their Love and solemne festivalls.

Item, I give to my servant John Durham, if he shalbe living with me at my death, fower pounds in money. And I desire my sonne Henry to accept him into partnership of stocke and Trade with him for one halfe or one third, if hee is able to accomplish it. And to all other my men servants and mayd servants that shalbe living with mee at my death I give forty shillings a peece in money.

And whereas I have a Collection of Pamphletts and other writeings and papers bounde up with them, of severall volumes, gathered by me in the tyme of the late warres and beginning the third day of November Anno Domini one thousand six hundred and forty and continued until the happie returne and coronacion of his most gracious Maiestie King Charles the second, upon which I put a very

high esteeme in regard that it is soe intire a work and not to be pararelled, and alsoe in respect of the long & greate paynes industry and charge that hath bin taken and expended in & about the collection of them Now I doe give the said collection of Pamphletts vnto my honored friends Thomas Barlowe, Doctor of Divinitie and now Provoste of Queenes Colledge in Oxon and Thomas Lockey, Doctor of Divinitie and principall keeper of the Publicke Library in Oxon, and John Rushworth of Linconlnes Inne esquire, vpon trust to bee by them sold for the use and benefitt of my Three sonnes Edward, Henry and Thomas, to be paid vnto them equally and proporcionably parte and parte alike, and I give to each of my said three honored friends Doctor Barlow, Doctor Lockey and Mr. John Rushworth forty shillings a peece in money to buy each of them a ring to weare in remembraunce of mee.

The rest and residue of my readie money plate goods household stuffe and other estate whatsoever I give and bequeath vnto my said three sonnes namely Edward Thomason Henry Thomason and Thomas Thomason to be equally devided amongst them part & porcion alike.

And of this my last Will and Testament I make and constitute my said sonne Henry and my sonne in law William Stonestreete the full & sole executors, commanding them to see it punctually performed according to my true meaning herein expressed. And I doe desire my loving friends, Mr. Anthony Dowse, Mr. Luke Fawne and my cousin Francis Griffith, to be overseers of this my

last will and Testament And to be aydeing and assisting vnto my executors in the execucion thereof. And in token of my love vnto them I give unto each of them forty shillings in money to buy each of them a ring to weare in remembrance of mee. And my will and mynd is, and I doe declare the same soe to bee That whatsoever Legacie I shall give to any of my friends & acquayntance by any Codicill written with my owne hand and annexed to this my will shalbe taken as parte of this my will and paid by my executors.

In witnes whereof I, the said George Thomason, have to this my last will and Testament, contayned in seaven sheets or leaves of paper, subscribed my name to everye sheete and prefixed my seale to the toppe & laste sheete, this one and twentieth day of November Anno Domini 1664 Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Angliæ &c, decimo sexto. George Thomason.

Signed sealed published and declared by the Testator as and for his last will & Testament on the day of the date aforesaid in the presence of us, Richard Farmar George Jones, John Stourton.

Now not knowing how my estate may fall out after my death according to my will lately made in case it shall fall short Then I doe give to my two deare children, my daughter Grace Thomason and my sonne Thomas Thomason That full somme of money that my collection of Pamphletts shalbe sold for, to bee equally devided betwixt them both for their advancement, which collection is in the hands of Doctor Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queenes

Colledge in Oxford, who is now in treaty with me about them for the publique Library, and I doubt not but neere a conclusion, which being concluded then shall I intreate and desire my good friend Mr Matt Goodfellow to be assistant to my sonne his servant in that perticular, which I have noe cause to doubt of. George Thomason. January 20th, 1664 Signed and sealed in the presence of John Durham, William Fletcher.

A Codicill

I have made my last will and Testament bearing date the one and twentieth day of November Anno Domini 1664. I doe by this Codicill constitute and make my sonne Thomas Thomason another executor to bee added to his brother Henry Thomason and his brother in lawe William Stonestreete. I alsoe adde my loveing friend Mr. Goodfellow, his master, to be another overseer of this my last will, a person of whose integritie and fidelity I am well assured of. My Iron Chest and all that is in itt I bequeath to my deare sonne Thomas: That Legacie to the company of Stationers I give upon Condicion that they take into their hands, and discharge me of the rent of the two bigger warehouses I hold of them by lease at Stationers Hall. And as for the six hundred pounds in money bequeathed to my dear daughter Grace, if the accustomary parte fall shorte, as I feare it maye Then that the said somme be paid her out of that money which the Pamphletts shalbee sould for. And the like somme of six hundred pounds issueing

out of the sale of these Pamphletts I bequeath to my deare sonne Thomas now made one of my executors And the remaynder thereof to my sonne Henry and his brother Edward, with the blessing of Almighty God upon them all. May the Two and Twentieth in the yeare of our Lord 1665. George Thomason.

Proved 27th April 1666 by William Stonestreete & administration granted to the sons Henry & Thomas.

DAFYDD AB GWILYM.

ALTHOUGH of all Welsh writers Dafydd ab Gwilym is certainly the best known to Englishmen, perhaps, indeed, the only one of whom they have heard, it may be doubted whether even he is much more than a name. The responsibility for this is no doubt largely to be attributed to Welshmen, to their neglect to bring the claims of their literature to the notice of other nations. Even to the very small number of Englishmen familiar with Welsh, the difficulties in the way of a study of Welsh poetry are great. Only a comparatively small portion of it has been published at all; the greater part of at least the mediæval poetry is hidden away in manuscripts often difficult of access. Nor is the study of poets like Dafydd ab Gwilym, whose works have been published, an easy thing. There is no really critical edition of Dafydd, for though Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans is preparing one, it has not yet appeared; so that it may often happen that, in Professor Cowell's words, the student "spends his strength uselessly in attempting to solve some enigma which at last turns out to be no dark saying of the poet, but some dull blunder of a scribe." Moreover, as there is no annotated edition of Dafydd, and all the existing Welsh dictionaries are seriously inadequate,

it is by no means a light undertaking to make one's way unaided through the many difficulties which, even when the text is sound, the poems offer.

In spite of all these obstacles, Dafydd has been the object of enthusiastic admiration and study by Welshmen; he has inspired innumerable later poets, has influenced greatly the course of Welsh literature, and to some extent the ideas of Welshmen, and has come to be regarded by many as the chief poet of Wales.

But it is not only from this point of view that Dafydd is worth knowing; for he is a poet to be read for his own sake. Probably few people will agree with Borrow's extravagant estimate of him as 'the greatest poetical genius that has appeared in Europe since the revival of literature'; but he is nevertheless a great poet and a real addition to our literary acquaintance. Perhaps, therefore, it will be some slight service both to Welsh literature and to English students of poetry to translate some specimens of his work. He has, indeed, been better treated by translators than the majority ot Welsh poets. To say nothing of earlier versions, a volume of verse-translations, which, though by no means inspired, are in several cases above the average of such renderings, was published by A. J. Johnes in 1834; but this book, which is now to be obtained only by a lucky accident from some second-hand bookseller, does not seem to be widely known among English readers. To 'Y Cymmrodor' for 1878 (vol. ii.) Professor Cowell contributed an admirable article on the poet, with some verse and prose translations; but the volume is not likely to

have been seen by many except persons already interested in Wales and Welsh literature. Translations of single poems are to be met with in various places; the best I have seen are by Mr. W. J. Gruffydd ('The Celtic Review,' April, 1907), and by Mr. Ernest Rhys ('Celtia,' October, 1907).

The prose versions here given are of course a very inadequate representation of Dafydd's work as a whole, and they can give no idea of his metrical skill, and the sweetness and verbal felicity which distinguish his verse. For their form, however, some defence can be given. No doubt an inspired verse translation of any poet is always better than the best prose rendering; but an inspired translator of Welsh verse has yet to be found, and failing him there is much to be said for prose. The whole of Dafydd's work is in the 'strict metres,' which, being built up, not from feet and stress-accent like English verse, but from syllables and *cynghanedd*, a sort of combined rhyme and alliteration, are totally different from anything in English. It is, therefore, quite impossible to represent their peculiar effect in English verse; and this being so, the chief advantage of a verse translation, that it more accurately represents the effect of the original, is lost. On the other hand, it is possible to be much more literal in prose; though it must be remarked that the great difference between English and Welsh idiom makes strict literalness in many cases impossible. Even in their own limited sphere these translations leave much to be desired; but in default of anything else, they may serve to introduce a beautiful poet to English readers.

It will perhaps be well to supplement these specimens by some general remarks on the poet and his works. The time has hardly yet come for a discussion of the facts of his life; for till the publication of a critical edition of his poems, and the definite attribution of several poems of doubtful authenticity, it is unsafe to use his works for biographical purposes, and the traditional biography is suspected at almost every point. Almost the only two facts which can be regarded as certain—though even the second of these has been disputed by more patriotic than critical Northwallians—are that he lived in the fourteenth century and that he was a native of South Wales.

Concerning his poems more may be said, since few readers of this article are likely to know much of his work, and the poems here translated are too few to form a basis for criticism. Professor Cowell and others have dwelt upon the many resemblances between Dafydd and the troubadours, and though, as Professor Cowell remarks, Dafydd is a greater poet than any troubadour, the similarity of tone and subject is undoubted. Like the troubadours he is pre-eminently the poet of love and of the summer; but he gives to his treatment of these themes a naturalness and freshness very different from the artificiality of Provençal poetry. A contemporary of Chaucer, he differed from him in having behind him an old and highly developed poetical tradition; he inherited a language long adapted to literary uses and brought to a singular degree of perfection, and this language he uses with a mastery which raises him, as Matthew Arnold said of Chaucer, far

above the 'mediæval helplessness.' But if he is the heir of the past, he is also the initiator of a new school. It is possible to trace the growth of *cynghanedd* all through early Welsh poetry, but not till the fourteenth century, in Dafydd and his contemporaries, does it appear as a fully developed system; and about then also began to be formed the canon of twenty-four 'strict metres' (finally established in the fifteenth century), chief among them the *cywydd*, in which nearly all Dafydd's poems are written.

In his subjects also he marks a new era. Throughout the second period of Welsh literature, from 1100 A.D. to the end of the thirteenth century, poetry was intimately connected with the great struggle against England. There were indeed both love poems and religious poems, but the most characteristic productions of the age were political in character, elegies or panegyrics on patriotic princes, songs of lamentation for defeat or exultation in victory. After the final conquest comes a time of despairing silence; then of a sudden we find Dafydd ab Gwilym singing light-heartedly or nature and of his lady. His contemporary Iolo Goch lived to celebrate Owen Glendower and to exult in what seemed the recovery of Welsh liberty, but no faintest echo of the national cause is heard in Dafydd.

I have already said that Dafydd is pre-eminently the poet of the summer, and the remark indicates at once his merit and his limitation. It would probably not be unjust to say that this limitation, which alone prevents him from taking a very high

rank among the poets of modern Europe, proceeds from a certain want of character. In saying this I do not mean to imply any condemnation of his morals, which, for aught I know, may have been beyond reproach. The life of Catullus was one which not a Puritan only would find it difficult to approve of, yet it was Catullus who wrote one of the noblest couplets in the whole poetry of love:

> 'Dilexi tum te, non tantum ut volgus amicam,
> Sed pater ut gnatos diligit et generos.'

It would be rash to make general statements without a wider knowledge of Dafydd's works than I possess, but I doubt if he would ever have been capable of such a depth of passionate insight as that. He is in many ways representative, both in its defects and in its virtues, of the Welsh mediæval character—a character so different from that of to-day, moulded by a century and a half of Protestant Nonconformity—exquisitely delicate and graceful, exquisitely sensitive to every influence of beauty, enamoured of life and the joy of life, of bright colours, lovely forms, and the sunshine; richly endowed with fancy, quick to emotion, ardent and agile, yet withal a little volatile and untrustworthy, wanting in stamina, in depth, in grip of realities; a character the despair of the rigid moralist, but rising by its gracious loveableness to a sphere where most men will feel that the ordinary moral standards may be disregarded. There is, too, in Dafydd a humour which, while no doubt partly responsible for the ease with which he handles his subject, introduces at times a jarring

note, a flippancy and want of nobleness disconcerting to his admirers, as when, in his poem on the thunder, he descends from so magnificent an image as 'a thousand giants shouting together from the chariots[1] of the constellations' to the stupid frivolity of 'an ugly hag banging her crockery.' We should hardly go to him for sublimity, for deep insight, for criticism of life; he is, as Professor Cowell says, the poet of the fancy rather than of the imagination, playing exquisitely on the surface of things, but rarely penetrating to their elemental reality. Nevertheless he is capable at times of deep feeling, as in the beautiful lines which conclude his poem to the summer (below, p. 53); he is capable, too, of wonderful touches of imaginative vision, as in the fine line describing the snow-clad country-side, which Professor Cowell quotes:

'Palment mwy na mynwent mor,'

'a pavement vaster than the graveyard of the sea,' or the poem on 'The Lineage of the Owl,' alluding to the old Welsh legend concerning the transformation of the unfaithful wife of Llew Llaw Gyffes, when, in reply to the poet's abuse, the bird tells him with dignified pathos how 'at the banquets of yore princes called me Flower-Aspect,' and beseeches him

[1] Welsh, *certwynau*. There is a variant reading *cadwynau*, "chains." [For the benefit of Welsh students it will be well to say that the text from which these translations are made is that of Mr. O. M. Edwards in "Cyfres y Fil" (except in the case of two passages, not given in that selection). I should like to apologize in advance for any errors which my renderings of a poet often difficult may contain.]

to 'leave me in peace, to endure pain and chastisement, and the hate of all birds that live.' In his own realm of the fancy he is perfect; he has a lightness of touch which in his best poems is unerring. It is perhaps most exquisite in those poems, like the one describing his own funeral when his mistress's cruelty has killed him, in which he mingles a playful humour with an under-current of pathos. His exuberant fancy sometimes leads him, as we have seen, into faults of taste, but these after all are few in comparison with the many lovely images which adorn almost every poem. 'A black eyebrow upon fair parchment, like a swallow on the bosom of the wave'; 'the wings of a flaming seraph,' and 'the sunlit border of a crested wave,' of gold hair; 'white bees of heaven wandering through Gwynedd,' of falling snow; 'a ray of sunlight, the gauntlet of ocean' and 'a (white) nun on the crest of the tide,' of a sea-gull; 'the candle of the most high God,' and 'the pearl of Mary,' of the moon; 'the porter of April,' 'the teacher of praise between light and darkness,' 'a chorister in God's chapel,' 'sea-lord of the tangled ocean of the sky,' of the skylark—such are a few of the images which his inexhaustible invention pours forth. His nature-poetry shows everywhere the traces of minute and loving observation; nature to him was no conventional literary background, but the object of his deepest feeling. His descriptions of natural sights and sounds do not indeed show the minute fidelity of some English poets, of Browning, for instance, in his poem on the thrush, nor the philosophic depth of Wordsworth, or, in Wales, of his disciple

Islwyn; but they have an exquisite grace, a wealth of imagery quite unsurpassed; they are reflections of nature absolutely true in essence, but seen in a magic mirror where all takes on a new glory and strangeness under the light of fancy. A characteristic instance is the lovely description of the nightingale's song:

Delicately she sings her first grave note, the sweet mean and treble of her stormy song. It is love's bright, enraptured prelude from the choir of the leaves; the happy song of a pure, glad maiden as she climbs through the branches, the bright welding of love. Dear is her memory to the minstrel,[1] poetess, weaver among the trees. Glad she is by day and by night, a voice unstammering, perfect in pure loveliness.

Another, and perhaps more striking example of Dafydd's fanciful imagery is the poem on the thrush-cock, which I translate in full.

In a pleasant place I was to-day, under the mantles of the fair green hazels, listening in the bright dawning of day to the learned music of the thrush-cock. Surely far from here was he born, and a far journey was his, the gray messenger of love. He came hither from the narrow shire of Chester at the bidding of my golden sister.[2] His robe, from his slender waist, was of a thousand

[1] Welsh *ofydd*, which may be either a proper noun (=Ovid) or a common one. Professor Cowell takes it as the former, translating, 'valuable is her mention of Ovid'; but surely the meaning could only be, 'valuable is her mention *by*' or 'her memory *to* Ovid.' O. M. Edwards in his edition prints the word with a small initial, evidently taking it as a common noun.

[2] Morvyth, the poet's lady (see below, p. 55). It is not uncommon in Welsh, as in Oriental, literature for a poet to call his mistress his sister.

delicately branching flowers; his cassock, you would guess, of the wings of the wind's green mantles; there was not there, on my faith, aught but gold for a covering to the altar.

Morvyth had sent him, sweet singer, foster son of May. I heard him in glowing notes descant unceasingly, and with clear and unstammering tongue read the gospel to all the congregation. On the hill there he raised to us, for wafer, a fair leaf, and the bright nightingale with her sweet eloquence, minstrel of the glen, sang to many listeners[1] from the corner of the wood beside him. Then the sacring-bell rang clear, and they raised the host, even to heaven, above the thicket, singing an ode to our Lord and Father, lifting up a chalice of ecstacy and love,—ah! fain I am of the singing that was prepared in the birch-copse of the woodland.

In a graver strain is the beautiful invitation to the summer to visit Morgannwg,[2] one of the poet's most famous works:

Thou Summer, sire of lustihead, with thy fair tangled forest brakes, jewelled prince of the glen, whose hot sun awakens yonder valley; ample are thy branches that shadow our highways, thou chief prophet of green boughs, who shall match thy tangled weaving,[3] skilled painter of the fair trees? Thou hast created purest gems and rich webs on park and hill; thou coverest with pasture the face of the fair green earth, making it sweet as a second Paradise. Thou hast brought flowers, and leaves on leaves, lovely row on row above thy leafy dwellings. The notes of the young birds come back to us, the song of the Spring is on oak and hillock, and we hear among the buds a proud and lovely music, where the blackbird

[1] Lit. 'a hundred.'
[2] Glamorgan; pronounce *w* like English *oo*.
[3] A free (and doubtful) rendering.

sings. All the world thou givest us, and makest all men glad.

Hear me, O Summer! If I have my desire, for which I come ambassador to thee in thy glory, fly over me to the land of Essyllt, from the mid country of wild Gwynedd.[1] Ride on even to my border, dear land on the sea's brow.

Bear for me of thy grace my greetings, yea, twenty times, to Morgannwg; my blessing and all good things, two hundred times, to that land I love. Put forth thy power for my country in all its confines, walk thou round about it—a country enclosed and trim, land of abundance, full of corn and hay, with lakes of fish, sweet orchards, houses of stone where dwells plenty, lords who dispense the banquet, pouring forth to men rich wine. It is seen at all times, my lovely land, thick set with orchards, full of all birds that haunt the woodland, of leaves and meadow flowers, with wide-branching trees and bright fields, corn in eight kinds and three of hay; a sweet and radiant land clad in green, fair grown with clover.

There are rich lords who give me golden coins and mead; and many a choir of singers who make music with string, and melody. Help and sustenance for all lands spring from it each day, and its milk and wheat give increase to far countries; Morgannwg, on the brow of the isle, feeds every place, each palace, and precinct.

If I win thee, O Summer, in thy lovely hour, with thy plenty and thy growing growth, bear gently thy calm days, a golden messenger, to Morgannwg. On some hot morning make the world glad, and greet the white homesteads. Give plenty; give the first growth of the spring, and heap together thy flowers; shine proudly on the lime-white wall, amply, in the brightness of light; set there in thine own land the trace of thy foot, green-robed grassy pastures; shake the burden of sweet fruits freely about its trees;

[1] North Wales; pronounce Gwyneth.

pour thine abundance, like a river, on every forest, and the meadows, and the wheat-land; clothe orchard, vineyard, and garden with thy plenty and fertility; scatter upon its lovely earth the sweet notes of thy bright season.

Then, in the time of thy flowers, when thy tree-tops are glossy with many leaves, I will gather the roses from the close, the meadow flowers, and the gems of the woodland, bright clover, the raiment of earth, and the sweet blossom of grass, to set them for a memorial of my gold-famed lord, ah, woe is me! upon Ivor's[1] grave.

As a poet of love Dafydd is capable of tenderness, but hardly of passion; his love, whether genuine or not (and I for one cannot doubt its genuineness), serves less as an end in itself than as the impulse to radiant flights of fancy, a theme to embroider with lovely words and images. In a large proportion of his poems the two themes, love and nature, are intermingled, and he sends the birds and the forces of nature, the wind for example, on embassy to his lady. Several ladies are celebrated in his poems, but the chief object of his muse was a certain Morvyth.[2] About the personality of this lady there has been much dispute. Professor Cowell has advanced the theory, which he supports by the analogy of Provençal love-poetry, that Dafydd's passion for her was a purely fictitious and conventional one; and a fantastic attempt has more recently been made to turn her into an allegorical figure of Wales; her husband, the 'Bwa Bach,' or 'little hunchback,' whom the poet covers with ridicule, being England. The latter theory scarcely

[1] Ivor Hael, the poet's patron.

[2] Welsh *Morfudd*. I spell as above to show the pronunciation.

calls for discussion. Professor Cowell advances some strong arguments for his, but in view of the tone of certain poems, particularly those written in the poet's later years, I find it very difficult to believe that Morvyth was anything but a real person, or the poet's love a literary convention.

Dafydd's attitude to life in general is that of the natural man in revolt against mediæval asceticism. He is of the kindred of Aucassin: 'In Paradise what have I to win? Therein I seek not to enter, but only to have Nicolete, my sweet lady that I love so well. . . . But into Hell would I fain go; for into Hell fare the goodly clerks, and goodly knights that fall in tourneys and great wars, and stout men at arms, and all men noble. With these would I liefly go. And thither pass the sweet ladies and courteous that have two lovers, or three, and their lords also thereto. Thither goes the gold, and the silver, and cloth of vair, and cloth of gris, and harpers, and makers, and the prince of this world. With these I would gladly go, let me but have with me Nicolete, my sweetest lady.' In a similar spirit Dafydd protests against 'the creed of the monks of Rome,' for example in the following poem, which is one of several alleged to have been addressed to the daughter of Ivor Hael, the poet's patron. According to the tradition, Dafydd was appointed the young lady's tutor, but a mutual passion arose between them, and Ivor placed his daughter in a convent in Anglesey, where Dafydd besieged her with odes. The tradition does not seem to rest on any very secure foundation, but may serve in default of anything else.

The love of a pale black-eyed maid fills me with care; I pine away. Is it truth, O woman that I love, that thou carest nought for the fair-growing birch-tree of Summer? Wilt thou never cease in thy cloister, thou perfect star, thy psalm-singing? A nun and a saint thou art, dear to all the choir; for God's sake have done with the bread and water, and cast from thee thy cress. Have done, o' Mary's name, with the lean paternoster, and the creed of the monks of Rome. Be no more a nun in the Spring-time; better are the woods than the cloister. Fairest of women, thy religion is treason against love; the ring of troth, the mantle, and green raiment would better beseem thee. Come to the spreading birch, to the creed of the trees and the cuckoo, where none will chide us that we gain Heaven in the green woodland. Forget not the book of Ovid, and have done with too much religion. There, among the fair trees by the hill-side, we will set our souls free. Is it any worse that a maid of gentle birth should gain a soul in the woodland than to do as we should do at Rome or the shrine of Saint James?

Several poems again contain controversies between the poet and some monk or other who stands as the type of established morality. In one of these, which indeed is perhaps not a genuine work of Dafydd's, but is at any rate thoroughly in keeping with his spirit, he declares:

God is not so cruel as old men say; it is a lie of priests, reading some musty parchment. God will never damn the soul of a gentle youth for loving woman or maid. Three things there are that are loved through all the world, woman and fair weather and health; woman will be the fairest flower in Heaven save God himself. . . . From Heaven came all delight, from Hell all sadness.

He is then the poet of the summer, the poet of

youth and love and the joy of life. A tradition, stated, quite possibly with truth, to go back to an eye-witness, declares that he was 'tall and slender, with long rippling yellow hair, full of golden curls and ringlets'; and he has himself given us some indications of his personal appearance. In his poem on the hard-heartedness of the ladies of Llanbadarn he says:

There was never a Sunday passed in Llanbadarn but I was in Church taking stock of the congregation,[1] with my face on some sweet girl, and only the nape of my neck turned up to the dear God. After I have gazed an age over their feathers, across the whole congregation, one will say to her neighbour in a clear whisper, easy to hear, "Look at the pale-faced boy there with his languishing glances. Sure 'tis his sister's hair he is wearing!"'

In his poem 'The Spectre,' too, he puts into the phantom's mouth what may well be the picture of his own youth:

'I too was young, as one not made for death, and in the pride of youth passed about the world reaping just renown, a wandering man of war, even as thou art. Fair love-locks clad my shoulders, auburn-hued, fair-growing as the vine-tendrils; bright were mine eyes, pure and clear, my glance was keen, my tongue rich in faultless speech; I had pride in the May-time. I kissed my lady in the fair, pleasant summer days.; I walked in honour;

[1] Welsh *na bawn ac eraill a'm barn*, a difficult line. My translation, which is free, rests on the assumption that, as suggested by a friend, *ac* may be (by an easy MS. corruption) a mistake for *ar*, in which case the logical order will be *na bawn a'm barn ar eraill*, and the literal meaning, 'that I was not with my judgment on (=was not criticizing) others.'

I had joy in women and the mead-bowl; but in the end came silence—my boast was great, yet I must die.'[1]

'In the end came silence.' Yes! even youth and the joy of life must pass. Summer goes, and the poet of the summer is left mute. In the dark winter hours, in the shadow of death, it is not to the poet of the summer that we shall turn for consolation and new courage; but so long as summer days return and the woods grow green again, so long, we may believe, the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym will endure.

We may fitly conclude with two poems written in later life.

THE POET IN OLD AGE RECALLS THE DAYS THAT HAVE BEEN

O lily-maid, bright of hue, Morvyth, fair as the comely light of day, much have I sung of thee, O thou whose beauty is in all men's sight.

Yester-eve, 'twas late, I tarried for thee, sweetheart, in the place where we met that first summer-month of our love. I gazed awhile, I looked about me and remembered,——

When first in secret I saw thy shape and heard thy voice, our wood upon its sweet bank was all leafy and young, and on the top of my birch-tree no branch was broken; lusty it was, full of the summer and youth's increase, even to its roots. A green temple it was, a house of many leaves, a cottage thatched with thick foliage, a lovely tower, round-topped, battlemented; its branches

[1] I find the Welsh here difficult, and the translation may be inaccurate in places.

were strong and round, and birds with their lore sang rapturously yonder in the forest. The blackbird to our sweet birch-tree came with offering of tender songs; thou knowest how radiantly he sang to the lovely wood in May. At night came the nightingale to our leaves, enraptured, with melodious music, and we greeted duly the psalm she sang to love's tune.

Now grievous age holds lordship over the delicate leaves, and the tree with withered branches pines under the languishment of winter and the pouring rain. Old age weighs heavily upon it, and the storm-wind bears away its covering; and no more upon its head does the blackbird exult in his gold-woven song,[1] nor the nightingale sing her odes in the midst of it. Too cold is it now!

I remember my young strength, and the love that I bore thee, sweet; and the great chastisement I had for loving thee, and how I did not win thee to be my crown of life. Long waiting for love wore me away, and life was ever hard for me; natheless I must endure my burden many a year without thee. Bitter is the anguish in my brain, and in my heart chill decay for thy sake; grievous my night-watches; my grave is made ready for me.

[1] Johnes translates these two lines—

> 'And the ouzel's pride is o'er,
> With his head befleck'd with gold,'

and he adds a note on the second: 'This line is a literal translation; though it does not suit the common ouzel, it may apply to the rose-coloured ouzel whose head is glossed with blue, purple, and green. Bewick, p. 95. In a poet so true to nature this line still leaves a difficulty.' It is curious that it did not occur to him that his translation might be wrong, for wrong it certainly is. *Ar ei ben*, 'on his head,' refers to the tree, not the blackbird, and *ag eurwe bwnc* can only mean 'with gold-woven song.'

THE LAST CYWYDD[1]

After youth, mourning; like an arrow it pierces me. My life to me is sorrow now; I will call for strength to the Lord.

Gone is youth and its glory; if my day was brave it is over now. Gone is my wisdom and my brain, and love's vengeance takes hold upon me; the Muse is cast from my lips, she that long time brought me song to inspire me. Where is Ivor, who gave me counsel? Where is Nest,[2] who was my refuge? Where is Morvyth, my world, beneath the trees? They rest all in the sod, and I fare heavily all my days, under a bitter burden enduring long pain.

I shall sing no more songs, nor make trial of them, to the trees, or the young herbs, or the vetch. No more in the lovely woodland can I rejoice for the nightingale's song, nor the cuckoo's, nor for the kiss of the woman I loved, my darling, nor her voice, nor the sound of her speech.

Old age is a dart in my brain; it is not the love of a fair maid is my sickness now,—nay, love is gone from me, and all my favour; it is a grief to think thereon. I am become as chaff, without strength; I am fallen into the snares of death. The grave is made ready for me, and life's end, and the earth. Christ be my haven and my help! Amen; it is the end!

H. IDRIS BELL.

[1] One of the twenty-four metres (see above, p. 48). I do not translate 'last lines,' because the last lines were actually in the *englyn* metre.

[2] The wife of Ivor Hael.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

NOT content with his late exposition of one episode of French history, Anatole France has now produced in 'L'Île des Pingouins' a satirical survey of the whole of French history with special reference to the events of the last thirty years. That the work is well done goes without saying, but I cannot help wondering if it was worth the doing. An acute French critic reminds us that however much we may dislike the age into which we are born, 'il faut vivre, et les hommes n'ont guère coutume de reconnaître la parole de vie dans un langage nuancé de dédain.' The preface deals with methods of writing history. M. France tells us that he began by consulting learned archæologists and palæologists. They could offer him no assistance:

'Est-ce que nous écrivons l'histoire, nous? Est-ce que nous essayons d'extraire d'un texte, d'un document, la moindre parcelle de vie ou de vérité? Nous publions les textes purement et simplement. Nous nous en tenons à la lettre. La lettre est seule appréciable et définie. L'esprit ne l'est pas; les idées sont des fantaisies. Il faut être bien vain pour écrire l'histoire: il faut avoir de l'imagination.'

Pursuing his investigations farther, among so-called historians, he discovered that imagination was no longer required for the writing of history; indeed, he was told that histories need not be composed afresh, it was better to imitate those that already existed, for

'Si vous avez une vue nouvelle, une idée originale, si vous présentez les hommes et les choses sous un aspect inattendu, vous surprendrez le lecteur. Et le lecteur n'aime pas à être surpris. Il ne cherche jamais dans une histoire que les sottises qu'il sait déjà. Si vous essayez de l'instruire, vous ne ferez que l'humilier et le fâcher. Ne tentez pas de l'éclairer, il criera que vous insultez à ses croyances.'

And so, finding help nowhere, M. France determined to write history in his own way:

'Le présent ouvrage appartient, je dois le reconnaître, au genre de la vieille histoire, de celle qui présente la suite des événements dont le souvenir s'est conservé, et qui indique, autant que possible, les causes et les effets; ce qui est un art plutôt qu'une science. On prétend que cette manière de faire ne contente plus les esprits exacts et que l'antique Clio passe aujourd'hui pour une diseuse de sornettes.'

The work is divided into eight books, dealing with 'Les origines; Les temps anciens; Le moyen âge et la renaissance; Les temps modernes' (which fill three books); and 'Les temps futurs.' The apotheosis of modern civilization is thus described:

'Cependant la Pingouinie se glorifiait de sa richesse. Ceux qui produisaient les choses nécessaires à la vie en manquaient; chez ceux qui ne les produisaient pas, elles surabondaient. Le grand peuple pingouin n'avait plus

ni traditions, ni culture intellectuelle, ni arts. Les progrès de la civilisation s'y manifestaient par l'industrie meurtrière, la speculation infâme, le luxe hideux. Sa capitale revêlait, comme toutes les grandes villes d'alors, un caractère cosmopolite et financier: il y régnait une laideur immense et régulière. Le pays jouissait d'une tranquillité parfaite. C'était l'apogée.'

Of future times a terrible picture is drawn. At a certain point everything will be blown up by dynamite, but—even that catastrophe will not annihilate the reign of wealth, of vast industrial undertakings, of unholy trusts, and everything will be again exactly as it was before.

The book abounds in wit and satire that is both subtle and diverting. For example, the craze in art for the primitives, a craze our historian finds it very difficult to comprehend, draws forth this comment, 'Ce dont on est frappé d'abord lorsqu'on regarde cette figure, ce sont ses proportions. Le corps depuis le cou jusqu'aux pieds, n'a que deux fois la hauteur de la tête.' Then as the painter had only a very few colours, he used them in all their purity so that more vivacity than harmony resulted. The cheeks of the Virgin and of the Child are of a beautiful vermilion arranged in two circles as if drawn with a compass. Yet, continues M. France, a critic declares that in making the Virgin's head a third of the total height of the figure, the artist draws the spectator's attention to the most sublime parts of the human person, and especially to the eyes: the spiritual organs, and the colour conspires with the drawing to produce an ideal and a mystical expression. The vermilion of

the cheeks does not recall the natural aspect of the skin, the old master has applied the roses of Paradise to the faces of the Virgin and Child. In that way, according to M. France, do the admirers of 'les primitifs' justify their attitude.

An adequate idea of the book is not to be obtained through quotations or description. I am inclined to think that the first part is the best. English critics have compared Anatole France as he shows himself in this work to Swift and to Voltaire. But he possesses neither the *saeva indignatio* of the one nor the polished steel-like irony of the other. The French critic, René Doumic, probably strikes the right note when he says:

'La sagesse de M. France est la sagesse antique. Artiste, il exècre notre époque utilitaire. Aristocrate jusqu'au bout des ongles, il répugne aussi bien à une religion qui consacre l'éminente dignité des petits, et à un état social qui admet la toute-puissance du nombre. Son rêve est celui d'un païen. Il aurait voulu arrêter la marche du monde aux temps virgiliens: l'humanité depuis lors n'a fait que dégénérer. C'est une opinion, et qui n'étonne pas venant du plus subtil des lettrés d'aujourd'hui. Seulement on ne retourne pas en arrière.'

In 'Les Détours du Coeur' Paul Bourget has written twelve short stories (as usual there is nothing on the title-page to show that the book does not contain a long novel, nor is the date of composition or publication anywhere to be found), each showing a man or a woman at some psychological crisis. All the people are unpleasant, perverse, not to say deliberately wicked. The bad are not awakened by the crisis, as sometimes happens, to a knowledge

of their better selves; indeed, even when there is a clear way out of the slough, they prefer to remain in it. But is it not waste of time for so clever an observer, so exquisite a stylist, to bestow his skill on thieves, and cheats, and assassins, and breakers of the marriage vow? The book is an admirable guide to any one wishing to become acquainted with the latest Parisian slang.

It is a relief to turn to Pierre de Coulevain's 'Au Cœur de la Vie.' Her characters are quite as unreal as Bourget's, but there is an air of refinement and gentleness about them and their setting that pleases and soothes us. The thread of the story—the reconciling of a couple who had chosen to be divorced through incompatibility of temper—is very thin, and merely serves to give some coherency to an old lady's discursive reflections on life. The author understands women in certain phases of their existence; men she draws with a less sure hand. As always, she shows a great appreciation of things English.

Here is a pretty interpretation of the theory of coincidences which testifies to the charm of Pierre de Coulevain's style:

'J'ai hésité entre Territet et Chexbres. C'est vous qui m'avez attirée ici.

'J'en suis très fier!

'Oh! il n'y a pas de quoi. Le mot télépathie est lancé, mais nous l'employons encore à tort et à travers, sans y attacher l'importance qu'il a réellement.

'Vous croyez?

'Sûrement. Nous commençons à soupçonner que dans les lettres qui se croisent, dans la rencontre inopinée

d'une personne à laquelle nous venons de penser, il y a autre chose que de simples coïncidences. Tous les individus qui sont destinés à une œuvre commune—œuvre qu'ils ignorent—doivent être maintenus en communication constante.

'Ce serait logique.

'Et ils le sont probablement au moyen de fluides, de courants psychiques; nous ne savons encore rien de l'invisible au milieu duquel nous nous mouvons; mais il me semble que l'invisible, qui est l'âme de la Terre, devient de plus en plus sensible. Nous arriverons à fabriquer des instruments qui enregistreront les rayons humains, nous les capterons comme nous avons capté l'électricité. Il y aura peut-être la pensée sans fil, comme il y a la télégraphie sans fil.'

'L'Idylle de Marie Bize,' by Gustave Geoffroy, is a novel with a purpose. It is written not to give pleasure, not because the author has a story to tell that must be told, but to show the evils of orphan asylums conducted by nuns, the effect of excessive restraint on girls of different temperaments. The conclusion is that the cloister is not a good preparation for girls who have their living to get in the world. There is one interesting figure in the book, that of a strictly virtuous woman, much sinned against, who learnt sympathy through suffering. 'Je compris l'obscurité, la tristesse de la destinée humaine, et que ceux et celles qui n'ont pas failli n'ont pas de fierté et d'orgueil à avoir.'

Very little that is interesting in German fiction has of late come my way: sequels seem to be the fashion, and they are seldom satisfactory. George Hermann's 'Henriette Jacoby' is a much inferior book to 'Jettchen Gebert,' and the chief value of

the story lies perhaps in the fact that it proves once again that when a man loves a woman, a deal of trouble would be saved if, instead of concealing it all his days, he took courage and told her. Neither is Otto Ernst's 'Semper der Jüngling, ein Bildungsroman' on the level of 'Asmus Sempers Jugendland,' a book that is admired by all who read it, and yet no English publisher can be induced to issue a translation of it. In the sequel now before us, Semper relates his experiences while training to be a teacher, and his earliest days in the profession as a master in a primary school. A pretty love tale runs through the latter part of the book, and shrewd observation is everywhere apparent. For instance: 'Herr Drögemüller, the headmaster, was a bachelor, and so he had too much time for his work. He spent his days at the writing-table in his office; his home was merely a sleeping-place.' We all know such men and are sorry for them.

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It seems strange that any one should take the trouble to write a biography of Jenny Dacquin, Prosper Mérimée's 'Inconnue.' It might have been supposed that we could find all we wish to know about her in the 'Lettres à une Inconnue.' She it was who published those letters after Mérimée's death, so strange are the ways of women who number great men among their friends and admirers. But Alphonse Lefebvre has devoted much time and trouble to the production of a big volume entitled, 'La Célèbre Inconnue de Prosper Mérimée, sa vie et ses œuvres authentiques avec

documents, portraits et dessins inédits. Préface introduction par Félix Chambon.' It is characterized as a psychological study of a 'personnalité incomprise,' founded on authentic documents, and a hitherto unpublished private correspondence. Those who like such things may read here all they will ever probably know about Jenny Dacquin and her relations with Mérimée. Some will rest content to know only that she inspired the most beautiful letters ever written to a woman by a man.

A very interesting and less-known side of Mme. de Staël's character is shown in Paul Gautier's 'Mathieu de Montmorency et Mme. de Staël.' The book is based on the unpublished letters of M. de Montmorency to Mme. Necker de Saussure, Mme. de Staël's cousin and most intimate friend. It is carefully edited, the references and authorities being stated. Montmorency's 'liaison' with Mme. de Staël lasted twenty-seven years, and was only dissolved by her death. It is somewhat curious that a man should confide to one woman his love for another, but that is exactly what Montmorency does in these letters. We are the gainers, for he certainly draws in them one of the most interesting portraits of Mme. de Staël that we possess. He shows us:

'Ses puissantes facultés, cet amour de la gloire, cette fascination extraordinaire qu'elle exerçait sur ses amis et sur ses proches. Mais elle y revit aussi avec ses passions, sa tristesse, sa mélancolie, cet étrange pouvoir de creuser la souffrance et la peine. Le brillant décor de son existence cachait un drame plus émouvant que celui qui se jouait en public, sur la scène; les erreurs même de cette

âme passionnée ne sont qu'un des épisodes de cette course au bonheur, où elle s'épuisait, sans jamais atteindre sa chimère.

* * * * *

Friedrich Kummer's 'Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts,' is an excellently arranged survey divided into five generations. Kummer's idea is that the history of literature, provided it is a history not of books but of ideas, offers a picture of the whole intellectual development of a nation. The literary history of each generation is introduced by chapters on: (1) the political, economic, and social conditions; (2) the philosophical, scientific, and religious influences; (3) the literary life; (4) the literary influences of the past and of foreign nations; (5) the reflection of the age in the other arts. Then follow accounts of the fore-runners and pioneers who prepare the way for the leading lights of each generation, of the great geniuses themselves, and of their imitators and continuators. A brief biography of each author is given with a carefully classified list of his works, the principal of them being more or less fully described and analysed, concluding with a general criticism of the whole achievement. It is interesting to note who are characterized as the great writers of each generation. For the first, we have Kleist, Tieck, Hoffmann, J. v. Eichendorff, Rückert, Uhland, Grillparzer; for the second, Heine, Gutzkow, Lenau, Immermann, Mörike, Annette v. Droste-Hülshoff; for the third, Gotthelf, Scheffel, Gottfried Keller, Ludwig, Freytag,

Storm, Heyse, Wagner, Hebbel; for the fourth, Anzengruber, C. F. Meyer, Marie v. Ebner-Eschenbach; and for the fifth, Fontane, Liliencron, Hauptmann, and Nietzsche. Even if it should be asserted that except Heine, Wagner, Hauptmann, and Nietzsche no one of them occupies the highest place in the Temple of Fame, each of them occupies in his own department a very high place indeed. The book is a useful, not to say a valuable, contribution to the history of modern European literature. The least attractive part of it is the preface, which is too long and wordy, but the wise reader omits the preface, at least until he has read the book. It should perhaps be mentioned that the volume fills some 700 pages.

I remember that some ten years ago I asked the editor of one of our leading reviews if I might write for him an article on contemporary German fiction, and was met by the reply, 'No, because there isn't any.' Yet Léon Pinseau has written a book of 323 pages on 'L'évolution du Roman en Allemagne au XIXe Siècle,' and A. Chuquet contributes a preface. The matter formed a course of lectures at Paris; the book fills a gap in literary history, and will be of service to the student of literature and of interest to the general reader. The history of the German novel is traced through its various phases from Goethe, who modernized it, down to the present day. We have an account of the romantic novel, of the humoristic novel, the village tale, the historical novel, the realistic novel, the feminist novel, the short story, the neo-romantic novel. Pinseau comes to the conclusion that:

'Le naturalisme est passé, comme forme à l'impressionisme et comme fond, la matérialisme, dont il s'inspirait, a fait place au symbolisme, au satanisme, au mysticisme. Après n'avoir plus voulu de réligion, on a cherché à en fonder de nouvelles, tout en ne cessant d'être hanté par l'ancienne.'

He considers that the German novel is now as poetical and lyrical as it was at the time of romanticism. Novels, as we all know, form perhaps the best historical guide to the social life of the time in which they are written, and so, incidentally, Pinseau has drawn a very interesting picture of the German nation. We look forward to the two books he has now in hand, one on the evolution of the theatre in Germany in the nineteenth century, and the other on the evolution of lyric poetry in Germany in the same period.

'Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée,' by Gustave Reynier, a very learned work, is a contribution to the history of the French novel. The author brings out very skilfully how Astrée was the climax of a long series of attempts, well-intentioned but of an inferior art, that its success has caused to be forgotten. He shows also that the French novel of sentiment was greatly influenced by Italian and Spanish literature, and that its progress was closely allied with the spirit of the society of the time, and with the prestige of women. There is a useful bibliography, and a classified table of the novels printed in France between 1593 and 1610.

Any criticism from the pen of Émile Michel, the distinguished biographer of Rembrandt and of Rubens, claims attention. In his 'Nouvelles études

sur l'histoire de l'art,' he treats of art criticism and its present conditions. He deals in his preface with the essentials of art criticism, regarding it as one of the most important *genres* of contemporary literature. The knowledge it requires does not eliminate feeling, but on the contrary lends it life and interest. Documentary research cannot, of course, compensate for the love of nature and of art, which is as necessary a quality in the critic as in the artist. One of the most interesting of the essays is entitled 'Le dessin chez Léonard de Vinci.' Michel thinks that study of Leonardo's principles would prevent much of the bad art of the present day.

'L'absence d'études suffisantes amène un trop grand nombre d'artistes en quête d'inédit, à s'engager dans des voies où ils ne peuvent trouver que la bizarrerie et l'incohérence. Pressés d'arriver, certains débutants, avec la complicité de critiques amis, abrègent, quand ils ne le suppriment pas tout à fait, le temps de leur apprentissage et considèrent l'ignorance comme le gage le plus assuré de leur originalité.'

Indeed, the feverish agitation which we take for energy or activity is often sterile. That criticism is as true of some of the literature of the present day as it is of the art. It may be useful to note here that a very good selection from Leonardo's works may be found in 'Textes Choisis. Léonard de Vinci. Pensées, théories, préceptes, fables, et facéties,' with an introduction by Péladan.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Les Etapes douloureuses (L'Empereur de Metz à Sédan). Par le Baron Albert Verly. Préface par Etienne Charles.

Forms part of a series of *souvenirs* of the Second Empire. This volume is really a pæan to the army of Sedan.

Le retour des Bourbons d'Hartwell à Gand. Le règne des émigrés, 1814-15. Par Gilbert Stenger.

An essay on the return of the Bourbons to France after twenty-five years of exile. The book contains certain facts of social life, neglected by political historians, which help to a better understanding of the ephemeral resurrection of the Bourbon monarchy.

Nos amitiés politiques avant l'abandon de la Revanche. Par Madame Juliette Adam (Juliette Lamber).

An interesting piece of political 'histoire intime,' beginning with the fall of Thiers in 1873 and ending with the death of Edmond Adam in 1877. The discursive style, and the lack of dates of years, for which those of months do not compensate, lessen the value of the volume.

Nos femmes de lettres. Par Paul Flat.

Biographical and critical essays on Mme. de Noailles, Mme. Henri de Régnier, and Marcelle Tinayre.

Traicte contenant les secrets du premier livre sur l'espee seule, mere de toutes armes. Composé par Henry de Sainct Didier Gentilhomme Prouençal.

A fine facsimile reprint of a book of 1573 in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Valentine de Lamartine. Souvenirs intimes. Par Mme. M.-Th. Emile Ollivier.

This lady who was Lamartine's niece, really took the place of a daughter to him, and her memoirs add to our knowledge of the great writer.

Pascal et son Temps. Troisième partie. Les Provinciales et les Pensées. Par Fortunat Strowski.

A volume of the series entitled 'Histoire du sentiment religieux en France au XVIIe siècle.'

Le grand siècle intime. De Richelieu à Mazarin (1642-4). Par Emile Rocca.

An 'étude en marge d'histoire.'

Lettres inédites de Béranger à Dupont de l'Eure (Correspondance intime et politique, 1820-54). Ouvrage annoté par Paul Hacquard et Pascal Forthuny. Orné d'un portrait de Béranger, d'après Couture.

New letters of Béranger which serve to illuminate the character of De l'Eure, who was a sort of Aristides, and also illustrate the period, containing as they do sketches of many interesting people.

Les doctrines d'art en France. Peintres—Amateurs—Critiques. De Poussin à Diderot. Par André Fontaine.

A contribution to the history of French thought and French art during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Schiller und Lotte. Ein Briefwechsel. Edited by Alexander von Gleichen-Russwurm. 2 vols.

Schiller's love-story is here told by the persons concerned in their letters, which have been taken out of the general correspondence and arranged in order as sent and received.

Briefe Conrad Ferdinand Meyers nebst seinen Rezensionen und Aufsätzen. Edited by Adolf Frey. 2 vols.

These letters in some measure complete the picture of the man as we have it in Adolf Frey's biography, although their interest perhaps scarcely reaches the expectations formed of them. They are arranged under the names of the recipients, among whom are Gottfried Keller, Paul Heyse, and Betty Paoli.

Mozart. Sein Leben und Schaffen. Von Karl Storck.

A new biography by a lover of music in general, and of the harmony and beauty of Mozart's music in particular.

Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie. Mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hilfsmittel zum Studium der Geschichte.' Von Ernst Bernheim.

A newly revised and enlarged edition of a work doubtless useful to the scientific historian.

Geschichte des Deutschen Idealismus. Von Dr. M. Kronenberg.

The first volume of a work, to be completed in three, which is addressed to educated people in general, not only to learned students of philosophy. This portion deals with the idealistic development of ideas from the beginning to Kant. Vol. II. will deal with the classical period of German idealism from Kant to Hegel, and the concluding volume with German idealism and the present day. The connection of the great philosophers with literature, art, and science is demonstrated throughout. Kronenberg is the author of a life of Kant.

Preussen im Kampfe gegen die Französische Revolution bis zur zweiten Teilung Polens. Von Kurt Heidrich.

A period of history that is largely occupying the attention of historians at the present time.

Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit. Von Dr. Karl Stahlin.

The first volume (to 1573) of a more elaborate life of Walsingham than has yet been written, based on original authorities.

Aus Insulinde. Malayische Reisebriefe. Von Ernst Haeckel.

Interesting travel sketches by a great man of science.

ELIZABETH LEE.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FROM THE PRINTER'S STANDPOINT.[1]

THE printer is interested in the current discussion of spelling reform much as Alsace-Lorraine was interested in the Franco-Prussian War. He is not the subject of the dispute, but his fortunes are bound up with those of the conqueror. Few recent controversies have yielded so much humour —on both sides—as this, and few have excited so little interest in proportion to the energy expended. Both these results are due perhaps to the fact that the subject, from its very nature, does not admit of being made a burning question. Yet one has to look only a little way into it to see that important interests—educational, commercial, and possibly racial—are involved. Thus far the champions have been chiefly the newspapers for spelling as it is, and scholars and educators for spelling as it ought to be. But, in spite of the intelligence of the disputants, the discussion has been singularly insular and deficient in perspective. It would gain greatly in conclusiveness if spelling and its modifications were considered broadly and historically, not as

[1] Published under the title Orthographic Reform in 'The Printing Art' (University Press, Cambridge, Mass.), and reprinted here, by kind leave of the editor, as a very able exposition of the need for some change in our present spelling, from a point of view with which bibliographers may sympathize.

peculiar to English, but as common to all languages, and involving common problems, which we are not the first to grapple with, but rather seem destined to be the last to solve.

As is usually the case in controversies, the chief obstacle to agreement is a lack of what the lawyers call a meeting of minds. The two sides are not talking about the same thing. The reformer has one idea of what spelling is; the public has another idea, which is so different that it robs the reformer's arguments of nearly all their force. To the philologist spelling is the application of an alphabet to the words of a language, and an alphabet is merely a system of visible signs adapted to translate to the eye the sounds which make up the speech of the people. To the public spelling is part and parcel of the English language, and to tamper with it is to lay violent hands on the sacred ark of English literature. To the philologist an alphabet is not a thing in itself, but only a medium, and he knows many alphabets of all degrees of excellence. Among the latest formed is that which we use and call the Roman, but which, though it was taken from Italy, made its way back there after a course of development that carried it through Ireland, England, and Germany. This alphabet was originally designed for writing Latin, and, as English has more sounds than Latin, some of the symbols when applied to English have to do multiple duty; though this is the least of the complaints against our current spelling. In fact any inventive student of phonetics could in half an hour devise a better alphabet for English, and scores have been devised.

But the Roman has the field, and no one dreams of advocating a new alphabet for popular use. Meanwhile, though the earliest English was written in Runic, and Bibles were long printed in black-letter, still to the great English-reading public the alphabet of current books and papers is the only alphabet. So much for the Roman alphabet, which, though beautiful and practical, is not so beautiful as the Greek nor nearly so efficient for representing English sounds as the Cherokee alphabet invented by the half-breed, Sequoyah, is for representing the sounds of his mother-tongue.

Let us now turn from the alphabet, which is the foundation of spelling, to spelling itself. Given a scientific alphabet, spelling, as a problem, vanishes; for there is only one possible spelling for any spoken word, and only one possible pronunciation for any written word. Both are perfectly easy, for there is no choice, and no one who knows the alphabet can make a mistake in either. But given a traditional alphabet encumbered with outgrown or impracticable or blundering associations, and spelling may become so difficult as to serve for a test or hallmark of scholarship. In French, for instance, the alphabet has drifted so far from its moorings that no one on hearing a new word spoken, if it contains certain sounds, can be sure of its spelling; though everyone on seeing a new word written knows how to pronounce it. But in English our alphabet has actually parted the cable which held it to speech, and we know neither how to write a new word when we hear it, nor how to pronounce one when we see it. Strangest of all,

we have come, in our English insularity, to look on this as a matter of course. But Swedes and Spaniards, Italians and Dutchmen, have no such difficulty, and never have to turn to the dictionary to find out how to spell a word that they hear, or how to pronounce a word that they see. For them spelling and speech are identical; all they have to make sure of is the standard of pronunciation. They have done what we have neglected to do—developed the alphabet into an accurate phonetic instrument, and our neglect is costing us, throughout the English-speaking world, merely in dealing with silent letters, the incredible sum of a hundred million dollars a year.[1] Our neighbours look after the alphabet, and the spelling looks after itself; if the pronunciation changes, the spelling changes automatically, and thus keeps itself always up to date.

But this happy result has not been brought about without effort, the same kind of effort that our reformers are now making for our benefit. In Swedish books printed only a hundred years ago, we find words printed with the letters 'th' in combination, like the word 'them,' which had the same meaning, and originally the same pronunciation, as the English word. At that time, however, Swedes had long ceased to be able to pronounce the 'th,' but they kept the letters just as we still keep the 'gh' in 'brought' and 'through,' though for centuries no one who speaks only standard

[1] See 'Simplified Spelling in Writing and Printing: a Publisher's Point of View.' By Henry Holt, LL.D. New York. 1906. About one-half the expense falls within the domain of printing.

English has been able to sound this gutteral. In the last century the Swedes reformed their spelling, and they now write the word as they pronounce it, 'dem.' German spelling has passed through several stages of reform in recent decades, and is now almost as perfectly phonetic as the Swedish. Germans now write 'Brot,' and no longer 'Brod' or 'Brodt.' It must be frankly confessed that the derivation of some words is not so obvious to the eye as formerly. The appearance of the Swedish 'bẙrâ' does not at once suggest the French 'bureau,' which it exactly reproduces in sound. But Europeans think it more practical, if they cannot indicate both pronunciation and etymology in spelling, to relegate the less important to the dictionary. Much, to be sure, has been made of the assumed necessity of preserving the pedigree of our words in their spelling, but in many cases this is not done now. Who thinks of 'alms' and 'eleemosynary' as coming from the same Greek word? The chances are that a complete phonetic spelling of English would actually restore to the eye as much etymology as it took away.

But the most deep-seated opposition to changing our current spelling arises from its association, almost identification, with English literature. If this objection were valid it would be final, for literature is the highest use of language, and if reformed spelling means the loss of our literature we should be foolish to submit to it. But at what point in the history of English literature would reformed spelling begin to work harm? Hardly before Shakespeare, for the spelling of Chaucer

belongs to the grammatical stage of the language at which he wrote, and Spenser's spelling is more or less an imitation of it made with a literary purpose. Shakespeare and Milton, however, wrote substantially modern English, and they are therefore at the mercy of the spelling reformer—as they always have been. The truth is, Shakespeare's writings have been respelt by every generation that has reprinted them, and the modern spelling reformer would leave them far nearer to our current spelling than that is to Shakespeare's. The poet himself made fun of his contemporaries who said 'det' instead of 'debt,' but what would he say of us who continue to write the word 'debt,' though it has not been so pronounced for three hundred years? In old editions (and how fast editions grow old!) antiquated spelling is no objection, it is rather an attraction; but new, popular editions of the classics will be issued in contemporary spelling so long as the preservation of metre and rhyme permit. We still turn to the first folio of Shakespeare and to the original editions of Milton's poems to enjoy their antique flavour, and, in the latter case, to commune not only with a great poet, but also with a vigorous spelling reformer. But, though we could hardly understand the actual speech of Shakespeare and Milton, could we hear it, we like to treat them as contemporaries and read their works in our everyday spelling. Thus, whatever changes come over our spelling, standard old editions will continue to be prized and new editions to be in demand.

Our libraries, under spelling reform, will become

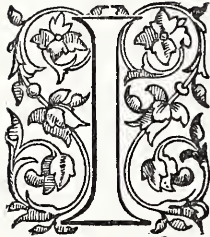
antiquated, but only a little faster then they are now doing and always have done. Readers who care for a book over ten years old are few in number and will not mind antiquated spelling in the future any more than they do now. The printer, therefore, must not flatter himself with the prospect of a speedy reprinting of all the English classics under spelling reform. English is certain to have some day as scientific a spelling as Spanish, but the change will be spread over decades, and will be too gradual to affect business appreciably. On the other hand, he need not fear any loss to himself in the public's gain of the annual hundred million dollar tax which it now pays for the luxury of superfluous letters. Our printers bills in the future will be as large as at present, but we shall get more for our money.

It will indeed be to the English race a strange world in which the spelling-book ends with the alphabet; in which there is no conflict of standards except as regards pronunciation; in which two years of a child's school-life are rescued from the needless and applied to the useful; in which the stenographer has to learn not two systems of spelling, but only two alphabets; in which the simplicity and directness of the English language, which fit it to become a world language, will not be defeated by a spelling which equals the difficulty of German grammar; in which the blundering of Dutch printers, like 'school,' false etymologies, like 'rhyme,' and French garnishes, as in 'tongue,' no longer make the judicious grieve; and in which the fatal gift of bad spelling, which often accom-

panies genius, will no longer be dependent upon the printer to hide its orthographic nakedness from a public which, if it cannot always spell correctly itself, can always be trusted to detect and ridicule bad spelling. But it is a world which the English race will some day have, and which we may begin to have here and now if we will.

HARRY LYMAN KOOPMAN.

A NEW IPSWICH BOOK OF 1548.



IT was my fortune last March, while looking through some volumes of 'Tractus' in the Library of Clare College, to light upon an Ipswich book, which has so far escaped the notice of students of the history of early printing in the provinces. The book is entitled 'A Plaister for a Galled Horse,' and is an attack upon the Roman Catholics in rhyming verse by John Ramsey. It is curious that there is no notice of this work in the article upon the author in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' although another edition was published at London in 1548 by Raynalde, and is described in Hazlitt's 'Bibliography of Old English Literature,' p. 496. The new Ipswich edition is dated 1548, and is from the press of John Oswen, who migrated to Worcester at the end of that year. He has hitherto been credited with nine books printed at Ipswich. The following is a bibliographical description:

Title [within a border of seven woodcuts]:

A Plaister for a galled Horse. | Loke what here in shalbe redde | Wynse at nothinge excepte ye be gylty | For of usurped power we be not adredde | But god to be knowē, before preceptes fylthy | We speake not against Gods holy mystery | But against suche, as loue neyther God nor theyr kynge. | Beware therfore ye knowe not

your desteny | Loke better to the Scripture the worde everlastinge. | Prouerb. 26 | Unto the horse belongeth a whippe, To the Asse a Brydle, & a rodde to the fooles backe. |

Yf this playster be to colde
Ye shall haue another be bolde
Thintent is to cure and edyfy
So it is sayde, by Jhon Ramsy.
M D XLVIII

A^4; 4 leaves.
1^a, Title; 1^b, at top panel woodcut, and under title 'The study of popyshe Priestes,' a square woodcut; 2^a-4^b, Text; 4^b, Colophon, Imprinted at Ippyswitche by me Jhon Oswen.

Most of the cuts used for the border of the title I have succeeded in tracing. The panel at the top and the two at the bottom of the title-page all appear again in the Book of Common Prayer, printed by Oswen at Worcester, 23rd May, 1549 (No. 5888 in the University Library Cambridge List of Early Printed Books). The top piece can be easily recognized by the figure of a snail at one corner. Like the others, it is a floral design, and there is also a figure of a bird.

It appears also, together with the floral panel on the right of the title, in a book printed by Oswen at Worcester in 1553 (U.L.C.E.P.B., No. 5892, 'A Homily to be Read in the Time of Pestilence').

The right-hand border appears divided in No. 5887 of the Cambridge list ('A Consultorie for all Christians.' Worcester, 1549, Printed by John Oswen). The upper of the two bottom panels (human figure and floral design) appears in 'A

Short Treatyse, etc.' Ipswich. John Oswen, no date (B.M. 1109, U.L.C.E.P.B. 5879).

The top-piece on page 1[b] appears in No. 5888 of the Cambridge list, the Prayer Book mentioned above, and the block seems to be quite new from the clearness of the impression in the Ipswich book. This leaves only the left-hand title panel unidentified.

The title of the woodcut on page 1[b] is in a large black letter, and the cut itself, which I have not been able to trace, shows a priest and, apparently, a young noble engaged in a game of backgammon.

The catalogue number of the volume of 'Tractus' in which this book is bound is Aa 7. 19 in the Clare Library. It contains another Ipswich book, on which I append a note, and other later Tudor tracts, political and ecclesiastical, mostly printed at London. The volume was apparently bound late in the seventeenth century, and is indexed on the fly-leaf by a hand of that date. It possibly formed part of the collection of Dr. Theophilus Dillingham, Master of Clare Hall. On the two Ipswich books the signature of Thomas Colborne appears several times, but of him I know nothing at present.

The other Ipswich book bound up with the one described was also printed by John Oswen. It is a copy of Peter Moore's 'Shorte treatyse of certayne thinges abused. In the Popish Church long used' (B.M. 1109), U.L.C. Catalogue of E.P.B., No. 5879. This book is undated. Another edition was printed in London by Copland. The Clare copy is a quarto of eight leaves, and is no doubt identical with the copy in the British Museum.

It is in itself a very rare book, and it is particularly interesting in connection with a fragment (two leaves) of the same work, which are in the Cambridge University Library, catalogued Syn. 7. 5514. Mr. Sayle had previously suggested that these two leaves were from a copy of this Ipswich edition, but we have compared them carefully, and it is clear that they are distinct. I have since found, through the kindness of Mr. R. E. Graves, who has secured for me a collation of the Britwell copy, that the University Library fragment is from a copy of the London edition. It is taller than the Clare copy, but that, of course, has been cut. Apart from this, the pagination and the spelling are different, the marginal summaries are differently spaced, and the Clare book has Arabic for Roman numerals in references. The type also is different, the University Library fragment having a long tail to its capital T and a rounded W.

F. G. M. Beck.

SOME DEALINGS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT WITH THE PRESS.

BY its ordinances of March and June, 1643, the Long Parliament first appointed searchers for presses employed in printing what it considered scandalous pamphlets, and subsequently revived the licensing system in a form which drew down the scornful defiance of Milton in his 'Areopagitica.' These enactments and their consequences are familiar to most students of literary history. The action of some of the frequently changed Committees of Printing in dealing more directly with authors and printers who incurred the wrath of the Presbyterian majority is much less well known, and some instances of it may be found interesting. The first to be mentioned was no great matter, and had not much result. On 12th July, 1641, the Committee was asked to deal with three books, 'A Protestation Protested,' 'The True Relation of the French Embassage,' and 'The Brownists Conventicle.' In connection with the first, George [? Gregory] Dexter was discovered to be the printer, and was committed to the Gatehouse, and not released until August. In the other two instances, the printers seem to have escaped detection.

A much more serious matter engaged the attention of the House on the following day (13th July, 1641). It appears that when the Bill for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford came on for its final reading, Lord George Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, spoke against it, declaring that the chief article of the indictment not having been proved, he was unable any longer to support the Bill. The speech, though honest and temperate, gave great offence to the majority. When it found its way into print, the House passed a string of resolutions declaring that it contained matters untrue and scandalous, that its publication was also scandalous, that Thomas Purslowe the printer was a delinquent for printing it, and that the pamphlet should be burnt by the common hangman. Accordingly bonfires were made in various places of such copies as could be got together. Many, however, escaped the flames, and the British Museum has several copies, one of them George Thomason's, with his note that the burning took place on the 15th July. What was done to Purslowe, beyond making him a delinquent, is not known.

The next case is that of Richard Herne. On the 24th August in the same year it was reported to the House that Nicholas Bourne, one of the Wardens of the Company of Stationers, had, by virtue of a warrant from the House, searched the premises of this printer, and found him printing a scandalous pamphlet called 'The Anatomy of Et cœtera.' When the Warden was about to seize it, Herne threatened to be the death of any one who laid their hands upon his goods, admitted the print-

ing and said he would justify it, and that he would do somewhat else, and justify that too. Further, he did his best to wrest the order of the House of Commons out of Bourne's hands. This most uncomfortable man for an unhappy Warden to tackle stated that he had the book of one Richard Harding, who had obtained it of Thomas Bray, an Oxford scholar, who turned it out of poetry into prose. For the publication all parties were brought before the House as delinquents, and in the end Richard Herne was tried by martial law, and his presses handed over to Richard Hunscott.

A few months later the Committee for Printing were ordered to consider of 'some course for the preventing of the inordinate printing for the future: and for making of some severe examples of some of those printers.' The immediate cause of this resolution was the printing of certain pamphlets concerning the French Ambassador, one of which bore the title of 'A Duel between Sir Kenelme Digby and a French Baron,' and had a curious if not elegant cut on the title page.

On the 8th June following, a pamphlet entitled, 'A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scotts and English Forces in the North of Ireland,' was brought to the notice of the House, and two stationers, Francis Coules and Thomas Bates, were sent for, and declared that a printer named Robert White had brought the copy to them and offered to sell them the impression. They were committed as prisoners to the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice was ordered to proceed against them as publishers of false news, and the book itself was

to be burnt at the hands of the common hangman in New Palace Yard. This was done so effectually that no copy of the pamphlet is among the Thomason collection, although there is one of the same year with the following title: 'A True Relation of the Proceedings of the Scottish Armie now in Ireland, By Three Letters, etc. . . . Printed for John Bartlet 1642." This, however, cannot be the one condemned to the flames, or Bartlett would certainly have been mentioned in the proceedings before the House, and, moreover, Thomason would almost as certainly have recorded the fact of the pamphlet having been burnt. But he does not do so, and neither is Bartlett mentioned in any way. The letter (one only is mentioned) was written by one Pike to Tobias Sedgewick, a barber in the Strand, and White, the printer, confessed that he had received it from Sedgewick and had taken it to the stationers Coules and Bates, who thereupon hired him to print three reams of paper, and gave him eighteen shillings for the work. After this White also was committed to the King's Bench Prison, but after a week's imprisonment all parties were released from custody.

Another publication that aroused the Commons to indignation was a folio sheet called 'A Declaration, or Resolution of the County of Hereford.' A certain Mr. Maddison being in a stationer's shop, his eye fell on the 'Declaration,' and he expressed his opinion audibly that the author ought to be whipped. Sir William Boteler, a Royalist, happened also to be in the shop, and overhearing the remark, retorted that Mr. Maddison ought to

be whipped for saying so, and that he (Sir William Boteler) would justify every word in the Declaration. He was ably seconded by a Mr. Dutton, a minister, who was present also. Maddison reported the matter to the House, by whom this sheet was described as the 'foulest and most scandalous pamphlet that ever was published against the Parliament,' and not only were Sir William Boteler and Mr. Dutton committed to the Gatehouse, but a certain Mr. Venables, a member of the House, was fined £500 for his share in the matter. Some copies of this sheet bear the imprint, 'Imprinted at London by a printed copie, 1642,' while others have 'London: for Tho. Lewes' 1642.'

After this we hear of no more proceedings until early in the following January, when the common hangman and the bonfire were again called into requisition to destroy a publication called 'A Complaint to the House of Commons,' and the printer Luke Norton, and the stationer Mr. Sheares, were thrown into Newgate for their share in the work. Sheares had previously been in trouble for printing 'Leicester's Commonwealth,' and this time he remained a close prisoner for many months. The 'Complaint' is another pamphlet not to be found in the Thomason collection.

After the Civil War broke out the Parliament found it necessary to pass the well-known ordinances already mentioned, and we hear of no cases of action by the House of Commons itself for some considerable time. In 1646, however, several publications were brought under its notice, mostly pamphlets concerned with the attitude of Parliament towards

the Scottish Commissioners. On 29th January a Committee, which was already sitting to consider a letter from the Commissioners, was ordered to discover the author of a pamphlet called 'Truth's Manifest.' Accordingly on 31st January, two witnesses were examined, John Parker, warden of the Stationers' Company, and Joseph Hunscott. Parker deposed that the book was licensed by Mr. James Crawford, one of the appointed licensers for books of divinity, while Hunscott declared that the copy was entered in Robert Bostock's name, that when it was printed a difference arose about the price, and Buchanan sold the whole impression to George Thomason. Bostock, whose name appears on the book as its publisher, when examined, deposed that in the previous July or August, Buchanan had brought him the book of about four or five sheets, and gave it to him that it might be licensed.

Perhaps because of the introduction of the name ot the eminently respectable Thomason, nothing much seems to have happened in this case. The Committee's report, declaring that David Buchanan was the author, was not brought up till 13th April. Buchanan was ordered to attend, and the book was condemned to be burnt. But the bonfire was never lighted, and we do not hear of anything being done to Buchanan or to any one else concerned in the case. Nevertheless, the narrative is interesting, for two editions of this book are in the British Museum One of these has the title:

A short and true Relation of divers main passages of things (in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned) from the very first beginning of these unhappy

Troubles to this day. Published by authority. London. Printed by R. Raworth, for R. Bostocke at the King's-Head in Paul's Church-yard 1645.

This is an octavo of eight leaves of prefatory matter, and one hundred and four printed pages, and was dated by Thomason 'Sept. 14th.'

The title of the other reads:

Truth, its Manifest, or a short & true Relation of divers main passages of things (in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned) from the very first beginning of these unhappy Troubles, to this day. Published by authority. London. Printed in the yeer 1645.

This edition, also an octavo, consists of eight leaves without pagination, and one hundred and forty-two numbered pages.

Thomason's copy has a note in his handwriting on the fly-leaf, 'N.B. Larger and different from the former,' and he added the date on the title-page, 'Novemb 12th.'

The two editions agree closely for the first thirty-three pages of text, after which 'Truth its Manifest' is full of vigorous passages not contained in the other edition.

This was not the only publication for which Robert Bostock had to answer about this time. He issued on 11th April a printed book with the title, 'Some papers of the Commissioners for Scotland given in lately to the Houses of Parliament concerning the Propositions of Peace.' Two days later the matter was brought up in the House, the author was declared to be an Incendiary between the two kingdoms, and Bostock and his wife, a servant named Harrison, and a printer named Bell,

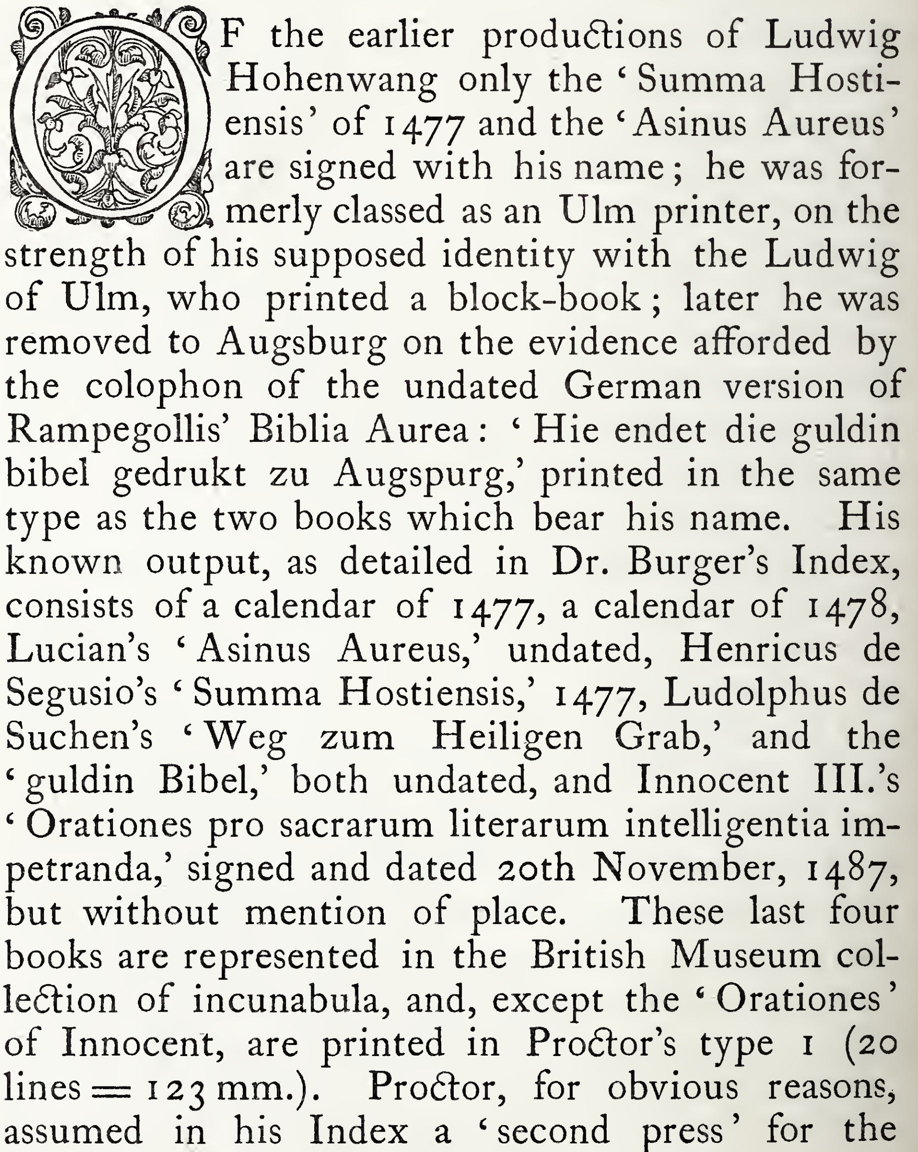
were all examined. Further than this a conference was held between the Lords and Commons, the outcome of which was that a portion of the book, entitled 'The State of the Questions concerning propositions for Peace,' was ordered to be burnt between twelve and one o'clock on the following day at Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, the Royal Exchange, Palace Yard, and Tower Hill. If the title entered in the Journals was correct,—and as it adds the imprint, it appears to have been a copy of the title-page,—this must also be added to the books which Thomason failed to rescue.

Nor was it always the publications of the day which occupied the attention of the House. Occasionally an author's writings were brought up against him, when he might well have hoped that they were forgotten. An instance of this occurred in 1650, when a member of the House, Mr. John Fry, found himself called upon to answer for the publication of two tracts, one of which had been printed as far back as 1647. In his examination about the matter the printer mentioned that it was the custom of the trade to destroy the copies of all pamphlets as soon as they had been printed and corrected. He further said that the usual number of copies in an edition of these pamphlets was one thousand, of which the author was allowed six or a dozen.

Other instances of the dealings of this Parliament with the press could be quoted, but they would not alter the impression that they were neither very effective nor very dignified, and perhaps these examples may suffice.

H. R. Plomer.

LUDWIG HOHENWANG'S SECOND PRESS AT BASEL.



F the earlier productions of Ludwig Hohenwang only the 'Summa Hostiensis' of 1477 and the 'Asinus Aureus' are signed with his name; he was formerly classed as an Ulm printer, on the strength of his supposed identity with the Ludwig of Ulm, who printed a block-book; later he was removed to Augsburg on the evidence afforded by the colophon of the undated German version of Rampegollis' Biblia Aurea: 'Hie endet die guldin bibel gedrukt zu Augspurg,' printed in the same type as the two books which bear his name. His known output, as detailed in Dr. Burger's Index, consists of a calendar of 1477, a calendar of 1478, Lucian's 'Asinus Aureus,' undated, Henricus de Segusio's 'Summa Hostiensis,' 1477, Ludolphus de Suchen's 'Weg zum Heiligen Grab,' and the 'guldin Bibel,' both undated, and Innocent III.'s 'Orationes pro sacrarum literarum intelligentia impetranda,' signed and dated 20th November, 1487, but without mention of place. These last four books are represented in the British Museum collection of incunabula, and, except the 'Orationes' of Innocent, are printed in Proctor's type 1 (20 lines = 123 mm.). Proctor, for obvious reasons, assumed in his Index a 'second press' for the

'Orationes,' separated as this book is by nine years from the earlier group of dates, but retained Augsburg as the place of printing. The unlikeness of both the type and the woodcuts to the usual Augsburg models led to a closer examination, which showed that the calendar prefixed to the text was designed for the use of the diocese of Basel. Of this there can be no doubt, as not only is the feast 'Heinrici imp*er*ato' printed in red for 13th July, but against 11th October we find, also in red, 'Dedica eccl*es*ie ba,' agreeing with the 'Dedicatio ecclesie Basiliensis,' of the Basel Missal of 1488. A reference to M 21 of Dr. Haebler's 'Typenrepertorium' revealed the identity of the type with Michael Wenssler's Basel type 11, both in face and measurement (20 lines = 77 mm.). Wenssler used the type throughout the imposing series of legal folios which he printed in 1486, and in the 'Justinian' of 7th July, 1487, but, as far as the Museum collection shows, not before, and only once after, in some of the signatures of the 'Graduale Romanum' which Wenssler printed for Jacobus de Kirchen, 12th March, 1488, for which purpose an odd handful of type would be ample. It is therefore extremely probable that Wenssler discarded this type in the course of the year 1487, and that thereupon it passed, at all events in part, into the hands of Hohenwang, now setting up as a printer in the same city. There is a discrepancy between Dr. Haebler's text, where the measurement of the type (type 2) is given as 119/20 and the M as M 13, and his M-tables, where measurement and M are correctly set forth as above, Dr. Haebler himself

pointing out in a footnote that the type is not that described as type 2 in the text. Whether Hohenwang should in fact be credited with three types instead of only two is, on the evidence of the Musem collection, impossible to determine. The Museum copy of the 'Orationes' appears to be unique, as Hain did not know the book, and Dr. Haebler remarks under M 21: 'Nähere Angaben fehlen.' It may be added that Peter Drach's (Speier) type 9, in use in 1486-8, is almost or quite indistinguishable from the Wenssler-Hohenwang type, except that an inverted semicolon (؛) is used as a stop in one of the Drach books at the Museum.

No other record appears to have been preserved of Hohenwang's whereabouts between 1478 and 1500, but A. F. Butsch ('Ludwig Hohenwang kein Ulmer sondern ein Augsburger Drucker,' München, 1885) mentions that he was working as an editor for the printer Jacob von Pforzheim at Basel in 1506, who prefixed to his edition of 'Alberti Magni scripta in IV libros sententiarum' of that year a panegyric on Albertus composed by Hohenwang.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

PRINTERS AND BOOKS IN CHANCERY.

THE following notes have been taken from Proceedings in the Courts of Chancery and Requests. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, William Seres was granted a patent (Rot. Pat. 1 Eliz., p. 4, m. 26. Printed Arber II. 61) to print and publish the book of Private Prayer. In a bill of complaint, dated 24th November, 1566, he sets forth the terms of the above patent, and informs the Court that the Wardens and Assistants of the Stationers' Company had discovered that Abraham Veale had printed about 3,000 copies of the Private Prayers, being cognisant of the terms of the Letters Patent. Veale, on being examined by the Wardens and Assistants, was ordered to pay £10 to Seres as an indemnity. Veale has refused to do so, and Seres, having no bond from him to stand to the award of the Wardens and Assistants, asks that a writ may be directed out of Chancery, as he is barred by this omission from appearing in the Courts of Common Law. Evidently the Wardens and Assistants had no power to enforce payment of their awards except by recourse to legal aid. Mr. Duff, in his 'Century of English Book Trade,' tells us that Veale turned over his

printing office to William How in 1566. Perhaps this case has some bearing on that fact.

* * * * *

A case in which Dr. Dee figures is of some interest. Dee, on leaving for the Continent in the autumn of 1582, gave all his goods into the keeping of Nicholas Fromonde, a relative by marriage (D. N. B. and Dee's 'Diary.' Ed. by J. O. Halliwell-Philips). This is the bill of complaint of Andreas Freemorsham, bookseller and factor to the heirs of Arnold Brukman, deceased (the celebrated printer and bookseller of Cologne. See E. Gordon Duff, 'A Century of the English Book Trade'), and factor to him in his lifetime. He has sold books in London for years as factor of the said Arnold, who was a foreigner; amongst others, John Dee, late of Mortlake, Surrey, gent, purchased books, in divers tongues, to the value of £63. Dee desired Fromonde to pay Freemorsham the sum of £63 14*s.* 8¼*d.*, but Fromonde has refused to do so, despite several requests. Fromonde, of course, denies liability, on the 9th November, 1582, and on the 18th November, 1582, and 31st January, 1583, respectively, there are replications of complaint and defence. Up to the present the decrees have not been found, so there our information ends.

* * * * *

The complaint of Richard Griffith, of Kardegocke, co. Anglesea, gent, dated 14th June, 1588, tells us that Thomas Chaire, citizen and bookbinder of London gave him a bond for payment of £10 during Easter of the same year. The bond having been lost, or, as he suspects, stolen, is in

the hands of defendant or some friend of his, so Chaire refuses to pay the £10. Further, Lawrence Aberall, a servant to Chaire, out of friendliness to Griffith, gave him 'The historye of the late troubles in Fraunce wrytten by one Popelinier,' and gave it in loose leaves. The book was bound in two volumes, at a cost of 2*s.* 6*d.* In May last, Chaire meeting Griffith in St. Paul's Cathedral accused him of stealing the book, and demanded its return. To prevent a disturbance of the peace Griffith consented to return it on condition that the cost of binding was refunded. Chaire agreed to repay this, but demanded a pledge. Upon this 40*s.* in gold was given to him, he promising to repay it with the 2*s.* 6*d.* when the book was returned. The book has been offered several times, but Chaire refuses to take it back again, and retains the 40*s.*

* * * * *

In the case of Brown *v.* the executors of Henry Middleton, described as stationer, and elsewhere spoken of as scrivener and printer of St. Dunstan's, near Temple Bar, Robert Robinson, aged 37, stationer of St. Andrew's, Holborn, deposes that he bought three printing presses, with sundry sorts of letters and other necessaries, certain copies of books and certain Letters Patent, from the widow Jane, now wife to Richard Ayres, for £200. This deposition is dated 7th November, 1591, and is signed by the deponent. On the 19th October, 1591, Thomas Newman, aged 29, of St. Dunstan's in the West, London, stationer, deposes that Middleton had a lease of the house he died in for thirty-eight years. The lease was sold to Mr.

Cave of the Chancery, and Newman bought the shop and books in it for £150. On the same date Thomas Besey desposes that the lease was sold for seven or eight score pounds, and that Middleton's household goods were worth more than 100 marks. On 16th February, 1591, John Danwood, of St. Dunstan's in the West, gent., deposes that he was present when Middleton made his will, and that he said on his deathbed that Richard Brown owed him £30 for printing of indentures for licences to sell wines, for which he had Brown's man Machyn's hand. Walter Dight, of St. Bride's, stationer, aged 26 or 30 years, deposes to being sent by Jane Middleton to collect the £30, and that Brown told him all his money was employed in the Low Country. Robert Machyn, of St. Clement's, county Middlesex, gent., 40 years old, was servant to Richard Brown for fourteen years, and knows that Brown owed Middleton 100 marks for certain printed indentures—'800 payer of certain tripartite endentures.' Middleton's executors seem to have been successful in an action brought by them against Brown for payment of the £30, and these depositions are the result of an appeal by him on the ground that he had already paid it.

* * * * *

On the 25th June, either of 1594 or 1595, in an action brought by him against Kenelm Nele, of London, gent., Roger Ward, of London, stationer, tells us that he brought certain printing letters and four pair of cases to contain the same from the abovesaid Kenelm for £7.

* * * * *

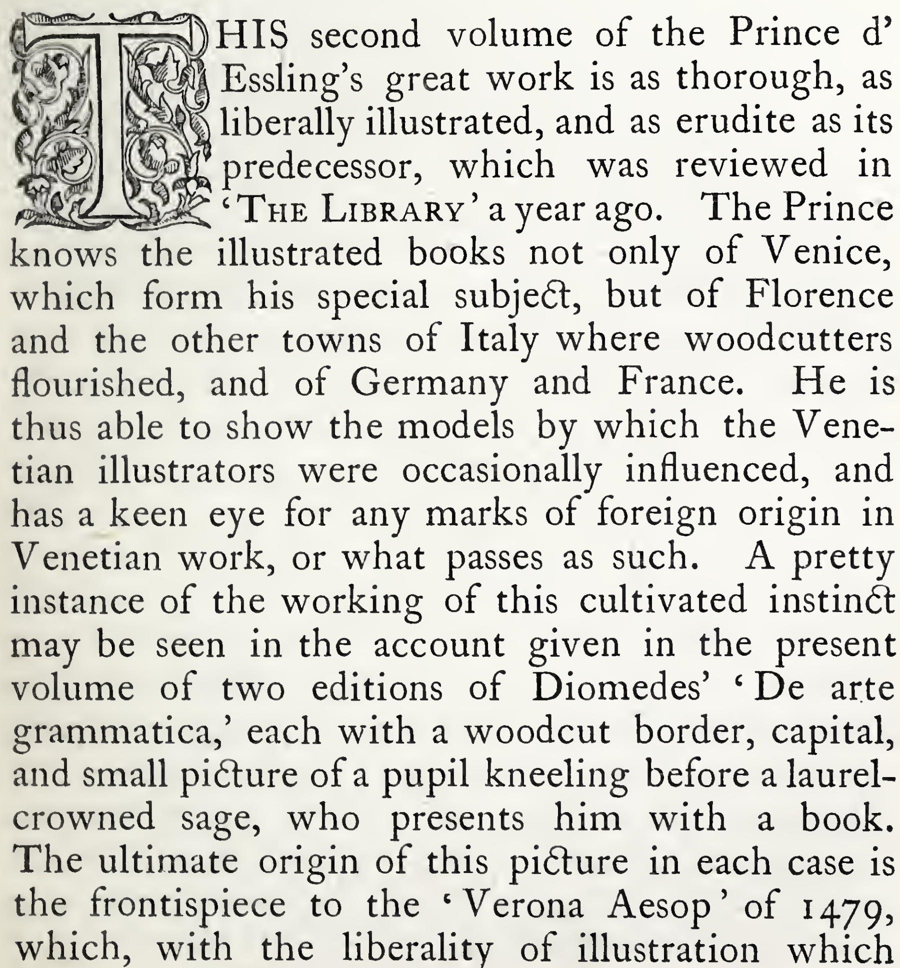
Some supplementary facts to Mr. Plomer's article on the Latin Stock are afforded by a decree in Chancery of the 29th May, 1639. It appears that in Trinity Term, 1637, George Cole, George Swinhowe, Edmund Weaver, Adam Islip, John Harrison, John Rothwell, Emanuell Exall, Nicholas Browne, Robert Mead, John Beale, John Hoth, Edward Brewster, Miles Flesher, John Wright, Robert Younge, William Crawley, George Miller, John Grismond, John Haviland, and George Latham, citizens and stationers of London, on behalf of themselves and other stationers of London, being co-partners in the buying and selling of the Latin Stocks, exhibited a bill in Chancery against Jane Lucas, then widow, the relict and executrix of Martin Lucas, gent., deceased; formerly relict and executrix of John Bill, gent., deceased, and now wife of Sir Thomas Bludder, knight. This bill shows that the complainants bought from Bonham Norton and John Bill, then of London, stationers, since deceased, 'sundry parcels and great quantities of Latin books,' and satisfied their demands in full. The complainants yearly bought a great stock of Latin books; some were sold in England, others by their agents abroad. They sold books to Bill for his own proper and particular use, and on casting up accounts about 14th July, 1627, it appears that Bill owed them for books and binding (with £17 6*s.* he had received from one Mr. Hart for them), a sum of money amounting to £567 2*s.* 11*d.* As this was Bill's private account, they took his bond for it, and still went on making payment to Norton and Bill for the Latin books

they had bought from them. Bill died about 1631, and left Lucas one of his executors. Lucas did not deny liability, but was dilatory in payment. He married Jane Bill and died before payment had been made, leaving her sole executrix; she denies all knowledge of the debt and says it was paid in Bill's lifetime, and as she has the bond, which had been lost by the complainants, as well as all Bill's books of account, and also the complainants' books of account relating to their transactions with Norton and Bill, the complainants can only sue in Chancery. The defendant Jane appeared on 10th July, 1637, pleaded the Statute of Limitations (21 James I), and denied knowledge of the debt. After being heard on the 4th November, 1637, and 8th and 16th May, 1639, judgment was given for complainants on 29th May, 1639.

Robert Lewis Steele.

REVIEWS.

Prince d'Essling. Études sur l'art ae la gravure sur bois à Vénise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe. Tome II. Florence, Leo S. Olschki; Paris, librairie Henri Leclerc.



THIS second volume of the Prince d' Essling's great work is as thorough, as liberally illustrated, and as erudite as its predecessor, which was reviewed in 'THE LIBRARY' a year ago. The Prince knows the illustrated books not only of Venice, which form his special subject, but of Florence and the other towns of Italy where woodcutters flourished, and of Germany and France. He is thus able to show the models by which the Venetian illustrators were occasionally influenced, and has a keen eye for any marks of foreign origin in Venetian work, or what passes as such. A pretty instance of the working of this cultivated instinct may be seen in the account given in the present volume of two editions of Diomedes' 'De arte grammatica,' each with a woodcut border, capital, and small picture of a pupil kneeling before a laurel-crowned sage, who presents him with a book. The ultimate origin of this picture in each case is the frontispiece to the 'Verona Aesop' of 1479, which, with the liberality of illustration which

doubles the value of the Prince's work, is reproduced along with the two copies. The colophon of the first of these reads, 'Impressum Venetiis per Christophorum de Pensis de mandelo Anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi MCCCCLXXXI. Die uero iiii. mensis Iunii'; that of the second 'Impressum Venetiis Anno .M.ccccIxxxxiiii. mensis Martii die X.' Of the illustrated page in this latter the Prince writes, 'l'ornementation de cette page nous parait d'origine plutôt milanaise que vénitienne,' a remark which we duly noted, but without attaching much importance to it till chance threw the book itself in our hands. Its accuracy was then very convincingly justified, for after a little investigation it became certain that this edition of Diomedes, despite its colophon 'Impressum Venetiis,' was really printed at Milan by Leonhard Pachel in his type 10. The same type was used a little more than three weeks later in a 'Iustinus,' also with 'Venetiis' in its imprint (Hain 9652), but which Proctor (P. 5995) had no hesitation in assigning to Pachel. The verification may thus be considered complete.

The most important heading in this second volume, which comprises the books whose first illustrated edition was published during the years 1491 to 1500, is that of the Breviaries, which were printed at Venice in great numbers, not only 'ad usum Romanum,' but for many of the religious orders and several of the dioceses of northern Europe. Though not such fine books as the Venetian Missals, to which the Prince d'Essling has devoted a separate monograph on a sumptuous scale, the Breviaries have numerous illustrations which are here tabu-

lated so that it is easy to see at a glance the pictures contained in any edition, and for which editions any given picture was used. Only one other heading in this volume approaches this in length, that devoted to the Legendario dei Sancti of Jacobus de Voragine. In connection with a woodcut in the 1505 edition of this, representing the miraculous cross preserved in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Venice, the Prince surpasses himself in generosity by giving photogravures not only of the cross itself, but of several pictures by Sebastiani, Mansueti, Gentile, Bellini, and Carpaccio, representing its dedication, processions in its honour, and the miracles which it was believed to work. Like its predecessor, this volume greatly impresses us with the range and variety of the styles of illustration in use at Venice during the period which it covers. Considering the extent of the Venetian book-trade at this period, the variety in itself is not surprising, but no previous work had given any idea of its extent. Prince d'Essling shows us everything, and seems to leave nothing for any successor to add to what he now publishes as a result of years of unwearying research.

A Short History of Engraving and Etching. By A. M. Hind. Archibald Constable & Co.

A bibliographer interested in book-illustration can hardly avoid beginning a notice of Mr. Hind's excellent manual by a confession of how small it makes him feel. The rise in value which accrues

to an engraving by being associated with a printed book is indeed remarkable, the supreme instance being the £1,475 given for a shabby copy of the first edition of 'The Pilgrim's Progress' with White's portrait of Bunyan, usually only found in the third edition, prefixed to it in an early and uncorrected state. Whether the portrait really belonged to the book, or had merely been inserted in it, was open to grave doubt, the most favourable supposition being that an original intention to issue it with the first edition had been abandoned owing to the discovery of an error, after leaving its mark on this one copy. In any case, the little print certainly added some £1,200 or £1,300 to the value of the copy, whereas if sold separately its value would hardly have exceeded a couple of guineas. Not many instances are quite as extreme as this; nevertheless, it may safely be said that association with an interesting book multiplies the value of an engraving on an average quite twentyfold, and book-lovers must therefore be prepared to find the plates in which they are specially interested losing, rightly and inevitably, about 95 per cent. of their importance when treated in the course of a general history of engraving. Mr. Hind is only a little less rigorous in this respect than we found Dr. Kristeller a year or two ago, in his 'Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in vier Jahrhunderten,' though being an Englishman he naturally does not treat the earlier English engravers with the sovereign contempt which Dr. Kristeller displayed for them. But when the bookman interested in block-books looks to see what Mr. Hind has to say as to the relation

of the 'Ars Moriendi' to the engravings of the Master E. S., he finds only an incidental allusion occupying two lines and a half, and he feels, as has been remarked, rather small. Nevertheless, Mr. Hind finds space to enumerate all the engravings met with in incunabula, and to support the theory that the engraving of an author presenting a work to Margaret of Burgundy only found in the Chatsworth copy of the 'Recuyell of the Histories of Troy' really represents Caxton, and (at whatever date it was inserted in the Chatsworth copy) 'must have been designed to illustrate the book.' In speaking of the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations Mr. Hind should have noted that these are not found in all copies of Mansion's edition of the 'De casibus,' and in his mention of the engravings in the Florentine Dante of 1481 in the sentence 'only the first two, or at least three, are ever found printed on the page of text,' *least* is an obvious slip for *most*. These are the only criticisms we have to offer with regard to the fifteenth century. When we turn to the reintroduction of engraving for book-work about 1540, we find Mr. Hind always trustworthy and a little fuller, and this applies also to the period from 1780 onwards, when native English book-illustration for the first time began to hold its own as against that of any other country. All that he says of the French livres-à-vignettes is excellent, but from the bookman's special point of view it is a little meagre. Possibly some day Mr. Hind may find time to help us in later periods as he has already helped us by the excellent list of English books of the sixteenth and seventeenth

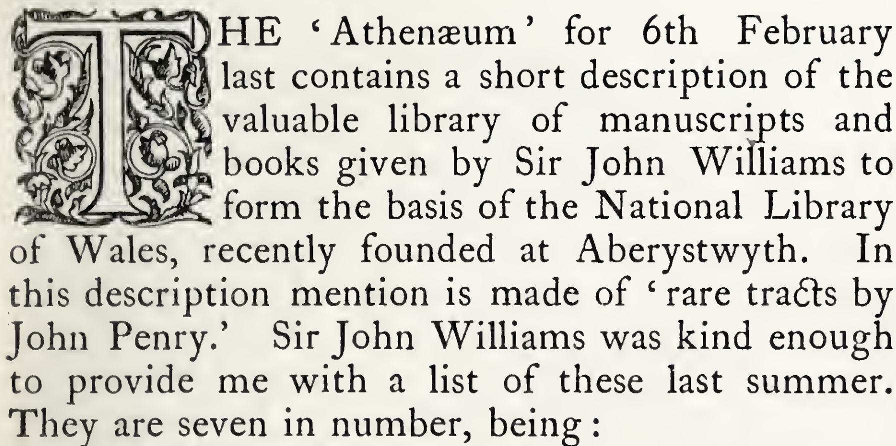
centuries, containing engraved illustrations, which added so much to the value of Mr. Colvin's 'Early Engraving and Engravers in England.' Assuredly the compiler of that list cannot be accused of being indifferent to the wants of bookmen. In his present work, however, Mr. Hind has taken as his subject the whole country of which book-illustration forms only a very small province, and he has mapped it out with a skill which will enable the bookman to see his hobby in its relation to the engraved art of each period very clearly and easily. Thus he has provided not only an excellent consecutive history of engraving under well-selected divisions, but also historical tables which show the relations of the lesser men to the greater, and an annotated list of engravers, with bibliographical references, which will often enable students to obtain more information than the space at his disposal has enabled him to offer himself. We cannot doubt that his work will take its place as an indispensable handbook, and its success will certainly be quickened by the numerous and excellent reproductions with which it is illustrated.

A.W.P.

New Series,
No. 39, Vol. X. July, 1909.

THE LIBRARY.

A NEW TRACT FROM THE MARPRELATE PRESS.



THE 'Athenæum' for 6th February last contains a short description of the valuable library of manuscripts and books given by Sir John Williams to form the basis of the National Library of Wales, recently founded at Aberystwyth. In this description mention is made of 'rare tracts by John Penry.' Sir John Williams was kind enough to provide me with a list of these last summer. They are seven in number, being:

i. An Exhortation . . . 1588. 110 pp.
ii. An Exhortation . . . 1588. 65 pp.
iii. A viewe (generally known as 'The Supplication').
iv. Th' Appellation . . . 1589.
v. A Treatise wherein . . . 1590.
vi. An Humble motion . . . 1590.
vii. A briefe discovery . . . D. Bancroft . . .

Copies of all except the first may be found in the British Museum, in the University Library of Cambridge, or at Lambeth; and we have no reason for thinking that the Welsh copies differ from

those to be seen elsewhere. With No. i., however, things are different. It is as far as I know a unique tract, it has never previously been described in full,[1] it contains some remarkable and hitherto unpublished information about early printing in Wales, and finally it adds one more to the list of pamphlets printed by Waldegrave on the Marprelate press. In short it is of first-class interest to bibliographers, and having been enabled to examine it last summer by the courtesy of Sir John Williams, I will now endeavour to describe it as fully as possible.

First, let us see how it stands with regard to other editions of Penry's 'Exhortation.' The first edition was printed by Waldegrave early in 1588, upon the same press and in the same type as Udall's 'Diotrephes' (first edition), which press and type were seized by the officers of the Stationers' Company on 16th April, and subsequently destroyed. This edition is quoted on p. 28 of 'A Godly Treatise,' by one Dr. Some, who signs his preface '6 Maij 1588.' This date gives us the clue to the date of Sir John Williams' unique 'Exhortation,' on p. 110 of which occur the words, 'TO THE READER. Master D. SOMES booke was published this day, I have read it.' . . . We may safely assume, therefore, that the tract we are describing passed through the press in the first or second week of May, 1588. There is, however, another issue of

[1] Sir John Williams first drew attention to its existence in a short letter published in the 'Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society,' October, 1906. This was pointed out to me by Mr. William Pierce, and so I came to a knowledge of the tract.

'An Exhortation' (No. ii. in Sir John Williams' list) to be reckoned with, a copy of which is to be seen in the British Museum (702. a. 39). It has only 65 pages, and on the last page we have an address 'to the Reader,' as before, but this time beginning with the words, 'I haue read Master D. Some's book,' from which we may conclude that it was issued later than the Williams copy, No. i. The type in which the first edition was printed had been destroyed, and though Waldegrave still had some type from the same fount, which he used for his second edition of 'Diotrephes,' and other pamphlets, he elected to print the second edition of 'An Exhortation' in the 'litle Romaine and Italian letter,' of which we hear so much in the story of the Marprelate press. No. i. of our list and the British Museum copy are both printed in this type. The similarity, however, does not end here. I examined Sir John Williams' copy at the University Library, Cambridge, and took minute notes of it, including every catch-word and marginal note. These notes I subsequently took to London, and compared with the British Museum copy. The conclusion I came to was that for the first 64 pages the two issues were identical. Every catch-word tallied, and the marginal notes corresponded even down to the mistakes in certain numerals. It is sufficient here to refer to the title-page in order to leave no doubt whatever upon the point. Thus runs the title of the unique copy:—

An exhortation vnto the gouer-/nours, and people of hir Maiesties/countrie of Wales, to labour earnestly,/to haue the preaching of/the Gospell planted a-/mong

them.//There is in the ende something/that was not in the former/impression.//PSAL. 137. 5, 6./If I shall forget thee, o Ierusalem, let my right hande/forget her selfe, if I do not remember, thee, let my toong/cleaue vnto the roofe of my mouth: yea, if I prefer not/Ierusalem vnto my cheefe Ioye.//2. COR. 1. 13./For wee write no other thing vnto you, than that you/reade, or that you acknowledge, and I trust you shal ac-/knowledge vnto the ende.//1 COR. 5. 13, 14./For, whether we be out of our wit, we are it vnto God,/or whether wee be in our right mind, wee are it vnto you./For, that loue of Christ doth constraine vs.//1588.//

Compare this with the title-page of the British Museum copy, and it will be found to reproduce it faithfully, including the misplaced comma between 'remember' and 'thee.' It may be added that the last lines of each paragraph correspond throughout, and that both issues have a slipped letter 'i' eight lines from the bottom of p. 41. The divergence begins on p. 65, which is the last page of the British Museum copy, and it is evident that for some reason pp. 65-110 were omitted in the later issue, thus necessitating the reprinting of p. 65, which in the British Museum copy is quite obviously an insertion. The title-page it will be seen announces that 'there is in the ende something that was not in the former impression' (*i.e.*, in the first edition). This refers to the extra matter from p. 41 onwards, which is to be found in both the later issues. But our unique copy has yet a third division, which commences on p. 65, and thus comprises the matter which was excluded in the latest issue. This is headed 'TO THE LL. OF

THE COVNSEL,' and begins at the point where the address 'To the Reader' begins in the other issue.

Before describing the contents of this hitherto unknown writing of Penry, we may sum up our bibliographical description of the whole book in the usual collation formula:—

A—O4; pp. (2) + 110. Description: (A1) Title. (A2) Dedication (11 lines), line 11, 'from my soule.' Text. (F2*a*) *Begins* 'Thus I haue set downe,' etc. (I2*a*) To the LL. of the Counsel. (O4*b*) 'To the Reader, Master D. Somes booke was published this day,' etc.[1]

'To the LL. of the Covnsel' is, like nearly all Penry's works, an address to the authorities on behalf of his native country Wales, the spiritual destitution of which filled his soul with horror and despair. His language is as usual bold. Sin, he declares, is detestable even in Privy Councillors, and he proceeds to show that the Privy Council in its neglect of the spiritual needs of Wales is not only guilty of great sin, but is in danger of falling under the wrath of God. In a fine passage he points to the great Armada, just at that time preparing to leave Spain, as the possible instrument of the anger of the Almighty. 'It is not therefore the Spanishe furniture and preparations: but the sinners within the land, that we are most of all to feare. For although the armie of the Spanyarde were consumed with the arrowes of famine: although the contagious, and deuouring pestilence had eaten them vp by thousands; although their

[1] I transcribe this from a note of the tract made by Mr. Sayle while it was at the University Library, Cambridge.

tottering shippes were despersed and carried away with the whirlewinde and tempest; although madnes & astonishment were amongst them, from him that sitteth in the throne, vnto her that grindeth in the mil: although the lords reuenging sword in the hand of the sauage Turke had so preuailed against them, as it had left none in that uncircumcised host but langwishing and foyled men, notwithstandinge a contẽptible & withered remnant of the plague & famine: a nauie of winde and weather-shaken ships: a refuse of feeble and discomfited men, shalbe sufficiently able to preuaile against this land, vnlesse another course be taken for Gods glory in Wales by your HL, then hitherto hath bene.'[1] This is not the only reference to the Armada in Penry's writings. He constantly returns to it, and always in the same exalted, impassioned strain. Prose like this is not common at such an early period.

Another passage gives us an example of Penry's style in a different vein. A very large portion of the address to the Privy Council is taken up with an attack upon 'A Defence of the Gouernment Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters,' by John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury. This, it will be remembered, was the book against which Martin Marprelate first directed the shaft of his wit. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to see what Penry has to say about it. He begins by accusing Bridges of 'going about, for the defence of his bellye and the bellies of the rest

[1] Pages 105, 106.

of his coate, to ouerthrowe her Maiesties title of Soueraigne preheminence.' He asserts that Bridges' argument in favour of episcopacy is identical with that of Bellarmine in favour of popery, and further that Bridges has placed himself 'directly within the compasse of treason.' Finally, after pronouncing the Dean's book a 'a popish quilt,' he dismisses the subject in the following words: 'As for D. Bridges himselfe his vnsauery and vnlearned stile, his popishe reasons, long since banished out of the schooles of all sound deuines, hys whole booke, his ungodly and abhominable praier that the preaching of the word may neuer bee had generally throughout the land, his scripture being the subscription of the second epistle to Timothie, his alleadging of writers, as clear against himselfe as blacke is to white as of Augustine, Caluin, Aretius, &c, his imperfect periodes without sence or sauour, his Bishop James, Archbishops Tim, and Titus,[1] his translation of vos autem nolite vocari rabbi, into will not you bee called rabbi, with thousand other monumens of his prophane impiety, sottish ignorance, and want of learning, euidently conuince, that he was neuer as yet in Platonis Politie, where any good learning grewe, but hath wallowed himself all his life, in Romuli fece, whence learning hath ben long since banished & godlines neuer shone. . . . For to omit, that in 160. sheets of paper, he hath don nothing but ouerthrown him selfe vtterly shamed his whoorishe cause, by shewing the nakednes thereof, translated other mens writ-

[1] This is obviously the origin of Martin's practice of speaking or the saints as 'Sir,' *cf.* 'Hay any worke' (Petheram ed., p. 17).

ings, taught the reader how to vnderstand the learned discourse, and added marginall notes, so that if other men had neuer written, he would have said nothing, this shalbe found vndoubtedly true throughout the whole booke, that he hath made a couenant before hand, not to dispute, vnlesse you grant conclusion & all, and rather flatlie to be non plus then prooue anything.'[1] Nearly all the points against Bridges here noticed are also to be found in Martin's 'Epistle' and 'Epitome.' The resemblance, in fact, between the tracts is so striking as to leave no doubt whatever upon my mind that there was a close connection between them. It is possible that Penry himself wrote the whole or part of the Martinist tracts. I think it more likely, however, that they were the work of another person writing with Penry's tract before his eyes.[2] The points are reproduced, but in a different style. In any case, here is the basis of the anti-Bridges portion of the 'Epistle' and 'Epitome.' The date, therefore, of the second edition of Penry's 'Exhortation,' a little after 6th May, gives us a clue to the period at which the first two Marprelate tracts were either begun or first thought of. We must suppose that the address, 'To the LL. of the Counsel' was suppressed, perhaps in order that it might be worked up into another and more lively

[1] Pages 87-8.

[2] There is a third alternative, viz., that Penry and 'Martin' wrote independently of each other, but used the same notes. Since writing the above I have come to feel that this is probably the true explanation of the similarity.

form, and certainly in order to prevent the connection between Penry and Martin being too obvious to the eyes of the authorities.

The third passage I wish to quote from this interesting tract is of more general bibliographical interest. It refers to the secret printing of a 'popish book' in Wales, and is, I believe, one of the earliest notices of Welsh printing that we possess. It was, of course, unknown to Herbert, but I think that the passage from 'The Epistle' which he notes concerning that 'knaue Thackwell the printer which printed popishe and trayterous welshe bookes in wales,'[1] probably refers to the same incident. If so it is but another proof of the close connection between this tract of Penry's and the first two Marprelate pamphlets. 'It is now,' writes Penry, 'ful 29. yeares and upward, since Babilon [*i.e.*, Catholicism] hath bin ouerthrown in Wales. . . . But alasse what shall we and our posteritie be the better for this if Syon bee not built. . . . Nowe for the space of 28. yeares, no man greatly labored to hir maiesty, the Parliament, your Hh. or to the people themselues, either by speaking or writing in the behalfe of either of these vnreconcilable cities.[2] . . . The last yeare, as I am almost pesuaded, the verye same day, or by all likely-hood the very same week: vpon a suddain, the enterprises of the building of both, in 2 seueral books, issuing from two of the remotest corners in

[1] 'Epistle' (ed. Arber), p. 22. Typ. Ant., iii., p. 1466. *Cf.* also Cooper's 'Admonition' (ed. Arber), p. 34, 'Hay any Worke,' (ed. Petheram), p. 65.

[2] *cf.* 'The Aequity,' p. 27 (ed. Grieve, p. 25).

our lande (South-wales and North-wales) was taken in hand. The one of the bookes pleading the cause of Sion, cõming forth priuiledged by publike authority, & alowãce, was directed unto hir maiesty & the Parliament, requiring at their hands, by vertue of the lords own mandatory letters, the performance of this work, shewing by euidence of greatest antiquity, this to bee required of duety at their handes, as a part of the homage due vnto his highnes whose feudaries and vassalles, all the princes & states vnter heauen must acknowledge themselues to be & a portion of that inheritance, beeing theirs by liniall discent from their predecessors, the godly kings and rulers, who time out of mind, alwaies laied their shulders vnto this burthen. The other written in Welch [marginal note, 'Y druch Christi anogaw'] printed in an obscure caue in North-wales, published by an author vnknown, & more vnlearned, (for I thinke hee had neuer read any-thing but the common published resolution of R. P. a book containing many substantiall errors, frier Rush, and other shameful fables) stood to by none, & hauing no reasons to shew why his Babilon should be reaedified, it contained it selfe within the handes of a few simple priuate men and neuer durst vnto thys hour be made known vnto you HL. Both the bookes in this thinge had the same successe, in that both togither they fel into the hands of the prelats, who as they pretend are enemies vnto both places, but vndoubtedly vnto Syon, especially as it appeared by their harde dealing with the patron of that cause, whereas the fautors of the other, were either not

at all dealt with, or very curteously entertained of thẽ.'[1]

Mr. William Pierce tells me in a letter upon this subject that the title of the Welsh tract should be 'Y druch Christianogawl,' which is in modern Welsh 'Y drych Christianogol,' and in English 'The Christian Mirror.' The other book printed in Wales in 1587 was perhaps, as Penry's words seem to imply, an edition of his 'Aequity,' printed for Welsh readers.[2]

I cannot conclude my remarks upon this important discovery in the Marprelate field of bibliography without pointing out that it will make necessary a reconsideration of some accepted theories about the early history of the Marprelate press. The tract, as has been said, is printed in the well known 'litle Romaine and Italian letter,' and it appeared almost immediately after 6th May, 1588. Now it is generally assumed that this type was lying at the time in the house of Mistress Crane, in Aldermanbury, London. Nicholas Tomkins, Mistress Crane's servant, confessed at an examination which took place in February, 1589 (*v.* Arber, 'Introd. Sketch to Martin Marprelate Controversy,' p. 84) that when 'Waldegrave's press was marred,' the puritan printer brought a Case of Lettres' to Mistress Crane's house, and that it remained there for 'a Month together.' At a later examination (Arber, p. 86), when he was evidently questioned much more carefully, he declared that Waldegrave

[1] Pages 99-101.

[2] The imprint of the only edition of 'The Aequity' now known reads, 'At Oxford,' Printed by Ioseph Barnes. 1587.'

and his wife brought the type, and that it 'remained there about 3 Months,' that is, comments Professor Arber, from May to July, 1588. Waldegrave's press was 'marred' on 13th May, 1588 (*v.* Herbert, 'Typ. Ant.,' ii., 1145, ed. 1786), but the raid had been made upon his house, and his press, 'with twoo paire of cases, with certaine Pica Romane, and Pica Italian letters,' had been seized a month before, on 16th April. Now we may fairly assume that he began to print Penry's 'Exhortation' (2nd edition) between these two dates, seeing that it was upon the eve of publication when Some's book, dated 6th May, appeared. Some help may be obtained by supposing that Tomkins made the mistake of imagining that the raid and the destruction of the press and type took place at the same time. This would give us another month and allow us to suppose that the type was brought to Mistress Crane's on 16th April, a much more natural supposition than the former. Nor need we insist too precisely upon the 'three months.' Tomkins, in his first examination, thinks that the type remained there for 'a month together,' while Baker, the copyist of the second examination, complains that 'this paper was wrote in so wretched a hand that it is hardly possible to give a true and perfect copy,' so what he gives as three may possibly have been meant for two. Let us give ourselves as long a rope as possible then. Let us admit that the type appeared at Mistress Crane's on 16th April, and remained there for two months, or even (for why not go the whole length while we are about it?) for only one month. Have

we really escaped our difficulty? No: do what we will, there stands John Penry in our path with his clear and unmistakable statement, 'Master D. Somes booke was published this day.' There is no help for it. Waldegrave must have been setting up the 'Exhortation' in the 'litle Romaine and Italian letter' at the end of April or, at the very latest, in the first week of May. And yet there was the same type lying unused at Aldermanbury. Obviously there is no road in this direction.[1]

The mistake which has led us all astray hitherto, has been the identification of the rescued type with this small roman and italic. It is a mistake which goes back to the sixteenth century, for the whole theory of this identification rests upon a statement in a document among the 'Lansdowne MS.' (61. Art. 22.) which Professor Arber entitles, 'A summary of the information in the hands of the Queen's Government as to the Martinists on the 22nd September, 1589.' 'Touching the printing of the two last Libells [*i.e. Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior*] in a litle Romaine and Italian letter,' the author of the paper remarks, 'when his [Waldegrave's] other letters and presse were defaced about Easter was twelve moneth he saved these lettres in a boxe under his cloke and brought them to Mistris Cranes howse in London, as is also confessed' (Arber, p. 115). This is our sole authority for imagining that the type which Waldegrave and

[1] If we follow Tomkins literally, and date the leaving of the type at Mistress Crane's on 13th May, matters are no better, since we have still to account for the third edition of the 'Exhortation' printed in the same type.

his wife saved from the raid was the small roman and italic. We do not know who the writer is, but it is not difficult to see that he knows very little indeed about the first phase of the Marprelate enterprise. The document is founded for the most part upon an examination of Sharpe, the bookbinder of Northampton, which has since been lost, but which was clearly much more meagre than the full confession he made on 15th October, 1589. In any case, Sharpe knew nothing of the Marprelate press before it migrated into his neighbourhood. The statement above quoted is based, as far as we can tell, entirely upon Tomkin's *first* examination, and the identification of these types we must suppose to have been a mere guess on the part of this unknown writer. He was evidently some ecclesiastic or official (I suspect, without any positive grounds for so doing, that it may have been Matthew Sutcliffe), who was fond of a theory, as indeed we all are. We can but curse him for a meddling fool, however, for he has hitherto led astray all those who have followed him in the great Martin hunt.

What, then, is the real explanation of this tangle? It is that the type which Waldegrave rescued, was from the same case as the roman and italic *pica* which was destroyed on 13th May. The Stationers' Records speak, it will be remembered, of 'certaine letters.' Is it straining a point to detect a touch of disappointment in this use of the word 'certaine'? The officials had expected at least to find a complete case, but apparently they only found a small quantity. Waldegrave certainly contrived to use

type similar to that in which the first editions of 'Diotrephes' and the 'Exhortation' were printed, all the time he was engaged as Marprelate printer, and the same type reappears in some of his books printed later in Scotland. What is remarkable about this type is its small quantity. It is defective in every way, and its poverty is especially noticeable in the matter of stops. This would be naturally accounted for on the theory that in the hurry of the moment, with the Stationers' officials coming down the street, Waldegrave had only time to shovel part of the type into a case and make off, assisted by his wife, through some back entrance to Mistress Crane's house. Last summer in conversation with me upon this matter of the flight with the type, Mr. W. W. Greg expressed himself incredulous as to the truth of the story, because he thought it impossible for one man, even with another's assistance, to carry away under his cloak such a heavy weight as the small roman and italic must have been. My present reading of the incident avoids this difficulty, but Mr. Greg's comment suggests a second and probably more important reason than mere haste for the poverty of the pica type. Waldegrave may have had some hours warning of the intended raid, but if so this would be only just sufficient time to allow him and his wife to go once from his house to Mistress Crane's. They would of course carry all that they could upon this single journey, but we can see from the second edition of 'Diotrephes,' 'The Protestation,' and other tracts printed in this type, that they could not have carried away much

more than half a caseful, if indeed as much as that.

A good deal turns upon this question of the whereabouts of the two main roman founts of Marprelate type at the beginning of 1588, as I hope to show on some other occasion. Enough, however, has here been said to prove the importance of this new tract (for so it virtually is) from the hand of Penry, and to show us how thick beset 'with pitfall and with gin' this old Marprelate battlefield is, even to the wariest investigator. One must keep one's head clear, and walk like Agag. But all this only makes the adventure the more exciting. I wonder if there is any other bibliographical topic which thrills and intoxicates like the history of the Marprelate press.

John Dover Wilson.

HENRY DENHAM, PRINTER.

AT the time when Richard Tottell was passing through his press that collection of English verse known as 'Tottell's Miscellany,' he had in his employ an apprentice named Henry Denham, who took up his freedom in the Company of Stationers on the 30th August, 1560. Denham is next found in 1564 in possession of a printing house of his own in White Cross Street, Cripplegate, which may have been the premises previously in the occupation of Richard Harrison. He remained there but a very short time, as in 1565 he is found in Paternoster Row, at the sign of the Star, which he continued to occupy until the latter end of his life.

Henry Denham belongs to an interesting period in the history of English printing. For an all too brief period, dating from about 1557, there was a kind of typographical awakening in England, of which the leaders were Archbishop Parker, and John Day, the printer. A determined attempt was made to instil some artistic life into the trade by the introduction of good founts of type, handsome initial letters, and general excellence of work. As we have shown in a previous article, John Day was ably seconded by Henry Bynneman, and Henry Denham, with whom we are now concerned, must

be reckoned a good third, if he does not tie with Bynneman for second place.

Denham's office was furnished with a large and varied assortment of letter, from nonpareil to great primer, and all of it was good. His blacks, in particular, are noticeable for their clearness and beauty, while his nonpareil and other small sizes are remarkable for their regularity. But the good appearance of Denham's types is largely due to the care and neatness of his presswork. In this respect he was even superior to Bynneman, freedom from dirty type or over inking being a distinct feature of his books.

Denham also had a varied stock of initial letters, ornaments and borders, many of which were extremely good. Pride of place must be given to the set of large woodcut initials known as the A. S. series, and attributed to Anton Sylvius, an Antwerp engraver. These letters are first found in use by Thomas Berthelet, the king's printer, as early as 1546. They then appear to have passed into the hands of Jugge and Cawood, who used them largely in printing proclamations. How they came into the possession of Henry Denham is not quite clear, as Cawood was still printing when they are first found in Denham's books.

These initials which represent classical or mythological subjects, show an artistic spirit and grace of treatment that had not been seen in England before their appearance and was never equalled. Day attempted to imitate them in Cunningham's 'Cosmographicall Glasse,' but without much success. Denham also possessed duplicates of some of the

letters, recut from the original set, but these are easily distinguishable by the hardness of the lines, omission of details, and crude cutting.

Denham also was one of the six printers who used, in originals or copies, another set of large woodcut initial letters, which I described in my paper on Henry Bynneman, the similarity in size and design being so close, that only actual comparison can detect the difference. But in addition to these, Denham had a large stock of woodcut initials of smaller sizes, about which a chapter might very well be written. Mr. Sayle in his admirable paper on the subject of 'Initial Letters in Early English Printed Books,' read before the Bibliographical Society of London, on the 17th November, 1902, and printed in the seventh volume of the Society's Transactions, speaking of one of these sets, says: 'It is quite unlike any other work in England, and, further, it is not used anywhere abroad. I place it as high as the work of Sylvius, if not, indeed, in some repects still higher.' This praise is not exaggerated. It might also be applied to the graceful little letters that adorn the pages of the 'Monument of Matrones,' which is perhaps the finest all-round example of Denham's work that is to be found.

Many of Denham's title-pages were enclosed in a frame of printers' ornaments with good effect, while others had elaborate woodcut borders, either especially engraved for the work, or obtained from other printers.

Thus equipped Denham began business some time in 1564, his first book entry, a sermon by the

Rev. Thomas Cole, being registered during the year ending 22nd July, 1564 (Arber, i., 237). Before the end of that year he also printed for Lucas Harrison, of the Crane in St. Paul's Churchyard, Theodore de Bèze's 'Life and Death of Master John Calvin,' and 'A Pleasant dialogue or disputation between the Cap and the Head,' of which there is a copy at Lambeth; while for John Charlewood he provided an octavo called 'The Treasure of Gladnesse.' These were, presumably, all of them printed at the White Cross Street premises. During the year 1566 Denham's press was very busy, no less than fifteen works being traced to it, including Pierre Boaistuau's 'Theatrum Mundi, or Rule of the world,' notable as containing some of Edward Spenser's earliest verse; Robert Crowley's 'Apology or Defence,' which Denham appears to have shared with Henry Bynneman; William Painter's first volume of the 'Palace of Pleasure'; translations from the works of Pliny and Seneca; a volume of poems by Thomas Howell, called 'The Arbor of Amity'; two romances by Thomas Partridge, 'The notable history of Astianax and Polixena,' and 'The worthy History of the knight Plasidas,' and Anthony Rush's 'President for a Prince.' This last mentioned book is particularly noticeable, as being in an entirely different fount of black letter to any which is found in Denham's other books.

In 1569 we come upon Henry Denham's first folio, Richard Grafton's 'Chronicle at Large,' in two volumes, which he printed for Richard Tottell and Humphrey Toy. The work was dedicated to

the Secretary of State, Sir William Cecill, and the initial letter to the dedication has the arms of Cecill. The border to the title-page of the first volume was one of Richard Tottell's, an extremely ugly one, containing the supposed portraits of the various kings and queens; but that to the second volume was one of Grafton's, and is one of those signed A. S., no doubt the work of the engraver of the initial letters bearing the same signature. As may readily be believed it was a striking contrast to that of the earlier volume. The text was printed in black letter, and several of the A. S. initials were used in it. On the verso of the last leaf is Grafton's large device.

Another interesting folio that appeared in 1574 was John Baret's 'An Alvearie or Triple Dictionary in English, Latin, and French.' The border to this title-page was specially cut for the work. It is an elaborate design, partly conventional, partly architectural, and partly pictorial; in the bottom panel is a beehive, and above this the crest of Sir William Cecill, to whom the book was dedicated, while in the lower corners are the letters H. D. This dictionary is printed with great care, a great variety of types being used in it, and the presswork is excellent.

About this time (the exact date is unknown) Denham acquired the patent of William Seres for printing the Psalter, the Primer for little children, and all books of private prayer whatsoever in Latin and English. By virtue of this he also printed parts of the Book of Common Prayer. Strype, to whom we are indebted for the account of Denham's

acquisition of this patent, says that Denham took seven young men, free of the Company of Stationers, to help him work it, and that it gave rise to a great case, meaning a case in the courts of law. When or where that case was tried, has not been found, but from the fact of Denham's engaging seven freemen to help him, it is evident that there must have been a large output under this patent. As regards the Psalter and the Primer, very few copies printed by Denham are in existence. The British Museum possesses three, two being editions of the Psalms, one in Latin and one in English, neither of which calls for comment, and the third an imperfect edition of the Psalter, in octavo, noticeable for the border printed in red and black, and containing Henry Denham's rebus on either side, with figures of Ceres, etc. The work is preceded by a calendar, each month having a small woodcut illustrating it principal occupations. But the most important part of the patent seems to have been the printing of books of private prayers, and of these many examples can be found, and some of them are worth notice. In 1574 was issued Thomas Twynne's 'Garlande of godlie flowers,' a diminutive little volume measuring three inches by two and a half. It was dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon and his wife the Lady Anne. The pages are surrounded by narrow woodcut borders, some of an interlaced design, others geometrical, the former being the better of the two. The little volume is further illustrated with a cut of the arms of Sir Nicholas Bacon; the arms of Thomas Twynne; and on the verso of the last leaf, the

large device of Henry Denham. Equally good is Thomas Roger's edition of 'The Imitatio Christi,' published in 1580, printed throughout in nonpareil and brevier, with good little woodcut initials. In 1581, we have Abraham Fleming's 'Footpath of Felicitie,' each page of which is surrounded by the geometrical border seen in the 'Garlande of godlie flowers.' 'The Monomachie of Motives or a Battell between Vertues and vices' was another of these dainty little volumes, compiled by Abraham Fleming. This title is surrounded by a graceful border, containing the rose, fleur-de-lys, and portcullis, the emblems of the Tudors. It is further adorned with the arms of Sir George Carey, to whom it was dedicated.

But the largest and best of these collections of private prayers was that printed and published by Henry Denham in 1582, under the title of 'The Monument of Matrones, containing seven severall Lamps of Virginitie, or distinct treatises; whereof the first five concern praier and meditation, the other two last precepts and examples' . . .

The editor of this compilation was Thomas Bentley, of Grays Inn, and the work contained prayers written by many noble ladies. The last two parts of the work did not come from Denham's press, and were of very inferior workmanship, but the first five 'lamps,' as they were called, represent the high-water mark of excellence in Denham's printing. Each of the lamps has a separate title-page, for which a special border was cut, no two of them being alike. It is no exaggeration to say that these borders of Denham's are both artistic and

graceful. The first has embodied in the design, at the top, the royal arms; the sides are occupied with illustrations from the Scriptures, the arms of the city of London and the Stationers' Company, and the footpiece has the initials of Denham. The second and third titles have portraits of various queens and noble ladies, and are, if possible, even more delicate in treatment, and if by comparison the fourth and fifth seem poorer in design, there is at least no falling off in their execution. There is no clue to the engraver of these borders, but his hand can be traced in several others found in books of this period.

Another class of works, several of which came through Denham's press, is formed by books on country life. In 1574, Reginald Scot, a native of Kent, wrote and published a useful treatise on the growing of hops, which he called the 'Perfite platforme of a Hoppe garden.' It was printed in quarto, by Denham, with his usual care, and at once became popular, a second edition being called for in 1576, and another in 1578. Scot was also the author of a much more famous work, 'The discoverie of witchcraft.' Not less valuable was Leonard Mascall's 'Booke of the Arte and maner how to plant and graffe all sortes of trees,' the first edition of which Denham also printed in quarto for John Wight, about 1572, subsequent editions being called for in 1575, 1580, 1582, and 1592.

Books on horsemanship and the care of horses, by Thomas Blundeville, in 1580, by John Astley, in 1584, and by John Corte in 1584, each of them in quarto, came from Denham's press in the years

named. Finally we have the 'Five hundred pointes of good husbandry,' by that quaint and curious writer Thomas Tusser. The book had first appeared nearly thirty years before from the press of Richard Tottell, as 'a Hundreth good pointes of husbandrie,' but had been enlarged to 'Five hundred pointes' in 1573. The book is full of wise saws and weather lore, dressed up in doggerel verse.

In 1583 Henry Bynneman died, having appointed Henry Denham and Ralph Newbery his executors. Shortly after this Denham, there is reason to believe, started the Eliot's Court Printing House, which was run by a syndicate of printers, three of whom, Ninian Newton, Arnold Hatfield, and Edmund Bollifant, had been in Denham's service as apprentices. Amongst the earliest productions of this press was the 'Britannicae Historiae libri sex,' of Virunus Ponticus, with which was incorporated the 'Itinerarium Cambria' and 'Cambriae Descriptio' of Giraldus, the work being printed for Henry Denham and Ralph Newbery.

There is also reason to believe that Denham was one of the assigns of Christopher Barker.

The extent of Denham's business is shown by the fact that in 1583 he was returned as having four presses. In 1586-7, and again in 1588-9, he served the office of Junior Warden of the Company, but he never reached the Mastership. The last entry under his name occurs in the registers on the 3rd December, 1589. Sometime in the year 1585 he moved to the Star in Aldersgate Street, and while there he printed the 1587 edition of Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' in folio, in which he held shares with

John Harison the eldest, George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Thomas Woodcock.

Denham used two devices, the earlier a simple star, and the later the star surrounded by a heavy frame, in which the arms of the city of London and the Stationers' Company were incorporated. These marks passed to Richard Yardley and Peter Short, who succeeded to the business.

Henry R. Plomer.

THE FATE OF THE BASKERVILLE TYPES.

HITHERTO the history of the Baskerville types has practically ended with the breaking up of Beaumarchais' Kehl press in 1810. There are rumours of sales about that period. Messrs. Strauss and Dent in their 'John Baskerville,' p. 133, print an advertisement of a proposed sale of 'Caractères de Baskerville.' The bill is undated, but in the opinion of the authors it belongs to the early years of the nineteenth century. Did this sale ever take place? We cannot certainly say. It is said that the Empress of Russia purchased a quantity of the type. This rumour may have sprung from the known intention of Catherine of Russia at an earlier date to print an edition of Voltaire, an intention which spurred Beaumarchais to undertake his famous Baskerville edition. This association of a Russian empress with Baskerville at second hand might easily have suggested the report. However, there is probably no truth in it. All, or certainly the greater part of, Beaumarchais' stock of Baskerville type was sold, probably in 1818, by Madame Delarue, his daughter, to the famous printer Pierre Didot, who bought the types, not for use, but as objects of curiosity. In January of 1819 Didot offered them to Francis Henry Egerton,

afterwards 8th Earl of Bridgewater, well known in Paris at the time as a collector of MSS. and curiosities. Egerton does not appear to have closed with the offer, and the types pass out of sight again. The letter from Didot to Egerton (Eg. MS. 61, folio 161), printed below, gives the facts on which this note is based.

Ce 16 Janvier 1819.

My Lord

J'ai fait depuis peu l'acquisition de tous les types de Baskerville, c'est à dire de tous ses poinçons en acier, et de toutes ses matrices en cuivre, au nombre d'environ vingt deux caractères différents depuis le plus petit jusqu' au plus gros, romain et italique. C'est l'ensemble d'une des plus belles fonderies qui existent; et je l'ai achetée par occasion, et simplement comme objet de curiosité, n'ayant pas eu envie d'y mettre un grand prix, ma nouvelle fonderie à laquelle je travaille depuis huit années consécutives étant bientot terminée. Cette fonderie de Baskerville se compose de plus de trois mille poinçons en acier, et d'autant de matrices. Beaumarchais la lui a payée vingt mille livres sterling. C'est de Madame Delarue, fille de Beaumarchais, que j'ai fait cette acquisition, partie en argent, partie en éditions imprimées par moi. Si, comme objet de curiosité, ce bel ensemble de types anglais parait vous convenir, j'ai l'honneur de vous le proposer pour le prix de six mille francs. De plus, dans quelque pays que ce fût, cette fonderie pouvroit encore faire un état à quelqu' un que vous auriez intention de récompenser, ou d'encourager.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect, my Lord,

Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur,

P. Didot, l'aîné.

R. Flower.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.

(*Continued from p.* 167.)

XI. [1436 to] 12 December 1439:

RECORDS of a law-suit brought by Jerge (George) Dritzehen for himself, and on behalf of his brother Claus, against Johann Gutenberg, before the Great Council of Strassburg.

These records appear to have consisted of six several entries in three separate Registers, which, for the sake of reference, I will again call A, B, and C, as in my 'Gutenberg,' p. 23 *sqq*. A and B, said to have been preserved in the Town Library at Strassburg till 1870, are believed to have been destroyed in that year during the bombardment of that city by the Germans.

In volume A (which seems to have contained the entries of the depositions of witnesses in suits before the Council as the cases came forward) were written the *first* entry (the depositions of thirteen witnesses of Jerge Dritzehen against Gutenberg), and also the *second* (the depositions of three witnesses of Gutenberg against Jerge Dritzehen).

N.B.—By some accident, 'But' on page 158, line 15, was altered into 'And.'

According to Laborde this volume consisted of two quires, each of forty-two sheets, or eighty-four leaves, which were covered by a sheet of parchment, on the recto of which was written: 'Dicta . . . Testium magni consilij Anno Domini M°.CCCC°. Tricesimo nono.'

The earlier portion of volume B (which, according to Schoepflin, had the title, 'Queremonie & testes registrati Magni Consilii, Anno Dni M°.CCCC°.XXX nono) contained the *third* entry ('Querimonia' of Lorentz Beildeck, one of the witnesses of Jerge Dritzehen); in its later portion were written the *fourth* (list of Gutenberg's witnesses against Jerge Dritzehen) and the *fifth* (list of Jerge Dritzehen's witnesses against Gutenberg) entries.

The *sixth* and last entry is the sentence of the Strassburg Senate in the lawsuit; it is dated: 'Vigil. Lucie & Otilie Anno xxxix' (*i.e.* 12 Dec. 1439), and was, so far as our information goes, written in volume C, which seems to have contained other decisions of the Strassburg Council.

Leon De Laborde evidently saw the volumes A and B at Strassburg about 1840, for he describes them carefully, and gives facsimiles of eleven different passages from them in his 'Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Strasbourg' (Paris, 1840). He even prints the 'Depositions' line for line, apparently as they were in the MS., but the 'Querimonia' in the ordinary way. Of volume C he says nothing, and could not have seen it, if we may rely on the statement of J. F. Lobstein, on p. 327 of his 'Manuel du Notariat en Alsace' (Strassburg,

1844), that 'among the protocols of the Chancery, those of the year 1439, which contained, with other things, the sentence of the Senate in the law-suit between Gutenberg and André Dritzehen, were burned at the celebration of the first fête of the Supreme Being, the 20th Brumaire of the year II. (Nov. 20, 1793).' Schoepflin tells us in 1761 (p. 347 of vol. ii. of his 'Alsatia illustrata') that that part of the Acts, which contains the sentence of the Senate (therefore, vol. C) had been *communicated* to him in 1740 by Jac. Wencker, and in his 'Programma' of 1740 he had already said that he owed the public documents to Wencker, those of the St. Thomas Chapter to Schertzius; and that the depositions of the witnesses (therefore the Registers A and B) were found in 1745 by Jo. Henr. Barth (then archivist). But from what he said in 1760 ('Vindiciae typ.,' pp. 13, 14), it would seem that Barth was merely present when he (Schoepflin) opened the volume of 1439 and '*discovered* the name of Gutenberg, the witnesses and their testimonies regarding the Gutenbergian secret.' Dibdin had visited Strassburg in 1818, and from what he says (on p. 53 of vol. iii. of his 'Bibliographical Tour') it is clear that he then saw volume A only. Schaab, Schweighäuser (1826-30), and Bernard (1853), only speak of the volumes A and B. Hence it is clear that no one, not even Schoepflin, has ever seen the volume C, Wencker, the discoverer, of course excepted. Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 210) tells us that 'it must have contained the *concept* of the Sentence, from which a document on vellum was to be

prepared, which, however, has not come down to us.'

The text of these records, now hopelessly lost, was published for the first time by Schoepflin in 1760 ('Vindiciae typ.,' sec. pars, pp. 5-30, all from the originals?); again by Bernays and With, in 1833, in 'Quartalbl. des Vereins f. Lit. u. Kunst zu Mainz, iv., 1833 (which I have not seen), the 'Depositions' only from the original; by De Laborde in 1840, with a French translation ('Débuts,' etc., pp. 22 *sqq.*), the 'Depositions' from the originals (?), with some extracts from them in facsimile, but the 'Sentence' from Schoepflin's text (?); in 1882, with an English translation, by Hessels ('Gutenberg: Was he the Inventor or Printing?' p. 34 *sqq.*), from De Laborde's and Schoepflin's texts; in 1900 by Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 195 *sqq.*), also from Schoepflin and De Laborde's texts.

I regret that want of space prevents me from printing here the German text and my translation in parallel columns, as was done in my 'Gutenberg.' The originals being lost, the German could only have been given from De Laborde's or Schoepflin's text, and it may just as well be consulted in their own books, or in Schorbach's treatise (with facsimiles taken from De Laborde's facsimiles), or in my 'Gutenberg.' I believe, however, that my translation by itself will be sufficient to form an estimate both of the value of the document and of the criticisms made upon it; and in reprinting it, I avail myself of the few corrections suggested by Schorbach and other bibliographers.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION.[1]]

First entry: This is the truth which *Jerge* [*George*] *Dritzehen* deposed against *Johan von Mentze* named *Gutenberg*. In the presence of Claus Duntzenheim and Claus zur Helten.

[1st Witness] *Barbel von Zabern*, the trades-woman, said one night she talked about several things with *Andres Dritzehen*, and also said to him: 'Will you not go now and sleep?' He replied: 'I must make this first.' Said she: 'But . . . how much money do you spend; this must have cost you more than x guilders.' He answered: 'Fool, thinkest thou that it has cost me only x guilders; if thou hadst as much as it has cost me over 300 guilders, thou wouldst have enough for thy life, and what it has cost me less than 500 guilders is very little, besides what it will still cost me; wherefore I have mortgaged my house and my ground.' Said she: 'If you fail, what will you do?' Says he: 'We cannot fail; before a year is passed we have our capital back, and shall all be happy, unless God wish to punish us.'

[2nd W.] Dame *Ennel*, the wife of Hans Schulheiss, wood merchant, said that *Lorentz Beildeck* came into her house to *Claus Dritzehen*, her cousin, and said to him: 'Dear Claus Dritzehen,[2] the blessed Andres Dritzehen has *four pieces*[3] lying in *a press*; now Gutenberg[4] has requested that you will take them out of the *press* and separate them the one from the other, that no one may know what it is, because he would not like that anybody saw it.' Ennel also said: 'When she was staying with Andres Dritzehen, her

[1] This translation is as literal as possible. Here and there a few unimportant or redundant words have been omitted, such as 'the blessed,' which corresponds to our 'the late.'

[2] Schoepflin tells us that here the MS. has 'min Juncher Hanns Guttemberg hatt uch gebetten das,' but marked for omission.

[3] Schoepflin translates *paginas*.

[4] gutenberg, written in the margin.

cousin, she often helped him to make *the work* by day and night,' and 'she knew well that *Andres Dritzehen* . . . had, at one time, mortgaged his capital, but did not know whether he used that for *the work.*'

[3rd W.] *Hanns Sidenneger* said 'that *Andres Dritzehen* had often told him that he had spent much money on the *before-mentioned work*, . . .[1] and that it cost him much, and said to him (witness), he did not know how he should act in *this matter.*' Witness replied: 'Andres, hast thou got into it, thou must get out of it also.' Andres said: 'he had to mortgage his property,' and witness answered: 'Yes, mortgage it, and tell nobody anything about it; Andres now has done this, though he did not know whether the sum, at that time, had been large or small.'

[4th W.] *Hanns Schultheiss* said that *Lorents Beildeck* came to his house to *Claus Dritzehen*, when this witness had conducted him thither, when *Andres Dritzehen*, his brother, had died, and then *Lorentz Beildeck* said to *Claus Dritzehen: 'Andres Dritzehen*, your . . . brother has *four pieces*[2] lying underneath in a *press*, and *Hanns Gutemberg* has requested you that you should take them out of it and lay them separate on the *press*, so that nobody can see what it is.' Therefore *Claus Dritzehen* went and searched for the *pieces*,[2] but found nothing. Witness also had heard, some time ago, from Andres Dritzehen, before he died, that he had said *the work* had cost him more than 300 guilders.

[5th W.] *Cunrad Sahspach* said that *Andres Heilman* had come to him in the Kremer street, and said to him: 'dear Conrad, as *Andres Dritzehen* has died, and thou hast made the *press* and knowest of the affair, so go thither and take the *pieces*[3] out of the *press*, and take them the one from the other, then nobody knows what it is.'

[1] De Laborde prints five dots here in the German text, without saying what they mean; perhaps some words were crossed out.

[2] Schoepflin translates *paginas* in both these places.

[3] Schoepflin translates *paginas*.

When this witness wished to do this and searched, which was on St. Stephen's day last, the thing was gone. This witness also said 'that *Andres Dritzehen* had, at a certain time, borrowed money from him, which he used for *the work;* and complained that he had to mortgage his income,' to which witness replied: 'this is bad; but it thou hast got into it, thou must also get out of it;' therefore he knew well that he had mortgaged his income.

[6th W.] *Wernher Smalriem* said that he [?[1]] had made about three or four *purchases*, but did not know whom it concerned; and among other things there was a purchase of 113 guilders, towards which three of them had subscribed for 60 guilders, while *Andres Dritzehen* engaged for 20 guilders. And at a certain time, before the term, *A. Dritzehen* said to this witness 'that he should come home and take the 20 guilders.' But witness answered: 'he should bring the money together and collect for him,' which *Andres* did. But afterwards *Andres* came again to witness and said: 'that the money was together in the house of Mr. *Anthonie Heilman*, where he could fetch it,' which witness did, and took the money in Mr. Anthonie's house, and the rest of the money was certainly paid by *Fridel von Seckingen.*

[7th W.] *Mydehart Stocker* said: When *Andres Dritzehen*, on St. John's day at Christmas, when the procession took place, lay down and became ill, he was lying in the room of witness on a bed. Witness said: 'Andres, how are you,' and he replied: 'I know I am mortally ill,' and 'if I were to die I should wish never to have joined the partnership.' Witness asked why, and he replied: 'I know well that my brothers never can agree with *Gutenberg*.' Said witness: 'has then the association not been written down, or have no persons been present?' Said Andres: 'yes, it has been written down.' Then witness

[1] De Laborde prints here a line of dots, without saying what they mean; perhaps some words were deleted in the MS. Schoepflin's text runs on.

asked him how the partnership had been made, and he replied: '*Andres Heilmann*, *Hanns Riffe*, *Gutemberg*, and himself had entered into partnership, to which, as he recollected, *Andres Heilman* and himself had each contributed 80 guilders. And when they were in this partnership, *Andres Heilman* and himself came to *Gutemberg* at St. Arbogast, where he had *concealed several arts*[1] from them, which he was not obliged to show them. This did not please them; whereupon they had broken up the partnership and replaced it by another to this effect, that *Andres Heilman* and himself should each add so much to the first 80 guilders that it would make 500 guilders, which[2] they[2] did,[2] and they two were one man in the partnership. And similarly *Gutemberg* and *Hanns Riffe* should each contribute as much as the two, and then *Gutemberg* should conceal[3] from them none of *the arts* he knew.[3] Concerning this an association-contract was made, and in case one of the partners died, the others should pay 100 guilders to the heirs of the deceased, and the rest of the money and all that belonged to the association should remain in the partnership as the property of the other partners.' Witness also said that *Andres Dritzehen* had told him at that time 'that he knew very well from himself that he had often mortgaged his income,' though he did not know whether this was much or little, nor whether he had employed it for *the work* or not.

In the presence of *Diebolt Brant* and [*Jocop*][4] *Rotgebe*.

[8th W.] Mr. *Peter Eckhart*, parish priest at St. Martin, said that the blessed *Dritzehen*, during the Christmas feastdays, sent to him to hear his confession, and when he came to him and he confessed freely, witness asked him

[1] Schoepflin translates: *Nonnulla artis suae arcana.*

[2] These three words correspond to German words in De Laborde's text; they are not in Schoepflin's text.

[3] Schoepflin translates: *Omnia artis suae, quae nosset, arcana communicaret.*

[4] Added by Schoepflin.

'whether he owed anybody anything, or whether anyone was indebted to him, or whether he had given anything, he should say so'; and *Andres* replied: 'he had a partnership with several persons, *Andres Heilman* and others, and had laid out certainly 200 or 300 guilders, so that he had not a penny left'; and he also said that *Andres Dritzehen* at that time was lying in bed in his clothes.

[9th W.] *Thoman Steinbach* said that *Hesse*, retail-dealer, came to him at one time and asked him 'whether he knew of any purchase in which little could be lost,' as he knew several [persons], but mentioned among such *Johann Gutenberg*, *Andres Dritzehen*, and a [certain] *Heilmann*, who were likely to be in want of ready money. Then this witness bought for them 14 Lützelburger,[1] and knew a merchant who would buy them again, and he did sell them again, and 12½ guilders were lost by it; *Fridel von Seckingen* remained surety for them, and it was written down in the book of the sale-house.

[10th W.] *Lorentz Beildeck* said that *Johann Gutenberg* sent him at one time to *Claus Dritzehen*, after the death of his brother *Andres*, to tell *Claus D.* that he should not show to anyone the *press* which he had under his care, which witness did. He [Gutenberg] also said, that he should take great care and go to the *press* and open this by means of the *two little buttons*, whereby[2] the *pieces* would fall asunder. He should then put those *pieces* in or on the *press*,[2] after which nobody could see or comprehend anything. And after the mourning ceremonies,[3] he was to come to *Johann Gutenberg*, who had something to talk about with him. Witness knew well that *Johann*

[1] The meaning of this word is apparently not known.

[2] Schoepflin translates, *ut paginae dilabantur in partes, easque partes vel intra vel supra prelum poneret.*

[3] In my 'Gutenberg' (p. 41) I followed De Laborde and Van der Linde in translating the German 'wenn ir leit uskeme.' According to Schorbach, Schoepflin translates correctly 'justis solutis.'

Gutenberg owed nothing to *Andres*, but that *Andres* was indebted to *Gutenberg*, and was to pay him this debt by instalments, but died while he was paying it. He also said that he had never been present at their re-union, since their re-unions had taken place after Christmas. Witness had often seen *Andres Dr.* dine at *Johann Gutenberg's*, but he had never seen him give a penny.

[11th W.] *Reimbolt von Ehenheim* said that shortly before Christmas he came to *Andres* and asked him 'what he did with those *troublesome things* with which he was busy.' *Andres* answered 'that it had cost him more than 500 guilders, but he hoped, when it should be ready, to gain a good quantity of money, with which he should pay this witness and others and see all his sufferings rewarded.' Witness said that on that occasion he lent him 8 guilders, as he was in want of money. Witness' housekeeper had often lent money to *Andres*, and *Andres* once came to this witness with a ring which he valued at 30 guilders, which he pawned for him at Ehenheim with the Jews for 5 guilders. Witness moreover said that he knew well that, in the autumn, he had put two half-omens of sodden wine into two vessels, and sent one half-omen to *Johann Gutenberg*, and presented the other half to *Midehart*, and also presented *Gutenberg* with a quantity of pears. *Andres* also requested this witness at one time to buy him two half-measures of wine, which witness did, and of these two half-measures *Andres Dritzehn* and *Andres Heilman* presented one to *Hans Gutenberg*.

[12th W.] *Hans Niger von Bischoviszheim* said that *Andres* came to him and said 'that he was in want of money, wherefore he had to press him and his other money-lenders, as he had something in hand on which he could not spend money enough. Hence witness asked him what he was doing, to which he replied 'he was a manufacturer of *looking-glasses*.' Then witness had his corn ground, and took it to Molsheim and Ehenheim, where he sold it, and paid him [the money]. Witness

also said that he [*Dritzehen*] and *Reimbolt* bought from him at one time two half-measures of wine, and he transported it; and when he came to St. Arbegast he had also half an omen of sodden wine on his cart, which *Andres* took and carried it in to *Johann Gutenberg*, and also a good quantity of pears; and of these two half-measures *Andres Dr.* and *Andres Heilmann* presented one half to *Johann Gutenberg*.

In the presence of Böschwilr.

[13th W.] *Fridel von Seckingen* said that *Gutenberg* had made a purchase and that he had become surety for him, and that he did not know but that it concerned Mr. *Anthonie Heilman* also, and that afterwards the debt concerning this *purchase* had been paid. He also said that *Gutenberg*, *Andres Heilmann*, and *Andres Dritzehen* had requested him to become their surety with *Stoltz*, the husband of Peter's daughter, for 101 guilders, which he did in this way, that these three should give him, on this account, a letter of indemnification, which indeed had been written and sealed with the seals of *Gutenberg* and *Andres Heilman*. But *Andres Dritzehen* always delayed the matter, and he could not induce him to seal it. *Gutenberg*, however, paid afterwards all the money at the time of the fair of last Lent. This witness also said that he did not know of the partnership of the above three, because he had never been joined to it, nor had he been present.

Second Entry: Gutenberg's testimony against *Jörge Dritzehen.* In the presence of Franz Berner and Böschwiler.

[14th W.] [*a*] Mr. *Anthonie Heilmann* said: When he became aware that *Gutenberg* would accept *Andres Dritzehen* for a third part in the pilgrimage to Aix-la-Chapelle about the looking-glasses, he urgently requested him to accept also his brother *Andres* if he wished to render him [*Anthonie*]

a great service.[1] [*Gutenberg*] then said to him: 'he feared the friends of *Andres* would at once say it were juggling,[2] which he would not like.' For that reason he [*Anton*] begged him again, and drew up a contract which he should show to both, and which they should carefully discuss;[3] he brought him the contract, and they resolved to act according to the contract, which was, therefore, agreed upon. [*b*] During these arrangements *Andres Dritzehen* requested this witness to help him with money, to which he replied that if he had a good security, he would soon help him, and at last assisted him with 90 lbs., and brought him the money at St. Arbgast, whereby he redeemed 2 lbs. of money from the St. Agnes nuns; and this witness asked, 'what do you ask so much money for, as you don't want more than 80 guilders?' He replied that 'he wanted still more money, and two or three days in Lent before Lady Day he had to give 80 guilders to *Gutenberg*.' This witness also gave 80 guilders, as the agreement was 80 guilders for each share, and the other third part, which *Gutenberg* still had, would become *Gutenberg's* property, as his share and for his art, and would not be put into any partnership. [*c*] Afterwards Gutenberg said to this witness that 'he had to mention something else, namely, that there should be equality in everything because he [*Anton*] had done so much for him, and that they should understand each other well that the one should conceal nothing from the other, and[4] that it should serve also the others.'[4] Witness was pleased by this conversation, and spoke highly of it to the other two, and long afterwards he [*Gutenberg*] repeated this conversation, and witness requested him as before and said that he wished to make himself worthy of it. After this [*Gutenberg*] made a contract according to this proposition, and said to this witness: 'Tell them that

[1] De Laborde prints here a star, but does not say what it means.

[2] So according to Schorbach, not *sorcery*.

[3] De Laborde prints here two stars without saying what they mean.

[4] Schoepflin translates: *idque ad reliquum opus pertinere.*

they should consider it carefully whether this be convenient to them.' This he did, and they discussed this point a long time, and even consulted [*Gutenberg*] who said afterwards: 'there are at present so many tools ready and in course of preparation, that your part is very near your own money [which you advanced], and so the art will be confided to you gratuitously.' [*d*] In this manner they agreed with him on two points, one of which was to be quite done with, and the other to be well explained. The point which was to be regarded as settled was that they wished to be under no obligation to *Hans Riffen*, either great or small, as they had nothing from him; whatever they had they had from *Gutenberg*. The matter to be explained was that, if one of them happened to die, exact explanation should be given; and they decided that, at the end of the 5 years, they should pay to the heirs ot deceased, for *all things made* or *unmade*, for the money advanced, which every partner had to pay in the expenses, and *for the forms* and *for all tools*, *nothing excepted*, 100 guilders. In case, therefore, of his death, it would be a great advantage to them, because he left them everything which he could have taken as his part for the expenses, and yet they had not to pay his heirs more than a 100 guilders for everything, just as one of the others. And this was stipulated in order that, if anyone died, they should not be under the necessity of *teaching*, *telling*, or *revealing the art* to all the heirs, which was as favourable to the one as to the others. [*e*] Thereupon the two *Andreses* told witness [i.e. *Anton Heilmann*], under the 'Kürsenern,' that they had agreed with *Gutenberg* regarding the contract, and that he had settled the point regarding *Hanns Riffen*, and wished to explain to them the last point further as it was put in the next article. They also said that *Andres Dritzehen* had given 40 guilders to *Gutenberg*, and the witness's brother [*Andres Heilmann*] had given him 50 guilders, as the agreement was 50 guilders for this term, as was shown by the contract, and afterwards, the following Christmas, 20 guilders, which

was Christmas last, and then afterwards, at mid Lent [the 4th Sunday in Lent], as much as the contract showed which witness had signed. And witness also said that he acknowledges the contract by the terms, and the money was not put into the association, but was to belong to *Gutenberg*. Neither had *Andres Dritzehen* lived in common with them, and had never spent any money, not even for the food and drink which they took outside [the town, i.e. at St. Arbogast]. [*f*] Witness also said that he knew very well that Gutenberg, shortly before Christmas, had sent his servant to the two *Andreses to fetch all the forms, and that they were taken*[1] *asunder*[1] *before his eyes*, which he [either witness or *Gutenberg*] regretted on account of *several forms*. At the time that *Andres* died and this witness well knew that people would have liked to see the *press*, *Gutenberg* said they should send for the *press*, as he feared that any one should see it, whereupon he sent his man to take it to pieces; and when he had the time he would talk with him, which was what he proposed to him. He also said that on the part of *Reimbolt Museler* and on his own part they had never been summoned. [*g*] Mr. *Anthonie Heilmann* also said that the longest of the two contracts was that mentioned above, which *Gutenberg* caused to be given to the two *Andreses* to consult

[1] The German text has *zurlossen*, and opinions differ as to the meaning of this word. Schoepflin, Meerman, and De Laborde took it to mean *to take asunder*. In my 'Gutenberg' (p. 47) I adopted this interpretation, because, as I explained in a note, the history and development of the word showed that this meaning was the prevailing one, and all the previous witnesses (see Nos. 2, 4, 5, 10) had spoken of 'something having to be taken to pieces' or separated. But I pointed out that, according to Lexer's 'Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterb.' (III. 1072, voce *zerlâszen*), it may also mean *to melt*, and that Van der Linde had adopted this meaning. Dr. Schorbach ('Festschrift,' p. 203), without referring us to any authority, says that at Strassburg in the fifteenth century, the word only meant *to melt*. For the reasons stated above, I feel bound to retain the interpretation *to take asunder*.

about it; and of the other contract, which was said to have been the first, witness did not know whether this was the case or not, as he had forgotten it. He also said that *Andres Dritzehn* and *Andres Heilman* had given to the said *Gutenberg* half a measure of wine in return for what they had eaten and drunk with him outside [the town]. *Andres Dritzehn*, in particular, presented him with one omen of sodden wine and nearly a hundred baskets of pears. He also said that he asked his brother *when* they commenced to learn, to which he replied that *Gutenberg* still claimed 10 guilders from *Andres Dritzehen* of the 50 which[1] he should have repaid.[1]

[15th W.] *Hans Dünne*, the goldsmith, said that three years ago or thereabout he had earned from Gutenberg nearly 100 guilders, merely for that which belonged to *printing*.[2]

[16th W.] *Midehart Stocker* said that he[3] knew well that *Andreas Dritzehen* had mortgaged the . . . vi [lbs.] . . .[4] of money for 120 lbs., and that this same money had become the property of his brother *Claus Dritzehen*, and that the same *Claus* had given this money to those of Bischofsheim near Rosheim for 12 lbs. of money of a life-annuity . . . when *Andres* would enjoy the same life-annuity during his lifetime. And it was agreed that the money which he would put into the association should be paid by instalments. He also said that[3] he had heard from *Andres Dritzehen* that he said may God help him that *the work* made in the partnership might be sold, in

[1] The German has 'so er *an ruckes* geben solt han.' The two words *an ruckes* are obscure. Some see a date in them; others think it means *as arrears; back*.

[2] See a facsimile of this whole clause in De Laborde's 'Débuts' (Plate II., No. 10), apparently taken from the original; and one in Schorbach's Atlas to the 'Festschrift' (Plate 7), taken from De Laborde's facsimile.

[3] All that follows till the next [3] is not found in Schoepflin's text, who prints five dots after the first 'said.'

[4] So in De Laborde.

which case he hoped and trusted that he would get out of all his needs.

Third entry: Querimonia of Lorentz Beildeck.[1]

I, *Lorentz Beildeck*, complain before you, Lords magistrates, on account of *Jorg Dritzehen*, that he—having summoned me before you, my Lords magistrates and council, to give him a testimony, and I having said on my sworn oath what I knew of the matter— that yet the said *Jörg Dritzehen* has again come before you and forwarded a messenger to me to give him a testimony, and has said that at first I have not spoken the truth. He has also publicly said to me: hearest thou, witness, thou shalt have to tell me the truth even if I should have to go to the gallows with thee; and has therefore criminally accused me and represented that I am a perjured criminal, and has, by the grace of God, done me wrong, which is a bad affair.

Fourth entry: List of Gutenberg's witnesses against Jerge Dritzehen.

This is *Gutenberg's* truth against *Jerge Dritzehen:* (1) Item Her Anthonie Heilman [14th W.]—(2) Item Andres Heilman—(3) Item Claus Heilman—(4) Item Mudart Stocker [7th and 16th W.]—(5) Item Lorentz Beldeck [10th W., and see the *third* entry]—(6) Item Wernher Smalriem [6th W.]—(7) Item Fridel von Seckingen [13th W.]—(8) Item Ennel Drytzehen [2nd W.]—(9) Item Conrat Saspach [5th W.]—(10) Item Hans Dunne [15th W.]—(11) Item Meister Hirtz—(12) Item Her Heinrich Olse—(13) Item Hans Riffe—(14) Item Her Johans Dritzehen.

Fifth entry: List of Jerge Dritzehen's witnesses against Hans Gutenberg.

This is *Jerge Dritzehen's* truth against *Hans Gutenberg:*

[1] On this *Querimonia* see Bockenheimer, 'Gutenberg-Feier,' p. 60.

(1) Item Lütpriester zu Sant Martin [8th W.]—(2) Item Fridel von Seckingen [13th W.]—(3) Item Jocop Imeler —(4) Item Hans Sydenneger [3rd W.]—(5) Item Midhart Honöwe—(6) Item Hans Schultheis der holzman [4th W.] —(7) Item Ennel Dritzehen sin husfröwe [2nd W.]—(8) Item Hans Dunne der goltsmit [15th W.]—(9) Item Meister Hirtz—(10) Item Heinrich Bisinger—(11) Item Wilhelm von Schutter—(12) Item Wernher Smalriem [6th W.]—(13) Item Thoman Steinbach [9th W.]—(14) Item Saspach Cunrat [5th W.]—(15) Item Lorentz Gutenbergs kneht und sin fröwe [10th W.]—(16) Item Reimbolt von Ehenheim [11th W.]—(17) Item Hans IX jor von Bischoffsheim [12th W.]—(18) Item Stöszer Nese von Ehenheim—(19) Item Berbel das clein fröwel [1st W.]—(20) Item Her Jerge Saltzmütter—(21) Item Heinrich Sidenneger—(22) Item ein brief über X.lb. gelts hant die Herren zum jungen Sant Peter her Andres versetzt—(23) Item ein brieff über II.lb. gelts hant die Wurmser ouch —(24) Item Hans Ross der goltsmit und sin fröwe—(25) Item Her Gosse Sturm zu Sant Arbegast—(26) Item Martin Verwer.

[*Sixth entry:* Sentence of the Council.]

We, *Cune Nope*, the Master and the Council at Strassburg, announce to all who will see this letter, or hear it read, that before us has appeared *Jerge Dritzehen*, our citizen, in his own name and with full power of *Claus Dritzehen*, his brother, and laid a claim against *Hans Genszfleisch von Mentz genant Gutenberg*, our inhabitant, and said: *Andres Dritzehen*, his brother, had inherited some goods from his father, which paternal inheritance and goods he had rather heavily mortgaged, and thereby procured himself a good deal of money; and he had also entered into an association and partnership with *Hans Gutenberg* and others, and had put this money into this partnership to *Gutenberg*, and that for a considerable time they had made and exercised their trade with each other,

of which they had derived a good deal of profit. And *Andres Dritzehen* had remained security in many places when they bought *lead* and other things belonging to it, which [securities] he had redeemed and paid. Now, when the said *Andres* had died, he [Jerge] and his brother *Claus* had often demanded of *Hansz Gutenberg* that he would take them into the partnership in the place of their brother, or to make an agreement with them regarding the money which he had brought into the partnership; which he [*Gutenberg*] declined to do, and excused himself by saying that Andres Dryzehen had never brought such money to him into the partnership; as he [Jerge], however, hoped and trusted honestly to show that the matter had passed as he had said before, and on that account he still desired that *Gutenberg* should put him and his brother *Clauss* into their inheritance and into the partnership in the place of their brother, or to pay back the money which their brother had contributed, because it reasonably belonged to them as an inheritance and by right, or to say why he would not do this.

Against this *Gutenberg* answered, that he considered such a demand on the part of *Jerge Drytzehen* unreasonable, because he could know, through many writings and contracts, which he and his brother must have found after the death of their brother *Andres Drytzehen*, how he [*Gutenberg*] and his brother [*Andres*] had associated with each other: namely, *Andres Drytzehen* had come to him some years ago with the understanding to learn and comprehend some arts from him; for which reason he had taught him, in consequence of his request, to *polish stones*, of which he had enjoyed [some] good [profits] at the time. Yet, after a considerable time, he and *Hanns Riffen*, Provost of Lichtenow, came to an understanding about an *art* which was to be used on the occasion of the Ocher pilgrimage [to Aix-la-Chapelle], and they had united on the condition that *Gutenberg* should have two parts, and *Hans Riffe* a third part in this undertaking. Now, *Andres Dritzehen*

had become aware of this, and requested him to teach and show him also this *art*, promising him to pay for it whatever he should desire. Meantime Mr. *Anthonie Heilmann* requested him also on the part of his brother, *Andres Heilmann*, and he had considered the request of both, and promised them to teach and instruct them in it, and also to give and transfer to them the half of *such art and adventure*, so that they two would get one part, *Hans Riff* the other part, and he [*Gutenberg*] the half. On that account the two would have to pay to *Gutenberg* 160 guilders into his purse, for his teaching and instructing them in the *art*. He had received, indeed, at that time, 80 guilders from each of them, as they imagined that the pilgrimage would take place that year, and they had prepared themselves with *their art*. But when the pilgrimage was put off for one year, they further desired from him and requested him to teach them all his[1] *arts* and *adventure*[1] which he might further, or in another way learn, or knew at present, and to conceal nothing from them. Thus they persuaded him and came to an understanding, and it was agreed that in addition to the first sum they should give him 250 guilders, which would make together 410 guilders. Of this he [*Gutenberg*] was to receive 100 guilders in ready money; and he did receive 50 guilders from *Andres Heilmann*, and 40 guilders from *Andres Dryzehen*, so that *Andres Dryzehen* had still to pay him 10 guilders. Besides this the two should each pay him 75 guilders in three instalments as had previously been agreed upon. But as *Andres Dritzehen* had died within these terms, and the money was still due from him, it was decided that their *adventure*[2] *with the art*[2] should last for five whole years, and in case one of the four died within the five years, then all their *art*, *tools*, and *work made already* should remain with the others, and after the expiration of five years the

[1] Schoepflin translates: *artes mirabiles atque secretas.*
[2] Schoepflin translates: *pro exercenda arte mirabili.*

heirs of the deceased should receive 100 guilders. This and other things were written down at the time, and after the [death of] *Andres Dryzehen* they had agreed to prepare a sealed letter about the matter as is clearly shown by the act;[1] and henceforth *Hans Gutenberg* had taught and instructed them in such *undertaking*[2] and *art*,[2] which had been acknowledged by *Andres Dryzehen* on his death-bed. Therefore, and because the contracts which concern it, and were found with *Andres Dryzehen*, clearly declare and contain it, and he [*Gutenberg*] hoped to prove with good witnesses, he desired that *Jörge Dryzehen* and his brother *Clauss* should deduct the 85 guilders, which he had still to claim from their brother, from the 100 guilders, whereupon he should give them the remaining 15 guilders, though he had still some years' time to do this in, according to the contents of the act. And as to *Jerge Dryzehen* having further said how *Andres Dryzehen*, his brother, had raised much upon his father's inheritage and property, or had mortgaged or sold it, this did not concern him [*Gutenberg*], for he had never received more from him than he had related before, except half an omen of sodden wine, a basket with pears, and he [*Dritzehen*] and *Andres Heilmann* had presented him with half a measure of wine, though the two had almost more consumed with him, and for which he had obtained nothing. Moreover, when he demands to put him into his inheritance, he did not know of any inheritance or property into which he could put him, or with which he had anything to do. Nor had *Andres Dryzehen* become his security anywhere, either for *lead* or for *anything else*, except once with *Fridel von Seckingen*, from whom he had redeemed and relieved him after his death, and on that account requests to bring forward his witnesses and truth.

We Master and Council having heard the aforesaid demand and response, the discussion for and against, also

[1] Or *signature?*

[2] Schoepflin translates: *hanc secretam et mirabilem artem.*

the witnesses and truth; which both parties have brought forward, and having especially seen the contract and the convention, we have agreed with a correct judgment, and pronounce it also as right: while there exists an act which shows in what form the convention has come about and has taken place. Let, therefore, *Hanns Riff*, *Andres Heilmann* and *Hanns Gutenberg* swear an oath by the Saints, that the matters have taken place as the aforesaid act indicates, and that this same act had contained a provision that a sealed letter should have been made of it if *Andres Dryzehen* had remained alive; and that *Hanns Gutenberg* also take an oath, that he has still to claim 85 guilders from *Andres Dritzehen;* so that these 85 guilders may be deducted from the abovementioned 100 guilders, and he shall pay the remaining 15 guilders to the said *Jörge* and *Claus Dryzehen*, wherewith the 100 guilders shall have been paid in conformity with the contents of the said act; and *Gutenberg* shall henceforth have nothing to do or to arrange with *Andres Dryzehen*, on account of *the work* and the partnership. This oath having been taken before Us by *Hans Riff*, *Andres Heilman*, and *Hanns Gutenberg*, except that Hanns Riff has said that he had not been present at the first convention; but as soon as he came to them and they showed him the convention, he altered nothing; wherefore we command to maintain this convention. Datum Vigil. Lucie et Otilie Anno XXXIX (12 Dec. 1439).

The above records as they stand would make it appear that in 1439 a certain George Dritzehen, on behalf of himself and his brother Claus, laid a complaint before the great Council of Strassburg against Hans Gutenberg, alleging that Andreas Dritzehen, their brother, who had died at the end of December 1438, had been in partnership with Gutenberg and other persons, and devoted a large

part of his paternal inheritance towards this association. For the common enterprise of this partnership, which had carried on business for some time and had produced something, Andreas Dritzehen had, for the purchase of lead and other necessary things, stood security and afterwards made payments. But the plaintiffs, as the heirs of their deceased brother—having repeatedly requested Gutenberg to accept them as partners in their brother's place, or to repay them the money which Andreas had paid, and Gutenberg refusing to comply with their demand—felt compelled to bring their complaint before the court, and proposed that Gutenberg should be ordered to do as they demanded. They called twenty-five witnesses to their aid, though only thirteen seem to have made their appearance, and produced two bonds. The plaintiffs' contention and Gutenberg's reply are included partly in the depositions of the latter's three witnesses (fourteen had been summoned), and partly in the Sentence of the Senate.

Apparently not all the proceedings have been recorded. For instance, Hans Riffe and Andreas Heilmann, who were also members of the association, do not seem to have deposed anything, though they confirmed on oath all that had been said. Secondly, thirty-nine witnesses are mentioned, but we have the depositions of only sixteen.

Gutenberg replied that George Dritzehen's demands were unreasonable. He must have seen this from the contract, found among their brother's inheritance, which he had made a few years ago with the deceased, whom he, at his desire to learn

some arts from him, had taught to 'polish stones,' a work from which he (Andreas) had derived much profit. A long time afterwards [about the beginning of 1438?] Gutenberg had associated with Hanns Riffe for the execution of some work which, as we learn from the witnesses, had as object the making of looking-glasses. Andreas Dritzehen becoming aware of this plan, asked to be also initiated in this art against payment, and a priest, Ant. Heilmann, in behalf of his brother Andreas, addressed a similar request to Gutenberg. On the latter consenting, they agreed that he should receive for his instruction 80 guilders from each new associate. Thereupon they prepared their work for the pilgrimage, in the idea that it would take place the next year (1439). But when they learnt that it would not come off before 1440, the two new partners asked Gutenberg to teach them all his arts and adventures which he knew or would come to know, without concealing anything from them. Gutenberg again assented, and a new contract was made, whereby it was stipulated that the association should continue for five years [1438-43], and if one of the four associates should happen to die within this period, *the whole art, and all the tools, and work prepared* should belong to the three others, on condition that they should pay, after the expiration of the five years, 100 guilders to the heirs of the deceased. All this, Gutenberg said, had been written down at the time for the purpose of drawing up a sealed letter about it. He had, moreover, since that time, as admitted by Andreas Dritzehen on his deathbed, instructed them in such art, and

had, therefore, a right to his payment. Hence he demanded, in accordance with the concept of the contract found among the inheritance of the deceased, that the two plaintiffs should deduct from the 100 guilders to be paid to them the 85 which Andreas Dritzehen still owed him, and he would at once pay the remaining 15, although according to the contract he could still defer doing this for some years.

The verdict of the Council was in favour of Gutenberg; the three associates were ordered to swear on oath that the contract had really existed, and Gutenberg had, besides, to swear that his claim for compensation was justified. The demand of the two Dritzehen was refused, and Gutenberg ordered to pay them the 15 guilders.

Therefore, Gutenberg appears to have been engaged in *three* different undertakings, or arts or handicrafts, for each of which he associated with other persons.

The *first* undertaking in which he gave instruction to Andreas Dritzehen seems to have had no other object than the 'polishing of stones'; and Dritzehen is said to have derived much profit from it.

The other two undertakings would seem to have been carried on first by Gutenberg alone, and afterwards in partnership with other men. These two undertakings and the relations of the partners with one another were regulated by two different contracts.

The first contract (the second undertaking) had as object *the manufacture of looking-glasses*, for sale at

the pilgrimage to Aix-la-Chapelle (*cf.* Witness 12 and 14 and Gutenberg's reply included in the Sentence of the Council).

(*a*) This contract had first of all been concluded with *Hans Riff von Lichtenau*, and of *the profits* Gutenberg should have two-thirds, Riff the remaining third part.

(*b*) Thereupon Andreas Dritzehen wishes to take part in the association, and Gutenberg gives him a third share in the *profits* (see Witness No. 14), retaining therefore only one-third himself.

(*c*) About the same time Andreas Heilmann is accepted as a partner, and consequently Andr. Dritzehen and Andr. Heilmann are allotted each one-eighth share, therefore a quarter between them, Hans Riff another quarter, and Gutenberg the remaining half (see the latter's reply in the sentence). The two new partners paid each 80 guilders in March, 1438 (see Witness No. 7 and 14).

The *second* contract (the third undertaking) made between Gutenberg, Riff, Andr. Dritzehen, and Andreas Heilmann, was to last five years, that is, from 1438 to 1443. It concerned *the exploitation of other ideas*, as Gutenberg promised to give *instruction in new arts*, for which he was to be paid, though he reserved also a share in the work (*cf.* Witness 7 and 14 and the sentence).—Dritzehen and Heilmann should pay together 250 guilders to Gutenberg, that is, 50 guilders each in cash, and further 75 guilders each in three instalments. The cash-payment took place, perhaps, in July 1438, when Andr. Heilmann paid his 50 guilders at once, but Andr. Dritzehen only 40, remaining 10 guilders in

arrear; the first instalment was perhaps to be paid the Christmas following, the second in March 1439, but of the third we have no information, and Andreas Dritzehen died before he had paid the first, remaining, therefore, 85 guilders in arrear (10 + 75).

When we now try to find out the nature and object of Gutenberg's *third* undertaking, which had apparently nothing to do with the polishing of stones (Sentence), or the manufacture of looking-glasses (W. 12, 14), we see, as Bockenheimer points out, that the plaintiffs and their witnesses, as well as Gutenberg and his witnesses, rival each other, as it were, in endeavouring to conceal the purpose and the labours of the association by using words which either have no meaning at all, or may be interpreted in various ways or applied to various trades or handicrafts. Persons of the most diverse walks in life saw the associates at work at all times of the day; they examined and were acquainted to some extent with 'work' done, but none of them ever called the things by a name, or indicated for what purpose they used their apparatus or their instruments. They were all perhaps used to plain speaking among themselves and in ordinary circumstances of life, but in this case they seem to have taxed their ingenuity to the utmost to use words and phrases puzzling at once to themselves and posterity.

The Witnesses 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 speak of a *work;* No. 16 of a *work made;* No. 2 (a woman) had assisted in *making the work* by day and night; Nos. 2, 3 even allude to the witness who had preceded

them, and simply speak of the '*before-mentioned work*,' or '*the said work*'; Nos. 1, 11, 12 allude, still more obscurely, to *this*, to *it*, or to *something;* Nos. 5 and 14 speak of a *thing* (*sache; ding*); No. 11 of *troublesome things*.

The Witnesses 2, 4, 5 speak of a *press;* No. 5 even says, or lets another witness say, that he made it; No. 10 says the *press*, of which Claus Dritzehen had charge, should not be shown to anybody; No. 14 says, people wished to see the *press*, and Gutenberg had sent his servant to take it to pieces. But no one says what they had been doing with the press.

The W. 2, 4, 5, 10 speak of 'four *pieces* lying in a *press*, which were to be taken out of it, and laid separate, in order that nobody could see what *it* was'; or (4) of 'four *pieces* lying *underneath a press*, which were to be taken out of it, and laid separate *on the press*, so that nobody could see what *it* was'; or (5) of '*pieces* to be taken out of a *press*, and laid asunder, in order that nobody should know what *it* is'; or (10) of a *press* which could be opened by means of two *buttons*, and the *pieces* would fall asunder, and should be laid *in* or *on the press*, so that nobody could see or observe anything. But no one said whether these pieces were of wood or of metal or of any other material.

A priest [the 8th W.] hears the confession of the dying Andreas, and, forgetting in his zeal his most sacred duty of not divulging any confessions, tells the judges what has been confided to him. Perhaps, owing to his presence, the contributions of Andreas Dritzehen towards the association came down from 500 to between 200 or 300 guilders.

W. 6 had made a *purchase;* W. 9 bought fourteen *Lützelburger* for the association; W. 13 says Gutenberg had made a *purchase;* W. 7 speaks of an *art*, and *some arts;* No. 14 of an *art;* of an *art* which was not to be shown or revealed; W. 14 says Gutenberg had said *it* might be called a swindle (*göckelwerck*); he speaks of many *tools* (*vil gezüges*) already existing and to be made; of formes (*formen*); of formes (*formen*) which were to be fetched and laid asunder (or to be *melted*, as some explain).

Only Hans Dünne, one of Gutenberg's witnesses (No. 15), says that, three years ago, he had been printing (*trucken*), and had been paid for it by Gutenberg; but, in harmony with the indifference and mystery conspicuous throughout the whole Records, no one asked him *what* he had printed, or *where* he had been printing, at his own or in Gutenberg's house.

It has been argued that the disputants and the witnesses used such enigmatical words and phrases in order to conceal, as they had designed or been told to do, the nature and the object of their undertaking, which was to remain in the dark. Gutenberg may, indeed, be supposed to have taken such a course, as he and his associates, perhaps even his witnesses, may have considered secrecy to be their only chance of success. But what about the plaintiffs? They must have heard from their brother what was going on in Gutenberg's house or workshop, and were, therefore, in possession, at least to some extent, of the secret. Yet Gutenberg, who had at first been so liberal and good-natured, that he accepted as partners any one who merely asked

him for this favour,—and even high-handedly disposed of the shares which he had already allotted to one of his partners, in order to gratify new applicants—now suddenly decided, apparently for no reason at all, to risk the leaking out of the secret rather than accept these men as partners in their brother's place, and even declined to make a private agreement with them as to the indemnity which they so urgently claimed from him. Might we not have expected these plaintiffs to take a little revenge and give the tribunal some hint as to what the 'work' was, even if they did not reveal the purpose for which it was prepared? But suppose the plaintiffs had thought it their best policy to keep the secret, in the hope, perhaps, of being accepted later on as partners, could they have suborned all their witnesses to do the same? the latter could have had no interest in matters remaining hidden; they had themselves seen, by day and night, what was being done; they had assisted in the 'work'; had made some of the tools; had access to them, and were supposed to be able to break up portions of the 'work,' on receiving orders to do so. Perhaps one or two of them, related to or intimately connected with the plaintiffs, might have considered it advisable to use meaningless, evasive words; but more than a dozen men appeared on behalf of the plaintiffs!

But even if both the parties to the suit and all their witnesses had made an agreement, before they came into court, to speak of nothing but the 'work,' could it be possible that the judges, whom we might have expected to discard all secrecy, or

to unravel it if there were any, had also determined to adopt the same mysterious course? In their summary of the trial, they repeat the substance of Gutenberg's reply to the plaintiffs; they allude to an *association* or *partnership;* to a *work;* to a *trade* (*gewerbe*); to *lead* and other things; to *polishing stones;* to *lead;* to an *art*, or several *arts;* to an *art* and *adventure* (three times); to an *art* which had to be taught; to *arts*, *tools*, and *work made.* But not one of them ventures to enquire into, or to ask for, or to give a definition of the work or the art or the trade on which the litigants are engaged, and to which they make such dark allusions. The judges certainly do not speak of *printing* or of *books*, or of anything like it, and they evidently cared nothing for the printing activity of Hans Dünne. The deceased Andr. Dritzehen said on his death-bed that he and Andreas Heilmann had called one day on Gutenberg and then seen that the latter was concealing *several arts* from them which he was not obliged to show them. No other persons seem to have been possessed of the same powers of observation.

Apart from these reflections, which may occur to any one reading the Records, various inconsistencies, errors, and confusion have been detected in the document by Faulmann ('Erfind. der Buchdr.' p. 136 *sqq.*), to which I will not now refer. Bockenheimer objects to the Records on grounds for the appreciation of which we require also a knowledge of the legal and social condition of that part of Germany where the events are said to have taken place. This knowledge I do not possess, but

will summarize some of his arguments here. He explains that the law prevailing in Gutenberg's time did not allow the advocacy or representation of Claus Dritzehen by his brother George, as only minors or persons declared incapable of managing their own affairs could plead through a representative. Moreover, the heirs of a deceased partner cannot claim admission into an association made with their testator. According to general principles a partnership ends by the death of one of the partners, and at its termination, the properties and relations of the associates are to be taken into account. Hence, Roman Law, appreciating this personal aspect of a contract, forbids the admission of heirs as such into an association, even if such admission had been reserved at the conclusion of the agreement. In the present plaint such a reservation, however, is not mentioned. But even if admission had been possible, no suit could have been brought against Gutenberg alone; he could not have been summoned as representative of his partners; nor could a verdict against him have affected the other partners. Gutenberg, without the consent of his associates, had no power to admit any one into the partnership, nor could he be forced to such an action by any judicial verdict.

The second part of the plaint is also suspicious. After the dissolution of an association the plaint is to be directed to an inventory of the common property and to the repayment of each partner's proportionate share. If the association has worked profitably, each partner receives his share of the profits over and above his capital invested; if it is dissolved

with loss, each partner must take his share in the burdens. In neither case can the plaint demand a repayment of the invested capital. Least of all was such a plaint possible if, as Gutenberg pleaded in his answer, the deceased had invested no capital at all in the association. But even if the plaint for a repayment of invested capital had been permissible, Gutenberg would have had no right to make this repayment from the cash of the association; the other associates in combination with him had to be proceeded against if the association had to repay the capital share.

In his reply to the plaint Gutenberg refers to a document drawn up at the conclusion, and containing the conditions of the association. The partnership was to last for five years, and if within this period one of the partners should happen to die, then the whole art, the whole apparatus, and all the work made should belong to the survivors, under condition that at the end of the five years they should pay the heirs of the deceased an indemnification of 100 guilders. The five years had not yet expired when the suit was brought before the court; it was, therefore, apart from all other defects, *too early*. Had Gutenberg on this ground demanded the non-suiting of the plaintiffs, the tribunal would have had to comply with his demand. But in such a case he would have had no opportunity of acting towards Dritzehen in a manner which could be used to the advantage of the history of printing. He was, therefore, painted as a considerate, fair defendant, and an explanation put into his mouth which not only allowed the plaintiffs to be

protected against being non-suited, but enabled the court to impose payment of a small amount on the defendant. Hence, first of all Gutenberg submitted to being saddled with the debts of the association, and to abandon his right of exception to the premature plaint. Secondly, as a partial set-off to the 100 guilders which he would have to pay according to the agreement, he claimed the payment of 85 guilders which he had the right to demand from the deceased as a premium of apprenticeship in several arts concealed even from the tribunal.

Now Gutenberg placed himself in this unfavourable position without necessity. He could claim 85 guilders from Dritzehen's heirs, and the latter had no right to make a set-off of the 100 guilders named in the contract, as the time for this payment had not yet come. But instead of receiving his 85 guilders, Gutenberg was made a debtor for 15 guilders, if he, as happened here, took upon him the debt of the association, which did not concern him at all, and took no exception to the premature plaint. How he would receive from the association the money which he allowed to be debited to him, would be his affair.

Bockenheimer further points out (p. 45) that Gutenberg, when he made an agreement with Hanns Riffe, gave him one-third share, and retained two-thirds for himself. Afterwards, being pressed by Andr. Dritzehen and Andreas Heilmann, he accepted them also as partners, and, without considering Riffe's interest, and without asking his consent, deprived him of part of his share and gave him only a quarter. He himself also, without

apparently any compensation in another way, handed over a part of the share which he had reserved for himself, and retained for the future only half, whereas the new partners received only one-eighth each.

As regards the hearing of the witnesses, Bockenheimer (p. 49) contends that a series of mistakes against the generally acknowledged principles of law which obtained in the fifteenth century, justifies us in assuming that this lawsuit of 1439 could hardly have taken place before the great Council of Strassburg. And the suspicion that the documents recording it are a forgery becomes a certainty when we examine the testimonies of the witnesses, said to have been discovered five years after the finding of the sentence.

Why, he asks, did the Court order witnesses to be examined when the affair was clear from a legally drawn up document? Neither the right of the plaintiff to the eventual payment of an indemnity, nor the right of the defendant to a tuition-fee, could, in presence of such a document, be in dispute. But, considering that evidence was demanded and to be produced, not for the amusement of the disputants, but to enlighten the Court, it remains inexplicable why the latter should have taken the trouble to summon or hear thirty-nine witnesses, and then lay their testimonies aside as of no value. A weighing of the evidence would have been desirable, if its production was considered necessary. And in this case there was a special reason for examining the testimonies of the witnesses, as they were very often contradictory to each other. Yet

the Court took no account whatever of the witnesses. For what purpose were the witnesses examined? Apparently, to enquire about the contents of the *contract* made between Gutenberg and his associates. But if the Court regarded the document of the contract as proof, the history of its origin was of no value; or if they discarded the document, then they had to look for another basis of their decision. The Court, however, did not take the latter step, but accepted the document as proof.

The view that was taken of the making of the contract, was also taken with regard to its being carried out. The witnesses were, for no purpose, examined regarding Andreas Dritzehen's contributions to the association, whereas they were, even if proved, valueless for the decision of the Court. These alleged contributions were not in question, but the indemnification agreed upon.

It is impossible to do full justice to Bockenheimer's arguments without translating his treatise, which cannot be done here. On p. 68 *sq.* he explains that the fabricator of the document, not knowing that the mode of legal procedure in his own time differed from that in Gutenberg's period, describes actions and events which could only have taken place after the introduction of Roman Law in 1495. I trust, however, that the above observations, which are partly his and partly my own, will be sufficient for forming an opinion as to the objections raised against the Lawsuit of 1439.

J. H. Hessels.

(To be concluded.)

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

M. RENÉ DOUMIC'S criticisms usually strike some new note, and his treatment of George Sand in his lately published volume on the great novelist is distinctly fresh and stimulating. He demonstrates how deeply the various experiences of her life influenced her work, and how closely the two are bound together. All the new ideas of her time entered into her receptive mind, every novelty, every chimera attracted her, so that her work is in fact a repertory of ideas. She had something to say on most subjects, but notably, perhaps, on love, marriage, the family, social institutions, and forms of government.

It is a dangerous proceeding, as a rule, to divide a literary genus into its different species. But custom permits us to refer to historical, or romantic, or realistic novels. Perhaps, then, following M. Doumic, we may put all novels into two great divisions: personal novels and impersonal novels. Balzac, to take an example from French literature, is one of the great representatives of the latter class. His was the realistic art in which the artist sinks his own personality and forgets himself in the characters he describes. George Sand's novels, on the other hand, are personal novels and belong to the idealistic art, in which the artist transforms the

characters he describes in accordance with his own desires. At times, so personal is the note, George Sand almost seems to be a lyric poet who has unconsciously strayed into prose. Every experience, every episode of her life, the influence of the various persons with whom she came into contact is reflected in her work. Into it she put her adventures, her sufferings, her errors, her disappointments, her dreams as an artist and as a woman. Her unhappy marriage led her to write feminist novels, the episodes with De Musset and Chopin, romantic novels, her friendship with Pierre Leroux, socialistic novels, and so on.

In 1831 George Sand came to Paris in revolt against marriage, because her own matrimonial experiences were not happy, and in the next three years wrote three novels, 'Indiana,' 'Valentine,' and 'Jacques,' setting forth in the first two cases the woes of the 'femme incomprise,' and in the last of the 'homme incompris.' These early novels, although not to be placed, perhaps, among her best work, have a great interest just now, because they are really feminist novels, and contain the whole programme of the most advanced feminists of the present time. The woman's right to be happy in her own way, the necessity of reform in the marriage laws, the introduction of the 'union libre,' and kindred matters are treated by her as they are by the woman novelists of to-day. The only difference is that where George Sand is lyrical her descendants are cynical. Some may argue that Madame de Staël originated the feminist novel with Delphine and Corinne. But Madame de Staël's 'femmes incomprises' are

always women of genius who in actual life are few and far between, whereas George Sand's heroines are women who do not love their husbands; thus, the later writer brought feminism within the reach of a much larger number of women.

George Sand's first great book was 'Mauprat.' It is a beautiful love story without any thesis, set against a background of the rural France George Sand knew and loved, and of Paris in the last days of the 'ancien régime.' With that book she gained a place in the front rank of great story-tellers.

But whether or not the world still reads 'Mauprat,' so long as the French language endures it will continue to read 'La Mare au Diable,' 'Les Maîtres Sonneurs,' 'La petite Fadette,' and 'François le Champi.' It is of her rustic novels, in which she depicts the life of the French peasant, somewhat idealized, it may be, but true, nevertheless, that George Sand's latest critic says:

> 'C'est la Fontaine dans quelques—unes de ses fables, c'est Perrault dans ses contes. George Sand a sa place dans cette lignée parmi les Homères français.'

Doumic concludes with an estimate of George Sand's place among French novelists, and puts it very high indeed, for he believes that the function of the novel as conceived by her is to charm, move, and console. It may be that in the future, literature, for those who know something of life, will be the great consoler. George Sand once wrote to Flaubert, 'You make your readers sad; I want to make mine less unhappy.' She certainly put into her novels the poetry that was in her soul; she sang

in them a hymn to nature, to love, to kindness; her books satisfy the romantic tendencies that in varying degrees are present in each of us.

It is early days yet to form an estimate of the place in French letters of François Coppée, and the modern fashion of publishing the biography of a celebrated man directly he is dead does not always help his reputation. And although I venture to think that M. Doumic is right in his treatment of George Sand in the book described above, this fashion of explaining an author's works by his life has its dangers. It has been truly said that the artist is not he who has felt more, but he who is the best endowed to imagine states of feeling and to give them expression. In 'François Coppée, L'homme et le poète (1842-1908),' Henri Schoen seeks to explain Coppée's work by his life. M. Schoen knew Coppée well, and claims to understand the historical and psychological sources of his poetry, and therefore to be in a position to throw fresh light on his inmost feelings. By this method, according to M. Schoen, Coppée's lyrics are presented as something that has actually been lived, and so take on a fresh charm. The work of art becomes a moving confession, the soul of the poet seems to speak to our soul. But surely such is always the appeal made by lyric poetry worthy of its name. If the appeal is not spontaneous, if biography, and autobiography, and a friend's commentaries must accompany it, its value as art is diminished. For in reading poetry, we are primarily concerned with it as art, and not as some particular individual's personal experience. But

for those who like and desire such commentary, M. Henri Schoen's book testifies to Coppée's sincerity and to the elevation of his ideas.

'Madame, Mère du Régent,' Mme. Arvède Barine's posthumous work (her death, which we all greatly deplore, occurred when only the last chapter remained to be written), is a most diverting volume, and written with all the charm and brilliance of which Mme. Barine was mistress. Indeed, the heroine is a figure of such originality that the book might be a novel, and did we not know that 'Madame' spent her life in writing letters to the relatives she knew as well as to those she never saw, to her friends, her acquaintances, her men of business, indeed, as she herself expresses it, to 'all who came her way,' we should certainly put her down to be a character of her biographer's invention. As a young woman, 'Madame' divided her time between her inkstand and the pleasures or 'the exactions' of the court of Louis XIV. As the years went on her correspondence absorbed more and more of her time: she wrote ten to twelve letters a day, each filling twenty to thirty sheets of the enormous letter paper then in vogue. They were despatched by all the methods that offered, and two or three pages were specially employed to carry them short distances,—to St. Cloud or Versailles.

It is on these letters that Mme. Barine's narrative is based, and we may safely say that the 'Mère du Régent' is the one historical personage about whom there can be very little more to know. She was, strangely enough, considering her position as

regards French history, the most German of the Germans, and of a character absolutely impervious to foreign influences. The daughter and granddaughter of two Electors Palatine of the Rhine, she was brought up at the little court of Heidelberg, amid continual domestic storms and brawls, which increased in severity when her father, tiring of his legitimate spouse, brought a second to dwell under the same roof as the first, and determined to live in a sort of official polygamy. His daughter's marriage with Monsieur, the brother of the king of France, offered a dazzling prospect for a dowerless princess, with a trousseau scandalously lacking in even most necessary under-garments.

Mme. Barine gives a series of vivacious and at the same time accurate pictures of life in the circle of the great king for whom Madame preserved to the end of her days a sort of sentimental affection, deep enough, at any rate, to make her loathe Mme. de Maintenon.

The book, too, is a valuable document for the manners and customs of the fine ladies and gentlemen of Louis XIV.'s court. The princess, although herself a pattern of virtue, indulges in her letters in incredible indecencies of language, and relates, with scarcely an apology to her correspondents, stories that are unfit for polite ears.

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At a time when fresh theatrical developments are interesting the public mind, and when various repertory theatres are in the air, it is opportune to consider the question of the scenery and staging of

plays. A book recently issued by Jocza Savits, for many years director of the Shakespeare-Bühne at Munich, gives an admirable exposition of the whole subject from the point of view of one whose opinion it is that in the representation of poetical drama, the less scenery the better. Savits advocates, basing his views on the authority of the great æsthetic critics of all times and all lands, the performance, for instance, of Shakespeare's plays on a stage of similar construction to that for which the great dramatist wrote. He does not believe, however, that Shakespeare composed his plays to suit the stage that happened to exist in his time, but that he deliberately arranged them as he desired they should be produced, without the adventitious aid of mechanical artifices. For he must have known that such mechanical aids were available from the elaborate way in which masques were presented.

But, notwithstanding modern improvements, such as electricity and the revolving stage, the mechanical art of the theatre is in itself merely cords, and rags, and straps, and painted canvas, and soulless machinery. It cannot of itself ensure poetic or human treatment, or express or represent poetic or human emotion. It is in fact a real obstacle to the presentation of poetic drama; it hinders the natural course of the action so that cause and effect may not be separated. How greatly Shakespeare gains from simplification of staging was proved by the recent admirable performances of five plays given at the Court Theatre without scenery by Mr. Gerald Lawrence and Miss Fay Davis, and their accomplished and competent company. I do not know

that I have ever heard Shakespeare's language and meaning more satisfactorily interpreted. If the presentation of Shakespearian drama in this fashion became the rule, the commentator's occupation would be gone.

Savits attacks the modern custom of long pauses between the acts filled with music. In the best German theatres there is no music, and only one brief pause about the middle of the play. Savits declares that music should never be permitted, not even when specially composed by a great musician, as in the case of Beethoven's music for Goethe's 'Egmont,' and Mendelssohn's for the 'Midsummer Night's Dream.' Such interpolations act as a disturbance to the harmony and unity of the whole. He also attacks the remodelling and re-arranging of Shakespeare's plays to suit the supposed exigencies of the modern stage and a modern audience, and considers such procedure should be inadmissible even when it emanates from great poets. And he makes here a very pertinent comparison. He asks what would be thought if a modern painter like Böcklin or Klinger (he naturally takes German examples) set to work to 'paint up' or 'paint out' parts of one of Michael Angelo's great pictures because those portions were considered too grotesque or too little suited to present-day ideas.

It is not possible to go here into all the arguments put forth by Savits in support of his plea for a simplification of scenery. But the book should be read and carefully studied by all who are contemplating the sadly needed reform of our theatre. He pertinently illustrates his point by analysing the manner

in which the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' is now usually given on the German stage, alas! as well as on the English. The lion's share of importance is given to Mendelssohn's music; next comes the elaborate and really beautiful and artistic scenery; next attractive and charmingly composed ballets; and last, not the play, but only as much of it as the music, scenery, and dancing has left time for. As a rule, this is little beyond the comic scenes, those of the lovers and of the fairies are miserably curtailed, so that the impression left on the mind is generally one of exaggerated farce and burlesque. All this has necessarily a very injurious effect on the actors, who have to come into competition with the music, and painting, and dancing, and machinery, and effects of lighting, and who are forced to exaggerate in order to be distinguished from their setting: delicate nuances of tone and gesture would be lost, and so art becomes falsified and poetry banished. The book is indeed an eloquent plea for a return to simpler methods more in accord with true art and poetry.

'Stendhal et l'Angleterre,' by Doris Gannell, with a preface by Monsieur Ad. Paupe, is a very interesting contribution to the study of comparative literature. It is the thesis presented by an Englishwoman for her doctor's degree at the University of Paris. Stendhal was, of course, often in England, and was acquainted with Byron, and Hobhouse, and Lord Brougham, and Lady Morgan, and others. He also wrote a great deal on our politics, social conditions, manners, character, and literature. But what this book specially brings out is his

extraordinary indebtedness as a writer of romantic novels to Scott. Miss Gannell prints parallel passages from 'Stendhal' and from Scott that form most striking evidence of the influence on him of the English writer.

Henry Bordeaux, the novelist, has collected in a volume some of his critical essays under the title of 'Portraits de femmes et d'enfants.' He thinks that women and children are easier to describe than men, as they are less complicated. The preface is in some ways the most interesting portion of the book, for he says there something of the art of the novelist. He considers the novelist's art to stand to-day at the head of all the literary arts. Other literary 'genres' receive a frame which the artist must fill, but the novelist who has the choice of the most diverse elements, makes his own frame to suit his subject. The novel may contain everything: autobiography, metaphysics, realism, and poetry. The essays on the Comtesse de Boigne and on Madame de Charrière are excellent accounts in brief of their careers, and may be recommended to those who have neither the time nor the inclination to read their memoirs in full. Among the other subjects are Mlle. de Lespinasse and Mistral's childhood.

In 'La Littérature Féminine d'Aujourd'hui,' Jules Bertaut criticises the work of some contemporary French women writers. He discusses the way in which they conceive women, men, children, external nature, and comes to the conclusion that they have little taste, no skill in the choice of the materials life presents to them, and in spite of the

brilliance and picturesqueness of their style, no merit in composing. But he looks forward to a better condition of things: 'Ce vertige de la liberté nouvellement acquise que ressentent ces anciennes prisonnières ne durera pas,' and then the harmony, so characteristic of the French temperament, will enter into their work, they will obey literary rules, discipline their taste, and adopt a method.

The story of Charlotte Stieglitz, that curious tragedy of romanticism, is told in greater detail than ever before by Ernest Seillière in 'Une tragédie d'amour au temps du Romantisme. Henri et Charlotte Stieglitz (avec des documents inédits).' Charlotte was a sort of 'détraquée' Alcestis. She committed suicide in order that such an event might awake her husband's soul, and enable him to produce great works. But, alas! the sacrifice was in vain, for Stieglitz remained as ordinary and common-place as before. Charlotte's act was doubtless due to the influence of literature on life, and a proof that the 'Sorrows of Werter' and similar books may have on those who fail to regard them as works of literary art, as pernicious an effect as penny dreadfuls on our hooligans.

Two books have come my way which illustrate the sort of mild eccentricity in writing that prevails among certain coteries at present both in France and Germany: 'Der Kindergarten,' by Richard Dehmel, and 'Vingt poèmes en prose,' by Marcel de Malherbe. Of the first I shall say no more than that the poet describes it as poems, games, and stories for children and parents of every sort. From the second I will quote a few sentences

from one of the poems in prose, entitled 'The Balcony':

'Une lumière de lune. Le silence. Le soir. Un balcon est là, inondé de clarté saillant sur l'atmosphère, laissant tomber au sol son ombre quadrangulaire. Des balustres l'ajournent, lui donnent un aspect léger. La muraille derrière s'élève à sa suite. Une fenêtre baille. Au delà, c'est le mystère. En deçà, l'apothéose nocturne.'

And so on, for a page or two. It is not easy to detect the poetry in so much prose.

French or German novels of interest have been sadly to seek of late. Léon de Tinseau's 'Sur les deux rives' is a rather dull tale of an aristocratic French family forced by pecuniary misfortunes to emigrate to Canada. It illustrates the tendency, however, of contemporary French novelists to seek foreign settings for their tales.

In 'Les Unis' Edouard Rod describes a family named Verrès, in which the children imitate their parents' example and follow their 'unis,' that is, adopt the 'union libre,' and dispense with the sanction of church or state. The novelist shows the difficulties attendant on such action in the present social conditions, and after going through much tribulation, the 'unis' are forced to return to the ways of ordinary folk.

Gerhart Hauptmann's new play 'Griselda' is scarcely on a level with the dramatist's best work. It is in prose, and the style at times is fine and instinct with poetical feeling. Hauptmann only follows the tale with which we are familiar in Petrarch and Chaucer and Dekker in outline. He

must, of course, find a psychological motive for the Count's conduct, and discovers it in his great love for his wife, which causes him to be jealous of her love for her child. It is, however, not convincing, and there is a certain ugliness in laying so much stress as the dramatist does here on the birth of the child and its precedent and attendant incidents. None of the characters are attractive or very clearly drawn.

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The following recently published books deserve attention:—

La Jeunesse de Benjamin Constant. 1767-94. Par Gustave Rudler.

A long, detailed work, the result of four years' labour, in which Constant is treated as a psychological type, and his life as a spiritual drama, during which he passes from the ideas of the eighteenth century to those of the nineteenth.

Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle. Par Joseph Vianey.

A study in comparative literature dealing with Italian influences on a special period of French literature.

Le Principe d'équilibre et le concert européen de la paix de Westphalie à l'acte d'Algésiras. Par Charles Dupuis.

A study of politics to prove the truth of the saying: 'Les questions internationales sont avant tout des questions morales.'

Le duel de Jarnac et de La Chatagneraie, d'après une relation contemporaine et officielle. Par Alfred Franklin.

An interesting piece of French history as illustrated by the 'vie intime' of the period. The duel originated in a quarrel between two ladies; but, without either foreseeing it or desiring it, the two antagonists found themselves representing, the one Catholicism, and the other the Reformation. Hence the importance of the event.

La Hongrie Rurale. Sociale et politique. Par le Comte Joseph de Mailáth. Avec une préface de René Henry.

Deals with rural life and agrarian problems in Hungary and also with aspects of socialism there.

Correspondance inédite de l'Empéreur Alexandre et de Bernadotte pendant l'année 1812. Publiée par X.

The editor is a great admirer of Napoleon.

L'Amiral de Coligny. La maison de Chatillon et la révolte protestante 1519-72. Par Charles Merki.

Le Berceau d'une dynastie. Les premiers Romanov, 1613-82. Par K. Waliszewski.

Another of the interesting studies of Russian history, so many of which we owe to this author. The volume concludes the series 'Les origines de la Russie Moderne,' and the cycle of more detailed monographs from Ivan the Terrible to Catherine the Great.

Le dernier effort de La Vendée (1832). D'après des documents inédits. Par le Vicomte A. de Courson.

One of those minute and detailed narratives that serve for the making of larger history.

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. Von Adolf Bartels. 2 vols. 6th edition.

Of the eight books four deal with the nineteenth century. A chapter on the after-influences of the authors is added to each book.

Bibliothèques. Essai sur le développement des bibliothèques publiques et de la librairie dans les deux mondes. Par Eugène Morel.

A useful book of reference, although in some cases the information supplied is meagre. Its chief usefulness is, perhaps, that it takes in a large variety of countries. It contains a good deal of criticism on the English custom of borrowing books.

ELIZABETH LEE.

EARLY CODICES FROM EGYPT.

HE innumerable MSS., chiefly papyri, discovered during the last thirty or forty years in the sands of Egypt have, as is well known, added enormously to our knowledge of the life and literature of the ancient world. Besides what we may call their internal value, the new literary works or early texts of known works and the many documents illustrating the organization and daily life of Hellenistic Egypt which they include, they throw much light upon the external forms of ancient MSS. We are enabled to trace the progress of the Greek alphabet from the fourth century B.C. to the eighth century of our era; and we see, too, how the books of the ancient world were reproduced and prepared for general circulation. As most of the papyri are rolls, it is chiefly this form which the discoveries illustrate; but a considerable number of codices have also been recovered, and a brief account of the methods of binding in use at the period to which these belong may perhaps be of interest to a wider circle than the small number of persons interested in papyrology. For a fuller treatment of the subject reference may be made to the third chapter of W. Schubart's 'Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern' (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1907), and much use has been made of this in the present article;

but the British Museum possesses a considerable amount of useful material not available to Schubart, particularly in the so-called Aphrodito Papyri. These papyri are official documents of the early eighth century A.D., and consist largely of taxation accounts, most of which are in codex form.

It will perhaps be well to explain that papyrus as writing material was prepared by laying together strips of the pith of the stem of the papyrus plant in double layers. The top layer was laid at right angles to the bottom one, and the two, stuck together with glue, were then pressed and polished for use. Thus, on one side of a sheet of papyrus the fibres were perpendicular, on the other horizontal. To form a roll a number of sheets (known as *κολλήματα*) were fastened together. The side on which the fibres were horizontal was slightly better suited to writing, and was therefore the one used for that purpose. It is always known as the recto, the other as the verso. Generally speaking, only one side of a roll was used; but there are many instances of rolls used on the verso as well, and it is clear that the perpendicular fibres were no serious impediment to easy writing.

The origin of the codex is probably to be found in the wax tablets used as note-books. These were fastened together in sets; and thus, it may be assumed, the idea was suggested of using in the same way sheets of papyrus or vellum, which, being much thinner, were more compact. It is possible that at first single sheets were used, on the analogy of the tablets, but if so no specimens seem to have survived, and the practice was soon adopted, if it

did not obtain from the first, of doubling the sheets. Thus each sheet makes two leaves or four pages. It seems clear that vellum preceded papyrus as a material for codices. Considerably after the introduction of the vellum codex the traditional roll form continued to be the usual one for papyri; and, indeed, the habit of using the papyrus on only one side, whereas vellum was equally convenient on either side, made it natural to adopt the latter rather than the former for the codex. It is certain from references in ancient authors that at first, curiously enough, vellum was regarded as an inferior material to papyrus, and was used chiefly for note-books or the cheap and 'popular' editions of literary works.[1] If this was the case even in Rome, it was naturally still more so in Egypt, the seat of the papyrus manufacture, and the roll continued to be the chief form for editions or the classics down to at least the fourth century A.D. There are, however, a few classical codices of earlier date; for example, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34473 (1), a fragment of a vellum codex of Demosthenes, probably of the second century A.D.; a leaf at Berlin from a vellum codex of the 'Cretans' of Euripides ('Berliner Klassikertexte,' V., 2, p. 73), which the editors assign to the first century; and Oxy. Papp. 459 and 873,[2] fragments respectively of papyrus codices of Demosthenes and Hesiod, of the third century. In the case of theological literature the

[1] *Cf.* Kenyon, 'Palæography of Greek Papyri,' p. 113, Schubart, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[2] 'The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,' edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, 6 vols.

codex, whether of vellum or papyrus, was probably the prevailing form from the outset; a fact to be explained partly by the poverty of the early Christian communities, whose sole care would be to preserve their Scriptures, without regard to elegance of form, and partly by the great saving of space of which the codex, as contrasted with the roll, permits. The tradition once established, it was natural that it should continue even when the Christians had grown in numbers and importance; but, indeed, by that time the codex was already beginning to oust the roll even for classical authors.

Vellum, it has been said above, was probably adopted before papyrus as the material for codices, and it might have been expected that it would be the sole material, papyrus continuing to be made up as rolls till the final victory of the codex; but the influence of the vellum codex led to the adoption of papyrus also, and codices in this material make their appearance, as already said, even for classical authors, as early as the third century, when the roll was still the prevailing form. Schubart, indeed, in the book already referred to (p. 102), infers from an inscription at Priene the existence of papyrus codices in Asia Minor as early as the first century B.C. By the fourth century the papyrus codex was fully established, and it continued in use till at least the eighth century.

The priority of the roll form has exerted some influence on the codex. Thus, in B. M. Pap. 126, a codex of the Iliad, the scribe used only one side of the papyrus, as he would have done with a roll, so that half the pages were left blank. Some of

them have subsequently been used to receive a grammatical treatise of Tryphon. Again, it is perhaps to the influence of the roll that we may assign the practice, seen in several codices, of writing more than one column on each page. Schubart, indeed, questions the connection of this with the roll form, and points out that it is found in some codices of a comparatively late date; but the practice, once established, might continue for a considerable time, and it is not unlikely that a scribe used to writing on rolls might, on finding that a column of the usual breadth left a considerable part of the page blank, fill up the remainder with a second column or more. It is noticeable that the early vellum codex B. M. Add. MS. 34473 (1) has two columns to the page, and the Codex Sinaiticus of the Bible (early fifth century) has four. Thus, when opened, it shows eight successive columns, and has in fact quite the appearance of a roll. Two columns have, of course, been common in later times.

The codex, it has been said, was composed of a number of folded sheets, each forming two leaves, or four pages; but it was possible to make these up in various ways. The simplest form is in quires of one folded sheet only, and this is seen fairly often. An early instance is B. M. Pap. 46 (fourth century). It is the almost invariable rule in the eighth century Aphrodito papyri, which, though only account-books, are in many cases composed of papyrus of fine quality, and carefully written. Another common form is quires of two sheets, making four leaves, or eight pages. An instance is the great

Aristophanes papyrus codex ('Berl. Klassikertexte,' V., 2, p. 99, *circ.* fifth century), one page of which has at the top, on the left, Θ *i.e.* 9; on the right, ΞΕ *i.e.* 65. It is clear that 9 is the number of the quire, 65 that of the page; consequently, eight quires of eight pages each must have preceded, which gives a quire of two sheets. Again, B. M. Add. MS. 34473 (7), a double sheet (probably of the seventh century), is paged 32, 33, 38, 39. A double sheet must therefore have come in the middle, forming a quire of two sheets. A papyrus codex, probably of the sixth century, published by J. H. Bernard in 'The Transactions of the Royal Academy,' Vol. XXIX., Part XVIII., consists of quires of four sheets, *i.e.* sixteen pages; and the same arrangement was probably adopted with the famous papyrus codex of Menander (fifth century?) discovered in 1905 at Kom Ishgau.[1] Lastly, Amh. Pap. 1[2] ('The Ascension of Isaiah') of the fifth or sixth century, consisted of quires of six sheets or twelve leaves.

The advantages of the small quire are so obvious that one would expect it to have been adopted from the first; but there are several instances of books formed of a single quire of many sheets. One instance is B. M. Pap. 126 (probably third century), a MS. of the Iliad, which at present contains nine sheets or eighteen leaves, all of one quire; and another is Oxy. Pap. 208 (now B. M. Pap. 782), also

[1] *Cf.* too, W. E. Crum, 'Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum,' Nos. 12 and 940.

[2] 'The Amherst Papyri,' 2 vols., edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, 1900, 1901.

of the third century.[1] The last-mentioned is a sheet of two leaves which the contents show to have been almost the outermost sheet of a quire of twenty-five sheets. The disadvantages of quires so large are obvious. They involved a considerable waste of papyrus, since the larger the quire the greater the space which was lost by doubling. If, too, the columns of writing were at all near to the inner side of the page, the book, when bound, must have been very inconvenient to read. Thus, in Oxy. Pap. 208 just referred to, which, as already said, must have been one of the outermost sheets of the quire, the space between the two columns which occupy the opposite pages is only three-quarters of an inch. As most of the books of this type are fairly early in date, it has been supposed that the practice was due to want of acquaintance with the codex form, and the editors of the Oxyrhynchus papyri remark of Pap. 208 that it is 'the simpler and more primitive form.' B. M. Pap. 1419,[2] however, which is one of the Aphrodito Papyri, and contains a protocol bearing the name of the Arab Governor 'Abd-al-Malik b. Rifā'a and dated in the fifteenth indiction (A.D. 716-17), is also of this form. Incomplete at present, it still consists of thirty-three leaves, representing seventeen sheets, of which two are single sheets of one leaf each; and the whole forms one quire.

[1] A similar MS. is that described by K. Schmidt in 'Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad.,' 1907, p. 154 ff. This is a book of eighty-eight pages or forty-four leaves, and is assigned by the editor to the second half of the fourth century.

[2] This is the catalogue number; the inventory number is 1442.

In books of every kind it is not uncommon to find a single sheet, consisting of only one leaf or two pages, used occasionally in place of the usual double sheet of two leaves or four pages; there are several examples of this in the Aphrodito Papyri. In binding the quires together, they were usually laid one above another after being folded, and the whole then pierced through both leaves, the cord being passed through the holes; this was usually done at top and bottom and in the middle. Thus, each double sheet, when laid out flat, has six corresponding holes, three on each side. For cord, the binders of the Aphrodito Papyri used bands of papyrus. In Amh. Pap. 1 already referred to a strip of vellum was inserted above the cord in the centre of the quire to prevent it from tearing the papyrus. It was the rule, in making up quires, to let the recto of the papyrus face to the middle, so that the four pages of each double sheet were arranged, as regards the papyrus, verso, recto, recto, verso; and this rule was observed even with single sheets, which were turned towards the middle of the book. There are several exceptions to the rule,[1] but it is consistently observed in the Aphrodito Papyri, except in one case in B. M. Pap. 1419, five consecutive sheets of which were bound with the verso facing to the middle. As the Aphrodito Papyri are amongst the latest Greek papyri yet discovered, we may perhaps take it that the rule, at first uncertain, became more firmly established in course of time.

In many cases no numeration of pages or quires

[1] See Schubart, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

was given; sometimes the quires but not the pages were numbered, and sometimes both. The sizes of books varied greatly. A leaf of a vellum codex containing an uncanonical gospel, which was published by Grenfell and Hunt as Oxy. Pap. 840, measures only $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. x $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. The usual size was, of course, far larger; and in one of the Aphrodito Papyri, B. M. Pap. 1414,[1] the leaves, none of which is complete, seem to have measured originally at least 1 ft. x 2 in. x 2 ft. x 5 in.

In conclusion, a few words may be said concerning the employment of the so-called 'protocols' in the case of codices, and also concerning the bindings. The manufacture of papyrus was a Government monopoly, and in Byzantine and Arab times each roll of it was guaranteed by certain formulæ written (very illegibly) at the beginning of the roll, and known as a protocol. No Byzantine protocol has yet been satisfactorily deciphered; those of the early Arab period bore the Mohammedan formulæ in Greek and Arabic, and the name of the Khalif or Governor, or both. The rolls, as already explained, were composed of a number of sheets or κολλήματα, so arranged that the recto of each faced the same way; but an exception was made to this rule in the case of the κόλλημα, which was to contain the protocol. This was always affixed in the reverse way, the consequence being that the protocol was written on the verso, the text on the recto, of the papyrus. When papyrus was used for codices, the protocol occupied the first leaf, facing to the middle of the book; thus, the first page was blank, or, in

[1] The catalogue number.

some cases, bore a heading descriptive of the contents of the book, the second contained the protocol, and on the third (folio 2) the book proper began. The protocol was still affixed the reverse way to the other κολλήματα, so that the pages of the first leaf were arranged, not, as usual, verso, recto, but recto, verso. Protocols were attached not only to codices containing accounts and other official documents, like the Aphrodito Papyri, but to literary works also; an example is No. 171 (a collection of homilies) in Crum's 'Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum.'

Several ancient bindings are preserved. One is that of the book just referred to, which, as the protocol belongs to the Byzantine period, was probably not later than the middle of the seventh century; but the binding may, of course, be later than the book itself. Another early binding, the earliest which can quite certainly be dated,[1] is that of B. M. Pap. 1419, which has a protocol dated in A.D. 716-17, and of which the binding was certainly contemporary with the book. Bindings were usually of leather, which in most cases was backed with papyrus and bore a pattern. That of Crum's No. 171 is a somewhat elaborate one, the pattern being stamped on the leather; the form of the binding is the same as that of our modern books. B.M. Pap. 1419 is more interesting because

[1] The binding of the book referred to in the note on p. 309, is probably older, as the book is assigned by Schmidt to the fourth century; but here again we cannot be certain that the binding was contemporary with the book. Literary or theological texts would be preserved a considerable time, and might be rebound.

more primitive. The pattern, which appears on both covers, seems not to have been stamped, but to have been drawn with ink or paint. The front cover has a flap, overlapping the back cover, and the book was not laid flat between the covers, as with us, but doubled, as might be done with a newspaper in a portfolio. This may well have been the original form, that of the Coptic MS. referred to and of later books being a subsequent development.

H. I. Bell.

SHAKESPEARE, AND THE SCHOOL OF ASSUMPTION.[1]

WE opened this book, which is a small one of some 150 pages, with a keen sense of coming enjoyment, for the first thing to meet our eyes was a pair of monumental portraits labelled respectively 'William Shakespeare' and 'Francis Bacon,' and both transfigured. Then we felt we were in for a treat indeed—Mark Twain on the Bacon-Shakespeare craze. What a field for the old humorist of our younger days, whom we all loved and laughed with. What a chance for us, to hear his quips and cranks rattling on the funny people who have persuaded themselves that Shakespeare's Works were written by somebody else of the same or some other name. In the first page of the text, however, we found something to give us pause, for there, classed with 'claimants historically notorious,' we read 'Satan, Claimant; the Golden Calf, Claimant; the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan, Claimant; Louis XVII., Claimant; William Shakespeare, Claimant; Arthur Orton, Claimant;' and others, too, but though we looked for him, never a mention of Francis Bacon, the one who has come up as a claimant for just the biggest thing in all creation.

[1] 'Is Shakespeare Dead?' by Mark Twain. Harper Brothers, 1909.

And then we began to see a glimpse of the joke. Why, of course; what else could one expect from dear old Mark Twain? So like his old ways. And then we read on, in hope; and further on, not quite so hopeful; and after a bit, we became uneasy; and then grew uncertain; and after a while uncertainty suddenly became certainty, and we knew we had been tricked, and that the question was not 'Is Shakespeare Dead?' but, Is Mark Twain's Humour dead?—for staring us in the face was the big, bald, unwelcome truth that he had been reading with approval 'The Shakespeare Problem Restated,' coupled with an admission that he had been interested in 'that matter' ever since the appearance of Delia Bacon's book some fifty years ago. Poor unhappy Delia Bacon, who died in her young devotion to the wildest creed that ever filled the idle craniums of gullable humanity.

To convince us of his qualifications for the task he has taken in hand with so complete a confidence, Mark Twain proceeds to tell us how he and a master-pilot used to read Shakespeare together on a steamboat on the Mississippi many years ago. Both started as strong believers in the orthodox Shakespeare of Stratford, but before long a change came over the apprentice, the rock he split on being the 'lawyer talk and lawyer ways' shown by the writer of the dramas. Delia Bacon and her followers had done their deadly work; and to these enlightened authorities he eventually bowed down, taking his new position at first 'seriously,' and then 'devotedly,' and 'finally: fiercely, rabidly, uncompromisingly.' Hence this latest chapter of his autobiography—

which, as it shows him to us in a querulous, unliterary, and reviling mood, we should for his own sake gladly have done without.

One of the most melancholy features of this volume is the utter absence of any novelty in the way of argument. No *sauce piquante* is even served to flavour the old redished assertions and innuendos —and the effect is distinctly cloying to the literary palate.

Mark Twain, however, does supply us with a test for discovering whether Shakespeare did or did not write the plays and poems. It is not altogether new—very far from it—but we accept it, and not only accept it, but shall apply it to his own work, just as he bids us apply it to Shakespeare's. His contention is:

> 'That a man can't handle glibly and easily and comfortably and successfully the *argot* of a trade at which he has not personally served. He will make mistakes; he will not, and cannot, get the trade-phrasings precisely and exactly right; and the moment he departs by even a shade, from the common trade-form, the reader who has served that trade will know the writer *hasn't*.'

Later, with this test still in view, he says:

> 'I have been a quartz miner in the silver regions. . . . I know all the palaver of that business. . . . I know the *argot* of the quartz-mining and milling industry familiarly; and so, whenever Bret Harte introduces that industry into a story, the first time one of his miners opens his mouth I recognize from his phrasing that Harte got the phrasing by listening . . . not by experience. . . . I know several other trades and the *argot* that goes with them; and whenever a person tries to talk the talk peculiar

to any of them without having learned it at its source, I can trap him always before he gets far on his road.

'And so . . . if I were required to superintend a Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, I would narrow the matter down to a single question: *Was the author of Shakespeare's Works a lawyer?*—a lawyer deeply read and of limitless experience?'

Having thus laid down the conditions of his test, he proceeds to give us twenty-two pages more, taken from 'The Shakespeare Problem Restated' (but forgetting, till called to book, to mention the author's name), and he describes this somewhat long quotation as '*testimony*, so strong, so direct, so authoritative,' etc., that it quite convinces him 'that the man who wrote Shakespeare's works knew all about law and lawyers. Also that the man could not have been the Stratford Shakespeare—and *wasn't*.'

Now apply his own test. He breaks down, just as he himself describes Bret Harte breaking down. He has learned 'the argot of the trade' *from books*. His 'testimony' is the mere *ex parte* statement of a controversialist, a controversialist, too, whose contentions have been shown to be unsound by many writers since his book appeared; but as to any practical familiarity with the difficulties that *may* or *may not* exist in connexion with Shakespeare's knowledge of the law, he stands confessed as having picked up the little he knows '*by listening*.' So far as we can gather from his book he is not even aware that nearly all the dramatists of Shakespeare's day indulge in law metaphors and terms as well as Shakespeare. He has yet to learn the curious fact that those of them who *were* lawyers

are not the ones who make most frequent use of legal phraseology; and that careful students of the subject are by no means satisfied that Shakespeare's law is invariably accurate. Nor does Mark Twain seem to be aware that much of this law is taken *verbatim* from writers such as Holinshed, and other familiar sources. This latest of anti-Shakespearians should read an admirable volume by one of the judges in his own country, Charles Allen's 'Notes on the Bacon-Shakespeare Question' (Boston and New York, 1900), which contains a particularly full chapter on this very matter. To quote but one passage from it: 'If "Hamlet's" collection of legal terms goes to show that the play was written by Bacon, the play of "All Fools" [by Chapman] must have been written by Coke himself.' But enough on this point. We would only remark in leaving it that no contemporary of Shakespeare seems to have detected any anomaly in connexion with the Stratford playwright's legal phrases—and they were not altogether without brains in those times, and were at all times only too ready to criticize, not to say pick holes in, his work whenever they had a chance to do so. The 'Baconian,' or anti-Shakespearian, if he prefer that title, makes too large a demand upon our credulity when he asks us to believe that *he* is better acquainted with the literary circumstances of the age than Ben Jonson and the many others who knew Shakespeare in the flesh, and who have recorded their opinions of both the man and his performances in language which no one but the wilfully blind can for a moment misunderstand.

When dealing with the subject of Shakespeare as a lawyer, Mark Twain of course quotes Lord Campbell's somewhat hackneyed dictum. We do not blame him for doing so—every 'Baconian' and anti-Shakespearian does so too. It is this: 'While novelists and dramatists are constantly making mistakes as to the laws of marriage, of wills, and inheritance, to Shakespeare's law, lavishly as he expounds it, there can neither be demurrer, nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error.'[1]

Presumably the persons who rely on this passage have read the book from which it comes, but it is a striking fact that not one of them, so far as we are aware ever mentions Lord Campbell's views as to *how* Shakespeare's legal knowledge was acquired. Here is what he says:

> 'I should not hesitate to state, with some earnestness, that there has been a great deal of misrepresentation and delusion as to Shakespeare's opportunities when a youth of acquiring knowledge, and as to the knowledge he had acquired. From a love of the incredible, and a wish to make what he afterwards accomplished absolutely miraculous, a band of critics have conspired to lower the condition of his father, and to represent the son, when approaching man's estate, as still almost wholly illiterate.'

He goes on to show up the unsoundness of statements reflecting on John Shakespeare's ability to write; and then discusses the various opportunities which the poet had of learning law. He says:

> 'Shakespeare, during his first years in London, when his purse was low, may have dined at the ordinary in

[1] 'Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements.'

Alsatia . . . described by Dekker. [He quotes the well-known passage from the "Gull's Hornbook," 1609.] In such company a willing listener might soon make great progress in law.' . . .

One of his concluding passages on this subject is the following:

'We cannot argue with confidence on the principles which would guide us to safe conclusions respecting ordinary men, when we are reasoning respecting one of whom it was truly said:

> "Each change of many-coloured life he drew,
> Exhausted worlds, and then imagined new;
> Existence saw him spurn her bounded reign,
> And panting Time toiled after him in vain."

Only fancy any fair-minded writer *restating* the Shakespeare problem and never mentioning these views of Lord Campbell, and much more of the same kind which is to be found in his impartial work. Yet these are the ways of Shakespeare's enemies.

If we are content to abide by the issues raised by Mark Twain the question is at once narrowed down to a very simple form: Which side indulges most in assumptions? This most up-to-date champion of 'Baconian' claims tells us that 'so far as anybody knows and can prove, Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon never wrote a play in his life.' No Mississippi pilot's understrapper could be more cocksure of his course—in *his own* mind. Whether the passengers would share his views when the voyage was over, or he in a condition to express a view at all, is of course another matter—but that

is *their* look-out. The somewhat truculent assertion we quote means one of two things, either that no one of past time can be proved to have written a play unless reliable witnesses can be produced to say they saw him do it; or, that there *is* no contemporary evidence to show that Shakespeare wrote a play. If the former be the meaning of Mark Twain's oracular announcement, it is childish, for there is no one now to say that he saw Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plautus, Terence, or any other playwright of old time writing a play. If, however, we are to take the second alternative as the meaning, the assertion betrays so colossal an ignorance of the writings of Shakespeare's contemporaries that we can only wonder at any sane person committing himself to such egregious nonsense. More than twenty different writers who were contemporaries of the Stratford playwright refer to Shakespeare by name as either an author, a poet, a tragedian, or a comedian. Their written words show that they spoke of him from a personal knowledge of the man, or at least echoed at a very short range the belief that was shared by all the play-going and literary people of the time. The list of them includes such names as Michael Drayton, William Clerke, John Weever, Richard Carew, John Davies, Henry Willobie, Francis Meres, Richard Barnfield, Camden, Webster, Drummond, and Howes, the continuator of Stow's 'Chronicles.' But these and what they have told us are dismissed by Mark Twain with such convincing elegancies as 'a hatful of rags and a barrel of sawdust.' And yet here there is no assumption. It must surely seem strange

even to a 'Baconian' that no voice was heard throughout Shakespeare's lifetime to suggest the improbability, not to say the impossibility, of his being the author of what was attributed to him. After his death there were many others who had known him in his living days and who wrote of him as a man, as a playwright, as an actor, as a poet, and as one born at Stratford. Chief amongst them is Ben Jonson, whose evidence, if all other evidence had perished, would seem to be absolutely insurmountable to any but those who are wilfully impervious to testimony of the highest kind. When Mark Twain gives us some reason to think that his literary equipment is of a kind to outweigh the clearly expressed statements of one who loved the man Shakespeare, on this side idolatry, as much as any, he may cajole us to raise our caps to the pupil of Delia Bacon, and 'call truth a liar.' But inasmuch as the work under review is but a transparent *réchauffé* of a mythical system that has long ago crumbled into dust, literary opinion is not now likely to be swayed, even at the command of Mark Twain, towards a reconstruction of Elizabethan and Jacobean biography that will include Ben Jonson amongst the dishonest.

The Poems were, we know, published as by William Shakespeare, the most usual method in all ages of informing the world of authorship. Neither in his day nor in any other was it customary for an English author to go out on London Bridge, or round Paul's Cross, with the town-crier in front of him, announcing that he and no other was the writer of his works. Many of the Plays too when

printed bore his name on their title-pages. There was no whisper then heard that there was more than one William Shakespeare. No one then cried out against the man whose name stood on these title-pages as an impostor amongst the authors of the day. Even such expressions as can by any possibility be construed as uncomplimentary to him, attested his powers with even greater emphasis than the many tributes of the time to his poetical and dramatic eminence. No one then talked of his want of education, his illiterate parents, his insanitary birthplace, or puzzled his mind over the sources of his history, his classics, or his law. All this remained for the wise-acres of a later day, separated from his age by a convenient trifle of three hundred years, when the records of the time had disappeared in tons—the wise-acres who cry out against assumption, and all the while assume that the absence of much evidence after such a period is proof that none ever existed; and who, further, for some reason that nobody has yet been able to fathom, assume that such evidence as still exists is a demonstration of the contrary of the very words in which it comes to us, or that it refers at best to a visionary *nom-de-plume* adopted by some superlatively modest statesman of the courtly circle who dabbled openly in fourth-rate verses and was reluctant to appear before the public as the author of such poems as 'Venus and Adonis' and 'Lucrece.' What price assumption here?—to use a phrase that Mark Twain will understand. We can imagine even the ghost of George Washington gibbering on the uncertainty of immortality, if the evidence

of his contemporaries is to be construed in the topsy-turvy fashion that commends itself to the exponents of 'Baconianism.' Accepting such methods of reading, or obliterating, evidence, even he, national asset though he be of a great people, must go down under the assault of any scribbling calumniator who has sat as pupil at the feet of Delia Bacon and the writer of 'The Shakespeare Problem Restated.'

But let us reduce the question at issue to a concrete and practical form. Suppose a book to have been published by, say, a New York printer, having the name of Samuel Clemens as the author, dated 1867, or thereabouts. Suppose further that it so happened that the printer who brought out the volume was a native of the village of Hannibal, where Samuel Clemens was born. Suppose again that the book went through seven editions in the course of eight years after its first appearance. Would Mark Twain contend that here was no clear evidence to the world at large of authorship? Would he listen with patience to anyone who suggested years afterwards that Samuel Clemens could not have been the writer, because his early days had been spent as a pilot-apprentice on a steamboat on the Mississippi? Would it, in his eyes, make the evidence weaker if no one of the time could be produced who had uttered a word to suggest that Samuel Clemens was not capable of writing such a work? Or if persons *could* be produced who, with opportunities of knowing him, had mentioned this work as his in their writings? Yet here are literally the historical facts relating to

Shakespeare and the publication of his 'Venus and Adonis' and his 'Lucrece.'

Amongst the remarkable and 'positively known' 'facts' of Shakespeare's life, to which we are treated by the new historian of the period, is this:

> 'So far as any one *knows and can prove*, Shakespeare of Stratford wrote only one poem during his life:
>
> 'Good friend for Iesus sake forbeare
> To dig the dust encloased heare:
> Blest be ye man yt spares thes stones
> And curst be he yt moves my bones.
>
> 'This one is authentic . . . he wrote the whole of it out of his own head."

Of course, he does not deign to give us any proof of the 'fact,' no more than in other cases. It may accordingly interest him to hear that the best proof is a description of a visit to Stratford written by one William Hall, *seventy-eight years after Shakespeare's death*, in which he states that these verses were penned by Shakespeare to suit 'the capacity of clerks and sextons.'

If Mark Twain admits such a statement as proof, will he reject what Milton and Dryden said at even an earlier date? Or will he refuse to believe Edward Phillips who in 1675 wrote:

> 'William Shakespeare, the glory of the English stage; whose nativity at Stratford-upon-Avon is the highest honour that town can boast of, etc.'[1]

Risking the ingratitude that commonly attends unasked advice, we would suggest to the writer of

[1] 'Theatrum Poetarum,' Pref. p. 194.

this quaint sample of fiction that he might add largely to his knowledge on the subject in question by reading the works of Francis Bacon. If he should happen to find this task more tedious than might be expected after assuming that they came from the pen of one who wrote of Falstaff, and Hamlet, and Mercutio, there is another course open to him. Let him read the life of an early Roman playwright named Plautus, whose origin was much lower than that of Shakespeare of Stratford, but whose achievements in literature and drama were quite as remarkable. When he has done with Plautus let him turn for a while to Chatterton, 'the marvellous boy,' and learn what he did—from what beginnings, with what materials, and at what age. And then let him wander nearer home and gather what light he may—and there will be much light—from a quiet perusal of the early life and ultimate position of one Abraham Lincoln. We would make one proviso, however, in case he should think it worth his while to dip into these biographies: he should *not* assume that such contemporaries as may have written about these eminent men were one and all engaged in the propagation of meaningless and ridiculous falsehoods; and, above all, he should *not* lay the flattering unction to his soul that his own ignorance of what they *have* written is not conclusive proof that they never wrote anything at all. It is a fact seriously to be deplored that the 'Baconians' who up till now have distinguished themselves by showing any penetrative and broad-minded acquaintance with the real life and language of their champion and claimant may

be counted on the fingers of a man who has lost both his arms. That Mark Twain should have enrolled himself in the ranks of these literary tatterdemalions is not an action that will add to his credit as a writer, or endear him to those who look on Shakespeare as their 'bright particular star,' and who are inclined to pin their faith to men who have devoted their life-long studies to his works and his period, rather than to others whose writings stamp them as unfamiliar with even the elementary facts and conditions of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature, and whose folly allows them to advertise their ignorance in every form of misguided presumption, dullness, and rhodomontade.

REVIEWS.

Æneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, Pius II.), Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman, and Pope. By William Boulting. Archibald Constable & Co.

MR. BOULTING has written an interesting and sympathetic account of the gay and eloquent secretary and man of letters, who subsequently became Pope Pius II., an account all the more likely to win acceptance because while it protests against its hero being treated as a mere adventurer, it does not attempt to claim him as a saint. Born in 1405, Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini only became a deacon in 1446, and a priest in the following year. Within a few months he was made Bishop of Trieste, and in 1449 was translated to the see of Siena, his native town. In 1456 he became a cardinal, in 1458 pope. He died, worn out by diseases produced, in part at least, by his early hardships, 14th August, 1464. These dates of themselves suffice to explain the charges brought against him, and are at the same time his best justification. Although before he became one of the imperial secretaries he had successively served three bishops, he persistently refused, until he was past forty, to advance beyond the minor orders which left him at once a layman and a clerk. During these years he used as a layman a personal licence no greater than that of a very large number of ecclesiastics, but he also wrote a Latin novel and

some minor pieces which had to be repudiated with some shame when he became bishop and pope. That a man's religion and morality must be all of a piece was a doctrine very dimly apprehended in the fifteenth century. Piccolomini in his early manhood had at least his devout moments. He applied once to San Bernardino to be received as a novice, though Bernardino rejected him, with true insight into character, for did not Enea, after he was pope, dwell on the delights of a monastery —for those who could leave it when they chose? At an early stage of his diplomatic life, when his storm-tossed ship at last reached Scotland, whither he was bound on a mission, he walked barefoot through the snow to perform a vow to the Blessed Virgin. His very shrinking from orders, and the marked change in his way of life after he received them, showed what Dr. Johnson would have called 'good principles.' Emphatically he received his ecclesiastical preferments, including the papacy, not as a saint, but as a statesman and diplomatist; and the church who needed such men, and had to reward them in this way to secure their help, was no doubt spiritually the poorer for it, despite some counterbalancing gains. But that Piccolomini felt the responsibility of his offices, and opened his heart to receive the grace which he believed was given with them, there seems no psychological reason to doubt. As to the charge of treachery and self-seeking in his desertion of the Council of Basel and its anti-pope, the council, at the beginning of its long career (1431-46), held, morally and religiously, so strong a position, and at the end

so weak a one, that neither adherence nor desertion need much excuse. Piccolomini's choice of a moment was, no doubt, dictated by his desire to bring the emperor with him when he came, which is only to say that he acted as a statesman rather than a prophet. On these points, and as providing a psychologically consistent and also picturesque account of a very striking career, Mr. Boulting's biography is excellent. What students of early printed books will miss in it is a more detailed account of his hero's numerous writings. Mr. Boulting has used these for his own narrative; he gives, moreover, a general impression of his style and general characteristics. He shows his readers Æneas Sylvius, to use his literary name, as a born book-maker, who even amid the troubles of the papacy could not resist an attractive subject, with the curiosity rather than the learning of a scholar; frank to indiscretion in what he allowed his pen to write, and with the superficial vanity which is amusing and attractive rather than the reverse. A rapid sketch of this kind harmonizes well with the whole tone of Mr. Boulting's book, which is itself popular rather than scholarly. But it leaves room for a study of Æneas Sylvius as a man of letters, which we hope some one may yet be moved to write.

Catalogue général des Incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France. Par M. Pellechet. Tome troisième. Compagniès—Gregorius Magnus. Paris, Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils.

No welcome can be too warm for this third volume of the great catalogue of the fifteenth

century books in the public libraries of France, begun by Mlle. Pellechet and continued after her death, with many improvements, by her friend M. Louis Polain. Of all the work now being done on incunabula this is in one very important respect the most valuable, since it describes the vast majority of the extant books from the French presses of the fifteenth century, comparatively few of which were known to Hain even at second hand, while fewer still were described by him from personal knowledge. We could wish that, after the manner of the Oxford English Dictionary, M. Polain would write a little preface to each of his volumes, giving some statistics as to the number of books which it registers from each country, and how many of these had been previously undescribed. But M. Polain is too modest to give any information which would bring into relief the greatness of his work, and we shall probably have to construct tables of this kind for ourselves from the typographical index which will no doubt accompany his final volume. Here we may note that the numbered entries in this section run from 3889 to 5394, corresponding roughly to Hain 5,558 to 7,993, so that the proportion of the entries to those in Hain is about equal to 70 per cent., and taking Hain's total as something under 17,000, this catalogue when it is finished (allowing for the falling off in the last section of Hain) may be expected to comprise between 12,000 and 13,000 entries. Each of these entries comprises a description, if anything, rather more detailed than those written by Hain for the books at Munich; and in addition

to this, whether the book possesses printed signatures or not, a collation by quires, expressed in one or other of two rather bewildering fashions, but to be relied on as nearly always absolutely correct. In addition to these descriptions and collations notes are often given as to differences between copies, and occasionally as to rubricators, dates, or notes of purchase which help to fix the chronology of undated books; the types are indicated in accordance with Proctor's notation, and references are given to all available facsimiles. To catalogue twelve or thirteen thousand incunabula on this scale single-handed, even with the aid of the materials collected by Mlle. Pellechet, is a great task, and M. Polain must be warmly congratulated on the steady progress which he is making with it. We note that under his No. 4218 he catalogues the 'Dialogus inter Hugonem, Catonem et Oliuerium super libertate ecclesiastica' of 14th June, 1477, as printed 'Reichenstenii' by a 'typographe indéterminé,' so that like the compilers of the British Museum catalogue of incunabula, he did not acquaint himself in time with the recent discovery that this was really printed at Cologne, with types akin to those used by Götz. Under No. 4286, again, the 'Diomedes' of 10th March, 1494, is entered without any note that the 'Venetiis' of its imprint conceals the fact that, like the 'Justinus' of the following month (H. 9652), it was really printed by L. Pachel at Milan. On the other hand M. Polain is himself constantly adding to knowledge and offering problems for the consideration of other bibliographers, as by his record of the very curious

stamped date (MCCCCLXX) in one of the copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale of the third (?) of Husner's editions of the 'Rationale Duranti.' As Husner is not known to have printed before 1473, and this edition is not in the type used in his earliest dated books, but in those found in the 'Legenda Aurea' of 1479, the date is difficult to accept, but nevertheless requires explanation.

The manuscript date, 1472, in the 'Pastorale of S. Gregory,' printed by Martin Flach at Basel, is equally interesting and less troublesome, as though this takes Flach back two years, the book (previously dated 'not after 1474' from the rubricator's note in the copy at Bodley) is in the earlier form of his first type, and there is no difficulty in accepting 1472 as the date of its production. It is by contemporary notes such as this, painfully gathered from libraries all over Europe, that bibliographers are getting gradually at the facts and dates which so many early printers, more especially those of Strassburg and Basel, studiously withheld, and in this, as in all other respects, M. Polain's new volume is a noteworthy contribution to knowledge.

Geofroy Tory: Painter and Engraver: First Royal Printer: Reformer of Orthography and Typography under François I. An account of his life and works, by Auguste Bernard. Translated by G. B. Ives. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass. London, Archibald Constable & Co.

In the first number of 'Bibliographica,' the present writer remarked how pleasant it would be to possess a new edition of Auguste Bernard's

monograph on Geoffroi Tory, 'worthily illustrated' by the modern methods of reproduction which were unknown when Bernard brought out his revised edition in 1865. After fifteen years the pleasant book has actually been produced, not as a new edition of the French original, but as a very carefully executed English translation from the pen of Mr. G. B. Ives. Auguste Bernard had died long before 'Bibliographica' was thought of, so that no further edition could be looked for from the author himself, a matter for sincere regret, as it would have been interesting to know if he ever modified his opinions on such points as the identity of Geoffroi Tory with the painter Godefroi, or the extent to which he should be made responsible for the numerous and very miscellaneous wood-blocks which bear the mark of the cross of Lorraine. Mr. Ives has added some useful notes to his version, but his aim has been to produce a faithful translation, not a new revision, so that the book, good as it is, has some of the drawbacks which are to be expected in a work now about forty years old. Artistically and typographically, on the other hand, it has no need to ask for any indulgence, for the illustrations of Tory's work are numerous and wonderfully delicate, and the type, presswork, arrangement of the pages, and other externals, are each excellent in themselves, and combined with the skill and taste which mark all the work produced under the superintendence of Mr. Bruce Rogers at the Riverside Press. Despite some faults Tory fully deserves the care which has here been lavished on him. His ornament is at times thin

and less decorative than the best fifteenth century work, but he is always graceful, and his pictorial cuts have a subtle and dignified charm peculiarly their own. His is by far the finest bookwork of the French Renaissance, and in this handsome edition of Bernard's monograph full justice is at last done to it.

Index to 'Book-Prices Current' for the second decade, 1897 *to* 1906. *By William Jaggard. Elliot Stock.*

The first of Mr. Jaggard's decennial indexes to Book-Prices Current has proved abundantly useful, and its new and much larger successor is certain to be equally appreciated. To our great regret special references to books notable for their binding, fine printing, etc., have had to be omitted on account of the cost, and the Index has thus to be judged as mainly one of authors. From this point of view it is all that could be desired; clearly printed and well-arranged, and with information as to personal names and the real authorship of anonymous and pseudonymous books liberally supplied. The quiet satisfaction with which a good index to a useful book is placed on the book-shelf is the real measure of its value, and it is not easy to translate this into words which shall at all adequately recognize the immense amount of laborious and tedious work which must have been undergone in its production. Besides its main usefulness as a key, an index of of this kind possesses a subsidiary value for the evidence which it offers as to the comparative frequency with which different books come into

the market. Thus we learn from Mr. Jaggard's references that during the decade with which it deals 31 copies of the First Folio Shakespeare came up for sale, 70 of the Second (57 with the Allot imprint, 11 with the Smethwick, 4 with the Hawkins, 1 with the Meighen), 31 of the Third (25 dated 1664, and 6 dated 1663), and 66 of the Fourth (2 Herringman and Knight, the rest Herringman and Brewster). Thus as far as the evidence of these ten years carries us, the Third is exactly as rare as the First, while the Second and Fourth are rather more than twice as common. Of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' 14 copies were sold with title-pages dated 1667 (Mr. Jaggard does not further distinguish the issues), 24 dated 1668, and 49 dated 1669, the inference being that the poem grew steadily in favour, though it is open to any-one to imagine that the earliest copies were thumbed to pieces by eager readers or are all in public libraries. Of the 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' 35 sales are recorded, of the Nuremberg Chronicle 44, the high numbers offering ample reason for the comparatively small prices which these two fine books generally fetch unless in exceptionally fine condition. Both totals, however, were exceeded by the 61 copies sold of the Kelmscott Chaucer, of which also the selling value is kept down by the number of copies on the market. Presumably these books will one day become difficult to obtain, from the gradual absorption of copies by public libraries; but rare, thanks to the zeal of collectors in the past, they can never be.

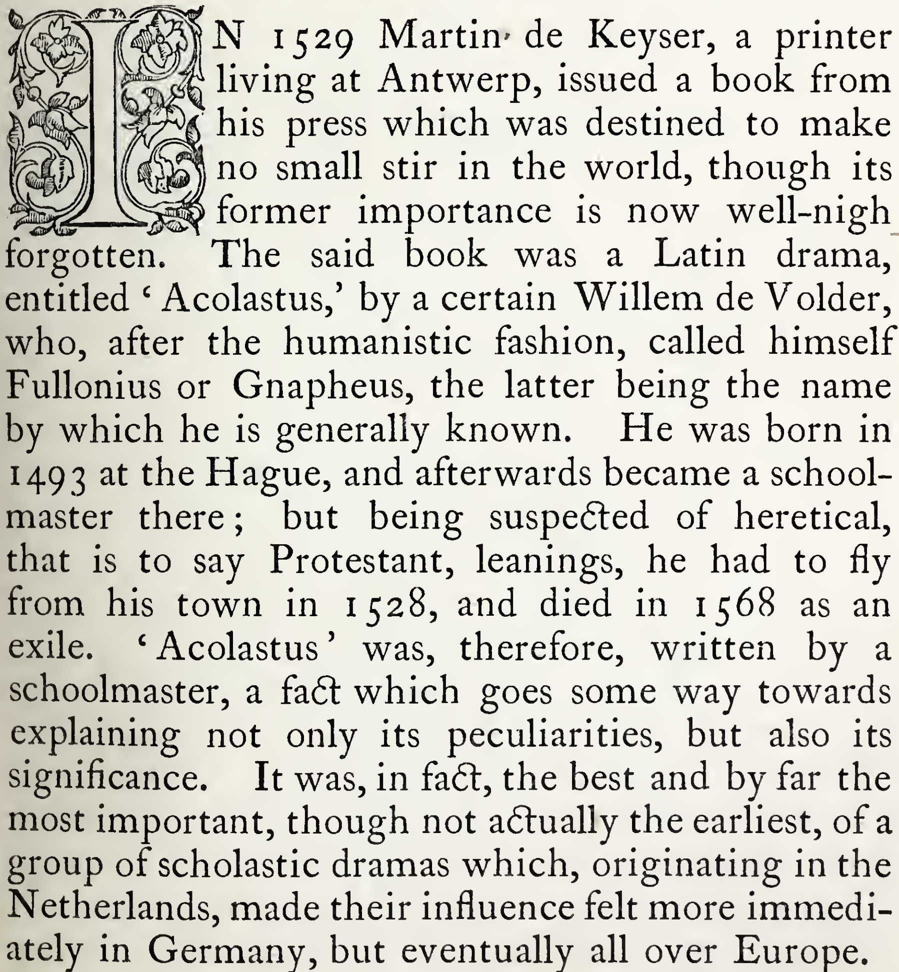
A. W. P.

New Series,
No. 40, Vol. X. October, 1909.

THE LIBRARY.

EUPHUES AND THE PRODIGAL SON

I.



IN 1529 Martin de Keyser, a printer living at Antwerp, issued a book from his press which was destined to make no small stir in the world, though its former importance is now well-nigh forgotten. The said book was a Latin drama, entitled 'Acolastus,' by a certain Willem de Volder, who, after the humanistic fashion, called himself Fullonius or Gnapheus, the latter being the name by which he is generally known. He was born in 1493 at the Hague, and afterwards became a schoolmaster there; but being suspected of heretical, that is to say Protestant, leanings, he had to fly from his town in 1528, and died in 1568 as an exile. 'Acolastus' was, therefore, written by a schoolmaster, a fact which goes some way towards explaining not only its peculiarities, but also its significance. It was, in fact, the best and by far the most important, though not actually the earliest, of a group of scholastic dramas which, originating in the Netherlands, made their influence felt more immediately in Germany, but eventually all over Europe.

The comedies of Terence had been a school text-book throughout the Middle Ages, and towards the end of the fifteenth century it became quite a common thing for scholars to act them. But greatly as the prestige of all Latin authors, and especially of Terence, increased at the time of the Renaissance, there were two things about the Latin comedy that tended to make the schoolmaster of the sixteenth century, with his growing sense of the ethical function of his office, cast about for a more fitting channel through which to pour the treasures of the Latin language into the mind of his pupil. Terence was neither Christian nor moral; and though Luther's famous remarks upon the Latin comedy, and Melanchthon's constant support of its claims, prove that the common sense of the age saw no harm in bringing the young into contact with the realities of life, it was natural that many should feel that the didactic element in the school drama might be made more prominent.

In answer to this need, a remarkable series of dramas were produced which sought to combine all that was essentially instructive in the Terentian comedy with the necessary Christian atmosphere and the required didactic point. In other words, a new Latin drama arose which was a cross between the Latin comedy and the morality play. As it happened there was one, and perhaps only one, story in the Bible which could provide a convenient basis for this curious dramatic hybrid. The parable of the Prodigal Son contained a moral lesson which was admirably adapted for the consideration of the

youthful mind, and incidentally admitted of an interpretation that gave strong support to the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith; while, on the other hand, a loop-hole was found for the introduction of the whole Terential machinery of parasites, slaves, and meretrices in the half-dozen words 'wasted his substance with riotous living,' which were expanded into more than twice that number of scenes. And though, as has been said, Gnapheus was not the first to see the dramatic possibilities of the parable, his 'Acolastus' created the type of prodigal son drama which almost all subsequent writers followed; and it will be well, therefore, to consider its characters and story somewhat closely.

Gnapheus follows the Bible narrative with remarkable fidelity except in one point: he leaves out the elder brother, the only indication of his existence being a single reference to the prodigal as 'natu minor.' Shorn of this incident, which Gnapheus probably felt would have been an excrescence upon the unity of his drama, the story falls into four divisions: the departure of the prodigal with his portion; his riotous living in a a far country; his degradation and hunger; and, finally, his return home and a joyful reception. To how large an extent 'Acolastus' was pure Terentian comedy, is seen from the fact that two and a half out of five acts are taken up by an elaboration of the second of these divisions. As the curtain rises we find Pelargus, the father, in deep distress concerning the resolve of his son to leave home and see the world. To him enters

Eubulus, a direct loan from the morality, symbolizing prudence or foresight. He advises the king to allow his son to go, pointing out that to thwart him would be useless, and only produce a breach which would prevent his return when he had sown his wild oats. We must suppose, though we are not told so, that Eubulus was represented as an old grey-beard; and that Philautus, who carries on the next scene with the prodigal Acolastus, was meant to be a young man. He also is borrowed from the morality, and embodies the prodigal's self-love, as the old man had embodied the prudence of Pelargus, for it is he who inspires Acolastus with his desire for travel and his arrogance towards his father. Then follows the division of the inheritance, which Gnapheus by a happy stroke describes as 'decem talenta.' In taking leave of his son, Pelargus gives him much good advice and a copy of the Bible. The latter, however, at the suggestion of Philautus, is afterwards thrown away. The far country into which Acolastus now journeys is the land of Terentian comedy. Two parasites are waiting for prey as he passes through the market-place, and at the sight of his belt bulging with the ten talents, they pounce upon him and carry him off to a pandar's house. Here at the command of Acolastus a great banquet is prepared, and Lais is sent for. The love-making between her and the prodigal is the finest piece of writing in a fine play, and the whole scene in the house of Sannio is a sufficient proof that to the educationalist of that age, suppression of fact was not considered necessary so long as the true moral was clearly and correctly

pointed. The ruin of Acolastus is brought about the following day by one of the parasites, who wins all that is left of his substance by means of loaded dice. This incident may perhaps have been suggested to Gnapheus by Brandt's famous 'Narrenschiff,' in which there is a woodcut representing two children playing with dice and cards. In any case dice were, perhaps rightly, regarded by all sixteenth century moralists as the symbol of moral degradation in youth. Acolastus is now driven penniless and naked out of doors, Lais being the first to round upon him and rob him of his clothes. In addition to all his other misfortunes, a famine has come upon the land. He cannot dig; to beg he is ashamed, and eventually he takes service with a farmer who sets him to feed his pigs. During this period of his career he utters several soliloquies, which are not only important as showing his gradual transition from bitter despair to hopeful repentance, but as the prototypes of many more famous soliloquies in literature. He eventually, of course, returns home to his father, throws himself at his feet uttering the words of the parable, and is received with rejoicing and feasts.

The play fully deserved the fame that awaited it, which was considerable. Dr. Bolte, its modern editor, notes no less than forty-eight editions and reprints before 1588. It was translated three times into German, once into French, and once into English; while its renown spreading to Italy led Guicciardini to hail Gnapheus as 'primus apud inferiores Germanos poeta comicus.' In short, 'Acolastus' immediately acquired what is described

in modern publishers' advertisements as a European reputation. Yet, in as much as Gnapheus wrote primarily as a schoolmaster, it was to the scholastic world he made his greatest appeal. The 'christian Terence' became a rival of the pagan. His play took rank with the classics as a school text-book. The English translation by John Palsgrave, which appeared in 1540, was a line for line, word for word, rendering, intended to be read by school-boys; while in 1564 an edition was published in Paris with detailed notes and vocabulary. That a book which was used in the schools of Germany, France, England, and the Netherlands, to mention no other countries, should have escaped imitation was impossible in an age innocent of any sense of the sin of plagiasism. 'Acolastus,' writes a German authority on the prodigal son dramas, 'served as a model and a source for many another dramatisation of the parable,'[1] and it would probably be difficult to over-estimate the extent of its influence.

The drama of the Prodigal Son in time gave birth to a new type, which we may describe as the drama of student life. Of this the 'Studentes' of Stymmelius, which was itself directly modelled on 'Acolastus,' was the most famous, though not the best example. Professor Herford has shown in his stimulating and suggestive 'Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century,' that George Gascoigne's 'Glasse of Government' is one of these student dramas; but

[1] Holstein, 'Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn.' See also Franz Spengler's 'Der verlorene Sohn im Drama des xvi. Jahrhunderts,' a better and more recent treatment of the subject.

he maintains that with this exception Ingelend's 'Disobedient Child' is the only 'English version of the Prodigal Son story of which we know anything in detail.' This is surely too positive a statement, even as far as the drama is concerned. The interlude of 'Nice Wanton,' with its prologue harping upon the text 'spare the rod and spoil the child,' its riotous youngsters, and its grave matron Eulalia, who takes the place of Eubulus, is all of a piece with the Dutch-Latin drama, and the present writer feels convinced that a careful examination of the English dramatic literature of the sixteenth century would reveal many other cases of borrowing from the same source.[1] It is not, however, with the influence of the Prodigal Son upon English drama that we are here concerned. 'Acolastus' and it kindred provided the plot and characters for an important section of the prose fiction which entertained the ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's court. Indeed 'Euphues' itself, the first English novel, and the most famous romance that the age produced, was a direct adaptation of the Prodigal Son story as developed by the Dutch dramatists. As this view runs counter to all accepted theories on the subject, the reader must excuse a somewhat elaborate consideration of the matter.

II.

It was for long a commonplace of Elizabethan criticism that Lyly's 'Euphues' was little more than a recasting of Lord North's 'Diall of Princes,'

[1] See, for example, Malone Society 'Collections,' pp. 27, 106, and the introduction to Brandl's 'Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England.'

which was itself a translation of Guevara's 'El relox de principes,' and that our first English novel was, therefore, both as to style and matter, an importation from the Peninsula. The theory, which was first propounded in 1881 by Dr. Landmann,[1] and still continues to be associated with his name, has of late years ceased to command quite the unhesitating acceptance which it once enjoyed. In 1905 the present writer attempted to prove that as far as 'euphuism' was concerned, the theory had been stated much too positively; and the latest treatment of the Elizabethan novel, that of Professor Atkins in the third volume of the 'Cambridge History of English Literature,' rejects in emphatic terms the idea that Lyly's style was of Spanish origin. Up to the present, however, the second half of Dr. Landmann's thesis has remained unchallenged, and Professor Atkins himself confidently asserts that the 'body' of 'Euphues' is drawn from North's 'Diall of Princes,' of which it is in fact 'little more than a reordering.' Lyly's latest editor, Mr. R. W. Bond, warns us, indeed, that the debt to Guevara has been 'if anything overstated,' and that we must 'guard against the notion that Lyly makes frequent verbal drafts upon the Diall'; but goes on, nevertheless, to declare that 'the form, tone, and subjects of Guevara's work are largely the model' of the 'Anatomy of Wyt,' and to cite Dr. Landmann in support of his statement.[2] When he passes from generalisation to particular instance, the evidence he brings forward to prove

[1] 'Der Euphuismus.'
[2] 'The Works of John Lyly,' Vol. I., pp. 154-6.

the connection are not very impressive. The not uncommon classical names Lucilla and Livia[1] occur in both books, and in both Lucilla is represented as a light-minded daughter who merits the reproof of her father. Again, both Lyly and Guevara devote space to the subject of education; but this is nothing more than to say that each was the child of an age to which the topic of education was more than ordinarily enthralling. Moreover, it has lately been proved that what Lyly did not take from Plutarch for his educational treatise 'Euphues and his Ephœbus,' he borrowed from Erasmus.[2] The references in 'Euphues' to Athens and the emperor, of which Mr. Bond would make capital, indicate in our opinion nothing more than a desire on the author's part to give a classical, that is to say learned, atmosphere to his book; though, indeed, it is not necessary to boggle over the emperor at all, since there was no need for Lyly to go back to Marcus Aurelius for an example: he had one in Germany. For the rest, the alleged resemblances chiefly concern various letters which lie quite outside the main story, and most of which are admittedly as likely to have been taken from Plutarch as from Guevara.

Now we do not wish to deny that Lyly had read North's 'Diall,' and that it exerted a certain and even at times a verbal influence upon him; but we maintain that to describe 'Euphues' as a 'reorder-

[1] In point of fact the lady in North's 'Diall' is not Livia but Lybia.

[2] De Vocht, De Invloed van Erasmus op de Engelsche Tooneel-literatuur der XVI[e] en XVII[e] Eeuwen. Eerste del. Gent, 1908.

ing' of its predecessor is to be guilty of a gross exaggeration, an exaggeration, moreover, which would never have occurred to anybody to make had not Dr. Landmann broached the idea that 'euphuism' was first manufactured in Spain. In short, what was once used as an argument to support a now exploded theory still hangs on as part of the critical furniture surrounding 'Euphues' simply because no one has taken the trouble to get rid of it. For it would be impossible, we venture to assert, for one not previously biassed in favour of the Spanish theory, to read 'Euphues' in conjunction with the 'Diall of Princes' and see any resemblance between them. When he says this, the present writer does not forget that he is condemning himself with others. In his little book on 'John Lyly,' published four years ago, he followed Mr. Bond in this even more blindly than Mr. Bond himself had followed Dr. Landmann. Let us turn for a moment to the 'Diall of Princes' itself, for only by so doing can we realise how absurd is the theory that would make it a model for 'Euphues.'

The fact that the Guevara book was one of the most popular treatises of the sixteenth century and that its editions in Spanish, French, and English are to be numbered by dozens, speaks volumes for the toughness of our forefathers' literary digestion; for to the modern reader it is insufferably dull. Its fame must be attributed partly to the *alto estilo* in which it was written, and partly to the fact that it belonged to what was at that time a fashionable school of literature. It was in fact one of those 'moral court treatises' which were called into

existence by the monarchical tendency in politics, and of which Castiglione's 'Il Cortegiano' was the most famous example. North's 'Diall'[1] is a formidable volume running to 268 folios of double-columned black-letter. It is divided into three books and an appendix containing fifteen letters. After wading through three long, exceedingly wearisome, and at times almost incoherent prefaces, the reader at length comes to the first book, wherein he is informed 'what excellency is in the prince that is a good Christian: and contrariwise, what evilles do folowe him, that is a cruell tyrante.' And he is accordingly somewhat surprised to find that the first three chapters deal with the pagan philosopher Marcus Aurelius. This, however, will give him a clue to two very important facts about the book as a whole: first, that it is entirely devoid of any cohesion or arrangement except of the roughest kind, and second that the only real thread that runs throughout is the personality of Marcus Aurelius, incidents from whose life, or letters from whose pen are constantly brought in to support some argument of the author's. The book is, in fact, one of those compilations from classical sources of which the age was so fond, its object being to act as a moral text-book for those in authority, to whom it held up the philosopher-emperor as the perfect pattern.

[1] North's book is often spoken of as the second translation, but the 'Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius,' published in 1534, and running into fourteen editions before 1588, was translated by Lord Berners (through the French), not from 'El Relox,' but from the 'Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio,' the original and much shorter draft, which was printed without Guevara's consent, as he explains at full length in the 'Argument' of his 'Relox.'

Where is the resemblance to 'Euphues' in all this? Lyly moralises and Guevara moralises, since they both happened to live in the sixteenth century; and sometimes they moralised upon the same topics, since the moralists' favourite subjects are limited. But there the coincidence ceases. There is, as we shall presently see, a story running through 'Euphues,' not, indeed, very elaborate in character, but much more definite and well thought out than is usually allowed by critics. In the 'Diall of Princes' there is no story whatever. 'Euphues' contains several distinct and not uninteresting characters. Guevara has but one character, Marcus Aurelius, and even he is little more than a label on a bundle of letters. We may, therefore, consign the theory of Lyly's debt to Guevara to the limbo of discredited literary dogmas and turn to the real source of the euphuist's inspiration,—the story of the prodigal son. To make clear the relationship between two persons at first sight so different as Euphues and the prodigal, it will be necessary to look closely at the story and character of our first English novel.

III.

Euphuism has too long been allowed to obscure the interest of 'Euphues,' and much as has been written upon Lyly, no one has yet taken the trouble to read his novel properly and to notice the manner in which he elected to tell it. The critics, in fact, have not been able to see the story for the style.

And yet there are many curious and instructive points about the 'make-up' of the plot and characters that well repay study. The book was published in two parts, 'The Anatomy of Wyt' and 'Euphues and his England,' but for our present purpose it is enough to confine our attention to the first part alone. The sequel is simply a reproduction of the 'Anatomy' in English dress as it were; the same characters reappear, even though in some cases different names may be given to them. It is not seriously maintained, moreover, by any critic that Guevara had any appreciable influence upon the second part, in which indeed Lyly is quite obviously attempting to give a picture of the court of Elizabeth. Let us give a brief outline of the plot before considering it in detail.

Euphues, a wealthy, handsome, exceedingly talented and at the same time somewhat arrogant, young Athenian, determines to leave his native city and travel. In the course of his wanderings he comes to Naples, where he finds 'all things necessary and in redinesse that myght eyther allure the minde to luste or entice the hearte to follye.' Here he set up his abode and soon 'wanted no companions whiche courted hym continuallye with sundrye kindes of deuises, whereby they myght eyther soake hys purse to reape commoditie, or sooth hys person to wynne credite.' But he behaved very warily and did not allow himself to be entrapped. An old gentleman named Eubulus, however, seeing that he stood in some danger, determined to give him good advice before it was too late. This he did in a lengthy discourse which, starting from the assump-

tion that Euphues had been over-indulged in childhood, launched forth into a disquisition upon the evils of spoiling children, and concluded with counsel for the future. Euphues contemptuously rejects this advice, and soon afterwards forms a friendship of the closest nature with a young Neapolitan named Philautus. The said Philautus is in love with Lucilla, the daughter of one of the chief men in the city, and when Euphues one day accompanies his friend to her house, he at once falls in love with the damsel, whose 'Lilly cheeks,' we are told, were 'dyed with a Vermilion red.' They all sit down to supper, after which Euphues entertains the company with a discourse upon the subject of love, but overcome by his passion suddenly breaks off and leaves the house, unconscious that his love has been reciprocated by the faithless Lucilla. This mutual passion now leads to long soliloquies on the part of the lovers, who are brought together once again by the unsuspecting Philautus. This time Euphues finds his lady playing at cards with her friends. A conversation ensues, but is broken short by Lucilla's father, who entering suddenly, tells Philautus he has some business for him in Venice, and carries him off, confiding Lucilla to the care of Euphues. Our hero takes advantage of this to declare his passion, and Lucilla, after some maidenly hesitation, accepts him as her lover. Meanwhile Philautus returns, and, backed by her father's sanction, asks his mistress to name the wedding-day. After some shuffling she admits that her heart no longer belongs to Philautus but to Euphues. Angry letters pass between the two

friends, followed by complete alienation. However, Lucilla, the cause of the breach, is to become the cause of its healing, for within a short space of time she throws over Euphues in his turn for a third gentleman, which naturally leads to reconciliation between her two rejected lovers. Her father in vain warns her of her fickle character, and repents of his folly in spoiling her as a child. She persists in her course, breaks her father's heart, and comes herself to a fearful end, the nature of which Lyly refuses to disclose in the story, but which one of the letters at the end gives us to understand was that of a harlot dying in extreme misery and wretchedness. Euphues, on the other hand, jilted by Lucilla, becomes a changed man. In a long soliloquy he expresses his deep repentance for ever having left his home and for rejecting the excellent counsel of Eubulus; and after referring to his profligacy, he determines to amend his life, return to study, leave the world and become a model of virtue for the future. By a natural process he has himself become Eubulus. He sends 'a cooling carde for all fond lovers' to his over-passionate friend Philautus, and more especially in the second part he keeps up a running comment on the events of the story in his attacks upon the gentle passion and his warnings against the fair sex. Euphues, in short, is the Byronic hero of the sixteenth century.

The attentive reader will already have noticed in the foregoing outline certain striking points of resemblance to the 'Acolastus' story; but before considering these and others not yet mentioned, let us look a little more closely at the general construction

of the novel. The first thing that strikes one is that the story consists of a series of episodes sufficiently elaborate in themselves but with very little connection to bind them together. After Euphues has been briefly introduced and brought to Naples, we suddenly find him engaged in conversation with Eubulus, who, having delivered his quantum of good counsel, 'away doth go,' like the Wall in 'Pyramus,' not to return again. Lyly briefly comments on this scene *in persona sua*, and passes abruptly to a second in which the hero, after a long soliloquy on friendship, offers his own to Philautus in a formal speech, and is as formally accepted. The next episode is the supper-party at Lucilla's house, followed by the dialogue between Euphues and his hostess on the topic of love. The whole description of these events reads unmistakably like a transcription of the scene in a play; and, indeed, not to labour a point, the further one reads the more the conviction grows upon one that 'The Anatomy of Wyt' is to a large extent nothing but an old play cast into narrative form. It may be objected to this that, since the conventional literary form of the age was drama, and since, as later events proved, the genius of Lyly was essentially dramatic, it is not surprising that the first experiment in a new type of literature should show signs of the influence of the drama. This is very true, but it does not go far enough; for indeed it would be equally surprising in an age when no writer ever created a plot if he could steal it, to find that Lyly had not taken his story from some previous source, and, moreover, since drama was the prevailing

literature of the time, a dramatic source. As it happens, however, there is really no doubt upon the matter, for there is a small peculiarity in Lyly's novel which can only be explained by supposing that he was recasting dramatic material. The peculiarity is that we frequently do not learn the name of a character until some time after he or she has been introduced into the story, and that even then it only comes out quite by chance, as it were, in conversation. For example, the name of Eubulus appears for the first time quite casually in the reply of Euphues to his advice, and we are told Lucilla's name in the same way in the middle of the supper-party scene. This, which seems so strange in a novel, would be perfectly natural in a play, where the names of the characters are given first at the head of each scene, and are then printed continuously throughout in the margin, as each speaks in his turn. Lyly quite evidently felt the lack of these marginal aids to lucidity, for in a long conversation he often found it difficult to indicate exactly who was speaking at any given moment. If, for example, it happened to be Euphues and Lucilla, he solved the problem by writing 'sayd she' or 'quod he' in parentheses, but occasionally he forgot to do this, and we are left no clue whatever to the speaker's personality.[1]

'The Anatomy of Wyt' was entered in the Stationers' Registers as 'compiled,' and there is no doubt upon the present writer's mind that a large element of the compilation was a play belonging to the prodigal son school which has now probably been

[1] *e.g.*, Bond's 'Lyly,' I., p. 225.

lost. It is not maintained here that Lyly went back to 'Acolastus' itself. 'Acolastus' was only the parent stem of a large family, and there must have been a dozen dramas ready to Lyly's hand among which he might select. The extreme length of some of the discourses in his novel exceeds indeed anything possible in even the dreariest 'morality,' but by cutting out all the 'unnatural natural philosophy,' and the classical allusions which were, of course, Lyly's own additions, and by allowing for the circumlocution essential to the euphuistic manner of writing, the speeches are soon reduced to manageable bulk. It remains, therefore, to round off the discussion by clearing up the relations between Euphues and the prodigal.

IV.

The differences between 'Euphues' and 'Acolastus' render it extremely unlikely that Lyly made the latter the basis of his novel, though he may quite probably have carried away recollections of it from his school-boy days.[1] Since, however, we are not yet in a position to point to the actual drama from which Lyly drew his material, we are forced to go back to Acolastus, the prototype, and see how much likeness 'Euphues' still possesses to his

[1] Lyly may possibly have seen performances of the Dutch-Latin drama at Oxford. Prof. Moore Smith (p. 265, 'Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus, 1909) has shown that the 'Acolastus' was acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1560-1, and the 'Asotus' of Macropedius, an earlier prodigal son drama, at the same college, in 1565-6.

alleged ancestor. The facts now to be brought forward will, I think, leave no doubt upon any candid reader's mind that our first English novel unmistakeably belongs to the numerous Prodigal Son family.

The most obvious point of resemblance of course, that indeed which first led me to think of 'Euphues' in connection with the Dutch-Latin drama, is the presence of Eubulus and Philautus. The former has been handed on practically unchanged in character. Gnapheus indeed had made him a friend of the prodigal's father, who is never brought actually into contact with the prodigal himself, though they appear together in the same scene at the final reconciliation. But it was very natural that Gnapheus' imitators should put the good counsel which the prodigal rejects into the mouth of one whose name was Eubulus. The transition was probably due to a slight misunderstanding of Gnapheus' original intentions. When he called his character Eubulus he is likely to have meant nothing more than, as has already been said, to give an embodiment to 'prudence' or 'foresight,' thus following the lines of the morality play, for εὔβουλος strictly means well-*advised* or prudent.[1] His imitators, however, substituted an active for a passive meaning, and in the 'Studentes' of Stymmelius, for example, Eubulus has become the father of the prodigal. In 'Euphues' the father has completely disappeared, and Eubulus has ceased to have any organic connection with the plot, being

[1] Gnapheus obviously took the name from Aristotle, 'Nicomachean Ethics,' book vi., c. viii.

introduced for the sole purpose of administering advice, the rejection of which is the necessary and time-honoured first step in the prodigal's career of self-indulgence and disillusionment.

The character of Philautus has undergone a more fundamental, but no less natural change. With Gnapheus merely the embodiment of the prodigal's evil intentions or self-love, as time went on he became more and more alive, and eventually assumed a very important rôle in the development of the plot. In Gascoigne's 'Glasse of Government,' for example, he is one of the brace of prodigals which that play contains. He seems, in fact, to lose to a large extent his character or tempter to the hero, and becomes eventually nothing but a partner in his experiences. It must, however, be noticed that in 'The Anatomy of Wyt' he is the instrument by which Euphues is brought into contact with Lucilla, and thus he still performs unintentionally, and as it turns out greatly to his own apparent disadvantage, a task which he had originally been created to carry out deliberately.

For Lucilla is simply Lais in the costume of a lady. Though now the daughter of the chief governor of the city, her real character is continually peeping out beneath her veneer of respectability. 'Her Lilly cheeks dyed with Vermilion red,' her quite astonishing fickleness, her supper party and love of cards, and finally the 'awful end' that awaited her, all show her to be the 'meretrix' of the prodigal son story. It is her rejection of his passion that opens the euphuistic prodigal's

eyes to the iniquity of his past career and the enormity of the female sex. It should be noticed in passing how the Lais episode has swallowed up all other aspects of the 'riotous living' on which the prodigal wasted his substance. The only reference to the parasites is the passage already given which speaks of the companions that crowded round Euphues on his arrival at Florence; while the temptations of the table and the dice-box, which figure so largely in 'Acolastus,' have been whittled down to a mention of a supper and a game of cards in Lucilla's house. In short the prodigality of the prodigal has been narrowed to the single element of sexual passion, and that in its turn has been purged of its grosser traditions, and become the perfectly respectable, though, in view of the prior claims of Philautus, not quite honourable, love of a gentleman for a lady. It would be interesting to know whether Lyly was himself responsible for this change, or whether he received it from others; for this shifting of scene from the tavern to the drawing-room was a very important one in the history of our literature.

Turning lastly to the hero himself, it may well be asked what possible connecting link there can be between Euphues, the refined wit, and Acolastus, the sensual simpleton. Indeed Lyly himself seems to challenge comparison between his hero and the prodigal. 'If,' he writes in his dedicatory epistle, 'the first sight of Euphues shal seeme to light to be read of the wise, or to foolish to be regarded of the learned, they ought not to imparte it to the iniquitie of the author, but to the necessity of the

history. Euphues beginneth with loue as allured by wyt, but endeth not with lust as bereft of wisedome. He woeth women prouoked by youth, but weddeth not himselfe to wantonnesse as priked by pleasure.' Moreover, as we have seen, Lyly is careful to point out that his hero was most cautious in the selection of his friends. Yet in spite of this, the original type, and perhaps the very words of the play which Lyly used, break through the new conception upon at least two occasions. One is at the beginning of the story, where Lyly, speaking of the departure of Euphues from Athens, declares that his hero 'hauing the bridle in hys owne handes, either to use the raine or the spurre, disdayning counsayle, leauing his countrey, loathinge his olde acquaintance, . . . and leavinge the rule of reason, rashly ranne unto destruction,' while a few lines below he is said to have 'followed unbrideled affection, most pleasant for his tooth.' Such language is quite inapplicable to the character of Euphues, and is supported by nothing in the account which follows. But when Lucilla has jilted him and the scales drop from his eyes, he is made to use expressions which once more sound unsuitable to his conduct, and remind us of the prodigal: 'A foolishe Euphues why didest thou leaue Athens the nourse of wisdome, to inhabite Naples the nourisher of wantonnesse? Had it not bene better for thee to haue eaten salt with the Philosophers in Greece, then sugar with the courtiers of Italy? But behold the course of youth which alwayes inclyneth to pleasure, I forsooke mine olde companions to search for new friends, I rejected the graue and fatherly counsayle

of Eubulus, to follow the braine-sicke humor of my owne will. I addicted myselfe wholy to the seruice of women to spende my lyfe on the lappes of Ladyes, my landes on the maintenance of brauerie, my witte in the vanities of idle sonnets.' Lyly, in short, or the forgotten dramatist from whom he took his material, has, if I may use the expression, *intellectualized* the prodigal son story. The temptations that beset the hero are no longer those of the flesh, but of the intellect, or, as Lyly would himself express it, of the wit. It is wit that 'allures' Euphues to love. It is his wit that attracts Lucilla to his person. Finally, it is wit, mellowed by experience into wisdom, that is the fruit of his frustrated passion.

Yet, as just noted, Lyly cannot altogether forget the original in the new creation, and indeed the career of Euphues is exactly similar to that of Acolastus, only it is on a different plane. Both are young men who leave their native land, and come to a city full of temptations. Both reject with scorn the professed advice of their elders. Both throw themselves into the pleasures of life, and give way to their passions. Both are brought to their senses by a rude shock of awaking which with Acolastus attacks the stomach and with Euphues the heart. Finally, both bitterly repent of their folly and return in sorrow, the prodigal to his father and the wit to his university. But while reconciliation and a new life is possible to Acolastus, the experiences of Euphues have made life seem hollow and love a mockery; and throughout the second part of his history, he is represented as a

supercilious misanthrope who eventually retires to a life of meditation in a cave. In making love the central theme of his book, in raising the action of the whole from a physical to an intellectual plane, in converting the repentance of the prodigal into the misanthropy of a philosopher, Lyly struck out three paths of great importance. How great we cannot discuss here. Suffice it to say that in the hands of genius the puppet Euphues became Hamlet, while his bitterness and disillusionment strike for perhaps the first time in modern literature that note of *Weltschmerz*, which was to form so large an element of the romantic spirit.

To sum up: the main contention of this paper is that the real origin of the most famous novel of the Elizabethan period is to be sought, not in Guevara's 'Diall of Princes,' though it is possible that Lyly owed something to that source, but to a school of dramas dealing with the story of the prodigal son, of which the 'Acolastus' of Gnapheus was the most famous example. Of late years students have been busy in assessing the debt which the Elizabethans owed to Italy, to France, to Spain, and to Germany. Too little attention has been paid in this respect to the Netherlands, the home of Erasmus, the birthplace of liberty, and the rival of Italy herself for the position of standard-bearer of civilization. How close was the connection between England and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century may be seen by the number of English books that were printed at Antwerp, Middleburgh, and other Dutch towns. And in regard to the matter in hand, the influence of the

Dutch Latin drama which Professor Herford has found in Gascoigne, and the foregoing argument has proved to exist in 'Euphues,' is likely to be discovered in many other writers also. To take but one example: the four so-called autobiographical novels of Robert Greene, that is to say, 'A Mourning Garment,' 'Never too Late,' 'Francesco's Fortunes,' and 'A Groatsworth of Wit,' are one and all variations upon the prodigal son theme. The proof of this and its bearing upon the vexed question of the autobiographical element in Greene's writings cannot be discussed here. Nor can we do more than allude to the new light which these and kindred discoveries must inevitably shed upon certain of Shakespeare's dramas. Enough has been said to show the importance of the matter and to claim the interest if not the veneration of posterity for that old schoolmaster at the Hague who first succeeded in combining the Terentian comedy with the most famous parable of the New Testament. 'Acolastus' deserves to be remembered for its artistic merits alone. As the basis of 'Euphues' and Greene's repentant pamphlets, as the forerunner of Jacques and Hamlet, it can surely never again be forgotten by the lovers of English literature.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

THE CARE OF BOOKS IN EARLY IRISH MONASTERIES.

DURING the past fifty years much has been written about the learning and artistic skill of the monks of early Ireland. The evidence of this culture consists of records of the learning of particular Irishmen from the sixth to the ninth centuries, of the relics of their skill, and of the attraction Ireland had at this time for English students. The English crowded the Irish schools, although the Canterbury school was not full.[1] The city of Armagh was divided into three sections, one being called Trian-Saxon, the Saxon's third, from the great number of Saxon students living there.[2] Bede's account of the visits of Englishmen to Ireland, and of the willingness of the Irish to receive, feed, and lend them books is too well known for quotation here.

In some respects the evidence of book-culture in Ireland in these early centuries is inconsistent. The well-known quarrel over the Cathach Psalter, and the great esteem in which scribes were held, suggest that books were very scarce; and the practice of enshrining them in cumdachs, or book-covers, points to the same conclusion. On the

[1] Hyde, 'Lit. Hist. of Ireland,' 221.
[2] Joyce, 'Short Hist. of Ireland,' 165.

other hand Bede's statement that the Irish had enough books to lend English students by no means indicates a scarcity of them; nor does the fact that the 'Annals of the Four Masters' record the deaths of as many as sixty-one eminent scribes, forty of whom belong to the eighth century.[1] In some of the monasteries a special room for books was provided, for the 'Annals of Tigernach' refer to the house of manuscripts[2]; an apartment of this kind is particularly mentioned as being saved from the flames when Armagh monastery was burned (1020). Another fact suggesting an abundance of books was the appointment of a librarian,[3] which sometimes took place. Although a special book-room and officer are only to be met with much later than the best age of Irish monachism, yet we may reasonably assume them to be the natural culmination of an old and established practice of making and using books.

Such statements, however, are not necessarily contradictory. Manuscripts over which the cleverest scribes and illuminators had spent much time and pains would be jealously preserved in shrines; still, when we remember how many precious fruits of the past must have perished, the number of beautiful Irish manuscripts still extant goes to prove that even books of this character existed in fair numbers. 'Workaday' copies of books would be made as

[1] Hyde, 'Lit. Hist. of Ireland,' 220; Stokes, 'Early Christian Art,' 10.

[2] *Tech-screptra; domus scripturarum.*

[3] *Leabhar coimedach.* Reeves' Adamnan's 'Vita Columbæ,' 359 note *m.*; cited in Joyce, 'Social Hist. of Ireland,' i. 486.

well, maybe in comparatively large numbers, and these no doubt would be used very freely. Besides books properly so called, the religious used waxed tablets of wood, which might be confounded with books, and were indeed books in which the fugitive pieces of the time were written. A story about St. Ciaran tells us that he wrote on waxed tablets, which are called in one place 'pólaire-Chiarain' (Ciaran's tablets), while in two other places the whole collection of tablets is called 'leabhar,' *i.e.*, a book.[1] Considering all things Bede was without doubt quite correct in saying the Irish had enough books to lend to foreign students.

We know little of the library economy of the early Irish—if, indeed, such a term may be applied at all in connexion with their use of books. But fortunately relics of two of their means of preserving books survive—satchels and cumdachs.

They used satchels or wallets to carry their books about with them. We are told Patrick once met a party of clerics, accompanied by gillies, with books in their girdles; and he gave them the hide he had sat and slept on for twenty years to make a wallet.[2] Columba is said to have made satchels.

[1] Joyce, 'Soc. Hist. of Ireland,' i. 483. Adamnan mentions them: 'At vero hoc audiens Colcius tempus et horam in tabula describens.'—'Vita Columbæ,' 66. Columba is said to have blessed one hundred pólaires ('Leabhar Breac,' fol. 16-60). The boy Benen, who followed Patrick, bore on his back tablets (*folaire*, corrupt for *pólaire*), 'Tripartite Life,' 47. Patrick gave to Fiacc a case containing a tablet, *ib.* 344. Slates and pencils were also in use for temporary purposes.—Joyce, 'Soc. Hist.,' i. 483.

[2] 'Tripartite Life,' 75. The terms used for satchels are *sacculi* (Lat.) and *tiag*, or *tiag liubhair* or *teig liubair* (Ir.). There has been some confusion between *pólaire* and *tiag*, the former being

When these satchels were not carried they were hung upon pegs driven into the wall of the monastery chamber. One story in Adamnan's 'Life of Columba' tells us that on the death of a scholar and book-miser named Longarad, whose person and books had been cursed by Columba, all the book-satchels in Ireland slipped off their pegs.

A modern writer visiting the Abyssinian convent of Souriani has seen a room which, when we remember the connection between Egyptian and Celtic monachism, we cannot help thinking must closely resemble an ancient Irish cell.[1] In the room the disposition of the manuscripts was very original. 'A wooden shelf was carried in the Egyptian style round the walls, at the height of the top of the door. . . . Underneath the shelf various long wooden pegs projected from the wall; they were each about a foot and a half long, and on them hung the Abyssinian manuscripts, of which this curious library was entirely composed. The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way, sometimes in red leather, and sometimes in wooden boards, which are occasionally elaborately carved in rude and coarse devices: they are then enclosed in a

regarded as a leather case for a single book, the latter a satchel for several books. This distinction is made in connection with the ancient Irish life of Columba, which is therefore made to read that the saint used to make *cases* and *satchels* for books. See Adamnan, 'Vita Columbæ,' Reeves' ed., 115. *Cf.* Petrie, 'Round Towers,' 336-7. But Dr. Whitley Stokes makes *pólaire* or *pólire*, or the corruption *folaire*, derive from *pugillares* = writing tablets. See 'Tripartite Life,' cliii. and 655. This interpretation of the word gives us the much more likely reading that Columba made *tablets* and *satchels* for books.

[1] Curzon, 'Monasteries of the Levant,' 66.

case tied up with leathern thongs; to this case is attached a strap for the convenience of carrying the volume over the shoulders, and by these straps the books were hung to the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more if the books were small: their usual size was that of a small, very thick quarto. The appearance of the room, fitted up in this style, together with the presence of long staves, such as the monks of all the oriental churches lean upon at the time of prayer, resembled less a library than a barrack or guard-room, where the soldiers had hung their knapsacks and cartridge boxes against the wall.'

The few old satchels which are extant are black with age, and the characteristic decoration of diagonal lines and interlaced markings is nearly worn away. Three of them are preserved in England and Ireland: those of the Book of Armagh, in Trinity College, Dublin, of the Irish missal, in Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and of St. Moedoc's Reliquary, in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The Cambridge wallet is decorated with diagonal lines and circles; leather straps are fixed to it, by which it was slung round the neck. The Armagh wallet is made of one piece of leather, folded to form a case a foot long, a little more than a foot broad, and two-and-a-half inches thick. The Book of Armagh does not fit it properly. Interlaced work and zoömorphs decorate the leather. Remains of rough straps are still attached to the sides.

The second special feature of Irish book-economy was the preservation of manuscripts in cumdachs,

or rectangular boxes, made just large enough for the manuscripts they are intended to enshrine. As in the case of the wallet, the cumdach was not peculiar to Ireland, although the finest examples which have come down to us were made in that country.[1] They are referred to several times in early Irish annals. Bishop Assicus is said to have made quadrangular book-covers in honour of Patrick.[2] In the 'Annals of the Four Masters' is recorded, under the year 937, a reference to the cumdach of the Book of Armagh. 'Canoin Phadraig was covered by Donchadh, son of Flann, king of Ireland.' In 1006 the 'Annals' note that the Book of Kells—'the Great Gospel of Columb Cille was stolen at night from the western erdomh of the Great Church of Ceannanus. This was the principal relic of the western world, on account of its singular cover; and it was found after twenty nights and two months, its gold having been stolen

[1] Mr. Allen, in his admirable volume on 'Celtic Art,' p. 208, says cumdachs were peculiar to Ireland. But they were made and used elsewhere, and were variously known as *capsæ*, *librorum coopertoria* (*e.g.* librorum coopertoria, quædam horam nuda, quaedam vero alia auro atque argento gemmisque pretiosis circumtecta.—'Acta SS.,' Aug., tom. iii., p. 659*c*), and *thecæ*. Some of these cases were no doubt as beautifully decorated as the Irish cumdachs. William of Malmesbury asserts that twenty pounds and sixty marks of gold were used to make the *coopertoria librorum Evangelii* for King Ina's chapel. At the Abbey of St. Riquier was an 'Evangelium auro Scriptum unum, cum capsa argentea gemmis et lapidibus fabricata. Aliæ capsæ evangeliorum duæ ex auro et argento paratæ.'—Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 212. In 1295 St. Paul's Cathedral possessed a copy of the Gospels in a case (*capsa*) adorned with gilding and relics.—Putnam, 'Books and their Makers,' i. 105-6.

[2] *Leborchometa chethrochori*, and *bibliothecæ quadratæ*.—'Tripartite Life,' 96 and 313.

off it, and a sod over it.'[1] These cumdachs are now lost; so also is the jewelled case of the Gospels of St. Arnoul at Metz, and that belonging to the Book of Durrow.

By good hap, several cumdachs of the greatest interest and importance are still preserved for our inspection. One of them, the Silver Shrine of St. Patrick's Gospels—which, by the way, did not belong to Patrick—is a very peculiar case. It consists of three covers: the first, or inner, is of yew, and was perhaps made in the fifth century; the second, of copper, silver-plated, is of later make; and the third, or outermost, is of silver, and was probably made in the fourteenth century. The cumdach of the Stowe Missal (1023) is a much more beautiful example. It is of oak, covered with plates of silver. The lower or more ancient side bears a cross within a rectangular frame. In the centre of the cross is a crystal set in an oval frame. The decoration of the four panels consists of metal plates, the ornament being a chequer-work of squares and triangles. The lid has a similar cross and frame, but the cross is set with pearls and metal bosses, a crystal in the centre, and a large jewel at each end of the cross. The panels consist of silver-gilt plates embellished with figures of saints. The sides, which are decorated with enamelled bosses and open-work designs, are imperfect. On the box are inscriptions in Irish, such as the following: 'Pray for Dunchad, descendant of Taccan, of the family of Cluain, who made this'; 'A blessing of God on every soul according to its merit'; 'Pray

[1] Stokes, 'Early Christian Art,' 90.

for Donchadh, son of Brian, for the King of Ireland'; 'And for Macc Raith, descendant of Donnchad, for the King of Cashel.'[1] Other cumdachs are those in the Royal Irish Academy, for Molaise's Gospels (*c.* 1001-25), for Columba's Psalter (1084), and those in Trinity College, Dublin, for Dimma's book (1150), and for the Book of St. Moling. There are also the cumdachs for Cairnech's Calendar and of Caillen; the library of St. Gall possesses still one more silver cumdach, which is probably Irish.

These are the earliest relics we have of what was undoubtedly an old and established method of enshrining books, going back as far as Patrick's time, if it be correct that Bishop Assicus made them, or if the first case of the Silver Shrine is as old as it is believed to be. It is natural to make a beautiful covering for a book which is both beautiful and sacred. All the volumes upon which the Irish artist lavished his talent were invested with sacred attributes. Chroniclers would have us believe they were sometimes miraculously produced. In the life of Cronan[2] is a story telling how an expert scribe named Dimma copied the four Gospels. Dimma could only devote a day to the task, whereupon Cronan bade him begin at once and continue until sunset. But the sun did not set for forty days, and by that time the copy was finished. The manuscript written for Cronan is possibly the book of Dimma, which bears the inscription: 'It is

[1] Stokes, *op. cit.*, 92-3.
[2] 'Acta SS.,' Vita Cronani, ap. iii., p. 581 *c.*

finished. A prayer for Dimma, who wrote it for God, and a blessing.'[1]

It was believed such books could not be injured. St. Ciarnan's copy of the Gospels fell into a lake, but was uninjured; St. Cronan's copy fell into Loch Cre, and remained under water forty days without injury; even fire could not harm St. Cainnech's case of books.[2] Nor is it surprising they should be looked upon as sacred. The scribes and illuminators who took such loving care to make their work perfect, and the craftsmen who wrought beautiful shrines for the books so made, were animated with the feeling and spirit which impels men to erect beautiful churches to testify to the glory of their Creator. As Dimma says, they 'wrote them for God.'

ERNEST A. SAVAGE.

[1] 'Finit. Oroit do Dimmu rod scrib pro Deo et benedictione.' At the end of the Gospel of St. John there is: 'Finit. Amen ✠ Dimma Macc Nathi ✠.'—Healy, 'Ireland's Anc. Schools,' 524.

[2] Other instances are cited in Adamnan's 'Vita Col.,' Reeves' ed., 114-18.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

IN the latest 'Jean-Christophe,' as his admirers now call these eagerly expected volumes, Romain Rolland continues the narrative of his hero's adventures in Paris. The volume contains the history of Jean-Christophe's friendship with a young Frenchman, and a friendship between men of different races, the Teuton and the Latin, affords opportunity for interesting mental situations. Rolland gives us here the same penetrating analytical criticism of contemporary France as in the two former Paris volumes. Some very striking pages deal with the real France and with the France of foreigners who know it only from its novels and plays, its boulevard life, the intrigues of its politicians, and who do not realize that there are in France, even in Paris, women who never read novels, young girls who have never been inside a theatre, men who have never taken any part in politics. Among the poorer people in Paris, and in the provinces, are innumerable serious-minded men and women whose life is a continual self-sacrifice, a great-souled people, leading retired, commonplace lives, without apparent influence on events, but who, in spite of their silence, actually form the main strength of France. Those of us who do not derive our knowledge of France solely

from contemporary novels and plays, recognize the truth of Rolland's statements. The misfortune lies in the fact that these people cannot make themselves heard; they are too much oppressed by the necessity for hard work, by the struggle with poverty, while the newspapers, magazines, and theatres are all, so to speak, in the hands of the enemy. Now the press shuns thought, or only admits it if it is the weapon of a party. Editors commission articles from their contributors on any and every subject, regardless of their special bent or knowledge; indeed, quite often a point is made of never asking of them what they can do best; if the contributor is a poet, he is asked to write prose—probably criticisms of historical or scientific books; if he knows a great deal about music, he is asked to write on painting. It is evident that he can not write his best on those subjects, but that makes no matter: he is only required to write what common-place readers will understand.

The two friends lived in one of those huge barracks which form the homes of Parisians of the lower middle class, and Jean-Christophe manages to get on friendly terms with all the various 'locataires.' A good many things happen, things big and things little, much as they happen in life. The effect of these events on the lives and thoughts of the two friends, who talk together in the most natural way on every conceivable subject, is marvellously portrayed, and indeed it is all so interesting that I hope M. Rolland will give us another six volumes at least.

The attempt of M. Anatole France to treat as serious history the old nursery tales is most diverting. It is entitled 'Les sept femmes de la Barbe-Bleue et autres Contes merveilleux.' He treats the legends as if they were authentic history, and re-tells them by the light of modern research. For example, Blue Beard's conduct when studied from authentic documents, is found to be absolutely upright, and the strange opinions that have for so long found credence have no foundation in fact. He is completely white-washed by his latest historian, and the fault shown to lie with the women he married. Incidentally the historian compares Blue Beard with Tiberius and Macbeth, both of whom he declares to be much maligned by historians and poets; they were actually virtuous and gentle. It is also pointed out how a certain school of comparative mythology makes out Blue Beard to be a personification of the sun; his seven wives are 'sept aurores,' and his two brothers-in-law the twilights of morning and evening. Even Napoleon, we are reminded, is a solar myth to some historians. 'L'Histoire de la duchesse de Cigogne at de M. de Boulingrin qui dormirent cent ans en compagnie de la Belle-au-bois-dormant' is, of course, the familiar story of the Sleeping Beauty related by two personages of the court, and 'La Chemise' is that of the king, who to be cured of his melancholy must wear the shirt of a happy man, and how the man when found had no shirt. A serious, weighty, historical manner is maintained throughout, and the volume forms delightful reading. Anatole France, as we gather from his more recent

books, has little sympathy with the dry-as-dust historians, and perhaps intends this work as a gentle satire on their labours.

It is a pleasant change to read a novel dealing with the relations of husband and wife in which the breaking of the seventh commandment has no part. Marcel Prévost's latest story, 'Pierre et Thérèse,' turns on a husband with a past, in which he was the accomplice of a forger. At the time of his marriage with Thérèse, the daughter of a wealthy merchant of the upper middle class, he had made a fortune, and filled a great position in the industrial world. He did not confess to his future wife his complicity in a crime which had never been discovered. But rumours were abroad even before the marriage, on the very eve of which Thérèse questions Pierre concerning certain anonymous letters received by her father. He confesses the truth of some statements contained in them about his mother, concerning matters which being past and done with he had not deemed it necessary to mention, and Thérèse's doubts and fears are set at rest. After the marriage, however, enemies, of whom rich and successful men like Pierre have a good number, continually bring mysterious accusations against him, and when one of them determines to rake up and expose the whole business, it becomes necessary for Pierre to make a full confession to his wife. The interest of the novel lies in Thérèse's struggle between her love for her husband and her natural probity of soul. In the end love conquers, and the documents proving her husband's guilt coming by chance into her

hands she destroys them. The story is wonderfully vivid, and written with all the point and vivacity of which Prévost at his best is capable.

It is perhaps somewhat late to draw attention to a novel by Louis Estang, 'L'Affaire Nell,' as it appeared about a year ago. But it chances only to have just come my way, and it is so interesting and well written, that my readers may like to hear of it. Its subject is the law and lawyers, and much light is thrown on methods of legal procedure in France. All kinds of members of the legal profession march across the pages of the story. We assist at trials and at sittings in chambers, and at the interviews of clients with their solicitors or counsel. The 'affaire' in question is a will case. A wealthy elderly man marries as his second wife a beautiful young woman, and dies a few months after. He leaves his money to her. But he has a worthless son by his first marriage, who takes exception to the will and proceeds against his step-mother. Then the lawyers on each side, who would all like a portion of the money for themselves, become involved in labyrinthine intrigues. Finally the money is lost through the failure of the bank in which it had been deposited pending the decision of the courts. Such novels as this, and 'Pierre and Thérèse' mentioned above, are distinctly refreshing in that they get away from the usual plot, of which we are beginning to be a little tired.

Léon Frapié still sings the poor. The short stories in 'M'Ame Préciat' (there is, of course, nothing on the title-page to show it is not one long story) make the impression that sentiment in

connection with the proletariat is being ridden to death, and that something in this continual 'pity' of the better-off for the poor does not ring quite true. There is, however, one pleasing story of some little children in an 'école maternelle,' children between three and six years of age, to whom the teacher is giving a lesson on the lamb. She draws a landscape on the black-board, puts sheep and lambs, etc., in it, and just as she has told the children that the lamb will have to be killed, is called away for a moment. On her return she finds the black-board barricaded by the children, and on asking the reason is told, 'Nous voulors pas, nous, qu'on tue le petit agneau.'

The career of Fréron's son, 'Journaliste, sans-Culotte et Thermidorien' was certainly a strange one, and those interested in such human anomalies may study him in Raoul Arnaud's 'Le fils de Fréron 1754-1802, d'après des documents inédits.' Fréron was the foe of Voltaire and the encyclopedists, while his son could never fix his choice among the opinions of men. He served and denied all causes, betrayed his friends, and contradicted himself without knowing why he did so.

Madame du Barry's fascination is immortal, and a new book about her always welcome. Claude Sainte-André bases his relation of her career on authentic documents, and uses as motto these words of Bourget, 'Le roman n'est que de la petite histoire probable; l'histoire c'est du grand roman vrai et porté sans cesse à sa suprême puissance.' Mme. du Barry's life certainly surpasses any fiction in interest, but to have all its force, any account of

her should be true. The author of this volume, then, supplies the truth hitherto lacking, or at least claims to do so. Pierre de Nolhac contributes a preface.

In 'La Carrière d'un favori, Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André, Maréchal de France (1512-62),' Lucien Romier traces the history of a remarkable personage, whose career has not heretofore formed the subject of a special volume. The study of his life undoubtedly throws fresh light on important historical facts, such as the opposition under Francis I., the policy and the wars of Henri II., the negociations for the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, the origin, formation, and results of the Catholic Triumvirate, and the part played by the 'gouverneurs' in the sixteenth century. And yet d'Albon was neither a great minister nor a great party-leader, but a king's favourite, for thirty years the close friend of the dauphin Henri. He understood how to play his part, and so to make of himself something better than a mere favourite. He was a fine soldier, and carried out many military feats with signal success.

The 'Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice' has a preface by Jules Claretie, and covers the years 1851-78. It is not often that a man who is himself a distinguished writer, voluntarily subordinates himself to a man of genius. But Meurice was the devoted disciple of the exiled poet, and became the champion of his interests and his fame. The letters form a valuable literary document for the nineteenth century, for in writing to Meurice Hugo was concerned neither with the public nor

with posterity. They give also an interesting insight into matters connected with the stage, since Meurice describes the rehearsal of Hugo's plays at a time, of course, when Hugo could not be present at them.

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In June last Germany celebrated the seventieth birthday of Martin Greif, a lyric poet and a dramatist of great charm and power, whose work is not as well known in this country as it deserves. As a fitting mark of honour Greif's publishers have just issued a collected edition of his works in four volumes, the first of which contains the lyrics, the second the 'Epische Klänge und Feierstimmen,' and the third and fourth the dramas. Greif's lyrics are very beautiful, and represent especially the kind of feeling for nature which is peculiar to the German people. For his lyrical poetry generally, Greif went for his inspiration to the old Volkslieder, to Walther von der Vogelweide, to Goethe and Uhland. He finds poetry in everything, and expresses in simple, but always imaginative language, the thoughts, or rather the feelings, of everyday humanity. For Greif well knows that reflection in a song makes the song like a child with an old-looking face. If only German lyrics were not so untranslatable, I should like to give some examples. There is the beautiful lyric 'To Nature,' in which the idea is expressed that while we grow old nature remains always young and fresh, and is thus to all mortals an image of their youth; and the lyric entitled 'Alphorn,' which has been set to music, and tells of a peasant girl dwell-

ing high up on the mountain; they are so far apart in fact, but so close in heart, and the only means of communication possible to them is through his Alpine horn and her singing. But the substance is the least part of the poem, it is the manner and charm of the expression that give it value.

Greif is the author of a number of dramas, the earliest having been written in 1873, and the latest in 1899. They are essentially national, and deal chiefly with the fates of the great heroes of German history. They are not very popular on the German stage, for, alas! even in Germany there is a certain falling off in the theatre, and audiences seem to prefer dramas that represent, and rarely truly, abject and miserable lives, or lives whose sole object is the pursuit of sensual pleasure, to dramas dealing with high actions and great thoughts. He began with dramas of foreign history, such as 'Corfiz Ulfeldt, der Reichshofmeister von Dänemark,' 'Nero,' 'Marino Falieri.' Then followed love-dramas, of which the scene was also not German; 'Liebe über alles,' and 'Francesca du Rimini.' But his greatest fame as a dramatist rests on his German history plays, 'Prinz Eugen'; the Hohenstaufen trilogy, 'Heinrich der Löwe,' 'Pfalz im Rhein,' and 'Konradin'; 'Ludwig der Bayer, oder der Streit von Mühldorf,' 'Agnes Bernauer, der Engel von Augsburg,' 'Hans Sachs,' and 'General York.'

It is not possible to describe all the plays here. They are in verse, and possess the simplicity and purity of form that stamps them at once as fine

works of art. Perhaps the most attractive of them is 'Agnes Bernauer.' This beautiful, pure woman whose faithfulness in love drives her innocently to her death has often been the heroine of drama. Hebbel, Ludwig and others have chosen her, but for unity, delicacy, and truth to life, Greif's version of the legend stands first. The figure of his Agnes bears affinity to Goethe's Gretchen. It is a German 'Volkstück' in the best sense of the word. The simple outline of the story is that Albrecht, son of Duke Ernst of Bavaria marries Agnes, the beautiful daughter of the barber of Augsburg, and in Ernst's absence his father has Agnes drowned. While awaiting her death in prison Agnes writes to her husband, imploring him to pardon his father. The scene in the prison is most moving. Even her gaoler calls her a saint. She goes over again in a most pathetic soliloquy the time when Albrecht wooed her, writes him her last letter, and then sings the hymn to the Virgin, which Albrecht had composed. Good as Greif's dramas are on the stage, they can also be read with pleasure in the study, and are particularly to be recommended to young people for their wholesome tone and brave outlook on life. In that millenium when competent teachers will take the place of the specially edited school-books now in vogue, they will do well to commence operations by giving their pupils one of Greif's plays and a German dictionary.

The Franco-German War is becoming ancient history. Even the young men who took part in it are nearing the seventies. It is often said that the war and its result—the founding of the United

German Empire—had no influence on art and literature in Germany. But however that may be, the work of the poet Detlev v. Liliencron, who died last July at the age of sixty-five, was undoubtedly coloured by it.

He was born at Kiel. From his earliest boyhood he had a great desire to be a soldier, and entering the Prussian army served in it as an officer during the wars with Austria and with France. He retired soon after the peace between France and Germany, and tried his fortune in America—his mother was an American—but life in the United States was not congenial to him. Returning to his native land, he received a post in the Civil Service, which made it necessary for him to live on the Frisian island of Pellworm, and there he began to write poems.

Liliencron's military career served him well in his poems. He sang 'fierce wars and faithful loves,' and 'lyre and sword' would be a fitting title for his volumes. He set aside the superstition of the Heine quatrain, and demonstrated that other measures suited the German language. 'Poggfred,' his longest and most important poem, is in the *ottava rima*. Into 'Poggfred' the poet has put all his childhood's dreams, all the experiences of love and war of his lieutenant days—it has been said that the miniatures of the war which may be found throughout his poems will come to be one of its most interesting records—all the cares and troubles of his manhood, all his victories in art and in self-restraint. The spirit of youth that breathes in his poems is remarkable, for despite his sixty-five years

by the calendar, Liliencron never grew old. He has no affinity, as he had no sympathy with the decadent spirit, the symbolism and the affectations of many of the younger German poets. His verse is wholesome, strong, and joyous, and full of the best kind of humour. His philosophy of life is summed up in the following lines, and as I could not do them justice in translation, I venture to give them in the original:

'Singt durch den Wald! Seid Füllen auf der Wiese!
Geht mit dem Handwerksburschen, mit dem Jäger,
Besteigt den Hengst, tanzt mit der braunen Lise,
Seid meinethalb bei Bacchus Beckenschläger.
Reist durch die Welt, sie wird zum Paradiese,
Beelzebub dient auch als Kofferträger.
Habt ihr im Portemornaie gar drei Mark achtzig,
Da gilt der alte Reim: Die Sache macht sich.'

The career and work of the German poet Lenz is treated by M. N. Kosanov, in an interesting volume entitled, 'Jacob M. R. Lenz, der Dichter der Sturm- und Drangperiode. Sein Leben und seine Werke.' The translation from the Russian is made by C. von Gutschow. Lenz, a German-Russian, who ended his days in Moscow, is one of the most important factors in the literary history of the eighteenth century. He was a friend of Goethe, who mentions him in his 'Dichtung und Wahrheit,' and even seems to have contemplated writing his biography. Lenz was a great admirer of Shakespeare, his works and letters abound in quotations from the English dramatist. He translated 'Love's Labour's Lost' and 'Coriolanus' into

German. His poetry shows a curious combination of realism and romanticism as they were understood in the storm and stress period.

Eduard Wechssler has produced an important work in 'Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Renaissance,' the first volume of which (it is to consist of two volumes) has just appeared. The sub-title of vol. i. is 'Minnesang und Christentum.' Wechssler's standpoint is that the history of literature is at base nothing more than an excerpt from the history of the struggle about the cosmic position of man. He declares that these courtly artists showed the way that led from the subjection under which men lived in the Middle Ages, to their emancipation in the modern era, that is to the Italian renaissance. It is a very learned and minutely detailed enquiry. Incidentally there is a good account of the position of women during the period dealt with. The whole book goes to prove how close is the connection between literature and life.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Les Masques anglais. Etude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre (1512-1640). Par Paul Reyher.

A very full and careful study dealing with both the æsthetic and the scenic sides of the masque. The volume contains useful bibliographies.

Thomas Percy, and William Shenstone. Ein Briefwechsel aus der Entstehungszeit der 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.' Edited, with introduction and annotations, by Dr. Hans Hecht.

The hundred and third volume of 'Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker herausgegeben von A. Brandl, E. Martin, and E. Schmidt. It contains an informing introduction, the text of the letters, and notes.

Une pastorale basque. Helène de Constantinople. Etude historique et critique d'après des documents inédits avec textes et traduction. Par Albert Léon.

A learned work concerning a literary by-way.

Notre très vieux Paris. Tableau de l'existence des bourgeois et des marchands parisiens au XIIIe et au XIVe Siècle. Par Henri Ramin.

A fascinating book on a little-studied phase of social history, beautifully illustrated.

Le Roman en France pendant le XIXe Siècle. Par Eugène Gilbert.

The fifth edition of a very useful work with a hitherto unpublished chapter on the last ten years of the French novel.

La rénovation de l'empire ottoman. Affaires de Turquie. Par Paul Imbert.

A narrative of recent events in Turkey on the basis that 'tout ce qui arrivera d'heureux on de malheureux aux Ottomans sera heureux on malheureux pour la France.'

Vie de Sénèque. Par René Waltz.

Written chiefly to show the place occupied by politics in Seneca's career.

Belles du vieux temps. Par le Vicomte de Reiset.

Ladies who are 'belles d'esprit' as well as 'belles de corps' are included in this pleasantly written volume. Among them will be found Mme. du Barry, Mlle. Mars, the Princesse de Lieven, the Princesse de Lamballe, the Comtesse de Boigne, La Grande Mademoiselle, and others less known to fame.

Landeskunde von Chile. Aus dem Nachlass von Dr. med. Carl Martin.

This volume, published by the Geographical Institute of the University of Jena, has been prepared for press by Dr. Paul Stange. It is written in a fashion to appeal to all sorts and conditions of readers. It is a thorough piece of work, from observation made on the spot, and well supplied with illustrations and maps.

Herders sämmtliche Werke. Vol. 14. Edited by Bernhard Suphan.

The volume contains 'Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit.'

Aus Schleiermachers Hause. Jugenderinnerungen seines Stiefsohnes Ehrenfried v. Willich.

Interesting for the light it throws on German home life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Bayern und die Wiederaufrichtung des deutschen Reichs. Von Prof. Dr. A. von Ruville.

Based on papers relating to Benedetti which fell into Bismarck's hands. A contribution to the founding of the German Empire in 1871.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.

(Continued from p. 287.)

XIa. [A.D. 1441]:

PIECE of oak which, we have been told, 'is 3 ft. in length and provided with a screw-hole; was discovered (!) in *Gutenberg's first printing-house* at Mainz in the *Hof zum Jungen*, on March 22nd, 1856, in the afternoon at 5 o'clock at the digging of a cellar 24 ft. under the ground; had done service as a press, and bore the inscription "J. MCDXLI. G."; was found among a heap of smaller and larger pieces of wood of the same kind, so that with these fragments a whole press might have been constructed; not a single piece of iron or other metal was found near them, but close by to the right eight baked, round, perforated stones (such as are sometimes found in Roman tombs), four Roman copper coins of Aug., Trajan, Marc. Aurel., besides two fragments of Roman vases of terra-sigillata. A couple of feet further on the right, Roman stones were discovered in their original situation.' Van der Linde, who tells us this and saw the objects, remarked

('Gutenberg,' p. 87), 'that it is obvious to the most superficial that in this falsification, ignorance and impudence vie with each other for mastery.' In its favour see K. Klein (Prof. of the Grand-Ducal College of Mainz), 'Sur Gutenberg et le fragment de sa presse, trouvé dans la maison où il a établi sa première imprimerie, Mayence, 1856,' 8vo; also an article by Francis Fry ('Notes and Queries,' Sec. Series, XI. 23), who saw the 'precious relic' in 1860, and says that, 'judging from the date on the beam, it must have been used in Strassburg, where Gutenberg resided in 1441. . . . The locality in which the discovery was made confirms the opinion generally held that he worked in secret'; further, an enthusiastic notice of this discovery in Madden's 'Lettres d'un Bibliographe,' 5e Série; see also Bernard, 'Origine de l'imprimerie,' I. 157, and Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 58 *sqq*.

Now, it is beyond doubt that, at one time or another, a notion, resting on no authority, had become current that Gutenberg had occupied the *Hof zum Jungen*, at Mainz, and in 1825 a memorial-stone was erected there saying that he had printed there from 1443 to 1450, and afterwards, in partnership with Fust and Schoeffer, till 1455. But it is certain (1) that Gutenberg never lived in the *Hof zum Jungen*, that, therefore, he is not likely to have buried a 'press' or any other thing within the precincts of that house; (2) that, if he ever occupied a house at Mainz (which Dr. Schenk zu Schweinsberg seems to doubt; see 'Festschrift,' p. 155), it may have been the *Hof zum Humbrecht*, the use of which he may have obtained from his Frankfurt

relatives, its proprietors. These circumstances were, of course, unknown to those ingenious persons who buried so many would-be antiquities, so many feet under ground in the *Hof zum Jungen*, with the view of having them, on some suitable day, dug up for the benefit and delight of mankind. The 'relics' of this press came into the possession of Herr Heinr. Klemm, a wealthy tailor of Dresden, and is now, if I am not mistaken, in the Deutsches Buchgewerbemuseum at Leipzig.

XII. 12 January to 25 March, 1441. Johannes dictus Gensefleisch *alias* nuncupatus Gütenberg de Maguncia becomes surety to the St. Thomas Chapter of Strassburg for Joh. Karle, who borrowed 100 pounds Strassburg denarii (= about 6,000 marks) from the Chapter. The original charter on vellum, with the seals (one being Gutenberg's) is lost, but an old copy of it, written in the St. Thomas 'Salbuch,' entitled 'Registrande B' (now in the Strassburg Town-Archives), which contains copies of documents of the years 1343 to 1502, written by different hands, was found in 1717 by Prof. Jo. Geo. Scherzius, who gave some of his friends extracts from it. In 1720 Schellhorn ('Amoen. liter.' iv. 304) quoted it from a 'communication' which he had received from Marc. Anton. von Krafft, Senator of Ulm, who had taken a transcript from the Salbuch at Strassburg while on a tour. Schellhorn's note was evidently repeated in 1727 by Johannis (Scriptt. Hist. Mogunt., tom. nov., p. 456). The text was published *in extenso* for the first time in 1760 by Schoepflin ('Vindic. Typ.' No. v., from the Salbuch, 'ex

libro Salico, No. B, fol. 293a). See further Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 58, and Schorbach, 'Festschrift, p. 233, who remarks that, as the prudent Thomas-Chapter accepted Gutenberg as surety for a large sum of money, 'the latter must have been in good circumstances at the time. He was not called upon to carry out his obligations as surety, a marginal note in the Salbuch from the treasurer of the Chapter showing that the debt was repaid.'

XIII. 17 November, 1442. Johann Gutenberg borrows 80 pounds Strassburg denarii (= about 4,800 marks of the present day) from the Strassburg St. Thomas Chapter, at 5 per cent. per annum (*i.e.*, 4 librae = 240 marks), payable on St. Martin's day (the 11th November). For this loan he pledged an annuity of 10 Rhen. guilders (= about 330 marks) inherited from his uncle Joh. Leheymer, and payable to him by the town of Mainz (see above, No. VIII.) Martin Brechter, a citizen of Strassburg, was his surety. For the interesting and important sequel to this affair see below, Nos. XVII., XXII., XXIII., and XXIV.

The original on vellum, with Gutenberg's seal (the only one that seems ever to have become known), and two others (one of the Episcopal Tribunal, the other of Martin Brechter), is said to have been found shortly before 1840, by the then Librarian A. Jung, in the warehouse of the great slaughter-house, and to have been preserved in the old Strassburg Library from 1841, at latest, till 1870, when it was destroyed together with the Library. It is nowhere explained why the document, which belonged to the

St. Thomas Archives, and was at one time said to have been deposited in the library of the Strassburg Protestant Seminary, came to be deposited in the Town Library; but it is alleged to have been exhibited at the Gutenberg celebration at Strassburg in 1840. Schöpflin published the text of the document in 1760 ('Vindiciae typ.' p. 36, Doc. num. vi.), but merely from a *transcript* of it in the 'Salbuch' ('ex Libro Salico,' No. B, fol. 302b) mentioned above (No. XII.), saying, on p. 13, that Jo. Geo. Scherzius had discovered it [the transcript ?] and No. XII. in the Archives of the Chapter, and in 1717 communicated extracts from them to some of his friends; see also Schenk, in 'Festschrift,' 1900, p. 97; Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 60 *sq.*, Document 10. Schorbach remarks that Gutenberg's borrowing money does not show that he was impecunious, as he may have wanted it for his work. It will be seen from Doc. No. XXIII., dated 10 April, 1461, that the pledge mentioned above seems to have been of no value to the Chapter when Gutenberg was in a state of bankruptcy.

XIV. St. Mathis day (= 24 February, according to Schorbach) 1443 to 12 March, 1444. Hans Gutenberg pays a toll on the first-named day, and a guilder on the latter date. Two entries, now only known from Wencker's 'Collectanea' (leaf 299[a] in the Strassburg St. Thomas Archives: Varia eccles. xi. fol.), which he is said to have extracted from a 'Helbelingzollbuch' of 1442, etc., now lost. After 12 March, 1444, we lose sight of Gutenberg's whereabouts, till 17 October, 1448, when he borrowed

money at Mainz (see below, Doc. No. XVIII.), and it is assumed that he quitted Strassburg. Schorbach, however, has discovered the following two new entries (Nos. XV. and XVI.), which he places, approximately, in 1443 and the beginning of 1444, and which connect Gutenberg with Strassburg.

XV. *Circa* 1443. An entry recording the equipment of the town of Strassburg against the Armagnacs; Joh. Gutenberg's name is mentioned among the persons who had to furnish horses for the service of the town. The original entry is in the Register A A 194 (297 paper leaves), in the Strassburg Town Archives, which may be dated between 1439-44, and contains entries by various hands of the fifteenth century. Schorbach discovered it in 1891, and gives (in the Atlas to the 'Festschrift') a facsimile of the rubric and the page which contains Gutenberg's name, with the remark that 'Gutenberg's property appears here among the humblest class, rated at 400-800 pounds denarii, which points to an annual income of about 1,200 to 2,400 marks of present value, so that his enterprises do not seem to have made him rich.'

XVI. 22 January, 1444. Summons of Strassburg-men capable of bearing arms against the Armagnacs. The lists of these persons are contained in the Register A A 195 (201 paper leaves) in the Strassburg Town Archives, and have been written by various persons; their date occurs on leaf 1[a]: Actum feria quarta post beate Agnetis (= 22 Jan.) Anno xliiij. Gutenberg's name (discovered by the Strassburg Archivist J. Brucker before 17 January, 1882) appears on leaf 129[a] among the goldsmiths,

together with Andr. Heilmann, his (former?) partner; see above, Doc. No. XI. Schorbach gives a facsimile of the heading of the list and the page containing Gutenberg's name.

XVII. 1444 to 1458. Various entries in six several account books of the Strassburg St. Thomas Stift, of the years 1444-5, 1445-6, 1449-50, 1452-3, 1456-7, 1457-8, recording the payment from St. Martin's day, 1444, till St. Martin's day (= 11 November), 1457, by Gutenberg and Martin Brechter (or Brehter), of an annual interest ot 4 pounds on the 80 pounds which Gutenberg had borrowed from the Stift on 17 November, 1442 (see above, Doc. No. XIII.).

These Registers, in which three different stewards record the receipts of the Stift from Johannis day (24 June) in one year to Johannis day of the next year, are still preserved in the St. Thomas Archives (now deposited in the Town Archives) at Strassburg; those for the other years between 1443 (when the first payment must have been made) and 1458 are wanting. The sequel to these payments is stated below, under No. XXII.

In the first four Registers and that for 1457-8, Gutenberg alone is mentioned as paying, though it is nowhere stated whether he paid in person. In the Account-book for 1456-7 'Johan Güttenberg vnd Martin Brehter' are mentioned as giving (*dant*) the four pounds. Schorbach (in the Atlas to the 'Festschrift') published facsimiles of the entries, and remarks, on p. 247 *sq.*, that as the payments are entered under the headings 'Thome' or 'Sant Thoman' it would seem that Gutenberg

had come to reside in the parish of St. Thomas, that is in the town, and no longer lived at St. Arbogast, near Strassburg.

XVIII. 17 October, 1448. Johann Gutenberg receives the sum of 150 gold guilders, which his relative Arnold Gelthuss zum Echtzeler borrowed for him from Reinhart Brömser and Johann Rodenstein at 5 per cent. (= 7½ guilders) interest, to be paid half-yearly on St. Bonifacius day (5 June) and St. Barbara day (4 December). The original document is lost; but a *vidimused* copy of it on vellum, dated 23 August, 1503, is preserved in the Mainz Town Library, and proves that up to this year the debt had never been repaid; the five seals which belonged to it have disappeared. Whether Gutenberg or anyone else ever paid the interest on it is not known. Schorbach (p. 253) remarks that 'every unbiassed person can see the object for which Gutenberg borrowed this money, as two years (!) afterwards his first Mainz printing-office was in full (!) operation. There can be no question, as is so often asserted, that Gutenberg was in need of anything. That his rich relative readily furnished him with money, allows us to presume that he was convinced of the practicability of Gutenberg's plans.'

XIXa. 1453. This year appears, in Arabic numerals of fifteenth century form, at the foot of the last leaf of the second volume of a copy of the 42-line Bible, which formerly belonged to the late Herr Heinrich Klemm, of Dresden, and is now, with most of his other books, in the Deutsches Buchgewerbemuseum at Leipzig. The date itselt

might be considered genuine, did not various circumstances connected with it make it suspicious. Klemm had the Bible in his possession for several years; he described it three times in 1883 and 1884, and calls it a 'real unicum,' on account of miniatures (of a much later date) stuck in the volumes at sundry places. But he nowhere speaks of these Arabic numerals, though he must have known that, as 1456 was so far the earliest date we have for the Mazarine Bible, his 1453, if it were genuine, would considerably influence the history of Mainz printing, and at the same time enhance the value of his copy. His silence on this point was, therefore, highly suspicious, and the doubt is increased by the date being written quite at the bottom of the last leaf; see Hessels, 'A Bibliographical Tour,' in the 'LIBRARY,' July, 1908.

XIX. 3 July, 1453. Johann Gutenberg appears as a witness in a Notarial Instrument, in which Hans Schuchman [not Schumacher] von Seligenstadt, brother and servant of the convent of St. Clara at Mainz, relinquishes and bequeathes to it all his possessions, outstanding debts, etc., on condition that they maintain him and let him reside in the convent till his death, and that he be buried in the Church of St. Clara.

Schaab ('Gesch.' ii., 267) had in vain looked for the original of this document, and finding only a note of its contents among the papers left by Prof. Bodmann, concluded that this was another of the Professor's forgeries. But Schorbach tells us ('Festschrift,' p. 255 *sq.*) that, at the re-arrangement of

the Mainz Archives in 1883-5, the vellum original was discovered, and is now in the Mainz Town Library (Urk. St. 243a), *minus* the signature of the notary who drew it up, which, Schorbach presumes, was cut away by Bodmann, whom he also supposes to have taken this document as a basis for two of his forgeries (see above, IA., and below, XXIIB.). He has printed the text *in extenso* for the first time in 'Festschrift,' p. 254 *sq*.

XXA. 1455. Forged copies of the Letters of Indulgence, of 30 lines, with the date 1455. See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 165, 2[c], where a copy is mentioned as having been issued on 22 February, 1455, at Hildesheim, and another *unissued* copy, both in the possession of Herr F. Culemann, a Senator at Hannover. But both these copies are now proved to be *forgeries* (see Dziatzko, 'Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage,' p. 72). Dziatzko somewhat sarcastically points out that I failed to detect the forgery when I saw these copies on 13 October, 1881, in Mr. Culemann's house at Hannover. I take this opportunity, therefore, of recording that I had wished to examine the two copies, especially the sold one, a little more closely, as I observed that the Latinity of the declaration of issue, filled in by the Pardoner, was incorrect, an unusual thing in the work of such Papal functionaries. But Herr Culemann would not allow me, insisting that all was right, this copy having been obtained from Edwin Tross. I confess that the numerous Gutenberg forgeries already known to me at the time ought to have put me more on my guard, but the thought of distrusting an old, venerable, kind

gentleman, never crossed my mind, and so I fell into the trap. Herr Culemann's collection, now in the Kästner Museum at Hannover, contains, besides the *two* copies mentioned by me, two more; they are all *lithographic* imitations, two on vellum, two on paper.

XX. Thursday, 6 November, 1455. Notarial Instrument of a lawsuit between Johann Fust and Johann Gutenberg, usually called the 'Helmasperger' Instrument, from the name of the notary who had it drawn up in his office, and whose name and notarial mark it bears.

This, the most important of all the Gutenberg documents, records the legal proceedings which had taken place on the above and some previous (unmentioned) day at Mainz, and which had apparently been commenced, on a date not stated, by Johann Fust against Johann Gutenberg, for the purpose of recovering two capital sums of money, advanced by him to Gutenberg for carrying out some work, with the interest thereon.

Judging from ordinary circumstances, the official minutes of these proceedings must, in the first instance, have been entered in a register of a Mainz law-court. But all the Mainz law-registers before 1551 are said to have perished; so that we have only this apparently authentically drawn up summary of the proceedings, written at the request of Johann Fust, in the office of the Mainz notary, Ulrich Helmasperger, who testifies to having been present on the said 6th November, 1455.

Moreover, history, so far as we know, does not mention this law-suit, from the day it is said to

have taken place in 1455, till 1541, when J. Arnold (Bergel or) Bergellanus (of Bürgel, near Frankfort o. M.), a Mainz press-corrector, alludes, in his 'Encomium chalcographiae' (Mainz, Fr. Behem, 1541), to a 'horrible' lawsuit between 'Faust' and Gutenberg, which had been brought before a 'timorous' tribunal, and was, in his time, still in the hands of the judge. We are, therefore, unable to verify any of the statements contained in the Instrument.

About the year 1600, Joh. Frid. Faust von Aschaffenburg, who pretended to descend from Joh. Fust (whom he called 'Faust'), seems to have possessed an 'original' copy of the document, and to have made a transcript of it, which latter appears to have been among his papers in 1712, and to have then been copied again by Joh. Ernest von Glauburg. Between 1600 and 1734 various authors alluded to it, or took copies of it for their MSS. collections (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' pp. 96, 97), all, however, from the Faust von Aschaffenburg transcript. In 1650, Jac. Mentelius in his 'De vera typographiae origine paraenesis,' p. 54, declared the instrument to be forged and fictitious. But he gives no reasons for his opinion, and we must remember that his work is an attempt to ascribe the honour of the invention to his name-sake, Mentelin, the printer of Strassburg.

Its entire text was published for the first time in 1734, by H. C. Senckenberg ('Sel. iur. et hist.' Tom. I., Francof. ad M.) apparently from 'an original.' It was again published in full from an 'original' by Joh. Dav. Köhler in 1740 ('Ehren-

Rettung Joh. Gutenbergs,' Leipzig, 1740). These two texts differ in some respects from each other, and it is possible that they were printed from two separate 'originals' supplied, perhaps, to Fust by the notary, as the latter testifies (in lines 65 and 66) that Fust had requested 'one or more copies from him.' There is, however, a strong suspicion that there never was more than one 'original,' that is the one which Köhler used, which may have been the one that was in 1600 in the possession of Joh. Fr. Faust von Aschaffenburg.

Since 1741 the text has been published several times, sometimes entire, sometimes in extract, never, however, from an original, but from transcripts, taken one after another from Faust von Aschaffenburg's transcript, or from Köhler's text. In 1881 the whereabouts of an 'original' were unknown (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 63 *sqq.*), until Köhler's copy was discovered in 1889 in the Göttingen University Library (to which he had presented it in 1741, after the publication of his 'Ehren-Rettung') by the librarian Karl Dziatzko, who published its text again *verbatim*, with a dissertation on its contents, in 'Beiträge zur Gutenbergfrage,' Berlin, 1889, accompanied by a photographic reproduction. In 1900 Dr. Schorbach again issued a photograph of the Instrument, with a reprint of its text, and a commentary thereon, in 'Festschrift (Centralbl. für Bibl. xxiii.) zum 500 jährigen Geburtstage von J. Gutenberg.' In the same year 1900, however, K. G. Bockenheimer, a Doctor of Law and Judge of Mainz, in a treatise on the Gutenberg documents ('Gutenberg-Feier,' Mainz, 1900),

expressed the opinion that at least four of these documents, including the present one of 1455, are forgeries. But he speaks with some hesitation, and, looking at the photographic reproduction of what is called the 'original,' published by Dziatzko and Schorbach, it would seem almost impossible to accept Bockenheimer's opinion without further enquiry.

While analysing and discussing the document, I propose to give a literal translation of all its material parts, so far as the old German text is capable of being literally translated, dividing it into as many sections as the discussion may require, referring those who desire to consult the original text or a facsimile of it to Dziatzko's and Schorbach's treatises.

Part I.—Lines 1 to 22 are introductory, stating (1) the *time* (Thursday, 6 November, 1455, between eleven and twelve noon); (2) *place* (Mainz, in the large dining-room of the Barefooted Friars); (3) *object* of the present proceedings, with an allusion to a verdict (*Rechtspruch*) given [on the *first* article of Fust's claim, lines 21, 45, 47, 64] on a previous occasion; and (4) the names of the parties present on this occasion, or concerned in the proceedings, that is, the notary Ulrich Helmasperger; Jacob Fust, citizen of Mainz, as the spokesman of his brother Johan; the latter himself; witnesses who came in afterwards (see below) on behalf of Johan Gutenberg (not present); and a messenger in the service of Jacob Fust.

As regards point (3) the lines 7 to 10 make it clear that the present proceedings were a sequel to

some previous proceedings, as Jacob Fust declared (*a*) that between his brother Johan Fust and Johan Gutenberg a final day had been ordained and named for the 6th of November at noon, in the sitting-room of the convent; (*b*) for Johan Gutenberg to see and hear such oath as (*c*) Johan Fust had been appointed and enjoined to take, in accordance with the contents of the verdict (*Rechtspruch*, lines 9, 21, 54 and 55, 57; *Uszspruch*, l. 64) given [on the former occasion] between the two parties.

As to point (4) the lines 10-22 state—

(*a*) that, in order that the brethren still assembled in the sitting-room might not be disturbed, Jacob Fust sent his messenger to this room to ask whether Johan Gutenberg, or anyone on his behalf, were in the convent, so that he might attend to the business; (*b*) whereupon Heinr. Günther, parish priest of St. Christopher in Mainz, and Heinrich Keffer, servant, and Bechtolff von Hanau, workman of Gutenberg, came into the dining-room, and on being asked by Johan Fust what business they had there, and why they were there, and whether they had any authority of Johan Gutenberg in the matter, answered that their 'Juncher' Johan Guttenberg had sent them to hear and to see what would happen in the case; (*c*) Johan Fust then testified (ll. 18-20) that he would keep the [appointed] day, as he had been ordered to do; that he had expected his opponent Gutenberg before twelve o'clock, and still waited for him, but who had not complied with the affair; and (*d*) he now (ll. 20-22) proved himself prepared to satisfy the 'verdict' (*Rechtspruch*, l. 21) passed on the 'first article of his claim' (*Ansprach*, lines 21, 45, 47, 64) in accordance with its (the verdict's) contents, which he caused to be read from word to word, together with the 'complaint' (*Clage*, l. 22) and 'answer' as follows (l. 22).

Bockenheimer in his criticism on the document ('Gutenberg-Feier,' p. 97), asks how Fust could consider himself justified in taking the oath (which by a previous verdict he had been enjoined to swear), not in a law-court, but in the room of a monastery, and before a notary selected by himself (but not authorized for the purpose by any legal court), instead of before a properly constituted judge? On this point Schaab ('Erfind. der Buchdruckerk.' i., 170) had already remarked that at that time it was an old custom at Mainz to transact all judiciary, and even administrative public affairs in the churches and monasteries, or their surroundings.' Bockenheimer, however, replies that this was formerly the case, but not in Gutenberg's time; and that Fust had no right, either to withdraw part of the legal transaction from the court, or to demand Gutenberg's appearance in a monastery, before an unqualified officer, for the purpose of transacting legal business; that Gutenberg was, therefore, in his right when he himself 'zu den Sachen nit gefuget hett' (l. 20). Bockenheimer further shows that the notarial document contains absurdities which are contradictory to all the legal usages of the time, and comes to the conclusion that 'it was not drawn up by Helmasperger, but appears to be a forgery of the Faust family (perhaps of Joh. Fr. Faust von Aschaffenburg), who falsified history in other respects, for the purpose of injuring the memory of the inventor of printing, to the advantage of that of their reputed ancestor.'

Whatever we may think of the document, almost the only one which tells us anything of Gutenberg's

activity at Mainz, it is generally admitted that it is vague and indefinite concerning several points on which it is desirable to have more information.

Dziatzko, who occasionally saw more in the document than it contains, says (*l. c.*, pp. 21 and 22) that 'Gutenberg had been enjoined to hand in his account, but had, for various reasons, postponed or neglected to do this, so that at last Fust had been compelled to appoint the day on which Gutenberg should render it, and he himself should state on oath the amount of interest due to him.' But it is clear from the document that Gutenberg had not been ordered to render his account, and that the court, not Fust, had appointed the 6th of November, 1455, for the appearance of the two litigants (see above, *a*, *b*, *c*).

The document does not say whether Gutenberg, who did not appear on this, had absented himself likewise on the former occasion; he had 'replied' to Fust's claim, but may have done so by the mouth of some agent or representative, in the same way as he watched the present proceedings through two of his employees. Nor does the document explain the nature and extent of Fust's 'claim,' laid by him before the court on the previous occasion, and here mentioned four times, three times (ll. 21, 45, 64) with a particular allusion to its 'first article.' Nor does it say when or where the previous proceedings had taken place; nor when the business relations between Fust and Gutenberg had commenced, nor when these relations had developed into an action at law, which seems to have begun by Fust lodging a complaint against Gutenberg before the Mainz

tribunal (see below, p. 407). But we shall see presently that three sums of interest claimed by Fust from Gutenberg enable us to fix, at least approximately, the date when the financial relations between the two had commenced; also when Fust advanced a second sum of money to Gutenberg; when the dispute between them must have been brought before the court, and likewise the interval that had elapsed between the present and the former legal transactions.

II.—Lines 22 to 54 are the protocol or minutes of the *previous* proceedings, and of the verdict then obtained by Johann Fust. Of this part the lines 22 to 37 give a summary of the claim which Fust professed to have against Gutenberg; the latter's reply is contained in the lines 37 to 47; and the verdict given on that occasion in the lines 48 to 54.

These minutes of the pleadings of the plaintiff and defendant say—

(1) Fust had spoken to Gutenberg, first, as to what had been included in the schedule of their agreement, that he had furnished Gutenberg with 800 guilders in gold wherewith he should 'finish[1] the work'; (2) he himself being unconcerned whether it cost more or less; (3) Gutenberg should give him for these 800 guilders 6 guilders interest on each hundred; (4) he had borrowed these 800 guilders for Gutenberg on interest, and given them to him; (5) but the latter had not been content thereby, and complained that he had not yet had the 800 guilders; (6) Fust, therefore, wishing to please Gutenberg, had furnished him with 800 guilders more than he, according to the tenor of the said schedule, had been

[1] Germ. *volnbrengen.*

obliged to him; on these additional 800 guilders he had been compelled to pay 140 guilders as interest; (7) although Gutenberg had promised in the schedule to pay him on the first 800 guilders 6 guilders interest on every hundred guilders, yet in no year had he done so; but (8) he himself had been compelled to pay this, which amounts to 250 guilders; (9) and as Gutenberg had never paid him such interest, that is these 6 guilders interest on the first 800, nor the interest on the other 800 guilders, and (10) he had been forced to borrow the said interest (*Solt*) among Christians and Jews, and (11) on this had had to give 36 guilders as interest (*Gesuch*); (12) this, together with the capital, amounts to about 2,020 [in reality 2,026] guilders, and he demands that [Gutenberg] should pay him this as his loss.

(13) To this Gutenberg had replied [lines 37 to 47]: Johann Fust should have furnished him with 800 guilders, for which money he should prepare and make his 'tools' [or *instruments*, or *apparatus;* Germ. *Geczuge*], and should be content with this money, and might devote it to his [own] use; (14) such tools should be a pledge to Johann [Fust]; (15) Johann [Fust] should give (*geben*) him annually 300 guilders for maintenance,[1] and also furnish workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc. (16) if then, further, they did not agree he should return him (Fust) his 800 guilders, and his tools should be free; (17) it was to be well understood that he should finish (*volnbrengen*) *such* work with the money which he [Fust]

[1] Opinions differ as to the meaning of the German word *Kosten* of the document. Lexer's 'Mittelhochd. Wörterb.' has *price, money for a certain object; expenses; food, maintenance*, etc. In the latter sense it is taken here, as agreeing more with the tenor of the document than any other interpretation. Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forsch.' p. 64, note) seems to think that the phrase means '300 guilders for expenses, such as workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, etc.' But the original document does not allow such an interpretation.

had lent him on his pledge, and (18) hopes that he had not been bound to him (Fust) to spend such 800 guilders on the work of the books; (19) and although it was included in the schedule that he should give him (Fust) 6 guilders as interest on every 100, yet Johannes Fust had told him that he did not desire to take such interest from him; (20) nor had these 800 guilders all, and at once, come to him, in accordance with the contents of the schedule, as he (Fust) had mentioned and pretended in the first article of his claim; (21) of the additional 800 guilders he wished to render him [Fust] an account; (22) hence he allows him (Fust) no interest (*Solt*), nor usury (*Wucher*), and hopes, therefore, not to be legally indebted to him.

The clause II[1] (line 23) shows that a written[1] agreement [Germ. *Zettel*] was made between Fust and Gutenberg [at the commencement of their relations]. This document has not come down to us, and the present notarial instrument makes only a few, mostly contradictory, allusions to it, so that we are unable to form an adequate idea as to the nature and bearing of the agreement. That it must have been somewhat loosely drawn up, is apparent when

[1] Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 194) is of opinion that if the *Zettel* had been a legally and properly written contract, it would not have contained so many contradictions; nor would the plaintiff and defendant have been able to put such different interpretations upon its contents, and Fust, in the face of such a document, would not have exposed himself in the eyes of all sensible persons. He thinks, therefore, that the *Zettel* was merely a *receipt* by Gutenberg for the 800 guilders received from Fust, whereby he bound himself to pay 6 per cent. interest till repayment of the loan, and at the same time acknowledged that the tools or apparatus to be prepared for the money should be the lender's pledge, without the latter being entitled to demand full particulars of the items on which the money had been spent.

we analyse and examine the different interpretations put upon it by the two parties concerned. Before we do this let us examine the account which Fust presented to the court, in order that we may ascertain some dates to which reference will have to be made in due course.

	Guilders
(1) Fust, in compliance with the agreement, had borrowed for Gutenberg - - - -	800
With this money the latter should 'finish the work,' but whether it cost more or less would not concern Fust.	
(2) Gutenberg not being satisfied with these 800 guilders, and complaining that he had not received all of them, Fust borrowed for him another - - - - - - - -	800
(3) On the first 800 guilders Gutenberg had undertaken to pay Fust interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, but having failed to do so, the latter had himself been compelled to pay this interest, amounting to - - - - -	250
(4) Gutenberg having likewise failed to pay the interest on the second 800 guilders, Fust had been obliged to pay this also, to the amount of	140
(5) And as Fust had been compelled to borrow the money required for these payments of interest, he had paid also interest on this interest to the amount of - - - - - - -	36
Fust stated the total to be 2,020 guilders, perhaps for the sake of brevity, or in order to name a round sum, but the above items make - -	2,026

As the above interest calculations occur in a document bearing the definite date 6th November, 1455, little freedom is left to us in fixing either the *termini a quo* or the *termini ad quem*. A sum of

250 guilders accrued as interest on 800 guilders at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, points to five years and two and a half months having elapsed since the commencement of the loan. Hence, assuming that Fust presented his claim six days before the date of the present document, that is, on Friday, the 31st October, 1455, then five years and two and a half months take us back to the - - - *15th August*, 1450[1] as the date of the commencement of the financial relations between Fust and Gutenberg.

By the same calculation, counting again backwards from the 31st October, 1455, Fust must have advanced the second 800 guilders on the - - *1st December*, 1452 that is, two years and three and a half months after he had advanced the first 800 guilders, because 140 guilders interest on 800 guilders at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum points to a period of two years and eleven months having elapsed before Fust handed his claim to the court on the - - - - 31st October, 1455 six days before the date of the notarial instrument, that is, the 6th November, 1455

[1] Schorbach points out (p. 272) that the year 1450 harmonizes with the statement of the 'Cologne Chronicle' of 1499, that the art of typography saw the light in that year, and commenced with the printing of a Latin Bible.

The 31st October, 1455, here assumed as the date of Fust having handed in his claim is, of course, an arbitrarily chosen date. It could hardly be fixed much later, for a few days should be placed between the proceedings of 6th November, 1455, and the previous ones. But he may have handed it in somewhat earlier, in which case the commencement of the business relations between Fust and Gutenberg (here fixed on 15th August, 1450) must be dated back accordingly, to arrive at the proper time for the various sums of interest which Fust claimed. Yet we could hardly assume a longer interval than a few days between the proceedings of the 6th November, 1455, and those of the former occasion, because if there had been a longer delay than, say, a fortnight, Fust no doubt would have presented a supplementary claim for half a month's interest on the last day of the trial. Dziatzko suggested (*l.c.*, p. 21) a 'considerable time between the two occasions, in order to give Gutenberg time for making up his account'; but we know that he had not been ordered to do so. On p. 22 he asserts that there 'may have been an interval of several months, but not much longer, as Fust said nothing on 6th November, 1455, of a delay and subsequent further loss of interest.' And on p. 85 he asserts that the breach between Gutenberg and Fust cannot have begun later than the end of 1454. Schorbach also thinks ('Festschr.' p. 272) of an interval extending over several months, so that the first agreement between the two men may have been made in the beginning ot 1450. Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forschungen,' p. 81)

concludes that Fust handed in his claim in the beginning of December, 1454, so that the contract between Gutenberg and Fust must have been drawn up in the beginning of September, 1449, and the second 800 guilders paid on the 1st January, 1452. Any long intervals, however, are incompatible with Fust's account and the fact that he mentioned no further claim for interest. The item of 36 guilders for interest on the interest left unpaid by Gutenberg causes no inconvenience, as it very nearly agrees with the above calculations. But suppose we lengthen out the interval to an almost impossible eight, nine, or ten months, even so the monetary relations between Fust and Gutenberg must have lasted for more than four and a half years, and it is calculated (Hegel, 'Chron.' xviii., Suppl., p. 94; Schorbach, 'Festschr.' p. 265) that the debt of 2,026 guilders, which Fust had so indulgently allowed to accumulate during that period, would, in our time, have had a value of between 15,000 and 16,000 marks.

The nature, scope and extent of 'the work,'[1] which Fust had expected (II[1], [17]) Gutenberg to 'finish' for this large sum of money borrowed by himself and advanced by him to Gutenberg, are nowhere stated. But there can be little doubt that, as is generally assumed, 'the work' here

[1] The word 'work' occurs also repeatedly in the Strassburg lawsuit of 1439, and Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forsch.' p. 71) is not the only one, nor the first, who suggests that 'Gutenberg selected from the beginning, this indefinite word for his secret art (!) in order not to arouse by a more definite expression the curiosity of uninterested people.' A somewhat strange reasoning, seeing that these indefinite words were used in a public court of justice.

alluded to meant the 'printing' of books and other literary products by means of moveable metal types, as there is question of 'tools' or 'instruments' or an 'apparatus' (*Geczuge*[1]); also of 'parchment, paper, ink, etc.,' and of 'the work of the books' (II [18]). Schorbach, moreover, justly points out ('Festschr.' p. 271) that Johann Fust becomes known, later on, as a Mainz printer; that Heinrich Keffer and Bechtolff (Ruppel) von Hanau, both mentioned in the document, the first as Gutenberg's servant, the second as his workman, appear afterwards in history, the latter as the prototypographer of Basle, the former as a printer at Nuremberg in partnership with Johann Sensenschmid; while Peter (Schöffer) Girnsheim, one of Fust's witnesses, becomes soon afterwards known as his partner and son-in-law.

Some authors think that the business relations between Fust and Gutenberg were of a two-fold, separate nature, although the two parts were closely related to, and depended upon each other, and had been included in one and the same schedule. They say that the first agreement concerned a work for the need or good of Gutenberg; that the second regarded a common work for the need or good of both (see Schorbach, *l.c.*, p. 268 *sq.*; Dziatzko, 'Beiträge,' p. 22). Dziatzko also suggests (p. 22) that one of the most important questions is, whether Gutenberg exercised the art of printing alone (!), or from the beginning in partnership with Fust.

[1] This word also occurs in the Strassburg lawsuit of 1439, by the side of *Formes*, and in Humery's 'Reverse,' of 1468, by the side of *Formen*, *Buchstaben*, and *Instrument*.

The notarial document, however, never mentions more than one agreement. It is also clear that none of Fust's own statements, so far as they appear in the document, entitle us to assume that *he* had ever contemplated a division or separation of Gutenberg's 'work,' for the execution and completion of which he had entered into relations with him, and borrowed money for him. For he begins by saying (II [1]) that he had advanced 800 guilders wherewith Gutenberg should 'finish the work,' while later on (see below, III [3]) he speaks of 1550 guilders borrowed by him as having 'gone on our common work,' and (III [6]) of 'the work of us both.

By these expressions Fust must have meant a 'partnership,' on behalf of which he had found the money, though, perhaps on account of the uncertain nature of Gutenberg's plans at the start, he expected Gutenberg to pay the interest on it, maybe till the work for which the partnership had been set up was 'finished.' That Fust speaks (in the lines 62 and 63) of money 'which had not gone on the work of them both,' does not seem to refer to any separate industrial undertaking on Gutenberg's part, but simply to disbursements made, perhaps, by Gutenberg for his own private purpose outside the partnership.

Gutenberg's plea, however (II [13 to 22], ll. 37 to 47), seems to show that he had meant, if not at the outset of his relations with Fust, certainly at the time of the legal proceedings, that his position towards Fust was, or should have been, of a two-fold, or perhaps threefold, nature, but that as

Fust had failed in nearly everything which he had expected him to do, he practically owed him nothing. But the agreement between him and Fust, as he interprets it looks strange. To enable Gutenberg to prepare certain 'tools' or an 'apparatus,' Fust advanced, or should have advanced him 800 guilders, stipulating at first (II 19) that he would charge 6 per cent. interest on the money, but afterwards promising to waive this point. His security[1] (the tools or apparatus) Fust would receive on some future, unnamed day, whenever Gutenberg should have manufactured them (II 14). The 800 guilders so advanced by Fust were at Gutenberg's free disposal (II 13); he could spend or employ them in any way he pleased (even redeem his two other outstanding loans or pay the annual interest on them?), provided he produced the tools which were to be a pledge for the money lent to him; [but he did not feel bound to make anything except these tools; nothing, for instance, connected with 'the work of the books' (II 18]. In the meantime [while the tools were in the making?] Fust should give (II 15) Gutenberg, in addition an annual (!) 300 guilders for maintenance, and also furnish workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc. [again, it seems, without any security]. If

[1] Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 197) argues that 'Fust did not become Gutenberg's partner, as in such a case he would have insisted on receiving as pledge Gutenberg's whole printing-office (!), including his "Donatus" and "Kalendar" types.' But this is going far outside and beyond the Helmasperger instrument, or any of the other Gutenberg documents, which say nothing of a printing-office, still less of either a 'Donatus' or a 'Kalendar' type.

[when? after Fust had made for an indefinite period all these indefinite advances and sacrifices, apparently even before the 'work of the books' had begun?][1] the two men should be unable to agree further (II [16]), Gutenberg, in order to retain possession of his tools, had merely to repay Fust the 800 guilders advanced by him, and the latter would have nothing more to say. But as he had not received all of the first 800 guilders, nor at once, in accordance with the schedule (II [20]), and he *wished* to render Fust an account of the additional 800 guilders (II [21]), he allows him no interest, nor any usury, and hopes not to be legally indebted to him (II [22]).

We see that Gutenberg had expected a great deal more from Fust than the latter had apparently cared to undertake or to put into the agreement drawn up at the commencement of their relations, or even to mention at the trial. The *annual gift* of 300 guilders which Gutenberg had expected for his maintenance, he had evidently never received,[2]

[1] The document is somewhat vague here. Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 196) thinks that before Gutenberg had begun to print, Fust was under no further obligations to the former regarding maintenance, etc. It appears that there can be no doubt on this point, but then it seems that Zedler should admit that, at the time of the trial, Gutenberg had not yet begun to print.

[2] Zedler ('Gut.-Forsch.' p. 82) says that 'Fust delayed the payment of the annual 300 guilders till the necessary conditions for commencing this payment had been fulfilled, so that when the casting of the type [for B42] had been finished, and Gutenberg had gone beyond the stage of experiments (!), Fust repaired his negligence and paid, early in January 1452, the second 800, wherefore we must place the beginning of the printing of B42 about this time.' But there is nothing to this effect, or anything

nor the additional supply of 'workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc.' Had Fust verbally 'promised' all this? He could hardly have agreed to it in writing, as in such a case we should have expected Gutenberg to have brought an action for breach of contract against Fust, not the reverse. And if Fust had verbally 'promised' it, he must have made the fulfilment of his promise dependent on Gutenberg's complete, or at least partial discharge of his undertaking respecting the tools.

The compact between the two looks simple, but rather one-sided, and far from business-like, as all the risks and disbursements for the work would fall on Fust, while Gutenberg would have the handling of a large sum of money for an indefinite period, provided he manufactured some tools for it, and on some future day delivered them to Fust. To understand such relations we might assume the arrangement to have been an ordinary one between Fust, a master-employer, who wished to have an important work done, and Gutenberg, a skilful workman, whom the former thought fit for it, and whom, therefore, he took in his employ. Against this assumption militate the stipulation about interest to be paid by Gutenberg, and certain traditions about his superior social position. As an alterna-

like it, in the Helmasperger document. On the contrary, Fust says 'that he had furnished Gutenberg above the first 800 guilders with 800 guilders more than he, according to the tenor of the above-mentioned schedule, had been obliged to him.' He could not have said this if the 300 guilders mentioned by Gutenberg had been included in the first or in the second 800.

tive let us suppose that Fust, having had explained to him the mechanism of the tools to be made, and also the nature of 'the work' to be executed with them when ready, had been so impressed with the prospective utility and advantage of the 'work,' that he decided to risk the 800 guilders which Gutenberg seems to have conditioned for the preparation of the tools; and knowing, no doubt, that Gutenberg was unable to give him any security he asked for none, and (according to Gutenberg) would also forego all claims to interest, merely stipulating that the tools when ready should be his pledge for the capital sum.

This stipulation, be it noted, betrays some caution[1] on the part of an otherwise so generous and unsuspecting money-lender, because by taking possession of the tools he could prevent Gutenberg from seeking the assistance of other capitalists and doing the 'work' for which they had been prepared, without his co-operation or consent. On the other hand, Fust seems to have overlooked the possibility of Gutenberg breaking down or dying before he had finished the tools, in which case he would lose his money; he also appears to have forgotten that Gutenberg would not be entirely at his mercy, as by another clause in the agreement he could, when the tools were ready, before handing them over, impose further conditions on Fust, or disagree with him in some other way, and on the latter proving refractory, Gutenberg on merely repaying Fust his 800 guilders would have done with him.

[1] A somewhat similar caution we observe on the part of Humery, a later patron of Gutenberg; see below, Doc. No. XXVII.

Of a disagreement we hear nothing, and it very likely never arose, perhaps for the simple reason that Gutenberg avoided all direct strife with Fust, knowing that the repayment of 800 guilders would have been no easy matter to him. Instead of a disagreement, however, some new 'agreement' appears to have been made, as Fust on or before the 1st December, 1452, advanced 800 guilders more than he had undertaken to supply. But he (Fust) did not, as Schorbach asserts ('Festschr.' p. 269) advance the second 800 guilders for a *new work* differing from the first, and intended this time for the common profit of both him and Gutenberg, but solely, as Fust says, to please Gutenberg, who had not been satisfied with the first 800. Not a word is said at this stage or later on about the tools having been delivered by Gutenberg, which, according to the first agreement were to be a pledge for the first 800 guilders. We know thar he complained of not having received the whole of the 800, or at once, at the outset. There may, therefore, have been some altercation which threatened a breach between the two partners, and Fust fearing to be left with a collection of unfinished tools may have temporarily settled matters by advancing a second 800 guilders, thereby showing also that he discerned some value in Gutenberg's work. But would Fust have advanced this second sum without securing a lien on whatever stock Gutenberg already had in hand, or might have in the future?

At this stage we again observe a difference between the two men in explaining their mutual

position. Fust says nothing of having had a different object in view with advancing the second 800 guilders; he simply advanced them because Gutenberg had not been satisfied with the first. The latter, however, repudiated all indebtedness for the first 800 guilders (except that he had to manufacture and deliver his tools for them); hoped that he had not been obliged to devote them to 'the work of the books'; was willing to render an account of the second 800; but owed no interest, no usury, in fact, nothing.

J. H. Hessels.

ANOTHER BACONIAN CIPHER

SOME seven years ago the 'LIBRARY' published an article in which the writer endeavoured to show that Mrs. Gallop's application of Bacon's bi-literal cipher was a work of pure imagination. This article fell into the hands of Mr. William Stone Booth, an American gentleman, who, if not perhaps a thorough-going 'Baconian,' was at least a believer in the probability of cryptic literary activity on Bacon's part. The article did at least so much good that it either raised or confirmed his doubts concerning the rationality of the various ciphers and cryptograms that have from time to time been discovered in the works of Bacon's contemporaries. He appears, however, to have been impelled by a perhaps sub-conscious conviction that cryptogram of some sort there must be, to undertake a search on his own account. He had not sought long before he found what he wanted, and a sumptuous volume of six hundred odd pages, imperial octavo, is the result.[1]

[1] Some Acrostic Signatures of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam of Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, together with some others, all of which are now for the first time deciphered and published by William Stone Booth. London, Constable; Boston and New York, Mifflin. 1909. Imp. 8vo, xii. + 631 pp. 25*s*. net.

There is an interesting contrast between Mrs. Gallop's work and Mr. Booth's. Mrs. Gallop claimed to have discovered a cipher depending on certain differences of type, which nobody else was able to detect. Granted the facts she alleged, there was no reasonable doubt as to their interpretation. If the cipher was there it could be read, and when read necessarily commanded belief. Unfortunately—or fortunately—it was not there. In Mr. Booth's case there is no question that the 250 acrostic or cryptic signatures of Francis Bacon and others, which he detects in a variety of works from the 'Shepherd's Calendar' to the 'Nova Solyma,' are actually there: the only possible dispute is how they got there. Upon this point Mr. Booth is perfectly frank. 'It must not be forgotten,' he writes (p. 20), 'that, though acrostics can be produced by intention, . . . the same acrostics *may* be the result of chance. It will remain for the reader to determine how far the same rare accidents may be expected to recur . . .'[1] Except in so far as the word 'rare' begs the question, this passage puts the case with perfect fairness. No doubt Mr. Booth is in his heart convinced that an unprejudiced inquiry can only result in one answer being given to the question. So am I—only the answer I expect, is probably not that anticipated

[1] Lest I be accused of misrepresentation, I will finish Mr. Booth's sentence in a note. It runs: '. . . expected to recur with a remarkably definite frequency in the same book, and in corresponding places in that book.' His examples, however, are drawn from a large variety of books, and from many different parts of them.

by Mr. Booth. It appears in the course of the very reasonable chapters in which he has expounded his views on ciphers in general, that he regards the arguments formerly advanced in this place against Mrs. Gallop's claims as conclusive. I can hardly hope to convince him that, as I believe, the results of his own labour and ingenuity are no less imaginary, but at least I hope that I may be able to put my own views with as much courtesy and moderation as he has advanced his.

Now let us get at close quarters. What is the method of Mr. Booth's cipher, or hidden acrostic, as he calls it? I will describe it first in its simplest and most rigorous form, and in order to get away from any possible prejudice attaching to Mr. Booth's applications, I will select an example of my own from a remote field of literature. Let Iulius Caesar be the name to be hidden. Then the passage hiding it must begin with I and end with R, and the intermediate letters must not only include all the letters of the name in their proper order, but so arranged that if you begin with the I, proceed to the next V, then to the next L, and so on, the R at the end of 'Caesar' will bring you to the R at the end or the passage, thus 'keying' the signature. For example:

IVnxit LIliVm roSa CAEco compreSsv AmoR

It will be evident that in this strict form at any rate the acrostic is not very likely to occur by chance. If we take at random any passage having I and R for its extreme letters, or terminals, the

probability is that it will either not contain the other necessary letters at all, or only in the wrong order, while on the other hand if we select a passage meeting all the other demands of the cipher, it does not follow that it will 'key,' as in the following case:

> Is qVoqve qvi graciLI cibVS est in Corpore svmus
> non Alit officio corpvs inanE Svo
> sed vigilo vigilentqve mei sine fine dolores
> qvoqve ierit qvAeRas qvi fvit ante color

where the R of 'Caesar' coincides with the R in 'quaeras,' instead of the R at the end of 'color.'

Nevertheless, it may so happen that a chance passage will contain the acrostic exactly, and have all the appearance of being intentional, as witness these four lines from the Pontine epistles of Ovid (II. ii. 69-72):

> IncolVmis conivnx sva pvLvInaria serVat
> promovet imperivm filivS avsonivm
> praeterit ipse svos animo germaniCvs Annos
> nEc vigor eSt drvsi nobilitAte minoR

Now the first thing I wish to observe is this, that the cipher I have just described is not properly speaking a cipher at all. Indeed, Mr. Booth himself describes it as a hidden acrostic, but he has much to say of its connection with ciphers and ciphering, and appears to have overlooked an important distinction which really serves to remove it to a totally different category. It is, he informs us (p. 21), 'a plain variant of the simple acrostic which can be seen on page 55, and is an

equally plain variant of the well-known cipher method to be seen on page 63.' The example on p. 55 is an ordinary acrostic in which the initial letters of each line of a poem spell a name. That on p. 63 is the equally familiar cipher in which the initial letters of the words (in this particular case of alternate words) form the cryptic message. What is common to, and distinctive of, these two methods, as well as every other conceivable method, of cipher or cryptic writing, is that they presuppose a key, by the knowledge of which the hidden message may be with certainty extracted. In Mr. Booth's acrostics the only key is the hidden message itself. They can, he says (p. 20), 'be produced by intention, and by exact methods which I shall exhibit,' and he fulfils his promise. But he nowhere shows us the necessary correlative, the exact methods by which the acrostic, once inserted, can be again extracted. The reason is that no such method exists; the decipherer has to rely on guesswork. Thus for purposes of correspondence, the only purpose for which Bacon and his contemporaries seriously interested themselves in such devices, these hidden acrostics are useless. Suppose that in a moment of quite unreasonable irritation I wished, while safeguarding myself from a possible action for libel, to convey to a correspondent the information that 'Mr. Booth is mad.' And suppose that for the purpose I hid my message in the following elegant sentence:

MeRrily danced the cow-BOy On THe grayISh-blue MArkings of the velD.

Of course, I should send the sentence without any distinction of type, in the course of an ordinary letter. 'Merrily danced the cow-boy on the grayish-blue markings of the veld'! The words might be trusted to arrest my correspondent's attention, and we will suppose that he knew he had to look out for this particular acrostic cipher. Would he be able to extract my message? It is hardly likely. After puzzling over the various possibilities of cryptic words with the terminals M and D, he would probably conclude that I had sent him the valuable information that:

MerriLY Danced the cOw-boy on the Grayish-Blue mARKings of thE velD.

'My dog barked!' And if he got so far as to discover a possible alternative reading in 'My dog is mad'—well, it might save me from the visit of an infuriated man who considered I had wasted his time with a singularly foolish joke.

Of course, Mr. Booth is perfectly aware of all this; indeed, he seems to regard the uncertain and what I may call the quasi-fortuitous character of the acrostics as a merit, enabling the cipherer, if challenged, to repudiate what he 'could say truthfully *might* be the result of chance.' The point that I wish to bring out is that the many interesting examples of ciphers which he quotes from early works, both technical and literary, and the many important passages he adduces to show the interest taken in ciphers by Bacon and his contemporaries, are all alike irrelevant, because they refer to a wholly different class of composition.

He is here at a serious disadvantage compared to Mrs. Gallop, who claimed to be applying what everyone admitted was Bacon's own peculiar cipher. Mr. Booth has nowhere shown that either Bacon or anyone of his time ever dreamed of these hidden acrostics, nor has he offered any reason for supposing that had he been able to expound his method to Bacon himself, that great man would not have brushed aside the conceit with as much impatience as lesser men are likely to do to-day.

I have above admitted that in its simplest and most rigorous form it is unlikely that the acrostic should be seriously dependent on chance. Supposing that each of the Pontine Epistles began or ended with a quatrain such as I have quoted above; or supposing that every time Virgil began a line of the 'Aeneid' with the letter A, the name 'Augustus' brought us to an S at the end of the next line, one would without hesitation pronounce the acrostics to be intentional. But the signatures discovered by Mr. Booth are far indeed from being of this simple and rigorous type. I must try to explain in some detail the methods upon which he has proceeded.

To begin with, he follows the letters of the text in which the acrostic is supposed to be concealed, not, as a rule, in the natural order as read, but as what he calls a 'string of letters,' that is, reading, say, the first line to the right, the second to the left, the third to the right again, and so on. Of course, there is no reason why the cipherer should

not have adopted this method, though it undoubtedly introduced certain complications into his task, which need not be discussed here. But there is, so far as I can see, no particular virtue in this 'string' method, and if anybody likes to work out a conflicting series of acrostics by reading the letters in the habitual fashion, he will be able to claim for his results precisely the same amount of authority as Mr. Booth.

Next, Mr. Booth by no means always reads on every letter when following out his signature. As he explains, it is possible to read in many different ways. For instance, we may read on initial letters only, or on terminals (first and last letters), or on capitals. Or, discarding the 'string,' we may read on the outside letters of a page or stanza, or on the 'overhanging' (*i.e.* non-indented) initials of a poem. There is, so far as I am aware, no reason why we should not read on alternate letters, or end letters of words, or on all italic letters, or in half a dozen other different ways. Mr. Booth has recorded no acrostics constructed on these methods; probably he has not sought them: I have little doubt they could be found.

Then again, Mr. Booth's signatures by no means always, or even usually, run from the first letter of the passage to the last. They may run from the last letter of the first line of a stanza, paragraph, or page, to the first letter of the last line; from the first of the first, to the first of the last; from the last of the first, to the last of the last; from the first letter of the last word of the last line, to the first letter of the last word of the first line; from

any outside letter round the margin, and back to the letter next to that on which it started; from the initial of any line throughout the passage, and back to the initial of the next line; and in many other ways: in short, from any conceivably significant position to any other. Or two signatures (say, Francisco and Bacono) may start from different points, more or less prominent, and meet on the same letter in the body of the text. Furthermore, the signature may be spelt backwards, for it by no means follows that because an acrostic will work in one direction it will also work in the other.

Now these extensions of the method profoundly modify the part which chance may be expected to play in the result. Supposing, to take the concrete case before us, that we are searching for cryptic signatures of Bacon in the collection of plays published in 1623 with Shakespeare's name upon the title-page. We have, to begin with, a number of different names which may possibly be concealed: Bacon, Francis Bacon, Verulam, St. Albans, any of these will, of course, be good signatures. Then some latitude of spelling is to be allowed: St. Alban and St. Albans are both found in autograph letters; if Francis will not 'key,' perhaps Frauncis or Franciscus will. If any words are included in the signature beyond the actual names, the latitude in this respect will be considerably extended. Often one and the same passage will offer several possible pairs of letters sufficiently conspicuous to be used as terminals. If the signature will not 'key' reading to the right, it may reading to the

left; if not forwards, possibly backwards; if not on all letters, perhaps on terminals; and so forth. The number of alternatives open to a skilful decipherer is almost unlimited, but with every fresh alternative which is admitted as legitimate the door is opened yet wider for the element of chance. After carefully studying Mr. Booth's method, and witnessing with something like amazement the ingenuity with which he applies it; after, moreover, a good many clumsy attempts of my own to follow in his footsteps; my wonder is, not that his industry should have been rewarded by the discovery of two hundred and fifty acrostic signatures drawn from almost the whole field of what we roughly term Elizabethan literature, but rather that he should have been content to rest his case upon so comparatively moderate a number.

I have so far based my description of Mr. Booth's methods upon the account which he himself gives of them in the first part of his work. I hope that I have succeeded in avoiding any serious misrepresentation, while at the same time endeavouring to show that a far larger opening has been left for chance than Mr. Booth is apparently aware. But this is by no means all. When we come to examine the signatures themselves, we find Mr. Booth—or, of course, the cipherer—allowing himself all sorts of liberties, for which the rules set out in his chapter on method left us almost wholly unprepared. I will admit at once that I have not worked through the whole of his two hundred and fifty signatures, but I have carefully examined the first fifty, together with a few individual ones later

on. Upon these I base my further account of the methods employed.

The crux of the whole matter is the question as to when a signature can be regarded as satisfactorily 'keyed.' The practical way in which the decipherer works, if he wishes to find signatures of Francis Bacon, is to look out for a promising beginning, a conspicuous F, B, or N. He then tries a signature, Francis Bacon, Bacon, Bacono, Nocab, Nocab Sicnarf, and so on, reading to right, to left, on all letters, on terminals, on initials, etc., until he finds the last letter bringing him to some point on the page which can be regarded as conspicuous, or significant in some way or other. There are also, as we shall see later on, a number of minor ways in which the incidence of the letters can be modified. The real point, however, is the degree of prominence to be demanded of the terminals upon which the signature 'keys.' And this is just the point in which, it seems to me, Mr. Booth's methods leave a good deal to be desired.

Take such a case as that of the signature recorded on p. 570, as found in Jonson's Epigram LVI in the 1616 folio. Beginning on the initial F of the first word of the last line, Mr. Booth reads a name which he spells 'Ffrauncis Bacon,' and ends on the N in the title 'On Poet-Ape.' Not only is there nothing conspicuous about this N, but it happens to be of a rather particularly modest and retiring nature, being a small capital flanked by two large ones. In the signature which he numbers 26, again, Mr. Booth allows himself to begin on the wholly inconspicuous word 'for' in the first line of

Shakespeare's 71st sonnet, for no better reason than that it contains the only F in the line. In signature 28, found in the 111th sonnet, his only excuse for ending on the equally inconspicuous F of the word 'friend,' is that it is the last F in the sonnet. Had there been another Mr. Booth would, of course, have adopted his favourite spelling 'Ffrauncis,' and been equally well satisfied. At the foot of p. 139 a signature is given which begins vaguely in the middle of a running-title. A particularly flagrant case is signature 10, occurring in a longish poem the first and last words of which begin with the letter N. Mr. Booth first draws attention to the fact that near the middle occurs what he calls a 'monogram of capitals.' The beginnings of certain lines run as follows:

But
  Arte
Fortune
  Was
For
  By
But

and thus present Bacon's initials twice over. He then proceeds to read from the N at the beginning of the poem, on initials, spelling Nocab, and arrives at the B of the first 'But' of the monogram. Then turning to the N with which the last word of the poem begins, he again reads on initials, this time backwards, spelling Nocab, and arrives— no, he does not arrive, as he obviously should, on the B of the second 'But,' but on the wholly inconspicuous B of 'By' in the line above, which forms no part of the monogram with which he started. And yet he calmly regards the acrostic as 'keyed'! It would be easy to multiply instances of the sort, and it is really not unfair to say that any excuse is regarded as good enough for the

selection of a terminal which happens to fit the acrostic. The evidential value of such signatures is, of course, absolutely nil.

There are various other liberties which the cipherer—or decipherer—has allowed himself, and which I will formulate in a series of supplementary rules, adding in each case a reference to the passage whence they are deduced.

1. When reading on terminals we have the choice, in any signature, of regarding words divided by a hyphen as either one or two (p. 36, *cf.* Nos. 5 and 12).

2. Stage directions may be included or excluded at will (p. 42), so may words within parentheses (No. 2).

3. Large initial letters may be used or disregarded according to convenience (No. 20).

4. The letters 'v' and 'u' though usually to be regarded as interchangeable, may, if convenient, be distinguished according to the modern usage (No. 31). N.B.—It is inconceivable that an Elizabethan cipherer should make this distinction.

5. We are at liberty to disregard any final -e that interferes with the acrostic, and may, for instance, 'key' a signature on the F of 'chiefe' and the N of 'owne' (No. 242, also Nos. 32, 33, etc.).

6. We may use as terminals of an acrostic any letters, however inconspicuous, provided they can be regarded as forming part of a monogram (No. 14, *cf.* No. 10).

7. We may, if convenient, include letters wholly disconnected with the text, such as printers' 'signatures' (Nos. 15 and 17).

With all these licences the game really becomes too easy to be amusing. In many cases, to read Mr. Booth's acrostics is like watching a bad patience player who is continually cheating against chance.

But I have said enough now of Mr. Booth's methods and must turn to his results. Of course this cipher-work requires care, and care in plenty Mr. Booth has bestowed upon it; but it also requires knowledge and intimate acquaintance with the habits and customs of the time. In this respect the searcher's equipment should be perfect if he is to avoid the pitfalls which lie everywhere on his road. I have already mentioned a little matter of 'u' and 'v,' which will at once rouse the suspicion of anyone familiar with Elizabethan typography; but I do not wish to labour the point as it affects (I believe) only one of Mr. Booth's signatures. But there was another insignificant little flaw in his knowledge, through which, by the irony of fate, he has given his case away pretty completely. The success of a great number of Mr. Booth's acrostics depends on our spelling 'Francis' as 'ffrancis.' Now he can, of course, point to plenty of autograph signatures in which this form occurs; but these have nothing to do with the case. As every palaeographer knows, the sign which looks like 'ff,' and is usually so rendered in modern 'diplomatic' texts, did not stand for 'f f'—still less for 'Ff'—but was merely a scribal form of the majuscule F. In sixteenth and seventeenth century type F is the invariable form; 'ff' as a majuscule

is unknown; 'Ff' would be a monstrosity. So long as he continued to write it, no educated person ever regarded this 'ff' as constituting two letters, but one, and one only; and it would, therefore, have been impossible that the idea of counting the F at the beginning of Francis twice over should ever have entered into the head of an Elizabethan cipherer. It is as certain as any historical fact can be that the signatures involving the spelling 'ffrancis' were not inserted in the text during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

A considerable proportion, therefore, of the signatures discovered by Mr. Booth must be ruled out as either too vague to possess evidential value, or as inconsistent with contemporary custom. When, however, all deductions have been made, we are left with a fair number of quite good acrostics, and some even startlingly good. There is a charming neatness about the signature (No. 89) in the famous lines so dear to Baconians:

> But since he cannot, Reader, looke
> Not on his Picture, but his booke.

'Begin to read from the initial B of the word "But"; to the right, and back on the next line; on all the letters of the words; spelling BACON, you will arrive at the initial N of the word "Not," thus keying the signature.' This acrostic also works backwards.

We thus come back to the fundamental question as to the part played by chance in the production of these acrostics. It is, of course, at bottom a mathematical question, but since the data are far

too complicated for direct mathematical treatment, we must seek some indirect method of approach. For my own part, I naturally claim all the 'ffrancis' acrostics as demonstrably the result of chance, and these are sufficient in number to invalidate the whole structure; but as this depends on a technical question upon which I can only appeal to the evidence of experts, the ordinary reader may be forgiven if he feels a little sceptical concerning it, and I will not press the matter. I think, however, that if it can be shown that the passages selected by Mr. Booth as containing signatures of Bacon contain those of other persons as well, and that Baconian signatures similar to those he has detected occur in books printed before Bacon was born; it will have to be admitted that chance plays a considerable part in their production. I will even say that unless it is possible to do this we shall be critically bound to accept at any rate a large proportion of the acrostics published by Mr. Booth as the result not of chance, but of design, together with whatever their genuineness may be held to imply.

Now a good many of the passages cited by Mr. Booth as containing signatures of Francis Bacon reveal other names as well to a very casual inspection. If the terminals of the dedication of 'Venus and Adonis' (p. 125), read from left-bottom to right-top corner, yield the name Frauncis Bacon, read in the natural order from left-top to right-bottom corner they equally yield that of Robert Dabourn. On p. 249 Mr. Booth is extracting an elaborate

signature read on capitals only, but he has neglected the heading to the page. Taking this into account and reading from the B at the left-bottom corner to the T at the right-top corner, we get the name Beamont, a variant of Francis Beaumont's signature. It would be easy to go on, for there are probably few if any of the passage cited by Mr. Booth in which a patience and ingenuity equal to his own could not find alternative signatures. But I will confine myself here to the consideration of two acrostics of special interest.

If there was one person more than another who had a passion for contributing commendatory verses on every possible occasion after the seventeenth century had attained its majority, it was the brilliant young Cambridge wit Thomas Randolph, and although he was only eighteen at the time of the original publication, it must have often occurred to readers to wonder why no lines of his were prefixed to the first, or indeed to any other, Shakespeare folio. But if we turn to the verses facing the title-page, we find his familiar initials conspicuous in the heading: 'To the Reader.' Following this hint we begin to read from this R, to the right, downwards, on initials, 'stringwise,' till the H at the end of Randolph brings us to the H at the beginning of the last words, 'his Booke.' 'T. Randolph (h)is Booke'![1] The mystery is solved. Randolph wrote no commendatory verses because he was himself

[1] Lest this manner of reading an acrostic be thought illegitimate, I would refer to p. 246 of Mr. Booth's work, where, reading on capitals only, he allows the signature, 'NOCABSICNARFrom my lodging in London,' etc.

the author of the plays in question. Truly a remarkable performance for a youth of eighteen.

I think it will be generally admitted that if the Shakespearian authorship of the plays is a myth, and the name of the true author to be revealed only by a diligent search for cryptic signatures, the one signature that must not occur is that of William Shakespeare. How do the facts stand? In the epilogue to the 'Tempest,' reproduced by Mr. Booth on p. 61, he finds the acrostic signature Francisco Bacono. It is not a good signature, because all the terminals are absolutely inconspicuous. What other acrostic does the epilogue contain? Disregarding (as Mr. Booth has taught us to do at will) the large initial N, it will be seen that the first and last couplets of the poem are indented. The initials now run:

O
A
W
. . .
M
A
L

leaving the W and M in conspicuous positions. Begin on the W and read on all capitals throughout the lines, spelling Wiliam, and you arrive at the before-mentioned M. (Observe, in passing, that a perfectly insignificant 'Let' has been given a capital letter for no imaginable reason except that it was needed for the acrostic.) So far, so good; but the occurrence of the name William only serves to arouse our curiosity. Where are we to look for another clue? for a spell, in fact, that shall unbind the hidden writing, and release the author's secret? Obviously in the passage in which the poet bids you 'by your Spell, But release me from my bands'! Follow his hint, and begin to read from the S of the word 'Spell,' at the

end of the eighth line, upwards (so as to escape the 'bands'), to the left, on all letters, till you have spelt the name Shakespeare, and you will arrive at the E of the word 'true' at the end of the fifth line above. Is it not perfectly evident that if you 'spell true' the acrostic here is not 'Francisco Bacono,' but 'Wiliam Shakespeare'? [1]

I will now leave the books dealt with by Mr. Booth, and turn to the first collected edition of Chaucer's works, printed in London in 1532, by a little-known printer Thomas Godfray. Prefixed to the volume is an unsigned address to the king, which runs into six columns of type. Into this address the printer has woven an elaborate acrostic. It runs from the initial T of 'To,' the first word or the heading, to the right, downwards, on all the letters, but reversing when it comes to the last line, so as to finish on the final letter of the word 'Amen' with which the address closes. The following is the remarkable statement it contains: 'These ensuing works heretofore ascribed to the industry of Master Geofrey Chaucer and now for the first time collected under his name as though by him indeed composed and imprinted in London by the care of Master Thomas Godfray this year of grace MDXXXII are in truth such as shall hereafter spring from the fertile genius of one who shall bear

[1] Lest this punning on the word 'Spell' should appear to some fantastic, let me quote one sentence from Mr. Booth (p. 144). 'As a working hypothesis I shall pay attention to the large cipher O in the monogram L$^{O}_{N}$; for to a man playing with the appearances of words as well as their meaning, it is possible that the words L$^{Ooke}_{Now}$ may have been chosen to mean "Looke ON Now"; also "Lo!"'

the famous honourable and never to be forgotten name of Maister or Sir Francese Bacan.' It is perhaps not strange that the prophetic cipherer should have been a little vague as to the spelling of the author's name; it may, however, be nothing more than a slip, for it is noticeable that if the cipher be read backwards the name will be found to be correctly spelt 'Nocab.' I am also encouraged in this belief by the fact that another acrostic in the same address contains the name in the usual spelling. This acrostic runs from the large initial A immediately following the heading, to the right, downwards, as before, but this time on the terminal letters of words only, to the final N of 'Amen,' and contains the following corroborative statement: 'Author of the poems and other elegant works imprinted in this volume and here by subtlety ascribed to one Chaucer clerk of London is in truth and fayth Francis Bacon.' These acrostics were, of course, the work of the printer, not the poet. Later on, however, we find a remarkable example of their combined efforts. It occurs on p. 792 (of the Oxford Press facsimile) in what is almost the last poem of Chaucer's in the volume: an envoy to the king. The lines run thus:

> O conquerour of Brutes Albyon
> Which that by lyne and free election
> Ben very kyng this to you I [s]ende
> And ye that may all harmes amende
> Haue mynde vpon my supplycation.

The apostrophe, 'O conquerour of Brutes Albyon,' was intended by the poet as a heading, and stands

outside his acrostic, which runs through the four remaining lines. Notice that the first and last of these end with N, while the middle line of the stanza begins with B. Start from this middle B and read to the right, downwards, on all the letters, spelling Bacon, and you arrive at the final N of 'supplycation' at the end of the fifth line. Start again from the same middle B and read to the left, upwards, on all the letters, spelling Bacon, and you arrive at the final N of 'election' at the end of the second line. This is quite a satisfactory Baconian signature, and is obviously due to the author. The printer has, nevertheless, endeavoured to improve upon it. It will have been noticed above that I have printed the first letter of the word 'sende' in brackets. In the original it is misprinted 'f.' This, of course, at once catches the eye, and raises a suspicion. Begin to read from this F, to the left, upwards, on all the letters spelling Francisco, and you arrive at the initial O of 'O conquerour,' the words with which the stanza begins.

The volume includes near the end some memorial verses to Caxton, for whom, as his predecessor in Chaucerian printing, Godfray evidently entertained a profound respect. Well he might, for Caxton, too, was in the secret, and passed it on to his disciple Wynkyn de Worde. Both knew that the poems passing under the name of Chaucer—aye, and of Lydgate, too—were in reality—what shall we call them?—ante-natal works of Francis Bacon's. Perhaps it was a case of metempsychosis. Caxton, of course, printed the 'Canterbury Tales,' but he also printed some

of Chaucer's smaller works as separate pamphlets. Among them was 'Anelida and Arcite,' a copy of which is in the Cambridge University Library, and has been published in facsimile. It is a little disconcerting to find the first stanza containing an obvious acrostic (reading on all letters from first to last), 'Thomas Heywood authore.' But most likely the acrostic was inserted to give Bacon a means of escape if he should ever be accused of the authorship. The second stanza, however, begins with the letter F, which looks more promising. Begin to read from this F, to the right, downward, on terminals only, spelling Francisco, and you will arrive at the ligatured CO (treated together as one terminal letter) of 'corynne,' the last word of the third stanza and of the page. Now proceed to the third stanza, which conveniently begins with the letter B. Start on this B and read as before, to the right, downwards, on terminals, spelling Bacon, and you will arrive at the final N (disregarding the -e as Mr. Booth has taught us to do) of this same word 'corynne.' This is a quite satisfactory signature, Francisco Bacon; the Latin termination, as is often the case, being added to the personal name only. At the end of the volume again, immediately above the explicit, is the envoy to the king, that we have already met in Godfray's collection, and containing the same acrostic of Bacon, though as it lacks the misprint not, of course, that of Francisco.

Another of these little Caxton pamphlets preserved at Cambridge contains Lydgate's poem of the 'Churl and the Bird.' The last stanza contains

an address to his 'little quire,' which he bids go humbly to his 'Master' and

> Beseke hym lowly of mercy And pyte
> Of thy rude makyNg tO haue Compassion

The 'Master' is ostensibly Chaucer, but in view of the acrostic revealed in these lines by the letters I have printed in capitals, another interpretation is obviously suggested. Yet another tract in the same collection contains Lydgate's poem, or treatise as it is called, of the 'Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose,' printed by Caxton's successor de Worde. The first stanza runs as follows:

> COntreuersyes / plees and dyscordes
> ¶ Bytwene persones were two or thre
> ¶ Sought out the groundes by recordes
> ¶ This was the custome of antyquyte
> ¶ Iuges were sette / that hadde auctoryte
> ¶ The caas conceyued standynge Indyfferent
> ¶ Bytwene partyes to gyue Iugement

Here is something distinctly promising for our present 'controversy,' offering patient 'judgement' in a difficult 'case.' Observe that the first line—a sort of heading, 'Controversies, Pleas, and Discords'—begins with a large initial which sets it apart from the rest, which are, moreover, linked together as it were by the use of a sort of index mark at the beginning of each. We concentrate our attention on these, and notice that the first and last begin with the word 'Bytwene,' and that this word (disregarding, as we have been taught, the final -e) begins with the letter B and ends with the letter N. Start, therefore, from the

B of the first 'Bytwene,' and read to the right, downwards, on the terminals, spelling Bacon, and you will arrive at the final N of the second 'Bytwen(e).' Start again from the initial B of this second 'Bytwene,' and read to the right, upwards, on the terminals, spelling Bacon, and you will arrive at the final N of the first 'Bytwen(e).' Obviously, therefore, there is a cryptic signature of Bacon 'between' these well marked points. But this is not all. Begin once more on the B of the first 'Bytwene' and read to the right, downwards, this time on all the letters, spelling Bacon, and you will arrive at the N of the word 'antyquyte' in the middle line of the stanza. Begin again on the B of the second 'Bytwene,' and read to the right, upwards, on all the letters, spelling Bacon, and you will arrive at the same N of 'antyquyte,' thus finally keying the acrostic. Is there a better signature than this to be found in Mr. Booth's collection?

Mr. Booth admits that chance as well as design can produce these acrostics. He will, no doubt, assign those here adduced to the former agency—which is, of course, exactly what I am arguing. But if mine, why not his also? He will, I suppose, point with complacent assurance to his two hundred and fifty instances, beside my paltry half dozen. To which, however, it should be a sufficient reply that he has probably spent more months in the chase than I have hours, that in the course of my own modest search I have found quite a proportionate number, and that there is no con-

ceivable reason why I should not go on finding them indefinitely at the same rate.

I have been told, I know not with what truth, that Mr. Booth began working out acrostic signatures of Francis Bacon in Shakespeare's plays as a joke, for the amusement merely of his private friends, that as he proceeded he became more and more astonished at the signatures he obtained, and finally ended by accepting his results in all seriousness. If so, it is a thousand pities that, before yielding his judgement captive to the supposed evidence, it did not occur to him to test the validity of his methods by the simple process I have here applied, that namely of trying whether, using the same methods, it was not equally possible to extract signatures from works with which Bacon obviously cannot have been concerned. Had such a test been honestly applied, the present volume would never have been written. I can hardly hope now to convince him of the real position of affairs, but if what I have said above should make him pause before extracting for publication—as he easily might—another and yet larger collection of acrostics—well, I shall not have wholly wasted my editor's space and my readers' patience.

W. W. Greg.

REVIEWS.

Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. Vol. ix., Part 1.

THIS section of the Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society duly pays its toll to Scottish interests by articles on the 'Early Views and Plans of Edinburgh,' by Mr. William Cowan, on the 'Printed Catalogues of the Advocate's Library,' by Mr. Dickson, and on the 'Bibliography of Robert Burns (1786-96),' by Mr. J. C. Ewing, this last a very interesting paper. The rest of the part is given up almost entirely to incunabula, which form the main subject of the Presidential Address by the late Mr. J. P. Edmond, from whose pen there is also printed a brief description of his method of cataloguing them. In collaboration with Mr. Gordon Duff, Mr. Edmond also prepared a paper, with notes and collations, on the books printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz at Subiaco and Rome, this joint contribution being by far the most complete and scientific survey of the work of these printers that has yet been published. From Mr. Duff's notes we learn that 'the total number of books issued from this press, including the unknown Donatus, is 64, and of these the Rylands Library (Spencer Collection) has 57, the

Bodleian 55, Lord Crawford 47, and the British Museum 46; to which last figure, however, two additions have been made since Proctor printed his index. From the figure which he gives as that of the total output of the firm it is evident that Mr. Duff does not admit the existence of several books assigned to it in Herr Burger's list on the testimony of Panzer and Dr. Copinger. In the case of Sweynheym and Pannartz, owing to the catalogue of their impressions appended to their supplication to the Pope in 1472, we have unusually good means of ascertaining what amount of their work has perished, and it is satisfactory to find that this reduces itself to the 'Donatus pro puerulis,' printed doubtless, as an advertisement at the outset of their career. In estimating the ravages wrought by time a very strong line has to be drawn between popular and learned books, and it should be more generally recognized than it is, that the extent to which learned works of all kinds have been preserved is as striking as the extent to which popular books have been destroyed.

In the task of helping to preserve the books printed by Sweynheym and Pannartz, the English collectors of the first half of the nineteenth century certainly did their full share; but the following extract from Mr. Duff's paper will show that in other respects their misdeeds were grievous:

'At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Lord Spencer collected his library, an old binding was anathema. A spotless copy in original binding would be immediately sent to Charles Lewis, or some fellow-miscreant, to be bound in full morocco and the edges cut

and gilt. How it was done I do not know, but they managed to hammer and press the book to about half its proper thickness, and then bound it up in a vice-like binding. If quires of ten leaves did not suit them (and it rarely did) they cut the leaves apart and overcast them into quires of eight. This overpressing and tight binding had two bad effects; it flattened out all the impress made by the type on the paper, taking away its beauty and making the page look like a lithograph, and it made it quite impossible to determine the real structure of the book.

'I cannot resist one story to show the utter absence of all interest in bibliography in the early collectors. Earl Spencer came into possession of the historic volume containing the so-called Mentelin editions of Terence and Valerius Maximus, bound together in the original binding, with a coeval manuscript note saying that the books had been bought at the Nordlingen Fair in 1470 from the printer himself, Adolf Rusch of Ingwiller (Mentelin's son-in-law). This particular volume had been quoted by Seemiller, Panzer, and other writers as a most important piece of evidence on the early history of printing. What did Lord Spencer do? He wanted the Valerius Maximus, but had already a fair copy of the Terence in green morocco. So the volume was broken up; the Valerius Maximus sent to Walther to bind in full red morocco, the leaf with the inscription torn out of the Terence and inserted (loose) in the other copy, while the Terence itself was sold as a duplicate.

'Anyone who has read Dibdin's tour on the Continent will remember his many purchases for the Althorp Library of books from the libraries of monasteries, where, as he tells us, they had lain untouched on the shelves from the day they were bought from the printer—spotless, and in their original bindings.

'Now they stand on the shelves of a modern library in the full morocco of Lewis, or Hering, or Kalthoeber, and

with almost all the human interest beaten out of them. This rebinding has played havoc with blank leaves, cancels, and many other things, so that although the Spencer set of Sweynheym and Pannartz books is unrivalled as a complete set for reference, it is not to be compared for bibliographical purposes with many smaller collections.'

Strongly as this denunciation is worded it is not one whit stronger than the facts justify, and some of the best men—Thomas Grenville, for instance, who noted with his own hand that his First Folio Shakespeare when it came into his possession was in its original binding, which he replaced with the inevitable red morocco by Lewis—were the worst offenders.

As an appendix to the papers by Mr. Duff and Mr. Edmond, there is printed a collation by quires of all the known Sweynheym and Pannartz books, which should lighten the task of several companies of bibliographers in the near future.

Altogether this section of the Society's Transactions is an excellent example of the wisdom of Mr. Edmond's doctrine that papers on other subjects should be mingled with those of purely Scottish interest. Would that he were still alive to do yet more good work!

English Heraldic Book-Stamps figured and described by Cyril Davenport. Constable & Co.

Of all marks of ownership in books, that of stamping the possessor's arms in gold on the covers of a good leather binding is the most dignified and durable. The number of English collectors who

have stamped their books in this way is not very great, and we doubt if Mr. Davenport would have found it easy to add another hundred stamps to his volume, however diligently he had sought for them. The very appetite with which men like Thomas Rawlinson, for instance, collected, made it impossible for them to reclothe all their acquisitions in handsome bindings, for though binding was doubtless cheaper in the eighteenth century than it is now, old books were cheaper still, so that the new jackets would mostly have cost more than the books. It is rather significant indeed that more than a few of the stamps which Mr. Davenport has figured belonged to men who never made any mark as collectors, and who were thus perhaps the better able to pay for handsome bindings because they had only a few books to bind. However this may be, any modern book-buyer who becomes possessed of a volume bearing an armorial stamp naturally desires to know to whom the arms belonged, and Mr. Davenport has used his wide knowledge of heraldry and his artistic skill to excellent purpose in describing and figuring the three hundred or so book-stamps which illustrate his fine volume. The stamps have been most carefully copied and reproduced, the armorial bearings are described with full technical accuracy, and a series of business-like biographies state the main facts of the careers of all the important owners. In addition to this, Mr. Davenport has prefaced his book with an admirable introduction, which offers a brief compendium of English heraldry, with a series of pretty little illustrations of its own. The book is also very well

indexed, so that the collectors of English bindings with heraldic stamps will find in it everything they need.

The Tragical Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, Shakespeare's Sonnets. Tercentenary Edition. Printed by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson at The Doves Press, 15 Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

Two of the most entirely satisfactory of the many fine volumes issued from the Doves Press are those containing Milton's 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regain'd,' with his minor poems. Mr. Sanderson has now set himself to print a few of the most important of Shakespeare's plays, and the first of these, an edition of 'Hamlet,' together with a tercentenary edition of the Sonnets, should be as welcome to lovers of Shakespeare as were the earlier books to those of Milton. The 'Hamlet' combines with practically the whole of the quarto text the passages printed for the first time in 1623. Both books retain the original spelling, majuscules, and punctuation. The Sonnets, printed two on a page so that each 'opening' shows four at a time, enable the beautiful type and presswork of the Doves Press to be seen to the highest advantage. In the 'Hamlet' the names of the speakers and the stage directions are all printed in red, so that every page has a very gay appearance. Ornament, as usual, is confined to a few fine capitals. In their own style it may safely be said that each book marks a limit of typographical attainment.

A.W.P.

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