STANLEY MORISON

SELECTED ESSAYS ON
THE HISTORY OF

LETTER-FORMS
IN
MANUSCRIPT
AND
PRINT

EDITED BY DAVID McKITTERICK

2

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

During his long career Stanley Morison held appointments as typographical adviser to Cambridge University Press, to the English Monotype Corporation, and to *The Times*, where he was responsible both for its radical new design in 1932 and for the standard history of the paper. These two volumes bring together for the first time the majority of his most lasting essays. Many of them, pioneering in their day, are now classics in their field.

The collection spans a period of forty years. It includes essays on letter-forms in manuscript and in print beginning with those published in *The Fleuron* in the 1920s, on typefaces in sixteenth-century Italy, on the development of Latin script, on the history of learned presses, and on the typography of newspapers.

Almost all the essays have become difficult to find, and some are virtually unobtainable, having been published originally in limited editions. In reprinting them, Morison's own private papers, now in Cambridge University Library, have been used extensively, and the opportunity has been taken of incorporating his revisions and afterthoughts wherever possible. For example, he rewrote 'Towards an ideal roman type' almost entirely after publication. Numerous extra illustrations have been added; altogether there are over three hundred plates and figures. Many of Morison's subjects have been studied in more detail since he first wrote on them, and an extensive series of footnotes draws attention to subsequent work by other scholars, as well as offering occasional comments on his own methods.

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VOLUME 2

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE
LONDON NEW YORK NEW ROCHELLE
MELBOURNE SYDNEY

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP
32 East 57th Street, New York, NY 10022, USA
296 Beaconsfield Parade, Middle Park, Melbourne 3206, Australia

First published 1980

Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge

Library of Congress Cataloguing in publication data

Morison, Stanley, 1889–1967.

Selected essays on the history of letter-forms in manuscript and print.

Includes index.

1. Type and type-founding – Collected works.
2. Writing – History – Collected works.
3. Newspapers – Collected works.
4. Scholarly publishing – Collected works.

I. McKitterick, David. II. Title.

Z250.M875 1979 686.2'21 78-54718

ISBN 0 521 22456 X vol. 1
ISBN 0 521 22457 8 vol. 2
ISBN 0 521 22338 5 set of two volumes

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Newspapers

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MEMORANDUM ON A PROPOSAL TO REVISE THE TYPOGRAPHY OF 'THE TIMES'[1]

PART I

§1

BEFORE considering the attitude of the public towards, first, an existing typography and, secondly, a projected revision, it is necessary to define the nature of the print and of the public concerned with it.

Typography is the designing of the letters, marks, and signs cast in metal from single matrices, or slugs made up from matrices. Finally, therefore, a revised typography means a revised type design. The arrangement of the letters into lines, the disposition of space between the lines, the arrangement of the lines in columns, their division into 'articles', the addition of headings and the relation of the parts to the whole of the page, and, finally, the ordering of the pages into sequence, are all operations belonging to a discussion of 'Lay-out' and 'Make-up'. Inasmuch, however, as there are points at which typography inevitably touches Lay-out and Make-up, this report, though concerned only with the design of the type, will introduce an occasional comment upon the structure of the paper.

In the main, however, these 'Proposals for a New Typography of *The Times*'[2] are restricted to a consideration of the letter in its several sizes which the paper at present uses for its composition; to an inquiry into the advisability and feasibility of a change, and to an investigation of the value of an alternative fount to be cut specifically for the paper.

The interested public is not easily defined with precision. It may, however, be agreed that the public which 'takes *The Times*' takes it *to* read, instead of taking it 'as read'; in other words, *The Times* is studied. An American newspaper magnate (whose papers are 'looked at' rather than read) has said that *The Times* is a work of reference – no compliment, unless it is understood that the reference value of *The Times* is a value superadded to its value as a complete, independent, and critical newspaper. In this unique completeness of *The Times* there is to be found the definition of its public, and secret of its appeal to readers for whom adequate information, enabling them to form an integral opinion on the affairs of the day, is an essential. For such men and women, *The Times* is an intellectual necessity, and *The Times* public is consequently a reasoning public. Moreover, whether or not it agrees with the premises according to which judgement is delivered upon a politician or a principle, *The Times* public reads a leader because it relishes leading, and would rather be led somewhere than nowhere. And as this clear leading is less an answer to conscious public demand than an issue of the independent editorial *mens sibi conscia recti*, it is not the intellectual, legal, clerical, scholastic, economic, sporting, political, or any other professional interest which drives readers to *The Times*, so much as their respect for the self-respect of its conductors. In this sense *The Times* is above 'class'.

These, then, are the reasons why *The Times* has such a strong hold upon its public, and why the

[1] [First printed for private circulation at *The Times*, 1930.]

[2] [The typographic changes in *The Times* have been discussed by, among others, J. G. Dreyfus, 'The evolution of Times New Roman', with drawings by Matthew Carter, *Penrose annual* 66 (1973), pp. 165–74 and by N. Barker, *Stanley Morison* (London, 1972), especially pp. 284–302. See also Morison's own '*The Times* New Roman: cutting and designing the new type' *The Times house journal* (1932) and *Printing The Times since 1785* (London, 1953).]

public holds to *The Times* whether or not it agrees with the this-or-that of its policy.

It follows, therefore, that typographical changes will be followed with keen interest, most of all by the very large proportion of the paper's subscribers who are friends as well as readers. It cannot be doubted that the approval of such readers will be gained if it be shown that a revision is called for and that the new typography is worthy of *The Times* – masculine, English, direct, simple, not more novel than it behoveth to be novel, or more novel than logic is novel in newspaper typography, and absolutely free from faddishness and frivolity.

There is, the present memorandum essays to prove, a clear case for a revision of the typography of *The Times* which shall bring its letter form into closer relation with, not so much the finest founts used in the contemporary books which *The Times* readers have on the same table with the paper itself, as with the bread-and-butter designs used in the most widely circulated monthly magazines and weekly journals. *The Times* will not be recommended to introduce anything remotely resembling the aesthetic faces of the private press movement of the nineteenth century, nor one of the mass production faces which American newspaper men have recently brought out.

The following pages attempt to show, first, that the time is now ripe for a revision of *The Times* text fount; and, by articulating the problem of a new type with relevant detail of past and present practice, to assist the Committee towards the adoption of a fount which shall be English in its basic tradition, new, though free from conscious archaism or conscious art, losing no scintilla of that 'legibility', which rests upon fundamental ocular laws, or of that 'readability', which rests upon age-long customs of the eye.

§ 2

The printing trade to-day, ranking as the fourth industry in the country, is divisible into many branches and sections according to process. Colour printing, obviously a section in itself, is divisible into litho, collotype, offset, and many other departments. Letterpress is divisible into book, magazine, general jobbing, and finally newspaper departments; and the various processes are again divided in accordance with the method by which they are accomplished – i.e., by flat bed or rotary machines. All these divisions are, of course, quite recent in their development, resulting from the increased specialization following the invention of machinery which, because it is labour-saving, requires the expenditure of very considerable capital. 'Long runs' are obviously the only economically sound orders for printers owning this equipment, since the longer the runs the less the cost per piece. Books are consequently printed upon flat bed machines of relatively small dimensions which show lower costs for the operation of short runs. Again, no work upon which the utmost care is required is ever printed on a rotary machine, because the curved plate of the rotary as at present constructed cannot be relied upon to produce a print comparable in crispness of outline with that produced by a fast-running flat bed press. In newspaper work speed is the one thing necessary, and speed is the great quality of the rotary. It follows that newspapers, being necessarily printed rotary, are inferior in impression to the average book, magazine, or catalogue, and are hopelessly outclassed when compared with any book-work in which a really serious effort has been made to secure a fine impression.

This lack of correspondence between the quality of newspaper and book typography is due to other causes than the use of different equipment. The necessities of news printing are unknown to book compositors, just as the pains taken in book houses would surprise a newspaper staff. Moreover, since 1848, when the book and newspaper compositors separated and conducted their wage negotiations with a separate group of masters, there has been no unity of craft interest between the two sections. These separations from conferences and associations with the elder branch of the craft, to which the newspaper section owed its beginning, wrought a separation from those vital influences which have raised the normal English printed book to a level of excellence unapproached by any other country in the world, and have left the newspaper section, whether masters or men, without any interests in common but those of wages and working conditions. As a consequence, newspaper printing, *qua* printing, takes the very lowest place in the craft. Not merely has the press-work necessarily deteriorated as the result of the use of rotary machines, but a general thoughtlessness and slovenliness in display has brought the composition of the most widely circulated newspapers below the level reached by the smallest provincial 'cock-robin shop'. It is small wonder, then, that newspapers are

generally regarded as outside the printing industry. Nothing amuses the ordinary job- and book-printer more than the claim made by certain newspaper lords to represent the Press. For purely financial reasons the newspapers have supported the invention and introduction of high-power and high-speed presses. This concentration upon production has left newspapers with the responsibility for having made no contribution of any sort to the art of printing. While there is not the slightest justification to-day for newspaper managers spending time in conferring with the managers of any other branch of the industry, yet to share in the influences which flow more or less freely throughout the craft as a whole would unquestionably benefit the newspapers. Such an interchange would undoubtedly work towards the raising of the standards of newspaper typography.

§3

To prove that a change in the letter form of *The Times* is not so much due as overdue is not difficult. Some history, however, is a necessary preliminary to the establishment of the criteria of the design as at present used and of the design suggested for use in its place. The historical study of reading habits is unavoidable if the Committee is to have the relevant data before them.

First, WRITING, the art of tracing symbols constituting in themselves, or in combination, 'words', representing objects or ideas, requires a note or two. The centuries which intervene between the original geometrical capitals used in Roman inscriptions [Plate 115] and the uncial and half-uncial hands which developed from them have no relevance to this inquiry. What has to be done is to show the main steps in the development of handwriting from the point at which it resembles, to some degree, the types in which these lines are set.

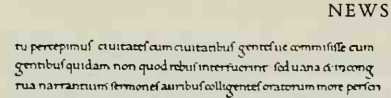
When Charlemagne, in the eighth century, determined upon a revision of the books used in the services of the churches in his dominions, he was assisted by Alcuin.[3] This Anglo-Saxon Churchman had left England on a mission to Rome to receive the archiepiscopal *pallium* (a vestment conferred by the Pope upon metropolitans without which they could not function) on behalf of Eanbald, Archbishop-elect of York. It was on this journey that Alcuin met Charlemagne (at Parma in 781) and was invited to return to the Emperor's Court as soon as he had concluded his business in England. So Alcuin departed from York, to become the central figure of a band of scholars under imperial patronage who studied to revive education, learning, and, of course, writing. He was chosen by Charlemagne to secure conformity in future copies of a corrected text of the Bible; he prepared a new text of the order and canon of the Mass as used in Rome; he assisted in securing throughout the Emperor's dominions a greater uniformity of liturgical practice. As a consequence, the amount of sheer writing for which Alcuin was partly responsible was very large, and his own Abbey of St Martin at Tours played a conspicuous role in the development of the new hand in which these new Bibles, missals, etc., were written. The essence of the script is that it is the first real upper and lower-case hand. It is considered (by scholars) to be a handsome character. This is not such a Good Thing as historians imagine. It was all very well for Charlemagne's men to say that because cursive forms tended to creep into MSS otherwise well-written in uncials, it would be a good idea to canonize shapes like g and use them with formal capitals. It is almost as if Hebrew with its formal, squarely written capitals, were diluted with a lower case based on the foul cursives used by German or Polish Jews. But whatever the ought and might-have-beens, the fact is that we have 'u. and l.c.' from Charlemagne [Plate 116].[4]

In spite of all attempts to suppress variation from the Caroline exemplars, national idiosyncrasies asserted themselves, and, as these differences took deeper and deeper root, the manuscripts of Northern Europe became readily distinguishable from those of the South. Thus, by the twelfth century the scribes of England, Germany, Flanders, and France produced a symmetrical, elongated, pointed and angular letter, while many Italian and Spanish calligraphers retained the rounded and squarer form. The original Caroline minuscule of the ninth century had almost disappeared from Europe by the fourteenth century. Instead, there prevailed Irish, English, German, French, and Italian national book-hands, with numerous running or cursive hands created out of the formal hand as the need for speed developed.

By the time printing was invented handwriting was almost in need of another revision. A reversion

[3] [On Alcuin and the liturgy see J. Deshusses, 'Le Sacramentaire de Gellone dans son context historique', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 75 (1961), pp. 193–210. See also p. 253 above.]

[4] [See further in 'Notes on the development of Latin script', above.]



154. 'Modernized' version of Caroline script

to the old letter which Charlemagne had brought into existence began in the South. The spirit of the leaders in the purely literary and artistic movement of the fifteenth century, known as the Renaissance, was a 'documented' movement based upon classical texts, many of which were preserved in manuscripts written in Charlemagne's hand. Thus arose a school of scribes who, in copying a classical text, copied, with more or less strictness, the script of that original. This, the neo-Caroline, hand was, as far as we know, first seen at Florence. A celebrated humanist, certainly one of the very first to interest himself in calligraphy, Niccolò Niccoli, directed a school about the year 1425 or so in which scribes were trained to write. Their precise round letter was a 'modernized' version of Charlemagne's hand. This new script [a specimen is shown in Fig. 154] was a great success in literary circles, and by the middle of the century a powerful movement of scholars and nobles, interested in the culture of pre-mediæval and pre-Christian civilization, set itself to the encouragement of beautiful writing on the neo-Caroline model. The mediæval black-letter they considered most objectionable. Its elongated ascenders were like so many 'obelisks', and the humanists invented for it the nickname 'gothic' or 'barbarous', which has stuck to it ever since. In a few years the neo-Caroline script, or 'littera antiqua', as it was then called, became the accepted hand for secular manuscripts. Moreover, just as there was a formal and informal 'gothic', the antique writing was of two kinds, the upright for text and the sloping for current or cursive use. These are the originals of our so-called 'roman' and 'italic' types. These two varieties of the same script came in due course to England. Antonio Mario, one of the most celebrated of Niccoli's pupils, was also one of the most prolific writers of his time. Much of his work was undertaken for highly placed patrons such as William Gray, Bishop of Ely, who, in 1454,[5] commissioned several fine manuscripts, three of which yet remain in the library of Balliol College, Oxford. It is not surprising that, with such manuscripts before them, the nobles of Florence scorned typography as a contemptible makeshift. Cardinal Bessarion, for one, the first Greek scholar of his day, was anything but amused with this invention 'by the barbarians of a German city'.

Frederick, Duke of Urbino, a great patron of scholars, refused to have so much as one printed book in his library. The Duke preferred to encourage the thriving *scriptoria* attached to the street of book shops in the Via degli Librai (now the Via della Condotta), which constituted the meeting places of the *literati* and their ducal patrons. Immensely inferior as typography was, and is, to the calligraphy of the Florence of that day, the fundamental economy and speed of the printer gave him, to a greater extent than the scribe, or any number of scribes, the means of satisfying the lust of calligraphy-loving scholars of the fifteenth century for knowledge and discussion. The printers were bound to win in their struggle with the scribes.

In Gutenberg's time there were in use in Europe some four or five hands, broadly divisible into two classes: 'gothic' and neo-Caroline or 'humanistic'. The former obtained everywhere; only in Italy was its position disputed. The 'gothic' form showed national peculiarities according as it was handled by German, French, or English scribes, but the 'humanistic' was at that time confined to Italy. There were informal varieties of gothic in use for particular purposes where, for instance, a small letter was necessary and where a swift running hand was developed by the need for rapid dispatch of documents. The so-called 'humanistic', propagated by the Renaissance scholars and the scribes attached to their movement, consisted of the upright and the sloping. This, then, was the calligraphic situation at the time men in the North were straining their ingenuity to invent some form of multiplying texts by means of impressions from movable types.[6]

[5] [Or rather 1445. For Gray's manuscripts, written during the 1440s, see *Duke Humfrey and English humanism in the fifteenth century. Catalogue of an exhibition held in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1970), nos 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, which give further references.]

[6] [See further in 'Early humanistic script and the first Roman type', p. 215 above.]

§ 4

Without troubling to settle the priority of invention as between the Dutch 'Costeriana' and productions of Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, it is to be noted that printing, as we know it, began with that pointed black-letter to which generations of scribes, secular and monastic, had accustomed the librarians and readers of Germany, France, Flanders, and England.

There can be no doubt that Gutenberg's pointed text is a magnificent type, not perhaps as fine as others we shall see later in this essay, but well cut, harmonious, and very pleasantly conscious of its discipline and integrity. His informal type is also successful, though interesting to us mainly as the ancestor of the *Fraktur* employed to-day for vernacular books and newspapers.

In the beginning, craftsmen like Renner, Ratdolt, and Valdarfer, from Mainz, Ulm, Spira, Augsburg, and other German centres, could always be sure of gaining a living by travelling south, printing for the Church. They threw up from their liturgical work descriptive terms for their types which have persisted until the coming of the point system; so we find *brevier* in England and Spain, *primer* and *pica* in England, *canon* in Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and England, *missal* in Germany and Spain, *corale* in Italy.

In Italy the gothic letter, richly and magnificently used, modified the uncompromising joints of typical German black-letter, rounded them and softened the angles. Printing came into Italy with Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, who set up at the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco, near Rome, in 1464. Other Germans followed the lead of Sweynheim and Pannartz and migrated south, following the road to Venice through what is now Austrian Tirol.

Four years after the printing at Subiaco of a text of Lactantius in a transitional type, there was cut in Venice a letter which may be described as a pure humanistic letter – or, to use modern language, a pure roman. It was first used in 1469 by two Germans who had migrated to Venice from Speier in the Rhineland, and is so well done that it presents a modern appearance to the modern eye. In fact, with Johann and Wendelin da Spira we come into contact with the modern book, though, to be sure, the title-page and other preliminaries had yet to develop. (N.B. – The fount at present used in the headings to the Court page is based upon the Spira–Jenson letter fount as shown below.)

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVW
XYZ 1234567890
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

Though the first undoubted roman, not a good one, was the invention of Adolf Rusch, of Strasburg (post 1464), it was the brilliant achievement of da Spira and Jenson which set Venice (and the roman type) above Rome, Florence, Bologna, or any other printing centre. The letter of the da Spiras was surpassed by the design which a Frenchman, Nicholas Jenson, brought out in the following year. This is a clear, well constructed type, readable, finer in colour, better cut, and possessing greater elegance than any predecessor. The orthodox authorities in typography have pronounced it to be the most perfect type ever cut. Jenson also issued more than one gothic letter whose distinction may not have rivalled that of his famous roman, but which found great favour in the eyes of his contemporaries. All his letters were remarkable as much for the technique of their cutting and founding as for their design, but it was his roman which made him and his city famous, and led to the use of the proverbial phrase 'impressa littera venetiana'. Since William Morris and Cobden Sanderson copied it, to many of the present day no praise seems too high for it.[7]

Twenty-five years passed before the appearance of any other letter which might be regarded as having the slightest right to dispute the primacy of Jenson's. Early in 1495 there was founded in Venice a press whose reputation for scholarship was to become unique. Aldus, a native of a Roman province (hence his full name, Aldus Manutius Romanus), was a business man as well as a scholar, and does not appear to have concerned himself with the technical problems of printing, giving himself to the printing of such classic texts as were extant only in manuscript form.

[7] In the case of the latter, for instance. we have a very ugly lower-case *h* – a character which is greatly inferior to that in the Aldine fount in the proportion of its body and main stroke. The lower-case *d* is also an unsatisfactory letter, but it is in his capitals that Jenson is perhaps most open to criticism; they are too large for the lower-case, the *H, P, N, M* are over-conspicuous, as must necessarily result when a designer elevates his majuscules to the height of the ascenders. In the case, therefore, of a liberally inked Jenson page it will be found that the capitals are unnecessarily self-assertive, a fault avoided in the best Aldine founts – i.e., that of Bembo's tract 'De Aetna' (1495) and of the 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili' (1499).

By reason of the fame of his press, the types of Aldus affected French typography, and so strongly that Italian vestiges may readily be discerned in the typography of the foremost printers of Paris. One of the romans used by Aldus equals Jenson's in merit.[8]

The type of Pietro Bembo's 'De Aetna' (Venice, Aldus, 1495) is the origin of the design known to modern printers as 'old-face'. We have only to place in juxtaposition the letters of Jenson, Aldus, Garamond, and Caslon to see that our present letters derive immediately from Aldus through Garamond, and that the latter did not, as often alleged, copy from Jenson.[9] But more (alas for the Committee!) of this later.

In 1500 Aldus cut the sloping character which he terms 'chancery', and which we have grown accustomed to call italic. It is not a very satisfactory letter from the point of view of design, or indeed in its suitability as type; no fewer than sixty-eight ligatures have been counted in the early volumes of the library of classics for which Aldus specified this type. But as punch-cutting it was a triumph, coming from the same Francesco da Bologna who cut the types of the 'De Aetna' and the 'Polifilo'. Owing to the welcome that greeted the low prices and novelty of the Aldine classics, the chancery or italic received an attention which it did not really deserve, with the result that the type was copied in many other Italian printing centres and in England, the Netherlands, and France. Its chief merit, that of making up extremely economically, was a supreme quality in such a series as that for which Aldus employed it.

The calligraphic deficiencies of the Aldine italic are only too apparent when it is placed side by side with that invented in Rome by one of the scribes employed in the Vatican Chancery, Ludovico Arrighi of Vicenza. The importance of the Aldine italic arises from its being undoubtedly the first of its kind, but the Arrighi is an infinitely more reasonable design and consequently possessed greater survival value. There is no doubt that we owe the form of italic which we employ as a companion to our 'old-faces' rather to Arrighi than to Aldus. Comparison of Arrighi's italic with that of Colines will demonstrate how immediately the French founts are indebted to Arrighi's kind of italic. The present tendencies of English typography to make more and more use of old-faces makes it important to remember that we derive them all more or less directly from French sources. This is clear if the capitals of Jenson are compared with those of Claude Garamond. The difference is very largely that of serif formation, but this difference is all-important, since the serif is nearly always a determining feature of the design.

Garamond produced the exact prototype of our 'old-faces' – the design which comes down to us by the medium of the Dutch cutters, Voskens, van Dyck, to our own William Caslon.

The Garamond type steadily acquired influence, and in a short time actively affected the typography of Venice and Florence. Indeed, by the middle of the sixteenth century the Garamond letter had succeeded in deposing, in Venice itself, the Venetian design which was originated there by da Spira and Jenson. It is not easy to account for the progress of the Garamond design in Italy. Doubtless Guillaume Le Bé, Garamond's pupil, who was working in Venice between the years 1546 and 1550, supplied a certain quantity of French type to Venetian printers, but it remains curious that the merits of the Jenson design should have been overlooked in favour of the work of a 'foreigner', in spite of the fact that he, like Jenson, was a Frenchman. It was yet another Frenchman who was invited to cut punches for a new printing office attached to the Papal Court. Robert Granjon went to Rome at the invitation of Pope Gregory XIII and remained there for several years, cutting numerous orientals with some romans and italics.[10] The Granjon italic is generally of the flowing variety invented by Arrighi rather than the constricted letter cut for Aldus. Garamond, it is true, made one experiment,

[8] This is the face used in the Hever Book for 1930 [*The typography of 'The Times' illustrated in upwards of forty plates*].

[9] The history books do not make this clear, as they relate our 'old-faces' to Jenson instead of, e.g., Estienne of Paris. While the modifications which the Paris punch-cutters Garamond and Granjon made did not change the structure of the best Venetian type, they certainly damaged its appearance – and in type design appearance is reality. The teaching of the history books is that Garamond copied Jenson. The fact is that he copied the roman type used in Bembo's tract 'De Aetna' printed by Aldus (1495). See S. M.'s article in the 'Gutenberg Festschrift', 1925.

[10] See the letter [By Morison: 'The Fell types at Oxford'] in *The Times* for 3 November 1930. The oldest surviving fount in active use today is a Granjon face.

Fſt & hæc melioris notæ Litera Currens
Ciceroniana, artifice Roberto Granione
Gallo prodita, vulgo Scolaſtica alis dicta,
Ea in lineas arctior componitur opera-
rumq; magis patiens exiſtit.

and perhaps more, with types which deliberately reproduced the Aldine italic. He printed three or four books in that face about 1545, but it would not appear that French taste of that day approved his efforts in this direction; Robert Granjon remained master of gothic as well as latin cursives.

From this time italic, instead of being a text type, is henceforth reserved for preliminary matter, citation, and emphasis. Only exceptionally after 1550 are there any books composed entirely in italic. It should be observed, too, that the upper-case of italic founts is now sloped. In the beginning, as we have seen in Arrighi and Estienne, it was not so, italic text being invariably worked with upright capitals, and, as many think, to the gain of the composition.[11]

The great successes in Italian printing were won between the years 1470 and 1520, and in France between 1525 and 1560. Christopher Plantin of Antwerp, working with types of Garamond and Granjon, produced a number of handsome works, and though the work of this printer has perhaps been overrated, there can be no doubt that his Polyglot Bible is a notable achievement, alike in scholarship and in typography. His nearness to our coasts helped Antwerp influence upon English printing.

The sixteenth century, then, gave us the types which we now call 'old-face'. The seventeenth century reproduced these letters, though in most cases not without some loss of beauty. English craftsmanship remained all this time in its infancy, thanks to the repressive legislation of the Crown. In Moxon's time it was the custom to commend a book by remarking that it was printed in Dutch letter, and he himself thought van Dyck's the best of all. When in 1669 Bishop Fell took in hand the task of procuring types for the use of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, he immediately turned to Holland. His agent, Thomas Marshall, procured punches and matrices from the Voskens, van Dyck, and from the Frankfurt house of Luther (formerly Berner).

The eighteenth century brings us to that kind of letter which we, following Fournier-le-jeune, who was the first to employ the term, call 'modern'. It is the main distinguishing characteristic of the modern-face that its serif[12] is thinner, longer, and more refined than in the old-face. The difference as between the stem and the hair line is more marked, and the general note of 'modern' is that of extreme precision and a certain perpendicularity of line and disposition of weight. As a rule, also, the body of the modern letter form is less round and open. During recent years these modern-faces have come in for a great deal of criticism, not to say abuse. William Morris condemned them unsparingly.[13] It must be pointed out that though Giambattista Bodoni of Parma was an innovator, he did not, as often assumed, create the modern serif.

The 'modern' serif is not modern, but only forgotten.[14] Nevertheless, generations passed before it made an appearance in printing. No alternative to the short, stubby, and bracketed serif, which originated with the Bembo type and was copied by Garamond, appeared until 1702. When that most important printing institution, the Imprimerie Royale, was established in the Louvre by Cardinal Richelieu in 1640, its sole types were the old-faces cut after the models of Garamond, Le Bé, and Granjon. Louis XIV approved a suggestion that the Royal printing-house should create an entirely new set of roman and italic types whose use should be absolutely reserved to the office of the Louvre.[15] The project was sanctioned in 1692, and a commission of 'experts' (scientists, rationalists) was appointed by the Académie Royale des Sciences to study the formation of perfect roman letter. The chairman of the commission, one Jaugeon, embodied the royal commission's findings in a bulky report, attached to which were a number of elaborate geometric designs in which the traditional roman form was submitted to the logic of the rule and compass. Jaugeon's letters were drawn upon a

[11] The first italic with sloping (i.e., italic) capitals seem to have appeared in Vienna, 1532 (at the press of J. Singrenius). It is a miserable invention. Not all Granjon's skill made the sloping capital a success. A capital is a capital; formality is its very nature – a line of capitals may 'stand easy' on the stone but not on the page. Italic capitals, being informal in their nature, never 'stand to attention', they sprawl, as witness:

THESE WORDS ARE IN GARAMOND ITALIC

[12] For detailed description of serifs see *post* p. 312.

[13] 'Swelteringly hideous' was his description of Bodoni.

[14] In fact, the same thin, flat serif was foreshadowed 250 years before Bodoni was born, – namely in manuscripts of the sixteenth century. Some of the letters modelled upon these manuscripts – i.e., those of da Spira and Jenson to which we have already referred – themselves possess flat, unbracketed serifs, though, of course, these are of a heavy weight. The thin, flat serif can, however, readily be seen in the copybooks of several professional Venetian writing-masters, – for instance, the *lettera antiqua tonda* drawn by G. A. Tagliente exhibits it. The same thin, flat serif appears elsewhere in Italian and French writing-books.

[15] [See fig. 85 and A. Jammes, *La réforme de la typographie royale sous Louis XIV; Le Grandjean* (Paris, 1961).]

field which subdivided into no fewer than 2,304 small squares. The royal road to a perfect roman letter was, therefore, a mathematical one.[16] Philippe Grandjean, however, to whom had been committed the task of punch-cutting, elected to work with a considerable degree of independence, preferring the guidance of his own trained eye. The *romain du roi Louis XIV*, as the new letter was called, in comparison with Garamond's roman, displays a sharper contrast between its thick and thin strokes, and is regular and mechanically more perfect – i.e., better in its justification.[17] The most important general differences are in respect to a certain condensation of form and novelty of serif. For the first time the thin, flat, unbracketed variety appears in type form. In the top of the roman lower-case b, d, i, j, k, l, and h the new feature extended both sides.

An interesting feature of Grandjean's italic is his departure from the ancient old-face form of the lower-case *h* which is derived, of course, from that modification of roman square capital writing known as uncial – the hooped forms of Garamond's and Caslon's italic lower-case *h* go back to a fourth-century original, while the other form is no older than Louis XIV's time.

The new *romain du roi* exercised a determining influence upon French type-founders, in spite of a Royal decree forbidding any counterfeiting of the new face. Fournier-le-jeune's way out was to narrow the proportions of his letter and to modify the serifs only slightly. His italic modifications can be seen in the fine oblong folio specimen made and published by Fournier in the year 1742; and though the Crown monopoly of the *romain du roi* was safeguarded by the enactment of penalties against its reproduction by trade type-founders, a measure of approximation was tacitly allowed.

The advantage of a narrow-bodied letter was rapidly appreciated, and Grandjean's methods were followed by the Dutch founders. The great publishing houses of Amsterdam found the condensed letter a great convenience, and by 1770 were producing innumerable pocket volumes employing condensed letters.

J. M. Fleischman cut a series of condensed letters for the great foundry of the Enschedés at Haarlem during the years 1730 to 1768. Fleischman cut some twenty alphabets, all of which were of an elongated character, with thin hair lines and thin serifs. This was the series of letters which Fournier copied (as he admits in his description 'Goût Hollandois'). When Bodoni commenced to print he used Fournier's letters and ornaments. Later, he made copies of his own, and, later still, he cut some fresh varieties in which the contrast between the thicks and thins was accentuated, and he kept on doing and re-doing these types until the thins became invisible and the thicks unforgettable.

Bodoni's careful presswork and sense of style in typography gave these faces a morbid brilliance and a great 'high-brow' appeal. His influence was enormous on the Continent and considerable in England. The name of Bodoni was in everybody's mouth, and disciples sprang up all over Italy. At the same time the founder of the great French dynasty of printers, publishers, and paper-makers, Ambroise Firmin Didot, was also experimenting with types cut in the style of Grandjean and also of Louis Luce, who had made for the Imprimerie Royale the first of all condensed letters. In a few years the new taste spread everywhere. The example below shows the lengths to which the new fashion

Oui, Madame, à la Vérité
Rendons cet hommage

was later carried by French and other enthusiasts. They seem to us made for the service of a civilization quite other than that for which the clear, honest, and admirable types of William Caslon I were cut between 1720 and 1726. The english, pica, and brevier are brilliantly cut. Certain of the larger bodies cut by William Caslon II are at least agreeable, though every size above two-line pica contains more than one ill-formed sort unrelated either to capitals or lower case. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the series remains a splendid achievement. Certainly Caslon made a very handsome letter out

[16] It looked like this:

En 1792, l'Imprimerie du Louvre devin
exécutive. **Malgré l'activité que déployait**
ne pouvait suffire à la publication des l
tionnaires dont le nombre allait chaque j

[17] The public first saw the type in an elaborate volume on the medals issued during the reign of Louis XIV. It was executed between 1699 and 1702 with the collaboration of the first engravers of the day – e.g., Berain, who designed borders, Le Clerc, Edelinck, and many others. The types were 'nouveaux, dessignez, gravez et fondus par le sieur Grandjean'. It is perhaps the most swagger book ever produced.

of the Dutch precedents which he manifestly had before him. The credit for initiative during this century seems to rest rather with Baskerville, for his roman type design must be admitted to be an open, legible, and expressive letter possessing a great deal more novelty and individuality than any predecessor.

The refinement and precision which characterized Baskerville's letters went with his fine wove paper and hot pressing. None of these things was much appreciated in England during his lifetime.

Later the influence of Baskerville's forms was considerable in England, as witness the types of Fry and Wilson. One of the Caslons, also, who split away from the parent firm, made a similar letter. All these types are round, and, though sharing sharp contrasts as between their thicks and thins, are still classed as 'old-faces'. Nevertheless, their nicety and precision of cut foreshadow the 'modern' face. The conservative temper of the country at first judged the Baskerville types as vastly inferior to those of Caslon; but it is the curious fact that, in spite of their merits, Caslon's designs failed to hold their own against Baskerville's on the one hand and certain continental influences on the other. It remains to be said that while Caslon's letter has a happy archaism, being based upon the type form of 200 years before, Baskerville's was a contemporary design based upon the handwriting which he himself had earlier taught as a writing-master.

On the Continent Baskerville's[18] books were eagerly examined by Bodoni and the members of the great Didot family with which French typography of the nineteenth century is so largely identified. The first of the Didots who took typography as a career was François-Ambroise Didot (1730–1804), who directed the French National Printing Office for a time, and to whom the Continent of Europe owes its authoritative point system. The types from his designs were engraved by the punch-cutter Waflard and take the original design of Grandjean a step farther than Fournier or Bodoni. His sons and their successors drew and redrew upon the same designs, increasing that brittle and attenuated aspect most prejudicial to the reader's sight but such creations are, one supposes, for use in books in which the text is preserved rather than read.

These were the influences which were gathering strength to overthrow the old-faces in England. When the Logographic Press was founded in 1785 Caslon's founts were automatically laid in – such alternatives as existed would scarcely have been distinguishable by any but a specialist.

But there were changes in the air. The old-face, whether Caslon's original or copies by Fry, dominated the composition of books and periodicals for two generations – say, between 1730 and 1790. It was the design which Caslon copied from the Dutch, who had it from Plantin, who was the possessor of punches cut by the originators of the letter, Claude Garamond and Robert Granjon.

The Times (under its original name of *The Daily Universal Register*) first appeared on 1 January 1785, equally set in old-face. The *Morning Post* – until 1785 in the hands of a group consisting, besides auctioneers, of certain modish young men, the Rev. Dr John Trusler, and John Bell, bookseller, of the British Library, in the Strand near Exeter 'Change – was in a state of eruption. Bell flung off from the *Morning Post* in 1786, and with Edward Topham, a young man of means from Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, founded a journal entitled *The World, or Fashionable Gazette* (1 January 1787). It was printed 'under the direction of John Bell at the British Library in the Strand'. Bell's interest in printing had been quickened by a visit to Paris in 1785, where he inspected the leading printing offices and made the acquaintance of Moreau-le-jeune, Le Mire, and other eminent artists, besides visiting the most distinguished printing office in Europe, the Imprimerie Royale.

By the time of Bell's visit, the 'modern' face of Grandjean had been assimilated by the finest Paris printers, and on his return to England Bell decided to establish a type foundry for the purpose of making types according to an original design. He established a foundry in his own house at the British Library under the title of 'The British Letter Foundry', with Richard Austin as his punch-cutter, and together they produced the first English 'modern' face[19] as shown overleaf.

[18] The type of this text is [was in 1930] a modern (Monotype) recutting of Baskerville's design. [Monotype Baskerville was cut in 1923. On the use of Baskerville's types abroad see J. G. Dreyfus, 'The Baskerville punches 1750–1950', *The library* fifth ser. v (1950), pp. 26–48.]

[19] [Cf. S. Morison, *Richard Austin* (privately pr., Cambridge, 1937) and T. B. Reed, *A history of the old English letter foundries* rev. A. F. Johnson (London, 1952), pp. 345–6. On Bell cf. S. Morison, *John Bell, 1745–1831* (privately pr., Cambridge, 1930) and on Topham his *Edward Topham, 1751–1820* (privately pr., Cambridge, 1933).]

The capital R with the curly tail, which Baskerville occasionally used and Caslon never, originated with Grandjean. Fournier took it, and of course Didot. The short-ranging J, which had been introduced by Grandjean in the *romain du roi* of 1693 and cut by Fournier-le-jeune in 1763, appears here for the first time in England – though Bell gives also the descending sort J. The figures are another novelty; the old-style 'hanging' sorts 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 are deserted in favour of what printers know as 'modern' or 'ranging' figures, 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0.

The engraving of the Bell fount is remarkably good, surpassing in precision all previous English and continental type-cutting. Bodoni had familiarized the 'circles' in England and Europe with a flat serif taken from Grandjean's *romain du roi*, and with sharply contrasted thicks and thins. It is, therefore, much to the credit of Bell and Austin that they should have maintained their independence equally against Bodoni and Baskerville. For all its French inspiration, the Bell type looks English and is English because it is conservative, yet not more conservative than it behoved an eighteenth-century type design to be.

Bell's type possessed a harmony in serif formation as between roman and italic not possessed by French types. In view of Caslon's and Baskerville's founts both possessing cursive italics, it is not remarkable that Bell's italic should possess a similar quality; but it is individual in design.

This, then, is the earliest English modern-face type. Its first known appearance is in a title to Bell's edition of Pope (in the 'British Poets' series) dated 1787. The first general specimen was issued in May, 1788 (see the unique copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which Bell presented to Anisson,[20] director of the Imprimerie Royale). Its appearance in newspapers was delayed. *The World* contained a few lines in use as titlings, and, on the break-up of the partnership with Topham, Bell's new invention, *The Oracle; or, Bell's New World*, included at first no more than a few scattered lines, for *The Oracle* took some time in getting into its stride; but by 1792 it was printed throughout in the new face, thus ranking as the first newspaper to be set in 'modern'. It was the first paper, also, to abandon the long ſſ, Bell's reasons for this innovation are to be found in his preface to the first volume of the Shakespeare of 1788.

John Bell's novelties were not generally approved in newspaper circles. John Walter had denounced him already as a 'vagabond Jacobin' on account of certain dispatches which Bell had sent from the Duke of York's Army in Flanders to *The Oracle*, and a later dispute with John Walter over the typography of the 'Life of George Anne Bellamy' inevitably conveyed the impression that Bell was an irresponsible character.[21] The typefounders,

[20] Anisson visited P.H.S. [Printing House Square] in 1788. To his zeal for printing we owe a magnificent collection of type-specimens, which includes the only surviving copy of John Bell's specimens.

'Monsieur Anison, the director of the Printing House belonging to the King, visited my Press,' says John Walter I, because Madam St Paul had urged Louis XVI to adopt the Logographic principle. Walter points out that the 'ingenious authoress was compensated with a considerable stipend'. Anisson was guillotined in 1793.

[21] [*The history of The Times. 'The Thunderer' in the making* (London, 1935), pp. 7, 43.]

however, took a different view, rightly estimating the merits of the Bell type as a design and correctly divining the technical merits of the engraving by Austin.

The Fry foundry made an admirable copy in 1790, in which the thicks and thins were more sharply contrasted. On the dispersal of the British Letter Foundry in 1796, Richard Austin was free to work as a punch-cutter for the foundries of Alexander Wilson and others, so that soon every type-founder possessed a similar face cut by or after Richard Austin.

With the issue for 9 November 1799, *The Times* went 'modern', using throughout 'an entire new and beautiful Type from the Foundry of Mrs. Caslon which we hope will meet with the public approbation'.

Other newspapers slowly followed the new fashion, though the *Morning Post* continued in old-face for another five years. Some newly established Sunday and other journals continued the old-face tradition, the type foundries realizing that, as leaders of the book-printing craft like Bulmer and Bensley printed exclusively in 'modern', it was only a matter of time before the whole trade would follow. Quickly and surely the contents of the foundries were revised in accordance with the technical standards of Richard Austin. The principle of fattening the thick lines which William Martin adapted from Bodoni was grafted on to the Bell–Austin tradition, and the types so cut by Alexander Wilson began to influence the newspaper offices of the country. William Miller, foreman of the Wilson foundry, established in Edinburgh in 1809 a foundry of his own, perhaps the first to be entirely devoted to the modern face. It is from this foundry that *The Times* present founts indirectly derive, and it is likely that they were designed by Richard Austin.

The first English modern-faces used in books occur in the work of Thomas Frognall Dibdin's printer, William Bulmer, of the Shakespeare Press – close-set narrow-bodied letters with fine hair-lines. After Bulmer came a deluge of modern-faces, all repugnant to our taste though 'interesting' enough in the hands of artists who, like the late C. Lovat Fraser, care for the pastiche and the mock antique. But apart from these accidental amusements fine hair-lines are mischievous to the eye, and they are fragile in use.

Typography had now run itself into a one-way street. The Grandjean invention, having passed through the hands of Fournier, Bodoni, Fleischman, and Austin, was no longer new: novelty could now be got out of the thing only by the application of torture. So came the 'grotesques'. Thorne's 'fat grotesque' was the first original English design to make an impression abroad. This sort of thing:

With Thorne we produced a letter during 1800–3 which was a novelty, distinct and dreadful. It was taken up with great enthusiasm in France, Germany, and Holland. The Imprimerie Nationale itself in 1840 commissioned Thorne to cut a like face, and the Paris trade was supplied with a *gras* instead of a *maigre* Didot. These heavy faces were both the cause, and the effect, of a distinction between book job and news types and methods of display which was to widen rapidly in the early years of the nineteenth century. Until the end of the eighteenth century newspapers, hand-bills, tickets, etc., were alike composed in book offices and in book types. With the Industrial Revolution newspaper, advertising, and propaganda printing began to establish conventions other than those of book-work. Our population was more than doubled during the eighteenth century, and the advance of wealth was even greater than that of the population. In spite of the loss of the American Colonies, our commerce hardly decreased; profits piled up even when workmen earned the right to carry watches lest the factory clock should prolong the natural hours, as before the Factory Acts it did. The day of the 'grotesque' arrived with the arrival of 'prosperity'. So after Thorne (1803) came the ironically named Thorowgood (1824) with his swarm of fat faces, as Hansard says, 'crying *Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra*'. The unexampled success of English industrialism staggered Europe, and as the Continent bought our machines it copied our types. Batteries of bold are to be found in the French specimen books of the fifties, and in many German and Spanish ones. Consistently with bad types, speed lowered the standards of production. From 1820 to 1860 all printing, books, newspapers, and magazines, was in a sorry condition at home and

abroad. The 'Steam Printer' was with us. There were exceptions here and there. In London the publisher William Pickering, and his printers, the Whittinghams, combined to produce a number of handsome volumes, first in the 'modern-face' and secondly in the so-called 'old-face' types. If, as seems probable, the fine brittle lines of the 'modern' types are unsatisfactory in comparison with the vigour and strength of the 'old-face', we shall do well to felicitate ourselves upon the work of Pickering and Charles Whittingham I and II. As Mr Geoffrey Keynes has shown, the legend is in need of revision that the old Caslon types were first reintroduced in an edition of 'Lady Willoughby's Diary' (1845).[22] The truth is that small supplies of Caslon's 'old-face', pica size, were used in title-pages and preliminaries of such works as Fuller's 'Holy War' and Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living' (1840). Great primer will be found in Pickering's fine folio Book of Common Prayer (1844). From this time onward Caslon 'old-face' became the success it never was in its designer's lifetime. Newspapers remained uninfluenced.

Keble's assize sermon of 1833 and Newman's Tract XC (1845) had typographical echoes. Gothic head and tail pieces decorated the devotional books issued by the High Church publisher, James Burns, who was to turn Papist in 1845 and found the famous house of Catholic publishers. Burns remained Anglican long enough to put out a handsome Psalter and Ritual in black-letter and plain-chant – a great novelty for those dreary days of gas brackets on the high altar of the London Oratory and thirty communicants at St Paul's on Good Fridays. At the same time Augustus Welby Pugin was conducting what he called 'Christian' architecture. To churches in the classical style he cried, 'Truth till death, down with the Pagan Monster – St George and St Edward for England!'[23] Scott's mediævalism presented a vivid picture of the prayer and practice of the 'ages of faith', and his ruined castles and ancient abbeys prepared the imagination of men for the poetry and art of the Pre-Raphaelites. Thus there came William Morris, poet and craftsman, to do all things 'si je puis'. At fifty-two he wishes he were 'not so damned old', but he had not yet come into intimate touch with typography, though he had been interested enough to secure the printing of his 'Roots of the Mountains' (1889) in an old type belonging to the Chiswick Press cut by William Howard and first used about 1858. Morris also resuscitated a black-letter, based on one of Caxton's, and cut by the same Howard during the fifties when Gothic revivalism was the fashion. In 1891, when Morris was fifty-eight, there appeared the first Kelmscott book, 'The Story of the Glittering Plain'. Morris, like Pugin, was a mediævalist, and as he admired the earliest printing his books and types were an anachronism. He thought Jenson's the finest roman type and himself drew a type based upon it. The types of the Kelmscott books were copied in the United States and there employed to make volumes somehow thoroughly similar but anyhow painfully different, for William Morris 'knew his stuff' better than any imitator. Morris used the following founts:

This is the Golden type.

This is the Troy type.

This is the Chaucer type.

Since his day the types designed in England and the United States, with the exception of several job and newspaper faces, have been for the most part based upon old models.

For long there was no sign that amateur practitioners of the art of printing showed any signs of accepting inspiration from later centuries. Attempts were made in the United States to revive the early old faces of Garamond, and an abortive movement to popularize anew the general conventions of French Renaissance typography. Experimentalists in the printing art quickly found, however, that the sixteenth was not apparently nearer our own time than the fifteenth century; and they found in recent literary study of the eighteenth century a much more practical, because much more highly developed, inspiration both of typography and display. How far did, and do, these experiments of wealthy amateurs affect the great mass of printing produced by the 'trade' for the London publisher?

§ 4

Fifty years ago the quality of design and production of the average English book left much to be desired. The paper and binding were sound enough, but in major as in minor details of style the books of the 1880s did not sustain comparison with those of the

[22] [See Sir G. Keynes, *William Pickering, publisher* rev. edn (London, 1969), p. 31.]

[23] [*Contrasts* (London, 1841), ch. II.]

previous century. That they do to-day is in great measure due to the vigilance of such great publishers as Sir Frederick Macmillan, who realized that, if a well-printed book did not sell hundreds more copies than an ill-printed one, owing to the vast bulk of the country being ignorant of the difference between good and bad printing, attention to production details was worth giving for its own sake. The high standard which book production maintains, and has maintained, is therefore due principally to the fact that the publishers sufficiently respect their own product to demand a high standard from their printers before they give their imprint to the job.[24] *The Times Literary Supplement* of 13 October 1927 contains a survey of contemporary book production in the course of which a collection of recently produced books is noticed. As this collection consists of the ordinary works produced in the ordinary course of business and for an ordinary, reasonable sum, it will repay typographical analysis. The types are very different from those to be found in any early Hardy or Meredith. They have changed from the 'modern' back to the 'old-face'. Authors like Shaw and Bridges supported the reversion; publishing houses like those of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Macmillans, and Bell acquiesced. For the trade a utilitarian instead of a stylistic basis is generally necessary to salvation, but as the 'old-faces', as a class, are open and clear, the trade were agreeable to the change. A 'modern' face is now an exception, except in newspapers – where it is the rule – and in technical books. The net result is that even the best sort of modern face – e.g., that used for Sir James Jeans's 'The Mysterious Universe' (Cambridge University Press, 1930) – assumes a positively provincial aspect, so mid-Victorian is the cut of the letter. In so far as this sort of type has its champions, they are to be found in the older generation. Mr George Moore, for example, insisted upon his works being set by hand in the fount of the Jeans book. The *Spectator* and other weeklies of the more conservative sort (not the *Week-End Review*) continue it. No widely circulated weekly such as the *Radio Times* or *The Listener* uses it – and the whole of the B.B.C. printing is commissioned from the many houses on its tender list in accordance with a schedule of types which are all 'old-face'.

In this connection, the reports of exhibitions recently held are of interest. Last year the British Museum held an exhibition of books illustrating British and foreign printing in the period 1919–29.[25] Of the sixty-six British books shown twenty-two were hand-set (two of these were in Caslon and in Garamond) and forty-four were composed on the Monotype in

Baskerville	Caslon	Fournier
Poliphilus[26]	New Hellenic[27]	

The volumes in the British Museum exhibition are admittedly those of the more spectacular class. Another exhibition held annually is more representative, as the entries are selected by a committee who take price into the consideration of the typographic quality of books submitted. The report for the 1929 exhibition of the 'Fifty Best Books' as published by the First Edition Club, London, whose committee is responsible for the selection, analyses in the following table the founts used in the books:

Analysis of founts used in the 'Fifty Best Books' published by the First Edition Club, 1929

Baskerville	10[28]	Lutetia	1
Fournier	8	Hand-set	1*
Caslon Old Face	8	Imprint	1
Hand-set	1*	Janson	1*
Poliphilus	3	Pastonchi	1
Plantin	2	Bodoni	1
Old Face	1	Garamond	2
Old Style	1	Hand-set	1*
Modern	1	New Hellenic	1
Modern Extended	1	Centaur and Arrighi	1
Perpetua	1	Walbaum	1*
Koch Kursiv	1		50

* Signifies hand-set; the remainder were Monotype.

A chance examination of, let us say, Bumpus' shelves would prove that in five years the revived Baskerville has established itself as a permanent bread-and-butter face. This indication of favour from the general trade depends not upon any artistic, stylistic, or archaistic association, but upon its broad legibility, liberality, and John Bullish poise.

[24] Many London publishers would testify that good production attracts the 'right kind of author' and enables that author's book to reach the right kind of reader.

[25] [See *Catalogue of an exhibition of books, illustrating British and foreign printing, 1919–1929* (British Museum, 1929).]

[26] i.e., a reproduction of the face used in Aldus's famous 'Dream of Poliphilus' (1499).

[27] i.e., the Greek used in *The Times*.

[28] i.e., the fount used for the composition of this memorandum, which was the fount most extensively employed in the books selected by these judges. Only two out of the fifty were set in 'modern'.

As this memorandum is not concerned with every manifestation of the modern tendency of many publishers and some printers to tinker with typography, it is enough if the permanent are now distinguished from the ephemeral tendencies in so far as they affect the problem of a new face for *The Times*. The period of archaic typography called into being by the still, small voice of William Pickering, and driven headlong almost to our own day by the stentorian Morris, has come to an end with the adoption by this generation of machine setting for the highest categories of printing. The use of highly individualistic founts has ceased, first, because the death of Edward Prince,[29] who cut the punches for William Morris, removed the last skilled representative of that craft. Secondly, the typesetting company upon whose machine eighty per cent of this country's books are printed began some ten years ago to recut a number of old faces not available in their original form. Thus there were recut a number of classic founts[30] for idealistic rather than for commercial reasons, it being supposed, at the time the work was undertaken, that these faces would do no more than please a very few amateurs. In fact, however, general printers, small and great, quickly bought these founts, and publishers eagerly commissioned their use. There has been, therefore, a permanent change of method for the printing of books of every kind, and a change in the relations of ordinary to *de luxe* editions. A generation ago English printing resembled French in that there were two definite categories of quality, the *de luxe* sort and the *bon marché* sort. To-day there is in England only one sort of composition. This reaches a very high level, and, although the appearance of type is heightened according as a fine or less fine paper is used, the gulf between best and worst has been lessened by the good use to which composing machines have been put.

A notable influence in re-shaping not only the modern book but the modern publisher's attitude towards it resulted from the foundation of the Nonesuch Press in 1922. This organization has published a large number of books in a wide variety of styles, all of which have been produced on the Monotype composing machine. The example of the Nonesuch Press has greatly affected the London publishers, and unless their present activity is succeeded by a period of negligence – which in these days of hard competition seems unimaginable – English printing need not look outside itself for inspiration.

But in any case it is certain that English printing will not return to the Victorian private press for its stimuli; rather is it likely that the private press will disappear in order to emerge as a category in normal English publishing. The great probability is that the typographical development in this country will depend in future, as it depends to-day, upon the association of the company, whose machine sets the type for the printer, and the publisher.

Finally, it is in the last degree unlikely that this association will sponsor any aesthetic confection; consequently, for the future, any type, however 'specially cut', will depend for its acceptance upon the closeness of its contact with simplicity and legibility, the fundamental virtues of all permanent typography, which now remain to be considered.

§ 5

What changes, if any, have been observable in the newspapers during the period which witnessed so much experiment in book typography? As far as the type for the text is considered, there has been no change for two generations at least. The fount in which *The Times* is set was probably first cut in 1830 or so. And, after all, the book, unlike the newspaper, is preserved. Not every copy of *The Times* is kept, work of reference as it is. The book is more personal, more intimate, more individual a possession than a newspaper; no reader of *The Times* wishes it to be treated as a Kelmscott Private Press product, with leaves between the sentences instead of full points. We should all give thanks that, though Pugin, Ruskin, and Morris all read *The Times*, none was allowed to tamper with it. The text of the paper is set to-day in practically the same design as that to be seen in November, 1880. The headings have waxed in size and weight. Changes in other London papers there have been, but *The Times* has remained very much what it was.

In the country changes have been slighter than in London. The important English provincial journals – e.g., the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Yorkshire Post*, the *Birmingham Post* – while using nondescript modern for text type, are relinquishing the elongated moderns which *The Times* uses. The

[29] [See F. C. Avis, *Edward Philip Prince, type punchcutter* (London, 1967).]

[30] Imprint (1912), Caslon (1915), Plantin (1913), Garamond (1922), Baskerville (1923), Fournier (1925), Poliphilus (1923), Blado (1923), Bembo (1929).

most conservative of all English papers, in respect to typography and lay-out, is the *Birmingham Post*. It has light and heavy moderns for use throughout the paper, but uses Caslon Bold for an occasional display heading. The Caslon Bold is resorted to by the *Liverpool Post*, the *Manchester Daily Despatch*, and the *Glasgow Herald* for consistent use. This reversion to old-face is a consequence of the adoption of double-column headings. The condensed modern as used in *The Times*, therefore, tends to be associated with subsidiary matter. The comparative sturdiness of old-face, in its heavy form, is more 'forceful' than a bold modern, since the stout thicks of the modern bolds are weakened by association with attenuated thins. Modern capitals, bold or light, are satisfactory enough for small sizes, but look progressively unsatisfactory in sizes above 12-point, and become almost ridiculous in 24-point.

This is

CASLON BOLD

This is

CONDENSED MODERN

as used in *The Times*; cf. p. 313.

This is

CHELT. BOLD

This is

LIGHT BODONI

The *Manchester Guardian* is at the present time using Cheltenham Bold for its heavy headings. This, again, is a sturdy letter. The *Yorkshire Post* uses Caslon Bold capitals and Caslon Bold upper and lower-case, and the same condensed. This clearly printed paper steers a middle course between the wild experiments of the *Manchester Daily Despatch* and *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* and the ultra-conservative *Birmingham Post*. The *Yorkshire Post* is a better printed and better digested paper than the *Manchester Guardian*, and possesses considerable character. It uses a good deal of light Cheltenham, and light Bodoni for heads in the less important pages; and the whole paper bears an eminently light and open complexion.

There is, therefore, in the vital pages of the responsible provincial Press a general tendency towards old-faces for important matter, particularly when that matter is given a double-column heading. No suggestion is here being made that *The Times* should adopt such double-column headings, but it is pointed out that the abandonment of the present clumsy modern founts in favour of a series of well-drawn but condensed capitals possessing the characteristics of those used for the text type could take place without risk of reader-dissatisfaction.

A survey of the Press of the country seems to prove that it is in a state of transition from modern to old-face – a movement, like all others in a century of newspaper typography, due to accidental causes.

PART II

§1

In approaching the question of legibility, a question as difficult as it is vital, certain distinctions must be drawn if even tentative conclusions are to be reached.

First, the essential form must predominate over any accidental characteristics supplied for the sake of ornament; in other words, the G-ness of letter G must be clearly visible through any revelation of the tool with which it is made or any accidental quality of its drawing. It does not, however, follow that a high perceptibility is of itself enough to determine the choice of a fount, for there is required, in addition, a correctness of space-distribution between the letters constituting groups called words. It is in this grouping that the riddle of legibility lies, for words seem to have a quiddity of their own distinct from the quiddity of the letters. Hence, it would be possible to employ a fount of type in which the high perceptibility of the constituent letters would be lost in an illegi-

bility of the words they constitute; the words would not 'look right'. It seems, therefore, that choice of a type face should depend upon the letters possessing high *perceptibility* in themselves, plus a high *legibility* in the word-groups.

A third criterion should be applied to a type intended for general use – *readability*, a quality hardly possible to define. The nearest analogy would perhaps be the 'universal' of the scholastic philosophers. The impressions of fount after fount superimposed upon the eye, as it meets them in book, magazine, and newspaper, produce in the minds and memories of readers not a specific but a general, universal notion of 'type'. If the aggregate of the several typographical founts used throughout the country be analysed, a fairly high degree of *perceptibility* and of *legibility* will unquestionably be found; but to possess *readability* every one must come within the limits of the reader's memory. Familiarity is the first law of legibility, for subjective ocular habit will, to a considerable extent, overcome objective ocular mischief. In other words, a choice which coincides to a sufficient degree with the universal in the mind of the reader will be rated as being 'readable', and it will be preferred to any fount created *de novo* from data supplied by a scientific inquiry.

It is clear that this visual memory makes scientific consideration of the subject of legibility very difficult and inconclusive. Nothing can be more important than legibility, yet, notwithstanding all the work which has been done towards its investigation, vagueness and hesitation mark the reports of medical, physiological, psychological, and typographical authorities.

In recent years the Treasury, at the instance of H.M. Stationery Office, appointed a committee to select the best faces of type for Government printing, and a committee of the Medical Research Council was later appointed at the same instance to organize and to direct research into the subject of legibility. The Medical Research Council's committee framed a scheme of investigation upon which a report was printed in 1926.[31]

The report on the legibility of printing types issued by the committee established by the Medical Research Council was issued at the end of 1926. Following an examination of the available literature on the subject, experiments were made with readers of varying age and quality, who voted for one of several faces used for the composition of the texts under examination. These faces were eight in number and comprised those most commonly found in contemporary books and newspapers. Monotype series Nos 2, 7, 101, 39, 161, 17; Caslon's Modern series No. 23; Stephenson & Blake's Lining Sans No. 10 were the founts tested. The relevant founts are these:

TYPE-FACES USED IN THE EXPERIMENTS

'Type No. 1'
MONOTYPE SERIES No. 2 Old Style
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

'Type No. 2'
MONOTYPE SERIES No. 7 Modern Extended
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

'Type No. 3'
MONOTYPE SERIES No. 101 Imprint Old Face
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

'Type No. 4'
MONOTYPE SERIES No. 39 Modern Condensed
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

'Type No. 6'
MONOTYPE No. 161 Old Style Antique
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

'Type No. 7'
MONOTYPE SERIES No. 17 Cushing
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

The first in the order of reader preferences is the Lanston Monotype series No. 2, modernized old-style, which was placed first by twenty-eight out of the sixty individuals canvassed and was given a second place by fourteen persons. The next most popular face was the Lanston Monotype series No. 101, which was given first by eleven and second by eight persons. The Lanston Monotype series No. 7, which is that used in *The Times*, was given first place by seven and second place by twelve individuals. 'Moreover', says the *rapporteur*, 'the three standard styles, types 1, 2, and 3, were so alike that they were frequently confused by lay eyes'.

Individuals gave various reasons for their choice. The qualities which they most disliked were 'heaviness, paleness, crampedness, and dazzle'. Many noted that it was difficult to choose between

[31] [R. L. Pyke, *Report on the legibility of print* (Medical Research Council. Special report ser. 10, 1926).]

the types at all except between a very wide and a very narrow face.[32]

There is need for caution in accepting the results based upon the reactions of only sixty individuals; but it may be accepted as a positive result that 'extremely large typographical differences must be present before it is possible to say that there is any difference in the objective legibility of types' (Pyke, p. 60). The scientific investigation of legibility proves therefore, if it proves anything, that the ideal type should be simple, fairly broad, with fairly good thicks, with some but without too much contrast between the thicks and thins, set with fairly wide spacing. It seems to follow that any type which is not too strongly contrasted as between its thicks and thins, and which lies between the three specimen faces (Monotype series Nos. 2, 7, and 101) will be 'satisfactory' – i.e., will be easy, agreeable, and therefore 'legible' to the bulk of readers of the paper.

This means that any new type for *The Times* which shall substitute the present Lanston Monotype series No. 7 (type No. 2 of Pyke's appendix), may be as different as type No. 1 or as type No. 3 without disturbing the normal reader.

It was the purpose of the historical section of this memorandum to indicate the important changes in the forms of the written and printed characters developed out of the classic roman inscriptional letters, and it has accordingly been shown that though in the course of time these changes have ranged from one extreme to the other, no single generation tolerated widely varying scripts for the same purpose and place. In other words, the changes were gradual. Yet the opportunity to introduce modifications was greater then than now.

Centuries ago it was no great liberty to take to change the cut or slope of the lower-case *g*. We must needs preserve the cat's ear to this sort because any change, improvement, or modification needs to be so subtly wrought as to be almost invisible, for two reasons. Our letters were developed when scholarship and education were the enjoyment of a very small and very compact society; secondly, this literary aristocracy was seriously interested in calligraphy and practised beautiful writing. To-day education is broadcast and nobody bothers to write with a pen. Thus the infinity and complexity of the reading public of to-day, compared with the simplicity of the time of Charlemagne or Pope Nicholas V, makes our alphabet just as rigid and irreformable as the very gold standard. To remove the *g*'s cat's ear would seem like clipping the coinage. Readability will be seriously compromised if there is the slightest tampering with the forms as they have come down to us after five centuries of tradition. The one and only change in the alphabet which has occurred during the last 500 years has been the suppression of the long *ſ*.

As a consequence, Dr Cattell's demonstration that the retention of the dot of the i invites confusion of that character with l must be disregarded.[33] There can be no question that the abolition of the dot would perplex readers to a serious degree. The creator of a readable fount, therefore, has to do the best he can with the ocular habits formed by a people trained for centuries upon centuries to recognize certain definitely shaped ideographs or symbols of which every jot and tittle is essential. For these purely subjective reasons no meddling with our chracters is a possibility for many centuries to come. Objective legibility, however, is not in the same case. The designer of a typography which shall supersede the present is called upon by the nature of his task to investigate (1) size of the character; (2) weight of the lines forming the character; (3) breadth in relation to height; (4) amount of dissimilarity between combinations of characters to some extent alike (c, e, etc.); (5) amount of space between (*a*) letters, between (*b*) words, between (*c*) lines, between (*d*) paragraphs; (6) length of line; (7) method of separating lines from adjacent lines – e.g., column rules; (8) purely optional or decorative elements in the shape of the character; (9) desirability of using cursive sorts; (10) light-reflecting quality of paper; (11) colour of paper; (12) ink.

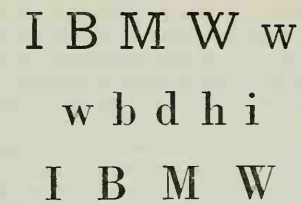
It is not necessary to cover all these points in this paper, since an experimental text type will be available for examination by the Committee.

Clearly the first merit of a new, or indeed any, design is that it avoids as far as possible the confusion to the eye which results from the combination in a word of pairs of characters which have much in common. For instance, c, o, e are not dissimilar; n and u may be mistaken for each other by a rapid reader; *b* and *h* form another stumbling-block.

A second most important merit in a design lies

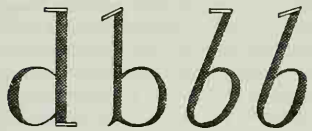
[32] [See also Sir C. Burt, *A psychological study of typography*, with an introduction by Morison (Cambridge, 1959).]

[33] [See J. McK. Cattell, 'The inertia of the eye and brain', *Brain* 8 (1885), pp. 295–312.]



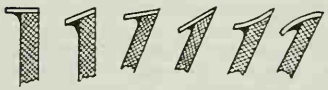
155. Slab serifs

156. Heavy-slab, fine-slab and hair-line serifs

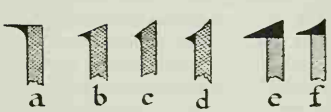


157. Flat and inclined slab serifs

158. Bracketed serifs common in old-face founts



159. Bracketed slab serifs



160. Hooked serifs

in the correctness and consistency of its serif-construction.

It is sometimes contended that since the purer or starker an alphabet is it is so much more legible, it follows that a sans-serif fount is easiest to read. The answer to this lies in the answer which can be given to so much typographical theorizing: 'Try it.' However 'objectively' legible a good sans-serif may be, there can be no doubt that it is a form so unfamiliar to so many eyes that it is safe to say that no newspaper will ever be printed in it. The truth is that serifs are an essential part of the letter – so habituated has the eye become to their appearance. In many ways serifs increase the amenities of a fount and assist the eye in making rapid distinctions between similar characters. The lower-case i is a case in point – e.g., 'illegibility', and '**illegibility**'. In any case, desirable or undesirable, five hundred years of prescriptive right gives it enough justification for its appearance in present-day text founts. But, as the historical portions of this memorandum indicate, serifs have greatly varied in the course of the centuries. It is not easy to decide the kind of serif which is most 'legible'. Fundamentally, a serif is a short and more or less fine line, drawn sometimes at right angles and sometimes obliquely across the ends of the stems and arms of the characters (see the examples in Fig. 155 above).

The plain horizontal stroke serif is called a slab serif (in its lightest form a hair-line serif).

In Fig. 156 *heavy-slab*, *fine-slab*, and *hair-line* serifs are shown in position on the capital I.

Fig. 157 shows a contrast between a moderate flat slab-serif and a moderate incline slab-serif.

The angle or angles between the serif and the stem may be filled in to a less or greater degree. This filling is appropriately termed a *bracket* – appropriately because of its shape and also because it does in fact support the serif of an actual metal type and tends to prevent it breaking away.

Fig. 158 shows three forms of the bracketed serif common in the sort of fount known as old-face.

In Fig. 159 certain common lower-case forms of serifs are diagrammatically analysed (fairly enough) as *slab-serifs*, *bracketed*; including a concave and a convex *slab*. The four lower-case stem-forms in 160 may be fairly described as '*bracketed-to-point*'. The forms e and f are obviously not bracketed; that is, the angle between the serif and stem remains a right angle: '*wedge-serifs*' is suggested as an adequate description.

Of normal *head* and *foot* serifs there remain to be noted the hooked head and tail serifs of the lower-case letters (also often found in the a, d, and u of the roman lower-case forms).

It is in this manipulation of serif that the human appetite for variety finds its satisfaction. For reasons already made clear no alteration in essential form stands the slightest chance of acceptance by any printer of books or newspapers. There remains the serif, in the designing of which the type-founders swing from one extreme to the other – from the coarseness of a blunt Venetian to the sharpness of ultra-Bodoni. At the moment the pendulum is moving in the direction of old-face.

It may be prophesied that the pendulum will swing back to the 'modern' serif in another twenty years. The new types proposed for *The Times* will tend towards the 'modern', though the body of the letter will be more or less old-face in appearance.

It is obvious that the right relation of thick to thin lines of the character, of the serif to both, thick and thin, of the height to breadth, are the designer's first problems. He must also secure consistency throughout his capitals and lower case; and finally he has to satisfy 'objective' legibility to the fullest possible extent without sacrificing one jot or tittle of the shape as it has been handed down.

Thus, a legible, readable fount will accept the ruling of common sense where there is any strife between pragmatic and the absolute. Let the reader decide. It may be hoped that beauty will come unsought to a fount thus humbly constructed, making the eye happy to contemplate it.

It is hoped that the experimental fount now in preparation for scrutiny by the Committee will have at least the merit of being free from all that is academic or 'arty'. Type should not ape calligraphy; it should, first and last, look like type, but good type – i.e., good for its purpose. It follows that in all this welter of thicks and thins, slab-serifs and bracketed serifs, etc., a knowledge of the purpose of the type affords a valid criterion of its suitability. Most types have all sorts of uses, whereas the fount now being considered has only one. It is proposed to use it for the text of the editorial portion of the paper and, if approved, to revise the headings according to the same design.

The small scale of the text types is such as to disguise the design, and its merits or demerits. When, however, this type is magnified in accordance with the requirements of the column headings, the full implications of the small scale design are made explicit – often brutally so. It becomes relevant, perhaps, to tabulate the text and heading types of *The Times* and other English journals.

[24] SHAKESPEARE ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOP QRSTUVWXYZ:-,.''£

[18] SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUV WXYZ:-,.''£

[14] SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS. AT LEAST ABOVE ALL THE MODERN

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ-..

[14] SHAKESPEARE ABOVE WRITERS. AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVW XYZ-,.

[14] SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUV WXYZ''-,.

[12] SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS. THE POET OF NATURE: THE

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ-..

[11] SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS. AT LEAST MODERN

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS TUVWXYZ:-.."£

§ 2

The heading types at present used in the paper are shown on p. 313.

The smaller paragraphs on the Home News Page are set with italic capital headlines – a survival from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when all the headings were invariably set in a light italic – with swashes.[34]

ITALIC HEADINGS

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE, THE POET THAT HOLDS UP TO ALL HIS

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ - . .

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE; THE POET THAT HOLDS UP TO HIS READERS A FAITHFUL MIRROR OF MANNERS AND

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&

There is another series of light roman capitals, small in size, used in the classified advertisements, which occasionally make their way into the editorial columns.

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS. AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE: THE POET THAT

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ - . .

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE; THE POET THAT HOLDS UP TO HIS READERS A FAITHFUL MIRROR OF MANNERS AND

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE, THE POET THAT HOLDS UP TO ALL HIS

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ - . .

The series of body types used in *The Times* at the present time consist of three sizes of CAPITALS, SMALL CAPITALS, lower-case, and *ITALIC*, capitals and *lower-case* [shown on p. 315].[35]

It is pointed out above that in provincial newspapers Old Face Heavy was being increasingly used for bold headings. *The Times* uses a small body of this design for the headings to its leaders, and a still smaller body is used for the proper names in the front page 'hotch'.[36] Old Face Heavy upper and lower-case is used for the headings under Law Notices, Racing Programmes, Theatrical Intelligence, the Index, the Leader Page, Entertainments Index, Broadcasting Programme, and Forthcoming Sailings. This mixture is hardly sound typography. The better practice would be to develop every type in the paper from one root-design. The exception to this rule would be the occasional sans-serif used. At the present time the paper employs for headings for the classified advertisements a so-called 'Doric'[37] which has no merit as a design. If sans-serif were retained – and there seems no reason to retain it – an infinitely better design could be secured.

The true principle, adoption of which would seem as desirable as it is practical, is the simplest of all – namely, that *The Times* should employ only one design, simple in construction, free from any unnecessary curls or 'artistic' twiddles. Its design should allow for condensation and expansion on the one hand, and lightening and thickening on the other. No newspaper in the world has, so far,

[34] Swashes are flourished sorts, e.g. –*N P R etc.*

[35] Small capitals in italic founts have been discontinued since the seventeenth century.

[36]

BIRTH

WATSON.—On Nov. 20, 1930, at Redbraes, Guildford, to VIOLET CONSTANCE (*née* Kennedy), wife of CAPTAIN L. R. C. WATSON, Royal Corps of Signals—a daughter.

MARRIAGE

WALSHE : CHARLEY-RICHARDS.—On Nov. 17, 1930, at All Saints' Church, Northwood, LIEUT.-COLONEL H. E. WALSHE, to CHRISTINE CHARLEY-RICHARDS.

DEATH

PADDISON.—On Nov. 19, 1930, at Hove, after long illness, EDMUND HOWARD PADDISON, M.D., aged 75. Funeral, Hove Cemetery.

[37] These are the Dorics:

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE : A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P

SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, A B C D E F G H I J K L M

undertaken the task of designing a typography for itself. As has been pointed out in the course of this memorandum, newspapers are what they are because their development on a big scale took place after the decreases in the Revenue imposts between the years 1830 and 1835. Thus the newspapers, including *The Times*, standardized the current modern face not because this was proved to be the most satisfactory or the most legible, but because it was the lettering universally used for books, magazines, and pamphlets at that time, not to mention war-memorials, foundation-stones, and tombstones.

Only one newspaper face has since been adapted – the 'Ionic',[38] created by the Linotype Company of America. It has made only slight progress in America, principally because 'nobody was interested', and also for the economical reason that it does not 'pay' a newspaper to change its matrices. The establishment, however, of new journals has occasionally proved an opportunity for the purchase of this fount, and it must be allowed that, when well used, it is in many respects an improvement on the older moderns. The Ionic is also used outside America – the *Brisbane Courier* and other Antipodean newspapers employ it. It is also increasingly used for the composition of certain French newspapers – e.g., *L'Intransigeant*. There is a possibility that the face will affect the position which has been for a long time held by post-Didot designs. In England the face is used by the *Daily Herald*, where it will be admitted that the paper, presswork, and type combine to form a very satisfactory impression. A comparison between the leader pages of the morning papers would reveal that though the *Daily Herald*'s first leader is set

[38] This is Ionic:

The survey comes first, however; and it is wise as well as exceeding pleasant to study so sound and close-woven a piece of work, and to see how well worth

A B C D E F G

a b c d e f g h

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

It is a re-drawing of a face common in England *circa* 1840. Ionic is now regarded as being 'American' in appearance.

5½ Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world.

5¼ *Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest*
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyzæœfiffflffifl&::!?()

5½ SHAKESPEARE IS ABOVE ALL WRITERS, AT LEAST ABOVE ALL MODERN WRITERS, THE POET OF NATURE; THE POET THAT HOLDS UP TO HIS READERS A FAITHFUL MIRROR OF MANNERS AND OF LIFE. HIS CHARACTERS ARE NOT MODIFIED BY THE CUSTOMS OF PARTICULAR PLACES, UNPRACTISED BY THE REST OF THE WORLD.
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ

7 SHAKESPEARE is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world.
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&
12345 ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ 67890
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyzæœfiffflffifl

7 *SHAKESPEARE is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world.*
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyzæœfiffflffifl&::!?()

9 SHAKESPEARE is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&
12345 ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ 67890
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyzæœfiffflffifl

9 *Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by*
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆŒ&
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyzæœfiffflffifl

in a body too large for its measure, the clearness of the type impression leaves little to be desired. The smaller Ionics are also well cut, appearing to good advantage in the *Daily Herald* and *The People* (on Sundays). In all probability this type will, in time, be adopted by other journals.

There can be no doubt that the Ionic, if not an attractive design in itself, possesses merits which give it an advantage over the slipshod sort of English modern face used in the text of the *Daily*

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12345 abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz 67890

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12345 abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz 67890

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ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

12345 abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz 67890

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Mr. Feiling's study of Pitt, the concluding part of which is published on this page to-day, offers to the musing eye a pause from the unresting flicker of an election and to the attentive ear some relief from the iterations inevitable in advocacy and instruction. Yet it has its own natural relevance to the issues of the hour. Pitt and his achievement are by now above the battle:

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

12345 abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz 67890

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Mr. Feiling's study of Pitt, the concluding patr of which is published on this page to-day, offers to the musing eye a pausefrom the unresting flicker of an election and to the attentive ear some relief from the iterations inevitable in advocacy and instruction. Yet it has its own natural relevance to the issues of the hour. Pitt and his achievement are by now above the battle:

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

12345 abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz 67890

Eight 11-point types much used in modern book production. The two top faces are 'modern' in their best early form.

Express – a paper also, maybe, considering a change, since 8-point Ionic is used for occasional pieces of setting – e.g., in the correspondence columns.

The editorial types at present used by *The Times* look their best in the paper, and their worst when printed with the ordinary care possible in a job like the present memorandum. The fount, as indicated at page 305, is a recutting of a design which originated about 1830 or so. In the meantime, constant cutting and recutting has reduced the design to the feeble thing it is to-day. The original design is by no means without merit; but, as an enlargement of the present fount shown in note 39 proves, serious faults are clearly visible. For instance, the presence of unnecessary curls to the capitals R and Q adversely affects their legibility.[39] But the capitals as a whole do not show any ability in their designer. The C is almost a closed letter; the serifs to the E, F, L are much heavier than the fount requires if consistency with the rest of the fount is to be secured. Another inconsistency is the disproportion between the width of the capitals M, C, H, N (which are all narrow letters), with the E, K, R, S, V, W, X, Y, Z (which are all wide). In the lower case the a has an unnecessary curl at the foot; the dot from which the main stroke of the a leads is too near the upper line of the bowl, with the result that in the smaller sizes the whole shape is blocked in the printing. The same blocking normally happens with the e, whose circle appears closed nine times out of ten. The s gives a somewhat better impression, but generally appears closed. The f is a poorly designed character, with a very awkward curve at the top of the letter; the bottom portion of the g is a badly designed and awkwardly contracted shape. The ascending portion of the lower-case t is slightly exaggerated, and the foot concludes in an unnecessarily extended curl.

All these faults, however slight in themselves, when taken together reduce the objective legibility of the fount – and that without offering compensation in any decorative amenity. *The Times* uses a 20-point size of this face for its departmental headings. These are singularly inconspicuous and therefore ineffective – just as well, since this big size raises its objectionable features to the maximum. The heading 'Points from Letters', for example, displays a broken-backed lower case f which has to be seen to be believed. It is impossible to imagine any London publisher of the present day using such types for even his cheapest novels. Page 316 exhibits the contrast between types of *The Times* and those habitually used by London publishers for the production of their novels. In drawing up the table, examination has been made of the publications by Heinemann, Chatto and Windus, Constable, Macmillan, and Longman among the older houses, and Martin Secker, Peter Davies, Faber and Faber, and Victor Gollancz among the newer houses. The types used by these houses bear out the statement made on page 307 that founts such as *The Times* uses have no place in contemporary book printing. It is obvious from the most superficial examination that the capital letters employed for the headings to *The Times* were never drawn by any one designer, and it is equally obvious that such types would never be tolerated except by custom. These faces are shown at pp. 313–14. It is not necessary to argue the case for a revision of these extremely ill-favoured founts; as is so often the case with newspaper typography, they have not been designed, but have been accepted as the best of the bad collection offered by the trade type-founders. They have retained their position purely on their merits as economical consumers of space – in the case of heading types a compelling virtue surpassing any other.

It is, of course, not impossible to create a design which, in varying degrees of weight and condensation, would give maximum harmony to the paper and yet fulfil all the functions now discharged by the present founts. In addition to possessing the qualifications enumerated at page 311, it is desirable that any new fount proposed should be sufficiently elastic to provide, in addition to a text fount in the several sizes up to long primer, capitals of varying degrees of boldness and condensation.

[39] This is the alpbabet as it appears in the 18-pt. modern as used in headings to departments, e.g.:

News in Brief

It is almost identical in design with the text type, but is slightly narrower in body:

A B C D E F G H
I J K L M N O P Q
R S T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j
k l m n o p q r s t
u v w x y z

15

SUPPLEMENT TO THE MEMORANDUM[1]

THE FIRST ISSUE of *The Times* (1 January 1788, i.c., No. 940 of the original paper established 1 January 1785) bore a title in roman lettering which, with a sprawling device[2] of the Royal Arms and the sub-title '*or Daily Universal Register Printed Logographically*', made a spectacular block of 5⅛ in. long and 2⅛ in. deep – clearly too extravagant of space to last for any length of time. Within three months a new device of 1⅜ in. deep[3] was adopted, and, at the same time, the roman lettering was discarded in favour of the style made fashionable by followers of the Strawberry Hill 'Gothick' style. At the period of the adoption by *The Times* of this sort of lettering, the mid-century taste for sham mediæval ruins, so evocative of the mood of poetic pensiveness, had developed, at its best, into a cheerful relish for turrets, pinnacles and such fripperies; and, at its worst, into a stale mixed grill of overdone gothick, underdone chinoiserie with a garnish of Louis Quatorze. Fashionable gentlemen of the last quarter of the century, anxious to strengthen their social positions, redecorated their country houses with this busy fusion and confusion of gothick sadness with rococo gaiety.

This cult of the mock-antique produced, among other essentially unmediæval results, the present paste-and-watery gothick of The Times. The white line drawn, or tooled, on every letter, which connoted gaiety to the post-Strawberry Hill generation of aesthetes, is to us a repulsive toying with three-dimensional effects. Houses and summer-houses, transformed to accord with the new frivolity, remain to this day, but, on account of its most proper melancholy and unremittent diurnality, the most significant memorial of this lapse in English taste is the present gothick titling of The Times.

To recall a few points in the development of the London newspaper heading will make clear the artificiality of our contemporary heading of *The Times*. The gothic headings in the dailies printed before the building of Strawberry Hill had nothing namby-pamby about them. Their designers were either scriveners normally practising the Court hand (degraded and corrupt, but in the direct line of descent from the mediæval exchequer hands) or printers who, when they used type, employed the old English text inherited from Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson – who had it from the mediæval monastery. In London the tendency on the part of owners to endow their newspapers with titles and sub-titles plus a device (in several cases the title was set between two devices at the extreme left and right of the page respectively) made such a crowded composition that a bold line for the main heading was an obvious necessity; and, as **Black letter** or Text gave most colour, printers naturally used it as a 'bold', keeping roman or italic for sub-titles. Several journals, so headed, were in existence in the latter half of the eighteenth century; which is to say that at the foundation of the *Daily Universal Register*, 1785, while the headings of some old-established journals embraced a few words of text, most of the new foundations were headed in roman or italic.

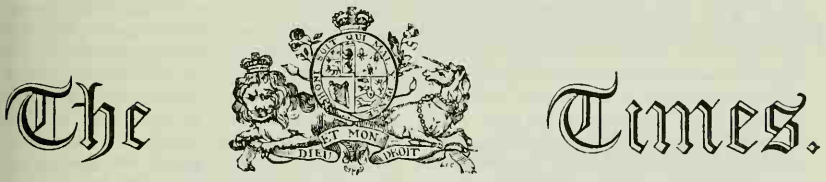
In 1787 Edward Topham and John Bell founded *The World and Fashionable Advertiser*.[4] Its fame and financial success induced all London – and *The Times* – to take it as a model. *The World* permanently affected journalism and typography –

[1] [First printed for private circulation at *The Times*, 1931.]

[2] See Fig. 161.

[3] See Fig. 162.

[4] The sub-title was dropped. '*The World*', said John Walter I in justification of dropping his own title of the *Daily Universal Register*, 'has parted with half its *Caput Mortuum*'.



161, 162 and 163. Titling of *The Times*

e.g., by appointing a wit to the regular staff, this paper began a great tradition[5] and, by banishing the long ſ, it led the way to that most salutary economy.

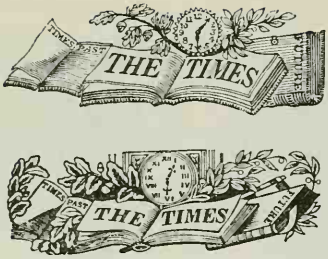
Among the innovations of this slightly cock-eyed *World* was – the style of its heading. For the first time a piece of gothic text was tricked out with an utterly damnable white line which turned the traditional, masculine black-letters into a set of beastly soft characters only too consistent with a degenerate background of paste-board pinnacles and bogus battlements. This style of lettering first appeared on 1 January 1787. It was copied by *The Times* from 18 March 1788, and, later, by *The Morning Post*, *The Morning Herald*, *The Morning Chronicle*, and *The Courier*. At the elapse of a decade the London newspapers, almost without exception, had followed *The World*. The exception was the oldest daily of all, *The London Gazette* (founded 1665),[6] whose heading has never varied from straightforward roman type. The text of *The World* was set in the usual late eighteenth-century manner – a mixture of caps, small caps, italics and roman – which seems to us half hysterical and wholly like an *article-de-tête* by Léon Daudet in *L'Action Française*. Proper names were set in CAPS and SMALLS in the personal paragraphs of *The Times* as early as 1788 – perhaps the one typographic habit of that time it seems desirable to perpetuate.

It is clear that the change from the original, pure roman to this trick-gothic, was part of a campaign to establish *The Times* in the esteem of partisans of the up-to-date frivolities of romanticism.

Discussion of the present heading, a slightly coarser re-drawing, made about 1879, arises if and when the typography of the text is revised; indeed, any such revision would *ipso facto* entail examination of the merits of the design of our present front page. For

[5] Elia says this in *Second Essays*.

[6] [Founded as *The Oxford gazette* and first issued twice-weekly.]



164 and 165. The 'clock' device

one thing, the trials of the fount under consideration prove that such a lucid, and, indeed, brilliantly clear impression, makes a re-designed heading a logical and constructional necessity. Consequently, the present proposal is not a mere gratuituous interference with a feature of the paper which, whatever its origin and age, is obviously consistent with the revised typography. It is, on the contrary, obviously inconsistent. Further, if it is true that the heading of *The Times* is a daily souvenir of perhaps the most perverse movement in the whole history of English taste, it cannot be desirable to retain it upon 'sentimental grounds'. Some degree of sentimental interest would undoubtedly attach to *The Times* first gothic design[7] were it in occupation of the front page to-day, but to revert to it or to re-make it in an enlarged reproduction, preferable as either might be to the present coarser and rather more ignorant, Victorian re-drawing,[8] is equally impossible.

A summary and relevant fact is that as the present style of Text is used by all the London and provincial journals its traditional value to *The Times* is correspondingly slight.[9] Moreover, if tradition be appealed to, *The Times* possesses, and prints daily, a time-honoured device which more effectively symbolizes the institutional character and supra-personal authority of the paper. The 'clock' device, printed day by day in close association with the first leading article, not only indicates the importance of that page, but, by its very presence, authenticates it. And that in the most exclusive sense; for at no time has it ever been omitted; and, unlike the gothic of the heading, it has never been used by unscrupulous outside advertisers, or even in the publicity of *The Times* itself. The focal position which it has held for more than 130 years gives it an imprescriptible right to the veneration of P.H.S. The device first appeared in the paper of 2 January 1804.[10] Several changes in the paper had been made in the previous year when young John Walter the Second became 'joint proprietor and exclusive manager'. Under his direction *The Times* exchanged the position of a witty and fashionable town journal for that of a newspaper of unrivalled efficiency having immense national and political influence.

The paper, which had begun as a mere experiment to give publicity to a new typographical invention; had completely changed its name; had changed the design of that name once or twice; made, between 1803 and 1810, the most notable single advance in its career. And the 'clock' device, apart from the agreeable disposition of its peculiarly relevant symbolical elements, commemorates the paper's passing from youth into maturity. Thus, from every point of view, traditional and actual, the 'clock' device forms the aptest 'flag' for *The Times* to fly, and to keep flying, at its 'masthead'. For these reasons the proposed new typography leaves it exactly as it has been handed down.

But the crisp printing quality anticipated from the skilled cutting of the new recommended fount will demand, on grounds of consistency, a sharpening of the lines of the Royal Device and of the outline of the characters forming the words *The Times*, whether or not the gothic principle is retained.

If the committee elect to consider securing a re-drawn piece of gothic text similar to the existing model the heading could scarcely help appearing insipid and mawkish; if a new gothic design were required, it is unlikely that the desire could be satisfied by any living English artist, architect, or scribe. It would be necessary to join the services of the archaeologist to those of the artist – a difficult, if not a wrong course of action. The result would probably be mid-way between the *bondieuserie* of the church furnisher, the heading of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and the label of *Châteauneuf du Pape*.

It would, therefore, seem the more preferable, withal the more courageous, that at the time of altering the body fount – and thus the complexion of every page, including the front page of the paper –

[7] i.e. Fig. 162.

[8] Fig. 163 shows the present style.

[9] It would, of course, be prudent to inquire whether the Circulation Department considers the design of any cash value.

[10] In the form shown in Fig. 164. The scythe was added 27 September 1845. See Fig. 165.

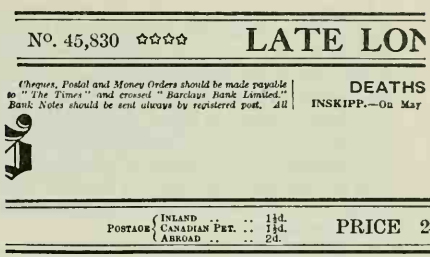
not to attempt the task of faking a new gothic but, by following the clear logic of the nature of the paper, to range a well-cut, correctly drawn Royal Device between the title set in disciplined roman capitals of the utmost simplicity.

This supersession of gothic by roman seems, at first, to be revolutionary; nevertheless, examination tends to prove that the traditional elements in *The Times* heading reside not in the detail of its typography but in the distribution of its parts. While, admittedly, the change from gothic to roman is a notable reversal, it is less radical a change than would be involved if, following a scruple as to the asymmetry of the words *THE* and *TIMES*, the Royal Device were taken from its central position and placed to the right and left of the title, as in the instance of *The Observer*. The inference is that the present arrangement of type and device is obligatory from the traditional point of view. In other words, the gothic detail of the titling is less important than its position. By consequence, the retention of gothic is less vital than the need of securing consistency with the body of the paper and the principles which have controlled the new setting. Accordingly, the arrangement which has become familiar to many generations of readers is preserved in the experimental settings.

It is important to realize at this point that the double rules (enclosing the serial number, the star-indications, the place of publication, day and date of the month and year, the postage particulars and the price) are vital constituents in *The Times* heading and its tradition. [See Fig. 166.] There is no 'need' for the upper pair of thick and thin rules, or, indeed, either pair; but there can be little doubt that the removal of one or the other would occasion a greater shock to our readers than the recommended substitution of roman type for gothic lettering.

These by no means unsubstantial concessions to tradition being made in the revised layout, there remains to be considered the general position of a reversion by *The Times* to a roman head when only the *London Gazette* exists as a living precedent. On this point it can at least be said that the uniqueness, the 'different-ness' of *The Times* would surely be expressed with great aptness if its heading were romanized. At the present time the customary use, by the whole of the English newspapers, of a letter which is precisely similar to that of *The Times* heading, provides the less critical public with an excuse for deducing a family connection from this close approximation – thus rendering necessary the occasional repudiation by *The Times* of any Sunday edition.[11]

[11] And the more necessary since *The Sunday Times* incorporates a royal device obviously based upon that of *The Times*.


No. 45,830 ☆☆☆☆ LATE LON

Cheques, Postal and Money Orders should be made payable to "The Times" and crossed "Barclays Bank Limited." Bank Notes should be sent always by registered post. All

DEATHS

INSKIPP.—On May

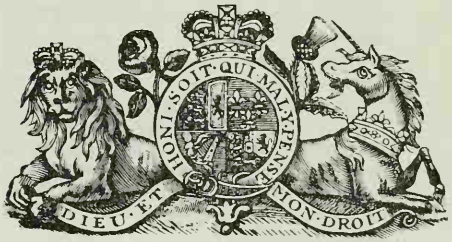
POSTAGE { INLAND .. .. 1½d. / CANADIAN PKT. .. 1½d. / ABROAD .. .. 2d. }

PRICE 2d.

166. Vital constituents of *The Times* heading

167. The heading of *The Times* in 1930

168. The first royal coat of arms, 1 January 1785



169. The second royal coat of arms, 19 May 1787

It is not necessary to say that the adoption of roman type would certainly require that the public mind be prepared by a series of preliminary notices in the paper. It may, however, be in place to make the suggestion that for an interim period it would be desirable to retain the present gothic on the *back* page of the paper (i.e., over the classified estate advertisements), thus excluding all possible doubt as to the continuity and identity of the paper. This would mean the retention of the present pitiful device. [See Fig. 167.]

In sum, therefore, it is submitted that romanization effects a reconstruction rather than a radical alteration, and that examination of the proposal in proof form leaves a curiously familiar and traditional impression – a natural result since the revolution amounts to nothing more than a rational resetting, made logically desirable by the resetting of every other constituent of the paper.

From the beginning the Royal Arms have appeared in the heading between the two words of the paper's title (cf. Fig. 161). Their design has, however, been changed (Fig. 162) on many occasions to suit exigencies of space – as when rising paper-taxes increased the value of every fraction of the sheet; and time – as when a change in the monarchy brought armorial differences.

As the pediment over the Back Door of P.H.S. clearly shows, the fleurs-de-lis of France were quartered on the Royal Arms when John Walter took over the King's Printing House. It seemed natural to embody these Arms in the heading of the paper printed in that house. There was, however, no patent or warrant for the use of such Arms in such a place. It seems that the Royal Arms were used as an indication of the paper's politics (Court-Tory) by several of the London journals of the period and that John Walter the First was as much 'entitled' to display them in his heading as any other newspaper proprietor. The practice (which he was not the first to establish) has continued until *The Times* of the present day.

The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*, the *Daily News* and the *News Chronicle* also carry the Royal Arms – equally without the slightest 'warrant'. The *Morning Post* has never at any time borne such a device. It is possible that the publication by *The Times* of the 'Royal Edition' (on rag paper, price 4d.[12]) would be regarded by Authority as sufficient ground for the issuance of a Royal Warrant. *The Era*, Journal of Cinema, Music, Theatre and Variety, carries a Royal Device in which the features of the lion supporting the shield closely resemble those of Mr James Maxton.

There can be little question either of the desirability of continuing to use the Royal Arms in the heading of *The Times* or of the fact that the entire re-dressing of the paper with a crisp black fount inevitably entails a thickening of the lines of the device, and perhaps an increase of its mass. There are also one or two heraldic errors which should be corrected. Captain Shaw and Mr Pirie Gordon are agreed that the crown over the shield is incorrect, for the reasons, first, that our present block exhibits the crown of Queen Victoria (the correct crown of George V being shown on Fig. 172); and, secondly, that the unicorn in the present device (Fig. 173) is incorrectly engorged, the crown being ducal instead of royal.

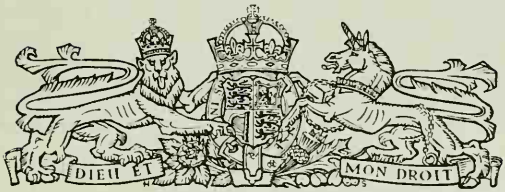
The present design *qua* design is so lacking in merit that to continue it as it stands in the same page with the new fount would yield a most discordant result. If, in the event of the adoption of a new typography for the body of the paper, it were possible to continue the present setting of the front page, it would be unreasonable to introduce any sort of artistic modification or heraldic correction, any re-drawing of the gothic lettering, or of the Royal Device – however desirable, in themselves, any or all of these modifications might be. There would be a clear case for leaving the head-piece – Royal Device, gothic text, and all – exactly as it stands – provided that the rest of the page were left untouched. However, there are serious technical reasons compelling the use of the same strong fount of ruby on the front as on the central news pages. Consequently, the re-dressing of the front page inevitably necessitates a strengthening of the heading if the entire front page is to possess a consistent character.

For these reasons it is proposed to secure for trial use three new Royal Devices, correct and in various proportions, and relating to the present monarch. There can be no sentimental value in continuing the Arms of Queen Victoria. If sentiment is allowed to interpose it would seem that the Royal Arms of George III, as carved on the pedi-

[12] [The 'Royal' edition, begun on 21 April 1922, was discontinued on 31 December 1969. No Royal edition was published between 30 September 1939 and 1 January 1953.]

170. The third royal coat of arms, 25 March 1789

171. The fourth royal coat of arms, 8 September 1792



172. A correct device newly drawn and cut

173. The block at present [1931] used in the heading of *The Times*

174. A redrawing of Fig. 173 made in 1930 and introduced into the heading of *The Times Trade Supplement*

ment over the Back Door, have a prior claim. Captain Shaw has recently demonstrated that the pediment is the original work depicted in Shepherd's water-colour drawings of the original building, i.e., the New King's Printing House erected after the destruction by fire in 1737 of the office tenanted by Baskett.

The change in the colour of *The Times* may be well seen in a comparison of the old and new bourgeois:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 £
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S
T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

which fixes the maximum height of buildings in the city ; and some of them hope that this policy will commend itself to the advisory committee now considering the London Building Act, 1930, with a view to its amendment.

America has evolved a great new architecture. Two developments have made its later stages possible—the steel skeleton building (the exterior of which is a mere curtain of masonry or concrete) and fast electric lifts. Given suitable foundations, American architects have found it practicable and safe to build to heights of 70 and 80 storeys. Artistically, the earlier skyscrapers left a great deal to be desired. To-day, owing to zoning ordinances copied from European practice, these high buildings are commonly stepped back at specified heights, to minimize the extent to which their bulk deprives surrounding streets and buildings of air and sunlight. The ordinances were practical in intention, but their influence on architectural theory in the United States has been profound. The effect has been to prove that exceedingly high buildings may be not only safe but beautiful, with a beauty that springs naturally, as it were, from the logic of events and of the times.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 £
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S
T U V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

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16

THE ORIGINS OF THE NEWSPAPER[1]

You will remember in your Homer that before Sisyphus died he told his wife she was not to have the customary sacrifice offered. So when Sisyphus came into the underworld he was able to complain that his wife was behaving so badly that he ought to be allowed up to recall her to a proper sense of duty. It was because he subsequently refused to return to Hades that, when forced back, he was compelled to roll the big stone up that steep hill. When it was nearly at the top it always 'rolled'; and Sisyphus had to begin all over again. It was a daily task, like the printing of news.

This metaphor is not used to-night for the first time. Heinrich Bullinger of Zurich, one of the greatest of the Protestant reformers – children to the number of eleven proved the vigour with which he repudiated the doctrine of sacerdotal celibacy – and certainly better-looking than Luther, Cranmer or Calvin, was remarkable for his literary energy. He has thirty-nine translations into English to his name. I shall find it necessary, later, to maintain his place in any account of the 'Origins' of journalism. In 1558 he produced a volume of sermons (he was everlastingly preaching) on the Book of Revelation. This volume made an immense impression. His biographer, Pastor Bouvier, says it was an admirably considered statement, accompanied by proof, that the Pope was Antichrist.[2] The printer, Jean Crespin, manager of Calvin's publishing syndicate at Geneva, having to print a book which came to the public with such authority, and proved so comfortable a doctrine, could not keep pace with the demand. Writing to Bullinger, Crespin said, 'It is not the stone of Sisyphus, it is Typography that rolls.'

So it has been, and is; and we in the trade may hope, ever shall be. Typography is seen nowhere so massively and impressively as in the newspaper. The type-mould and the printing press remain the greatest inventions of the modern age, and their greatest product is the newspaper. A general history of the press is an impossibility, and must be. The task even of an historian of the typographical presentation of the news from the 'Origins' until the present day would be comparable with the task of Sisyphus.

No doubt, news is a social need and satisfaction quite as ancient as Homer. How old the Persian and then Greek word 'Gaza', meaning a treasury, may be I know not; but from it we get our word 'gazette'. Our business this evening is to discover how we eventually got the thing formerly called *Gazette*, *Coranto*, *Aviso*, *Intelligencer* or any other name meaning the same thing: a treasury of news interesting to the public. The subject of this introductory lecture is announced as 'The Origins of the newspaper'; not, please, the 'origins of journalism' – which would be about writing, whereas this is about publishing, though we shall, in course of it, touch upon journalism. I do not pretend that I have anything to say on this subject that is interesting. But you will not dispute the claim that the subject itself is interesting.

Some aspects of these 'Origins' are relatively familiar, have already been told, can be conveniently summarized, and more or less easily narrated. Other aspects of the 'Origins' of the newspaper

[1] [The draft of the first two chapters of the second edition of *The English Newspaper*, to be printed in the same format as the 1932 edition, was set up in type in 1954, and galley proofs pulled in August. Morison made various corrections and additions, and Graham Pollard added further comments both then and subsequently. On 5 October 1954 Morison delivered his lecture (here reprinted) from a text that repeats verbatim much of these first chapters, though he extended the account to *circa* 1700. The footnotes included here incorporate most of those intended for *The English newspaper*, revised edn.]

[2] [A. Bouvier, *Henri Bullinger* (Neuchâtel, 1940), p. 184.]

have been less well investigated, are not to be picked up out of encyclopaedias, and cannot very fluently be described.

With your forbearance I am going to try to come to some conclusions about journalistic 'Origins'. It follows that parts of what you are about to listen to, if you have the patience, will be diffidently expressed. But I have also something for you to look at; exhibits which may slightly lessen the agony. The period of time into which you will be projected is, roughly, two centuries. 'The Origins of the Newspaper' can hardly be taken far beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is well, therefore, to leave Athens and Argos; Troy and Ephyra; and all ancient analogies to news, and to begin with the rise of the great continental commercial centres of Venice and Antwerp; Frankfurt and Strassburg; and the imperial city of Augsburg. We can see that by the fourteenth century the great international fairs, then established, had become centres of news-exchange. But the communications thus encouraged were mainly private or personal. In the middle of the fifteenth century confidential correspondence may be seen in process of transformation into public news. Already the beginnings of a modern system of letter-carrying by couriers is discernible. The word 'Intelligence' to denote a story of or about a recent event is then found. Records and reports of papal and royal allocutions, indulgences, official proclamations, or events like orations and university disputations; occurrences such as military feats, atrocities, marvels and wonders, were the first to come from the acting 'Intelligencer'. He also practised as a ballad composer, served the booksellers as a news-writer and as general all-purpose hack, able to create monsters, the more incredible the better. But there is no future in mountainous ladies and two-headed children. Journalism always needs something verifiable.

Real news must wait upon events. I should try to define news as any statement about an occurrence or situation of any sort, made or ostensibly made, by or in the name of a witness – or other accredited authority. Such a statement is news when it is about an occurrence which is so recent as to appear, when in print, to be reported for the first time. Then it is news.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY: WAR AND NEWS

In the first part of the sixteenth century events occurred, the like of which had not happened in generations. The great struggle of the time was with the East. The Turks, who had taken Constantinople in 1453, were advancing west. In 1459 they had conquered Serbia, in 1463 Bosnia was theirs. Within a few years they were attacking the colonies of Venice. In 1493 they overran Croatia. Their progress west was stayed only because they were conquering the Crimea and parts east. But by 1501 they had taken Durazzo, on the Adriatic, from Venice. About that time Lesbos, in the Aegean, which had been taken by the Turks in 1462, was recovered by a combined force of Venetians and French. They did not keep it long but that need not disturb us at present. We have only to attend to the fact that history provides us with an account of this action in the form of a news budget written for German readers. The account of the victory over the Turks occurs in the midst of a string of items, but with a heading: 'Neue Zeitung von Orient'. The date of this printed sheet is 1502. I greatly regret to have failed to get a slide of this item.[3] A few years later the word 'Zeitung' occurs as a title. And this is an early, if not the earliest, instance of a word of titular significance becoming part of a publishing convention; and, as you will realize, it was an instance of war creating a news event; and, as you know, the dictionary meaning of the word 'Zeitung' is *Newspaper*; and 'Zeitung', according to men of learning, is the equivalent of *Tydings*. War is the greatest innovating and accelerating factor in the world. News pamphlets about the Turkish wars abounded in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[4] Accordingly war takes first place among the causes of the newspaper.

Because news may influence action, the State exercised a close supervision over typography, which then had as much novelty and potency as television to-day. In the sixteenth century, war, as always, urged the pens of scriveners and moved the presses of printers. The victory won, printers were not necessarily encouraged to put forth accounts of the action. The *Trewe Encountre*, with a striking news illustration in woodcut of a battle scene, is an authorized celebration of the defeat of the

[3] [Cf. W. Heide, *Die älteste gedruckte Zeitung* (Mainz, 1931).]

[4] [Cf. C. Gollner, *Turcica; die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 2 vols (Bucarest, 1961–8).]

175. *The trewe encountre or batayle lately don betwene Englãde and Scotlande, circa 1513*

Scots on Flodden Field, and is the earliest English news-pamphlet [Fig. 175]. It was printed in London by Richard Faques in 1513.[5] This, of course, was an isolated production; not one of a series. The demand for news at this time was itself new. A remark of Peter Ashton, written in 1546,[6] illustrates its novelty: 'Now a dayes especially (I know not by what motion) we desyre of all thinges to heare newes and tydinges, and to know of strange ambassadours what is done in farre landes.' In this period the reports of ambassadors, especially, are full of news, personally written for their sovereigns.[7]

PROFESSIONAL NEWS REPORTING: NEWS-LETTERS

But our interest is in the regular multiplication of copies of impersonal letters and papers which conveyed intelligence of recent events. Professionalization of news-writing is first found exercised in manuscript. A news-letter may be a single or folded leaf written throughout in manuscript either for a single private person subscribing through a book-

[5] [See J. C. T. Oates, 'The Trewe encountre: a pamphlet on Flodden Field', *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1950), pp. 126–9.]

[6] [In P. Giovio, *A shorte treatise upon the Turkes chronicles* (London, 1545), *4*v*.]

[7] [Cf. H. M. C. Rutland XII (47, nos 395–467).]

seller or other agent, or for a number of such subscribers. Such a news-letter might come directly from home, or indirectly from abroad; sometimes directly from abroad. The class of news-letter that we are concerned with is that produced as an article of commerce. Some of these came from foreign fields of battle. Despatches in written news-letter form were date-lined, 'Before the Camp at...' These were not uncommon in letter-form, but they were rare in print. Others were addressed from home sources. It is difficult to trace the earliest signs of regularity or periodicity in the writing and despatch of these news-letters.

THE REFORMATION AND NEWS

Besides War, the Reformation was, in the sixteenth century, a powerful incentive to the creation of an appetite for news. The excommunication of Luther in 1520 and the execution of More in 1535 were incidents in a continuing process of closest concern to all classes in Germany, Switzerland, France, and elsewhere. The Reformation affected everybody in the West; it affected them individually, for it implied an appeal to the individual conscience. As Luther was well aware, it was as much a social and political revolution as a religious reformation, for it changed property relations. The upheaval inevitably made use of every kind of propaganda method.

Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in Zurich. The Reformation there had been promoted by Huldreich Zwingli. His successor, Heinrich Bullinger, was the great propagandist of the age, a fact confirmed by the articles of Professor Leo Weisz which appeared in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* this August. He made use of the journalistic invention of Matthäus Schiner (1465–1522), the great Swiss warlord, hammer of the French, Bishop of Sion, Cardinal of the Roman Church and creator of the *Neue Zeitung*, a news-sheet begun and written under his own editorship for several years after he had initiated its regular (though not 'periodical' in our sense) issue not later than 1513.

Following this precedent set by Schiner, Bullinger organized a system of news-compilation from his own correspondence, and distributed it by missionaries to the neighbouring Cantons and, no doubt, much farther afield. These manuscript news-letters are also headed 'Neue Zeitung'. They began not later than 1552.

But, indefatigable journalist as he was, Bullinger did not publish on a periodical basis; nor did he pledge himself, beforehand, to produce a news-letter whether news had come to hand or not. In fact, no such anticipation of the arrival of news could have been thought of until the system of posts had itself become regular, frequent and accessible to him. The 'posting' of letters by private individuals, and their carriage for private, as distinct from official, purposes was no part of the daily life of the mid-sixteenth century. Occasional, not regular publication was the only conceivable system in Bullinger's time. Nor could the system change when the 'Neue Zeitung' developed out of manuscript into print, as it did in 1567.

It was after Bullinger's death in 1575 that the occasional merged into the periodical, printed, news-letter; that is to say, periodical in intention. This occurred in Strassburg during fair-time. A *Newe Zeytung* was published there in 1592 as a monthly survey of the Turkish wars. Two issues only are known.[8]

PERIODICAL PRINTED NEWS

A much more successful, regular, publication; it would be an exaggeration to call it a periodical in our sense of the word, began in 1594 at Cologne: *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*. This pocketable (3¾ in. × 6¼ in.) *Mercurius* was widely read in Europe as a semi-*Annual Register* in Latin. It should be noticed that the titular word 'Mercurius' became internationally familiar after 1594. Next, from 1598, a catalogue, a sort of Book Prices Current, was issued in connection with the great Frankfurt Book Fair and came out half-yearly. The Mess-Katalog, also a half-yearly, was published in Spring and Autumn. This, therefore, was the situation as to regular periodicity of publication in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century.[9]

Most of this boring detail has a continental reference, but some idea of what was done abroad is a necessary preliminary to any understanding of the several stages through which English news production passed after the *Trewe Encountre* of 1513; and the trade progressed towards the first daily paper published just under the railway bridge at the

[8] [Cf. *Turcica* vol. 2, pp. 463ff.]

[9] [Cf. G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The distribution of books by catalogue from the invention of printing to A.D. 1800* (Roxburghe Club, 1965), ch. III.]

bottom of Ludgate Hill, in 1702. As I reckon them, for our purposes this evening, ten or a dozen stages may be distinguished, through which news printing and publishing passed, before the obstacles in the way of the regular, frequent, printing of news were overcome. Of these obstacles the greatest were political, or rather, governmental. The reason for the paucity of printed news-pamphlets in England lies in the continuing jealousy of the State. Written news, even on a commercial basis, did not stand in the same danger.

WRITTEN NEWS

Hence, the authorities do not appear to have interfered with the market in news so long as circulation was private, i.e., forwarded in news-letter form to the propertied class. For our purpose, a professionalized news-letter is a sheet, sometimes of quarto, usually, in my experience, of foolscap – folded once, or cut in halves – of news compiled by the sort of hack whom we in England have been in the habit, since 1665, of calling a 'journalist' but who, until then, was called an 'intelligencer', i.e., since 1580 at least. This dealer in news employed himself, or was employed, whole or part-time, in the gathering of items of 'intelligence' and copying out the collection by hand for personal gain by taking a stipend from the bookseller who was in the position to demand 'subscription in advance'. Thus we find booksellers supplying, and scriveners writing, particular news-letters commissioned by an individual patron. Journalism, as we understand it, may have begun in this way. But was this all that the 'intelligencer' did in those days?

THE INDIVIDUAL NEWS-LETTER

The Private or Individual news-letter service was not necessarily an exclusive commission. There is no reason to believe that the old-time intelligencer was any less ready than the modern journalist to sell the same article twice. It is not necessary, therefore, to suppose that the collector of news who sent, as one Hugh Fitzwilliam did, his four-page folio 'scribeled at London the viijth of September 1568' to the Earl of Shrewsbury, really wrote for that client only, though the nobleman probably liked to think so; and the scribe would surely not disturb the Earl's mind on such a point. So Fitzwilliam's style is personal, and mentions the difficulties encountered in doing his duty 'to lerne the truest advertisements'. His letters are introduced with the words 'My moost humble duetie remembred unto your honorable Lordship,' as their leading line. 'May it please your Honour,' 'Sir,' and similar introductions occur until the middle of the seventeenth century in what I describe as the 'individual' news-letter, i.e., one addressed to a particular patron. They are signed by the intelligencer in his own behalf as directly commissioned by the client, and have the air of an individual letter; but it was a commercial job all the same.

This may be the earliest type of professional news service; although this is not the earliest English news-letter of which there is record. If the writer of such 'individual' letters ostensibly wrote for the benefit of a sole client, his letter would need, of course, revision if it were duplicated. The 'individual' letter could only have been issued in number with some change in form and style; in other words, if it were edited; a term unknown at this time in such a connection.

THE WRITTEN NEWSPAPER

The second type, which may be called the 'general' news-letter, collects items and writes them in a style suitable for multiplication in quantity in a scrivener's parlour, without editing. This sort of news-letter begins abruptly without introduction or form of polite address thus: 'Betwene the xxiijth day of July and the xxxth day of the same moneth there dyed and wer buried in London and the suburbes thereof in the hole number cccliij xix persons' etc. [Plate 117]. The date of the general news-letter here quoted is 3 August 1563,[10] five years earlier than the preceding slide. It is so close in intention, form, content and execution to the printed news-paper that such sheets should rank as written news-papers and not as news-letters. The size 8½ in. × 12¾ in., corresponds to the Coranto which appeared fifty years later and will be discussed in due course.

The 'general' type of news-letter or written newspaper is unsigned, and represents the early form of anonymous journalism. That news-letters, particular and general, went out at stated periods is equally likely and unlikely, for the flow of intelligence was neither regular nor rapid. News was a scarce commodity. The contents of a series of papers

[10] [Now among the Morison papers in Cambridge University Library.]

The thinges which happened vpon the Prince of Parmas retire ſince the 20. of Nouembre, till the 27. of the ſame Moneth.

With the newes from Dauphine.

Publiſhed by authority.

LONDON

Printed by Iohn Wolfe, for Andrew White, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the Royall Exchange, ouer againſt the conduit in Cornehill, 1590.

176. *The thinges which happened upon the Prince of Parmas retire*, 1590. *STC* 336

dated 1589 (now in the B.L.), headed 'Advertisements out of France', is limited to paragraphs about royal and noble personages or military movements, such as that 'the dead corps of the late King was carried to Compiegne and there buried'. A written newspaper dated 1599 ends with the promise that 'When there is anythinge worthy of you, you shall not fayle of it.'[11]

Shortage of news was and is the chronic complaint of all journalism. It carried with it the curse of invented news, and this entailed losing touch with sources and alienating customers. Finally, for the press-room to rival the scrivening room involved the grave risk of offending authority and the dismantling of presses. There were suppressions of all printed pamphlets, news, rumours, or arguments favourable to the Catholics or Puritans. Elizabeth was the last to encourage printers to create what we call 'public opinion'. The writer of news-letters was exposed to no danger. What he feared most was to have nothing to write about. The trade of writing out news-letters and selling them through a bookseller depended upon the ability of the professional 'intelligencer' to buy translations of letters that had been fetched from abroad. He appears to have been very active and moderately successful. So well was the privately written general newspaper established that it continued until the eighteenth century. All this time printers of news were less than happy. They did their best, often by printing in the form of pamphlets, papers that had been written either for private, or general subscription. Some of these printers had an interest in both markets and, at a discreet interval, printed what they had already sent out in manuscript form.

THE OCCASIONAL NEWS-PAMPHLET PRINTED IN LONDON FROM 1590

By the end of Henry VIII's reign the number of printers had greatly increased in London; but, it was said, to no great profit for themselves. Nor was their situation bettered by Edward VI. It was worse under Elizabeth. Her injunctions and restrictions bore heavily on the Press. Twenty-five years' printed agitation from Puritan and Papist was more than enough for the Queen and the royal Church which, at Cecil's instigation, she created by the Act of Uniformity of 1559. But she could not stop the volume of clandestine publishing, which increased with every year of her reign. In 1586 she adopted the Star Chamber decree which shackled the English Press for half a century. Henceforth every piece of print was controlled by licence of selected agents of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Stationers' Company.[12] The Act of 1586 prohibited all presses outside London, except at Oxford and Cambridge; it permitted no new press to be erected. There was, indeed, less liberty of debate in England than on the Continent;

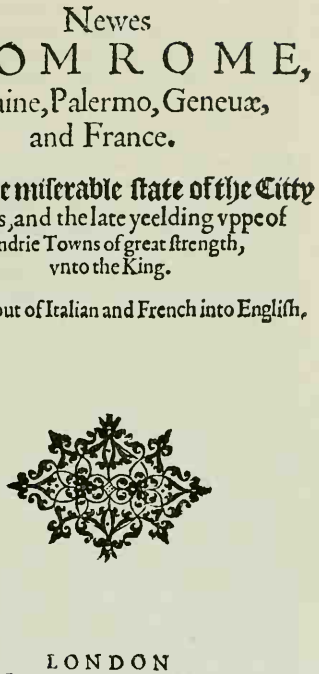
[11] [Now among the Morison papers in Cambridge University Library.]

[12] [For a brief analysis of the total numbers of books licenced or unlicenced in the years 1576–1640 see W. W. Greg, *Some aspects and problems of London publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 49–50.]

and it was on the Continent that the advances in journalism were made. It has been reported that the work 'Zeitung' had already come into use in Germany and Switzerland.[13] Among the rest of the specific titles there occur *Brief, Relation, Historie, Post, Kurier,* and *Aviso*. The standard German dimension of these publications was quarto, in four or eight pages as in England, i.e., 5 in. × 7 in. about.

In England the selective process whereby a short title developed, equivalent to *Zeitung,* or *Aviso,* or *Post,* was slow. One of the most explicit and longest of all titles was used in 1592, only once perhaps: *A Journall wherein is truely sett downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of writing &c.* This had been put more concisely in 1590 in four words: *The thinges which happened* etc. [Fig. 176]. Shorter contemporary titles were *Relation, True Relation, True Report, Credible Report.* The 'operative' (as they now say) word most frequently occurring after 1590 was 'Newes', as we still have it in our *News Chronicle* and *News of the World,* but it did not then occur by itself as a title. The *Oxford Dictionary* records the word 'news' as first in literary use in 1551, and that it was well established by the end of the century. A number of slides show the range of its use at this time.

The titles just mentioned were given to single, separate, news-pamphlets. Many of them were translations, acknowledged or not, out of the Italian, French, Spanish, German, Dutch or High Dutch. France is a conspicuous source of news before 1590, when the English troops participated on the side of Henri IV, then a Calvinist suffering the attacks of the Prince of Parma. The first English publication employing in its title, as its initial word, that which the trade was to adopt after generations of hesitation, is *Newes from Rome, Spaine, Palermo, Geneuæ and France,* printed in London for Thomas Nelson by W. Wright, in 1590 [Fig. 177].[14] In the same year we have *True Newes concerning the winning of the Town of Corbeyll by the French King from the Prince of Parma,* and, next year, *True Newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres Companie.* I show you on the screen a number of slides of these pamphlets, and ask you to notice the degree to which they aspire to prompt publication after the event, the date of which, or its reporting, is frequently given. These pamphlets of spot news are of exceptional


Newes
FROM ROME,
Spaine, Palermo, Geneuæ,
and France.

With the miſerable ſtate of the Citty
of Paris, and the late yeelding vppe of
ſundrie Townes of great ſtrength,
vnto the King.

Tranſlated out of Italian and French into Engliſh.

LONDON
Printed for Thomas Nelſon, and
are to be ſold by William Wright.
1590.

177. Newes from Rome, Spaine, Palermo, Geneuæ, and France, 1590. STC 21293

interest. They mark an important stage in the development of news-printing, the provision of the month, and in one or two isolated instances, the day of the month. See the *Newes Lately come on the last day of Februarie, 1591,* and the publisher's explanation that his 'Newes' is out of copies sent originally to 'Royal Honourable Persons'. As we shall see, after dating came numbering – but not for nearly 20 years.

In 1601, there appeared, with the singularly interesting title of *The Journal or dayly Register,* a detailed account of a voyage from Amsterdam of the fleet commanded by Admiral Zenneck sailing to the East Indies. An interesting early

[13] [See W. Heide, *Die älteste gedruckte Zeitung* (Mainz, 1931), p. 10.]

[14] [*STC*[2] tentatively attributes the printing to J. Wolfe.]

example of continuity occurs in the same year: *Newes from Ostend* (entered at Stationers' Hall on 5 August 1601)[15] was followed by *Further Newes of Ostend* (entered (?) 9 September 1601).

THE SOURCES OF NEWS

The Low Countries are seen becoming a prime news source for the English trade from 1591. We have a news-letter printed in London in that year by Thomas Scarlet for William Wright, compiled, under the title of *News from France*, whose contents are in the form of anonymous journalism. 'I know you in England,' the unknown intelligencer writes, 'expect newes with everie happie winde: And happie be that winde which bringes you good newes.' Proceeding, he says, 'many idle heads with you, hearing the unhappie state of France, and conjecturing by their strong imaginations what is likely, or may indeed chaunce, set pen to paper, and men to the presse, and publish that for truth, which if it were so, were well, but being not so, proues so contemptible, that the verie truthe it selfe carries small credite.' The pamphlet is devoted to an incident in the campaign of the Ligue against Henri IV, and has a postscript in the manner of the written news-letter, 'Good Sir, after I had ended my Letter, by chaunce I met with a friend of mine, a marchant who acquainted me with certain newes from the Low Countries,' etc. There are many pamphlets of this type in the last decade of the sixteenth century which offer news of political events and affairs and not merely of alleged miracles or marvels so common earlier in the century. They rank, therefore, as journalism and not folklore. But they do not to-day receive recognition. Mr C. S. Lewis, who has published this month his long awaited volume on *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* accords no mention to the English news-pamphlet. This is one of the consequences of writing anonymously. It is not easy to do justice to a writer whose name was and will forever be unknown.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

FIRST DATED AND NUMBERED WEEKLY NEWS-BOOK, AUGSBURG 1609

So, for the reasons given, England was not the first country to possess a continuous publication offering news for a general audience, and dated; and, also, serially numbered for the convenience of subscribers. No such publication began anywhere until the seventeenth century. The development waited upon a due extension of the system of 'posts' whereby the imperial couriers were permitted to carry letters for individuals. The beginnings of that extension of the system cannot be documented much before the middle of the sixteenth century, and occur first in Austria and Germany. From which it followed that the earliest dated, and numbered, publication of news were in Central and West Europe. Both inventions appeared in 1609, or so it appears from the surviving specimens. The date is so significant in newspaper history that it is most regrettable that the German bibliographers are unable to be precise about important details. It is certain that two dated and serially numbered periodical pamphlets of news were published in January 1609. The earlier may be the *Avisa, Relation oder Zeitung* ascribed to some anonymous printer at Augsburg. As you see on the title page, the upper right-hand corner has the highly significant symbol indicating that the issue is [No.] 1. The sub-title says that the news is that which had been collected from various countries by 15 January. And it is presumed that the booklet was printed on or about that date. German scholars are not certain that the place of printing was Augsburg. Some think Wolfenbüttel was the place; others Helmstadt; others vote for Bremen.[16] For reasons it would be really tedious to relate it is possible that, although the *Avisa* is numbered (1), there may have been an earlier volume.

The same may be true of the other periodical that comes from this year: the *Relation* of Strassburg. The title is followed by much the same sort of sub-title as the *Avisa* of Augsburg (?). The serial number is inconspicuously set over the top line of page 1 of text but the date is not given specifically.

The initial headline of the first issue reads 'Zeitung auss Cöln vom 8 Jenner Anno 1609' under a band of flowers. The Strassburg *Relation* is a less highly developed production than the Augsburg *Avisa*, and may have preceded it by a few days. But it has been calculated that the time required

[15] [Also issued as *The oppugnation and fierce siege of Ostend, by the Archduke Albertus and his forces.* See also D. C. Collins, *A handlist of news pamphlets 1590–1610* (London, 1943).]

[16] [Cf. W. Hartmann, 'Wolfenbüttel als Druckort des "Aviso" von 1609, der ältesten periodisch gedruckten Zeitung', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch* 31 (1959), pp. 175–89, and E. Blühm, 'Adlige Bezieher des Wolfenbütteler "Aviso"', *Publizistik* 16 (1971), pp. 64–7. The evidence for Wolfenbüttel is now conclusive].

for the transmission of the dispatches makes it impossible for the Strassburg *Relation* to have appeared before January 17, 1609, whereas the first Augsburg *Avisa*, is dated January 15; and that is why I show it.[17]

These German dated and numbered news-pamphlets must have become known to the London trade, although in the present state of research their influence upon the form or matter of the English news-books cannot be pointed to. It is not to be doubted, however, that German news was circulated in London, as elsewhere, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, just as it demonstrably was in the third decade. But the adoption in London of a numbered, dated and regular news-service of pamphlets came late.

DATED AND NUMBERED DUTCH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER PRINTED WEEKLY IN AMSTERDAM 1618

The German example was, apparently, not easy to follow. Probably the organization of the trade elsewhere was not yet ready for its transplanting. The available evidence shows Holland to be the next country to acquire a regular, weekly, continuous, dated and printed news-service.[18] The earliest Dutch specimens known, printed in the national form of black-letter, are headed *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* [Fig. 178]. The four messages in the earliest extant *Courante* are printed in order of receipt, the first is dated 'VVt Venetien den 1. Iunij, Anno 1618', the second Prague, 2 June; the third Cologne, 11 June; and the fourth The Hague, 13 June.[19] There is no printer's or publisher's imprint, no date and no serial number. That it was intended as a weekly is certain as the succeeding issue contains messages from Venice on the 8th; but that the paper succeeded in coming out weekly thereafter is not certain, as the series is interrupted until 2 October. But the *Courante* flourished, and next year it bore the imprint in roman type 'Ghedruct 't Amsterdam by Ioris Veseler aende Zuyder kerc inde Hope. A°. m.dc. xix. Den 15. May' and thus progressed under father and son for fifty years and more.[20] An important change of imprint was made later: ''t Amsterdam by Ioris Veseler, A°. 1620. Den 17. October. Voor Caspar van Hilten, aende Beurs inden gecroonden Hoedt.'[21] Shortly after this, when Veseler died and his widow undertook the printing, the name of van Hilten appears first in the imprint.

Veseler and/or van Hilten are responsible for the first printed news *paper* in our sense. It is obviously a printed version of the kind of news-letter written for general circulation; the sort we saw earlier as having been produced in England in 1563 and no doubt before then. This is important.

It has been seen that there had been plenty of books or pamphlets of news long before 1609, when the first regular publication of *Avisos* took place. It has been seen, too, that for generations, on the Continent as in England, news-letters had been written out upon a folio sheet folded once into four pages, if the news was sufficient, or cut in half to make a single leaf, if otherwise. In either case, what the reader of these sheets held in his hand was a 'paper' of news, not a book or pamphlet. Caspar van Hilten and Ioris Veseler were the first to express this written newspaper convention in terms of a typographical paper. Caspar van Hilten had been a professional 'corrantier' with the army of the Prince of Orange, and held that position at the time he brought out the first printed paper of news. Veseler was already well established as a printer in Amsterdam. The vernacular term 'coranto' or 'corranto' had already been in use on the Continent for at least two generations, and the word 'corrantier' was the professional designation for a news-writer. 'Coranto' was the usual description applied about this time to any sort of printed news found in England. The first van Hilten or Veseler coranto or newspaper is not easy to date precisely as the issues thought to be the earliest extant have no imprint and are not serially numbered until very late in their career. It is on 15 May 1619, that the imprint of Veseler first appears. In the summer of 1620, about the time when the coranto was first impressed with a date, the practice began of covering, more or less completely, the back of the sheet with text.

What is the date of the earliest of these corantos, signed or otherwise; the date, that is, of the first of all newspapers in the modern sense of the word;

[17] [See G. Rennert, *Die ersten Post Zeitungen* (Berlin, 1940), with facsimile.]

[18] [See A. Stolp, *Die eerste couranten in Holland* (Haarlem, 1938): especially pp. 1, 50.]

[19] [F. Dahl, *Dutch corantos, 1618–1650* (The Hague, 1946), facs. 1. See also Dahl's 'Amsterdam: earliest newspaper centre of Western Europe', *Het Boek* xv (1938–9), pp. 161–97.]

[20] [F. Dahl, *Dutch Corantos*, facs. 6.]

[21] [F. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*, facs. 12.]

VVt Venetien den 1. Iunij, Anno 1618.

DEn 25 Passato is gradueert woorden/ van het gheen by verraet achter 17 twelck ontdeckt is/ synde dese dry selver gemaeckeert daer onder eenighe Francoysen die stelt met de Spaensche ende eenighen dieser Edelluyden verdonden dese Stadt aen te plonderen/ ghelijckmen dan aen seker plaetsen by de 50. potten met dierwerte heeft gevonden/ het welcke eene hunner mede gestelen is uit dese Zeen. ontdeckt heeft/ den welcken sy 25. duysent ducaten hebben bereert: Als sulcks die andere hebben vernomen/ zynder by 700. weeck ghelooven. Doch 20. daer van gevangen/ ende dese daghen 40. van Padua al-hier ghebracht/ ooch noch dagelijcks van daer ende Verona/ Vicenza/ Bergamo/ en andere plaetsen gheblanchelijch gebracht werden: dese onser Saten alhier die daer toe gholpen/ zyn des nachts van wegen haer groote vrienden verdronchen worden/ ende komen dagelijcks noch wonderlijcke saken aen den dach/ sonderlijcken dat de Spaensche deze Stadt also vnmenie wilde.

De nieuwen Hertogh Pyuli is met 12. schepen/ ende van drie 40. Heeren/ op den Puzento 10. welche 4. andere Gallepen/ die gestadich daer ghelicht los gheschoten/ ghecanodoneert/ ende eerlijcken inne ghehaelt/ groote vreuchden-feeste/ tot indeu nacht gehouden. Ooch by de croninghe dese ghelts uyt ghewoyen.

VVt Prage, den 2. dito.

Die Staten zyn eenstreys van hier vertrocken/ van weghen het Pinckster-feest op hare goederen/ sullen haest weder comen/ ondertusschen Gouverneren die Heeren defensoren alhier.

Desen morgen is den Jesuwyten/ van 3. Heeren/ 3 Ridders personen/ ende 3. bander Ghiemeynte een decreet/ van den Staten ober gegeven/ dat sy hun metten eersten uyt Pzage/ ende andere Steden/ dant geheele Coninckrijck Zehemen begheben souden/ is ooch terstont een guarde voor hun Collegie alhier besteit worden. Die Staten laten ooch te Peerde ende te voete dese volck aennemen/ ende vermanen die ghemeyne zoyeerde Landen den ghemaechten accoozt/ ende om assistentie aenhouden. Laten ooch die Croone tot Karlsteen sterck bewaren.

Dese Eacif heeren ende andere/ die het met de Officiers ghehouden/ hebben eenelijcke dupsent Floyneen/ ooch by opperste Bezgh-Oyabe 100. duysent Floyneute teenen/ aen ghepresenteert/ om tot aennemingke des volcks te gebruycken. Die Catholycke Staten hebben sich ooch met de Euangelische verbonden/ nu voortaen met een ander vredelijck te leven/ ende den Majestents dyer te helpen manteneren. Daer op sy int ghemeele Coninckrijck den 1. Man op gheboden soo 150. dupsent Mannen beloopen. Begeeren ooch van den Alsieren trinnen 4. weercken 1000. Peerden/ ende een regiment voet-volck te senden.

Onderthusschen is Voetoot Pauson ghedanghen/ die sonde ooch alle acnslaglen teghen: Die Staten gegeven hebben. Desgelijcks heesemen den Secretaris Michna/ de welcke oot dat werr tenen die Staten ten hoochsten heeft gebzeven/ alle zinne goederen ende schuld-brieven ingetrocken/ de welcke op 130. duysent Floyneen bedzagen/ maer hy selve ist ontcomen/ met Pater Collozet Jesuit. Ooch heesemen onder zyne saken 100. witte bladeren afgebonden/ die alle met des Keysers secreet dreseghelt waren. De Heere Slabata/ die genade heeft becomen/ heeft bekent/ dat hy hier toe sy gheperswadeert/ begheert geen offuite meer/ met vermelden dat alles banden Jesuwyten come. De Heere Smyssansky die teghen woozdich tot Weenen is/ heeft aende Staten ooch gheschzeben/ ende genade aensoecken laten.

De Cheurdozst van Saxen/ heeft eenen post aen dese Heeren defensozen gesonden/ de welcke 2. Mylen van hier is afgheworpen/ ende die brieven gheschenrt wozden.

VVt Ceulen, den 11. Dito.

Wy hebben van Pzesburgh/ dat alsco die tzdinghe aldaer van het Tumult van Pzage aengecomen/ dat alles in stille was/ ende die Hongersche Heeromnghe tot op Bartholomeus is uytgheselt wozden.

Wt Weenen heeftmen/ dat den Pzager pzoces aldaer veel seltsaem is vooz komen/ wanten met dattmen daer van spzeken sonde/ soo is den Secretaris Michna/ van Pzage ontloopen zynde/ aldaer ooch aencomen. Ondertusschen wert daer ooch steeche pzeparatie vande Heeren Defensozen vooz ghenomen/ die van Saxen Julius sonde bestellinge op een regiment voetvolck ende 2000. Peerden hebben/ ende wert die Trommel aldaer omgheslagen.

Wt Duytslant wert geadviseert/ dat den Generuieren den Pozsten-dach tot Raphzon/ als ooch den Ozaven-dach tot Fzydzugh/ wel bergaen zyn/ ende wat tot dzede ende eenichzept dient/ getracteert hebben.

Wy verstaen ooch dat in Duytslandt over al Czychsvolck sonde ongthenomen werden/ ghelijck dan alreede eenighe Bewelhebbers alhier ghewest zyn/ die welcke volck aennemen wilde/ maer niet torghzlaten/ daerom sy ooch dan hier wytsen moetten/ de wyle de ghestentsche Cheurvozsten ende Bisschoppen ooch volck aennemen wilden.

VVt s'Graven-haghe den 13. Dito.

Voor wenich daghen arriveerde alhier een Ghesanten van den Groot-Vozst van Moscouien met eene tamelijcke groote zupte Synde des anderen daeghs van de Ghedeputeerde der Ghenerealiteyt/ ende bande Heere Prince, neffens zynen Heere Pzorder ende andere Heeren besteght ende willecom ghehecten. Syn voozleden Saterdach met eenighe Carossen inde Ghenerealiteyt ter audientie ghebzacht wozden. Wat hare aendzenge is/ salmen vlyner tijt vernemen.

Voozleden Saterdach smozgens is zyn G. Oyabe Wilhelm Lodewijck uyt Vtrecht ooch hier gearriveert. Ende zyn nu de Ghedeputeerde van de Pzovincien hier teghenwoordich tomen dagheliickt te samen/ hebben een begunsel van staet Generale dergaderinghe ghemaeckt/ ende tracteren van hare saken.

Tot Delft heeft de Ghemeynte haren Magistraet ooch doen aenseggen/ datse verstaen dat sy luyden hun tot de andere Steden/ Vozt/ Amsterstam/ Enchuysen etc. souden voergen/ en mede de pointen op de selve ende de Ghenerealiteyt vooz goet gevonden/ als het houden bande Spnoot National/ afdanckinge der Wartgelders/ ende so voozts: appzoberen. Waer op sy haer beraet noch eenighe daghen ghenomen hadden. Doch souden hun dese werke als de omdzagingke by de Ghenerealiteyt geschieden sal ooch finalijch verklaren. Ende soo voozts by de andere Steden ooch gheschieden/ om te weten/ waerse eyndelijck te doen bedacht zyn.

178. *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* Amsterdam 14 June 1618

the date of this regularly produced paper of news, formally dated, printed in columns and not in pages? Were these first corantos without date, without imprint, also issued from the press of Veseler? From the typography and format it would appear that they were. If this should be so, might we be justified, in the light of current knowledge, in stating that the first newspaper came out a day or two after the arrival in Amsterdam of the dispatch from the Hague dated 13 June 1618? Would not the date of publication be within the day or next day after the Hague news had been received?

But, first, there is the message from Venice to be considered. This, as a foreign dispatch, must have seemed more important than a mere message from the Hague. And the Venice dispatch is dated 1 June. As the post from Venice to Amsterdam seldom occupied less than sixteen days, our earliest newspaper could hardly have issued from Veseler's press much before 17 June. So we should put the date of this first newspaper, or coranto, as between 15 and 17 June 1618.

SECOND DUTCH NEWSPAPER: AMSTERDAM 1619

Meanwhile, a second (as we must say in terms of survival of these rarities) newspaper made its appearance, in the same form, without title, but with the imprint at the foot, 'Gedruct tot Amsterdam, by Broer Ianszon: Courantier int Leger van syn Pr[incelijcke] Excell[entie].' [Fig. 179].[22] It notably differs from its predecessor in having been composed in two sizes of body-letter, while still being printed on one side only of the sheet, like Veseler's first issues, thus providing room on the back for postscripts, written by the purchaser for the benefit of his friends, or by an intermediate bookseller.

The date of printing Broer Janszon's piece is not difficult to calculate, for it contains first a message from Cologne dated 2 February; followed by a number of items headed 'Nederlandtsche tijdinghe den 9 Februarij.' Most probably, therefore, the job was worked in the next two days at latest.

Thus we have a second newspaper, also in Dutch, certainly printed by Broer Janszon or Johnson, not dated but datable by inference, as of 11 or 12 February 1619. And we can compare it with the first dated issue of Veseler's coranto: 15 May 1619. On the evidence of the available issues it seems that Janszon dated no coranto until November 1619.

Only a few similar sheets, with the imprints of Delft and Arnhem, have survived, but it cannot be doubted that many more of these slight productions from these and other Dutch towns were printed in the same form as the *Courante* and *Tijdinghen* that have come down to us. It is not, however, our business to notice further the development of the Dutch-produced newspapers in the Dutch language. Dutch-produced newspapers in other languages now need to be described.

FIRST FRENCH NEWSPAPER: AMSTERDAM 1620

Of all news-centres at this period the most active, nationally and internationally, was Amsterdam. In 1620 a remarkable extension of the trade took effect: the publication of a French translation of the Dutch coranto. The sheet is headed *Courant d'Italie & d'Almaigne, &c.* and has the imprint in the verso: '*A AMSTERDAM, Imprimé par Jacob Iacobsz. l'an du falut* 1620, *XII. Septembre* [rule] Pour le Maiſtre des Courants, du camp du Prince D'Orange, en la Bourse au Chapeau Coronné.'[23] *Courant*, in French, is a single leaf printed in the Dutch style, though composed in roman type (except for the centred date-lines which are in italic), in two columns separated by a spaced double rule. It was printed at Amsterdam by Jacob Jacobszoon for Caspar van Hilten, and it was generally published on the day after the issue of the Dutch original.

The Dutch *Courant d'Italie &c.* is recorded to have continued in progress after 4 September 1621, i.e., it is known to have had a career of hardly twelve months, having begun, so far as we know, not later than 12 September 1620.

Meanwhile, in England the trade kept to the old paths. The Star Chamber system efficiently discouraged experiment. The standard type is that of the *True Reporte* of 1607, *News from Virginia* of 1610, *Newes out of Holland*, a quarto published by Nathaniel Newbery in 1619, and *Newes from France*, printed for R.R. in 1621. The English news *paper* had, in terms of form, not yet begun to be.

[22] [F. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*, facs. 51. Dahl dates it 10 February.]

[23] [F. Dahl, *Dutch corantos*, facs. 163. See also F. Dahl, F. Petibon and M. Boulet, *Les débuts de la presse française; nouveaux aperçus* (Acta Bibliothecae Gotoburgensis IV, Goteborg, 1951) and R. de Livran, *Histoire de la presse française* (Lausanne, 1965).]

VV: Keulen den 2. Februarij, 1619

MEn berichtet uyt de leste Bryeven uyt Italie/ dat de Paus stende de Roomsche stichtige in Bohemien in groot perijckel/ en datse metter tyt wel een machte sloot mochte eryggen/ midtsdien niet meer (als tot noch is gheschiedt) daer tot ghedaen en worde/ hadde aen die Catholijcke Ligue in Duytslant wel eenstilic geschreven en vermaent tot sterckte assistentie tegens de Bohemen/ willende selfs ook het sijne daer toe doen/ latende tot dien eynde in diverschje quartieren sijnen gebiet ook lichten/ om den Keyser toegesonden te worde.

Sreden uyt Genua melden/ andere uyt Spaermen meer addijs/ dat aldaer eene partije gestoten was van 200. duysent Ducaten/ omme te betalen d'een helfte in Sardinia/ ende de reste in Napulen/ ende was men noch in tractate van eene groote pertita/ als van dien millioenen Ducaten die de galeye souden worden voor Napels/ Mulanen/ Vlaenderen ende Duytslant.

Vt Napels schijft men dat de drie hp den Viceroy alhare toegeruste galeyen a la Turquesque/ ende gesonderne in Levanten/ ander Tenedo (wesende een bande Jnsulen van Archipelago/ genomen hadden ee groot galioen/ twelck van Alexandria na Constantinopolen ginc/ met diverschje gorderen vande weerde van meer als 300. duysent Ducaten. Item twee groote Caramussalys/ hebbende tot sladen gemaect 700. Turcken/ ende particulierlije eenen Cadys/ die met syn heele Familie op't voorsz. galioen van syn Gouvernement tot Cairo weder keerde na Constantinopolen/ van welken Cadys men verhoopte een groot ransoen te verkrijghen/ ende was dit galioen alreets tot Syracusa/ ende eene vande Caramussalys tot Messina in Sicilien gheartiveert.

Belangende de Kerchs-saken van Bohemen/ is sedert de jongstte met besonders voor-gheballen.

Dat Bohemsche Kerchsvolck ligt noch om Budweys ende Crumau/ gelijckse wel vallen deselve Soldaten dagheliger upt/ maer niet sonder hunne schade: Doch also de Bohemen haer den roof nu lestmael int' lant gehaelt/ willen afnemen (gelijck hoyrs te voozen gheschiet was) zijn sy bande Keyserschje die in een Embuscade lagen over-vallen worden/ ontrent 130. doot gheblevèn/ ende etelicke gebangen/ onder welcke dese Gaye sijn Hollenlo Dachdzager/ ende des Gyabe dau Wansveln overste Wacht-meester was.

Dan het voorgestelde twee-maendige destant weert noch sterck gehandelt: Ende heeft de Aartsche Gesante de Bohemsche Steenden dese navolghende Articulen voor-gheda gen.

1. De Keyserlicke Majestept bewilligde alsulcken bestandt ende stilstant van wapenen ten weder-zyden/ hebbende alreedts aen sijne Kerchs-Overste bevolen sulcx inne te gaen. 2. Was ock te bzeden den interessions-dach tot Eger te laten voor-gaen/ te hebben. 3. Oft ock de Interponenten niet alle en erschenen/ so honden nochtele wel de Keurvorsten Paltz en Saxen alleen dit werck op sich nemen. 4. De Keyserl. Ma. begeert de selfs bzede / ende wilde niet gheern upstantsche hulpe die hem allenthalven aenghebooden worde/ ghebzupchen. 5. Indien men niet tot 2. maenden Trebis worde berstaen/ soude men voor eerst een maent uitwilligen. 6. Men moste den Keyser toe vertrouwen/ bewigte syne Ma. sich selfs subnitteere/ ende den rechten onder wergen wilde gebende alles in der Onder-handelaars goet-dunchen/ etc.

De Bohemensche Heeren Directeurs hebben hier op voor antwoorde gegeven/ sp en honden sonder te vopen van der Slesiers goet-dunchen verwittight te zyn/ niet ingaen. Voorts was schijnens van de Slesiers aen de Bohemen gekomen/ tatsoudende dat also sp die saken van grooter importantien bebonden/ hadden sp eene generale Vergaderinge op den 30. January aengestelt/ op dewelcke sp de saken beter bedenchen/ deselve derae tgen/ ende hunne resolutie opveelenden souden. Darrenintuschen most men sien of dat Interpositions werck ernst zy/ indien 't selve gorde voozt-gaen hebben mochte/ wilden sp eenen Vozstelicken persoon van haren t weghen daer toe deputeeren.

Soo is op den 28. January dan wegen dat Bohemsche wesen een Landdach in Moravien aengestelt.

De Bohemen hadden een scherp schzijven aende selvige Steenden gedaen/ de manieren hoe sich met hun gheluck de Slesiers gedaen/ te willen voorghen.

Jnt lant dan Gulic wert op diverschje plaetsen volck voor Spaengien aengenomen/ ende wert upt gegeven dat het zy tot reinforcement des Regiment van Graef Christoffel baa Embden/ twelc t' Aken in garnisoe leyt.

Nederlandtsche tijdinghe den 9. Februarij.

Vt Messina wert dan den 17. December 1618. op navolgende manieren geschzeben. Alhier liggen inde Poozt (als Baden) 17. wel gemanteert de schepen waer dan Dut d'Eyst is Admiraet is/ die op heeft 36. metalen stucken/ ende zijn daer op dese 17. schepen gemonsteert 1200. Soldaten/ behalven het Boozt volck ende werden noch Soldaten aengenomen tot 4. Compaignien toe/ende de komt oor dagelijcx veel volck upt Napels/ende alsdaer gedient hebben. Hier zijn oock eenige dagen mede geromen 4. wel gemonsterde galeyen/ so dat het lant hier vol volck is. Tot Rip is wercd noch een men sterck galioen gebout/ twelck men int voozt jaer met seven andere hier bestwacht/ met noch wel 40. galeyen bande diverschje quartieren. Vt Spaengien verstaet men dat alhier op dese plaet komen sull 4. wel gemanteerde schepen/ ende dat den Frankman/ ende Vetiaen hun op dese voozts. plaet bevaen gen sulle. Den Admiraet Duc d'Ossuna heeft selfs in persoon met den grooten Hartoch sijn secreet gesproke. Alhier is eschpint een uyt voozt daech uit ooken een vreest ighe comet/ alsmede een ergenbooch uit zupden: watter de oppden sal/ laet ick de ghelee te oozpeelen.

Schzyghens uyt Brabant vermelt/dat aldaer een m't Walsche quartiere aengenomen werden 16000. muskettiers met 2000. rupiers/ ooth soo dee boozt volck als mede Ruyt bzaem. Ende werden daghelijcx veel oude soldaten upt de schepen den Compaignien ghenomen/ ui zee den naer Oostende/ Duynkercken ende Nieuport/ alwaer sp t'zijzer toe honden gaen om naer Spaengien. te varen op de gewinge bloot die aldaer torgerust were/ daer men seyt dat den Comte baa Spaengien/ alsp op wesen sal. Eenige meynen dat het op Barbar gen gen sal/ somminge te in Brabant zijn dan op't/ dat den Comte dese Neederlandse wil komen bestaen hier/ daer groot gheld op bet wordt were.

Den regenstaende wp de be gangene werke tijdinghe upt s. Lucas haben/ dat de Vloobts aan Algiers ouse gebangen/ en soude sonder eenich tamporis los gemaeckt hebben so sp nochtaus/ also/ dat 45. gheoangh en in die daer los gelaten sijn/ waer oor t' Schippers 30/ voz rantsoen hebben moeten betalen 7000. gulde. Waer regen haer wederom by die van Algiers is gemaeckt een schip/ om daer mede oder te varen. God geef haer voort.

De Gedeputeerde vande Generaliteyt die tsedert der respecteve Coll. gie va de Admiraliteyten zijn jegenwoozdich inden Haze bergadert/ om met de Heere Staten Generael/ neffens den Pz. van Oranjen als Admiraet vande Zee te besogneeren/ op de beghinghe vander zee regen die aenstaende Jaer.

Men heeft vande gebangene Heeren niet besonders/ dan dat de jodes es oore hare examinatie ghelyck voor desen bermelt/ ghtheoyen zijn/ maer datter noch niet en was gebefolganeert.

Maer de Chambre vande donderdach inde voorgaende weke in yoste was bereeut naer Paris ghetrocken zijn/ men wist niet tot welken eynde.

Vande Synode Nationael tot Dordrecht houdende is gemeldt/ dat alle dese dachten/ dan datter neerstich ghearbeyt wordt in de handelinghe der Articulen/ alsoonlangs collegiaten de voorschaken van alle Theologanten over dese Articulen: Waer by nde 5 Articulen/ die den Remonstranten/ als afgheschaffet waren/ en meer als nu inden verdere/ die sy den 19 Maert. Zijnden eyndelijck de 5 Remonstranten mit de Synode en zijn ook klinnelijk bereidt om haer selfs/ ende te presenteren/ daer toe sy de Classen hebben ingheroen tot den 6. Februarij tot bergaert hebben. Dat se sy ghaen spoden/ so men dagelijcx met merchers verstaet.

Gock hadden de Commissarissen de Collegementen tot Dordrecht dan noch een Vertoogh gedaen aende Ho. Mo. heeren Staten Generael/ ende sijne Excellentie den Heere van Oranjen.

Dit vertoogh zijn ter Dordrecht en Delft gedruckt en openlijck gelesen.

Den Burgermeester Wierik Beukelsz. is inden afgestelt zijnde by vergiften de 9. Mi. Heeren Staten/ en dat tot zijnder plaetse/ by den Staten bezet/ heeft aenteent gedaen by de Heeren Staten Generael/ Cornelis Lampsen Pensionaris der Stadt Dordrecht/ dapoor dienste dan/ sy hem dat aen t'ende met ontfangen hebbende de Staten dese zake bergaltet.

Dat de Prince van Piemont/ den 18. dese/ de Duc d'Elbeuf sijne suste tot de ehe nemen sal/ is boven dat de Bruydt Maet/ Mr. Pierre des Ogiers Heere van Jan van Ruthergh en Christopher Heere van Zyll.

Gedruckt tot Amsterdam, by Broer Janszoon Courantier int Leger van syn Pr. Excell.

179. Coranto published by Broer Janszon, 11 February, 1619. In 1629 its successors were named *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren*. Reduced

The principal dates in the early history of journalism so far established amount to these: the earliest known regular weekly, dated, news-publications, numbered in series, are the German *Aviso* from Augsburg, and the *Relation* from Strassburg – both in 1609. These were news-pamphlets or news-'books' of four to eight pages. In the second place come the Dutch corantos from Amsterdam, which began in 1618, and the later corantos from other centres in Holland. These were single sheets and therefore news-'papers'. Thirdly, in September 1620 one of the Amsterdam corantos appeared in a French translation. This, too, was in the Dutch style of single sheet news-'paper', except that it was composed in roman and not in black-letter. It may be guessed, if a Dutch news publisher anticipated plagiarization in Paris he, or a competitor, would look, sooner or later, for a market in London.

FIRST ENGLISH NEWSPAPER: AMSTERDAM 1620

Within three months of the appearance of the French *Courant d'Italie &c.* first recorded to have appeared on 12 September 1620, Pieter van den Keere of Amsterdam published the earliest extant newspaper in English. It was printed for him by the same Ioris Vescler we have already mentioned as the printer of van Hilten's coranto published for the first time not later than June 17(?), 1618. Van den Keere[24] was the sone of the typefounder who worked for Plantin of Antwerp; he was born at Ghent in 1570 and went to England in 1590, where he excelled as an engraver of maps. In 1593 he established himself at Amsterdam, engraving maps for the Dutch admiralty and later engaged as a publisher of serious literature. He was still publishing books when he set out in 1620 to print an English edition of a Dutch news-sheet. The earliest known copy is without title. It leads with the top left-hand line '*The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com*' in italic, and composes the rest in roman. It has at the foot of the verso, below a blank of 3¾ in., the legend: 'Imprinted at Amſterdam by George Veſeler A°. 1620, the 2. of Decemember (*sic*). And are to be soulde by Petrus Keerius, dvvelling in the Calverſtreete in the uncertaine time.'[25]

It seems a warrantable inference from the leading line of the first column that our earliest extant issue was not in fact the first. Would even a primitive news-man, writing the 'copy' for the initial number, the equivalent of our 'Vol. 1, No. 1' lead with such a line as 'The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com'? If this were indeed the initial number would he not wait until the 'new tydings' had arrived? Is it probable that he published, when he did, because he already had subscribers, habituated by past performance, to expect their newspaper weekly and regularly, and that Veseler felt he could not afford to disappoint them by unpunctual publication? We may reasonably suppose that van den Keere's earliest extant issue, that for 2 December 1620, had its predecessors – how many we do not know.

The second extant issue is for 23 December of the same year. It is headed *Corrant out of Italy, Germany &c.* This title served throughout the series of sixteen surviving issues, the last of which is dated 18 September 1621. The final three have as imprint only 'AT AMSTERDAM. Printed by George Veſeler' with the date. Somewhat curiously, van den Keere soon instructed Veseler to abandon roman in favour of black-letter for the text, thus bringing the English translation into conformity with the Dutch original.[26]

Most of the material in these issues is translated from the coranto begun by Broer Janszon on 11 or 12 February 1619. This is, at first sight, a somewhat surprising act on the part of a publisher of the standing of van den Keere. But until we know more of the conditions under which the original messages were obtained, or of the possibilities of there being a 'pool' of some sort, whereby the Amsterdam publishers shared the expense of collecting and translating, it would perhaps be rash to describe van den Keere as a 'pirate'. There was a 'pool' or syndicate in London at a later date. Anything like copyright in news was and is notoriously hard to establish, and could hardly have existed in the time of Veseler, van Hilten, Janszon and van den Keere.

[24] [For the career of Petrus Keerius or Pieter van den Keere see F. Dahl, 'Amsterdam; cradle of English newspapers', *The library* fifth ser., IV (1949), pp. 166–78, R. A. Skelton, 'Pieter van den Keere', *The library* fifth ser., V (1950), pp. 130–2, and A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* vol. I (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 203–9. For the beginnings of the English newspaper generally see Joseph Frank, *The beginnings of the English newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).]

[25] [Van den Keere's newspapers have been reprinted in facsimile in *The first newspapers of England printed in Holland, 1620–1621* (The Hague, 1914).]

[26] [See F. Dahl, *A bibliography of English corantos and periodical newsbooks, 1620–1642* (London, 1952), nos 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16.]

SECOND ENGLISH NEWSPAPER: AMSTERDAM 1621

Janszon was a very considerable figure in the trade. He was already in business by 1603, publishing translations of (among other things) English news into Dutch. He became the most active news-publisher in Amsterdam and soon followed the example of van den Keere and printed an English sheet; but, unlike his predecessor, left it unsigned – a point which I must ask you to bear in mind. The earliest, extant, presumed issue of Janszon's English paper is the *Corante, or Newes from Italy and Germany*, printed in roman type. Its imprint, unsigned, on the verso, reads: 'Tranſlated out of the Dutch Copie, and Printed at Amſterdam the 9. of Aprill, 1621.' The next issue was for 22 April 1621, and that, too, is unsigned – which please remember as I shall mention it, again, in a minute. The last of the Janszon or Johnson newspapers is dated 2 August 1621, with the printer's name anglicized to read 'Broyer Johnſon', which is not easy to explain; but, saddled as we are, with the task of finding out what we can of the 'origins' of the newspaper, we must do our best to unravel the complexities of journalism as it existed in the year 1621. And we shall have to return to 'Broyer'.

THE PROBLEM OF THE ANONYMOUS NEWSPAPERS WITH THE IMPRINT: AMSTERDAM 1621

But, first, it is necessary to perceive that this unsigned coranto, second in order of foundation to van den Keere's signed *Corrant out of Italy, Germany, &c.* is in the same format. Though in roman and not black-letter, the column measure is the same. The second earliest surviving issue, otherwise unchanged, has a different imprint: 'Tranſlated and taken out of the letters come from theſe places aforeſaid, and augmented with ſome newes from hence. Printed at Amſterdam this 22. of April. 1621.' still unsigned with any name.

The omission here of the name of the printer or publisher is, of course, as deliberate as its inclusion in van den Keere's corantos. Perhaps the decision depended upon some difference in trading methods. There is no doubt, in any case, that the papers of news as made up in Amsterdam suited different classes of purchasers. The normal Dutch corantos, whether van den Keere's (Veseler's) or Janszon's, are rarely full on the verso in 1620. Thus van den Keere's issue of 2 December 1620 gives two inches of blank, more or less, at the tail of its verso, a practice that continued for a year or more.

It is natural to assume that when a coranto has a blank, however short, on the verso it is due either to mere haste to get to press, or to shortage of news. It is to be observed, nevertheless, that when the corantos, as far as we can tell from surviving files, began to print on both sides of the leaf, they generally completed the page; and that this, with few exceptions, ultimately became the standard practice of van den Keere and van den Hilten. Broer Janszon's Dutch coranto is full on the verso from 22 November 1619, when he began the practice. He was sufficiently desirous of maintaining it to use a larger size type on 5 December 1620, rather than end with a blank. In 1621 he is found tolerating occasional blanks of about two inches. In April the coranto is consistently short by as much as three inches. So much for the corantos in Dutch.

Now, it may be asked, does the fact that the unsigned issues of the coranto, made for the London market for 9 and 22 April 1621, are served with blanks have any significance? I cannot resist the suspicion that the practice of leaving blanks may have corresponded with a custom, or understanding, by which the London booksellers filled them up with domestic and other news, collected by their own 'intelligencer'. When the coranto was unsigned, the London bookseller, buying wholesale from Amsterdam, could retail it under his own signature to private subscribers. What exactly was intended when a subscriber reported on 22 September 1621, that his 'corrantoer' had been arrested for 'making, or adding to' his corrantos?

It will not do to generalize on the basis of these two issues, but it may be permitted to guess that if such unsigned sheets, fit to be treated as the basis of a private news-letter service, came from Amsterdam in quantity to London, and yielded a profit to an agent, it could not be long before an attempt would be made to serve a larger public direct at a lower price. This kind of coranto would still require the guarantee of an Amsterdam original, but no space at the tail for the London intelligencer's additions or his signature. It would be essential, however, since newspapers, like books, were required by English law to bear the printer's name, that such corantos, wherever produced, should in addition to the creditable name of Amsterdam, bear

CORANTE, OR, NEWES FROM
Italy, Germanie, Hungarie, Poland, Bohemia and France. 1621.

From Venice the 1. of July 1621.

HEre the longer the more, preparation is made for warres.

There was a Commission sent to Naples, and from thence to be sent to Millane, which is a bad token that Valtolina shall be restored.

It is written from Turnio, that the Duke thereof hath mustred all his Horse-men, and the greatest part of his Foote-men at Mirasflores, and hath sent them to Cutti and Zenda, to what intent it is not knowne.

Letters from Genoua certifie that in the Sea by Corsica: There are 8. Turkish Snippes that doe great hurt, and from Bergamo it is written, That the *Provediteur Contarini* hath sent men into Martinengo, whether most of the Commaunders, besides 6000. Foot and 2000. Horsemen are already come, it is thought they will fortifie Romano, or some other places vpon the frontiers.

To Millane there are 500. crownes come by Letters of Exchange, and there are 4. Companies of Souldiers sent to Valtelina.

The Duke of Sauoy hath committed the gouernment wholly to his sonne, and onely referued the ordering of the warres vnto himselfe.

From Vienna the 29 of June 1621.

The 18. of this moneth, this Emperours Maiestie with a great houshold trayne rod to Sel, and in the morning betimes, before hee departed, the Denmarke Ambassadors tooke their leaues, and went from hence, but haue done nothing in the Palsgraues behalfe.

The Generall *Bucquoy* lyeth still before Newheusel, and makes strong sconses about it: Those of Diepenbach haue cut downe the Milles, and those that are besieged expect 8000. men to relieue them, they issue out dayly. *Bethlem Gabor* is yet at Cascow, staying for the Turkish helpe.

The Earle of Colalde is yet with his Army at Regnitz vpon the Budianers Country There is Hongarian helpe come vnto them, and thereby they encountred together, and fought, in which fight there are many on both sides slaine, the certainety whereof is dayly expected.

The 19. of this moneth, the Lord *Helmbert Georg*, was carried prisoner from hence, to the Duke of Bauaria, and there are also 9 persons of good quality chosen here out of 16. men to be examined, and are committed prisoners.

The newes continueth, that the Marquis of Iagerstorp hath the Princely Castle of Neusz, and hath taken the three Princely Officers and the Counsell into his security, that there are men taken vp openly in Neusz for *Bethlem Gabor*, and there is a thousand Rutters, and 1000. Muskatieres already entertained, and that the Colonell *Lohnyss* hath brought 30 thousand Duckets from *Bethlem* to Neusz, to take vp more Souldiers.

From Vienna the 30 of June 1621.

From Comorra Letters of the 19 certifie, that *Bucquoy*, *Maximilian van Lichtenstein*, and the Lord Dieperbach, with 40. Horsemen went out of the Campe before Newheusel, and were by the Hongarians that lay in the Woods set vpon and enclosed on all sides, so that none of them could escape away but hee was taken, so that of them there is 18 of the principallest persons slaine, and those in Newheusel doe great hurt vnto out side.

From Prague the 29 of June 1620.

After the Emperours Co.missioners had examined the prisoners here, this rigorous sentence was pronounced against them, and sent vnto the Emperor,

A Register of the imprisoned Directors and others Sentence publiquely proclaimed in Prague the 19. of June, 1621.

1. VVilliam Toppel of Lobkowitz condemned to Chiefe
forfait life, honour, and goods, and to be Landtsoof
beheaded, but by grace shewed him by the Emperour, Master.
he is condemned to perpetuall imprisonment.

2 *Paul Ruselen* condemned as before, but fauoured Chiefe
also as before. Chancelor.

3 *Ioachim Andreas Schlick* condemned to haue his Burggraue
right hand cut off, to be quartered, and his quarters of Carles-
hanged in foure places in the Streetes, his head to be stayn.
set vpon the Bridge Tower, but grace being shewed him, hee is to haue his right hand and his head cut off, and set vpon the Tower.

4 *Wenzel van Budowith* condemned to haue his right hand, and his head to be cut off, and quartered, his quarters to hang in the Streetes, but grace being shewed him, he is to haue his head cut off, and set vpon the Tower, and his goods confiscate.

5 *Christopher Harrand* condemned to lose his life President
and goods, and to be beheaded. of the Bo-
hemian
Chamber.

6 *Casper Capler*, a man of 80 yeeres old, condemned Chiefe Se-
to lose life and good, to haue his head cut off, and his cretary of
body quartered, but grace being giuen him, hee must the land.
only haue his head cut off, and set vpon the Tower.

7 *Procop Debowsetzky*, condemned to lose life and Vnder
goods, to haue his head cut off, and set on the Tower. Chamber-
laine.

8 *Bohuslaw Machalowitzsch*, to forfait life & goods, Old Bur-
with the Sword to haue his head cut off. and his body grave of
quartered: but grace offered his head onely to be cut Carlestone
off, and set on the Tower.

9 *Frederick Buchlau*, to haue his head cut off, his body quartered, and to be hanged in the Streetes, but grace offered him, he is to haue his head onely cut off, and set on the Tower, and his goods confiscate.

10 *Otto van Loss*, quartered alue, and his body hanged vp, his head let on the Tower, but grace shewed, his head only is to be cut off, and set vpon the Tower, and his goods confiscate.

11 *Haut Westrowetz*, to bee executed with the Sword, and his goods confiscate, but grace offered, hee is condemned to perpetuall imprisonment.

12 *Felix Wenzel. Piesa Petzschky*, body and goods lost, to be beheaded, but grace offered, the execution is suspended.

13 *Dionisius Escheren*, *Castle Hoffman* body and goods forfaited, his two first fingers and his head to be cut off, and cast downe into the Castle ditch, but grace offered, his head shal be cut off & his goods confiscate.

14 *Wolfgang Haslawer* sent to Raab in the frontier house.

15 *Wilhelm Coningh Clanick* life and goods lost, to haue his head cut off, but his wife shall haue the goods that she brought restored vnto her.

16 *Valentin Cochan* goods forfaited, his head cut off, and set on the Tower.

17 *Theodorus Sixtz* goods forfaited, but he is to remaine in prison.

18 *Tobias Steffegh*, to haue his head cut off, and set on the Tower, his goods confiscate.

19 *Christoph Keber* as aforesaid.

20 *Iohan Schultheitz van Katenbergh*, beheaded, and set vpon the Tower, his goods confiscate.

21 *Maximilian Hoshalig primas van Satz*, as aforesaid.

22 *John Iessenius* Doctor his tongue cut out, quartered alue, but grace giuen him, he is fall to haue his

180. *Corante, or newes from Italy* [&c.] Amsterdam (Janszon) 20 July 1621. Reduced

that of the printer. I think we are entitled to assume, therefore, that the unsigned Amsterdam newspapers of 9 and 22 April 1621, printed with blanks, were reserved in quantity to the London booksellers, who sold them to subscribers; while the signed papers of 6 June and later, without, or nearly without, blanks, were made for normal retail sale. The signed imprints on the six issues after April 1621 are of Broer Janszon, in varying English spellings. I think it a fair, if not an absolute, conclusion that these papers, all similar, some signed, others not, were printed by Janszon or Johnson. [Fig. 180.]

WHETHER SOME OF THESE WERE MADE IN LONDON IN 1621

We now have to return to the *Courante* of 2 August 1621, where the name of Broer Janszon is anglicized as 'Broyer Johnſon, Corantere to his Excellency'. As Dr Dahl points out, Broer Janszon had ceased to be 'corrantier' to the Prince of Orange in 1619.[27] Mr Laurence Hanson (now Keeper of the printed books at the Bodleian Library, Oxford) argues that the 'anglicization' was carried farther than the mere translation of Broer into 'Broyer'.[28] He gives reasons for thinking several of the corantos signed by Johnson (and there are others) were translations pirated and printed in London. This is important for, if the Keeper's argument is sound, the upshot would be that English journalism, in the sense of dated, periodical, publication, began with a series of counterfeits of corantos, alleged to be printed in Amsterdam, the Hague and elsewhere.

Although none of these papers, signed by Johnson and other publishers, is serially numbered, they are all precisely dated. So, while we have only the two issues of 'M H's' *Newes* printed at 'Altmore' and one of 'Adrian Clarke's' *Corante* printed at 'the Hage', both were put forward as items in a series. What publisher would deliberately bring out a single issue, dated as these were as 29 July and 10 August 1621, respectively, unless he had begun with, or meant to follow up with, other dated issues? I am sorry to inflict bibliography upon you, but I fear you must resign yourselves to a small dose of it – in the interest of getting at the date of the first English newspaper produced in England, as distinct from the first newspaper in English produced anywhere else.

If we understand the question of priority as requiring the identification of the first serial publication of news in English, the answer is that the correct date is 2 December 1620; the coranto is George Veseler's and the place is Amsterdam. If we understand the question as requiring the identification of the first serial publication of news in England, the answer may not be 18 May 1622, as Professor Shaaber said in his book published in 1929,[29] but a date still earlier. This is the upshot of Mr Hanson's investigation. Though he does not say as much, he implies that the first English-produced newspaper is one of those he considers to be of London, and not Amsterdam, manufacture, whether or not they are signed. Mr Hanson's conclusion is definite: 'I would suggest, from the typography, the layout, the form of imprint, and from the contents themselves, as well as their general similarity, that eleven of the corantos with Dutch imprints were printed in London, and that these represent the news-sheets which we know, from other evidence, to have been published in London in the summer of 1621.' The 'news-sheets', as Mr Hanson calls them, comprise some of those discovered by Professor Shaaber in 1929 as well as some of those already recorded.

In 1929 Professor Shaaber ascribed the two corantos of 9 and 22 April, that I asked you to remember, to Broer Janszon. In 1938 Mr Hanson objected that, as the earlier issue contains all the matter of Veseler's (van den Keere's) English coranto of even date, he regarded them as 'pirated' editions of Veseler; and, he added, he considered Janszon 'too reputable a publisher to indulge in a practice such as this'. In 1952 Dr Dahl informed us that as the coranto for 22 April 'is a translation from one of his (Broer Janszon's) own Dutch originals, I do not hesitate in declaring them (the unsigned issues of April 9 and 22) to have been printed by him.'[30] Dr Dahl adds that he considers the attribution to Janszon justified 'on typographical grounds' which, though he does not specify them, are worth examination. Irrespective of Broer Janszon's responsibility for these two corantos, I am inclined to think they were printed in Amsterdam. In other

[27] [*Bibliography of English corantos*, p. 42.]

[28] [L. Hanson, 'English newsbooks 1620–1641', *The library* fourth ser. XVIII (1938), pp. 355–84.]

[29] [M. A. Shaaber, *Some forerunners of the newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (Philadelphia, 1929). See also his 'The history of the first English newspapers', *Studies in philology* 29 (1932), pp. 551–87.]

[30] [Dahl, *Bibliography of English corantos*, p. 42.]

words, I am not absolutely convinced that Mr Hanson has proved his case against these two papers.

So far, I see nothing in the typography of either to demonstrate that these papers must have been printed in London. It seems, rather, that the arguments in favour of the authenticity of Veseler's, Janszon's and the other imprints to these newspapers are as strong as those against. Accordingly, it may be found that, judging by the evidence relating to the surviving papers in English, production in London did not begin, as the upshot of Mr Hanson's argument would have it, with the *Courante* unsigned and dated 9 April 1621, or with the *Corante* signed by 'Joris Veselde' and dated 20 June 1621. It would appear, also, unsafe to argue that, as on typographical grounds it is virtually impossible for the 'Altmore' corantos to have been printed in Holland, therefore they were printed in London. This consideration applies also to the other paper we are left with, the *Corante*, dated 10 August 1621, and printed 'at the Hage by Adrian Clarke', who is known by no other piece of printing at the Hague or elsewhere; nor is his name otherwise recorded in the annals of the time. I agree with Mr Hanson that the three 'Altmore' and 'Hage' papers may safely be ranked as bogus; printed out of Holland, perhaps, but, I diffidently suggest, not necessarily in London.

THE NEWSPAPERS CIRCULATING IN LONDON IN 1621

There is evidence that Dutch newspapers in English were well circulated in this country in 1621. No permission to print anything of the kind in London could be extracted from James I, who stood on the same principle as Henry VIII: for the mere subjects of the monarch to be interested in the exercise of sovereign power was 'unseemly', and news-gathering was a 'lewd' pursuit. King James strictly prohibited all 'lavish and licentious talking in matters of State'. But still, the Amsterdam corantos (that is to say those belonging to the earliest series we have, i.e., Pieter van den Keere's printed by George Veseler on, or before, 2 December 1620) continued to circulate in London. This was stopped on 16 January 1621, when a proclamation of the States General prohibited the Dutch from sending abroad pamphlets concerning other Kings and Potentates, 'and especially also none against the King of Great Britain and his principal ministers, spiritual and temporal'. It was after this proclamation that the names of George Veseler and Broer Johnson began to appear on corantos in English in the early part of 1621 and ended, as far as we know, with Veseler's issue for 18 September. It has been noted above that a London news-dealer was stopped for making, or adding to, his corantos before 22 September 1621; simultaneously, another printer and publisher 'hath got license to print them [corantos] and sell them, honestly translated out of the Dutch'. The dealer laid by the heels was Thomas Archer, well known as a vendor of news.

Before discussing the new corantos 'honestly translated' it must be admitted that the reference encourages the suspicion entertained by Mr Hanson that the corontos sold by Archer were counterfeits.

There is one other point to be considered. We know that Archer was famous as a 'corrantoer' at this time. We also find embedded in his correspondence, in MS. Harl. 389, corantos of the year 1621. Is it not likely that these corantos were purchased by Mead from 'My Corrantoer Archer'? All nine corantos in English in Mead's correspondence would, on this assumption, have come directly from Archer. But that he printed, or caused to be printed, these corantos in London has not been proved.

If, then, it is required to settle the date of the first English newspaper, the situation amounts to this:

(1) The oldest surviving newspaper in English is for 2 December 1620: printed in Amsterdam. This paper, printed by Veseler, was in progress until 18 September 1621.

(2) But there is a second group of newspapers in English, with Dutch imprints, possibly printed outside Holland; conceivably, but not demonstrably, in London. These are dated, inclusively, between 9 April and 2 August 1621.

(3) It does not follow, because it cannot be demonstrated that any of the corantos in the second group were printed in London, that none of them was printed in London.[31]

(4) Accordingly, we must say that the first newspaper proved to have been produced in London, was the *Corante* of N. B. on 24 September 1621, now on the screen and about to be described.

[31] [Dahl, *Bibliography of English corantos*, pp. 49–50, makes a strong case for the original existence of a series of corantos (now lost) produced in London by Thomas Archer, while L. Hanson (p. 363) connects him with the 'false imprints' (p. 362).]

THE DATED BUT UNNUMBERED NEWSPAPER: PRINTED IN LONDON SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER 1621

The career of the foreign corantos in English ceased in September because the King decided, reluctantly, to control what he could not suppress. Some sort of permission was granted to one or more of the London booksellers to publish news.[32] At last we come to a date, important and demonstrable, in the history of the origins of the English newspaper.

The earliest extant dated newspaper in English, printed and published under licence in London, is the sheet headed *Corante, or, Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine, and France, 1621.* It has the imprint 'London printed for N.B. September the 24. 1621, out of the Hie Dutch coppy printed at Franckford.' Of this *Corante* or *Corant* (as it became from 2 October) seven issues have survived, the last being that of 22 October 1621. The first is in roman type with italic for date-lines, the imprint and all proper names, the messages being introduced with a two-line initial roman capital. The remaining six are in black-letter with roman for the title, date-lines, imprint and proper names; the same roman initials being kept. A small but significant addition is made on 30 September: the title reads *Corante, or weekely newes from Italy...*, the sub-title 'weekely newes' which later became a full title, is here used for the first time.[33] The publisher of the *Corant* is indicated as 'N.B.' He cannot be more precisely identified than as one of the two booksellers who became well known in the news trade during the next twenty years: Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne.

It should be noticed that the London *Corant* was a single sheet, a paper of news or newspaper of standard Amsterdam type. It is impossible to say why N. B. should have left us only his initials, why he should have given up roman for black-letter; why M.H., too, should have left us his initials only; why he, too, should have used black-letter when his competitors used roman; why his and Adrian Clarke's black-letter should be identical with N. B.'s. However, this specific black-letter was, and long remained, standard in London and Antwerp and Rouen, from which parts presumably the type, or strikes of matrices, came. The last issue of N.B.'s *Corante* is dated 22 October 1621, 'Out of the High-Dutch copy.' Like its predecessors, it was in Anglo-French black-letter and in the Amsterdam format. To sum up, thirty-four newspapers in English are known,[34] beginning on 2 December 1620; twenty-four of these have the imprint of Amsterdam, two of 'Altmore', one of the 'Hage', and seven of London – the final issue of which was for 22 October 1621. Thus the first dated but unnumbered English language newspaper, which we can be sure was printed and published in London, had a short run, from 24 September 1621. Its periodicity was irregular. There were issues on 6, 9, 11 and 22 October when the newspaper ceased for no obvious cause. Difficulty with the licenser is the most probable reason. As has been seen, the licence given, or sold, to the publishers of these corantos seems to have been no more than a tacit permission to print.

THE NUMBERED AND DATED NEWS-BOOK PRINTED IN LONDON 1621

It is to be noted that the licence to Nicholas Bourne or Nathaniel Butter and his company was recorded on 13 August 1621, that Thomas Archer lost his licence on 20 September and that the last London *Corante* to be regularly printed was that recorded above, of 22 October 1621. Finally, note should be taken of the fact that van den Keere's and George Veseler's English *Courant* (first known to be printed in Amsterdam on 2 December 1620) terminated on 18 September 1621, i.e., after sixteen issues – so far as known. The Dutch had now lost the English market;[35] but the course of English publishing did not run smoothly; as we have seen,

[32] [Not, presumably, a licence, and no such document was known to Morison. Mead's statement (B.L. MS. Harl. 389) in a letter to Stuteville 22 Sept. 1621 that a publisher other than Archer 'hath gott license' is not necessarily to be taken literally.]

[33] See below for the *Weekely newes* of 23 May 1622, printed by Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer. The fact that the *Courante* for 20 September 1621, first employed the sub-title 'weekely newes' and that it was adopted on 23 May 1622 by Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer in the first dated and signed news-book (see below) may have some significance. Bourne and Archer had together been apprentices to Cuthbert Busby, the Cornhill printer, Butter used *More newes, True newes,* but not *Weekely newes* until 20 January 1623, when he joined with Bourne. Butter does not appear as a publisher of newsbooks until 3 June 1622, nearly a fortnight after Bourne and Archer. Would the publisher of the *Corante* have been so slow? (Morison's note.)

[34] [Now thirty-five. A copy of Veseler's *Corante,* 13 June 1621, has since been found in the library of Canterbury Cathedral. Cf. *STC*[2] 18507.8, where it is suggested that the imprint is misleading.]

[35] [They regained it briefly. See pp. 346–7 and Dahl pp. 280–3.]

after seven issues, the London *Courant* ceased on 22 October 1621. Nothing is known of London news publishing until the following January or February, when some news, written in English, was clandestinely printed in London, with a false imprint ('Printed at the Hague, 1622') or none at all. There are six known issues of this clandestine London series.

An interesting example is the *Three great overthrowes...in the Palatinate* etc., which is the last. It is an account of three actions 'collected out of two letters, the one sent from *Heydelburgh*, the other from *Mainhime*, by an expresse post, that arrived here on May day *at night*. And now published this fourth of May, MDCXXII.'[36] This clandestine series marks a significant reaction in format.

The original Dutch style of layout and format, i.e., of a paper, in single sheet, double column format which had been copied in London by Butter and/or Bourne was abandoned in favour of that of the old English pamphlet (and of the German aviso) which was a quarto folded in book style. Thus while Butter and Bourne's *Corant* of 1621 was a newspaper, the new 1622 coranto in London was not a 'paper' but a book. Did this reversion to the book occur because the paper, as such, had become identified with unlicensed news? It is not improbable. The earliest known issue of certain date in the series licensed to Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer is dated 23 May 1622.[37] The format of the news-book, which thus superseded that of the newspaper, was destined to remain the standard of the London Press for more than forty years. As licensed news printers, Bourne and Archer could have chosen any format they liked. Evidently they were anxious for some reason undisclosed to return to the format that served the English trade before the Dutch intervened, because it was old and orthodox.

THE TITLE 'WEEKELY NEWES' LONDON 1622

In other respects the first licensed news-books mark an important stage in English journalism. The title of *The 23 of May Weekely Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungaria, Bohemia, the Palatinate, France, and the Low Countries. Translated out of the Dutch Copie. London, printed by J. D. for Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer...1622* is ambiguous. It suggests a vague willingness, though not a precise intention, to print such 'newes' every week. There was, in fact, another number published on 30 May by Bourne and Archer, but the next extant issue is of 18 June and that was published by Nathaniel Newbery and William Sheffard; because, one supposes, of some bargain struck among the several booksellers. The title *Weekely newes* may not have been convenient in practice, for Bourne and Archer, and the others, while keeping their dates, used other general titles such as *A Continuation of more newes* (26 July) and *The Post* (13 August); and, even more often, specific titles. The word 'newes' itself occurs less frequently in the titles used by other publishers in the year 1622. Three pamphlets are so described: *Certaine newes of this present weeke* (Nathaniel Butter, 2 and 23 August); *The newes which now arrive from divers parts* (Butter and Sheffard, 20 September); *Newes from most parts of Christendome* (Butter and Sheffard, 25 September). The old title 'Relation' was still in vogue, so: *A Relation* (Butter, Downes and Sheffard, 14 September); *A Relation of Letters* (Butter and Archer, 27 September); *A true relation of affaires* (Butter and Bourne, 4 October).

An interesting dated example of 1622 is *The true copies of two especiall letters verbatim sent from the Palatinate by Sir F[rancis] N[ethersole]...Printed this 21. of June. London printed by William Jones for Nicholas Bourne & Thomas Archer* etc. This coranto ranks as the earliest extant 'by-line', i.e., the news-writer's name in a title-page. There are twenty-nine of these items, self-dated, but not numbered in series, known to have been published between May and 4 October 1622.

The first series of dated news-books, which were also numbered in series, began on 15 October with 'October 15 1622, Novo 1.' The word 'newes' is dropped in favour of *A relation of the late occurrents which have happened in Christendome*. It was printed for Butter and Bourne and is a quarto of twenty-two pages. Archer, Downes and Sheffard were, apparently, satisfied with their arrangement with Butter and Bourne and were content permanently to pool their news. This is why the news-books keep their proper sequence and numbers, while varying their titles. Thus we have *A Continuation of the affaires of the Low-Countries*, as No. 2, 15 October; *A relation of the weekely occurrences*, No. 3, 22 October; *A continuation of the weekly newes*, No. 4, 30 October. 'Newes' then has predominance

[36] [Dahl no. 40.]

[37] There is an issue recorded in Dahl, no. 40A. The title-page is missing, but Dahl's argument (p. 60) that it was published on 14 May seems conclusive. (Morison.)

for a short time, only to suffer from a sudden reversion to *A Coranto* (No. 7, 6 November).

It is not until 20 January 1623, No. 14, that *Weekely newes* is found in use for three consecutive numbers, but it then lost against *Last newes, Newes of this present weeke, More newes*, and many other variants. *Extraordinary newes* (No. 20) and *Late newes* (No. 30) occur in 1623. The 'Numb. 31' issued 12 May of the *Newes of this Present Weeke* related several items. These are not described on the title-page as in earlier pamphlets of the series but are now displayed. They are expressed in summary form, centred on the title-page, and using an abundance of white for the purpose of throwing the entries more conspicuously into sight. There are specified as separate attractions, 'Reports of the death of the Pope and the Great Turk, with Divers other Memorable Occurrences from several Parts of the World.' Whatever the variations in the title, the first page of the text of these corantos is always (unless, by exception, there is not room for it) headed 'The Continuation of our Former Newes.' It would seem to have been the trade-view that sales were more easily made if the coranto had a different title each week. Readers had to be given to understand that one week's news differed from another's; consequently, what was actually No. 36 of the 'Newes of this Present Week' is entitled *The Affaires of the World for this Present Week*, while No. 38 reads *The Relation of our last Newes* and No. 44 reads *Our last weekly Newes*. Finally, No. 45 reads *More Newes for this Present Weeke*. [Plate 118.] Therefore we may not say that the first English weekly periodical was entitled *The Weekely Newes*.

THE TITLE PAGE OF THE LONDON NEWS-BOOK 1625

The invariable elements in the construction of the title-page are the date, which is almost always in the upper left-hand corner, and the serial number, generally in the upper right-hand corner. An important development of the typographical setting is the abandonment of the upper- and lower-case roman and italic for proper names in the early issues in favour of Caps and Smalls. This use of caps and smalls for personal names in newspapers is continued at the present day in many leading articles, and in the majority of Police Reports, Law Reports, etc. in *The Times*. The amalgamation of the title-page and the contents-page, already noticed, continued to distinguish the news-books issued by Nathaniel Butter, or by Butter in combination with Nicholas Bourne throughout 1624. Thomas Archer, who had (as reported, p. 343) engaged with Nicholas Bourne in the issue of *Weekely Newes* dated 23 May 1622, produced news-books on his own responsibility in 1625. The issue for 'Nouember the 10.' [1625] is 'Number the 5.' Its title continues immediately under these two indications as *In this Weekes Newes is Related the occasions and successes...*, forming eight lines tapered off. In conversation, as we have pointed out, these pamphlets, like the former papers, were known as 'corantos', a literary reference indicating serial and not isolated publication; but it is clear that the notion of giving the periodical a short, easily memorable title and sticking to it, had not yet reached the printer, his editor, or the bookseller. We have noted that the date in the month is given; but there is not yet any indication of the day of the week. The imprint still remains in the form customary in books, with perhaps a more explicit address. Archer's corantos 'are to be solde at his shop in Popes head Alley, ouer against the signe of the Horseshoe'.

'MAKE UP' IN 1623–5

The publisher of news at this time (1623–5) had at hand, if he was lucky, letters from foreign colleagues in the trade. These no doubt came in exchange for his own written news-letters, and corantos, avisos and relations printed abroad, for which he subscribed. The contents were put together by the printer in haphazard manner at the week's end. The bookseller may have seen a proof, for in one of the early Dutch corantos shoulder-notes have been added, but it was not general practice. In the English news-books, the title-page needed drafting, a regular job that required the attention of some agent of the book-seller, competent and authorized to do it. It was not until the merger of Bourne, Butter and Archer that evidence accrues that a hand was employed to order the paragraphs into a readable narrative. The hand responsible for No. 46 of *More newes from Europe* is clearly aware of this duty. 'If ever', he writes, in good penny-a-line repetitive style, 'these threatening Armies meet one another, these prepared Forces make any encounter, and these martial affairs come to deciding, I will come towards you with honest information', and then adds with the unction of the true

publisher, 'I will not hide my talent in a Napkin, but acquaint you with as much as falls to my poore portion to know.' So writes Butter and Archer's news-writer who served them in the capacity of 'editor', as that humble functionary, now so exalted, became known later. The news-writer describes the originals he had as anything but consecutive items of news. 'They that writ these Letters had them by snatches, and the whole businesse resembles a Bill of accounts, divided into severall *Items*, whose *Summa Totalis* is the newes of the last July, and to the tenth of August 1623... the Items...are the very fractions of number, but I have brought them as it were into a continued relation, which as I take it will be the pleasanter, because you need not trouble your remembrance with looking backe after former matters.' Evidently the writing of a consecutive article or 'continued relation' was something new: printing it was an act of journalistic policy on the part of Bourne and Archer as well as a piece of artistry on the part of the news-writer. It is even put forward as a sales-point on 3 July 1624: 'Relations (for so I stile the newes which I write) to distinguish them from others, which (as it seemeth) have not taken the paines, had the meanes, or been willing to beare the charges which we undergoe to get newes and intelligences.'[38] There is, too, a shaft well-aimed at murmurers in the coranto for 20 November 1623: 'If wee afforde you plaine stuffe you complain of the phrase, and peradventure cry out "It is Non-Sense"; if we add some exornation, then are you curious to examine the method and coherence, and are forward in saying the sentences are not well adapted.' Evidently in those days, as now, there was a shortage of competent 'subs'.

On the other hand the editor admits items that refuse to fit into a 'relation'. These shorter paragraphs (of the 'News-in-Brief' kind printed in modern newspapers) he calls 'broken stuffe, which will not come within the compasse of our continued discourse', and so he gathers them together in a separate position. Infallibility was not claimed for the correspondents. 'I beleeve that our Courantiers cannot so readily guesse right what a General intends; and those places may happen to see him soonest, which little thought of his coming that way amongst them', the news-writer admitted on 23 April 1623.

'MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS' LONDON 1625

The year 1625 is important, apart from the fact that on 27 March James I died, for the earliest issue of the *Continuation of our weekly newes* for the year 1625 is novel and curious. It is dated *January* 5. *Numb.* 2. and has the notable imprint 'Printed for MERCURIUS BRITANNICUS', 1625. At the outset the words denoted only the new business name for the syndicate comprising Butter, Bourne and the rest of the booksellers in the pool. This seems pretty clear from Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*. This play was first performed in 1625. It is a caustic satire on the methods, inventions and falsehoods resorted to by the writers and publishers of news. With exceptions, the title of the *Continuation* etc. stood at the head of the firm's news-books for several years; and, with one exception, Mercurius Britannicus was the publishing imprint until the issue of 1 August 1627. The use of such a title as an imprint to a weekly is curious. The precedent was the title to the semi-annual *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, founded in 1594 in Cologne, and still flourishing when 'Mercurius Britannicus' was adopted in London, thirty-one years after, as an imprint.

The imprint of Mercurius Britannicus was dropped on 1 August 1627, and the familiar name of Nathaniell Butter reappears at the foot of the title-page of a new series. These were entitled, as a beginning, *A Currant of Newes* (entered at Stationers Hall, 7 August) with the serial number of 27(?), but the old title *The Continuation* was restored on 12 September 1627, with No. 32, and it remained (with exceptions such as *A Relation*) for at least fifteen years – a record for continuity at this time. Much confusion must have been created when there occurred a split in the pool and the dissident set up a competing coranto under the same title. The circumstances are far from clear.[39]

It is certain, however, that from 1624 to 1628 Archer, who had gone into partnership with Benjamin Fisher, put out a series of weekly news-books of which, unfortunately, only eleven[40] are now traceable, beginning with No. 23 (9 September 1624). These were entitled *A Continuation of the*

[38] [Cf. *Late news or true relations*, no. 30, 3 July 1624 (Quoted Shaaber, 'The history of the first English newspapers', *Studies in philology* 29 (1932), p. 575.]

[39] As the merger of Butter, Bourne and Archer occurred in September 1622 it is possible that their agreement provided for a five-year term. (Morison.)

[40] [Now twelve. STC² 18507.356 lists an issue for 2 July 1628 not in Dahl.]

former newes, Extraordinary Newes. From 4 October a fresh numeration was begun, and new titles, Archer having broken with Fisher. At the end of the month Archer came out with the title *The Weekely newes*. There followed *In this weekes newes is related the occasions* etc. but the time-honoured title of *The Continuation of our weekly news* served for the remainder of Archer's corantos. His leaving proves that the syndicate was encountering difficulties. As Archer's *Continuation* was published independently of Butter and Bourne their coranto of the same time must have suffered. It is not certain that this competition has any connection with the abandonment in the summer of 1627 of the imprint 'Mercurius Britannicus' in favour of Butter, or Butter and Bourne.

COMPETITION AMONG MERCURIES IN 1627

But the competitor's *Continuation* presented the appearance of continuity – with a difference. Instead of giving a title-page (with a blank verso) headlined as Butter was doing, Archer gave, e.g., on 3 October 1627 an eight-page coranto, doubtless at a cut price. An elaborate editorial introduction set in very worn italics, and composed almost in broken English ranks as the first document on news trade competition so far found. The gaps in the surviving files make it hard to understand. The reference to the 'unknowne Mercurie' of 1627 cannot be understood, and there are other obscurities, the clarification of which requires greater bibliographical knowledge than is now available. 'Gentlemen and others', says Archer, 'that have heretofore been pleased to entertaine such passages of forreine Intelligence as hath come to our hands,' which, he proceeds, we got 'at a yearly charge in the Imployment of men of understanding in many parts of Germany, Italy, &c.' should now take note 'that there is another unknowne Mercurie sprung up within these few days.' He explains 'that by chance a competitor met a Printer from Holland, twixt this and Gravesend, that wil tel strange newes hereafter,' and says he, this man's news comes from just as far as Amsterdam. Archer hopes his readers will compare the news 'packet' with 'the continuation of our Weekly Newes.' Thus we find that there was no lack of competition in 1627. 'Mercury was now the up-to-date term for the news-book. Archer's device of an eight-page coranto devoted to foreign affairs does not appear to have been successful. The last recorded number of Archer's series: that numbered 7, is for 15 August 1628; and this appears to mark the end of his news career.[41]

Meanwhile Butter (and Bourne) pursued their *Continuation*, of course with foreign news only. It is plain that the failure of Archer was due to the mounting resistance of the House of Commons to Charles' demands for money and Strafford's policy of 'Thorough'. English people in 1628 were more interested in the Petition of Right, against forced loans and arbitrary imprisonment than in Wallenstein's success in Mecklenburg. The corantos could report little or nothing about the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. In 1629 Parliament was dissolved. Domestic events were exciting. Foreign affairs, which were all the corantos could publish, were dull in the extreme.

In No. 9 of 1630 the 'Publisher' announced that as he had lost money on his corantos for ten months he had published 'scarce one a month' instead of weekly; but, said the 'Publisher', that was in winter when 'action...seldome fell out' whereas now (he was writing in the summer) 'We presume we shall now fit their [disappointed readers'] humour with action enough every weeke if their purses be as ready to pay as we shall be ready to publish' (16 July 1630).

ALL NEWS PRINTING SUPPRESSED IN LONDON 1632

Two years after this lament, the Court of Star Chamber, on the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador, prohibited all manner of gazettes. This was the end, for the time being, of foreign news, the only commodity that had hitherto been allowed. The Star Chamber established by Queen Elizabeth in 1586 was not to be trifled with, as all the newsmen were truly aware. So came English journalism, the English news-pamphlet and the English newspaper to a stop.

After the prohibition of 17 October 1632, six years were to pass before news could again be printed in London. England again depended upon Amsterdam. The titles vary. *Briefe relations from marchans letters with some other occurrences of note, etc.* was followed by *The continuation of newes from diverse parts out of sundry merchants and other credible*

[41] [Archer began publishing in 1603, according to D. C. Collins, *A handlist of news pamphlets, 1590–1610* (London, 1943), p. 60. He died in 1631.]

letters, etc. and *The last weekes letters*. Only three issues have survived.[42] They are unnumbered news-books in the London format, with the Amsterdam imprint. The items of news are taken in the main from the *Courante uyt Italien etc.* of Jan van Hilten who, Dr Dahl thinks, was also the publisher of these news-books in English. This is the more probable as, in two out of the three, 'J. H.' takes responsibility for the 'credible letters collected'. Dr Dahl identifies the typographical material, here used, as certainly Dutch, and belonging to Jan Frederickszon Stam who had married Veseler's widow. These Dutch-English news-books could hardly have done well, for while they began in the new year 1633, they ceased in the spring. In other words, the plight of Butter and Bourne in 1630 when they were losing money, was soon shared by van Hilten.

Did London suffer a complete dearth of news until the embargo was lifted? Not altogether. The private manuscript news-letter continued as before to enjoy success. Also, printers provided news-ballads in great numbers, while the old publishers of news sought the restoration of their licence. As the ballads multiplied, so Butter and Bourne redoubled their petitions; the harder they pressed, the higher rose the King's requirement of money. It was long before Butter and Co. could find the wherewithal to pay for the monopoly. It was towards the end of the year 1638 that the old publishers received a new patent that gave them the right, exclusive for twenty-one years, to publish all matter of history 'of Newes of any forraine place or kingdome frome the first beginning of the German Warres to this present. And also for the translating, setting forth, imprinting and publishing in the English tongue all Newes, Novells, Gazetts, Currantos or Occurrences that concerne forraine parts for the terme of XXI years.'

NEWS PRINTING RESTORED 1638

We now approach a new stage in the development of the English newspaper and I will set out the 'headlines' of what happened between 1638 and 1695. The first headline is the English News-book or Coranto, regularly printed under new Royal Licence from 1638.

After that will come all the Parliamentary News-books: Heads of several proceedings in this Present Parliament, regularly printed under the Imprimatur of the House of Commons 1641. Followed by the Diurnall Occurrences, and other titles of the Cromwellian type 1642 – to the end of the Long Parliament in 1660; and finally, the last English News-book under General Monck 1660–1662.

The new series of weekly news-books began on 20 December with a huge extra number: a ninety-six-page quarto which embodies at page 9 a copper plate print of a 'prodigious Eruption of Fire'. It provided six months news under the title *Numb. 1. An abstract of some speciall forreigne occurrences, brought down to the weekly Newes of the 20 December. London, Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, By permission, 1638.*[43] Under the rubric 'The Currantiers to the Readers', Butter and Bourne announced that 'this Intelligencer the *Curranto* having been long silenced and now permitted by Authority to speake again' would print at first 'such things as passed' months before, admitting however, that they did not conceive that they 'are absolutely Novels unto you'. Their argument was that although readers might know the news in a general way, as 'there is fraud in generalities, we thought fit to acquaint you with each particular'. Promise was made of weekly publication. For some time they made this promise good, and even did more. For the first time in the history of the news trade it became the practice to publish three or four numbers a week, and sometimes more than one on the same day.

The titles were various. The German wars were responsible for an outbreak of titles such as *From Norimberg. Ordinary avisoes from severall places* (1 January 1639), *Ordinary weekly currantoes from Frankford* (also 1 January 1639), *Ordinary weekly currantoes from Holland* (same date). There were four issues of news on that New Year's Day. Thereafter *The Weekly curranto* becomes the normal title.

These items are quartos in four pages, numbered consecutively after 1 January 1639, and prove the intention to continue them until they would combine into an annual or semi-annual volume of 'History'. Also, it had become possible to sell more copies in four instalments of four, than in one instalment of sixteen pages. It must be observed, too, that while the new corantos were still in quarto as they had been from 1622 to 1632, and again in 1633, they were folded out of a larger sheet. An important change in make-up brings the 1638 coranto into relation with the 1633 Amsterdam

[42] [Dahl 402–4; STC 18507.359–61.]
[43] [Dahl 301.]

THE CVRRANTO
this weeke from *Holland*.

Containing, *The paſſages of the* French *and* Spaniards *in the* Low-countries, *at 2 Sieges of the* French.
The landing of the Prince of Orange *his Army in* Flanders, *neere* Philippines *Sconce.*
The taking of 13 Holland *Pinckes, which came from* Graveſend, *by 9* Dunkerck *Men of warre lately.*

From the Campe of Monſieur de Mileraye before *Heſdin* the 22 of May, the 1 of June.

THe 9.19. of this moneth we came with our Army before this City: about noone the beſieged ſallied forth with 100 hoſemen, and entertained a ſmall skirmiſh; From the 10. 20 to the 14. 24 of this moneth, the Boores which were preſſ'd hereabout, laboured ſo ſtrongly in the trenches, that the 15. 25 of this moneth we lay fully entrenched; This Campe is divided into 2 Head-quarters, on one ſide commandeth Monſieur de Lambert, and on th'other ſide Colonell Gaſſion: The beſieged ſhoot fiercely with their Canons; the priſoners relate, that they have about 50 peeces of Ordnances in the City, and 9 companies of Souldiers for a garriſon, and betweene 5 and 600 Peaſants: The City is fortified with 6 good Bulwarkes with a halfe-Moone Conterſcharpe, and a broad moate full of water, other fortifications it needs not, becauſe on one ſide of it is nothing elſe but Quickmire, notwithſtanding we have good hope to maſter it. The 14 24 and 15. 25 the Canons were brought upon the batteries: The beſieged ſhoot fiercely with their Muſquets; in the ſaid City commandeth the Count of Hanapes, betwixt him and an Italian Gentleman, who was ſent thither by the Cardinall Infante, is great ſtrife and controverſie; the priſoners relate, that a great fault was committed herein, that certaine dayes agoe they did ſend a good part of the garriſon towards St. Omaer.

Dunkerk the 22 of May, the 1 of June.

At Newport is brought up Laurence Claes of Horn laden with ſalt, and here are brought up divers others, amongſt which is a Hambo-

181. *The curranto this weeke from Holland*, no. 86. London (for N. Butter and N. Bourne) 21 June 1639

news-book: space was no longer lavished on the title-page. This was logical now that the London publisher was intent on providing instalments of four pages limited to one category of news. The *Currante* of 1638, perforce, drew away from the standard book practice of giving the front page to a title with blank verso [Fig. 181].

NEWSPAPER *v.* NEWS-BOOK

To sum up, from 1622 the *Newes* regularly printed and published in London had invariably been quarto pamphlets of the size customary in the previous century, that is to say in the earliest days of news-printing; although the number of pages in the later period might vary from eight to forty-eight or more. The reason for London's reversion from the Amsterdam folio sheet to the English quarto book or pamphlet must have lain in local custom which, it is reasonable to assume, compassed certain specific trade usages to which licensed publications might well defer in order to secure the attendant advantages. It is difficult to say, precisely, what these amounted to.

The conspicuous and functionally important make-up difference between the Amsterdam newspaper of 1618 and the London news-book or pamphlet of 1622 lies in the wording and display of the title and the space given to it. In the newspaper the title is so inconspicuous and optional that it is either omitted or reduced to the smallest dimensions; in the news-books down to 1638 the title has a page to itself, like any other book; and unlike other books it is displayed. As many words as can be well arranged are accommodated. And the arrangement is highly deliberate. That the title-page could serve as a prospectus and serve other means of publicity was no less obvious to Archer, Butter and Bourne than to their successors; indeed, it was a more important medium of publicity than it is to-day. There was a trade custom of tacking on to advertising posters the title-pages of books of all kinds including news. Henry Holland satirizes Butter's corantos which were so well publicized that he thought it a bore 'To see such Batter everie week besmeare Each publicke post.' The title-pages of the corantos were so drafted that when the extra copies that had been worked were affixed to a hoarding they would attract custom.

[44] [Dahl 361.]
[45] [Dahl 367.]

It was only natural that from 1621, when the abnormal clandestine news gave way to the normal licensed news, publishers would fit the latter into normal trade conditions, and so the half-sheet folio newspapers familiar before were suddenly superseded by the news-books. The change made in 1638 was a first step from the news-book back to the newspaper. At least the separate title-page had been abandoned. It would have been impossible to keep it going in a coranto published more frequently than once a week and sometimes more than once a day, and hence necessarily more quickly composed.

TRADE DIFFICULTIES IN 1640

But on 23 April 1640, Butter's *Century* 3 [equivalent to our Volume III], No. 20, *The News for this week from Norimberg, Frankford and Holland*, announced a return to his original practice of publishing his news once a week only.[44] Price was a consideration. 'Gentlemen', wrote the Printer, 'We have againe reduced the methode of printing the forreigne weekly Avisoes, into two sheets, and do promise, for the content of the buyer, to sell them at a cheaper Rate, if a competent number shall be vented weekly, to recompence the charge.' Evidently the trade was not doing well in 1640. If support weren't forthcoming 'we shall be forced to put a period to the Presse and leave every man to the pleasing of his own fansie, by a more uncertaine restrained way of private letters, or verball news, which cannot but suffer much alteration, according to the affection of the Relater.' This, for a publisher with a monopoly of foreign news for twenty-one years, must have been a painful paragraph to write. And Butter had troubles even more serious than circulation to contend with. In Cent. 3, No. 48, *The Continuation of the forraine occurrents*, 11 January 1641,[45] the Printer informs the Reader that 'Wee had thought to have given over printing our Forraigne avisoes', because, he proceeds, the Licenser had been troublesome and had become 'so crosse' and did 'alter [copy] which made us almost weary of Printing.' However, this person 'being vanished, and that Office fallen upon another, more understanding in these forraine affaires' the Printer had 'resolved to goe on in Printing if we shall finde the World to give a better acceptation of them (then of late), by their Weekly buying them'.

It is evident that civil affairs in England in 1640 and 1641 were such as to reduce public interest in the wars raging in the Palatinate and elsewhere abroad; secondly, that the avisoes came out very irregularly.[46] How difficult the sale of foreign news had become by the time Charles I was entering upon his struggle with Parliament, is obvious. The news-books are unnumbered, form no regular series and have no continuity of title. Butter must have been desperate about the middle of January, 1642, to use as his title: *A little true forraine newes: better than a great deale of domestick spurious false newes, published daily without feare or wit, to the shame of the nation, and beyond the liberty of Paris pasquils.*[47] But, even so, Butter thought fit to announce that there was added to the same Courant 'A letter written by the Lieutenant of the Tower to the Parliament, in defence of himselfe, and may give satisfaction to all men.' If there remains no trace of the clandestine 'domestick spurious, false' newspapers or books published at this time, it is not to be doubted that many were run off with false imprints, or none.

The last-known certain publication of Butter is 'out of series'. It is not numbered. The issue was entered on 4 June 1642. It includes a lament from the Printer of the 'Forraine Avisoes'. He says he intends to print 'the Forrein Occurents constantly now every week, or at least every fortnight if the Poste keepeth his course'. 'And because the booksellers (to their customers) doe (out of envie or ignorance) as much as they can obscure and vilifie the said "Avisoes"', he urges Gentlemen to order them direct 'upon easie terms'. The title of this, the last aviso positively attributable to Butter, is entitled *The Continuation of the most remarkable passages from most parts of Christendome for three weeks past*. This was the end (or nearly) of the imprint of the veteran Nathaniell (*sic*) Butter on a news-book.[48]

FIRST PRINTING OF DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE, LONDON 1641

The year 1642 saw the end not only of Butter's corantos, but of his patent to print. It was a royal patent and went out when the Commons imprimatur came in. For the first time in England it became openly possible, though not 'legal' in Charles' sense, to print domestic news. This notable date was 29 November 1641. Thereafter the word 'coranto' passed out of the history of journalism. On 5 July Charles had assented to the Act of Parliament which abolished the Court of Star Chamber and with it the episcopal licensing system that had begun with Elizabeth's ordinance of 1586. Some other form of regulating the Press had now to be considered. Although the corantos were dead and a stage in the history of English journalism completed, it should be remembered that the manuscript news-letters described above as having antedated them, also survived them.

Throughout the period before 1642 the manuscript news-letters had been the sole means of circulating domestic news, and they succeeded in maintaining their position. As it was by no means the intention of Parliament to confer freedom of comment upon the Press, or even freedom of reporting home affairs, the news writers attached to gentlemen and booksellers found their services in greater demand after 1642 than before. The situation to date was that newspapers had been printed on a half sheet of folio in London in 1621. The next stage began with Nathaniel Butter's quarto corantos in book form, with regular title-page. They were dated by the year in January or February 1622; dated with the day and month from 4 May 1622; and, in addition, serially numbered from No. 1, 15 October 1622, until they were stopped in 1632. They began again in the same format without title-pages in 1638 and so continued until 1642. The formal MS news-letters suffered no change. Maintaining their folio shape they gained much from the institution in 1637 of the Post Office; giving a post once a week to the country; twice a week from 1649; thrice from 1655.[49] Meanwhile the printing trade was thrown into chaos in 1641 when the Star Chamber was itself abolished and the publication of domestic news was allowed for the first time. The first of such domestic pamphlets was *The Heads of Severall Proceedings in this Present Parliament from the 22 of November to the 29, 1641*.

This, our first English domestic news periodical, was the product of a printer at Smithfield, then a neighbourhood frequented by the craft as being close to Barbican, a place for the metal trade. The

[46] 'If the Poste faile us not wee shall keepe a constant Day every weeke therein, whereby every man may certainly expect them', wrote the editor of *The continuation of the forraine occurrents for 5. weekes last past* 11 January 1641. (Morison.)

[47] [Dahl 384.]

[48] [He had begun news publishing in 1605 and died in 1662.]

[49] [See J. G. Muddiman, *The King's journalist* (London, 1923), p. 7.]

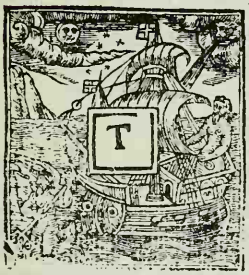
Numb. 36

A PERFECT DIVRNALL OF THE PASSAGES IN PARLIAMENT.

From the 13. of *February* to the 20. of *February*.

Collected by the same hand that formerly drew up the Copy for William Cooke *in Furnivals Inne. And are to sold in the Old Baily.*

Munday the 13 of February 1642.



THe Houſe of Commons this day having fully perfected their reſolutions in agitation all the laſt weeke, concerning the propoſitions from his Majeſty and a ceſſation of armes, deſired a conference with the Lords, at which they preſented to them certaine votes agreed upon by the Commons about the ſame, deſiring the Lords Concurrence therin, giving diverſe reaſons to the Lords, wherefore they conceived it altogether unſafe to agree unto a ceſſation of armes without an abſolute disbanding during the treaty.

As firſt the great charge the Kingdome hath already undergone in maintaining the armies, and how unpoſſible it

182. *A perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament*, no. 36. 13–20 February 1642

(91)

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,
Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the reſt of the KINGDOME.

The eighth Weeke.

SUNDAY. *Febr.* 19.

THis day the newes was, that the Leaders of the Rebels in *Devonſhire* had raiſed a great power in that County, conſiſting partly of the trained bands thereof, and partly of ſuch others of the Country people, whom they had ſeduced unto their party, the whole amounting to the number of 6000 men, with an intent to make an inrode into *Cornwall*, and ſo to raiſe the ſiege laid before *Plimmouth* by Sir *Ralph Hopton*: and that the *Corniſh* forces hearing of their comming, had ſent out a conſiderable party to encounter with them; which fell out ſo ſucceſſefully, that a great many of them were killed in the place, the reſt routed and ſcattered all about the Country. And it was ſignified by letters bearing date *Febr.* 13. that Sir Ralph *Hopton* had ſent out ſome of his forces, and taken ſome haven upon that Coaſt, which by the vicinity of it to *Plimmouth*, and the benefit of ſhipping which belongs unto it, was like to give him many notable advantages in the proſecution of his ſiege. So that however it was reported in the ſtreets of *London* (as is advertiſed thence by Letters, *Feb.* 14. and ſince became a part of their printed newes-bookes) that he was killed with a great ſhot from the Towne of *Plimmouth*: it proved no truer in concluſion, then that Prince *Rupert* was

183. *Mercurius aulicus*, Oxford (H. Hall) 19 February 1642

printer was one John or James Thomas. The cumbersome title was shortened, in the text, in favour of *Diurnall Occurrences in Parliament*. This is the first use of the word 'Diurnall', which was destined to appear in the title of many news-pamphlets of the Cromwellian period [Fig. 182]. There is no need to trace the careers of the several *Diurnall Occurrences*, and *Diurnall Passages*. There were dozens of them.[50] War, civil war, and religious war, is once more to be seen as a prime incentive to print, and, publish and read. Competition was intense in 1642. Printers complained of imitation. 'Take heede of a false and scandalous Diurnal fashioned', says one of them, 'by a company of Grub-sheet mercenary fellowes.' The aggrieved printer, Coles, who had behind him Peeke, a scrivener, and well-known as a writer of manuscript news-letters, decided to mark his *Diurnall* with a headpiece. This was promptly taken up by the widow Coe for her *Perfect Occurrences*, an impressive production on a much larger sheet than the rest. In these pamphlets the date of publication is set between two transverse rules, a convention of newspaper typography that began in this year. All

[50] [See Joseph Frank, *The beginnings of the English newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), Appendices B and C.]

(397)

Crew-House in Cheshire taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax. **Numb.38**
Col. Gray with 8. Troops of horse come in to the Scots,
Two Troops of the L. Hoptons horse routed by Col. Norton.
Several Statutes published by order of the L. Major.

Mercurius Civicus.
LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER:
OR,
Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome,
to prevent misinformation.

From *Thursday February* 8. to *Thursday February*. 15 1643.

OUr intention being principally to impart the affaires and intelligence of this famous and honourable City, most worthily deserving the title of being the mirrour and prospective of all Cities and places in Christendome for Justice and Reformation, and for maintaining and defending the true Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of the subjects of this Nation, professing, cherishing

Pp

184. *Mercurius civicus*, no. 38. 8–15 February 1643

these Diurnalls are what they purport to be, records of passages in Parliament. They bear the same relation to journalism as Hansard does and have the same qualification to rank as a newspaper – none, or almost none. A general news budget of full journalistic content is *A Continuation*. It has a displayed contents on the title-page, and overall, at the left, an ear.

REVIVAL OF THE MERCURIES 1643

The next stage reached was the reversion to the title Mercury or Mercurius in 1643. *Mercurius Aulicus* [Fig. 183] as a Royalist and anti-Puritan publication, came out on Sundays, the better to annoy the 'godly'. *Mercurius Civicus*, 1643 [Fig. 184], is the first to bring 'London' into a subtitle. An illustration was an element in the title-page, an innovation that was quickly copied.

'Mercurius' as a title had no great length of life. The much older word 'Intelligencer' began to compete from 1643. The Post, the Spy, the Scout and other titles arrived in 1644. The *London Post* was the first title in which the City's name took pride of place. But 'Intelligencer' became the preferred title. A news-writer was still known not

(129) *Numb.* 17.

THE INTELLIGENCER,

PUBLISHED

For Satisfaction and Information

OF THE

PEOPLE.

With PRIVILEGE.

Monday, December 21. 1663.

Tangier, Octob. 6.

MAtters are here in a quiet and good Condition; the peace with the *Moors* being very punctually kept, and a considerable and gainful Trade driven, for *Hides*, and certain other Commodities, brought from *Algiers*, to *Tituan*, and from Thence hither; where at first they were deny'd Landing, because of the Plague at *Algiers* (which has now been free these three Months:) It is most certain, when we come to admit them, this Place will be their great Market.

Concerning the Progress of our *Mole*, it cannot be imaR gin'd

185. *The intelligencer*, 21 December 1663. Printed by Richard Hodgkinson

as a 'journalist' but as an 'intelligencer'. In 1637 an 'Office of Intelligence' had been set up to bring buyers and sellers into touch. The 'Office' had branches in various parts of the City and exerted the kind of influence upon the development of printed advertising that would repay enquiry, if we had the time for it – as we have not. Nor may we stay to mention all the news pamphlets that came out, with some interruptions, during the sway of the Long Parliament.[51]

END OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT 1660

At last, in March, 1660, the Long Parliament came to its end. Under General Monck, the executive established two periodicals; one, *The Intelligence*, published on Mondays, and the second *Mercurius*

[51] [See *Catalogue of the pamphlets, books, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661* 2 vols (British Museum, 1908) and Frank, *op. cit.*, chapters IV–XIV.]

Publicus, published on Thursdays. On 26 May Charles II landed at Dover. Within a month the new Commons enacted that 'no person whatsoever do presume at his peril to print any votes or proceedings of this House without the special leave and order of this House', and in the same month an act to prevent abuses in printing was passed, and the way prepared for the appointment of a Surveyor of the Press. A new arrangement was made. *The Intelligencer* (No. 1. 31 August 1663) [Fig. 185] as a Monday periodical; and *The Newes* (No. 1. 3 September) as a Thursday were established. They were conducted by Roger L'Estrange. The titles of these were short – one admirable innovation, and 'Newes' became a standard title. The general temper of the time in which the editor, or surveyor, lived was not friendly to the issuing of any Mercury or any other public print that had news in it: 'It makes the Multitude too familiar with the Actions and Counsels of their Superiors...and gives them not only an Itch but a colourable Right to be Meddling with the Government.' This continued to be the situation of the Press for a generation.

'THE LONDON GAZETTE' 1665

There was one significant move. In 1665, the Court, being at Oxford on account of the plague in London, an official gazette was enterprised. On 5 November 1665, the first number of what we know as the *London Gazette*, was published by Leonard Litchfield at Oxford with the title of *The Oxford Gazette*.[52] It was a plain job, set in small type. In format it deserted the model of the *Intelligencers*, the *News*, the *Mercuries* and every other pamphlet of news that had been produced in this country. Instead of following these precedents, Litchfield reverted, independently, to the format used by N. Butter or N. Bourne for their *Coranto* of 1621; this single sheet, half-folio in size, composed in double-column, for publication on Mondays and Thursdays. The choice of title is difficult to explain. 'Gazette' is an Italian and continental title and unfamiliar in England. The first issue, that for 15 November 1665, was duly numbered but left undated. The second issue was duly dated but left unnumbered. The production, evidently, was hurried. With No. 24, the issue for Thursday, 1 February 1665 (old style), publication was transferred to London, the format and style remaining unchanged.

The format was doubtless chosen in view of Oxford's facilities and the necessity to economize time. The type is much smaller and the setting more compact than anything seen hitherto in the printing of news. No comparative figures of selling price are available but it is more than likely that the *Gazette* was cheaper to buy than either the *News* or the *Intelligencer*. In any event the future lay with the format first used by Veseler of Amsterdam and his successors.

There is one other consideration. The Oxford format is that of the written news-letter, except that the printer was able to get as much on half, as the scrivener could write on a whole, folio sheet. *The Oxford Gazette*, moreover, was edited or written by Henry Muddiman, well-known as a writer of news-letters which were, as a matter of course, similar in shape and size to the *Gazette*. There is much to study in *The Oxford Gazette*. I confess I have never seen any one of the original issues. Those in the British Museum to which I have had access are the literal reprints made in London.[53]

VICTORY OF THE NEWSPAPER OVER THE NEWS-BOOK 1665

After its foundation and after it had proved its success there was no reversion to the pamphlet of news. The fortune lay with the paper of news – the newspaper. In terms, therefore, of continuity of format in newspaper production the date of the initial *Gazette*, 15 November 1665, is of the first importance. This date settled, we approach the end of the our story of the 'Origins' of the Newspaper. It is convenient, before we reach the final stage, to set out the dates so far as it has been possible to ascertain them.

The first English news-pamphlet is the *Trewe Encountre or Batayle lately don betwene Englande and Scotlande*. London, 1513.

The first regular numbered and dated news-pamphlets are the *Avisa, Relation* or *Zeitung* of Augsburg and Strassburg in 1609.

The first newspaper is the undated *Coranto* in Dutch of Joris Veseler, Amsterdam; probably printed about 16 June 1618.

[52] [For the history of *The London Gazette* see P. M. Handover, *A History of The London Gazette, 1665–1965* (London, 1965).]

[53] [See F. Madan, *Oxford books* vol. 3 (Oxford, 1931), no. 289. Muddiman's own set of his manuscript news-letters from 1667 to 1689 is at Longleat. See J. G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist, 1659–1689* (London, 1923), pp. vi–vii.]

The first newspaper in English is the dated *Coranto* of Joris (George) Veseler; 2 December 1620.

The first newspaper in English, printed in England is the dated *Coranto* of N.B., London; 2 September 1621.

From this stage of the 'Origins' news-pamphlets are the rule: that is to say, from January or February, 1622 (when they were dated but unnumbered), and 15 October 1622 (when they were numbered as well as dated), right through the Civil War until 1665 all news was produced in the form of pamphlets.

The legend 'Published by Authority' under the title of the *London Gazette* doubtless impressed the trade. Although the format was imitated, nobody was bold enough to use the title in any compilation. *Courant* remained a popular title; *Post* continued in use; and *Intelligencer* stood well; *Mercury* had a few sponsors. *News-Letter* came in between 1695 and 1696 when the Government removed restrictions and it became less profitable to continue with the trade of multiplying manuscript letters of news.

END OF THE WRITTEN NEWSPAPER 1695

Frederick Leach, who founded the *London News Letter*, explaining his going over from manuscript to print, says that his decision had been forced: 'It was against my inclination to appear in Print, to recover, if I can, some of my former customers and preserve those few I have left who, as they have often told me, will rather read a printed paper than a written one.'

Thus we can establish another date. Leach made his statement in No. 1 of his paper – as he calls it – 21 April 1695; and we may accept this as the virtual end of the competition between printed papers and the written letters of the individual or general type common since at least 1563. Thus for nearly a century and a half the pen had been privileged to circulate domestic news while the printer was limited to printing foreign news.

That a section of the public continued to feel grateful for the written letters is proved by the issue of *Dawks's News-Letter* from 1696, printed in a scriptorial type that was engraved for the purpose.[54] His *News-Letter* was dated but not numbered. It held on for twenty years. Many old forms of journalistic expression continued to be published. Exceptional events, like the great Fire of 1666 and the frost of 1683, were kept in memory on broadsides. Some had illustrations.

THE THRICE WEEKLY 'POST BOY' 1695

But by the end of the century the newspaper was the thing. The improvement in the carriage of letters popularized the titular new 'Post'. There was the *Post Boy* of 1695 and shortly afterwards the *Post Man* which came out thrice a week. This was no easy matter, for though news was often plentiful it was often infrequent. On the failure of the posts to arrive the author or editor of such a thrice-weekly, was compelled to fill his sheet with observations on anything that occurred to him – or them: for the *Post Boy* was the property of a syndicate. The leading spirit was one Abel Roper at the Black Boy near St Dunstan's, Fleet Street. They made a gallant effort in June, 1695, and got their thrice weekly *Post Boy* out on four consecutive days. This must rank as our first daily, if four issues can justify the term. The experience must have been disappointing, for the *Post Boy* returned to its previous periodicity; and the trade did not repeat the experiment until the lapse of seven years.

THE FIRST DAILY NEWSPAPER 1702

On 11 March 1702, there appeared No. 1 of our first daily newspaper, the *Daily Courant* [Plate 119], in London, next door to the King's Arms Tavern at Fleet Bridge, printed by Edward Mallet of whom nothing seems to be known but that he was a printer.[55] He, or his editor, under the headline 'Advertisement', at the foot of the right-hand columns, affirms that he confined the *Daily Courant* to 'half the compass, to save the Publick at least half the Impertinences of ordinary news-papers'. What he meant was that he was prepared to print on one side of the sheet only; exactly how Veseler had begun with the *Coranto* in 1618. The *Daily Courant* was dated but there was some hesitation about the numbering. The legend on the first issue reads 'Numb.' without a figure. The next eight

[54] [Cf. S. Morison, *Ichabod Dawks and his news-letter* (Privately pr., Cambridge, 1931). Manuscript newsletters continued to circulate after this period, particularly in the country, written for example by Joseph Fox, 'bookseller in Westminster and Tunbridge Wells'.]

[55] [The first daily paper was *A perfect diurnal of every day's proceedings in Parliament*, nos 1–21, 21 February – 16 March 1660.]

were serially numbered, after which there followed six unnumbered issues. These are dated from 22 April. The explanation is that Mallet had tired of the enterprise and the *Daily Courant* now came from the press of Samuel Buckley at the Dolphin in Little Britain. Buckley was a man of parts. He was thirty when he took over the single sheet, half folio, printed one side. Under him it became a four-pager. To Samuel Buckley, therefore, we owe the stabilization of our first English daily newspaper. He kept competition at bay, for no other daily was founded until the *Daily Oracle* in 1715. He retired from it in 1735 and died in 1741 at the age of 68. The English newspaper had passed out the period of its 'Origins'.

By the opening of the eighteenth century the English newspaper had done more than attain its majority. Not only did the Treasury issue warrants for the payment to Ambassadors abroad for expenses in purchasing newspapers and intelligence; the Treasury did more. In 1705 a money warrant was issued for Sir Lambert Blackwell. He was late Envoy Extraordinary to the Republic of Genoa. The items in Sir Lambert's bill consisted of: out-of-pocket expenses, postages, stationery. Among the etceteras there was allowed £66 on account of other charges, including 'regalers to news writers', at Christmas, 'as customary'. The Press had acquired diplomatic and professional status.

The learned press

17

THE LEARNED PRESS AS AN INSTITUTION[1]

THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT of the continuing revolution wrought in every aspect of human thought and activity by the invention associated with the city of Mainz, is too immense ever to be fully describable. Its consequences to religion, politics and industry, are far too vast for adequate assessment by the available historians and bibliographers or by any assemblage of scholars to be foreseen at present. A scientific investigation into the impact of typography upon the use of the intellect is unlikely to be completed for years. As Dr Carl Wehmer pointed out in one of his articles in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, bibliography as a science is no older than the nineteenth century. Despite the impressive progress made, there remain too many gaps in the literature of typography, printing, publishing and bookselling which render difficult, even if not impossible, the task of tracing the applications of the art to the development of man's intelligence. There is, for instance, a paucity of documentation on the use of the typographical art to the higher forms of education and of its appropriation by Institutions, Academies and Universities. Books and monographs on Libraries, private and public, are relatively abundant, but our knowledge of Presses founded for the purpose of applying the art to the extension of learning is much less well documented.

It is proposed here to collect a few notes on the development and establishment of the academic Press. The institution of a Press attached more or less closely to a University is obviously desirable, if not as plain a necessity as the mediæval *Stationarius*. As the University Press developed in England at Cambridge and Oxford; and, by adoption, elsewhere, it has become a powerful instrument of learning and inspiration to research of every theological, literary and scientific kind. There is something to be said, therefore, for inquiring into the origins and development of this institution.

In the first place it is necessary to distinguish between a Press dedicated to the interests of learning, founded and for a time maintained by an individual or family, and the Press established or maintained for an indefinite period by a corporate body such as an academy or a university.

And, in considering the origin and establishment of such Presses, it is necessary also to bear in mind a second distinction – between the Institutional Press, corporately owned, and the Institutional or Family Privileged Press responsible for royal, parliamentary or other official printing. One characteristic is common to Institutional–Academic and to Official–State printers: continuity. They differ in the character of the ownership and the object of the administration. One is academic and the other official. The object of the one is the service of learning and the other of legislators. The Imprimerie Royale of Paris is a glorious exception.[2]

When Johann Heynlin, the Librarian of the Sorbonne (and formerly Rector), with the assistance of Guillaume Fichet, fetched Ulrich Gering, Michael Freiburger, and Martin Crantz out of Germany, the purpose was to erect a Press that was thought of as a service to something distinct from theology or science, i.e. 'learning'.

Learning is the critical technique employed to verify and test the written record, or medium by which the present confronts itself with the past. It

[1] [First published in *Bibliotheca docet: Festgabe für Carl Wehmer* (Amsterdam, 1963).]

[2] [Cf. S. Morison, 'The French national printing office; notes on its typographic achievement', *The Monotype recorder* no. 224 (1928), pp. 4–19. The most comprehensive guide to the history of the press remains *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie Nationale, des origines à nos jours* (catalogue of an exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1951).]

was conceived in the late fourteenth century as a literary amenity. The invention of printing changed this amenity into a cult, and the printing press may truly be said to have changed learning into 'scholarship', since the Art enabled men to compare versions of writings in which they were interested. Without the press there can be no established text for a scholar from which authoritatively to quote. By the sixteenth century what had originally been an amenity and then a scholarly cult and scholarship, became a formidable weapon in the contemporary ideological struggle. When the Reformers set the Bible and the Church in opposition, learning, scholarship and erudition were employed by both sides; original languages were investigated, old manuscripts were unearthed, new texts were established.

It was not so at the beginning, when learning was conducted for the fun of it. And this was the attitude that led to the foundation of the Sorbonne Press. The term in longest use to describe the object of the kind of Press with which these lines are concerned is 'Learned'. The first university printers of Paris produced their first book in 1470. When Fichet left the Sorbonne in 1472 the printers found other patrons. There was a continuity of a Press but no continuity of a University Press. The authority of the printers was personal, i.e. of two former Rectors of the Sorbonne. The proprietorship and authority of the numerous fifteenth-century Presses that worked for the benefit of theologians, liturgists, lawyers, professors, doctors and school-teachers was not corporate. Some of these were monastic Presses; but, in the main, individual or family ownership prevailed.

The most illustrious Learned Presses at the end of the fifteenth century when the art got into its stride, were those of Nicolas Jenson and Aldus Manutius, both in Venice and both privately owned. The Aldine Press was a Learned Press from its start with the Greek text of Lascaris' *Erotemata*, with a Latin translation (Venice, 1495). In 1498 he projected a Hebrew–Greek–Latin text of the Old and New Testaments, a vast enterprise that was certain to encounter difficulties, not only textual and typographical. The question of the Old Testament Canon was still unsettled and the scheme was abandoned.

It was not only a vast scheme, but it was at the time a complete novelty. In itself the idea was as old as Origen's Hexapla, the great third-century monument of textual criticism. But Aldus' plan represents the first application of textual criticism to holy writ that had been applied, by men such as Lorenzo Valla, to secular writing half a century before Aldus planned his polyglot. Aldus' zeal for correctness in printing Greek and Latin texts was unique in his time, and he is rightly esteemed as the founding father of scholarship as applied to typography. His example was followed elsewhere in Italy and outside the peninsula.

An early example of scholarship conceived and sponsored on the noblest scale to print the most complex and difficult of all textual and typographical tasks is the great Complutensian polyglot, the first achievement of the kind. It was the idea and plan of Cardinal Francisco Ximénes (1436–1517), who decided to execute the work at Alcalá, where in 1499 he founded his new college of San Ildefonso, and with it a bookselling centre. The College was soon erected into a University. In 1502 work began upon the preparation of the text which was planned to give the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek and Latin. For the purpose he appointed a University Printer: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, who had worked the art at Pamplona since 1492. Brocar arrived at Alcalá in 1508, and had printed six volumes by 1517. The style was achieved in terms of great splendour. Years were lost before the Roman theologians could make up their minds whether or not to give the work the *nihil obstat*, and the Cardinal died five years before publication. The stupendous enterprise was given to the world in 1522.[3] The University of Alcalá later fell into dissension, and although Brocar continued to print, the effort to institutionalize the Alcalá Press in the continued interests of learning was frustrated.[4] Spain thereupon lost the lead.

When Paul Manutius of Venice became twenty-one he engaged in the paternal business; and a large business it was. But the mass of uncles, brothers-in-law and cousins was too much for him, and their interest in scholarship too little. He left to pursue study and, as well known, ultimately returned to print in Rome. His eldest son, Aldus Manutius Junior (1547–97) continued to print in Venice after his father's move to Rome but the family later disinterested itself in printing and the imprint did not survive the century. The greatest Learned Press

[3] [The Vatican copy was received in December 1521.]

[4] [For an account of Brocar see F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain, 1501–20* (Cambridge, 1966), ch III.]

of the age had not become an Institution. The Academy that Aldus founded in Venice in 1500 did not sustain the Aldine imprint as a permanent symbol of learning. Aldus' Learned Press, therefore, was not institutionalized either in his lifetime, or in that of his successors.

But if Aldus was not able to guarantee continuity of scholarship in the Press that he created in Venice, there remained the effect of his immensely powerful example as a zealous scholar with the highest standards of accuracy; an enterprising printer using a roman type that surpassed all previous models and is still in use[5] – the innovating publisher creating new, economic, editions and formats. Whether the effect of that example would be so permanent as to create elsewhere a Press that would have as its principle of action the tradition of an individual or family ownership in the direction of a Learned Press; or if and how a Press devoted to learning could be institutionalized, and its continuity thus secured, were questions that the future was in due time to settle.

Beginning to priut *circa* 1500, and producing books consciously up to Aldine standards, Henri Estienne (*circa* 1460–1520) founded a dynasty of publishers that was active for over eighty years. The business was continued first by his widow under the imprint of Simon de Colines, Estienne's foreman whom she married in 1520, and after 1546 by his second son Robert (1503–59), whose son Henri II and his descendants carried on business until the end of the sixteenth century. Here is family continuity of a sort, but it was not uninterrupted. Robert Estienne was favoured by Francis I, whose ambitions included a desire to patronize artists and scholars. The King's interest in Greek literature was eagerly forwarded by Robert Estienne who became 'Imprimeur du Roy' for Hebrew and Latin printing, and then for Greek. His critical standards were Aldine and his typographical style reflected and refined that of his master. His unorthodox inclinations, which led to religious restrictions and the consequent shifting of his Press in 1550 ended all prospect of his Press becoming the establishment of which it gave promise when Robert Estienne was appointed 'Imprimeur du Roy' in 1539. The title had originally been conferred upon Geoffroy Tory in 1530 after the publication of his *Champ fleury* (Paris, 1529).

[5] [Bembo. See S. Morison, *A tally of types* new edn (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 46–52.]

The effort of Antoine Estienne, the grandson of the founder of the house, and the last to revive its glories, was significant but not permanent. In 1612 he abjured Calvinism and having been received into the Guild in 1618, was given the title of 'Imprimeur du Roy' in 1623. His name deserves to be remembered for the 'Societas graecarum editionum' of which he appears to have been the originator and sole governor. The two-volume folio Plutarch in Greek and Latin (Paris 1624) was followed by a Xenophon, an Aristotle, a Strabo and other considerable works. They secured for their printer the title of 'Premier imprimeur et libraire ordinaire du roy'. The printer was high in the favour of Louis XIV who succeeded Louis XIII in 1643, and in 1649 he brought out the sumptuous memorial volume on *Les Triomphes de Louis le Juste XIII du nom* with the imprint 'A Paris, en l'Imprimerie royale, par Antoine Estiene, premier imprimeur et libraire ordinaire du Roy M.DC.XLIX. Avec privilège de Sa Maiesté.'

The Greek types used by Antoine Estienne were those originally commissioned by François I and cut by Claude Garamond at the instruction of Robert Estienne who took the material with him to Geneva. When Antoine Estienne returned to Paris and to the Catholic faith he brought the Garamond matrices with him and hence his Greek books were described as printed 'typis regiis', or 'typis regis christianissimi'. In the view of the authorities, Antoine Estienne was the custodian rather than the owner of the royal Greeks, and when the printer saw fit to sell some of the types to one Lucas 'faisant profession de la religion prétendu réformée', he was disgraced, his business decayed and he died poor in 1674. This was the end of the imprint of Estienne, famous in literatures as a synonym for exact scholarship in all the learned languages. The name of Estienne had guaranteed the highest standard of learning from 1502 when Henri Estienne printed his first book: a digest of Aristotle. The future of learned printing in an institutional sense as far as France was concerned lay with the Imprimerie royale, which is mentioned below.

The great rival of the Estiennes was a Frenchman settled in Antwerp, Christophe Plantin (1514–89), who was destined to become the greatest printer in northern Europe. He founded his Press in 1555. By 1568 he felt his resources strong enough to support the vast enterprise of surpassing Ximénes' Polyglot of 1517. Despite a multitude of difficulties, Plantin

completed the Great Polyglot in five years. The large folios came first with the imprint 'Excudebat Christophorus Plantinus Prototypographus Regius'. There followed a mass of liturgical, musical, theological and educational literature. The burning and plundering of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1576 was only one of the interruptions to Plantin's business. His son-in-law John Moerentorf (Moretus) continued the imprint 'In officina Plantiniana' and worthily maintained its standards until his death in 1610.[6]

His sons Balthasar (d. 1641) and Jean Moretus II (d. 1618) continued what had now become a tradition of scholarship, liturgy and illustrated popular works. Balthasar II (d. 1674) has many notable typographical works to his credit, as well as seven sons and five daughters. With Balthasar III, the eldest son, the tradition began to weaken and the succeeding members of the family who directed the establishment failed to maintain either its commercial or typographical vigour. In 1875 the family disposed of the historic printing-house and all its equipment. The imprint 'In Officina Plantiniana' later 'In Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti' was from 1555 to 1696 a guarantee of accurate scholarship in all the sacred and classical languages, often illustrated by magnificent line-engravings by the finest artists of the Flemish school, superb editions of musical typography, whether of ancient chant or contemporary composition. The scale of the volumes, the range of the texts, the sumptuousness of the illustration and the excellence and versatility of the techniques had no precedent or equal, then or since. There has never been anything like the Plantin Press. Apart from the founder, the house owes most to his son-in-law Jean Moretus who, with a firm hold of the business, followed a definite publishing policy based upon that of the founder. But for this brilliant second the ownership of the 'Officina' would hardly have been so sensitive of the importance of the Plantinian tradition, and its subsequent history much less distinguished.

With such a unique continuity of family ownership and publishing policy why did the 'Officina Plantiniana' fall short of becoming the Institutional Learned Press that the Estienne family might have established but for the religious troubles that beset them and their time? Plantin, whose religious affiliations were individualist–protestant, had managed to avoid taking sides against the Catholic Church, and he died reconciled to it. Jean Moretus was not only Catholic but pro-Jesuit and, moreover, maintained the already close relations with the University of Louvain; which owed its establishment to John IV of the house of Burgundy and its authority to Pope Martin V, by his Bull dated 9 December 1425. The University had taken part in Plantin's Polyglott and the Press was long dependent upon it. This was the more natural since Antwerp, though famous for its commercial prosperity and its past facilities, was not academically conspicuous. Ecclesiastically it was a bishopric made subject to Mechlin by the bull of Paul IV who, on 12 May 1559 created for the Netherlands the three metropolitan sees of Mechlin, Cambrai and Utrecht. Hence, these two events occurred to the prejudice of Antwerp. Had John IV chosen to place the new University in Antwerp instead of Louvain, and had Paul IV selected Antwerp as the metropolitan see instead of Mechlin, the history of the Port and the Plantinian Press with it, would have undergone a radical change.

As it was, Antwerp remained financially, but not academically, rich. Thus it was that, in the eighteenth century, when the hold of the Moretus family upon the business began to slacken and by the middle of the nineteenth century regarded the Press as an historic heirloom, it became inevitable that the family, who had so long preserved the house in its sixteenth-century condition, should offer it to the municipality of Antwerp. There was no University or other academic body in Antwerp with which it could be incorporated. Thus, in 1876 the most illustrious Learned Press of Northern Europe became a Museum and not an Institution. The printing house established by Plantin in 1555 ceased to print in 1875. A privately owned business of unique distinction failed for the lack of the support and inspiration that only an ecclesiastical or academic establishment could have provided – had either been in the neighbourhood, and had chosen to offer and effect it in time.

Great ecclesiastical and academic bodies move slowly, if at all. Among the slowest, naturally, is the Church of Rome. But that institution of all institutions became obliged to face the acute problems created by the printing press, whether operated by her enemies or her champions. This is not the

[6] [The most recent and detailed study of the Plantin establishment is by L. Voet, *The golden compasses; a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1969–73).]

place in which to discuss the attitude of the Council of Trent, or that of certain exalted personages to typography. But important consequences followed from within the Council, some from the interest of some of its members and others from ultimate developments of these ideas.

The Roman interest in learned printing was the delayed offspring of Aldus Manutius through the influence of his son, Paulus Manutius. Since 1534, at least, Paulus had a high place in the esteem of Girolamo Seripando the learned Augustinian, eminent Ciceronian and future legate to the Council of Trent and Cardinal.

In 1539 Paulus[7] was in correspondence with Seripando's intimate friend Marcello Cervini, future president of the Council of Trent, Cardinal and ultimately Pope Marcellus II. At the Council of Trent, Seripando and Cervini were deeply involved with the question of editing an authorized Bible text. In 1561 the Council was still hesitating whether to adopt an amended Latin Vulgate as the sole authentic text, or to authorize amended Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts. While the Council delayed to approve the necessary decree on the Bible, Seripando and Cervini pressed for arrangements to be made to print the Bible that the Council would authorize which was, indeed, the familiar 'Vetus ac Vulgata editio'. While the two Cardinals considered it important to erect a new Press in Rome without delay, and recommended Paulus Manutius as its head, the Council was ready to agree that it needed a Press for its own official work. It was undeniable that at this time Rome lacked the resources of printing and publishing that were necessary for the forwarding of the programme of such reformers as Cervini, Pole and Seripando.

None knew this so well as Cervini, who had long been aware of the necessity in the cause of classical learning to expand the typographical facilities available in the neighbourhood of the Vatican Library. He well knew the poverty of Rome after the sack of 1527 and worked with great energy and private expense to create a Press that would correspond in capacity with contemporary requirements, ecclesiastical and literary.

One of the early and praiseworthy acts of Paul III was to raise Reginald Pole to the cardinalate. A less obviously worthy act was his elevation of his nephew, Alessandro, to the same dignity. Allowing for the precocity of Italian boys, and the existence of precedent, it is odd to find a Pope of Paul III's principles raising to the purple a boy of fourteen. But, it may be argued, the Pope knew what he was doing; for, simultaneously, he appointed as the boy-cardinal's tutor, adviser and secretary, Marcello Cervini – who next became the *de facto* vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, archpriest of St Peter's, archpriest of St Mary Major and the occupant of many another position of influence; more than half, perhaps, of all the administrative offices of the Church. Paul III may have known what he was about, for he also made Cervini accompany Alessandro on missions and legatine trips to the Emperor. Cervini himself was raised to the purple in 1539 with the title of Cardinal of Santa Croce-in-Gerusalemme; accordingly, it was as a fellow-cardinal that Cervini accompanied Alessandro Farnese to the Courts of Charles V and Francis I. This was in 1540 when Rome desired their assistance against Henry VIII of England.

The Council of Trent opened with Cervini as one of three Presidents: Giovanni del Monte, afterwards Pope Julius III, and Reginald Pole, afterwards the last Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, being the others. When, in 1547, the Council was indefinitely prorogued, Cervini left with the rest of the delegates.

Next year there died Cardinal Agostino Steucco (1497–1548), successor to Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) Prefect of the Palatina – as the Bibliotheca Vaticana was then called. Steucco as Prefect had employed his vast energy and deep erudition in the exegetics of the Hebrew Bible, rather than in the extension of the Library and the improvement of its facilities. By 1547, the numerous accessions by purchase and bequest made urgent a wholesale reorganization. Paul III found his man in Cervini, and at last the Cardinal was presented with the opportunity to satisfy an old ambition and a personal taste. When he was tutor to Alessandro Farnese he had so far interested himself in classical scholarship as to attract the admiration of Paul Manutius, as has been seen above. Cervini was then 33 and Paulus Manutius was 22. In 1539 Paul put into Cervini's head the idea of printing some of the inedited Greek manuscripts in the Palatina. Some of these the cardinal had himself collected and presented to the Library, others had been bequeathed to him by Aleandro, just mentioned.

[7] [H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* vol. IV (Freiburg, 1975), p. 19 *et passim*.]

When Paul Manutius mentioned to Cervini that certain Greek texts still unprinted should be edited and published, he had already discussed such a scheme with Antonio Blado, the most competent printer in Rome who had, at this time (c. 1538 or so), the ambition to print Greek. Though given much employment on official work, he did not secure the title of Printer to the Apostolic Camera until 1549, by which time he had done something to deserve recognition. Blado had printed a great Greek text composed in a specially designed type.

At this time the *scriptor graecus* in the Palatina was Giovanni Onorio. Some time before (perhaps 1540) Cervini instructed Onorio to confer with Blado on the subject of a series of Greek texts, the most important of which was the commentary of Eustathius on the *Iliad*. This work of terrifying bulk renames the *scholia* of the predecessors of the erudite twelfth century Thessalonican archbishop. For it Cervini decided to have new types cut, in two sizes. Between 1540 and 1542 he prevailed upon Onorio to make the designs. The identity of the punch-cutter is unknown. The capitals, lower case and ligatures, made progress with Blado, while Cervini was presiding at the Council of Trent. A first volume of Eustathius (edited by Majorano) appeared in 1542 [Fig. 186], but the third (final) was held up until just before the death of Paul III, in the year 1549. The volume of indexes came out later.

Cervini's Greek types there seem accord in general with the model that Aldus had rendered familiar to that generation. The engraving is competent though not more. As a fount, however, it deserves better than the complete silence which has fallen upon it. The vast four-volume Eustathius itself is the supreme example of unacknowledged industry and scholarship. One line only commemorates it in Sir John Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*.

The subsequent history of the punches requires separate investigation. Mgr. Pio Paschini, whose extensive paper, *Cardinale-Editore*, appeared in 1932, makes it plain that the Eustathius and the other publications were a personal undertaking of Cervini's. His principal assistants in the work were permanent officials of the Library (Majorano for the text and Onorio for the type); and Blado, the printer, who, now, was given an official title. Yet neither Blado nor the Holy See owned the typographical material. The typographical material belonged to Cervini and the Press belonged to Blado. The idea of creating an institutional press which had been in the mind of Cervini had not been realized.

The Cardinal Protector of the Library, as Cervini became in 1540,[1] was wealthy enough to collect manuscripts, but the vast four-volume folio Eustathius was a strain. When the *editio princeps* of Apollodorus' (the second-century Greek grammarian) Treatise on the Gods came out it was in two. Cervini had caused Apollodorus to be transcribed in late 1550. It is doubtful if he saw more than the proofs of the edition printed "in aedibus A. Bladi, Romae 1555".

On 23 March 1555 Julius III died, lamented only by his relatives, including the boys it would be "correct" rather than truthful to describe as nephews. The conclave did not approve such "nephews", and sought for Julius III's direct opposite. On 9 April the Cardinals elected Marcello Cervini, who took office as Marcellus II. He hardly had time to prove that he meant what he said, that he would not advance his relatives, and had no use for nephews, when he died – three weeks after his elevation to the supreme Pontificate. Marcellus' memory, if not celebrated in bibliography, is preserved in the musical world by a mass which his friend, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina composed in his honour, the Missa Papae Marcelli.

Marcellus had accomplished much for books; he had actively and abundantly supported the cause of learning; he had been faithful to the cause of spreading scholarship by the press. He had spent lavishly in time and money on books, calligraphy and typography. Marcellus II was fifty-five when he died and the Church, the Library and the learned press suffered infinite loss. As Cardinal and Pope he had sustained the cause of the Learned Press. Mgr. Jedin, the historian of the Council of Trent affirms that it was he who originated the idea of establishing a Learned Press in Rome, though he had not assured its continuity. He had pointed out the way, thanks to the inspiration of Paulus Manutius and had noble volumes that proved his intentions. It remains to be seen what his successors did for Paulus Manutius.

Marcellus II was succeeded by his personal enemy, the remarkably learned, consummately holy and utterly fanatical Carafa, who was consecrated as Paul IV. The "Sacra Congregatio Romanae et

[1] [Cf. P. Paschini, "Un cardinale editore: Marcello Cervini" in *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari* (Florence, 1952), pp. 385–403.]

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΗΤΑ ΡΑΨΩΔΙΑΣ ΗΣ

ΜΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ·

Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοί τε, καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταί,
Εὗδον παννύχιοι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος·
ἀλλ' ὄγε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα, ὡς Ἀχιλῆα
Τιμήσῃ, ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·
ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή·
πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, οὖλον ὄνειρον·
καί μιν φωνήσας, ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Ὅτι τάχ' ῥα φρασίας παύτης, ἣ μὴ ἔμμετρος ἐπιγραφή, αὖτη. βῆτα δ' ὄνειρον ἔχει. ἀγορὴν δὴ νῆας ἀριθμεῖ. ἡ δὲ πεζή, τοιαύτη. ὄνειρος δὴ κατάλογος. ὥστε, μέρος τῆς βήτα, καὶ ἡ βοιωτία ἤκουσε ὁ κατάλογος τῶν νεῶν· Ὅτι σὺ ταῦθα μὲν, ἐξ μύθου διδάσκει ὁ ποιητὴς, μὴ δεῖν ἐᾶν τὸν ἀρχηγὸν παννύχιον εὕδειν. λέγων ὅτι, ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοί τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταί, οἱ τοῦδε τροίαν ἐνηλυσόμενοι πολεμισταὶ, εὗδον παννύχιοι. δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. μετ' ὀλίγα δέ, καὶ γνώμην ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχαιονομίαν καὶ διδάσκουσαν, ὡς ῥηθήσεται, αὖθα ὁ ὄνειρος ὀνειδίζει τὸν παννύχιον ὕπνον τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι· ἐν μύθοις τοῖς ἑξῆς, καὶ μεχριμαλακῶς αὐτὸ παραδώσει. τοῦ μὲν ἄλλους ἕλληνας, κεκμηκότας νύκτωρ ποιῶν. τὸν βασιλέα, δὲ ἀγρύπνως ἔρχοντα· Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ χαίρειν ὡς μάλιστα ὁ ποιητὴς τῷ ῥᾳ σωφρόνῳ, καθὰ καὶ προδεδήλωται, καὶ ὅτι ἐγκλίνεται καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ δέοντι καθὰ καὶ αὐτοῦθα, εἰ τῷ, ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα. καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τοιᾶ τεχνικιᾶς, ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον ῥᾳ, ὃ σημαίνει μὲν τὸ δύχερῶς ὡς φασι. γίνεται δὲ ἀφ' τοῦ ῥᾴδιον κατὰ ἀφαιρεσιν, διὸ καὶ ὀξυνόεται καὶ ζυγῷ περισπᾶται, καὶ οὐ δὲ ἐγκλίνεται. λέγει δέ φασι καὶ ζυγῷ τῷ βῆ θρᾳ. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ῥᾴδιον, αἰολικῶς βράδιον λέγει). καὶ ὅτι νήδυμος ὕπνος, ὁ βαθὺς καὶ ἀνέκδυτος. ἤτοι ὃν οὐ δυώκατάς τις ῥᾳδίως ἀφοῦσθαι. καὶ γίνεται παρὰ τὸ δύω δύμος. καὶ μᾶλ πῆς νή στρήδοως, νήδυμος. ἢ ἄλαν δυώων. παρὰ τὸ νή ἐστιατικὸν, καὶ τὸ δύω. ἔστι γὰρ ἐστίασις ἡ ἀφ' τῆ νή, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ, πόντος νή χυτος. ὥσπερ δὲ ἀφ' τῆ δύω δύμος καὶ νήδυμος, οὕτω καὶ δύμος δίδυμος. δίδυμοι γάρ, οἱ ὄντες δύο εἰ γαστρὸς κατασύσει μᾷ· οἱ δὲ, νήδυμον ὕπνον φασι τὸν ἡδύν, πλεοναστικῶ τῷ ν. καίτοι τινὲς οὐ βούλονται φωνήεντα διαχωρίζω, τὸ ν προστίθεσθαι. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ φασι καὶ δίχα τῷ ν δυρίσκεσθαι ἥδυμον παρὰ τοῖς μεθ' Ὅμηρον. ὡς παρὰ αὐτῷ μάχῳ καὶ Σιμωνίδῃ. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ὁμήρου πλὴν λέξιν παύτην εἰς παυσὸ ἐδιάζοντο, ἀναγνόντες ναῦ, οὕτω. δία δ' οὐκ ἔχεν. ἔτα ἥδυμος ὕπνος. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἐνταῦθα μὲν δυσώρως ἔχοισιν εἰς ὃ βούλονται, ὀφ' πλὴν τῷ ἔχε τρίτου προσώπου συνῆκεν, ἐφέλκεσθαι δυναμένου τὸ ν. εἰ μύθοι τοῖς ἑξῆς, δύρεθήσονται τόποι εἰ οἷς οὐ δυνήσονται βιοῦτόν τι ποιῆσαι. ἀλλὰ προδήλως τὸ νήδυμος ἀρχαϊκῶν δύρεθήσεται ἀφ' τῆ ν στοιχείου, μὴ δυναμένου τὴν ὄπιθεν λέξιν προστίθεσθαι· Σημειώσαι δὲ καὶ ὅτι, ἄλλο μὲν τὸ καθεύδειν, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ὑπνοῦν. καὶ οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὀφ' ἀναγκαίως δηλοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοδρῶ μὲν ὁ ζῴῳ ἀναθαὲ, ἐκθλίβεν. σὺ ταῦθα δὲ, νήδυμος ὕπνος οὐκ ἔχεν αὐτόν. ἔστι γὰρ καθεύδειν μὲν, τὸ ἁπλῶς ἀναπαύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ ὕπνῳ. ὑπνοῦν δὲ, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ ἐκλελοῦσθαι καὶ ἀπεγκατεῖν ταῖς αἰσθήσεις. κὴ ἔστιν καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἑξῆς πολλαχοῦ φανήσεται. οὕτω δὲ κὴ τὸ κοιμᾶσθαι, τὸ ὑπνοῦν διανύοντα εἰ πολλοῖς, ὁμοίως τῷ καθεύδειν. ὡς καὶ ὅτε εἶπε ὅτι, κοιμήσαν δ' κὴ ὕπνου σάρον ἕλοντο. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἱπποκορυστὰς οὐ μόνον ἴσμεν, οὐ ἔρχοντας ἱππεῖς τρίχας εἰ ταῖς κόρυσι. ἀλλ' εἰ ἔστιν ἦν, ὤφειλεν ἱπποκόρυθας εἰπεῖν. ἢ οὕτω πως ὁμοίως τῷ κορυθαίολος, καὶ κορυθαίολος. ἔστιν οὖν ἱπποκορυστὴς, ὁ καὶ ἱππιοχάρμης.

186. Eustathius, Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα. Rome (A. Blado) 1542

Universale Inquisitionis seu Sancti Officii', the bane of Cervini, had been the creation in 1542 of Paul III, at the instigation of the same Caraffa (1534–49). It was a commission of Cardinals responsible for supervising the purity of the faith. When Caraffa became Pope Paul IV (1555–9) he established a subsidiary congregation with the duty of supervising the orthodoxy of all printed matter. One of the last acts of this genuinely ascetic but stupendously unpolitic pontiff was to enact by his Bull *In Coena Domini* even more rigorous regulations and impose more severe penalties upon those who printed unlicensed books, and extend them upon those who owned, borrowed or read such. In 1559 the *Index Auctorum et Librorum* of the Holy Office was printed in Rome 'apud Antonium Bladum, Cameralem Impressorem'. This legislation effectively made it clear to the curial bureaucracy that by outlawing virtually all available biblical and patristic texts the Church must either be degraded to the level of illiteracy in an age of violent polemics, or organize the printing of its own texts of the Bible and the Fathers.

Paul IV's pontificate lasted until 1559. His successor was Gian Angelo de'Medici (no relative of the influential family). As Pius IV he, too, was bound by the legislation of the Council of Trent, and his predecessors, to deal with the censorship of books. It was in consequence of the session of the Congregation for the reform of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum on 8 February 1561 that Paul Manutius started for Rome on 7 June. His task was to begin a new Press, thus making him a second official Roman printer, i.e. in addition to Blado; but, as distinct from Blado, Paul Manutius was reserved for works of theology and scholarship.[9] Pope Pius IV was keen on proceeding with the new Vulgate for which Cervini had pushed, and the Council of Trent had acknowledged to be necessary. But he found it difficult to get enough type in Rome. The experts did not release the new text, and the Inquisition set up by Pius IV hampered everything. Paulus Manutius, whilst accomplishing something for contemporary theology found himself continuously obstructed by the Inquisition. Pius V (elected in 1566) was a Christian of saintly character who devoted his whole pontificate to the promulgation of the Tridentine disciplinary decrees, and had little time for the interests of learning. If Cervini's notion of an Institutional Learned Press made no progress during the pontificate of Pius IV, that of Pius V was fatal to his plans. Paulus had lost the support of Marcellus II. Seripando died in 1563. Sirleto remained Cervini's intimate friend, but was not strong enough to protect the Press. In 1570 Paulus left Rome embittered. This was the end of Cervini's effort to establish an Institutional Learned Press in Rome. If such an enterprise could not be achieved by him what hope for it was there at the end of Pius V's reign?

Gregory XIII, elected in 1572 as successor to Pius V, was a septuagenarian of notable activity. Within a couple of years he founded new colleges for the Greeks, Hungarians, Germans, Japanese, not forgetting Jews and Scots. The present Collegium Anglicanum at Rome is his foundation (1580). Among the entourage of Gregory XIII was Ferdinand I de' Medici (1549–1609), the second son of Cosimo who, though a Cardinal at the age of fourteen, was never ordained priest. An avid collector, he built the Villa Medici in Rome to house many treasures, and in 1573 he decided to place some of his wealth at the service of typography at the invitation of Gregory XIII who set up a new commission which became under Gregory XV (1621–3), half a century later, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith.

Ferdinand de' Medici was one of three Cardinals made responsible for an effort to reconcile the dissident Slavs, Syrians, Copts etc. It was part of the plan to print in all the necessary vernaculars the *Catechismus ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos* (Rome, P. Manutius, 1566) of the Council of Trent and other such works. The ambition was high, the task difficult, and the progress slow.

The extension of typography to oriental languages beyond Arabic on the scale required by Gregory XIII entailed a programme of punch-cutting hitherto never conceived even by an Ximénes or a Plantin. Such a grandiose scheme obviously depended upon institutional or personal support, for there was nothing in it to attract private commercial investment.

The crux of the matter was the cutting of the punches for the oriental languages. For this purpose the Cardinal de' Medici summoned to Rome the French punch-cutter Robert Granjon, who had worked extensively for Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, and in 1585 for Domenico Basa in Venice. The prospect now opened for the creation of a Press

[9] [On Paulus Manutius see, *inter alia*, F. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano, 1561–1570* (Rome, 1942).]

that by all indications should soon have developed into the Institutional Learned Press. Granjon engraved the punches for an arabic and several other oriental scripts. There was, indeed, considerable technical activity, but the cardinalitial commission seems to have encountered editorial difficulties. The necessary translations were not easily made. One of the Cardinals was turned on to the revision of Latin liturgical texts. Gregory XIII died in 1585.

In 1587 the Cardinal de' Medici was obliged to leave Rome for Florence to succeed his deceased brother as Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Medicean Press, however, did not then cease to operate, and issued the ambitious illustrated folio Arabic edition of the four gospels, upon which immense labour had been lavished over several years. Its 150 wood engravings and fine typographical composition rank it as a masterpiece. The *Evangelia Arabice* was published 'In typographia Medicea, Romae' with the date 1591, which some bibliographers consider may have been anticipated by some copies dated 1590.[10] If this were so, it is possible that an early copy may have been seen by Gregory XIII's successor, whose abiding interest in printing is postponed for later mention. For chronological and other reasons it is desirable at this point to summarize the state of printing in Rome apart from the enterprise of Sixtus V. Sixtus died in 1590. The Medicean Press produced a *Missale Chaldaicum* in 1594 under the pontificate of Clement VIII. Just after this time, i.e. 1596, Cardinal Ferdinand de'Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, decided to marry, and thereupon doffed the purple, finally abandoned all interest in Rome and removed his treasures, among them the typographical materials, or some of them, to Florence. Their subsequent history does not concern us. It is sufficient to note that the Typographia Medicea had ended its career as a Learned Press specializing in oriental work. Its successor was a Press operated by Jacobus Luna, formerly of the Typographia Medicea. He was probably a Syrian attached to the Maronite College in Rome, the establishment and endowment of which were due to Gregory XIII. The first production was the *Liber ministri Missae iuxta ritum ecclesiae Maronitarum* with the imprint 'Ex typographia linguarum externarum apud I. Lunam, Romae M.D.XCVI'. The Press seems to have been an annex of the College and to have printed only the books required by this Eastern Church loyal to Rome. In principle, the Press was as private as that of the Society of Jesus erected in their Collegio Romano in 1556.

It would seem, therefore, that after the death of Gregory XIII in 1585 and the succession of Sixtus V (d. 1590), the closing of the Typographia Medicea in 1596 left all printing in Rome in commercial hands. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, several houses worked under some kind of contract, patent or privilege, for the various legal or fiscal departments of the Roman Curia. These commercial establishments engaged in whole or part time on official work.

Of these the most significant was the Press erected between 1520 and 1521 by Antonio Blado. His connections with the hierarchy were intimate. It has been seen that he was closely engaged with Marcello Cervini and executed some of his most considerable commissions. He secured the monopoly of printing certain *Acta* and was honoured by a special title of Printer to the Camera Apostolica.

It is not easy to define the difference in status between the privilege held by the Blados from Paul III until Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, and that of the other houses who also printed for the Camera. Probably the difference lay in precedence. Bulls, Excommunications and other documents of the first class were confided to the Blados, and miscellaneous documents of lesser official importance to the Syndicate who made use, for this purpose, of the imprint 'Apud Impressores Camerales, Romae'. The Camera itself no doubt possessed a 'secret' press for highly confidential work.

This system seems to have been current after, as well as before, the death of Antonio Blado in 1567. The privilege to Paolo was renewed in 1589. Within four years there was a change of policy. It resulted in the retirement of Paolo Blado in favour of Rodolfo Silvestri. Simultaneously occurred a diminution of official work; but the Press continued in operation. Both Blado and Silvestri died in 1609. These events occurred during the pontificate of Paul V (1605–21), not a Pope to attenuate privileges of the successors of Peter. Having been Vicar of Rome, he well knew its administration and organization. In 1610 Paul V ordered the merging of the private Press of the Camera, then directed by Geremia Guelfi, with the Blado–Silvestri office. Thus the illustrious house founded by Antonio Blado in 1520–1 ceased a separate existence. The

[10] [The title-page is dated 1590 and the colophon 1591 in most copies. See T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scripture* (London, 1903–11), no. 1636.]

Pope's policy of centralization corresponded with an intention that underlay the scheme originated with Cervini, was given substance by Sixtus V, and now promised to become truly effective. He had one other, and very considerable establishment at his disposal.

It has been seen that the plan of a Press devoted to the printing of scriptural, patristic and theological texts in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and other languages, had been put forward by Marcello Cervini as early as 1540. Also it has been seen that the Cardinal showed the seriousness of his intentions by personally contracting with Antonio Blado for printing Greek texts (described above). His untimely death in 1555 (as Pope Marcellus II) effectively postponed the execution of the plan, and it was not until the pontificate of Gregory XIII that official steps were taken and the Press (described above) of Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici was founded. This effort was of temporary, though not unimportant consequences, one of which, after 1595, was the Press of the Maronite College. The Typographia Linguarum Externarum, was another. Both, it has been seen, owed their existence to Gregory XIII who, busy as he was with the reform of the Kalendar and the reform of Canon Law, and of ecclesiastical education, interested himself in the Press to an extent greater than any of his predecessors except Marcellus II, whose life was cut short within three weeks of his election. Gregory's pontificate lasted three years and was crowded with activity of every kind. He would certainly have realized Marcello Cervini's project of 1530 had he been granted the time.

The successor of Gregory, Sixtus V, all his life Gregory's enemy, was determined to out-hustle, out-build and overshadow him. Twenty years younger, Sixtus was a very whirlwind. Never taking a siesta, he stuck in torrid Rome throughout the summer and wore out the whole papal court. A huge spender on building and an incorrigibly egotistical dictator, he was prepared to consider anything that could be accomplished in his own time and before his own eyes. Habitual insomnia so lengthened all the days of his pontificate that his accomplishments make it seem that he reigned not for five years (1585–90) but for half a century.

Among the multitude of the Sistine enterprises was the new edition of the Vulgate. The correction of the text of the Latin Bible had been ordered by the Council of Trent in 1546 at the instance, principally, of Marcello Cervini. Disputes between canonists and theologians impeded the execution of the Council's decree. No authentic and agreed text seemed in prospect. Forty years passed without public effect though, as noted above, the Press directed by Paulus Manutius was established for the purpose of printing the new Tridentine Vulgate. He never received the text. Sixtus was just the pope to end this delay, which he judged to be systematic on the part of the editorial experts. To their labours they desired no end, the pope believed. Sixtus ordered a stop to all further pedantry, demanded from the experts a text that could be immediately printed, fetched from Venice to Rome Domenico Basa the associate of Paulus Manutius who, as has been seen, left the service of Pius V in 1570. Basa was instructed to erect a Press under the reading room of the Library, so that Sixtus could keep his eye on it. These moves were begun in 1586. Sixtus[11] then took in hand the experts' manuscript of the Vulgate, personally and radically revised it on semi-common sense but wholly egotistical lines; invented a new scheme of paragraphing; stopped the system of cutting up the text into verses that Robert Estienne had invented, and generally overrode the editors. Meanwhile, the Press was being installed with the general programme of printing the Bible and the Fathers.

No time was to be lost. Architects and painters were soon on the job. The Pope, extremely fond of inscriptions, supervised the lettering which was specially designed for the Press and standardized on all his buildings everywhere in Rome, the distinctive Sistine capitals, designed by Luca Horfei. One of these fine inscriptions was painted on one side of the ceiling of the new Printing House: TYPOGRAPHIA VATICANA. DIVINO CONSILIO A SIXTO V. PONT. MAX. INSTITUTA. AD SANCTORVM PATRVM OPERA RESTITVENDA CATHOLICAMQVE RELIGIONEM TOTO TERRARVM ORBEM PROPAGANDUM. On the other side of the ceiling another inscription was painted: SANCTORVM PATRVM MONVMENTA FIDELITER TYPIS EXCVDENDA MANAVIT.

The purpose of the new Press was more closely defined in a new bull, promulgated on 22 January 1588, which constituted a new commission of Cardinals 'Pro Typographia'. They were to deliber-

[11] [On Sixtus V and the Bible see F. J. Crehan in S. L. Greenslade (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the Bible* vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 207–13.]

ate 'Ut sacra Biblia latinae vulgatae, grecae et hebraicae editionis, decretales epistolas concilia generali sanctorum praecipuorum Ecclesiae doctorum opera, ceteros denique libros, quibus fidei catholicae doctrina traditionesque ecclesiasticae continentur et explicantur'. Of this programme the first, appropriately, was the 'BIBLIA SACRA VULGATAE EDITIONIS/TRIBUS TOMIS DISTINCTA' ROMAE EX TYPOGRAPHIA APOSTOLICA M.D.XC [Plates 120–1]. Backed by a bull dated 1 March 1590 it appeared in print three years after the Press had been instituted. The three parts are announced on the title page as 'distinguished'; that is to say the Old Testament is divided and the New Testament follows. The main title-page is a magnificent display in the capitals designed for Sixtus by Horfei. Its publication was a huge sensation in more than one sense.

In the same spring the Pope astounded the world by another job of work he had set his mind to. This was something absolutely on the grand scale: nothing less than the completion of the dome of St Peter's. Like the Vulgate, completed it must be. Completed it was, three months after the new Vulgate. On 14 May 1590 (and twenty-six years after the death of Michelangelo) a magnificent thanksgiving mass was celebrated beneath the new dome which was decorated with one of the Pope's finest inscriptions. The Pope's effort had been vast; the triumph was huge, the result was tragic. Four months later Sixtus V collapsed. He was only seventy, quite young for a pope. His greatest achievements were the Vulgate and the Dome. His Dome remains. Not so his Vulgate.

Never was a Bible so short-lived.[12] The experts now took their revenge. How their partisans under Sixtus V's successors bought back all the copies of the Sistine Vulgate the book-sellers could lay their hands on is a fascinating story, told by Fr James Brodrick S.J. with a frankness that is unusual in the treatment of popes in books by members of the Society of Jesus. But Sixtus was a Franciscan, and unlike his predecessor had never been cordial to the Jesuits and would have changed their name and constitution had he lived, which – conveniently for the Society – he did not. Among the dissenting experts was the illustrious father of that Society, Robert Bellarmine, whose mother was Cynthia, sister of Marcellus II. Bellarmine was in France at the time of Sixtus' death, but he soon returned to Rome and quickly set about to plan a revised edition of the Sistine Vulgate. He recommended to Gregory XIV, who succeeded the short-lived Urban VII (15–27 September 1590) the scheme for the purchasing and pulping of all extant copies. Gregory XIV himself died within twelve months and his successor Innocent IX reigned for less than eight weeks. Hence, the new *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis ad Concilii Tridentini praescriptum* was published under the authority of Clement VIII in 1592, only two years after the death of Sixtus V.

Bellarmine wrote the preface of the new edition, whose subtitle was reworded simply as 'Sixti V. Pont. Max. iussu recognita atque edita'. The responsibility for its notorious deficiencies was laid at the door of the printers and others ('vel typographorum et aliorum'). Orders to hasten the compositors and proof-readers created a crowd of misprints not less in number according to C. G. Vercellone, than those in the previous edition.[13] The Press, however, had to its credit numerous scriptural and classical treatises. Although, it must be conceded, the Typographia Vaticana did not continue Sixtus V's lavish programme of printing all the fathers, the Clementine Press printed a number of patristic authors, a quarto Vulgate in 1593 and an octavo in 1598. Thus very belatedly the Roman Church came into the possession of editions of theological texts to a small extent comparable with those, e.g. of Protestant Basle.

It is important to remember that Clement VIII, no doubt having in mind the Bible rather than the Fathers, did maintain the Press set up by Sixtus V's bull *Immensa aeterni Dei* of 22 January 1587.[14] Secondly, the Press survived and it developed, under various imprints, into the existing institution that has long printed a great mass of scholarship in all languages. Hence the Press originally established in the first instance for the printing of the Bible, ultimately expanded into a Learned Press. Secondly, this expansion was achieved without breach of continuity. Thus, the date 1587 ranks as the foundation date for the Institutional Learned Press; the place is Rome and the instituting authority is the Pope – in this instance Sixtus V.

[12] [On the controversy surrounding the Sistine Bible see J. Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine, 1542–1621* (London, 1950), pp. 276–309.]

[13] [C. Vercellone, *Variae lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum* 2 vols (Rome, 1860–4).]

[14] [For the early history of the Vatican Press see *The type specimen of the Vatican Press, 1628*, introd. H. D. L. Vervliet (Amsterdam, 1967). See also L. Huetter, 'La Tipografia Vaticana', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1962), pp. 273–9.]

Something more is to be said. In addition to the commercial presses engaged in Rome on official work, there was The Tipografia del Popolo Romano, directed from 1561 to 1570 by Paulus Manutius.[15] It was a Press of official standing, equipped to print, principally, the Canons, Decrees and Catechisms of the Council of Trent, but it also produced patristic and theological works. The Press was sustained by the proceeds of a tax upon the movement of wine and, apparently, was controlled by the Senate. When Paulus Manutius left Rome in 1570 and ultimately returned to Venice, unfortunately no arrangement appears to have been made under Pius V to continue its work. The Roman Inquisition, no doubt, were glad of this fact. Thus a breach of continuity was effected. The Tipografia del Popolo Romano was not absorbed into an existing printing house, official, semi-official or unofficial. Thus it cannot be said that the Institutional Learned Press of Rome began in 1561, and hence the date of the foundation of the Institutional Learned Press is that of the Typographia Apostolica Vaticana by Sixtus V, as described above. For the sake of precision it is necessary to note some particulars of certain developments that occurred after the death of Basa in 1596 and the liquidation of the private business he carried on side by side with his official work.

It has been seen that in 1609 the old office of the Blados was incorporated with the Stamperia Camerale and that the latter's director, Geremia Guelfi was responsible, at least in name, for all official printing. In 1626 Andrea Brogiotti succeeded to the direction of the Typographia Vaticana at a time when, under Urban VIII (1623–44) Rome increased her energy in the foreign mission field.

In 1628 there was published the *Indice de' Caratteri, con l'Inventori, & nomi di essi esistenti nella Stamperia Vaticana, & Camerale*. It comprises some of the material from the Typographia Medicea and of the Typografia Camerale, combined with that of Blado's and probably other offices, the whole assembled in 68 leaves. Greek, Latin and Oriental and Music founts, plus three leaves of preface by Ambrogio Brogiotti form the book. Thus, the foundation of Sixtus V was fully equipped for all the official work of the Holy See.

Beside, stood a second official Press, the successor to the Typographia Medicea and the Typographia pro Linguarum Externarum. The second Press was used by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The Congregation was founded in 1622 by Gregory XV (d. 1623) and the new Press in 1626. Its first Specimen is the *Alphabetum Ibericum sive Georgianum*, with the imprint 'Romae Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide MDCXXIX'. The typographical programme of the Propaganda Press was limited by the requirements of the foreign missions for liturgical, catechetical and grammatical works in the near and far eastern and African languages. The contribution of the Press to learning consisted of occasional works of linguistic scholarship, e.g. the *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* of Fr Athanasius Kircher S.J. (Romae, Typis S. Cong. de Propag. Fide, 1626) which initiated the study of Egyptian hieroglyphics and was the earliest use of Coptic type. The later history of the Press of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide was consistent with its original purpose. It produced several works of erudition, but its main object remained the extension of the Faith. Although the Press was official, highly efficient, and uniquely equipped for its purpose and maintained unbroken continuity for four centuries, it ranks as a missionary Institution and not one that applied typography to the interests of learning, sacred or secular. Its punch-cutters were active throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on oriental, especially Indian vernaculars. The ultimate history of the Press is noted below.

This portion of our account of the development of the Institutional Learned Press may be closed by repeating that it was with Sixtus V's bull of 22 January 1587, which called into existence the then new Sacred Congregation 'Pro Typographia Vaticana', that the idea of an Institutional Learned Press took positive form. To be precise, Sixtus V by his bull *Eadem Semper* of April 1587, appointing Domenico Basa director of the Press, made Cervini's plan, suggested to him by Paolo Manuzio in 1539, a reality. The question of its final continuity is considered below.

Nothing so far has been said of any contribution that may have been made to the institution of a Press devoted to learning by the equivalent of what in modern parlance is known as a 'learned society', otherwise an Academy. As to Rome, the Eternal

[15] [In addition to Barberi's work on Paulus Manutius cited above, see also A. M. Giorgetti Vichi, *Annali della Stamperia del Popolo Romano* (Rome, 1959).]

ty in the middle ages was disturbed. The renais-
nce popes inherited no strong literary tradition,
d the end of the great schism of the West which
ought the Pope back to Rome faced him with a
ty of desolation. The Sack of Rome in 1527
stroyed all but everything that had been done by
artin V, his successors and their Cardinals. In
ome at the middle of the fifteenth century
ssarione created an informal Platonic Academy.
ne Roman Academy founded by Pomponius Laetus
as short-lived, as were the similar groups founded in
orence by Cosimo de' Medici and others. There
ere many such societies with specialized interests.
ldus Manutius created in his house an Academy of
ke-minded *eruditi* and printed in his office some of
eir works but, obviously, he was not interested to
eate an independent academic Press. Paulus
anutius was influential in the foundation of a
ciety, which sponsored various works of philo-
phy and belles lettres in 1558 and 1559. This
pears to be the only direct academic typographical
fluence. The volumes were printed by Paulus
anutius with the imprint 'In Academia Veneta'. No
stance appears of a Press founded and controlled
an Academy. The academies quite reasonably
pointed a printer from among the commercial
esses. Thus the Roman Academy employed
cobus Mazochius and afterwards Valerius and
idovicus Dorici. The creators of an Institute
r the production of Learned Books thus never
came part of the activity of any Learned Society,
ivate or corporate. The Institutional Press came
to being in Rome for ecclesiastical purposes, out
which there evolved the Institutional Learned
ess. The same process may be observed elsewhere.

he situation in general was that a printer acquired
limited quasi-official status in respect of specific
thorized publications and in exchange for a
gree of supervision. In other words, if a printer
ose to serve the several authorities interested in
e controlled production of the printed word –
e State, the Church or the University, he could
pect protection, privilege and copyright. This
d been the practice in Rome and was the situation
Paris and London; also in Oxford and Cambridge
the first three generations of the art. As will be
en, no book was printed in Oxford between 1486
d 1517, or between 1519 and 1584; nothing in

[16] [S. C. Roberts, *A history of the Cambridge University Press, 21–1921* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 19–20.]

Cambridge between 1522 and 1584. The whole of the English trade was virtually concentrated in London, and it was there, inevitably, that the questions of copyright, licensing, privilege and patent as well as manufacturing and merchandizing were threshed out. The steps by which the legend 'Cum Privilegio' came to appear on French and 'Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum' on English title-pages do not need to be traced here; nor the means by which a given printer in London (e.g. William Fawkes or Faques became *Regius Impressor* to Henry VII in 1503) or in Paris (e.g. Conrad Néobar *Imprimeur du Roy* to Francis I in 1539). Inevitably there were the other printers and booksellers to whom the favour of established authority was less important than freedom and the service of the growing market for writing and reading. Regulation and censorship were the inevitable consequences.

In 1529 the University of Cambridge petitioned the Lord Chancellor that three booksellers of reputation and gravity be allowed in the University; also that these should sell nothing until it had been approved by the University Censor of Books. This was the vital issue for the University. The motive of the Chancellor's interest in the Press was less the desire to stimulate learning than to control it. The scheme required time for its consideration and five years passed.

On 20 July 1534 Henry VIII gave the University of Cambridge a Charter allowing three stationers and printers, or sellers of books, 'residing within the University... to print all manner of books approved of by the Chancellor or his vicegerent and three doctors, and to sell and expose to sale in the University or elsewhere within this realm'.[16] The patent that gave the University these powers was issued at a time of national confusion. Cambridge received it eighteen months after Henry VIII's secret marriage to Anne Boleyn, and five months after Clement VII had declared valid his marriage to Katherine of Aragon. Henry had replied by promoting to the archbishopric of Canterbury (in succession to William Warham) Thomas Cranmer of Jesus College, Cambridge. He was known for his sympathy with the German reformers.

Oxford had neither asked for (nor received) any such Charter because Oxford was twice as far as Cambridge from the Dutch ports whence the parcels of German Protestant books were exported to England. Oxford, therefore, was not in equal

danger of contamination from continental heresy. Ironically the Cambridge Charter became the basis in the University for the nationalist ecclesiastical propaganda encouraged by Henry VIII and obeyed by Thomas Cranmer.

The only immediate effect of the Cambridge Charter was the appointment of three merchants of books, who did not possess the means of printing. The University could control what they might sell by the threat of imprisonment and deprivation. It was an effective system of censorship, but it was not then used as a privilege to set up a Press; or, indeed, produce books learned or otherwise. That would require money. All book-production was centred in London, and the capital was destined to remain the centre, also, of privilege. This extended to all books.

There were in London at that time two firms possessed of privilege: one was Berthelet who had published in 1535 the last English printed Vulgate, and was responsible for all manner of official work; the second firm was Grafton and Whitchurch, who sold the Bible in English that Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer had, with the King's licence, approved. This Bible was published in 1537. Meanwhile, nothing of any nature whatever was being printed at Cambridge or Oxford. Nevertheless, the date of the Cambridge Charter, 20 July 1534, must be remembered; for, notwithstanding its neglect by the University, it became the legal instrument upon whose basis the University Presses of Cambridge and Oxford were later created – in the circumstances shortly to be related.

In 1556 Queen Mary made regulations which entailed the registration and incorporation of all booksellers into the Worshipful Company of Stationers.[17] It enveloped the whole trade from the type-founder to paper-maker, from the binder to the bookseller; and it was headed by a Warden who, in the name of the Court, wielded extensive powers of search and pursuit for invasion of copyright and the printing anywhere by anybody of unlicensed or illegal books, ballads or whatnot. The regulations became stricter in the reign of Elizabeth, and it was during her reign that publishing and bookselling began to separate from printing and bookbinding, though all trades remained in the Company of Stationers. As Christopher Barker, Queen's Printer, wrote, 'the Booksellers...nowe keep no printing howse, neither bear any charge of letter, or other furniture, but onlie pay for the workmanship'. Barker added that there were then twenty-two printing houses in London, 'where eight or ten at the most would suffice for all England, yea, and Scotland too'.[18] The number of printers in London was increasing; and, to the embarrassment of the tender feelings in the Company, there was not enough new type to go round and so worn letters disgraced the page. Fewer printers would do; the big houses could then keep their positions. This was the position in London in 1582.

At this point, it suited the University of Cambridge to recollect certain implications of the Charter it had kept up its lawn sleeve for almost fifty years. All the University had done was to appoint three university booksellers and censor their stocks. Now on 3 May 1583, the University appointed as University Printer, Thomas Thomas, Fellow of King's College, no less; who soon began to buy the type for the purpose of setting up the answer by William Whitaker to Rainolds' papistical attack on Protestant Bible-mongering. This becoming known, the Stationers' Company immediately pounced upon the new University Printer.[19]

The action taken by the Stationers was in every respect serious. Barker, Queen's Printer, and at that time profiting from his monopoly of the Bible trade, was greedy for more. To the printing of the Bishops' Bible initiated by Cecil and Parker, he had now added editions of the more popular Geneva Bible, fathered by Whittingham and Walsingham. Barker, too, was the owner of the patent for printing the Book of Common Prayer, and in the 1580s issued folio and quarto editions of it. Both the Bible and the Prayer Book should come into the orbit of the Cambridge University Press – if the Charter of 1534 meant what the Vice-Chancellor said.

Moreover, William Whitaker was the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, the chair that Henry VIII had founded in 1540. He had a powerful intellect, commanded a massive erudition and was then recognized as the leading controversial champ-

[17] [The charter was granted to the Stationers' Company on 4 March 1557.]

[18] [E. Arber (ed.), *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* (London, 1875) I.114 (1559).]

[19] [On the case between the University and the Stationers' Company see J. Morris, 'Restrictive practices in the Elizabethan book trade: the Stationers' Company *v.* Thomas Thomas 1583–8', *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* IV (1967), pp. 276–90.]

ion of the Elizabethan Church then firmly set in the mould created by Calvin and Beza. Their gospel, and Whitaker's, was that 'Pontifex Romanus est ille Antichristus quem futurum scriptura praedixit'. Whitaker's works had long been best-sellers for he had replied to all the great Catholic controversialists such as Nicholas Sander and Edmund Campion. This he had accomplished between 1581 and 1583, through the London Press of Thomas Vautrollier. And now, to the scandal of the London trade, it was proposed by the University that Whitaker should answer through the Cambridge Press of Thomas Thomas the papist William Rainolds.

Now Rainolds, too, was a figure whose name would make the book a desirable 'title'. He had been educated at Winchester and had become a Fellow of New College, Oxford. Three years after leaving Oxford he repudiated the Elizabethan religion, went to Rome and became a priest. Rainolds was working at Rheims on the Catholic translation of the New Testament when he turned to deal controversially with the principles of Bible translation. William Rainolds had two brothers. One was John, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It was he who was to initiate in 1604 the idea of what is known as the Authorized Version. The second was Edmund, also of Corpus Christi, who like William became a Catholic, and was expelled from his fellowship. Thus Whitaker's book was bound to be desirable to London as a property. It was not less so to Cambridge.

Small wonder, therefore, that the Stationers' Company took up the challenge, and that Cambridge should defend its privilege. The University appealed to the Charter of 1534. The dispute was referred by William Cecil to the Master of the Rolls. The future of the Institutional Learned Press, as we now have it at Cambridge and at Oxford, and elsewhere, depended upon the Master's decision. The arguments of both sides have not been printed, but the decision went in favour of the University. On 24 July 1584 Thomas Thomas standing before the Vice-Chancellor entered into a bond of 500 marks. There followed in 1585 the printing at Cambridge of Whitaker's *An aunswere to a certaine booke written by M. W. Rainoldes.*

This date, 1585, therefore, is important in the history of the University Press as it is understood and operated in England. Yet it must be remembered that although the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses were ready to protect their privilege, and to champion the rights of the printer they had appointed to work the books they approved, there is no evidence that they did more than lend him their moral support and an occasional small sum of money, perhaps the more readily since Thomas Thomas was one of themselves – a scholar. As a printer he capitalized himself independently of the University while recognizing their jurisdiction and receiving their protection. The University bestowed its *imprimatur* upon certain of his products and gave him, also, the liberty to describe himself as *Academiae Typographus.* This was the University Printer's status in 1585. Had the University taken full responsibility as Sixtus V did in 1587, we could have set Cambridge over Rome as the first Institutional Learned Press. So far, however, Rome takes precedence over Cambridge.

We have now to see what has happened at the other place. At Oxford, the action of Cambridge and the decision of the Master of the Rolls in 1584 had not passed without notice. In 1584, a Press was set up there by Joseph Barnes, who had succeeded in borrowing £100 from the University. It is important to note that the University only lent him this sum. In 1585 Barnes published John Case's *Speculum moralium quaestionum:* and this author, too, had in the previous year published with Vautrollier in London. There are reasons for thinking that Cambridge and Oxford were in communication on the general matter of the press in 1584. London objected that the Charter only gave the University Printer the right to print matter required for the use of the University of which they were the 'first' publishers, which was an argument used against Thomas Thomas. The London claim was not sustained. Instead came a wholesale inquiry into the trade. New regulations were enacted and administrated by the Court of Star Chamber. This body prohibited in 1586 the establishment anywhere in London, or out of it, of any new Press – but it did expressly permit one each at the two Universities. Thus one incontestable point had been confirmed: Cambridge and, now, Oxford were legally able to print something somehow.

Although Thomas at Cambridge and Barnes at Oxford were *Academiae Typographi* they were not, as printers, officials of the University (as they now are). The University was responsible for the innocuous substance of what they printed and all they offered for sale; it paid for such work as was

required for University purposes. In effect, the universities, in virtue of the Charter to Cambridge of 1534, allowed the Printers they licensed to work in the University, under their control, to print certain books. Neither University had undertaken any further responsibility or instituted a Learned Press. The little learned printing that came from the press in Elizabeth's reign was done in London. Elizabeth, like Edward VI, sold many patents. Her Majesty's Printer, Christopher Barker, handled all Proclamations and other official printing; there was a separate patent for Her Majesty's printer for Greek and Latin. Barker also held the right to print the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The only printing exercised outside London was by Thomas at Cambridge and Barnes at Oxford.

The Press of Thomas Thomas was 'learned' insofar as it possessed a quantity of Greek letters. Though printing no book in that language, he used the type for quotation. When he died in 1588 he was still printing Whitaker. His successor, John Legate, printed the first New Testament outside London. This was the Geneva version and it appeared in 1590–1 (8vo). It was immediately denounced in London as an invasion of the Patent belonging to Christopher Barker. The Vice-Chancellor and the Heads again successfully withstood the London claim that even if it were legal for the University to print in Cambridge, they might not sell in London. While disputes continued, Cambridge was able to consolidate its position until, in 1604, John Legate proved his stability and his statesmanship by marrying the daughter of Christopher Barker. Legate became Master of the Stationers' Company and changed his imprint from Cambridge to London. It is obvious, therefore, that the University had declined to risk capital in order to keep Legate in Cambridge. The tide in theology, now turning away from Calvinism and Puritanism, discouraged the Cambridge Divines. Anglican theology had been given a new turn by Hooker at Oxford, and after the death of Elizabeth in 1603, the new turn was given added strength by James I. His policy was aggressively forwarded by his successor from 1625.

In 1629 William Laud became Chancellor of Oxford. The University soon felt the effect of the change, and not least the Printer thereto. A new Charter to the University was granted by the new King. It confirmed their privilege to print. As Laud expressly says, in pressing for the Oxford Charter he had two motives 'The one that you [Oxford] might enjoy this privilege for Learning equally with Cambridge; and the other, that having many excellent Manuscripts in your Librarys you might in time hereby be encouraged to publish some of them in Print'.[20]

It will be observed that Laud's plan closely resembles that of Cervini who, in 1539, hoped that the Roman Curia would establish a Press for the advancement of learning. Laud had it in mind that the Vice-Chancellor and Scholars of the University would shoulder a similar responsibility. Both believed in printing manuscripts. Also, both Universities should print and sell books which were allowed by the Chancellor (of the respective University) notwithstanding any prohibition whatsoever. Thus Oxford and Cambridge became nominally at least independent of the Court of Star Chamber. The date of the Oxford Charter is 1632.

Ever since the first Polyglot, which Cardinal Ximénes began at Alcalá in 1502 and brought to a conclusion in 1517, the importance of oriental learning had been recognized. For its time, the achievement of Ximénes was almost a miracle. It was surpassed by Plantin's new edition, begun in 1568 and finished in 1572.[21] Beside the Latin, Greek and Hebrew which the Alcalá had given, Antwerp provided the Syriac text of the New Testament, composed from type derived from the punches specially cut by Robert Granjon (mentioned above in connection with the Typographia Medicea). Syriac had been cut and used in 1555 for the Vienna edition of the Peshitta New Testament. In 1548 an Ethiopic had been cut and used for the Roman edition of the Abyssinian New Testament.

The century that lay behind Laud coincided with a new passion on the part of private persons for oriental scholarship which affected typography. The leaders were Savary de Brèves, who printed the Catechism of Bellarmine in Arabic: Romae ex Typographia Savariana 1613; and Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) who followed his example, and produced a *Grammatica Arabica*, Leyden, 1613. Both de Brèves and Erpenius collected oriental founts and procured their engraving. By 1622 Paris had a

[20] [J. Johnson and S. Gibson, *Print and privilege at Oxford to the year 1700* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 10–11.]

[21] [For an account of the early polyglot Bibles see B. Hall, *The great polyglot Bibles* (San Francisco, 1966).]

Linguarum Orientalium Typographus Regius in the person of Antoine Vitré, who acquired all de Brèves' matrices.

In 1633 Vitré printed an Armenian–Latin Dictionary[22] and two years later a proof of the whole mass of founts he used for the new Polyglot begun in 1628 (and only finished in 1645), which made Samaritan and other founts available, in addition to those at the command of Ximénes and Plantin.

Thus the advantage in biblical scholarship was heavily on the Catholic side when Ussher set about the task of equipping English Protestantism with the necessary oriental material. Through Thomas Davies, Chaplain to the English merchants in Aleppo, Ussher secured in 1624 a Pentateuch in Samaritan. In 1626 Ussher made an abortive attempt to buy for Cambridge the exotic types of Erpenius. They had already been bought by Isaac Elzevir. In 1637, Ussher made a second attempt to secure Syriac from Leyden, Paris and Geneva, and a second time failed. It was in consequence of Laud's initiative that Oxford, the first Press in England to do so, acquired Syriac in the circumstances described below.

In London the principle of learned printing received encouragement from an unexpected source in 1631. An edition of the Bible, printed by Robert Barker and Partner, the owners of the patent, gave the seventh commandment, according to the Authorized Version, as 'Thou shalt commit adultery'. The printers were examined by the Star Chamber and fined £300 which, then a very considerable sum, the President, Archbishop Laud, thought could well be spent on the printing of Greek MSS in the King's Library and/or in the libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Charles I duly ordered Barker and his partner to proceed with Laud's plan. 'But whether the said copy or copies were to be printed in London, Oxford, or Cambridge, the writers or editors shall be left free to their judgements and desire'. So wrote Charles to Laud in 1633.

However, the King's Printers came first. They produced the folio Theophylact in 1636, and thereby created the possibility of an Institutional Learned Press in London. Other Greek texts followed next year and in 1638, all with the imprint *Ex Typographio regio* of Robert Barker and the assigns of John Bill. Had this enterprise been seriously encouraged by authority it might have enjoyed continuity and, if so, England, despite the Universities' Charters, might never have known such an Institution as the University Press, such as we now have at Cambridge and Oxford. Instead, England would have had a Royal Press, an 'Imprimerie Royale', plus a Stationery Office, whose objects would have been, as before, the printing of acts, proclamations, bills, Bibles and Books of Common Prayer; but now, in addition, works of erudition. The Learned Press as an Institution would then have been founded. It was doubtless evident to Barker and Co. that learning meant financial loss, and the State did not support it.

England therefore lost its chance to anticipate the Imprimerie Royale or Typographia Regia which Cardinal Richelieu was about to install in the Louvre in 1640. This Institution was destined to collect in the course of time a vast number and range of punches and matrices of all languages, including those of Vitré, the printer to the clergy mentioned above. It quickly took first rank as an Institutional Press that combined learned with legislative printing. It still does. This is so well known that it is unnecessary to dwell on it. The first book produced at the Imprimerie Nationale with the imprint 'Typographia regia' was a folio text of the *De Imitatione Christi*, 1640. As in Rome, the Typographia Regia of Paris was slow in achieving institutional stability. The title 'Imprimeur du roy' came to Gilles Gourmont of Paris in 1529 and the same title was given to Robert Estienne in 1539. The title was a courtesy one and the 'Imprimeur du roy' was no more an officer of the French State than the 'Academiae Typographus' was a servant of the English University. On the other hand, Domenico Basa, director of the Typographia Apostolica Vaticana in 1587 was a direct servant of the Pope, as were his successors. Richelieu's establishment in the Louvre under the direction of Sébastien Cramoisy came later by more than half a century.

A second English counterpart other than the abortive Typographia Regia of Barker and Bill was similarly delayed. It was on 13 January 1633 that the King empowered Laud to proceed with the scheme that resulted in the printing of the Theophylact mentioned above.

On 1 April 1633 the University appointed Delegates to arrange for the printing of Greek manuscripts in the Bodleian. The project came to nothing, but at least the theory of the University

[22] [F. Rivola, *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum* (Paris, 1633).]

Printer's functions had been clarified; he was to print matter appropriate to a 'Learned Press', while having the right to print any books that were allowed to the Stationers' Company of London. The description 'Learned Press' seems to have become current at about this time. Moreover, the text of the Oxford Charter proves to be in the language of the Cambridge Charter of 1534. Both the Universities were now possessed of privileges comparable with those of the Stationers' Company.

There was, however, so little money in Oxford that hardly anything 'beneficial to the University for the advance of a "Learned Press" ' was to be thought of. The only way was to create a fund. The way was to surrender to London the Oxford right to print Bibles, Grammars and Primers in return for cash. This was done in 1637. There were two results: first, Laud was able to buy from Holland for Oxford the punches, matrices and founts that Ussher so ardently wished to get for Cambridge.[23] Thus Oxford in 1637 was first with Syriac.

The execution of Laud in 1645 was a heavy blow to the cause of scholarship and of the Oxford Learned Press. The University still had no money. Nevertheless, a first step forward was taken in 1652 when the University reserved a special warehouse as the *Domus Typographica*.[24] It was a place for the custody of the Oriental and Greek types, etc. which were the property of the University. Another important move towards the establishment of a Press integrated with the University was made in 1658, when the Orientalist, Samuel Clarke was appointed 'Archi-Typographus'. This was an official position whose desirability Laud had specified in 1636. Clarke's duties were to procure 'at the University expense, all paper, types, etc.; to prescribe the module of the letter, the quality of the paper and the size of the margins, when any books were printed at the cost of the University, and also to correct the errors of the Press'.

But progress continued to be slow. A third stage was not reached until 1662, when the University appointed new Delegates for the supervision of the printing. The system was familiar. As at Cambridge, the Oxford printers worked for the University under the University's patent so long as they kept the University's rules; while, also, the University owned certain special parcels of specific typographical material such as the punches, matrices and type of exotic languages required for learned purposes. This material steadily increased after 1667, when Thomas Marshall was procured, first by Samuel Clarke and later by John Fell, to search for Oriental, Greek, Latin and Black-Letter types.[25] In 1669, the Sheldonian Theatre was opened and place found in it for the University's special typographical material; to which were added the necessary cases, and presses. At the opening, Gilbert Sheldon (Archbishop of Canterbury since 1663) expressed his desire to see certain rents 'employed for the best advantage and encouragement of the Learned Presse there designed and already sett at Worke'.

By 1670, after Clarke's death, Fell, who was Sheldon's supporter in matters of the Learned Press, became a sort of 'acting' Architypographus. By this time Fell (since 1660 Dean of Christ Church) had come to certain conclusions about the practical possibilities of the Press. The academic desirabilities had been first sketched by Laud and again taken up by Sheldon. But the time for the University to act had not yet come; and what Fell, and those who stood with him accomplished was in the nature of a private service to the cause of learning. The Delegacy which the University appointed had as yet no thought of acting on the implications of the move to the Theatre. But while Fell knew that within the bounds of academic custom the creation of a Learned Press would be slow work and must, in Laud's words, 'gather strength quietly', he was not the man to throw away time and the opportunity to use his friends. In 1671 these friends made the curious arrangement of becoming lessees of the Press at the Sheldonian Theatre in the University by paying £200 a year for the right to print at their own risk.

Thus a Learned Press at Oxford began to assume some semblance of being. In 1672 Fell wrote a prospectus announcing an ambitious programme. He argued that great biblical texts, works of natural philosophy, oriental history, and the like were 'never carried on without a publick assistance, further the Imprimeries of Aldus, Bombergers, Froben, Stephens were heretofore, and at present the Louvre presse is supported'. Fell proceeded to

[23] [S. Morison, *John Fell, the University Press and the 'Fell' types* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 18, 22, 161–2; H. Carter, *A history of the Oxford University Press* vol. I (Oxford, 1975), especially ch. III.]

[24] [On the purpose of the Domus typographica Universitatis publica see Carter, *op. cit.* p. 39.]

[25] [See S. Morison, *John Fell*, pp. 59–78.]

for the assistance of 'Such Persons of honour Piety who have a concern for the Advancement learning'. In 1675 there was issued a printed spectus, and in 1681 a second prospectus, which uded a revised and enlarged list of projected lications, was circulated in an earnest effort to act subscriptions in this endeavour 'to answer desires of the friends of Learning'.[26] The Press Fell and his Company had begun work as early 1672 and out of his and his friends' private neys he purchased the founts for the composition Greek, Oriental, Latin and English texts and mmentaries. This typographical material was the n's private property, exactly as the Greeks of vini remained part of the Cardinal's personal te. Fell did not succeed in persuading the iversity to take the responsibility for his pro- mme of learned work, even after he had become nop of Oxford in 1676. The monumental folio *cti Caecilii Cypriani Opera recognita & illustrata Joannem Oxoniensem* bore the imprint 'Oxonii Theatro Sheldoniano Anno MDCLXXXII' [Plate] and was printed at his own expense. One of reasons for the University's indisposition to ept what Fell thought was their plain duty had n the practical difficulty of separating the print- of the profitable Bible from that of unprofitable rning. And the production of the Bible at the npetitive price inevitably upset the London tioners with whom the University had an under- nding. In 1675 when Fell and Co. produced a rto edition of the authorized version of the le much trouble resulted.

This was a portent that London could not afford gnore. The Stationers began proceedings which atly obstructed Fell's cherished plan to subsidize Learned Press by the profits from the Bible. e works of learning which came from 'The eater' continued to be printed and published at risk of Fell and his associates. In 1686 Fell died, en there was still at Oxford no Learned Press ler the control of the University, and therefore Institutional office with any guarantee or expecta- n of continuity. It was true that works of learn- had been printed there, and the special material, t collected by Laud and greatly added to by Fell, remained at the Theatre leased to him. This was the situation when Fell died.

A new situation was created by the Will he made shortly before he died. It recited that he held by lease all the privilege and authority of printing and he empowered his executors to carry on the work of the Press in the 'publick Interests of learning'. They were, however, to make over to the University all rights in the printing material Fell had collected, provided that after a space of four years they were satisfied and found proof that the interests of learning and printing were henceforth to be encouraged in the University. Bishop Fell, the greatest of all the University's benefactors, died on 10 July 1686. Within four years the Bishop's executors and advisors, feeling satisfied that 'the interests of learning and printing [were] encouraged in the said University made over to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars as aforesaid the entire right and interests in the said punchions, Matrices and Moulds'.

From 1690, therefore, it may be said that the University was committed to the conduct of a Learned Press in Fell's sense; and this year, therefore, may be accepted as the date of the foundation of the Printing House known as the University Press, Oxford.

The policy to 'encourage the interests of learning and printing' was now viewed by the University as distinct from the policy of securing direct profits from the Bible.[27] In 1686, a lease had been given to certain Oxford booksellers to print Bibles and Prayer Books in the Sheldonian Theatre. In 1691, when that lease expired, Oxford did not renew. The University could then have taken the business and the authority of printing the Bible and Learned work into its own hands. The University did less than this. In 1692 they concluded a five-year agreement with the London Stationers' Company by which the University not only surrendered the right to print Bibles and Prayer Books, but allowed the London Stationers' Company to erect a new Press within the University Precincts, and print with their own types. This agreement was renewed in 1703, 1708 and 1712. The 1692 agreement comprised a highly significant annex. It required the Stationers to take 500 (reduced to 200) copies of any learned publication the University might sponsor. It was thus that the University of Oxford maintained that part of Fell's (and before him Laud's) intention to nourish a Learned Press.

[For Fell's announcements, the second dated ?1676 instead 681, see S. Morison, *John Fell*, Appendix v, pp. 251–2.]

[On the separation of the Bible Press from the rest see er, *op. cit.*, ch. VIII, and also in 1698, when the figure was ced to 200. See Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 163.]

It has been seen that from 1675 to 1686 Fell and his friends were responsible for the staffing and conduct of a privately owned Learned Press working within the precincts of, and answerable to the University authorities only in respect to the laws of censorship. When, in 1690, Fell's executors were satisfied that the University was firmly set in the right way, and his materials were transferred, Fell's staff became the University's employees, and Fell's presses became the University's. Thus the year in which the Oxford University Press, as a Learned Press institutionally established and destined to maintain continuity down to the present day, came into being, was 1690. The legend 'Printed at the Theater' remained in use for some years, and appears on the booklet comprising the first *Specimen of the Several Sorts of Letter given to the University by Dr John Fell late Bishop of Oxford*. A similar Specimen, incorporating in broadside form the founts in the Fell bequest, was issued sometime after 1706 and was headed *A Specimen of Letters in the University Printing-House, Oxford*. The sheet of Specimens of 1768 and later ones bore the imprint of the 'Clarendon Printing-House'. The plans of Laud and Fell for an Institutional Learned Press had finally been realized.

Cambridge made a highly significant move in 1696.[28] The Chancellor then addressed the Senate on the desirability of the University's making the necessary arrangements to print various learned writings, the authors of which had been 'much prejudiced by the unskilful hands of uncorrect printers'; and he collected money with the object of having a new Press erected under University control. Richard Bentley (1662–1742), then in London as the Keeper of the Royal Library, was the moving spirit in this plan.[29] While he did not return to Cambridge, as Master of Trinity, until 1700, he had long occupied his mind with the problem of academic publishing. Through his instigation Cambridge obtained from Holland new Greek and Latin types. A new printer, from Holland, Cornelius Crownfield, arrived in 1696. His position was that of 'a licensed tradesman', a description applicable to all those printers who from Siberch's time worked in and about the University. But a radical change was effected by Bentley. A new Printing-house was authorized by a new 'Syndicate of the Press' which was appointed on 21 January 1698. The works of classical authors, scrupulously edited (Bentley saw to this), soon came from the new Press, which was directed by the 'Curatores Preli' to whom Crownfield as 'Inspector' was responsible.

The date, 1698, is of the first importance to our subject. The Grace of the Senate appointing the first Press Syndicate is of an order different from any other so far mentioned in connection with Cambridge, or Oxford. A second important Cambridge date is 1705, when the great three-volume folio Latin-Greek Lexicon, the Suidas, was completed [Plate 123]. It was the greatest monument to classical scholarship that England had produced. It was not a fortunate investment.[30] Its three volumes remain to confirm the singular importance of the date: 21 January 1698. It was that day that by the Senate's Grace the Cambridge University Press was founded. The date of the Cambridge Charter is 1534. The date of the Oxford Charter is 1632, and that of the University's acceptance of Fell's conditions is 1690. It was then that the University itself undertook the responsibility to conduct the Learned Press in its own behalf. It continued to take the money derived from the surrender of the English Bible and the English Book of Common Prayer. This limitation is of no matter, for it is not possible to say that learning consists of the right to print the Bible in the vernacular.

At the end of this paper it is tempting to digress in favour of saying a word, not strictly relevant, about the situation in Germany. Joachim II (1505–71) the Elector of Brandenburg, brought to Berlin in 1539 Hans Weiss who, since 1525, had printed at Wittenberg some of the writings of Luther. Weiss, called by Joachim 'Unser Buchdrucker' began his official work with a *Kirchenordnung* (Berlin 1540). The Weiss Press was the first to work in Berlin and official printing then began in the city that much later became the capital of the German Reich. In the seventeenth century the official Berlin printer Georg Schultz, was styled 'Churfürstlicher Brandenburgischer Hof-Buchdrucker'. In the time of

[28] [For a detailed account of these first years of Cambridge University Press see D. F. McKenzie, *The Cambridge University Press, 1696–1712* 2 vols (Cambridge, 1966).]

[29] [See McKenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–9 and 'Richard Bentley's design for the Cambridge University Press *c.* 1696', *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* VI (1976), pp. 322–7.]

[30] [3000 sets remained in stock in 1748, and in 1752 it was remaindered. See S. C. Roberts, *The evolution of Cambridge publishing* (Cambridge, 1956).]

Frederick William I (1713–40) the official printer described himself as the 'Königlicher Preussicher Hof-Buchdrucker'. The printer to Frederick the Great (1740–86) was Frederic Henning who was privileged to style himself on title pages of French books as 'Imprimeur du roi'. Henning died in 1765 and his patent was purchased by Georg Jakob Decker, the head of a family which continued in the ownership of a privilege with the title of 'Geheimer Ober-Hof buchdrucker'. This was the style used by the official printer until a few years after the unification of Germany in 1871.

In 1871 Rudolf [von] Decker, the last 'Königliche Geheimer Hof-Buchdrucker', died. The State thereupon acquired under William I the hitherto officially licensed but proprietorially independent Press, and united it with the separate Prussian State Printing Office which had been founded in 1852, for the purpose of producing the postage stamps and paper-money of the kingdom. This amalgamation resulted in the creation of the single office organized to print by letter-press and process. Thus came into existence the Reichsdruckerei. In 1879 this institution began to add to its official production works of learning, of which the *Monumenta Germaniae et Italiae typographica*,[31] is one. The Reichsdrukkerei was a logical office for the printing of a work compiled by officials of the Prussian State Library.

The Reichsdruckerei also collected in the course of time a number of interesting exotic founts. These are shown in the specimen issued in 1925. But while it is true that these faces are apt for learned work the Reichsdruckerei ranks as the State Press whose business is official. Any scholarly work is purely optional and must arise in official circumstances.

The developments which resulted from 1877–9 in the creation of the fusion of Decker's privileged Press with the Prussian State office, had analogies in London, Vienna, St Petersburg and elsewhere. These developments we may not stop to trace since they belong to the history not of learned, but of official printing, which lies in a different category. Exceptional in the history of the State Press is the Imprimerie Royale, now the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris. Soon after the beginning of 1640 Richelieu's foundation accepted the duty of printing massive works of learning which were judged to be incapable of commercial success. The logic of stepping from State subsidy for publication to State action in printing was indisputable to the French.

[31] [Berlin, 1892–1913.]

To Germany's credit it must be said that the technical requirements of scholars, labouring in a country where learning has long been zealously cultivated, have always been, and still are, satisfied by private publishers, first in Frankfurt and later in Leipzig – and afterwards in Hamburg. The term 'Universitäts-Buchdruckerei', which is now to be met with in Germany, is the equivalent of the honorific title 'Typographus Academiae' used at Cambridge in the sixteenth century. Thus the 'University Press' at Würzburg is private property not under the control of the University.

The foregoing pages summarize the main facts about the development of the Institutional Learned Press. To come within the scope of our definition, an Institutional Learned Press must be directed by an uninterrupted succession of printers, whose purpose of producing works of learning (the term is perhaps broader than scholarship) is guaranteed by the objects of its owners and controllers whose productions require, by the constitution of the Press, the sanction of academic standards.

The first decades of the nineteenth century were not fortunate for Rome. Napoleon's impact was disastrous and the Treaty of Bologna (1796) obliged Pius VI to pay a fine of 21 million francs, surrender 100 paintings, 500 manuscripts and many antiquities. Much Greek and Arabic typographical material was taken for the army. Napoleon transported an official Press to the Ionian Islands and another for the use of his Egyptian expeditionary force. After many transfers from Alexandria, Cairo and Gizeh the collection of punches and matrices which had once been the property of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide found its way to what had now become the Imprimerie de la République.

By an ironical twist, in 1805 when Pius VII visited the Imprimerie Impériale as it had then become, some of the expropriated types (it is said by G. Fumagalli) appeared in the *Oratio dominica C L linguis versa et proprius cujusque linguae characteribus plerumque expressa* printed in the papal presence. The peace between Pope and Emperor was short-lived. Rome was again occupied in 1808, and the Papal State annexed by Napoleon in 1809. In these times such printing as was done in Rome could hardly be 'learned' and the Press that Sixtus V established was necessarily in a state of suspended operation. Pius VII, as Napoleon's prisoner in the Quirinal, succeeded in collecting enough typo-

graphical material with which to compose and print his Bull of 10 June 1809 which excommunicated Napoleon. The subsequent disasters that befell the Church and the papal States need no mention here. It was not until after the nationalist conquests of the 1860's that the prospect of stability returned to the Holy See. By 1865 conditions were sufficiently tranquil to encourage Pius IX to convoke an ecumenical council in Rome, the first since Trent. The assemblage naturally required a considerable increase in the typographical resources of the city and it is to this circumstance, it seems, that the Typographia Vaticana owes its continuity under Pius IX. But it is to Leo XIII (1878–1903) that it owes its extension as an Institutional Press devoted to the encouragement of learning in the sense of Cervini, Sixtus V, Laud and Fell.

Leo XIII's encyclical on the importance of historical studies published in 1883[32] on the occasion of the opening of the archives and his initiative succeeded in bringing to the Vatican Library scholars such as Hergenröther, Denifle and Ehrle; though he failed to attract Janssen. The progressive changes involved the printing of new Catalogues of manuscripts and incunabula and the Vatican Press was moved to new quarters. The appointment in 1895 of Ehrle as Prefect synchronized with a programme of publishing facsimiles, editions and texts which were issued under the imprint 'Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana'.

Forty years ago there existed two Presses in Rome official in the sense that the Church took full responsibility for the ownership and administration. First, the Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, i.e. the foundation of Sixtus V in 1587; secondly, the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The latter separate foundation became a typographical entity when the Congregation created in 1622 was reconstituted in 1626. In later times the Press was known in the vernacular as the 'Tipografia Poliglotta'. In 1909 Pius X decided to amalgamate the two Presses and thus the production of official liturgical texts, learned works and missionary propaganda came under one roof, that of the 'Typographia Polyglotta Vaticana'.

Thus, at the head of the list of Learned Presses in this sense stands the Typographia Vaticana, founded in 1587 with its first publication in 1590; the Imprimerie Royale in 1640; while the two English institutions came a century later. Hence, the career of the Learned Press as an Institution, ranks, at this year of Grace 1962, as follows: the Typographia Vaticana 375; Paris 322; Oxford 271; and Cambridge as 264 years since their respective foundations.

Hence, the regular publication of scholarly texts by a house linked with an office of Church, or State, or with an independent Academy, may be said to have long been firmly established in Europe. It has been seen that the University Press is predominantly an Anglo-Saxon Institution. But it is necessary to add that numerous Universities and Colleges in the United States have established printing or publishing houses more or less closely modelled upon the examples of Oxford and Cambridge. Principal among these are California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Princeton and Yale. These Universities have notably extended scholarship not only by their abundant provision for oral tuition, but by their facilities for typographical presentation. Thus the service of scholarly research by the Institutional Learned Press is being accepted in principle and extended geographically far beyond the originally small but now great establishments at Oxford and Cambridge: in which connection we must also remember Rome and Paris and the great names of Cervini, Richelieu, Fell and Bentley.

[32] [Leo XIII *Acta* III (1884), pp. 259–73.]

18

MARCELLO CERVINI, POPE MARCELLUS II BIBLIOGRAPHY'S PATRON SAINT[1]

THE VIRTUES of Marcello Cervini (1501–55) are numerous, solid, and in one of his position rare in any age; and most assuredly in his own mid-sixteenth century. As a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Co-President of the Council of Trent, Prefect of the Apostolic Library, Patron of Greek and Latin typography, Originator of the Vatican Press and Pope (as Marcellus II) he merits the praise equally of the ecclesiastical and of the bibliographical historian. Cervini's public career was laden with the heaviest theological, political and administrative responsibilities while his private life was full of beneficence, individual and institutional. His personal preferences were for the advance of theological learning and classical scholarship, revival of antique standards of architecture, the organization of efficient librarianship and cataloguing, and in the provision of accurate editions of Scripture, the fathers and the profane Greek and Latin authors in appropriate calligraphy and expert typography. His overwhelming desire was to be of service to all branches of knowledge: Greek, Latin and Oriental, religious and secular, philosophical and scientific. He was scrupulous while unostentatious in all his religious duties. As Christian, priest, bishop, cardinal and finally pope, his personal life was exemplary in every respect.

It is proper that such a man's theological and ecclesiastical achievements should have been admired by his contemporaries. As for posterity? It must be admitted that even in the highest matter of religion, Cervini's contribution has hardly been appreciated as it deserves. The available monographs which describe his accomplishments and activities as theologian and administrator, are few.

It is the purpose of this paper to draw attention, albeit in the barest outline, to Marcello Cervini, and it is hoped that some day a writer having closer access to the relevant materials may do justice to him as a scholar, theologian, humanist and librarian; and, one should add, man of God.

Marcello was the son of Ricciardo Cervini of Montepulciano in Tuscany. His father, an official of the Roman Curia, was more than a curial bureaucrat. Given to every kind of scientific curiosity, he was a master of mathematics and of the physical and natural sciences. He married first Cassandra Benzi, by whom he had two girls and one boy: Marcello Cervini, born on 6 May 1501. Secondly, Ricciardo married Leonora Egidia by whom he had five girls and two boys. The boys, who will be mentioned later, were Alessandro and Romolo.

By writing profoundly on the development of Christian chronology, Ricciardo Cervini prepared the way for the Kalendar reforms of Gregory XIII. Marcello Cervini, inheriting all his father's curiosity and benefiting from the example of his scientific method, studied Antiquity and Architecture and Music, as well as Mathematics, Astronomy and Physics. Ricciardo's reputation procured for his brilliant eldest son ample support in Rome and Marcello's gratitude to the eternal city marked his entire career. For him its most congenial institution, always, was the Apostolic Library, then called the Palatina. In this preference, too, his father's influence may doubtless be traced. The son's devotion to books was lifelong, though subject to long and vexatious distractions. Duty compelled Marcello Cervini to exchange the contemplative love of librarianship and books which was his vocation for the active life of statesmanship and politics into which he was thrust. Yet he was destined to be eminent in all he undertook.

[1] [First published in *Manoscritti e stampe dell'umanisimo; studi in onore di Giovanni Mardersteig* (Italia medioevale e umanistica v, 1962).]

In 1539 Marcello Cervini's piety, learning, intelligence and industry led Alessandro Farnese, Paul III, to create him Cardinal of the title of Santa Croce-in-Gerusalemme. Forthwith he was involved in the diplomacy of the Papacy *vis-à-vis* the Empire and France. He was instructed to support the challenge of Paul III to Charles V, whose policy it had long been to frustrate the calling of the kind of doctrinal and moral reforming General Council of the Church that the papacy since Leo X had desired. Charles V was concerned only to secure a revision of the administrative and legal aspects of ecclesiastical life. What sort of Council Paul III had in mind is appropriately symbolized by his elevation to the purple of Reginald Pole. This occurred in 1536, the year after Henry VIII's repudiation of the papacy and his beheading of John Fisher and Thomas More. Charles' hope was to settle theological differences by not alluding to them; to accommodate dissenters from doctrine by measures of discipline. This pragmatism was challenged by Paul III who was ready to make war upon the dissenters, i.e. heretics, at least in Germany. His policy was to make, in general council, a contemporary formulation of the Catholic Faith and define it in such close terms that nobody could misunderstand and to which no heretic could subscribe.

The bibliophile Cardinal of Santa Croce found himself involved in one of the greatest of struggles between Church and State since Constantine. Like any other Roman he could never forget that little more than ten years earlier Charles V's German armies had half-destroyed Rome. Opposition to Charles V became, therefore, a natural preoccupation of Cervini's public life. After interminable delays, the General Council assembled at Trent, a German city, in 1545. Paul III appointed Cervini, Pole and Del Monte as its three Presidents. Later in the same year, 1547, the Cardinals, principal among whom was Cervini, proposed, in view of the outbreak of war in Germany, the transfer of the Council of Trent to Bologna. When the Council was suspended Cervini returned to Rome and was at last able to satisfy his personal taste. In 1548 Agostino Steucco, the learned Hebraist, died, and Paul III appointed Cervini his successor as Prefect of the Palatina. It needs to be said, however, that at the Council Cervini was a paramount figure, planning, organizing and defining at the sessions devoted to Scripture, Tradition, and other dogmatic questions.

From 1548, therefore, Cervini found and effectively used the opportunity to serve the Church and his bibliographical ambition. Already in 1534, when he was still tutor to Alessandro Farnese (nephew of Pope Paul III) the Cardinal of Santa Croce had become intimate with Paul Manutius. In 1539, he suggested to Cervini the desirability of printing the inedited Greek manuscripts in the Palatina. Some of these had been collected by Girolamo Aleandro, the Cardinal Prefect before Steuco, while others had been collected by Cervini. As 'Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Protector', the Cardinal of Santa Croce with all power over the Library, reformed the administration, re-bound quantities of codices and printed books, and compiled new catalogues. As will be seen below, he did not forget the unique service that typography could contribute to learning.

At the end of 1549 Paul III died. His successor was Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte, the same who, with Reginald Pole and Marcello Cervini, had been one of the three Presidents of the Council of Trent. Del Monte was a compromise candidate proposed because the French cardinals opposed the candidatures of Reginald Pole and John of Toledo. Julius III (1550–1555) was corrupt, vicious, inactive, and inevitably abhorrent to Cervini. The Cardinal of Santa Croce was now spared a return to the Council of Trent, which resumed its sessions in 1551, where he was replaced by Cardinal Crescenzio. It was Julius III's hope that, with Cervini out of the way, the Emperor would be more tractable, a matter we may not discuss. Julius III died on 23 March 1555. On 9 April the conclave, having been warned by the Emperor to debar the Cardinal of Santa Croce, proceeded to elect him. The new Pope assumed the title of Marcellus II.

Forthwith he wrote to his relations and quietly let them know that no alteration in their state of life need be looked for. His sister Cynthia, married to Vincenzo Bellarmini (their son Robert [1542–1621] was the great counter-reformation polemist), was told by her brother Alessandro Cervini that she need not expect to be called 'My Lady' or to engage more maids. Such a Pope was the opposite in this and other respects to his precedessor. He immediately took in hand pressing tasks of ecclesiastical reform, and showed the best example then possible by his scrupulous performance of all the liturgical requirements which Holy Week in Rome requires, by rubric, of its Bishop. In complying with

very detail he over-strained himself. On 20 April n attack of catarrh prevented his distributing the Agnus Dei to the cardinals. He later broke into the ind of fever to which he had long been subject. He was bled twice and recovered; but on 30 April here was a sudden relapse. The Pope fell into a coma and he died on 6 May, his fifty-fifth birthday. Great hopes were greatly disappointed. As one of his brethren said, 'Marcellus was worthy of the Papacy but we were not worthy to have him as Pope'. Such in outline was the public career of Marcello Cervini.

Of this man's life there is little in the way even of a pious memoir that is accessible. Marcellus II's uccessor, the morose Gian Piero Caraffa, Paul IV 1555–9), had long hated his predecessor and could ardly be expected to celebrate his memory. This s not the place in which to discuss Paul IV's interest n music, but it remains curious that Palestrina, who early in his life had been the protégé of Cervini, was soon dismissed from the Sistine Choir. t was a decade later that Palestrina's 'Missa Papae Marcelli', was rendered in the pontificate of Paul's uccessor, Giovanni Angelo de' Medici, Pius IV Pope 1559–65). This, the first public recognition of Marcellus' memory, amounts to his artistic canonzation since Pius IV was present on the occasion of its first singing on 9 June 1565.

Cervini's memory is briefly saluted, with a good portrait, in the great Onofrio Panvinio's *Romani Pontifices et cardinales S.R.E.* (Venice 1557).[2] A onger memoir of a sort was prepared by Alessandro, Marcello's younger half-brother, though not published; and the greater part of it lost. The remainder was used when the first biography of Cervini appeared: *Petri Pollidori De Vita, Gestis et Moribus Marcelli II Commentarius* (Romae, 1744). The author was one of the keepers in the Vatican Library. His small folio is a poor example of typography; the portrait is far inferior to that given by Panvinio. Pollidori's text is confined to Cervini's religious and official life. While emphasizing his interest in scholastic philosophy, biblical studies, and his patronage of Syriac and Ethiopic scholarship it makes no detailed mention of his typographical relationships. After Pollidori the name of Marcellus occurs only by accident in the compilations of ecclesiastical annalists. Cervini was not a member of any religious order that might be expected to be able and ready to venerate his memory, and promote his name. Pollidori's book was too slight to sustain Cervini's silent claim to *post-mortem* recognition. After 1744, as well as before, history is virtually silent on the personality of Marcellus II. That he was Pope for three weeks only seems an inadequate reason for ignoring his accomplishments as Cardinal of Santa Croce.

It is pleasant to be able to say in this place that the modern study of Cervini was begun by an historian interested also in typographical studies. In 1883 Pierre de Nolhac (1859–1936), encouraged by Léopold Delisle, undertook to investigate the career of Fulvio Orsini in his character as an amateur of manuscripts and printed books. The famous editor of Arnobius (Rome 1583) and author of several works on antiquity, had collected a notable library which Nolhac proceeded to describe with a wealth of documentation. His book, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887) exhibits a masterly command of detail. It is only just to Nolhac to mention that one of its remarkable chapters is that which narrates Orsini's relations with Plantin, the Antwerp printer and publisher. The chapter proves Nolhac's personal interest extending to printing and publishing. This, however, is beside the point, which is to emphasize that in the course of his work on Orsini he conceived an admiration for Cervini. Thus, at p. 135, he enquires who will edit the letters of Cervini 'ce noble esprit'. For the benefit of the unknown *érudit*, Nolhac indicates the letters of Cervini to Colocci, Sirleto, Lodovico Beccadelli, Panvinio, Ranuccio Farnese and others which are kept in the Vatican Library, and, as Nolhac reports, form a mine of information on the Roman court before and during the Council of Trent. Nolhac also notes the correspondence of Cervini with Vettori in the British Library, MS. Add. 10, 274, which is mentioned below.

It is from these indications of Cervini's significance to the study of the Renaissance that we owe the rise of modern interest in this long-neglected prelate, scholar and pope. But Nolhac did more than indicate the sources for the biography of Cervini. During his period at the École française de Rome (1882–5) there came a pupil whose studies he directed. Under the inspiration of Pierre de Nolhac, the newcomer, Léon Dorez, published in the school's *Mélanges d' archéologie et d' histoire* for 1892 an account of the relations between the

[2] [See Panvinio's dedication to Alessandro Farnese, leaf ⋆3v.

Cardinal of Santa Croce and Antonio Blado, the celebrated printer to the Roman Chancery.[3] A new search outside the Vatican and the sources known to Nolhac, i.e. in the Archivio di Stato at Florence, had enabled Dorez to document the steps preliminary to the typographical execution of the text of Eustathius' commentary on Homer. For this vast four-volume work, which occupied Blado's press for seven years, Cervini procured newly designed Greek type. Here Dorez slips, for he overlooked the fact that Giovanni Onorio (alternatively Honorio), mentioned in the contract with Blado, is the Ioannes Honorius who, as 'Scriptor graecus' of the Palatine Library was responsible for the design of the type. The contract with Blado, which Dorez discovered and prints *in extenso*, remains of great importance and calls for extended study. The great merit of Dorez is that five years after Nolhac had drawn attention to Cervini, he had produced the first modern monograph, which also promised a more extensive treatment of his life and work.

It remains a matter of immense regret that Dorez never fulfilled his promise to publish 'mon très prochain livre sur ce savant cardinal' that he had in hand in 1892.

The failure to publish the book is explained by the fact that the author was appointed to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1893 and joined Émile Chatelain as co-director of the *Revue des Bibliothèques* in 1894. But Dorez did not completely abandon interest in Cervinian studies. His article on Antonio Blado (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, III, 1893, 363–70) makes frequent reference to the Cardinal.

But though he wrote in 1895 on 'L'exemplaire de Pline l'ancien d'Agosto Valdo de Padoue et le Cardinal Marcello Cervini' (V, 14–20) the provision of miscellaneous articles and reviews for the periodical occupied virtually all his time. Dorez did, however, write on Romolo Cervini, Marcello's younger and favourite half-brother (*R. B.*, V, 5 and 6: pp. 139–143 and pp. 153–179, both in 1895). Nearly twenty years after his first, Roman, essay Dorez published in the *Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge 1909, 142–185) a substantial contribution entitled 'Le Registre des Dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane 1548–1555'.

At first sight the article would seem to be a kind of sequel to *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIe siècle. Notes et documents* (Paris 1886) of the esteemed historian of renaissance art, Eugène Müntz, himself a great admirer of Cervini. And so, in a sense, it is; but Dorez is interested rather in the personalities revealed by the documents than in the details of payments made to them and revealed in the accounts. Dorez plainly loves a great man and, for the period surveyed in the Cambridge study, his hero is Cervini, whom he affectionately delineates. His administration of the Library is fully described, amply annotated and appropriately expanded. Thus he tells how at the end of 1552 Cervini induced a Syrian 'per far la stampa da stampare libri in lingua soriana per uso della Libraria'.[4] As Dorez truly suggests, this was the initial step in his programme that finally resulted in the establishment of a polyglot Press in Rome and in the immense work of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. More is said of this below. Here it is enough to say that about 1550 Mariano de Rieti dedicated to Cervini his Ethiopian Grammar.[5]

The Cardinal's vision as a scholar–librarian was indeed broad. In 1540 there arose in his mind after discussion with Sirleto a plan to print a polyglot, amounting to nothing less than a critical revision, accurately printed, of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts of the Old and New Testaments. Dorez' judgement deserves reproduction: 'Tel est le multiple intérêt du registre des dépenses de la Vaticane, qui montre d'une manière précise tous les efforts de Cervini pour conserver, enrichir et utiliser la Bibliothèque apostolique. Il en élargissait le rôle avec une générosité presque audacieuse, sans perdre de vue les moindres détails administratifs' (p. 167).

As an appendix to his contribution Dorez prints (pp. 168–85) the register of 161 payments to papermakers, scribes (of Greek, Latin, Hebrew), printers, and binders made in the Cardinal's time i.e. from 28 October 1548 to 9 April 1555, the date of his election as Marcellus II. The register is a precious document, for the printing of which much gratitude is due to Dorez. It is regrettable that this paper, necessary to the study of Cervini, is less well known than it deserves.

While saying that the Cambridge contribution related to a topic which had interested him for many years, Dorez suggested no immediate publi-

[3] [L. Dorez, 'Le Cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome (1539–1550)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* XII (1892), pp. 289–313.]

[4] [*Fasciculus Joanni Willis Clark dicatus*, p. 180.]

[5] [Marianus Victorius, *Chaldeae seu Aethiopicae linguae institutiones* (Rome, 1552).]

cation of the main work; nor does he refer in this paper to the *Correspondance de Marcello Cervini et de Pier Vettori* of which in 1892 he said 'que je vais publier'. Dorez died in 1921 and the bibliographical recognition of Cervini came to a temporary halt.

At his death Dorez' papers were dispersed, and these included the bibliographical and biographical notes on Cervini that he had collected in the course of years. These notes are at the present day in the library of the University of Kansas.

Cervini's ecclesiastical recognition, however, began to increase, as the History of the Popes and of the Council of Trent began to be studied in terms of modern method.

Volume VI of Ludwig Pastor's monumental *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (16 vols. Freiburg-i.-B. 1886–1933) contains an admirably sound and perceptive estimate of Marcellus' character as Christian and as statesman. It remains the best single, if brief, introduction to the consideration of his career as a whole. More material has become available since Pastor drew his attractive portrait.

The scientific study of the Council of Trent began at the opening of the century, when the Görres Society initiated the publication of a new edition of its proceedings: *Diariorum, actorum, epistularum...nova collectio* (Freiburg-i.-B., 1901 still in progress). A useful volume with references to Cervini is Gottfried Buschbell's *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien* (Paderborn 1910). G. B. Mannucci, *Il Conclave di Papa Marcello II* (Siena 1921) provides a list of the Cardinals present at the election in 1555. The most important work which illustrates the career of Cervini is that of Mgr. Hubert Jedin: *Girolamo Seripando* (1493–1565). These two volumes (Würzburg 1937) are rich in references to Cervini and to their common friend Cocciano. The latter was a devout admirer to whom we are indebted for a few personal reminiscences. To Mgr. Jedin we are further indebted for his substantial *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (Freiburg-i.-B., 1949–) which two volumes, incidentally, bring together a wealth of information on the ecclesiastical activities of Cervini, the definitions and decrees that he drafted, and the disciplinary decisions he reached, or endeavoured to get accepted, at the Council.

Cervini's despatches and memoranda relating to his legation of 1539–40 to the Court of Charles V are collected in Ludwig Cardauns' *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland* (Vols. V and VI; Berlin 1909–10). This was the period when Rome desired the assistance of Charles V and Francis I against Henry VIII. The short study by Angelo Mercati: *Prescrizioni pel culto divino nella diocesi di Reggio Emilia del vescovo card. M. Cervini* (Reggio Emilia, 1933) illustrates Cervini's zeal for clerical discipline. B. Neri, *Marcello II* (Alba 1937), discusses the Pope's interest in scholarship. It is highly satisfactory that Cervini's services to the Church are becoming recognized. As the Freiburg edition of the Acts of Trent draws near to completion, the career of the Cardinal at the Council will be increasingly studied and eventually his commanding position will be emphasized. Eugène Müntz, *Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance* (Paris 1889–95, Vol. III, p. 241) after remarking of Cervini that his mind 'unissant la pureté des mœurs et la dignité du caractère à l'étendue des connaissances', proceeds to say that 'il s'était intéressé à la fondation de l'Académie vitruvienne, avait formé une série de médailles qui fut l'origine du médaillie du Vatican, et avait chargé Antonio da San Gallo de tracer les plans de sa villa du Monte Amiata'.

The founders of the Academy, in 1542, included Bernardino Maffei, Cervini's great friend (and author of the great *De Inscriptionibus et insignibus antiquorum numismatum*) and later Cardinal; Claudio Tolomei the philologist; G. Vignola, the architect; and Michel-angelo. The extent of Cervini's care for every kind of human intellectual and artistic activity remains to be documented.

Meanwhile it is gratifying to be able to add that the study of Cervini's bibliographical and typographical ambitions have, despite the death of Léon Dorez, not been neglected.

Two of Cervini's closest intimates were the Florentine *letterati* Donato Giannotti (1492–1573) and Pietro Vettori (1490–1585). Those of Giannotti's letters to Vettori which have survived in the British Museum were edited by Roberto Ridolfi and Cecil Roth in 1932.[6] Giannotti and Vettori enjoyed similar tastes and political preferences; both were closely associated with the Giunti, the famous family who maintained presses in Venice and elsewhere. The Florentine press was established by Filippo Giunta (1450–1517) the hellenist who had

[6] [*Lettere a Piero Vettori...con un saggio illustrativo di R. Ridolfi* (Florence, 1932).]

printed a Homer in 1497.[7] His sons Bernardo and Benedetto succeeded to the business, and it was the former who dealt with Cervini before 1546. In that year Cosimo I de' Medici attracted to Florence a new printer in the person of Lorenzo Torrentino, according to Ascarelli, a Fleming.[8] In any event, his style was of North European inspiration and his materials came from Frankfurt-on-Main. He was a printer of some ambition, as the *editio princeps* of Paolo Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis* (Florence 1550–2) proves. It is an impressive pair of folio volumes. On the other hand, Torrentino's edition (the first) of Vasari's *Vite* in octavo size is little more than a competent piece of work symbolizing the industrialization of the art in Florence.

Cervini's interest in typography reached at this time beyond Rome to Florence. In 1550 Cervini and Vettori thought they could obtain more conveniently the typographical service they required from Torrentino in Florence than from Blado in Rome. The *editio princeps* of Clement of Alexandria, the second-century Greek Father, was accordingly undertaken in Florence [Plates 124–5]. For this work Torrentino needed Greek types, and the matrices of the face, designed at Cervini's request by Onorio, were in the hands of the Giunti. The production of such a voluminous text was necessarily difficult, delays were constant and Cervini was driven to consider Torrentino unsatisfactory in terms of delivery. The Cardinal was never impatient but the printer was very slow, as will be pointed out later. For Cervini the publication of a text was not a mere impulse but part of a positive plan.

On 4 December 1540 Giannotti wrote to Pietro Vettori a letter which, since it is not mentioned in Dorez's earlier or later papers, may be quoted: 'il detto Cardinale mette ordine di fare una stamperia greca per stampare tutta la scrittura sacra e di quella gli autori più reconditi; seguiteranno poi i philosophi, gli autori e poeti, e finalmente stamperanno libri' and Giannotti (*Lettre*, p. 82) adds approvingly 'Che serà bella cosa!' The intention confirmed Cervini's acceptance of the suggestion made to him by Paul Manutius in 1539 in the letter printed by Dorez in 1892 which recommended the Cardinal to negotiate with Antonio Blado. An important contribution to our knowledge of Cervini's activities in terms of printed scholarship and his relationship with the printers is to hand in D. Redig de Campos' monograph 'Francesco Priscianese' which appeared in *La Bibliofilia* (XL, 5–6, pp. 161–183, Firenze 1938). Priscianese's connection with Cervini had already been noticed in Dorez' article of 1892 mentioned above as most necessary to the study of Cervini's bibliographical career; but de Campos prints a new and valuable document with many useful details. A just estimate of the Cardinal's vigorous administration of the Vatican Library is given by James Wardrop 'The Vatican Scriptors' in *Signature* (n.s. v, pp. 3–28, London 1948).

Recently there has appeared a substantial contribution which brings together much scattered information about Cervini's initiatives in behalf of printed scholarship: Mgr. Pio Paschini's 'Un Cardinale editore' in *Miscellanea Luigi Ferrari* (Firenze 1952, pp. 383–413). This study goes far to satisfying the need for a consecutive account of Cervini's relations with the book trade. Based on the works of Pastor, Dorez, Ridolfi, Roth and Buschbell, it covers the whole of Cervini's schemes for the provision of a corpus of scriptural, patristic, literary and philosophical texts. Unfortunately the author was unaware of Dorez's paper in the *Fasciculus Ioanni W. Clark dicatus* and Wardrop's paper in *Signature* mentioned above. In other respects, however, the documentation of the article is complete and the best account we have of Cervini's endeavours to provide the books needed to answer critics of the Church.

The present writer, having the occasion to read a paper entitled *On Learned Presses* to the Double Crown Club which met in Cambridge in 1955, incidentally drew attention, albeit superficially, to the main points of Cervini's career as Collector, Librarian and Patron of the typographic arts. The paper duly mentioned the vast Eustathius (Rome 1542–9), described the Greek types in two sizes which Cervini some time in 1540 instructed Onorio to design and contracted with Blado to cut the punches, on condition that the matrices remained the Cardinal's property. The paper insufficiently emphasized the fact according to Mgr. Jedin (see his *Seripando*, Ch. XXXI) that the idea of establishing a Press at Rome, worthy, in the scientific sense, of the Holy See, originated with Cervini. It was a plan that he was not destined, either as Cardinal or Pope, to see realized. It was only after a session of the Congregation for the reform of the

[7] [No Homer was published in Florence in 1497, and the first to be published by the Giunti appeared in 1519, after Filippo's death.]

[8] [*La tipografia cinquecentina italiana* (Florence, 1953), p. 138.]

Index Librorum Prohibitorum on 8 February 1561 that Pius IV, Cervini's friend, drew Paulus Manutius from Venice to Rome to print approved books.[9] Then began the new press which, after much trouble with the Roman Inquisition under Pius V, only achieved its purpose under Sixtus V. Thus the Press that corresponded with the idea of Cervini was founded in 1587 under the management of Domenico Basa, a former colleague in Venice of Paolo Manuzio. The Press then began the series of texts, sacred and secular, which, as Giannotti reported to Vettori in 1540, Cervini was determined to get into print and circulation. It is, therefore, the Cardinal of Santa Croce who deserves the credit for planning the polyglot Press at Rome for the service of the Universal Church; and thereby created, though with a lapse of thirty years after his death, the first Institutional Learned Press. The present Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana is its lineal descendant without breach of continuity.

Perhaps enough has been said above to justify the statement that Cervini's career and accomplishment deserves more study than it has so far received. This is certainly true of his life as an ecclesiastic. It is not less true also of his activity as a 'letterato'. When Léon Dorez was at work on Cervini, and later when Roberto Ridolfi and Cecil Roth were engaged upon Giannotti, they noted that the British Museum had acquired from the Heber sale in 1836 a collection of Vettori's papers. These comprised letters to him from Giannotti. As reported above, these were edited by Ridolfi and Roth in 1932. The letters from Cervini to Vettori (B.L. MS. Add. 10,274) have not been edited or printed. While it cannot be said that all of these deserve reproduction, it may not be denied that some need to be made public if the output of Italian printing in the sixteenth century is to be rightly appreciated, at least outside the Peninsula. Mr A. F. Johnson's presidential address for the year 1957 to the Bibliographical Society (London), however, is a masterly introduction to the Italian sixteenth century books.[10] Mr Johnson points out that the majority of Greek authors first appeared in type only in the sixteenth century. The list from Aeschines and Aeschylus through the alphabet to Thucydides and Xenophon is long, all of which were printed for the first time after 1500.

The greatest printers of Greek texts after Aldus in Venice were the Giunti in Florence, and Mr Johnson emphasizes this fact. Something may be said by way of supplement to his pages in recognition of Cervini's interest in Greek and Latin scholarship. It may be well, therefore, to draw attention to the numerous allusions to manuscripts (Greek and Latin), inscriptions (Etruscan), and antiquities (of all kinds) which occur in the Cardinal's letters to Vettori.

The authors in whom Cervini was interested include Homer and Aeschylus as well as Aristotle and Plato. In Aristotle he was interested in the Poetics as well as the Politics, in the Physics equally with the Ethics. His principal interests among the Greek Fathers were Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzen, and the letters of St Ignatius. The Cardinal searched for and was an eager reader of early manuscript texts of these authors.

An instance of his personal reading occurs in his letter of 17 March 1554 to Vettori:

> Quanto ad Aeschilo per la mia ultima vi scrissi come in questa libreria Apostolica no ve n'era alcuno antico: ma che fra li libri del Cardinale di Farnese sapevo esserne uno assai bono. Hora io l'ho fatto vedere, et trovo che l'Agamennone è intera con forse 12 carte di più che non sono nello stampato. Ma della [indecipherable] non v'è nulla. Di maniera che alcuni vanno dubitando s'ella sia d'Aeschylo, ò, no. Il che fa che voi doviate ben guardare se quella che dite haver di più de gli altri sia di quel autore. Ma tornando ad Agamennone, se vi piacerà che si noti cosa alcuna di quel fine, avvisate, che tutto si farà con diligentia.[11]

The Cardinal was not less concerned with natural history and in particular about birds, beasts and especially fishes. He was collaborating with Ippolito Salviano who ultimately published the *Aquatilium Animalium Historiae* (Romae 1554) [Plate 126]. The book is dedicated to Cervini, whose interest was perhaps stimulated by the reading of Aristotle and the inspiration of his father. The Cardinal's letters contain numerous references to his typographical relations, conducted through the

[9] [Cf. F. Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561–1570)* (Rome, 1942).]

[10] ['Italian sixteenth-century books', *The library* fifth ser. XIII (1958), pp. 161–74.]

[11] [B.L. MS. Add. 10,274, fo. 81: 'As to Aeschylus, I told you in my last that there is no early manuscript in the Apostolic Library, but I know there is a very good one among the books of Cardinal Farnese. I have now had it looked at, and find that the *Agamennon* is complete, and that there are perhaps some twelve leaves not in the printed edition. But the *Choephoroe* is not there. Some people doubt therefore if it is by Aeschylus. Consequently you had better be careful to make sure that the manuscript you say you have is by this author. But as to the *Agamemnon*, if there is any information you want, let us know, and it will be attended to carefully.']

medium of Vettori, with Bernardo Giunta and Lorenzo Torrentino, already mentioned.

It is regrettable that though Dorez saw these letters before publishing his Cambridge paper, he then made little use of the collection. No doubt he intended to edit them as part of the work which 'je prépare depuis de longues années sur l'histoire de la Vaticane au XVIe siècle'. As Dorez did not live to complete his work we are the more dependent upon Paschini who, unfortunately, was unacquainted with Dorez's last paper and therefore missed referring to B.L. MS. Add. 10,274.

The letters to Vettori display a breadth of human curiosity typical of the Renaissance and a range of theological enquiry characteristic of the Counter-Reformation. They also illustrate a depth of simple religion and personal humility natural to the man himself. Thus he writes on 8 November 1550:

Doppo la partita mia d'Agubbio ricevei in Montepulciano una vostra lettera del 10 d'ottobre, alla quale resposi dui versi la sera medesima. Giunsi poi in Roma per gratia di Dio a salvamento, dove il R^mo Cardinal Maffeo m'ha mostrata l'epistola del Clemente, sopra la quale non m'occorre dir altro, se non che quando si nominano li santi nella detta epistola absolutamente senza darli titulo alcuno di santo, o, di beato, saria forse da non lassarli passare con sì poca dignità, perciochè io mi ricordo che in Trento al Concilio li Prelati, massimamente spagnoli se ne scandalizavano molto.[12]

He was ever considerate of others. Torrentino, for reasons one can only guess at, had several times pressed for the matrices of the Greek type. It is probable that he had to buy the type from his rival, Bernardo Giunta. The Cardinal thus expressed his unwillingness:

Hoggi ho ricevute due vostre lettere de XIX et XXIII di questo, et ho inteso il vostro parere circa la domanda fattami dal Torrentino. Al quale per hora non mi risolvo di satisfare altrimenti per le ragioni allegate da voi; et tra l'altre per la spesa che il Giunta fece in agiustare quelle madri. Bene vorrei ch'esso Giunta stampasse qualche cosa in utilità publica, et non lassassi stare quella lettera così in otio. Quanto al rimandare per le madri a mia posta, so che sono in buone mani, et lo farò come mi torni bene.[13]

When, after much patience had been shown by Cervini and Vettori, the Clement of Alexandria neared completion, Torrentino essayed a more subtle approach which the Cardinal thus disposed of on 3 October 1550.

Quanto al Torrentino, io non sapevo ch'egli volesse intitulare il Clemente a me, né l'ho sollecitato, et aiutato già con questo animo. Egli alli dì passati mandandomi l'Historie del Iovio stampate, mi ricercò di nuovo delle madri delle lettere greche. Fecili respondere ch'io l'havevo prestate al Giunti, dal quale essendoui stata fatta non so che spesa, pareria poco honesto di levarle a lui per prestarle ad un'altro.[14]

The Clement is a folio. The title is framed in one of Torrentino's more impressive baroque borders. The dedication, headed 'Petrus Victorius Marcello Cervino Cardinali Sanctae Crucis' is handsomely set out and occupies two pages. The imprints (there are two) are curious. The first 'Ex Bibliotheca Medicea' is set in the upper and lower case of Garamond's Canon Roman (a novelty in Florence at that time) and the second 'Cudebat Florentiae Laurentius Torrentinus Cum Iulii .III. Pont. Max. Caroli V Imperatoris, Henrici Gallorum Regis II. Cosmi Medicis Florent. Ducis II. Privilegiis. MDL.' The text is admirably composed in Cervini's Greek type.

While the Clement was being finished in the hands of Torrentino, Vettori was working on an Aristotle in conjunction with Giunta. The Cardinal expressed to Vettori his sorrow at learning from his letter of 24 Jan. (1551), of the sudden death of Bernardo Giunti (as he spells it), which he recognized to be a blow to the proposed edition of Aristotle. Should his relatives be willing to undertake to print the Aristotle he would be content for them to make use of the matrices which he had lent to Bernardo. If not Vettori should take charge of the matrices.[15] The book (Vettori's commentary on the

[12] [B.L. MS. Add. 10,274, fo. 17. 'After I had left Gubbio I received in Montepulciano your letter of 10 October, to which I replied in a couple of lines on the same evening. I arrived safely in Rome by the grace of God, where Cardinal Maffeo showed me the Epistle of Clement, about which I need only say that the saints in this Epistle are mentioned without any title either of saint or blessed; perhaps one should not let them pass with so little dignity, for I remember that at the Council of Trent the bishops, the Spanish in particular, were scandalized at this.]

[13] [*Ibid.*, fo. 9. 'I have today received your two letters of 19 and 24 of this month, and note your view of the request made by Torrentino. I am not at present inclined to satisfy him in any other way, partly for the reason you allege, and partly because of the expense which Giunta has incurred in justifying those matrices. I wish that Giunta would print something useful, and not leave that type idle. As for returning the matrices to me, I know that they are in good hands, and I will do it as the opportunity best serves me.']

[14] [*Ibid.*, fo. 13. 'As to Torrentino, I did not know that he meant to dedicate the Clement to me, nor have I asked him, nor helped him with that in mind. He has lately sent me an edition of Giovio's *Historiae*, and reverts to the Greek matrices. I caused him to be told in answer that I had lent them to Giunta, who had incurred I do not know what expense with them, and it would not seem honest to take them away and lend them to another.']

[15] [*Ibid.*, fo. 22.]

PETRI VICTORII COMMENTARII, IN I. LIBRVM ARISTOTELIS DE POETICA.

ΕΠΙ ποιητικῆς, αὐτῆς τε καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς, ἥν ζινα δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει, καὶ πῶς δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοὺς μύθους, εἰ μέλλοι καλῶς ἕξειν ἡ ποίησις: ἔτι δὲ καὶ πόσων καὶ ποίων ἐστὶ μορίων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου, λέγωμεν, ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων.

DE Poëtica, ipsaq; & formis ipsius, quam vim vna quæq; habet, & quo pacto oportet coagmentare fabulas, si poësis bene se habitura est: Præterea ex quot, qualibus ve est partibus: eodemq; modo & de alijs, quæ eiusdem rationis, viaq; sunt, disseramus, initio sumpto, vt naturæ mos est, primum à primis.

AVCTS proponit Aristoteles, quod toto hoc opere conficere debet: neque enim nunc tantum indicat quæ primo hoc libro prosequi cogitat: cum enim manifesto tradat se partes speciesue poëtices explicare velle, in hoc verò de duabus tantum agat, perspicuum est ipsum intellexisse etiam, quæ reliquis duobus libris persecutus fuerat: multo nanque plures species poëtices sunt. est igitur prima hæc pars περίοδος, & σκαπὸ: totius scriptionis, vt Græci vocare consuerunt. Cum lis autem inter interpretes huius libri exorta sit, appellari ne debeat proœmium prima hæc pars ipsius, quid mei iudicij de hac re sit aperiendum videtur. Arbitror igitur rectè vocari totum hoc exordium, quod positum est ante explicationem præceptorum artis, quod aliquantum instruat lectorem, ac breui ostendat consilium auctoris, vtà Græcis interpretibus appellatur proœmium naturalis auscultationis, & aliorum Aristotelis librorum: nec tamen puto par omnino esse ac simile proœmiorum, quibus vtuntur oratores in causis agendis. Cum Cicero etiam in epistola quadam ad Atticum tradat Aristotelem vti proœmijs in his libris, quos ἐξωτερικοὺς vocat, vt qui crederet hæc ipsa non appellanda proœmia, quibus idem in suis grauioribus subtilioribusq; scriptionibus, paucis in vniuersum agit de eo, quod postea accuratè explicare in animo habet: vereq, ita vocari debere, quæ digrediuntur à materia, speciemq; ornatus habent, cuiusmodi sunt, quibus ipse vsus est in suis de philosophia libris: neque enim Aristoteles huiusmodi proœmijs vsus est in his, quæ restant de obscuris grauibusq; vllius philosophiæ quæstionibus. Sed vt intelligere licet testimonio Ciceronis, in communibus popularibusq; libris proœmia affixerat, quæ similitudinem retinerent Ciceronia-

187. P. Vettori, *Commentarii in primum librum de arte poetarum*. Florence, 1560

Poetics) was successfully published 'In officina Iuntarum, Florentiae' in 1560 [Fig. 187].

The Cardinal's mind in all these negotiations over books, texts, matrices and type was uniformly magnanimous. As he wrote on one occasion: 'lassarò, quanto a me, che la Justitia habbia il loco suo, come soglio far sempre'.[16] The impression made by the Cardinal of Santa Croce is that of one who, in all his actions public and private in so many fields of activity, was consistently upright. His mind was as noble as his intelligence was profound.

The Cardinal's famous nephew was canonized in 1930. His latest biographer, Fr James Brodrick, S.J. in his *Robert Bellarmine* (2 vols London 1928; with an Introduction by Cardinal Ehrle) affirms that much of the inspiration of Bellarmine came from the noble life of his uncle, who was, Fr Brodrick adds, 'great in many ways, great in holiness, great in learning, great in administration, great in generosity'.

Posterity has been less generous to the uncle than to his nephew whom he inspired. Cervini's life was tragically short and his years were nearly all spent in ecclesiastical politics. Bellarmine's life extended to eighty years which were mostly spent in ecclesiastical controversy, spoken, written and printed. Cervini's literary plans were necessarily realized by the agency of those whom he could inspire and assist intellectually and financially. Their names are known while his is unknown, which is appropriate enough to one so humbly devoid of human ambition. As he attached his name to nothing, almost next to nothing has been written about him. Hence there is no entry under his name either as Cardinal or Pope in the General Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum,[17] or in the Union Catalogue of Printed Books in the United States. From a man of his rarity, even with his generally bad health (his letters refer more than once to attacks of Roman fever) many desirable changes in ecclesiastical organization would certainly have been effected (among them the immediate endowment of the equivalent in Rome, and anticipation by a century, of the Cambridge and Oxford University Presses), but this was not his destiny. Marcellus II died on 6 May 1555.[18] It was his fifty-fifth birthday, the feast of St John *ante portam Latinam*, the patron of the mediæval guild of scribes and illuminators, and afterwards of printers. Cervini's is, therefore, a story of disappointment; not indeed to himself, but to those who placed their hopes in his pontificate. It is time that posterity raised a monument to his memory, more substantial than the papers, valuable as they are, of Dorez and Paschini.

Were he now so fortunate as to attract a biographer, the long neglect, of which he has been the victim, would be reversed. If, for example, Mgr. Hubert Jedin, who has already done much for Cervini, could be persuaded to add to his burdens and undertake a separate biography comparable in scale with his *Girolamo Seripando*, one's aspirations to see justice done, however belatedly, to the memory of Marcellus II, would at last be adequately fulfilled.

One concluding observation may be permissible. The present writer may not be alone in believing that the Jesuit biographer's life of his hero's uncle does not exaggerate when he says that Cervini was 'great in holiness'. If, in the future, a full and critical biography of Cervini were to appear it might serve, among other ends, the promotion of his cause to the degree of 'Blessed'. Afterwards, perhaps, the scholars in bibliography, textual criticism and typography might decide that, if their sciences needed the protection of a patron saint, none so appropriate could be chosen as Marcello Cervini (1501–55) Cardinal of Santa Croce, Co-President of the Council of Trent, Prefect of the Apostolic Library, Patron of Greek and Latin typography and originator of the Vatican Press; and Pope Marcellus II.[19]

[16] [17 February 1554 MS. Add. 10,274, fo. 77.]

[17] [Not strictly true. The British Library catalogue lists no works by him, but several about him.]

[18] [Several authorities, e.g. Pastor and the *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, state that he died on 1 May.]

[19] I am obliged to M. André Jammes for information and to the Librarian of the University of Kansas for most kindly depositing for my use at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill., the papers on Cervini which form part of the Dorez Collection which the University Library acquired in 1957. The *fiches* on Cervini are mainly bibliographical. Important are those of iconographical interest.

I should add that Dorez' two great volumes *La Cour du Pape Paul III* were brought out posthumously by Pierre de Nolhac (Paris, 1932) whose Preface also included a moving tribute to the author whose death at the early age of fifty-seven all lovers of Cervini and of Italian Studies must ever regret.

I also wish to thank Mr A. F. Johnson and Prof. Carlo Dionisotti for helping me with the transcription and translation of the Cervini correspondence in MS. Add. 10,274.

D. B. Updike

19

RECOLLECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES OF D. B. UPDIKE[1]

THE DEATH of Daniel Berkeley Updike removed the last and the most widely influential of the notable group of Victorian writers, learned in both the practice and the history of the printing and allied trades, who, together, contributed a body of archaeological research and industrial application whose richness and quality must arouse the admiration of future generations. Bibliographical studies in English would be far less advanced than they are today but for the work of Blades, Reed, DeVinne and Updike. But Updike was not an enumerator of editions, an amender of texts or a maker of lists of books printed at this, that, or some other place; he was, rather, a critic with an interest in so much of typographic study as was consistent with an interest in most aspects of style. It is safe to say that he would have felt the same preoccupation if he had not chosen printing as a professional activity. To begin with he possessed the right endowment and he ended with the broadly-cultivated mind of the accomplished critic. Those who work under the discipline of the art of typography have reason to be grateful for Updike's breadth of view. It distinguishes him from his contemporaries Blades and DeVinne. Comparison with them reveals Updike as almost their equal as an antiquarian, and much their superior as an artist. Appreciation of the aesthetic factor in book-printing cannot be said to be necessary to the enumerator of editions, or to the investigator of texts; it is an essential requirement of the librarian, of the critic, and, certainly, of the fine printer. No doubt Updike's motive for undertaking the research he did was professional, like Blades' and DeVinne's; typographers are fortunate that all three performed so well what they felt as a duty. Not a few problems would otherwise have remained a legacy for investigation by, it can hardly be doubted, writers less gifted than himself. It is a moderate estimate of Updike to say that the combination of judgement, taste, knowledge and thoroughness, not to mention business acumen, that he brought to his chosen work, was rare in his own time and impossible to find in ours. We have no right, at the present stage in the world's affairs, to expect as a mere ordinary dispensation of the nature of things, a second Updike to appear in this generation. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the next generation will find that the line of Blades, Reed, DeVinne and Updike can be extended. For one thing, the old basis of conviction regarding typographical style is in a state of crisis. In Updike's time, the centre of the publishing trade passed from his own Boston to a New York that was by no means his own. American books came to be designed and published in an atmosphere that was electric whereas Boston was traditionalist; and Updike was himself, in important respects, a traditionalist and proud of it. His taste it may truly be said, had precedents. 'Taste' is not genius; it is a faculty not of invention but of discrimination, i.e. between, say, typographical models that deserve consideration. Updike's taste was formed upon a humanistic and traditionalist principle, i.e. 'upon the best models'. DeVinne's influence upon him was marked. He also owed something of the example of the Chiswick Press of London and the English university presses. It is, however, true that his use of traditional precedents was all his own. He applied them, as precedent deserves to be applied, not by whim but by principle. He respected the past because he regarded wisdom and respected it as the accumulation of the experience of others and a yardstick for the measuring of his own performance. He

[1] [Published in *Updike: American printer and his Merrymount Press* (New York, 1947).]

was a traditionalist for a reason; or, rather, for several reasons.

Daniel Berkeley Updike, the son of Caesar Augustus and Elisabeth Bigelow (formerly Adams) Updike, was born of a family that had for centuries been settled in the neighbourhood of Providence. He was an unmistakable Yankee. His father's sudden death deprived him of the means of proceeding with a formal education, but he had already discovered that books were necessary to the furnishing of his life, and volunteered his assistance to the Library of the Providence Athenaeum, where he spent several months. He was glad, at the age of twenty, to accept a junior post in the publishing firm of Houghton, Mifflin and Co. of Boston, engaging first in the commercial and publicity departments, and some years later was transferred to the typographical side at the Riverside Press in Cambridge. Updike there showed a capacity for a managing position in the publishing trade, beside an aptitude for the application of sound principles of design to the printed matter under his control. He gave his work most of his energy and though taking time to read, to practise the art of conversation and to exercise his pen, was naturally a man of business. In the New England sense of the term, he was a man likely to do well 'in business for himself'. Business for Updike was neither an unholy occupation nor a form of amusement. Having chosen printing as his work, he performed it as he thought it should be performed and paid for. His business was never a hobby with him, though dining-out and writing were. He was a charming and solicitous host, a witty talker and an amusing and stylish writer. To be all these things was more important to him than printing. That was his business, his occupation. He felt no need to apologize for taking it sufficiently seriously. But there was in him something more fundamental to his personality. Religion underlay his life and his business; his typographical expression was not at variance with it. He occupied a position half-way between the Laudian High Church and the Oxford Movement presentations of Christianity, and there was nothing easy or spurious, Jacobite or Romanist, about it. The task of living the kind of life he was determined to live did not permit him to shirk difficulties, spiritual, intellectual and other, inherent in that life-long struggle which is the lot of men who take upon themselves, under the grace of God, the burden of self-discipline. The family's long tradition of Episcopalianism was one of the prime sources of his strength of will. There was a touch of Calvin's austerity in Updike's churchmanship. Love of order, for order's own sake, was second nature to him. Labour, too, was not irksome. 'Work hard and have a good time' was one of his principles. He was thirty-three before he set up, in 1893, under his own name and responsibility, using 'The Merrymount Press' as his imprint. Numerous ecclesiastical manuscripts came his way. The most significant work of the period was the *Altar Book*, begun in 1893 and completed in 1896. Large folio in measure, the text of the book was composed in a new roman type designed for the purpose by the architect, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, whose churches in the mediæval style meet with appreciation even by present-day anti-Goths. I remember with what pleasure Updike described to me the Dominican Church on Lexington Avenue, New York City, and I found much to admire in this specimen of Goodhue's building; not, I venture to think, to be despised by lovers of J. N. Comper. The pages of the *Altar Book* were framed in ornamental borders by Goodhue reminiscent of the Kelmscott style. The decorative initial letters, no two of which are exactly alike, were also the work of Goodhue. Numerous full-page drawings were contributed by Robert Anning Bell. The plainchant, supervised by Sir John Stainer, is printed with red staves. The whole was rubricated in accordance with the mediæval liturgical convention. The pigskin binding was decorated with a blind-stamp design; this, too, by Goodhue.

Updike's office at the time was only equal to the composition of the text, and the pages had to be put to press elsewhere. As only the most accomplished press-work would be acceptable, the whole of the pages, when made up, were dispatched to New York for printing on the presses of DeVinne. The net result is of the greatest interest to any designer occupied with the problems inherent in first-class liturgical typography. Updike's *Altar Book* is a monumental example. It is, in its decorative aspect, certainly a 'dated' piece, but the principles of arrangement and display of its text are none the less instructive. And the credit of this arrangement is wholly Updike's. What he had to learn, and did from DeVinne, was of a different order. Few were the relevant details of DeVinne's business practice that the younger man failed to observe. He noted and respected DeVinne's keen

interest in the historical as well as the technical details of the craft. He admired DeVinne's habit of going back to the original sources. But if he had a high opinion of DeVinne's historical knowledge and technical accomplishments, he recognized the limitations of his sense of design and power of typographical discrimination. Updike's mind on these matters was simpler. His style was basically English, as DeVinne's was first Italian and then French. In not a few respects, the Merrymount Press shows its indebtedness to the late Chiswick Press style as it had developed under Wilkins and Jacobi. That the two presses became comparable within twenty years is the measure of Updike's achievement. None of the difficulties was shirked. How successfully they were solved on a continent in which the typography of bibliography at that time was rarely attempted, may be judged from the catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library. It was a time when the great Morgan catalogues were composed and printed in England, generally at the Chiswick Press. The limitations of American material and skill dictated this course. Updike, with DeVinne, was a principal contributor to the capacity of American printers to satisfy the increasing demands of American savants.

A more mature piece of monumental printing than the *Altar Book* was the new text of the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was printed at the expense of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan. Comparison with the *Altar Book* of forty years earlier reveals a number of highly interesting changes in taste. The new text is without decoration other than the accidental allure always imparted to Service Books by the printing of the rubrics in the correct position and traditional colour. The initial letters are plain, the type is the seventeenth-century face that was one of three or four peculiar in America, at that time, to the Merrymount Press. These fonts, following the example of DeVinne, he had collected in Europe. The discrimination was Updike's own.

In 1903, when he visited Europe, he spent some time in the Printed Books Department of the British Museum, then in its most distinguished period under A. W. Pollard. (It was from Pollard that the present writer first – 1916 – learnt of Updike's work.) He visited the Kelmscott Press, where he met Sydney Cockerell. Updike also visited Mainz, and proceeded to Leipzig. From the oldest printing office there, that of Drugulin, he purchased fonts of what they correctly called their 'Hollandisch' series of romans and italics. In 1914 Updike bought the fonts that have now been identified as Bell's.[2] While these then rare faces were used with consummate skill, the reputation of the Press owed little to the possession of exclusive materials. Updike did not adventure his capital in order to turn typography into something exquisite; but to make it 'better for its purpose than was commonly thought worth while'. It was task enough for a responsible master-printer, with an organization and a wage bill to meet weekly. The bulk of the Merrymount work, therefore, was composed in such ordinary and, in other hands, generally banal fonts as Caslon and Scotch Roman. Much, if not most of the composition was by hand. Later the Press added Monotype machines to the composing-room. But hand-setting has remained a principal means of conferring distinction upon jobs in which it would be appropriate. In the course of years, the Press had come into the possession of a wide range of historic fonts. The difference between DeVinne's and Updike's collections was fundamental: Updike was not interested in the rare or the curious. His eye was set upon the acquisition of general-purpose fonts.

'Oxford' was the face which, of all those at his command, Updike took most pleasure in using for the class of work for which it was fitted. It is an early nineteenth-century design, transitional between Old Style and Modern. The two-volume work *Printing Types*, which he published in 1922, shows the merits of the type to advantage. It may well be that this book, as significant for the abundant research which it stimulated as for the richness and depth of his own reading, will undoubtedly keep Updike's memory green among later generations of amateurs and professionals who can hardly hope to handle many specimens of his practical typography. The ripeness of judgement as well as the charm and wit of the chapters of *Printing Types* are reflected in the successive phases of Updike's individual use of historic precedents. After the William Morris phase there came the Herbert Horne phase. When, having worked through these sources of inspiration, Updike nourished his mind upon the eighteenth century, he may be said to have 'truly found himself'. That he was at any time a mere archaist is not true.

Updike's library of books on printing – in the collection of which he was again aided by DeVinne's

[2] [Updike bought this type in 1903.]

example, – was a remarkable one. He was, however, dependent upon those precedents that reached back to more than a generation. Updike's last publication, *Some Aspects of Printing Old and New*, was printed in 1941 in the Times New Roman. He was the first in America to procure this font. The volume contained some lectures that he had delivered at the Huntington Library, a great adventure for one who had travelled so little in the United States. He flew out to the coast for this purpose, and, as he told me in a letter, thoroughly enjoyed the experience, and was delighted with the people. Later, finding himself in need of a change, he went to Guatemala by airplane. He was 80 at the time, and in full vigour. He maintained his attendance at the office and also at the meetings of the Boston Club of Odd Volumes. There was, it would seem, nothing to stop him. But the events of 1938 and 1939 took a heavy toll. When war came to Europe it brought a continual and catastrophic interruption to Updike's peace of mind. In his last year he confessed, in a letter to me, to a sense of paralysing spiritual weariness he had never before experienced. Nevertheless, he strove by his letters to encourage his English friends. He had a very clear idea of what the war was about and felt no need in 1939 to apologize for it to his compatriots. His end came suddenly, three weeks after Pearl Harbor.

I last heard from him in November 1941, from his business address and still in harness. He had then taken a lot of trouble to give me details of a certain printing problem we were both interested in. It must have been in the summer of 1924 that I first made his personal acquaintance, at a country place he then had beyond North Adams. This was during my first visit to the United States. I went as a pilgrim, for the two volumes of *Printing Types* had been published in 1922. No more need be said here than that this publication was the most exciting event of a decade. Its value to a country that had been starved of typographical literature since 1914 can hardly be imagined by Americans. To us at that time the book had a messianic quality. Despite the immense amount of research that has been done since, and which Updike's work was designed to inspire, *Printing Types* remains absolutely essential to the understanding of the subject; and, as far as the intelligent appreciation of printing style is concerned, every bit as valuable today as it was twenty years ago. The book, like the man I met, was not made in a hurry. It is worth recalling that *Printing Types* was based on lectures given between 1911 and 1916. Upon some sections Updike had worked and thought for 10 years, before committing himself to print. His chapters on the great French typographical dynasties of Fournier and Didot and his Spanish section exhibit marked originality and independence. The whole is a combination of charm, wit and solidity.

The man I discovered was rather below than above middle height, spare in frame, neat in appearance, positive in expression. As on many occasions since, he proved a most agreeable host. To me a habit of routine made him the pleasantest person to be with. It would have been, I guessed, more than difficult – impossible rather – either for himself or anybody else to break his continuity of practice, the pattern and framework of his exterior life. He was, I judged, immovably attached to the virtues of self-reliance, hard work, and thrift which were so intensively cultivated in Old and New England when he was a boy, of which less and less has been heard both sides of the ocean during the past twenty-five years. I recognized at once, too, that Updike was very deeply rooted in the spiritual department of life, besides the social, professional, and commercial. Nothing he seemed to say or do was done rashly; nor was there any precipitancy in making what this generation calls 'contacts'. Similarly, Updike was too surely what spiritual writers describe as a 'recollected' man to allow conversation to degenerate into mere gossip. In his relish for talk about persons as well as things he was careful to refrain from harsh verdicts upon men as men. But he had too good an eye for genuine quality to be patient under any attempt to secure his approval of work that was pretentious, showy or egoistic. His comments then, however acid in form, were never spiteful in substance. He showed, in fact, an unexpected keenness of sight in searching for redeeming qualities and a tenderness towards those the Victorians called the 'deserving' poor. All these characteristics he had, I came to think, regulated into a pattern of life from which he had no desire to stray. He was himself the centre of the pattern and he might have lost in humanity but for his religion, his humour and his reading.

Updike had an immense respect for learning, but a horror of pedantry. It amused him that the partial reference in *Printing Types* to his superb collection of typographical documents should have led the booksellers to commend specimens he had not

hosen to mention, with the rubric 'Not in Updike'. have never known a collector more judicious or ne less given to bibliomania, a printer whose work vas more admirable, or a scholar who carried his earning more easily.

When I began to know Updike he was already ver sixty and had experienced so much that, to man of his acute powers of observation both of imself and others, any tendency to rashness of ppreciation or the reverse had long been suppressed. f he could be severe with others, he was certainly evere with himself, having that merciless self-crutiny of his motives and his work which is the ecessary preliminary to the making of an artist. He ad the endowment to have succeeded in literature ad he chosen and from time to time threw off musing squibs in prose and verse.

I never had much talk with Updike about pro-essional affairs. Our conversation turned rather to eligious matters. We had both read widely in heology, and both felt keenly the intellectual and he moral difficulties in all institutional religion. When I first knew him he perhaps insisted rather pon the points which separated us, but in later ears he would accompany me to Mass in a rather oky, not to say dirty, Catholic Church in Boston f his own choice, which I cannot now identify.

My diary and his letters were destroyed in the great aid of 10 May 1941, and I cannot now be sure of the late of my last sight of him. It was in the early weeks f the year of fate, 1939. I sought him one evening in is office in the Beacon Street building. On the way ut something was wrong with the lift. We were ompelled to walk, and I could not help admiring he voiceful and masterful way in which he dealt vith the delinquent. We left the office, crossed the oad in the teeth of a fierce wind sweeping round hrough Kenmore Square. We were, I considered, ucky to find a cab on the rank. Updike opened the loor of one, only to find the driver inside, taking efuge from the cold. This, possibly, might have een excused. But the man was smoking. 'I have aid to you before', he was sharply told, 'that I will ot take your cab after you have been smoking n it', and then his door was banged upon him. Fortunately another cab drove on to the rank, whose driver, lacking the occasion of sin, was commissioned to drive to Updike's new and extremely suitable house on Marlborough Street, where he had plenty of room. I greatly enjoyed seeing him so handsomely and comfortably installed. All his life, it had seemed to me, he had avoided so much comfort. Our talk was mainly political. I had been delivering lectures at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and had visited friends at Washington and Chicago, at all of which places I had been under the necessity of doing my best with the apparent 'yellowness' of Chamberlain's 'appeasement' policy. I found Updike just as interested in the international situation and rather more gloomy than I expected. He was even more gloomy about the American domestic situation. That was not unexpected. He had no more use for a New Deal than a New Gospel. He felt uneasy as I did. I promised to proceed as quickly as possible with the work, already begun, upon a volume of my collected papers, to which he was to contribute an introduction.

Had Updike lived another eight weeks he would have been 82 years of age; and had completed half a century at the Merrymount Press. His mature work, accomplished after he was 45, has a quality that is rarer than style. He was 50 when he began the series of lectures that formed the basis of *Printing Types*. These two historical volumes, like his practical work, have character. This is not the place in which to compare these volumes, published in 1922, with DeVinne's *Plain Printing Types* published in 1899, and other works. But DeVinne also was a character. Both men produced a body of work that is consistent with itself and with exigent personal standards, based in their separate and contrasting approach to typographical history and practice.

The essential qualities of the work of the Merrymount Press, i.e. accurate composition of the text; occasional decoration; proportionate and therefore satisfactory imposition; scrupulous presswork; careful folding, sewing and wrapping of the finished product, may be said without exaggeration or disrespect to DeVinne, to have reached a higher degree of quality and consistency than that of any other printing-house of its size, and period of operation, in America or Europe.

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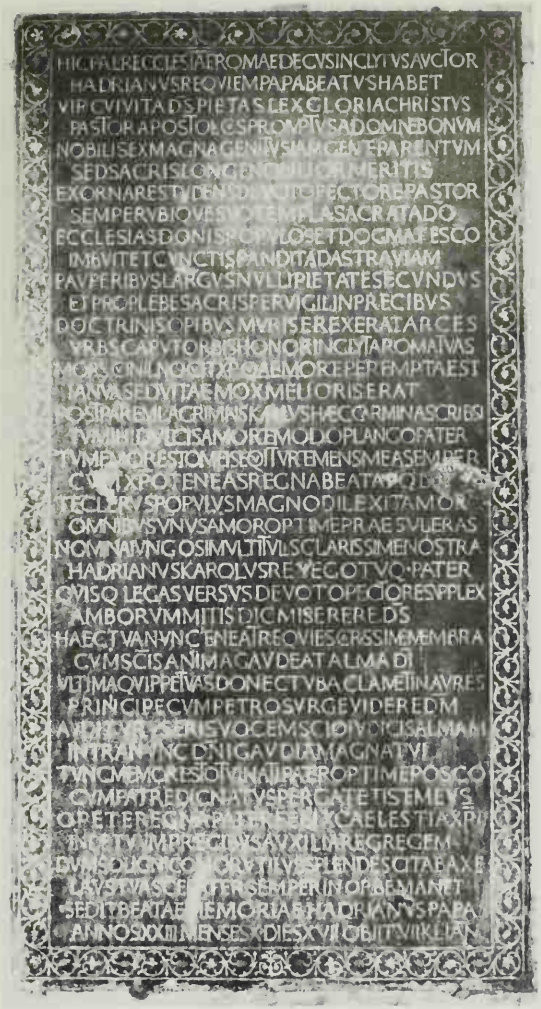
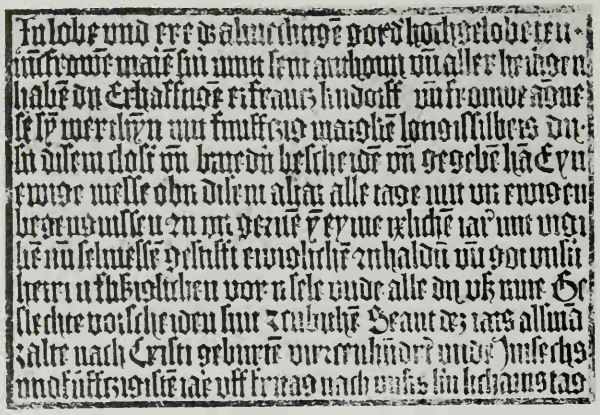
Index of Manuscripts

GENERAL INDEX

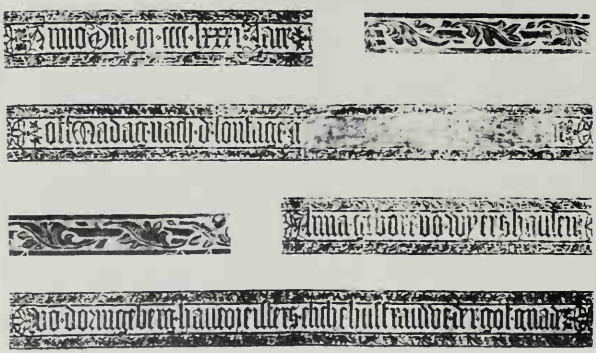
INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS



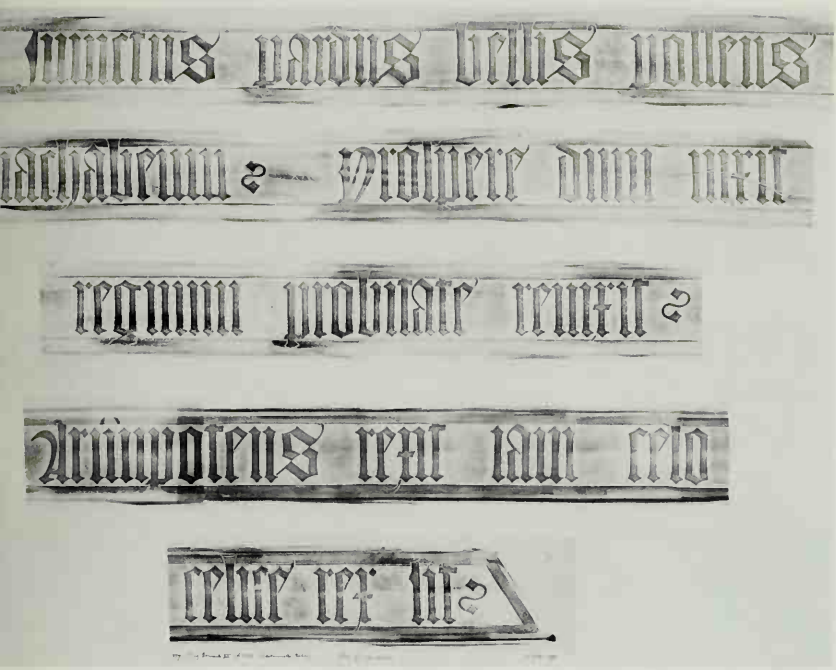
1. Inscription commemorating Pope Hadrian I (d. 795), attributed to Alcuin and ordered to be engraved by Charlemagne. (*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* VIII (1888), pl. XIII.) Reduced.



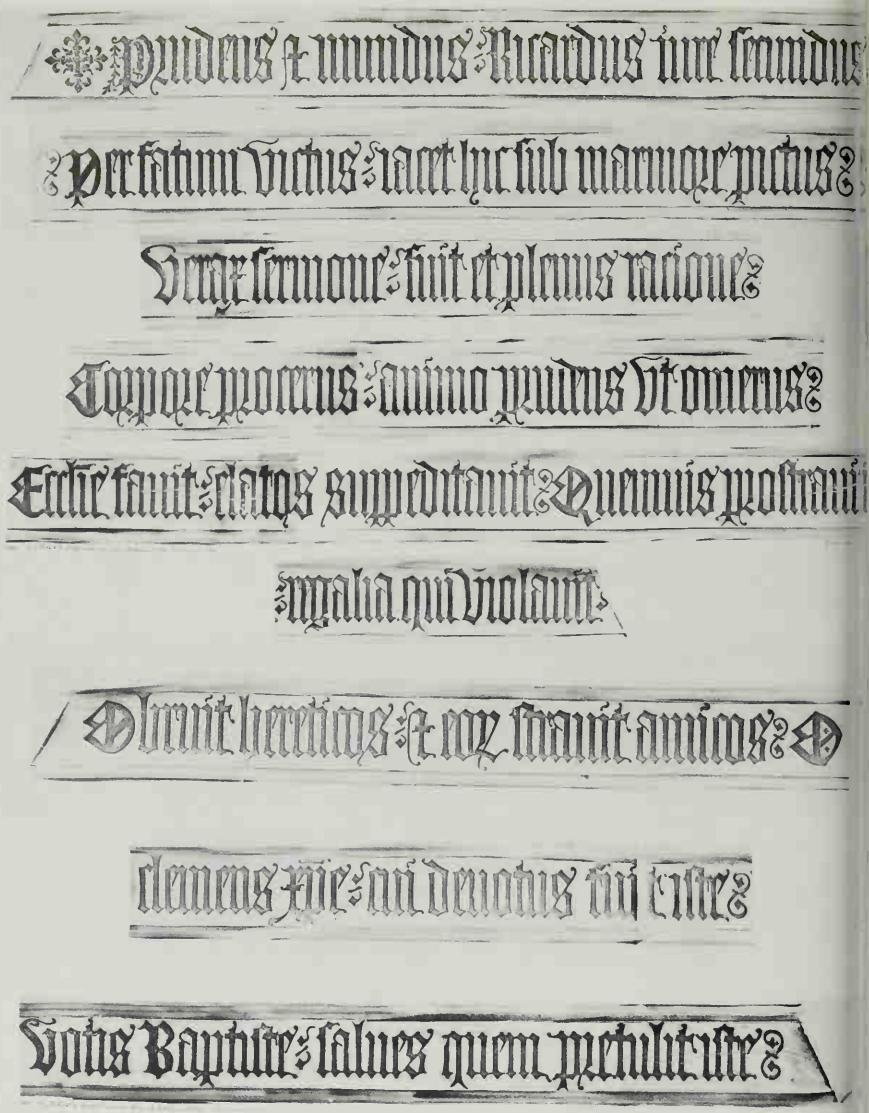
2. Sandstone inscription dated 1456 in Erfurt (Predigerkirche). (Weimar, *Monumental Schriften vergangener Jahrhunderte von ca 1100–1812* (Vienna, 1898).) Reduced.



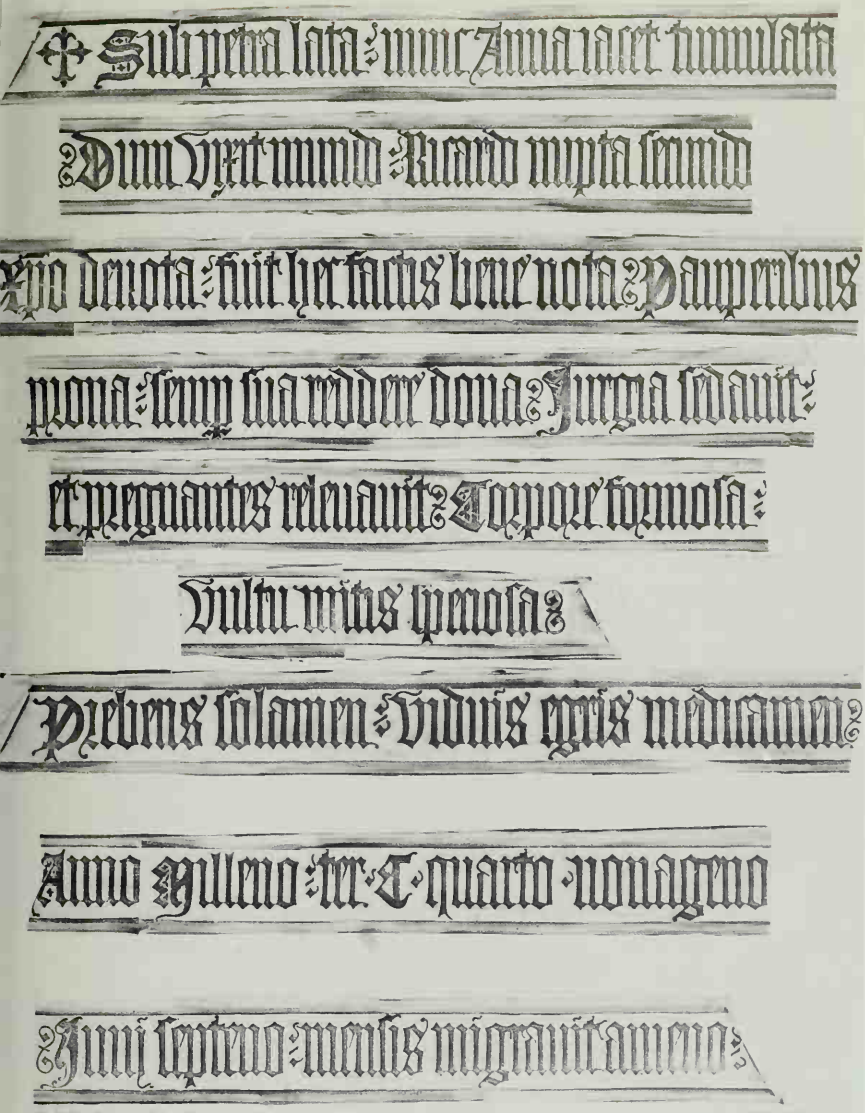
3. Bronze inscription dated 1481 in Marburg (Elisabethkirche). (Weimar, *Monumental Schriften.*) Reduced.



4. Brass inscription from the tomb of Edward III, d. 1377, in Westminster Abbey. (From the Victoria and Albert Museum collection of rubbings from brasses.) Reduced.



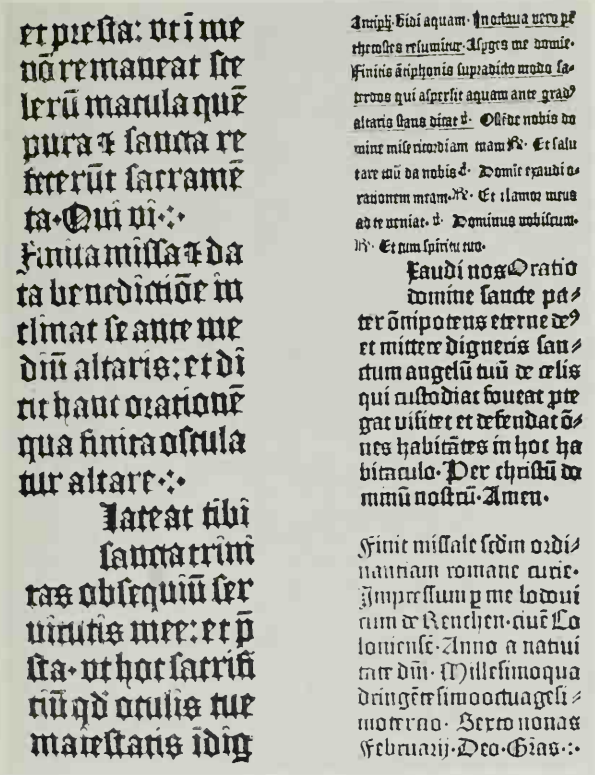
5 and 6. Brass inscriptions from the tomb of Richard II, *c.* 1400, in Westminster Abbey. (From the Victoria and Albert Museum collection of rubbings from brasses.) Richard II's ordinance for the making of his tomb was issued in 1395: '. . . Et auxi Escriptures d'estre gravez entour la dite Toumbe . . . et auxi serront tiels Escochons et bien proportionez du dit Metal Endorrez Gravez et Anamalez de diverses Armes d'estre esteauntz entour la dite Toumbe'. The marble workers, Hy. Yelverley and Stephen Lote, were assisted by Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, coppersmiths, who were probably responsible for the inscriptions. See Rymer, *Foedera* VII, 798. Reduced.



7. Ordinance from the chancery of the Emperor Louis IV (of Bavaria), d. 1341.
From Sybel and Sickel, *Kaiserurkunden in Abbildungen* IX, 21 (Vienna, 1880–91). [Greatly reduced.]
Cf. a similarly displayed heading from the same chancery dated Nov.–Dec. 1337 in W. Arndt and M. Tangl, *Schrifttafeln*, third edn (Berlin, 1929) iii. 53, pl. 94.

8. From the title-page of Bartholomeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum* (Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1495).

9. A Calvary print in the 'dotted manner' detached from a vellum copy of the Mazarin Bible and now in the British Museum. (Dodgson, *Prints in the dotted manner in the British Museum* (London, 1937), no. 60.) Reduced



er pre ſta: vt i me
ñ remaneat ſce
lerū macula quē
pura ⁊ ſancta re
tinerūt ſacramē
ta·Qui vi·⁘·
Finita miſſa ⁊ da
ta benedictiōe in
clinat ſe ante me
diū altaris: et di
cit hanc orationē
qua finita oſcula
tur altare·⁘·

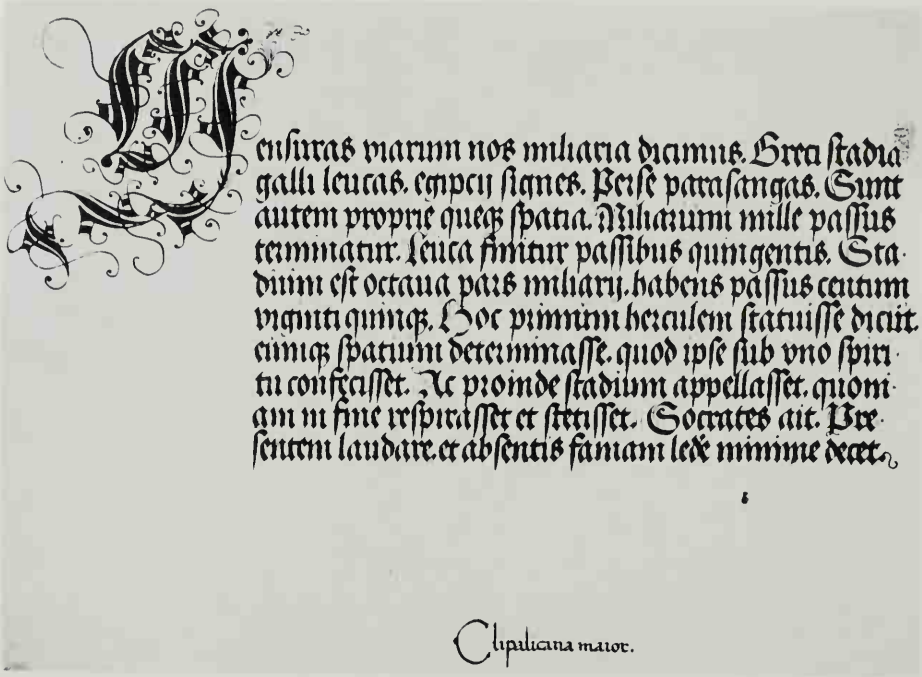
Iate at tibi
ſancta trini
tas obſequiū ſer
uitutis mee: et p
ſta· vt hoc ſacrifi
ciū qđ oculis tue
maieſtatis idig

Imiſi tibi aquam· ⁊ rigabua vero pe
thoniſes reſumitur· Aſpers me domi
Finitis ãiphonis ſupradicto modo la
trones qui aſperſit aquam ante grad
altaris ſtans dicat ỹ· Oſtende nobis do
mine miſericordiam tuam ℟· Et ſalu
tare tuū da nobis ỹ· Domine exaudi o
rationem meam ℟· Et clamor meus
ad te veniat· ỹ· Dominus vobiſcum·
℟· Et cum ſpiritu tuo·

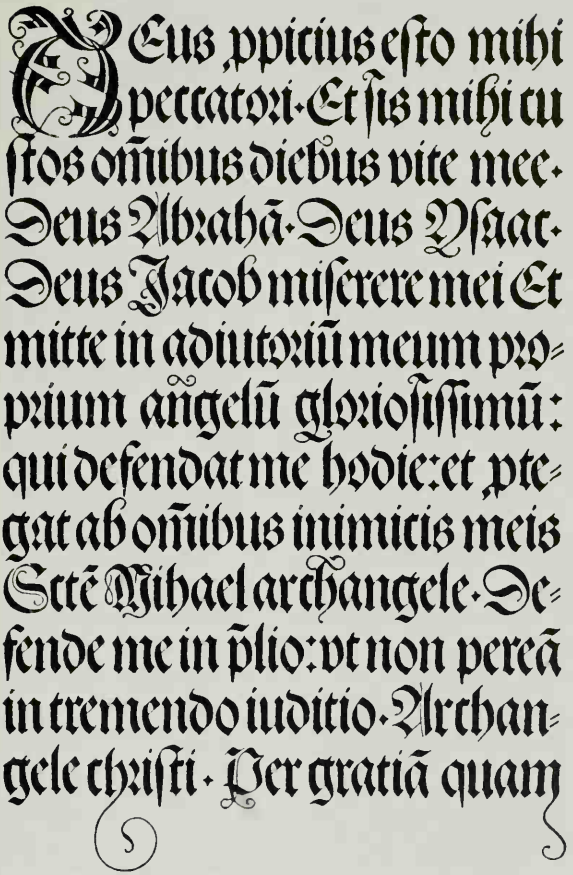
Exaudi nos Oratio
domine ſancte pa
ter ōmipotens eterne de
et mittere dignereis ſan
ctum angelū tuū de celis
qui cuſtodiat foueat pte
gat viſitet et defendat cō
nes habitātes in hoc ha
bitaculo· Per chriſtū do
mīū noſtrū· Amen·

Finit miſſale ſcdm ordi
nariam romane curie·
Impreſſum p me lodowi
cum de Renchen· aūē Lo
lomienſe· Anno a natiui
tate dñi· M·illeſimoqua
dringēteſimooctuageſi
moterco· Decto nonas
Februarij· Deo· Gias·⁘·

10. From the *Missale Romanum* printed at Cologne by L. von Renchen in 1483. Reduced.



11. From the *Proba centum scripturarum diversarum una manu exaratarum fratris Leonhardi W[agner]*, begun about 1507 and perhaps finished by 1510. Reduced.


Deus ppicius esto mihi
peccatori. Et sis mihi cu
stos oñibus diebus vite mee.
Deus Abrahã. Deus Ysaac.
Deus Jacob miserere mei Et
mitte in adiutoriũ meum pro=
priũm angelũ glorioſissimũ:
qui defendat me hodie: et pte=
gat ab oñibus inimicis meis
Sctẽ Mihael archangele. De=
fende me in plio: vt non pereã
in tremendo iuditio. Archan=
gele christi. Per gratiã quam

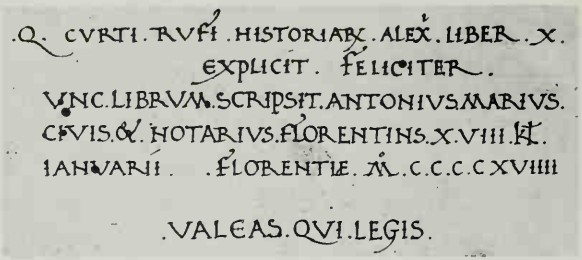
12. From the *Liber horarum ad usum Maximiliani Imperatoris* (printed by Schönsperger, Augsburg, 1513). Size of original.

13. Medal by Pisani (Pisanello) of Sigismondo Malatesta, dated 1445 (Hill, *Corpus of Italian medals* (London, 1930), 34). Size of original.

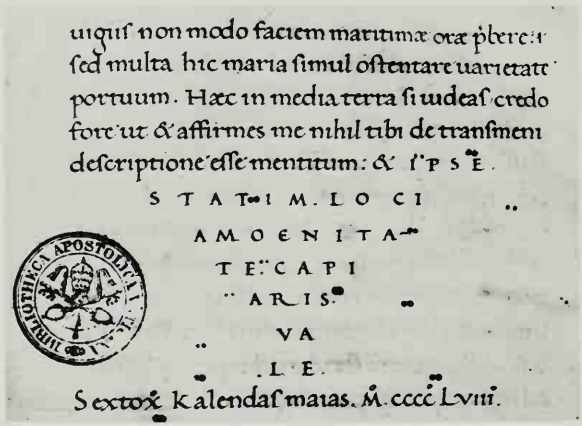
14. Medal by Emiliano Orfini of Pope Paul II, dated 1464 (Hill, 775). Size of original.

15. Medal by Lysippus of Raphael Maffei, Vatican scribe 1466–76 (Hill, 797). Size of original.

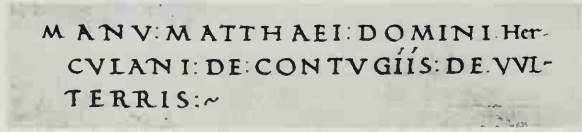
16. From Felicis Feliciani Veronensis Opusculum, Vatican Lat. 6852, fol. 11 (*c.* 1463). The original has the A in light and dark green for the outside and inside, respectively, of the design. Size of original.


.Q. CVRTI. RVFI. HISTORIARV. ALEX. LIBER. X.
EXPLICIT. FELICITER.
VNC LIBRVM. SCRIPSIT. ANTONIVS. MARIVS.
CIVIS. &. NOTARIVS. FLORENTINVS. XVIII. KL.
IANVARII. FLORENTIE. M.CCCCCXVIIII
VALEAS. QVI. LEGIS.

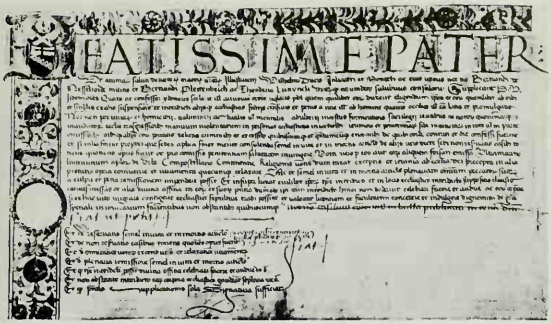
17. From Q. Curtii Rufi Historiae Alexandri Liber, dated 1419. Vatican Lat. 1865, fol. 142r. Size of original.


uiquis non modo faciem maritimæ oræ pbere:r
sed multa hic maria simul ostentare uarietatt
portuum. Hæc in media terra si uideas credo
fore ut & affirmes me nihil tibi de transmeri
descriptione esse mentitum: & IPSE.
STATVIT LOCI
AMOENITA-
TE CAPI
ARIS
VA
LE.
Sextoꝯ Kalendas maias. M.cccc.Lviii.

18. From Io. Antonii Campani Orationes, dated 1458. Vatican Urb. Lat. 324, fol. 219v. Size of original.


MANV: MATTHAEI: DOMINI. Her-
CVLANI: DE: CONTVGIIS: DE. VVL-
TERRIS:~

19. From the same, fol. 84r. Size of original.



20. Supplica to Innocent VIII (A. Brackmann, 'Paptsurkunden', in *Urkunden und Siegel*, hrsg. G. Seeliger (Leipzig, 1914). For a facsimile in the colours and size of the original see L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Practica Cancellariae apostolicae s.XV exeunte* (Leipzig, 1913)).

21. Detail of a title to a Psalter written by Fr Antonio del Cherico, *post* 1476, for Matthias Corvinus. (Hevesy, *La bibliothèque du roi Mathias Corvin* (Paris, 1923), pl. XIV.) Wolfenbüttel 39 Aug. Size of original.

PETRVS BEMBVS FILIVS.
BERNARDVS BEMBVS PATER.

22. Typographical capitals of inscriptional proportions cut by Fr. Griffo for Aldus Manutius. From P. Bembo, *De Ætna* (Venice, 1495). Size of original.

POLIPHILO INCOMINCIA IL SECONDO LIBRO DI LA SVA HYPNEROTOMACHIA. NEL QVALE POLIA ET LVI DISERTABONDI, IN QVALE MODO ET VARIO CASO NARRANO INTERCALARIAMENTE IL SVO INAMORAMENTO.

23. Another set of typographical capitals of inscriptional design used by Aldus Manutius. From the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499). Size of original.

ros angelorꝫ :et per omnes uirtutes celorum prî cipatus et poteſtates :thronos et dñationes:che rubin et ſeraphin deo patri obedientes:et ipſũ ſemper laudantes et glorificantes in ſecula ſecu

lorum Amen. Alia commiratio ꝛc. Omnuro te dialole per oẽs ſc̃os uteris teſtamenti qui ſunt in paradiſo:et in gloria dei patris oĩpotentis:et per glorioſam uir ginem mariam que fuit uirgo ante partũ:ĩ pa tu:atqꝫ poſt partum:et concepit dñum noſtrum ieſum xp̃m ſaluatorem et redemptorem mũdi: et per oẽs ſc̃os patriarchas et prophetas:aplos euangeliſtas:martyres confeſſores doctores et uirgines:et per omnes uirtutes dei te commu ro ut non habeas poteſtatem neqꝫ licentiã ſtan di in corpore famuli dei .N. quia deus fecit eum ad ſimilitudinem ſuam:nec te lateat ſathana et beelzebub immittere penas et tormenta que uenient tibi in die iudicii et in diem ſempiternum: quando deus uenturus eſt iudicare uiuos et mortuos uelut clibanus ardens in terra:et uniuerſis ſocius tuus et angelis maligms:in ſinum uadas: et proinde intus dãnatus per infinita ſecula ſe culorum. A M I N ꝛc.

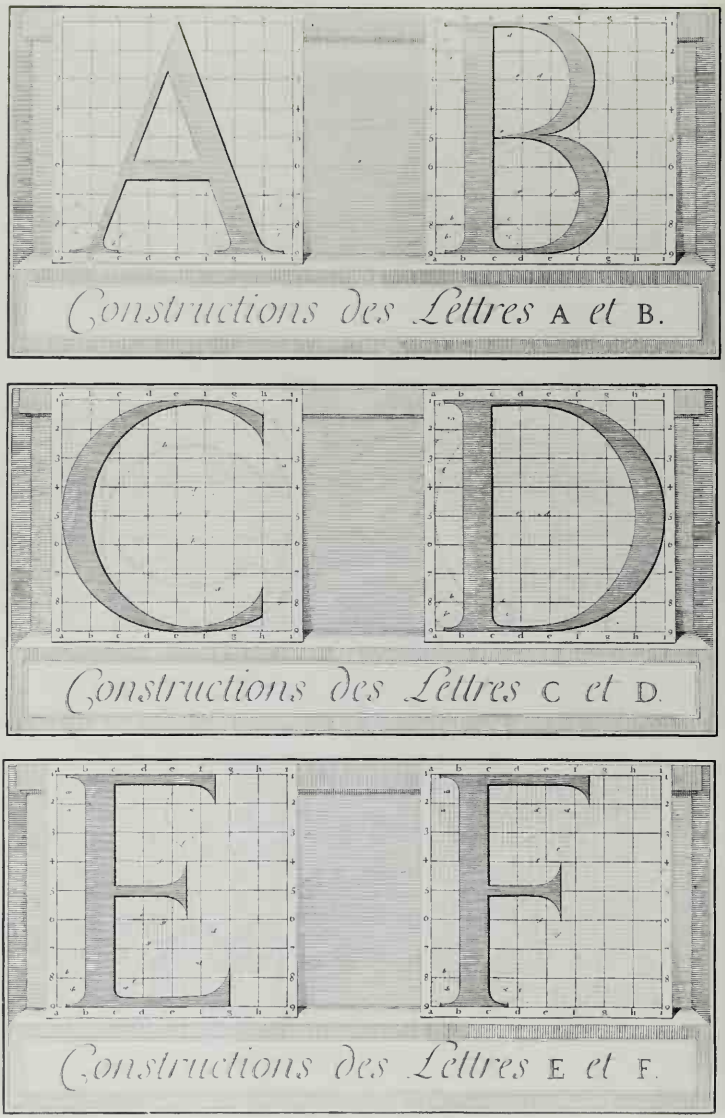
Sedente Leone X. Pont. Maximo
Ludouicus Vicentinus Scribebat Romæ An.
Sal. M D X X .ª

24. Colophon of the Missale Romanum written in 1520 by Ludovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78.D.17.)

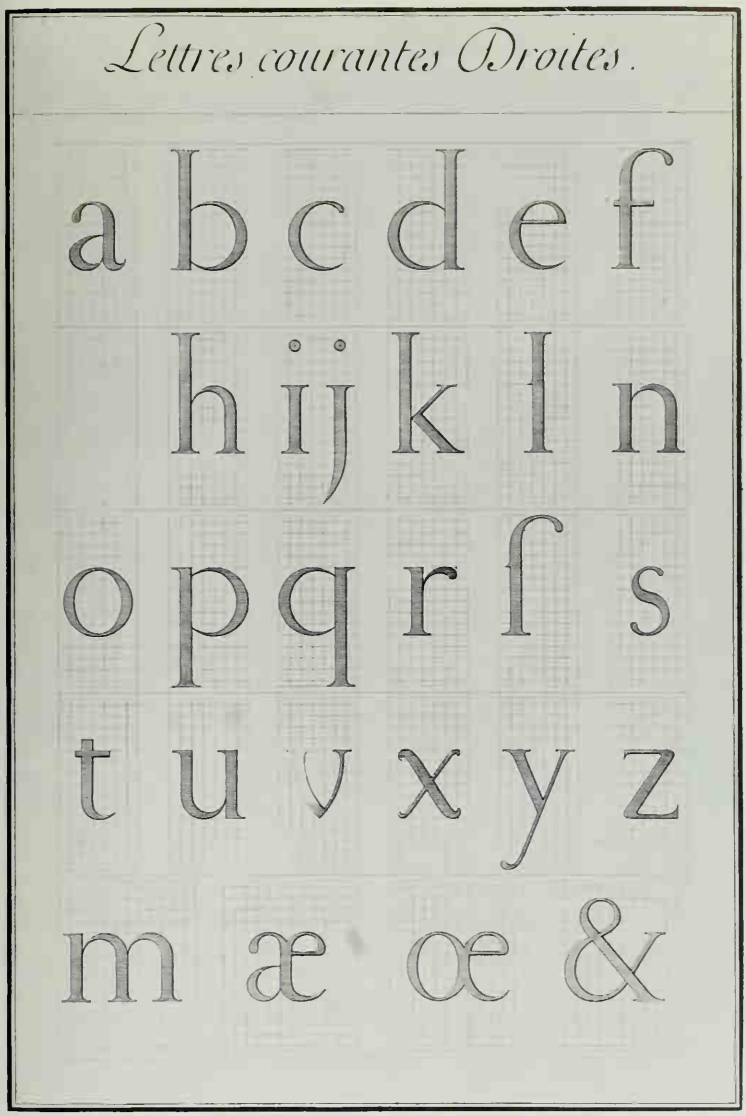
Stanpata in Roma
per Lodovico Vicentino Scrittore,
& Lautitio Perugino Intagliatore,
nel MDXXIIII
del mese di Luglio

25. From G. G. Trissino, *La Sophonisba*, printed by Ludovico degli Arrighi of Vicenza and Lautizio [dei Rotelli] of Perugia with inscriptional capitals. Enlarged by a quarter.

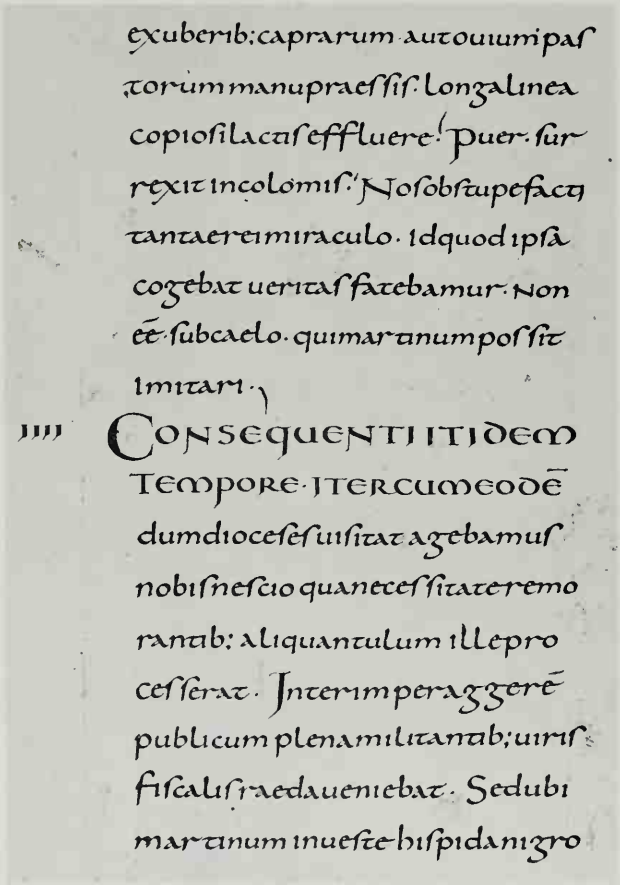
26. Bronze casting from the seal cut, *circa* 1524, with inscriptional capitals by Lautizio Perugino for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Victoria and Albert Museum. Size of original.



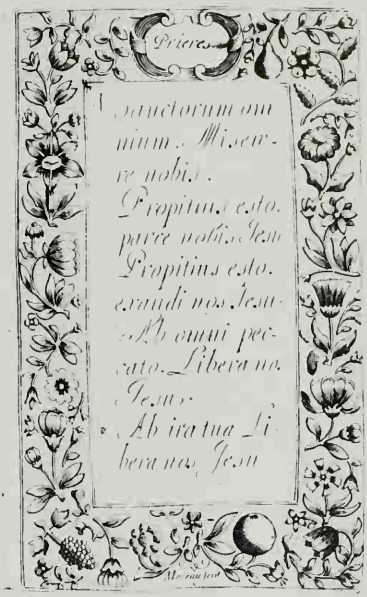
27. L. Simonneau's plate engraved in 1716 showing the principles of the construction of capitals recommended by the Jaugeon Commission in 1695. Reduced.



28. Simonneau's plate engraved in 1695 following the principles of the Jaugeon Commission. The engraver made a new series of plates (see Plate 27) in greater detail and with a revised 'g' in 1716. The term 'courantes droites' was invented by the Commission as a substitute for 'romain'. Reduced


exuberib: caprarum autouium pas
torum manu praessis. Longa linea
copiosi lacte sefluere. Puer surr
rexit incolomis. Nos obstupefacti
tantae rei miraculo. Idquod ipsa
cogebat ueritas fatebamur. Non
ee subcaelo. quimartinum possit
imitari.
IIII Consequenti itidem
Tempore. Iter cum eode
dum dioceses uisitat agebamus
nobis nescio quanec essitate remo
rantib: aliquantulum ille pro
cesserat. Interim peragere
publicum plena militantib; uiris
fiscalis raedauehebat. Sedubi
martinum inuestehispida nigro

29. The Caroline minuscule. Quedlinburg, Stifts- und-Gymnasialbibliothek 79 (Martinellus). From L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur l'école calligraphique de Tours au ixe siècle* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 32* (1886)).



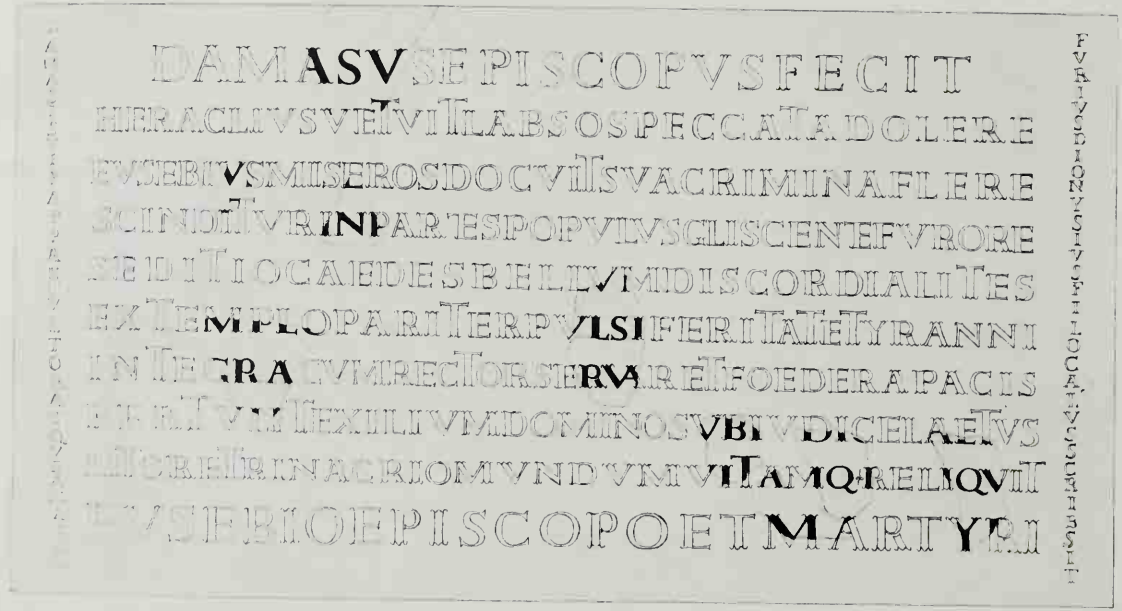
30. *Les sainctes prières de l'âme chrestienne*. Paris, Moreau, 1632.

31–32. *Deuotes prières escrites et burinées après le naturel de la plume*. Paris, Moreau, 1649.

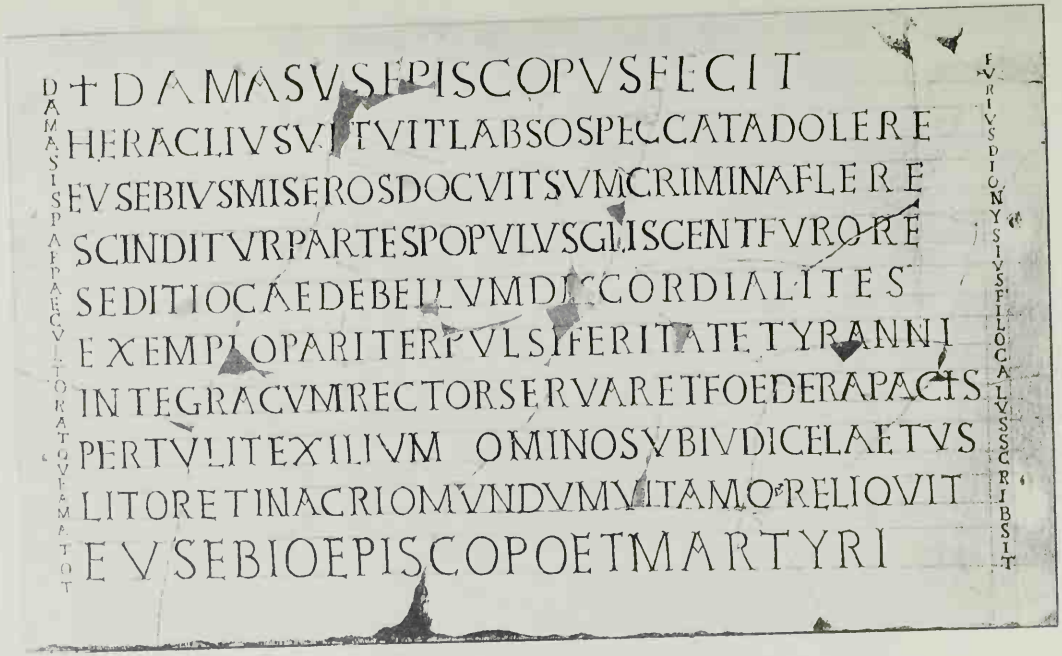
AC PATRIARCHAE AQVILEIAE
EPISTOLA IN COMMENTARIOS EPISTOLARVM
PAVLI

Nter omnia liberalium artium maximaq3
doctrinarum genera, eas disciplinas, ceteris
omnibus præstare putamus, quæ ueritatem
facilius inuenire, et inuentam posßunt uberi
ori quadam et rerum et sententiarum copia
declarare. Nam cum uniuscuiusq3 scientiæ
ueritatem ueteres sapienter quidem pro fine constituißet Cui
alqua ipsarum ad illum propius acceßerit, eam, cæteris omni
bus doctrinis et artibus præstare putauerunt. Et quanq3 om
nes scientiæ uno quodam societatis uinculo contineantur, dispa
res tamen sunt inter se. Vnaq3 inter illas maxime excellit, quæ
in compræhensione primæ ueritatis, et eius cognitione uersatur
et hæc sacra Theologia appellatur. Nam aliæ disciplinæ, atque
scientiæ, umbram quandam ueritatis, prospiciunt. hæc autem
ueritatem ipsam, nobis clarißima quadam luce sua commo
stranit, et quamq3 plurimæ partes in ea continentur, quæ
nobis, hoc copioßißime præstent. Nihil tamen post admirabilem
illam Dei legem, per Moysem promulgatam, et post sanctißimæ
Euangelia ad copioßius, atq3 facilius, q3 Epistolas Pauli præstare
posse, iudicauimus. Nam cum illæ clarißimum quendam splen
dorem, ad cognitionem ueritatis, nobis afferant, quæ in illa
obscurißima lege Moysi sub uelamentis figurarum latitare
uidebatur, non modo ueterem illam legem euangelicæ ueritati
coniunxerunt, atq3 utranq3 unam fecerunt, sed omnium
etiam hereticorum improbos ausus, nephariosq3 eorum cogita

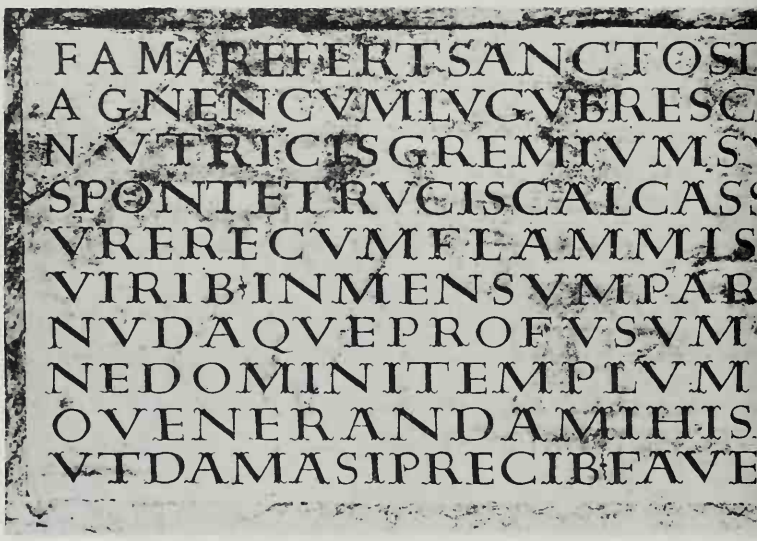
33. Upright formal Chancery script with flowing capitals. From Grimani's Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, s. xvi, with illuminations by Giulio Clovio, written for Cardinal Grimani. Sir John Soane Museum 11.



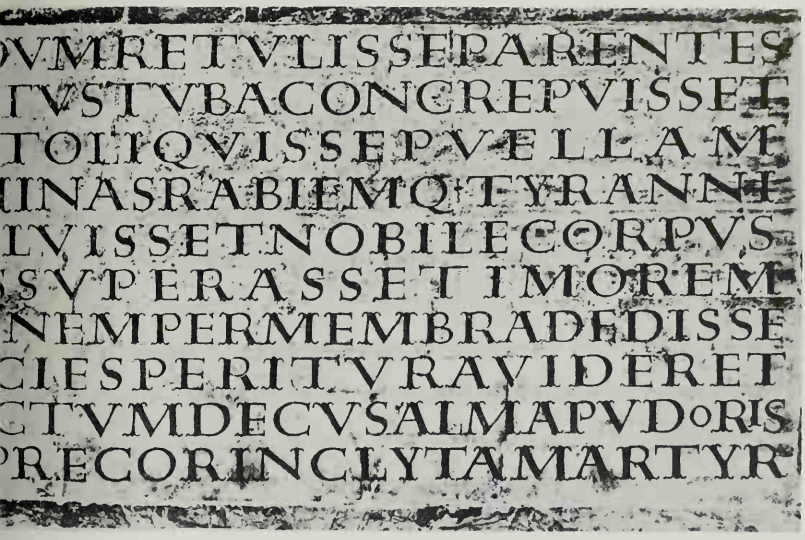
34. Fragments of an original Damasine inscription (*c.* 380), the lost portions supplied from Plate 35. (From De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea.*)

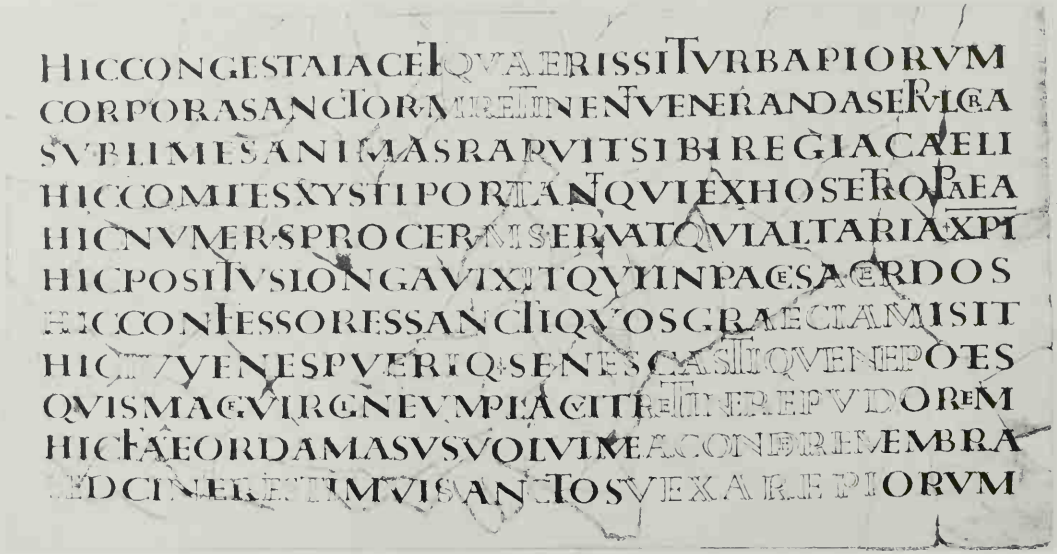


35. Sixth-century copy of the original inscription of Pope Damasus, signed 'Furius Dionysius Filocalus' in the right margin. Restored. (From De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea.*) Reduced.



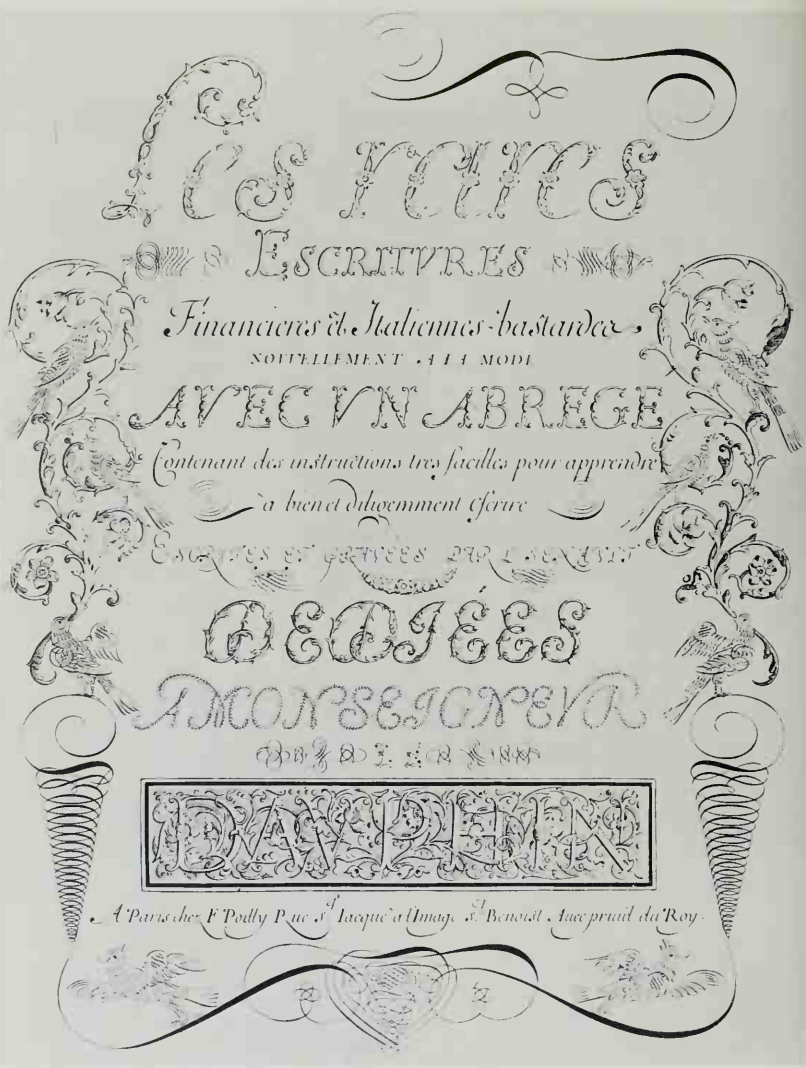
36. (Parts 1 and 2) The poem of St Damasus celebrating the martyrdom of St Agnes, in the script of Filocalus. From the existing inscription erected in the church of St Agnes on the Via Nomentana, *circa* 384. (Six letters at the top left corner are restored.)


VMRETVLISSERARENTES
TVSTVBACONCREPVISSET
TOLLQVISSEPVELLAME
IINASRABIEMQTYRANNI
LVISSETNOBILECORPVS
SSVPERASSETIMOREM
NEMPERMEMBRADEDISSE
CIESPERITVRAVIDERET
CTVMDECVSALMAPVDORIS
PRECORINCLYTAMARTYR



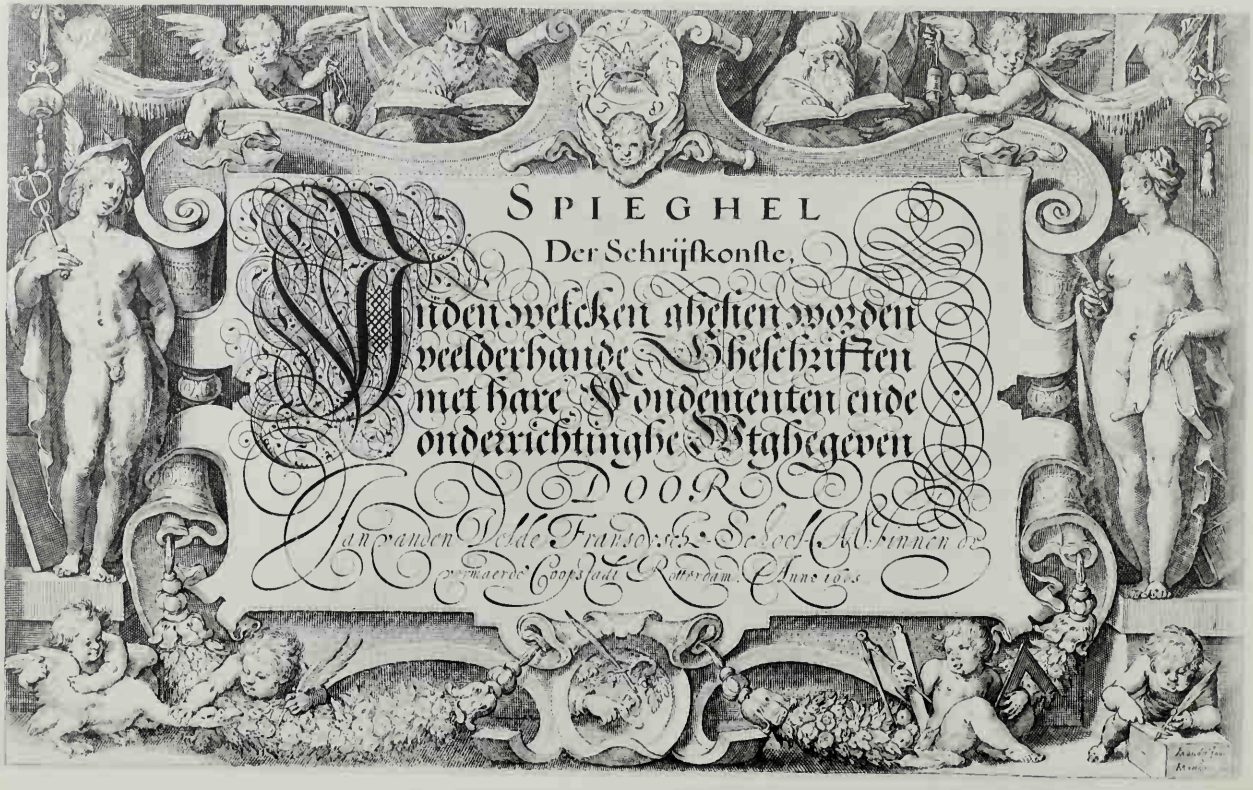
37. Another (restored) Damasine inscription. (From De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*.)

38–39. Two pages (reduced) from the *Psalterium aureum* written for Charlemagne between 783 and 795. (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Lat. 1861. *C.L.A.* x, 1504.)

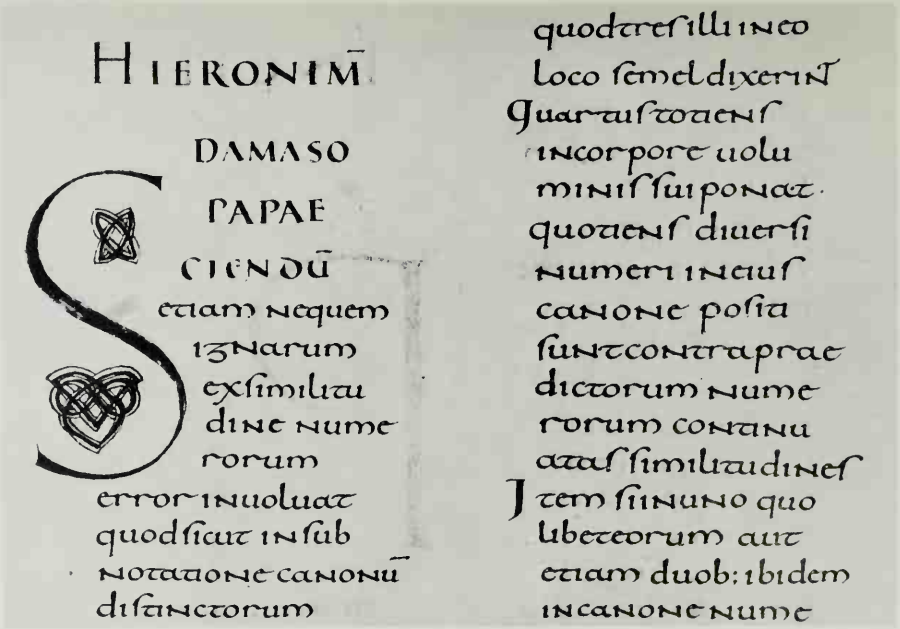


40. Title-page from Senault's writing book.

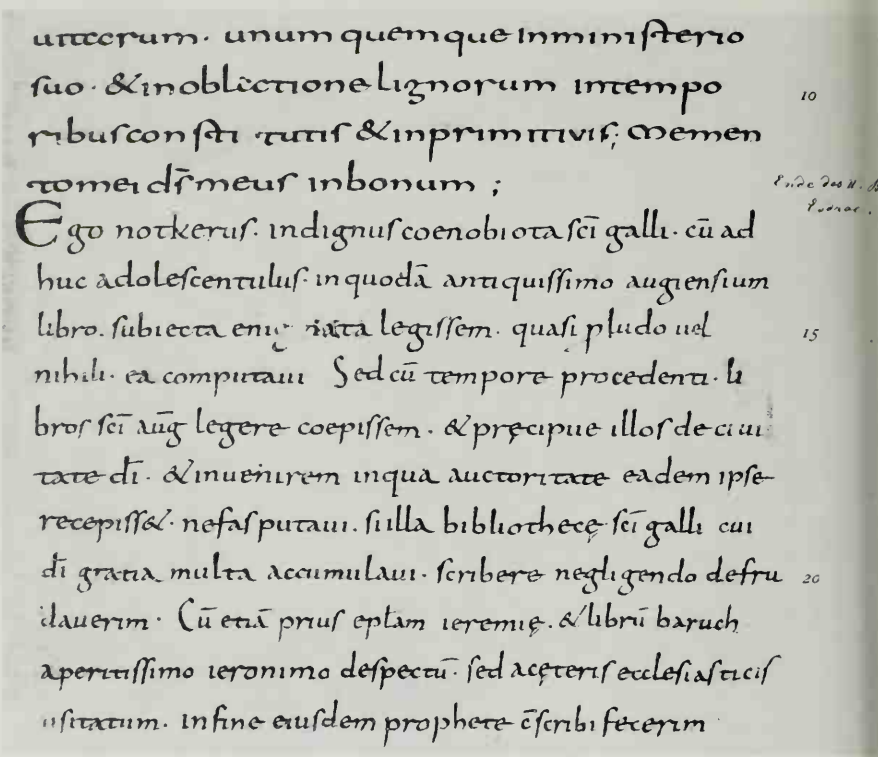
41. Gravestone cut *circa* 1715 (from Degering, *Die Schrift*); cf. capitals in Fig. 128. Reduced.



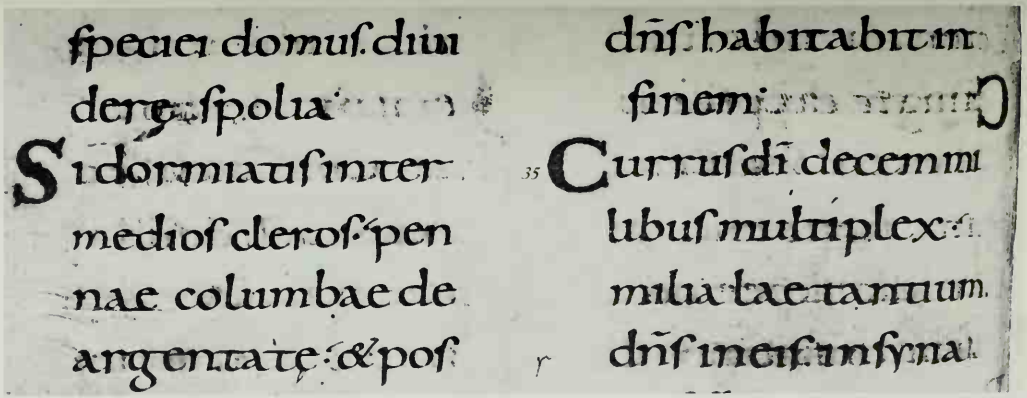
42. J. van der Velde, *Spieghel der schrijfkonste*. Rotterdam, 1605. Reduced.



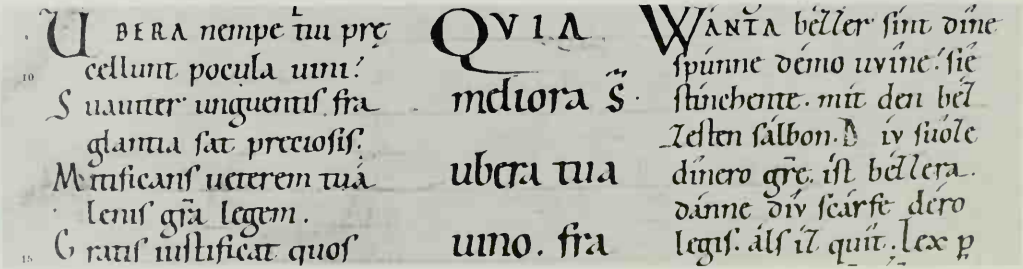
43. Gospels of Lothaire. Formal Carolingian minuscule. Tours, 843–55. B.N. lat. 266. (Appendix, Black-letter text, no. 7.)


utterum. unum quemque inministerio
suo. & inoblectione lignorum intempo
ribus constituit & inprimis uiri; memen
to mei dñe meus inbonum ;
Ego notkerus. indignus coenobiota sci galli. cū ad
huc adolescentulus. in quodā antiquissimo augiensium
libro. subiecta enim iacta legissem. quasi pludo uel
nihili. ea compiraui Sed cū tempore procedente. li
bros sci uūg legere coepissem. & precipue illos de ci ui
tate dei. & inueniirem inqua auctoritate eadem ipse
recepisse. nefas putaui. si illa bibliothecę sci galli cui
dei gratia multa accumulaui. scribere negligendo defru
dauerim. Cū etiā prius eptam ieremię. & libri baruch
apertissimo ieronimo despectū. sed aceteris ecclesiasticis
usitatum. in fine eiusdem prophete ēscribi fecerim

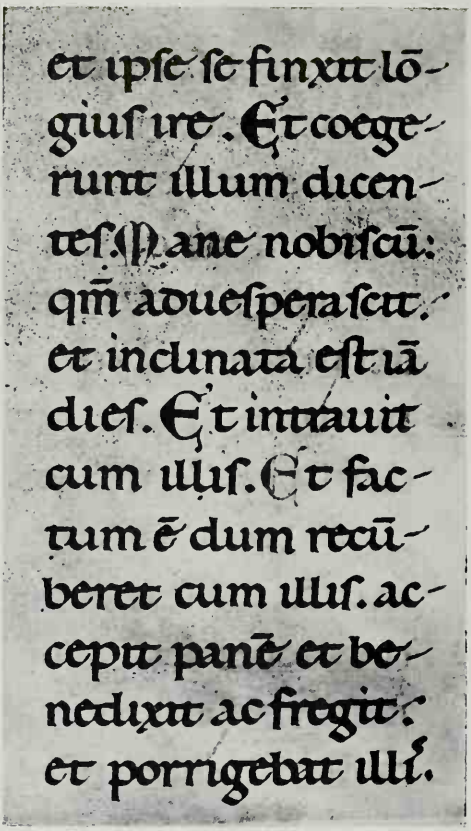
44. No. 10. Old Testament, portions. Formal Carolingian minuscule followed by Notker's rustic script. St Gall, 870–912. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 14.



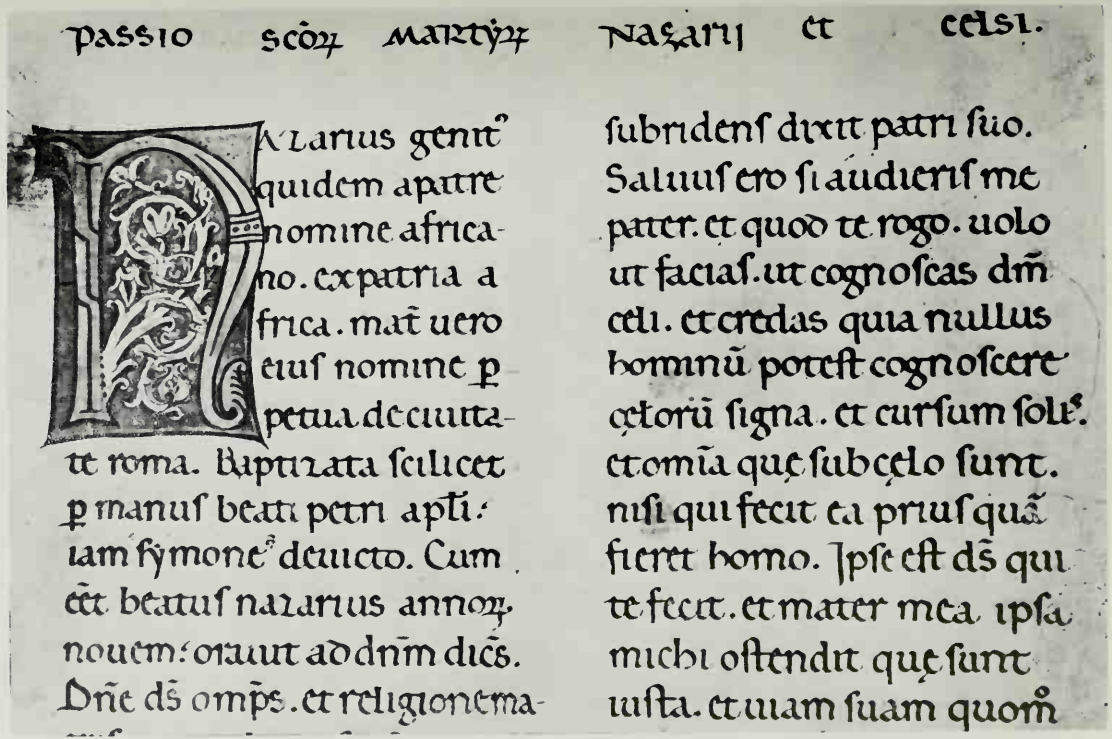
45. No. 11. Folkard Psalter. Formal Carolingian of the St Gall type. St Gall, 872. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 23.



46. No. 14. William's paraphrase of the *Cantica Canticorum*. Rustic version of the St Gall type written at Ebersberg, 1048–85. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Cgm. 10.

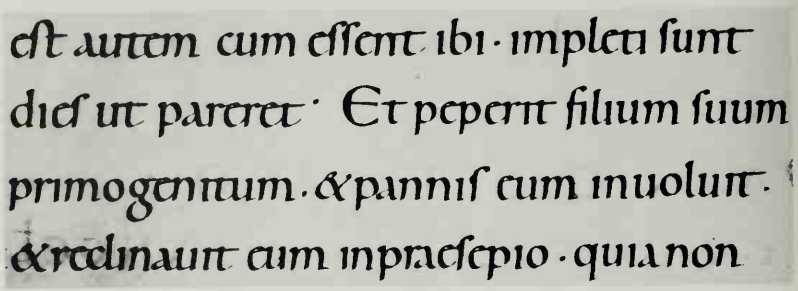

et ipſe ſe finxit lō-
giuſ ire. Et coege-
runt illum dicen-
tes. ſ. mane nobiſcū:
qm̄ aduesperaſcit.
et inclinata eſt iā
dies. Et intrauit
cum illis. Et fac-
tum ē dum recū-
beret cum illis. ac-
cepit panē et be-
nedixit ac fregit.
et porrigebat illi.

47. Padua Lectionary. Heavy formal North Italian minuscule written in Lombardy, 1170. Padua Cathedral.

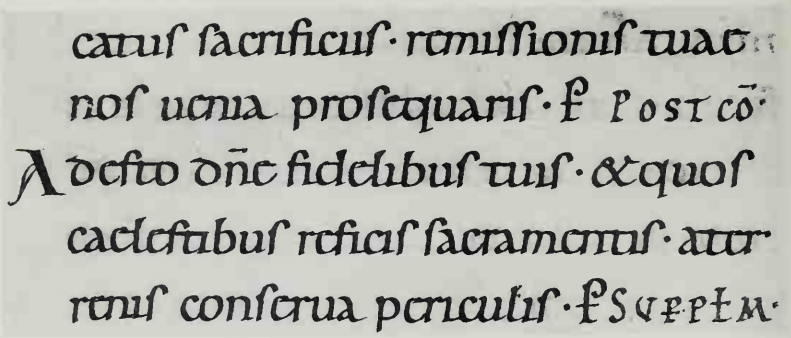

PASSIO SCŌR MARTYR NAZARII ET CELSI.

NAZARIUS GENTE QUIDEM A PATRE NOMINE AFRICANO. EX PATRIA AFRICA. MAT UERO EIUS NOMINE P PETUA DE CIUITATE ROMA. BAPTIZATA SCILICET P MANUS BEATI PETRI APLI: IAM SYMONE DEIECTO. CUM ESSET BEATUS NAZARIUS ANNOR. NOUEM: ORAUIT AD DNM DICS. DNE DS OMPS. ET RELIGIONEMA- SUBRIDENS DIXIT PATRI SUO. SALUUS ERO SI AUDIERIS ME PATER. ET QUOD TE ROGO. UOLO UT FACIAS. UT COGNOSCAS DNM CELI. ET CREDAS QUIA NULLUS HOMINŪ POTEST COGNOSCERE CETORŪ SIGNA. ET CURSUM SOLIS. ET OMIA QUE SUB CELO SUNT. NISI QUI FECIT EA PRIUS QUA FIERET HOMO. IPSE EST DS QUI TE FECIT. ET MATER MEA IPSA MICHI OSTENDIT QUE SUNT IUSTA. ET UIAM SUAM QUOM

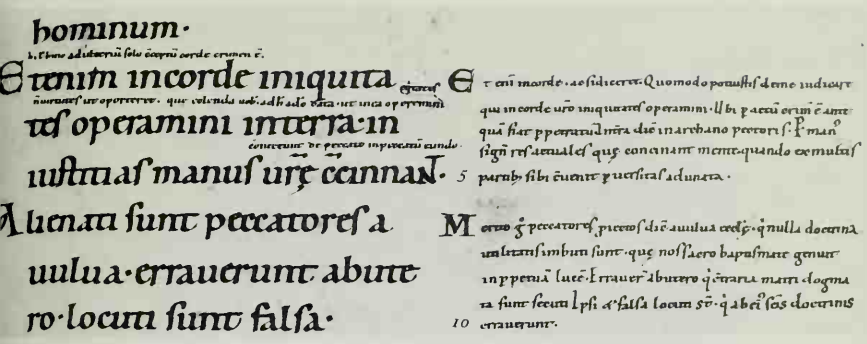
48. No. 19. *Vitae Sanctorum.* Formal North Italian minuscule. Lombardy, 1180–1. Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria 1473.


est autem cum essent ibi · impleti sunt
dies ut parceret · Et peperit filium suum
primogenitum · & pannis eum involuit ·
& reclinauit eum in praesepio · quia non

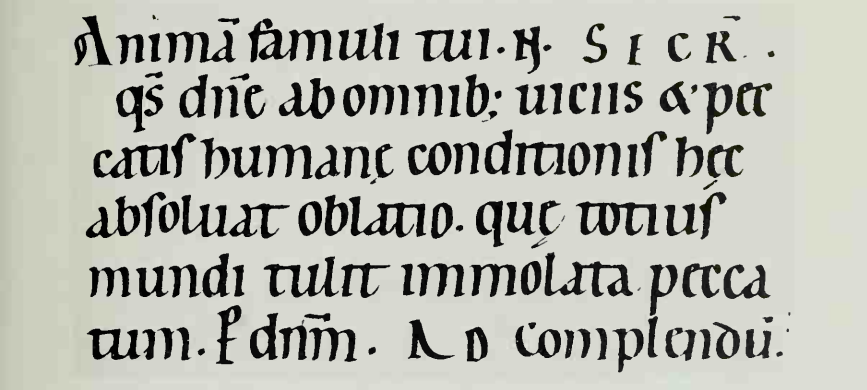
49. No. 21. Bamberg Lectionary. Rustic Carolingian minuscule. Reichenau, 1007–14. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 4452.


catus sacrificus · remissionis tuae
nos uenia prosequaris · ℔ Post cō·
A decto dñe fidelibus tuis · & quos
caelestibus refecis sacramentis · atte
nuis conserua periculis · ℔ Sequēt·

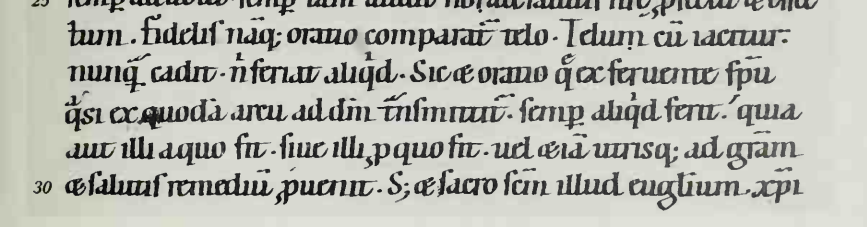
50. No. 22. Sacramentary of St Bernwald. Formalized rustic minuscule. Hildesheim, 1014. Hildesheim, Domschatz 19.


hominum·
Etenim incorde iniquita
tes operamini in terra·in
iustitias manus uras cōmittitis·
Alienati sunt peccatores a
uulua·errauerunt abutte
ro·locuti sunt falsa·

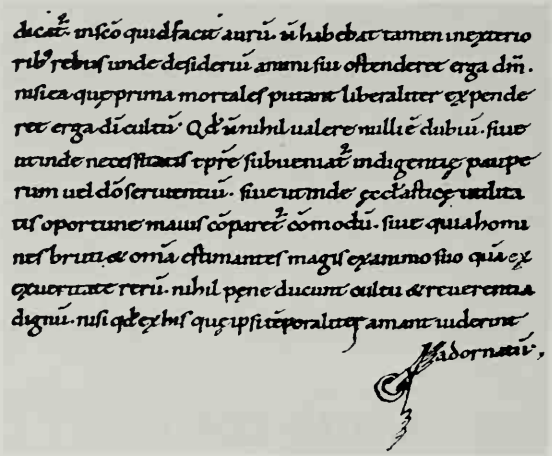
51. No. 24. Psalter with glosses. Main text in heavy rustic Carolingian. Tegernsee, *circa* 1050. Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 18121. Reduced.


Animā famuli tui·H· SICR·
qs dne ab omnib; uicijs a pec
catis humanę condicionis hec
absoluat oblatio. quę totius
mundi tulit immolata pecca
tum. p dnm. A D complendū.

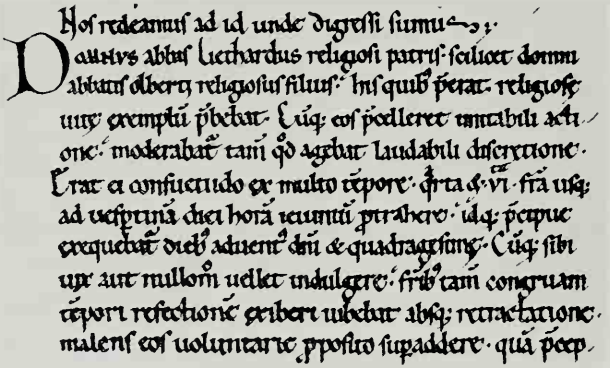
52. No. 32. Salzburg Sacramentary. Semi-formal rustic minuscule, twelfth century. W. Berlin, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek.


semp aduocatū·semp tam audiat nos ad salutis nre; pfectū ęcclę
tum. fidelis nāq; orando comparatę uidetur·Tedium cū iactatur·
nunq; cadat·nō feriat aliquid·Sic ęo orando q ęc seruentę spu
qsi ex quodā arcu ad dm tnsmittit·semp aliquid ferit·quia
aut illi a quo fit·siue illi p quo fit·uel ęcię uniq; ad gram
ęsalutis remediū puenit·S; ęsacro scm illud euangelium·xpi

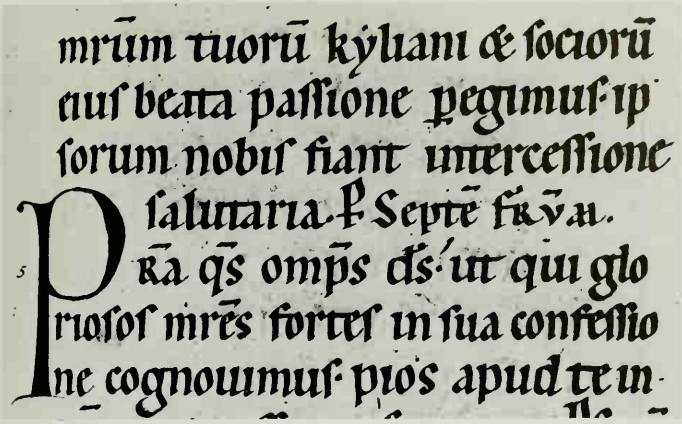
53. No. 23. Homilies. Strongly formalized and condensed rustic Carolingian minuscule. Admont, 1137–50. Admont, Stiftsbibliothek LXXIII.



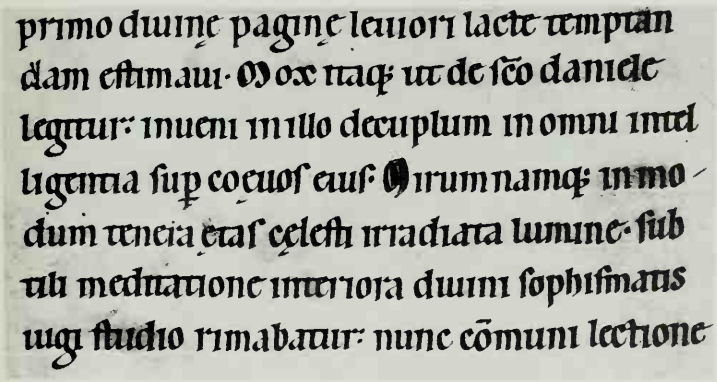
54. No. 15. Sigebert of Gembloux' *Gesta abbatum* in his autograph minuscule, written before 1071 [but cf. *Politics and script* (Oxford, 1972), p. 193]. Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek Rep. II, 69.



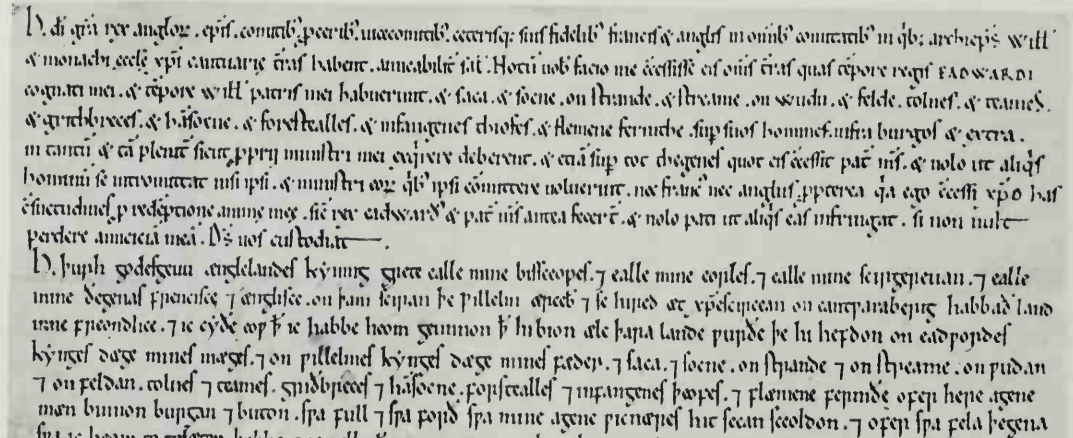
55. No. 26. Sigebert's *Gesta abbatum* in the autograph of his continuator Godescalc, written *circa* 1136. Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek Rep. II, 69.


mrūm tuorū kyliani & ſociorū
eius beata paſſione pegimus ip
ſorum nobis fiant intercessione
ſalutaria Septē fr̄ū.
Prā qs omps ds ut qui glo
riosos mrēs fortes in ſua confeſſio
ne cognouimus pios apud te in-

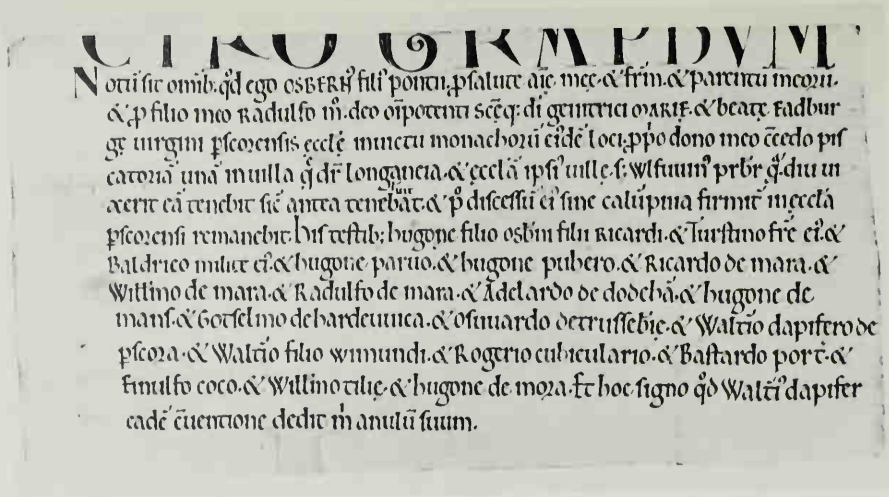
56. No. 29. Bamberg Missal. Formalized and condensed minuscule, 1146–89. Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek Ed. III. 6.


primo diuine pagine lectori lacte tenplan
dam eſtimaui. Bos ox itaq; ut de ſco daniele
legitur: inueni in illo decuplum in omni intel
ligentia ſup coetaneos eius. Rirum namq; in mo-
dum teneta etas celeſti irradiata lumine ſub
tili meditatione interiora diuini ſophiſmatis
uigi ſtudio rimabatur: nunc cōmuni lectione

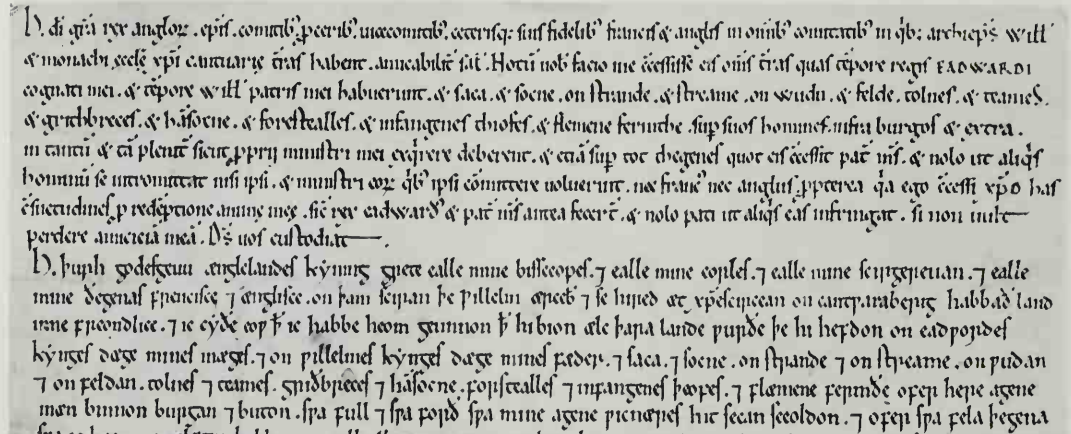
57. No. 31. Vita Bernwardi. Strongly formalized and condensed minuscule, *circa* 1180. Hanover, Staatsarchiv 5.



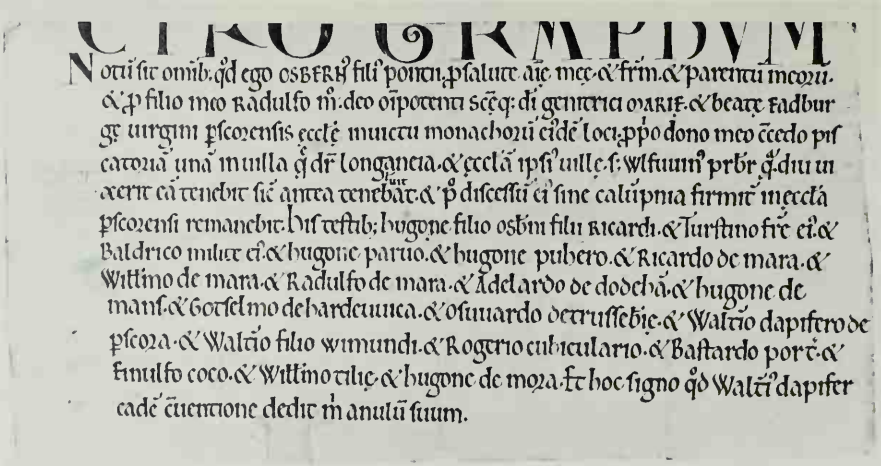
58. No. 25. Henry I to the Archbishop and the Monks of Christchurch. Heavy angular (written with a strongly slanted pen) rustic Carolingian. Canterbury, 1123. British Library Campbell Charter XXI. 6. Reduced.


Notū sit omīb. qđ ego OSBERN fili ponci, ꝓsalute aīe mee. & frm. & parentū meoꝝ. & ꝑ filio meo RADULFO mō. deo oīpotenti scēq; di genitrici MARIE. & beate Eadburge virgini ꝓcoꝛensis ecclē monetu monachoꝝ ei dē loci. ꝓpo dono meo cēcedo ꝑpetuā carotā unā mulla q̄ dr̄ longancia. & ecclā ipsi⁹ ville. s. Wlfuuin⁹ prbr. q̄. diu uixerit eā teneb̄it sic antea tenebā. & ꝑ discessū ei⁹ sine calūpnia firmit̄ mea ecclā ꝓcoꝛensi remanebit. Hui testib; bugone filio osbīn filii Ricardi. & Turstino frē ei⁹. & Baldrico milit ei⁹. & bugone paruo. & bugone pubero. & Ricardo de mara. & Willino de mara. & Radulfo de mara. & Adelardo de dodeh̄. & bugone de manf. & Gotselmo de hardeuuica. & Osmundo de trussebie. & Walt̄o dapifero de ꝓcoꝛa. & Walt̄o filio wimundi. & Rogerio cubiculario. & Bastardo port̄. & Arnulfo coco. & Willino tilie. & bugone de moꝛa. Fc hoc signo qđ Walt̄i dapifer cadē cūcessione dedit m̄ anulū suum.

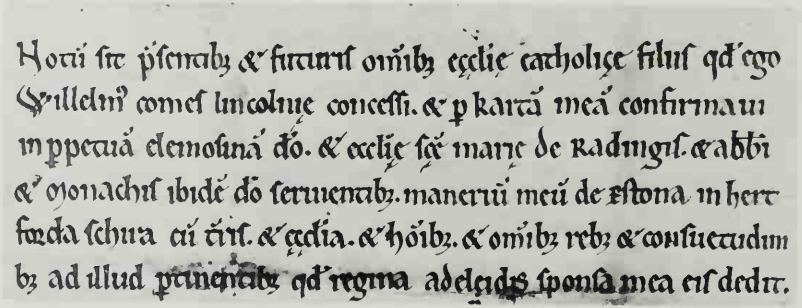
59. No. 27. Osbern Fitzponz to Pershore Abbey. Heavy, rustic, semi-angular minuscule, written with a less slanted pen, *circa* 1125. British Library Harley Charter 50.B.22. Reduced.



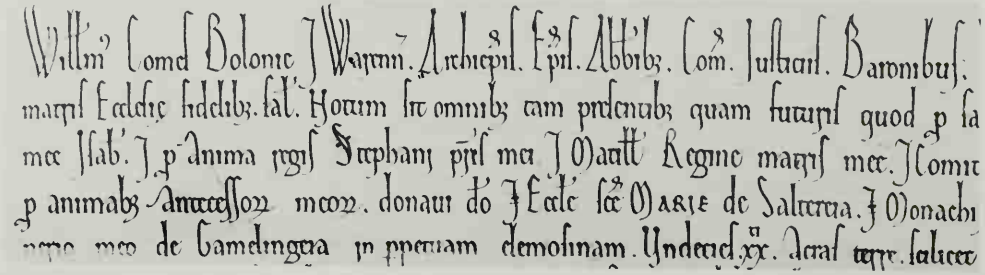
58. No. 25. Henry I to the Archbishop and the Monks of Christchurch. Heavy angular (written with a strongly slanted pen) rustic Carolingian. Canterbury, 1123. British Library Campbell Charter XXI. 6. Reduced.


Notū sit omīb; qđ ego OSBERT filī ponti, p salute aīe meę & frm & parentū meoꝝ
& p filio meo RADULFO mīc deo ōipotenti scęq; dī genitrici MARIE & beate Eadbur
gę virgīni pscorensis eccle monachoꝝ cī dē loci; p dono meo cēdo pscā
corā unā mullā q dr longanea & eccl ipsī mille s; Wlfuum prbr q diu u
xerit cā tenebit sic antea tenebāt & p discessū ei sine calūpnia firmē mecclā
pscorensi remanebit. His testib; hugone filio osbm filu RICARDI & Turstino frē ei &
Baldrico milit ei & hugone parūo & hugone pubero & RICARDO de mara &
Willmo de mara & RADULFO de mara & Adelardo de dodchā & hugone de
mans & Gotselmo de hardeuuica & osuuardo detrussebie & Walcīo dapifero de
pscora & Walcīo filio wimundi & Rogerio cubiculario & Bastardo porc & ſ
mulfo coco & Willmo tilię & hugone de mora. Fc hoc signo qđ Walcī dapifer
cadē cuentione dedit m anulū suum.

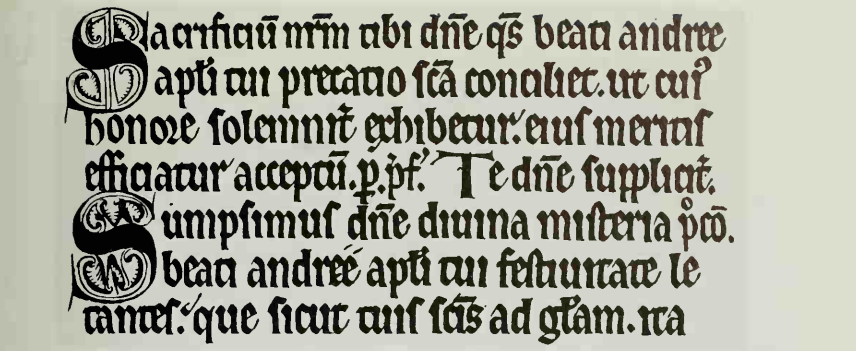
59. No. 27. Osbern Fitzponz to Pershore Abbey. Heavy, rustic, semi-angular minuscule, written with a less slanted pen, *circa* 1125. British Library Harley Charter 50.B.22. Reduced.



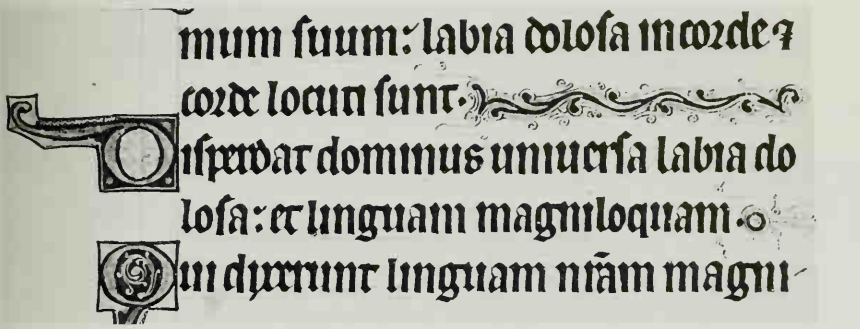
60. No. 28. William, Earl of Lincoln, to Reading Abbey. Heavy angular rustic Carolingian, with pronounced minuscule hooks or serifs to the feet, written with a strongly slanted pen, 1139–40. British Library Charters Add. 19586. Reduced.



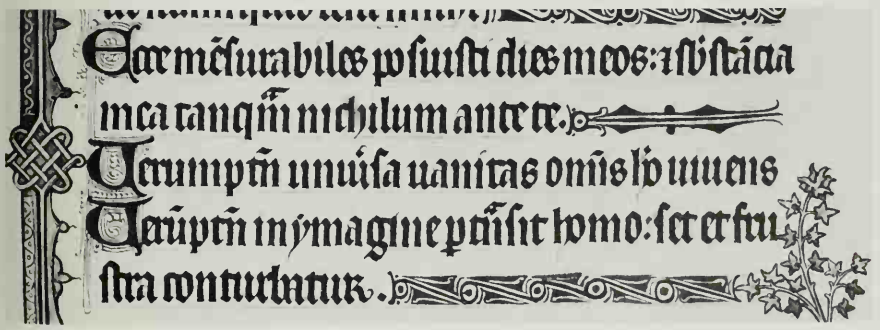
61. No. 34. William, Count of Boulogne, to the Church of St Mary de Saltereia. Light rustic, written with a straight pen with abrupt terminations to i, m, n, long. f. Dated 1154. British Library Harley Charter 55.E.12. Reduced.



62. No. 37. The Lesnes Missal. Black rustic, written with a straight pen as in no. 34 and with abruptly cut terminations to i, m, n, etc., i.e. *textus prescissus*, written in England *circa* 1200. Victoria and Albert Museum L. 404–1916.

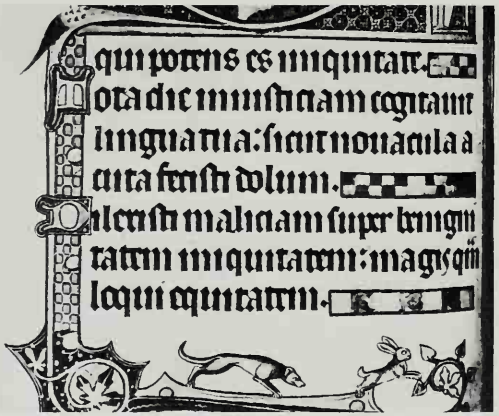


63. No. 66. Ormesby Psalter. *Idem.* English, early fourteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 366. Reduced.

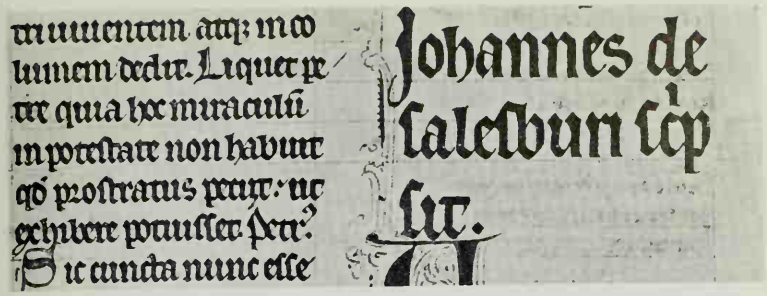


64. No. 81. Psalter of St Richard of Canterbury. Transitional, English, early fourteenth century. Dyson Perrins 14.

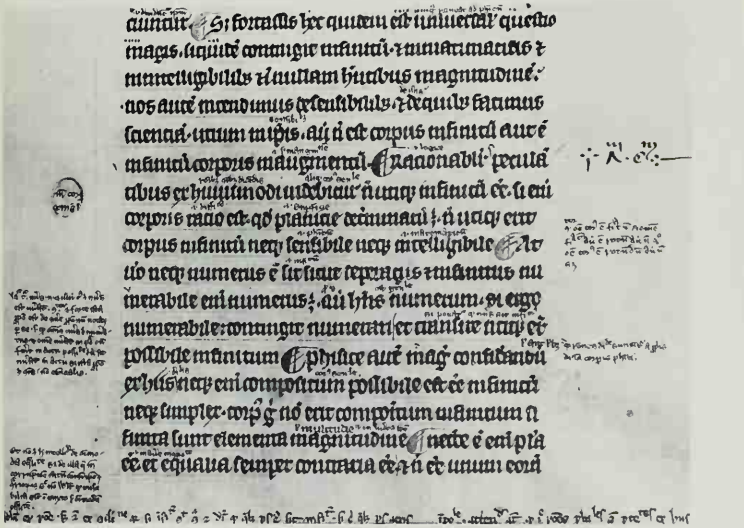
65. No. 73. Bromholm Psalter. Transitional, English, early fourteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1523.



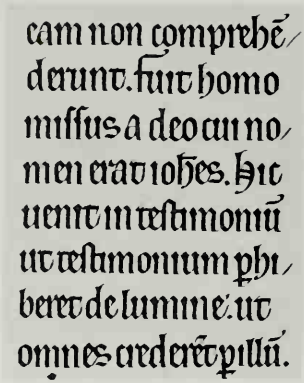
66. No. 69. Bardolf-Vaux Psalter. Black *textus prescissus*. English, early fourteenth century. London, Lambeth Palace 233.



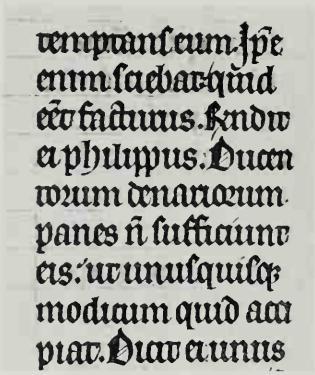
67. No. 47. Mons Lectionary. Black *textus quadratus* (left) and black *textus prescissus* (right). Flemish, 1269. British Library Egerton 2569.



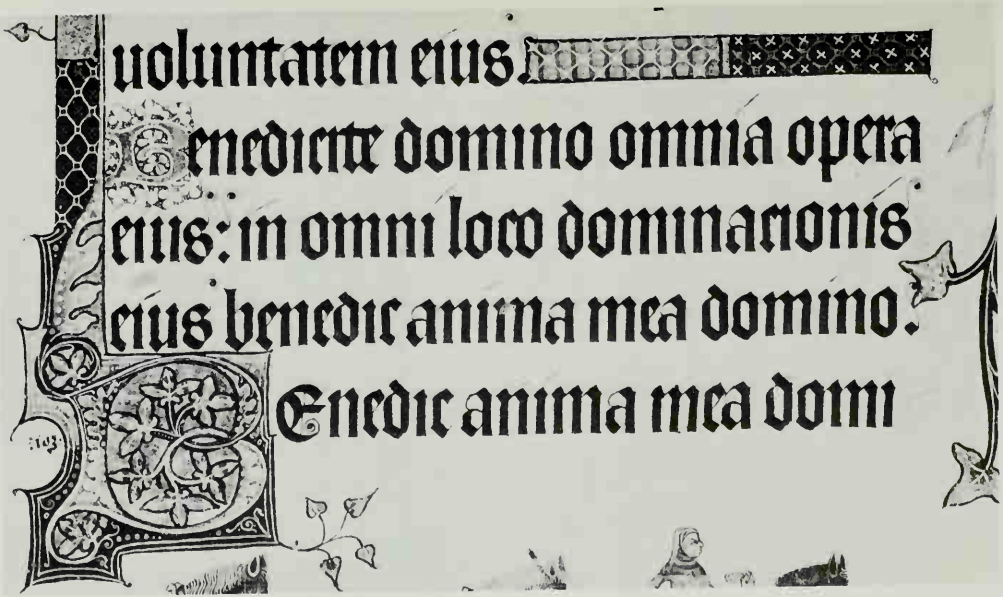
68. No. 86. Aristotle. Black *textus quadratus*. Oxford, *circa* 1240–54. Vatican, Urb. Lat. 206.


cam non comprehē/
derunt. fuit homo
missus a deo cui no/
men erat iohes. Hic
uenit in testimoniū
ut testimonium phi/
beret de lumine: ut
omnes crederēt p illū.

69. No. 46. Ste Chapelle Lectionary. Light *textus prescissus*. French, *circa* 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8892.

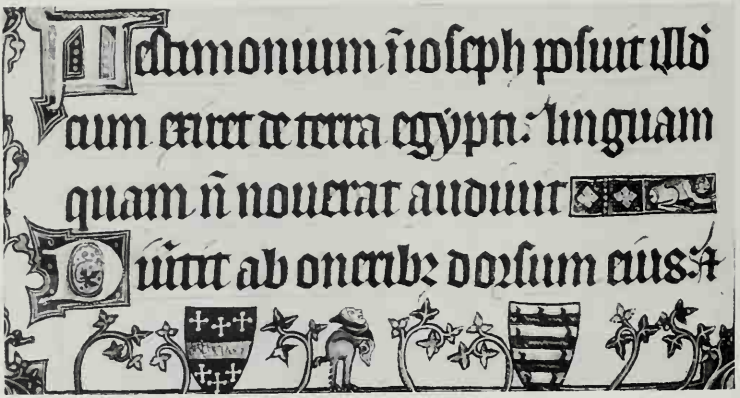

ceperant cum. Ipse
enim sciebat quid
ēt facturus. Respon
dit ei philippus. Ducen
torum denariorum
panes nō sufficiunt
eis: ut unusquisq;
modicum quid acci
piat. Dicit ei unus

70. No. 89. Ste Chapelle Lectionary. *Textus quadratus*. French, *circa* 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17326.

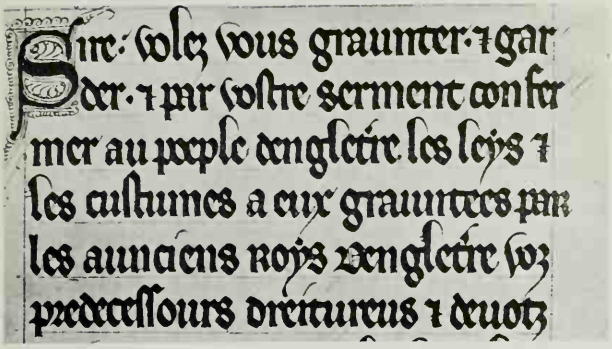


71. No. 67. Luttrell Psalter. Black monumental *textus prescissus*. East Anglia, 1340–7. British Library Add. 42130.

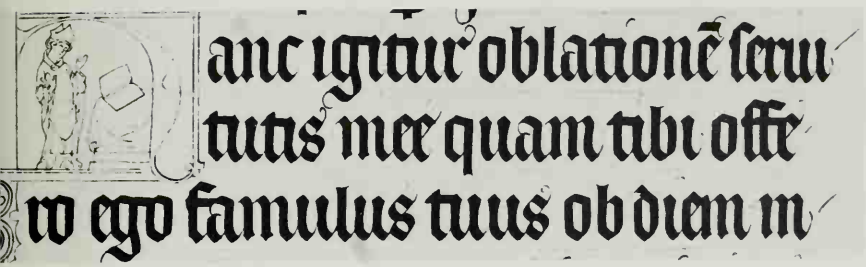
72. No. 71. Tickhill Psalter. *Textus prescissus.* English, early fourteenth century. New York Public Library Spencer MS. 26.



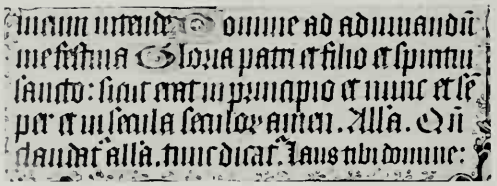
73. No. 94. Gorleston Psalter. *Textus quadratus* with vestiges of *textus prescissus.* English, early fourteenth century. British Library Add. 49622.



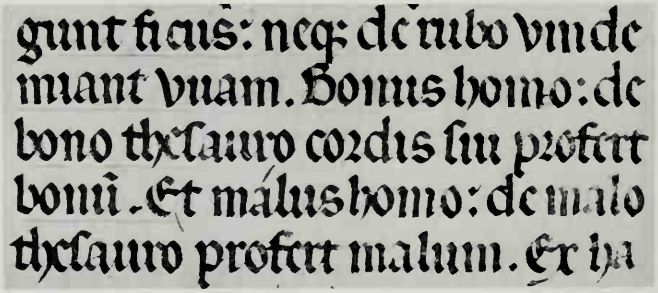
74. No. 85. Rite of Coronation of Edward II. Bastard black *textus prescissus*. English, 1308. British Library Harley 2901.



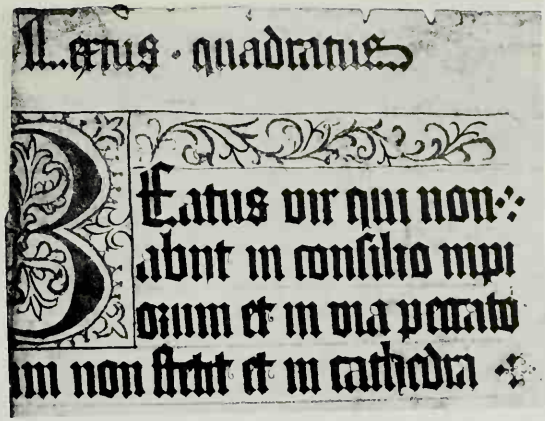
75. No. 95. Metz Pontifical. Black monumental *textus quadratus*. French, early fourteenth century. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 298.



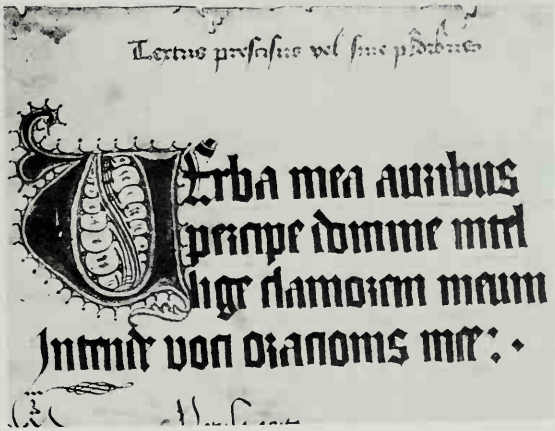
76. No. 111. Beauchamp Hours. Condensed *textus quadratus*. English, before 1446. Dyson Perrins 18.



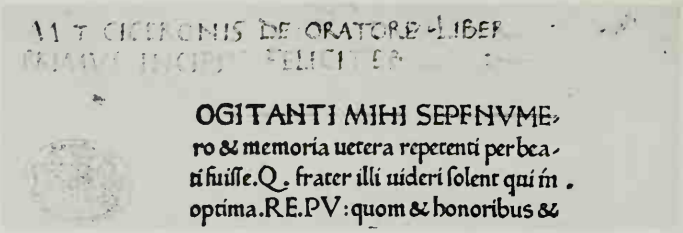
77. No. 114. Pontifical. Bastard black *textus prescissus*. French, late fifteenth century. Dyson Perrins 46.



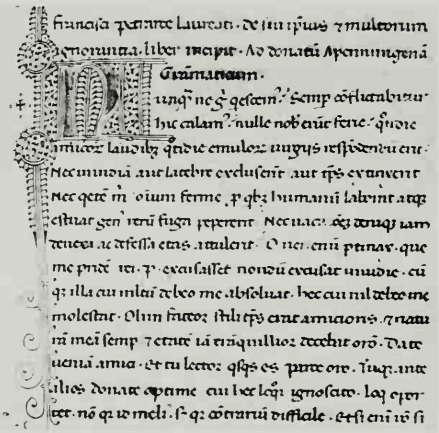
78. No. 115. Specimen sheet of J. vom Hagen's 'Textus quadratus'. German, fifteenth century. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek lat. fol. 384.



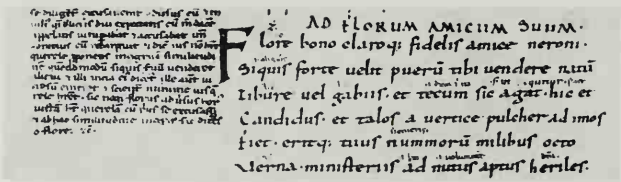
79. *Idem.* '*Textus prescisus* (sic) *vel sine pedibus.*'



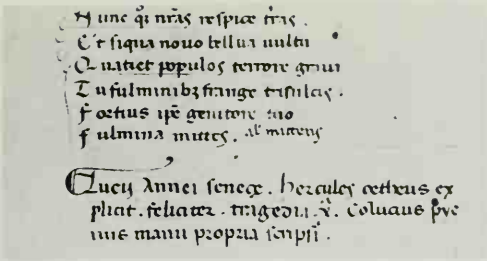
80. From Sweynheym and Pannartz' Cicero *De oratore*, printed at Subiaco in 1465. The first 'roman' type; title in capitals written by a contemporary hand. From a copy in the British Library.



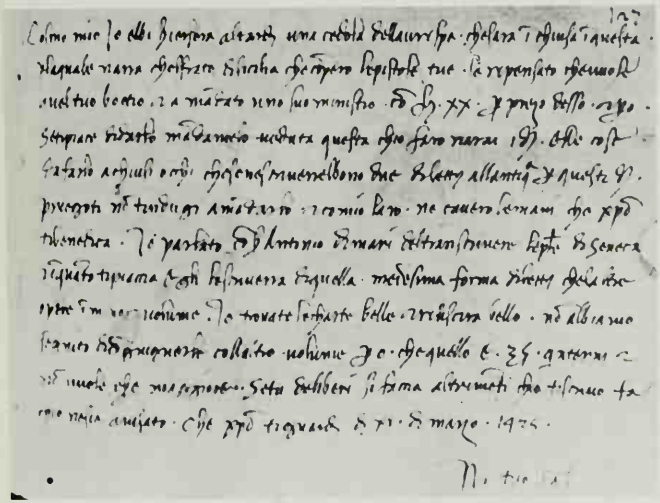
81. Petrarch's autograph *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, written 1370 in his 'littera fere-humanistica'. Vatican Lat. 3359.



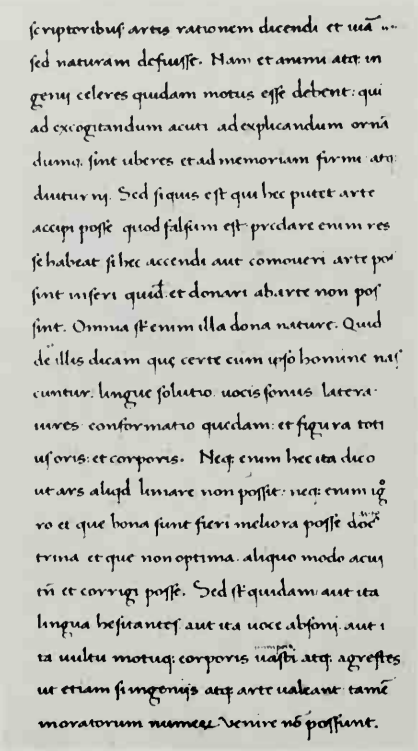
82. Portion of a page of a tenth-century Horace, with marginal notes by Petrarch in his 'fere-humanistica'. Florence, Laur. 34, 1.



83. Coluccio Salutati's 'fere-humanistica', from his Seneca. British Library Add. 11987.



84. Niccolò de Niccoli's autograph letter to Cosimo de' Medici, 20 March 1425, referring (end of line 5) to 'due [volumi] di lettere all'antiq[u]a', and (line 7) that he had spoken to Antonio di Mario. Florence, R. Arch. Centr. di Stato, Strozziane 137.

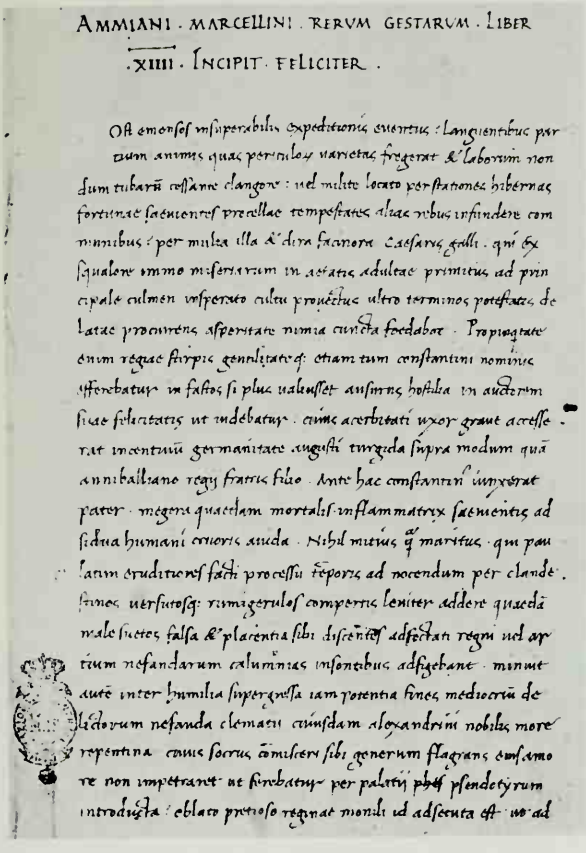


scriptoribus artis rationem docendi et uiã ·· sed naturam defuisse. Nam et animu atq; in genij celeres quidam motus esse debent: qui ad excogitandum acuti ad explicandum ornã dumq; sint uberes et ad memoriam firme atq; diuturnq;. Sed siquis est qui hec putet arte accipi posse quod falsum est predare enim res se habeat si hec accendi aut comoueri arte pos sint inseri quid et donari arte non pos sint. Omnia st enim illa dona nature. Quid de illis dicam quę certe cum urso homine nas cuntur. lingue soluto uocis sonus laterã uires conformatio quedam: et figura toti usoris: et corporis. Neq; enim hec ita dico ut ars aliqd iuuare non possit: neq; enim iõ ro et que bona sunt fieri meliora posse doc trina et que non optima aliquo modo acui ri et corrigi posse. Sed st quidam aut ita lingua hesitanes aut ita uoce absonj aut i ta uultu motuq; corporis uasti atq; agrestes ut etiam si ingenijs atq; arte ualeant tamẽ moratorium numeꝝ uenire nõ possint.

lis uoc et muliebris aut quasi ex modum absona: et ab surda. Est autem uicium quod nonnulli de industria cõ sectantur rustica uox et agrestis quosdam delectat q̃ magis antiquitatem sita sonet eorum simo retinere uide atur. ut tuus catule sodalis L. cotta gaudere mihi ui detur grauitate lingue: sonoq; uocis agrestj: et illud quod loquitur priscum usum iri putat. si planum fuit rusticanum. Me autem tuus sonus: et subtilitas ista delectat omitto ꝯborum quiang est caput uerum id affert ratio docent litere confirmat consuetudo le gendi: et loquendi. Sed hanc dico suauitatem que exit et ore que quidem muta apud grecos atticos. sic in latino simone huius est urbis maxime ppria. Athe nis iamdiu doctrina ipsorum athenensium interiit. Domicilium tantum in illa urbe remanꝫ studioꝝ: quibus uacant ciues peregrinj fruuntur capi quodãmodo no mine urbis et auctoritate: tamen eruditissimos homi nes asyaticos quiuis athenensis indoctus non uerbis sed sono uocis: nec tam bene: q̃ suauiter loquendo faci le superabit. Nostri minus student literis: q̃ latine. ta men ex istis quos nostis urbanis. in quibus minimum ẽ literarj nemo est quin litteratissimum togatoꝝ oũm

85. A page of Cicero *De oratore*, written in 'littera antiqua'

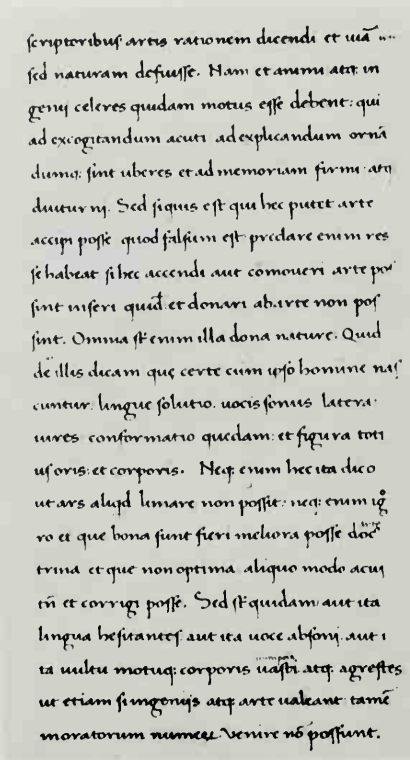
86. 'Lettera anticha corsiva', from the second half of Cicero



AMMIANI . MARCELLINI . RERVM GESTARVM . LIBER
.XIIII . INCIPIT . FELICITER .

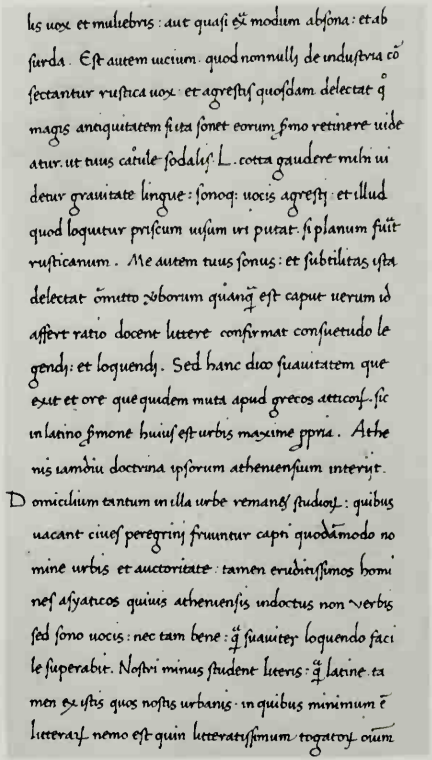
Ost emorsos insuperabilis expeditionis euentus : Languentibus par
tum animis quae periculoy uarietas fregerat & laborum non
dum tubarū rossarne clangor : uel militi locato per stationes hibernas
fortunae saeuientes procellae tempestates diae nubes infundere com
mmibus : per multa illa & dira facinora Caesaris gallī . qui &
squalore omnino miserarum in aetate adultae primitus ad prin
cipale culmen insperato cultu prouectus ultro terminos potestatis de
latae procurrens asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat . Propinquitate
enim regiae stirpis generalitatisq; etiam tum constantini nomine
offerebatur in fastos si plus ualuisset ausurus hostilia in auctorem
suae salutatis ut indebatur . cuius acerbitati uxor graui acesse
rat incentiuū germanitate augusti turgida supra modum quā
annibalbiane regis fratris filio . Ante hac constantin cunxerat
pater . megera quaedam mortalis inflammatrix saeuientis ad
sidua humani cruoris auida . Nihil mitius q marritus . qui pau
larum eruditionis facti processu reperis ad nocendum per clande .
stinos uersutosq; rimigerulos comperris leniter addere quaeda
male suetes falsa & placentia sibi discentes adfectati regni uel ar
tium nefandarum calumnias insontibus adfigebant . minime
autē inter humilia superquisa iam potentia fines mediocrū de
lictorum nefanda clemens cuiusdam alexandrini nobilis more
repentina comes sororius comiserri sibi generum flagrans cupidi
tate non impetrauit ut scribatur per palatij pfectos tyrum
introducta : oblato pretioso regnat monili ut adsecuta est uo ad

87. Niccoli's 'lettera anticha corsiva' from his text of Ammianus Marcellinus. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Conv. Sopp. J.V. 43, fol. 1r. Reduced.



scriptoribus artis rationem docendi et uiã
sed naturam defuisse. Nam et animu atq in
genij celeres quidam motus esse debent: qui
ad excogitandum acuti. ad explicandum orna
dum: sint uberes et ad memoriam firmi: atq
duturnj. Sed siquis est qui hec putet arte
accipi posse quod falsum est predare enim res
se habeat si hec accendi aut comoueri arte pos
sint miseri quid et donari abarte non pos
sint. Omnia sit enim illa dona nature. Quid
de illis dicam que certe cum uso bonum nas
cuntur. lingue soluto. uocis sonus. laterã
ium conformatio quedam: et figura toti
us oris: et corporis. Neq enim hec ita dico
ut ars aliqd iuuare non possit: neq enim iq̃
ro et que bona sunt fieri meliora posse doc
trina et que non optima aliquo modo acui
ri et corrigi posse. Sed sit quidam aut ita
lingua hesitanter aut ita uoce absonj. aut i
ta uultu motuq corporis uastj atq agrestes
ut etiam si ingenijs atq arte ualeant tamẽ
moratorum numeris uenire nõ possiunt.

85. A page of Cicero *De oratore*, written in 'littera antiqua'



les uoce et mulebris: aut quasi eẽ modum absona: et ab
surda. Est autem uicium quod nonnulli de industria cõ
sectantur rustica uoce et agrestis quosdam delectat q̃
magis antiquitatem si ita sonet eorum simo retinere uide
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detur grauitate lingue: sonoq uocis agrestj. et illud
quod loquitur priscum usum uri putat. si planum fuit
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delectat omnino uerborum quanq̃ est caput uerum id
affert ratio docent litterę confirmat consuetudo le
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exit et ore que quidem muta apud grecos atticos. sic
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nes asyaticos quiuis atheniensis indoctus non uerbis
sed sono uocis: nec tam bene: q̃ suauiter loquendo faci
le superabit. Nostri minus student literis: q̃ latine. ta
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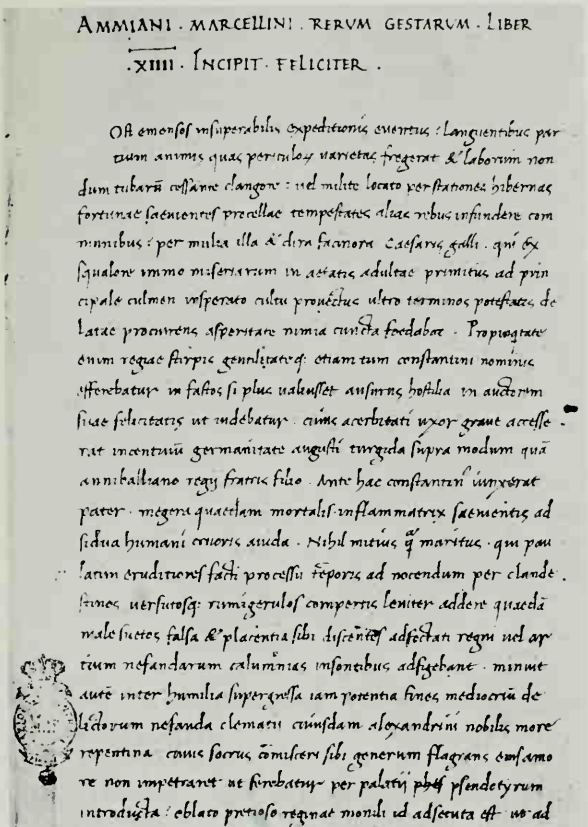
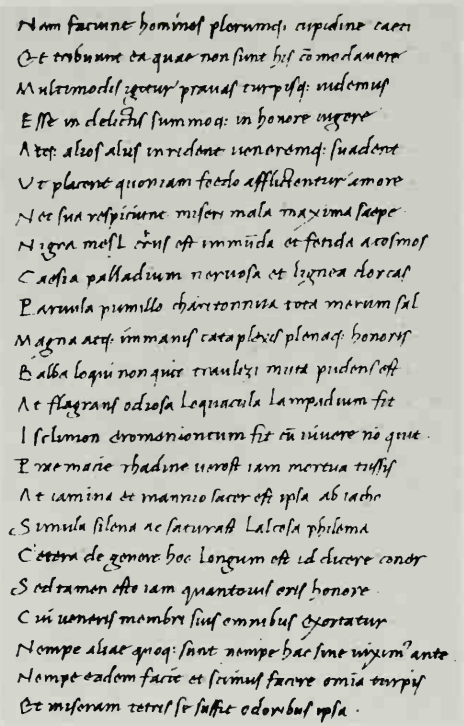
86. 'Lettera anticha corsiva', from the second half of Cicero



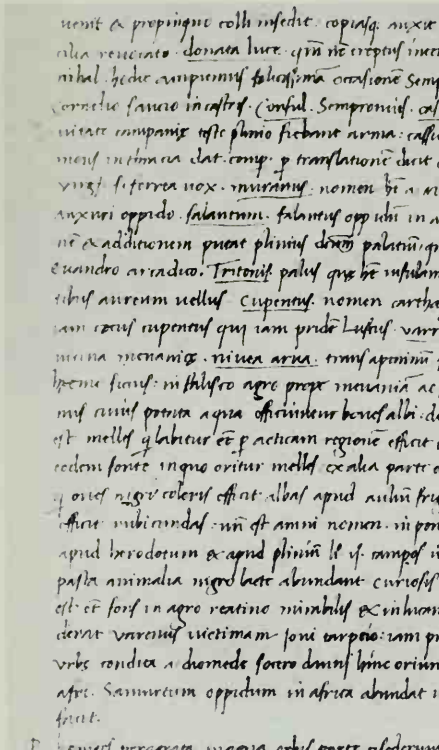
AMMIANI · MARCELLINI · RERVM GESTARVM · LIBER
·XIIII· INCIPIT· FELICITER ·

Ost emonsos insuperabilis expeditionis euentus : Langventibvs per tum animis quas periculoy varietas fregerat & laborum non dum tubatis cessare clangor : uel militi locato per stationes hibernas fortunae saeuientis procellae tempestates aliae nubes infundere cum nimbis : per multa illa & dira facinora Caesaris galli . qui & squalore animo miserarum in asiatis adultae primitus ad prin cipale culmen insperato cultu prouectus ultro terminos potestatis de latae procurrens asperitate nimia cuncta foedabat . Propinquitate enim regiae stirpis generalitatisq; etiam tum constantini nomine offerebatur in fastos si pluc ualuisset ausurus hostilia in auctorem suae felicitatis ut rebatur . cuius acerbitati uxor graue accesse rat incentiua germanitate augusti turgida supra modum qua annibaliano regy fratris filio . Ante hac constantius iunxerat pater . megera quaedam mortalis inflammatrix saeuientis ad sidua humani cruoris auida . Nihil mitius q̃ maritus . qm pau larum eruditionis facti processu teporis ad nocendum per clande . stines uersutosq; rimigerulas comperit leniter addere quaeda male suetes falsa & placentia sibi discretes adfectat regi uel ap tium nefandarum calumnias insontibus adfigebant . minut autē inter humilia superquossa iam potentia fines mediocriū de lidorum nefanda clematii cuiusdam alexandrini nobilis more repentina comes socrus cōmiseri sibi generum flagrans cum amo re non impetrauit ut rebatur per palatii pbis psendetyrum introducta : oblato pretioso regnat mundi id adsecuta est uo ad

87. Niccoli's 'lettera anticha corsiva' from his text of Ammianus Marcellinus. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Conv. Sopp. J.V. 43, fol. 1r. Reduced.



88. Niccoli's 'lettera anticha corsiva' from his text of Lucretius, written *circa* 1425–35. Florence, Laur. 35, 30.



89. 'Lettera anticha corsiva corrente' from Boccaccio *De genealogia deorum*, written *circa* 1400–10. Florence, Laur. 52, 8.

omnia posita putaminf in planca tua fidentitate · quem quidem arbitramur cū officiu
tui &c. p. causa decretū cof. comprobaturū tum libenter nīa causa esse facturū · Ad
uuabif igitur mi capito · quod ut faciaf te ychementer etiā atq; etiā rogo ·-

M. TVLLII. CICERONIS. EPISTOLARVM. AD. ATTICVM. LI
BER. XVI. ET. VLTIMVS. EXPLICIT. FELICITER.

SCRIPSIT POGGIVS ANNO DOMINI. M.CCCC.VIII. A. MVN
DI. VERO. CREATIONE. VI. MIL. ET. DC. VII

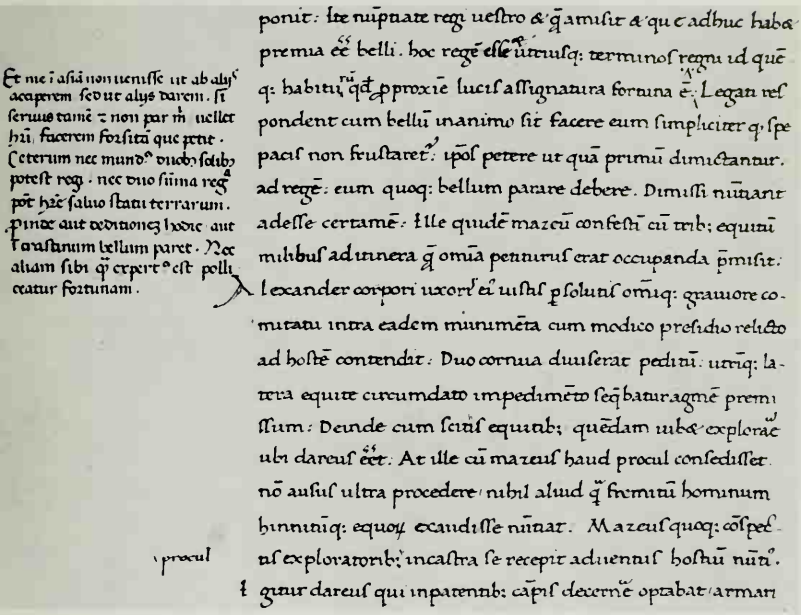
90. Poggio's early 'lettera anticha formata' from his text of Cicero's Epistles, written 1408. West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 166.

diceris orator uestre quasi successor etiā. sed & ingenio pene et
studio magnā & doctrina eximia & memoria singulari. Cui q̄q̄.
fauco. tūm illum etiā siue prestare cupio. uobisc̄ illum tanto mi
norem preciuere nec honestū est. Sed iam surgamus inqt nosq;
curemus diu. & aliquando ab hac contentione disputationis ani
mos nostros cuiamq; laxemus.

M. TVLLI. CICERONIS. DE. ORATORE. LIBER. TERTIVS. ET.
VLTIMVS. EXPLICIT. DEO. GRATIAS.

SCRIPSIT. POGGIVS. SECRETAR. DN̄I. MARTINI. P̄P̄. V.

91. Poggio's 'lettera anticha formata' from his Cicero, *De oratore* (*circa* 1428). Florence, Laur. 50, 31. Reduced.

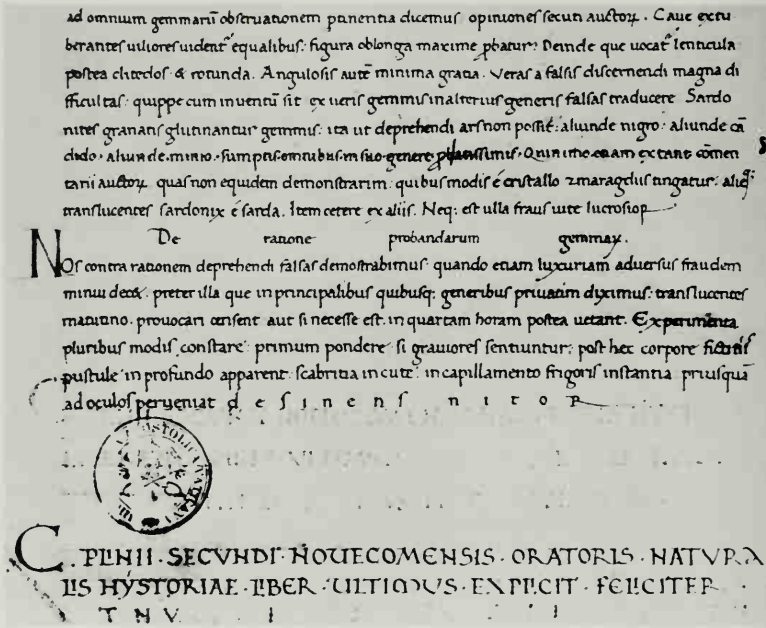


ponit: Ite nūpturate regi uestro & q̄ amisit & quę adhuc habe
premia ęę belli. hoc regē esse ūtriusq; terminos regni id quē
q: habitu rū qđ ꝓpioxiē lucis assignatura fortuna ē: Legati res
pondent cum bellū animo sit facere eum simpliciter q; spe
pacis non frustaret: ūpōs petere ut quā primū dimictantur.
ad regē: eum quoq: bellum parare debere. Dimissi nūtiant
adesse certamē: Ille quidē mazeū consulē cū trib; equitū
milibus ad munera q̄ omia perniturus erat occupanda ꝑmisit:
Alexander corpori uxori ei uisus ꝑsolutis omiq: grauiore co-
mitatu intra eadem munimēta cum modico presidio relicto
ad hostē contendit: Duo cornua duxerat pediti: utriq: la-
tera equite circumdato impedimēto seq̄batur agmē premi
ssium: Deinde cum scitis equitib; quędam turba explorato
ubi dareus ęęt. At ille cū mazeus haud procul consedisset.
nō ausus ultra procedere: nihil aliud q̄ fremitū hominum
hinnitiq: equoꝝ ecaudisse nūtiat. Mazeus quoq: cōspec-
tis exploratoribꝫ incastra se recepit aduentus hostiū nūtiꝫ.
Igitur dareus qui inparatus: cāpis decernē optabat armari

Et me i asia non uenisse ut ab aliis acciperem sed ut alys darem. si seruus tamē & non par in uelle hui facerem forsitā que pete. Ceterum nec mundꝰ uiuo solido potest regi. nec uno sūma regi pōt hec saluo statu terrarum. Pinde aut ordinem uide aut Faustum bellum pare. Nec aliam sibi q̄ ceperit est polli ceatur fortunam.

proculi

92. Antonio di Mario's transcription in 'lettera anticha formata' of Q. Curtius Rufus, dated 1419, with marginal addition in 'lettera fere humanistica'. Rome, Vatican Lat. 1865, fol. 31*v*.



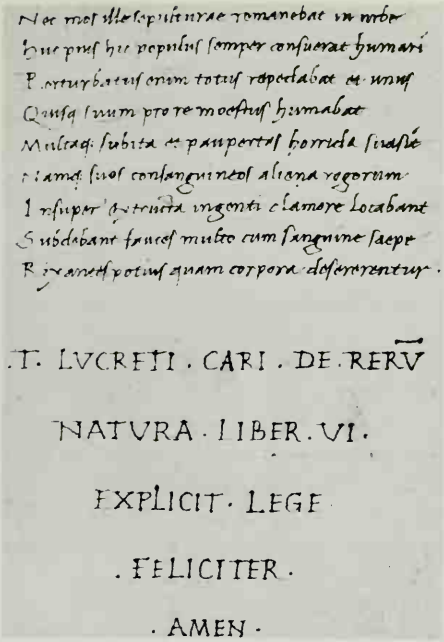
ad omnium gemmarū obſeruationem pauentia ducemuſ opiniones ſecuti auctoꝝ. Cauę excu
berantes ultores uidentur equalibuſ: figura oblonga maxime probatur: Deinde que uocat tenticula
poſtea chiroloſ & rotunda. Angulоſiſ autē minima gratia. Verāſ a falſiſ diſcernendi magna di
fficultaſ: quippe cum inuentū ſit ex ueris gemmis in alterius generis falſaſ traducere Sardo
nices granaſq; glutinantur gemmis: ita ut deprehendi ar non poſſit: aliunde nigro: aliunde cā
dido: aliunde minio: ſumptis omnibuſ in ſuo genere pleriſſimis. Quin imo etiam exterę comen
tari auctoꝝ quaſ non equidem demonſtrarim. quibuſ modiſ é cryſtallo zmaragdiſ fingatur: alię
tranſlucentes ſardonix é ſarda. Item cetere ex aliis. Neq; eſt ulla fraus ſine lucroſiop

De ratione probandarum gemmax.

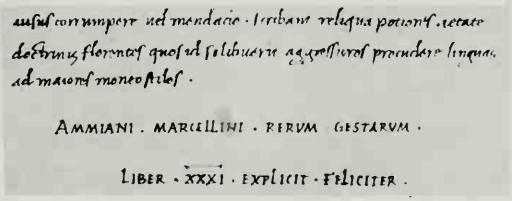
Nos contra rationem deprehendi falſaſ demonſtrabimuſ quando etiam luxuriam aduerſus fraudem
minus decet: preter illa que in principalibuſ quibuſq; generibuſ priuatim dicimuſ: tranſlucentes
mutuno. prouocari conſent aut ſi neceſſe eſt in quartam horam poſtea uetant. Experimenta
pluribus modiſ conſtare: primum pondere ſi grauioreſ ſentiuntur: poſt hec corpore fictaſ
puſtule in profundo apparent: ſcabritia in cute: in capillamento frigoris inſtantia priuſquā
ad oculoſ perueniat d e ſ i n e n ſ n i t o p

C. PLINII. SECVNDI. NOVECOMENSIS. ORATORIS. NATVRA
LIS HYSTORIAE. LIBER. VLTIMVS. EXPLICIT. FELICITER.
T N V

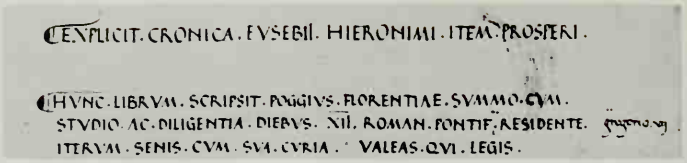
93. Antonio di Mario's Pliny, written 1440. Rome, Vatican Urb. Lat. 245, fol. 384r. Reduced.



94. Niccoli's cursive and capitals from the colophon to his Lucretius. (See also Plate 88.) Florence, Laur. 35, 30.

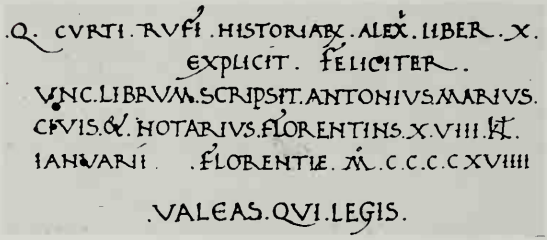


95. Niccoli's cursive and capitals from the colophon to his Ammianus Marcellinus. (See also Plate 87.) Florence, Bibl. Naz. Conv. Sopp. J. V. 43. Reduced.

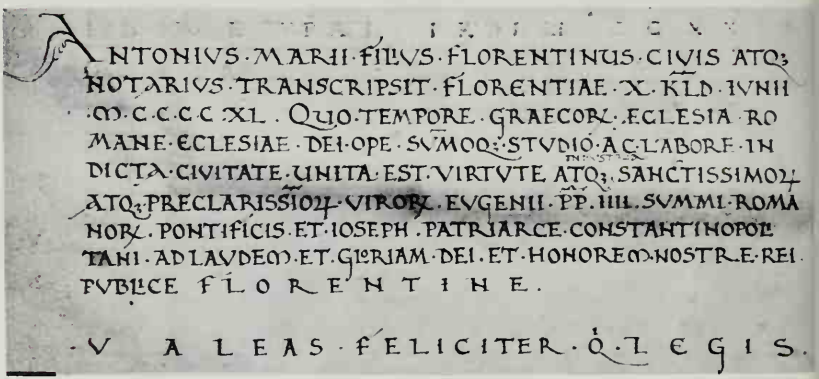

EXPLICIT. CRONICA. EVSEBII. HIERONIMI. ITEM. PROSPERI.

HVNC. LIBRVM. SCRIPSIT. POGGIVS. FLORENTIAE. SVMMO. CVM. STVDIO. AC. DILIGENTIA. DIEBVS. XII. ROMAN. PONTIF. RESIDENTE. ITERVM. SENIS. CVM. SVA. CVRIA. VALEAS. QVI. LEGIS.

96. Poggio's capitals from the colophon to his Eusebius, written before 1415. Florence, Laur. 67, 15.

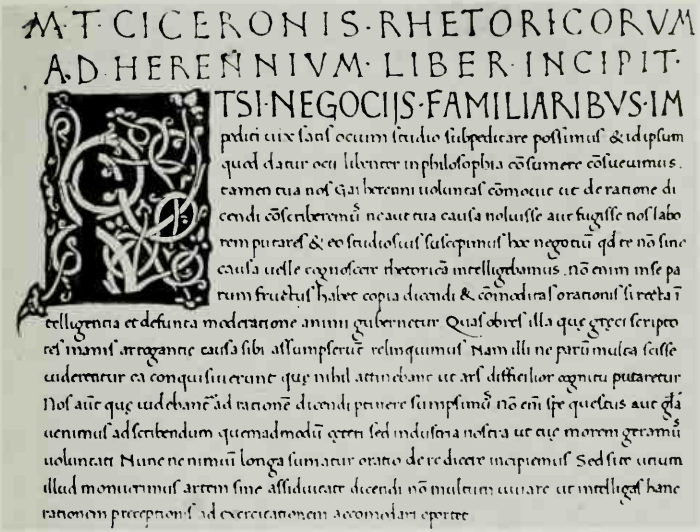

Q. CVRTI. RVFI. HISTORIARV. ALEX. LIBER. X.
EXPLICIT. FELICITER.
HVNC. LIBRVM. SCRIPSIT. ANTONIVS. MARIVS.
CIVIS. & NOTARIVS. FLORENTINVS. XVIII. KL.
IANVARII. FLORENTIE. M. C. C. C. C XVIIII
VALEAS. QVI. LEGIS.

97. Antonio di Mario's capitals from the colophon to his Q. Curtius Rufus, dated 1419. Rome, Vatican Lat. 1865.

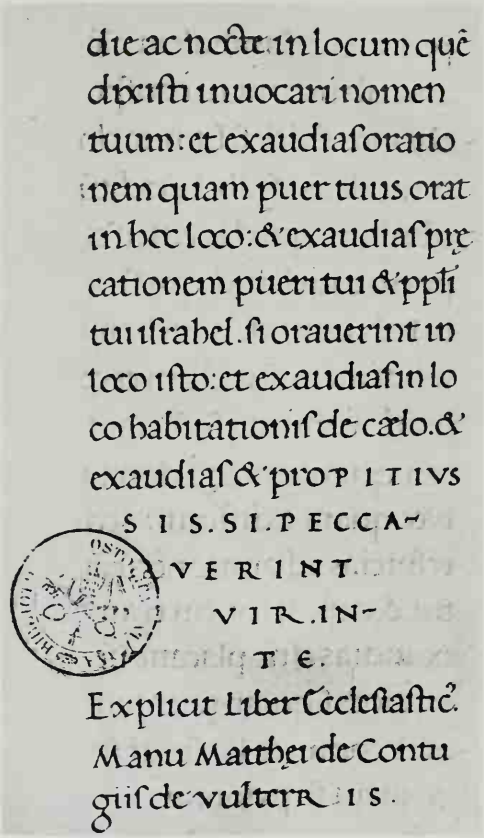

ANTONIVS · MARII · FILIVS · FLORENTINVS · CIVIS · ATQ; NOTARIVS · TRANSCRIPSIT · FLORENTIAE · X · KLD · IVNII · M · C · C · C · C · XL · QVO · TEMPORE · GRAECOR; ECLESIA · ROMANE · ECLESIAE · DEI · OPE · SVMOQ; · STVDIO · AC · LABORE · IN DICTA · CIVITATE · UNITA · EST · VIRTVTE · ATQ; · SANCTISSIMOR; ATQ; PRECLARISSIOR; · VIRORV; · EVGENII · PP. IIII. · SVMMI · ROMANORV; · PONTIFICIS · ET · IOSEPH · PATRIARCE · CONSTANTINOPOLITANI · AD LAVDEM · ET · GLORIAM · DEI · ET · HONOREM · NOSTRE · REIPVBLICE FLORENTINE.

VALEAS · FELICITER · QVI · LEGIS.

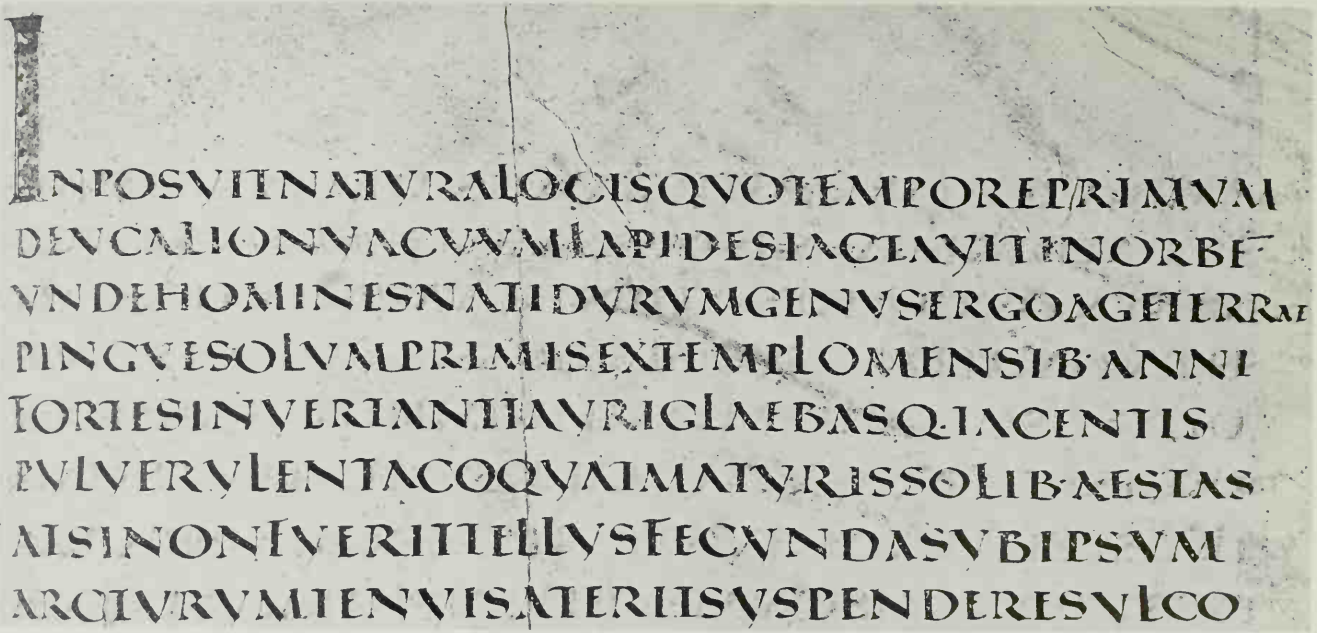
98. Antonio di Mario's capitals from the colophon to his Pliny, written 1440. Rome, Vatican Urb. Lat. 245.


M·T·CICERONIS·RHETORICORVM
AD·HERENNIVM·LIBER·INCIPIT·
TSI·NEGOCIJS·FAMILIARIBVS·IM
pediri cux sanc̃ ocium studio subpediare possimus & id ipsum
quod datur oci libenter in philosophia cōsumere cōsueuimus.
tamen tua nos gr̃a beremm̃ uoluncas cōmocue ut de ratione di
cendi cōscribere m̃ ne aue tua causa noluisse aue fugisse nos labo
rem putaresc & eo studiosius suscepimus hoc negoci qd re nō sine
causa uelle cognosci rhetoricā intelligebamus. nō enim inse pa
rum fructus habet copia dicendi & cōmodata oronis si recta r̃
telligencia et defuncta moderacione animi gubernecur. Quas obrem illa quę greci scripto
res mamc arrogancie causa sibi assumpserūc relinquimus. Nam illi ne parū musica fuisse
uiderencur ea conquisiuerunc quę nihil attinebanc ut arc difficilior cognici putaretur.
Nos aūc quę uidebanc ad rationē dicendi pcinere sumpsimū nō em̄ ipse quicquis aue qđ
uenimus ad scribendum quemadmodū cerci sed industria nostra ut aue morem gerāmū
uoluncati. Nunc ne nimiū longa sumatur oratio de re dicere incipiamus. Sed hoc unum
illud monuerimus artem sine assiduitate dicendi nō multum ualere ut intelligas hanc
rationem preceptoris ad exercitationem accommodari oportere

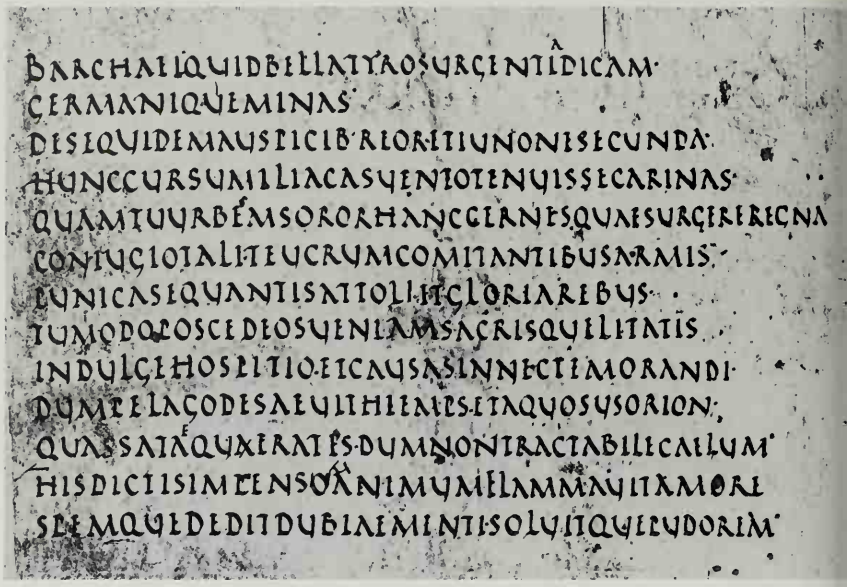
99. Cicero, *Opera rhetorica* produced in the office of Vespasiano da Bisticci *circa* 1450. The imprint to the title-page reads *Vespasianus librarius librum hunc florentie transcribendum curavit*. Rome, Vatican Lat. 1712. fol. 125r.


die ac nocte in locum quē
dixisti inuocari nomen
tuum: et exaudias oratio
nem quam puer tuus orat
in hoc loco: & exaudias pre
cationem pueri tui & ppli
tui israhel. si orauerint in
loco isto: et exaudias in lo
co habitationis de cælo. &
exaudias & propitius
sis. si. peccaverint
virin-
te.
Explicit Liber Ecclesiastic.
Manu Matthei de Contu
gijs de vulterris.

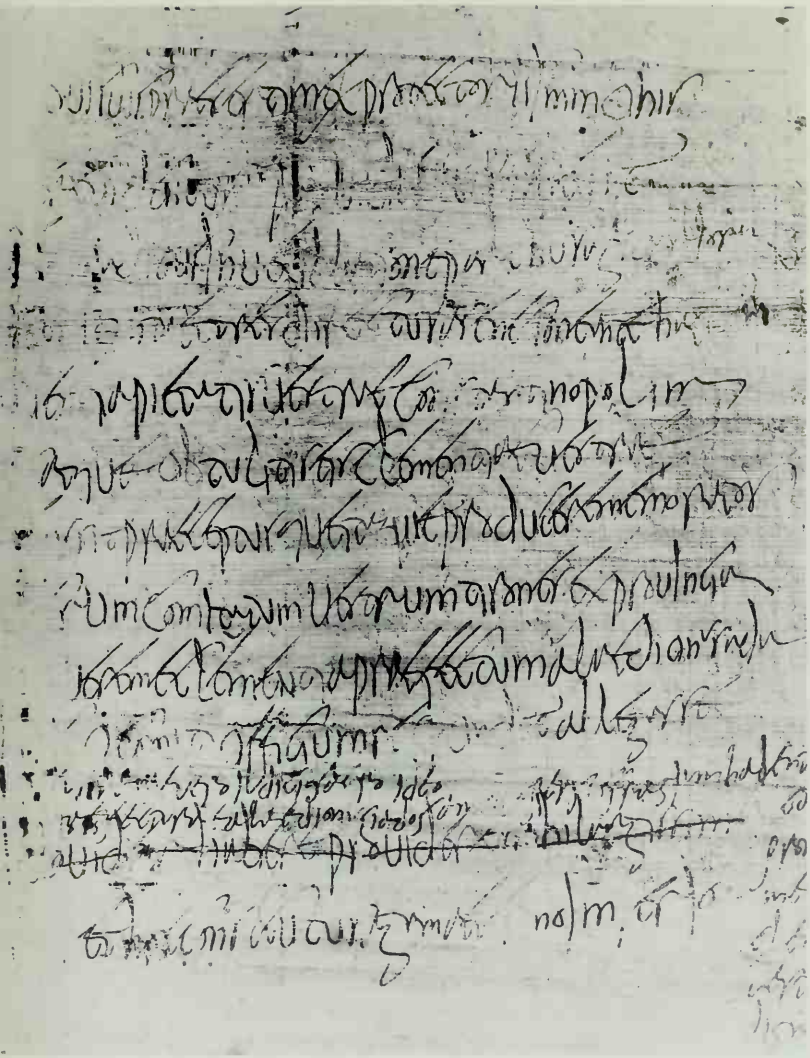
100. *Salomonis libri* transcribed by Mattheus de Contugiis. Rome, Vatican Urb. Lat. 548.



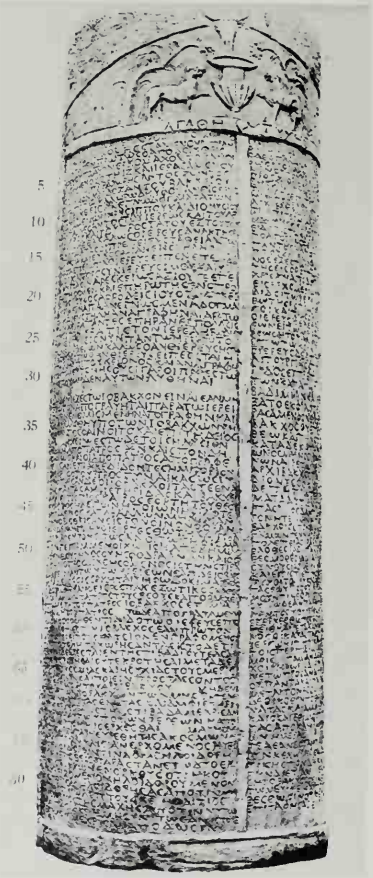
101 Virgil (Codex Augusteus). Vatican Lat. 3256. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins* I, pl. LXI Reduced.



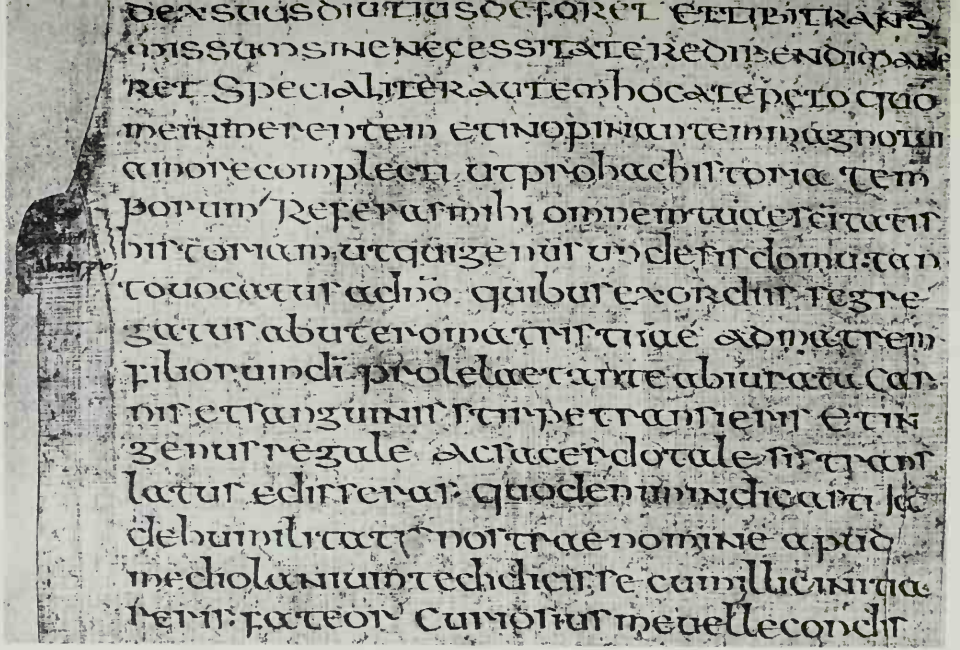
102 Virgil (Codex Mediceus). Vatican Lat. 3225. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins* I, pl. LXIII.



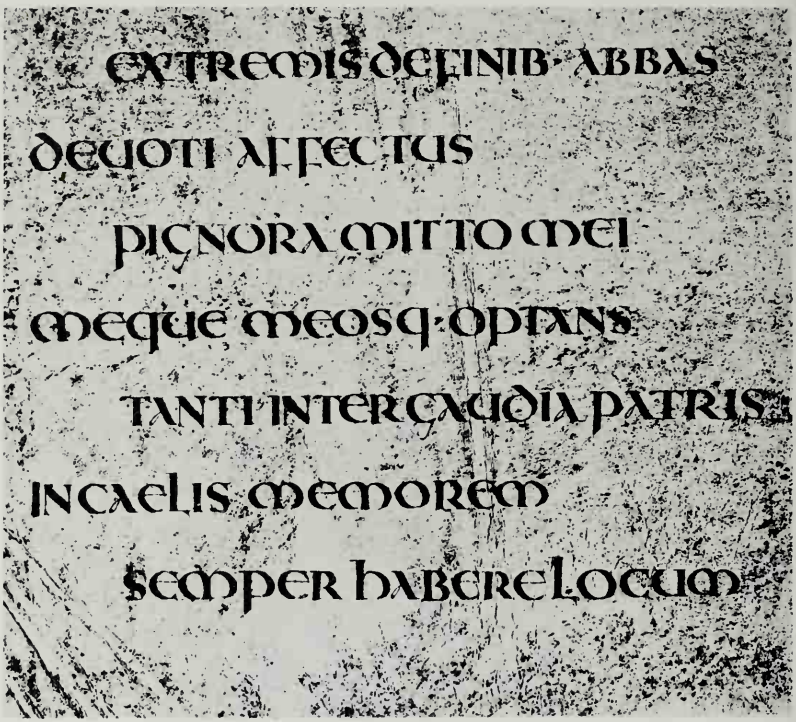
103. Petition of Flavius Abinneus, from Fayûm. Geneva, Bibl. Publ. et Univ. pap. lat. III. Mallon, Marichal and Perrat, *L'écriture latine*, no. 35. Reduced.



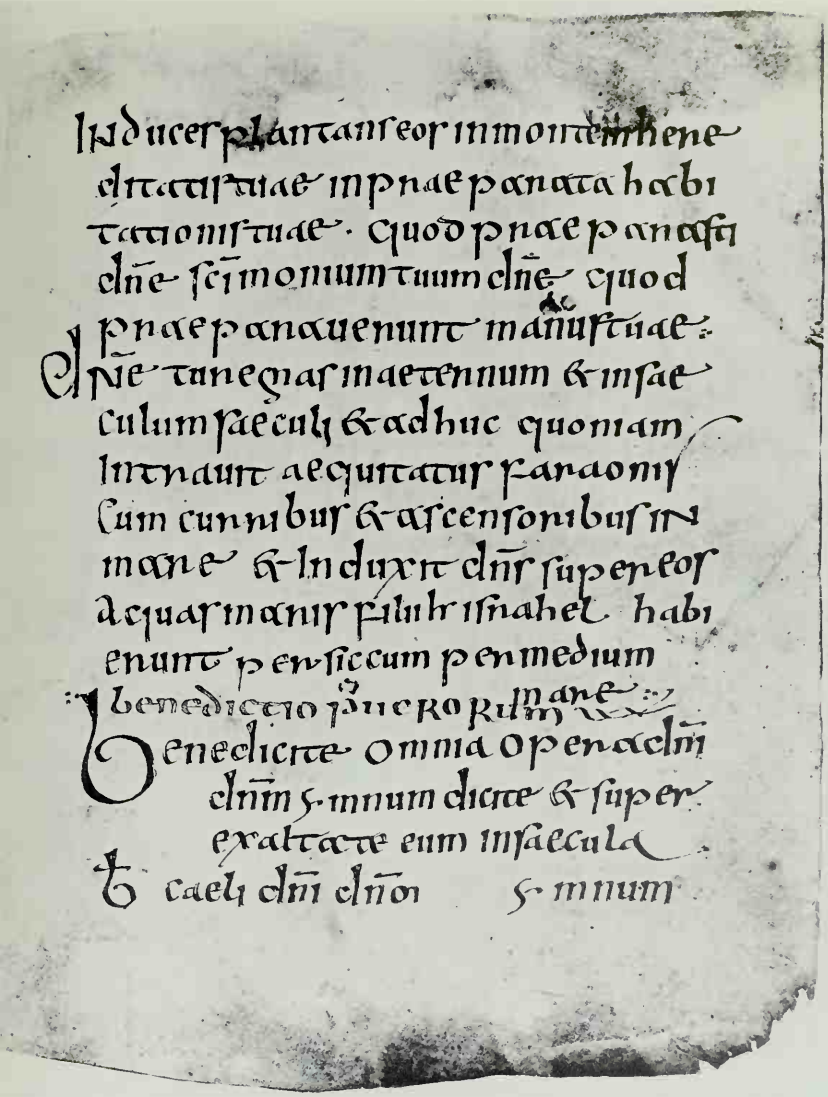
104. Athenian column, s. iii. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, pl. 48. Reduced.



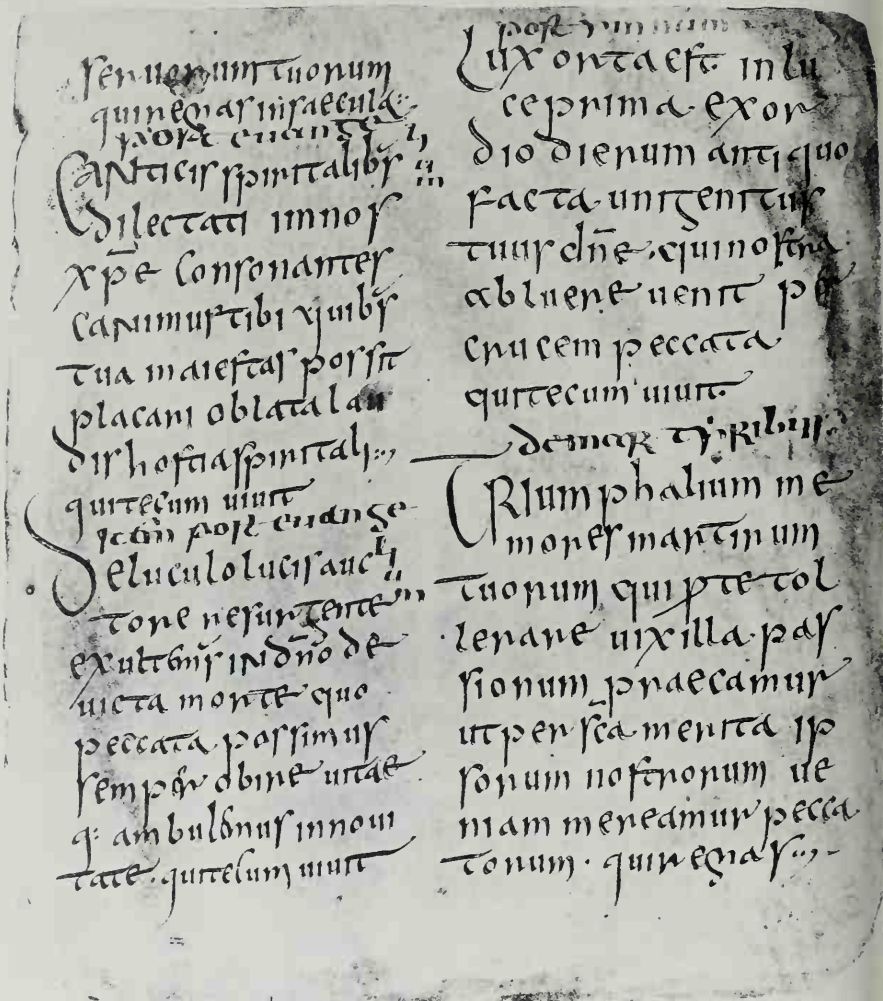
105 Augustine, *Homiliae*, s. vii–viii. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 11641. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi*, pl. xxxiii.



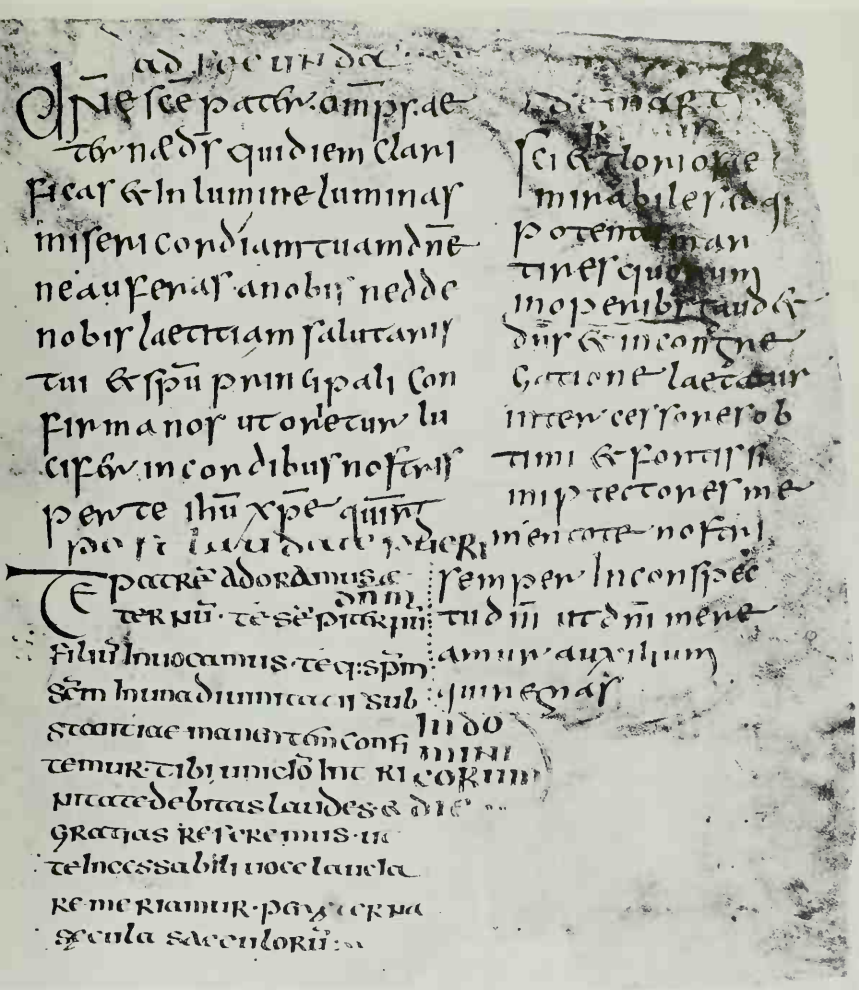
106. Bible (Codex Amiatinus). Florence, Laur. Amiatino 1. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, pl. 21b.



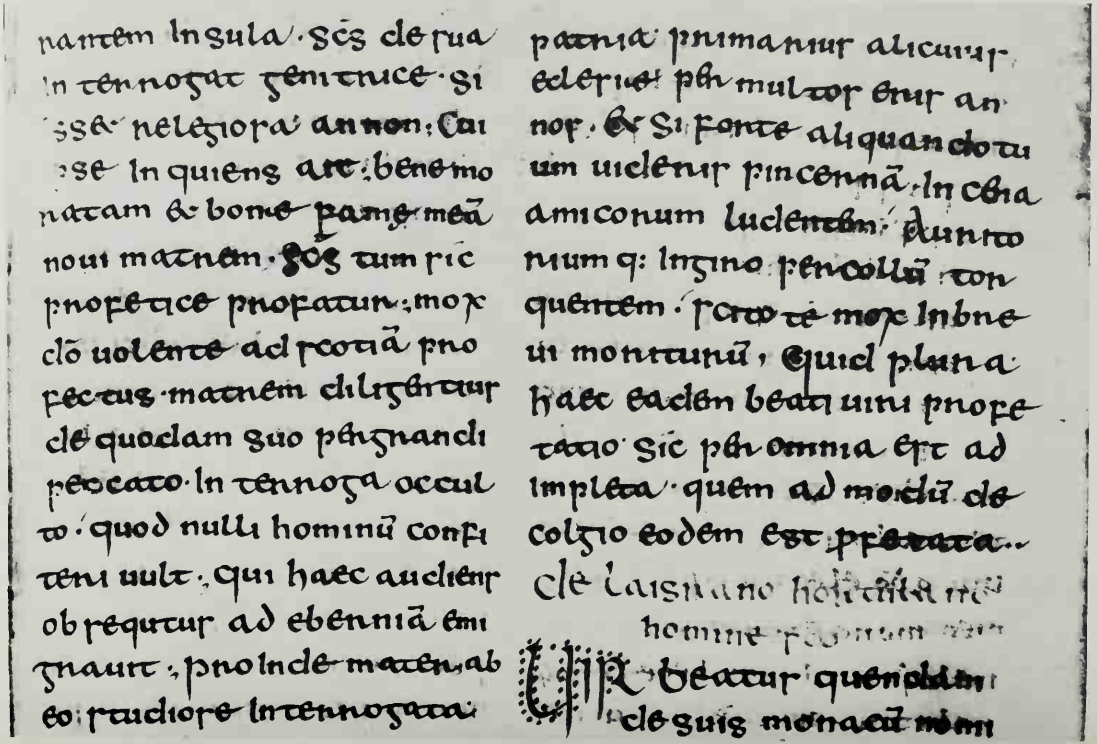
107. Bangor Antiphonary. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana C.5. inf., fol. 80. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*.



108. Bangor Antiphonary, fol. 26r.



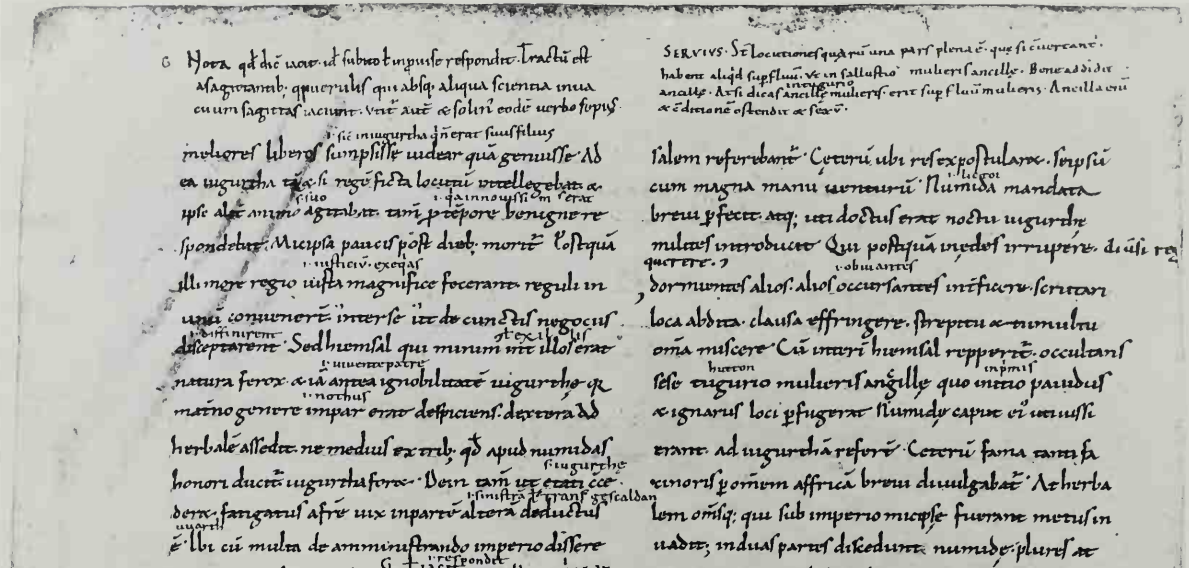
109. Bangor Antiphonary, fol. 35r.



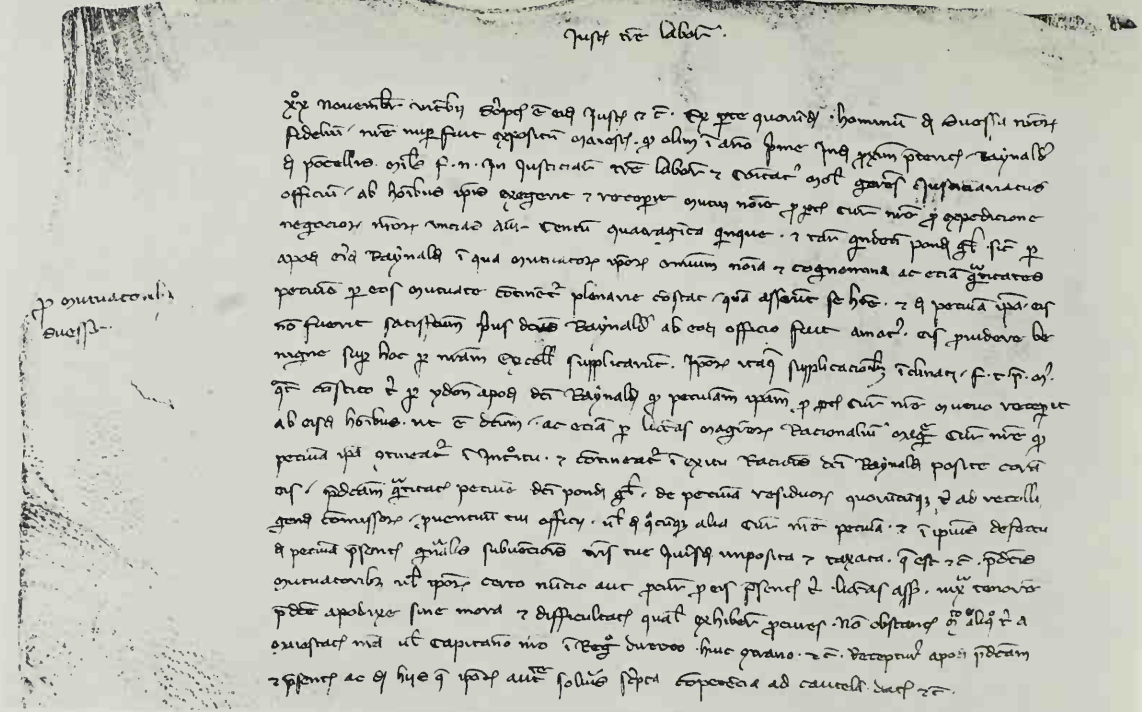
110. Adamnan, *Vita Columbae*. Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek Gen. 1.

rrimam· Et cogitabat in alexandrum consilia
mala; Et misit legatos ad demetrium dicens,
Veni componamus inter nos pactū· & dabo tibi
filiam meā quā habet alexander· & regnabis
in regno patris tui, Penitet enim me qđ de de
rim illi filiā meā· quaesiuit enīme occidere;
& uituperauit eum· propterea quod concupi
erat regnū eius. Et abstulit filiam suam & de
dit eam demetrio· Et abalienauit se ab alexan
dro· & manifeste facte sunt inimicitiae eius,
Et intrauit ptolomeus antiochiam· & imposuit
duo diademata capiti suo· egypti & asie. .x.x.v
PTOLOMEUS AUTEM REX ERAT INCILICIA IL
lis temporibus· quia rebellabant qui erant
in locis illis, Et audiuit alexander· & uenit ad
eum in bellum, Et produxit ptolomeus rex·
exercitum· Et occurrit ei in manu ualida· Et
fugauit eum. Et fugit alexander in arabiam·
ut ibi protegeretur, Rex autem ptolomeus·
exaltatus est, Et abstulit gaddiel arabi ca

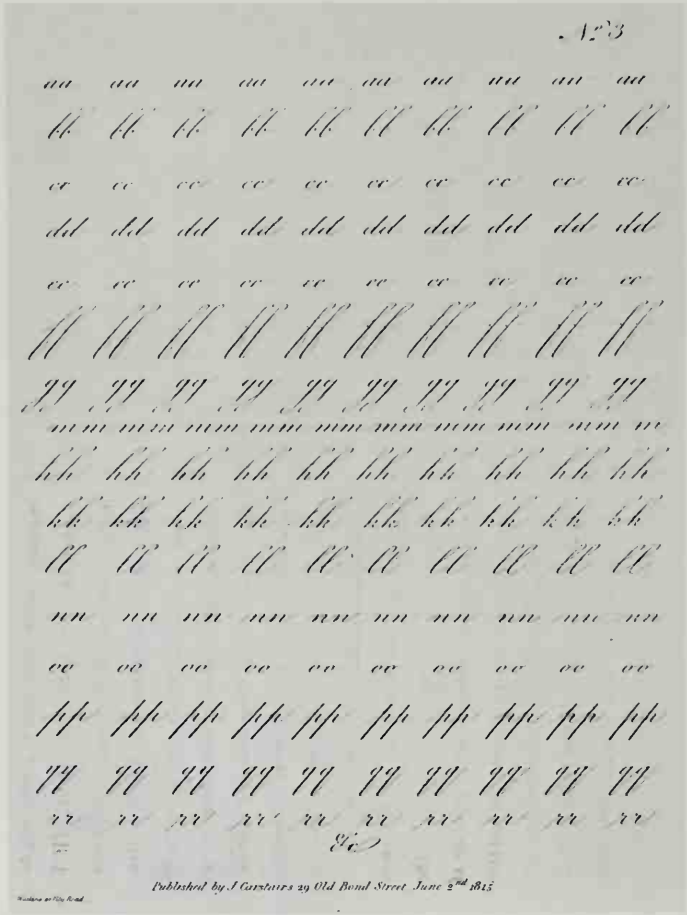
III. Maurdramnus Bible (Maccabees). Amiens, Bibl. Municipale II, fol. 39r.



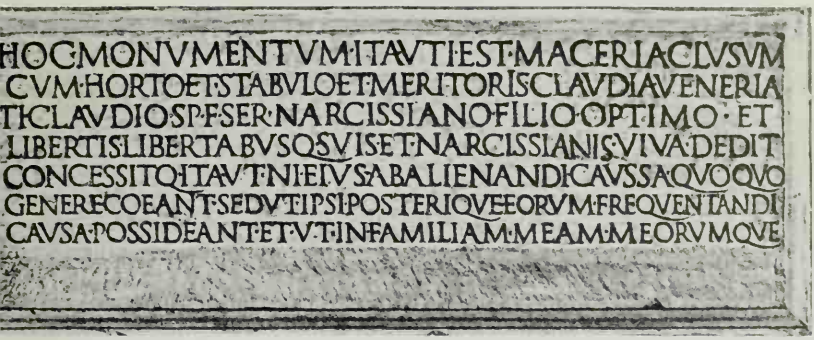
112. Sallust. s.x. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10195. Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, pl. LIII.



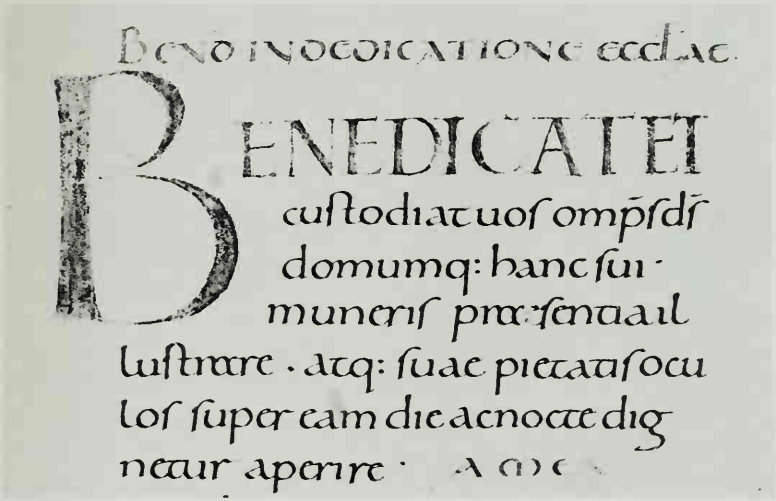
113. From the *Registro Angioino*, 1276. Naples, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Angioina. Federici, *La scrittura della cancellerie italiane*, pl. XLVI. Reduced.



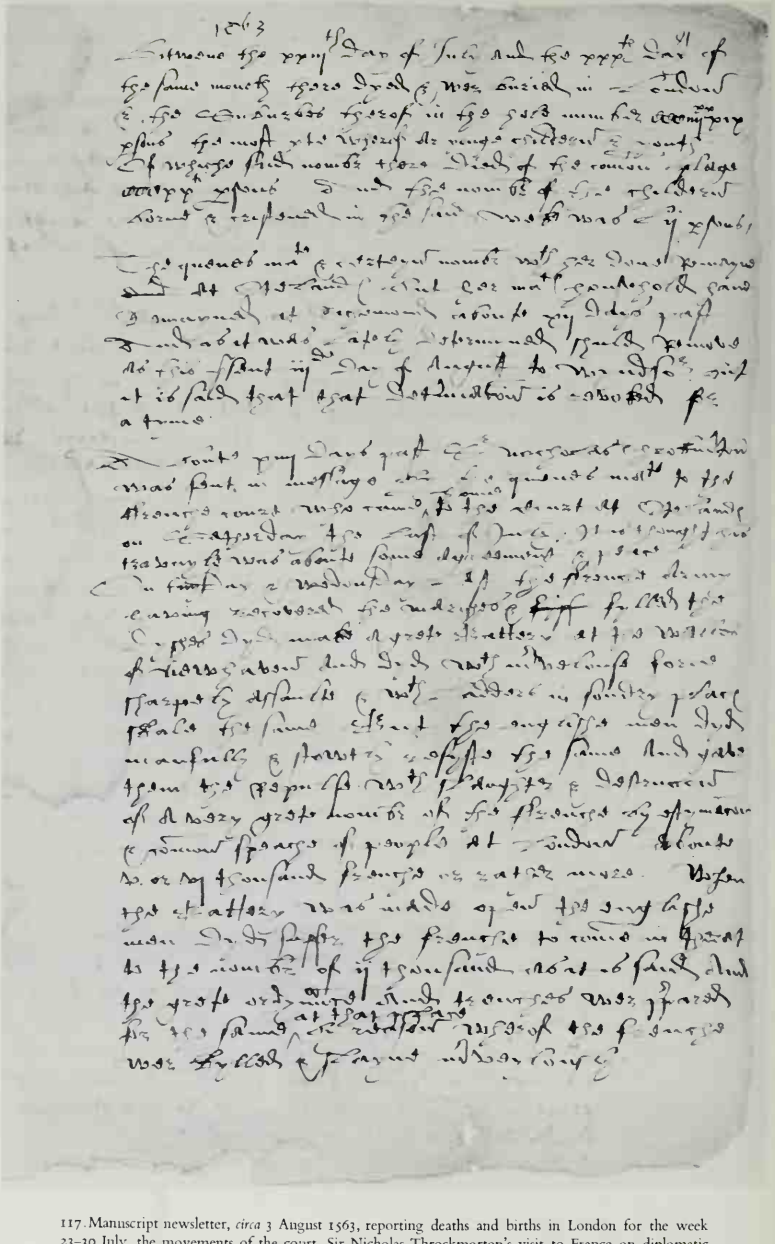
114 Joseph Carstairs, *Tachygraphy, or the flying pen*, second edn, London, 1815.


HOC·MONVMENTVM·ITA·VT·EST·MACERIA·CLVSVM
CVM·HORTO·ET·STABVLO·ET·MERITORIS·CLAVDIA·VENERIA
TI·CLAVDIO·SP·F·SER·NARCISSIANO·FILIO·OPTIMO·ET
LIBERTIS·LIBERTABVSQ·SVIS·ET·NARCISSIANIS·VIVA·DEDIT
CONCESSIT·Q·ITA·VT·NI·EIVS·ABALIENANDI·CAVSSA·QVOQVO
GENERE·CO·EANT·SED·VT·IPSI·POSTERIQVE·EORVM·FREQVENTANDI
CAVSA·POSSIDEANT·ET·VT·IN·FAMILIAM·MEAM·MEORVMQVE

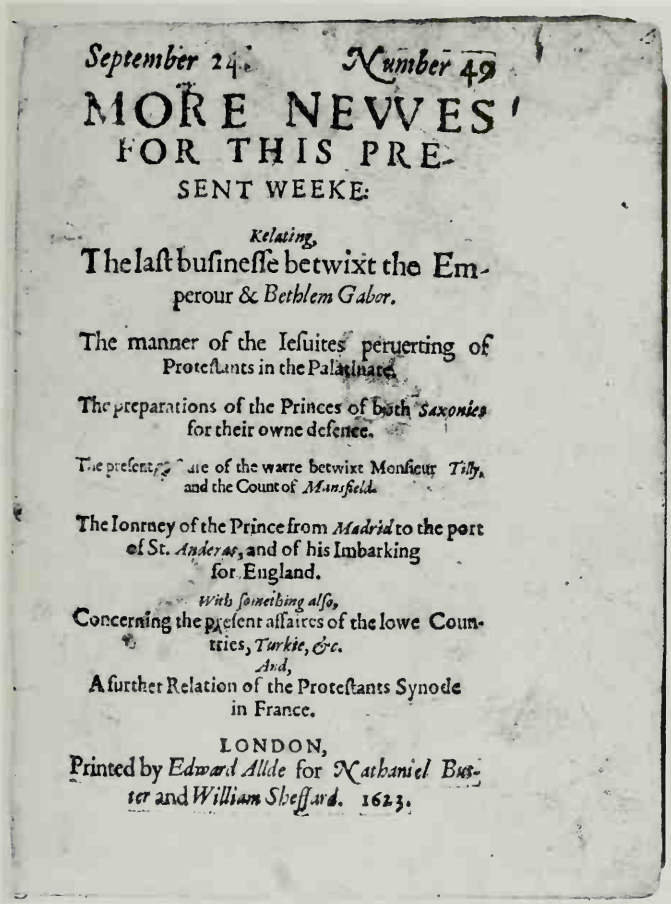
115. Roman sepulchral inscription, *circa* 200. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae*. Reduced.



116. Early 'upper and lower case', for the Benedictional of St Aethelwold, written in England in the late tenth century, fol. 119.



117. Manuscript newsletter, *circa* 3 August 1563, reporting deaths and births in London for the week 23–30 July, the movements of the court, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's visit to France on diplomatic business, and an attack by the French on Le Havre. Morison Collection, Cambridge University Library. Reduced.



September 24. *Number* 49

MORE NEWES FOR THIS PRESENT WEEKE:

Relating,

The laſt buſineſſe betwixt the Emperour & *Bethlem Gabor.*

The manner of the Ieſuites peruerting of Proteſtants in the Palatinate.

The preparations of the Princes of both *Saxonies* for their owne defence.

The preſent ſtate of the warre betwixt Monſieur *Tilly*, and the Count of *Mansfield.*

The Iornney of the Prince from *Madrid* to the port of St. *Anderas*, and of his Imbarking for England.

With ſomething alſo,

Concerning the preſent affaires of the lowe Countries, *Turkie, &c.*

And,

A further Relation of the Proteſtants Synode in France.

LONDON,

Printed by *Edward Allde* for *Nathaniel Butter* and *William Sheffard.* 1623.

118. *More newes for this present weeke*, no. 49. 24 September 1623.

P p Numb. 999

The Daily Courant.

Thursday, June 28. 1705.

Plymouth, June 24.

LAST Friday Night sail'd Her Majesty's Ship the Triton-Prize to the Westward with a Pacquet for Sir George Bing; and this Morning the said Triton brought in a French Privateer of 16 Guns and 86 Men; and the Pacquet for SirGeorge Bing, was put on Board the Mary which is gone to the Westward to seek for the said Admiral.

Yarmouth, June 25. Yesterday sail'd from hence, the Russia Fleet, with 7 Men of War; and this day arriv'd here 30 or 40 Ships from Hull bound for Holland and Hamburgh, and some for the River; with two Men of War: Here also remains the Winchester, with the Marquis of Caermarthen; and six Sail of Men of War more.

London, June 28.

' The Funeral of the late Queen of Prussia having ' been solemniz'd at Berlin, his Excellency Baron ' Schonborn, Ambassador Extraordinary from his ' Prussian Majesty and Monsieur Bonet his said Ma- ' jesty's Resident, went on Sunday last to the Prussian ' Chappel in the Savoy, where the said Funeral was ' also celebrated and a Sermon preach'd upon the ' 25th and 26th Verses of the 11th Chapter of St. ' John, (being the Text appointed by the King of ' Prussia, for the Occasion,) by the Rev. Mr. L. L. ' Cæsar Chaplain to his Prussian Majesty.

London, June 28.

IN the Courant of Saturday last, the following Paragraph was inserted from the Paris Letter.

' A Report is spread of a great Disaster befallen ' the Confederate Fleet.

Great Offence has been taken at these Words: And, in particular, the Author of the Review, in his Paper of Tuesday last, has fallen very hard upon me for them. Not to enter at present upon the Question whether I have given any *just* Occasion of Offence at all, by publishing the said Paragraph in the manner I have done; I will endeavour to shew, that the Censure pass'd upon me by the Author of the Review is very *unjust* and *injurious*.

He says I give this Report as from *Paris*. But immediately adds, *it is not for him to desire me to quote my Authority for this News, he doubts not I had it from the foreign Prints*. Which either means nothing or means this, *That whatever Authority I might afterwards pretend for it, I had not actually quoted my Authority*. And is no obscure Intimation to his Readers, that this Report, for ought that yet appear'd was a Forgery of my own. That this was his Intention appears plainly, by his charging me *with spreading false News* with a *We hear*: Which Charge he was sensible he could by no Means fasten upon me, unless he could insinuate that I was conscious to the framing of this Report. Let any Man look upon that Comment, and judge fairly whether this Author could see that I gave this Report from *Paris* (as he owns himself) and at the same time not see that I quote it from the *Paris* Letter. But to proceed,

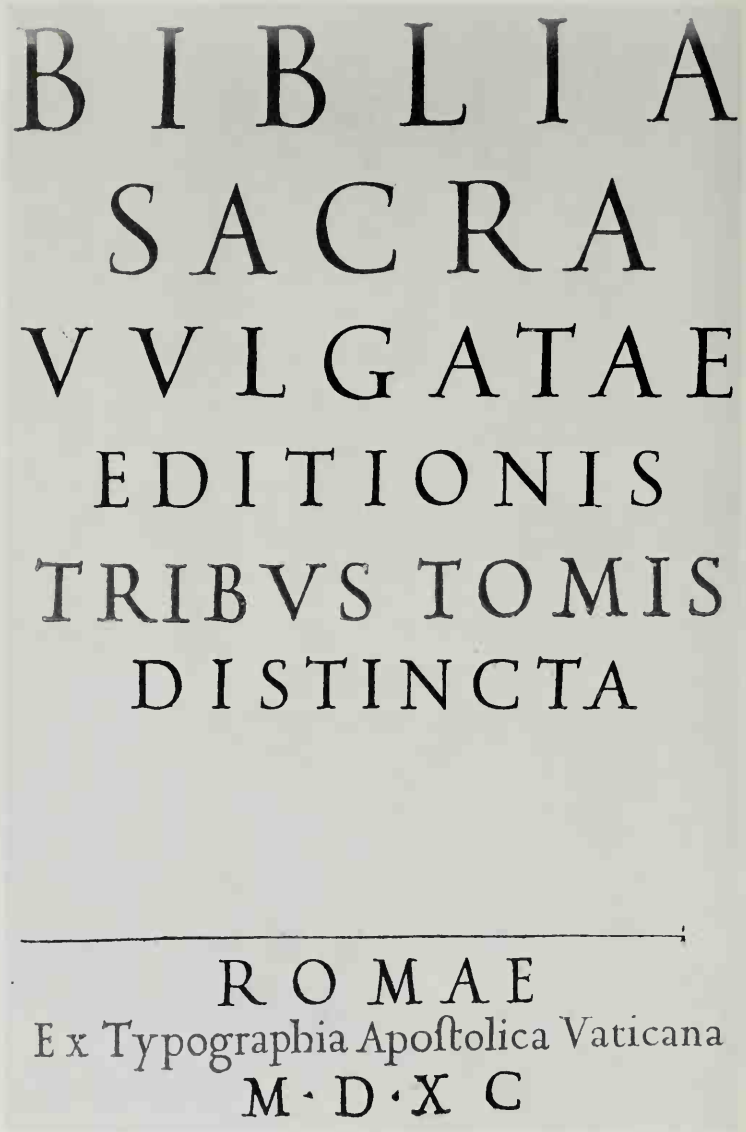
The Judgment he gives of *this Piece of News* (as he calls it) *it self*, does in no manner concern me: Nor if it did, would I ever dispute with any Man breathing, whether Air and Water are convertible Elements, and are uncertain and ungovernable by Human Power. I do from my Heart believe and admire his Calculation of the Naval Strength of the World; *viz.* that setting the French aside, and the Southern Parts of the World joyn'd together are not able to look the confederate Fleet in the Face. And I likewise declare, 'tis my Opinion, that if any Men were to embark'd themselves in any one Ship of the Fleet with Design to blow it up, they are Rogues, very silly Rogues. I will not disturb him in the Contemplation and Enjoyment of these happy Flights of his Wit. But I shall take some Pains upon the following Paragraph in which he has laid me on untruetically.

' This spreading false News, with a *We hear*, has ' sometimes Various Ends and Designs to bring to ' pass in it, and the use to be made of it for Parties, ' and Special Service, is very remarkable; and how ' this Gentleman will clear himself of, at least being ' guilty of spreading such false and fatal Alarms, I ' know not: that he has any Design in it, I do not ' pretend, I hope he is better inclin'd than that.

In order to give a full Answer to this Paragraph, 'tis necessary to premise a true State of the Case. I acknowledge, that no Man ought to spread false Reports raised by the Enemy, unless to expose them: And that this was my Design, I cannot but to convince all equitable Men. The Paris Letter having been frequently quoted in the Courant as relating Passages known in England to be notorious flying falsehoods or utterly improbable (which Passages were therefore purposely selected) has thereby been sufficiently expos'd and render'd of little Credit. Nay, tho' I had by my Original Scheme tied my self up from making Reflections, and have spar'd the other Papers as being less immodest, yet I have not been able to forbear declaring the ill Opinion I had of that Paper: As may be seen in the first Paragraph of the Courant of Saturday November 18. 1704. From the Time our Fleet was sitting out, and while it was the general Opinion in France as well as England that it was design'd for the Mediterranean; this Paris Letter, [illegible] from Time to Time of the Naval Preparations in France: One while that the Toulon Squadron was to be fitted out by such a Time and be of so many Ships of the Line of Battle, another while that it would be of a different Number of Ships and would Sail by some other Day; that the Count de Toulouse would repair on Board, by a certain Time, and afterwards that his Departure was put off again. When Sir Cloudsly Shovel was about to Sail, we were told that Monsieur de Coetlogon was sail'd from Brest, which the next Post contradicted again: And at length this Letter told us, it was doubtful whether the sitting out of the Toulon Squadron would not be suspended. Thus having rung the Changes till it could in Decency go no further, and the Approach of the Confederate Fleet to the Streights putting the Writer of this Paris Letter to his last Shifts, he very fairly trump'd up this Report upon us of a Disaster's having befallen it. I innocently thought, that no Man who observes the Course of News, could miss these Observations naturally rising from such plain Grounds: Much less that an Alarm would be taken at a Report from the Hand of an Enemy of so little Credit; especially when the thing appear'd utterly improbable

119. *The Daily Courant*, 28 June 1705. Reduced.

120. The Bible of Sixtus V, Rome, 1590. Reduced.



121. The Bible of Sixtus V, Rome 1590. Reduced.

Sancti Cæcilii

CYPRIANI OPERA

RECOGNITA & ILLUSTRATA

Per

JOANNEM OXONIENSEM Episcopum.

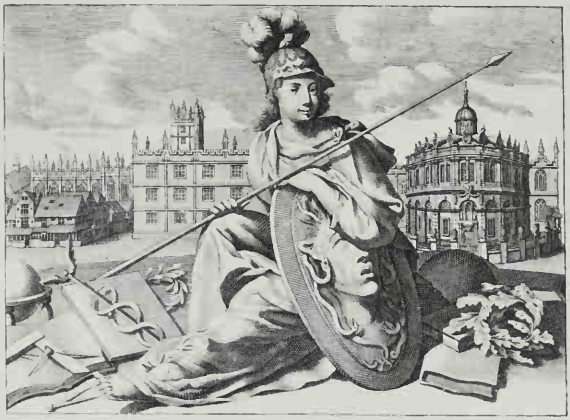
Accedunt

ANNALES CYPRIANICI,

SIVE

Tredecim Annorum, quibus S. Cyprianus inter Christianos versatus est, brevis historia Chronologice delineata

Per JOANNEM CESTRIENSEM.



OXONII

E THEATRO SHELDONIANO Anno CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

122. St Cyprian, *Opera*, Oxford, 1682. Reduced.

Σ O Y I Δ A Σ.

SUIDÆ LEXICON,

GRÆCE & LATINE.

Textum GRÆCUM cum MANUSCRIPTIS
Codicibus collatum a quamplurimis mendis purgavit,
NOTISQUE perpetuis illuſtravit:

Verſionem Latinam ÆMILII PORTI
innumeris in locis correxit;

Indiceſque AUCTORUM & RERUM *adjecit*

LUDOLPHUS KUSTERUS,

Profeſſor humaniorum literarum in Gymnaſio
Regio BEROLINENSI.

CANTABRIGIÆ,
TYPIS ACADEMICIS. MDCCV.

123. Suidas, *Lexicon*, Cambridge, 1705. Reduced.

124. Clement of Alexandria, *Works*, Florence, 1550. Reduced.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ.

ΑΜΦΙΩΝ ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Λεῖος ὁ Μιθυμναῖος ἄμφω μὲν ἦσαν ᾠδικώ· μῦθος δὲ ἄμφω καὶ ἄσμα εἰς ἔπος τὸ Ἑλλήνων ἄδεται χορῷ· τέχνῃ τῇ μουσικῇ, ὁ μέν, ἰσχνῷ θελεάζας· ὁδὲ, θῆβας τειχίσας. Θρᾴκιος δὲ ἄλλος σοφιστὴς (ἄλλος οὗτος μῦθος ἑλληνικὸς) ἐπῳδάσθνε τὰ θηρία, γυμνῇ τῇ ᾠδῇ, καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα, ὡς φησίν, μετεφύτευε τῇ μουσικῇ. ἔχοιμ' ἂν σοι καὶ ἄλλον τούτοις ἀδελφὸν διηγήσασθαι μῦθον, καὶ ᾠδὸν, Εὔνομον τὸν Λοκρὸν, καὶ Τέπιγα τὸν Πυθικὸν, πανήγυρις ἑλληνικὴ ἔσῃ νεκρῷ δράκοντι σωκηροτεῖτο πυθοῖ, ἐπταέτιον δρεπτὸ ᾄδοντος Εὐνόμου· ὕμνος, ἣ θρῆνος ὄφεως ἦν ᾠδή, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. ἀτὰρ ὧν δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐκβαίνειν ὥρα κιθάρας Εὔνομος, ὁπηνίκα οἱ τέπιγες κατὰ τοῖς πεταλοις ᾖδον ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, θερόμενοι ἡλίῳ. ᾖδον δὲ ἄρα οὐ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ νεκρῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ, τῷ πανσόφῳ, αὐτόνομον ᾠδὴν τῶν Εὐνόμου βελτίονα νόμων· ῥῆγνυται χορδὴ τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐπίπαται ὁ τέπιξ τῷ ζυγῷ· ἐτρέπετον ὡς ἔσῃ κλάδῳ, τῷ ὀργάνῳ, καὶ τὸ τέπιγος τῷ ἄσματι, ἁρμοζόμενος ὁ ᾠδὸς, πᾶν λείπουσιν αἰεὶ πλήρωσε χορδήν. οὐκοῦν ᾠδῇ τῇ Εὐνόμου ἄγεται ὁ τέπιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βούλεται, καλῶς αὐανθέντας πυθοῖ τὸν Εὔνομον, αὐτῇ τῇ κιθάρᾳ καὶ τὸν σωκαγωνιστὴν τὸν Λοκροῦ, ὁ δὲ ἑκὼν ἐπίπατε· καὶ ᾄδει ἑκών· ἕλλησι δὲ ἔδοκει τὸν κριτὴν γενόνεσθαι μουσικῆς. πῇ δὴ οὖν μύθοις κενοῖς ταυτὶ σύνατε, θέλεθλα μουσικῇ τοῖα ὑπολαμβάνοντες· ἀληθείας δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ φανερὸν, μόνον ὡς ἔοικεν ἔσπασεν ἔξω δοκεῖ, καὶ τοῖς ἀπίστοις ὑποπέπωκεν ὀφθαλμοῖς· κιθαρῳδὸν δὲ ἄρα, καὶ Ἑλικῶν, καὶ τὸ Ὀρφεῶν ὄρη καὶ Θρᾳκῶν τελεστήρια, τὴν πλάνης τὰ μυστήρια, πεθέασται, καὶ κεθύμνηται. ἐγὼ μὲν εἰ καὶ μῦθος εἰσὶ, συγκαμεῖται, ζοσύτας σκηραῖς θυμίαις συμφορᾶς· ὑμῖν δὲ, καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἰσχρὰ φαῖ γένεσθαι σράματα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σράματα, καὶ τὴν ληναΐζοντας ποιητὰς, τέλεον ἤδη παροινεῶντας, κατῷ που αὐαδήσαντες, ἀφραίνοντας ἐκτόπως, τελετῇ βακχικῇ, αὐτοῖς ζατύροις, καὶ ὑσάσῳ μαινάλῃ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ δαιμόνων χορῷ Ἑλικῶνι, καὶ Κιθαιρῶνι, καὶ τακλειστῷμῳ γεγεμένοσιν· καζαίρω δὲ ἀνωθεν ὅς οὐρανῶν ἀληθειαν, ἅμα φανώζᾳ τὴν φρενήσει, εἰς ὄρος ἅγιον θεοῦ, καὶ χορὸν τὸν ἅγιον τὸν προφητικὸν· ἡ δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα τηλαυγὴς ἀποσιλέουζα φῶς, καταυγάζεται πᾶν τὴν τοῖς σὺ σκότει κυλινδυομένοις, καὶ τῆς πλάνης τοὺς αὐθρώπους ἀπαλλαξέται τὴν ὑπερζόντων ὀρέγουσα δεξιὰν, τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰς σωτηρίαν· οἱ δὲ αὐανθέντες, καὶ αὐακηλάντες Ἑλικῶνα μὲν καὶ Κιθαιρῶνα καταλειπόντων· οἰκοῦντων δὲ Σιὼν, ἐκ ὄρους Σιὼν ὀρεκλύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἰερουζαλὴμ, λόγος οὐρανίος· ὁ γνήσιος ἀληθινὸς ἔσῃ τῷ παντὸς κόσμου θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος ἄδει δέ γε ὁ Εὔνομος ὁ ἡμὸς οὐ τὸν Τερπάνδρου νόμον, οὐδὲ τὸν Καπίωνος, οὐδὲ μὴν Φρύγιον, ἢ λύδιον, ἢ δώριον, ἀλλὰ τῆς καινῆς ἁρμονίας τὸν αἴδιον νόμον τὸν φθόγγον τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινὸν, τὸ λευιτικὸν.

νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολόν τε κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἁπάντων.

γλυκύ τι καὶ ἀληθινὸν φάρμακον πειθοῦς ἐκεκραμένον τῷ ἄσματι. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν, ὁ Θρᾴκιος ἐκεῖνος Ὀρφεὺς, καὶ ὁ Θηβαῖος, καὶ ὁ Μιθυμναῖος, ἄνδρες πονηροὶ, οὐκ ἀνδρες, ἀπατηλοὶ γενόνεσι προσχήματι μουσικῆς λυμηνάμενοι τὸν βίον τῷ σὺ τέχνῳ πνὶ γοητείᾳ δαιμονῶντες εἰς διαφθορὰς· ὕδρεις ὀργιάζοντες, πένθη ἐκθειάζοντες, τοὺς αὐθρώπους ἔσῃ τοῖς ἐδώλοις χεῖρα γλῶσσα· πρῶτοι· ναὶ μὴν λίθοις, καὶ ξύλοις, τουτέστιν, ἀγάλμασι, καὶ σκιαγραφίαις, αὐσι-

125. Clement of Alexandria, *Works*, Florence, 1550.

126.1. Salviano, *Aquatilium animalium historiae*, Rome, 1554–8. Reduced.

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